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Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo
- Emilio de' Cavalieri's Music for the Stage¹

At the very threshold of the modern history of dramatic music there appeared a composition which gave rise to much controversy, even though it was not analysed in much detail before the seventies of the twentieth century: namely, Emilio De' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*. It was only in 1975 that R. Scholz and H. Scholz-Michelitsch² concerned themselves with it closely, embarking, above all, upon a study of the semantics of the musical language used by Cavalieri. A second, more important, book, issued recently, is a monograph written by W. Kirkendale³.

The objective of the present study is to look at the score of the *Rappresentazione* as a musical text written in close connection with its design for the stage, as one of the first efforts at realizing a sung drama, an effort made by Cavalieri to mould recitative into a form appropriate to the stage⁴.

¹ It is a shortened version of a paper printed in Polish in *Muzyka* XXVIII 1983 no. 1, pp. 13-66 as "*Rappresentazione di Anima, e di Corpo*" *Cavalierego muzyka dla sceny*".

² Rudolf SCHOLZ and Helga SCHOLZ-MICHELITSCH 'Emilio De' Cavalieris *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*'. *De Ratione in Musica. Festschrift Erich Schenk zum 5. Mai 1972*. Kassel 1975, pp. 63-102.

³ Warren KIRKENDALE *Emilio De' Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano"*. Firenze 2001.

⁴ In principle, we do not undertake a discussion with the literature of the subject here but deal with the *Rappresentazione* in its bearing defined exactly by our theme.

It is not known how Cavalieri came to the conviction that Greek theatre had been wholly sung, for this was not a commonly held opinion in his times. The view generally prevailed that the passages sung in the theatre had been performed only by the chorus. Girolamo Mei, a humanist active in Rome, and the circle of Bardi's Camerata at Florence were convinced that Greek drama had been wholly sung⁵. It is unlikely that Cavalieri would have been capable of putting this idea into practice in less two years after his arrival at Florence, if he had come to know it only from the Florentine humanists and not earlier in Rome. Cavalieri's interests were not solely musical; they were the broader interests of a man of the theatre, and in the last decade of the 16th century the theatre strongly attracted the attention of humanists.

I. RULES OF STAGE ACTING.

While at the beginning of the 16th century Horace's *De arte poetica* was rendered more accessible and in the middle of the century the commentaries on the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* were increasing in number, an animated discussion on the principles of structuring the drama broke out in Italy. It was a purely "literary" discussion, adopting the Aristotelian systematics, according to which the plot, the type of characters, the meaning of utterances and their verbal formulation are essential elements of a play, and its performance and music secondary ones. According to such an approach the essence of a work of art remained the same, no matter whether the drama was performed or only read in privacy. That opinion, placing the drama in the category of a text – the written word, prevailed in discussions throughout the 17th century. And so, for instance, among Christofor Ivanovich's

⁵ Girolamo MEI formulated his view in the treatise *De modis musicis antiquorum* of 1573, which was available for the interested in manuscript copies. The author himself sent a copy to Florence, to the well-known humanist Pietro Vettori. In Florence, apart from Bardi's Camerata, Francesco PATRIZI shared that opinion in his treatise *Della poetica* (1586). Cf. Claude PALISCA 'The "Camerata Fiorentina", a Reappraisal'. *Studi Musicali* I 1972, no 2. Cavalieri may have been personally acquainted with Mei, the more so, as they lived in two neighbouring palaces in the district of today's Largo Argentina. Cf. W. KIRKENDALE 'Emilio De'Cavalieri, a Roman Gentleman at the Florentine Court'. *Memorie e contributi alla musica dal Medioevo all'età moderna offerti a F. Ghisi...* Bologna 1971.

remarks on *drammi* designated for singing (!) we come across the statement that the texts of these works can be duly appreciated only in personal reading⁶.

It should be kept in mind that the remains of the dramatic legacy of antiquity had been preserved in the European tradition just as reading pieces, as patterns of language and model of oratory. It was not before the very end of the 15th century that some attempts were made to produce classic comedies and, in the mid-16th century, contemporarily written Italian tragedies. Some authors – few in number – who, hanging on to court patronage, assumed a practical attitude towards the stage, also became active in the first half of the 16th century. Then the need to deepen the knowledge of the rules of the stage and the clear consciousness of its autonomy arose.

In that climate of court culture Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinthio connected with the court of the Este's at Ferrara, the author of a number of tragedies, was one of the first to formulate practical conclusions concerning stage performance. In his *Discorsi [...] intorno al comporre [...] delle commedie e delle tragedie...* (Vinegia 1554⁷) he discussed at length that secondary element of the *dramma* which its performance was recognized to be. The opinion on the aesthetic value of theatrical art expressed in this discussion is particularly important:

it is better to watch a well performed piece on the stage, even if mediocre, than a masterpiece performed by wooden actors, awkward in acting, for the power of the spoken word is stupendous when it is accompanied by acting and corresponds with the subject it speaks of⁸.

⁶ Christoforo IVANOVICH *Minerva al tavolino*. Venezia 1681. Its final part entitled *Memorie teatrali di Venezia*, chapter 20.

⁷ The quotations below are derived from Giovanni Battista GIRALDI CINTHIO'S reprint of *Discorsi [...] intorno al comporre [...] delle commedie e delle tragedie...* in: Ferruccio MAROTTI'S *Lo spettacolo dall'Umanesimo al Manierismo* Milano 1974.

⁸ "è meglio che compaia nella scena favola di non molto pregio, che sia ben rappresentata, ch'averne una lodevolissima ch'abbia gli istrioni freddi et inetti nell'azione; perché la forza della viva voce è maravigliosissima, qualunque volta ella, accompagnata con l'azione, si acconcia alla qualità delle cose delle quali ella ragiona". G. B. GIRALDI CINTHIO *Discorsi...* op. cit., p. 235.

This is then an actual denial of the division of *dramma* into essential and secondary elements.

Leone De Sommi's utterance was nearly contemporaneous with Giraldi's. De Sommi was active at Mantua; he was a learned humanist and one of the elders of the Jewish community at that town; connected with the court of the Gonzagas, he directed a regular group of actors, who performed for the court. He was the author of a series of dramatic pieces and theatrical works, among them, four dialogues on the subject of stage performance (c. 1560)⁹. He devoted two of them to the realization of performances, that is, one to acting and the other to the scenic setting. Like Giraldi Cinthio, De Sommi ascribes the main role in a play to acting and he maintains that "good actors are more important than a beautiful play"¹⁰.

In stage acting De Sommi distinguishes word and action or gesture, defining this last, after the Latin tradition, as the "speech of body" (*eloquenza del corpo*), which is "not less effective than the speech of words"¹¹. This kind of voice remains in a direct relationship to the dramatic role:

I also lay a strong stress on the kind of voice of actors selected, for I think it is of outstanding importance: I should never cast [...] the part of an old man to someone with a boy's voice or a woman's part (especially that of a girl) to an actor with a low-pitched voice¹².

On the stage the voice should have full sound (De Sommi is opposed to the use of masks, which muffle it) and it should flow naturally, without being forced. The words should be pronounced carefully up to the last syllable and without haste. What strikes

⁹ Leone DE SOMMI'S manuscript was published by F. Marotti under the title *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche*. Milano 1968; dialogues III and IV were also reprinted in his above-cited *Lo spettacolo...*; our quotation come from this reprint.

¹⁰ "più importi aver boni recitanti che bella comedia". L. DE SOMMI op. cit., p. 245.

¹¹ "non è per aventura maggiore l'efficacia delle parole che quella de i gesti". L. DE SOMMI op. cit., p. 251.

¹² "Pongo poi anco gran cura alle voci di quelli, perch'io la trovo una de le grandi et principali importanze che vi siano; né darrei [...] la parte di un vecchio ad uno che avesse la voce fanciullesca, né una parte da donna (e da donzella maxime) ad uno che avesse la voce grossa". L. DE SOMMI op. cit., p. 246.

us here is the solicitude for articulation and the purposive handling of the tempo of the action: “the actor ought to be given time to the spectators to get to understand the poet’s idea at ease”¹³.

Angelo Ingegneri (1550–1613), a Venetian who was, active at various courts at Ferrara, Parma, Urbino and Torino, left us the most comprehensive statement on theatrical art. He was the author of several dramatic pieces but, above all, the organizer of pageants. His most conspicuous achievement in this field was the staging of *Edipo Tiranno* by Sophocles at the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza in 1585, in which his aspiration was to bring this performance near to the original Greek spectacles. Ingegneri’s two essays, published together under the title *Della Poesia Rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche* at Ferrara in 1598, constitute a recapitulation of his theatrical experience. The titles of these essays accurately define the line of the author’s interest.

He has a clear view, based on experience, of the function of words in *dramma*, and hence criticised the language of the dramatic poetry of his times, which for the most part he regards as unsuitable for the stage. He upbraids it both for its ornate style (suitable for lyric poetry) and for the oratorical development of its monologues, pointing to the fact that neither mode of expression is compatible with the dramatic realism which should characterize the scenic action. As an experienced practician, he also censured his contemporary writers for lack of scenic imagination.

In the first of his essays Ingegneri discusses the stage potentialities of particular dramatic species, while in the second he deals with staging. We think he is the first to give a holistic presentation of this problem: “each plot presented consists of three parts, that is, setting, action and music”¹⁴.

Setting includes, above all, the stage, which suitably imitates the place of the events represented, together with the costume of the actors, but also the auditorium. The action is realized by acting, which combines voice and gesture.

¹³ “[l’attore] ha da dar tempo alli spettatori di poter capir comodamente i concetti del poeta”. L. DE SOMMI, op. cit., p. 247.

¹⁴ “ciascuna favola rappresentativa consta di tre parti, cioè d’apparato, di azione, e di musica”. Angelo INGEGNERI *Della Poesia Rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*. Ferrara 1598 pp. 61–62.

The division of acting into voice and gesture, occurring earlier in De Sommi, was derived from classical rhetoric. The Latin theorists divided the fifth element of rhetoric – *pronuntiatio*, or the proper delivery of a speech prepared – into *vox* and *gestum*. This classification, based mainly on Quintilian's treatise *De institutione oratoria*, is generally accepted in the Renaissance. Quintilian distinguishes both quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the voice and relates both of them to the content being expressed. Among other things, he writes:

[The voice] in joyful matters full, plain and in some way gay; in dispute, raised [...] in anger, harsh, bitter, grave and broken [...] in envy, slower [...] mild and humble in flattery, assent and request; serious in persuasion, exhortation, promises and consolation¹⁵.

There are striking analogies between Quintilian's text and the formulation of Ingegneri¹⁶, who writes:

Two things are taken into consideration in the voice: quantity, that is, whether it is low- or high-pitched, strong or weak, and quality, and so if it is clear, sharp, supple, thick and the like. Both these characteristics should change in accordance with the content being expressed, that is, in success the voice ought to be full, plain and gay, in disputes and alternations – raised, in anger – fierce, broken and harsh, in giving satisfaction to someone – nice and docile, in promises and consolation – strong and agreeable, in compassion – faint and prostrate, and in highly noble emotions – dignified and lofty¹⁷.

¹⁵ “[Vox] laetis in rebus plena et simplex et ipsa quodam modo hilaris fluit at in certamine erecta [...] Atrox in ira et aspera ac densa et respiratione crebra [...] in invidia facienda lentior [...] at in blandiendo, fatendo, satisfaciendo, rogando, levis et sumissa. Suadentium et monentium et pollicentium et consolantium gravis”. Marcus Fabius QUINTILIANUS *De institutione oratoria*. Book XI, Ch. 3. Quoted after the reprint in F. Alberto GALLO ‘Pronuntiatio. Ricerche sulla storia di un termine retorico-musicale’. *Acta Musicologica* XXXV 1963, no 1, p. 39.

¹⁶ F. Alberto GALLO drew attention to it in *La prima rappresentazione al Teatro Olimpico*. Milano, 1973, p. XLI.

¹⁷ “Nella voce adunque si considerano due cose: la quantità cioè ch'ella sia grave, acuta, grande o picciola; e la qualità, cioè ch'ella sia chiara, roca, pieghevole, dura, e simili. L'una e l'altra di queste due condizioni s'ha a variare conforme a i soggetti che si esprimono: come a dire, nelle prosperità la voce dovrà esser piena, semplice, e lieta; nelle contese e dispute, eretta; nell'ira, atroce et interrotta et aspera; nel sodisfare altrui, piacevole e sommessa; nel promettere e consolare, ferma e soave; nella

This evident affiliation admittedly indicates that Ingegneri's approach was not original in itself, but the context of the remarks, presenting the semantic potentialities of vocal intonations, shows that the handling of a spectrum of these intonations reflects Ingegneri's own practical experience as well, for nowhere in his treatise does he come on to the ground of pure theory. To be sure, his approach to art is unquestionably based on classical culture in general, but the considerations themselves are of a purely practical nature. The summing-up of his thoughts on the subject of acting is characteristic:

The adjusted voice and correct gesture will necessarily give rise to decorum; in this lies the perfection of any good representation of the plot. This matter is easier to grasp than to explain and it can be more readily distinguished by mind in a [definite] action than revealed by [the quotation of] an example¹⁸.

Vincenzo Galilei, who wrote his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* in 1581 and so before the appearance of Ingegneri's work, looked at actors' possibilities to express feelings by means of vocal intonation from a similar, practical point of view:

When for amusement you go to tragedies and comedies produced by zanies, having restrained your immoderate laughter, notice how two gentlemen composedly speak to each other, listening to the voice as regards its acuteness and graveness, its power, its accents and gestures; notice how they pronounce [words] in relation to the speed of delivery; notice too the difference occurring when one of them talks to his servant or when the servants talk to each other; notice how it behoves the prince to speak when he addresses his vassal or subject and how a suppliant submits a request; how an angry or excited person speaks, how a married woman and how a girl or a child; or a sly courtesan, or a lover courting his sweetheart; or someone who is complaining or shouting; or a timid person or a delighted one. If you attentively watch these various causes and scrutinize them, you will be able to obtain an example after which to express any other idea¹⁹.

commiserazione, piegata e flebile; e ne i grandi affetti, gonfia e magnifica". A. INGEGNERI op. cit., pp. 76–77.

¹⁸ "Dalla voce regolata e dal buon gesto nasce necessariamente il decoro, il quale è la perfezione d'ogni ben rappresentata favola. Et questo più agevolmente s'intende di ciò ch'ei si possa esplicare; e meglio si separa dall'azione colla mente che coll'effetto". A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁹ "Quando per lor diporto vanno alle tragedie e commedie che recitano i zanni, lascino alcuna volta da parte le immoderate risa, et in lor vece osservino di grazia in

The nature of gesture had constituted a separate problem since ancient times; the orator, whose task had become in the course of time not so much to convince the listeners by the logic of reasoning as to captivate or enrapture them, and so to play on their feelings, employed both his voice and expressive gesture. In gesture, however, some rules were binding on him, namely those of appropriateness to the subject being expressed and keeping within bounds. These characteristics were defined by the notion *decorum*. According to the opinion prevailing during the Renaissance, histrions, members of professional groups of actors, frequently using rough clownish gestures, lacked that very *decorum*. However, the power of expression of theatrical art was gradually recognised, if not by the profession as a whole, at any rate by its outstanding members. And so Giraldi Cinthio, who speaks scornfully that “those who [...] introduces zanies and other silly persons in our times to cause laughter are far from what is appropriate to a true comedy”²⁰, at the same time appreciates the perfect acting of a young actor, a certain Flaminio, dwelling upon “how gracefully he expressed a king’s passions and feelings and how through his bewitching acting he expertly made these tears and sighs seem true”²¹. As can be seen from the foregoing quotation, Galilei went still further in his appreciation of the actor’s art.

qual maniera parla, con qual voce circa l’acutezza e gravità, con che quantità di suono, con qual sorte d’accenti e di gesti, come profferite quanto alla velocità e tardità del moto, l’uno con l’altro quieto gentiluomo; attendino un poco la differenza che occorre tra tutte quelle cose, quando uno di essi parla con un suo servo ovvero l’uno con l’altro di questi; considerino quando ciò accade al principe discorrendo con un suo suddito et vassallo; quando al supplicante nel raccomandarsi; come ciò faccia l’infuriato o concitato, come la donna maritata, come la fanciulla, come il semplice putto, come l’astuta meretrice, come l’innamorato nel parlare con la sua amata mentre cerca disporla alle sue voglie; come quelli che si lamenta, come quelli che grida, come il timoroso, e come quelli che esulta d’allegrezza. Da quali diversi accidenti, essendo da essi con attenzione avvertiti et con diligenza esaminati, potranno pigliar norma di quello che convenga per l’espressione di qual si voglia altro concetto”. Vincenzo GALILEI *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*. Firenze 1581, p. 89.

²⁰ questi che [...] introducono e zanni ed altre sciocche persone per mover risa, sono lontani da quello che alla regolata commedia si conviene G. B. GIRALDI CINTHIO op. cit., p. 240.

²¹ “Quanto gentilmente esprimeva egli quelle passioni e quegli affetti reali, quanto faceva egli con la sua grazia parer vere quelle lagrime e que’sospiri”. G. B. GIRALDI CINTHIO op. cit., pp. 240–41.

Ingegneri's practical experiences got him the more to acknowledge the qualities of the professional actor's art:

Through their long practice and permanent exercise [the professional actors] have attained such a level in drollery that anyone loathing obscenities, which they sometimes make a point of soliciting, would measure with them in vain; which, however, let be said with deep regard for those who show less liberty and more moderation in that respect²².

Applying the criteria of oratory for acting, Ingegneri in fact places the actor on an equal footing with the orator:

And at the conclusion of this part [i.e. the discussions of action], I will say in short that the true splendour of a stage spectacle lies in the beautiful and appropriate pronunciation and the realistic and emotional movements of the person, notably of his face, for otherwise the actor is unable to stir the spectator's spirit²³.

In Ingegneri's opinion, the actual purpose of a spectacle is the "entertainment and relaxation" of mind [*rilassamento e ricreazione*] and pleasure [*dilettazione*]. Utility in the sense of instruction is, just as for Castelvetro²⁴, only a secondary aim: naturally, the proper hierarchy of moral values and those of manners must be maintained in spectacles (hence criticism of *dell'arte* comedians' antics), nevertheless no court pageants are organized for instruction but to provide fair entertainment. And so the organization of a spectacle as a whole tends to produce the feeling of pleasure: the pleasure of sight, hearing and even smell. The stage picture serves the pleasure of sight, the opulence and sophisticated subtlety of the setting and attire being valued on a par²⁵. The auditory pleasure flowing from the suitable organization of verse is deepened by the

²² “[gl’istrioni mercenari] colla loro lunga industria e co’l continuo essercizio hanno ridotto il ridicolo a segno che indarno può venire in lor paragone chi massimamente aborrisce l’obscenità, ch’essi alle volte studiosamente vanno cercando: il che però sia detto con pace di coloro che si dimostrano in questa parte men liberi e più circospetti”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 9.

²³ “Et conchiudendo questa parte [...] dirò in una parola, che tutta la vera lode d’uno spettacolo di scena consiste nella bella e convenevole pronunzia e ne i movimenti della persona, e specialmente della faccia, verisimili et affettuosi, non potendo senza di questi l’istrione commovere l’animo dello spettatore”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 78.

²⁴ Ludovico CASTELVETRO *Poetica d’Aristotele Vulgarizzata, et Sposta*. Vienna, 1570.

²⁵ “garbo e delicatezza che vaglia quando la pompa”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 71.

contribution of music and, as regards smell, “costly incenses can be burnt during the performance so as to afford pleasure to one sense more²⁶. However, the essential pleasure of the spectator lies deeper, in his emotional sphere, and is aroused, as shown by the quotations above, by appropriate acting. The style of the performance should be characterized by *naturalzza*, which however is not simple imitation, but reaches through to the essential idea of the drama. Ingegneri writes:

When a king or a great prince is to be represented, he should be represented as the most beautiful, tallest and best-proportioned of all, as the one who would be such if nature had not been impeded while creating him²⁷.

The naturalness of action leads to the realism of particular situations: everything that is at variance with probability spoils the spectator’s enjoyment. Ingegneri repeatedly emphasizes the aesthetic significance of the postulate of verisimilitude, though he is also fully aware that this verisimilitude is, from the very nature of theatrical art – conventional:

although the theatre is in a way compelled to concede many things which are far from the truth to both the actors and the setting and on them to found its credibility, which constitutes the basis for feelings, the nearer these things come to the truth the more effective they become in exciting that emotion²⁸.

Hence, among other things, come Ingegneri’s above-mentioned struggle against both the grandiloquence of parts written by literary men devoid of scenic imagination and primitive effects in the action (e. g. the appearance of the ghosts of dead persons or suicides

²⁶ “mentre dura la rappresentazione si possono far fumare d’odori preziosi, dilettaando in questa guisa un sentimento di più”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 63.

²⁷ “Quand’altri cerca rappresentare un Re ovvero un principe grande, l’ha a fare il più bello, il più alto e ’l meglio formato di tutti, sì come quello ch’arrebbe ad esser tale, sempre che la natura nel produrlo non fosse stata impedita”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 67.

²⁸ “se bene il teatro si trova in certo modo in obbligo di concedere a gli istrioni, così come all’apparato, molte cose lontane dal vero, e sopra di esse fondare quella credenza, onde in lui si destano gli affetti; nulladimeno quanto più le dette cose s’avvicinano alla verità, tanto sono elleno di maggiore efficacia nella sudetta commozione”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 13.

being brought back to life, making the sensible spectator laugh instead of exciting dread as intended).

Music is the third element of stage production in Ingegneri's scheme. The incommensurability of the role assigned to it with that of the other two elements is evident. In Aristotle's poetics music is the sixth element of the drama and the second accidental one, and this was the reason, if there were not any other, why Ingegneri could not omit it, even though his discussion of it is not exhaustive. He distinguishes two functions of music: intensification of the enjoyment of the audience and a specific kind of expression.

Music occurs in the first of these functions chiefly in intermedia "so as to give a moment's rest to minds tired with following the progress of the action"²⁹. In keeping with this task, it should then be "tranquil and gentle". When music is applied just in the course of comedies and pastorals, its role is to make them "come off more enjoyably"³⁰. The vocal-instrumental music "will be the more pleasant to the ears of the spectators, if it is ever new and different"; Ingegneri ranks purely vocal polyphony highest, "provided the works are heard so distinctly that not a word is lost in fugues and in now so frequently used diminution"³¹.

Does that consciousness of the pre-eminence of the word above theatrical music come from Ingegneri's own experience or does it reflect the theoretical disputes of that period? It seems that Ingegneri was quite familiar with these disputes. Nevertheless he did not dwell upon them very much. He must have encountered the problems in producing a tragedy in a practical way while preparing the performance of *Edipo Tiranno* with great erudition at Vicenza (1585). The choruses were sung in it, although, as we have mentioned before, even then there were already serious adherents of the theory that in ancient Greece tragedies were sung throughout. Vincenzo

²⁹ "per porger alquanto di riposo a gl'intelletti affaticati nell' attenzione prestata alla favola sin allora". A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 79.

³⁰ ch'essi riescano più dilettevoli A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 78.

³¹ "E'l concerto de gl'istromenti colle voci sia di tanto maggior piacere a gli orecchi de gli ascoltanti, quanto ei sarà più vario e più novo l'una dall'altra fiata. Et s'egli consterà talora di voci umane solamente, questo peravventura sembrerà il più soave di tutti gli altri, purché le parole vengano bene intese, né se ne perda sillaba nelle fughe, e nelle tante diminuzioni, che s'usano al giorno d'oggi". A. INGEGNERI op. cit., pp. 78-79.

Galilei shared this opinion; in 1581, and so four years before the performance of *Edipo Tiranno*, he wrote in his *Dialogo*:

Tragedies and comedies were truly [...] sung by Greeks; Aristotle (besides other reliable writers) states this in a passage on harmony in *Problema 49*. To be sure, he rather seems to forget this when in his *Poetica* he comes to the definition of tragedy. Inscriptions in Terence's comedies, in addition to some other authoritative records, indicate clearly that this custom was later adopted and maintained by the Latins. I think the causes of this were as follows: if poems of any kind are sung solo, it seems more proper and just for them to be accompanied by the sounds of an instrument than unaccompanied [... for then the listener feels fully pleased...]. In my opinion, this was one of the causes that inclined the ancients to sing the lines of their tragedies and comedies with instrumental accompaniment. Besides, the actor singing in unison [...] with an instrument, whether it was an aulos, kithara or any other, was better understood by all his listeners and his voice did not get tired so soon. What is more, with the help of his well-tuned instrument the aulos- or kithara-player, skilled in musical art, maintained the actor in proper pitch and mode, and controlled his pronunciation of long and short syllables of the line in either a strong or a small sound and voice, appropriately to the nature of the subject that was to be expressed with words³².

In determining the role of the accompanying instruments, Ingegneri indicates their functions in a manner identical to those characterized by Galilei, but refers them exclusively to polyphony:

³² "Le tragedie, e le commedie fussero veramente [...] cantate da Greci, ve lo dice (oltre a li altri degni di fede) Aristotile nella particola dell'armonia, al *Problema quarantanove*. Vero è che nella *Poetica*, quando viene alla diffinitione della tragedia, pare che egli scordi in alcuna cosa da quel primo parere. Che questa tale usanza fusse poscia da Latini abbracciata e seguita, ne fanno (oltre a li altri luoghi d'autorità) piena fede l'inscrizioni delle commedie di Terenzio. Le cagioni poi di ciò credo che fussero queste. Cantati qual si vogliano sorte di versi da un solo, par ch'abbiano più del conveniente e del ragionevole, quando vengano accompagnati dal suono di alcuno strumento, che quando di esso son privi; [...] Ora questa secondo il mio parere venne a essere una delle cagioni che indusse gli antichi a cantare su lo strumento i versi delle tragedie, e commedie loro. In oltre nel cantare lo strione unisono [...] con lo strumento, o fusse tibia, citara, o altro, veniva a essere da ciascuno de circumstanti maggiormente inteso, et a meno stancarsi la voce di lui; et quello che più importava era, che il tibicine, o citarista, come perito nell'arte musica, veniva col mezzo dello strumento ben temperato a mantenere lo strione in quella voce e tuono circa l'acuto e grave, et fargli profferire le sillabe de versi lunghe et brevi, ora con molto et ora con poco suono e voce secondo che conveniva alla qualità del concetto che con le parole cercava significare". V. GALILEI op. cit., p. 145.

the chorus always sings, when it does not imitate, that is, does not act or carry on a conversation. To that singing the ancients added music to strengthen it and to drown the errors of the parts, and still more to intensify the impression or emotion. And since such music should be tranquil and gentle, the ancients used an aulos or two, for this instrument is played by blowing it and so it unites more readily with singing than do other instruments, such as the kithara, lyre, and the like which are not played by blowing; neither are they as sonorous as the former, nor do they equally well cover up the shortcomings of the singers³³.

Although Ingegneri seems in theory to set a high value on the expressive potentialities of solo singing, he does not see how it could be applied: “the affairs have come down to such a miserable state that singing and weeping and any other manner of manifesting feelings have vanished”³⁴. Ingegneri's next remark seems to suggest that he came close to the solutions of theatrical music which Cavalieri, Peri and Caccini would publish in separate variants two years after the appearance of his *Discorsi*: “let choruses be sung as plainly as possible so that they shall scarcely differ from ordinary speech”³⁵ and so he points to a sort of *recitar cantando*. He is also aware of which mode is appropriate for the chorus, compatible with the emotions being expressed by it. It ought to be the mixolydian mode, because this is more passive than the mixodorian and less imitative than the mixophrygian³⁶.

The choral part should be:

³³ “il coro canta sempre quand'ei non imita, cioè quand'egli non è attore et interlocutore. Al qual canto gli antichi congiungevano la musica per suo sollevamento, e per coprire gli errori delle voci, e molto più per fare maggiore impressione, o commovimento. Et concio sia che cotal musica ha ad essere tranquilla e flebile anch'essa, i medesimi antichi usarono una tibia sola, over due, perché essendo quello istromento che si suona co'l fiato, ei viene a mescolarsi co'l canto meglio di tutti gli altri stromenti che non si suonano collo spirito, come a dire cetera, lira, e simili; senza che questi tali non sono tanto sonori, né così bene ricoprono i difetti dei cantori”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 83.

³⁴ “le cose sono ridotte a tanta miseria, ch'è venuto meno il canto et il pianto et ogni altra dimostrazione delle passioni altrui”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 83.

³⁵ “i detti cori sieno cantati semplicissimamente, e tanto che paiano solo differenti dal parlare ordinario”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 79.

³⁶ “la musica mixolydia, la quale non era grave come la mixodoria, né imitava come la mixophrygia, e perciò si rendeva meno attiva e più passiva”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 83.

placid, grave, doleful and uniform. I mean such uniformity as from its nature brings sadness in and suits the magnitude of the disaster. In the first place, the words are to be pronounced distinctly so that the house shall make out all of them, without missing a short syllable, and, grasping their sense, which ought to be frightful and sorrowful, they shall pick up the emotions that are characteristic of the tragic³⁷.

And so the role of music in the transmission of feelings has been stated clearly here, although the range of activity assigned to it is in reality very small.

II. PRINCIPLES OF *IN MUSICA* PERFORMANCE

At that time Cavalieri had already used music far more widely in the theatre, crossing the threshold of mistrust, before which Ingegneri had come to a halt, and presenting the whole action in the sung form. Unfortunately, these first sung plays are unknown today; the source of our information about them are Cavalieri's own statements in the dedication and preface³⁸ of the edition of the *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*, the texts of which are of great importance to the interpretation of this very drama.

Introducing the sung action, Cavalieri wanted to pass for an innovator to a certain extent only. He decidedly referred to the tradition of the Ancients and took pride in the fact that he was the first who had managed to revive this tradition in the field of drama: "to bring that old practice to life so successfully with his proficiency and knowledge"³⁹. At this time, besides, the approximation

³⁷ "placido, grave, flebile et inuguale. Et intendo di quella inuguale che di sua natura induce tristezza, e s'accommoda alla grandezza della calamità. E soprattutto che le parole sieno così chiaramente esplicate, ch'il teatro le intenda tutte, senza perderne una minima sillaba; sì che ricevend'egli nell'animo la sentenza loro, che deve essere orribile e miserabile, ei si vada disponendo a quegli affetti che sono propri del tragico". A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 84.

³⁸ The dedication is signed by the editor of the work, Alessandro Guidotti, and the preface is stylized in such a manner that Cavalieri is spoken of in the third person in it. We do not resume the discussion about who the true author of these texts was, for Cavalieri's direct contribution to their origin has already been pointed out exhaustively in the literature.

³⁹ "con la sua industria et valore ravnivare quell'antica usanza così felicemente". All the quotations below from E. DE' CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione...*, from dedication and *A'Lettori*.

to an ideal, which is what the ancient art was, constituted a greater title to general recognition than did the composer's own inventiveness. It is not known exactly what Cavalieri's actual idea of the theatrical music of antiquity was, for he speaks in very general terms about "the way in which [...] the ancient Greeks and Romans used to arouse various feelings of spectators in their theatres"⁴⁰ and he defines this music as "emotional" [*musica affetuosa*]. He adds "singing should be accompanied there by two flutes or ancient auloses"⁴¹; he deals therefore with the same information about instrumental accompaniment as was quoted by Galilei and Ingegneri. The qualification of music as "arousing emotions" indicates links with the theory of ethos but permits no inferences as to how he understands this theory in detail. To be sure, he writes that in his pastoral plays he has just rendered the ancients' mode "inasmuch as information about it is available"⁴², but the aria *Io piango Filli*, quoted as an example of this style, bears distinct characteristics which could be interpreted as the stylization *al modo antico*.

Then it is right to assume that Cavalieri's main intention was not to reconstitute the system of ancient music but merely to act upon the spectator's emotions by using music to shape the actor's utterance; according to him, ancient tradition was an authoritative model for this practice. The fact that he was inclined to use the media of his times to this end would be evidenced by the statement concerning instrumental accompaniment, in which he recommends substituting some other instruments for the aulos ("for we have many of them in our times"⁴³) in the belief that they will make it easier to achieve the intended end.

Cavalieri considers singing in a stage work exclusively in relation to action, as the singer's part, and treats the problem in the same way as did the theatrical practitioners discussed above, that is, in accordance with the rhetorical scheme: voice–gesture. And so:

⁴⁰ "quello stile, co'l quale [...] gli antichi Greci e Romani nelle scene e teatri loro soleano a diversi affetti muovere gli spettatori".

⁴¹ "il canto doverà essere accompagnato da due flauti, o vero due tibie all'antica"

⁴² "per quella notizia che se ne può avere"

⁴³ "per la copia che n'abbiamo a tempi nostri"

The singer ought to have a beautiful voice of good intonation and to conduct it firmly, to sing with feeling, piano and forte, without *passaggi*, in particular to pronounce the words well so that they shall be understandable, and to accompany them with gestures and movements, not only of his hands but also with steps, which is a very effective aid in arousing emotions⁴⁴.

The part of a singer is therefore the part of an actor, modelled after the ideal of the orator. The recommendation to relinquish ornaments (*passaggi*), because they blur the sense of words reveals to what extent music is here treated as an instrument and not an end in itself. Similarly Ingegneri demanded the relinquishment of metaphorical, embellished speech on the stage.

Apart from this, Cavalieri gives a series of detailed remarks on the problems of movement and gesture in the score, amply applying the special designation "*incoronata*, which indicates that a breath should be taken and a little time spared for making a movement"⁴⁵. He gives a number of instructions concerning particular moments of the action. In the notes preceding the score he places a general instruction concerning the movements of the chorus:

The chorus should partly sit and partly stand on the stage, listening attentively to what is being represented; they should sometimes move and change places with each other and when they are about to sing, let them stand up so that they can make gestures and later on let them return to their places⁴⁶.

And so he treats the chorus not as a vocal ensemble but as a *dramatis persona* and this, much in keeping with Ingegneri's concept⁴⁷, is to justify its presence on the stage by natural behaviour.

⁴⁴ "che il cantante abbia bella voce, bene intonata, e che la porti salda, che canti con affetto, piano e forte, senza passaggi, et in particolare che esprima bene le parole, che siano intese, et le accompagni con gesti e motivi non solamente di mani, ma di passi ancora, che sono aiuti molto efficaci a muovere l'affetto".

⁴⁵ "incoronata, la qual serve per pigliar fiato, e dar un poco di tempo a fare qualche motivo".

⁴⁶ "Il Coro dovrà stare nel palco parte a sedere, e parte in piedi, procurando sentir quello si rappresenta, e tra di loro alle volte cambiar luoghi e far motivi; e quando avranno da cantare, si levino in piedi per poter fare li loro gesti, e poi ritornare a luoghi loro".

⁴⁷ Ingegneri wrote among other things: "when the author wants a chorus to occur

At the close of the preface Cavalieri discusses the form of the text. He fixes its length at 700 lines and emphasizes that:

it is to be easy and constructed not only in septisyllabic lines, but also in penta- and octosyllabic ones and sometimes with a proparoxytonic accent; supplied with vicinal rhymes, they produce a graceful effect, which is due to the charm of music. Do not let the phrases and repartees in dialogues be very long and the solo performances should be as short as possible⁴⁸.

The postulates he puts forward here are therefore again analogous with those formulated by Ingegneri, namely, the conciseness of monologues and the compactness of dialogues, and so the typical dramaturgical principles that tend to maintain the dynamics of the action; on the other hand, the instructions concerning the kind of verse and rhyming reflect Cavalieri's own liking as regards phrase building, although the poetics of the laud may also have had an effect on them.

As to the essential scheme of the drama, Cavalieri adopts a division into three acts, separating it from the tragedy, in which the divisions into five acts and the resultant structure of action were binding at that time. He is concerned with a stage action of smaller dimensions, fixing the duration at 2 hours (and so less than in the case of spoken performances, which usually took over three hours); hence the small scale postulated for the work.

Cavalieri sees the problems of the *apparato* or the setting, the place of performance, in the following terms:

The instruments should be more or fewer in number according to the place: whether it is a theatre or a hall⁴⁹; the latter, to be adequate in

in his work, he will introduce it in such a way that its entries and exits shall be dramatically realistic" ["l'autore... volend' egli pure il coro nella sua favola, ve'l porterà in modo tale ch'egli entri ed esca verisimilmente"] A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 23.

⁴⁸ "conviene che sia facile, e pieno di versetti, non solamente di sette sillabe, ma di cinque, e di otto, et alle volte in sdrucchioli; e con le rime vicine, per la vaghezza della musica, fa grazioso effetto. E ne' dialoghi le proposte, e risposte non siano molto lunghe; e le narrative d'un solo siano più brevi che possano". E. DE' CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione...*, *A' Lettori*.

⁴⁹ Similarly Ingegneri paid attention to the co-ordination of the sound volume of the musical ensemble with the capacity of the hall: "[music] ought to be adjusted to the place so that it shall not sound noisy in a small place and smothered in a spacious

its proportions to this performance, should hold no more than 1000 persons so that they can sit comfortably to enjoy themselves in peace, for when a performance is put on in a very large hall, not everybody can hear the words; as a result, the singer would have to strain his voice and thus attenuate the emotions; besides, such long-drawn music becomes tedious if you cannot hear the words. The instruments should be played behind the curtains which form the scenery [...] and the characters should be dressed well and diversely⁵⁰.

In his detailed instructions for the performance Cavalieri also gives a number of suggestions concerning the costumes of the characters. He treats both the stage and the auditorium functionally, from the viewpoint of the acoustic properties, its suitability for conveying the content of the spectacle and – to be sure, perfunctorily – its aesthetic qualities.

In discussing the third element of the performance, i.e. music, the author is concerned mainly with the problems of instruments, having reduced the vocal questions, as shown above, to the execution of *pronuntiatio*. The essential role of the instruments is to accompany the voice:

played without diminution and with full sound they are to support the singer. Now, in order to give an idea of the instruments used in such cases: the double lyre, harpsichord, chitarrone or, as it is also called, theorbo, all together produce a very good effect; and so does the suave organ in combination with the theorbo. And Signor Emilio would approve of the changing of instruments in conformity with the feelings of the person represented⁵¹.

one” [(la musica) avrà ad accommodarsi al sito, sì che in luogo angusto ella non paia strepitosa, né in ampio sorda”]. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁰ “Gli stromenti siano [...] più e meno in numero secondo il luogo, o sia teatro ovvero sala, quale per essere proporzionata a questa recitazione in musica, non doveria esser capace al più, che di mille persone, le quali stessero a sedere commodamente, per maggior silenzio e sodisfazione loro: che rappresentandosi in sale molto grandi, non è possibile far sentire a tutti la parola, onde sarebbe necessitato il cantante a forzar la voce, per la qual causa l’affetto scema; e la tanta musica mancando all’udito la parola, viene noiosa. E gli stromenti, perché non siano veduti, si debbano suonare dietro le tele della scena [...] e li personaggi vagamente vestiti, e con varietà”. E. DE CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione... A’Lettori*.

⁵¹ “vadino secondando chi canta, e senza diminuzioni, e pieno. E per dar qualche lume di quelli che in luogo simile per prova hanno servito, una lira doppia, un clavicembalo, un chitarone o tiorba che si dica, insieme fanno buonissimo effetto, come

Then the theory of musical ethos, as we have already mentioned, finds full though very vaguely expressed acceptance here. As can be seen, Cavalieri does not make a systematic distinction between the instruments which, particularly in ensembles, double the vocal parts and those which play the thorough bass; in the passage quoted he mentions also only the instruments which are appropriate just for this last part.

On the other hand, Cavalieri seems to have been fascinated by the mere effect of the composition of sounds:

Sinfonie and ritornelli can be performed with a large number of instruments, and the violin, especially when it plays the soprano part, will produce a very good effect⁵².

He also formulates a very concrete proposal concerning the realization of the stylistic principle of diversity in the field of music as the essential way of arousing the listeners' emotions, which he thinks to be the aesthetic-ethical aim of a performance:

The passage from one emotion to an opposite one, as from grief to gaiety, from anger to gentleness etc., moves very much⁵³.

Cavalieri considers the dance to be a spectacular element with very great potentialities. Unlike the above-mentioned practitioners, who did not give the dance special attention, Cavalieri took a great interest in it as one of the forms of representative court life. In the very first spectacle that he directed together with G. Bardi at Florence to add lustre to the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1589, he himself composed the final ballet, both its choreography and its music. He mentions the performance of this dance with satisfaction in the preface to his *Rappresentazione*. Apart from its role at court festivities, Cavalieri recognises the dance as one of the essential factors, which enrich and diversify the scenic action. Approaching this action, not with regard to its purely kinetic aspect but eager to give the dance movements a distinct direction, to

ancora un organo suave con un chitarone. Et il Signor' Emilio laudarebbe mutare stromenti conforme all'affetto del recitante”.

⁵² “Le sinfonie, e ritornelli si potranno sonare con gran quantità di stromenti: et un violino che suoni il soprano per l'a[p]punto farà buonissimo effetto”.

⁵³ “Il passar da uno affetto all'altro contrario, come dal mesto all' allegro, dal feroce al mite, e simili, commuove grandemente”.

provide them with dramatic dynamics, he demands that the production of a dance shall have this very dramatic sense and postulates the introduction of pantomimic arrangements in its course:

Dances enliven these performances exceedingly. [...] When they or *moresca* are introduced in a different way from that generally accepted, they will display the more charm and novelty: for instance, the *moresca* in a battle or the dance on the occasion of rejoicing and jesting [...] This does not mean that a regular dance should not be presented at the end if the action produces suitable circumstances⁵⁴.

Cavalieri recommends the production of such a regular dance for the ending of the *Rappresentazione* and gives detailed instructions for it. These dances in the finales of dramas, one of the forms of the court ballet developing at the close of the 16th century, are a separate problem, which we omit here.

The problems of intermedia, “which contribute to the wealth of a show and rejoice the audience”⁵⁵, would also call for separate consideration. Naturally, the intermedia of this type had no ancient genealogy but were a product of a modern court culture. In interpreting their form, Cavalieri once again appears as a theatrical practitioner, for he approaches these performances from the angle of the accomplishment of three elements in the stage performance: *apparato*, *azione* and *musica*:

a beautiful-sounding *sinfonia* will be performed by the full set of instruments offstage; the movements of the *intermedium* must agree with its sounds, care being taken that there shall be no need of acting [...] A change of the scenery such as would result from its subject could be made during each *intermedium*. However, it ought to be kept in mind that the lowering of clouds is impossible then, for this motion cannot be adjusted to the tempo of the *sinfonia*, which would readily be done with passages of a *moresca* or some other dances⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ “[i balli] avvivano al possibile queste rappresentazioni [...] i quali balli, ovvero moresche se si faranno apparir fuori dell’uso commune avrà più del vago, e del nuovo: come per essemplio la moresca per combattimento, et il ballo in occasione di giuoco, e scherzo [...] Non si dice già che non si debba far’ in ultimo con buona occasione un ballo formato”.

⁵⁵ “[gli intermedi] sempre arricchiscono lo spettacolo e diletano gli spettatori”. A. INGEGNERI op. cit., p. 25.

⁵⁶ “dentro la scena si faccia una piena musica, et armoniosa sinfonia di stromenti, al suono de’quali siano concertati i moti dell’intermedio, avendo riguardo che non

It is hard to tell today whether the remark on *intermedia* placed in the preface to the *Rappresentazione* would amount to concrete evidence that they were really introduced into this performance; at any rate, this possibility should be taken into consideration, for the overloaded contents of the performance would not have clashed with the taste of the epoch. Nevertheless, there could not be as many as four such intermedia, one before the play proper and one at the end of each act in accordance with Cavalieri's indication, for he very distinctly defines the manner in which the *Rappresentazione* is to begin and to end and no intermedia are provided for. An intermedium could possibly follow Act I, when the chorus left the stage and after its exit a "beautiful-sounding *sinfonia*" was played; a *sinfonia* was also executed after Act II, in the presence of the seated and thus passive chorus, leaving room for a pantomime interlude. However, these are not dogmatic indications. Cavalieri's remark may in any case arise from the experience acquired earlier in connection with his activity at the Medicean court (e. g. he is supposed to have been the author of the intermedia intended for the performance of Tasso's *Aminta* at Florence).

III. THE MORALITY

The opinion that the text of the *Rappresentazione* was a development of Agostino Manni's laud *Anima mia che pensi* is in general accepted⁵⁷, but its author, inspired by Cavalieri, has not been determined. Cavalieri himself was evidently concerned with an action based on religious themes and formally analogous with the pastoral works composed by him for Florence, and so an action of "proper size", as Aristotle defined it in his *Poetics*, an action which would contain an "introduction, expansion and ending", it is — three acts. The motif of Soul and Body had to be adapted to this formal guiding principle; in this way a Renaissance morality or, as this type of spectacle is called in Italian terminology, *dramma*

habbia bisogno di recitazione [...] Et in ciascheduno si potrebbe fare quella mutazione di scena che apportasse l'occasione dell'intermedio: il quale è d'avvertire, che non può esser capace di descendenza di nuvole, non potendosi così conformare il moto col tempo della sinfonia, come acconciamente seguirebbe dove intervenissero passi di moresca, o d'altri balli". E. DE CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione...*, *A' Lettori*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Howard E. SMITHER *A History of the Oratorio*. Vol. I, Chapel Hill, 1977.

allegorico came into existence. But did it really take shape as a development of the laud *Anima mia che pensi?* Judging from the data contained in the edition of the score, the first performance proceeded as follows:

The piece began with a pietistic vocal-instrumental madrigal, with the curtain closed. The prologue, spoken in prose, followed; two young men, Reasonable [Avveduto] and Prudent [Prudenziolo], answered the question of what life is. As their views in this respect were concurrent, there followed a stream of picturesque comparisons to human life: a forest teemed with wild beasts, a river of tears, a meadow with a poisonous snake hidden in the grass, a building in danger of falling in etc. A real repertory of symbols concerning the deceptive qualities of earthly life was beginning to take shape. The play, which was to follow, was designed to instruct people deceived by this world's apparent benefits. When the young men went off the stage Time [Tempo] entered and Act I began. Assuming the fact of the future Last Judgement as his point of departure, Time expounded the thought of the transitoriness of life (life is a wind [la vita è un vento]); hence comes the moral that it should be lived worthily. The part of Time consisted of twenty-six polymetrical, five-, seven- and eleven-syllable lines rhymed in pairs, seven-syllable ones being predominant. Then the Chorus started to sing (four stanzas with the scheme 7a, 7a, 7b, 11b), unfolding pictures of the transitoriness of life. There is no explicit indication at which moment the Chorus, so typical a co-actor in the Greek drama, appeared on the stage. As there is no ritornel separating it from the performance of Time, it must have come on to the stage singing immediately after Time finished his part or ranged itself upstage during his performance. Another allegorical figure Reason [Intelletto] turned up. He resumed Time's considerations and reflected on the values of wealth, honour and pleasure, the values which were in contention among the goddesses before Paris' judgement in other humanistic moralities. In Reason's opinion, none of these values is sufficient, for each of them induces further desires; the only absolute good is to stay face to face with God. Here followed a dialogue between Soul and Body [Anima e Corpo]. Body was describing to Soul the goods that Reason had rejected in the previous scene. Neither did Soul let herself be deluded with them and reproached Body for trying to bind her to the earth instead of both of them directing their desires towards God. This dialogue

was not a typical *contrasto*, a contest between good and evil, for Body did not appear here as the opposite of Soul but as a positive partner, though are more susceptible to temptation. As regards its form, the text consisted of seven-syllable tercets, falling alternately to the interlocutors; it corresponds exactly with Manni's lauda. The scene concluded with Body's monologue, already going beyond this lauda. The act ended with the Chorus, in a kind of hymn of worship to the Creator, derived directly from the lauda tradition (three polymetrical sextains). The Chorus left the stage, and the final *sinfonia* was played.

Act I therefore formed a dramatic whole, without leaving the spectator in expectant suspense. However, the logic of the progress of the morality is not the logic of the development of the chosen conflict; it consists rather in reflecting the course of human life conceived as a trial of loyalty to transcendental values. Act II was just such a trial, designed to verify the decision of Act I. The Chorus returned to the stage, repeating the last line of its final part from Act I: "Benedite il Signor...", after which Good Counsel [Consiglio] presented the principle of approaching life as warring "La nostra vita in terra / Altro non è che guerra" (twenty-two seven-syllable lines rhymed in pairs). It was most probably at that moment that Soul and Body reappeared and Pleasure [Piacere] with two Companions ran on to the stage. Pleasure's part, all polyphonic, three-voiced and partly shaped into stanzas (seven-syllable sextains) – was apparently meant to allure with sensual charm: with an increasingly decorative kind of singing and most likely also with dancing (about which see below). Pleasure with the Companions incited to earthly delights. What Pleasure presented as special charms was in close correspondence with the attractions of pastoral Arcadia; it was therefore a warning to the spectator against the lures of this earthly paradise, where in undisturbed weather the birds were warbling, the fishes splashing about and the flowery meadows ringing with laughter. Body began to hesitate but Soul warned: all these joys eventually bring nothing but bitterness. Having failed to get the characters partaking in the action and following him despite his insistence, Pleasure departed. Then Body was seized with doubt: perhaps he was wrong to renounce the attractions of this world; seeing that, Soul addressed questions to Heaven and the echo repeated the last syllables of the eleven-syllable lines. These syllables made up the lemma – reply: "Avoid vain

pleasure, love true God” [Fuggi vano piacer, ama Dio vero]. The Guardian Angel [Angelo Custode] appeared and, addressing the protagonists as “very brave warriors” [fortissimi guerrieri], praised the victory over temptation and foretold a still more bitter fight, in which however he would come to help. The Chorus sang the hardest of the victories, that is, that over the illusions of the senses [il senso lusinghiero]. The choice of words used in the utterances of the righteous characters: Good Counsel, Guardian Angel and the Chorus emphasized the conception of life as warring: the recurring words were *guerra, soldato, armi, battaglia, guerrieri*, and *pugna*.

World [Mondo] and Worldly Life [Vita Mondana] then turned up. According to the *didascalia* they performed in “very opulent garments” [vestiti richissimamente]. World spoke of his power and of the power he granted to those who served him. This may have been an intentional analogy with the evangelical temptation of Christ, to whom Satan offered power over the earth. Body hesitated, and so did Soul, who would have liked to serve both World and God [al Mondo e a Dio], but the Guardian Angel intervened: “you must not serve two masters” [Non si può [...] servir due signori]. Then Worldly Life promised profits and comforts and the Guardian Angel disavowed these prospects. Soul had no doubts any longer: she is eternal and life transient. The Guardian Angel told Body to strip World of his showy garments; squalid rags were hidden under the outer splendour. Next Worldly Life, too, showed her true shape under the gorgeous attire: a deathly skeleton. Heaven opened and the Chorus of Angels appeared. The Guardian Angel called victorious Soul and Body to Heaven, where there are no more wars but rejoicing at being in the presence of God. Struggle and victory were again the main motifs of the Angel’s statement. At the end of Act II the Chorus extolled the passage from transitory earthly afflictions to everlasting jubilation and a *sinfonia* followed. And so this act was again a closed whole.

In Act III the scene was laid in three plans: Body, Soul, Reason and Good Counsel were in the centre of the stage, Heaven opened higher, on the right side, if possible, and the abyss of Hell was disclosed upstage or on the left side, depending on the stage conditions, which, regarding the performance in 1600, we do not know. The scenery was most probably the same in all the acts. The central – earthly – space came into play in Act I, the heavenly space was included towards the end of Act II and the action spread

over all the three spaces in Act III. It was therefore a type of stage representation established as early as the Middle Ages; now, naturally, it had to be artistically transformed.

Like Act II, Act III opened by linking up with the final words of the preceding act [Act II: “Salir al Ciel superno” – Act III: “Salite pur al Cielo”], though it began not with a chorus but with an alternate dialogue of Reason and Good Counsel. Each of their deliveries consisted of one triplet, just as in the dialogue of Soul and Body in Act I. Reason praised the picture of Heaven and Good Counsel depicted the horrors of Hell. The Chorus entered twice in the course of the dialogue (four seven-syllable lines each time). In his eulogy of Heaven Reason mentioned all the things that had previously been used as temptations, i.e., everlasting spring, treasures and distinctions, though all of them differed from the previous ones in being true and not illusory. Hell was represented as a contrast to, and negation of, these benefits. Good Counsel next turned towards the open abyss of Hell [Bocca d’Inferno], inquiring about the mode of existence of the damned. The chorus of Damned Souls [Anime dannate] answered in a five-line stanza, with the words “eternal fire” [il fuoco eterno] repeated many times. Hell closed and Heaven opened at Reason’s call. The Blessed Souls [Anime beate] answered the same question, repeating the words “eternal reigning” [eterno regno]. Reason, Good Counsel, Soul and Body, all together, uttered a warning against the reckless negligence of eternal matters (twelve five-syllable lines). There followed another similar dialogue, first with the Damned Souls and next with the Blessed Souls, after which the four characters from the earthly stage repeated their previous text. Good Counsel and Reason asked the Souls about their lot for the third time. The word “never” [non mai], repeated seven times, prevailed in the four-line answer of the Damned Souls, qualifying their eternal rejection, whereas the Blessed Souls expressed the eternal duration of their bliss by the six-fold repetition of word “always” [sempre]. There followed a short moralistic passage (set of Reason, Good Counsel, Soul and Body) and next laudatory songs for various ensembles were performed to the glory of the Creator until the end of the act. The spectacle may have ended with a ballet (Cavalieri defined the possibility as conditional) danced to the accompaniment of the chorus and the full cast of instruments.

Act III of the *Rappresentazione* was therefore distinctly static and intermediary. Its construction was based on the principle of

contrast. It was linked to the preceding acts in a significant manner only by the common subject: reflection upon the prospects of eternal life and by the introduction of the same – here however passive – characters on to the stage. Despite its stylistically incongruent nature, in the construction of the spectacle it played a distinct role in reinforcing the moral.

It is not our intention – if far no other reasons, because we lack satisfactory comparative materials – to undertake a study of the text of the *Rappresentazione* with regard to its filiation. However it seems obvious that this text was obtained not by the expansion of Manni's definite lauda (which is presented in its entirety in one scene of the play) but by the development of the theme about the transience of earthly things, a theme which, to be sure, did not predominate in the repertory of Philipine oratorios, pietistic rather than moralistic in spirit, although it did appear repeatedly there. This may be exemplified by two extracts from Francesco Soto's collection, strictly concurrent with the text of Cavalieri's spectacle not only in their general content but also in their argumentation:

Frena, frena il desir, che ti trasporta,
Anima, e volgi il piede
A quell'ampia mercede, a quell' oggetto,
In cui si trova sol pace, e diletto.

Ove vai? Chi ti guida, e chi ti sforza
A seguir' ben mortale.
Prendi pur, prendi l'ale del desio
E vola in Ciel per riposarti in Dio.[...]

Col ramo d'un piacer vano ti tira
Il senso astuto e dice:
Qui gioir pur ti lice [...].

I frutti del piacer son tanto acerbi...⁵⁸

Che bene è questo (ohime) ch'il mondo adora
E pur si tosto si dilegua e sgombra? – Ombra [...].

E non tremi pensando al duro fine,
Ch'hanno i piacer mondani al punto estremo? – Tremo.

⁵⁸ Francesco SOTO *Il quarto libro delle laudi...* Roma 1592, f. 101v.

E qual mercede al fin chi serve al mondo,
Fa delle sue fatiche et del suo amore? — More⁵⁹.

To say nothing of the very old tradition of the motif *vanitas vanitatum* and the popularity of Soul and Body as characters of the morality, it was the repertory of laude sung at that time that dictated the substance for the utterances of particular characters of the play. As we have indicated above, the sources of inspiration were both the current ascetic literature (motif of warring) and the controversies concerning fashionable literary trends (pastoral literature). All together, they resulted in the origin of the morality play, which perhaps owing precisely to these numerous currents providing it with material, acquired much vividness and elegance of expression in spite of the hackneyed nature of its motifs.

The classifying of the *Rappresentazione* as a strictly defined musical species has always been a problem for historians of music. In the early musicological literature it was regarded as the work that had started the history of oratorio or as an early form of *melodramma*, competing with the Florentine creators. At present these difficulties of classification have receded and Cavalieri's composition is given its place, and a prestigious one at that, in the history both of opera⁶⁰ and oratorio⁶¹ for the obvious reason that as an effort to apply the language of music to the representation of action, it furnished both these species with valuable experience. It was indeed so, for Cavalieri was the first both to produce a stage performance in a musical form and to give examples of recitative – both of which qualities are at the root of both the musical drama and the oratorio. However the *Rappresentazione* itself is not confined within either of these forms and is without doubt a strikingly interesting historical phenomenon just because of this uniqueness. It is at the same time the end-product of one process and the beginning of another. It can be explained historically as an effect, the effect of theatrical considerations and experiences at the end of the sixteenth century, associated with the attempts, being still

⁵⁹ F. SOTO op. cit., f. 102v.

⁶⁰ For instance: Józef M. CHOMIŃSKI *Formy muzyczne*. Vol. 4. *Opera i dramaty* [Musical Forms vol. 4. Opera and Drama]. Kraków 1976.

⁶¹ H. SMITHER, op. cit.

carried on at that time, to return to ancient music, to find the key to its legendary power of acting on the human psyche.

The *Rappresentazione* also grows from the lauda tradition, not only in its subject, but in its musical tradition, including those popular melodies, often passing into dance tunes, that make the *Rappresentazione* much more accessible to musically uneducated spectators than are contemporaneous Florentine dramas.

The melodic relationship with lauda music has already been discussed exhaustively in the literature⁶², so we shall not return to the details in this matter. It will be enough to indicate, as a striking illustration of these relationships with the lauda, some points which suggest themselves while one is skimming through Francesco Soto's collection *Il quarto libro delle laudi* of 1591, including compositions in triple metre of identical rhythms, as in many choruses in the *Rappresentazione*, dialogical arrangements such as *Dialogo fra l'Angelo e l'Anima* (fols. 41v-42r), the application of the echo effect (lauda *Ecco Spirituale*, fols. 43v-44r), even the echo effect in an eight-voiced polychoral arrangement (*Ecco a 8*, fols. 90v-91r; the same effect in Cavalieri, in No 54 of the score). The listeners of those times were therefore familiar not only with the melodies but also with other musical devices applied in the *Rappresentazione*. On the other hand, recitative designed for solo parts was the main novelty.

IV. THE POSTULATE OF DIVERSITY AND ITS REALIZATION

As the aesthetic principle of a spectacle Cavalieri recognized the Aristotelian *varietas*, diversity, variation, involving all its elements⁶³. And so he recommends the diversity of the characters of the play and their costumes [*apparato*] and (foreshadowing Baroque

⁶² Domenico ALALEONA 'Su Emilio de' Cavalieri "La Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo" e alcune sue composizioni inedite'. *Nuova Musica*. Firenze 1905; the same author's *Studi su la storia dell'oratorio in Italia*. Torino 1908, 2nd edition with the title changed: *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* Milano 1945; R. SCHOLZ and H. SCHOLZ-MICHELITSCH op. cit., pp 67-73; W. KIRKENDALE 'Emilio De' Cavalieri, a Roman Gentleman'... op. cit. ; the same author's *Emilio De' Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano"* op. cit.

⁶³ Cf. The declaration of the same aesthetic principle in A. INGEGNERI op. cit. pp. 78-79.

aesthetics) the diversity even of contrasted emotional states [*azione*]; moreover, he paid most attention to the realization of this postulate in the domain of music, which he saw as the main guarantee of a successful spectacle.

After some solo singing it is a good thing for the chorus to sing; the key ought to be often changed and it is advisable that now the soprano shall sing and now the bass, now the alto and now the tenor, and that the melodies and all the music shall be similar but often varied by [the application of] different proportions, i.e. triple, sextuple, and binary proportions, and by embellishing it with echo and, as much as possible, with various invenzioni and especially with dances⁶⁴.

How does this work in the *Rappresentazione*?

1. *DIFFERENTIATION OF THE PERFORMANCE MEDIA BY ALTERNATING SOLO AND ENSEMBLE SINGING*. This indication concerns both the poet and the composer. In principle, it is up to the poet to lay out the text for the characters and chorus, but the composer can interfere here inasmuch as he can lay out the parts intended for the chorus on an alternating solo-chorus model, notably where the chorus has a sharply defined collective identity. If the choral parts are conceived by the poet as fairly well developed ones, the introduction of a soloist, [*uno del coro*], by the composer adds a further dimension to the alternation of the solo and ensemble model. Cavalieri applies this solution in seven cases, in which the chorus consists of well defined figures: Angels on the Celestial Cloud, Blessed Souls and Damned Souls. The whole *Rappresentazione* had already been treated by the poet in such a way that a conspicuous balance was maintained between the choral and ensemble passages on the one hand and the solo ones on the other (in which an echo of the lauds practice is also deducible). Regarding the numbers of particular utterances (marked with figures in the score), sixty are rendered solo and thirty-one are choral or ensemble passages. The picture becomes still more transparent, if the number of lines of the text falling to appropriate groups is calculated: the

⁶⁴ “Quando si è cantato un poco a solo, è bene far cantar i cori, e variare spesso i tuoni; e che canti ora Soprano, ora Basso, ora Contralto, ora Tenore; et che l'arie, e le musiche non siino simili, ma variate con molte proporzioni, cioè triple, sestuple, e di binario, et adornate di echi, e d'invenzioni più che si può, come in particolare di balli”. E. DE' CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione...*, *A'Lettori*.

many-voiced passages include forty per cent of all the lines of the spectacle. One may therefore speak here about the consistent differentiation of the vocal forces.

The purely instrumental parts introduce an additional differentiating and even contrasting effect in the field of performance forces. Except for the sinfonias at the end of Acts I and II, they are exclusively ritornels, which appear mainly in choral and ensemble parts with a strophic structure in the text; they separate particular stanzas. And so they diversify the otherwise uniform sounding vocal ensembles. Only once, at the end of the performance of Pleasure and his Companions, is the ritornel introduced between the ensemble and the solo part (No 26).

2. *ALTERNATION OF SOLO PARTS.* Judging from the notation of the score, Cavalieri only weakly differentiated the voices of the characters, most of them being high voices. The parts of the Guardian Angel, Earthly Life and the solo part of the Blessed Soul are written with the C_1 clef. Their compass does not go beyond a major ninth, whereas the part of Soul has the ambitus of a tenth, exceeding the range of the remaining soprano parts hardly by a second, and is in one case notated with the C_2 clef (No 84). Only the part of Reason is taken down with the C_3 clef, while the parts of Time and World and the solo parts of Angel (No 54) and Damned Soul have the C_4 clef. The three parts of the set of Pleasure and his Companions are written with the C_3 , C_4 and F_4 clefs; on the other hand, the notation of the parts of Body and Good Counsel is striking. Both these parts are as a rule written with the C_4 clef within the compass of a tenth ($c-e^1$) and so they are easily kept in the range of tenor. However, they also occur in ensembles and there they are written with the F_4 clef, with the part of Body also in the C_3 clef. Their compass is naturally expanded in this way, although practically it does not exceed a thirteenth: Body – $B-f$ and Good Counsel – $G-d^1$. Their compass therefore lies within the range of baritone. The question however arises whether or not Cavalieri designed these two parts for this voice, very popular at that time, as of includes the ranges of both tenor and bass. Such a voice had a somewhat different timbre, in which it would have differed from the other tenors. The actual possibilities of the ensemble that the Oratorio the Chiesa Nuova had at its disposal had also an indisputable influence upon this very choice of performance forces.

3. *VARIATION OF KEYS*. Naturally variation of keys in the classical sense is out of the question because the tonality of the *Rappresentazione* is not as yet precisely established. The elements of an inconsistent major-minor system functioning here are not, in our opinion, an intentional composing effect but a sign of the collapse of the modal system. And so there are passages which are clearly in the Dorian and transposed Dorian modes, Mixolydian phrases and Lydian fourth⁶⁵ side by side with passages which could be interpreted as in G major and G minor and the keys of their corresponding dominants. In some sections the successions of chords suggest the departure to further keys, although it is still hard to speak here about modulations since they are never fixed. It is however characteristic that procedures of this type do not result directly from the application of the principle of *varietas*, but remain in the service of expression in that their task is to emphasize emotions. Chords which represented a *cantus mollis* are introduced especially at moments of horror and so in the parts assigned to the Damned Soul.

A comparison of all the 91 sections of the *Rappresentazione* shows that in the decided majority of cases the chords that begin and conclude these sections are minor or major thirds built on *g* or *d*. And since the chords built on *g* occur much more frequently, it may be assumed that they are built on the first degree, while those based on *d* are built on the fifth degree. Only four sections in the whole of the *Rappresentazione* begin with a chord on the sixth degree: these are the first two statements of the Guardian Angel (Nos. 29 and 34), an extrawordly being, and the next two statements of Soul (Nos. 38 and 40), in which Soul defines herself as an immortal being. And so the arrangement of identical successions of chords at the beginning of each of these four sections as well as their quite exceptional opening on the chord on the sixth degree is an intentional procedure characterizing the relationship between Soul and the Angels.

The tonality also allows the composer to interpret the situation in the drama. For instance, in Scene 1 of Act III (Nos. 55–58) it differentiates the parts of Reason and Good Counsel, in harmony with the differentiation of the real pitch of these two parts. Reason,

⁶⁵ These last are indicated by R. SCHOLZ and H. SCHOLZ-MICHELITSCH op. cit., pp. 87 ff.

and 87. Variant of the first schema is met with in passages Nos. 15 and 84 and in the *sinfonia* after Act II, whereas the characteristic rhythmic phrase $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩}$ appears in passages Nos. 15, 18, 24, 51, 54, 72 and 77, among others. All these solutions are at variance with the accepted principle of *varietas*. However, both the introduction of triple meters and the repetition of the same rhythms are carried out by Cavalieri with an intrinsic justification. Triple meters occur usually with texts of a joyful character, irrespective of the value attributed to this joy. This may be best illustrated by the use of a similar melorhythmic phrase in the part of the Chorus to the words “Benedite il Signor” [Bless the Lord] and in the alluring part of Earthly Life, when she says “Io son [...] bella vaga e vezzosa” [I’m beautiful, graceful and charming]:

Il Coro nr 15, 16



Be - ne - di - te _ il Si - gnor

Il Coro nr 36



Bel - la va - ga _ e vez - zo - sa

Example 1. Emilio De' Cavalieri *Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*. Excerpt from Nos. 15 and 16: [Bless the Lord] and from No 36: [Beautiful, graceful and charming].

Such a use of triple metre with specific words, signifying joy and the good, was well established in Renaissance music.

The repetition of rhythmic schemes is also justified by the role played by the movement element in the performance, the element that Cavalieri emphasized so much when he expected not only particular characters but also the Chorus to gesticulate appropriately. The steady rhythmic scheme, regulating the movement, had a co-ordinating role.

5. *AGOGIC DIFFERENTIATION*. This differentiation results directly, and almost automatically, from the application of different metric indications, different *proportiones*. To be sure, Cavalieri did not treat this subject separately in the preface, yet by bringing metric variation into prominence he also laid emphasis on agogic variation. As can be seen from its notation, the *Rappresentazione* was rather differentiated in this respect, although the absolute tempo for the

execution of the work was left to the performers' own discretion. Only the passages with a change of time marked had the tempo fixed in relation to the initial tempo, for the principle of *proportiones*, derived from mensural notation, was obligatory here. Moreover, agogic differentiation such as resulted from the interpretation of the text by the singer-actor was possible, especially in solo passages.

6. *VARIATION OF INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE ACCOMPANIMENT AND IN THE REALIZATION OF THOROUGH BASS.* This is a recommendation addressed to the performers of the spectacle, for neither in the preface nor in the score does Cavalieri give accurate instructions concerning instruments⁶⁶, though he emphasizes that they are to be changed in accordance with emotions expressed in the text. The only indication, and this characterizes persons rather than emotions, is for definite instruments used by Pleasure and his Companions; these are the chitarrone, small Spanish guitar and Spanish tambourine. In any case, the author does not name the instruments realizing the thorough bass of this very part.

7. *ORNAMENTS.* As regards the ornamentation of the melodic line, the score of the *Rappresentazione* is strikingly poor. This feature is the more significant, because Cavalieri did not leave the singer the usual freedom of initiative in this respect, expressly condemning any improvisation. This attitude was the direct consequence of the supremacy of the word in the performance. The composer himself uses ornamented melodies as a means of musical characterisation, to emphasize the words which express joy and then, no matter whether words are spoken by the figures of the material or the spiritual sphere, as in No 22, in the part of Pleasure and his Companions, where an ornamental phrase is used with the word "piacere", and in No 28 in the part of Soul, with the same word. However, eternal happiness is more suggestively characterized by means of embellished melodies. This is well seen in the part of the Guardian Angel (No 52) and, above all, in the parts of the Blessed Souls, both solo and ensemble (Nos. 71, 76 and 81), or in the final part of Soul (No 89).

⁶⁶ He speaks only of the proper combination of certain instruments, the use of various sets of instruments and the allotment of the highest part to the violin in purely instrumental passages.

In addition to the ornaments written out in full, Cavalieri uses abbreviated notation for four ornaments in the score: *groppolo*, *monachina*, *trillo* and *zimbello*, which he specially expands in the performance directions. This does not mean that he applies them often; he introduces them into the course of an already ornamented phrase to enhance the expression. Far more rarely (four times altogether) he places them on the penultimate syllable as an unobtrusive, purely musical ornament, obligatory in the aesthetics of those times and defined as the grace [*grazia*] of melody.

8. *INVENZIONE*⁶⁷. Cavalieri saw a real “ornament” of the composition in the introduction of several spectacular effects, though these were closely dependent upon musical realization. One such effect was the echo, a very fashionable device in the field of manneristic madrigal and pastoral poetry in those times. This device caught on in theatrical texts to such an extent that over the space of half a century, from Guarini to Puccitelli, we find it constantly and usually at the resolution of crucial situations of the drama at that. And so this *invenzione*, recommended by Cavalieri, corresponded perfectly well to the theatrical system of signs. Naturally, the echo could not be used unrestrainedly; it was usually applied as a prophetic response or instruction of the powers above. In this dramatic function it occurs in Scene 5 of Act II of the *Rappresentazione*. The author introduces echo again in the final chorus of Act II, this time rather as an ingenious, purely musical device; however, here too the echo brings out the words important to the sense of the work: “mortali” [the mortal], “mali” [sufferings], “eterno” [eternal], “superno” [supreme], and the whole line: “e sorte avventurosa de mortali” [it is good fortune of the mortal].

Another *invenzione* which Cavalieri employs in the spectacle is the dance and, (as we have shown above), this both means regular dances and pantomimic arrangements; in other words, those approached in a particularly spectacular manner. Admittedly, he introduced such dances into his pastoral dramas. As regards the performance of the *Rappresentazione*, we can only conjecture in the course of the spectacle that dance-like movements should accompany

⁶⁷ An ambiguous designation very often applied during that period, and difficult to translate; roughly speaking, it means an idea, a new ingenious solution, the art and ornateness of which is astonishing.

the appearance of Pleasure and his Companions, who not only sing their part but also play ritornels. Both the nature of music and the temptatious part of Pleasure, which would undoubtedly be emphasised by dance-like gestures, here support this supposition. The stage situation of this group seems to satisfy the postulate expressed in the preface:

the dance is to be sung by those who dance and, when it is justifiable, let them hold instruments in their hands and play this dance by themselves, which would be a very excellent and uncommon thing...⁶⁸

In fact, both these *invenzioni* concern the course of the action, and in particular ways of diversifying those generally declarative dialogues on which the course of both the pastoral drama and the *dramma allegorico* was based. Cavalieri breaks this monotony mainly by frequent interventions from the Chorus and by introducing a fairly large cast of characters: fourteen of them occur in the spectacle; their parts are sharply defined, often contrasted with each other and permitting an adequately diversified musical interpretation. On the other hand, one cannot attribute fundamental significance to diversity in the microstructure of the work and, although Cavalieri lays stress on diversity as regards keys and metres and treats such procedures as of the highest order, in practice they result from the subordination to particular moments of the spectacle. Applied over short sections, they give rise to an arabesque pattern, monotonous owing to its constant variation in miniature.

V. THE HANDLING OF MELODIC MATERIAL. FORMATION OF RECITATIVE

In the aural reception of the work we are rather struck by the degree of repetition. Whole parts, both solo and ensemble, are repeated and so are particular phrases. A question therefore arises as to the sense and system of these repetitions. Repetition in the field of instrumental parts needs no special justification: it results

⁶⁸ "il ballo vuole dagl'istessi, che ballano, esser cantato, e con buona occasione d'avere stromenti in mano, dagl'istessi anco suonato, che così sarebbe più perfetto e fuori dell'ordinario...". E. DE' CAVALIERI *Rappresentazione...*, *ALettori*.

from the very nature of the instrumental music of those times, notably of dances forms in which the choreo-technical aspects force the recurrence at least of rhythmic or melorhythmic schemes.

There are twenty-three purely instrumental passages in the whole of the *Rappresentazione*, including the ritornels of the final *ballo* and two sinfonias, and eleven of them are repetitions. However, in the remaining twelve passages there are also repetitions of particular sections. And so in Chorus No 2 the first and second ritornels are identical and the third one is an exact repetition of the last bars of the previous Chorus. Each of the ritornels of Chorus No 15 as a rule constitutes the double repetition of a four-bar phrase, extremely popular in the dance music of the 16th century. The *Jan of Lublin organ tablature* (1537–48) alone contains six concordances of this four-bar dance phrase⁶⁹ (see: Example 2).

Pleasure and his Companions played two ritornels closely related in respect of melody and rhythm. One of them is repeated twice, the other three times. The same is true of the ritornels of the last Chorus (No 91): the first performed after the even stanzas of the text and the second after the odd one. They are however identical as regards melody, for the second ritornel is a rhythmic transformation of the first, resulting from its transference to 6/4 metre (see: Example 3).

The mere structure of these ritornels – a regular four-bar structure determined by dance steps – consists in fact only of several repetitions of that initial four-bar phrase, with its melody possibly somewhat transformed variationally in further repetitions. Cavalieri applied a similar procedure of different rhythmizations of a melody in the *ballo* (with the text “O che nuovo miracolo”), which he composed as a passage of the famous Florentine intermedia of 1589.

Both sinfonias, expanded to several score bars (the first – 69, the second 98), are also characterized by numerous repetitions. Without engaging in polemics here on the subject of the very controversial semantic interpretation of the sinfonia after Act I, put

⁶⁹ These phrases are derived from the following compositions from the *Jan of Lublin organ tablature*: untitled composition on f. 111v; *Rex* on f. 132r; *Italica* on f. 213v; the dances with the inscription *Sequentur choreae N. C. 1541* placed immediately above it, on f. 213v; *Italica* on f. 221; *Sluszna jest rzecz* [It is a just thing] on f. 71r and also in the *Tablature of the Holy Ghost Monastery: O królach polskich* [On the Polish kings] on f. 181v.



Example 2. Dance phrases: a) *Rappresentazione* No 15, ritornel; b) *The Tablature of Jan of Lublin*, fol. 111v, bars 9–12 and fol. 213v, bars 17–20; c) as above, fol. 132r *Rex* bars 29–32; d) as above, bars 33–36 and fol. 221v *Italica* bars 31–34.



Example 3. De' Cavalieri *Rappresentazione*, ritornels of the last chorus from No 91.

forward by Scholtz and Michelitsch⁷⁰, we shall only show that this is a multisectional structure with the framework A-B-C-A, where a descending diatonic succession within the compass of a fourth, fifth or sixth appears whole or in part, in its original or modified form in each particle. In each particle A it is twice repeated and exposed in the highest part. The sinfonia following Act II contains

⁷⁰ R. SCHOLTZ and H. SCHOLTZ-MICHELITSCH op. cit., pp. 91, 100.

still more numerous repetitions. Its multisectional structure can be reduced to the scheme of A-B-C-B-C.

In the vocal domain the corresponding handling of musical material naturally has a deeper motivation. There are some repetitions quite visibly related to the action. The most univocal in this respect are Scenes 2–7 of Act III, in which Reason and Good Advice address the Damned Souls and the Blessed Souls three times. And so the same stage acting is repeated three times, although the text, very similar in its content, is different each time. Nonetheless, the composer allocated the same music, subjected to only small variation, to both successive questions and successive replies, respectively. As a result, the music recurs in Nos. 70, 75 and 80 in the part of Reason, in Nos. 68, 73 and 78 in the part of Good Advice and, respectively, in Nos. 69, 74 and 79 and in Nos. 71, 76 and 81 in the parts of the Damned Souls and the Blessed Souls. This repetition as a counterpart, not of definite words, but of the same scenic situation, evidently participates in the building of this situation: it renders the invariability and finality of the modes of existence of both groups.

The architecture of the text suggests another type of repetition. Here belong all the strophic structures, of which there are many in the *Rappresentazione*. These structures do not necessitate repetition arbitrarily. And so only in several cases and only in choral passages did Cavalieri use the repetitions of music with particular stanzas. Neither did he do it here mechanically. As a typical strophic structure he treated only the last *ballo* (No 91), where six stanzas of the text are sung to the same music. The ritornel, which varies in respect of metre after the even and odd stanzas, is a variable element here. In other multisectional choruses or ensembles two stanzas at the most have the same music: e. g. Chorus No 15 with the scheme of A-A-B or Chorus No 18 with the scheme A-B-A-C. In Chorus No 15 the last line of each stanza, playing the role of a refrain: „Benedite il Signor, perch'egli è buono” repeated four times in the text and six times in the score, makes up an important constructional part of the link between Act I and Act II. The composer therefore emphasizes the weight of this sentence for the whole of the *Rappresentazione* by additional repetitions.

Another procedure that makes uniform and unifies the musical layer occurs in Chorus No 18: in the second and fourth stanzas

(B and C) with different music, elements of strophic variation are met with over the strophic bass. To be sure, the basses of these stanzas are not wholly identical, but out of their 17 bars 13 are identical (3–9 and 12–17). This technical detail is the more important because strophic variation over the strophic bass would become a very popular structure in the *dramma per musica* starting from the earliest preserved *drammi* by Peri and Caccini onwards.

Recurrence of certain musical sections is a category of repetition by itself; these sections are repeated unchanged or in the variational technique. The part of Pleasure and his Companions is especially interesting in this respect. The fourfold performance of this group (Nos. 19, 22, 24 and 26) is based in part on repetition and in part on variation, the ornamentation and the ingenuity of polyphony being enhanced, as Pleasure unfolds more and more new temptations.

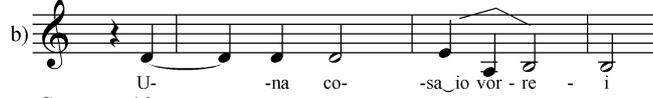
However, the most frequently repeated musical particle is a single recitative phrase of a vocal solo. Here, there is as a rule no limitation to these repetitions. They occur especially often in the part of Reason and not only when he participates in the scene posing three questions about the existence of the Blessed Souls in Heaven. In all the utterances of this character there appear lines either elaborated identically or with small variational changes. The same, though to a smaller degree, can be noted in the part of Good Counsel; in the part of Body two successive utterances are identical (Nos. 6 and 8) and in the part of the Guardian Angel (No 29) the music of the first six lines is repeated exactly in the following six and all the utterances swarm with identical or very similar phrases in respect of melodic lines. The same is true of the part of World. This recitative is characterized, above all, by short-breathed phrases. This is undoubtedly due to the sort of lines applied in the text. The seven-syllable lines prevail, whereas both the longer eleven-syllable lines and, in contrast, the shorter, five-syllable lines appear rarely. Cavalieri unswervingly maintains the indivisibility and distinctness of a poetic unit, such as the line is. Hence, a very clear musical caesura follows each line and this is just what determines the structure of the phrase. Cavalieri's recitative is therefore strikingly sectional, which however is not its "autonomous" property but results from a subordination to the text and its structure. The division of the melodic line into sections is besides emphasized by a specific property of Cavalieri's melodies. Most, for as many as 62 per cent of solo phrases in the

Rappresentazione, are phrases with descending melodies and in more than half of them the actual melodic fall⁷¹ reaches a fourth or fifth, and sporadically a sixth or even seventh. The fall in the remaining phrases is by a third or second. The descending nature of melodies is in addition enhanced by a relatively frequent use of large lower intervals, occurring in more than half of the cases: fourths, fifths, sixths and sevenths in the course of the phrase itself⁷². It should be emphasized that in a short seven- or eleven-note phrase such a leap is very striking and this is just what gives special colouring to Cavalieri's recitative. It is characteristic that the fourth and fifth leaps do not aim at establishing the ruling key, for they are introduced on almost every degree and are not harmonic but purely melodic in nature. Only on some occasions do they form a cadential phrase, most frequently with the progression of degrees I-IV-V or V-I, after which, however, the recitative proceeds. The contrapuntal principle that a large leap should be followed by a step in the opposite direction, especially if the value of the note on to which the leap has been performed is small, is still rather often applied here in the field of melorhythmic formation:

Tempo nr 1

a)  Per - ché del ben' o - prar

Intelletto nr 3

b)  U- -na co- -sa_io vor - re - i

Corpo nr 10

c)  In te dun - que_tì ap - pa - ga

Example 4. As above, a) excerpt from No 1 [For of the good action...]; b) excerpt from No 3 [I would like one thing...]; c) excerpt from No 10 [So be contented with yourself...].

⁷¹ By the actual melodic fall we mean the distance between the first and the last note of a phrase.

⁷² Of the 375 solo phrases in the *Rappresentazione*, 234 are descending, 92 ascending and 49 undulating. In all these phrases there are 98 fourth leaps (68 of them descending), 63 fifth leaps (54 descending), 15 sixth leaps (10 descending) and 13 seventh leaps (all of them descending).

This second, or sometimes third, upwards progression, following a large leap, also colours the melody of Cavalieri's recitative in a very characteristic manner.

Recitative, the essential novelty applied by Cavalieri in the *Rappresentazione*, can be reduced to several typical phrases, and the construction of such a recitative as a whole consists of putting them together and subjecting them to variational transformation. Here we can distinguish five basic types of phrases, which are arranged below from the simplest, completely static in nature, to increasingly well-developed phrases.

The structure of the **first type** of phrase is based exclusively on the reiteration of the same note in various rhythmic patterns, except that – in accordance with the final accent in the poetic line – the values falling to the last two syllables are larger and at the same time mark the caesura between the lines:



Example 5. As above, excerpt from No 29 [Very brave warriors...].

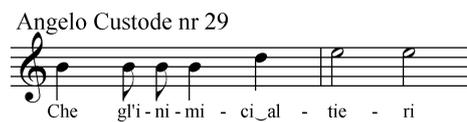
The most frequent variants of this type are

a) a phrase with a step or leap ups or down in its end part:



Example 6. As above, excerpt from No 1 [Get out of the hole...].

and b) a phrase with two steps or leaps ups or down in its end part:



Example 7. As above, excerpt from No 29 [What the proud enemies...].

The essential features of the structure of the **second type** of phrase are:

- a) a double turn in the melodic line, i.e., its motion by steps or leaps down and up or up and down within the range between the fourth and the second syllable from the end,
- b) dotted rhythm on the fourth and third syllables from the end and
- c) larger note values on the last two syllables.

Consequently, a phrase of this type is built of four elements:

- 1) a number of repetitions of the same note (their number depends on the length of the line);
- 2) a leap or step down (sometimes up) on to the antepenultimate syllable; the value of the note corresponding to this syllable is small;
- 3) a leap or step up (sometimes down) on to the penultimate syllable, always accented and with the value of the note falling to it always larger;
- 4) the last note, which in respect of value usually equals the penultimate or is longer (more rarely shorter), may be either its repetition or its upper or lower second:



Example 8. As above, excerpt from No 17 [For fierce foes around...].

The commonest variants of a phrase of this type are:

- a) deviation by the interval of a second or even by leaps in the course of repetitions, usually before that characteristic step or leap down;
- b) sometimes the number of repetitions is larger and so the step (or leap) follows directly by on to the penultimate syllable or, on the contrary, there are fewer repetitions and the leap down falls on to the syllable preceding the antepenultimate; its value is larger then, whereas the antepenultimate note remains always short (but exceptions occur here as well);
- c) two downward steps or leaps may precede the step or leap to the last syllable.

The **third type** of phrase is a transformation and development of the second type. However, as it occurs relatively often and besides has its further variants, its separation seems expedient. The essential characteristic of this type is a threefold turn in the melodic line. Such a phrase is also made up of four elements:

- 1) a number of repetitions of the same note (as previously, the number depends on the length of line);
- 2) a step or leap up or down;
- 3) a step or leap down or up, respectively, followed by
- 4) another step or leap down or up to the last or penultimate syllable.

The dotted rhythm is here generally maintained on the fourth and third syllables from the end:



Example 9. As above, excerpt from No 3 [My unsatiated desire...].

In practice, the foregoing types would become the basic language of the early recitative.

The **fourth type** is a descending phrase, built as a downward diatonic succession, often with the note on the first syllable lower by a step or leap than the following note. The latter note is sometimes a repetition of the former. The last two notes or only the last one are often higher by a second than the antepenultimate or penultimate note. There are numerous melodic and rhythmic variants of this phrase, but they can be reduced to the basic form:



Example 10. As above, excerpt from No 31 [And to come where I am going...].

The **fifth type** includes ascending phrases, which are in an upward diatonic succession. A leap or step down often occurs between the notes on the first and second syllables. A phrase of this type is far less frequent than the descending phrase, while its melodic and rhythmic variants are more considerable:



Example 11. As above, excerpt from No 3 [As a new desire is excited...].

How often the pattern of particular lines recurs will be shown by an example of a descending phrase of the fourth type. This type is represented more than 45 times in the solo parts of all the characters throughout the work. In at least half of its occurrences, the shape of this phrase is almost identical, as can be seen from Example 12a, which presents only several phrases of this type picked out at random, whereas in Example 12b several variants of this phrase are given to show what changes occur in its successive repetitions. These are therefore – particularly if the notes falling to the final syllables of the line have been omitted – chiefly rhythmical variants, in part dictated by the metre of the verse (see: Example 12).

The solo parts of all the characters occurring in the *Rappresentazione* number 375 lines and as many musical phrases. Of these, 242 phrases can be readily counted in one of the types presented above or their variants.

The remaining 133 phrases call for detailed consideration. They are either phrases which can – though with difficulty – be classified in one of the above groups, as variants far advanced in the process of transformation, or phrases so distorted in relation to the standard ones that they are not congruent with any of the patterns in a perceptible manner. And so what factors were decisive of the mode of formation of phrases and their choice?

It is evident that the composer adopted the principle of using more schematic methods for the allegorical characters, whereas Soul and Body, being most susceptible, were treated in a more variable manner. The part of the Guardian Angel (No 29) has the most objectivized melody. Nearly all the phrases of his part belong to the 1st and 2nd groups and no other character of the drama has so many recurring phrases of the first group. This is a consistent solution: the Angel experiences no emotions and passions that pervade the temporal world. Hence, the objectivised pronunciation of words recited on one note, diversified sometimes by that characteristic fifth leap down (see Example 13):

<p>a)</p> <p>Corpo nr 14 Per bre-ve pia-cer mi - o</p> <p>Anima nr 11 Que - tar gli_af - fet - ti mie - i?</p> <p>Anima nr 33 Et anch' io sto pen - san - do</p> <p>Consiglio nr 17 E que - sta vi - ta_an - co - ra</p> <p>Intelletto nr 57 De gli_An - ge - li_e de_i San - ti</p>	<p>b)</p> <p>Vita Mondana nr 36 Quan - do la vi - ta man - ca?</p> <p>Angelo Custode nr 42 Or ven - ga_e veg - ga_il mon - do</p> <p>Mondo nr 31 Con mol - to suo di - let - to</p> <p>Anima nr 38 Che pas - sa_e cade_al fon - do?</p> <p>Il tempo nr 1 Che vo - la_in un mo - men - to</p>
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Example 12. a) excerpts from No 14 [For my short delight...], from No 11 [To satisfy my feelings...], from No 33 [I am also reflecting...], from No 17 [Whereas this life...], from No 57 [The Angels and Saints...]; b) excerpts from No 36 [When life is ebbing...], from No 42 [Let him come now and see the world...], from No 31 [With his great pleasure...], from No 38 [What passes by and goes to the bottom...], from No 1 [What flies away in a while...].

Angelo Custode nr 29



M'ha qui il Si - gnor man - da - to

Example 13. As above, excerpt from No 29 [The Lord has sent me here...].

The fact that the traditional practice of liturgical drama consists of hymnic declamation also exerts an influence on that tendency for the part of the Guardian Angel and also the short part of the Angel in No 54 to be recited on one note.

The very short part of Worldly Life (No 36) is the extreme opposite of the part of the Guardian Angel. In the whole of this part there is not a single typical recitative phrase, i.e. belonging

to one of the first three types; instead, some phrases may be included in the fourth and fifth types and the remaining ones either unfold freer melodies, which however are not exuberant and are maintained in the descending type, or are based on the illustrative guiding principle:



Example 14. As above, excerpt from No 36 [And adorned with gaiety...].

Both words of the text of the phrase, “allegrezza” and “adorni” are represented not only by dotted rhythms, and so dance-like in nature, and a several-note ornament; Cavalieri also weaves a *trillo* into this last figure. It is an evident intention of the composer to illustrate the deceptive charms of earthly life with embellishments which occur either in the form of four ornaments indicated by abbreviations or small coloraturas (as in the example above) or, finally, a contrapuntal-imitative texture (as in the part of Pleasure and his Companions).

The appropriate sphere of action for feelings are the parts of Soul and Body; they are also characterized by the greatest differentiation of phrases: from those expressing the sublime and therefore formed most objectively to phrases representing the earthly sphere, composed more freely and diversely. All the technical procedures, dictated by the intention to render affections, find expression in these latter phrases. Here is an example showing how unconventional, and how impregnated with emotion, this language can be:



Example 15. As above, excerpt from No 45 [Oh, how poor and ugly / the whole world is, / I recognise you well by your clothes, / you will never deceive me again.].

This is the scene in which Body definitively rejects worldly attractions. It consists of four lines of the text and as many musical phrases. To be sure, they might be included in the above categories; nevertheless here their deviations are rather noticeable. The first and the third phrase are variants of the descending type-four phrase, the second is marked by three turns in the melodic line over the space between the initial repetition and the penultimate syllable and so would belong to type third and, finally, the fourth phrase is a distant variant of the fifth type. On this basis, however, Cavalieri creates a structure of great emotional power by amassing various means of expression within this small section. The initial exclamation “o” is an ascending ornament which the more strongly brings out the illustrative descent of the melody to the lowest note at the word “mondo” because it is in addition emphasized by the major ninth ambitus of the whole phrase. Poverty and ugliness in the next phrase are illustrated by fourth leaps; the same discriminating role is played by the fourth and fifth leaps at “conosco ai panni” [I recognize [...] by [...] clothes] and the seventh leap illustrating the word “inganni” [deceive]. The same role is fulfilled by the octave ambitus of the last phrase. As a whole the nature of this musical section is far removed from declamatory recitative. Three times the melodic line comes down to lowest point (*d*) and twice it reaches the highest notes (*c*¹ sharp, *d*¹); over the space of these eight measures there are four fourth leaps, three fifth and one seventh leap, and all that imbues the melodic line with dramatic expression.

The technical devices dictated by the intention to render affections are distinctly outlined in the fact that these phrases deviate from the typical schemes presented above. They can be reduced to three basic types: illustration, rendering of speech intonation and rhetorical figures.

1. Cavalieri handles illustration, sound-painting of Renaissance origin, sparingly. In the whole text of the *Rappresentazione* there are large numbers of words and phrases which were traditionally distinguished either by the shape of melodic line or by other special technical devices. In most cases however Cavalieri gives up distinguishing them this way and applies illustration only in these places which are particularly important to the course of action or to the underlying meaning of the work. For instance, in the final performance of Soul (No 89), where he indicates the way to Heaven

to the listeners, the words “Da terra alz’ alle stelle” [From the earth towards the stars it raises] are set to an unconventional phrase imitating that ascension from the earth to the symbolic stars besides the preceding descending phrase, which illustrates the earth:



Example 16. As above, excerpt from No 89 [From the earth towards the stars it raises...].

In another place, where Soul enlightens on the threat of eternal condemnation, the composer illustrates the words “finir non deve” (which here mean interminable suffering) with the note value of seven crotchets and a quaver, the longest in the whole composition:



Example 17. As above, excerpt from No 25 [But what will oppress is never to end...].

This procedure lies somewhere at the border between illustration and rhetoric.

2. Cavalieri did not pay as much attention to intonation as the later authors of dramatic music would give to it. It seems that in his musical thinking this aspect did not play a major role in the formation of the melodic line. He constructs a number of phrases contrary to the natural intonation; e. g. he leads the melody downward in open interrogative phrases. However, he retains the intonational scheme strictly when the speech intonation is particularly characteristic, as in an apostrophe or exclamation, where the rendering of intonation sometimes coincides with a figure of speech. These are, above all, phrases containing exclamations, like “ahi”, “o”, “lasso”, etc. It is just these phrases that most frequently depart from the basic types and introduce declamation interrupted by rests, *intervalli falsi* or other large leaps, melodies with unquiet lines, and the like.



Example 18. As above, excerpt No 12 [Wretched! What is going to happen to us...].

Intonation begins to play a major role when the action undergoes an acceleration, or when the characters pass from hesitation and inward conflict to action, however limited. Then the phrases depart from the repetitive recitative, introducing larger leaps. The phrase uttered by Body, when he turns to World and demands to be shown his true appearance, exemplifies this:



Example 19. As above, excerpt from No 45 [Throw off these clothes...].

Here the composer makes no attempt to illustrate the word “giù” [downward] for he provides it with the highest sound and constructs the melodic line after the example of the intonation of phrases in the imperative mood.

3. Cavalieri applied rhetoric – a medium that was already deep-rooted in vocal music at the turn of the century – with a moderation equal to that with which he treated the methods discussed above. In the score we come upon a number of common figures of speech, such as *katabasis* (when Soul reproaches Body about binding her to the earth through his whims, No 13) or *mutatio per systema* (when Soul turns down Pleasure’s temptations, No 23) and others⁷³.

Special attention is due however to passages in which the last line of the utterance of a given character contains either the culmination of the mood or a sense of peculiar weight, usually as a recapitulation. Such lines are already singled out by the poet,

⁷³ R. SCHOLZ and H. SCHOLZ-MICHELITSCH discuss this problem in detail in op. cit.

for they are as a rule eleven-syllable lines closing passages composed of seven-syllable lines. The phrases the composer uses here are completely different from the adopted five models. They might even be acknowledged as a sixth type, a “recapitulating” one, strongly emotional and emphatic in nature. These phrases are first of all more expanded (which results, among other things, from the kind of the verse applied); they are usually built of notes of longer values, often of minims, which distinctly marks them off. The rhythms are poorly differentiated, for the most part, with one or two dominating values. These phrases are generally sung in a somewhat higher position than the previous ones and the course of the melodic lines is as a rule free but descending, which, as has been mentioned before, is characteristic of Cavalieri’s language. The particular formation of those phrases, giving them their emphatic character, was evidently intended to arouse exalted emotions, which, as the composer stressed in the preface, was the main guiding principle of the action of the *Rappresentazione* (see: Example 20).

Anima nr 13

a) 
Et a - men - due ri - po - sa - rem - ci_in Di - o

Anima nr 11

b) 
Be - a - ta l'al - ma che ne sa man - ca - re

Anima nr 33

c) 
Fug - gi va - no pia - cer a - ma Dio ve - ro

Example 20. As above, excerpt from a) No 13 [And we shall both rest with God...]; b) No 23 [Blessed the soul that can reject them...] c) No 28 [Avoid vain pleasure, love the true God].

It should be emphasized once again that Cavalieri uses the means of musical characterization sparingly. This is not a musical text composed on the principle of a madrigal, where each section is loaded with meaning. It contains whole recurring passages, semantically neutral inasmuch that only some of the repetitions of

identical phrases or whole musical fragments are justified by an analogous verbal intention. Having worked out a specific singing speech, Cavalieri does not use univocal means of musical expression wherever they could be applied, but only where this is required by the interpretation of the dramatic situation, for in the *Rappresentazione* music was not designed to dominate the performance but to beautify it, to make it play on emotions more effectively. If we may believe the statement of the composer himself, the intended effect of the performance was achieved:

Many prelates among those who come to Florence saw a *rappresentazione in musica* that I had done this carnival at their Oratorio, for which the expenditure was six scudi at the most. They say that they found it much more to their taste, because the music moved them to tears and laughter and pleased them greatly, unlike this music of Florence, which did not move them at all, unless to boredom and irritation⁷⁴

There is no reason – apart from the caustic remarks aimed at the Florentine entertainment – to call in to question the essential froth of this evidence, even if we have some doubts about whether the *Rappresentazione* actually moved the audience to tears. Music furnished the schematic situations of the morality with ingeniously designed clothes, quite new at that time, and impregnated the course of action with emotions. It co-operated as an equiponderant element of the performance, beside the *azione* and *apparato*, and its true role is perceptible only in this context.

⁷⁴ “Molti prelati di queglii venuti a Fiorenza vedero una cosetta che io feci fare questo carnevale, di rapresentazione in musica, al loro oratorio, che si spese da scudi sei al più. Et dicono, che ne ricevono altro gusto, poiché la musica li mosse a pianto et riso; e le diede gran gusto; et che questa musica di Firenze non li mosse se non a tedio et fastidio”. This statement is preserved on a slip of paper enclosed with Cavalieri's letter, probably of 24 Nov. 1600. Cf. W. KIRKENDALE *Emilio De'Cavalieri...* op. cit. p. 373. English translation in C. PALISCA 'Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri' *MQ* XLIX 1963, No 3, p. 352, reprinted in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* Oxford 1994 p. 404.