

Polifoniale

Storia e teoria della coralità - *History and theory of choral music*



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FONDAZIONE GUIDO D'AREZZO

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POLIFONIE

Storia e teoria della Coralità

History and theory of choral music



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GIOVANNI ACCIAI

“EX CONSIDERATIONE TEXTUS ET HARMONIAE OBSERVIREN”: THE RHYTHMIC AND METRIC INTERPRETATION OF XVI AND XVII CENTURY VOCAL MUSIC

PREMISE

Over a century and a half ago, Heinrich Bellermann, the great German musicologist, author of fundamental studies about ancient musical notation, in the preface to his essay *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*,¹ affirmed that “Die genaue Notenkenntniss jener Zeit ist jedenfalls das erste Erforderniss zum Verständniss ihrer Musikwerke, wiewohl nicht das einzige” (The exact knowledge of the notation of an epoch is the first, if not the only thing necessary to understand the musical works it brought us). There is no need to explain that by writing “die genaue Notenkenntniss” Bellermann not only made reference to the mere principle that regulates the transcription of ancient note values into modern ones, but he also implied other and more subtle information contained in the sign. Such was, for instance, the problem of the rhythm and the way to keep it correctly, the *musica ficta*, the counterpoint, the relation between verbal and music meter, between the word’s semantic significance and melody’s figurative adherence destined to represent it and much more. *Stricto sensu*, the German scholar highlighted the great amount of information the graphic symbol – the ancient as well as the modern – enshrines, and that the task of modern performers is to interpret this correctly so that the musical idea they convey could be as persuasive as possible.

Modern performers often consider XV, XVI and XVII century notation to be a minefield. The symbols of these notations seem to be similar to those we usually use in musical practice, but their meaning diverges so

much from our musical notation that it may lead the performer to (often gross) misunderstandings. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that when the original written symbols are translated into another code (in our case, into modern writing) they inevitably lose their original vitality. Indeed, musical notation is not only representative of a system of communication, as others devised by man throughout centuries, but at the same time it embodies a group of implied values that affect both the shape and the content of the musical message delivered.

It is still a widespread belief that the knowledge of ancient musical notation is only a technical matter, which has to be committed to a few professionals who are the only experts able to transliterate an ancient sign into the current one. In this way, each performer, although lacking of any notion about musical palaeography, could translate sheet music into sounds without even understand transcriber’s choices.

In reality, no opinion could be more wrong than this. Musical notation, as with any other means of communication, is nothing but an instrument, in the true sense of the term, and it ought to be considered as such. The graphic fact that, far from being a superstructure, an old-fashioned garment that can be adapted to modern fashion, is a fundamental vehicle to understand all rhythmic, harmonic, dynamic, and agogic features typical of the music they belong.

The essential difference between modern musical notation (the traditional system made up of notes, rests, figures of value, etc., to be clear) and that of the past (in this case that dating back to the Renaissance and proto-baroque) lies in the presence of these implied values. The lack of precise evidence, the loss of the performing tradi-

¹ H. BELLERMANN, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, Georg Reiner, 1858, Vorwort, p. III.

tion, and variations in taste, hindered their understanding far before that of their reproduction nowadays.

It is true that the causes that made Heinrich Bellermann's words no longer worthy of consideration nearly up to the present day, hide behind this contradiction: ancient musical notation has received much consideration so far in the perspective of its historic development. To wit, as the evolution of the sign's progression over time, rather than that of its semantic function as record of a memory, a tradition and an already lost performing habit.

What additional reason could urge medieval and Renaissance composers to avoid transferring into their music any other sign except that of a sound's height and length? Their old-fashioned notation system, semantic poverty, indifference towards the expressive performance of their music? No, of course not. If anything, quite the contrary, considering the solid technical preparation musicians had. It should have been at least pleonastic if not injurious to suggest these performers (many of them were also composers) an interpretative path inseparable from their specific preparation.²

Hence, it is necessary to go into the thoughts of musicians to whom the notation belongs, and become familiar with the performing practices of the period when they lived and worked, if we want to learn how to read the notations they used correctly.

Taking into account that almost the totality

² Perhaps the presence of accurate interpretative captions in a piece of music would entail, *ipso facto*, the solution to its performing problems. On the contrary, in our opinion, it complicates them enormously, especially due to the obvious impossibility to understand them all.

The *communis opinio* that music of the past is, with regard to performance, less difficult than recent music should be firmly rejected. One of Palestrina's motets or Monteverdi's madrigals are no easier to perform than one of Mahler's symphonies or Debussy's preludes. The level of difficulty in performance cannot and should not take into account the technical aspects a piece of music necessary entails. On the contrary, it is to be sought after in the indeterminate field of emotive perceptions that animated the author in the very first moment of creation. *Simili modo*, it is simply absurd to consider performing a Renaissance motet or madrigal regardless *tout court* of the historical and cultural background of the time when these pieces of music were created.

of Renaissance and baroque music repertoire, it does not matter whether sacred or profane, is represented by vocal compositions where the link between music and poetry makes the two arts complementary and mutually indissoluble, the knowledge and mastery of their intimate essence is crucial to the comprehension of the problem.

It is common knowledge that polyphony and monody derive from speech; the musical shape great XVI and XVII-century composers offer to it, is created in order to make this link exclusive and stimulating. Music digs deep into speech, while speech elevates music towards unexplored skies and emphasizes its unobtrusive expressive components.³

The melodic word, to whatever language it

³ How not to mention here the famous words contained in Luzzasco Luzzaschi's dedication to Lucrezia d'Este della Rovere, of the *Sesto libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1596). Through this work, the new expressive needs of the late sixteenth-century music, based on the undisputed power of the poetry of eloquence, the rhetoric in the art of stirring feeling, are described. This book written by the humanist Alessandro Guarini, son of the famous poet Giovanni Battista, represents its true ideological manifesto worth of being quoted almost integrally: "sono [...] la musica e la poesia tanto simili, e di natura congiunte, ben può dirsi, non senza misterio di esse favoleggiando, ch'ambe nascessero a un medesimo parto in Parnaso. [...] Perciò che non solamente ha la musica per suo fine il giuovamento, e l' diletto, lineamenti della sorella naturalissimi, ma la leggiadria, la dolcezza, la gravità, l'acutezza, gli scherzi, e le vivezze che sono quelle spoglie, ond' elle con tanta vaghezza s'adornano, sono portate dall'una e dall'altra con maniere tanto conformi, che bene spesso musico il poeta e poeta il musico ci rassembra. Ma come a nascer fu prima la poesia, così la musica lei (come sua donna) riverisce, ed a lei cede della prima genitura l'onore. Intanto, che quasi ombra di lei divenuta, là di muover il piè non ardisce, dove la sua maggiore non la preceda. Onde ne segue, che se il poeta inalza lo stile, solleva eziandio il musico il tuono. Piagne, se il verso piagne, ride, se ride, se corre, se resta, se priega, se niega, se grida, se tace, se vive, se muore, tutti questi affetti ed effetti, così vivamente da lei vengon espressi, che quella par quasi emulazione, che propriamente rassomiglianza de' dirsi. Quivi veggiamo la musica de' nostri tempi alquanto diversa da quella che fu già ne' passati, perció che dalle passate, le poesie moderne sono altresì diverse. e per tacer di tutte le altre, che non sentono mutazione, se non di materia, come canzoni, sestine, sonetti, ottave, e terze rime, dirò del madrigale, che solo per la musica par trovato, ed il vero dirò, dicendo, ch'egli nell'età nostra ha ricevuto per la sua perfetta forma, tanto dall'antica diversa, che se quei primi rimatori tornassero vivi, a pena potrebbero riconoscerlo, non si mutano si vede per la sua brevità, per l'acutezza, per la nobiltà, e finalmente per la dolcezza, con che l'hanno condito i poeti che oggi fioriscono, il cui lodevole stile i nostri musici rassomigliano nuovi modi, e nuove invenzioni più dell'usate dolci, hanno tentato anch'essi di ritrovare; delle quali hanno formata una nuova maniera, che non solo per la novità sua, ma per l'isquisitezza dell'artificio, potesse piacere, e conseguir l'applauso del mondo".

may belong, has a heartbeat. Syllables and stresses give it breath, the breath of life. In addition, it melts with the feeling enshrined in words to which the eloquence of speaking is not enough to express all their richness: singing is essential. Singing as climax of an extremely complex process of expressive aggregation, as supreme testimony of an intimately mastered *téchne* and a *poiesis*. The knowledge and mastery of the ancient metric thus represents the *condicio sine qua non* to reach a deep knowledge of the rhythm at the base of the musical repertoire of the period taken into account.

The term *metro* (meter) has to be considered as the regular flow of rhythm, its subdivision, its pulse and its organization into “measures”. It is the movement of the rhythmic flow itself that regulates poetic verse.

Phrases and periods that include several measures are not regular necessarily. They are perceived as the resolution of tensions produced when some of the metric units they contain prevail over others. Despite this, the irregularities in the construction of phrases and periods lie on a structure of regular pulses that musicians and theorists of the past indicated with the term *tactus*.⁴ Throughout the XVII and XVIII century, musicians and theorists long debated about meter in terms of *quantitas notarum intrinseca* or “good and bad notes”. These terms define pulse and measure without referring to stress or to any other form of articulation. When “mensural” *tactus* was replaced with the «bar» that could be sometimes slower sometimes faster in relation to the notation symbols that represented it, and the emotional meaning of the sheet music, bar and measure became “notation formulas” as will be seen later. Singers and instrumentalists learnt these formulas as parts of prima-

ry performance techniques and they were the base of articulation and phrasing especially for the correct pronunciation of literary texts. Accent was one means to perceive meter and its interpretation in this sense only became predominant starting from the second half of the XVII century. Not by chance, the moment when “solo singing” started to spread widely as well as music for key and string instruments, in order to look for their articulation.

1. THE CONCEPT OF “MEASURE” IN THE XVII CENTURY

The concept of measure, time signature, bar line gradually changes during the XVI century, especially towards its end.

It is a common knowledge that some modern notation symbols derive from the ancient mensural system.⁵ In the great majori-

⁴ In the early Seventeenth century, the musical figures in use were still those typical of the so-called “white” mensural notation that became popular starting from the half of the XV century. These were as follows: Maxima (Duplex Longa), Longa (Long), Breve (Double whole note), Semibreve (Whole note), Minim (Half note), Semiminim (Crotchet or Quarter note), Fusa (Quaver or Eight note) and Semifusa (Semiquaver or Sixteenth note). Their values varied according to the rules of perfection, imperfection, augmentation, coloration and proportions used in mensural notation starting from the XIII century, and still used in the XVI century, as well as in the first half of the XVII century.

Whereas in modern notation, a figure without a dot always has a binary value, that is to say, it always includes the value of the two figures it divides into; in ancient mensural notation, a figure could both value two or three figures according to the mensural sign placed at the beginning of the piece of music.

The terms *Modus*, *Tempus* and *Prolatio* were used respectively with reference to the figures of Longa-Breve, Breve-Semibreve and Semibreve-Minim.

The ternary relation was called “perfect”; the binary one, “imperfect”.

Under some conditions a perfect figure could become imperfect, that is to say abridged of a third of its value through a process referred to as “imperfection”.

The imperfection could affect the figure both “a parte ante” or “a parte post” to wit before or after it.

In perfect measure, the figures of subdivision (Breve respect to Longa; Semibreve respect to Breve and Minim respect to Semibreve) could double their value in order to obtain perfection (“alteration”).

Black notes or notes submitted to *color* were always imperfect, also in the ternary measure.

The *tempus perfectum* was indicated by a circle and the Breve valued as three Semibreve; the *tempus imperfectum* was indicated by a semicircle and the Breve valued as two Semibreve.

The *prolatio perfecta* occurred in combination with *tempus perfectum* or *imperfectum* and it was indicated by a dot inscribed in

⁴ The word *tactus* appears for the first time in the treatise *De musica* by Adam von FULDA (1490), ch. VII, p. 362, in M.GERBERT, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra*, St. Blasien, 1784, tomos III: “Tactus est continua motio in mensura contenta rationis”.

ty of cases, they were used without knowing their original meaning. The same goes for a notes' name through the passage from the hexachordal to the octave system and for the loss of the original level function by Guidonian syllables, now turned into absolute pitch indicators.

C-clef semicircle and its cut C-clef diminution, for instance, are mensural symbols that in modern notation value respectively 4/4 and 2/2 that is to say, nothing to do with their original mensural value.

Time notations that use numeral fractions such as 3/2 or 9/8 derive from proportion signs transformed in time signs.

The mensural system related all duration values to the hand (also to the foot) "downbeat" and "upbeat" movement. Because of its moderate speed, it was referred to, as already said, as *tactus* or "pulse".⁶

Since in XVI-century polyphonic music Minim was the predominant pulse figure, each Minim was considered as a pulse and was represented by the hand movement in *depositio* (*thesis*) and in *elevatio* (*arsis*). The association of these two movements corresponded to the value of a Semibreve or *tactus* represented by the C-clef sign.

the circle or in the semicircle. In this case, the Semibreve valued as three Minims.

Figures' regular length could be modified through "proportions", that is to say, it could be diminished or augmented by using mathematic ratios.

Proportio dupla, ratio 2:1 was indicated by a bar crossing the signs of *tempus perfectum* or *imperfectum*.

Other proportions' symbols derived from fractions: 3/1, 3/2 and so on. All the signs and rules subtended to them remained in use in sixteenth-century music, though with some difference coming from music practice. For instance, the fact that *proportio dupla* was not only considered as other proportions but it also qualified the *tempus* with the *medium* crossing the semicircle or the circle, affirmed a precise agogic will, not just a simple relation between two opposite values.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth century *proportio tripla* (3/1) and *proportio sesquialtera* (3/2), along with *proportio dupla*, the most used among proportions, were also combined to different mensural signs.

Early seventeenth-century theorists started to operate a distinction between major and minor proportions, between "major sesquialtera" and "minor sesquialtera" according to the value of *tactus*' figure to which they had to be related. Moreover, they provided performers with the indication of the *modus operandi* to execute figures of value in the length of a *tactus*, or the regular time unit measured by the rise and fall of the hand.

⁶ The Italian term for the Latin *tactus* is "Battuta"; the German is "Takt" and the French is "mesure".

Throughout the sixteenth century (especially from the second half of the century) as the use of short-value figures increased more and more in profane polyphonic compositions, the Minim will be divided in two parts so that, it will start to embody the quality of *tactus* and Semiminim, that of a pulse.

In some pieces of music, Semiminim will even become a *tactus* unit while Fusa will become a pulse unit.

Before reaching this level of transformation, *tactus* will still be linked to the value of Semibreve and when the bar line will be introduced in the first scores, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it will be placed at intervals corresponding to the length of a *tactus*. This will create great confusion with regard to terminology that still lingers up to day.

The two movements of the hand, one «on the downbeat», the other «on the upbeat» (*positio* and *levatio*) that represented the *tactus* had the same length in the binary form (*tempus imperfectum*) while in the ternary (*tempus perfectum*) the "downbeat" doubled the "upbeat" (two movements "downwards" and one "upwards").

Tactus could be *aequalis* or *inaequalis*. The former included two pulses, the latter three. C-clef and cut C-clef signs indicated the *tactus aequalis* that could include two, four or eight secondary pulses or, in other words, two Minims or four Semiminims or eight Fusa, respectively.

Since there is no metric distinction between *depositio* and *levatio*, as exists between our modern beat sequences, it was possible to relate the six pulses contained in a *tactus* and a half either to three groups of two Semiminims or to two groups of three Semiminims.

Three *tactus aequalis* under the C-clef sign could be understood as follows: three measures of two Minims each [*tempus imperfectum*]; two measures of three Minims each [*tempus perfectum*]; two measures of two

ternary Minims each [*tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minore*]; six measures of two Semiminims each [*tempus imperfectum diminutum*]; four measures of three Semiminims each [*tempus perfectum diminutum*].

The following chart, proposed by Aldrich,⁷ does not include all the possible combinations but only those that appear more frequently in music sources of the XVI and XVII centuries.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---|
| <i>Tempo maggiore perfetto</i> | \bigcirc | 1 ↓ | 2 ↑ | 3 ↓ | 4 ↑ | 5 ↓ | 6 ↑ | 7 ↓ | 8 ↑ | 9 ↓ | 10 ↑ | 11 ↓ | 12 ↑ | 13 ↓ | 14 ↑ | 15 ↓ | ↑ |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |
| <i>Tempo minore perfetto</i> | ϕ | 1 ↓ | ↑ | 2 ↓ | ↑ | 3 ↓ | ↑ | 4 ↓ | ↑ | 5 ↓ | ↑ | 6 ↓ | ↑ | 7 ↓ | ↑ | 8 ↓ | |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |
| <i>Proportione maggiore</i> | $\phi \frac{3}{2}$ | 1 ↓ | | ↑ | 2 ↓ | | ↑ | 3 ↓ | | ↑ | 4 ↓ | | ↑ | 5 ↓ | | ↑ | |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |
| <i>Sesquialtera maggiore</i> | $\phi \frac{3}{2}$ | 1 ↓ | | ↑ | 2 ↓ | | ↑ | 3 ↓ | | ↑ | 4 ↓ | | ↑ | 5 ↓ | | ↑ | |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |
| | $\phi \frac{3}{2}$ | 1 ↓ | | ↑ | 2 ↓ | | ↑ | 3 ↓ | | ↑ | 4 ↓ | | ↑ | 5 ↓ | | ↑ | |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |
| <i>Emiolia maggiore</i> | ϕ | 1 ↓ | | ↑ | 2 ↓ | | ↑ | 3 ↓ | | ↑ | 4 ↓ | | ↑ | 5 ↓ | | ↑ | |
| | | □ | | ◇ | ◇ | □ | | ◇ | □ | | | | | □ | | | |

⁷ P. ALDRICH, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody*. With an Anthology of Songs and Dances, London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1966, p. 43.

The *tactus inaequalis* contained three pulses. It concerned the *tripla*, *sesquialtera* and *emiolia* proportions and indicated the collocation of three notes of the same value or of an equivalent value in the time length of two or, in some cases, of three notes in the time length of one.

The variety and sometimes the babel of signs described in the writings of that time is the clear testimony of attempts made by composers and theorists to establish precise time relations between *tactus inaequalis* and *tactus aequalis*.

In musical sources from the second half of the XVII century time signatures appear that indicate the presence of compound time signatures: 6/8, 9/8, 12/8 but also others, no longer used today, such as 9/4, 6/16, 9/16, 12/16. It is highly probable that these new signs represented the attempt to devise a new model of metric notation.

Then during the XVII century, *tactus* gradually modifies its temporal inflexibility though it was related to the same figures of value. Performers began to get used to play shorter figures with a faster *tactus* related to the figure of Semiminim, instead of the classical figure of Semibreve or Minim. Moreover, they interpreted mensural and proportion signs no longer according to the rigid beat of *pulsus cordis* but according to a rhythm that was sometimes slower, sometimes faster, more appropriate "to the time of soul's affection not of the hand".⁸

As said, with regard to the binary meter, *tactus* time value is performed with the same "downwards" and "upwards" movement even when *tactus* will start to include two or four pulses per movement.

Proportions with a numerator bigger than denominator ("proportion inequalities") were performed by using a rhythmic pulse faster than those with a smaller numerator. Another peculiarity of mensural notation is

the agreement that notes with a smaller value should be performed faster than notes with a bigger length.

As consequence, time was not only indicated through traditional mathematical signs, but also with the figures' length value.

Generally, pieces of music in 3/2 and cut C-clef relate the pulse to the Minim and have a slower rhythm than those in 3/4 and C-clef where the pulse is on the Semiminim.

The testimonies of XVII-century theorists, which we are going to introduce here, start to relate the pulse to the Semiminim.

The words used to indicate time are useful to compensate the ambiguity of some metric problems. During the early sixteenth century, captions as *tarde*, *velociter*, *adagio* and *presto* needed to underline intermediate time changes due to the diminution of the *tactus* (*semiditas*) or proportion signs.

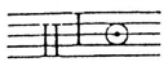
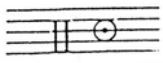
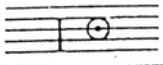
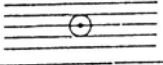
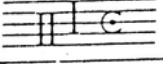
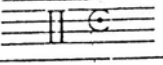
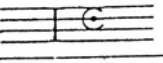
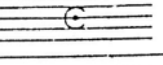
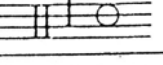
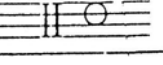
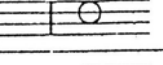
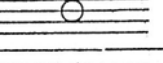
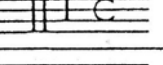
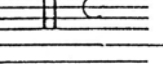
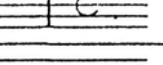
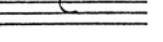
This vocabulary of agogic expressions would become increasingly rich and precise throughout the XVII century.

Italian composers seemed to be the first to use mensural and proportion symbols to indicate time signatures of 3/4, 6/8 and 12/8, as we currently understand them. 3/1 and 3/2 time signatures are still associated with proportions used less frequently than in the past.

Italian musicians and theorists who worked between the end of the XVI century and the whole XVII century would introduce their foreign colleagues to the practice of *tactus*.

⁸ C. MONTEVERDI, *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi [...]*. Libro ottavo, Venice, Alessandro Vincenti, 1638. "Claudio Monteverde a' chi legge".

SUMMARY TABLE OF THE ORDO MENSURALIS

| Signa | modus maior | modus minor | tempus | prolatio |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|  | perfectus 3 | perfectus 3 | perfectum 3 | perfecta 3 |
|  | perfectus 3 | imperfectus 2 | perfectum 3 | perfecta 3 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | perfectus 3 | perfectum 3 | perfecta 3 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | imperfectus 2 | perfectum 3 | perfecta 3 |
|  | perfectus 3 | perfectus 3 | imperfectum 2 | perfecta 3 |
|  | perfectus 3 | imperfectus 2 | imperfectum 2 | perfecta 3 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | perfectus 3 | imperfectum 2 | perfecta 3 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | imperfectus 2 | imperfectum 2 | perfecta 3 |
|  | perfectus 3 | perfectus 3 | perfectum 3 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | perfectus 3 | imperfectus 2 | perfectum 3 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | perfectus 3 | perfectum 3 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | imperfectus 2 | perfectum 3 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | perfectus 3 | perfectus 3 | imperfectum 2 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | perfectus 3 | imperfectus 2 | imperfectum 2 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | perfectus 3 | imperfectum 2 | imperfecta 2 |
|  | imperfectus 2 | imperfectus 2 | imperfectum 2 | imperfecta 2 |

2. NOTE VALUES AND TACTUS

There is no doubt that in the shift from the sixteenth-century mensural notation to the modern system, the most remarkable change was that observed in the relation between note values and *tactus*.

In mensural music, *tactus* regulates “fast” or “slow” musical performance: fast music was written with short values (for instance “chromatic madrigals”) and slow music with longer values or ratios.

The treatise *De arte canendi* (1540) by Sebald Heyden (1499-1561)⁹ has influenced musicians and musicologists of the last century since it established that in the XVI century *tactus* was represented with unchangeable pulses.

Per eam enim temeritatem variorum Tactu-um, omnis ratio & natura Proportionum quam diversa signa inter sese habent, confusa ac omnino deformata est. Quod quidem etiam nunc tanto aegrius ferimus quanto minus opus fuerat plures ac eas diversas Tactu-um species excogitare. Cum enim quam multiplices Tactu-um species ob hoc tantum excogitatas videamus, ut motum cantus subinde mutarent, nunc tardio-rem nunc concitato-rem nunc pro- perantissimum faciendo. Quaeso ergo, quid nam illos novatores, de Proportionibus, Augmentationibus ac Diminutionibus intellexisse credamus? Certum utique est, ex arte ipsa, quod illi per diversas species Tactus praestare voverunt, idem veteres per integritatem aut diminutionem Signorum aut Proportiones, multo & rectius, artificiosius praestitisse.

Through these changes in *tactus*, the relationship and nature of all proportions with their different types of signs has been confused and mistakenly interpreted. In fact, though useful, several types of *tactus* have been invented that still exist nowadays. Because of these diverse kinds of *tactus*, we observe frequent time changes in a composition that make it sometimes slower, faster or even extremely fast. I wonder now, what

⁹ S. HEYDEN, *De arte canendi*, Nuremberg, Johannes Petreium, 1540, ch. A 3r e v. «Epistola nuncupatoria».

DE ARTE

CANENDI, AC VERO

SIGNORVM IN CANTIBVS VSV,

libri duo, autore Sebald

Heyden.

Ab ipso autore recogniti, mutati & aucti.



Isocrates.

ὁ δὲ μὲν τὰς ἐπιπέσεις ὑπομνήσας καὶ τὴν πρῶτὴν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπέκρινεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἡμμετέρον τῆς καθύστερον δόξης εἰς τὸ ὑποκαθίστασθαι καὶ πάλαιότερον αἰὼν τι κερῆν, τὴν μὲν καθὼς ἐχέτω.

Norimbergae apud Ioh. Petreium,
Anno salutis M. D. XL.

Cum privilegio Imp. ad sexannium

have these proportion, augmentation and diminution «novatores» understood about figures? It is true that, through different types of *tactus*, they desire to obtain the same results as past composers had by using, more correctly and artistically, diminution or proportion signs.

Heyden then teaches that immutable *tactus* is essential to mensural notation, though he admits himself that this is not the unique and exclusive practice followed during the sixteenth century.

As written in the *Musice Active Micrologus* by Andreas Ornithoparcus (1490- XVI century), John Dowland translated from Latin to English in 1609,¹⁰ *tactus* was commonly compared to the value of Semibreve and identified with the pulse of the human wrist:

[Tactus] est quida(m) motus manu p(rae)centoris signoru(m) indicio formatus, cantum dirigens mensuraliter.

¹⁰ Andreas Ornithoparcus *his Micrologus, or Introduction: containing the art of singing Digested into foure bookes. Not only profitable, but also necessary for all that are studios of musicke. Also the dimension and perfect vse of the monochord, according to Guido Aretinus.* By Iohn Dowland lutenist, lute-player, and Bachelor of Musicke in both the Vniuersities. London, Thomas Snodham, 1609.



Tactus is a certain movement of the hand performed by the singers' director, according to the nature of the signs of a piece of music and their time notation.

Tactus could be *major*, *minor* and *proportionatus*:

Major [tactus] est mensura, tardo ac motu quasi reciproco facta. Hunc tactum et integru(m) et totalem nominant auctores. Et q(ue)m verus est omnium ca(n)tilenarum tactus: Semibreuem non diminutam suo motu comprehendit: vel breve(m), in duplo diminutam.

Minor est majoris medium, quem Semitactu(m) dicunt. Q(ue)m Semibreuem in duplo diminutam suo motu mensurat, indoc̄tis tantum probatus. Proportionatus est quo tres Semibreves contra unam ut in Tripla, aut contra duas, ut in Sesquialtera proferu(n)tur [...].

Tactus major relates to a measure with a slow beat. Scholars define it as whole or total *tactus*. Since this is the true *tactus*, the one present in every song, it includes a non-diminished Semibreve or a diminished Breve in *proportio dupla*.

Tactus minor is half *tactus major* and is called *Semitactus* since it relates to the Semibreve diminished in *proportio dupla*. Only those who have little knowledge in the art of music perform it.

Tactus proportionatus is when three diminished Semibreves are opposite to one of *tactus [proportio tripla, Ed.]* or to two [*proportio sesquialtera, Ed.*]¹¹

As evidenced in Ornithoparcus' essay, *semitactus* or *tactus* related to Semibreve was not the only one practiced. Nothing prevented it from being related to other figures shorter than the Semibreve, as the *Minim* was.

The speed of performance did not change in the choice between *tactus major* and *tactus minor*, since *tactus major* referred to a figure that was twice the value of *tactus minor*. The choice depended on several factors, many of them linked to performance and the idea of the score the composer wanted to achieve.

Tactus could be *regular* or *irregular*.

According to Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590), *tactus* was regular if it included two pulses only (one in *depositio* and one in *elevatio*); irregular, if included three (two in *depositio* and one in *elevatio*).¹²

Potiamo dire che la Battuta si ritrova di due maniere: eguale & ineguale, ove si riduce ogni movimento che si fa con la voce.

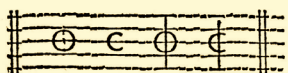
Et questo dico, perché gli antichi Musici & li Poeti anco, i quali erano riputati una cosa istessa; per un certo loro istinto naturale divisero le voci in due parti & attribuirono ad alcune il Tempo breve & ad alcune il tempo lungo; et al tempo lungo applicarono due Tempi brevi & posero nel primo luogo quelle sillabe o voci de Tempo breve che sono di minor quantità; & nel secondo quelle del tempo lungo, che sono di maggiore. [...]

Si deve avvertire che considerarono la Battuta in due parti: & tanto alla prima quanto alla sec-

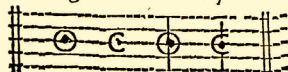
¹¹ A. ORNITHOPARCUS, *Musice Active Micrologus*, Lipsia, Valentini Schumann, 1517, liber secundus, caput tertium: De Tactu, c. f. iijv.

¹² G. ZARLINO, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, Venezia, Francesco de I Franceschi Senese, 1573, third part, ch. 49, p. 244.

così potiamo dire, che la Battuta si ritroua di due maniere; Equale & Inequale; oue si riduce ogni mouimento proportionato, che si fa con la voce. Et questo dico, perche gli antichi Musici & li Poeti anco, i quali già erano riputati vna cosa istessa; per vn certo loro istinto naturale diuisero le Voci in due parti, & attribuirono ad alcune il Tempo breue & ad alcune il Tempo lungo; & al Tempo lungo applicarono due Tempi breui, & posero nel primo luogo quelle Sillabe, ò Voci del Tempo breue, che sono di minor quantità, & nel secondo quelle del Tempo lungo, che sono di maggiore: come è il douere; essendo che si come la Vnità tra i numeri è inanti il Binario, che contiene due Vnità; così il Tempo breue debbe tenere il primo luogo, & il lungo il secondo. Ma si debbe auerire, che considerarono la Battuta in due parti: & tanto alla prima, quanto alla seconda attribuirono la misura del Tempo breue, o lungo; si come li tornaua più commodo. E ben vero che li Moderni applicarono primieramente alla Battuta hora la Breue & hora la Semibreue imperfette; facendole equali al tempo del Polso, distinto in due mouimenti equali; onde cotale Battuta si può veramente chiamare Equale; conciosia che tra la Positione & la Leuatione si ritroua la proportione di Equalità: essendo che tanto alla Positione, quanto alla Leuatione si attribuisce il Tempo lungo, oueramente il breue. Da poi le applicarono hora la Breue con la Semibreue, & hora la Semibreue con la Minima; & la diuisero in due mouimenti inequali, applicando alla Positione il Tempo lungo & alla Leuatione il Tempo breue; ponendole in Dupla proportione. Et perche tra la Positione & la Leuatione casca la proportione di Inequalità: però cotale Battuta si può con verità chiamare Inequale. Hauendo dapoi essi Musici cotale rispetto, quando intendevano la Battuta equale, segnavano le lor Cantilene nel principio col Circolo, o Semicircolo intieri: ouero da vna linea in due parti tagliati. & quando intendevano la



Segni della Battuta equale.



Segni della Battuta inequale.

Inequale, aggiungeuano à cotali segni o cifere il Punto; come in questi esempi si può chiaramente vedere. Et se alle volte voleuano segnare la Battuta inequale: ma non con li segni del Tempo puntati; poneuano dopo il Segno del Tempo la cifra del Ternario sopra quella del Binario in cotale modo; & cotali cifre nominauano della Sesquialtera; & forse non senza ragione:

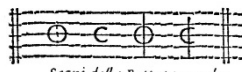
onda attribuirono la misura del Tempo breue o lungo si come li tornaua più comodo.

È ben vero che li Moderni applicarono primieramente alla Battuta hora la Breue & hora la Semibreue imperfette, facendole equali al tempo del polso, distinto in due movimenti equali; onde cotale Battuta si può veramente chiamare Equale; conciosia che tra la Positione & la Leuatione si ritroua la proportione di Equalità, essendo che tanto alla Positione quanto alla Leuatione [...] le applicarono hora la Breue con la Semibreue & hora la Semibreue con la Minima & et la diuisero in due movimenti inequali, applicando alla Positione il Tempo lungo & alla Leuatione il Tempo breue, ponendole in Dupla proportione.

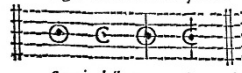
Et perché tra la Positione & la Leuatione casca la proportione di inequalità: però cotale Battuta si può con verità chiamare Inequale.

Havendo dapoi essi Musici cotale rispetto, quando intendevano la Battuta equale, segnavano le lor Cantilene nel principio col Circolo o Semicircolo intieri ouero da una linea in due parti tagliati. & quando intendevano la

Inequale aggiungeuano à cotali segni il Punto, come in questi esempi si può chiaramente vedere:



Segni della Battuta equale.



Segni della Battuta inequale.

In order to avoid serious misunderstandings, it is worth pointing out that there were physiological limits in the choice of *tactus* speed.

If the pulse was so slow it could not easily be held, the *regens chori* or the one who led the execution was forced to subdivide the gesture and, as consequence, to double the bar speed.

If the pulse was too fast, the director was forced to act the other way round: two beats in one, by halving the speed.



In the case where we wanted to create a relation between these indications and the metronomic signatures, we would observe that the pulse becomes too slow around forty beats per second, and too fast around one hundred thirty-five beats.

As a consequence of that *tactus major* perfectly fits at the core of this topic, since the human pulse generally oscillates between sixty and eighty beats per second, while *tactus minor* contains twice that rate.

Nicola Vicentino (1511-1572) offers a remarkable analysis of this in his treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* where, while describing the way to “beat the measure”,¹³ he affirms that

questa misura si usa con tre ordini, il Primo si domanda ordine di batter alla breue, che sotto una battuta sandarà una breue, ò due semibreui, nel tempo minor imperfetto: il Secondo ordine si domanderà batter alla misura della semibreue nel tempo perfetto, che già si soleua cantare tre semibreui per battuta, à imitatione del numero ternario, et per ora non s'usa, se non nella proportione di equalità: il Terzo ordine di batter la misura sarà detto di proportione sesquialtera, quando la compositione sarà signata con il numero sesquialtero, et le semibreui, ò minime, si canteranno due contra tre: et i sopra detti modi saranno qui apparenti

In the XVI century, theorists talked about *tactus* in relation to notation, not as a sepa-

¹³ N. VICENTINO, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, Rome, Antonio Barre, 1555, fourth book, ch. VIII, p. 76.

rate theory and practice. In the following century, some colleagues, such as Agostino Pisa (1611-?) and Pier Francesco Valentini (1570-1654) wrote treatises entirely dedicated to *tactus* theory and practice.

Being a committed conservator, such as Sebald Hayden, to the so-called “original practice” of Palestrina, Agostino Pisa in his *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale*,¹⁴ argues over the idea of “music measure” that was spreading in that period. The same happened some years before when Giovanni Artusi strongly and spitefully railed against the “harshness” and harmonic “licenses” Monteverdi had inserted in some of his madrigals of the *Quarto libro a cinque voci* (Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1603).

It is no wonder that Pier Francesco Valentini, in his *Trattato della battuta musicale*,¹⁵ often disagrees with his colleague and challenges many of theories, starting with *tactus* variability.

In fact, according to Valentini, *tactus* can and has to be maintained:

tal volta adagio, e tal volta presto, e tal volta 'l presto e l'adagio mediocrementemente, secondo richiedono li stile delle compositioni et il sale delle parole;
at times adagio, at times presto, and at times presto and adagio moderately, as the

¹⁴ A. PISA, *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale, opera non solo utile ma necessaria a quelli che desiderano fare profitto nella musica*, Rome, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1611.

¹⁵ P. F. VALENTINI, *Trattato della battuta musicale*, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4417, 1643.

compositions' style and the word's innermost sense require;

Moreover, the theory regarding figures' value to which *tactus* can be related:

oltre la Breve et oltre la Semibreve, si nella eguale come anco nella inegual Battuta, qual si voglia nota musicale, per mezzo delle date proporzioni può essere misurata et abbracciata dal tempo et intervallo di una Battuta. beside Breve and Semibreve, both in the same as in different Measures, whatever the note, it can be measured through given proportions and embraced by Measure time and interval.

In this respect, Valentini talks about "broad measure" to indicate a slow tempo and "quick measure" for a quick tempo, in order to conciliate different variations of pulse.

This diversity of opinions among contemporary theorists confirms the fact that in the period between the XVI and XVII centuries, tradition was still very strong, and mensural notation innovations clashed with the durable habits of music practice still predominant, and the solid current theoretic conceptions not yet rejected.

In contrast with vocal music notation, short-value figures prevail in instrumental music (for lute, organ and harpsichord), whereas the figures of Longa, Breve and Semibreve are less and less used than minims and musical figures with a shorter value such as Fusa (hundred twenty-eighth notes) and Semifusa notes (two hundred fifty-sixth notes).

The *tactus equalis* is still anchored to the Semibreve, but the Semibreve now beats slower than *pulsus cordis* and some theorists do not hesitate to openly talk about four pulses per measure, two in *depositio* and two in *elevatio*.

In this regard, here is what Antonio Brunelli (1577-1630) establishes with his *Regole utilissime per li scolari che desiderano imparare a cantare* (1606):



il Tempo maggiore imperfetto [C] denota che sotto lui la Massima vale otto battute, la Longa quattro, la Breve due, la Semibreve una, la Minima mezza, la Semiminima un quarto, la Croma un ottavo & la Semicroma la sestadecima parte. O vero per più chiarezza diciamo che delle Minime ne vanno due per battuta, delle Semiminime quattro; delle Crome otto & delle Semicrome sedici.

the *imperfect Tempus major* [C] denotes that under his sign Maxima counts for eight measures, Longa for four, Brevis for two, Semibrevis for one, Minim for half, Semiminim for one quarter, Fusa for one-eighth and Semifusa for the sixteenth part. Or, to be clear, we affirm that a measure should include two Minims, four Semiminims, eight Fusa and sixteen Semifusa.

Il *Tempo minore imperfetto* [C sbarrato] si può regolare in due modi, il primo è che si può cantare come *maggiore imperfetto*, il secondo è che si devono cantare tutte le sue note per metà, si come ancora le pause si conteranno per metà & et questo è il suo proprio e se alcuni maestri l'insegnano a cantare come *maggiore imperfetto* lo fanno per levare la difficoltà allo scolare e forse alcuni lo fanno per ignoranza. E che sia la verità si vede in molte compositioni d'alcuni che hanno stampato non essere osservata la



regola di detti Tempi. Perché sanno bene i periti che il Tempo minore tanto imperfetto quanto perfetto si deve comporre sempre di numero impari acciò si possi cantare per metà, come per essemplio se fate cinque Semibreui, mettendone una in terra & una in aria la quinta verrà in terra e terminerà la battuta & se fossero quattro, mettendone una in terra & una in aria la quarta nota finirebbe in aria, però detto Tempo si deve cantare per metà. È ben vero che si può cantare come sopra mandando una Semibreve a battuta, ma questo si fa per levare la difficoltà al cantare, non già che sia suo proprio.¹⁶

The *imperfect Tempus minor* [cut C] can be regulated in two ways, the first is singing it as *imperfect major*, the second is singing all his notes in half of their time, as well as rests that will count for half of their value and if some masters teach it as *imperfect major*. They do it to help students and perhaps some of them do it through ignorance. Moreover, that to be the true is clear in many compositions of some who did not observe the rule of these *Tempi*. Since professionals know very well that either imperfect or perfect minor Tempus always has to include odd numbers so that it could be sung for the half of its length. Furthermore, if you execute five Semibreves, one in downbeat and the other in upbeat, the fifth will fall in downbeat and end the measure, and if there are four, one in downbeat and the other in upbeat, the fourth will end in upbeat, but this Tempus should be sung in half time. It is true that it is possible to sing by ending the measure with a Semibreve but it aims to easy the singing, it is not the ordinary practice.

Though Brunelli did not reveal the reason why singers found it difficult to sing in a minor tempus, by halving the values, it was

clear from his argumentation that minor tempus was sung as major (Semibreve = *tactus*) but with a faster speed, not necessarily twice as much.

Il *Tempo maggiore perfetto* va cantato nel medesimo modo, che il maggiore imperfetto, postposta la differenza che è in alcune pause & alcune note che alle volte sono perfette & altre volte alterate.¹⁷

The perfect Tempus major should be sung in the same way as the imperfect major, beside the difference in some rests and some notes that are sometimes perfect and sometimes altered.

The two mensural signs of tempus perfectum [O and cut O] rarely appear in XVII-century compositions, except when they are followed by proportions' values. Brunelli explains this as follows:

il *Tempo minore perfetto* [O sbarrato] si dovrebbe cantare nel medesimo modo del minore imperfetto cioè per metà e questo è il suo proprio, & anco si può cantare ordinariamente come il Tempo maggiore imperfetto postposto le perfezioni & alterazioni che vi sono quale sono queste. Le battute che toccano due righe e quelle che ne toccano tre

¹⁷ The rules of perfection, imperfection and alteration of figures popular in the sixteenth century are similar to those applied in the XVI century and since the time of Franco of Cologne, the first theorist who wrote about them in his treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (half of the XIII century).

The only difference is that Brunelli relates figures' value to *tactus* and not to mensural signs. These rules can be summarized as follows: a Breve followed by another Breve, a Longa or three Semibreve is perfect and counts for three *tactus* (*similis ante sibi similem, perfectum est*). A Breve followed or preceded by a single Semibreve or by more than three Semibreve is imperfect and only counts for two *tactus*; when two Semibreve are between two Breve, the second Semibreve is altered that is to say it doubles its value and counts for two *tactus*. Breve rests, as well as the Breve figure, are perfect and can create perfection, but it is not possible to turn them into imperfect; Semibreve rests, as well as Semibreve figure, are imperfect and can create imperfection but their alteration is impossible. The dot is useful to establish *alio modo* the clusters of figures that create a perfection.

Brunelli gives the following examples to illustrate what he wrote. The numbers above the figures indicates the number of *tactus*.

¹⁶ A. BRUNELLI, *Regole utilissime per li scolari che desiderano imparare a cantare sopra la pratica della musica*, Firenze, Volemar Timan, 1606, p. 16 sgg.

& ancora le Note seguenti: Massima, Longa, Breve & Semibreve & per maggior brevità tutte le perfezioni & alterazioni, tanto nelle Note quanto nelle Pause & tutti gl'altri accidenti che si trovano in detto Tempo tutti si regolano come nel Tempo maggiore perfetto, s'è già detto di sopra, perché s'osserva la medesima regola [...] ma se si canta per metà, tutte le Note varranno la metà manco tutte le perfette, quanto l'imperfette, come anco le Pause.

The *perfect Tempus minor* [cut O] should be sung in the same way as the imperfect minor or for the half of its value and it is also possible to ordinarily sing it as the imperfect Tempus major beside present perfections and alterations. The bar lines that touch two lines and those that touch three and also the following notes: Maxim, Longa, Breve, Semibreve and for brevity all perfections and alterations, both in Notes and Rests and everything this Tempus includes is regulated as the perfect Tempus major. As mentioned above, it occurs because they follow the same rule [...] but if sung in half of the value, all Notes will count for half of their value, not just the perfect ones but the imperfect as well as the Rests.

The following example, drawn from the *Practica musicae* by Franchino Gaffurio,¹⁸ allows a verification of the effect of *diminutio* on the *integer valor* of the cut O and C signs:

ORIGINAL SPECIMEN

¹⁸ F. GAFFURIO, *Practica musicae*, Milano, Giovanni Pietro Lomazzo, 1496, liber secundus, caput quartumdecimum: "De Diminutione", cc iiiij.

TRANSCRIPTION

It is interesting to observe that Brunelli still inserts Maxim and Longa among the figures that could be perfect, testimony that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, *Modus minor* or *Modus Longarum* and *Modus major* or *Maximodus* with ternary mensuration were considered in theory, though they were already obsolete in practice.

As with his contemporary colleagues, Brunelli makes no direct reference in his treatise to bar lines, though they had started to appear in practice, both in manuscripts and in music prints.

Putnam Aldrich informs us about this procedure when he affirms that "on rare occasions compositions with as many as six or seven parts are scored and therefore barred as in Lorenzo Allegri's *Primo Libro di Musiche*, 1618. Where the composer explains in a note: 'I wanted to present the Symphonies divided by perfect instruments such as the Lute, Organ and in particular the double Harp'".¹⁹

Also Francesco Piovesana Sacilese (XVII century) in his treatise *Misure harmoniche regolate* (1627) openly talks about a four-pulse *tactus*:

la compositione della battuta è de due parti, la prima delle quali è il battere e la seconda l'elevar della mano: di piú, in cadauna di queste parti sono duoi tempi, di modo che in tutto sono quattro: in questi si distribuis-

¹⁹ P. ALDRICH, *op. cit.*, p. 28.



cono in questo modo: cioè nell'istesso tempo dell'abbassat'uno e nel fermar la mano a basso, un altro vien distribuito: nell'elevar poi similmente si applica il terzo e nel fermar la mano in alto, il quarto: il qual modo di distribuir questi tempi è il vero e reale: avvertendo, che detti tempi sono equali nella sua misura, et che però anco tali devono esser misurati co' la mano: aggiungendo, che questo misurare, particolarmente s'appartiene nei Chori à Periti di questa scienza, cioè a Musici, et non à Cantori, come oggi si usa: i quali (parlo de' poco pratici) volendo misurare, et governare la musica, il regimento del cui canto è il batter bene, formano questa misura della battuta una volta gobba et una stropiata:

et non s'accorgono, che per questo molte volte si comettono gli errori nei pubblici Chori, con scemamento della devotione.²⁰ the bar is composed of two parts, the first the downbeat and the second the upbeat: moreover, each part has two beats, for a total of four. These are distributed as follows: at the same time, the first downward movement starts and the hand falls, the other rises, and the same occurs with the third and the fourth beat. This is the true and authentic way to perform them. Since these beats have the same value, but still have to be measured by the hand, it is worth saying that this practice, in choirs, applies to professionals, that is to say, to musicians not to singers as happens nowadays. The latter (I refer to non-professionals) who want to measure and govern music, since the notion of bar is fundamental to singing, perform the bar sometimes partially, sometimes distorting it. They do not realise it, and as a consequence, errors often occur in public choirs, causing a decrease in devotion.

Similar arguments are presented in *Li primi albori musicali* (1694) by Lorenzo Penna (1613-1693), who describes the four parts of *tactus*, adding a colourful "hand waving" in its rise and fall:

ha la Battuta quattro parti, la prima è battere e la seconda è fermare in giù, la terza è alzare e la quarta è fermare in su. Nelle Note nere spiccano benissimo queste quattro parti di Battuta, perché la prima è nel percuotere, la seconda è nel levare un poco ondeggiando la mano, la terza è nell'alzata e la quarta è nel fermare in su.²¹ The bar has four parts, the first is downbeat and the second stops down, the third is upbeat and the fourth stops up. In black notes, these four parts stand out very well, because the first is on the beat, the second in raising the hand a little and waving it, the third is in the rise and the fourth in stopping the raised hand.

(to be continued)

²⁰ F. PIOVESANA, *Misure harmoniche regolate*, Venice, Gardano, 1627, p. 60.

²¹ L. PENNA, *Li primi albori musicali per li principianti della musica figurata*, Boulogne, Giacomo Monti, 1694, p. 36.

PIERO MIOLI

STOOD THE MOURNFUL MOTHER WEeping

Stabat Mater from Jacopone to Caldara, Pergolesi and Rossini

1. *A devotion, the lyric, much music*

Stood the mournful Mother a dramatically sung ancient Christian song, one belonged to the genre of the “sequence” (that was even more ancient, since it derived from the typical melisma of the Gregorian *Hallelujah*). As a “moveable” part of the mass, it appeared in honour of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows on Good Friday or on the third Sunday after Easter, and later passed to the mass of the Sorrowful Mother celebrated on 15 September. However, the chronicle of its origin and developments is even more complex, due to the unreliability of testimonies and often conflicting documents.

According to gospel narration, seven were the sorrows the Mother of Jesus suffered and the fifth, the most terrible one, was the one she felt standing at the feet of the Cross, before her Son’s death. The devotion to the Sorrowful Mother started towards the end of the year 1000, but according to tradition, it should be on 15 August 1233. On that day, in Florence, seven young nobles belonging to the Arte di Calimala circle, who played an active part in the Laudesi Company (responsorial singers of Laude) were gathered before an image of the Virgin Mary in a local street, when they saw her move, come to life and dress in mourning. They immediately ascribed the miracle to the new sorrow the Virgin Mary felt because of the fratricidal struggles that steeped the city with blood, and soon after they set up the Congregation of the Sorrowful Mother, later called Servants of Mary or of the Servite Order. Thus, the specific Marian devotion grew further until Jacopone da Todi, the passionate and bold Franciscan friar born in around 1236, wrote a lyric, the *Stabat Mater*, to sing as sequence during the Holy Week, the

tragic Friday when Christ died. He wrote it between 1303, the year when his enemy Pope Boniface VIII, who excommunicated him, died and 1306, the year of his death. Century after century, other congregations arose and worked around the worship of the Virgin, and on 9 June 1668 the Sacred Congregation of Rites allowed the Servite Order to celebrate the Seven Sorrows votive mass on 15 September. The centrality of the Servants of Mary is thus patent in *Stabat Mater* history: from Italy to the entire world, and of course with the participation, in 2013 as in 1842, of the town of Bologna (perhaps from the foundation of the church of Santa Maria dei Servi, in 1346, forty years after Jacopone’s death).

The Latin lyric, actually attributed only to Jacopone (bar some less well known alternatives) is composed of twenty stanzas of two trochaic tetrameter in rhyme, and one catalectic trochaic tetrameter each: in the *AAb* rhyme each Latin stanza counts as an Italian stanza of two verses, one octonary and the senarius. From a musical point of view, the poetic lyric had a different intonation, one that dated back to the thirteenth century, in order to become a sequence to sing during the mass: as monodic and anonymous as every Christian song, the music flows on ten melodies, one for each couplet belonging to the second mode. This mode, also called hypodorian, stretches from low A upwards (until F, according to the hexachord) and as far as the melody is concerned, it ends on D as dorian mode, the former, on which it depends (the same is said about the plagal cadence, though only different in part).

Reached by the more majestic polyphony of Josquin, Palestrina, Lasso and others, the

Stabat Mater sequence started to sound unfamiliar to the authentic Gregorian chant, as nearly all other sequences, and thus the Trent Council (1563) decided to cancel it; however its beauty and popularity were so great that it was reintroduced in 1727. Then, it had the free modern, vocal and instrumental intonations of Scarlatti (Domenico), Pergolesi, Caldara, Traetta, followed by Haydn, Boccherini, Salieri, and then Rossini, and onto Schubert, Verdi, Dvořák, Perosi, Szymanovsky, Poulenc, Penderecki, and Pärt, often but not always written in Latin (in XXI century seven intonations exist). Among a variety of translations and paraphrases, Torquato Tasso's version affirms "Stava appresso la Croce/la Madre lagrimosa" (*lit.* "Stood next to the Cross/the tearful Mother") (*Rime*, 1704).

Eighteenth-century sacred music, at least that widely and quantitatively understood, boasts several pieces of music and authors, and for its greater fortune it also boasts two supreme masters, are Händel in UK and Bach in Germany. However, as the great city of Vienna, that exalts Mozart's *Requiem*, trembles at their presence, as well as generous Italy that cannot help drumming on Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. Truly speaking, Austria also knew the vigorous masses by Fux and Haydn and Venice, Bologna and Rome, just to give three examples, knew the works by Galuppi, Martini and Pitoni. Indeed Naples, queen of the opera, was also the queen of the mass, the motet, the litany, the sequence: Pergolesi's intonation of *Stabat Mater* is one of those that reappeared first after the Trent eclipse, and is probably the most beautiful among many. Should it fear rivalry with regard to its beauty, this was with Rossini of course, who created his version between 1830 and 1842 and performed it first in Paris, in 1842, and then in Bologna.

In the autumn of 1735, the young Giambattista Pergolesi (Jesi 1710 – Pozzuoli 1736) performed the *Flaminio*, a real comedy full

of *humour* and sentiment, at Teatro Nuovo of Naples. He had already performed a drama at S. Bartolomeo theatre in 1733, *Il prigionier superbo*, whose rhythm was marked by two dynamic intermezzos of the *Serva padrona* in the intervals. Tired and increasingly sick (he suffered from consumption) he took shelter at the Capuchin Monastery of Pozzuoli, to work less, be quiet, rest, and try to treat his disease properly. Unfortunately, he received a new commission from the Archconfraternity of the Knights of S. Luigi di Palazzo, which "under the title of the Virgin of Sorrows" used to celebrate the specific feast with the *Stabat Mater* by Alessandro Scarlatti. In short, following a practice that still ignored the repertoire, they needed another intonation (after nearly twenty years, the appreciated composition of the Neapolitan school's first master could even end his performance: o tempora!).¹

Doomed to die on 16 March 1736, Pergolesi barely managed to finish his work, the manuscript of which is dated 17 March. As with its author, who was of course talented but so unlucky in life that he only truly became fortunate after his death, the work received immediate, broad and enduring appreciation, from the very first performance at the confraternity to its several rewritings (read predictable modernizations) by Paisiello, Salieri, Hiller, and even a parody by Bach.

Bach used its musical ensemble to compose a German motet with other words (and with minor but numerous variants) in the years 1745-47 in Leipzig. He created it quite soon indeed, and his writing showed the masterpiece nature and diffusion at its best.

2. *The divine Pergolesi*

Born in the region of The Marches, but educated in Naples, author of sonatas and cantatas, skilled and successful opera composer from *Lo frate 'nnamorato*, a comedy

¹ "O tempora o mores!" is a sentence by Cicero now used as an exclamation to criticize present-day attitudes and trends.

in Neapolitan to the *Olimpiade*, a drama in Italian, Pergolesi ordered the twenty stanzas of the venerable lyric in twelve parts (adding a final *Amen*) to be used as arias or duets. Efficient as well as author of sacred music, though always respectful of commission's dictates, with a view to a performance neither public nor spectacular but private and nearly for chamber music, the master excluded the choir and wind instruments and only wrote for voices and bowed string instruments with figured bass. According to a plausible hypothesis, there were two soloists, and neither ordinary tenors or basses, the female sopranos or contraltos, the former well accepted and the latter forbidden, at least in theory, by the church. The right solution consisted of a male soprano and contralto to wit, two musicians or castratos, one clear, the other dark. As far as the bowed instruments are concerned, their typical quartet extended from violins to bass violins is excellent though never without the bass. Should the church be the setting, the organ is an option (or rather a cymbal, for less formal occasions) perhaps with the accompaniment of a cello, and even a bassoon and a theorbo (and less probably a trombone). Here is the order:

1. "Stabat Mater", soprano and contralto;
2. "Cuius animam", soprano;
3. "O quam tristis", soprano and contralto;
4. "Quae moerebat", contralto;
5. "Quis est homo", soprano and contralto;
6. "Vidit suum dulcem Natum", soprano;
7. "Eja Mater", contralto;
8. "Fac ut ardeat", soprano and contralto;
9. "Sancta Mater", soprano and contralto;
10. "Fac ut portem", contralto;
11. "Inflammatum et accensus", soprano and contralto;
12. "Quando corpus morietur", soprano and contralto;
13. "Amen", soprano and contralto.

Despite the equal presence of monodies or

arias in the first half, and the prevalence of duets or *bicinia* in the second, the score is remarkably homogeneous. In an always simple and clear writing, likely to be pre-classic, the minor mode is constant, from F that starts and ends also reaching the sixth number, to G appearing three times, and C that also appears three times, but rises once to the corresponding major. Slow tempos highly outnumber fast ones, always performed between Andante and Largo; the eleventh number is rather agile and is one of the few upbeated to major mode (a unique B flat). In this major mode, there are three cases of E flat, one of them modulated by the relative minor (the fifth number). Often moderate, the singing also opens to embellishments and melismas, preferring trills (frequently repeated) and vocalizing (especially on the final *Amen*). Homorhythm is frequent between the two vocal parts, often distant from a third, though not to the detriment of certain efficient canonic movements. The formal arrangement is peculiar: except the fifth, the first eight numbers are all musically bipartite on scores that repeat themselves exactly. On the contrary, the numbers 5, 10 and 11 are completely bipartite, which is to say, they are composed of two different parts both poetry and music; only one section characterizes numbers 12 and 13, almost inevitable since it is a unique stanza in the first case and a unique word in the second. Section number 9 is also unique, although it even includes five stanzas and appears as the longest, most free and varied among others.

Is this work of divine Pergolesi sacred music? Yes, absolutely. Just where the highest inspiration wraps the word with intensively dramatic music but also where the voice moves according to that late-baroque abstraction that is also a part of operatic, profane or devotional music, whatever it may be; and, as sacred music, then, would excellently figure during the liturgy. However, if *La serva padrona*, a score created as a cou-

ple of opera seria intermezzos, has become a small separate opera, a true and fortunate small comedy, the *Stabat Mater* can also appear as a blessed concert music. In this case, it also exalts better its profound, distinctive vagueness and deep expressiveness.

3. *The fruitful Caldara*

Some months after Pergolesi's death, Caldara also died; of course, the two representatives of Italian late Baroque were not peers, since Giambattista died at age 26 and Antonio at age 66. After short working periods in several Italian and foreign cities, in 1716 Antonio Caldara (Venice 1670-Vienna 1736) dwelled in Vienna, and worked there for the following twenty years as imperial vice-conductor under Fux, Emperor Charles VI's protégé.

As opera composer, he first set to music different texts such as those of Zeno or Metastasio, regularly staging Metastasio's operas for the Emperor or the Empress' birthdays or name days. Despite his Venetian education, he also absorbed the Neapolitan vocal system and the instrumental tradition of Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna. He published a number of collections of masses, motets, cantatas, sonatas, but wrote even more, leaving about 3,400 works. Apart from love and celebrative cantatas, he composed 42 oratorios and 78 melodramas, ever improving his relevance in instrumental and counterpoint technique on the base of traditional melody and vocalization. He first set to music the operas *Demetrius*, *Hadrian in Syria*, *Olympiade*, *Demofonte*, *The Clemency of Titus*, *The Chinese Women*, *Achilles on Skyros* (in 1736, for the wedding of the Archduchess Maria Theresa of Hapsburg, Emperor Charles's daughter, with Francis I of Lorraine) and Metastasio's *Themistocles*. Among all these great works by Metastasio, as music poet he also embraced the ancient Jacopone da Todi, who at that time was nothing but a name (neither certain as author of the sequence) though it stood up on

the first page of a very popular text (perhaps due to the papal readmission). Much shorter than Pergolesi's version, and for this reason rather compact, Caldara's *Stabat Mater* draws a certain unit from the frequency of the ternary rhythm, the constancy of the Tempo Lento (Largo, Adagio, Andante). Its tone is less sharp and more soft, typical of the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century (that is to say, not too sensitive to Rameau's "naturalness" or Bach's norm), played around G minor. The division of text in often very short sections is possible thank to the fast change of the performers, while the rhythms are unitary and lower in number (those indicated in n° 1,9,11 and 14 continue in the following numbers; only n° 8 is separate):

1. "Stabat Mater", Adagio, chorus;
2. "Cuius animam", soprano, contralto, tenor, bass;
3. "Quis est homo", soprano;
4. "Vidit suum dulce Natum", contralto;
5. "Eja Mater", tenor and bass»;
6. "Fac ut ardeat", soprano and contralto;
7. "Sancta Mater", chorus;
8. "Tui Nati vulnerati", Largo, tenor;
9. "Fac me tecum pie flere", Andante, chorus;
10. "Juxta Crucem", soprano, contralto and bass;
11. "Virgo virginum", Largo-Adagio, chorus;
12. "Fac ut portem", contralto;
13. "Flammis ne urar", soprano and bass;
14. "Christe, cum sit hinc exire", Adagio, chorus;
15. "Quando corpus morietur – Amen", Adagio-Andante, chorus.

The text novelty of the penultimate verse is evident, since, entirely, it sounds as follows: "Christe, cum sit hinc exire, / Da per Matrem venire / Ad palmam victoriae" (*Lit.* "Christ, when it comes [the time] to exit from here, let me achieve the palm of victory through the Virgin Mother"). Here is another textual

variant: “fac me Cruce inebriari” becomes “et cruore inebriari” and “Inflammatum et accensum” becomes “flammis ne urar accensum”.

In Caldara, brevity does not mean simplicity, nor of course oversimplification: there are four soloists and the chorus intervenes repeatedly, inter alia to open and close. Besides the strings, the instruments employed also include trombones, leaving the bass to the keyboard, to the cello, of course and freely to the bassoon. Vocal writing is a core element, often syllabic, even if inclined to the style of melisma with regard to contralto (for instance, on the word “cruore”, the ever flowing blood). The initial imitation is perfect, passing the two key words from soprano to four-voice bass in the time of four measures; the examples of perfect chord are multiple, especially at the level of those “tutti” that almost appear to be the refrains of a *concerto grosso* (until the final *Amen*). The way the singing shapes the word is actually sensitive: “o quam tristis et afflicta” is a verse that starts with an augmented octave and ends with a diminished octave, though inside this interval falls with semitones in order to express accurately the sadness and the sorrow. Nor among several examples, it can help standing out just at the beginning, where the stillness of the Mother next to the Cross is depicted with a quick descending rhythm, as if the eye fell on the Mother from above the Cross, and intervals are unfortunately less or even painfully diminished.

4. *Gioachino towards the sacred*

Rossini has never set a *Requiem* to music, hence he never obliged himself to sing “Tremens factus sum ego, et timeo”, but many times, in his long life, he felt those sensations, and lived those emotions. The author of the funniest and most extravagant music one could ever imagine, from the concertato of the *Italian Girl in Algiers* to the rhymes of opera buffa characters such as

don Magnifico and don Profondo, he was a controversial artist, an anxious and desperate man, a figure pitifully suited his world and its aesthetic. Born in Pesaro in 1792, he died in 1869 in Paris, and was active in theatre only from 1810 to 1829, author of some forty operas both comic and serious, as well as semi-serious among the most proficient and durable in the history of this genre. Still popular today, and extraordinary popular at that time, apart from his most important opera, Rossini also tested himself with church and chamber music. If the late *Péchés de vieillesse* are whimsical music for voice or voice and piano, whose titles say it all about certain brilliant bourgeois trend but also about his human and creative *decadence*, the major sacred, mature, late music, or however successive to his theatrical triumphs, reveals as well a troubled and often tormented soul. A personality piercingly split between old and new, in a nutshell, an insecure, nervous, usually even contradictory man.

When he was well into his seventies (unexpectedly also for him) he started work on the *Petite messe solennelle* (another strange title, with a nice oxymoron between the two adjectives), composed for soloists, chorus, two pianos, a harmonium and demanded for a private performance, a chamber one, in the house of a Parisian noblewoman before few guests. It was 1864 and he did not hesitate to forbid other executions but when, some years later, feeling death approaching and afraid that, sooner or later, some “modern” colleague would arrange it for great romantic orchestra, perhaps in Berlioz style, he arranged his beautiful obsolete mass (one of the twenty rich and varied masses on the catalogue) himself. He did it in the old-fashioned way, and however, he forbade even one unique execution (after his death, on 13 November, the opera finally appeared on the following 24 February, posthumously, and received immediate appreciation).

Once he gave up the stage after the *William Tell* in 1829 (though without too much conviction), Rossini, barely forty, accepted to set a *Stabat Mater* to music, but between a first (though partial) and a second version he waited about ten years. Was it down to lumbago? Did he have other personal, marital or economic problems? Other operative and organizational commitments? Not at all. Rossini managed to work again on his forgotten opera sooner after he had accepted the onerous direction of the Bologna Philharmonic high school. Was he actually a director? Never. He was only a “perpetual advisor”, one more play on words by the one who arranged onomatopoeias as “in my head a bell is ringing with a maddening din din” and then tac tac, cra cra, boom boom (as in cited in the finale of the *Italian Girl in Algiers*). Nevertheless, here is the prehistory of *Stabat Mater* (according to tradition, the title is meant to be masculine, as every “piece” of music, though sometimes it is read as feminine, giving for granted its affinity to the genre of the sequence, as you will see).

The rather long genetic chronicle of the score confirms it all (when the specific bibliography, quite brief today, will be long as well, all the vicissitudes will be easier to understand). In 1831, Rossini followed his friend Jorge de Aguado, banker and Marquess of las Marismas, to Spain and in Madrid, where his operas had been popular since at least 1816, receiving a triumphal welcome (as elsewhere, indeed). Apart from being highly praised, he also had a concrete offer: Don Manuel Fernández Varela asked him to arrange the ancient text of *Stabat Mater*. Gioachino knew it, especially the Pergolesi version (that Paisiello had updated since 1810 for the feast of the Mother of Sorrows in Naples cathedral) since he worked on it in 1736 (shortly before he died at the age of 26), and of course, he remembered wondering about who would be fool enough to arrange it again, thus standing the ardu-

ous comparison. However, the Archdeacon of Madrid insisted and he, besides being a very good man incapable of saying no, was perhaps a little crazy as well. Eventually he accepted, on condition that only the client had access to the work, he returned to Paris, worked hard and felt pleased of the generous idea to prefer this Mother and this Son to any other noblewoman or heroic knight typical of melodrama (of course he remembered his beloved mother, Anna Guidarini, who died four years before). He arranged some pieces of Jacopone da Todi’s venerable sequence (probably numbers 1 and 5-9 out of the total ten) then he felt tired and left his sleeves rolling down to his hands, which were already immobile and useless. However, Madrid was impatient so the master, gathering his courage, resorted to the practice of “pastiche”, more or less as old as the genre of the opera: another composer would arrange the remaining parts, for example, his friend of a similar age, and fellow disciple Giovanni Tadolini set to work eagerly with decently results.

So he did, to Varela’s partial satisfaction (first in Madrid, in the Chapel of S. Felipe el Real on Good Friday 1833) and with an inevitable artistic gap, though less evident stylistic difference. This situation went on for several years. For Rossini, these were marked by the *Soirées musicales*, his stable return to Bologna (where he studied and lived many years), the divorce from his wife Isabella Colbran, his father’s death and the news that, after Varela’s death, his noble heirs sold the *Stabat Mater* to someone who had an even more noble intention to transform the manuscript in a tempting music printing. Hence, in 1839, just after accepting the office at the Bologna high school, and feeling his health getting worse, he wanted to roll up those blessed sleeves and compose the remaining music, substituted it for Tadolini’s, and while Troupenas was publishing it, he required the entire score to be performed in public in 1842.

The performance took place in Paris at the Théâtre Italien on 7 January, in Bologna at the Archiginnasio on 21 March (one of the two previous Italian performances, in Milan, had no female chorus and the other, in Florence, was private), in Vienna on 3 May. At the age of 50, Rossini completed the first of his major sacred works that often excellent singers performed: Giulia Grisi, Emma Howson, Giovanni Matteo de Candia, known as Mario, and Antonio Tamburini (the first and the fourth voice already committed to Bellini's *Puritani* and both, with the third, near to performing Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*) in Paris. Clara Novello, Clementina degli Antoni, Nicola Ivanov, Pompeo Belgioioso in Bologna. The Archiginnasio choir also featured Carlo Zucchelli, the famous singing bass, one of the best interpreters of *The Barber of Seville* and Marietta Alboni, sixteen-year old contralto with a bright Rossinian future. Over ten years had passed since his last theatrical work, apart from isolated fragments, but before that formidable composer started to write again, at least another fifteen years should pass. Meanwhile, the path of Italian music move forward: in Bologna the *Stabat Mater* was conducted by Donizetti, who in Milan had just attended a much appreciate *Nabucco* by a certain Giuseppe Verdi, at the Scala theatre. When Rossini died, on the above-mentioned 13 November 1868, Verdi himself promoted a great Requiem in his memory. It actually should appear as a collaboration between several authors, a sort of "pastiche", and though being composed it never saw the light in those years (later Verdi, fed up, held his part and included it in his Manzonian *Requiem*) and had to wait over a century, until 1988 (in Stuttgart and Parma). The town of Bologna wanted to compose another *Requiem Mass* in Rossini's memory thanks to its Philharmonic Academy, and managed to do it in a very short time: on 9 December 1868, less than a month after his death, the church of S. Giovanni in Monte celebrated its most il-

lustrious fellow (as he had been since 1806) in music.

5. *An overview of Rossini's work*

Some influential propaedeutic remarks: "Premendo a fondo l'acceleratore, aggiungeremmo non conoscere altro lavoro rossiniano del pari invasivo di una tale ansia incontenibile di comunicazione espressiva, riversata in un'invenzione corrusca e compatta come lava vulcanica. [...] Mai come in questa pagina [*Quando corpus morietur*], che suona come vivo brandello palpitante strappato dai precordii del suo artefice, ci è forse dato di attingere all'enigma profondo della sua creatività" (Carli Ballola).² Did Wagner such profane censures sacred music? Heine defended it with the usual irony against real and third-rate critics. Nor did Verdi have any doubts about *Stabat Mater* and *Petite messe solennelle*: "io [...] credo nel valor musicale di quei due componimenti, e specialmente nei pezzi a voci sole nella cui distribuzione e collocazione Rossini è tanto grande da superare forse perfino gli Italiani antichi".³

Created for two sopranos (first and second, the latter surely equivalent to mezzo-soprano, and of course also contralto), tenor, bass, 4 mixed-voice chorus and orchestra (2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones, timpani and strings), the Rossini *Stabat Mater* develops in ten numbers as follows:

1. Introduction, *Stabat Mater dolorosa* (chorus, tenor and orch.);
2. Aria, *Cuius animam gementem* (tenor and orch.);

² Lit. "Flooring the accelerator, we should add that we do not know another Rossinian work so overwhelmed with uncontrollable anxiety of expressive communication, poured over an invention as blazing and compact as volcanic lava. [...] nowhere as in this page [*quando corpus morietur*], that sounds as lively, palpitating shreds torn from its creator's chest, we are allowed to draw from the profound enigma of his creativity" (Carli Ballola).

³ Lit. "I [...] believe in the musical value of those two compositions and especially in the parts for solo voices, whose distribution and collocation Rossini is so good at that perhaps he even outdoes ancient Italian writers".

3. Duet, *Quis est homo, qui non fletet* (soprano I and II and orch.);
4. Aria, *Pro peccatis suae gentis* (bass and orch.);
5. Chorus and recitative, *Eja Mater fons amoris* (a cappella chorus and bass);
6. Quartet, *Sancta Mater, istud agas* (soprano I and II, tenor, bass and orch);
7. Cavatina, *Fa cut portem Christi mortem* (soprano II and orch);
8. Aria and chorus, *Inflammatum and accensum* (soprano I, chorus and orch.);
9. Quartet, *Quando corpus morietur* (soprano I and II, a cappella tenor and bass);
10. Final, *In sempiterna saecula. Amen* (soprano I and II, tenor, bass, chorus and orch.).

Some basic element of cohesion and characterization should be presented before drawing an interpretation. With regard to voices, each soloist has his own solo, the only duet involving the ladies, the gentlemen regain the tenor with a solo in the introduction and the bass with a recitative, a trio is lacking but there are two quartets (one a cappella). Choral parts are frequent (one a cappella) enough to demarcate the solo part worthily, in the beginning and in the end, until ascending to a level of centrality perfectly plausible with a religious composition. Among the tempos, there are a Largo, an Adagio, an Allegro (in the end), four cases of Allegretto (two maestosi and two moderati), an Andantino moderato and four cases of Andante (especially in the second half, two mossi, one maestoso and one grazioso) with the prevalence of a poised *medietas* of ensemble between slow and rarely fast parts. As for tonalities, there is a prevalence of minor (A flat), flat minor (in particular G flat minor opening and closing, C minor and D minor) and flats in general (three A flat major and one F major) with an arioso effect and intense lyricism that certain dramatic parts have the power to change but

not to contradict. The instrumental part is typical of Rossini's operas, for instance Venetian operas such as *Tancredi* (2 horns and no trombones) Roman operas such as *Cinderella (idem)*, Parisian ones as *Le siege de Corinthe* (drum, bass drum and snare drum in addition). Bellini's *Norma*, considering the date of the first edition, shares the same orchestra with *Stabat Mater*, and in addition, bass drum, cymbal and harp, while Verdi's *Nabucco*, considering the date of the second version, only adds a cymbal.

6. For a partial reading

The introduction starts with some thirty instrumental measures, a long Andantino moderato in G minor and 6/8 time: almost imperceptible, the theme originates from cellos and bassoons that rise and harp in Pianissimo, to be soon joined by the oboe, clarinet and flute. Here it comes, the chorus, sotto voce and in fake canon singing the first stanza from the bottom to the top, *Stabat Mater*, immediately insisting on the adjective "grieving", then opening up in Fortissimo, with even seven D in unison on the dramatic words "on which her Son was hanging" (the catalectic trochaic tetrameter, seven syllables worthy of seven notes). Generally, it has a style that is indeed polyphonic, but remains homorhythmic and equal, though marked with variations. Consequently, the tenor takes the stage, singing a sort of arietta on a rhythm already heard in the orchestral introduction, but the conclusion pertains to the chorus that, by repeating the word "Son", cannot help embittering it with strong dissonance, and in the end also performs a quick crescendo. Essentially, it is a subdued, doleful, dismayed introduction worthy of the comparison with the famous and upsetting "scene of the darkness" that insinuates in the biblical *grandeur* of *Moses in Egypt* (and the French-styled *Moïse et Pharaon*).

The tenor's aria, that lasts three stanzas, is sinuous and cabalistic, vibrating with the-

atrical features. And indeed, this Allegretto maestoso in A flat major bemoaning *Cuius animam*, was and still is the target, the wonderful target of a reasonable purist critic who knows very well and claims the distinctions between sacred and profane music, church and stage (as well as chamber) style, religious and operatic melody. Despite the frequent verbal and sound repetitions, it consists of three parts where the two beginnings of a new verse (*Cuius animam* and *Quae morebat* in major) develops around a central verse (*O quam tristis* in minor). However, the pressure that the signs of *sforzando* operate in Forte on the word “gladius”, the final word of the first stanza and on its syntactic subject, should be sufficient to reveal or at least suggest the presence of a general dramatic feeling, not necessarily theatrical, to the rest of the number as well. Is this *Cuius animam* a Cabaletta? Is it perhaps a duplicate of “*Corriam, voliam*”, the cabaletta for tenor of *William Tell*? On condition that, the tempo does not become Allegro, the phrasing remains that of “piano legato” and the hammering accent avoids any tone of superficial exuberance, so that the piece would still belong to a specific expressive musicality, of religious as well. Or is it not true that the ascendant, sharp puntato, also for octaves, has a sort of illustrative feature, just like a sword that hits and hits again, deeply wounding a poor body? If the sword, the famous gladius, then, comes later, actually at the end, better so, since its lethal action is described first by music and then by words. On the contrary, at the opera’s court, a prosecutor who perhaps wears blinkers could vehemently recall the names of the first tenors who sang the *Stabat Mater*. Two high note masters as Mario, the Sardinian and Ivanov, the Russian to whom is destined a sudden high D flat (by the way after the affectation of a small group), on the word “incliti” at the end of the lyric. Since it is not possible to forget about some leading-ladies who often sing in duet, such as Amenaide

and Tancredi for instance, or Semiramide and Arsace; the female duet, who wonder *Quis est homo*, boasts a liquid, *cantabile* melody that flows on the agitated rhythm of a particularly dense orchestra with short sounds, though syllabic, composed, nobly as well. Where the beginning Largo in E major for four horns and bowed instruments sounds first as a “moment of contemplation, instant of transcendence from the earthly” and then as “awakening to the human reality of tragedy, starting from the very strong fit of the entire orchestra in a sudden ascending chromatic cadence” (Rognoni). The final cadence trills twice for two voices that relate to the most typical composition of belcanto, but at the end the part of the second voice is a little denser than the first. As had already happened in the eighteenth century, between Francesca Cuzzoni clear tone and Faustina Bordoni low one, there is no reason to “maintain” or emphasize more the highest voice and, undoubtedly (even if not only for this of course) Rossini here prefers to evoke Händel, the famous patron of the two mentioned divas and rivals, rather than anticipate Verdi.

Once the Ladies have poured out, here comes another Gentleman. The aria of the bass cries *Pro peccatis* with a majestic Allegretto in A minor and major starting on a roll of timpani alternated to bowed instruments, and rises to a tenuto chord of woodwinds and brasses. Since a certain baroque rhythmic still persists, that of Händel for example, the two stanzas enlarge in four small parts, where each second part repeats the text of the first, only changing mode and melody, while the meter is very similar to that of *Cuius Animam* (though remarkably passing to 4/4 and 3/4). Moreover, each first stanza, so stubbornly dotted, has something of the tenor’s aria, as quick and augmented as it is (though also descending, later).

The fifth compositional number is particularly original. Opening on a minor and closing on a major, *Eja Mater* is considered as

a chorus for solo voices and recitative for bass, but in the meantime the soloist is careful not to “act” and rather tends to phrase and declaim in *arioso*. In addition, the ensemble is so good at changing and altering tempos, rhythm and tones with remarkable ease. Here they come: *Andante mosso* in D minor and *tempo perfetto*, *Allegretto moderato* in C major and 6/8 (with regular intervals of seventh, octave and tenth downwards). *Andante* again, *Adagio* in F major on the final “*ut sibi complacem*” (“*sibi*” a Dative of third person pronoun that in classic Latin would be “*ei*”, *Allegretto*, *Andante* and *Adagio* again. The expressivity of the words “in á-/mandó / Chri-stúm / De-úm” is also worth mentioning, with sudden and iambic octave diminutions.

7. *Santa Madre so be it*

The *Sancta Mater* quartet stretches over five stanzas, to give each voice the chance to express itself without sacrifice. In order, there are the tenor, the first soprano, the bass, the second soprano (only the tenor sings as soloist, however, the successive voices follow a previous one that is never silent), and when the bass resumes the first theme solo, then the real quartet begins, a voice overlapping, sometimes quite animated sometimes disciplined in harmonious verticality. Neither is this theme beyond reproach for its operatic fluency, and of course, the severe counterpoint of Father Martini, master of Mattei who was Rossini’s master, has disappeared somewhere in this centrifugal text. In general, it is true that the author’s classic vein never complies with a materially realistic dramatic style, but it is not impossible that once again the author was conquered by the lyric’s continuation, that talks about *fleere*, *condolere* and *plangere* (to tear, moan together, cry loud). He reacted to all this melting his heart in the touching, gentle, melodious fluency of an authentic, restorative *belcanto*, also thank to the round A flat major that initiates the *Allegretto moderato*.

This is a unique pride of the eternal, indestructible Italian ability to sing.

After a long wait, the second or mezzo-soprano claims two stanzas, *Fa cut portem* and *Fac me plagis* singing nothing less than a *Cavatina*, an *Andante grazioso* in 6/8 modulated from the minor (C#) to the corresponding major (E). It is still composed of three parts, and the theme is doubled but when the very ancient *aba* scheme is confirmed, it occurs that the second *a* has the words of *b* and the melody of the first *a*. The iambic pace is then remarkable, “*fac út portém*” and so it be at the cost of overwhelming the poor Latin; the scansion is characteristic because it also enjoys a ninth or a twelfth; the extension is classic, from low B to high G flat (except the pre final corona and its ability to improvise). The caption? *Cavatina*, this time, should only mean little *cavata*, a short piece highlighting the solo virtues of a voice already heard in ensemble.

The antepenultimate and penultimate stanza of this *Stabat Mater* belong to the soprano (with chorus), who on a still dotted trill of brass starts with *Inflamatus et accensus* in alto and *Forte* with full emphasis, the sturdiness premise to a firm *Andante maestoso* teso soloists-choral, while the tempo ascends from the minor (c) to its major counterpart (C). If the chorus repeats the varied and compact chord until it reaches the unison, though through instable triplets, the soprano vibrates on the augmented trill (four trills repeated twice) and rises to the very high C. Is all this theatre, scene, music and drama, melodrama? Since the text already prays to the Virgin for all humanity, asking her to exercise her Son’s death as pledge for absolution on doomsday. Hence, trumpets are needed from the ancient *Carissimi* to every possible *Requiem*.

Perhaps the tradition of a *cappella* singing is doomed to end, the *stylus antiquus* exalted by Renaissance, Baroque and Classicism masters (here, Carli Ballola quotes some “evil spirits” such as Monteverdi and

Cherubini). The second quartet, Andante in G minor *Quando corpus morietur*, sings a chromatic, uneven, sharp melody and traditionally develops isolating the bass, coupling the mezzo-soprano and tenor to the bass then adding the soprano and eventually gathering all four parts in the central registers. Then, the first soprano, who has been the last voice to intervene, will also be the last to pronounce the text, and for this reason, she rushes to pronounce everything over the mezzo-soprano and tenor's slow vocalizations, while the bass holds dominant for almost seven measures. In the meantime, the text has reached "a purity that goes beyond any model and idea of style and taste" and has become "one of the deepest openings of Rossini's soul, after the operatic renunciation" (Rognoni). In sacred music, only an *Amen* can actually

end a piece. *In sempiterna saecula* sings the final chorus, great Allegro in G minor (as the initial Andante) which orders the four voices and moves, urges, intersects, literally sets them in "fuga" on a stream of eight notes and sometimes central, uniform, vocalized and almost medieval semiquavers. The Andante moderato of the true Amen in 6/8 is more careful, while the first tempo floridly resumed is in Animato. Nevertheless, the richness of writing never establishes major mode to augment: absolutely, besides letting some initial thematic cues emerge, Rossini's *Stabat Mater* ends in the classic measure of minor mode and counterpoint style, in the same sense of character and level of writing in which it had begun. Praise to clear these shadows with a great soloist, rhythmic and melodic liveliness, and, why not, even melodramatic in some middle parts.

Appendix

Score and volgarizzamento

On 1 February 1843, Rossini performed the *Stabat Mater* in his native Pesaro for a charity event, as had already taken place in Bologna. On that occasion, Giovanni Marchetti's *Score* and *Volgarizzamento*, to wit the Latin text divided in all its parts, and Marchetti's Italian translation were printed. Here, they were printed again to ease the reading and the hearing (in Bologna, a first edition of the brochure in 1100 copies sold out).

I. Introduction

Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta Crucem lacrymosa
Dum pendebat Filius.

Stava immersa in doglia e in pianto
La pia Madre al Figlio accanto
Mentre il Figlio agonizzò.

II. Aria for tenor

Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam et dolentem
Pertransivit gladius.

Di Maria l'anima afflitta,
Gemebonda, derelitta,
Una spada trapassò.

O quam tristis et afflicta
Fuit illa benedicta
Mater unigeniti!

Come trista ed infelice
Fu la santa Genitrice
Dell'unigeno Figliuolo!

Quae moerebat et dolebat,
Et tremebat dum videbat
Nati poenas inclyti.

Oh quai gemitu traeva
Quando aggiunta in Lui vedea
Pena a pena, e duolo a duol!

III. Duet for soprano and contralto

Quis est homo, qui non fletet,
Matrem Christi si videret
In tanto supplicio?
Quis non posset contristari
Piam Matrem contemplari
Dolentem cum Filio?

Qual crudel mirar potria
Tanta ambascia di Maria
Senza lagrime e sospir?
Chi potria con fermo ciglio
Contemprar la Madre e il Figlio
A un medesimo martir?

IV. Aria for bass

Pro peccatis suae gentis
Vidit Jesum in tormentis,
Et flagellis subditum.

Per gli error di noi rubelli
Star Gesù sotto i flagelli,
Fra' tormenti vide star.

Vidit suum dulcem natum
Moriendo desolatum,
Dum emisit spiritum.

Vide il Figlio suo diletto,
Lacerato il molle petto,
L'egro spirito esalar.

V. Chorus for solo voices and recitative for bass

Eja Mater fons amoris,
Me sentire vim doloris
Fac, un tecum lugeam.

O Maria, fonte d'amore,
Provar fammi il tuo dolore,
Fammi piangere con te.

Fac, ut ardeat cor meum
In amando Christum Deum,
Ut sibi complaceam.

Fa che accendasi il cor mio,
Ch'arda tutto dell'Uom Dio,
Tal che pago Ei sia di me.

VI. Quartet

Sancta Mater, istud agas,
Crucifixi fige plagas
Cordi meo valide.

Delle man, del sen, de' piedi
Tu le piaghe a me concedi,
Tu le stampa in questo cor.

Tui nati vulnerati,
Tam dignati pro me pati
Poenas mecum divide.

Del tuo figlio, che il mio bene
Ricomprò per tante pene,
Fammi parte nel dolor.

Fac ut tecum pie flere,
Crucifixo condolere
Donec ego vixero.

Io sia teco, o Madre, afflitto,
Io con Cristo sia trafitto
Sino all'ultimo mio di.

Juxta Crucem tecum stare,
Et me tibi sociare
In planctu desidero.

Starmi sempre io con te voglio,
Tuo compagno nel cordoglio,
Presso al tronco ov' Ei morì.

Virgo Virginum praeclara,
Mihi jam non sis amara,
Fac me tecum plangere.

Fra le Vergini o preclara,
Non mostrarti al prego avara,
Fammi teco lacrimar.

VII. Cavatina for contralto

Fac ut portem Christi mortem,
Passionis fac consortem,
Et plagas recolare.

Di Gesù fa mia la sorte,
Fa ch'io senta in me sua morte,
Di sua morte al rimembrar.

Fac me plagis vulnerari,
Fac me Cruce inebriari,
Ob amorem Filii.

Dona a me lo strazio atroce,
M'innamora della Croce
E del sangue di Gesù.

VIII. Aria for soprano and chorus

Inflammatum et accensus,
Per te, Virgo, sum defensus
In die Iudicii.

Come a noi verrà l'Eterno
Giudicante, dell'inferno
Scampo al foco mi sii Tu.

Fac me Cruce custodiri,
Morte Christi praemuniri,
Confoveri gratia.

Sieno a me custodi e scorte
Quella Croce e quella Morte,
Porga man la Grazia a me.

IX. Quartet for solo voices

Quando corpus morietur,
Fac, ut animae donetur
Paradisi gloria.

Quando il corpo egro si muoja,
Nella gloria nella gioia
Venga l'anima con Te.

X. Final chorus

In sempiterna saecula Amen.

SIMONE ZACCHINI

The choral music of Friedrich Nietzsche. The cultural environment and the Christmas Oratorio (1860-1861)

1. The University of Halle

Research into the choral and religious music composed by Friedrich Nietzsche during his youth, as essential as it might be, must necessarily face some wider issues such as the Christian education he received, the Prussian romantic pietism, persistent elements of the late Enlightenment, and the relationship between music and Lutheranism. Moreover, any reconstruction, though rough, should start from the University of Halle and from that faculty of Theology where Carl Ludwig Nietzsche, Friedrich's father, studied. As well as Carl Moritz Weber, the dean of a private institute Nietzsche attended in Naumburg; Robert Buddensieg, his tutor at the time he attended Pforta high school, and many other friends, masters and acquaintances who belonged to the circle of his childhood.

When Carl Ludwig Nietzsche arrives at Halle, the cultural situation was very lively and complex, focused on the endless debate between rationalists and pietists. Since its foundation (1694) by Phillip Jacob Spener, Pietism's Father, the contrast between *faith* and *reason* had always been a central topic, already animated by the two main protagonists: Hermann Francke, directly called by Spener to teach Theology and Christian Wolff, prominent exponent of the German enlightened rationalism.¹

What happened between Franke and Wolff summarises the history of the University and the cultural seasons in Prussia.² Until the mid 18th century, Pietism was the leading current, politically intertwined with

the creation of the absolute monarchy by Frederick William I who, fascinated and impressed by the strictness of pietist education, would not only grant them several privileges but also favour their admission to key state positions.³ Only with Frederick II would the Great pietism primacy be mitigated thanks to an enlightened and Franco-ophile cultural policy.

At the time of Carl Ludwig Nietzsche in 1830s, the faculty of Theology was still divided in these two currents: a persistent enlightened rationalism, really weakened by that time, and the nineteenth-century pietism represented by the figure of Friedrich August Tholuck, pivotal character in the Prussian academic context. Friedrich Nietzsche's education came from the latter, from an idea of Christianity as a "matter of heart", from a primacy of the inwardness over any rationalisation, from an absolute value of music practice.

2. The discovery of music

As a child, Nietzsche met music through educational frames typical of the *Hausmusik* tradition, when his father Carl Ludwig Nietzsche sat at the piano and improvised. This is an element that seems to give an almost religious sense to music: for Nietzsche it will always be related to important, nearly sacred, life experiences. Though self-taught, at the end of 1856 he was already able to play Beethoven's op.79 and several transcriptions of Haydn symphonies. In 1858, he asked for "extracts for piano of the *Requiem* [by Mozart] and Haydn's *Creation*"⁴ for Christmas, while shortly after he sent off for "Cramer's studies. Otherwise I forget every-

¹ Cfr. H. Freydank, *Die Universität Halle, Ihre Anstalten, Institute und Kliniken, Stadt und Umgebung*, Linder, Düsseldorf 1928, p. 10.

² Cfr. W. Schrader, *Geschichte der Friedrichs-Universität zu Halle*, 2 voll., Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin 1894.

³ Cfr. M. Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics. Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, p. 168 and ff.

⁴ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, No.38, p. 33 (letter of 28 November 1858).

thing I've learnt and lose practice".⁵ He will also later recommend an advanced book on piano technique to his sister: "once learnt, although they are not easy especially for beginners, they reward your efforts much more than Czerny studies".⁶

The idea to compose came to Nietzsche on a precise date, the 25 May 1854, Ascension Day.⁷ Little Fritz, as he was confidently called at home, was not ten yet and is attending the celebrations at St. Wenzel church where he heard the *Hallelujah* from Händel's *Messiah*. Later he would remember:

I felt myself moved to join the singing, which appeared to me as the Angels choir of joy who accompanied the rise of Jesus Christ to Heaven with their voices. I immediately took the firm decision to compose something similar. When I returned from church, I started working right away and with every new chord I played I felt a childish joy.⁸

By following this story it is also easier to understand the sense of a brief Nietzsche's consideration written in 1858 and entitled *Sulla musica (About music)* whose main belief is that "God gave us music *firstly* to lead us upwards". Music, while also having secondary effects, can actually "elevate, joke, it can amuse us and soften the rudest soul with the sweetness of its melancholic notes", however its "main task is [...] to guide our thoughts upwards, in order to elevate us, to touch us in the deep". From this premise also directly derives the need of intelligibility and clarity in music that finds, especially in singing, the most suitable means to elevate the soul "towards the Good and the Truth". For this reason, all those "modern composers [that] strive to

write obscurely" are to be banned. Then if Beethoven, Bach, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Haydn and Mozart are the "only pillars" of music, the negative reference for the young Nietzsche is "above all this so called 'music of the future' by a Liszt or a Berlioz [that] plans to propose pieces of music that are as eccentric as possible".⁹

In order to completely understand these early reflections and underline the role religious music played in the first years of his life, it is necessary to make a short overview of the nineteenth-century heritage of pietism, to wit the so-called awakening movements (*Erweckungsbewegung*). They arose in central and northern Germany (Saxony, Thuringia, Silesia, East and West Prussia) during the Napoleonic occupation and thrived in the aftermath of the expulsion of the French invader. The Lutheran awakening in particular, in this area of Germany, was inseparably joined to music, which thus became the vehicle of a new renaissance of spirituality. These are the first years of romanticism and of the age of several music "renaissances" that animated it, especially Händel and Palestrina, far before Johann Sebastian Bach: music and religion cannot therefore be separate from this season.

It is important to say a few words on the first two names since they are crucial in Nietzsche's music education. Halle, again, is the city symbol of Nietzsche's childhood because Halle, apart from being the place where all his tutors studied, is also the centre of Händel's renaissance. Concerts dedicated to Händel's music were promoted by Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750-1813), chorister at the Ulrichskirche of Halle, organist at the Marktkirche, also in Halle and eventually music professor at the university from 1779. As a professor, from the early nineteenth century, he organized musical entertainments and the first regular performances of

⁵ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, No.50, p. 43 (letter written shortly before 27 January 1859).

⁶ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, No.63, p. 57 (letter probably written on 3 April 1859).

⁷ All Nietzsche's compositions have been edited by C.P. Janz in a critical edition, in F. Nietzsche, *Der Musikalische Nachlaß*, Bärenreiter, Basel 1977.

⁸ *Complete Works*, vol. I, t. I, p. 32.

⁹ All the quotes are taken from: *Complete Works*. Vol. I, t. I, p. 41-42.

Händel's Oratorios,¹⁰ really influencing the pietist reference par excellence of that time, that is to say the previously cited theologian Tholuck.

Palestrina's renaissance, on the contrary, started in Berlin but at the same time follows the path of the awakening movements in the Prussian area. In Berlin worked Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), born in Königsberg from a family of musicians and initially directed towards philosophy by Kant himself. What is interesting about him, here, is a trip to Italy in 1783 where he discovered Palestrina and brought his masses to Germany. With reference to Bach's renaissance, the most famous and important among romantic renaissances, it is necessary to always bear in mind this lively cultural background and the religious context within which it occurs,¹¹ a context that would not only influence Nietzsche himself but, as said, German romanticism in its entirety.

2. The religious compositions and the Christmas Oratorio

Nietzsche's first experiment of choral music composition dates back to years 1858-59. It was a fragment in four parts, *Es zieht ein stiller Engel*; there follows an attempt of motet on the melody *Jesu meine Zuversicht* and a further draft entitled *Aus der Tiefe rufe ich*. More refined, on the contrary, was the *Miserere*, an a cappella vocal quintet dated 4 July 1860.

The attention to the forms of religious music finds its climax in the project and drafts for a *Mass*. A broad program of compositions occupied the young Nietzsche for several months, probably from December

1859 to July 1860. The current version of the fragments of the *Mass*, as affirmed by Janz himself who edited it, is an assumption based on the references that gradually emerge from the diary and letters; its drafting, in fact, apart from being controversial, also lacks a unique and organic work plan. It consists of 23 pieces among solo, choral and orchestral moments. After a long introduction for orchestra, the chorus performs a hint of *Kyrie*, later repeated with a varied theme as well. Then comes the *Gloria* and other fragments for orchestra: an *Ouverture* for orchestra with an intentional entrance of the chorus, the uncompleted *Agnus Dei*, again a fragment of *Kyrie*, a short instrumental episode at the piano and the only completed piece of the *Mass*, the *Requiem*. As solo quartet, the *Lacrimosa* closes the performance, although without the two male voices. The Christmas Oratorio is, on the other hand, more complete and interesting. Devised during the summer of 1860, Nietzsche wrote the first two parts between August and October.¹² Christmas is the topic and Haydn's oratorios are the model. We are still, at least in the intentions, in the centre of a world that, despite many more or less critical phases, stands on the tracks of family and religious tradition. When Nietzsche starts to compose his Oratorio, he is confident that "in its genre the Oratorio holds a higher place than the opera". The oratorio has "a magnificent simplicity, and it should be so in fact, as music that elevates the spirit and elevates it precisely in a strictly religious sense".¹³

From the letters of this period it is clear

¹⁰ Cfr. W. Serauky, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Halle*, Max Niemeyer, Halle 1942.

¹¹ It was Zelter to create the prerequisites along with Mendelssohn, of the Bach Renaissance. They were also assisted by Adolf Marx, a music critic, editor of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. The *Passion according to Matthew* was executed by Mendelssohn (11 and 21 March 1829), who had already known the score since 1823, thanks to his grandmother who used to collect Bach's manuscripts.

¹² The first part, according to Janz reconstruction, is *Einleitung und Chor "Hüter ist die Nacht bald hin"*. "It starts with nostalgic, obscure and mysterious sonority at the piano, that in the absence of a real narrator (the *historicus*), connects the different vocal parts of the Oratorio, evoking, commenting and symbolizing the events that take place in it", M. Berrini, *The Weihnachtsoratorium by Friedrich Nietzsche*, in "Civiltà musicale" (2000), 41, XV, p. 108; the second is composed by *Hirtenchor, Sternerwartung, Gesang des Mohren, Instrumentalstück*.

¹³ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, n. 203, pp. 136-139 (letter of 14 January 1861).

that J. S. Bach's *Weihnachtoratorium* is not among Nietzsche's early inspirational models. In fact, Gustav Krug, a musician friend, recommends the renowned Bach's piece of music to Nietzsche in a letter of the end of November 1860, after he listened to it during a concert in Leipzig. Krug actually suggested he draw inspiration from Bach for the score, whose choice should have been not a small problem. Moreover, it was bound to be so, since the oratorio is open and narratively structured, without the liturgical obligations of the mass. On 3 December 1860, he asked his mother for the *Song of Songs* as gift for Christmas, "where all the songs are collected with their original form" and he emphasizes: "furthermore I absolutely need it also for another reason, I can't reveal you now";¹⁴ between the lines it is possible to understand the above mentioned difficulty regarding the drafting of the composition. The third part composed by *Chorsätze "Gebenedeit" und "Einen Propheten"* dates back to December.

Between January and March 1861 some relevant events occur, crucial if read in the light of his following biography. As seen, religious music for Nietzsche is not mere accompaniment to the score, and its development definitely sets it apart from the opera, which on the contrary follows the inverse path. Especially to safeguard the narrative unity, the Oratorio did not have to be fragmented in small parts, as happens with the arias in the opera: "I am confident that the entire work should be divided in few parts, although longer, linked to the course of the events and with an absolutely united character".¹⁵ This unity, linguistic simplicity and intelligibility, more programmatic than actually developed by Nietzsche in his Oratorio, form part of a religious aesthetic that recalls Palestrina and evokes the stylistic and formal

perfection of sixteenth-century Catholic polyphony. Nietzsche considers them as an absolute sonorous mirror of a divine thought beyond every confession.

However, something was changing in the existence of this tormented young man. A certain anxiety arose during the Easter holidays (March 1861). Some argument with his mother were likely to happen if he writes: "I also have the impression that Easter holidays, usually so beautiful, have been ruined and overshadowed by those unpleasant incidents and, every time I think about it, I deeply suffer for making you so sad."¹⁶ He continues, though without much conviction, to compose parts of the Oratorio, more and more disconnected. A *Mariae Verkündigung* he resumed and edited many times, in several versions, one of which with a final fugue, kept him busy between January and May 1861.

Other signs of an interest that starts to grow out of the German religious world can be seen in a work that dates back to 24 March of that year, entitled *Die Kinderheit der Völker*, and, about a month later, the translation of *Sechs serbische Volkslieder*. Shortly after, he would abandon the Oratorio to dedicate himself completely to a vast project of a symphonic poem on the sequence of events, mythical more than historical, of the saga of Ermanaric, the Goth king and hero who would rather kill himself than succumb to Attila, and on the music model of the *Hungaria* by the same Listz he had banned from music a few years before. Hence, a sudden entry in the pagan and barbaric world of the German Middle Ages, and an almost complete change of music tastes that takes Nietzsche from the renaissance polyphony to the obscure symbolic forest of romanticism.

Indeed, something really had happened: Nietzsche had listened to Wagner's music for the first time. A listening to the *Tristan*

¹⁴ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, n. 197, pp. 132-133 (letter of 3 December 1860).

¹⁵ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, n. 203, pp. 136-139 (letter of 14 January 1861).

¹⁶ F. Nietzsche, *Letters*, n. 230, pp. 153-154 (letter of April 1861).

and *Iseult* piano reduction dates back to March of that year, a work that would immediately project him in another cultural background, thus separating his music and religious experiences forever. From this moment on the religious music gives way to romantic compositions, and his spiritual world would change forever; but this is a chapter of a very different story. To conclude this essay it is possible to quote an extract from *Ecce homo* of 1888, 27 years later, when he writes: “the moment when a transcription for piano of the *Tristan* appeared – congratulations, Mr Bülow! – I became an admirer of Wagner”.¹⁷

¹⁷ F. Nietzsche, *Ecce homo*, Adelphi, Milan 1994, p. 46.

SUNDAY 24 AUGUST 2014 - AREZZO

ROUND TABLE **“Thirty Years of FENIARCO”**

Speeches by Carlo Pedini - President of Guido d'Arezzo Foundation, Piero Caraba Art Director of Guido d'Arezzo Foundation, Sante Fornasier - President of FENIARCO, Mauro Chiocci - former Vice President of FENIARCO, Fernando Catacchini President of Tuscan Choirs Association (ACT). Moderator: Claudio Santori

SANTORI – Good evening everybody, I am very pleased to open a round table that is the first official event of the 62nd Guido d'Arezzo Polyphonic Contest. This round table is important since it celebrates thirty years of the FENIARCO foundation, the National Federation of the Regional Choral Association. So, I'll immediately give the floor to the Director Carlo Pedini, President of the Guido d'Arezzo Foundation.

PEDINI – Since this is a round table, the idea is to listen not to the reports, but to the stories of those who took part in the constitution of FENIARCO and carried out their activities for almost thirty years. People who visit Arezzo know very well the importance of the Federation in the life and development of the entire Italian amateur choral activity, and how it has become home to all those who work with choirs. The fact that FENIARCO has been administratively established in Arezzo gives us an additional reason to remember this event: I have intentionally used the word “administratively” because the notarial deed was signed thirty years ago, right here in Arezzo, in January 1984. This is the reason why I kindly welcome our guests who will help us to tell this story.

SANTORI – As President Pedini said, FENIARCO was founded in Arezzo. It is no secret that, in the past years, Italian choral activity has not improved as in other countries less developed than ours. The importance of the presence of such an organization is therefore immediately clear. I would like

to recall that thanks to FENIARCO, which I remember well also counts Luciano Chilly among its Presidents, choral activity has made great strides. Before giving the floor to Fernando Catacchini, President of the Tuscan Choirs Association, I would like to invite the director Piero Caraba to say a few words as choirmaster and art director of the Guido d'Arezzo Foundation, as well as newly appointed director of the Conservatory of Perugia.

CARABA – On this occasion, I would like to speak not as artistic director of the Foundation, but as a choirmaster. If there is one thing I would like to underline about the relevance of FENIARCO, one I often repeat to choristers, it is that the Federation makes us feel less alone. The moment when you feel you can share intentions, efforts, and that there is a regional choirs association, and a national association that includes it, we are aware that we are not alone in a passion to which we dedicate our time and energy. This sense of belonging to FENIARCO creates a shared enthusiasm where common aims become further grounds for enthusiasm. For this reason, I see in FENIARCO, apart from an important instrument both for directors who improve their knowledge and for choirs that receive information, an effective engine of passion and collective sharing. In times when sharing is sometimes a critical aspect of communication, I believe an organization that helps to share and increase this passion is a pivotal element.

Professor Santori then gives the floor to Fernando Catacchini, President of Tuscan Choirs Association.

CATACCHINI – My first contact with FENIARCO occurred here in Tuscany, during the National Assembly our Regional Association hosted in Siena in the year 2000 where the then President Alfredo Palmieri invited me, as Regional Councilor, to participate in the organization. Beside the great success of the meeting, where we perfectly played our role as hosts providing an excellent welcome (also favoured by the beauty of the town), I was impressed by the works of the Assembly that I carefully followed while sitting by the secretary's desk. What impressed me most, apart from the number of topics, events and meetings under discussion, was the level of these topics and the professional behavior shown in dealing with them.

Personally, I was used (but maybe all of us were) to something quite different. In that moment, apart from the President Fornasier, I met many fine people and among them, I especially remember the directors Aldo Cicconofri and Domenico Cieri.

Since 2005, when I was elected President of Tuscany, it has been an honour for me to be a member of FENIARCO National Assembly, in which I have actively and constantly participated for about 10 years. I must admit that, from that time, among the several regional activities carried out, the majority of them arose from similar experiences developed in "FENIARCO world", or driven and favoured by some acknowledgement or normative concession I personally obtained, for the activity of the single regions.

An example of this is the Memorandum of Understanding that FENIARCO signed as member of the Third Sector Forum with the MIUR (Italian Ministry of University and Research), through which the teaching activities related to choral experimentation our organizations presented to Education Institutions have been eventually recognized, legitimated and favoured. Thank to

this protocol, the Tuscan Choirs Association could proudly reach schools, add its own teaching activities to the POF (teaching activities plan), and manages to carry out most of them in several Tuscan schools. Moreover, Tuscany is implementing a specific collaboration with its national federation to promote choral activities in schools, and for young people: the Spring Festival. This national event, unique in this sector, takes place here in Tuscany (originally in Follonica, and today in Montecatini) on two April weekends, and is the result of a collaboration between ACT and FENIARCO. The perfect organization, both artistic and logistic of which FENIARCO is certainly the most important actor, together with the well-known Tuscan welcome and the beauty of our territory, have determined a steady increase of participations (1500 students/choristers), a warm appreciation of the event, and also a bit of envy from others.

I want to close these brief remarks, otherwise it would sound like we are blowing our own trumpet, since I do not consider myself and the whole of Tuscany as "partners of FENIARCO", but I identify both of us with it. For this reason, I would like to conclude by highly praising Tuscany and the vision of the former Presidents of the regional association. Not by chance, we celebrate these thirty years here in Arezzo. In fact, I want to recall and testify how much Tuscany, then guided by the President Vittorino Moratti who was supported by a group whose members numbered Giancarlo Pagni, Professor Giovanni Guazzone and the directors Fosco Corti and Piero Rossi, has given and pushed so that the national federation could start and take its own shape. Actually, the first meeting that took place in Trento on 24 and 25 April 1982, where the seven original associations gathered in a Permanent Conference, was followed by two more meetings, again in Tuscany: the first in Fivizzano (MS) on 4/5 June 1983 and the second in Arezzo on 24 August 1983. The latter that

took place in the Provincial Council hall during the days of the International Polyphonic Contest, determined the foundation of FIARCO, whose president was Giorgio Cogoli. Eventually, during a following meeting of the newly established FIARCO in Verona (hosted by ASAC) the Charter was approved and registered thus modifying the name in FENIARCO.

I have collected all these pieces of information in the historical archive of our regional magazine Diapason that in its first issues 0, 1, 2 and 3 broadly and meticulously reported everything I have said so far. In that time, I was just a chorister of that awesome male choir, as was Coradini, and singing was my only concern, in fact I ignored everything else. Here, let me just add one more little remark that apart from being a very sweet memory, is also a cue to remember two people really close to me who are no longer with us. In my research, I found out that on 5 June 1983 I was also in Fivizzano because the “Coradini” Polyphonic Group, Fosco Corti and Arnaldo Foa’ performed for the public the “Passion of the Christ according to John” by Francesco Corteccia, a score that was object of a historic recording by Deutsche Grammophone. Having said that: Happy Birthday FENIARCO, I wish you an additional thirty years of success.

SANTORI – I had no doubt Catacchini would reveal so many details. You were right to remember personalities such as Piero Rossi, and especially the unforgettable Fosco Corti who was a “volcano”, an engine of the musical activity. His early and unexpected death was a great loss, not only for the “Coradini” choral activity but also for the entire town. Moreover, you have broached a topic I would like to say a few words about: the school. Unfortunately, the match the music plays with schools is very tough (I can affirm this because I have been in the frontline for twenty years as head of a high school), if not even lost because, it appears that teachers also do not consider it relevant to students’

education. In my school, I tried at least three times to set up a choir, but I could never pay a director. Despite this, I have never managed to convince the other colleagues to use part of the few resources we had to create a school choir. Perhaps because few people still understand its importance and, I dare to say, necessity.

However, I would now give the floor to the director Mauro Chiocci. When FENIARCO was founded, here in AREZZO, few regions were represented. Among the first to join our association was Umbria, with ARCU M (the Choral Association of Umbrian Choirs), whose founder and President for twenty years was Mauro Chiocci.

CHIOCCI – Mine will be a chronological reconstruction of what happened from 1984 onwards as far as my direct experience as FENIARCO Vice President is concerned, an office that I have held for 12 years in two separate terms. I entered FENIARCO in the 80s when those who attended the Polyphonic of Arezzo and the Seghizzi di Gorizia Contest could easily meet personalities, musicians, directors, choirs and different organizers who of course were involved with these two big music events of late summer (between August and September). Every time you met with this forge of ideas, visionary minds, also in music and wine joyrides organized by Collio or in Tuscan hills, they gave life to intense pages of the history of Italian choral field, an activity that finally started to bear its well-deserved fruits. FENIARCO entered this panorama in the years 1983-84 and gathered the regional groups that had already been established. Just think of the USCI (Union of the Italian Choral Societies) that derived from the ENAL (a body abolished in 1978) and of the first regional associative realities: Lombardy (Franco Monago), Veneto (Efrem Casagrande and Gianni Colussi), Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Luigi Paolin), Trentino (Giorgio Cogoli), Tuscany (Giancarlo Pagni), Abruzzo (Enrico Summonte), Emilia-Romagna (Giovanni Torre), Lazio (Domenico

Cieri). In Gorizia, I received the first proposal to set up a regional association in Umbria, first from Dino Stella (who would later become the President of FENIARCO from 1987 to 1999) and then from Giorgio Cogoli (president from 1985 to 1987) in Arezzo. That was the 1984. In October 1985, I hosted the Assembly of FENIARCO in Perugia, and on that occasion, when the Charter (registered in Arezzo in 1984) was amended in the presence of the notary Giuseppe Brunelli, Luigi Paolin and Giorgio Cogoli were elected Vice Presidents and Luciano Chailly, as a well-known musician, President. However, this brave composition did not work well, unfortunately, because no one held the office of President. In the meantime, in November 1985 in Perugia, the ARCUM, Regional Association of Umbrian Choirs, was founded, and in July 1986 in Clusone it had already joined FENIARCO. In January 1987, at the assembly of Boulogne, FENIARCO's main offices, which had to demonstrate real organizational and operative skills were reconfirmed as follows: Dino Stella, President; Vittorino Moratti, Vice President; Mauro Chiocci, Vice President; Gianni Colussi, National Secretary. The head office was in Venice/Mestre, in Via Castellana 44.

Throughout its term, this operative team managed to carry out some initiatives, and in particular increase the regions involved. As for me, the term was renewed twice until 1996; meanwhile, Giovanni Torre took over from Vittorino Moratti, who passed away young. I remember the trips to Campania, Basilicata and Apulia: the countless events I took part in all over Italy, from north to south. I also remember when FENIARCO joined EUROPA CANTAT in 1988, which Luigi Paolin represented until the election of Giorgio Cogoli. The latter, then, would remain inside the European Federation as representative of Trentino Choirs. Nevertheless, I could not forget a number of struggles, both with SIAE (Italian Authors and Editors Society) to reach a national convention

and with ENPALS (Artists social Security Institute) about the well-known "permanent certificate of occupancy". This first phase was difficult indeed, because aid granted was not sufficient. After this period (1987-1996) I left FENIARCO's Board of Directors. In 1999, Sante Fornasier, the current President took over from Dino Stella. I would return to FENIARCO for a term, from 2005 to 2008, with interesting projects dedicated to Italian choral activity. The Italian Youth Choir, from 2004 to 2007 in Rome, Florence, Assisi, Perugia, Turin, Fano, Pescara, Matera (with the directors Filippo Maria Bressan, Stojan Kuret, Nicola Conci) and then, the APS Projects, Coralmonte, Cori Solidali, Musamichevolmente, Bilancio Sociale, InDirrection, Spring Festival, Riva del Garda 2005, Follonica 2006 and 2007, Arezzo and Gorizia Contests. During this term, my partner was Pierfranco Semeraro.

I close this brief list of events, facts, and in particular personalities, I had the pleasure to meet and appreciate (Efrem Casagrande, Luigi Paolin, Domenico Cieri and many others), confident that from its origins FENIARCO has represented the regional entities or respective Regional Associations which are themselves the expression of the choral activity of their own territory. I kindly thank those who have hosted me in this meeting and in the concert that will later follow at the San Domenico Church, content to have made my humble contribution to this event. SANTORI – As you have just heard, the director Chiocci is a kind historical memory of FENIARCO. We have now arrived at the moment to close this event with the speech by the current President, the director Sante Fornasier. Sante Fornasier is an absolute leading figure in the choir sector, not only in Italy but also internationally. Until 2012, he has been President of Europa Cantat, an Association that includes the entire continental choral world. This is the reason why we ask Sante Fornasier to outline the current situation of FENIARCO.

FORNASIER – First of all, I would like to thank you for your kind interest about FENIARCO which after all represents our choral sector: all of us in short! Hence I want to express not only my personal thanks, but I also think I can speak for all the choirs when I remember here, in this city of art, the official foundation that occurred in 1984 at the Hotel Veltroni in Arezzo, which was registered on 23 January of that year. Last 23 January we celebrated the “FENIARCO Day”, also borrowing a bit of modernity that young members required, and so the celebrations for these thirty years have started. We believed it was a good thing to retrace a bit of history: Mauro Chiocci has reminded us of many things, Nando Catacchini others, just to remember our origins, the processes that brought us here, positive things as well as our efforts. For this reason, I decided to read our history again. I pulled out the minutes to find the Regions that gave origin to the project in 1984. To be precise, they were eight: Abruzzo, Emilia, Friuli, Lazio, Lombardy, Tuscany, Trentino and Veneto. Those were the founding Regions and then, over time, others have joined until Basilicata and Valle d’Aosta closed the circle in 1999. Hence, in 1999 we completed our “network”, a buzzword today that however describes the right concept of a functional way to create a “system”, bringing experiences and synergies together. Today when we talk about “crisis”, not only a financial “crisis”, but also crisis of perspective, we should ask ourselves where we want to go, where we want to conduct ourselves. This is the reason why a debate is necessary, even intense but lively, vigorous, and oriented to the future. Hence, in 1999 the Federation revealed its character. From that moment, forth it developed its shape, thanks to those who came before us, Cogoli, Paolin, and Dino Stella, who had the intuition to set up a Federation in order to create a sense of belonging. I appreciate this idea in the things you said. I always say that FENIARCO is a common heritage: today we

have 2700 choirs, not that bad actually. In this world of crisis, I think that choral activity gets by very well. Let’s put the economic aspect aside for a moment and not consider only negative things. When I deal with public institutions, I present our representation of 2700 choirs as a priceless basic cultural heritage, which begins with choristers, from the people who create a story. We also have stories arriving from small villages, which are important because they spread our values in places where official culture often does not arrive. I, as a Friulian, always think of a remote village in the Carnia region that has 500 souls, and yet has a choir! This is a cultural protection. This is not just making music, this is culture actually: it is a good cell of the society we live in. It is a remarkable cultural and social presence. For this reason, I say to politicians: take care of this heritage. Because it is something that this world managed to create with passion, commitment, cooperation, and learning how to create a “system”. Little by little, FENIARCO has grown and traced several paths: artistic performances, big events, training courses for directors, the world of young people, schools, agreements, our delegations. We have accreditations at MIUR, MIBAC (Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism), the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies. We have agreements with the SIAE and insurance policies with ENPALS. It is a systemic work whose benefits arrive directly to its associates. In addition to this, we are involved in musicology research and music publishing. Fifteen years ago, we said to each other: in our sector, there are no more publishers. Publishers have no convenience: Ricordi had quit, as well as Curci. Hence, FENIARCO has in some way tried to compensate for this, and today produces excellent publications. Especially with “Girocanto”, we have provided schools with a new repertoire. It was a great success: we ranked fifth and we still want to continue. Moreover, there is the safeguard of traditions, not

only popular but also those of music as art. Who would ever save the great renaissance polyphony? Of course, not the institutional choirs committed only to lyric opera. We do not have a professional polyphonic choir supported by the Government. However, we have been home to polyphony. In some way, FENIARCO compensates it and defends the values of this heritage. Naturally, your contest was one of the first examples, followed by Gorizia. These people were visionary in taking care of those intuitions about a heritage that needed a boost. However, there was the need to give them a framework and an organization: FENIARCO tried to provide this. For this reason, activities are coordinated: there are 22 regional associations, we need to think with different mentalities, from Bolzano to Palermo. Think concretely about the reality: actually, it is not easy to put these “distances” together. This is a patient, meticulous work where in the end one achieves an overall view. I must admit that we have always managed to arrive at this view, especially when we look forward.

Moreover, we also want to count in Europe. For this reason, quality is always the basic principle. We are amateurs, but with professional quality. Otherwise, our destiny will be to be “complementarity”. If this is the premise, others will give us tips, but I do not want tips for FENIARCO. I desire an acknowledgement for what we can do, for our values and for what we give. Hence, quality is fundamental.

Then, we have organized the great Turin Festival, a huge challenge but the results were excellent, let’s face it. I hope this is to be a glory for our community, from the first to the last chorister of these 2700 choirs. We must be proud of this. Many good people with significant ability to plan and remarkable organizational skills have worked on this project. Including a certain financial risk: we had a budget of 2.8 million euro, just to give you a sense of its size. Therefore,

we also managed to carry out important economic processes, and we were worthy of the European presidency, even if it was not something we aimed at. Europe supported our presidency and I believe we did a very good job that people appreciated. We said to Europe: are you willing to undertake an important project? Moreover, we filed a project of 2.4 million euros together with ten European partners. We filed it twice and the second time we were successful. For the first time we have obtained 1,100,000 euros of which – I must admit– 200,000 were for the Turin Festival. We exported the idea of a “network” that took shape inside our organization to Europe where it received positive remarks, thus obtaining an historic result. This is what Italian choral field has demonstrated at the European level and it was worthy of the attention: today Carlo Pavese is the first Vice President - I had to quit as my terms expired. However, do not forget: when we affirm that in Europe, foreign countries rule, we are saying that it was the consequence of our absence. Hence, we are either present, qualified and trained, or other will decide for us. Catacchini spoke about quality. In this regard, we set up an efficient structure of qualified young people in several areas of expertise: musicians, administrators, communication experts, musicologists. Only by bringing all these things together can we face a comprehensive management framework. Chiocci reminded us all of we have done: the European projects, the APS projects. With the resources of APS projects, we have created our website: 2700 choirs on line. Go to our website, click on a certain choir and the corresponding information appears. Everybody, with their password, can update their data in every moment. Moreover, there is also the general calendar that details all the initiatives and concerts around Italy. All this thank to the APS projects to which Mauro Chiocci collaborated actively. In addition, there are the Academy of Fano and the workshops

of Aosta. The Aosta workshop for composers is unique in Europe and has boosted a new generation of composers (all those who write for "Girocanto"). Then, there is our magazine. We created it, and little by little, we have improved it. We said to ourselves: let's make the "Amadeus" of choral music. A comprehensive magazine, with good graphics and articles not only about every-day news, but in particular substantial "content". From that moment on, the magazine has reached a level everybody is envious of, also internationally. Today we can proudly affirm that it is the finest magazine among those of the European Federation.

Professor Santori wondered about our current condition. It is good: we have 2700 choirs, in schools there are numbers of school choirs, still not registered, that do much work. Such a reality did not exist ten years ago. This is why we can look to the future with moderate optimism. The presence of 1500 students, not associated choirs, at the Spring Festival is testimony to this. For this reason, we should encourage investment, understand that the world has changed, that the way we usually thought about choir activity is old-fashioned. We need our system to be more efficient, and maximize resources, aiming at important projects without forgetting the territory. Then, the association between chorister, choir, regional association and federation is a whole. There should not be contrast but complementarity so that our world could progress and be assertive. Finally, I cite the Youth Choir that is gathering support. This project required large scale commitment, both financial and organizational – young people arrive from all over Italy, putting them together is not easy – and on tour their performance was so great that they won two first prizes. This was another good challenge to face, and with this victory, I close my speech and thank you all for your attention.

SANTORI – Congratulations for your detailed

report. I remember that when the director Labroca announced the creation of the first Polyphonic of Arezzo he wrote that it "lit up the sparks of hope". I see that, to quote Baudelaire, these "sparks" have become beacons. However, we have still much work to do with schools: the forthcoming reforms aim at improving the study of the history of art, but nobody talks about music history or music in general. It is not by chance that a professor not a teacher such as Mario Salmi had the intuition to found the Polyphonic. It would be desirable that this enthusiasm also arrived to those who work in schools. It seems that what we have heard so far, testifies that we are on the right path. I see that director Pedini wants to add something...

PEDINI – With regard to what has been said so far, I would like to make a consideration that is even more relevant now. FENIARCO is thirty years old. Many times people rhetorically say that, after twenty years, an association has become adult. Now, after thirty years it should be more than mature... Actually, these associations are already adult at the moment of their foundation, and they do not have a sort of childhood or adolescence. Then, thirty years are many, and other speeches have allowed us to appreciate how much work has been done so far. An interesting fact about FENIARCO is that, contrary to other similar organizations that just add an acronym to a group of people who already work on their own, the foundation of the choirs Federation occurred during fieldwork. As others have recalled, in those years only a few existing regional associations, that would later become federate, have spread the seed and made other associations sprout up. Once this scenario was completed and consolidated, they took another step forward, aware of their numbers, strength, relevance and consciousness of leaving a mark in that world they operated in. They also bring forward initiatives and proposals individually, where the Federation is not only the sounding board of what

the territorial associations have carried out, but a subject that plays a primary role as a guide and example for its associates. A single association could not manage all the initiatives the Federation directly develops, considering their dimension and complexity. The force deriving from the sum of the associations allows FENIARCO to comply with this role. The figures Fornasier gave us would not be possible for a single regional Association. Of course, this is the result of a broad adhesion, indeed, but it also depends on the skills, vision and expertise of those who worked on this project.

In order to understand some differences I would like to make a comparison with another federation of which both Guido d'Arezzo Foundation and FENIARCO are partners. This is ITALIAFESTIVAL whose President is our Councillor Francesco Perrotta. In contrast with FENIARCO, ITALIAFESTIVAL originates from something already existing – Festivals, of course. The effort of the new-elected President Perrotta should be that of imitating, somehow, what FENIARCO is doing, creating a Federation that is able to add value to the specific “value” of each single associated festival. Just as when you start a new business: you begin as an artisan, then, you set up a workshop with your apprentices, and if you are successful the workshop turns into a plant, and if the plant is very successful it is quoted on the stock market and becomes a Public Limited Company. This is parallel to the path FENIARCO undertook, where everybody made their contribution of expertise and experience so that the Federation could grow and become the point of reference for the entire choral sector, as you have broadly said and underlined so far. I would like to close with a hint of optimism with regard to schools. Sometimes progress occurs in the most unpredictable ways: most of the times the Spring Festival is not organized by schools, however, it addresses that world, and people who work in schools are those who participate the most.

The majority of choirs that take part in it are not an initiative of Local Education Authority or the Ministry, but of those people working in schools who in a certain manner rectify the system's faults. Perhaps a moment will arrive when institutions realize the situation and regulate through regulations what people have carried out individually. In this regard, all the people who have undertaken these paths with competence, skills and commitment, are now sitting at this table: in the end, people will save the school, not the Ministry.

Professor Santori takes the floor again to end the meeting.

SANTORI – The words we have listened to so far comfort us very much. Our great father Dante said: “Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda” (*lit.* “a small flame ignites a big fire”). I hope this flame could also grow where there is still resistance. I would like to close with a consideration about the music high school of Arezzo. The fact that the institutions wanted this school is undoubtedly positive. When it was established, I struggled to include Latin, since it was the language of the majority of music history vocal repertoire. Today they have excluded Latin. They have transformed the course of Theory and analysis into Theory, analysis and composition...that only lasts one hour. The positive fact of having a music high school has in reality implied a ghettoization of music that does not occur in other schools. Once at Pedagogical high school you had music. Today it has been abolished. Therefore, on one hand, it is a good thing to have a music high school but on the other, it would be better if music was part of every school's cultural store of knowledge, as I believe happens in many parts of the world. We close this meeting with Dante's warning and the hope that people would take care of this flame as these illustrious masters (he turns to the round table's guests) do.

(Edited by Carlo Pedini)

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Storia e teoria della coralità - *History and theory of choral music*

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