

CHAPTER 7

Humanism and the Invention of Homophony

Studies of the history of tonality tend to focus on the ways in which tonal and “modal” repertoires differ. But tonal repertoires have much in common with their sixteenth-century antecedents. The underlying materials of tonal music of the eighteenth century and contrapuntal music of the Renaissance—a diatonic pitch collection, triads, controlled dissonance treatment, the basic rhetoric of cadence and phrase, a background tonal structure based on fifth-related degrees—are mostly the same. As Hyer succinctly puts it, “important historical continuities underlie music before and after the emergence of musical modernism around 1600, and . . . the crucial difference between *tonalité ancienne* and *tonalité moderne* is one of emphasis rather than kind.”¹ Yet, we have few methods for studying what this difference in emphasis entails.² I have argued that tonality is an energetic dynamic that began to take advantage of the affordances of a diatonic system that had been around for centuries. Meter, phrase structure, and form all helped to channel the energies of dominant and tonic into a framework that supports tonal expectation.

In this book, I have suggested that close attention to a single moment in the development of tonality—a cross-section—can both help us understand its broader history and call into question some of the assumptions on which modern theories of tonality are built. In particular, I have argued that homophony played a critical role in reorienting compositional style in the sixteenth century. As an alternative to linear polyphony, homophony encouraged composers to develop new techniques for manipulating vertically oriented pitch materials and exploiting their relationships across increasingly broad time spans. At the same time, I have questioned the dependence of modern definitions of tonality on global pitch collection and local harmonic syntax, and instead argued for a more listener-oriented approach to tonality rooted in harmonic expectation.

1. Brian Hyer, “Tonality,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 727.
2. A notable contribution is Gregory Barnett, “The Meaning of Tuono: Tonality, Musical Style, and the Modes in Settecento Theory,” in *Fiori Musicali: Liber Amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, ed. Claire Fontijn and Susan Parisi, Studies in Music (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park, 2010).

However, my microscopic focus on the *balletto* and *canzonetta* does not preclude me from painting a broader picture of changing tonal style in the sixteenth century. One benefit of the cross-section approach that I advocate here is that it helps us isolate individual style features that contribute to tonality and consider their independent development. We have seen that features of homophony encourage particularly tonal modes of composition and enable certain kinds of tonal hearing; tracing the history of homophony through the sixteenth century allows us to view different instantiations of this process in other homophonic repertoires. What's more, we can tie the origins of homophony itself to broader movements in sixteenth-century intellectual culture, which helps us to explain why the sixteenth century was such a fertile period for major changes in musical style.

In this chapter, I take a broad view of sixteenth-century homophony. I begin with frottola, a courtly Italian genre descended from an improvised tradition of poetic declamation that flourished in the first decade of the century. Then I turn to *musique mesurée*, a musical manifestation of a midcentury French philosophical movement. Finally, I close with the first homophonic Lutheran chorale settings from the final decades of the century. Though these repertoires represent one hundred years, three languages, and disparate political, cultural, religious, and philosophical contexts, they all identify homophony as a solution for their unique compositional challenges. The repertoires' similarities are suggestive: tonality emerges not as a feature of a single turn-of-the-century repertoire, but rather as a mode of listening readily adaptable to any number of vertically oriented genres. I argue that tonality results not from different genres of musical experimentation, but rather from a series of intellectual and cultural innovations that transformed sixteenth-century artistic thought: humanism, the corresponding elevation of the vernacular, the Reformation, the invention of music printing. All of these movements, seemingly distant from the nuts and bolts of mode and counterpoint, encouraged a realignment of aesthetic values away from abstract polyphony and towards the hegemony of the text.

Music made to order: The frottola

Is Marco Cara's frottola *Oimè el cor oimè la testa* (Petrucci I, no. 2) tonal?³ Edward Lowinsky and Carl Dahlhaus both ask this question in their studies of tonality's sixteenth-century origins. Lowinsky says yes: he identifies the frottola as an "early illustration" of the "simultaneous conception of triadic harmony with the root in the bass."⁴ Cara's frottola, he argues, is "written over" a bass pattern resembling the

3. The section title is drawn from Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, Roger Sessions, and W. Oliver Strunk, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 1:74.

4. Edward E. Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1990), 3.

passamezzo antico; such bass patterns were the earliest seeds of the vertical thinking of tonality that contrasts with the linearity of polyphonic modality.⁵ Lowinsky identifies an “astonishingly early feeling for tonal logic” in Cara’s frottola (Example 7.1): the bass line emphasizes tonic, elaborates this tonic with dominant, and strengthens the cadential gesture with subdominant (mm. 11–12). By extension, Lowinsky suggests, Cara and the other frottolists intentionally developed “chordal progressions” rooted in harmony rather than “intervallic counterpoint.”⁶ But Lowinsky’s argument rests on two problematic assumptions: first, that the frottola’s bass line was composed first, and second, that sequences of triads that resemble eighteenth-century harmonic progressions were composed with a proto-tonal intention.

Dahlhaus unsurprisingly takes issue both with Lowinsky’s linear/vertical binary and his invocation of the *passamezzo antico* for Cara’s frottola.⁷ He criticizes Lowinsky’s reading of the repertoire not for being incorrect, but rather for being incomplete. Ostinato bass patterns like the *passamezzo antico* are not signs of vertical thinking—on the contrary, they emerge when composers add a lower voice to a discant–tenor framework. The innovation of the frottola, for Dahlhaus, is its combination of the techniques of discant–tenor composition with those of discant–bass composition. That is, in the frottola the principles of two-voice composition gradually merge with and are replaced by those of four-voice composition, wherein all voices are conceived simultaneously as equal partners in a framework that may be either polyphonic *or* chordal.⁸ At the same time, though Dahlhaus rejects a bass-first compositional process, he notes that the frottola still supports an essentially vertical compositional model.

Though Dahlhaus’s theory accommodates Lowinsky’s, the two thinkers assess the frottola’s influence differently. Lowinsky believes that the frottola marks the beginning of vertical thinking that characterizes secular vernacular song and dance music throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dahlhaus, on the other hand, argues that the simultaneous conception of voices leads not to triadic harmony, but rather to polyphony. That is, the frottola initiates “the transition from the framework technique—the method of drafting a two-voice counterpoint and then supplementing it with added voices—to a simultaneous conception of all the voices.”⁹

5. *Ibid.*, 7–9.

6. *Ibid.*, 6.

7. Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, trans. Robert O. Gjerdingen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 280–289.

8. Sabine Meine makes a similar argument in *Die Frottola: Musik, Diskurs und Spiel an Italienischen Höfen, 1500–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 297–300.

9. Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 287. Dahlhaus’s argument supports the then-prevailing narrative, promulgated by Alfred Einstein, that the frottola evolved into the polyphonic madrigal, a narrative that James Haar and Iain Fenlon have more recently called into question. See Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 3–14; James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

Example 7.1 *Cara, Oimè el cor oimè la testa* (Petrucci I, no. 2). Read once through with no repeats (the *ripresa* + refrain), then read the repeats the second time (the *stanza* + refrain).

ripresa / stanza

A	B
---	---

1

v

ripresa / stanza (cont.)

	B
--	---

5

V:PAC

ripresa / stanza (cont.)

	C
--	---

9

V:PAC → i:PAC

Example 7.1 Continued.

stanza (cont.) / refrain	
A	B' (shortened)

v

refrain (cont.)	
	B' (coda)

V:PAC i:PAC

Lowinsky accounts for the harmony and Dahlhaus the counterpoint of Cara's frottola, though ultimately Dahlhaus reveals that their analyses are compatible. But, as I have argued throughout this book, I believe that their myopic focus on pitch structure has distracted them from the rhetorical features that distinguish the frottola from other contemporary genres. For instance, *Oimè el cor* features a regular three-measure phrase rhythm that arises from its schematic text-setting pattern. The text interacts in a consistent way with the modular musical form: Cara sets the *xyyx ripresa* with an ABBC form (mm. 1–12), treating the *y* lines analogously (mm. 4–6 = mm. 7–9). The refrain (mm. 13–21) echoes the first two lines of the *ripresa* (yielding an ABBC AB' structure, schematized in Figure 7.1). Cara manipulates the music at the end of the refrain to produce closure: he shortens the B phrase by two beats and elides it into a more conclusive coda, breaking the three-measure phrase rhythm.

Cara packs this concise frottola with melodic and harmonic rhetoric that encourages listeners to link phrase units together. For instance, the AB units, mm. 1–6, trace an octave descent from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{2}$, and then down to $\hat{5}$ below; this melodic gesture corresponds with a weak arrival on *v* (or *V* depending on the *ficta*) followed

Section	Text	Rhyme	Musical Form	mm.
<i>ripresa</i>	Oimè el cor, oimè la testa!	x	A	1–3
	Chi non ama non intende,	y	B	4–6
	chi non falla non se mende,	y	B	7–9
	dopo el fallo el pentir resta.	x	C	10–12
<i>refrain</i>	Oimè el cor, oimè la testa!	x	A	13–15
	Chi non ama non intende.	y	B + coda	15–18
<i>stanza</i>	Oimè, Dio, che error fece io	a	A	1–3
	ad amar un cor fallace!	b	B	4–6
	Oimè, Dio, ché 'l partir mio	a	A	1–3
	non mi dà per questo pace!	b	B	4–6
	Oimè, el foco aspro e vivace	b	B	7–9
	mi consuma el tristo core!	c	C	10–12
	Oimè, Dio, ché 'l fatto errore	c	C	10–12
	l'alma afflicta mi molesta.	x	A	13–15
<i>refrain</i>	Oimè el cor, oimè la testa!	x	A	13–15
	Chi non ama non intende.	y	B + coda	15–18

Figure 7.1 Cara, *Oimè el cor oimè la testa* (Petrucci I, no. 2), schematic diagram of musical form and rhyme scheme for the *ripresa* and first *stanza*.

by a clearly articulated V:PAC. (Lowinsky's invocation of the *passamezzo antico* does not account for tonicizations of V, which are such a crucial part of this frottola's harmonic and rhetorical vocabulary.) The second phrase pair of course repeats this V:PAC, which here prepares a i:PAC. The C phrase (mm. 10–12) contrasts with the preceding material, departing from the schematic rhythm and lingering on the major III and VII harmonies in a confident Romanesca-like descent from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$. With its i:PAC, the C phrase responds to the harmonic preparation of both instantiations of the B phrase; its harmonic descent recalls the A phrase and recomposes it to achieve the frottola's first tonic cadence. The refrain reproduces this entire process in miniature: A pairs with a reduced B, followed by an extended coda that riffs on B while building on the harmonic rhetoric of the final cadence from C.

The phrase structure is more complicated in the stanza, which reuses the music from the four-line phrase for the eight-line verse. Cara's repeat scheme, typical of a *barzilletta* with an eight-line stanza, ensures that rhyming lines correspond to

identical musical material.¹⁰ Yet, these repetitions do not wholly align with our initial parsing of the phrases into two measure groups, nor do they maintain strictly the formal divide between the *ripresa/stanza* and the refrain.

Cara's frottola is constructed from musical modules that are applied to a highly regulated poetic form. The repeat scheme alters the relationships between the modules; however, the simple harmonic patterns, repetitive rhythms, and stepwise melodies mostly accommodate these irregularities. The phrase endings are limited to arrivals on *i* and *V*, which relate hierarchically. The refrain exists outside of the twelve-measure structure of the *ripresa* and the *stanza* (with the exception of the porous boundary between the last line of the *stanza* and the first line of the refrain). Consequently, Cara uses the refrain to reorient the listener and performer; the coda's interruption of the phrase rhythm and appropriation of earlier harmonic and melodic patterns strongly asserts both tonal and rhetorical closure.

Dahlhaus and Lowinsky's arguments provide a helpful illustration of why the notion of "harmonic tonality" can be so treacherous. Lowinsky's invocation of ostinato patterns and Dahlhaus's exploration of discant-tenor counterpoint both account for Cara's frottola successfully and indeed the two approaches are compatible, as Dahlhaus astutely observes. The rapport between their readings reflects the slipperiness of pitch structure in the sixteenth century. *Oimè el cor* admits multiple interpretations because the Guidonian diatonic pitch collection preconditions both of them. The acoustic properties of consonance, the overdetermined triad, the cultural history of the fluctuation of imperfection and perfection—these and other forces combine to yield a background pitch collection that is just not that different from the so-called tonal system, especially in the makeup and deployment of its raw pitch content. Cara's frottola is modal or tonal or something in between depending on the lens through which we view it, or the narrative in which we place it. Our insistence on pitch will lead us back perpetually into the rabbit hole that Dahlhaus navigates with such nuance: Which came first, the counterpoint or the harmony? In the frottola, there is good evidence for both sides, suggesting that, per Dahlhaus, the answer is a bit of both, or that the question is not the right one. (Indeed, Dahlhaus deftly circumvents this minefield when he points out that *counterpoint* is a technical term, *harmony* a philosophical one that "less denotes than interprets musical relationships."¹¹) Yet what if the parameter that imparts a sense of tonality to Cara's frottola is not its pitch content, but rather the way Cara organizes this pitch content in time and space?

Music and poetry in the Este court

Several letters circulating among composers, poets, and courtiers capture the vibrant role that musical settings of courtly poetry played in Isabella d'Este's court

10. The *ripresa* should not include the internal repeats, which are notated for the *stanzas* only. See William F. Prizer, "Performance Practices in the Frottola: An Introduction to the Repertory of Early 16th-Century Italian Solo Secular Song with Suggestions for the Use of Instruments on the Other Lines," *Early Music* 3, no. 3 (1975): 228.

11. Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 18.

in the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹² The poet Galeotto del Carretto, a regular correspondent of Este's, routinely sent her verses and asked her to send them to composers for musical settings. One letter, from January 14, 1497, details such an exchange:

Your Ladyship recalls having promised me on my departure from Mantua to send me the settings by Tromboncino of some of my *barzellette*. Since I never received them, I am asking you to send them to me by the courier of our Lord [of Monferrato]. . . . I should also like to have a new melodic scheme for *capitoli*, if possible.¹³

Carretto's letter indicates that Este was the intermediary between the poet and the composer, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, who might either compose a setting for a given poem (as with Carretto's *barzellette*) or provide a ready-made setting that could accommodate any poem in a given form (such as the *capitolo* setting that Carretto requests). Another poet, Niccolo da Coreggio, provides further insight into this practice in a letter dated August 23, 1504:

As for the canzone of Petrarch, which Your Excellency wishes me to select to be set to music, I have chosen one of those that I esteem most. . . . In order that Your Excellency may appreciate still more this predilection of mine, I am sending a canzone of my own of the same structure, so that the music of Petrarch's canzone may be used also for mine, if this meets with Your Excellency's approval. And I am sending not only this but still another, with the motif of a reconciliation after a lovers' quarrel, according to the scheme of another of Petrarch's canzoni.¹⁴

According to Coreggio's testimony, musicians might perform any number of poems with a single musical setting, which was defined primarily by the poetic form it was designed to accommodate. These letters mark the *frottola* as a descendant of earlier oral traditions, where *improvvisatori* declaimed poetry to music while accompanying themselves on the lute. This widespread fifteenth-century performance practice involved pairing stock musical phrases with poems in a variety of styles and registers, and it was attractive to both popular and aristocratic audiences.¹⁵ Under Este's patronage, the improvised tradition of

12. This discussion draws on Einstein's extensive study of correspondence and musical sources surrounding the *frottola* in *The Italian Madrigal*, 1:34–115. Einstein's text remains one of the most important studies of the *frottola*, though it is laden with his typically problematic value judgments and often brilliant, if flawed, speculation. For a summary of the basics of the *frottola*, see Prizer, "Performance Practices in the Frottola." Other important English-language scholarship on the repertoire includes William F. Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes: The Frottole of Marchetto Cara* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980); William F. Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition: Performance Practice in Quattrocento Italy," *Studi musicali* 15, no. 1 (1986): 3–37; Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*; Nino Pirrotta, "Before the Madrigal," *Journal of Musicology* 12, no. 3 (1994): 237–252. For a recent critical reassessment of the *frottola*, see the new volume by Meine, *Die Frottola*.

13. Trans. in Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 1:45–46.

14. *Ibid.*, 1:104.

15. On the *frottola*'s improvised antecedents see Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition"; Don Harrán and James Chater, "Frottola," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10313>.

musical declamation of Italian poetic *forme fixes* was newly inscribed as a literate genre, which has survived in several manuscript sources and a number of prints, most notably Petrucci's eleven volumes of frottole published between 1504 and 1514.¹⁶

Though Petrucci set sacred polyphony in partbooks, he printed the frottola repertoire in an unusual choirbook format (Figure 7.2). Petrucci's prints are very small (and the Antico prints that followed them smaller still!), and it would have been impractical but not impossible for four singers to perform from them. Instead, it is likely that these works were meant to be performed as solo songs with lute accompaniment, like their improvised antecedents. An April 2, 1535, letter that was probably from Tromboncino to music theorist Giovanni del Lago confirms that frottole were performed in several guises:

You ask of me a transcript of "*Se la mia morte brami*," and I send it to you with much pleasure, noting that I have written it only to an accompaniment by the lute, that is, in three parts and without alto. For this reason, if it were to be sung a cappella, an alto would have to be added. Had there been no such hurry, I should have arranged it in four parts and so that one part would not interfere with any of the others, and on my return to Venice, at the beginning of May, on a suitable occasion, I propose to write one of this sort as proof that I always have been, and will be, at your service.¹⁷

The music suggests that, despite the books' formats, some frottole were probably sung by four voices, others performed monodically, and still others treated more flexibly. While some frottole feature active, unsingable inner voices, others are strictly homophonic throughout and could easily accommodate group singing. Indeed, Antico's *Canzoni nove con alcune scelte* (Rome, 1510) includes a woodcut that depicts four men singing from a single choirbook.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the impractical choirbook format is puzzling. Taruskin suggests that choirbooks were simply the most saleable way of marketing frottole, because they were adaptable (certainly a group of singers could write out their parts by hand, and well-sighted youths might be able to crowd around a single copy).¹⁹ Einstein provocatively suggests that the frottola prints were not intended for practical use at all; rather, they may have simply preserved the works in the manner of a poetry anthology. Indeed, he treats frottole as mere musical ephemera meant to serve the expressive needs of Este's court; he calls them, "a sort of erotic arsenal, a *guide to*

16. Petrucci's volumes are my sources for this study; the tenth does not survive and I have been unable to locate a modern edition of the fifth. Digital images of volumes 1–9 are accessible on the Internet.

17. Trans. in Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 1:48. *Oimè el cor* appears in manuscript sources without the tenor voice, just as this letter describes. See Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition," 18.

18. The image is reproduced and discussed in Harrán and Chater, "Frottola," §4.

19. Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 5 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1:697. See also discussion of the choirbook format in Hiroyuki Minamino, "Chicken or Egg: Frottola 'Arrangements' for Voice and Lute," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 38 (1998): 43–45.

MARCVS CARA VERO.

Tenor

Trincel cor oimè la testa. Chi nò ama nò banda. Dopo el fatto el pèter redà.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa. Chi nò ama nò banda. Chi nò ama nò banda.

Bassus

Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.

Altus

Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.

Di fòca nòh in un doppo. Pasissin o me fòca
 un uccello in un uccello. Foddi el cor oimè la testa
 per triquet, odor mi fooppo. Per quèl che pèra acilla
 per quèl che pèra acilla. Che pèra acilla
 che pèra acilla. Che pèra acilla
 che pèra acilla. Che pèra acilla
 che pèra acilla. Che pèra acilla

Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.
 Oimè el cor oimè la testa.

Figure 7.2 Cara, “Oimè el cor oimè la testa” in Petrucci, *Frottole libro primo* (1504, no. 2). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 878-1/9#1, sig. Aii^v-Aiii^r, urn:nbn:de:hbv:12-bsb00082307-7.

improvisation.²⁰ I admit, having seen one of Petrucci's frottola prints in person, I am skeptical that more than one or two singers could use it at a time—the music and text is miniscule, and I struggled to read it from more than a foot or so away with the benefit of both corrective lenses and electric illumination (not to mention stares from fellow library patrons). Of the myriad sixteenth-century sources I've worked with, Petrucci's frottola prints feel most like a “study score” and least like a practical performing edition.²¹

The frottola is a rich, self-contained repertoire of partsongs that are newly accessible both in modern editions and via digital images of the original sources, and consequently they are ripe for music theoretical inquiry. I am going to focus what remains of my modest discussion on only three topics, which have implications for tonal expectation: text-setting, phrase structure, and repeat structure.

Tonal expectation and the improvisational matrix

Frottola is a catch-all term like *madrigal* or *partsong*; Petrucci's prints anthologize several musico-poetic genres. The most prevalent poetic form in Petrucci's frottola prints is the *barzelletta*, which I will focus on here.²² *Barzelletta* poems feature eight-syllable lines in a trochaic meter. As in *Oimè el cor*, a *barzelletta* consists of a four-line *ripresa* and one or more 6- or 8-line stanzas; both the *ripresa* and the stanza are followed by a refrain based on all or part of the *ripresa*. The typical rhyme schemes are:

xyyx xy ababbx xy bcbccx xy . . . or xyxx xy ababbccx xy dedeeffx xy . . .

The stanza often reuses the melodic material from the *ripresa* (as in *Oimè el cor*); about 20 percent of the time the stanza sets new musical material. Most *barzellette* use one of two melodic models: ABBC AB+coda (as in *Oimè el cor*) or ABCD AB+coda, yielding, normatively, one of the two schemes shown in Figure 7.3. As William Prizer argues, these schemes have two features that make them particularly valuable for improvised performance of memorized poetry: simplicity and “patterned redundancy.” Prizer describes the *barzelletta* and other frottola settings as “mnemonic forms”: “since these repetitions are linked to the rhyme scheme of the poem, they serve both to reduce the number of phrases the performer must learn and to provide a kind of mnemonic key through which a given melody is

20. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 1:57–58, 61. Emphasis Einstein's.

21. Notably, many sixteenth-century theory treatises print their examples in choirbook format. See discussions of exemplarity and format in Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 34–56; Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

22. About 40 percent of the pieces in Petrucci's frottola prints (excluding Books 5 and 11) are *barzellette*. For a summary of each of the frottola's poetic forms and the musical structures associated with them, see Prizer, “Performance Practices in the Frottola,” 228.

	A	B	B	C	A	B+coda		A	B	C	D	A	B+coda
<i>ripresa</i>	x	y	y	x	x	y		x	y	y	x	x	y
6-line stanza	:a	b:	b	x	x	y		:a	b:	b	x	x	y
8-line stanza	:a	b:	b	:c:	:x:	y		:a	b:	b	:c:	:x:	y

Figure 7.3 Rhyme schemes and musical forms in the frottola.

associated with a given line.”²³ As the oral tradition became a notated one, *barzelletta* settings gradually increased in complexity, but the underlying schematic framework remained unaltered.

Because the *barzelletta* was a vehicle for declaiming poetry, its composers developed a handful of simple, syllabic text-setting schemas. Four conditions combine to encourage a default three-measure schema (as in *Oimè el cor*): eight-syllable lines, a two-to-one ratio of long and short notes, an overwhelming preference for imperfect (duple) mensuration, and a preference for placing the accented penultimate syllable of each line on a strong beat. In contrast to the single schema that accommodates *settenari piani*, the trochaic *ottonario* permits several variations on the basic model (♩♩♩ | ♩♩♩ | ♩♩), including a jaunty hemiola pattern (♩♩♩ | ♩♩♩ | ♩♩), which is sometimes barred to show triple groupings (♩♩ | ♩♩♩ | ♩♩). The swung rhythm and the potential for variation within the broader schema help to mitigate the singsong quality of the trochaic meter. In contrast to the strictly syllabic text-setting we’ve seen in the *balletto*, *barzelletta* melodies use melismas and introduce the possibility of broken elisions. Antonio Caprioli’s *Quella bella e bianca mano* (Petrucci VIII, no. 16) is typically flexible, with a range of eight to thirteen melodic notes per line (Example 7.2). Because the melody can accommodate several approaches to underlay, a robust understanding of the underlying rhythmic schema is critical for a successful impromptu performance of a new poem (the form is schematized in Figure 7.4).

Caprioli adheres to three-measure phrase rhythm for most of his setting, but he slips from this rhythmic default for the fourth phrase (mm. 10–13). *Barzelletta* composers frequently expand the phrase that closes the *ripresa* to impart a strong sense of finality at this formal boundary—I call this the *3+4 technique*. The extra measure emphasizes the section-ending cadence, which is the culmination of the *ripresa*’s I–V | V–I trajectory. Caprioli’s melody highlights the final cadence by contrasting the plagal ambitus of the third phrase (mm. 7–9 move from $\hat{3}$ down to $\hat{5}$) with a descent through the authentic ambitus ($\hat{5}$ – $\hat{1}$); the bassus descends in parallel thirds with the cantus, the harmonic rhythm slows at the cadence, and the cantus revels in an ornamented suspension before gliding into the final. The expanded phrase rhythm permits not the penultimate but the final syllable to fall

23. Prizer, “The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition,” 6–7.

Example 7.2 Caprioli, *Quella bella e bianca mano* (Petrucci VIII, no. 16).

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the piece "Quella bella e bianca mano" by Francesco Caprioli. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute accompaniment (two staves, treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The first system (measures 1-4) is labeled "ripresa / stanza" with a sub-label "A" and a measure rest above the vocal line. The lyrics are "Quel - la bel - la e bian - cha ma - no che m'ac - co -". The second system (measures 5-8) is labeled "ripresa / stanza (cont.)" with sub-labels "B" and "C" above the vocal line. The lyrics are "-ra e pò sa - nar - mi! ché per me non tro - vo al - tre". The third system (measures 9-12) is labeled "ripresa / stanza (cont.)" with a sub-label "D (expanded)" above the vocal line. The lyrics are "ar - mi che la bel - la e bian - cha ma - no." The score includes various musical notations such as repeat signs, measure rests, and dynamic markings like "I:HC" and "I:PAC".

on the strong beat (the breve *initium*), and the formal boundary is marked by the first breve in the setting. (Cara may have avoided the 3+4 technique in *Oimè el cor* because the final cadence in the *ripresa* is different from that of the stanza—the eight-line stanza in Cara’s setting instead introduces some formal slippage between stanza and refrain.) The coda that closes each refrain performs the same function.

Example 7.2 Continued.

14

refrain

A	B
---	---

Quel-la bel - la e bian - cha ma - no che m'ac - co - ra e pò sa -

I

19

refrain (cont.)

	D' (coda)
--	-----------

- nar - mi, che m'ac - co - ra e pò sa - nar - mi!

I:HC I:PAC

Many though certainly not all *barzellette* share the consistent three-measure phrase rhythm and regular harmonic articulation that characterize *Oimè el cor* and *Quella bella*. These features support a binary grouping structure. The four-line *ripresa* further encourages this hearing, as it groups two-phrase pairs into larger groups of four phrases, which culminate in a strong cadence and complete the quatrain's rhyme scheme. Many composers reinforce this grouping structure with harmonic cues: when they pair the *xyyx* rhyme scheme with an ABBC melody, the resulting phrases often trace a I-V | V-I trajectory, as in *Oimè el cor* (*Quella bella* establishes the same harmonic plan without repeating the B phrase). Indeed, Cara's dynamic *ripresa* is strongly hypotactic: its harmonic trajectory, melodic repetition, and strong drive toward the final cadence all encourage us to hear the twelve-measure phrase as an action–reaction pair.

However, the *barzelletta*'s unique repeat structure—itsself a testament to the form's roots in mnemonic improvisatory techniques—complicates these trajectories. In the improvised tradition of poetic declamation, performers set rhyming lines with analogous musical material. The *xyyx ripresa*, for instance, encourages an ABBC setting. However, in an ABBC *ripresa* the B phrase unit both concludes the first six-measure phrase and initiates the second phrase. Its dual

Section	Text	Rhyme	Musical Form	mm.
<i>ripresa</i>	Quella bella e bianca mano	x	A	1–3
	che m'accora e pò sanarmi!	y	B	4–6
	ché per me non trovo altre armi	y	C	7–9
	che la bella e bianca mano.	x	D	10–13
<i>refrain</i>	Quella bella e bianca mano	x	A	14–16
	che m'accora e pò sanarmi!	y	B + coda	17–23
<i>stanza</i>	Sel mio foco, ch'è sepolto,	a	A	1–3
	e' mia fé non te palesa,	b	B	4–6
	guarda el bianco e nero volto	a	A	1–3
	ché vedrai la fiamma accesa.	b	B	4–6
	Non chiamo altro a mia difesa	b	C	7–9
	che la bella e bianca mano.	x	D	10–13
<i>refrain</i>	Quella bella e bianca mano	x	A	14–16
	che m'accora e pò sanarmi!	y	B + coda	17–23

Figure 7.4 Capiroli, *Quella bella e bianca mano* (Petrucci VIII, no. 16), schematic diagram of musical form and rhyme scheme for the *ripresa* and first stanza.

functionality compromises its capacity to serve as either the first or the second half of an action–reaction phrase pair. In *Oimè el cor*, the B unit's redundancy is an asset: the dominant arrival that closes the unit encourages expectation for a cadence on the A final at both the six-measure (m. 9 → m. 12) and the twelve-measure level (m. 6 → m. 12). But when the B unit does not end with a dominant arrival, its harmonic and tonal role is more complicated. For instance, in Nicolò Pifaro's *Fora son d'ogni speranza*, the B unit completes a V–I trajectory in mm. 1–5; subsequently, however, the strong cadence on the final that closes the B unit pairs poorly with the C unit, which arrives weakly on the final (mm. 6–11) (Example 7.3). Pifaro is in a bind: closing the C unit with another strong cadence to the final might be too repetitive; instead, he adds an extra D phrase that returns to V and resolves the *ripresa* with an expansive coda.

Repetition is a virtue in the *balletto* repertoire but a liability in the frottola. In the *balletto*, repetition helps listeners to identify the phrase and formal boundaries, enabling them to assess the relationships between these larger units. Consequently, the *balletto* repeat scheme trains listeners to attend to larger musical chunks and make comparisons between harmonic and melodic events across broader time spans. The same technique has a different purpose and effect in the frottola. Motivated by the pragmatic demands of accommodating texts of different

Example 7.3 Pifaro, *Fora son d'ogni speranza* (Petrucci VI, no. 18).

ripresa / stanza

A	B
---	---

1

V

ripresa / stanza (cont.)

	B
--	---

5

I:PAC

ripresa / stanza (cont.)

C	
---	--

9

I

lengths to a single melodic framework, frottola repetition obscures rather than illuminates formal and phrase structure. Repetition within stanzas breaks up perceived musical units rather than reinforcing them. Composers deploy repetition irregularly, and repeated units are not of uniform size. Consequently, whereas *balletto* repeat structure clarifies the form and orients the listener within the larger

Example 7.3 Continued.

ripresa / stanza (cont.)

D Coda

13

-sto m' a - van - za, [que - sto m' a - van - za.]
 gran pos - san - za [e - gran pos - san - za.]

V → I → I:PAC

refrain

A B'

18

Fo - ra son d' o - gni spe - ran - za e non tro - vo al - cun

V

refrain (cont.)

Coda

22

con - for - to [al - cun con - for - to.]

I → I:PAC

structure, frottola repeat structure obfuscates the form and disorients the listener. Nevertheless, the refrain attempts to ameliorate the stanza's caprice: the return to the opening music and the opening text reorients the listener within the form. The stanza-ending *x* rhyme and the determined coda reinforce the listener's sense of place unambiguously.

The modular, flexible, agglutinating phrases of the *barzelletta* exemplify paratactic phrase construction, which I discussed in Chapter 4. Paratactic construction does not exclude the possibility of expectation; we have seen that the regular phrase rhythm, periodic harmonic articulation, and goal-directed melody and harmony in *Oimè el cor* resembles the hypotactic structure characteristic of many *balletti*. Ultimately, the constantly shifting groupings direct attention away from small-scale harmonic and melodic trajectories towards broader formal trajectories. Series of cadences to the dominant, for instance, all point towards a strong final cadence that closes the *ripresa*. The 3+4 technique and the coda built into the *barzelletta* refrain are both symptomatic of paratactic construction. In the absence of reliable melodic and harmonic rhetoric (since this rhetoric can be regrouped at any time), composers rely on expanded phrase rhythm and lingering, unambiguous cadential suspensions to signal closure.

Richard Taruskin describes the frottola as “not so much a song as a kind of matrix for song-making; a melodic/harmonic mold into which countless poems could be poured.”²⁴ Taruskin’s formulation somewhat undersells frottola composers—in their time, they ranked above the itinerant *improvvisatori* but below more traditional professional composers, and the most well-known frottolists, Marco Cara and Bartolomeo Tromboncino, developed a sophisticated musical language for the genre.²⁵ But Taruskin’s image helpfully captures what happens when a non-notated genre is converted to a notated one. In the *barzelletta*, the organizing principles we expect—melody, phrase structure, cadence, form—play a secondary role; instead, the genre’s framework is mnemonic, schematic. The *barzelletta*’s logic is governed by the text, not the music. And what a text! Composers may choose to match the internal rhyme in the *xyyx ripresa* with analogous music, or they may ignore this repetition. They must balance the four-line *ripresa* with the longer stanza. They must accommodate the concatenating rhyme that connects the stanza’s *piedi* (abab) to its *volta* (bx or bccx) as well as the return of the *x* rhyme that closes the stanza. They have to mark the refrain as a closing module even while it repurposes music that we’ve heard before. It can be difficult to explain the musical logic of the *barzelletta* because the logic is not musical. Instead, listener expectation is redirected to the largest formal levels: the 3+4 technique and the adamant final coda alert us to the formal boundaries. Composers prepare these boundaries harmonically in a general way—perhaps with frequent cadences to the dominant—but they are difficult to predict.

24. Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, 1:697.

25. Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 11. Though Einstein and other early commentators maligned the quality of both frottola verse and music, more recent assessments have demonstrated that many frottole display a high degree of artistry; see, for instance, Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 105–166.

Humanism in theory and practice: *Musique mesurée*

Claude Le Jeune's *Le Printemps* (1603) opens with a "Preface sur la musique mesurée" that makes some remarkable claims:

The ancients who discussed music divided it into two parts: harmony and rhythm. The first consisted in the proportional assembly of low and high sounds, the other of short and long durations. For them, harmony was so poorly understood that they used only consonances of an octave, fifth, and fourth: from which they would compose a kind of chord on the Lyre, to which they sang their verses. Rhythm, by contrast, was brought into such perfection by them that they created marvelous effects with it, moving the souls of men to whatever passions they desired: those which we have seen portrayed in the fables of Orpheus and Amphion, who softened the feral disposition of the most savage beasts and enlivened the woods and the stones until they moved themselves to where they were desired. Since that time, such rhythm has been so neglected that it is completely lost, while for the last two hundred years harmony has been carefully studied until it was rendered perfect, capable of beautiful and great effects, but not at all like those recounted in antiquity. . . . But no one was found to remedy this until Claude Le Jeune, who is the first person emboldened to pull back suffering rhythm from the tomb where it lay for so long prostrate, to pair it with harmony. This he has done with such art and such enthusiasm that all at once he brought our music to the height of perfection . . . making it not just the equal of that of the ancients, but far more excellent, and more capable of beautiful effects, such that he makes the body listen and join together with the soul, where until hearing our music they had been separate. Because only harmony, with its agreeable consonances, can arrest the most subtle spirits in true admiration: but rhythm comes to enliven them, and can enliven as well indeed animate, move, lead wherever it pleases, by the soft force of its measured movements, any soul, however rough and coarse it may be.²⁶

Le Jeune's volume claims miraculous effects for *musique mesurée*, effects that were carefully crafted in the laboratory conditions of Jean-Antoine de Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique three decades before the posthumous publication of *Le Printemps*.²⁷ As the preface recounts, French humanists took literally ancient

26. Le Jeune, *Le Printemps*, sig. Aiv^r. My thanks to Gregory Ristow for his assistance with the French translations in this chapter.

27. The most significant studies of *musique mesurée* in English remain those of D. P. Walker, including "The Aims of Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1, no. 2 (1946): 91–100; Walker, "The Influence of *Musique Mesurée à l'Antique*, Particularly on the *Airs de Cour* of the Early Seventeenth Century," *Musica Disciplina* 2, no. 1 (1948): 141–163; "Claude le Jeune and *Musique Mesurée*," *Musica Disciplina* 3, no. 2 (1949): 151–170; "Some Aspects and Problems of *Musique Mesurée à l'Antique*: The Rhythm and Notation of *Musique Mesurée*," *Musica Disciplina* 4, no. 2 (1950): 163–186; "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *Music Review* 2–3 (1941–1942). Equally indispensable is Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: University of London, 1947). More recent work in French by Isabelle His and Jean Vignes has provided a welcome update to Walker and Yates's foundational studies: Isabelle His, "Claude Le Jeune et le rythme prosodique: La mutation des années 1570," *Revue de musicologie* 79, no. 2 (1993): 201–226; Isabelle His, "Claude Le Jeune et la publication de

claims that music could purify the soul and elevate human knowledge and consciousness. The Pléiade, a group of Parisian poets and intellectuals active from the late 1540s, believed that ancient music achieved these effects through the perfect union of poetry, which had the power of persuasive rhetoric, and music, which had the power to affect emotions.²⁸ Pierre de Ronsard outlines the principles of this synergy in his *Abbrégé de l'art poétique françois*: “Poetry, without instruments, or without the grace of a solo voice or several voices, is not at all agreeable; nor are instruments, without being enlivened by the melody of a pleasing voice.”²⁹ Ronsard’s colleague Pontus de Tyard concurs: “the intention of music seems to be to give a tune to words, so that anyone hearing it will have his passions roused and will himself be drawn to the poet’s affection.”³⁰ Both poets are explicit that though poetry and music ought to collaborate, they are not equal partners—music must support but not distract from poetry, allowing the rhetoric and affect of the text to reach the listener in its purest form.³¹

Baïf’s Académie provided an ideal outlet for testing the Pléiade’s theories. Baïf was a member of the Pléiade, and in the late 1560s he began to experiment with a new style of poetry and song in collaboration with musician Joachim Thibault de Courville. The private meetings of intellectuals that Baïf hosted in his lavish home eventually attracted royal attention, and in 1570 Charles IX granted the group official Letters Patent, declaring them the Académie de Poésie et de Musique.³² The Académie’s charter outlines two aims: to unite text and music, and, thereby, to revive music’s ancient effects. In Baïf, the Pléiade found a thinker with a concrete plan to translate their poetic ideals into musical reality, and with the Académie they gained unprecedented royal patronage that enabled them to test their musical experiments on real *auditeurs*, assess their effects, and perfect their methods.

The Académie was both an educational institution that hoped to train well-rounded humanist thinkers and a venue for developing a musical practice that could recreate the fabled effects of ancient music. In the latter capacity, Baïf employed a cohort of professional musicians who rehearsed *musique mesurée*

ses airs mesurés,” in *Poetry and Music in the French Renaissance*, ed. Jeanice Brooks, Philip Ford, and Gillian Jondorf (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 2001); Isabelle His, “Air mesuré et air de cour: pour un décloisonnement des genres,” in *Poésie, musique et société: L’air de cour en France au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Georgie Durosoir (Liège: Mardaga, 2006); Jean Vignes, “Brève histoire du vers mesuré français au XVIe siècle,” *Albineana* 17 (2005): 15–43.

28. For a discussion of the Pléiade’s ideas and their influence on the *chanson*, see Howard Mayer Brown, “Ut Musica Poesis: Music and Poetry in France in the Late Sixteenth Century,” *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 1–63.
29. Pierre de Ronsard, *Abbrégé de l’Art poétique françois* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1565), 4r. Translated in Daniel Heartz, “The Chanson in the Humanist Era,” in *Current Thought in Musicology*, ed. John W. Grubbs (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), 205.
30. Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire Second*, ed. Cathy M. Yandell (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980), 214. Translated in Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 99.
31. Brown, “Ut Musica Poesis,” 16.
32. Yates provides a detailed account of the founding and organization of the Académie in *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 14–27. For a summary of the Académie charter, see Walker, “The Aims of Baïf’s Académie de Poésie et de Musique,” 91.

daily. Every Sunday, the musicians performed a two-hour concert for a select group of *auditeurs*, erudite members who paid for the privilege of sitting in enforced silent contemplation of the experimental music. No music was to be removed from the premises, nothing could be copied or distributed, and new *auditeurs* were admitted only with the approval of the entire group. Baïf was adamant that *musique mesurée* remain under lock and key until it could be perfected and its moral effects could be proved. The stakes could not have been higher: he believed that, executed properly, *musique mesurée* could restore moral discipline to France. The Letters Patent outline this aim: “It is critically important for the morals of a city’s citizens that the current and practiced music of a country be constrained by certain laws. . . . Where the music is disorderly, there morals are naturally depraved, and where it is well ordered, there we find upstanding men.”³³

Many of Baïf’s *vers mesurés* survive in a manuscript housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France; though the manuscript is probably not in Baïf’s hand, it maintains his idiosyncratic orthography. Figure 7.5 reproduces *Vous me tuez si doucement*. The poem is typical of Baïf’s *Chansonnettes*, which provided a wealth of material for Académie composers, including Claude Le Jeune and Jacques Mauduit. With his *vers mesurés*, Baïf introduced three innovations in poetic style: his poems are in French, they are devised according to his own reconstruction of an ancient poetic meter, and they are unrhymed.³⁴

Like their contemporaries in the Florentine Camerata, the Pléiade and subsequently the Académie aimed to reproduce the effects of ancient music not in Greek and Latin, but rather in the vernacular, which they hoped to ennoble for artistic and intellectual expression. Onto his French poetry Baïf mapped the poetic meters of ancient verse: the $\bar{\quad}$ and $\acute{\quad}$ markings in his manuscript distinguish between the short and long durations described in Le Jeune’s preface. Of course, the Académie poets here encountered a major linguistic obstacle: Greek and Latin have syllable quantity, whereas French does not. Baïf and his colleagues understood this linguistic mismatch, but they hoped to *impose* quantity on French to recreate the affective power of ancient poetry.³⁵ Critically, for Baïf, music provided an ideal outlet for quantitative verse; by developing an orthographic system that regulated the length of each syllable, Baïf shifted the rhythmic compositional burden away from the composer and onto the poet, who, in Baïf’s view, should have as much control over the music as possible.³⁶

33. Quoted in Walker, “The Aims of Baïf’s Académie,” 92–93.

34. F-Pn MS Fr. 19140. In addition to a digital copy available on Gallica, the manuscript is available in two modern editions with different methodological approaches: Barbara Anne Terry, *The Chansonnettes en vers mesurés of Jean-Antoine de Baïf: A Critical Edition* (Birmingham: Birmingham Printing Company, 1966); Jean-Antoine de Baïf, *Chansonnettes*, ed. G. C. Bird (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1964).

35. Barbara E. Bullock, “Quantitative Verse in a Quantity-Insensitive Language: Baïf’s *vers mesurés*,” *Journal of French Language Studies* 7, no. 1 (1997): 23–24; Terry, *Chansonnettes en vers mesurés*, 47–54.

36. Vignes, “Brève histoire,” 26–27.

2/4

REGAN. KANNANT JĒ PĒX, JĒ KANYĒ PĒDANT
 J'ĒSPĒR'Ē KRĒIN, J'Ē JĒT'Ē Ē MĀRTĒL. X

SAN. 1. JĒ VĪ PRĒNĀNT DU PLĒZĪR,
 PLĒZĪR Ē KRĒINT'Ē DĀLĒR:
 DĀLĒR, S'Ī FĒT NĒ VĀ VĀR;
 KRĒINTĒ, DĒ PĒDRĒ VĀZ IĒS;
 PLĒZĪR ĒMĀNT SĒ KĪ PĒT. X

2. JĒ VĀ DĪVĒ KOMAN-SUIS
 DES, JE DĪ DES Ē NON UN:
 ISI DU KĀORS DEMĪ MIĒN,
 LĀ TUT A VSS DE L'ĒSPRIT.
 S'ĒT KOME SUIS DĒPĒSĒ. X

3. J'Ē D'ĒTRE VĀTRE. PLĒZĪR,
 KRĒINTĒ DU PLĒZĪR ĀIANT,
 KRĒYANT DE PĒIN-NE VĀ VĀR:
 PĒTE. SĒ M'ĒT NĒ VĀ VĀR:
 PĒTE ME KĀRĒ DĀLĒR. X

XLII

SAN. 1. VSS MĒ TĪĒS SĪ DĒSEMĀNT,
 ĀVEKE TĀRMĀNS TĀNT BĒNĪNS,
 KĒ NĒ SĒ GĀRĒ DĒ DĒSĒR
 PLU-DĒSĒ K'ĒT MĀ DĒSĒ MĀRT. X

REGAN. S'Ī FĒT MĀRTĒ, MĀRON D'ĀMĪR. X

2. SĪ FLORĪERS JE SUIS D'ĒMĒR,
 Ē TANT SATĪSĒT TANT URĒS,
 KE JE PRĪZZ'UN DE MEZ ANNĪS
 SAN-MILLE BIĒNS D'ŪN VĀTRE MEIN. X

3. PUIS KE SĪ DĒSEMĀNT JE MEZ
 ĀVEKE TĀRMĀNS TAN-BĒNĪNS,
 JE NE ĒRĒS'ĀKŪNE DĒSĒR
 PLU-DĒSĒ K'ĒT MĀ DĒSĒ MĀRT. X

Figure 7.5a Baif, "Vous me tuez si doucement" from Chansonettes. Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 19140, fol. 314r.

Vous me tuez si doucement,
 Avecque tourmans tant benins,
 Que ne scay chose de douceur
 Plus douce qu'est ma douce mort.

S'il faut mourir, mouron d'amour.

Si glorieux je suis d'aymer,
 Et tant satisfait, tant heureux,
 Que je priz' un de mes ennuis
 Cent mille biens d'un' autre main.

S'il faut mourir, mouron d'amour.

Puis que si doucement je meurs,
 Avecque tourmans tant benins,
 Que ne sçay chose de douceur
 Plus douce qu'est ma douce mort.

S'il faut mourir, mouron d'amour.

Figure 7.5b Baïf, “Vous me tuez si doucement,” as set by Mauduit (1586, no. 1).

Mauduit’s setting of *Vous me tuez si doucement* illustrates how the Académie translated Baïf’s *vers mesurés* into music (Example 7.4).³⁷ Mauduit matches Baïf’s longs and shorts with minims and semiminims and adheres to Baïf’s poetic meter religiously. The resulting setting is homophonic—ensuring comprehensibility of the text—and syllabic—following the dictates of Baïf’s interpretation of ancient meter. Mauduit’s loyalty to Baïf’s rhythmic schema overrides mensural concerns: his setting freely alternates groupings of two and three semiminims. Consequently, the principle unit in a *musique mesurée* setting is not the semibreve grouping but the phrase, demarcated in Mauduit’s *air* by bar lines.³⁸ Phrases vary

37. Baïf hoped to perfect *musique mesurée* before setting it loose upon the French public, so no *musique mesurée* was published during the Académie’s brief tenure. Mauduit’s 1586 collection of *Chansonnettes mesurées* and Le Jeune’s *Le Printemps* are the most substantial sources of secular *musique mesurée* that can definitely be traced to the Académie—both men were medallion-carrying members—but scattered *airs mesurés* appear in collections by Fabrice Caietain (1578), Guillaume Tessier (1582), and Nicolas de la Grotte (1583). In addition, there’s much more work to be done on the measured psalms from Baïf’s two psalters, both preserved in the same manuscript as the *Chansonnettes*; Le Jeune (1606) and Eustache du Caurroy (1610) both published large quantities of *psaumes mesurés*.

38. Most examples of *musique mesurée* separate phrases with either bar lines or semiminim rests. Bar lines seem to be a later development—the earliest collection I know of with bar lines is Mauduit’s

Example 7.4 Mauduit, *Vous me tuez si doucement* (1586, no. 1).

1

Vous me tu-ez si dou-ce-ment, A-vec-que tour-mans tant be-nins,

I

3

Que ne sçay cho-se de dou-ceur Plus dou-ce qu'est ma dou-ce mort.

V

5

S'il faut mou-ri-r, mou-ron d'a-mour.

I:PAC

in length from twelve to fifteen semiminim beats, and resist interpretation according to a minim or semibreve *tactus*. Each line has a unique rhythmic scheme and, as a result, a distinctive character: the first phrase, for instance, has a lilting 2+2+3+3+2, while the fourth phrase falls into a triple-inflected iambic pattern.³⁹ Though the *mesuré* rhythms violate the most basic principles of mensuration, they did not faze contemporary musicians. Antoine Parran, one of the first French theorists outside of the Académie to describe *musique mesurée*, explains the procedure for performing these *airs*: “the beat, or common movement, is not taken at all according to a regular meter [*mesure*], but one beats more or less on each

1586 print. Some of Le Jeune’s *chansons* appear both ways: in *Le Printemps* (1603) phrases are separated with rests and sometimes supplemented with bar lines, whereas in *Airs à III. IV. V. et VI parties* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1608) the rests are eliminated in favor of consistent bar lines. Though both collections were published posthumously, this evidence indicates that the bars may have been interpreted as breath marks or rests. See His, “Air mesuré et air de cour,” 158.

39. Baif does not always approach his texts in this way. His poems may have either regular or varied line lengths, and he may deploy either regular or varied poetic meter throughout a poem.

note, and it is called *musique d'air*.⁴⁰ Settings of *vers mesurés* are as diverse as the composers who wrote them—not every composer strictly maintains the two-to-one long-to-short ratio, for instance—but they inevitably prioritize the declamation of the flexible poetic meter over any fealty to an imagined background mensural grid.

But French musicians were very concerned about the lack of end rhymes. Baïf's *vers mesurés* strictly followed the model of ancient verse, eschewing end rhyme altogether. In its place, Baïf makes ample use of assonance and other rhyming strategies.⁴¹ For instance, in *Vous me tuez si doucement* the vowel that Baïf transcribes as “8” resounds nine times in the first stanza:

*Vous me tuez si doucement,
Avecque tourmans tant benins,
Que ne scay chose de douceur
Plus douce qu'est ma douce mort.
S'il faut mourir, mouron d'amour.*

These concessions to rhyme were not sufficient for Baïf's contemporaries, however. Marin Mersenne, a close friend of Mauduit and ardent supporter of the then-defunct *musique mesurée*, explained the French predicament: “Rhymed verse has so accustomed our ears to the cadence of rhyme that they do not receive any pleasure from *vers mesurés* if and when they are not rhymed.”⁴² Indeed, rhyme was so indispensable that only five years after the publication of *Le Printemps*, Claude Le Jeune's sister republished much of the collection with altered, rhyming texts in two volumes of *Airs à III. IV. V & VI parties* (Paris: Paul Ballard, 1608).⁴³ Though rhymed verse was counter to Baïf's ideals, it proved much more popular than its unrhymed counterpart, and a new wave of rhyming *airs* inspired by (but not strictly conforming to the principles of) *musique mesurée* began to flow from the presses. Surely Baïf would have lamented this development—the Académie's charter reveals that he was obsessively controlling of the *mesuré* style, and he deplored the thought that a less-than-perfect form of *musique mesurée* might make its way to public ears.

The laws of another measure

In *Vous me tuez*, Baïf's metrical design impacts Mauduit's melodic and harmonic rhetoric, phrase structure, and even musical form. Though each line has the same number of syllables, Baïf chooses a flexible, shifting metrical scheme that imparts

40. Antoine Parran, *Traité de la Musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1639), 85.

41. Hertz, “The Chanson in the Humanist Era,” 215–217.

42. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636–1637), 386. See discussion in Vignes, “Brève histoire,” 33–34.

43. Vignes documents the changing perceptions of rhymed verse in “Brève histoire.” Baïf himself had written a psalter in rhymed *vers mesurés*, perhaps to sway the pope otherwise unconvinced by his Catholic argument in favor of his vernacular psalter.

a distinctive character to each line. To reinforce this rhythmic diversity, Mauduit, Baïf's close collaborator, develops a unique melodic and harmonic paradigm for each line. As a result, the musical setting is unpredictable: without end rhyme, rhythmic parallelism, and the melodic and harmonic parallelism that rhythm supports, the *air* flits temperamentally from phrase to phrase. To compensate for the *air*'s changeability, Mauduit imbues each phrase with rhetoric that clarifies its formal position. The poem opens with a distinctive dactylic rhythm, which Mauduit sets with an assertive melodic motive ($\hat{1}-\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$). This gesture initiates an arpeggiated ascent to $\hat{5}$; the *air*'s final phrase responds in kind with a stepwise $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$ descent to an authentic cadence. While Mauduit grounds the outer phrases in an F tonality, he traverses more distant harmonic terrain for the internal phrases, reflecting their unstable poetic meter. Each phrase culminates on a different local dominant harmony; the harmonic plan descends slowly by fifths from D back down to F. However, each phrase-ending dominant relates backward to events earlier in the phrase, not forward to the next cadence. Mauduit does not create a series of expectations; rather, he seals off each phrase before moving to a new, unrelated harmony to start the next gesture. But, for the fourth phrase, Mauduit redirects the typical phrase-ending melodic cadence: instead, he ascends to a tonicized $\hat{5}$, a gesture that closes the *air*'s developmental space and prepares the final cadence. The last phrase—a lyric-invariant *rechant* (or refrain)—is strongly goal-directed. The confident alliterative swing of “S’il faut mourir, mouron d’amour” and the melody’s efficient descent complement the line’s epigrammatic concision.

While Baïf deliberately undermines rhythmic regularity in *Vous me tuez*, poets of *vers mesurés* often chose regular poetic meters, which they manipulated to demarcate poetic form. In his 1586 collection, Mauduit follows *Vous me tuez* with a more regular poem, *Come le fenix je suis*. The *air*'s *chant* (verse) consists of three phrases, each of which opens with a “~” gesture (Example 7.5). Mauduit highlights the rhythmic head motive with melodic and harmonic parallelism in the first two phrases—he opens both with a descending gesture that prolongs a single harmony. As in *Vous me tuez*, Mauduit inverts this pattern for the third phrase, a move that concludes the *chant*'s I–V–I harmonic trajectory. The poet chooses a lilting trochaic pattern to set a thrice-repeated command: “tuë, tuë, tuë moy.” Mauduit matches the speaker's entreaty with a desperate ascending sequence that earnestly climbs from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$; in his frenzy, the speaker sweeps the *rechant* to a tonicized V that resolves with the refrain “pour cela ne mourray.” This violent romantic death contrasts markedly with the “killing me softly” sentiment of *Vous me tuez*. In *Vous me tuez*, Baïf lopes through the poem's gentle declamation, shifting the ground beneath the listener as he lingers on each “8” vowel in the *chant*. Baïf reverses course in the *rechant* and drives away from the “8” sound to the nihilistic word endings “mourir, mouron d’amour” that slide gently down into death. By contrast, *Come le fenix* uses urgent goal-directed rhythms from the start. Each phrase of the *chant* tumbles to the fourth syllable, emphasizing the fiery images of the Phoenix and his ashes. After the momentum builds, an explosive pause on the first “tuë” ignites the *rechant*; the bass joins in, and the melody rises up to a triumphant death and rebirth.

Example 7.5 Mauduit, *Come le Fenix je suis* (1586, no. 2).

1
Co-me le Fe - nix je suis, Qui de sa mort re-prant viê,

I V

3
Qui da - sa cen - dre nai - stra. Tu - ë, Tu - ë, Tu - ë moy,

I:PAC V

5
Pour ce - la ne mour - ray.

I:PAC

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a three-part setting. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The first system (measures 1-2) has the lyrics 'Co-me le Fe - nix je suis, Qui de sa mort re-prant viê,' and is marked with 'I' and 'V'. The second system (measures 3-4) has the lyrics 'Qui da - sa cen - dre nai - stra. Tu - ë, Tu - ë, Tu - ë moy,' and is marked with 'I:PAC' and 'V'. The third system (measures 5-6) has the lyrics 'Pour ce - la ne mour - ray.' and is marked with 'I:PAC'. The music is in a simple, homophonic style with a clear harmonic progression.

Mauduit likely composed both of these settings under the strict supervision of the Académie. Since no musical evidence survived from antiquity, Baïf could only experiment with musical forms and test his results on the Académie's *auditeurs*; indeed, he described his micromanaged concerts as “*preuves*” (evidence).⁴⁴ How might the principles of Greek and Latin poetic meter be most thoroughly embodied in a musical setting? Mauduit’s *airs* aim to answer this question: the fluid, declamatory irregularity of *Vous me tuez* and the concise tight-knit construction of *Come le fenix* echo and amplify the poems’ metrical characters. Whereas *Vous me tuez* meanders among distant harmonies that isolate the phrases from one another, *Come le fenix* marches confidently from dominant to tonic harmonies, drawing the phrases into relationships. Poetic meter does not merely constrain Mauduit’s compositional behavior; rather, it imbues the entire poem with a character that demands sensitive musical setting. Poetic meter sculpts the smallest

44. Walker, “The Aims of Baïf’s *Académie*,” 95.

melodic gesture and the largest-scale tonal trajectories—*Vous me tuez* rejects connections between phrases, *Come le fenix* demands them.

Vers mesurés typically pair a *chant* (verse) and *rechant* (refrain). While Mauduit's austere settings minimize the distinctions between sections, Le Jeune's more expansive *airs mesurés* exploit this formal relationship. Le Jeune seeks out elaborate poems, such as *Francine, rôzine*, which revels in a fanciful *rechant* (Example 7.6). The anonymous poet opens the *rechant* with a series of rhyming three-syllable words; he chooses a mechanical dactylic meter that stands out from the rest of the setting. Le Jeune sets the conspicuous dactyls with an exuberant descending sequence; the meter, rhyme, and cascading melodic descent shape this line into a memorable refrain within the larger *rechant*. The sequence drives to dominant; the remainder of the *rechant* journeys back to tonic, closing with an illicit rhyme (*couleur/blancheur*) that reinforces the formal boundary. Le Jeune certainly highlights the poem's subtle refrain, but this formal innovation is largely the work of the poet, not the composer. In fact, much of the elegance of Le Jeune's setting is lost when it reappears with a new, rhymed text in *Airs à III. IIII. V & VI parties*. The new *rechant* text (which appears in italics in the example) maintains the *couleur/blancheur* rhyme, but dismantles the dactylic refrain. In the absence of the rhymed three-syllable words, Le Jeune's sequential setting makes little sense. The translator's awkward disrespect for the relationship between the dactylic meter and the word boundaries ruins the original poet's carefully coordinated prosody and poetic meter.⁴⁵

Schematic text-setting influences nearly every aspect of both the *balletto* and the *air mesuré*. Yet because the repertoires have such distinct aesthetic aims, schematic text-setting yields dramatically different results. For instance, in *Now is the month of Maying* schematic text-setting produces a homogenous rhythmic profile as it leans toward the *accento commune* (recall Example 4.13). Morley groups the poem's two texted phrases: because they share a similar rhythmic profile, he outfits them with a single ascending melodic line and a musical rhyme that corresponds with their poetic rhyme. Morley uses the couplet's grouping structure as a springboard for larger binary groupings. As I have argued, binary grouping structure and its attendant metrical periodicity shapes phrase structure and form, creating space for trajectories from dominant to tonic at multiple scales. Several factors in combination, including rhyme, melodic parallelism, metrical periodicity, refrains, and repeat structure, create the possibility for harmonic expectation, yielding an aesthetic where tonally open phrases *prepare* and *predict* subsequent tonally closed phrases. Schematic text-setting initiates this process. It is a viable compositional strategy in part due to the meagerness of Morley's hackneyed verse—the poem's metrical regularity, unambitious rhymed couplets, and resistance to expressive deviation all encourage Morley to focus his attention on musical rather than textual organization.

By contrast, the text takes center stage in a *musique mesurée* setting, to the detriment of the grouping structure. Because of their asymmetrical rhythms and

45. These rewritten texts were almost certainly the work of poet Odet de la Noue; see His, "Air mesuré et air de cour," 159.

Example 7.6 Le Jeune, *Francine, rôzine* (1603, no. 11). Italicized *rechant* text is from the 1608 rhymed version.

1

Fran - ci - ne, ró - zi - ne, nim - phé - te, blan - ché - te, par - fé - te beau - té:
 Fran - ci - ne, ro - ze d'Es-té tou - te blan - chet - te, par - fai - te beau - té.

Qui lou' la bru - ne cou - leur,
 Qui lou' la som - bre cou - leur,

V

III

3

Ne blâ - me pas la blan - cheur.
 Ne blas - me pas la blan - cheur.

La Ro - ze rei - ne des fleurs,
 Et le Lys roy - al a son pris,

I:PAC

Example 7.6 Continued.

6

La vi - o - lett' a son lós. Fram - ci - ne, ró - zi - ne, nim - phé - te, blan - ché - te, par - fé - te beau - té:

8

Qui loú' la bru - ne cou - leur, Ne blá - me pas la blan - cheur.

irregular line lengths, *vers mesurés* ensure that the smallest possible musical unit is the phrase. The *mesuré* phrase cannot be subdivided. What's more, in the absence of line-ending rhymes, *mesuré* phrases rarely group into pairs. Of course, the *balletto* and *musique mesurée* share many features: both create and exploit melodic connections between phrases, both develop V–I relationships on multiple levels of musical structure, both use refrains to help articulate musical form. Yet, the *air mesuré* favors asymmetry over symmetry, an aesthetic priority that supports harmonic trajectories but discourages predictability. Instead, composers of *airs mesurés* create expectation through other means—Le Jeune's refrains, for instance, use melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic cues to orient listeners toward the final.

Frances Yates describes *musique mesurée* as “perhaps the most thorough-going attempt ever made to translate into practice the precepts of musical humanism, and so to produce in modern times songs which should be ‘spells for souls.’”⁴⁶ Humanism motivated a shift in emphasis away from contrapuntal design and toward sensitivity to the text. *Musique mesurée* is an extreme manifestation of this impulse, undergirded by an urgent ethical imperative to reform an increasingly war-torn French society. Indeed, *musique mesurée* and the frottola both arise out of the humanistic emphasis on text over music, though they fall at opposite ends of a spectrum. In both repertoires, the aesthetic concerns motivating the poetry condition the character of the musical settings. But whereas the stakes of the frottola were very low—entertainment for the court—for *musique mesurée* and the Académie they could not have been higher. Accordingly, the frottola is maximally flexible. Its humble roots in improvised, popular song reflect its frivolous courtly function. Its repetitive mnemonic form simply reproduces the *barzelletta* rhyme scheme. And its melodies are meant to be repurposed for multiple texts, so that novice courtly poets could serenade one another with their newest romantic efforts. By contrast, *musique mesurée* is maximally regulated. It was born out of the prestigious intellectual world of the Pléiade and supported by the most official forms of royal patronage. Its settings are sensitive to the text at the level of the individual syllable. Every poem demands a unique musical setting, such that the perfect union of music and word could elevate an attentive listener to a higher spiritual plane.

A universal priesthood of all believers proclaims the Word

Bach's chorale harmonizations have long been critical pedagogical and analytical touchstones for music theorists. Bach's chorales are exemplars of voice-leading ingenuity and harmonic sophistication, and by extension they embody, in miniature, many of the core tenets of tonal composition. Assumptions like these build on a venerable tradition of Bach reception history instigated by Bach's eighteenth-century publishers, who, faced with a public puzzled by and

46. Yates, *French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 42.

uninterested in Bach's unplayable chorale harmonizations, marketed them as the apotheosis of a distinctly German artistic tradition.⁴⁷ In order to sell Bach's chorales, Johann Friedrich Reichardt extolled the composer as the "creator of harmony" and the "greatest harmonist of all times and nations," thereby framing the chorale harmonizations as essential works for contemplative study.⁴⁸ It is not difficult to hear echoes of our modern pedagogical tradition in Reichardt's words. John Eliot Gardiner, for instance, recounted his studies with Nadia Boulanger:

Her way of teaching harmony was founded on Bach's chorales, which she regarded as models of how to establish a beautiful polyphony—with each voice being accorded equal importance while still playing a different role in the four-way conversation, now advancing, now retreating: contrapuntally conceived harmony, in other words.⁴⁹

Ian Quinn has recently outlined several features of Bach's chorale corpus that make it so pedagogically and analytically fruitful: the corpus is large, the chorales are remarkably consistent, they maintain four independent voices, they feature a consistent harmonic rhythm (usually the quarter note), and the combination of this harmonic rhythm and voice-leading constraints limits the types and extent of figuration.⁵⁰

But the features that make the chorale well suited for analytical study are precisely those features that make it a poor analogue for other eighteenth-century composition. That is, its harmonic rhythm, itself an outgrowth of its melodic construction, is much more consistent and much faster than that of, say, a Mozart string quartet. The result, to my ear, is a decidedly vertical, "chordy" style that Bach amiably balances with juicy inner-voice melodic lines. (I'm an alto and I sing a lot of Bach, and for every nonsensical "filler" part I've plowed through I've relished a graceful, joyous path through a tortuous chorale harmonization.) The Bach chorale is surely the *locus classicus* of homophony, yet, as I will recount, its theoretical and liturgical history produced a repertoire that had little in common with homophonic secular song.

Like sixteenth-century vernacular song, the Lutheran chorale and the Reformation that created it responded to humanist principles.⁵¹ The early reformers, including Martin Luther, were allied intellectually with sixteenth-century humanists, even if they did not always agree on doctrinal issues. In particular, Luther's innovations were motivated by the ideal of *sola scriptura*—that theological truths should be discerned from scripture alone, and not from the late medieval interpretations of religious doctrine that had precipitated the corruption

47. Matthew Dirst, *Engaging Bach: The Keyboard Legacy from Marpur to Mendelssohn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 34–54.

48. Quoted in *ibid.*, 51.

49. John Eliot Gardiner, *Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven* (New York: Knopf, 2013), 3–4.

50. Ian Quinn, "Tonal Harmony," in *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Concepts in Music Theory*, ed. Alexander Rehding and Steven Rings (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

51. The most important introduction to the Reformation and its musical effects remains the revised and expanded English-language version of Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975). For more concise introductions to music and Lutheranism, see Robin A. Leaver, "The Lutheran Reformation," in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the*

of the sixteenth-century Catholic church. His return to ancient sources corresponded closely to humanist ideals, as did his emphasis on the role of the individual in seeking God's grace, *sola fidei*, through faith alone. Consequently, Luther produced a monumental translation of the Bible in an elegant yet simple style that did for modern German what Shakespeare did for modern English. As the German Bible would make the Word of God more accessible to the laity, so would Luther's new liturgy, which emphasized a universal priesthood of all believers. Luther devised a model for worship as a collective, congregational act of thanksgiving to God for his grace, rather than a priestly offering to God made on behalf of the (passive) congregation.

While many Protestant reformers rejected the opulence of Latin-texted, polyphonic Catholic music, Luther embraced music in worship. In fact, Luther's taste in liturgical music was conservative, and he maintained many Catholic musical traditions in his new liturgy.⁵² Luther was a skilled singer and lutenist and incisively discussed contemporary musical trends in his writings; he saw music as a gift from God and a potential tool to help promote piety and spread the gospel.⁵³ "I want to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of Him who has given and created them," he wrote in a preface to an early hymn book.⁵⁴ Consequently, in the 1520s Luther developed the chorale, a German-texted strophic form designed for unison congregational song. Luther and others adapted these chorales from contemporary Latin hymns and sequences, German-language religious songs called *Leisen* (so named for their "Kyrieleis" refrains), and even folk and popular tunes, and Luther composed many new chorale tunes using melodic formulas drawn from all of these traditions. To this repertoire Luther also contributed translations of portions of the mass as well as each of the six parts of the catechism. The chorale was pragmatic from the start. Luther was not picky about the sources of his melodies ("Why should the devil have all the good tunes?" he reportedly, if apocryphally, quipped) and the chorale's simple yet flexible style reflects its multifaceted origins.⁵⁵ In his chorales, Luther emphasized the same accessible verbal style that he displayed in his Bible—he favored short words, imperative verbs, simple alliteration, and singsong rhythms that imparted an immediacy to his biblical and liturgical texts.⁵⁶

16th Century, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Springer, 1989); Robin A. Leaver, "The Reformation and Music," in *European Music, 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Rochester: Boydell, 2006). See also James Michael Weiss, "Humanism," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillebrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

52. Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6–7.

53. Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 6–14.

54. Quoted in *ibid.*, 14. The hymnbook was Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deutsch Geystliches Gesangk Büchlein* (Wittenberg, 1524), which contained polyphonic settings of thirty-eight hymns, several of which are attributed to Martin Luther; Walter's was the first Luther-sanctioned Lutheran hymnbook.

55. Herl points out that this popular Luther quote does not appear in any of Luther's voluminous writings in *Worship Wars*, 21.

56. Robert L. Marshall and Robin A. Leaver, "Chorale," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05652>.

Luther's chorales were accessible to the laity. They were simple enough that even illiterate members of the congregation could listen to them, understand them, and memorize them by rote (Luther's concerns for text intelligibility resemble those of Baif's Académie and the Florentine Camerata, and extend from the minutest principles of text-setting all the way up to cathedral design).⁵⁷ And they embodied his theology: armed with a series of memorized chorales, a layperson could own and understand the Word, could use it in worship and private devotion, and could spread it to others. As Blume puts it, Luther's chorales "were poetic words of Scripture, not merely devotional thoughts and prayers like the German song in the Catholic church. They not only possessed a general religious content, but in them the layman was given the biblical word itself and the extrabiblical liturgical text as his own property, not easily lost."⁵⁸ The hymns embodied the congregant's new personal relationship with God.

Because hymnody is such a fixture of modern Protestant worship and the Bach chorale such a centerpiece of our pedagogy, it is easy to forget that Luther's initial hymn tunes were monophonic. Though a handful of polyphonic hymn settings were published in the sixteenth century, these did not play a significant role in worship, because the melody usually sounded in the tenor voice and was therefore difficult for the congregation to hear. Instead, congregational song was unison and a cappella (organ accompaniment did not emerge for another century), or, depending on a church's resources, congregations might sing *in alternatim* with the choir, instruments, or the organ. (Herl notes that not all congregations were enthusiastic about singing—or church attendance, for that matter.⁵⁹) The earliest hymns were published as unauthorized broadsheets laden with mistakes; later hymnbooks collected mostly texts with only a handful of tunes. Hymnbooks were expensive and churches did not provide them—rather, an enterprising congregant might purchase one for study, and, if permitted, might bring it to worship. But for the most part, hymn singing was an enterprise for amateurs, and much of the early hymn tradition was an illiterate one.

Only in the late 1580s did a musically capable theologian, Lucas Osiander, devise a model for congregational chorale singing with harmonic support: the cantional.⁶⁰ Osiander explains his novel approach in the preface to *Fünfftzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*:

I know well that as a rule, the composer usually places the chorale in the tenor. But when that is done, the chorale is unrecognizable under the other voices. Then the

57. Leaver, "The Reformation and Music," 373.

58. Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 43.

59. Herl, *Worship Wars*, 164.

60. The literature on the cantional is surprisingly scant; to date no major music theoretical or musicological study of the repertoire exists. Given the increasing availability of the sources, the time is ripe for a consideration of this repertoire. For an introduction to and edition of Osiander's cantional see Louis Eugene Schuler, "Lucas Osiander and His *Fünfftzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*: The Development and Use of the First Cantional" (PhD diss., Washington University, 1986). For preliminary studies of the cantional's musical style, see Erich Wolf, *Der vierstimmige homophone Satz: die stilistischen Merkmale des Kantionalsatzes zwischen 1590 und 1630* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1965); Ian Quinn and Panayotis Mavromatis, "Voice-Leading

common man cannot understand what sort of Psalm it is, and cannot sing along. Therefore I have placed the chorale in the discant so that it is truly recognizable and every amateur can sing along.⁶¹

Osiander conceived his volume as a companion for the Württemberg hymnal—the congregation would sing the familiar melodies, which they learned from the hymnal, and the choir would accompany them in four-voice homophony, singing from Osiander’s partbooks (Figure 7.6). The cantional experiment obviously met an urgent congregational need: after Osiander’s publication, dozens of cantionals appeared in Lutheran cities throughout Germany, in both partbook and choirbook format (Figure 7.7). The cantional reached an apotheosis with Michael Praetorius’s monumental nine-volume *Musae Sioniae* (1605–1610), which aimed to anthologize all of the German hymns—and all of their settings—in common use at the time.⁶² A second wave of cantional publishing followed in the 1620s and ’30s, inaugurated by Johann Hermann Schein’s 1627 cantional with basso continuo. Thus we can draw a straight line from Luther’s early monophonic hymns through early polyphonic chorale settings to the homophonic cantional, accompanied homophony, and ultimately to the Bach chorale.

Why should the devil have all the good tunes?

Example 7.7 juxtaposes five cantional settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. The tune, one of Luther’s earliest, is based on the Latin Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. Like many chorale tunes, it builds trajectories and creates melodic contrast primarily via register. The stepwise borrowed melody demands a harmonic rhythm of one chord per melody pitch. These constraints, along with the chorale’s syllabic text-setting, yield five settings that are remarkably similar. Five of the tune’s six phrases end with a three-note descent; all five composers set $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ with $i-V-i$ and $\hat{7}-\hat{6}-\hat{5}$ with a corresponding $v-V/V-V$ progression. These progressions often conclude or extend Romanesca bass lines (in the first, second, and final phrases), further unifying the five settings. In other phrases, however, the

Prototypes and Harmonic Function in Two Chorale Corpora,” in *Mathematics and Computation in Music*, ed. Carlos Agon et al. (Heidelberg: Springer, 2011).

61. Osiander’s preface is rich with musical details and is translated in full in Schuler, “Lucas Osiander,” 66–69. Quotations from Osiander in the rest of this chapter come from Schuler’s translation.
62. I have focused on a representative sample of early cantionals available in modern edition: Lucas Osiander, *Funffßzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1586), ed. Louis Eugene Schuler (PhD diss., Washington University, 1986); Sethus Calvisius, *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* (Leipzig: Apel, 1597), ed. Franz Karen-Biederstedt (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 2015); *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* (Hamburg: Rüdinger, 1604), ed. Klaus Ladda and Klaus Beckmann (Singen: Bodensee-Musikversand, 1995); Hans Leo Hassler, *Kirchengesäng: Psalmen und geistliche Lieder* (Nuremberg: Kauffmann, 1608), ed. Ulrich Zimmer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972); Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae* (vols. 6–8) (Wolfenbüttel, 1609–1610), ed. Friedrich Blume in *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius* (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1928, 1932, 1939).

Discantus.

Cristen ist der heilig Christ/der aller Welt ein trost/ker ist.
 Alle lula/ Alle lu ia/ Alle lula/ Alle lula.

XI.

Crist lag inn todes banden/ für vnser sünd gegeben:
 Der ist wider erstanden/ vnd hat vns bracht das leben. Des wir sol-

len frölich sein/ Gott loben vnd danckbar sein/ vnd singen Alle lu ia/ Alle lula.

G

Bassus.

Cristen ist der heilig Christ/der aller Welt ein trost/ker ist.
 Alle lula/ Alle lu ia/ Alle lula/ Alle lula.

XI.

Crist lag inn todes banden/ für vnser sünd gegeben:
 Der ist wider erstanden/ vnd hat vns bracht das leben. Des wir sol-

len frölich sein/ Gott loben vnd danckbar sein/ vnd singen Alle lu ia/ Alle lula.

Figure 7.6 *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (no. 11) in Osiander, *Fünfftzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1586). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.pr. 88#Beibd.4, Discantus partbook, sig. Ci^r, and Bassus partbook, sig. BBi^v, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00075340-0.

Cant.
 Christ lag in todes banden / Sir
 Der ist wider erstanden / Dnd
 vnser Sünd gegeben / Des wir sollen
 hat vns bracht das Leben /
 fröhlich sein / Gott loben vnd dankbar sein / vnd

Alt.
 Christ lag in todes banden / Sir
 Der ist wider erstanden / Dnd
 vnser Sünd gegeben / Des wir sollen
 hat vns bracht das Leben /
 fröhlich sein / Gott loben vnd dankbar sein / vnd
 singen

Ten.
 Christ lag in todes banden / Sir
 Der ist wider erstanden / Dnd
 vnser Sünd gegeben / Des wir sollen
 hat vns bracht das Leben /
 fröhlich sein / Gott loben vnd dankbar sein / vnd

Bass.
 Christ lag in todes banden / Sir
 Der ist wider erstanden / Dnd
 vnser Sünd gegeben / Des wir sollen
 hat vns bracht das Leben /
 fröhlich sein / Gott loben vnd dankbar sein / vnd
 singen

Figure 7.7 *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (no. 23) in Calvisius, *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* (Leipzig: Apel, 1597), sig. F5^v-F6^r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus.pr. 92.34, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00045305-1.

Example 7.7 Five settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*.

Christ lag in To - des - ban - den für un - ser Sünd ge - ge - ben
 1 Er ist wie - der er - stan - den und hat uns bracht das Le - ben

Osiander

Calvisius

MG

Hassler

Praetorius

settings diverge. Two phrases encourage a tonicization of III (the first half of the second phrase, and the first phrase of the *Abgesang*); the cantional composers vary the most in their treatment of these gestures. In these tricky spots, the harmonic choices seem arbitrary.⁶³

Osiander sets nearly every melodic note as a semibreve. This rhythmic consistency is typical of chorale settings (excepting a handful of syncopated melodies like *Ein feste Burg*). Many chorales were originally printed in chant notation without rhythmic values. These rhythmically austere settings were a boon for congregants, who generally learned the melodies by rote. But a variety of performance practices emerged to articulate phrase structure in the face of this

63. The arbitrary chord selection is confirmed by Quinn and Mavromatis's statistical study of modal and tonal chorale corpora in "Voice-Leading Prototypes," 239.

Example 7.7 Continued.

3 des wir sol - len fröh - lich sein Gott lo - ben und dank - bar sein

rhythmic homogeneity.⁶⁴ Some chorale settings extend the last note of each phrase, either with a fermata (Osiander, Figure 7.6) or a longer note value (*Melodeyen Gesangbuch*). Alternately, settings may adjust the first note of each phrase: Praetorius elongates line-opening syllables in his *Stollen* and shortens them in his *Abgesang*. Printers may reinforce these rhythmic adjustments typographically, by separating phrases with bar lines (Calvisius, Figure 7.7). These subtle rhythmic cues compensate for the ametrical quality of many chorales: they make the second note of each phrase feel like a metrical arrival, and they make the final note of each phrase feel firmly conclusive, even in the absence of other metrical organization. Thus, the vertical, “chordy” style of the harmonized chorale derives not only from the borrowed stepwise melodies, but also from the mostly undifferentiated

64. The undifferentiated rhythmic structure of the chorales raises a number of intriguing questions about performance practice and tempo that are outside the scope of this project; see Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 66–71.

Example 7.7 Continued

5 und sin - gen Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja.

rhythmic surface. Luther and other early hymnodists enhance this effect with the texts—the poetry of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is mostly iambic, with many clipped one- and two-syllable words.

Because they make a few things explicit that are only implicit in other homophonic genres, cantionals reframe the relationship between homophony and harmony in the sixteenth century. First, their melody is designed independently of a harmonic context; often, chorale melodies are adapted from earlier monophonic chant, sacred song, and folk music. When Schoenberg explores the pedagogical value of chorale harmonization in his *Harmonielehre*, he complains about “the unnatural position of constructing the harmony for a melody already given.” Instead, he argues that melodies are always conceived with harmonic frameworks in mind: “One does not harmonize, one invents with harmony.”⁶⁵ However, the

65. Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans., Roy E. Carter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 286, 290.

chorale, with its pragmatic repertoire of borrowed tunes, deviates from this principle. The stepwise melodies demand a new harmony for each chord. The absence of an initial harmonic framework contributes to the arbitrary chord selection that we see in some of the cantional harmonizations, but also facilitates the elegant harmonic solutions that attracted Bach to the repertoire. At the same time, the cantional reveals how certain melodic formulas, in particular the $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ melodic cadence, paired well with simple harmonic frameworks.

Second, once Osiander moved the borrowed chorale melody from the tenor to the soprano, he reoriented the contrapuntal framework for the cantional settings to a discant/bassus model. Osiander is explicit about his approach to the counterpoint:

But all composers understand how difficult it is to compose such a contrapuntal piece where one must remain between the chorale in the discant (in which one is permitted to change no notes) and between the bass (from which one does not want to take away its solemnity and charm with changes of harmony) like as between two ditches in the street, and yet not the less want to have perfect consonances.

Osiander goes on to describe his process of “filling in” the inner voices, and explains that he tried to keep them simple enough that the choirboys could sing them. Bach, too, seems to have composed his chorales in this manner, starting with the melody, writing a bass line, and subsequently filling in the inner voices.⁶⁶ Osiander also explicitly breaks discant/tenor compositional rules to prioritize complete triads: “I also know well how the tenor should conclude opposite the discant in the cadences (according to the common manner). But when one wants to preserve four perfect voices in the cadences of a contrapuntal piece, and the hymn is only set in four voices, then the general rule cannot be followed (concerning the cadence).” In other words, Osiander leaps from $\hat{7}$ to $\hat{5}$ in an inner voice at most cadences, prioritizing complete triads over smooth voice-leading—and over the *cantizans* cadential formula of proper counterpoint.

As a result, the cantional’s primary vertical unit is explicitly the triad, in particular, the root position triad.⁶⁷ Of course, all of the repertoires that I discuss in this book consist predominantly of root position triads. In the cantional tradition, however, the triad is explicitly theorized. Osiander provides a theological justification: “For God has also portrayed the Holy Trinity to some extent in the music, in that no more than three voices can be found or contrived which rightly sound together. But if one wants to have more voices, then they must fall in the octave with the three, that is the equivalent as when one of the three voices are

66. Dirst, *Engaging Bach*, 45; Robert L. Marshall, “How J. S. Bach Composed Four-Part Chorales,” *Musical Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1970): 198–220.

67. Cf. Ian Quinn’s radical new model of tonality in the Bach chorale in “Tonal Harmony,” which considers any vertical sonority that can bear a figured bass label as a viable “chord.” The cantional settings are decidedly more conservative in figuration and dissonance treatment than Bach’s chorale corpus.

repeated or doubled.” The practical conditions of congregational singing also affected the way composers conceptualized the cantional’s contrapuntal framework. Johann Georg Schott describes a common performance reality in the preface to his 1603 *Psalmen vnd Gesang-Buch*:

Do not become confused when the octave [i.e., the melody] is sung underneath like a tenor part [i.e., an octave lower] by men, who already know how the psalms and hymns go. This procedure, although it may hinder the counterpoint, strengthens the choir to such an extent that the voices and manner are more easily heard and learned by many.⁶⁸

Schott’s willingness to ignore major violations of contrapuntal decorum reflect an emerging conception of the melody’s independence from a contrapuntal—and ultimately harmonic—background.

Finally, the cantionals engage explicitly with the notion of “arranging” or “harmonizing” a given melody. The preface to the *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* helps to set the stage:

In this little book you will find German hymns that are the very best and most commonly found in German churches arranged [*abgesetzt*] by the four appointed organists of this honorable city in four parts, so that any Christian, inexperienced in music and illiterate, may nonetheless, with the other three distinct voices sounding in concord, make music just the same.⁶⁹

Osiander uses a similar term when he writes that he has “set [*gesetzt*] these fifty spiritual songs and Psalms with four voices.” In his massive compendium, *Musae Sioniae*, Praetorius explores the implications of the notion of harmonization: he juxtaposes several settings of each chorale, testing a range of harmonic, rhythmic, and even melodic possibilities for each. A tension emerges in the cantionals between those melodic fragments that are always harmonized in the same way (cadential formulas) and those that encourage more flexibility. In the latter scenario, each pitch might be the root, third, or fifth of a triad; in the absence of a robust harmonic syntax or consistent voice-leading scripts, composers rely on stereotyped discant–bass patterns like the Romanesca to select appropriate accompaniment for each melody note. But a broad view of the entire cantional repertoire indicates that some harmonic choices are more common than others; such emerging patterns are necessary preconditions for a theory or practice of harmonic syntax.⁷⁰

68. Trans. in Herl, *Worship Wars*, 114.

69. Trans. in *ibid.*, 114–115.

70. For approaches to harmonic syntax in early modern repertoires, see Megan Kaes Long, “Characteristic Tonality in the *Balletti* of Gastoldi, Morley, and Hassler,” *Journal of Music Theory* 59, no. 2 (2015): 235–271; Anthony Newcomb, “Recurring Patterns with a Structural Function in Marenzio—or, Marenzio’s Riffs,” in *Luca Marenzio e il madrigale romano*, ed. Franco Piperno (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2007).

These four features are neither new with nor unique to the cantional. We have seen how Morley modifies Gastoldi's melodies and creates new, inventive accompaniments for them. We have observed Dahlhaus and Lowinsky's disagreements about the relative importance of the bass and the tenor for the frottola. And we have been unavoidably confronted with the primacy of the triad as a consequence of basic contrapuntal writing. But the cantional tradition makes these elements explicit, largely because hymnbook prefaces consistently provide thorough liturgical and musical justifications for the new musical style.

However, the homophonic style of the cantional, with its fast harmonic rhythm and stepwise melodies, emphasizes a different feature of emerging tonality than the other repertoires I've considered in this book. The cantional draws our attention away from large-scale melodic, harmonic, metrical, and formal trajectories, and instead toward local harmonic syntax. Given the reception history of the Bach chorale, seeded some 250 years ago, it is unsurprising that empirical studies of homophonic repertoires have largely considered chord-by-chord syntax in Bach chorales, and that such studies have taken center stage in our theories of tonality and in our pedagogy. But I have argued that such a localized focus obscures the more compelling energies of large-scale tonal organization in a haze of consternation about arbitrary local compositional decisions. The cantional raises fascinating syntactical questions that provide critical evidence for changing conceptions of harmonic progression and harmonic function in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. But syntax is a single stratum of tonality's many-layered history. When our theories of tonality depend exclusively on chord-by-chord syntax, we miss so many other layers of tonal experience, layers that I have aimed to excavate in this book.

Humanism and the invention of homophony

These three repertoires do not tell a story of the development and refinement of the homophonic style. Rather, they reveal that homophony is a potent solution for a series of related aesthetic problems, all of which are motivated by the demands of humanism. The frottola is a relic of the earliest experiments in music printing; under Isabella d'Este's patronage, Tromboncino, Cara, and Petrucci together transformed an improvised tradition into a literate one. Composers designed flexible musical settings that could accommodate any number of courtly poems written with a single rhyme scheme and poetic meter. But the genre's mnemonic form sacrifices musical trajectories for poetic ones, and its homophonic style belies its monodic roots. *Musique mesurée* arose from a philosophical and poetic movement rather than a musical one. Baïf and his colleagues hoped that by recreating the effects of ancient music they might bring moral order to war-torn France. The quantitative meters that they explored could only find musical expression in syllabic homophony. The Lutheran chorale had a similar moral underpinning: this pragmatic music enabled an amateur and often illiterate congregation to participate not only in worship, but in the act of hearing and

proclaiming the Word. Its immediate, intimate syllabic texts combine with borrowed or formulaic melodies to bestow the gift of the Word upon the congregation. Homophony is Osiander's solution for converting a monophonic repertoire into a polyphonic one suitable for true amateur performance and rote learning. All of these movements derive from humanism, which, among its many attributes, encouraged the rediscovery and imitation of ancient texts, placed emphasis on the individual, elevated the vernacular for artistic expression, and promoted the potential for new interactions between music and text. The question that guides all of these repertoires is *How do we ensure that the words are understood?* The answer is homophony.

Of course, despite their shared intellectual context and their collective commitment to intelligible text-setting, these repertoires have little in common. How do we account for the improvisatory character of *Oimè el cor*, the lilting tunefulness of *Vous me tuez si doucement*, the stolid monumentality of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, and the dynamic goal-direction of *Now is the month of Maying* in the same breath (or same book, in this case)? We might imagine homophonic style as a kind of pyramid: text-setting supports meter, which supports phrase structure, which supports form, and the interaction of these elements may be more or less tonal depending on the sorts of melodic and harmonic frameworks composers employ. Our repertoires differ, then, at the lowest level: in their approach to text-setting. All of them set texts schematically, but to divergent ends. In the frottola, the octosyllabic verse encourages three-measure phrases; frottola composers use codas and phrase extensions to create closure and to balance the sense of acceleration that accumulating three-measure phrases create. In *musique mesurée*, the text-setting derives strictly from Baif's imposition of quantity onto French vowels. The result is sometimes metrically regular and sometimes irregular, but always requires a bit of getting used to from a musical perspective. The tunes are catchy (indeed, I found their metrical irregularity uncanny at first, but the more time I spent with them, the more I came to enjoy their studied off-centeredness), but regular phrase rhythm and meter are lucky byproducts and not goals of *mesuré* text-setting. Chorale text-setting is comparatively flat, and the notated rhythms provide little evidence of what was surely widely varied performance practice. Though some settings orient the phrases metrically by lengthening or shortening the first or last syllable, the underlying conception is not explicitly metrical (nor was it for Bach, who was sometimes agnostic about bar line placement in his chorales).⁷¹ The demands of rote learning and the character of borrowed chant melodies overrode the development of a metrically motivated text-setting scheme.

But while the text-setting infuses every aspect of the spirit of these genres, the more distant our view of the repertoires, the more homogenous their style. All of them use goal-directed melodies, large-scale harmonic trajectories from V to I, and strophic sectional forms with refrains. Homophony, which I argued in Chapter 2 directs compositional attention to the way musical materials are oriented in time, creates similar outcomes on larger scales in spite of localized difference in

71. Marshall, "How J. S. Bach Composed Four-Part Chorales," 204–206.

aesthetic motivation, text style, and text-setting technique. Consequently, I could have written this book about any of these repertoires (or the many other homophonic genres that emerged in the sixteenth century); though the details would differ, the larger argument would remain intact.

What sets the *balletto* apart is the perfect storm of regulatory techniques that its composers exploit. The *balletto* takes the innovation of homophony for granted, yet, unlike earlier homophonic genres, *balletti* are not written in the service of a text. Their mediocre *poesia per musica* instead encouraged composers to turn away from the text and back toward the music. The *balletto*'s invocation of dance, its nonsense syllable refrains, and its position at the intersection of light and learned secular genres reinforce the compositional principles that earlier homophonic repertoires founded, while also introducing a new preference for metrical regularity, clearly demarcated formal sections, repetition, and melodic goal direction. As a result, the *balletto* has three primary perceptual benefits that strengthen its ability to project tonal expectation. First, text-setting schemas for five- and seven-syllable lines (often) encourage strict binary grouping structures; dynamic attending theory shows us that such regular schemas help orient listeners toward predictable, periodically articulated harmonic events. Second, nonsense syllable refrains provide an audible cue that locates listeners in the form and rhetorically points listeners toward a section-ending tonic cadence. Finally, the *balletto*'s compact formal structure laden with sectional repeats allows listeners to attend to larger formal levels in meaningful ways. The *balletto*, and to a lesser extent the *canzonetta*, are thus able to exploit harmonic and melodic trajectories on larger scales than the other repertoires I've discussed here. The metrical periodicity engendered by *balletto* and *canzonetta* text-setting schemas is a critical perceptual bonus: it builds an exceptionally firm foundation for our stylistic pyramid.

Invention, innovation, intention

The modern term *invention* implies the presence of an agent who, with intention, creates something new. But when I describe the "invention" of homophony, I'm interested in a sixteenth-century meaning of the term, which connotes the communal discovery of a solution to a problem. All of these repertoires originate from a problem: how to set a certain kind of text to music, such that the aesthetic, moral, or functional aims of that text are best represented in a musical setting. Each of these three repertoires identified homophony as a solution to their problem, whether it was a framework to support courtly poetry, a manifestation of the magnificent affective powers of music and poetry perfectly fused, or an opportunity to support a new congregation of believers with first-time access to the Word of God. Homophony was a style developed not for its own aesthetic merits, but rather in response to the challenges of humanism: the foregrounding of a vernacular text that could and should be understood by a larger community, to amorous, moral, or religious ends. In homophony, composers, poets, patrons, and performers identified a musical framework that could support their diverse aims.

Homophony was not the result of an artistic or aesthetic movement, or the ideas of a single brilliant composer or collective of artists. Rather, homophony was a pragmatic solution to a series of problems engendered by vernacular humanism in many sixteenth-century contexts. That the ideal conditions for the emergence of tonality existed in the homophonic environment was a byproduct, not a cause, of homophonic exploration. To fully mature, tonality would have to be divorced from its initial homophonic environment; perhaps this is why we associate the style with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music rather than with the earlier repertoires that first built systematic large-scale trajectories connecting V with I.