

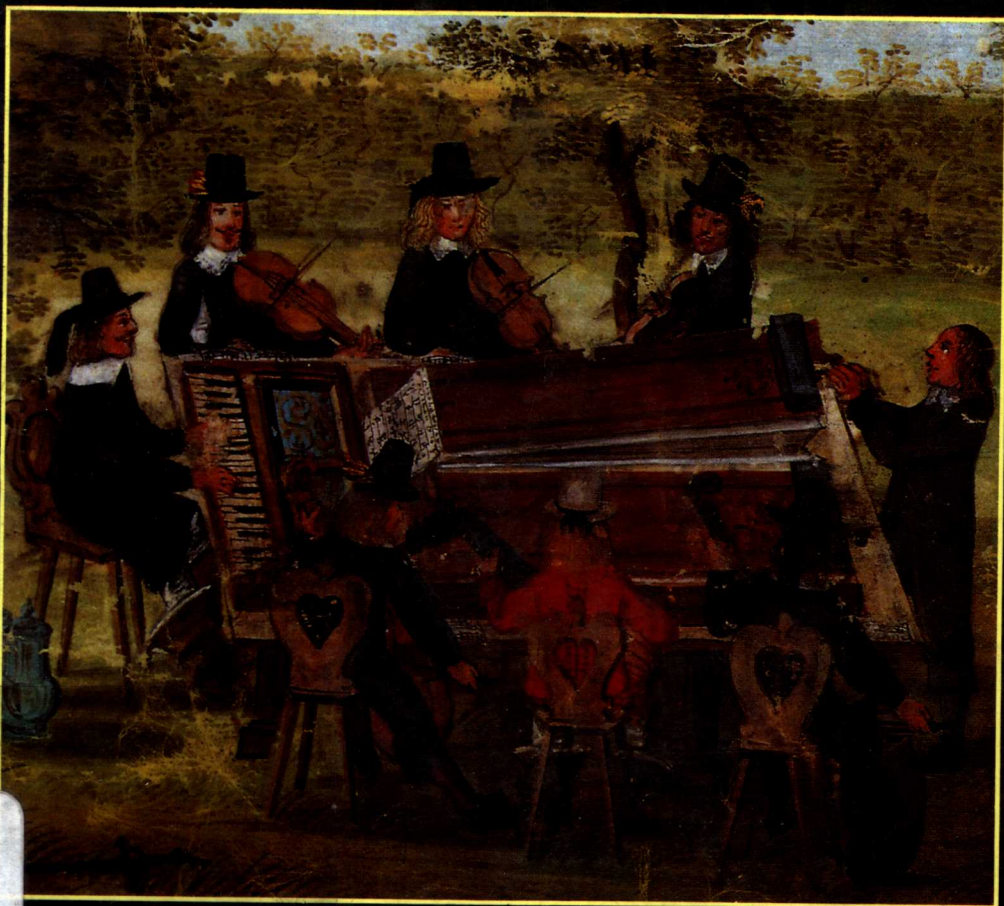
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Man & Music

THE EARLY BAROQUE ERA

From the late 16th century to the 1660s



EDITED BY CURTIS PRICE

THE EARLY BAROQUE ERA

From the late 16th century to the 1660s

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江苏工业学院图书馆
藏书章

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Abbreviations

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta musicologica</i>
<i>AnMc</i>	<i>Analecta musicologica</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>Grove 6</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i>
<i>IMSCR</i>	<i>International Musicological Society Congress Report</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>The Music Review</i>
<i>MSD</i>	<i>Musicological Studies and Documents</i> , ed. A. Carapetyan (Rome, 1951–)
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>NRMI</i>	<i>Nuova rivista musicale italiana</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RIM</i>	<i>Rivista italiana di musicologia</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>R[oyal] M[usical] A[ssociation] Research Chronicle</i>
<i>RMFC</i>	<i>Recherches sur la musique française classique</i>
<i>RMI</i>	<i>Rivista musicale italiana</i>
<i>SIMG</i>	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft</i>

Preface

The *Man and Music* series of books – eight in number, chronologically organized – were originally conceived in conjunction with the television programmes of the same name, of which the first was shown by Channel 4 in 1986 and distributed worldwide by Granada Television International. These programmes were designed to examine the development of music in particular places during particular periods in the history of Western civilization.

The books have the same objective. Each is designed to cover a segment of Western musical history; the breaks between them are planned to correspond with significant historical junctures. Since historical junctures, or indeed junctures in stylistic change, rarely happen with the neat simultaneity that the historian's or the editor's orderly mind might wish for, most volumes have 'ragged' ends and beginnings; for example, the Renaissance volume terminates, in Italy, in the 1570s and 80s, but continues well into the seventeenth century in parts of northern Europe.

These books do not, however, make up a history of music in the traditional sense. The reader will not find technical, stylistic discussion in them; anyone wanting to trace the detailed development of the texture of the madrigal or the rise and fall of sonata form will need to look elsewhere. Rather, it is the intention in these volumes to show in what context, and as a result of what forces, social, cultural, intellectual, the madrigal or sonata form came into being and took its particular shape. The intention is to view musical history not as a series of developments in some hermetic world of its own but rather as a series of responses to social, economic and political circumstances and to religious and intellectual stimuli. We want to explain not simply *what* happened, but *why* it happened, and why it happened when and where it did.

We have chosen to follow what might be called a geographical, or perhaps a topographical, approach: to focus, in each chapter, on a particular place and to examine its music in the light of its special situation. Thus, in most of these volumes, the chapters – once past

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the introductory one, contributed by the volume editor – are each devoted to a city or a region. This system has inevitably needed some modification when dealing with very early or very recent times, for reasons (opposite ones, of course) to do with communication and cultural spread.

These books do not attempt to treat musical history comprehensively. Their editors have chosen for discussion the musical centres that they see as the most significant and the most interesting: many lesser ones inevitably escape individual discussion, though the patterns of their musical life may be discernible by analogy with others or may be separately referred to in the opening, editorial chapter. We hope, however, that a new kind of picture of musical history may begin to emerge from these volumes, and that this picture may be more accessible to the general reader, responsive to music but untrained in its techniques, than others arising from more traditional approaches. In spite of the large number of lovers of music, musical histories have never enjoyed the appeal to a broad, intelligent general readership in the way that histories of art, architecture or literature have done: these books represent an attempt to reach such a readership and explain music in terms that may quicken their interest.

*

The television programmes and books were initially planned in close collaboration with Sir Denis Forman, then Chairman of Granada Television International. The treatment was worked out in more detail with several of the volume editors, among whom I am particularly grateful to Iain Fenlon for the time he has generously given to discussion of the problems raised by this approach to musical history, and also to Alexander Ringer and James McKinnon for their valuable advice and support. Discussion with Bamber Gascoigne and Tony Cash, in the course of the making of the initial television programmes, also proved of value. I am grateful to Celia Thompson for drafting the non-musical parts of the chronologies that appear in each volume and to Julie Anne Sadie for the musical part in the Baroque volumes, and to Elisabeth Agate for her invaluable work as picture editor in bringing the volumes to visual life.

London, 1993

STANLEY SADIE

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Chapter I

Music, Style and Society

CURTIS PRICE

The supplanting of the so-called *ars perfecta*, the equal-voice polyphony of the late Renaissance, by the selfconsciously expressive vocal and instrumental music of the 'second practice', which happened about 1600, is one of the clearest watersheds in the history of Western music. This fundamental change in style does not appear to have been led significantly by the kinds of cultural, demographic or geographical forces and conditions to which this series of books is primarily devoted, but rather came from within music itself, with encouragement from its nearest sister art, poetry. Most music historians now view this great style shift as the final bloom of Italian humanism, 'the main force for renewal in all the arts' during the late Renaissance,¹ the direct result of the search for ever more radical ways of setting expressive poetry. But whether the second practice was also a product of the *Zeitgeist*, the Mannerist movement in art, architecture and literature, is as debatable as the concept of Mannerism itself.

One historian has said that during the seventeenth century 'music followed a development all its own',² apparently disconnected spiritually and intellectually from the momentous scientific, political and philosophical movements of the period. So radical a change in the fabric of music – the invention of completely new textures – does not seem to have been closely paralleled in the other arts or indeed in any aspect of seventeenth-century intellectual thought, except perhaps in the writings of Thomas Hobbes. Yet it is tempting to construct a 'crisis' scenario for music in the early Baroque era, analogous to the 'general crisis in Europe' theory formulated by Eric Hobsbawm and Hugh Trevor-Roper in the 1960s, later qualified but not substantially challenged.³ As with the pan-European political and economic scene during the first half of the seventeenth century, music was in disarray, with many stylistic dead ends and failed experiments: Gesualdo's ultra-chromatic madrigals, which had no immediate successors, and the desiccated early monodies in which virtually all contrapuntal interest was sacrificed to dramatic declamation of the text, are just two examples. The beginnings of the

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resolution of the general crisis at about 1650, after the Thirty Years War, and a return to greater political and economic stability in the second half of the century, appear to parallel the 'normalization' of the new, wild art of music, the gradual reining in of excess. This was followed by the great levelling of style during the period 1680–1700 and the remarkable codification, after a century and a half of evolution, of the basic major/minor harmonic system that would serve composers from Corelli to Wagner.

But it is ultimately futile, if not dangerous, to construct such parallels, because upon closer examination the analogy breaks down or forces a distortion of the facts. For example, the change precipitated by the second practice did not affect all music; one style did not entirely supplant another. Indeed, the music of Palestrina, which epitomizes the *ars perfecta*, was studied and emulated well into the eighteenth century and beyond. This book does not aim to find or create connections between music and general historical trends, nor even between music and the other arts. But it does view the musical revolutions of the early Baroque era against the background of broad cultural issues: systems of government, political upheaval and evolution, philosophical developments in the wake of humanism, the Counter-Reformation, patterns of international travel, trade and diplomacy.

The etymologically slippery term 'Baroque' (originally a misshapen pearl) was expropriated by musicologists from art historians in the early twentieth century, first in the writings of Curt Sachs, to describe the music of the period 1600–1750. Though the application to music was asynchronous with art history, one of the eighteenth-century meanings of 'Baroque' – bizarre, irregular, uneven – does aptly describe much of the second practice repertory. The boldness of Luzzaschi, Monteverdi, Frescobaldi or d'India can still astonish audiences. Furthermore, a French critic had already applied the word 'Baroque' to music as early as 1734 (in a review of a Rameau opera in the *Mercure galant*), and in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768) Jean-Jacques Rousseau defined Baroque music as that 'in which harmony is confused, charged with modulations and dissonances'. As applied to style rather than to the period as a whole, 'Baroque' is obviously inadequate to describe the wide diversity of early seventeenth-century music, much of which eschewed the extremes of the second practice and gradually tempered the modal polyphony of the Renaissance into tonal counterpoint. Yet the most exciting and iconoclastic music of the era – that which helped make opera possible, that which brought the mature genius Heinrich Schütz back to Venice for a second period of study – is exquisitely Baroque.

One of the first manifestations of the new style that emerged about 1600 was the unorthodox, sometimes shocking use of certain disso-

nances which had been tightly controlled by long-established rules, rules evidently so necessary to musical order and coherence that they would have to be virtually re-invented many years later. The famous debate between Claudio Monteverdi, not the most adventurous of avant-garde composers, and the Bolognese theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi, hardly a reactionary, was triggered by a highly technical, even tedious disagreement over how far a composer could go in using 'unprepared' sevenths⁴ to depict extreme emotions. But at the heart of the disagreement was the changing relationship between poetry and music. As Monteverdi's brother Giulio Cesare put it, clearly reflecting Claudio's own view: in the second practice 'the words are the mistress of the harmony' and not, as before, harmony the mistress of the words.⁵ Acknowledgment of the composer's ability to fuse words and music into an expression of emotion greater than the sum of the parts is not of course unique to the Baroque period, but the three undisputed masters of the seventeenth century, including Monteverdi, are known primarily for their vocal music and each, like him, proclaimed the primacy of harmony over poetry. Schütz was imbued with the second practice as well as being a master of counterpoint, but his most original contribution was the discovery of how to set the German language in the Italian style, yet still capture the rhythm and meaning of the words. Like German, English was also supposed to be too lacking in open vowels, too clogged with consonants and diphthongs to lend itself to expressive musical setting. But Henry Purcell, after Monteverdi the most comprehensive musical genius of the century, was admired for possessing a peculiar ability 'to express the Energy of *English* Words, whereby he mov'd the Passions of all his Auditors'. Yet he, like Schütz before, looked to 'the most fam'd Italian masters' for guidance and inspiration.

THE DIFFUSION OF ITALIAN MUSICAL CULTURE

Italy was the source of most of the major innovations in music during the first half of the seventeenth century. It supplied court chapels, city churches, noble salons, theatres and publishing houses from Madrid to St Petersburg, from Edinburgh to Vienna, with music, composers, performers and instruments. It is important to understand how this potent musical culture was disseminated. The traditional model of the development of musical style during the Baroque era, with Italy as *fons et origo* of immensely attractive but rather insipid ideas which were later lent gravity and sophistication in northern countries, cannot fully account for the diversity of genres and styles at the beginning of the seventeenth century on both sides of the Alps. This model is somewhat analogous to the now largely discredited theory of the spread of civilization westwards from

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Mesopotamia, a theory which was itself based anachronistically and probably subconsciously on the spread of Christianity westward from Palestine. The 'Mesopotamian' model assumes that influence flows mainly in one direction and that earlier, indigenous traditions are inherently inferior to imported ones. Yet France, the cities of the Hanseatic League, Dresden, Vienna, England and Spain each contributed something of their native musical styles to what was to become by 1700 the *lingua franca*. England and Spain, being the most remote and at times cut off from the mainstream (one by the Channel and the other by the worst roads in Europe), are perhaps the most susceptible to the 'Mesopotamian' theory, and scholars and critics have therefore tended to attribute innovation and excellence in seventeenth-century English and Spanish music to Italian influence. London, for example, attracted Italian musicians like a magnet after the Restoration of 1660, yet hardly any musicologist has considered the possible influence of English music on the foreigners, so conditioned are we by the traditional model.

Why did developments in early seventeenth-century Italian music gain such wide currency? To answer this question one must consider how musical ideas were transmitted. Italy has long held great fascination for northern Europeans, who are both attracted and repulsed by its art, religion, politics and especially its climate. During the war between England and Spain and until the peace treaty of 1604, communication between northern countries and Italy was difficult and at times impossible. But for the first two decades of the new century, travel throughout western Europe enjoyed a boom; Paris, Venice, Milan, Florence and Rome were by far the most popular destinations. Most documented trips were taken by diplomats and their entourages, wealthy merchants, and young aristocrats bent on pleasure, adventure or 'improvement'. Much less commonly did artists, writers or musicians travel independently of their royal or noble patrons; in fact, the majority of recorded visits of composers to foreign lands in the early seventeenth century – Schütz from Marburg and later Dresden to Venice, Nicholas Lanier from London to Florence, Filippo Piccinini from Bologna to Madrid – were at the behest or encouragement of princes. The English organist John Bull's tour of the Low Countries and the harpsichordist Johann Jakob Froberger's restless peregrinations to numerous cities, including Rome (where he studied with Frescobaldi), are among a small handful of instances of major composers travelling beyond frontiers at their own risk and expense during the early Baroque period. The fully international master of the Renaissance was not seen again until the eighteenth century.

While travel was a luxurious hardship available mainly to the upper classes, it was nevertheless routine and well organized and, by

about 1620, held few surprises for the innocent abroad. Take for example the typical English aristocrat, among the most enthusiastic of pilgrims of the period, and with the furthest to go. He travelled on horseback, by public coach, mail packet, post-chaise and canal boat or on foot – often all on the same day. Depending on the winds affecting the Channel crossing, the journey from Gravesend to Rotterdam could take as little as 25 hours; London to Paris took four to eight days, the usual route being from Calais to Dieppe, Rouen, up the Seine to St Denis and Paris. The way then led almost invariably to Lyons. Merchants and other members of the lower ranks (including presumably musicians) would then make their way to Marseilles and sail for Genoa or Livorno (Leghorn). For the gentry and diplomats, the preferred route was by land, either over Mont Cenis, down into Piedmont and on to Turin, or over the Brenner Pass into the Veneto. The route over St Gotthard to Lugano and Milan was considered dangerous and generally avoided. In the early seventeenth century, English, as well as Dutch and German travellers, mostly confined themselves to Venice, Milan and Florence, with brief, incognito forays to Rome and, very occasionally, Naples. Besides viewing the ‘treasures’ and antiquities, attempting to learn the language and matriculating fashionably at the University of Padua, foreign travellers purchased books, paintings, music and musical instruments, artefacts, biological specimens, glass and other items, shipping them by sea from Livorno or Venice back to London, Amsterdam or Hamburg. The typical return journey was via Innsbruck, Augsburg or Strasbourg, then down the Rhine, ending with a period of recuperation at Spa (near Liège) or jaded wandering through the Low Countries.

The free flow of aristocratic and diplomatic traffic among Italian cities and across the Alps may have done little at first to encourage the transmission of musical compositions, but it created a demand in northern Europe for the one thing that returning travellers universally admired about Italy: the freshness, grandeur and virtuosity of the new music. For the final flowering of the magnificent polychoral style of the Gabrieli at Venice and the emergence of the *seconda prattica* coincided fortuitously with the vastly increased movement of music-consuming people across Europe. There can be little doubt that the eventual pervasiveness of the new Italian style is owing in no small part to the Grand Tour. Given the ease and frequency of travel after 1600, perhaps one should only be surprised that stylistic change was so slow to happen in some of the remoter musical centres.

With the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, the first of several epidemics of plague right across Europe and the economic crash – all of which happened about 1620 – Italy was temporarily isolated. But less than ten years later, travellers had found new routes which

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1. Claude Lorraine: *Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, 1648

avoided infected cities and sieges and battles happening across Germany. All of Italy was opened up to foreign visitors, and the classical *giro* was firmly established along a route which would be followed with little variation for the next 200 years. This second, even more intense period of discovery coincided with the rapid development of public opera, first at Venice and then throughout Italy. Music, along with the treasures of Florence, the antiquities of Rome and the venial sins permitted in Venice, finally became one of the main attractions for the casual tourist.

With the preferred transalpine routes closed by the war, the traveller from France, the Low Countries or England embarked from Marseilles and hopped from port to port along the Riviera to Genoa or Livorno, where the *giro* properly began. Rome and Naples, now safe for northern Protestants, were added as winter and spring fixtures, while most travellers retreated to Venice or the Italian lakes as summer approached. Though they were not centres of major musical activity (and hence not represented by separate essays in this book), several cities along the route could offer excellent music: Genoa, Livorno (where opera was being produced in 1658), Lucca (especially admired for its fine music in the 1650s), Siena and Naples. Travel was no longer the exclusive privilege of the diplomat or heir-apparent, and many students, clergymen and writers joined the

Grand Tour. As John Stoye has remarked, 'They saw the same things, learnt what to think of them from books and the local inhabitants, tending to share a common and conventional outlook on the panorama around them'.⁶ But music, especially concerted church music and opera, was the one aspect of the tour guaranteed to impress even the unmusical. The young poet John Milton, like countless other travellers, bought printed scores of Monteverdi at Venice and had them shipped home by sea. But what seemed to him and his compatriots ideal mementoes of the Lenten or Ascension extravaganzas at the Palazzo Rospigliosi and the Chiesa Nuova at Rome or St Mark's at Venice, must have looked like hieroglyphics when the packing-cases were opened back in London.

The printing of music at Venice and on a somewhat smaller scale at Rome was an important international business which depended on volume trade. Later in the century Antwerp and then Amsterdam joined the huge market for what was primarily Italian music. Strong trade and political links with Venice, upon which the Dutch Republic ostentatiously modelled itself, established Amsterdam as the main northern outlet of Italian instrumental music, a position it maintained well into the eighteenth century. Paris was also an important centre for music printing in the seventeenth century, but it was a privilege tightly controlled by the state and supplied a comparatively small domestic market, with the firm of Ballard producing fine editions fit more for the royal archives or presentation to diplomats than for practical use. Yet the international circulation of printed music, which is probably the surest index of the depth and influence of Italian musical culture (and thus is discussed in some detail in the following chapters), did not necessarily assure the transmission of the Italian *style*, especially in opera, which (after a few early examples) was rarely published. Unlike scientific discoveries, philosophical discourse or political theory, musical ideas could not be effectively transmitted through print or by itinerant tutors. The new basso continuo style was spread principally by a few exceptional performers and composers, *maestri* recruited at considerable trouble and expense to interpret the symbols of figured bass and to re-create Venetian splendour in northern climes; or, conversely, by native composers sent to Italy to learn the new art and bring it back home.

Today when one considers the deceptive simplicity of monody and early operatic recitative, the mechanical iterations of the *stile concitato* (Monteverdi's way of conveying extreme agitation) or the pseudo-counterpoint of some Venetian sacred concertos, it is difficult to appreciate just how little of the new style could be conveyed by the printed page or to imagine how wonderfully complex some at least of this music would have seemed to uninitiated northern musicians. As during the Renaissance, first-hand experience in Italy was con-

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sidered essential for even the most gifted and resourceful northern composer, as exemplified by Heinrich Schütz, whose study at Venice, first with Giovanni Gabrieli (1609–13) and then most probably with Monteverdi (1628–9), is a *locus classicus* and too well known to need discussion in detail here. Schütz's trips helped to initiate Germany's musical dependency on Italy which would entice Handel, Hasse, Gluck, Mozart, Wagner and many others south for edification more spiritual than technical. Yet in a sense Schütz has become a victim of the 'Mesopotamian' model theorists, who would attribute too much of his genius to his Italian experience. His development of an essentially German style of word-setting took him far beyond the counterpoint learnt from Gabrieli or the lessons in opera that he may have had from Monteverdi. What he acquired in Venice were, first, a review of fundamentals and, second, the ability to be fashionable. But his own amazingly peripatetic career, forced upon him by the privations of the Thirty Years War and, later, by the wages of fame, illustrates that musical style was transmitted more effectively by charismatic practical demonstration than by printed scores, diplomatic traffic or osmosis between amateurs: the performance of major works in a new style required the presence of the composer himself, especially opera which, until Schütz introduced it in 1627, was by his own account completely unknown in Germany. But smaller-scale, non-theatrical works such as the *Symphoniae sacrae*, which might seem to us perfectly complete as published, also apparently needed the composer's presence for proper realization: according to Schütz (writing in 1647), German performers still did not understand music in the 'modern Italian manner'. Even if one allows for his endearing tendency to credit his Italian mentors with all his innovations, Schütz describes a Germany inquisitive about the new Italian style but lacking the resources or imagination to recreate it *in situ*.

The high value placed on Italian music and especially on Italian performers and composers assured the eventual domination of Italian as a lingua franca and was almost entirely responsible for the spread of opera. But the privileged, almost reverential position afforded the *maestri* in certain courts and cities became itself a hindrance to the development of musical style: at the court of Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Lully's brilliant transformation of Italian opera into *tragédie lyrique* soon ossified into an immutable classic; at the court of Ferdinand II in Vienna, Giovanni Valentini's similar domination of the imperial Hofkapelle created a virtual museum of the Venetian polychoral school, while during the later reign of Leopold I, Antonio Draghi established an operatic monopoly which allowed no competition and hence little development for most of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The musical geography of Europe during the Baroque era is thus

paradoxical. Travel was routine and relatively painless for those who could afford it, but Italian music itself was slower to be assimilated into native traditions, as we have seen in the case of Germany. News of important musical events such as the operas at Florence and Venice spread rapidly; there was keen interest in the new style even in the furthest corners of the Continent, and printed music was widely available. That experiments in text setting were being conducted almost simultaneously by the Roman *compagnie*, the Florentine *accademie*, and Baif in Paris, and only slightly later at the court of James I in London is no accident; nor is the contemporaneous development of the *intermedi* and opera in Italy, masques in England and ballet in France. Each was a manifestation of the growing awareness of the importance of theatrical spectacle as an impressive and instructive symbol of state power. There is little evidence that Italy was much aware or even interested in musical developments elsewhere in Europe, but she was not unaware of political events north of the Alps and of their potential for musical celebration and exploitation. Two examples will suffice. England naturally enjoyed warm relations with Rome after the accession of the Roman Catholic James II in 1685, and Queen Christina marked the event at her palace with a performance of Bernardo Pasquini's *Applauso festivo*, a huge work directed by Corelli.⁷ The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, which shortly thereafter gravely threatened James's position, was also acknowledged in Modena, home of his consort Queen Mary, with a bizarre oratorio by Giovanni Battista Vitali called *L'ambitione debellata, overo La caduta di Monmuth*.⁸ These are isolated examples sparked by England's final experiment with Popery, but they serve to remind us that seventeenth-century Europe was a much smaller place than its geographical variety and political complexity might otherwise lead us to believe.

The general patterns of transmission described above can be more concretely illustrated by examining the spread of the basso continuo. The most pervasive and instantly recognizable characteristic of Baroque music, the basso continuo is nevertheless a difficult concept to grasp. On the one hand, it is a simple, efficient means of accompaniment; on the other, it is a sign of the fundamental change in texture and harmonic expression which Baroque music embodies. The practice gradually evolved during the second half of the sixteenth century as a means of accompanying madrigals and motets when the full complement of singers was unavailable or certain weak singers needed reinforcing. The organist, harpsichordist or archlutenist would play along from the score or, more usually, from the lowest voice part, filling out the texture where necessary. Given the growing concern for heightened poetic expression and the keen interest in solo singing, the logical extension of this practice of accompaniment was