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Music theory of Giovanni Maria Artusi in the polemical writings and in the music of Marco Scacchi

In the second half of the 16th century in Italy, discussions among such music theorists as Vicentino and Lusitano, Zarlino and Galilei became quite vocal. The one which attained the most notoriety, however, was the public exchange of opinion which came to pass at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, between Artusi the theorist and Monteverdi the composer. It resulted in the definition of important changes in the manner of understanding music, in the creation of the concepts of *prima* and *seconda pratica*. In the 1640s, the musical community witnessed another argument, somewhat different from the previous ones, played out in a different geographical area: at the beginning, mainly in Poland and the surrounding countries, only later continuing in Italy as well. This time, the participants in the discussion, from which several printed publications have been preserved, were two composers: Marco Scacchi, chapel master to the court of Władysław IV, King of Poland, and Paul Siefert, longtime organist at St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk. This polemic also introduced a new element to music theory. Created by Scacchi, and alluding to the concepts of Monteverdi, this was a systematization of the musical repertoire of that time according to three styles: church, chamber and theater.¹ Scacchi was considered an ardent supporter and defender of *musica*

¹ 'Primum igitur assero triplicem omnino stylum in Arte Musices reperiri. Primum, Ecclesiasticum; Alterum Cubiculare; Postremum, Scenicum seu Theatralem: quorum singulos

moderna. However, what will interest us here will be another side of the theory he propagated, one revealing the Warsaw chapel master as the continuer of a tradition—in particular, the views of Giovanni Maria Artusi.

In assessing the writings of Scacchi, what is important are the circumstances which led to the beginning of his polemic with Siefert. These were chiefly extra-musical matters. The royal *maestro di cappella* was a close friend to the chapel master of St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk, Kaspar Förster the Elder, who from 1627 onward was in constant, sharp conflict with the organist at that church, Siefert. This musician, educated by the master Sweelinck, many times attempted to attain the most prestigious position in the Gdańsk community, namely that of chapel master at the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Siefert's conflict-ridden character, however, caused the majority of the music community in Gdańsk to oppose his appointment, which prevented the City Council from granting him his desired function.² The organist's ambitions were wounded exceptionally painfully when the aforementioned position was obtained by Förster, a bookseller and teacher at the Gdańsk *Gimnazjum* (secondary school) who, while possessing a musical education, was not able to boast of any significant achievements as a composer. Siefert, as Förster's subordinate, for many years could not make peace with the situation that had come to pass, and many times filed official complaints with the City Council concerning the chapel master. A meeting between Scacchi and Siefert was arranged by Förster in Gdańsk in 1640. He also handed to the Warsaw chapel master a copy of Siefert's *Psalmen*,³ which had been subjected to harsh criticism in *Cribrum*.⁴ It

diversis etiam modis a paritis considerari oportet.' Marco SCACCHI *Ad Excellentiss.: Dn. Ch. Wernerum*. Manuscript preserved in Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, call no. ND VI 5573, fol. 1r.

² See Danuta POPINIGIS 'Sylwetka Paula Sieferta w świetle źródeł' ['Paul Siefert: Documentary information'], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś. I*, ed. Janusz Krassowski, in the series: «Kultura muzyczna północnych ziem Polski», vol. 3., Akademia Muzyczna im. St. Moniuszki, Gdańsk 1988.

³ *Psalmen Davids, Nach Francöischer Melodey oder Weise in Music componirt, vnterschiedliche Theil mit 4. vnd 5. Stimmen zu singen, vnd mit allerhand Instrumenten zu gebrauchen, nebenst einem General-Baß. Von Paulo Syfert Dantiscano, Vor zeiten in Königl. Capelle Königs in Polen SIGISMUNDI III. Sel. Hochl. Gedächtnuß, itziger zeit der Pfarrkirchen zu Dantzick, gestalten Organisten. Erster Theil. ... Gedruckt zu Dantzick bey Georg Rheten, in verlegung des Authoris, anno 1640.*

⁴ *CRIBRVM MVSICVM AD TRITICVM SIFERTICVM SEV, Examinatio succincta Psalmorum, quos non ita pridem Paulus Sifertus Dantiscanus, in aede Parochiali ibidem Organaeudis in lucem edidit, In qua clare & perspicue multa explicantur, quae summè necessaria ad artem melopòeticam esse*

was chiefly in Förster's interest to discredit Siefert as an artist, though Scacchi perhaps would have been content with a verbal polemic, if not for the organist's supposed arrogance. Siefert was a mature, ambitious musician, at odds with his own community, which—we can surmise—would have been glad to see him vanquished. He was characterized by malice (Scacchi used the formulation 'An evil tongue' in reference to him), to which he supposedly gave expression in statements describing Władysław IV's chapel master and the members of his ensemble, especially the Italians, as ignoramuses in the area of the true art of counterpoint—able to write only simpler works, such as comedies, *barzellette*, *ariette*, *bergamasche*, *passacaglias*.⁵ In the introduction to *Cribrum*, Scacchi wrote:

Unwillingly (my dearest friend) do I turn my hand to mill and sift Siefert's wheat; for it is not the stamp of jealousy, nor the lust for vain fame, nor the ill feelings towards him of the souls who have insulted him, but he himself, Paul Siefert [...], who was the entire cause and beginning of the matter. And thus, for [the preservation of] my good name and fame, and that of His Saintly Royal Majesty's musicians—out of concern for the weightiness of my office, it was my obligation to make no concessions.⁶

solent, AVTHORE MARCO SCACCHIO, ROMANO, Regiae Majestatis Poloniae, & Sueciae Capellae Magistro. VENETIIS, Apud Allexandrum Vincentium. MDCXXXIII.

⁵ A more precise reason for the argument than the one given in *Cribrum* was explained by Scacchi in *Lettera per maggiore informazione*, addressed to Italian readers - thus, persons who were not direct witnesses of the polemic: '[...] detto Syfert [...] mi disse, che li SS.^{ri} Compositori, e Virtuosi Italiani dourebbero andar da lui per imparare li veri fondamenti Armonici, afirmando ch' appresso detti Virtuosi, era di già sbandita la vera, & buona scuola Armonica, & che hoggidi non sanno comporre altro che Comedie, Barzelette, Ariette, Bergamasche, Passacagli, & altre simili Cantilene, ma che in comporre Cantilene sopra Cantifermi, ne andauano affatto innocenti; aggiunge[n]do esser vergogna grande, ch'vn Rè cosi glorioso, qual' e la Maesta Sacra di VLADISLAO IV. mio Clementissimo Signore, hauesse al suo seruitio vn Maestro di Capella cosi Ignorante, come la mia persona, & altre impertinenze quali tralascio per modestia.' MARCO SCACCHI *LETTERA PER MAGGIORE INFORMAZIONE, A chi leggerà il mio CRIBRVM, Stampato in Venetia nell'anno 1643. nella Stamparia D'Allessandro Vincenzi, Cioe, censura fatta sopra alcune Cantilene di Paolo Syfert Danzichano in Idioma Germano.* [at the end of the letter:] *Varsavia li 29 Agosto 1644. nella Stampa Reggia*, p. 2. Siefert's accusation could have resulted from the fact that the Warsaw ensemble, in answer to the kings's expectations, concentrated mainly on preparing *drammi per musica* for presentation.

⁶ MARCO SCACCHI *Cribrum...*, op. cit., foreword: 'Invitus (amiche charissime) ad Siferticum triticum tritrandum & ventilandum manus admovi; non enim inviciae livor, nec inanis gloriae cupido, nec erga ipsum mali animi affectus ad id faciendum calcar subministrarunt, sed ipse idem Paulus Siferti [...] omnis rei causa, & origo fuit: & sic meae, Sacraeque Regiae Majestatis Musicorum existimationi, & famae consulendo, ex debito officij mei à tali cura me subtrahere non licuit.'

In finishing his treatise, Scacchi alluded directly to Siefert's overweening ambition, which moved the organist to publish technically weak works, and which became the source of all of his negative actions. The author of *Cribrum* commented on Siefert's attitude with a quote from Seneca: 'the ambitious one is not so much glad to have many behind him, as he is worried about [seeing] someone ahead of him.'⁷

From the very beginning, the creation and publication of *Cribrum* had the aim of taking revenge for the Gdańsk organist's imperious attitude, which was doing harm to the musical community. The royal chapel master, the chief musician of the Republic, publicly accused the Gdańsk artist of lacking the ability to compose properly. It should be emphasized that in entering into the territory of music theory, Scacchi did this not as a theorist, but as a composer well acquainted with other people's theoretical texts, whose content he absorbed and repeated. *Cribrum*, like Scacchi's other theoretical texts, does not have the character of a treatise in which the author carried out an exhaustive and systematized exposition of the given topic. The Warsaw chapel master wrote them in reference to specific musical compositions, alluding to concrete statements of other authors; thus, the problems covered in them are limited only to selected issues. Scacchi devoted a relatively large amount of space to comments outside the realm of musical content, especially in reference to Siefert. That it was not the royal chapel master's intent to systematically discuss music theory, is also evidenced by the relatively short length of his texts (with the exception of *Cribrum*, in which, however, the majority of the space is occupied with musical compositions), resulting mainly from the concise, and even sometimes laconic character of his statements. In *Cribrum*, Scacchi announced that at the appropriate moment he would prepare an actual treatise on counterpoint for printing;⁸ thus, he did not consider his first publication to be, strictly speaking, a work in the area of music theory. He himself did not consider himself a music theorist, as is evidenced by, for example, the following quote from *Cribrum*:

[...] Many theorists as well were of the opinion that the interval of the fourth represents a fourth consonance, and considered it to be a perfect consonance, e.g. Ptolemy, Boethius, Historicus, Macrobius, Vitruvius, Censorinus, Euclid, Gaudentius

⁷ 'Ambitiosis non tam jucundum est multos post se videre, quam grave aliquem ante.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum...*, op. cit, p. 153.

⁸ In the end, Scacchi never realized his intention.

the philosopher, as can be seen in the works of Salinas and Pappi, who (and I quote the words of the esteemed Mr. Artusi in his *Art of Counterpoint*), just like a good defender, published two tomes in defense of the *diatessaron*, i.e. the fourth; [...]. So much for Artusi. However, I do not care too much about the opinion of the theorists or about what they thought of the fourth and the octave, because in our case, it is not our place to debate this question. If anyone wants to look more deeply into this, let him look at Stapulensis and others who have more to say on this subject. But however the matter looks, I maintain, together with the Roman school, that the fourth should be categorized as a dissonance—obviously if it is placed alone without any other consonance.⁹

The exposition of selected compositional principles, presented on the pages of *Cribrum*, did not represent an aim in and of itself for the author; it served only as an argument in the discussion concerning the artistic quality of Siefert's compositions. Beyond this, Scacchi wanted his treatise to have didactic value. This desire was completely justified, because young adepts in the art of music in the Polish Republic were faced with the problem of a lack of current, indigenous texts in the area of music theory.¹⁰

In his first polemic, Scacchi did not give any new rules of composition, but utilized knowledge and formulations contained in earlier publications. For this purpose, he had recourse to the treatises of one of the best-known theorists from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries—Giovanni Maria Artusi. Scacchi selected this author as an authority in the area of the art of counterpoint—an author who not only presented knowledge which

⁹ Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum...*, op. cit., p. 13: '[...] Plures etiam ex Theoreticis fuerunt hujus opinionis, Quartam esse consonantiam, eamq[ue] perfectam statuerunt, ut Ptolemaeus, Boëtius, Historicus, Macrobius, Vi-truvius, Censorinus, Euclides Gaudē[n]tius Philisophus, sicut videre est apud Frā[n]ciscum Salinem, Zarlinum, Andr. Pappium, qui (verba refero Reverendi Dn. Artusij in Arte Contrapuncti) ut bonus Advocatus duos edidit libros in defensionē[m] Diatessaron, id est Quarta: Istud intervallum apud antiquos in maxima fuit existimatione illudq[ue] pro intervallo consonanti habuerunt. Non nulli verò dixerunt esse intervallum medium inter consonantias perfectas & imperfectas, uti in subjecta figura videre licitum erit. [...] Hactenus Artusius. Verum de Theoreticorum opinione non sum valde sollicitus, quid senserint de Quarta & Octava, quia in nostro casu minus ad nos spectat de hoc disputare. Et si quis curiosus hoc inquirere vellet, videat Stapulē[n]sem, Zarlinum, Artusium & alios, qui copiosius hanc materiam pertractant. Sed quicquid sit, ego cum schola Romana Quartam inter Dissonantias connumerandam assero, si scilicet sola sine alia consonantia sit posita.'

¹⁰ The two most important works on this subject published in the 17th-century Polish Republic - thus, *Tabulatura muzyki* by Jan Aleksander GORCZYN (Kraków 1647) and *Musices practicae erotemata* by Szymon STAROWOLSKI (Kraków 1650) - were published only several years after *Cribrum* appeared in print.

had already been established in the sixteenth century, but also had had contact with the problem of the *seconda pratica*, and therefore was able to describe all the more clearly the traits typical of the old style. This layer of the polemic, which is an exposition of the rules of composition, Scacchi formulated by repeating, almost exactly, selected views of the Bolognese theorist. Furthermore, this did not lower the standing of *Cribrum*; on the contrary, it spoke positively of its author, his erudition and ‘academic’ education, which was not a universal phenomenon in the composing and performing community.¹¹ The folios of *Cribrum* reveal a thorough knowledge of the writings of the Bolognese theorist, whose thoughts, along with practical skills as a composer obtained while studying with Anerio, represented the foundation of Scacchi’s musical knowledge. Let us notice that it is the names of Anerio and Artusi which appeared first on the pages of *Cribrum*.¹² Scacchi very clearly indicated the source from which he had acquired his theoretical information, mentioning the works of Artusi several times over the course of his work. The dependence of Scacchi’s views on Artusi’s thought and teaching has been mentioned up until this time in a few publications, but no one has drawn attention to how close these relationships were, or to the fact that they appeared on several different planes.

Cribrum was published in Venice, at the famous Vincenti publishing house—the same at which the treatises of Artusi cited by Scacchi were printed previously.¹³ However, forasmuch as the Bolognese theorist used the Italian

¹¹ A more typical example of the average composer was Siefert, who obtained his education as a craftsman only by imitating the works of his predecessors.

¹² The name of Giovanni Francesco Anerio, his teacher and the chapel master to the court of Zygmunt III, King of Poland, was the first one mentioned by Scacchi, on p. 1 of *Cribrum*. Artusi’s name was the third one mentioned, for the first time on p. 7; Scacchi mentioned it several times more in the treatise as a whole.

¹³ *L'ARTE DEL CONTRAPONTO, DEL REVER. D. GIO. MARIA ARTUSI DA BOLOGNA, Canonico Regolare della Congregazione del Salvatore; Nella quale con ordine, e modo facilissimo si insegnano tutte quelle Regole, che a' questa Arte sono necessarie. Nouamente ristampata, et di molte noue aggiunte, dall'Auttoe arricchita. Con due Tauole, vna de Capitoli, & l'altra delle cose piu notabili. IN VENETIA, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. 1598;*

L'ARTVSI Ouero DELLE IMPERFETTIONI DELLA MODERNA MVSICA Ragionamenti dui. Ne' quali si ragiona di molte cose vtili, & necessarie alli Moderni Compositori. DEL R. P. D. GIO. MARIA ARTVSI DA BOLOGNA. Canonico Regolare nella Congregazione del Salvatore. Nouamente Stampato. In Venetia, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti, 1600;

SECONDA PARTE DELL'ARTVSI ouero DELLE IMPERFETTIONI DELLA MODERNA MVSICA Nella quale si tratta de' molti abusi introdotti da i moderni Scrittori, & Compositori. Nouamente Ristampata IN VENETIA, MDCIII. Appresso Giacomo Vincenti.

13 Vbi eius figura haec est. B. ibi dominum indicatur erroris. Quamvis autem haec notata ad Lectorem directa videantur, magis tamen ad ipsum Siferum tendunt, ad hoc, ne mentem suam in dignoscendis figuribus à me notatis nimis deducet. Insuper advertat, ne non omnes errores modales, & hoc consulo fesset, ut Siferio ampliore viam relinquere manifestandi adueni ingenij sui, cum causam suam tam ecclesiam primam quam secundam paron melioris defendere studeat.

14 Vt autem omnia, quae in roza hac censura controuentus, et diuersa sunt, volui Regulas quasdam generaliores gravissimorum Authorum praemittere, iuxta quas, veluti ad Lydium lapidem, qualibet cantilena examinari debet.

Regulae generaliores

- 1 Quaelibet Compositio debet esse recta consonantijs, quibus intermixta etiam sunt per accidens dissonantiae debitis modo dispositae.
- 2 Partes cantilena seu modulationes incedant per legitima intervalla sui Generis, ut abij difficultate canari possint.
- 3 Consonantiae & modulationes debent subinde variari, nec Partes dio permaneat in acuto vel gravi, sed maneant in suis definitis terminis.
- 4 Cantilena fit disposita secundum certum quosdam Modum seu Tonum.
- 5 Harmonia saliter cum verbis conveniat, ut in materia laeta non fit lachry mobilis & uersa, & è contrario.
- 6 Quod in ipsa reperitur numerus Figuratum convenientium secundum Tempus Modum & Prolationem sub qua composita est.
- 7 Contra pondus non sine conspirata neque, sed polita, nec nimis libera.

Quod si vix ex his Regulis in Compositione desit, iure ista imperfecta vocatur. Et conclusionis loco dico, quod nemo veram & perfectam cognitionem Regularum harmonicarum assequetur, qui probatissimorum Authorum opera non sedulo colluctetur, quae tanquam lucernae ardentes intellectus sui lumen subministrant, & magis hanc viam ducunt.

PSALM

Example 1. Marco Scacchi *Cribrum musicum* (1643), pp. 8–9

language in his writings, the Warsaw chapel master formulated his polemical texts by and large in the universally-known Latin,¹⁴ for the royal chapel master was addressing his writings to a broad audience—above all, to musicians from the Polish Republic, Prussia, and the neighboring countries, chiefly German-speaking.

There is yet another formal analogy between *Cribrum* and Artusi's publications from 1600 and 1603. In Scacchi's treatise, all of the works from Siefert's collection *Psalmen* were reprinted in a full-score format, facilitating observation of relationships between the voices (see Example 1). The instrumental parts mentioned in the title of Siefert's collection, in accordance with older practice, were only meant to double or substitute for vocal parts; for this reason as well, Scacchi did not mention them at all in *Cribrum*. In the treatise, the

¹⁴ An exception is represented by texts addressed to the Italian market: *Lettera per maggiore informazione...*, op. cit. and *Breve discorso Sopra la Musica Moderna, di Marco Scacchi Romano Maestro di Capp: del Serenissimo et Potentissimo Giovanni Casimiro Rè di Polonia & Suetia, & c. & c. In Varsavia, Per Pietro Elert Stamp. di sua Maestà, nell'An. 1649.*

basso continuo was omitted for all of the psalms, because in Scacchi's conviction, it fulfilled only a *basso seguente* function, and played no role in analysis of the counterpoint. The organ bass was left only in the Gdańsk musician's last two works, called by the name of *concerto*, because removing it would amount to demolishing the composition. In making his transcription, Scacchi completely omitted the words, on the assumption that in works written according to *prima pratica* rules, they do not play any essential role. Artusi took a similar course of action in analyzing fragments of Monteverdi's madrigals, which turned out to be a complete misunderstanding. Likewise, Scacchi's omission of the text represented a certain simplification in his analytical procedure, especially in the case of Siefert's *concerti*.¹⁵ However, the assumption from the beginning was to analyze these compositions only with respect to correctness of counterpoint and modal principles. However, forasmuch as Artusi's criticism of Monteverdi's compositions represented only a small episode, Scacchi made his assessment of Siefert's psalms the key point of his work—entering, as it were, into the role of music critic.

Music as knowledge

The Psalms of David, arranged musically by Siefert, are compositions created on a *cantus firmus* base; and for this reason, Scacchi placed them in the category of *prima pratica*. To this trend, though not directly, Scacchi applied St. Augustine's definition, which Artusi had previously cited on the folios of the *Seconda parte dell'Artusi*.¹⁶ In the concept of St. Augustine, what is engaged in the compositional process is, above all, the rational mind, which decides the proper choice of elements and formation of the work. Artusi, following in the footsteps of the Bishop of Hippo, accused composers of not using their minds, which Scacchi seized upon and brought out in reference to the person of the Gdańsk organist. In the opinion of the Warsaw chapel master (calling upon Aristotle, as cited by

¹⁵ Scacchi explained himself in this matter rather naïvely—by a lack of knowledge of the German language.

¹⁶ 'Music is the ability to give [sound] a good form.' Cf. Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *Seconda parte dell'Artusi...*, op. cit., fol. 27^r: 'Aristide che fra Greci Autori, & Musici è stato, & è in molta considerazione, nel principio della sua Musica dice. La Musica è una scienza di quelle cose che alla modulatione s'appartengono; la qual diffinitione si confronta con quella, che lasciò scritto Agostino Santo nel primo libro della sua Musica, doue dice. La Musica è una scienza di bene modulare.'

Artusi in *Seconda*...), Siefert, in making technical errors, did not give the musical composition the appropriate form, which as a result remained amorphous matter not deserving the name of art.¹⁷ The deviations of the author of the psalms were, according to Scacchi, the consequence of composing at the keyboard, about which he wrote as follows, again referring to Artusi:

I know that your manner of composition consists rather of the practice you have gained from your instrument than of fluency obtained by application of the rules of harmony. But most often, such a deficiency occurs in organists, as is rightly observed by the Reverend Giovanni Maria Artusi, Treatise 2 on the imperfections of modern music, saying:

And these (for he is speaking of those who concoct their works with their fingers on the harpsichord) are writing nonsense, because musical instruments do not always give a proper picture; and it is one thing to search with voices and sounds for consonances in harmonic abundance, and another matter to construct one's work with the mind linked together with the senses.¹⁸

¹⁷ 'Inter alia autem absurda mirari non satis possum, considerando tam paucas te fecisse Cadentias medias, seu Clausulas tertiarias, uti vocant, non assignando interdum tuis cantionibus propriam formam, quae forma dat esse, & spiritum modulationi, & absque illa remaneret materia informis, nempe simplex sonus in suo esse puro, & simplici, docente Aristotele lib. Animal. c. 5.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum*..., op. cit., p. 122. Cf. Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *Seconda parte dell'Artusi*..., op. cit., fol. 21^r: 'Si meraviglia ne sa questo Academico Ottuso, per incominciare da questo capo; come possi cadere nell'animo mio, che il giudicare una Cantilena di qual tuono ella sia, o sotto qual forma sia composta, s'habbi da esaminare le cadenze medie dovendosi (secondo lui) risguardare solamente alle prime corde, & poscia alle ultime finali, reputando per una leggerezza lo trattare della forma, che si da alle cantilene; la qual forma dà l'èssere alle cantilene, & senza di lei restarebbe la materia, che sono gli semplici suoni nell'esser suo, pura e semplice, & pur come dice Aristotele nel libro de gl'Animali Cap. quinto; maggior considerazione si debbe havere intorno alla forma, che alla materia.'

¹⁸ '[...]scio tuum componendi modum potius in praxi, quam ex Instrumento Musicali comparasti, consistere, quà in usu per Regulas harmonicas acquisito: sed plerumquae talis defectus inter Organaedum reperitur, uti bene Reuerendus Ioh. Maria Artusius, Tractat. 2. de Imperfect. Music. modernae, advertit, inquires: Et isti (loquitur enim de his, qui suas cantilenas digitis in Clavicordio consarciunt) hallucinantur, cum Instrumenta Musicalia, non semper verum autendant, aliudquae est vocibus, & sono in harmonica facultate quaerere consonantias, aliud autem ratione cum sensu conjuncta suum opus perficere.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum*..., op. cit., p. 12. Cf. Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *Seconda parte dell'Artusi*..., op. cit., fol. 42^r: 'Si conosce che il senso è ingannato: & à questo attendono alla gagliarda questi Compositori, ò nuovi Inventori; le basta di sodisfare il senso, che perciò il giorno et la notte s'affaticano intorno a gl'instrumenti per sentire lo effetto che fanno, così fatti Passaggi; & li meschini non s'accorgono, che gl'instrumenti le dicono il falso, & altro è cercare con le voci, e i suoni una cosa appartenente alla facultà Harmonica; & altro è con la ragione accompagnata col senso ritrovare il vero & l'essatto.'

As the result of an instrumental approach to vocal music were written, for example—in Scacchi’s opinion—inappropriate fast melismatic passages.¹⁹

General rules

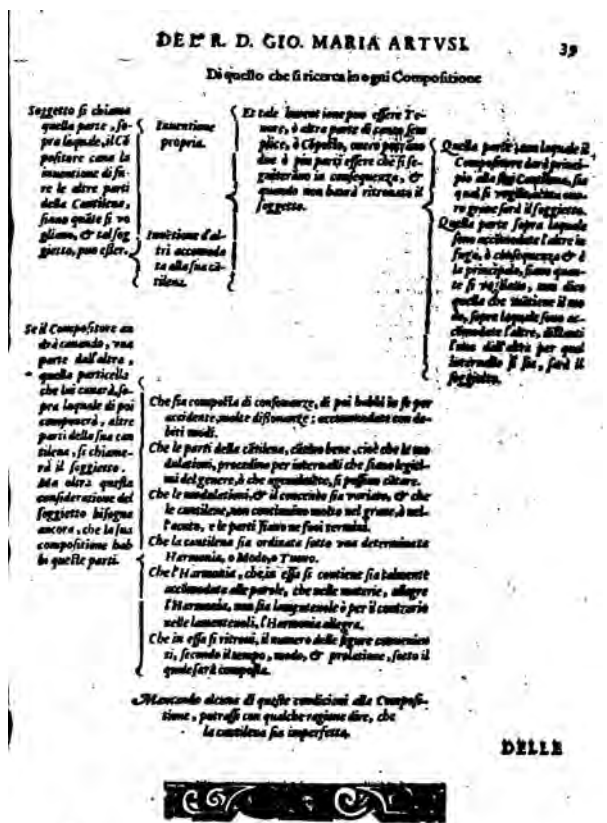
Many of Scacchi’s statements imply that knowledge lying at the foundation of compositional art represents a guarantee of its quality. Properly-conceived musical works should keep the ages-old rules of harmony, and not break them in an unjustified manner. In order to clearly indicate the criteria which guided him in his assessment of Siefert’s works, on p. 8 of *Cribrum*, Scacchi mentioned in 7 points his ‘General Rules’, to which the well-composed work should be subject:

1. Every composition should be based on consonances, among which dissonances are introduced from time to time in an appropriate manner.
2. Let the voices of the work, i.e. the melodic lines, proceed in proper intervals, in agreement with the rules, so that [the voices] can be sung without difficulty.
3. Sonorities and melodic lines should be frequently varied; let the voices not remain long in high or low registers, but rather maintain themselves within proper bounds.
4. Let the work be constructed according to a particular mode, i.e. tone.
5. The harmony should agree with the words; so that in the case of cheerful content, the harmony will not be tearful or sad, and vice versa.
6. Let there be in it [the work] itself the appropriate number of note values, according to the *tempus* and *prolatio* in which it is composed.
7. Let the counterpoint not be polluted with improprieties, but let it be clean and not excessively free.

Thus, if one of these rules is missing, it is right to call the composition imperfect.”²⁰

¹⁹ Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 152, pt. 4.

²⁰ Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 8. (Cf. Example 1): ‘Regulae generales. 1. Quaelibet Compositio debet esse reserta consonantijs, quibus intermixtae etiam sunt per accidens dissonantiae debitis modis dispositae. 2. Partes cantilenae seu modulationes incedant per legitima intervalla sui Generis, ut absque difficultate cantari possint. 3. Contentus & modulationes debent subinde variari, nec Partes diu permaneant in acuto vel gravi, sed maneant in suis destinatis terminis. 4. Cantilena sit disposita secundum certum quendam Modum seu Tonum. 5. Harmonia taliter cum verbis conveniat, ut in materia laeta non sit lachrymabilis &



Example 2. Giovanni Maria Artusi *L'Arte del Contraponto* (2nd ed., 1598), p. 39

These principles, attributed heretofore to Scacchi, are a precise translation of the rules given by Artusi,²¹ who in turn, in significant measure, repeated the words of Zarlino.²² An exception is the seventh point, which Scacchi clearly

maesta, & è contrario. 6. Quod in ipsa reperitur numerus Figurarum convenientium secundum Tempus Modum & Prolationem sub qua composita est. 7. Contrapuncta non sint conspurcata ineptijs, sed polita, nec nimis libera. Quod si vna ex his Regulis in Compositione deest, jure ista imperfecta vocatur [...].

²¹ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Arte del Contraponto*... (2nd ed., 1598), op. cit., p. 39; cf. Example 2.

²² Artusi's theoretical thought takes much from the theory of his teacher ZARLINO, who, in Chapter XXVI of part III of his *Istituzioni harmoniche* (3rd ed., Venezia 1573), gave in six points the conditions which must be fulfilled by a good composition. They are cited by Enrico FUBINI in his *History of Musical Aesthetics* (Polish translation: *Musica Iagellonica*, Kraków 1997, pp. 120–121). A comparison with rules summarized in points by Franchinus GAFFURIUS (*Practica musicae*, 1496) and Johannes TINCTORIS (*Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 1477) was made by Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI in *Musica moderna w ujęciu Marka Scacchiego* [*Musica moderna as conceived by Marco Scacchi*], Kraków 1977, pp. 108–109.

introduced in order to draw attention to the magnitude of the mistakes made by Siefert in his works with *cantus firmus*. The necessity of adding to Artusi's principles also resulted from the passage of time which separated the two theorists. While at the end of the sixteenth century, music theory did not yet recognize the existence of the *seconda pratica*, Scacchi, in writing *Cribrum* nearly half a century later, must have remembered the existence of such compositions which were not entirely subject to these preliminary rules. Of particular significance are two concepts contained in the point added by him: 'counterpoint not polluted by improprieties' and 'counterpoint not excessively free'. Scacchi was drawing attention via these concepts to the fact that the choice of contrapuntal means must be made in correspondence to the type of composition being created. Scacchi contrasted *harmonia antiqua* and *harmonia moderna*.²³ In the case of works containing a *cantus firmus*, requiring a serious and sophisticated style, the counterpoint should absolutely adhere to the rules; while in the case of other works, such as madrigals and *canzonette*,²⁴ as well as *ariette* and *barzellette*, certain liberties are permitted.²⁵ The royal chapel master also justified the existence of such liberties in works containing some sort of more complex contrapuntal solutions (*oblighi*),²⁶ as well as, generally, in works belonging to the *seconda pratica*. These rather laconic statements about the adaptation of compositional solutions to corresponding types of musical compositions rep-

²³ 'Praesens harmonia nescio utrum moderna sit an antiqua, Cantus enim proponit Subiectum per Tonum, & Bassus per semitonium cantat, Tenor autem statim imitatur Cantum, atque ita relatio non harmonica aliquoties auditur.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 136.

²⁴ 'In Madrigalibus autem, Canzonettis & similibus datur aliqua licentia divagandi per latiore viam propter finem ac modum considerandi diversum.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

²⁵ '[...] hoc enim Compositionis genus stylum gravem & tersum requirit, quod secus est in Ariettis seu Barzelettis, uti vocantur, istae enim non subiiciuntur tantae severae censurae propter verba imitanda, quae poscū[n]t tot diversos effectus, quot sunt diuersi conceptus & affectus in ijsdem.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 22.

²⁶ 'Lettore se nell'Agnus Dei a 8. in canon della Messa sine nomine, troverai qualche parte di mezzo, che sia licentiosa [...] il tutto mi si concede, per il grande obbligo di far modulare otto parte in Canon sopra due Bassi [...] se alcuna parte di detta Cantilena modulassero qualche intervallo proibito, da mè notato per errore [...] al Syfert, sono degno d'esser compatito & ben che per altro, io habbia posto detto intervallo diversamente, & con altro garbo, che non ha fatto il Syfert tal sorte di Cantilene, quanto maggiormente sono obligate, tanto più è lecito, & si concede all'Artefice di pigliarsi qualche licenza.' Marco Scacchi *Lettera per maggiore informatione...*, op. cit., unnumbered p. 7.

resented the seeds for a classification of musical styles, which a few years later were discussed more fully in the letter to Christoph Werner.

The rules given in the third and fifth points have been interpreted up until now as evidence of Scacchi's homage to the principle of *varietas*, and especially of a certain influence of the new compositional practice on the older one, which revealed itself in an emphasis on the meaning of the words of the composition, and in variation of the composition dependent on the emotions contained in the text.²⁷ This view, however, requires a certain verification. The author of these rules, after all, was Artusi, who was repeating the majority of Zarlino's thoughts. Artusi, who has acquired the common but erroneous reputation of an opponent to every sort of novelty in music, already in *L'Arte del Contraponto*,²⁸ devoted much attention to the application of dissonances. He discerned their considerable quantitative share in compositions. He considered them to represent a perfect means of characterizing musically words expressing sadness, tears, pain, etc. However, in Artusi's conviction, the dissonances were supposed to be introduced while keeping to the proper rules; thus, he considered Monteverdi's bold solutions a symptom of ignorance and lack of skill. Since Artusi perceived the changes taking place at that time in music, his rules could in significant measure have referred not only to the *prima*, but also the *seconda pratica*, according to which breaking the rules was acceptable in cases justified by the text. The principle of variety was one of those which melded perfectly into the assumptions of the new style.

Having as his argument the 'General Rules' repeated after Artusi, Scacchi finally assessed Siefert's compositions as follows:

If I wanted to examine your work more carefully, then I would find there absurd counterpoint, voice-leading which is boring and lacking the adornment of double counterpoint. Lack of invention, lack of attention to the tones, the voices wandering here and there at will in a manner devoid of form, as I showed you before your very eyes, so that with all certainty I don't know whether such a manner of composition and style of yours deserve the name of harmonious.²⁹

²⁷ Cf. Zygmunt M. SZWEJKOWSKI *Musica moderna...*, op. cit., p. 109.

²⁸ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Arte del Contraponto...*, op. cit.

²⁹ 'Siquae speculari exactiùs vellem istud tuum opus, inepta Contrapunctorum, modulationem aridam, & absquae duplicium Contrapunctorum ornatu utiquae invenirem: Inventiones procul desunt, observatio Tonorum nõ[n] apparet: modus absquae forma Partes hinc inde ad libitum divagantur, uti ad oculos posthac tibi mõ[n]straturus sum, ita ut certè nescius sim, num iste modus & stylus nomine harmonico condecorandus sit.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 12.

Exposition of the rules of counterpoint

The analytical character of *Cribrum musicum* was decisive in the fact that this text, in the form of an exposition, did not take up much space. In this manner, Scacchi discussed problems of completely fundamental significance to music theory: division of intervals, types of tetrachords, quantity and structure of modes, types of rhythmic values and time signatures. However, he did not set forth any detailed recommendations in the area of counterpoint, but referred to them in indicating mistakes in the notated record of Siefert's works.

In *Cribrum*, it is possible to point to nine paragraphs with the character of a concise exposition of the rules. In seven of these nine parts of the treatise, Scacchi cited word-for-word or summarized the views of Artusi, as found in the folios of the second edition of *L'Arte del Contraponto*³⁰ (cf. Table 1). The Warsaw chapel master also took certain views from both parts of the famous polemical text *L'Artusi*, in which Artusi made a critical analysis of Monteverdi's madrigals.³¹

Table 1. Paragraphs from writings of Artusi cited word-for-word or summarized by Scacchi in *Cribrum*

Issue	Exposition of rules in <i>Cribrum musicum</i>	Corresponding fragments of <i>L'Arte del Contraponto</i> , 1598
General rules of composition	p. 8: 'Regulae generaliores'—translation of Artusi, with the exception of point 7.	p. 39
Division of intervals, opinions on the nature of the octave	p. 13: Table of division of intervals alluding to Artusi, though graphically different; they differ with respect to the positioning of the octave; Scacchi placed it in the category of <i>composite</i> ; Artusi, <i>semplici</i> ; Scacchi reported on his views on this matter, repeating Artusi in mentioning some names of theorists who speak of the octave	pp. 12, 15
Opinions on the nature of the fourth	p. 13: Scacchi duplicated the figure concerning the nature of the fourth	p. 44
Definitions of augmented and diminished intervals	pp. 24–25: exact repetition of musical examples	p. 25
On tetrachords: diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic	p. 51: repetition of examples and quote concerning the enharmonic tetrachord	p. 7

³⁰ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Arte del Contraponto...*, op. cit.

³¹ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit.

On the nature and characteristics of modes, arithmetic division of octave	p. 122: repetition of example concerning the division of the octave	p. 73
On clefs, accidentals, rhythmic values and rests	pp. 150–151: formulated similarly to Artusi	p. 21

From this last treatise comes the statement about a frequent error committed by composers who concoct their works at the keyboard, as well as the Aristotelian differentiation of matter and form.

Let us notice that in several places in *Cribrum* (pp. 13, 24–25, 51, 122, cf. Examples 3–6), there appeared figures and notated examples, as it were, copied literally from the writings of Artusi.

Modal unity of compositions

The majority of the rules whose breaking Scacchi condemned in the *Psalms of David*, were universally in force. However, it should be noticed that in *Cribrum*, he particularly brought out the issue of modality. Starting with this question, he began to discuss Siefert's technique, and returned to the question several more times in the treatise.³² The role of modality as an important means of integrating musical structure had been pointed out by theorists since the time of Tinctoris.³³ In the seventeenth century, knowledge of the nature and role of the modes represented—along with knowledge of counterpoint—the foundation of compositional technique. It seems very probable that this particular sensitivity of the Warsaw chapel master to construction of a work in accordance with an accepted mode was the result of reading texts by Artusi, in which, among other things, he accused Monteverdi of mixing modes.³⁴ 'Ragionamento Secondo' in the treatise *L'Artusi* concerns almost exclusively the essence of the modes and various modal theories. In summarizing his reflections,

³² In *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., SCACCHI wrote about modes at greater length on pp. 11, 83–86, 121–123.


³³ A precise discussion of views concerning modality (starting from *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* by Johannes TINCTORIS) is presented by Bernhard MEIER in his work *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony Described According to the Sources With Revisions By the Author*, english transl. Ellen S. Beebe, New York 1988 (especially in chapter 1).

³⁴ In *L'Artusi...*, op. cit., and in *Seconda parte dell'Artusi...*, op. cit. Cf. Aleksandra PATALAS, analysis of Monteverdi's madrigal *O Mirtillo*, in: *Historia muzyki w XVII wieku [History of Music in the 17th Century]*, ed. Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, vol. I: *Pierwsze zmiany [First Changes]*, Kraków 2000, pp. 81–84.

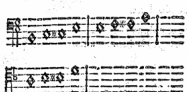
Demonstratio trium Generum modalium.

51


Diatonicum.



Chromaticum.



Enharmonicum.



Vocatur autem Diatonicum, à Græco *διὰ*, id est per, & *τόνος*, Tonus, quia post unum semitonium progreditur ascendendo subinde per Tonum & Tonum, uti in proposito exemplo liquet.

Chromaticum vero dicitur quasi coloratum, quia variat & mutat solum esse, mutando nam Chordam Diatonici, & exinde oriuntur intervalla variata ab illo.

Enharmonicum dicitur quasi primè concinatum. Ceterum Key. Dn. Ioh. Maria Artusius in Arte Contrapuncti (trahendo de Generibus) expressè dicit: Ego: puto neminem adhuc Genus Chromaticum & Enharmonicum in usum & praxin possuisse imò nullum hucusq; etiam illa intellexisse, licet multi libri perfluxerint, fere scopolam attrigisse, inq; his sic esse mirabilia. Boëtius, Ptolemaeus, Aristoxenus, alijq; dicunt, quod diversæ sint per se Species seu Diato-

Example 3. Marco Scacchi
Cribrum musicum (1643), p. 51

=DEL R. D. GIO: MARIA ARTUSI.

7

De Generi.

Quello che procede per i numeri di quattro corde nel son ordine, di maniera che da grave all'acuto, si va per un semitonio maggiore, & per un tonum minore: & per il contrario, per un tonum minore, un maggiore, & un maggiore semitonio.

Quello che è diviso in tal maniera, che dal grave all'acuto si va per ogni quattro corde, per un semitonio maggiore, & per un minore, & per una Terza minore incomposta: & per il contrario dall'acuto al grave.

che procede, per ogni quattro corde, di maniera, che si può modulare dal grave all'acuto per un Dieffi, & per un altro Dieffi, & per un'altra maggiore incomposta: & così dall'acuto al grave per una Terza maggiore, & due Dieffi.

Intervalla incomposta è interde quello, che non è tramutato da altri suoni.

Intervalla composta è quello, che da altri suoni viene tramutato.

S'addimanda Diatonico, perché procede per due toni, da due, che vuol dir per, & tonum & tonum. Si chiama Cromatico quasi colorato, perché varia l'esser suo con il mutare una corda del Diatonico, e nascioo intervalli variati da quello.

Si dice Enarmonico, quasi ottimamente congiunto, & quello con il Cromatico fino ad hora tengo che non vi sia stato alcuno che l'abbia posto in pratica, né inteso, se bene molti si sono detti ad intendere d'inservire fatto mis acò.

Diversi sono le specie del Diatonico, Cromatico, & Enarmonico, come si può vedere in Tolomeo, Boëtio, Aristosseno, & altri: & ciascuna specie tiene differenti intervalli di proporzione l'una da l'altra.

QVAL

Example 4. Giovanni Maria
Artusi *L'Arte del Contraponto*
(2nd ed., 1598), p. 7

Exemplum Quintae diminutae incompositae & compositae
 Dicitur autem Quinta diminuta, seu Semidiapente, quia femitonio minori minor est Quinta naturalis, seu Diapente.
 Exemplum Quintae superfluae.
 Dicitur Quinta superflua ad differentiam Quintae naturalis, quia illa hanc superat uno femitonio minori.
 Exemplum Octavae diminutae.
 Dicitur Octava diminuta, seu Semidiapason, quia femitonio minori minor est Octava naturalis, seu Diapason.
 Exemplum Octavae superfluae.
 Dicitur Octava superflua, quia superat Octavam naturalem femitonio minori.
 Exemplum Quintae diminutae.

Exemplum Quintae superfluae.
 Dicitur Quinta superflua, quia minor est Quinta naturalis femitonio uno minori.

Exemplum Octavae diminutae.
 Dicitur Octava diminuta, seu Semidiapason, quia femitonio minori minor est Octava naturalis, seu Diapason.

Exemplum Octavae superfluae.
 Dicitur Octava superflua, quia superat Octavam naturalem femitonio minori.

Exemplum Quintae diminutae.

Dicitur Quarta diminuta, quia minor est Quarta naturalis femitonio uno minori.

Exemplum Quarta superfluae.
 Quarta superflua est intervallum valde dissonans (sicut & alia supradicta) & communiter appellatur Tritonus, à Graecis item Tetrachordia, & Tetrachordium majus. Derivatur autem Tritonus à Graeco τριών, id est, tres, & τριών, Tonus, quia in quatuor choris continet Tonos tres aequi, ullo femitonio.

Alia Intervalla prohibita.

Possem adhaec multa alia apponere, sed brevitatis gratia omitto.

Sane hoc rationabili fundamento, periti in hac arte Musicae generalem fuerunt legem, nos licet Mi contra Fa, & si Fa contra Mi ex aduerso ponere in Consonantia permissis, nec in modulatione, sive id fiat per salum, sive per progressum ad Octavam, Quintam & Quartam, id est, nihil refert, utrum fiat per intervallum compositum, vel incompositum, & quamvis quoad Consonantias non erraveris, error tamen est in modulatione, & nullus invenitur ex classicis Authoribus, qui hoc non observasset, praeterquam in puro & simplici melopoeia stylo.

Omnes Partes consonantiae, excepto Canna, qui cum Tenore, & Basso consonat, nec sufficit, si propter Subiectum te fecisse dicis, de facili enim remedium huic malo appellare poteris:

Example 5. Marco Scacchi *Cribrum musicum* (1643), pp. 24–25

DEL R. D. GIO. MARIA ARTUSI 35

Residuo della Ymoia passata.

Quarta che habete questa forma dall'altro compasso del basso che in loro sono il femitonio, e sime.

Superflua

Diminuta

Se bene questi intervalli, e il superflua, e il diminuta possi effettivamente nelle Cantioni offendere, ne puoi l'altro partito per la sua non offerezza, e tuttavia per le sue nature non lo fare, e se ad- come indarno, l'ore le noi di modo accomodando che l'altro infinitamente se ne compiere, si in me più oltre li vederà.

La Quinta superflua, e la Quarta diminuta non sono da pratici usate.

La Ottava superflua, e l'Ottava diminuta, e l'intervallo ditonico, et fugge da tutti li compositori buoni.

La Quarta superflua, e la Quinta diminuta, da buoni pratici viene usata, con molte falsificatione di che lo scabito, come si vederà.

Di Gio: Maria Artusi

Example 6. Giovanni Maria Artusi *L'Arte della Contraponto* (2nd ed., 1598), p. 25

Artusi included a rule important from the perspective of our reflections,³⁵ which we will discover in the views of Scacchi. It required maintenance of the modal framework of the composition—so, appropriate construction of the *exordium*, based on modal imitation, maintenance of the voices within the framework of the ranges proper to the selected mode, as well as selection of appropriate *claves clausularum*. Having found deviations from these principles in Siefert's psalms—especially the use of real imitation in the *exordium*—he considered the Gdańsk organist unable to give musical material an appropriate form.

The name of Authentic [Tones] is given to those which are numbered with odd numbers: (of this type are the: first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh), and these form a fifth below and a fourth above. The tones called by the name of plagal are numbered with even numbers (e.g. second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, twelfth), and these have a fourth below and a fifth above. And this differing division of the octave describes the real range [ambitus] of every work, which no voice, especially at the beginning, may leave to wander about aimlessly. On the other hand, there is no tone, whether authentic or plagal, which would be constructed of two fifths or two fourths. Since this is how things are, I cannot avoid thinking it odd that you proceed differently in the psalm under discussion; for if it belongs to the first tone, what you should have done is at the beginning create the alto and bass from a fourth, not from a fifth; for this shows that you do not have a good foundation in this sort of musical proceeding, for you did not give this work the proper and natural form of the tone—and I dare say that this is not just my opinion, but that of many others as well.³⁶

³⁵ 'Dichiaratione della Regola de Modi: [...] dovendosi denominare la forma datale da tutta la Cantilena, et non dalla prima corda e l'ultima solamente, il che dovete [should be: dovete] notare, et intendere che li Theorici dicono, che si deve incominciare dalla prima corda della Cantilena, et andare fino all'ultima, essaminandola, et vedere di quali spetie di consonanze quella tal Cantilena è formata, et all'hora darle la denominatione; et questa è la interpretatione della Regola detta.' Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit., fol. 69^v.

³⁶ '[...] Authenticos nimirum & Plagales: Authentici dicuntur, qui sunt de numero impari, (cujusmodi sunt Primus Tertius, Quintus, Septimus, Nonus, Vndecimus) & hac infra Quintam, & supra Quartam formant. Plagales autem nominantur; qui sunt de numero pari, (uti Secundus, Quartus, Sextus, Octavus, Decimus, & Duodecimus) atque isti infra Quartam, supra autem Quintam habent. Et haec diversa Octavae divisio constituit verum ambitum cujuslibet cantilena, ex quo nulla Vox, praesertim in principio, egredi & evagari debet. Nullus autem Tonus, sive Authenticus sive Plagalis, reperitur, qui duabus Quintis vel Quartis efformetur. Quae cum ita sint, non possum non mirari, te aliter agere in hoc Psalmo, cum enim ipse sit Primi Toni, debuisses Altum & Bassum in principio per Quartam, non autem per Quin|tam formare: nam ex hoc apparet, te minus esse fundatum in hac professione Musica, siquidem rectam & naturalem formationem Toni huic cantioni non dedisti, & hoc non tantum secundum meum sed & aliorum judicium asserere audeo.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 11.

In treating Artusi as an authority on matters concerning the old style—and the views of Monteverdi, in reference to the new style—Scacchi must have known about the possibilities for intentionally mixing characteristics of different modes (for example, as Divino Claudio did in the madrigal *O Mirtillo*), but the proper justification for such a course of action was, in his opinion, only the desire to strengthen the expression of the words. Such a phenomenon should not, thus, take place in the works of Siefert, which are in the category of *prima pratica*.

Scacchi, like the Bolognese theorist, was in favor of having twelve modes. However, he considered as the first mode not the one fitting within the octave the octave *c-c'*, as Artusi indicated, but rather the one fitting within the octave *d-d'*. The dependence of the Warsaw chapel master's theory on the thinking of Artusi is also revealed in the showing by both of possibilities for transposition to any pitch level of each of the modes—which, by reason of the uneven temperament of the tuning, rather did not find any place in compositional practice of the time.³⁷ Unlike some other thinkers of his era, Artusi particularly strongly promoted the theory of Aristoxenos, attributing to him the division of the whole tone into two equal half tones, which in the conviction of the Bolognese theorist would in large measure remove the imperfections of contemporary music.³⁸ While Scacchi in *Cribrum* did not directly call upon Aristoxenos' thought on the division of the half-tone,³⁹ he did so a few years later in his musical *œuvre*, and in the introduction to his collection of works entitled *Canones*.

³⁷ 'Sed non aegre ferat, quod hic apponam exemplum & modum formandi Tonum hunc duodecimum, & quot modis transeferri possit. [musical examples with the following captions:] 12. Tonus naturalis. Transpositus per Quintam infernè. Per Quartam supernè non potest transferri, ambitus enim cum clave Tenoris non convenit. Per Tonum inferius. Per Tonum superius. Verumenimverò non tantum hic Modus, seu Tonus ita diversimode transponi potest, sed omnes etiam reliqui, de quibus, ut & alijs praecipuis observationibus ad Contrapunctum pertinentibus peculiari Tractatu (favente clementia divina) fusè acturus sum.' Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 123.

³⁸ Of particular significance are the following words: 'In effetto bisogna che sia cosi; là dove li Tuoni sono ineguali e che li Semituoni loro ancora si ritrovano ineguali, è necessario che vi naschino delle imperfettioni assai; & à vietarli sarebbe bene come molte volte hauete detto voi, à credere che la Syntona d'Aristosseno, fosse quella, che si Cantasse, e Sonasse ne gl'Instrumenti; che all'hora si potrebbe trasportare ogni Cantilena verso doue più al Compositore fosse di comodo.' Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit., fol. 34^r.

³⁹ The name of Aristoxenos appears in *Cribrum musicum* on p. 51, in the context of teaching about intervals and the division of tetrachords.

Compositions of Scacchi inspired by the writings of Artusi

As we have shown, the folios of *Cribrum* are permeated with Artusi's theory. However, Scacchi was not only inspired by the opinions of the Bolognese theorist, but also attentively analyzed the examples of musical compositions adduced by him. In allusion to them, Scacchi composed two enigmatic works whose secret was revealed by his last student, music theorist Angelo Berardi. In his treatise entitled *Documenti armonici*⁴⁰ were placed compositions of Scacchi entitled: *Si Deus pro nobis* and *Vobis datum est*. According to Berardi's words, these are 'two motets, the first for 4, the second for 5 voices, which, skillfully constructed, came from the famous pen of Scacchi'.⁴¹ The composition *Si Deus pro nobis* (Example 7) is preceded by an explanation of the manner of performance: 'The first time, it is to be sung as it was notated; the second time, with the notes turned [upside down], so that the soprano will be sung by the bass; the alto part, by the tenor; and the tenor part, by the alto. The second time around, it should be sung with *b molle*' (Example 8).⁴² Thus, it is only Berardi's explanation which reveals in full the artistry of this superficially, at first glance, undistinguished composition. The key to it, however well hidden, is represented by the words of the text. The entire content of the work boils down to a well-known verse, repeated several times: 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' (Romans 8:31b). In this case, it is not so much that the music represents an interpretation of the meaning of the text, as that the latter serves as an aid in discovering the peculiar properties of the composition. One must merely guess the proper meaning of the words 'pro' and 'contra'.

If we look at the last two folios of the treatise *L'Artusi*⁴³, we will find there a work entitled *Vobis datum est* (Example 9), constructed on identical principles

⁴⁰ *Documenti armonici di D. Angelo Berardi da S. Agata Canonico nell'Insigne Collegiata di S. Angelo di Viterbo; Nelli quali con varij Discorsi, Regole, & Esempij si dimostrano gli studij arteficiosi della Musica, oltre il modo di usare le ligature, e d'intendere il valore di ciascheduna figura sotto qual si sia segno. Dedicati All'Illustrissimo Signore, il Signor Conte Ranuccio Marsciani. In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti. 1687.*

⁴¹ 'Documento XXVIII. Nel quale si considerano due Motetti, il primo a 4, e l'altro a 4, tessuti artificiosissimamente della Penna celebre dello Scacchi, con altri studij curiosi.' Angelo BERARDI *Documenti armonici...*, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴² 'Motetto a 4. composto artificiosamente. La prima volta si canta come stà, la seconda volta si canta con il Libro al roverscio, cioè la parte del Soprano la canta il Basso, la parte del Contralto la canta il Tenore, e quella del Tenore, la canta il Contralto. Nella seconda replica si deve cantare per *b molle*.' Angelo BERARDI *Documenti armonici...*, op. cit. p. 64.

⁴³ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit., ff. 70^v-71^r.

64 IL PRIMO
 Motetto à 4. composto artificialmente. La prima volta si canta come si,
 la seconda volta si canta con il Libro al rustrico, cioè la parte del Soprano la
 canta il Basso, la parte del Contralto la canta il Tenore, e quella del Tenore,
 la canta il Contralto. Nella seconda replica si deve cantare per b, molle.

A quattro.

Si Deus pro no- bis si Deus pro
 Si Deus pro no- bis pro no- bis pro no-
 Si Deus pro no-
 Si Deus pro no- bis

LIBRO. 65

nos bis quis contra con- tra
 bis quis contra nos si quis
 bis si Deus pro no- bis
 quis contra quis con- tra nos quis con-
 quis contra nos si Deus pro no-
 nos si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos quis
 quis contra quis con- tra nos si De-
 tra nos si Deus pro

Example 7. Marco Scacchi *Si Deus pro nobis* (1st version),
 in: Angelo Berardi *Documenti armonici* (1687), pp. 64–65

65 IL PRIMO

bis quis con- tra nos
 contra nos quis con- tra nos quis
 us si Deus pro no-
 no- bis quis con-
 si quis con-
 con- tra nos si Deus pro no- bis quis con-
 bis quis contra nos
 tra nos quis con-

LIBRO. 76

tra nos
 tra nos.
 tra nos.
 tra nos.
 Si Deus pro no- bis
 Si Deus pro no-
 Si Deus pro no- bis pro no- bis pro no-
 Si Deus pro no- bis Si Deus pro

Risoluzione con voltare il Libro al contrario, cioè Basso in Soprano, Soprano
 in Basso, Tenore in Alto, Alto in Tenore.

Example 8. Marco Scacchi *Si Deus pro nobis* (fragm., 2nd version),
 in: Angelo Berardi *Documenti armonici* (1687), pp. 66–67 [sic!]

as described above, composed by Constanzo Porta, of whom Artusi wrote that he was an exceptional composer for his time, as far as knowledge of counterpoint was concerned. In the explanatory note to the work were placed comments very similar to those Berardi set forth regarding Scacchi's work.

Porta's work was, as it were, copied musically by Scacchi. Perhaps this time as well, Siefert's opponent wanted to prove to him how much he was in error, accusing Italian composers of lacking the skill to create truly complex works.

Artusi drew special attention of readers to the symbolic import of the words in the work *Vobis datum est*. Scacchi followed in this path, writing another enigmatic composition with the same title.

Supporter of the theory of Aristoxenos

On the last pages of *Examen breve*⁴⁴, without commentary, Scacchi's student Ninius placed a five-voice work by his master, beginning with the words 'Vobis datum est' (Example 10). Ninius' leaflet contained criticism of Siefert's polychoral composition written to celebrate the wedding of Władysław IV with Louise Marie Gonzaga. The inclusion of Scacchi's work in a text concerning mainly polychoral technique could seem like a random event, but we find an explanation upon closer analysis. *Vobis datum est* was, in a veiled manner, yet another jab at Siefert, whose new work Ninius considered to be full of technical errors. Forty years later, for a completely different purpose, Berardi reprinted his teacher's composition in *Documenti armonici*. In the chapter mentioned above, describing musical curiosities, the author explains:

The five-voice motet was constructed with the greatest of skill. In the second tenor, the notes with the notation N.B. next to them appear dissonant, but if you look at them bearing in mind proper musical principles, all of them turn out to be consonances. The trick consists of an optical illusion.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Examen breue ac modestum Cantilenae sex Chorum A PAVLO SYFERTIO Editae Gedani Anni M. DC. XLVI. Mense Februario, In bonum & vtilitate[m] Musicae Studiosorum AVTHORE HIERONYMO NINIO Discipulo Excellentissimi Domini, MARCI SCHACHII SACRAE REGIAE MAIESTATIS Poloniae et Sveciae &c. Capellae Magistri*, pp. 28–31.

⁴⁵ 'Motetto a 5 tessuto artificiosissimamente. Nel secondo Tenore le note appariscono tutte dissonanze dove si ritrova questo segno N. B., ma se saranno considerate con la ragione de' buoni fundamenti Musicali sono tutte consonanze. L'artificio in tutto consiste d'ingannar l'occhio.' Angelo BERARDI *Documenti armonici...*, op. cit., p. 70.

Example 9. Constanzo Porta *Vobis datum est*,
in: Giovanni Maria Artusi *L'Artusi* (1600), fol. 70^v–71^r

And further:

The idea of lowering the pitch is a very old one. The first to think of it was Adriano Willaert, an exceptional musician who created a means of composing for two choirs which would respond to each other. The [author] mentioned composed a duet entitled *Quid nos ebrietas*.⁴⁶ The cleverness of this work consists of the tenor lowering the pitch by a half step with the aid of accidentals, while the soprano stays in place. For the sake of learned people's curiosity, I present this duet in full score.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Willaert's work in reality bears the title *Quidnam ebrietas* and is intended for four voices.

⁴⁷ 'L'inventione di calare un tuono è antichissima. Il Primo Inventore fu' Adriano Wilaert Musico rarissimo, che ritrovò il modo di comporre a 2. Chori, che ciascuno da se stesso accordasse. Il sudetto compose un duo intitolato: «Quid nos ebrietas.» L'artificio di questa cantilena consiste, che il Tenore cala un Tuono per mezzo de gl'accidenti maggiori, & il Soprano resta nel suo luogo. Per curiosità degli studiosi ponerò in partitura il detto duo.' Angelo BERARDI *Documenti armonici...*, op. cit., p. 78.

.bolis vt viden tes non videant vt vi den tes
 bolis vt videntes non vi deant
 bolis vt viden tes non vi de
 vt videntes non videant
 non vi deant vt viden tes non vi deant
 vt videntes non vi de ant
 vt vi dentes non vi de ant
 ant non vi de ant vt viden tes non videant &
 vt vi dentes non vi deant &

Example 10. Marco Scacchi *Vobis datum est* (fragm.),
 in: Hieronimus Ninius *Examen breue* (1647), fol. G2^v

Thus, Berardi had in mind *musica ficta*, which for a theorist at the end of the 17th century was already only a musical curiosity, an example of a dying art, and for this reason all the more enigmatic. The statements contained in *Documenti armonici*, as we shall see later, repeated, though in a somewhat shallow manner, the views of Scacchi expressed in the foreword to the collection of his compositions entitled *Canones nonnulli*⁴⁸. The prototype which Scacchi was imitating in *Vobis datum est* was Adrian Willaert's so-called chromatic duo *Quidnam ebrietas*. It was the opening work in a short series of similar compositions experimenting with chromaticism.⁴⁹ Essentially, the similarity of the two composers' concepts is far-reaching and testifies that it was most probably Willaert's composition which Scacchi used as a model, and not any later works of that type. In Scacchi's case, like Willaert's, only the tenor voice requires addition by the performer of accidentals not notated by the composer. Only in this manner can leaps with *intervalli falsi* be avoided. The tenor voice, which in both cases forms a dissonant interval with another voice (a minor seventh—in Scacchi's case, with the alto; in Willaert's, with the cantus), must be lowered by a whole tone via addition of a row of flat signs, i.e. via transfer of the hexachord to an atypical position. In *Vobis datum est*, this process begins in measure 23; and by measure 25, the hexachord attains its final position. The composition finishes with, in the tenor, a hexachord built on the note *e^{bb}*.

Willaert's *Quidnam ebrietas*, as we have mentioned, was the beginning of a short series of compositions experimenting with chromaticism. Lowinsky has drawn attention to the symbolic import of the words in all of the works belonging to the group of 'chromatic experiments'. For example, in the work *Passus ambiguus*, whose author was Matthaeus Greiter,⁵⁰ the variable position of the hexachord, causing the introduction of accidentals in all voices, was meant to reflect the vicissitudes of human life. This work was essentially not

⁴⁸ *CANONES NONNVLLI, Super Arias quasdam Musicales DNI. CHRISTOPHORI VVERNERI, Chori Musices ad D. Cathar: Gedani Moderatoris dignissimi, compositi, ac artificiosè elaborati. AVTHORE MARCO SCACCHIO, ROMANO SERENISSIMI ac POTENTISSIMI JOHANNIS CASIMIRI, Regis Poloniae & Sveciae Capellae Magistro. REGIOMONTI, Typis PASCALIS MENSENII, Anno 1649.*

⁴⁹ Edward E. LOWINSKY wrote about this at greater length in 'Echoes of Andrian Willaert's Chromatic «Duo» in Sixteenth- And Seventeenth-Century Compositions', which is to be found in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers., Princeton N.J. 1968.

⁵⁰ Edward E. LOWINSKY 'Matthaeus Greiter's «Fortuna»: An Experiment in Chromaticism and in Musical Iconography', *The Musical Quarterly* XLII (1956), XLIII (1957).

intended for vocal performance; its text represented, rather, a justification for this musical experiment. In Scacchi's *Vobis datum est*, as in Porta's composition cited by Artusi, we have to do with a fragment of the Bible: 'To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to other men in parables, that they seeing see not, and they hearing understand not' (Luke 8:10). Scacchi proposed an almost literal musical interpretation of the words cited. The 'seeing see not', since the musical notation does not reveal the true face of the composition. The 'hearing understand not', because a proper performance will not grate upon the ear with any irregularities. 'To you it is given to know the mystery'. This mystery is the proper reading of the work, taking into account the rules of *musica ficta*, which knowledge every well-educated musician ought to possess. In *Vobis datum est*, understanding of the text should, as it were, open the eyes of the one looking at the score; thus, the necessity of adding accidentals appears only with the words 'that they seeing see not', and not before.

Scacchi no doubt became acquainted with Willaert's work via Artusi's treatise.⁵¹ Both the latter (cf. Example 11) and Berardi printed only two voices (cantus and tenor) of Willaert's four-voice composition, published for the first time in 1530, describing it erroneously as a 'duo'. For Artusi, discussing problems of tuning, it was an example of the practical application of the division of each whole tone into two half tones of equal size; thus, the composition alluded to the theory of Aristoxenos. His reflections were assessed negatively by many (under the influence of Boethius' opinion), for they shattered the beautiful view that musical intervals can be expressed with aid of simple mathematical proportions.⁵² The accusation addressed to Aristoxenos that he described intervals only with the sense of hearing, and not with the understanding, Artusi denied, stating that it is via the hearing that we assess the wonder of the intervals, and via the understanding that we study their function. He wrote:

Let our contemporaries say what they will, but not everyone will say that the tuning in which we sing or play is the syntonic [tuning] of Ptolemy; a sizeable number of them will determine that this is the tuning of Aristoxenos, of which Maestro Adrian gives proof in this work [here are cited voices from *Quidnam*]. [...] I am sure that Maestro Adrian was a supporter of the opinions of Aristoxenos, who divided the hole

⁵¹ Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit. p. 21.

⁵² Claude V. PALISCA 'Aristoxenus Redeemed in the Renaissance', in: *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, Oxford 1994.

(B)

Primo. 2 I

nelle compositioni da loro fatte; il che non apporta se non vergogna infinita.

Luca. Di queste impertinentie ne ragioneremo con'altra volta à miglior proposito; per hora attendiamo à questa Cantilena di M. Adriano, che veramente fu un bellissimo pensiero.

Vario. Fu di meraviglia all' hora, & adesso farò supporre qualche uno, che più non l'ha veduto, nè sentito nominare; è vero che fornisce in settima, apparente, come voi detto già havete; ma se noi vorremo con lo intelletto bene esaminarlo, ritroveremo che la vista viene ingannata; & che questa Cantilena fatta da M. Adriano, huomo singolare à' nostri tempi, fornisce in ottava. & non in settima, come appare; & acciò meglio potiate vederla à vostro comodo, ecco che vi faccio dono di una Copia, fedelmente dallo originale di mano di M. Adriano copiata.

F

Example 11. Adrian Willaert *Quidnam ebrietas* (fragm.), in: Giovanni Maria Artusi *L'Artusi* (1600), fol. 21^r

tone into two equal parts—that is, into the two half tones you can observe on lutes and viols.⁵³

In composing *Vobis datum est*, Scacchi opted in favor of the theory propagated by Aristoxenos in Artusi's interpretation. The Warsaw chapel master alluded clearly to his statements in the foreword to *Canones nonnulli*:

⁵³ 'Dicano pur li Moderni quanto uogliono, che non tutti diranno, che questa sia la spetia Syntona, che si Canta, ò Suona, dico di quella di Tolomeo, ma bona parte tenirà che sia quella d'Aristosseno, di che ce ne fa fede M. Adriano con questo Canto... [...]. Tengo per fermo, che M. Adriano habbi seguitata la opinione di Aristosseno, il quale diuideua il Tuono in due parti eguali, cioè in due Semituoni, il che vedete osseruato nè Lauti, et nelle Viole...', Giovanni Maria ARTUSI *L'Artusi...*, op. cit, fol. 25^r.

For this reason, in order to thus satisfy interested parties, that it is worthwhile in this work of mine to reflect on the teaching of Aristoxenos, who divides the tone into two equal parts, that is, into two half-tones [...] Any learned person interested could also do an experiment on the lute or the large pandora or viola da gamba, which have equal tones and half-tones, according to the view of Aristoxenos.⁵⁴

The explanations placed in the *Canones nonnulli* indicate that the publication of *Vobis datum est* in *Examen breve* without explanation met with misunderstanding. We can surmise that one of the critics was Siefert—an organist accustomed to mean-tone tuning. Despite the fact that in the entire introduction to the *Canones nonnulli*, the name of the Gdańsk musician does not appear even once, the ‘evil tongue’ which criticized *Cribrum* is mentioned several times.⁵⁵ Scacchi stated:

[...] I know that some tongue has maliciously said that those flats in the motet *Vobis* for 5 voices, which were used in the second tenor part under the words ‘Ut videant’, are pure ignorance.⁵⁶

Scacchi never before and never again took up the problems of tuning; he did not discuss them in reference to keyboard instruments, merely repeating Artusi’s opinions on the possibility of putting into practice the division of the whole tone into two equal parts.

Summary

Scacchi’s views presented on the folios of his polemics were in large measure a repetition of opinions propagated by earlier authors. The particularly strong influence of Artusi’s theories was manifested in the folios of *Cribrum*. Scacchi cited larger fragments of his writings, translating them into Latin;

⁵⁴ ‘Vnde dicam, quò satisfiat curiosis, considerare opus esse doctrinam in illa mea Cantilena Aristoxeni, Tonum in duas aequales dividendis partes, nempe in duo semitoniam. [...] Poterit etiam curiosus quidam studiosus facere experientiam in Cheli, vel Pandura majore, vel Viola da gamba, quae proprii Tonos & Semitoniam aequalia habent, secundum Aristoxeni sententiam.’ Marco SCACCHI *Canonem nonnulli...*, op. cit., fol. C^r.

⁵⁵ Referred to here is PAULI SYFERTI *Organistae Gedanensi, ANTICRIBRATIO MVSI-CA AD AVENAM SCHACHLANAM. [...] DANTISCI Typis GEORGII RHETII Reipubl. & Gymnasij Typographi. ANNO 1645.*

⁵⁶ ‘[...] scio quòd lingua quaedam perversa dixerit, illa B mollia in Motetto, *Vobis datum est* à 5. vocibus: quae in parte secundi Ten[o-]ris sub his verbis *Vt videntes non videant*, usurpata sunt, meras esse stultitias.’ Marco SCACCHI *Canones nonnulli...*, op. cit., fol. C^r.

paraphrased the thoughts of the Bolognese theorist; carried over certain notated and graphic examples; was inspired by the works cited. He emphasized especially those questions which were also important to Artusi, such as correctness of counterpoint, preservation of the modal framework of compositions, or propagation of the theory of Aristoxenos.

While an ardent supporter of *musica moderna*, Scacchi was able to appreciate tradition in a balanced manner. From the perspective of time, he considered that the Artusi–Monteverdi argument resulted from the opponents’ looking at music from two different perspectives and, for this reason, not being able to come to an understanding. Artusi—said Scacchi—perceived music as taking precedence over speech; while his contemporaries considered music to be subordinate to speech. Thus—referring to Aristotle—the subject of the reflections of each of the parties was a different form of music, though the material remained the same.⁵⁷

Despite the fact that Scacchi took so much from existing theory, more rarely adding new statements, his writings played an essential didactic role in his community. They were meant to make composers aware of the necessity of studying not only earlier musical works, but above all, theory, which is the foundation for musical art understood as knowledge.

⁵⁷ ‘Ita, ad propositū[m] nostrum, Artusius consideravit Musicam ut dominam Textus seu orationis, Moderni verò, ut ancillam Textus vel orationis: itaq[ue] mirum nō[n] est, quod ita senserit, quia sibi proposuit diversum objectum formale, & sic nō[n] repugnat, quod Musica aliter ab alijs pertractari non possit.’ Marco SCACCHI *Cribrum musicum...*, op. cit., p. 133.

