

Following the success of *Baroque String Playing 'for ingenious learners'* Judy Tarling's second book strikes at the heart of musical performance with a study of the relationship between music and rhetoric, which was much remarked upon during the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Using the works of the classical rhetoricians Cicero and Quintilian as a framework for the book, their ideas are traced through the Tudor classroom and popular Renaissance eloquence books into the late eighteenth century. Concentrating on performance techniques that aid the communication of musical ideas to an audience, historical source material is used to demonstrate how to hold the attention of the listener and at the same time move and delight him, as in the classical oration. Quotations from the rhetoric manuals, Shakespeare and the Bible are complemented by over one hundred musical examples, drawn mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which illustrate the connection between speaking and playing in the rhetorical style.

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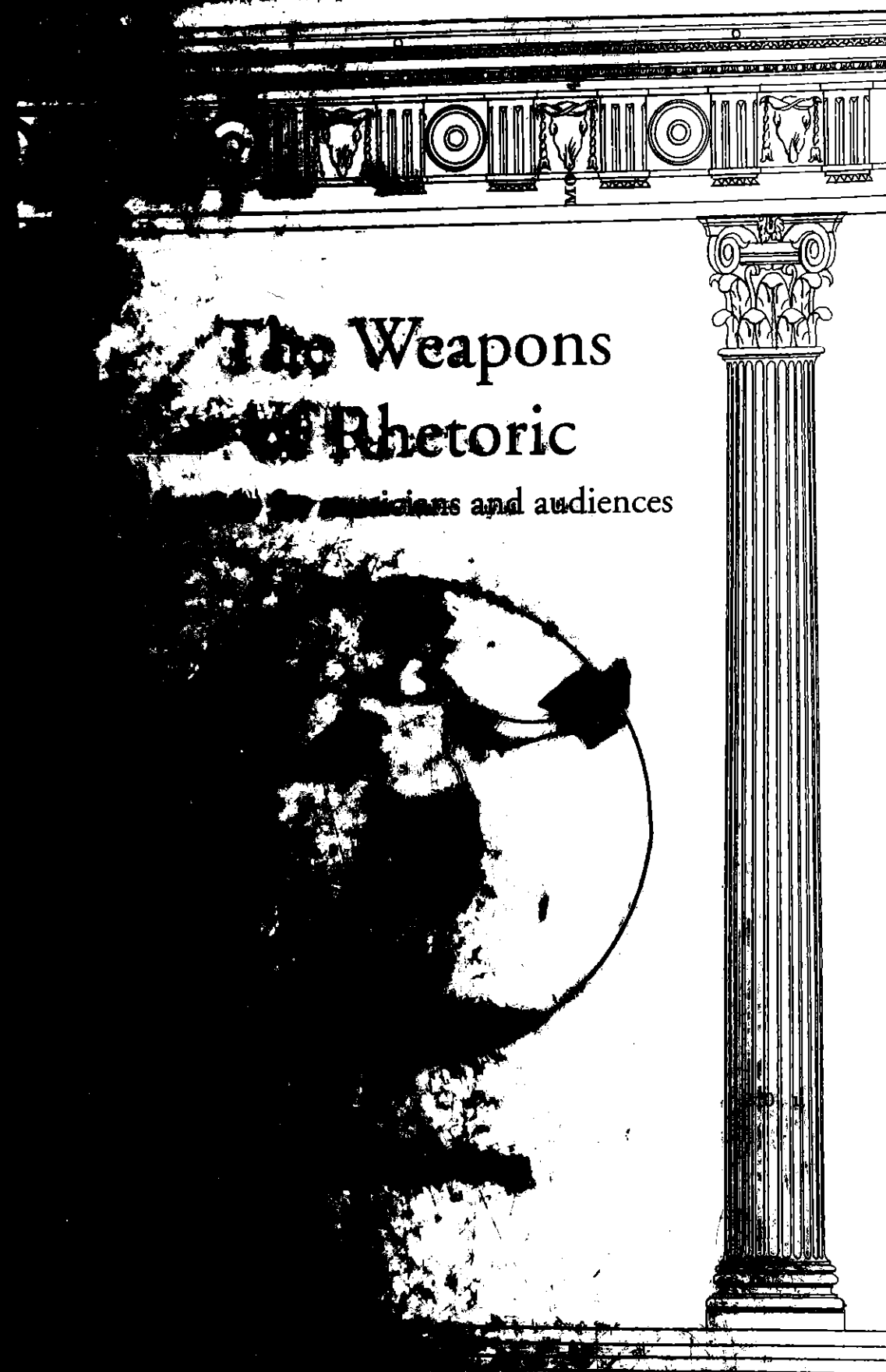
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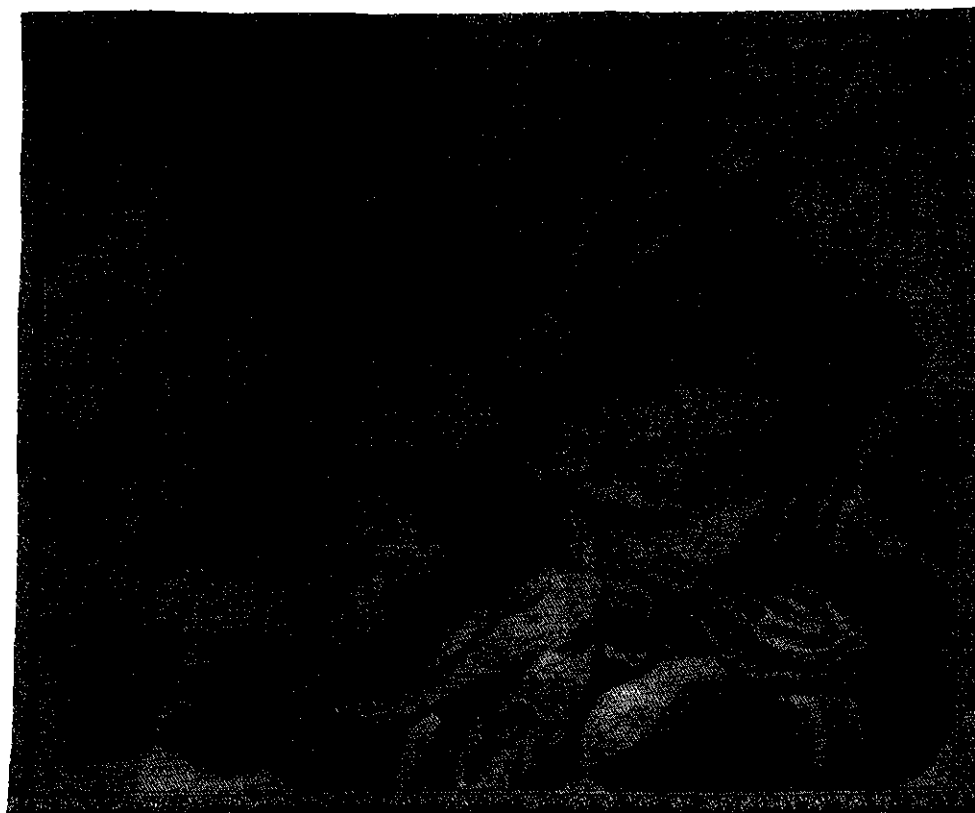
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ISBN 0-95-282203-2



John Holden, *An Essay towards a Rational System of Music* (London, 1770)

I shall therefore make no other apology for the faults of the following piece than this, which seems to be the only proper one an author can make, *I have done my best*: and as I have had occasion to enter into some enquiries where absolute certainty is hardly to be expected, so I am equally prepared to enjoy the approbation of the judicious, so far as I am right; or to profit by their candid corrections, where I may be wrong.



Eustache le Sueur, L'Eloquence entre la Musique et l'Harmonie (1652)

THE WEAPONS OF RHETORIC

A guide for musicians and audiences

Judy Tarling

Corda Music

First published 2004
This edition published 2005

Corda Music Publications
183, Beech Road, St Albans, Hertfordshire AL3 5AN, UK

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ISBN 0-95-282203-2

Printed by
Biddles Ltd.
King's Lynn

PREFACE

This book was conceived whilst writing *Baroque String Playing* 'for ingenious learners' when I realised that a basic knowledge of the rhetorical style was essential for performing Baroque music. Having started to investigate what this meant in practical terms for the performer, the subject of rhetoric in musical performance that was to become Part One of *Baroque String Playing* began to dominate the whole enterprise. It became apparent that a separate study of this 'speaking' way of performing was required, there being no useful general text written from a rhetorical point of view for musicians.

Throughout the period from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century the comparison of the performance of music with oratory is frequently found irrespective of differences in national style or purpose of composition. The sixteenth-century theorist Zarlino pointed out that accent and rhythm are both used by orators and musicians, and musicians from the fifteenth century were urged to lower and raise their voices 'as orators do'.¹ Instrumentalists were encouraged to imitate speech in performance. The seventeenth-century diarist John Evelyn admired the playing of Nicola Matteis who had 'a stroak so sweete' which 'made it speake like the Voice of a man'.² Roger North reported that Corelli demanded of his pupils 'Non udite lo parlare?' ('Do you not hear it speak?'), referring to the voice of the instrument.³ In the eighteenth century, Mattheson's treatise *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* described rhetorical principles of composition and performance based on ideas derived directly from classical sources. Quantz cited the voice and skills of an orator as his models for good performance, with the ultimate goal of both musician and orator to become 'masters of the hearts of their listeners'. He urged both types of performer to be aware of their shared aims and techniques.⁴ These were also noted by writers on speaking, and towards the end of the eighteenth century William Cockin's *The Art of Delivering Written Language* described the common ground between speaking and playing music expressively.⁵

The term 'rhetoric' applies to a particular way of speaking by an orator whose main aim is to persuade the listener. Persuasive speaking uses various techniques that influence the emotional response of the listener in order to bring him round to the speaker's opinion.

It is no coincidence that the period during which rhetoric was a prime factor in musical composition and performance, approximately 1500-1800, coincides with the period during which the study of speaking skills was championed, with the classical texts forming the basis of knowledge about rhetoric and oratory. The peak period for studying, composing and delivering

¹ *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. 3, p. 17.

² Diary for November 19th, 1674.

³ *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson, p. 359.

⁴ *Versuch* (1752), XI.1.

⁵ (1775), pp. 81-82.

a performance in the rhetorical style was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After this, rhetorical techniques became embedded in the processes of musical composition and performance, and were adapted to new styles until the early nineteenth century, when other factors became more influential. Drawing directly from my own experience, this book concentrates on the performance of music from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the rhetorical approach remained the principal language of composition in tonal music, using its ideas of thematic development and structure, and communicating emotions by using the devices of rhythm, pitch and harmony in a rhetorical way.

How can this 'oratory' in playing be achieved if we know so little of what is involved in that subject? The broader issues of performance art, the fundamental relationship and methods of communication between performer and audience which constitute the skills of an orator, have rarely been addressed in a form that is useful to musicians seeking ideas and guidance about this way of performing. Recent books on musical rhetoric have mainly been concerned with close analysis of compositional technique, which is no doubt valuable but is of little interest to most performers, who see it as unrelated to the performing process. Many other valuable studies on symbolism and representation have been undertaken, without mentioning the performance implications of these ideas, which are either assumed or ignored. For these reasons, this book comprises a general introduction to the subject of rhetoric as it was understood in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, closely linking this to the process of musical delivery, the issue most directly relevant to the performing task. The 'eloquence books' from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on rhetoric and public speaking are substantially derived from the classical texts, and it will be shown how the performance of music during this period reflected the principles described in these books.

An effective delivery in the rhetorical style entails moving the audience's emotions, and performing in such a way that the speech or composition can be clearly understood and appreciated without effort. General surveys of Baroque performance practice such as R. Donington's *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music*, although containing details of many ideas which might constitute a rhetorical performance, omit to mention the connection.⁶ More recently, *The Historical Performance of Music: an Introduction* by C. Lawson and R. Stowell does introduce the idea of rhetoric as the means of communicating emotions and their affects which was central to the performance of music in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.⁷ However, the two musical examples chosen illustrate the representation of actions rather than emotions, perpetuating the popular misconception that the use of rhetoric in music is mainly for painting pictures in sound. The devices of allegory and representation have monopolised the popular perception of

⁶ Faber and Faber (1973).

⁷ C.U.P. (1999).

rhetoric in recent times, particularly with regard to the music of J. S. Bach.⁸ However, although obscure classical references enhancing one's patron's reputation and boosting his image of himself form part of persuasive compositional technique, these subjects need the scope of another book. Similarly, religious significance in instrumentation and devices of invention representing various states of the soul in devotional music will not be covered.⁹ Symbolism, number theory, allegory and representation are but a small part of the rhetorical message, and it is questionable as to what extent awareness of these affects delivery. The reception of these devices assumes the ability of the audience to recognise them. Another important aspect of rhetoric is that of word setting, which deserves a separate study of its own written from the rhetorical viewpoint and which, as an instrumentalist, I feel unqualified to undertake.

D. Cooke's *The Language of Music*,¹⁰ without actually mentioning the R word, shows how rhetorical techniques were used by composers for emotional affect. F. T. Wessel's unpublished thesis *The Affektenlehre in the Eighteenth Century* (1955) is a very useful study of the ways in which eighteenth-century composers used affect, but again, he doesn't mention rhetoric specifically, only its affects.

Detailed instructions for playing one's instrument in a suitable historical style are now widely available. Most of the important treatises have been published in facsimile editions and a great deal of secondary literature has been generated. In contrast, the classical rhetoric sources, which are the ultimate performance practice manuals governing every aspect of performance from practising to stepping out on stage, have remained a mystery to most musicians. The most important ancient Roman texts on performing in the rhetorical style by Cicero and Quintilian have dictated the plan of this book, which was derived from my index (appended) of performance issues discussed in their oratorical works. The ancient writers and teachers of rhetoric understood and explained how to make the most of the performing situation. For example, they describe how the effect of stylish performances might be ruined by what the performer is wearing, or by a particularly annoying facial mannerism. These ideas are found paraphrased in the rhetoric books of the sixteenth century.

The modern pursuit of technical perfection and the use of a general, all-purpose style restricts many performers' imaginations. The uniformity of tone cultivated by many players and teachers today obliterates the subtle nuances favoured by performers of the eighteenth and – yes – nineteenth centuries.¹¹ What is thought of as a modern phenomenon, the continuous vibrato, was criticised in the eighteenth century by Löhlein, who thought that it might

⁸ See C. & U. Kirkendale (1980).

⁹ See G. S. Johnston (1991).

¹⁰ O.U.P. (1959).

¹¹ See C. Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (O.U.P., 1999).

induce pity for the player who had been seized by a chill.¹² On the other hand, period instrument players who think they are correct in playing by 'the rules' will perhaps be shocked by some of the ideas contained in the rhetoric books. The advanced practice of rhetoric encourages players to leave the rules behind and sees no boundaries to the imagination in order to express a thought or gain affect. For example, in a rhetorically informed musical performance, the length of an appoggiatura is as important as its affect, which may be varied by the emphasis, tone colour, vibrato and amount of fade onto the principal note, as well as by its exact length. The performer's personal taste needs to be constantly exercised to enhance the desired affects, and using rhetorical principles, the performer can discover how to show himself to be in sympathy with the composed message while at the same time expressing his own individuality, taste and style.

The reader will soon realise that many of the skills a musician uses instinctively in all types of musical performance are also found in rhetoric, which is an advanced system of communicating emotions and ideas. Performers can check their own performing skills against the 'Perfect Orator' model and readers will inevitably recognise both the good and bad points described, both in themselves and their colleagues. A raised understanding of the art of rhetoric may also enhance the experience of attending concerts, and increase the usefulness of criticism to performers. Knowledge of rhetorical techniques can increase communication and enjoyment for both performers and audience.

Musical rhetoric using knowledge of universal emotional response to certain stimuli to win over an audience is used commercially today, even though modern audiences and performers may not be consciously aware of it. Musical rhetoric surrounds us in advertising, films and TV theme tunes. Muzak was deliberately invented to be bland, undemanding and anti-rhetorical, designed not to generate any positive engagement from the listener. The ubiquitous use of music written in the rhetorical style (Brandenburg Concertos, Vivaldi's 'Four Seasons') as 'easy listening' background music in the shopping mall, lift or supermarket is disturbing and devalues its rhetorical worth. Historically, some music *was* used as an aural backdrop for eating and other social occasions, but was tailored to this specific use, making relatively few demands on the listener's emotions.

¹² Quoted in F. T. Wessel, p. 106.



What use is rhetoric to today's performer?

Performing music today is essentially an interpretative activity, although to be successful it needs to be combined with a heavy dose of the performer's personal creativity. Anything which assists the performer to access the composer's thought or the reasons which underlie his choice of one interval, harmony, or rhythm rather than another must be a spur to the performer. This examination of the composer's work should provoke the performer into reflecting on the available choices of such things as length of note, attack, or dynamic level when delivering to an audience. Rhetoric texts both from the classical and Renaissance periods are full of ideas which may be applied to any performing situation, and there is no doubt about their usefulness in delivery. A leap of the player's imagination will need to be made to transfer the rhetorical ideas to musical performance. On the most obvious level, for 'judge' read 'audience'. The courtroom was one of the main arenas of focus for the classical teachers of rhetoric (the others being the political assembly

and public tributes to great men). The judge or jury, often numbering more than a hundred men, had to be persuaded towards a final verdict, and emotional appeals were seen as effective weapons with which to manipulate their judgement.

Although some writers have cautioned against making a too literal connection between music and rhetoric,¹³ there is plenty of encouragement to do this in writings about both music and rhetoric in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The musician-orator's principal aim is both to persuade and to entertain the audience's intellect and emotions. Conscious of rhetoric's ancient forensic purpose, the sixteenth-century writer Puttenham points out that the performer poet (or orator) 'is appointed not for a judge, but rather for a pleader, and that of pleasant & lovely causes and nothing perillous'.¹⁴ This reminds us that whereas the classical texts were written for lawyers and politicians to use to persuade juries in matters of life and death, the main purpose of the artist-performer is entertainment. The principal differences between a musician and an orator are that the orator would always have been a 'soloist', he would normally have composed the speech himself, and would have delivered it from memory accompanied by appropriate gestures. For these reasons, the importance of each player or singer adopting rhetorical methods increases as the size of the group decreases, and each performer's personality and imagination contributes a larger share to the affect of the performance.

Many rhetorical ideas may seem far-fetched to players focused on technical perfection, but the visual and emotional experience of the audience should not be underestimated. Certain aspects of human nature have remained fundamentally the same since the classical texts were written, as one can tell from Cicero's analysis of the performer's feelings. Rhetorical performing style, which is audience-centred, teaches an approach that can assist with nerves on stage, and promote confidence in an age where critical emphasis is focused on technical brilliance at the expense of expressiveness. The proliferation of recorded music has defeated many of the aims of rhetoric (especially when used as background music), where every performance should be spontaneous and slightly different, fresh from the player's imagination. Even if the recorded performance is from a live situation, the listener's expectations are pre-empted by repeated listening. Any particular performance can be admired and may give pleasure, but after the initial experience leaves little room for pleasant surprises, or the shedding of new light on familiar works. The disc then becomes relegated to the status of pleasant background music, or a predictable, expected performance: enjoyable, but not essentially rhetorical. Live performances given in the rhetorical spirit, 'new-born offspring of the imagination' can help focus the audience's positive reactions to a particular performance, not on the memory of a previous one, or the well-known and

¹³ B. Vickers, *Rhetorica* 2, 1-144.

¹⁴ (1589) p. 129.

loved recording they might have listened to at home. Cicero's orator 'implants new ideas and uproots the old'.¹⁵

Synopsis

Part One – The Foundation of Rhetorike

The subject of rhetoric is described from first principles with its classical definitions and purposes, and a brief survey of the works on rhetoric by the classical authors follows. The way in which rhetoric was taught as part of the liberal arts curriculum is described, both in ancient times and in the Renaissance schoolroom and the ways in which it affected society and the arts from the Renaissance period onwards are shown. Sixteenth-century iconography holds clues concerning attitudes towards the effects and uses of rhetoric, and some of these are illustrated. The English eloquence manuals of the sixteenth century are a particularly rich source of information concerning delivery, and the most popular works are surveyed. The adversarial aspects of the uses of rhetoric account for the aggressive language used to describe it, in both ancient and sixteenth-century writing. Part One ends with some reflections on the possible reasons for the decline in the influence of rhetoric in education, society and artistic style generally.

Part Two – The Rhetorical Performance – Audience and Affect

The connection between oratory and music and their affects on the listener is made using material from ancient times to the eighteenth century. The audience should be the main focus of the rhetorically informed performance. Attitudes to and reactions from the audience to the performer including applause and criticism are described. Matching the delivery both to the musical content and to the audience in every way using the principle of decorum will assist the communication of the message to the listener.

The emotional 'affect' of the musical composition needs to be realised by the performer and communicated to the audience. The use of allegory, symbolism and word-painting is touched upon briefly.

Part Three – The Rhetorical Performance - Delivery

The various techniques of speech-based delivery to both inform and move the emotions in various ways are described. As in speech, punctuation and

¹⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* X i 16; Cicero, *Orator* 97.

articulation should be used to keep the message clear. Monotony should be avoided. Clarity, a variety of tone quality and dynamic, length of note either written or delivered, choice of tempo and subtle humour can all be used to hold the listener's attention. The visual aspect is important in communicating effectively, and certain platform behaviour may ruin an otherwise commendable performance.

Part Four – The Rhetorical Performance - Structure

Although the performer may not have composed the piece, he should be familiar with its structure in order to show this to the audience. The beginning, middle and end of the composition have different functions and need suitable performing strategies to be effective.

Different rhythms have particular effects on the listener. Devices such as syncopation can create particular emotional affects.

Part Five – The Rhetorical Performance – Ornamentation and Repetition

Compositional method during this period used rhetorical ornamentation in the form of figures. How these were used, their affects purposes and delivery are described. Many figures use repetition for their affect, and the role of repetition in music generally is examined.

Notes on the text

Single capital letters are used for classical texts (see key chart p. x). All references to Quintilian are to his *Institutio Oratoria*. Spelling in translations by American authors has been anglicised. Quotations from the major treatises by J. J. Quantz and J. Mattheson will be identified by part, chapter and paragraph number for ease of location in the original language editions. The quotations and page references from O. Strunk's source readings vols. 3 and 4 are from the 1998 edition.

In this period, and particularly in the eighteenth century, the words 'passion' and 'affect' are used to mean emotion, or emotional effect. The 'affect' of a piece of music is thus linked to the expression of a particular emotion which 'affects' the listener physically. In some cases it has not been easy to decide whether to use the word 'affect' or 'effect', and I hope to be forgiven if the reader considers the other word to be more appropriate.

The word 'classical' is always used to mean the ancient era, rather than either the eighteenth century or a type of music, unless otherwise specified.

Not entirely coincidentally, there are many common terms used by both music and rhetoric: composition, phrase, cadence, rhythm, speed, dynamic. I have found this ambiguity very useful, as, when using a word such as 'composition' it will apply to either or both arts. The word 'figure' when used in a musical sense, may mean the same as 'motif' or, when used in the rhetorical sense, some pattern of use of that motif. Rhetorical ornamentation was known as 'exornation'.

Acknowledgements

As a private scholar I am extremely grateful for the access allowed to me by the British Library and the library of the Warburg Institute, University of London. Permission to reproduce many of the pictures from the Warburg Institute picture collection is gratefully acknowledged, as are other reproductions from the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge and Minkoff of Geneva.

Studying the culture and society of both Renaissance and classical periods with The Open University has given me a broader understanding of the culture of the two great ages of rhetoric. I am deeply grateful for the existence of this unique institution and the confidence it gave me to embark on this project.

Thanks are due to translator helpers Tom Garside (French), Fred Jacobs (Dutch), and Michele Cantoni (Italian).

Thanks should also go to the directors of the post-graduate performance courses at the R. A. M., Amanda Glauert and Laurence Cummings, for allowing me to test out my ideas on their students.

I would like to thank Selene Mills whose perfectly combined knowledge and experience of classical culture and keen observation of modern performance art helped this book at a critical stage, and Emma Kirkby and Stephen Varcoe for their much-valued encouragement. I am also grateful to Peter Holman who suggested many small improvements and clarifications in the final stages.

Roy Marks's wry illustrations have given the subject of classical rhetoric a relevant modern gloss.

Peter Lay generously donated his time over several years to create this book and he can now reclaim his book-free life.

Principal classical texts quoted in chronological order

Key	Author	Title	Description
A	Aristotle	<i>The Art of Rhetoric</i>	Greek fourth century BC. Earliest comprehensive text surviving concerning persuasion by construction of argument, understanding character and emotion.
D	Demetrius	<i>On Style</i>	Greek 270 BC. Earliest post-Aristotelian treatise on literary theory to survive complete.
RH	[Cicero] Cornificius	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	c. 90 BC. Discredited as a work by Cicero by Valla (mid-fifteenth century). Textbook for declaiming on themes. Many Greek figures and their uses. Earliest source for Memory.
DeI	Cicero	<i>De Inventione</i>	84 BC. Youthful work written when approximately fifteen years old and later rejected by Cicero as immature.
C	————	<i>De Oratore</i>	55 BC. Inquiry into the nature and methods of rhetoric in dialogue with his brother Quintus and a tribute to Cicero's mentor, the orator Crassus.
DeOGO	————	<i>De Optimo Genere Oratorum</i>	46 BC. On the Best Kind of Orators. Introduction to a projected translation of Aeschines and Demosthenes, On the Crown.
O	————	<i>Orator</i>	46 BC. Letter describing the Perfect Orator. Important source for use of decorative figures and rhythm.
B	————	<i>Brutus</i>	46 BC. Survey of dead orators and their style.
T	————	<i>Topica</i>	44 BC. A system for inventing arguments.
Q	Quintilian	<i>Institutio Oratoria</i>	95 AD. Comprehensive textbook and system for educating orators by Roman teacher and lawyer. Only surviving work.
L	'Longinus'	<i>On the Sublime</i>	Attribution still in question. Greek early first century AD written in Roman cultural milieu. Important work of classical literary criticism.

The Loeb Classical Library translations of the above texts are used for the longer quotations.

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PART ONE

THE FOUNDACION OF RHETORIKE ¹⁶

1.1 The principles of classical rhetoric

Quintilian defined rhetoric and oratory as 'the science of speaking well ... the science of correct expression'.¹⁷ The tripartite purposes of rhetoric were commonly declared in the classical texts to be: to inform, to persuade or move, and to entertain or delight (ut docet, moveat, delectat).¹⁸ Following the rediscovery and publication of the books on oratory by Cicero and the complete Quintilian, only part of which was known in the Middle Ages, their ideas were to transform Renaissance society and culture.

The affects shared by rhetoric and music are well known through myth and literature from ancient times. Orpheus, perhaps the best-known mythical musician, tamed animals and moved rocks by his persuasive playing and, according to Herodotus, Arion, having given what he thought was to be the last performance of his life, was saved from drowning by music-loving dolphins impressed by his cythara playing.¹⁹ As both music and oratory have the same purposes – to affect the feelings of the listener through sound, it is not surprising that ancient and modern writers agree that they have common techniques. During the period known as 'the Renaissance', rhetorical ideas affected painting, sculpture, architecture and music with an emphasis on emotional expression that gave an opportunity for these subjects to interact and exchange techniques. Whereas music and rhetoric were always recognised as having both physical and emotional affects, the analogy between the language and forms of music and those of rhetoric became closer than ever with the development of new expressive ideals of music from the sixteenth century onwards. Henry Peacham the Younger, referring to music, declared that 'no Rhetoricke more perswadeth, or hath greater power over the mind'.²⁰

The divisions of rhetoric according to the classical authors are invention, arrangement, expression or decoration in a suitable style, memory and delivery (including gesture). Some knowledge and analysis of form is necessary for the successful performer, even though he may not have been the composer. Understanding the structure and demonstrating this to the audience is a fundamental requirement of effective communication. The division of responsibility between composer and performer can be summarised as follows:

¹⁶ The title of Rainolde's translation (1563) of Aphthonius's Greek textbook.

¹⁷ Q VII iii 12.

¹⁸ Q III v 2.

¹⁹ Book 1.24. See illus., p. 25.

²⁰ *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 103.

Composer	Performer
Invention (inventio)	Delivery, which may include an element of decoration extempore (pronunciatio)
Arrangement (dispositio)	Memory (memoria)
Elaboration and development of subject including decoration with figures (elocutio)	Gesture (actio)

Peter Ramus (1515-1572), teaching in Paris, reacted against the teachings of Aristotle and Quintilian, viewing invention and arrangement as part of dialectic or logic, leaving only elocutio, pronunciatio and memoria for rhetoric.²¹ Aristotle describes the differences between rhetoric and dialectic: dialectic consists of debate, or question and answer, with responses either in agreement or refutation and is rigorous, with chains of argument and unemotional, whereas rhetoric consists of a continuous discourse to a large audience, the speaker paying attention to the reactions of the audience. Rhetoric deals with practical problems, is popular and should arouse emotions. The good character of the speaker is also important.²²

The anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, probably the best-known classical text in the sixteenth-century school-room, elaborates on the skills required of an orator:

RH I ii 3.

The speaker, then, should possess the faculties of Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory and Delivery. Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the matter, words, and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture.²³

Three of the divisions of rhetoric have received comprehensive studies of their own:

1. *The Art of Gesture: the Practices and Principles of Eighteenth-Century Acting* by Dene Barnett (1987) shows how Quintilian's treatise was used as an important source for the period. This is essential reading for singers wanting to use gesture for concert or stage performance. In Part Three I have considered the general visual effect of the performer on stage, and how this affects the audience, rather than the detailed use of classical gesture.²⁴

2. *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* by Dietrich Bartel (1997) is a comprehensive study of the art of figural

²¹ P. Ramus, *Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum* (1549).

²² A 1.1. Details also derived from G. A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (1999), pp. 80-81.

²³ The supposed authorship of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was discredited by L. Valla in the fifteenth century but in the sixteenth century was still generally thought to be by Cicero (G. A. Kennedy (1999), p. 108).

²⁴ Gestures using the hands and body are described in Quintilian Book XI.

decoration. Bartel shows how the use of the techniques of rhetorical decoration of language (elocutio) was fundamental to musical composition, especially in Germany. His book contains extracts from the major manuals of eloquence and musical treatises from the Baroque period in the form of a catalogue of figures and their affects.

3. *The Art of Memory* by Frances Yates (1966) traces the history of mnemotechnics from the earliest classical sources through the Middle Ages to the invention of printing, which changed for ever people's attitude to storing and accessing knowledge. The treasury of the mind was soon to be partly replaced by every reasonably well-off gentleman's private library of printed books.

A fourth book, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart* by Robert Toft (1993), unusually deals with rhetorical delivery, and is a study of elocutio and pronunciatio as applied to English lute song. Toft has shown convincingly how the music reflects the figures of language used in the poetry and which are described in the English eloquence books of the period. His book is the most detailed so far for the study of the art of delivery, even though it focuses on one period and repertoire. Robin Headlam Wells' article 'The Ladder of Love. Verbal and Musical Rhetoric in the Elizabethan Lute-Song' (*Early Music*, May 1984) gives further examples of this type of musical setting, but without any discussion of delivery.

The nature, uses and purposes of rhetoric

Rhetoric as a persuasive art uses the sound and rhythm of words in both written and spoken form. It also uses movement to persuade, as in dance, which Arbeau described as 'mute rhetoric'.²⁵ The rhetorical elements of form, decoration and gesture are also used in painting, sculpture and architecture. Aristotle defined it as:

AI 1355b.

The faculty of seeing in any situation the available means of persuasion.

The desirability of acquiring the ability to speak well became increasingly important in the Athenian democracy of the fifth century BC, which was established (not altogether co-incidentally) soon after the appearance of the first books on rhetoric were written, and where the talented orator could win political power and influence. The ancient writers regarded rhetoric principally as a speech-based skill.

The object of rhetoric is to ensure that the message enters 'the eyes of the mind',²⁶ holds the listeners' attention and affects their emotional centre. It became a commonplace idea in the Renaissance that the musician might borrow the techniques of 'eloquence' and 'oratory' as applied to speech to

²⁵ *Orchésographie* (1589).

²⁶ Q VIII iii 62.

improve their communication skills with audiences. The ancient writers had drawn a parallel between music and rhetoric, describing the effects of rhythm and tessitura on the listener. The musician and orator have so much in common, that once this connection has been made in the performer's mind, a new attitude towards performing develops, usually to beneficial effect. The study of the principles of rhetoric is likely to enhance performance, whether by a soloist (as in ancient oratory) or a group.

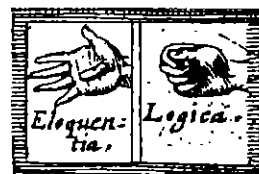
The ancient writers give various definitions of the arts of rhetoric and oratory (from the Greek *rhetor* and the Latin *orator*). Most regard them as an art, or a *techne* (skill) with the purpose of persuasion using the tools of eloquence: clarity, variety, and decoration to stimulate emotional response, accompanied by impressive delivery. Quintilian links speaking well using correct expression with speaking appropriately, that is with decorum, a major and important distinction from Aristotle's definition.²⁷

Cicero dismisses ranters and declaimers, seeking someone who can rouse or calm a man's soul according to the circumstances.²⁸ To do this he must first decide what to say, and then plan how and in what manner he will say it for the greatest effect to instruct, move and charm.²⁹

Thomas Sheridan, *Course of Lectures and Tracts on Elocution* (1781), pp. 164-65.

If he does not instruct, his discourse is impertinent; and if he does not please, he will not have it in his power to instruct, for he will not gain attention; and if he does not move, he will not please, for where there is no emotion, there can be no pleasure. To move, therefore, should be the first great object of every public speaker; and for this purpose, he must use the language of emotions, not that of ideas alone, which of itself has no power of moving.

Quintilian discusses the origin of oratory which he considers derives from the gift of speech received from Nature at birth. A natural ability to communicate is acknowledged to have existed before the rhetoric rules were written down. These derived from the discovery of good arguments and effective ways of communicating. Gradually techniques evolved which produced good persuasive results. Later, it was realised that the manner in which a speech was delivered had a big influence on its reception, even despite poor content. Cicero developed this theme, which was hardly mentioned by Aristotle.



John Bulwer, *Chirologia* (1644), title page.

²⁷ Q VII iii 12.

²⁸ C I xlv 202.

²⁹ O 43.

The above commonplace image attributed to Zeno the Stoic was first mentioned by Cicero,³⁰ and is described by Quintilian³¹ and by many sixteenth-century writers. Dialectic or logic is like a fist and rhetoric like an open palm. These two images contrast the power and strength of reason and argument with the power to touch emotion using the eloquence of persuasive rhetoric. Classical oratory divides into three types:

1. Demonstrative, used mainly for display. Learned in school as classroom declamatory exercises and used in wider society for panegyric and epideictic purposes: the praise or blame of famous dead men in funeral orations and for welcomes, departures, birthdays and marriages. This could be regarded as a form of entertainment.
2. Deliberative, used in the political assembly to persuade decision makers about future events. This reached its peak of skilled practice, especially speaking *extempore*, in Cicero's time (the late Roman republic).
3. Forensic, used in the courtroom for accusation and defence concerning events in the past.

Display, which may be employed in any type of oratory, does not necessarily appeal to the emotions, except to impress. Naturally, the 'audience' for the various types of oratory differed according to location and function. In Greek and Roman society, men skilled at eloquence could gain respect, political power and status, making speaking skills desirable accomplishments, especially in times of conflict.³² Teachers of rhetoric (the sophists) in ancient Athens were sought after to teach the young male children of wealthy citizens how to succeed in politics. In the second century AD, Roman men who did not achieve these skills were made to feel ashamed.³³

The moral position of rhetoric

If the audience is to put their trust in the speaker, it is desirable that he at least appears to be a good man. If the speaker can engage the attention, goodwill and interest of the audience, they are more likely to be persuaded by him. Since its official birth as a taught skill in the fifth century BC, rhetoric has been used by both manipulative evil politicians as well as by good ones and has been called 'the art of deceiving'.³⁴ Le Faucheur writes that 'it is the business of Rhetorick to perswade things true and false indifferently'.³⁵ The use of rhetoric that affected people's emotional responses was discouraged during various critical periods in ancient history. According to Puttenham,

³⁰ O 113.

³¹ Q II xx 7.

³² See Tacitus, *Dialogus* 36 for a description of the benefits in Roman society likely to result from good speaking skills.

³³ Ibid. 37.

³⁴ Q II xv 28, 24.

³⁵ *The Art of Speaking in Publick: or an Essay on the Action of an Orator as to his Pronunciation and Gesture* (1727), p. 32.

techniques of emotional persuasion create 'illusions of the minde, and wrested of upright judgement ... to allow such manner of forraine & coloured talke to make judges affectioned'.³⁶

Many other things have the power of persuasion: money, sex, power and beauty. Quintilian refers to Aristotle who limits the definition of rhetoric to 'leading men by the power of speech to the conclusion desired by the orator'. Quintilian points out that even then harlots, flatterers and seducers may be included in this definition without being true orators.³⁷

The moral position of oratory has always been in question.³⁸ The ancient sophists taught that seeking the truth was secondary to the art of persuasion (vital in political and forensic oratory). The matter should be either true 'or plausible'.³⁹ It was customary in ancient rhetoric to disclaim skill in speaking in case the speaker was suspected of using devious techniques to hide the truth (still in use today in the 'unaccustomed as I am' opening). One of Shakespeare's heroes describes the world as 'deceived with ornament' (i.e. figures of speech).⁴⁰ Aristotle thinks that the orator should not expose his artifice in speaking skills, as men are wary of it and resist persuasion on these terms, preferring 'natural' expression.⁴¹ Socrates distinguishes between a truthful man and a man skilled in speaking: 'I have not the slightest skill as a speaker - unless, of course, by a skilful speaker they mean one who speaks the truth'.⁴²

One of the Athenian schools of rhetoric is parodied in Aristophanes's play *The Clouds*, where the so-called 'new learning' pre-echoes its role in the Renaissance revival of rhetorical skills. In Aristophanes's school of rhetoric, students learned to argue that wrong was right. A good rhetorician was known to have the ability to deceive, and so was commonly suspected of concealing the truth in an argument in order to gain the upper hand. For this reason, and also because of the emotional power of rhetoric to persuade regardless of truth, Aristotle and Plato both disapproved of its use. Anyone who studied rhetoric either in classical or Renaissance times would have been aware of this double-edged power.

The 'Perfect Orator'

Cicero describes his search for the Perfect Orator, who should by his definition also be an honest man. Quintilian took this idea a stage further, denying that true oratory was possible unless the speaker was a good and

³⁶ (1589) p. 128. 'Affectioned' meaning emotionally affected, this idea a paraphrase of Aristotle *Art of Rhetoric* 3.1404b.

³⁷ Q II xv 11.

³⁸ Q II xvi 4.

³⁹ RH I ii 3.

⁴⁰ *The Merchant of Venice*, III.ii.72.

⁴¹ A 3 1404b.

⁴² Plato, opening statement of *The Apology*.

wise man. Cicero seeks good intonation, delivery and charm, and the speaker must give pleasure to the audience. He names his perfect model as Demosthenes who he describes as being direct, dignified and passionate, although Cicero could never have heard him speak.⁴³ Cicero considers that a key factor in the orator's success is a knowledge of men's minds, and that insight into the characters of men will help to discover the motives which spur us on or turn us back. Good general artistic knowledge is also essential for success, not to show off but to give an impression of authority in many subjects. This knowledge combined with experience of life and human nature was thought to produce hidden forces from which the orator could draw.⁴⁴ The sixteenth-century musician Thomas Robinson thinks it impossible to be a good musician 'except a man be seene in all the seaven liberall Sciences'.⁴⁵

Descriptions of the Perfect Orator have telling parallels with the world's greatest musicians. In the last century, Pablo Casals and Yehudi Menuhin are obvious examples: they had moral authority, something original to say and held the attention of their audiences as if under a spell. They had charisma and a special universal appeal which reinforced their authority. The classical writers placed great emphasis on the importance of a man's moral and educational qualities because it is through establishing credibility with one's audience that persuasion is achieved. Cicero describes the speaker's aim to succeed 'in appearing ... to be such a man as he would desire to seem'. He should appear to be virtuous and good-natured and have an unruffled delivery.⁴⁶ The audience needs to believe in the authority of the conveyor of the message, which must appear to be true, or at least plausible.

One of the principal differences between a classical orator and a modern performing musician is that today the performer and composer are usually different people. It was more common in the Renaissance and Baroque periods for the composer to perform his own works. J. S. Bach was such a musician. His friendship at Leipzig with Birnbaum, a professor of rhetoric at the university, led to Birnbaum's defence of Scheibe's criticism (in the Hamburg journal *Kritische Musikus* edited by Scheibe) of Bach's compositions as 'turgid and artificial' and of his lack of general education. In his defence Birnbaum described Bach's skills as follows:

Bach knows so perfectly the analogies between the working-out of a musical piece and the art of rhetoric, that people not only listen to him with satisfaction and delight when he expounds lucidly the resemblances and correspondences of the two, but admire also the skilful application of them in his works.⁴⁷

In his edition of Quintilian's work another friend, Gesner, used a description of Bach's playing in a footnote to draw a parallel between him and the

⁴³ DeOGO i 3; C I xlix 213; B 35. They lived three centuries apart.

⁴⁴ C I xii 53; C I xvi 72, 73; C II ii; C III xxxv 142-3; C I xviii 80; C I l 218; Q I x 7.

⁴⁵ (1603) B.

⁴⁶ C II xxvii 115; C II xliii 184.

⁴⁷ The documents may be read in H. T. David & A. Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, pp. 237-52.

classical Orpheus.⁴⁸ Just as knowledge of the ingredients in an elaborate dish is not necessary in order to enjoy the taste of it, detailed knowledge of the art of rhetoric in the classical sense is not a prerequisite for playing or composing rhetorically. Many of today's successful performers of Renaissance and Baroque music demonstrate that, as both Quintilian and Mattheson point out, natural eloquence existed before the rules of rhetoric were devised, written down and studied, and can manifest itself as unconscious, uncultivated natural talent.⁴⁹ The study of rhetoric can then be used to reinforce and to refine natural ability.

1.2 The classical rhetoricians

The works of the Greek rhetoricians brought by scholars fleeing to fifteenth-century Italy after the fall of Constantinople carried with them the tastes and traditions of Greek scholarship. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was only one of many such Greek rhetorical treatises (others such as that by Hermogenes were equally well-known), and did not assume the importance to the Renaissance reader that it has perhaps acquired today. Although Aristotle's work describes emotion and character (in Part Two), important elements in the later Ciceronian rhetoric, it does not include figures of speech, which would have made it less appealing to the Renaissance audience, who loved catalogues of figures with which to elaborate and decorate language and literature.



Cicero (holding a letter) and Quintilian making a gesture of disputation shown in a frieze depicting the sources of the proverbs collected by Erasmus in his *Adagia* (Froben, Basle, 1520).
(Reproduced by permission of the librarian, Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

⁴⁸ The description of Orpheus is from Quintilian I x 9, A. Schweitzer pp. 181-84. For Gesner's 'letter' to Quintilian describing Bach's playing see H. T. David & A. Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, p. 231.

⁴⁹ Q IX iv 4 and J. Mattheson (1739), II.14.5.

Another reason why Aristotle's *Rhetoric* has not been particularly relevant for performers of any period is that it does not contain any extended treatment of delivery. His only comments refer to adopting a tone and dynamic of voice to suit the prevailing emotion, and using accent and rhythm. There are no details about how these things are to be accomplished, and he states that 'an art has not yet been composed on these subjects'.⁵⁰ It could be argued that his incomplete *Poetics* contains more useful material for performers than the *Rhetoric*. Another reason why Aristotle was not adopted as a popular source for Renaissance rhetoric may have been his association with the Medieval scholastic curriculum which would have prejudiced the sixteenth-century student of the new humanities against him. The popular rhetoric books of the sixteenth century quote very little from Aristotle's work, which tended to be used by academic institutions as a text in moral philosophy,⁵¹ although Cicero (who was familiar with Aristotle's treatise only in his later life) and Quintilian refer to him frequently. The ideas of the great Greek rhetoricians such as Demosthenes, Hermogenes and Aristotle are filtered through the writings of Cicero, who studied in Greece, and Quintilian.⁵² Thus, the Renaissance view of rhetoric is predominantly a Roman, Ciceronian one. Cicero's Perfect Orator is a good man, educated in the liberal arts and likely to be seeking the truth, a perfect model for the Renaissance Man.

The Roman writer-orators Cicero and Quintilian, whose works along with the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* form the basis of this book, give comprehensive directions for composition and performance of any sort and are manuals of advanced performance practice. The art of rhetoric as described in these books has been called a 'complete and integrated communication system'.⁵³ Cicero's works on rhetoric pay tribute to the great Greek rhetoricians, and Quintilian's later monumental work, the *Institutio Oratoria*, acknowledges the works of Aristotle, 'the Greeks' and Cicero. Quintilian tells us that 'Cicero devoted himself heart and soul to the imitation of the Greeks'.⁵⁴ The works of these two great rhetoricians were used as core material for the propagation of the many rhetoric manuals that appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were still being used as the basis for books on public speaking and stage technique in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵⁵ Quintilian's treatise is the most comprehensive text on the subject, standing at the centre of rhetoric studies, looking back on the legacy of his Greek and Roman predecessors. With Cicero, Quintilian forms the core of the Renaissance revival of eloquence central to education and society during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Cicero's *Brutus* is a catalogue of orators and their personal styles of delivery. Cicero, as was customary with ancient authors, comments mainly on the style

⁵⁰ A 3.1.

⁵¹ G. A. Kennedy (1999), p. 236.

⁵² See *Aristotelian Lexis and Renaissance Elocutio*, chap. 9 in A. G. Gross (2000).

⁵³ B. Vickers (1988), p. 341.

⁵⁴ Q X i 108.

⁵⁵ See D. Barnett.

of dead orators. The importance and effectiveness of each orator's personal style of delivery can be detected in his descriptions and criticisms. Cicero was dubbed 'the Prince of Eloquence' by both Erasmus and Queen Elizabeth I's tutor Roger Ascham, perhaps quoting Quintilian who told us that 'the name of Cicero has come to be regarded not as the name of a man, but as the name of eloquence itself'.⁵⁶ Marcus Tullius Cicero, known in the sixteenth century as 'Tullie' or 'Tully', is the most frequently quoted source in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books on rhetoric, decorum and eloquence. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* contains the most comprehensive survey of rhetorical figures, which are treated by Cicero and Quintilian in much less detail. Quintilian rejects the use of rule-books for the experienced orator and concentrates on the uses and effects of figures and their delivery.

It becomes clear when reading these two authors that they are actively performing orators and great teachers. Cicero describes the moment of silence before the performance begins, the nerves, the practising, and the criticism that might follow. His techniques and ideas may be applied to any type of performance art, the comedian's as well as that of the courtroom advocate. Quintilian is a great Roman orator, lawyer and teacher of the art of speaking. Both Quintilian and Cicero quote Aristotle, and their writing reproduces and approves many of his ideas about compositional techniques. However, Aristotle's rhetorician uses careful construction of argument and analysis to explain men's motives for taking a certain course of action, rather than using emotional persuasive techniques to influence the listener.

Neither Aristotle nor his teacher Plato approved of the stimulation of strong emotions, preferring moderation and reasoned control. However, Plato did describe 'the utterances and the accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare', which inspired Monteverdi to invent a musical style that represented anger, apparently lacking in musical composition at that time.⁵⁷ Certain modes and instruments were banned from Plato's Republic, disapproved of because of their morally corrupting affect in provoking precisely the type of strong emotional response our sophistic rhetorician (using argument to persuade the emotions, regardless of truth) would be seeking from his audience.⁵⁸

By Quintilian's time, the establishment of the Roman empire saw oratory in decline. Lacking the opportunity provided by the cut and thrust of the Republican assemblies experienced by Cicero, the politics of empire discouraged free speech, and epideictic oratory came into its own, to serve imperial purposes. Declamation purely for display became a feature of the movement known as the Second Sophistic.

⁵⁶ Q X i 112.

⁵⁷ C. Monteverdi, preface to *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* (1638) quoted in O. Strunk, vol. 4, p. 158. See ex. 4.17.

⁵⁸ Plato, *The Republic* III 399 and Aristotle, *Politics* VIII 6. For Plato's cynical view of rhetoric see his *Gorgias*.

1.3 Rhetoric enters Renaissance society and the arts

Before social equality became the desired norm in public life, powerful messages of persuasion were in common use to influence those above and below in the social hierarchy. Dress codes, gestures, deportment and eloquence were all graces used to establish status and social acceptability. Decorum dictated that people dressed according to their status and accepted custom:

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London 1589), pp. 237-38.

And in the apparell there is no little decency and undecencie to be perceived ... for it is comely that every estate and vocation should be known by the differences of their habit: a clarke from a layman: a gentleman from a yeoman: a souldier from a citizen, and the chiefe of every degree from their inferiours, because in confusion and disorder there is no manner of decencie.

... and there is a decencie of apparrel in respect of the place where it is to be used: as, in the court to be richely apparrelled; in the countrey to weare more plain & homely garment.

During the sixteenth century, ideas absorbed from the classical rhetoric texts and the manuals of eloquence that they spawned, coloured the readers' behaviour and response to daily experiences. Castiglione's handbook *Il Cortegiano* (1528) describes a courtly ideal derived in part from Cicero's Perfect Orator and was a major influence on manners.⁵⁹

Most importantly, the audience for music during the period from 1500-1800 was increasingly 'in the know'. It was an 'active' audience, expecting rather than simply waiting to be moved. Being geographically a rather static audience, rhetorical messages in music were immediately understood within the local prevailing fashionable style. For the performer (who was commonly also the composer), knowing his audience and tailoring the performance to please it was part of the persuasive process. This might include choice of composition and matching location, size of group, and dress code. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the principal members of the audience were likely to be humanist-educated patrons in need of entertainment to match their intellectual capacity and knowledge of classical sources. The performer's aim was to match this expectation and to be admired for demonstrating his knowledge of the rhetorical style, which at the same time reflected well on his patron's choice of performer.

A new expressiveness permeated the language of all the arts following the rediscovery and publication of rhetoric texts from the second part of the fifteenth century onwards. This process was assisted by the medium of the newly-invented printing press (Cicero's *De Oratore* was the first book to be printed in Italy in 1465, and Quintilian was first printed complete in 1470).

In music, the influence of this new form of communication was seen in the importance given to affective communication of sung words in the Florentine

⁵⁹ First English tr. (1561) by Sir Thomas Hoby as *The Book of the Courtier*.

Camerata, and later in the establishment of an instrumental language for communicating emotional meaning without words. This was never a strictly coded language as has been thought (the twentieth-century term 'doctrine of the affections'),⁶⁰ but a flexible method of composition using various devices, melody, tessitura, rhythm, and harmony in combination as varied 'as the bottomless sea' to provoke a certain reaction or affect in the listener.⁶¹ The emotions and their physical affects were described in detail by Descartes (1649) whose book *Les Passions de l'Âme* is referred to by Mattheson as the principal source of information on the subject. Composers and commentators describe how the best music should try to represent 'the passions' by imitating emotional affects in sound in order to move the listener. During the eighteenth century this was regarded as music's most noble purpose and imitation of subjects such as birdsong or battles was considered less noble than music which imitated the passions alone. Music was perceived to be able to express more and deeper emotions than words. Composers such as Handel managed to combine imitation of nature's sounds with emotional expressiveness to sublime effect (for example in his setting of Milton's *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso ed il Moderato*).

During the early Renaissance, music was regarded as a mathematical science, connected to the heavens by proportionally sympathetic resonating spaces. The influence of rhetoric brought music new consciousness of expression and it moved into the realm of eloquence.⁶² This dual role saw music divided into 'speculative' (the heavenly music of the spheres, based on resonance and proportion) and 'practical' skill (earthly music making). However, the mathematical basis of music's practical side survived in the form of unequal tuning systems whose ratios and proportions, it was hoped, resonated directly with the heavens. In the late seventeenth century Thomas Mace complained bitterly that out of tune singing in church prevented free affective communication with the heavens, and so with God.⁶³

Universal rules of expression and decorum based on the classical writers were applied to all the art forms in the Renaissance period. Following Vitruvius's Roman text, Alberti and Palladio (see illus. p. 150) were key figures in the revival of the rhetorical language of ancient architectural style, which has been in continuous use since the Renaissance period as a symbol of authority for financial, academic and religious institutions. Architecture and its decorative schemes represented the patron's aspirations, reputation and achievements, and were designed and executed by artists who understood classical allegory and mythical allusions which were aimed to reflect well on the patron and enhance his perceived status. Artists who failed to achieve these goals would have fallen on hard times, as pleasing the patron was a prerequisite for earning a living. Exercising one's personal 'creativity' could

⁶⁰ See M. F. Bukofzer quote p. 93.

⁶¹ J. Mattheson (1739) I.3.83.

⁶² C. Palisca (1985) chap. 12.

⁶³ (1676) p. 3.

result in imprisonment or worse.⁶⁴ With the establishment of the northern Italian courts, the musical tradition based on aural transmission developed into a more formal expressive art aimed at pleasing the patron's taste and fulfilling his requirements. Composers, who from the beginning of the sixteenth century wrote down their compositions, dedicated works to their patrons and had them printed, were highly regarded. Skilled performers and composers such as Josquin Desprez and Jean Cordier employed at the Sforza court in Milan were considered to be jewels of the court and their services were jealously guarded by their patrons, although Josquin nearly failed to get the job after he exhibited signs of personal willfulness.⁶⁵

The fanciful illustrations in Denis Gaultier's volume of lute music *La Rhétorique des Dieux* (c. 1652), represent the musical modes accompanied by an appropriate architectural order of columns as well as by musical instruments, which are seen to stimulate certain emotions or 'passions'. Pieces are grouped according to their key or mode. The Phrygian mode represents death and war, where a cherub is seen brandishing a sword, and trumpets and drums appear on all sides; in the illustration for the Mixolydian mode another cherub plays an Orphic lyre to represent eloquence.⁶⁶



Abraham Bosse, Mode Phrygien from *La Rhétorique des Dieux* (c. 1652).

⁶⁴ For a description of the likely relationship between artist, patron and humanist see C. Hope and E. McGrath, 'Artists and humanists', chap. 9 in J. Kraye, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (1996).

⁶⁵ See W. Prizer, North Italian Courts, 1460-1540, chapter IV in *The Renaissance*, ed. I. Fenlon.

⁶⁶ See D. J. Buch (1983).

These principles were equally prevalent in the visual arts, where painters from Giotto to Poussin and their contemporaries used rhetorical precepts of invention, structure and gesture to enhance the emotional affect of their paintings.⁶⁷ Alberti encouraged painters for their own enjoyment to 'associate with poets and orators who have many embellishments in common with painters and who have a broad knowledge of many things'.⁶⁸ In music, the main influence of the humanists was to highlight the importance and expression of the text. The madrigal form developed from the frottola, a simple song in verse form, and emerged as a highly expressive musical vehicle for words using counterpoint. In spite of this, polyphony was rejected by Count Bardi for its lack of ability to communicate clearly, the 'passions' being confused by long melismas which obscured the text and by different parts of the text being heard simultaneously.⁶⁹ Bardi and his circle in the Florentine Camerata (1580s and 90s) attempted to reproduce ancient expressive affects in single-voiced word-settings accompanied by a chord-playing instrument such as the viola da braccio or lute (monody), illustrating not only the images used by the words, but their emotional affects. The development of monody, whose chief exponent and promoter was Caccini, led soon afterwards to the emergence of the operatic genre which combined visual and aural affect, and enabled Monteverdi to call his *Orfeo* (1607) 'favola in musica' (a story in music).

1.4 The education of an orator

Classical education

There are many similarities between musical training and the rhetorical education system as described in the ancient classical texts. Orators and musicians are both performers and communicators. Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* is wholly devoted to the education of an orator. In Book II, the exuberance of a young inexperienced performer and the cultivation of latent talent are relished. The classical teaching of rhetoric is crowded with agricultural metaphors. Parallels are drawn with precocious seeds which spring up too quickly if cast on the surface of the soil, performing small tasks with ease but resulting in a poor yield and the withering of the plant.⁷⁰ Quintilian puts the case for an uninstructed speaker, who has a richer flow of language because 'they say everything that can be said, while the learned exercise discrimination and self-restraint'. He thinks that learning does take something from oratory, 'just as the file takes something from rough

⁶⁷ G. LeCoat; M. Baxandall *Giotto & the Orators*; Blunt.

⁶⁸ *Della Pittura* (1435-36), tr. J. R. Spencer, p. 90.

⁶⁹ see C. Palisca (1985) and O. Strunk *Source Readings ...* vol. 3.

⁷⁰ Q I iii 3-5.

surfaces'.⁷¹ However, all the rhetoric books, from Cicero to the eighteenth-century Jesuit Claude Buffier, propose that the three elements of nature, training and practice produce the best orators, rather than books of rules.⁷²

Quintilian writes that, although talent alone will take a performer far, the Perfect Orator owes more to education than natural talent, which merely forms the raw material upon which the nurturing process works. However, 'a thoroughly barren soil will not be improved even by the best cultivation', and 'without natural gifts technical rules are useless'. If the boy's critical faculties develop before his imagination he is least promising. The 'first fruits of the mind' should be exuberant and then get worn down by wear and tear. A depth of understanding is required to avoid breaking too thin a plate of knowledge.⁷³



PRAY TELL ME AT EXACTLY WHICH LEGAL COURSE YOU LEARNED THIS STYLE OF PLEADING

Experience in performing is given its rightful importance in training. The 'fruit of our studies should be brought before the public eye while it is still fresh and sweet',⁷⁴ for when confronted with an expectant audience, no amount of study can replicate the real situation, and natural talent requires practice to develop. Quintilian quotes Cicero who calls rhetoric 'a knack derived from experience'.⁷⁵ Tacitus writes that 'the true basis of eloquence is

⁷¹ Q II xii 6, 8.

⁷² *Traité de l'éloquence* (1728). See G. A. Kennedy (1999), p. 275.

⁷³ Q I pef 26; Q II xix 2; Q II iv 6, 7.

⁷⁴ Q XII vi 2, 3.

⁷⁵ Q II xvii 5.

not theoretical knowledge only, but in far greater degree natural capacity and practical exercise', and he thinks that the exposure of the speaker to the hazards of performing gives eloquence greater lustre.⁷⁶ Quintilian recommends speaking daily in front of an audience of good judgement, 'since it is rare to find anyone to be sufficiently critical of himself'. Quintilian would not have had the benefit of recording equipment which is a useful tool for self-criticism today.⁷⁷

Practising

Practising and diligence pay off when coming face to face with an audience, and a thorough knowledge of the material to be presented will shine through. Cicero likens the performance to a race, for which we should train. This is the test the performer has worked for, when he is finally exposed to public view and the reclusive orator emerges into 'the daylight of reality'. Here he is 'blinded by the sun's glare, and finds everything new and unfamiliar, for though he has learnt what is required to be done in public, his learning is but the theory of a hermit'. The speaker then wishes he could reproduce the same conditions under which he exercised.⁷⁸

Practising badly produces a bad performance. Merely exercising the voice in the wrong way, or whipping up 'the rate of utterance' results in a bad speaker, but can 'fill ignorant parents with a sense of pride' making the boys conceited and resulting in the continued practice of their faults. Quintilian complains that parents want boys to 'declaim on every possible occasion, although as a matter of fact progress depends mainly on industry'. The eighteenth-century singing teacher Tosi remarked 'Who could sing better than the arrogant, if they were not ashamed to study?'⁷⁹

Bad habits or weaknesses should be worked at and may be overcome by devising strategies to eliminate them. Quintilian describes how Demosthenes, although a lover of seclusion, stood on the sea-shore to practice so that he might not be unnerved by the uproar of the public assembly. Cicero tells how the same orator overcame a bad stutter, and in old age extended his breathing capacity by putting a pebble into his mouth, at the same time as declaiming whilst walking up a hill.⁸⁰ Technique is important, but should not be obtrusive, 'just as ball players do not in their game itself employ the characteristic dexterity of the gymnasium'.⁸¹ It should be ready to hand, and the performer should not have to seek for words, 'as the hands of the musician, even though his eyes be turned elsewhere, produce bass, treble or

⁷⁶ *Dialogus* 33, 37.

⁷⁷ Q X vii 24-26.

⁷⁸ C I xxxiv 157; Q I ii 19; Q XII vi 4.

⁷⁹ C I xxxiii 149; Q II iv 16; Q II vii; (1743) p. 149.

⁸⁰ Q X iii 30; C I lxi 260-61.

⁸¹ C I xvi 73.

intermediate notes by force of habit'.⁸² In other words, the performer shouldn't be over-concerned with technical problems during a performance.

Quintilian describes the delights of withdrawing from public exposure for private study and contemplation. Although the student must 'burn the midnight oil and grow pale with study', no amount of private practice is a substitute for the performing experience. He advises reviewing the material to be performed silently beforehand.⁸³ Appearing to be something of a kill-joy, he criticises those who waste time in futile activities such as idle chatter, the theatre and feasting instead of practising.⁸⁴

Le Faucheur describes the strategies and techniques for practising used by Demosthenes and St. Ambrose:

Michel Le Faucheur, *The Art of Speaking in Publick* (1657), pp. 55-56, 60.

[Demosthenes] built him a little *Closet* under ground, and then he went down thither every day to *practice* his *Voice* and *manage* his *Body*. He would often stay there two or three months together poring upon this Study: And he would shave his Head halfway on purpose, when he had a mind to go abroad either upon Business or Diversion, that he might not appear in the Condition and Dress he was in there.

St. Ambrose ... used to *read low down* to himself to preserve his *voice*, because he knew well enough if it had been spent in his *private readings*, it would have failed him upon his *Publick Performances*. Are you apt to *falter* in your *Speech*? Accustom your self in your *private Lectures* and *Rehearsals*, to pronounce your Words and Syllables so *distinctly*, one after another, that they may all have their *full Sound* and Proportion. And when you have got a *habit* of *speaking* intelligibly *plain*, you may afterwards express your self more *fluently*, without *maffling* through a Sentence.

Diligentia

Attention to detail is an important part of studying. Cicero proposes that this painstaking is not part of art: art only points out the place to look, and 'all else depends on carefulness, mental concentration, reflection, watchfulness, persistence and hard work'. Cicero thinks that talent is roused from lethargy by painstaking activity and asks the teacher to chew up the morsels exceedingly small for the student to digest, as the wet nurse does for a baby. As soon as the student shows signs of being ready, he should burst out from his landlocked state into a general flood.⁸⁵ At the same time, over-attention to 'tiny rills' without discerning 'the sources of things' is 'a symptom of congenital dullness'. It is a sign of 'tiresome pedantry or empty ostentation' to 'ferret out everything that has ever been said on a subject even by the most worthless of writers'. This is likely to 'swamp the mind when it would be better employed on other themes' and 'over-attention to niceties of style' results in 'deterioration of our eloquence'.⁸⁶

⁸² Q V x 124, 125.

⁸³ Q X vii 25, 27.

⁸⁴ Q XII xi 18.

⁸⁵ C II xxxv 149, 150; C II xxxix 162.

⁸⁶ C II xxvii 117; Q I viii 18; Q VIII pref 22.

Imitation

Imitation forms an important part of the learning process. Schoolboys in both ancient and Tudor times learned to write by imitation and practice in the style of the best writers, considered in the sixteenth century to be Cicero and Terence. Learning the rhetorical style was achieved by writing and performing one's own oration having absorbed the style of the masters.

Imitation is used as a stimulus in order to attain the effectiveness of certain models, after which it passes into habit.⁸⁷ First, the teacher should show the student whom to copy, identifying the speaker's excellent qualities, and warning him about imitating abnormal faulty behaviour. By imitation he can learn how to use language, and what is appropriate language. If the student likes the speaker or teacher he is more ready to copy him.⁸⁸

Ambition, competition and confidence

The distinction between a healthy amount of ambition and arrogance is a fine one. Members of the audience do not want to be insulted by an over-confident, bored performer. They want to be cared for, to enjoy the performance and be persuaded by the performer's art. They do not want to be recited to or shouted at.

Too much self-confidence is not appealing to the audience. The performer should adopt a confident manner, but not reveal his confidence too openly, and should possess the authority with which to back it up.⁸⁹ If the speaker is more famous for 'his Virtue than his Learning' Lamy believes that the listener will surrender even before he begins to speak.

Bernard Lamy, *The Art of Speaking* (1675), p. 353.

It is of importance that an Auditor has an esteem for the person who speaks ... Modesty is absolutely necessary, for nothing is so invincible an obstacle to perswasion as arrogancy and boldness.

A misplaced confidence in one's own powers can lead to disaster on the platform. The performer should tailor his performance to his own abilities, and not attempt anything which is outside his range. Cicero calls people who fancy themselves accomplished 'dull and inelegant', and asserts that boasting not only wearies but 'disgusts the audience'. On the other hand, if ambition is lacking, ability will not find its proper outlet. Modesty can be an impediment and can cause 'the fruits of genius and study to consume away in the mildew of obscurity'.⁹⁰ Quintilian delights in pupils who are 'spurred on by praise, delighted by success and ready to weep over failure'. Eloquence, he thinks, looks for reward and the desire to win thrusts us forward, seeking praise and

⁸⁷ RH I ii 3; Q I xi 3.

⁸⁸ C II xxii 90; Q X i 8; Q II ii 8.

⁸⁹ Q IV i 33, 55; Q VI i 34; Q XI iii 155.

⁹⁰ C II xxxi 133; Q XI i 15; B 245; Q XII v 2.

renown.⁹¹ Mattheson writes that lack of ambition is like 'buried treasure', but worst of all is 'desire and diligence without natural ability'.⁹²

Quintilian recommends that from an early age the orator should move in society and not shut himself up as a recluse. This is in order to get used to public exposure and the excitement of society, and to make realistic comparisons with other performers, as judging oneself too highly is a danger if cut off from the outside world. 'At home, he can only learn what is taught to himself, while at school he will learn what is taught to others as well'. He will hear other faults corrected, and benefit from hearing other students rebuked or commended.⁹³

Memory

Memory is one of the prime divisions of rhetoric, and the ancient orator, having written the speech himself, would always have performed from memory using gesture to reinforce and impress his ideas on the audience.

Quintilian also reminds the performer that he should consider the memory of the audience when speaking. Sentences should not be too long, and the whole delivery should be adapted to helping the listener remember what has been said.

Quintilian views the performer's memory as vital in education. It is used to carry 'the best writings' from which to form a model. He describes how the mind stores up a 'treasure-house of eloquence' to draw on in performance.⁹⁴

The three principal classical references concerning memory are:

- RH III xvi-xxiv, thought to be the earliest written source for memory systems, using images to assist the memory (mnemonics).
- C II lxxxvi-lxxxviii 351-54, Cicero's story of a man who was called away from a banquet by a servant. While he was absent, the building collapsed, killing all present. The only person who knew who had been at the banquet was the person called away. He remembered who had been present by picturing the seating plan at the table, and was thus able to name all the dead men. This story forms the basis of the 'theatres of memory' revived in the Renaissance period.⁹⁵
- Q XI ii 0-51. Mnemonic systems based on Cicero's story. Things and localities are sharply impressed on the mind so that when they are recalled other events and ideas which are associated with the original location accompany them in the memory. A favourite mnemonic technique is to

⁹¹ Q I iii 6, 7; Q X vii 17.

⁹² (1739) II.2.60.

⁹³ Q I ii 18, 21, 22.

⁹⁴ Q II vii 3; Q XI ii 1.

⁹⁵ See F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

imagine a house divided into various types of rooms in which things to be remembered are stored.⁹⁶ Quintilian advises that small portions of the speech should be committed to memory, not the whole thing at once. He suggests that imagining the position of the words on the page will help to commit a passage to memory.⁹⁷

Renaissance education

Although rhetorical skills had been written about and studied in the Medieval period, particularly for use in the pulpit and letter writing,⁹⁸ Cicero's particular combination of wisdom, truth and eloquence, appealed to the humanists. Attempts were made to clear the Latin language of the accretions of Medieval spelling and usage, and this revitalised Latin was adopted with enthusiasm for the new curriculum. Newly printed editions and paraphrases of Cicero's works became generally well known by educated gentlemen throughout Europe, replacing the Medieval grammar rule-books.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the emphasis on Aristotelian scholastic argument based on logic that had dominated European university curricula underwent a change. The humanist scholars campaigned for the introduction of ancient languages and their use in the study of poetry and rhetoric. In 1549 English government regulations under Henry VIII altered the curriculum, placing more emphasis on the practical subjects of rhetoric, mathematics and science. Traditionally, the quadrivium of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music, the four mathematical sciences of measurement, combined with the trivium of language skills, grammar logic and rhetoric, made up the Seven Liberal Arts - 'liberal' because they were studied by 'free' men with leisure time. This became the basis of the classical education system in the Renaissance period, reproducing the ancient curriculum. With the new thinking, logic and the associated dialectic became less important, and rhetoric became queen of the trivium.

The study of mathematical and scientific skills, which included music, were seen to lead to a silent, antisocial contemplative life, compared with the *vita activa* encouraged by the study of eloquence in which society was thought to benefit from communication between citizens.

Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), p. 34.

Marke all Mathematicall heades, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitarie they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapte to serve in the world.

In England, many children had received education in the monasteries and, following their dissolution by Henry VIII, the English educational system saw a major reorganisation. With the foundation of many new grammar schools

⁹⁶ Q XI ii 18.

⁹⁷ Q XI ii 32.

⁹⁸ For example Ramon Llull (1232-1316), *Rethorica Nova*.

(360 founded by 1575), a common curriculum devised by Erasmus and Dean Colet for St. Paul's School in London in the 1520s made writing and speaking in eloquent Latin a high priority and this became a prerequisite for university entrance. This curriculum was adopted by other schools such as those founded at Eton, Winchester and Canterbury.⁹⁹ Samuel Pepys described helping his younger brother, then a student at St. Paul's School, to write an oration in Latin in a competition for exhibitions to Oxford and Cambridge colleges.¹⁰⁰ In seventeenth-century Holland, the young Constantijn Huygens was taught rhetoric at the age of twelve in anticipation of a career as a government secretary and diplomat.¹⁰¹ In Germany, following the Reformation, Luther and Melancthon also collaborated on the revision of old educational methods. The invention of printing facilitated the proliferation of new writing and educational material such as Erasmus's *Colloquies* (read by the young Edward VI) and *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* (Antwerp 1526). Such manuals of morals, manners and eloquence were read in Latin, the international language, in classrooms throughout northern Europe. Erasmus championed the new communication skills and promoted the study of rhetoric and eloquence in schools and colleges, and he was at the forefront of the reaction against the Medieval curriculum of scholastic argument at the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

One of the most influential English educators of the sixteenth century, Sir Thomas Elyot, described the 'most commodious and necessary studies' for a school-boy, and their usefulness for a gentleman:

T. Elyot, *The Governour*, (1531), part XI.

After that xiv. yeres be passed of a childe's age, his maister if he can, or some other, studiouslye exercised in the arte of an oratour, shall firste rede to hym some what of that parte of logike that is called *Topica*, of Cicero ... Immediately after that, the arte of rhetorike wolde be semblably taught, either in greke, out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in latine, begynnyng at the thirde booke, and instructyng diligently the childe in that parte of rhetorike, principally, whiche concerneth persuasion.

The utilitie that a noble man shall have by redyng these oratours, is, that, whan he shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speke in a great audience, or to strange ambassadours of great princes, he shall nat be constrayned to speake wordes sodayne and disordred, but shal bestowe them aptly and in their places.

The competitive use of rhetoric and declamatory exercises for schoolboys in the late fifteenth century is described in Ackroyd's *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, and is similar to Quintilian's educational method for schoolboy orators in classical Rome. At the age of seven after two years of language study, the young King Edward VI was able to read Cato and Aesop's fables (useful for moral guidance) in Latin, and write compositions. His tutor Richard Cox described his progress:

The eight parts of speche he hath made the[m] his subjects and servants, and can declyne any man[ne]r latyne noune and conjugate a verbe p[er]fectly... he begynneth to

⁹⁹ See T. W. Baldwin.

¹⁰⁰ 9 Jan, 1660, 8 Feb, 1660.

¹⁰¹ S. Schama, p. 9.

buyld the[m] vp agayn and frame the[m] aft[e]r his purpose w[ith] dew ordre of contruction.¹⁰²

The delivery of these composed exercises was part of the next stage of rhetoric studies for schoolboys. In his book *The Art of Speaking in Publick* (1626), Le Faucheur recommends Lamy's similar volume as:

an excellent School-Book for Boys as any hitherto extant ... to express themselves regularly, distinctly and handsomely in their Orations, Declarations and Exercises.

According to Johannes Susenbrotus, the sixteenth-century rhetorician and schoolmaster, 'every art is devoid, without meditation and practice, of all utility for anyone', and the purpose of these endless exercises was 'to combine precept for understanding and copy for imitation'.¹⁰³ Imitation of the masters was a major factor in the Renaissance educational method, an influence derived from Quintilian's treatise. Imitation was not regarded as plagiarism, but as a compliment to the model imitated. Tributes to other artists are found in paintings, poetry and music throughout this period, either by direct quotation, or use of the original as a model through which the imitator developed his own ideas. J. S. Bach and his brothers used the choral preludes of Pachelbel as models for their own compositions, as well works of other composers such as Froberger.¹⁰⁴

Displaying one's skill in the form of declamatory exercises was part of the study of rhetoric, and has always been part of musical performance; one of music's effects is the glorification of the skill of the performer.¹⁰⁵ Rhetorical display is designed to show off one's technique to provoke admiration in the listener, in contrast to the art of persuasion that seeks to conceal itself by using more subtle strategies of emotional manipulation:

William Cockin, *The Art of Delivering Written Language* (London, 1775), p. 134.

Sermons or other orations ... may be conceived intended for a double purpose. First as a matter for display of oratorical powers, and secondly, as persuasive discourses.

The Protestant Reformation brought religion and education together in the struggle for reform. Calvin and Luther disagreed about the role of music in the reformed church, and its new-found expressiveness was seen respectively by them as the work of the devil, or a gift from God. Luther realised that the Word would be understood intellectually when read, but with the addition of music was more powerfully expressed and touched the emotions. In the Jesuit colleges, popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the education of the Catholic elite, the teaching of rhetorical skills became prominent. The ability to speak well and persuade was seen as a useful tool with which to lead or dominate society, diplomacy and the church.¹⁰⁶ The monk mathematician and musical encyclopaedist Marin Mersenne is known to have studied rhetoric at a Jesuit college. Another great polymath of the seventeenth

¹⁰² Quoted in A. Grafton and L. Jardine (1986), p. 154.

¹⁰³ (1543) tr. J. X. Brennan, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁴ C. Wolff, pp. 49-50. H. T. David & A. Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁵ J. Tinctoris (1477), tr. J. D. Cullington, p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ R. E. Bonachea (1989), chap. 1: J. W. O'Malley, *The Jesuit Educational Enterprise in Historical Perspective*.

century, Athanasius Kircher, was also a Jesuit. Georg Muffat was a rhetorician at the university in Molsheim, and was responsible for the education of the noble children at the court of Passau.¹⁰⁷ In Regensburg, Bavaria, the schoolmaster Joannes Susenbrotus was encouraged by the city burghers to emulate the Jesuit curriculum by obtaining a list of the texts they used, with which to imitate their teaching methods. The Latin teacher was commonly required, as was Susenbrotus, to 'take special pains to see that the students should be instructed in music, to which end he shall appoint a special hour each day to singing and exercise [for] the students, especially the choir boys'.¹⁰⁸ Susenbrotus's *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum* (Antwerp 1540) is substantially based on Melancthon's and Erasmus's work, and became the most read text in the English grammar school classroom for over two centuries.¹⁰⁹ J. S. Bach's position as Cantor at St. Thomas's in Leipzig required him to teach Latin, although he employed a deputy to fulfil this duty which was still in his time a common role for the teacher of music.¹¹⁰

By studying the schoolroom curricula in England and Germany we may see that Latin was not merely another subject in the curriculum, it was the language of a major part of the school day. Grammar was rigorously studied through exercises in imitation and repetition. Rhetoric was not taught as a separate subject in the early stages, but emerged from the language programme, first through composing declamatory exercises and later through debates using stock invented situations.¹¹¹ The Latin teaching method may have included writing and delivering these rhetorical exercises. According to the curriculum of the St. Thomas's School in Leipzig in 1634, a few generations before Bach worked there, the class described as 'Quatuor Superiorum' studied classical subjects all day, with breaks for 'Principia Musica'. Bach himself would have been nine years old when he was in this class in a similar school. The boys studied texts or collections of orations, colloquies and problems, rather than grammar which would already have been thoroughly covered in the lower classes. The St. Thomas School timetable included rhetorical exercises in Latin, the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, the study of models such as Cicero's letters, as well as New Testament Greek.¹¹² Bach's school curriculum in Lüneberg for 1695, when he was fourteen years old and in the Prima class, included: the study of Cicero's letters, New Testament Greek, Terence comedies, Roman history, Hutterite theology, a German book on rhetoric published in Göttingen in 1680, as well as the basics of Aristotelian rhetoric. There was a variety of Roman authors

¹⁰⁷ D. K. Wilson (2001), p. 85.

¹⁰⁸ Regulations in city statutes, Ravensburg (1546) quoted in J. X. Brennan (1953), p. 162.

¹⁰⁹ J. X. Brennan, Introduction. See T. W. Baldwin for the influence of this book on Shakespeare.

¹¹⁰ C. Wolff (2001), p. 242.

¹¹¹ A. Grafton & L. Jardine (1986), P. Ackroyd (1998), R. Rainolde (1563).

¹¹² This timetable is on display in the Bach-Archiv Museum in Leipzig.

such as Virgil and Cicero, and some more modern subjects such as physics and geography.¹¹³

It was common practice for young men of well-to-do families, including professional musicians, to be trained as lawyers. This was not necessarily to prepare them for the profession, as the complete training was often cut short, but to give them a social advantage through skill in writing and speaking. J. S. Bach had his sons W. F. and C. P. E. trained in legal skills, perhaps recognising and regretting his own lack of formal training.

1.5 Eloquence and persuasion

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), p. 5.

Utterance also and language is given by nature to man for perswasion of others ... the more pleasing it is, the more it prevaieth to such purpose as it is intended for.

Quintilian defines eloquence as the best combination of language with thought, and is encapsulated in the name of Cicero himself. Eloquence depends on sound thinking, using 'the lamp of reason'.¹¹⁴ It should express everything 'in sympathy with the emotions of which it is a mouthpiece', and not only say what is necessary but speak in 'ornate and appropriate language'.¹¹⁵ To assist in the manipulation (persuasion) of the emotions of the listener, eloquence uses ornamentation in the form of figures of speech to make it different from everyday language, and to raise the style of speaking out of the ordinary. Fullness and variety of expression should adorn clear thought. However, overloading the speech with figures makes it indigestible and too dense for the listener to understand. Eloquence should inspire admiration in the listener, and in his delivery the orator should be inspired by emotion himself in order to communicate the feelings of his imagination.¹¹⁶ Emotion should be at its strongest in emotional appeals and instruction should be accompanied by emotion for eloquence to have its full impact. The composition and delivery of eloquence is described as a mixture of poetry and acting.

The tone of voice (intonation) which Cicero calls a 'prop to eloquence',¹¹⁷ and variety of sound is important to hold the attention of the listener. Quintilian describes the force of eloquence as wide-ranging 'over the open fields'. It must not be restricted, but 'flow as mighty rivers flow, filling whole valleys; and if it cannot find a channel it must make one for itself'.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ C. Wolff, p. 57.

¹¹⁴ Q X i 112; DeOGO ii; B 23.

¹¹⁵ Q I x 24; Q VIII pref. 13, 14.

¹¹⁶ Q VIII iii 6; Q X vii 15.

¹¹⁷ C I lix 252.

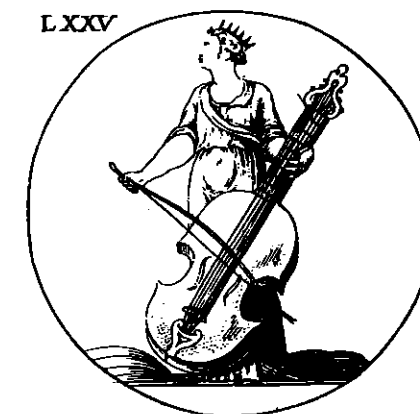
¹¹⁸ Q V xiv 30, 31.

LE SANGVIN.



HARMONIE.

LXXV

Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie* (1643)

Luis de Narvaez, frontispiece from *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifras para tañer Vihuela* (1538). Arion being saved by dolphins.

The iconography of eloquence and persuasion

Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie* (1643)Summary of descriptions in Ripa, *Iconologie* (Paris 1643):

Eloquence [personified in the accompanying textual commentary as a woman] is armed with a Morion helmet decorated with a gold crown trim, a tunic and a sword (which she carries at her side). In one hand, with the sleeve rolled up to the elbow she grasps lightning, and in the other she holds an open book, on top of which is an hourglass.

Eloquence is represented as young and beautiful, armed simply because she has no other goal than that of persuasion; this can only come about by virtue of her attractive charms. These charming attributes are generously reproduced on the face, to symbolise the ornaments and graces of words, which are essential for the person who wishes to persuade another. It is for this reason that the god Mercury was depicted as young and kindly, to represent eloquence, which can be difficult to accept if he is not beautiful, vigorous, and blossoming, full of majesty.

The delicate nature of words is shown by her bare arms. As she may be disarmed in the absence of a solid doctrine or strong reasoning, and so may not succeed in the essential goal, Eloquence herself, along with Persuasion, are quite rightly called the Creatures of Doctrine. However, because it is reasoning that produces science, difficulties arise which make it less simple to understand. For this reason, the ornaments and graces of words can be employed to clarify problems. Eloquence can at the same time broach difficult subjects with reason, arouse the passions of the soul, or halt potential disaster. This last point dictates that it is necessary for the Orator to be ingenious in his mix of the good choice of words and a wide variety of ideas when he practises his art. The orator's words and actions, like the formidable lightning, can astonish the most audacious person and make his weapon fall from his hands.

Her crown of gold is a sign of great authority, by which she reigns in the courage of men – it being true according to Plato that the dignity of the speaker is equal to that of kings, because through him it is decided who is fit to govern countries.

The open book and hourglass, which she holds in one hand, represent two things – one: that the spoken word is interleaved with art, led by the quickness of action, or is put into writing for the sake of posterity – these are the methods of Eloquence and [two] the

clock, by which she must uphold the necessary order and the correct measurement of time, giving to periods of history their number, to style its grace, and to Discourse the soul of persuasion.

And so to the lightning, attributed to Eloquence by Pierius. This signifies that by the same hand which built the highest towers on Earth, Eloquence beats the stubbornness from the ignoramus and crashes down from on high, destroying opinions which are built on unsteady foundations.

Persuasion (Greek: *peitho*)

Lamy lists three methods of persuasion: arguments, manners, and passion.¹¹⁹

Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie* (1643)

Her clothing is as modest as her hair is bizarre; it is intertwined with a tongue, this being the principal instrument of persuasion, above a single eye. The rest of her body is wrapped in gold cords and she keeps in one hand an animal with the heads of a dog, a cat and a monkey.

As the eye can be said to be the window through which the soul sees, spoken language is one too, through which it can be seen by others.

The cords of gold which hold her around the body show that through strength of eloquence, man can ally his will in some way with that of others, and hold them with the power of persuasion.

The three-headed animal signifies that three things must be achieved in order to persuade others. First, getting into the good books of the listener, symbolised by the dog, who is interested only in caresses and flattery. Second, remaining calm whilst making the point bluntly obvious to whoever he wishes to persuade – exemplified by the monkey because he seems to understand the thoughts of man more than any other animal. And third, reducing the listener to attentiveness in imitation of a cat, who is attentive in most things that he does. Because of this she is holding the rope to which this animal is attached firmly with two hands – and to show that if the orator is not comfortable with the conditions in which he comes to speak, he makes no impression on the mind of his listener and worse, he himself does not make any effect at all.

¹¹⁹ (1675) tr. J. T. Harwood, p. 344.



From Cristoforo Giarda, *Icones symbolicae* (Milan, 1628).
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Warburg Institute)

Rhetoric wears a golden crown and a flowered cloak fastened with the jewel of prudence. From her mouth stream three golden chains (the low, medium and grand styles of eloquence) which have the power to hold even beasts. The extended hand signifies the gift of words and this gesture encourages persuasion. In her right hand is a

caduceus, the token of Mercury who, as herald of the gods, is associated with eloquence. His magic wand is entwined with opposing serpents, now in harmonious concord, as the orator's art reconciles conflict. The fiery pot and golden spurs at lower left signify zeal to guide men's minds and rouse their passions.

The attributes or props of Rhetoric are shared with those of Eloquence and Persuasion in personifications of these ideas in emblem books and title pages of the Renaissance period. Rhetoric frequently wears a golden crown and is accompanied by Mercury, the youthful god of commerce and communication, or is seen holding his caduceus (wand) wreathed with serpents. Mercury personifies eloquence and reason, but, perhaps through his use of rhetoric, is also sometimes regarded as a trickster. Mercury and his accompanying serpents were perceived as representing wisdom and eloquence:

Henry Peacham the Younger, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 8.

For as Serpents are charmed with words, so the most savage and cruell natures by Eloquence: which some interpret, to be the meaning of Mercuries golden Rod, with those Serpents wreathed about it.

The Bible, Matthew 10.16.

Be ye therefore wise as serpents.

The figures of Persuasion and Rhetoric depicted on pp. 27 and 28 are both restraining a three-headed animal, although these do not seem to be the same type of animal. The ancient Greek myth teller Hesiod is credited by de Guzman with the description of the figure of the Chimera (with three heads, lion, goat, dragon) as representing the three forms of rhetoric: judicial, epideictic and deliberative. The lion is judicial, as he renders everyone speechless, and terrifies all those present. The goat represents epideictic rhetoric, in which the orator reveals his desires for eulogy in the same way that the goat reveals lust and desire. The dragon represents deliberative oratory because it shows many colours and by doing so, a variety of subjects. It also makes revolutions with its body, in the same way that a man must persuade others by making large circumlocutions.¹²⁰

Henry Peacham the Younger, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634), margin note: Description of Eloquence:

Described by Lucian to be aged, bald, and wrinkled, browne coloured, clad with a lyons skin, holding in his right hand a club, in his left a bow, with a Quiver at his backe, and long small chaines of Gold and Amber fastened thorow little holes to the tip of his tongue, drawing a multitude of people willing to follow after him, onely shadding unto us the power of eloquence.¹²¹

Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetoricke* (1553), p. 19.

The Poetes dofeine that Hercules being a man of greate wisdom, had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine, to draw them and leade them even as he lusted. For his witte was so greate, his tongue so eloquente, and his experience suche, that no one man was able to withstand his reason, but everye one was rather driven to do that whiche he woulde, and to wil that whiche he did.

¹²⁰ Juan de Guzman, *The First Part of Rhetoric* (1589) quoted in W. A. Rebhorn, p. 237.

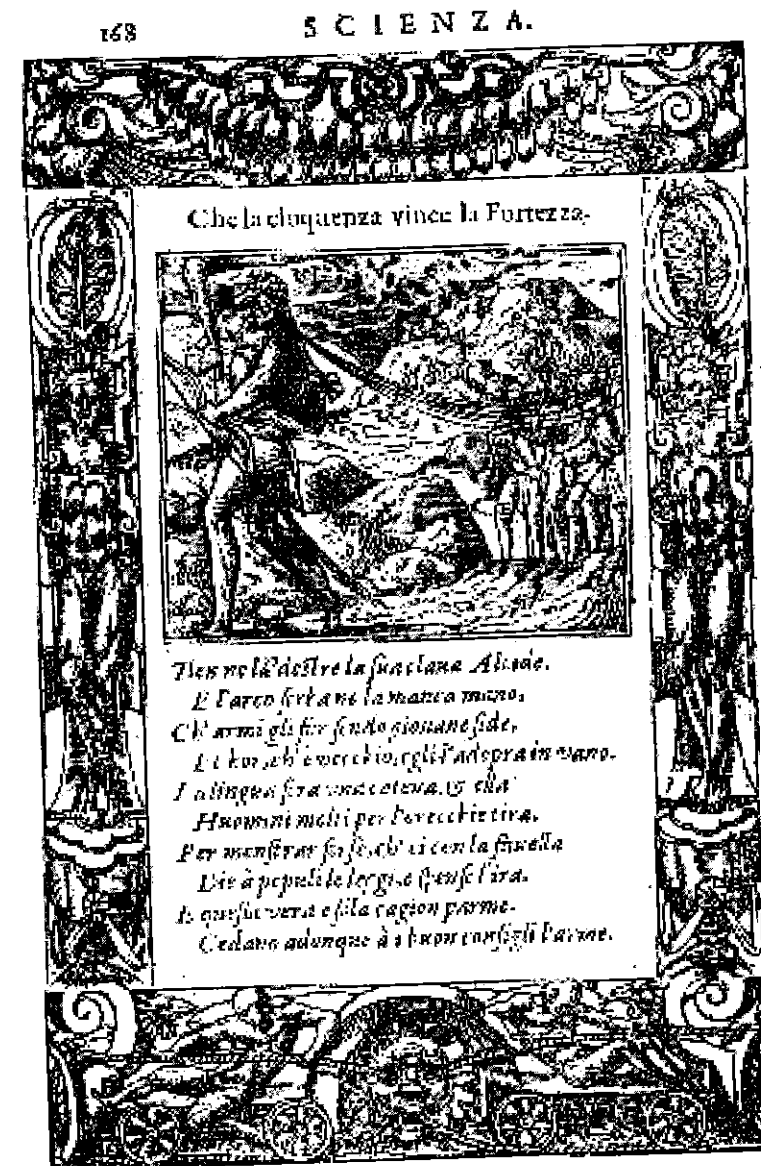
¹²¹ See Heracles myth Lucian vol. 1, tr. A. M. Harmon (1913), pp. 63-71, where the people are described as willing because the chains are slack.



Alciati emblem 'Fortuna' (1563).

Title: Good fortune attendant on virtue. The caduceus, with entwined snakes and twin wings, stands upright between the horns of Amalthea.¹²² The emblem poem describes how material wealth blesses men of powerful intellect, skilled in speaking.

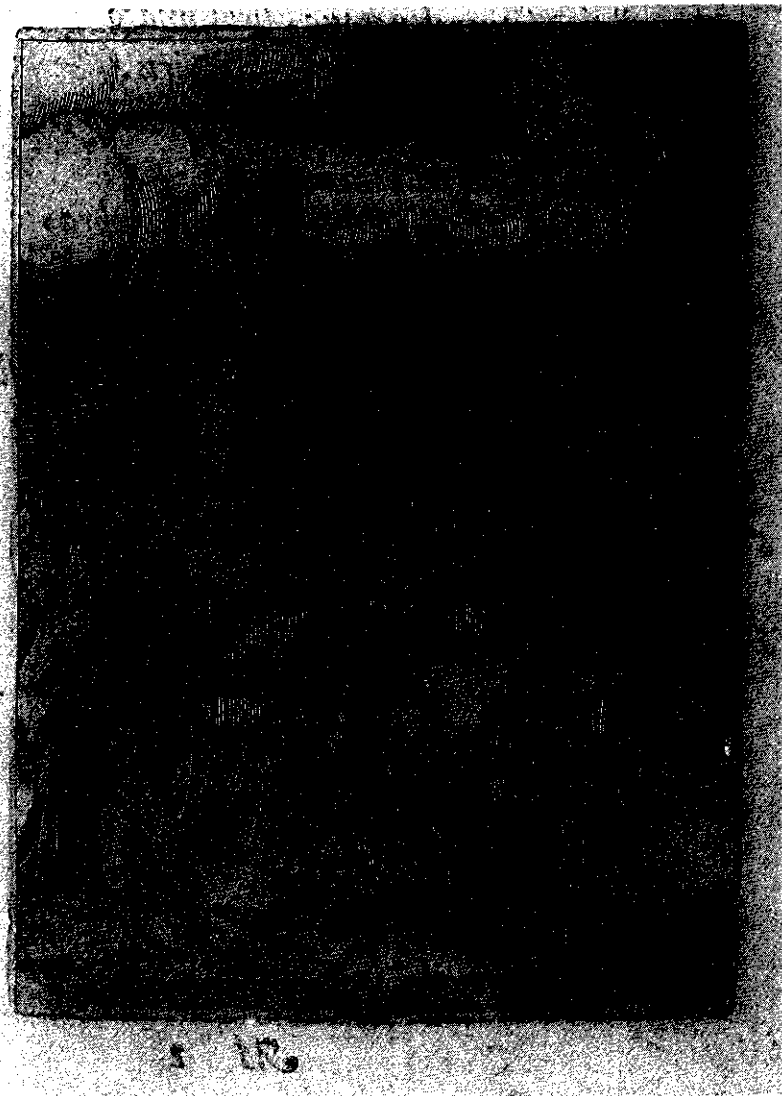
¹²² Amalthée (Amaltheia) was a mythical goat-nymph whose horn formed the cornucopia or horn of plenty.



Alciati emblem 'Eloquentia Fortitudine praestantior'

Title: Eloquence superior to strength. Hercules, identified by the lion's skin which he wears (a trophy of one of his labours), holds the weapons he used in his youth, which are now in old age useless. His tongue is attached to the pierced ears of a crowd which he draws unresisting along (the chains are slack). The emblem poem describes how he excelled in eloquence rather than might, and gave laws to nations. His weapons yield to the arts of peace, and even the hardest of hearts can be led by the will of a skilled speaker.¹²³

¹²³ This paraphrases a poem by Cicero quoted by Quintilian XI i 24.



'Hic Hercules est Gallicus: Intellegat, qui aures habet' from Achillis Bocchii Bonon. *Bonae Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (1574).

(Reproduced by kind permission of The Warburg Institute)

The Gallic Hercules driving the oxen of Geryon. The people are being driven by chains of speech.



Illustration of Erasmus's adage 'manum habere sub pallio' from J. M. Massing, *Erasmian Wit and Proverbial Wisdom* (Reproduced by kind permission of The Warburg Institute).

Quintilian, quoted by Erasmus in his *Adagia*,¹²⁴ describes those who 'keep their hands modestly within the folds of their cloaks' as having 'a certain frugality of eloquence' which implies, according to Erasmus, that they reserve their energy when speaking.

In the title page to Denis Gaultier *La Rhetorique des Dieux* by Eustache le Sueur c. 1652 (frontispiece), eloquence is shown gesturing heavenwards, wearing a golden crown and bearing Mercury's caduceus. She is flanked by personifications of music and harmony, also wearing golden crowns (see also 'Harmonie', p. 25). The figures are draped in a classical manner. In the background are signs of the zodiac representing the music of the spheres, and the figures are seated on clouds.

¹²⁴ *Adagia* (1508), II X 31, paraphrasing Q XII x 21.



'O tinge o bruscia'

Emblem from Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd* (Amsterdam, 1632).

In this moral emblem, a woman of dubious merit offers smouldering coals to a hesitant young gentleman. A persuasive lute-playing *commedia* figure stands by the bed, assisting in the staged seduction. In the accompanying emblem poem in Dutch he speaks his own warning: he is in danger of either dirtying his hands on the coals, or getting them burnt, wherever he decides to put them.



THE ACADEMIE OF ELOQUENCE.

Containing a Compleat
ENGLISH RHETORIQUE,
Exemplified,

With *Common-Places*, and *Formes*, digested into an easie and Methodical way to speak and write. fluently, according to the *mode* of the present times,

Together with
LETTERS both } *AMOROUS*
and } *MORAL*,
Upon emergent occasions.

By *THO. BLOUNT Gent*

CICERO,
Ut Hominis decus est ingenium:
Sic ingenij lumen est Eloquentia.

LONDON,

Printed by T. N. for Humphrey Moseley, at the Princes-Arms in S. Pauls Churchyard. 1654.

Frontispiece and title page of *The Academie of Eloquence* by Thomas Blount (1654)

1.6 The English eloquence manuals

The ability to speak well was a required social skill for any cultivated gentleman from the sixteenth century onwards, and formed part of good manners. Not having anything to say was the worst form of social gaffe. As Blount puts it: 'he that hath worth in him and cannot express it, is a cabinet keeping a rich jewell and the key lost'.¹²⁵ During the sixteenth century many newly written texts on eloquence were published in vernacular languages based on the principles of Quintilian, Cicero and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. These eloquence books fell into roughly three types:

1. Compositional Handbooks

It is to this type of book and its classical antecedents that many musical forms may be traced: odes celebrating or lamenting the arrival or departure of a loved one, the tombeau commemorating a death, and the wedding epithalamium are all musical forms with classical literary origins. The

¹²⁵ T. Blount (1654), *The Epistle Dedicatory*.

principal example of this type of book used in England is Richard Rainolde's *The Foundation of Rhetorike* (1563), a plan for compositional techniques modelled on the Greek text by Aphthonius. It lists various types of speech exercises called *progymnasmata*. Boys were encouraged to keep commonplace books in which to note ideas to assist with invention on various topics (*loci communes*) which were then tested for the development of themes (*sedes argumentorum*) using a formula for arguments.¹²⁶ Rainolde's method of composition is categorised into parts. For example, if composing a *chreia*, a theme on a saying or deed of a well known person, first the author should be praised, then the meaning and cause of the saying is examined, the saying is compared to a contrary one, and another similar example is found. Finally the conclusion is 'knitted', drawing all the ideas together. Another exercise listed in the *progymnasmata* of Hermogenes was *ekphrasis*, a useful tool for detailed written descriptions of people, actions, seasons or places. The purpose of this writing exercise was to achieve clarity and to conjure up in the reader's mind a picture of the thing being described. It was an important part of the exercise that the style of the description should match the subject. A florid style was used for something elaborate and a plain one for something more mundane.¹²⁷

Erasmus's *Adagia* was an important source of ideas on which to discourse. This popular book grew in size so that in its later editions it contained 1,500 well-known mottoes and sayings categorised into subjects in Latin, ancient Greek, English and several other European languages. Books teaching composition on a theme were used for moral training, much as themes had been during Quintilian's time. Fictitious moral dilemmas involving shipwrecks, adultery, rape and piracy, which would appeal to boys of any era, were used to produce a highly decorated verbal entertainment (the declamation).

2. Compendia of Figures of Speech

The textbook by Susenbrotus (1543) which lists figures of speech was a major influence on later texts by Henry Peacham the Elder and George Puttenham. Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, although principally a book about poetry, has an extensive section on figures to be used in oratory. Many aspects of poetics and rhetoric were shared. Peacham the Elder's *The Garden of Eloquence* (London 1577, 1593) lists two hundred rhetorical figures, mainly taken from the Bible and Cicero, with examples of their uses and 'cautions' for their abuses. *The Compleat Gentleman* (London 1622), a general manual of activities and behaviour suitable for a gentleman, was written by Peacham's son, also Henry. The younger Henry is responsible for the oft-quoted 'Nay, hath not music her figures, the same which rhetoric?' These books of figures were born in an age of popular rule-books, and

¹²⁶ 'Commonplaces and Commonplace Books' in T. O. Sloane, ed., *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*.

¹²⁷ M. Baxandall (1971), p. 85.

produced in pocket editions. An enthusiasm for the decorative figured style of language as exemplified by Shakespeare, the purpose of which was to 'delight and allure,' is also apparent in the rhetoric manuals by R. Sherry (1550) and T. Wilson (1553). Figures are listed with original Greek and Latin, or new invented English titles (as found in Puttenham) such as 'mingle-mangle' and 'cuckowspell' for epizeuxis (see p. 226). Wilson contains the figure 'stomake grief' (iracundia) which he defines as 'when we will take the matter as hote as a tost'.¹²⁸

3. Public speaking

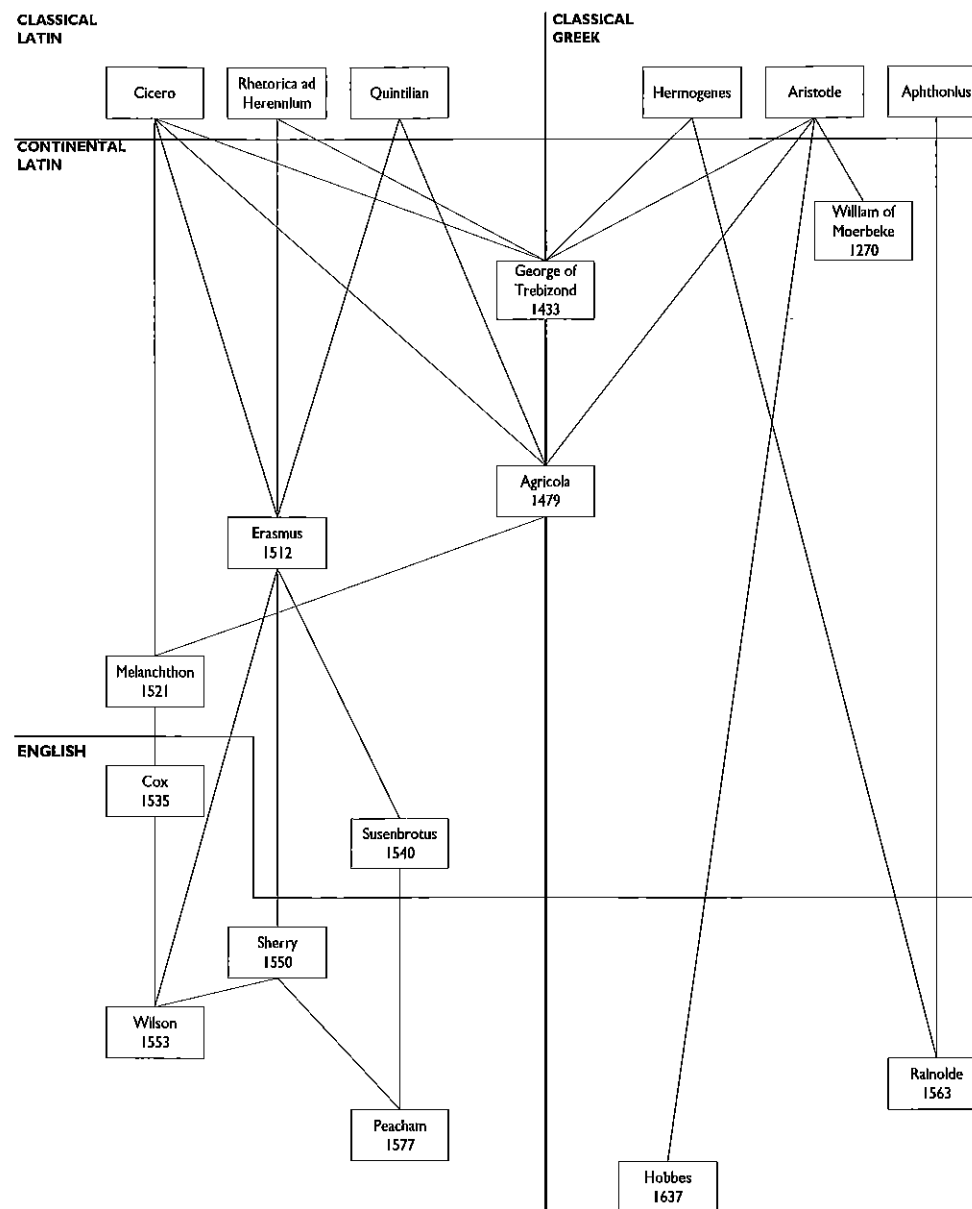
The third type of eloquence book, on public speaking, was written principally to teach clergy and lawyers the art of persuasive eloquence. The English translation of Le Faucheur's *Traite de l'action de l'orateur ou de la Prononciation et du geste* (Paris, 1657), translated as *The Art of Speaking in Public* (London, 1727), contains instructions on the delivery of various rhetorical figures. It is described in the preface as being 'not unworthy of any young gentlemen's Pocket or Library'. Advice for gentlemen is derived in part from Castiglione,¹²⁹ whose ideas are frequently quoted by the later sixteenth-century authors. The texts on speaking are peppered with quotations from Quintilian, Cicero and Plato. By far the most popular and entertaining of these sixteenth-century pocket-books was Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetoricke*, which ran into eight editions while Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* only managed two. Wilson's acknowledged target readership was lawyers and preachers who might have read this book to improve their professional skills and his book contains many fables and anecdotes with a strong Protestant bias. He appeared before the Inquisition and was tortured for his beliefs. Coming from a humble Lincolnshire family, Wilson went to school at Eton, where he would have experienced Erasmus's 'new learning'. After Cambridge, and a law degree in Padua during a period of exile in the Catholic reign of Queen Mary, he became a successful diplomat and lawyer at the Elizabethan court, where his rhetorical skills would have been put to the test daily.

Even though the 'copious' sixteenth-century style of speaking and writing became old-fashioned, eighteenth-century education still clung to the classical subjects, and a number of important books on rhetoric were published in this century. Thomas Sheridan's public lectures on the subject of elocution (given in 1758-62 and published in 1781), concentrate on issues concerning delivery, and led to elocution contests between schools. The last great English book on rhetoric is considered to be Richard Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* (1828).¹³⁰

¹²⁸ (1560) p. 397.

¹²⁹ (1528) 1st English trans. T. Hoby (1561).

¹³⁰ For more authors see E. P. J. Corbett (1965), pp. 563-70 and G. A. Kennedy (1999), p. 285.



Plan to show the transmission of influences in rhetoric books from the classical to the sixteenth century. This chart shows in a general way the influences which flowed from the classical sources to the Renaissance textbooks and thereafter to the eloquence books in European vernacular languages. Only English authors are shown, but a similar process was taking place throughout continental Europe.

Note: the top line is out of chronological phase, as the Greeks influenced Cicero and afterwards Quintilian, who was also influenced by Cicero.

1.7 The weapons of rhetoric

Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, Pt. III, 110.

In grave Quintilian's copious work we find
The justest rules and clearest method joined.
Thus useful arms in magazines we place,
All ranged in order, and disposed with grace.
But less to please the eye than arm the hand,
Still fit for use, and ready at command.

The techniques of oratory are seen by the classical writers as weapons with which to gain victory over the hearts and minds of the listeners. The language of confrontation is used liberally, deriving from rhetoric's main ancient uses in the courtroom and assembly, where the audience consisted of judges and opponents.

Diction is described as a weapon of attack, either to brandish, threaten, or just for show. The weapons must be sharpened ready for use, and immediately to hand. Weapons such as the skilful use of ornament must be flashed at the opponent to impress. Weapons kept in the sheath are useless, and preparation will be wasted unless the weapons for affecting the audience are brought out and used. The miser has as little use for his money.¹³¹ Tacitus describes how the pupil orator would observe his master in action against 'opponents and antagonists, who fought with swords, not with wooden foils', an image drawing on the less critical contests when gladiators in the Colosseum used blunted weapons.¹³²

C II lxxviii 317.

If in an actual fight to the death between gladiators ... a number of strokes are made that seem not to be intended to inflict a wound but to be done for the sake of appearance, how much more proper is it for this to be taken into consideration in making a speech, where what is asked for is not so much force as entertainment!

Peacham the Elder describes the ornamental figures of rhetoric as 'martiall instruments both of defence & invasion'.¹³³ The theory of using the dart of passion which both wounds the speaker and infects his audience is mentioned by another sixteenth-century writer on eloquence Guillaume du Vair, and Vico speaks of capturing the listeners' spirits as the soldier ensnares his target before employing his weapons.¹³⁴ Wilson writes that it is not enough to have learning without knowing how to apply it. 'What should a man do with a weapon that knoweth not how to use it?'¹³⁵

¹³¹ C III liv 206; Q VII x 14; Q VIII pref. 15; Q VIII iii 2; Q IX i 33; Q X i 2

¹³² *Dialogus* 34.

¹³³ *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577).

¹³⁴ G. du Vair, *De l'Eloquence françoise* (1594) in W. A. Rebhorn, p. 257; G. Vico (1711-41) tr. G. A. Pinton & A. W. Shippee, p. 7.

¹³⁵ (1553) ed. T. J. Derrick, p. 316.



Tacitus: 'with swords, not with wooden foils'

1.8 The decline of rhetoric

The rise in status of artists and musicians and their perception of themselves, their motivation, and the whole issue of 'inspiration' in the creative process during this period resulted in a change from audience-centred to artist-centred performance. The influence of *On the Sublime* by the Greek writer known as Longinus, which only became well-known during the eighteenth century, exerted an influence on the artist which encouraged stylistic freedom beyond the rule, and led to the force of 'enthusiasm'.¹³⁶ By the first part of the nineteenth century, the rhetorical style of composition and delivery had undergone a radical change as the audience's attention became focused on the performing artist as an individual creative force (e.g. Paganini, Liszt). As a consequence the importance of the audience as a target for the artist's powers of emotional persuasion was reduced, and the performer's own importance increased as an object for adulation.

The change in the relative importance of audience and performer that took place during the eighteenth century is illustrated by the custom of the socially

¹³⁶ For information about 'Longinus' see G. A. Kennedy (1972), pp. 369-77. For his influence on eighteenth-century music see p. 67 below and R. Smith (1995), pp. 108-26.

superior audience entering after the musicians. In performances described by Muffat, the musicians are advised to be tuned before the audience arrives.¹³⁷ Who waits for whom? Except in theatrical performances such as operas, the more important party arrives when the other is in its seat. It is customary in modern concert halls for the performers to enter after the audience has arrived and is seated. The audience is now the general public who attend voluntarily to hear whatever the performer offers them, as opposed to the previous situation where the patron commissioned the performance. Today only guests of honour, such as royalty, enter when everyone else, both performers and audience, are ready for the performance to begin. The Queen always enters last.

In England the number of students attending the Royalist Oxford university declined steeply after the civil war, resulting in a smaller base of rhetorical knowledge in the upper middle class population.¹³⁸ In addition, the high ideals and standards of the Renaissance classroom had become eroded by the opening of the eighteenth century as more 'practical' technical subjects were introduced into the university curriculum, with rhetoric being regarded as belonging to the older tradition. Frances Bacon was influential in rejecting the Erasmian 'copious' method of expression in favour of a plainer style,¹³⁹ and Rational inquiry based on observation began to replace blind unquestioning belief in ancient authority. The foundation of the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris and the Royal Society in England coincided with a new attitude towards learning, and the rejection of the unquestionable superiority of classical wisdom.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, encouraged by the fashionable influence of Louis XIV's sumptuous court, French replaced Latin as the European international language of nobility and diplomacy. As a child, Frederick the Great was forced to learn Latin secretly as he was forbidden to study it by his father who, although German, spoke French with his wife.¹⁴¹

It is no coincidence that the general decline of the study of rhetoric in the eighteenth century coincided with a change in musical style. The belief that classical wisdom somehow held 'the truth' became challenged by more modern ideas, and the elaborately decorated Baroque style gave way to more 'natural' expression in the Enlightenment, projected by philosophers such as Rousseau. The 'elocutionary' movement still used rhetorical techniques in the theatre and for preaching while speakers such as Thomas Sheridan and the later Gilbert Austin in his treatise *Chironomia: or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery* (1806)¹⁴² extended the period during which classical rhetoric's influence was felt. Thereafter, the individual's freedom to express himself without rules and imitation of models became central to artistic expression in all the arts. In modern times, communication skills have adapted to new

¹³⁷ *Florilegium Secundum* (1698), tr. D. K. Wilson, p. 44.

¹³⁸ M. Van Cleave Alexander (1990), p. 246.

¹³⁹ J. Loewenstein in J. Kraye, ed. (1996), p. 283.

¹⁴⁰ See L. Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits, Building the Scientific Revolution* (1999).

¹⁴¹ N. Mitford, p. 8.

¹⁴² Much-quoted in D. Barnett's book on gesture for the eighteenth-century stage.

media. Delivery and persuasive methods such as the modern 'sound-bite' achieve their aims by adapting themselves to the needs of the modern audience, to whom a carefully crafted sermon of three hours delivered in the rhetorical style would be totally unappreciated and even ridiculed.

Although attitudes towards the study and use of rhetoric changed, basic human responses to persuasively presented messages did not, and have not, even today. The universal usefulness of rhetorical techniques for communication and persuasion can be applied with great effect in a variety of performing situations. The reader will, I hope, appreciate the value of using ancient ideas in communicating with today's audiences generally, not only for Renaissance and Baroque music, but adapting their style of delivery to any situation. This was recognised by the Erasmian humanist educator Vives:

whether you recall something of the past to guide you in what would be useful in your own case, or whether you apply something which formerly was managed in such and such a way, and so adapt the same or a similar method to your own actions ... there is nothing of the ancients so worn out by age and so decayed, that it may not in some measure be accommodated to our ways of life. For although now we may employ a different form, the usefulness yet remains.¹⁴³

However, attitudes towards the old performing style had changed. A nineteenth-century encyclopaedia article relates how in the late eighteenth century the lutenist Baron was mocked by his friends when he attempted to demonstrate the literal emotional and physical affects of music. They acted out the emotions that his playing attempted to imitate, embracing or fighting each other in turn. On leaving the room he overheard the laughter which was unconstrained at his gullibility.¹⁴⁴ Contrast this with the 1554 description of the listeners' reactions to the lute playing, possibly of Francesco da Milano (p. 74 below). By the end of the eighteenth century, performing in a style more suitable for Renaissance or early Baroque music was considered laughable.

In spite of this, the principle of communicating expressiveness both in composition and performance lived on, becoming central to both. Rhetorical techniques were applied to later music within the prevailing style. Clever devices and ornaments would have been appreciated within a changing artistic context. What music could be more rhetorical than Beethoven's string quartets or the chamber music of Schubert? Beethoven, as much as any other composer, can build or break our expectations by leading us on before surprising us, shouting and haranguing us, or seducing us with melody.

Paganini's performance, reported in *The Manchester Guardian*, January 14th 1832, describes his extraordinary virtuosity in using the complete compass of the instrument, playing two parts at the same time, a whole sonata on one string, and other miracles. However, the model for perfect expression in the opinion of the reviewer remains the human voice. The report ends with a description of:

¹⁴³ Quoted W. J. Bouwsma (2000), p. 55.

¹⁴⁴ D. Alton Smith, (1999), p. 48.

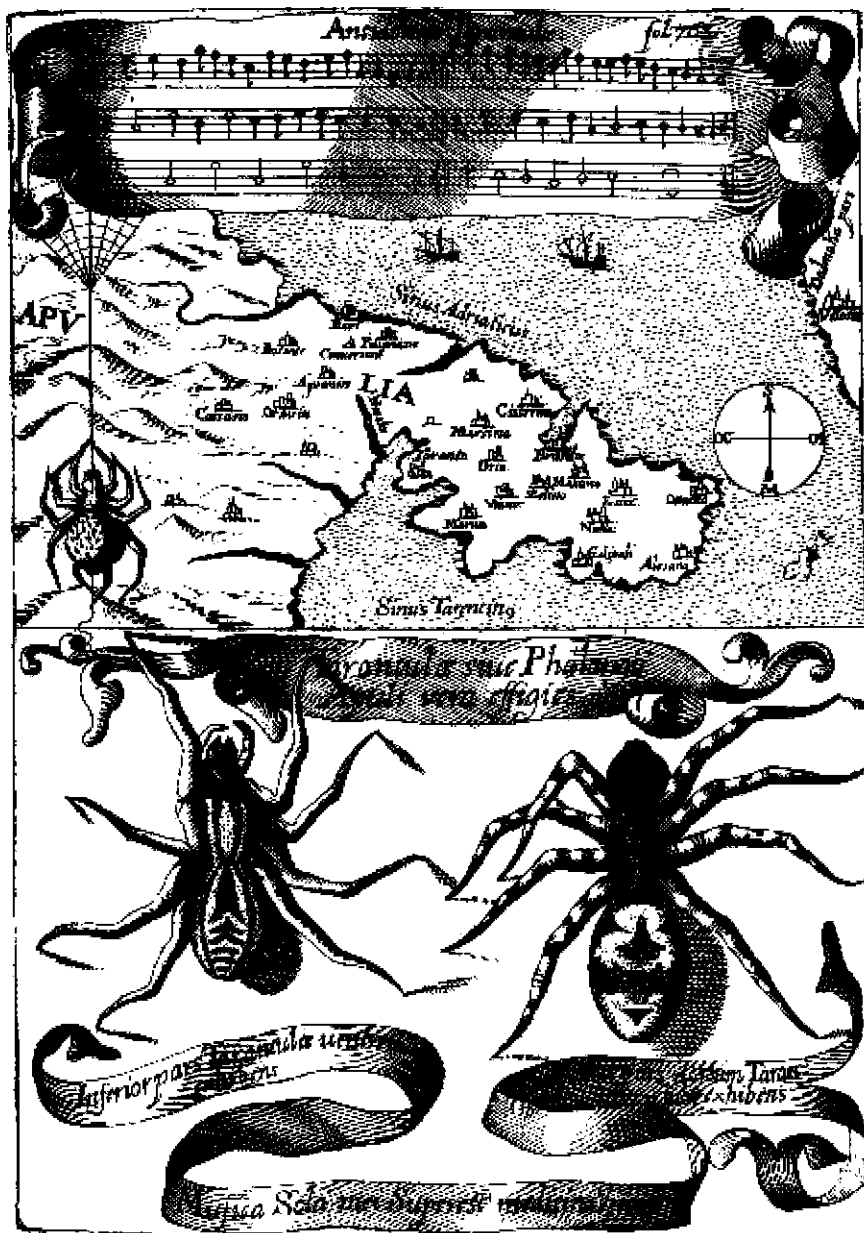
an adagio, full of soul and expression ... gave full scope to his powers. In playing this piece his tones were the most extraordinary that we ever heard from any musical instrument. They seemed to be susceptible of all the varied intonation of the human voice; to be capable of expressing all the varieties of human passions; in short, they wanted nothing but articulation to form a complete language.

The rhetorical techniques established during the Baroque period were inherited by later composers and performers and used by them to express musical ideas in their own, new, style. For example, the 'Table of the Principal Accents That Comprise Musical Character' in *The Art of the Violin* by Baillot (1835) lists Italian terms and their principal emotional messages, followed by musical examples. The term 'musical character' now replaces 'affect' and Baillot uses the word 'effect' to mean sound effects rather than emotional 'affect'. In his study of English singing 1780-1830, R. Toft has shown that performance in a rhetorical style was maintained in England until the new *bel canto* style arrived in the 1860s.¹⁴⁵

Baillot's statement 'style is the choice of expressive means' reflects the universally useful rhetorical principle of decorum, matching means of expression to content, and is relevant for whatever period of music we are performing, wherever we are performing it.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Toft (2000), p. xiv.

¹⁴⁶ Baillot, P. M. F. de Sales (1835), tr. L. Goldberg, pp. 355, 12.



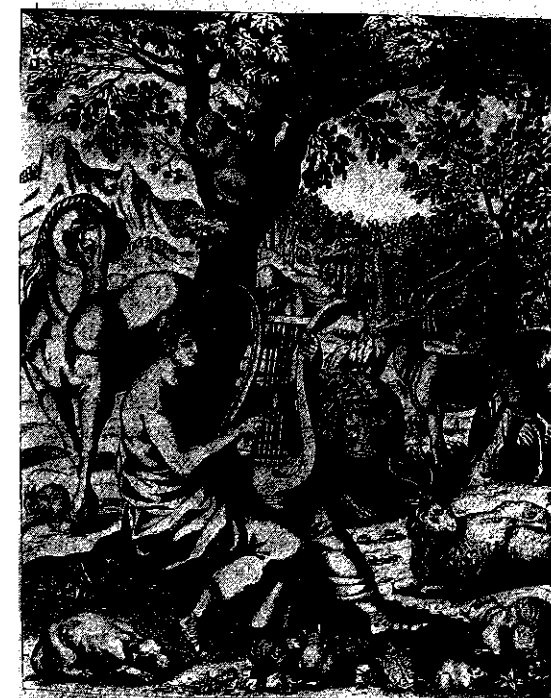
Musical antidote for tarantula bite, Kircher, *Magnetica Arte* (1641).

PART TWO THE RHETORICAL PERFORMANCE – AUDIENCE AND AFFECT

2.1 Oratory and music

The ancients observed many parallels between the sister arts of oratory and music. Variety of tone, pace, pitch of voice and rhythm were the principal constituents of a good and effective oratorical delivery, with a suggestion of singing, rather than singing itself.¹⁴⁷

HARMONIE UNIVERSELLE.



Laudate eum in Psalterio & Cithara.
Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum. Psalm 150.

Title page from Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636)

¹⁴⁷ Q XI iii 60.

Mythical figures such as Orpheus were seen to demonstrate music's power to persuade rocks, trees and animals into action or submission. Songs were used to lighten the strain of labour either in groups such as rowers in the galley, or alone.¹⁴⁸ Music was also credited with legendary powers of healing; music of the tarantella allegedly cured the bite of the similarly-named spider (see p. 44). Knowledge of rhythm was essential for poetry, and rhythm in oratory was considered to be an essential tool to rouse or cool emotion. Familiarity with music was shown to be useful to an orator in the following anecdote from Quintilian:

Q I x 32.

Among the fictitious themes employed in declamation is one, doing no little credit to its author's learning, in which it is supposed that a piper is accused of manslaughter because he had played a tune in the Phrygian mode as an accompaniment to a sacrifice [an inappropriate choice], with the result that the person officiating went mad and flung himself over a precipice. If an orator is expected to declaim on such a theme as this, which cannot possibly be handled without some knowledge of music, how can my critics for all their prejudice fail to agree that music is a necessary element in the education of an orator?

Quintilian also observed that 'inarticulate' musical sounds, without words, are capable of exciting a variety of different emotions in the hearer. He lists various types of music used to accompany games, war, and the supplicant's entreaty. Music for leading the army into battle or for retreating would be quite different.¹⁴⁹

The eighteenth-century musicians Saint Lambert and Mattheson both thought that music had more powers of expression than words, even than in spoken rhetoric, as music has the benefit of many more variations in harmony and pitches 'of which rhetoric is ignorant'. Leonardo da Vinci compared the arts of poetry, painting and music and found that painting and music can demonstrate harmony which is lacking in poetry or the spoken word.

Leonardo da Vinci, Notebooks – The Science of Art.

The poet is not able to present in words the true configuration of the elements which make up the whole, unlike the painter, who can set them before you with the same truth as is possible with nature. The poet may be regarded as equivalent to a musician who sings by himself a song composed for four choristers, singing first the soprano, then the tenor, and following with the contralto and then the bass. Such singing cannot result in that grace of proportioned harmony which is contained within harmonic intervals. Alternatively, something made by the poet may be likened to a beautiful face which is shown to you feature by feature, and, being made in this way, cannot ever satisfactorily convince you of its beauty, which alone resides in the divine proportionality of the said features in combination. Only when taken together do the features compose that divine harmony which often captivates the viewer.

Yet music, in its harmonic intervals, makes its suave melodies, which are composed from varied notes. The poet is deprived of this harmonic option, and although poetry enters the seat of judgement through the sense of hearing, like music, the poet is unable to describe the harmony of music, because he has not the power to say different things at the same time. However, the harmonic proportionality of painting is composed

¹⁴⁸ Q I x 9, 16.

¹⁴⁹ Q IX iv 11.

simultaneously from various components, the sweetness of which may be judged instantaneously, both in its general and in its particular effects – in general according to the dictates of the composition; in particular according to the dictates of the component parts from which the totality is composed. And on account of this the poet remains far behind the painter with respect to the representation of corporeal things, and, with respect to invisible things, he remains behind the musician.¹⁵⁰

Saint Lambert also thought the elements of music more useful to the orator rather than the other way round:

A piece of music somewhat resembles a piece of rhetoric [une Pièce d'Eloquence], or rather it is the piece of rhetoric which resembles the piece of music, since harmony, number, measure, and the other similar things which a skillful orator observes in the composition of his works belong more naturally to music than to rhetoric.¹⁵¹

Mattheson reports that the ancient orators used musical rules in raising and lowering the voice, and gesticulation.¹⁵²

The correspondence between music and oratory became a well-worn metaphor from the sixteenth century onwards, as both writers and musicians acknowledged each other's roles in the creative and performing process.¹⁵³

Henry Peacham the Younger, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), in O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 73.

Hath not music her figures, the same which rhetoric? What is a revert but her antistrophe? her reports, but sweet anaphoras? her counterchange of points, antimetaboles? her passionate airs, but prosopopoeias? with infinite other of the same nature.

Thomas Blount, *The Academie of Eloquence* (1654), The Epistle Dedicatory.

Eloquence is equally fortunate in taming passions and in charming senses: she imitates Musick and makes use of the voice or Orators to enchant the Eares, with the cadence of Periods, and the harmony of Accents.

J. J. Quantz, *Versuch ...* (1752), XI.1, tr. Reilly.

Musical execution may be compared with the delivery of an orator. The orator and the musician have, at bottom, the same aim in regard to both the preparation and the final execution of their productions, namely to make themselves masters of the hearts of their listeners, to arouse or still their passions, and to transport them now to this sentiment, now to that. Thus it is advantageous to both, if each has some knowledge of the duties of the other.

2.2 The audience

Tacitus, *Dialogus* 36.

Great oratory is like a flame: it needs fuel to feed it, movement to fan it, and it brightens as it burns.

The ancient orators believed that a large audience was necessary to fire up their delivery, as each listener's reactions are intensified and encouraged by his neighbour's. Tacitus considers that the speaker cannot perform well without 'hear, hear', and the clapping of hands. However, a small audience in

¹⁵⁰ P. Elmer, N. Webb and R. Wood (2000), pp. 184-85.

¹⁵¹ Saint Lambert (1702), tr. R. Harris-Warrick, p. 32.

¹⁵² (1739) I.10.13.

¹⁵³ See also R. Toft (1985).

a suitably-sized room suits a solo recital where a large audience would not enable the demands of 'speaking appropriately' to be satisfied.¹⁵⁴

The predisposition of the listener can also contribute to the success or failure of the performance. Generally received opinion and the reputation of a performer can influence the attitude of the listener prior to the performance.¹⁵⁵ Their expectations can be pleasantly fulfilled, surprised or, if led to expect an intensely moving performance, disappointed. A positive attitude to the performance by the listener will be an aid to the performer as 'it is easier to spur the willing horse than to start the lazy one'.¹⁵⁶ If all the elements of decorum are satisfied, the performance is more likely to be judged a success by the listener. If the audience remains unmoved or irritated by the performance, it may be considered to be a bad audience by the performer, when this may in fact be his own fault for failing to communicate effectively. If the performer does not sense their mood and react or adapt himself to it in some way, he may lose their goodwill and approval. Sometimes it is hopeless, and however hard the performer tries, the audience remains dead, unresponsive and there is no point in urging it if it does not wish to respond.¹⁵⁷

To charm the listeners, the performer needs to be able to hold their attention. The Italian immigrant violinist Matteis was said to have 'held the company by the ears with that force and variety for more than an hour together, that there was scarce a whisper in the room, tho filled with company'.¹⁵⁸ They should be 'swept along by the tide of passion ... yielding unquestioning to the torrent'.¹⁵⁹ To maintain their attention, Quintilian suggests that the orator uses 'emotional appeals, hesitation and words broken by silences'.¹⁶⁰ By this means, the listener is kept alert and expectant. Tosi also suggests that silence is a valuable tool to attract the audience's attention, and subsequently enables the singer to sing extremely softly, thus drawing the listeners in, and sharpening their ears.¹⁶¹ Variety and clarity help the audience to understand the message without becoming bored and they should not have to make an effort to 'interpret' what has been said. Quintilian points out that a reader may retrace his steps, but the listener is forced onward, whether or not he has understood the previous sentence.¹⁶²

In order to avoid deceiving himself concerning the effect he is making, the performer should continually imagine himself in the place of the audience.¹⁶³ An over-long programme should be avoided and Cicero advises that it is

¹⁵⁴ Tacitus, *Dialogus*, 39.

¹⁵⁵ Q III vii 23.

¹⁵⁶ C II xlv 185-86.

¹⁵⁷ B 192.

¹⁵⁸ R. North, *Memoires*, p. 127.

¹⁵⁹ Q VI ii 6.

¹⁶⁰ Q IX ii 71.

¹⁶¹ Tosi, tr. Galliard (1743), p. 63.

¹⁶² Q X i 19.

¹⁶³ Q XII viii 15.

sometimes appropriate to speak more briefly than you planned to.¹⁶⁴ Wilson writes that 'a man that must talke much' should have regard to the audience, and 'not onely to speake so much as is nedefull, but also to speake no longer then thei be willyng to heare ... the measuring of an oracion, standeth not in the speaker, but in the hearers'.¹⁶⁵ Vico considers that the audience should be enabled to listen 'willingly and gladly'.¹⁶⁶

Delectare - to charm and amuse

The rhetorical manner of performing involves the audience in a two-way process in which the performer gives enjoyment and receives encouragement and admiration in return. Sheridan writes that 'force of speaking will produce emotion and conviction; grace, only excites pleasure and admiration'.¹⁶⁷ The prime aims of the orator are to inform, move, and amuse, delight, entertain or charm. Charming the audience is the first step towards their being moved, and 'when our audience find it a pleasure to listen, their attention and their readiness to believe what they hear are both alike increased'.¹⁶⁸

Music's power to 'delight the soul and the ear' and the performer's goal, to produce this delight, are both reported from the fifteenth century onwards.¹⁶⁹ Wilson describes how the orator's tongue should be filed so that it may slide with ease, and have the grace of the sound of a lute, for 'excepte menne finde delight, thei will not long abide: delight theim, and wyne them: werie theim, and you lose them for ever'.¹⁷⁰ Le Faucheur describes how 'It is not enough for the Orator to be *Heard* only without *difficulty* and *pain*, but he must endeavour to be *Heard* also, if possible, with *Pleasure* and *Delight*'.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ DeI I xvii 25.

¹⁶⁵ (1553) p. 278.

¹⁶⁶ (1711-41) tr. G. A. Pinton and A. W. Shippee, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ (1781) p. 149.

¹⁶⁸ Q VIII iii 5.

¹⁶⁹ Campano (1455) in F. A. Gallo, p. 104; G. M. Artusi (1600), O. Strunk, vol. 4, p. 19; V. Giustiniani (1628), O. Strunk, vol. 3, p. 75; P. J. Martello (1715), O. Strunk, vol. 4, p. 182.

¹⁷⁰ (1553) pp. 26-27.

¹⁷¹ (1727) p. 67.



Morgante maggiore (Florence, c. 1500)
(Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Ink.5.g.9)

Critics

Critics (for such is their role, to pronounce judgement) notice defects, not good points in a performance. Cicero points out that most listeners 'turn a keener and more penetrating eye upon defects in the speaker than his good points. Thus any blunder eclipses other things that are praiseworthy' and mistakes can dog us for many a day.¹⁷²

Critical listening is sharpest at the start. Once the hearer is confident that they are enjoying the performance, the critical ear diminishes, so that by the end, the listeners are won over and are 'no longer intent on watching or catching him out, but are on his side and wish him success'.¹⁷³

In general, the approval of the majority of the audience, and proof of this in the form of enthusiastic applause, should be more important than the view of any one critic.¹⁷⁴ Quintilian comments that some critics are unqualified to pass judgement, and miss details which the performer can get away with.¹⁷⁵ Longinus finds that many people criticise freely, while being blind to their own faults.¹⁷⁶

Tosi thinks that the most valued criticism may come from friends who are sincere in their will to help. He relishes defects discovered by 'ill-natur'd Critics; for the more intent they are to discover Defects, the greater Benefit

¹⁷² C I xxv 116; C I xxvii 124-25.

¹⁷³ O 210.

¹⁷⁴ B 185-9.

¹⁷⁵ Q II xii 3.

¹⁷⁶ L 4.

may be receiv'd from them without any Obligation'.¹⁷⁷ Quantz warns against flattering friends, and advises looking to your enemies to discover the truth. However, a true friend who has sufficient discrimination should be 'greatly treasured' and he thinks that the performer should 'bear excessive censure with a generous composure'.¹⁷⁸



Premere pollicem. Convertere pollicem (Thumbs up, thumbs down)

In a reversal of its current usage Erasmus (*Adage* I viii 46) claims that in the classical use of this gesture thumbs up meant 'kill the victim'. Thumbs down showed support for the victim and was a signal for the gladiator to lower his weapon.

Self-criticism should be cultivated, and over-sensitiveness to the spurs of critics overcome, for there may be a grain of truth in any criticism, which can then be addressed by the performer. If a good review is to be believed, why not also the bad? There may be many in the audience, unknown to the performer, who will agree with the critic.

Composers are as likely to be criticised by their peers as are performers. Charles Avison, a follower of Corelli and Geminiani seeking a nobler expression of 'the passions', gives a list of:

¹⁷⁷ (1743) p. 151.

¹⁷⁸ (1752) XVI.33.

Composers who have erred in the extreme of an unnatural Modulation; Of the first and lowest Class are, Vivaldi, Tassarini, Alberti, and Locatelli, whose Compositions being equally defective in various Harmony, and true Invention, are only a fit Amusement for Children; nor indeed for these, if ever they are intended to be led to a just Taste in Music.¹⁷⁹

François Couperin was concerned about how the performance of his 'sonata' *La Française*, would be received (the first of the collection *Les Nations, Sonades, & Suites de Simphonies*), with its chromatic Italianate opening, the first composed in France. He made his audience believe that the sonata had been composed by an Italian relative of his by using an anagram of his own name at its first performance. Luckily the piece was much relished, but he was obviously wary of 'critics who are negative on principle, and who do more damage than good critics, from whose opinions one often, rather surprisingly, gets healthy advice'.¹⁸⁰ In a similar way, the artist Alberti describes how the Greek Apelles hid behind a painting to listen to the viewers' honest criticism of his work. Alberti observes that 'there is no one who does not think it an honour to pass judgement on the labours of others'. His advice to artists is to hear each critic 'but first of all have everything well thrashed out with yourself'.¹⁸¹

Applause

The audience rewards and encourages the performer with applause. Quintilian draws to our attention to the effect of praise and applause, both from the audience and from one's peers. Partisan approval from one's colleagues is recognised as being dangerous in that it stimulates unrealistic ideas about one's own performance. The eighteenth-century singing teacher Tosi notes that singers receive less applause where they are not well known. Quintilian describes performers as 'slaves of applause' which is 'the goal of all our effort',¹⁸² however, he dislikes the deliberate courting of applause which is not honourably won. If applause is our main purpose there is a danger that we may 'neglect the interest of the actual case'.¹⁸³ Applause can be provoked merely by a passionate style of delivery, and a clever performer will have the skill, by any sort of effusive performance, to make the audience cry, shout or laugh.¹⁸⁴ According to Plutarch, a passer-by should be able to tell what type of performance is taking place (for example a philosopher or a flute-player) by listening to the applause.¹⁸⁵

The performer should not expect applause for a poor performance, unless he has an ignorant audience, and many audiences merely applaud 'for want of

¹⁷⁹ (1753) p. 39.

¹⁸⁰ Preface to *Les Nations*, ed. & tr. K. Gilbert and D. Moroney (Paris, 1986).

¹⁸¹ L. B. Alberti (1435-36), tr. J. R. Spencer, pp. 97-98.

¹⁸² Q IV ii 127.

¹⁸³ Q X ii 27; Q XII ix 1.

¹⁸⁴ O 111; B 242; B 290.

¹⁸⁵ 'On listening', *Essays*, p. 46.

having seen better'.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, a brilliant performance might be lost on an audience 'whose taste is bad' and are 'unable to appreciate it'. Ideally, the performance should win the praise 'not merely of the learned, but of the multitude as well'.¹⁸⁷

Enthusiastic applause can influence the reception of the performance by otherwise indifferent listeners, who are swayed by the throng.¹⁸⁸ Types of audience react differently, some applauding anything that smacks of novelty. It is worth striving to please more discriminating audiences, as their appreciation is worth 'more than the applause of any common ignoramus'.¹⁸⁹

One's peers will often applaud out of loyalty for a colleague, a practice condemned by Quintilian as being 'the worst form of politeness', detrimental to 'care and industry', and promoting 'vanity and empty self-sufficiency'.¹⁹⁰

Sir Thomas Elyot describes how the Emperor Nero, who devoted too much time to playing music:

all a longe somers day wolde sit in the Theatre, (an open space where al the people of Rome behelde solemne actis and playes), and, in the presence of all the noble men and senatours, wolde playe on his harpe and synge without cessynge: And, if any man hapned, by longe sittynge, to slepe, or, by any other countenance, to shewe him selfe to be weary, he was sodaynly bobbed on the face by the servantes of Nero, for that purpose attendyng; or if any persone were perceived to be absent, or were sene to laughe at the folye of the emperor, he was forthe with accused, as it were, of missprison: wherby the emperour founde occasion to committe him to prison or to put hym to tortures. O what misery was it to be subiecte to suche a minstrell.¹⁹¹

Tosi says that if a singer 'grows vain at the first Applauses, without reflecting whether they are given by Chance, or out of Flattery ... there is an end to him'. He should win applause in many locations, preferably far from home, before he may have a good opinion of himself.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ Tosi, tr. Galliard (1743), p. 87; Sieur de Saint-Didier (1680), O. Strunk vol. 4, p. 68.

¹⁸⁷ Q X i 19; Q XII x 72.

¹⁸⁸ Q X i 17.

¹⁸⁹ Tosi, tr. Galliard (1743), p. 105; G. Caccini (1602), O. Strunk, vol. 4, p. 102.

¹⁹⁰ Q II ii 10, 12.

¹⁹¹ (1531) Book I, part VII.

¹⁹² Tr. Galliard (1743), pp. 149, 151.

2.3 Decorum (speaking appropriately)

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), pp. 124, 219.

To have the stile decent and comely it behooveth the maker or poet to follow the nature of his subject. ... We in our vulgar [tongue] call it by a scholasticall terme decencie our owne Saxon English term is seemlynesse.



Matthew 7.6: 'Give not that which is holy to dogs neither cast ye your pearls before swine'. Feeding flowers to pigs from from a fifteenth-century French moral instruction book for François I compiled by Erasmus.

(Reproduced from Jean Michel Massing, *Erasmian Wit and Proverbial Wisdom*, by kind permission of The Warburg Institute, 1995).

Time and place

Quintilian encourages the performer to take into consideration the requirements 'of time, place and character on each occasion of speaking', and

quoting Cicero says that 'one single style of oratory is not suited to every case, nor to every audience, nor every speaker, nor every occasion'.¹⁹³ Hogarth describes decorum as 'fitness, the first fundamental law in nature with regard to beauty' and thinks that 'forms of great elegance often disgust the eye by being improperly applied'. He describes it as 'a harmonious or moving unity of parts'.¹⁹⁴

The principle of decorum governs all aspects of rhetoric. Aristotle gives two principles of performance to consider: what is possible, and what is becoming.¹⁹⁵ The principle of what is becoming entails matching the various elements of the performance in order for the message to be freely and clearly communicated. To win the audience's approval, and to be most persuasive, the speaker should adapt what he says and his style of delivery to the place and type of listener, and use language and a style suited to the subject. The choice of proper language for the invented matter is part of correct expression, and contributes to the convincing effect of the performance.¹⁹⁶

Quintilian compares the encouraging effect of a large audience to that of massed standards to a soldier. He regrets the relatively great effort involved in firing up a small audience, denying that eloquence is possible when speaking 'with one person at a time'.¹⁹⁷ However, decorum dictates that a performance should be adapted to the circumstances in which it finds itself. In Plato's anti-rhetoric essay, Socrates claims that one-to-one rhetoric can be as effective as a mass address.¹⁹⁸ This means that the delivery of a lone musician moving his own emotions in private will be very different from a large group of performers moving two thousand people in a large concert hall. In this way, musical performance differs from oratory in scale and application, but performers of both types should still use the decorum principle to make the delivery effective. The projection needed to reach across a large space differs from that required in the intimacy of a private room with only a few listeners, who may be sitting quite close to the performer. It is undeniable that the delicate sound of a lute is most suited to a small resonant room with a select number of listeners, and will suffer if it is forced to be heard in an unsuitably large hall. A loud wind band is more suited to playing out of doors to a large crowd, and will overpower the listener in a small concert room. At the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English court instruments were divided into *haut* and *bas* (loud and soft). The musicians of the Privy Chamber played *bas* instruments (lute, viol, virginals), and those in the Presence Chamber loud *haut* (wind and violin consorts) to suit their respective functions. The loud instruments could easily drown the hubbub of conversation and eating and

¹⁹³ Q IX iii 102; Q XI i 4.

¹⁹⁴ (1752), pp. 11, 32, 14.

¹⁹⁵ *Politics* VIII. 1342b.

¹⁹⁶ De I vii 9; C I xxxi 138.

¹⁹⁷ Q X vii 16; Q I ii 29-31.

¹⁹⁸ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 261a.

violin bands (louder and more penetrating than viols) played during dinner and for dancing.¹⁹⁹

The audience also adapts itself to the type of performance. The sixteenth-century essayist Michel de Montaigne describes the listener as being similar to a tennis player who 'shifts his position and makes ready according to the movements of the striker and the nature of the stroke'.²⁰⁰ It is not only 'what we say and how we say it that is important, but also the circumstances under which we say it'.²⁰¹

The rules of decorum governing appropriateness also apply to the choice of programme. Consider the nature of the audience: are they are familiar with the choice of repertoire? Are you giving them what they are expecting or have commissioned you to perform? Quantz differentiates between performing for connoisseurs, in front of whom 'he can play something a little more elaborate', and 'pure amateurs, who understand nothing of music ... To avoid boring such amateurs, he may also take the Adagio a little more quickly than usual'.²⁰²

Different types of listener will appreciate a musical composition in various ways according to their own experience and taste. The traveller Wolfgang Caspar Printz describes how tavern musicians 'made his ears ache for four weeks' when the violone player only played dissonances with the other players, although the peasants seemed to enjoy it. On the basis of this and other experiences he describes various types of listener:

1. A 'Siberian ear', who will tolerate any sound that is made, totally without discrimination.
2. A 'rural ear', possessed by country listeners who cannot tolerate dissonances but accept any other musical solecism without demur.
3. A 'civilized ear', possessed by 'citified' listeners who tolerate only music that is 'elegant' but without any knowledge.
4. A 'musical ear', possessed by 'noble' listeners, who support the judgement of their ears with rational knowledge.²⁰³

Muffat describes the intended purpose of his *Florilegium Secundum* suites (1698) as 'for the solemn welcome of princes and other distinguished persons (and nonetheless for the dancing practice of the noble youth)'. He writes that his first set was especially appreciated 'by those connoisseurs who greatly treasure the unaffected style,' for whose entertainment it was intended in the

¹⁹⁹ Holman (1993), p. 37.

²⁰⁰ 'On Experience' in *Essays*, p. 372.

²⁰¹ Q III iii 2.

²⁰² (1752) XVI.20.

²⁰³ I am grateful to Peter Holman for pointing out this quotation from Geoffrey Chew, 'The Austrian Pastorella and the *Styllus Rusticanus*: Comic and Pastoral Elements in Austrian Music, 1750-1800' chapter 6 in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria* ed. D. Wyn Jones.

chamber, as 'table music' and 'night music'.²⁰⁴ Muffat describes his *Auserlesene Instrumentalmusik* (1701) as unsuitable for church performance on account of the ballets and arias they contain, 'nor for dancing because of the alternation of slow and tragic passages with lively and nimble ones'.²⁰⁵ Note the distinction he makes between choreographed theatrical ballet music and music for social dancing.

The Burwell Lute Tutor warns about playing the lute in front of those who will not appreciate its delicacy:

The Burwell Lute Tutor (1660-72), f. 69.

Such as have a delicate eare for the pearles are not to be cast before the swine as I answered once to a Gentlewoman that told me that the Lute was a heavy Musick I answered that her Eare was heavy and that a violin was most fitt for her.

The performer's relationship with today's audience will necessarily differ from that between performer and audience or patron in the past. However it is likely that, as in the past, the presence of friends, relations or connoisseurs in the audience may affect the performer if he tries to imagine how it will be received by particular listeners whose taste he is familiar with.

Only a small proportion of a typical modern concert audience could truly call themselves 'connoisseurs' or patrons, other than in the sense that they have paid for their tickets, though corporate sponsors could be called patrons, if not always connoisseurs. It is therefore vitally important that performers use every means at their disposal to communicate their ideas about the music to the audience through their performances. Sometimes a short spoken introduction, either about the composer, his life or patron or the circumstances under which the work was first performed, helps the listener to appreciate and enjoy the music. If addressed verbally, the audience should not be talked down or pandered to (they have come to enjoy themselves and the music) as 'to tell your listener every detail as though he were a fool seems to judge him one'.²⁰⁶ The audience should not be insulted with brash vulgarity, harangued or shouted at. If the performer is sincere and shows his skill, good taste and knowledge about the music and its style through his performance, he need not worry that the audience will not 'understand' the music. A heartfelt performance will normally communicate on an emotional level at first hearing, even if the listener does not know or understand technical details. The performer's task is 'not to persuade the audience but rather to transport them out of themselves'.²⁰⁷

Platform behaviour is important. Quintilian advises the performer to avoid insulting the audience by speaking to anyone when acknowledging applause 'as if telling them to make a note of some gratuity to be dispensed to their supporters'.²⁰⁸ Roger North tells us of the first public concerts, organised to

²⁰⁴ (1698), tr. D. K. Wilson, pp. 26, 28.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

²⁰⁶ Demetrius 222.

²⁰⁷ L 1.

²⁰⁸ Q XI iii 131.

make money for the participants at York Buildings, London. North describes the programme as being:

without designe or order ... not so well layd as [it] ought to have bin ... a gable and bustle while they changed places ... It consisted of broken incoherent parts; now a consort, then a lutinist, then a *violino solo*, then flutes, then a song, and so piece after piece, the time sliding away, while the masters blundered and swore in shifting places, and one might perceive that they performed ill out of spight to one another.²⁰⁹

Adapting the performance to the circumstance

When voices and instruments are performing the same material, it would satisfy decorum if the instruments were subservient in volume to the voices. Mattheson says instrumentalists who are doubling voice parts should 'take a step back' for the benefit of the words.²¹⁰ A similar attitude should be adopted by oboes when doubling violin parts in an orchestral situation, but they should identify solo passages which are not doubled to project their sound in a different, soloistic way. Singers should make a difference between singing 'in a small cabinet and a vast Theatre', and according to Tosi raising your voice when singing in parts 'as to drown your companions ... if it is not ignorance, is something worse'.²¹¹ The reason for this offence is described in more detail by Lampe:

John Frederick Lampe, *The Art of Musick* (1740), p. 11.

The reason why so many Grand Chorus's (the most noble Pieces human Nature is capable of, to show Musick in its full Strength) are so miserably torn and shattered, is from the great Number of indifferent Performers, (commonly intermixed with fine Voices) who by their bawling and straining so overpower the others, the delicacy of the good Performer is lost; this generally arises from the weak and imperfect Impression such Persons have in their Minds of the Nature of harmony, they have not sufficiently learned how to distinguish nicely its Variety, and therefore blunder on for Want of Better Knowledge.

Ornamentation should be in an appropriate style.²¹² 'Rhetorical fireworks' should not be used for petty matters, or the performer runs the risk of being ridiculed.²¹³ Sherry lists the figure 'bomphiologia' or 'verborum bombus, when small & trifling thynges are set ouyt wyth great gaspyng wordes'.²¹⁴ Poorly matched elements will confuse the listener, perhaps unconsciously, and make him feel uncomfortable without knowing why. The ability to adapt one's delivery according to the place, audience and material, one of the many skills of eloquence, is vital for the full effect to be achieved. If this is taken care of, the message is more easily assimilated by the listener.²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Ed. J. Wilson, pp. 353, 305.

²¹⁰ (1739) II.12.28.

²¹¹ Tr. Galliard (1743), p. 150.

²¹² Q VIII iii 11.

²¹³ C II li 205.

²¹⁴ (1550)

²¹⁵ O 123; Q IV ii 36.

Quantz warns that if performing in a very resonant space, great speed produces 'more confusion than pleasure' in the listener, and pieces in the 'majestic style' should be chosen, with slow-moving harmony. If playing in a small chamber, he recommends pieces with more frequent changes of harmony, which can be played more quickly. Other factors which he considers have an effect on performance are the use of extreme dynamics when the place reverberates, or whether the sound is muffled as in 'a tapestried room', and also whether the listeners are sitting close by or at a distance.²¹⁶ The composer Charles Avison wrote extensively about expression in the sister arts of painting and music.

Charles Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression* (1753), p. 26.

As in viewing a Picture, you ought to be removed to a certain Distance, called the Point of Sight, at which all its Parts are seen in their just proportions; so, in a Concert, there is a certain Distance, at which the Sounds are melted into each other, and the various Parts strike the ear in their proper Strength and Symmetry. To stand close by a Bassoon, or Double-Bass, when you hear a Concert, is just as if you should plant your Eye close to the Fore-Ground when you view a picture.

If a sacred work is being performed, a church is obviously a more sympathetic venue for performance than a modern concert hall. North observes how church music would not have such a good effect in a chamber, because the harmony would not intermix so well, and the defects of the voices would be more apparent. He also observes that the magnificence of a sacred building adds to the effect of the music.²¹⁷ The author of the Burwell Lute Tutor recognises the limitations of the lute and the circumstances in which it can speak most appropriately:

The Burwell Lute Tutor (1660-72), f. 40v.

You will doe well to play in a wainscote roome where there is no furniture if you can let not the company exceed the number three or fower for the noise of a mouse is a hindrance to that musicke.

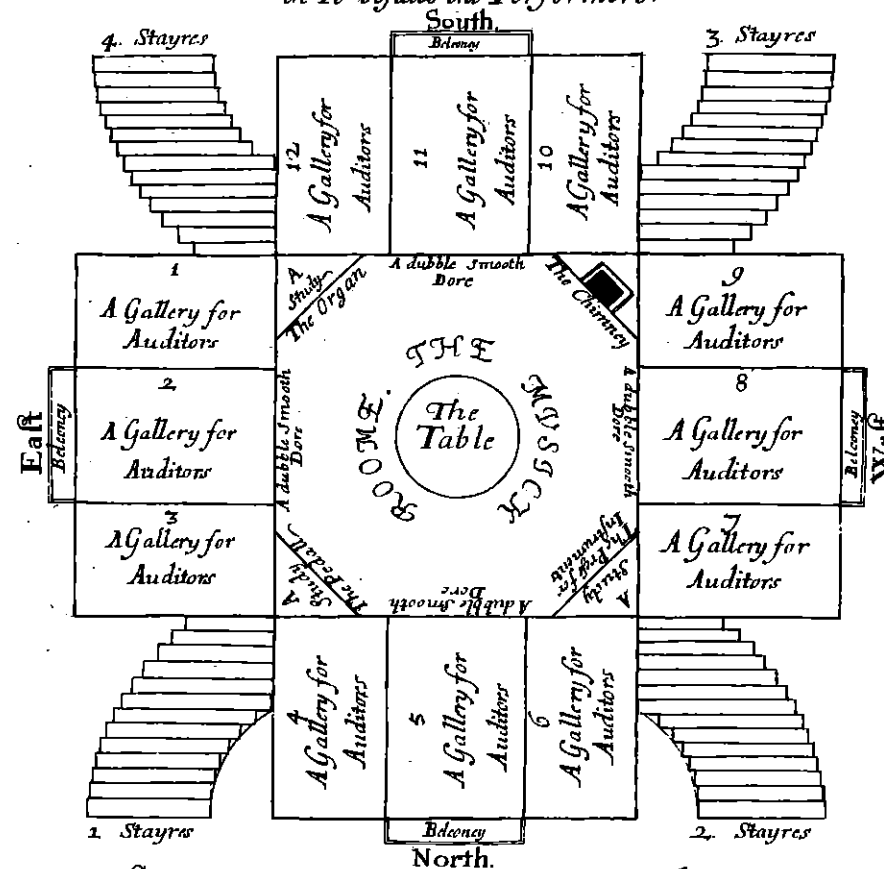
In modern performances extra impact can be gained by performing works in the location for which they were written (Monteverdi in St. Mark's, Venice; Bach in St. Thomas's, Leipzig; Handel in Westminster Abbey, London). It is likely that the most memorable performances occur when all the elements of decorum are united and have been satisfied.

²¹⁶ (1752) XVI.18, 19; XVII.21; XVI. 7.17, 21, 22, 23.

²¹⁷ Ed. J. Wilson, p. 268.

*The Description
Of a Musick-Room, Uniforme
With Conveniency for Severall Sorts of
Auditors, Severally plac'd in 12.
Distinct Roomes, besides the Mu-
sick-Room, w^{ch} would haue none
in It besides the Performers.*

pag. 239



*Supposing the Roome to be Six Yards Square
The 12. Galleryes would be 3.yards-long, and
Better: The 4. Middle Galleryes Something
Broader then the Rest, as Here they are.*

Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676)

Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), p. 238.

Directions, for Procuring, and Maintaining the Best Musick Imaginable.

The 1st Thing to be consider'd, as to the Advantage of Good Musick, should be a Convenient, and Fit Place to Perform It in; such I would call a Musick Room; and is considerable in a 4 Fold respect, 1st. in Respect of the Instruments, 2d. the Musick, 3d. the Actors, and 4th. the Auditors.

1st. The Instruments; be they never so Good, will not show half to good in an Improper, Stuffed, or Clogg'e-up Room, either with Household-stuff, or Company.

2d. The Musick very oftentimes is much hindred, by Crowding, and Noise.

3dly. The Performers as often, are so interrupted and hindred, that they cannot Act as They might.

4thly. The Auditors cannot receive such Ample Satisfaction, as otherwise they might do; besides their uneasie, and unhandsom Accomodation, which too often happens to Persons of Quality, being sometimes Crowded up, Sqweez'd, and Sweated among people of an Inferiour Rank, &c. and cannot be avoided.

Instrumental choice and social status

‘Speaking appropriately’ during the Renaissance period also encompassed the matching of social status with the choice of instrument. Princes and courtiers preferred stringed instruments to wind instruments as the latter distorted the face and blocked the mouth, and therefore prevented speech. This idea from Aristotle (*Politics* Book VIII) was endorsed by Plato (*The Republic* Part Three 399e) and perpetuated through the writings of Plutarch (*Life of Alcibiades*) and in the sixteenth-century Castiglione, who thought wind instruments unsuitable for women to play.²¹⁸ The discrediting of wind instruments was in part based on the myth of the triumph of the string player Apollo over the wind-player Marsyas, who having lost the contest was flayed alive. Fretted instruments such as the lute and viol were preferred to the violin family, which in the sixteenth century was only played by servants, mostly for dancing, and were not considered suitable for a gentleman to play.

Jambe de Fer, *Epitome Musical* (1556), tr. Riley, p. 59.

We call viols those instruments with which gentlemen, merchants and other virtuous people pass their time ... the other type is called violin; it is commonly used for dancing.²¹⁹

Naturally, the repertoire associated with these two families of instruments reflected their characters: dance music for the violin, more serious contrapuntal music for the viol consort. Large professional bands of instruments of the violin family were used for public ceremonial occasions such as coronations while the viol consort was normally heard only in private, either at court or in domestic music-making. The visual effect was as important as the type of music performed. Noble amateur musicians usually played either alone or to a small number of people in a private room, and elegant posture constituted a major part of the performance. The Burwell Lute Tutor describes the elegant position of the body when playing the lute,

²¹⁸ Tr. T. Hoby (1561), p. 194.

²¹⁹ Virtuous people and gentlemen were those who did not have to work.

also commented upon by Mattheson,²²⁰ which was to the advantage of the player:

The Burwell Lute Tutor (1660-72), f. 69, 43v.

The lute has a great advantage over other instruments and if it does not improve them at least it doth bring forth their beauty and ingage those that play upon the lute to give them all that art can add to nature. All the actions that one does in playing of the lute are handsome, the posture is modest free and gallant and do not hinder society. When one plays of the virginall he turns his back to the company. The violl intangleth one in spreading the arms and openeth the legges which doth not become man, much lesse woman.²²¹

Instruments such as the violin, recorder and flute were not taken up by gentlemen until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when they became more socially acceptable for amateur music-making. Gentlemen amateurs formed informal private chamber music clubs, such as those which operated in Oxford during the Interregnum. A sense of decorum forced these players to withdraw from performing when the concerts became open to a paying audience, who may perhaps have been the same gentlemen who formerly played in private.²²² Elyot felt that 'a gentilman, plainge or singing in a commune audience [i.e. in public] appaireth [spoils] his estimation: the people forgetting reverence, when they beholde him in the similitude of a common servant or minstrell'.²²³

Roger North describes how, following a performance by Baltzar, a north German violinist who had worked at the Swedish court, the gentlemen of the English court 'fell in *pesle mesle*, and soon thrust out the treble viol'. Baltzar was subsequently appointed to the King's Private Musick at an extraordinarily high salary and following his success, the violin became an acceptable instrument for a man of leisure. Soon after the proud Italian virtuoso violinist Nicola Matteis came to England he was reduced by poverty to teaching gentlemen pupils. When playing in consort the socially superior pupils became upset if he did not allow them to take the best parts. When amateur and professional players sat down together to play, the gentlemen became annoyed at being outshone by players who also prostituted themselves in alehouses and theatres. North attributed the decline in amateur music making to the increase in public performances, declaring that 'An ostentatious pride hath taken Appollo's chair'.²²⁴

²²⁰ (1739) I.6.17.

²²¹ f. 69, 43v.

²²² See P. Gouk (1999), p. 59 and R. Leppert, *Music and Image* (1988), and *The Sight of Sound* (1993).

²²³ (1531) Book I, part VII.

²²⁴ Ed. J. Wilson, pp. 272, 300-01, 308, 314, 356.

Style

Q I v i

Style has three kinds of excellence, correctness, lucidity and elegance.

It is commonly accepted in classical rhetoric that there are three styles, both of the written material, and of its delivery: low, middle and high. These basic divisions are also seen in architecture in the style of the orders of columns: the plain, sometimes massive masculine Doric (in poetry used to describe a rustic, pastoral style), the middle Ionic and the decorated female Corinthian styles. The inventor-designer-composer's choice of style should reflect the message and purpose of the invented matter.²²⁵

The performer should choose a style of delivery which matches the invented material, in line with the principle of decorum. The speaker's aim is 'to make the scene live before our eyes'²²⁶ and a too high-flown style for commonplace ideas will sound as ridiculous as a noble theme delivered in an ordinary voice. The style of delivery should conform with the performer's character: shepherds speak in the low style, kings, princes and deities even when in disguise speak in the high noble style, which is usually more decorated with figures. Mattheson considers that neither boasting nor snoring are for 'true nobility'.²²⁷

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 127.

Gods & divine things are highest of all other ... next to them the noble gests and great fortunes of princes, and the notable accidents of time, as the greatest affaires of war & peace, ... the meane matters be those that concern meane men, their life and business, as lawyers, gentlemen, and marchants, good householders and honest citizens ... [their] common conversation. The base and low matters be the doings of the common artificer, serving yeoman, groome, husbandman ...

Church and theatre (usually dance) styles have an obvious purpose. The middle style is harder to define, and has no definite character. Demetrius describes the 'frigid' style which Theophrastus defines as over-elaborate.²²⁸ Quintilian describes speakers who have 'a passion for high-sounding words' or who 'labour under any other form of affectation' as being like 'bodies swollen not with the plumpness of health but with disease'.²²⁹

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 128.

But generally the high stile is disgraced and made foolish and ridiculous by all wordes affected, counterfeit, and puffed up, as it were a windball carrying more countenance than matter.

Cicero describes the various styles of oratory: at one extreme the grandiloquent, where the 'splendid power of thought' is shown with 'majesty of diction', and at the other extreme a style that is was plain, intellectual and to the point, using clarity rather than impressive diction. Between these two

²²⁵ See J. Rykwert, *The Dancing Column – on Order in Architecture* (1996).

²²⁶ O 139.

²²⁷ J. Mattheson (1739), I.10.1-33.

²²⁸ D 114.

²²⁹ Q II iii 9.

he lists the mean, or tempered, style which keeps the 'even tenor of its way', with only a few simple ornaments.²³⁰ Vico gives the three ideals as noble or sublime ('for matters of great moment, as in those of state'), the humble or plain (as in everyday speech) and the tempered or moderate (not too colloquial).²³¹

Sherry accredits the 'Greate, the noble, the mightye [style] ... wyth an incredible and a certain divine power' and warns that it should only be used in weighty causes. The delivery of this style should be 'vehement, various, copious, grave ... and readye thorowely to move and turne mens myndes'. The 'small kynde' of style is only 'a lytel sharper then are in the comon use of speakynge ... unpolyshe, and of purpose lyke the rude and unskylfull'.²³²

Summary of characteristics of the three classical styles:

	High	Middle	Low
Architectural columns	Decorated female Corinthian.	Ionic, some simple decoration.	Plain masculine Doric.
Poetry	Highly decorated with figures. Heroic epic forms.	Love poetry.	Rustic, pastoral, bucolic. Satire.
Cicero	Grandiloquence uses majesty of diction. To charm and persuade.	Keeps an even tenor of its way. Not many ornaments. To please and move.	Plain and to the point. To instruct.
Sherry (1550)	Greate, noble, mighty with a certain divine power only for use in weighty causes.		Only a little sharper than common speech, rude and unskillful.
Vico (1711)	Noble or sublime for matters of great moment.	Temperered or moderate. Not too colloquial.	Humble or plain as in everyday speech.

Style and decorum

Matching the delivery to the material (informing uses a different tone from emoting)²³³ might mean a moderate conversational dynamic level for a statement of facts, such as a fugue subject, from which the orator can raise or lower the emotional level according to the development or content of the material. Another example of style of delivery is the appropriate choice of ornamentation, and instrumentation where this choice is left up to the performer (e.g. which continuo instruments to use). Cicero identifies this decision-making process: 'he will decide what is needed at any point, and will be able to speak in any way which the case requires'.²³⁴

²³⁰ O 20, 21.

²³¹ (1711-41) tr. G. A. Pinton & A. W. Shippee, p. 205; RH IV viii 11.

²³² (1550) B iii v, B iii.

²³³ Q XII x 70.

²³⁴ O 70.

Cicero provides the style of delivery to use for winning men's favour (gentleness), enlightening (acuteness) and exciting (energy).²³⁵ Proving or instructing requires the plain style, pleasing or moving the middle style, and charming and persuading the vigorous style, in which the 'entire virtue of the orator' is demonstrated.²³⁶ The speaker may however need all these styles for different purposes within the same speech, and an element of harshness in an otherwise smooth delivery can be most affecting.²³⁷

Personal style

Speakers have their own personal styles of delivery including those who rush ahead, those who employ plenty of pauses, a harsh or gloomy style, or one of smoothness and uniformity. The plain, simple style is deceptively difficult to accomplish, as when not full-blooded, the speaker should not lack 'the sap of life'.²³⁸ Distinction of style, according the *ad Herennium*, is to render it ornate by variety.²³⁹

There are as many styles as there are speakers.²⁴⁰

B. Castiglione, tr. Hoby (1561), p. 62.

So that who so could consider al the Orators that have beene in the world, he should finde so many Orators, so manie kindes of speech.²⁴¹

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London 1589), p. 124.

We finde that under these three principall complexions (if I may with leave so terme them) high, meane and basse stile, there be contained many other humors or qualities of stile, as the plaine and obscure, the rough and smooth, the facill and hard, the plentiful and barraine, the rude and eloquent, the strong and feeble, the vehement and cold stiles.

The performer should be aware of his own strengths and weaknesses, and choose his material accordingly:

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), pp. 123, 223.

Stile is a constant & continuall phrase or tenour of speaking and writing ... a certaine contrived forme and qualitie ... and such as either he keepeth by skill, or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peradventure cannot easily alter into any other. ... [it] sheweth the matter and disposition of the writers minde ... his manner of utterance the very warp & woofe of his conceits.

And there is decency in that every man should talk of the things they have best skill of, and not in that, their knowledge and learning serveth them not to do.

²³⁵ C II xxix 128, 129.

²³⁶ O 69; Q XII x 58, 59.

²³⁷ C II liii 212; O 74.

²³⁸ O 76.

²³⁹ RH IV xiii 18.

²⁴⁰ O 53.

²⁴¹ B. Castiglione, tr. T. Hoby (1561), p. 62.

Imitation

In the modern concert hall many listeners will be hearing a work that is thoroughly familiar to them through previous performances or recordings, a situation virtually unknown in the past when most works were being heard for the first time, although repeated performances of popular works in the eighteenth century meant a few works became very well known. The task of the modern performer is to replace the expected rendition with the 'new-born offspring of his imagination'.²⁴² If the performance is an imitation of other performances, or even of a previous one of his own, it will seem stale and may come over as routine. If, however, the performer maintains his vital connection with the music and continually refreshes his ideas about it, he will be able to capture the audience's imagination in his own way, and create an original and memorable performance. Geminiani recommends that the performer must first be inspired himself in order to inspire his audience, and 'while his imagination is warm and glowing' should pour his spirit into his performance.²⁴³ This does not necessarily mean inventing gimmicks to make the performance different from everyone else's, but focusing closely on the music's style, message, intent and purpose, and re-thinking these on each performing occasion.

Both Lorenzo Penna and Mattheson advise performers to go to concerts to hear many performers in order to select good points worth imitating. Mattheson says 'Hear many, imitate few'. However, when we do imitate, we should make the thing our own, not just a pale imitation of its source.

Thomas Sheridan, *Course of Lectures and Tracts on Elocution* (1781), p. 93.

Thus whatever he utters will be done with ease, appear natural; whereas if he endeavours at any tones, to which he is not accustomed, either from fancy, or imitation of others, it will be done with difficulty, and carry with it evident marks of affectation and art, which are ever disgusting to the hearer, and never fail to defeat the end of the speaker.

Quintilian warns against selecting something for imitation which does not suit your own personal style.²⁴⁴ Cicero notes that 'there are many who copy no man, but gain their objects by natural aptitude, without resembling any model'.²⁴⁵ Young musicians may try to imitate their more mature colleagues, but should be wary of imitating others' mannerisms. Fashions in certain styles of playing come and go and a particular performer may set off a new vogue in ornamentation or bowing which then may be imitated in an inappropriate way by other players.

Caricatures in performance result in pantomime, and may not be appropriate to the situation. Mimicry 'we may employ only by stealth, if at all ... as fuller

²⁴² Q X i 16.

²⁴³ (1751) p. 8.

²⁴⁴ (1684) O. Strunk vol. 4, p. 131; (1739) II.2.69; Q X ii 8, 11, 12, 19.

²⁴⁵ C II xxiii 98.

use of it does not fit the well-bred'.²⁴⁶ Tosi envisages bad consequences for 'Caricatura's, or mimicking others,' as making people laugh by this means 'hardly gains any one Esteem, but certainly gives Offence'.²⁴⁷

Styles of musical composition

The artist Alberti described styles of architecture as public or private and he divided both of these categories into sacred or profane.²⁴⁸ Three hundred years later, the first writers to define styles of musical composition adopted similar divisions. Schacchi (1649) and Mattheson (1739) defined three general categories of musical style based on purpose and location: for church, chamber and theatre. Tosi described these as lively and various for the theatre, delicate and finished for the chamber, and moving and grave for the church.²⁴⁹ It is generally acknowledged that tragedy is written in a high style (using lots of figures for affect), and comedy in low style (using everyday language).

Kircher (Rome, 1650) catalogued eight styles in music.²⁵⁰ Kircher was one of the first writers to use place and purpose of composition to define musical style. The type of composition is thus adapted to the type of audience that will receive it.

Style	Purpose and uses	Kircher's Examples
Ecclesiasticus	Masses, motets. Solemn, majestic, grave.	Lassus, Palestrina, Allegri
Canonicus	To show skill of composer.	Valentini, Micheli
Phantasticus	Instrumental. Free and uninhibited.	Froberger
Madrigalescus	Italian madrigals, joyful, lively and sweet.	Monteverdi, Marenzio, Lassus
Melismaticus	For measured verses sung without agitation. Ariettas, villanellas.	della Spinetta
Hyposchematicus	Dance and ballet. To excite joy, exultation and licentiousness. Galliardas, currentes, passamezzas, alamandas, sarabandas.	Kapsberger
Symphoniacus	Instrumental ensemble.	Kapsberger
Dramaticus or Recitativus	Representation of any affection or sudden changes of affection or tonality.	Caccini's Euridice, Monteverdi's Arianna

Kircher's eight styles of music

²⁴⁶ C II lxii 252.

²⁴⁷ (1743) p. 98.

²⁴⁸ Book VII, chap. 1 (1452), English tr. (1755), p. 132.

²⁴⁹ (1743) p. 92.

²⁵⁰ A. Kircher book VII pp. 581-97, quoted in L. Bianconi (1987), p. 50.

The first-century Greek treatise *On the Sublime* by the author known as 'Longinus' was published by Nicolas Boileau in Paris in 1674.²⁵¹ This work inspired later eighteenth-century writers and musicians, particularly in England where it influenced Charles Avison's scheme of styles in musical expression.²⁵² 'Sublimity' in the eighteenth century was seen as the summit of discourse leading to ecstasy,²⁵³ and religious sublimity was considered the highest form. Longinus described sublimity as approaching the height of God. William Smith's translation of Longinus (1739 and many reprints) adds copious biblical examples to the text, including many used by Handel's librettists such as David's lament for Saul and Jonathan (*Saul*), Revelation XIX.11-17 (*Messiah*) and Job XXIX (*Israel in Egypt*). The vivid use of descriptive language in the scriptural texts gave Handel the opportunity for word-painting, excessively so in the view of some of his contemporaries, but the audience reaction to Handel's 'sublime' style was ecstatic. After the first performance of *Messiah*, Lawrence Whyte described in the Dublin Journal, 20 April, 1742 how the music had transported the ear and moved all the nobler passions.²⁵⁴

Avison illustrates his broad division of styles according to the passions they represent using examples from the Psalm settings of Marcello.

The First	The Grand: Uses largest forces. Ecclesiastical concerto style with soloists, chorus and continuo. Illustrates God's omnipotence or might. The Sublime, the Joyous, The Learned.
The Second	The Beautiful: Elegant and moving. The Cheerful, The Serene, the Pastoral.
The Third	The Pathetic: Fewer vocal parts, smaller scale. Slow tempos and minor keys. Deals with suffering and penitence. The Devout, The Plaintive, The Sorrowful: Avison names works with two viola parts: instruments 'the best adapted for expressing mournful sounds'.

Avison's division of styles

Styles of performance

There are numerous detailed instructions for performing music of the Renaissance and Baroque periods in the writings and treatises of the time and there is a danger that modern musicians trying to use this information will create their own performances of early music by using an 'all-purpose' style regardless of date, place and purpose of composition. This may result in an inappropriate, routine style of delivery which may be convenient for saving rehearsal time, but will confuse or bore the audience and certainly reduce the effectiveness of the performance.

Georg Muffat describes how his compositions in the Lullian style (the *Florilegium* suites) were at first not well received in Austria, because they

²⁵¹ Quoted in the main text as 'L', for Longinus, unattributed.

²⁵² (1752). See also R. B. Larsson (1982) and R. Smith (1995), pp. 108-26.

²⁵³ See G. A. Kennedy (1999), p. 134.

²⁵⁴ R. Smith, (1995), Chapter 4, pp. 108-26, 'The Biblical Sublime'.

lacked 'irregular runs, frequent and ill-sounding leaps, and all other artifice', perhaps referring to the music of his colleague, Heinrich Biber. He accused the violinists of being more interested in musical tricks than in grace, and because they were 'unfamiliar with the French manner or envious of foreign art, the compositions were robbed of their correct tempi and graces'.²⁵⁵ After performances by visiting violinists, the style became more familiar and popular, and the elegant French simplicity was intellectually understood and appreciated.

2.4 Affect

La Rochefoucauld, *Maxims* no. 8, (1678), tr. A. L. Humphreys.

The passions are the only orators that always persuade; they are, as it were, a natural art, the rules of which are infallible; and the simplest man with passion, is more persuasive than the most eloquent, without it.

Thomas Hobbes, *A Briefe of the Art of Rhetorique* (1637), ed. Harwood, p.108.

This may be one generall Rule. If the Words, Tone, greatnesse of the Voice, Gesture of the Body and Countenance, seeme to proceede all from one Passion, then 'tis well pronounced: Otherwise not. For when there appeare more Passions than one at once, the Minde of the speaker appears unnaturall and distracted. Otherwise, as the Minde of the Speaker, so the Mind of the Hearer alwayes.

The communication of feelings or emotions known in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as 'the passions' should be a prime aim of the performer-orator. Dryden's well-known rhetorical question asks 'What passion cannot music raise and quell?'²⁵⁶ Answer assumed: 'none'. Cicero describes 'calming or kindling' the feelings of the audience, who should be so charmed and affected by the performer that they may be swayed this way or that according to his whim: first roused to anger, hatred or indignation and then recalled to mildness and mercy.²⁵⁷ The sense of hearing is closely connected to the emotional response of the hearer. Plutarch quotes Theophrastus's description of the sense of hearing as being 'the most emotional of them all' capable of bringing 'distraction, confusion and turmoil which seizes the mind'.²⁵⁸

Thomas Twining saw the power of music on different levels: acting upon the senses, the emotions and raising ideas 'upon the ear, the passions and the imagination'.²⁵⁹ Roger North believed music to be 'copious entertainment of all our facultys together' and 'a true pantomime or resemblance of Humanity in all its states, actions, passions and affections'.²⁶⁰ Mace described viol consort music as:

²⁵⁵ (1695) tr. D. K. Wilson, pp.15-16.

²⁵⁶ *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1687).

²⁵⁷ C I xii 53.

²⁵⁸ 'On Listening' in *Essays*, tr. R. Waterfield, p. 28.

²⁵⁹ (1789) quoted in P. le Huray, p. 197.

²⁶⁰ *Musical Grammarian*, pp. 14-15; ed. J. Wilson, p. 110.

Pathetical Stories, Rhetorical, and Sublime Discourses; Subtil and Accute Argumentations; so Suitable, and Agreeing to the Inward, Secret, and Intellectual Faculties of the Soul and Mind.²⁶¹

The principal aim of the orator is to persuade the listener's emotions, to bend his will, leaving aside reasoning, judgement or deliberation. To achieve this, he should use 'diction that is rich, diversified and copious, with animated delivery to match'. It should not be the orator's aim merely to inform the listener, but to excite him.²⁶² Scheibe writes that the musician's role is to inflame, the philosopher's to enlighten.²⁶³ Cicero sees the audience like an instrument, such as the flute, on which the orator plays, and similarly Geminiani considers that the audience should be so much at the performer's disposal that he may 'stamp what Impression on the mind he Pleases'.²⁶⁴ Longinus also uses a musical metaphor, seeing melody as the natural instrument of persuasion and pleasure, and a speech like melody in words.²⁶⁵ Sheridan describes how the listener's response can be affected merely by the tone of voice, as in music, without understanding the words.

Thomas Sheridan, *Course of Lectures and Tracts on Elocution* (1781), p. 125.

Thus, the tones expressive of sorrow, lamentation, mirth, joy, hatred, anger, love, pity &c. are the same in all nations, and consequently can excite emotions in us analogous to those passions when accompanying words which we do not understand. Nay the very tones themselves, independent of words, will produce the same effects, as has been amply proved by the power of musical imitations.

A change in the aesthetic perception of music's purpose occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century. Quantz complained about the over-use of 'musical artifices' such as counterpoint (a major component in the old-fashioned consort music loved by Mace) which caused the neglect of 'the most essential part of music, which is intended to move and please'. He reminds us that 'the purpose of music – to constantly arouse and still the passions – must never be forgotten'.²⁶⁶

The process of raising and soothing the passions is referred to by Quintilian as pathos and ethos. Pathos covers the more violent emotions which command and disturb such as anger, dislike, fear, hatred and pity, and ethos the calm and gentle ones which induce a feeling of goodwill. He describes pathos as being momentary, while the gentler emotions are continuous, and used to calm the storm of pathos.²⁶⁷

André describes the emotional effects of different types of sound:

Yves Marie André (1741), in P. Le Huray, p. 31-2.

Lively sounds inspire courage, languishing sounds appease, laughing sounds cheer, mournful sounds sadden, majestic sounds uplift the soul, harsh sounds irritate, gentle

²⁶¹ (1676) p. 234.

²⁶² C I v 17; C II xlii 178; C II liii 214; B 89.

²⁶³ *Critischer Musicus an der Spree*, vol. I, p. 215.

²⁶⁴ (1751) p. 8.

²⁶⁵ L 39.

²⁶⁶ (1752) Introduction 16; XVII 5.11.

²⁶⁷ Q VI ii 9-12.

sounds soften. There are as many sounds in nature as there are passions to express: love and hate, desire and fear, anger and pity, hope and despair, admiration, terror, boldness.

Mattheson observes that the spirit derives 'some peculiar sort of comfort' from frightening and horrible sounds.²⁶⁸ The success of this exciting, affecting and even frightening process depends on various factors which produce reactions and counter-reactions in the performer and listener. Quintilian considers that a successful performance depends on the power of the performer to represent or imitate the passions, or emotions.²⁶⁹

When the listener is moved, certain physical changes take place from which the term 'affect' originates, in the sense of a physical effect. The reader will probably have experienced goosebumps, a shiver down the spine, laughter, tears, or an increased heart rate when listening to music. Roger North describes some sounds which 'make the teeth chatter' and 'others so wonderfull pleasing' as hold the ear, 'as if it were magick'.²⁷⁰

Plutarch expected a physical or mental change to take place after a performance just as when visiting a barber one examines oneself to identify the alteration. He always inspected his mind on leaving a lecture or lesson to check what affect had taken place.²⁷¹ Aristotle describes how melodies that violently arouse the soul affect people as if they had taken a purge.²⁷² Peacham the Elder thought music 'a great lengthener of the life by stirring and reviving of the spirits' and 'an enemy to melancholy and dejection of the mind', a commonplace idea for the sixteenth-century man.²⁷³ Dürer recorded that playing a stringed instrument would distract a painter from melancholy generated by too much painting and would 'cheer the blood'.²⁷⁴

The chain of experience in any performance is in three parts: the composer, the performer and the listener. Quintilian describes these as the nature of the subject, the nature of those engaged in the discussion (which would include the audience) and the nature of the speaker.²⁷⁵ The fifteenth-century humanist Rudolph Agricola, perhaps paraphrasing Quintilian, describes how the demands of performance may be satisfied:

Rudolph Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, p. 192, quoted in Mack, p. 86.

... the speaker, the hearer and the subject-matter. Consequently, three points should be observed when speaking: what the speaker intends should be understood; that the person addressed should listen avidly; and that what is said should be plausible and should be believed. Grammar, which deals with the method of speaking correctly and clearly, teaches us how to achieve the first goal. The second is taught by rhetoric, which provides us with linguistic embellishment and elegance of language, along with all the

²⁶⁸ (1739) I.3.79.

²⁶⁹ Q XI iii 156.

²⁷⁰ *Cursory Notes*, p. 142.

²⁷¹ 'On Listening' in *Essays*, p. 36-37.

²⁷² In G. LeCoat, p. 35.

²⁷³ (1622) O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 70. See also R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) which contains many references to music's affects on the spirit.

²⁷⁴ Ed. Strauss, p. 168. See Dürer's *Melencholia*.

²⁷⁵ Q III viii 15.

baits for capturing ears. Dialectic will lay claim to what remains, that is, to speak convincingly on whatever matter is included in a speech.

Emotional messages are set in the music by the composer and should be recognised and delivered to the listener by the performer.

Q VI ii 26, 27, 28.

The prime essential for stirring the emotions of others is ... first to feel those emotions oneself.

Our eloquence must spring from the same feeling that we desire to produce in the mind of the judge.

Fire alone can kindle, and moisture alone can wet.

We should be moved ourselves before we attempt to move others.

Henry Peacham the Elder, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593), p. 144.

The Orator being moved himselfe with anie of these affections doth bend and apply his speech to stir his hearers to the same.

Most writers view the imagination of the performer as the principal source of this power, drawing on his own experience to reproduce the emotion required. It is now commonly reported that 'mirror neurons' facilitate the communication of emotion to sympathetic listeners, supporting Quintilian's instinctively felt process.

The general emotional style of a composition is often suggested by its purpose, for example sacred or secular. Tinctoris lists music's devotional and moral effects and its various purposes which include simple merriment, and the glorification of the performer.²⁷⁶

A principal use for music's affects, recognised by Luther, but condemned by Calvin, was the praising and glorifying of God by enhancing the scriptural texts with music to stimulate devout feelings in the worshipper. Luther believed that music was an excellent gift of God, governing human emotions and useful for comforting, encouraging and appeasing. Calvin regarded the power of music added to words capable of piercing the heart 'more strongly', believing that 'venom and corruption are distilled to the very depths by melody'.²⁷⁷ Mace describes his experience of being more moved by music's sacred rhetoric than by the verbal sort:

Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), p. 118.

I have been more *Sensibly, Fervently, and Zealously Captivated*, and drawn into *Divine Raptures, and Contemplations*, by Those *Unexpressible Rhetorical, Uncontroulable Persuasions, and Instructions of Musicks Divine Language*, than ever yet I have been, by the best *Verbal Rhetorick*, that came from any Mans Mouth, either in *Pulpit*, or elsewhere.

The performer should at least give the impression that he is in sympathy with the prevailing emotion ('passion') of the piece. If necessary, he may use techniques borrowed from the actor to convince the audience. It is better, however, if the performer recognises and generates in himself the emotion he

²⁷⁶ (1477-78), tr. J. D. Cullington, p. 51.

²⁷⁷ Luther's Works vol. 53 *Liturgy and Hymns* (1538); Calvin, *The Geneva Psalter* (1543), O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 88.

is to realise in the music, which is then communicated to the audience through his personal experience. The principle of being stirred oneself before being able to move others is central to the orator's skill: 'fire alone can kindle, and moisture alone can wet'.²⁷⁸ The appearance of sincerity will assist. Morley tells the composer to 'put on and possess yourself wholly with that vein wherein you compose', and Mattheson says that it is the composer's job to give the musicians the best opportunity to understand and feel what they perform.²⁷⁹ The musical message is assisted in its affect by the performers' demeanour. Smiling pleasantly at one's colleagues is inappropriate when playing 'He was despised', but acceptable for 'Rejoice greatly'. Both Quintilian²⁸⁰ and Quantz allow a certain dissembling if the emotion is not forthcoming.

J. J. Quantz, *Versuch ...* (1752), XVII.7.17, tr. E. R. Reilly.

There is still another rule for developing harmonious execution in an orchestra that may be recommended to each person who wishes to become a good musician, and in particular a good accompanist: in performing a musical composition, he must apply himself well to the art of simulation. This art of simulation is not only permissible, but most necessary, and it does no offence to morals. He who strives all his life to master his passions as fully as possible will not find it difficult to counterfeit in himself the passion required in the piece to be performed. Only then will he play well and as though from the soul. Whoever does not understand this commendable art of simulation is no musician in the true sense, and is no better than a common labourer, even if he is thoroughly acquainted with all the counterpoint in the world, and can perform every possible technical feat upon his instrument. There are many, unfortunately, who prefer more often to practise the art of simulation in everyday life than to employ it in the service of music, where it becomes as innocent as in other circumstances it is unlawful.

Various writers describe emotional states imitated in music which trigger recognition in the listener, who then draws on his own experience to identify and relive the emotion represented. Cicero desires the listener to relate the emotions which are provoked by the performer to his own experience.²⁸¹ Quintilian sees the greatest power of oratory lying in the orator's skilful handling of the variety of emotions.²⁸² Roger North thinks music 'a true pantomime or resemblance of Humanity in all its states, actions, passions and affections' and believes that it is 'from imitation and memory that we are so touchingly affected'.²⁸³ Mattheson regards an understanding of human nature to be of greater importance for a composer than the understanding of tones.²⁸⁴

The following description or recollection (Venice, 1554) is of a private performance by a lutenist, possibly Francesco da Milano:

Introduction to the complete works of Francesco da Milano, ed. Arthur J. Ness (1970), p. 2.

The tables being cleared, he chose one, and as if tuning his strings, sat on the end of a table seeking out a fantasia. He had barely disturbed the air with three strummed

²⁷⁸ Q VI ii 27, 28, 36.

²⁷⁹ T. Morley (1597), O. Strunk, vol. 3, p. 201; J. Mattheson (1739), II.7.21.

²⁸⁰ Q IX ii 26.

²⁸¹ C II lii 211.

²⁸² Q VI ii 2.

²⁸³ Ed. J. Wilson, pp. 110-11; *Cursory Notes*, p. 151.

²⁸⁴ (1739) Foreword VI.

chords when he interrupted conversation which had started among the guests. Having constrained them to face him, he continued with such a ravishing skill that little by little, making the strings languish under his fingers in his sublime way, he transported all those who were listening into so pleasurable a melancholy that - one leaning his head on his hand supported by his elbow, and another sprawling with his limbs in careless deportment, with gaping mouth and more than half-closed eyes, glued (one would judge) to those strings, and his chin fallen on his breast, concealing his countenance with the saddest taciturnity ever seen - they remained deprived of all senses save that of hearing, as if the spirit, having abandoned all the seats of the senses had retired to the ears in order to enjoy the more at its ease so ravishing a harmony; and I believe that we would be there still, had he not himself - I know not how - changing his style of playing with a gentle force, returned the spirit and the senses to the place from which he had stolen them, not without leaving as much astonishment in each of us as if we had been elevated by an ecstatic transport of some divine frenzy.



Title page illustration from M. Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura di liuto de diversi ...* (Venice, ?1536)

Tools of affect

Mersenne lists five pairs of opposites for representing the expressive value of musical intervals: major or minor key, diatonic or chromatic intervals, consonant or dissonant harmony, ascending or descending intervals and high or low tessitura.²⁸⁵

All these tools can be used in combinations with other factors such as choice of instrumentation to produce a variety of emotional affects which the performer should be able to interpret and by the manner of his delivery relay to the audience.

²⁸⁵ In G. LeCoat, p. 54.

Tessitura

The relative position of the voice within its natural range, is a frequently used tool of affect, especially when combined with tone of voice. Roger North described how 'the best use that can be made of any instrument is drawne from the compass of its native force, where the tone is free, lowd, and well conditioned; and that for the most part proves to be about the mid[d]le of the instrument'.²⁸⁶ It is likely that when the music departs from the natural range of the voice or instrument, it is to reinforce a particularly strong form of expression. Monteverdi identified three principal passions or affections of the mind: anger, moderation and humility or supplication, and allied these to the registers of the voice: high, middle and low. He connected these registers to music in agitated, moderate and soft voices. In seeking the agitated style in the music of his contemporaries he was disappointed, and applied himself to rediscover this style represented by Plato as the 'brave man who is engaged in warfare'.²⁸⁷

Higher sounds or ranges in the voice are naturally more tense than lower, less 'highly strung' sounds which are more relaxed. If pushed out of the normal range, either higher or lower, a special affect may be created.

Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica* (1606) tr. Rivera, p. 183.

The Ornaments or Figures of Melody. No. 5. Hyperbole. *Hyperbole* is pushing a melody up beyond its upper boundary [of the mode].

The Ornaments or Figures of Melody. No. 6. Hypobole. *Hypobole* is pressing a melody down beyond the bottom limit of its ambitus.

A high note on a low instrument will have a different affect from the same note played on an instrument whose natural range is higher, where the same note may be low in its range.

Key affect

Composers were divided about the real affect of key, or mode, having inherited these concepts from ancient writings without real knowledge of how ancient music sounded.²⁸⁸ Received opinion in the sixteenth century about mode affect was as follows:²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Ed. J. Wilson, p. 235.

²⁸⁷ C. Monteverdi (1638), O. Strunk vol. 4, p. 158; Plato, *Republic* 399a.

²⁸⁸ See R. Steblin (1981).

²⁸⁹ B. Cirollo letter to U. Gualteruzzi (1549), O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 91.

Mode and ancient affect ²⁹⁰	Affect 16th century	Affect 17th century (Butler) ²⁹¹
Phrygian. Emotional. Inspires enthusiasm.	Frenzy.	Manly and courageous. Stately or violent. Rouses the spirit to arms and activity.
Lydian.	Opposite of and withdrawal from effects of Phrygian.	Grave, full and solemn. Ravishes the mind with a kind of ecstasy.
Dorian. Grave, manly. Moderate settled temper.	Gravity and modesty.	(Dorik) Sober slow-timed notes, generally in counter-point. Used to move the listener to sobriety, prudence, modesty and Godliness.
Mixolydian. Makes men sad and grave.	Tears, cries and lamentation.	
Aeolik.		Soft pleasing sounds, pacifier of the passions of the mind.
Ionik.		Contrary to Phrygian. Effeminate and delicate. For honest mirth and delight in feasting and other merriments.

For some instruments certain keys are more comfortable to play in than others, and the effect of unequal tunings would oblige composers to select suitable keys for their players, according to whether a sweet or discordant affect was required. Some composers, including Charpentier, Rameau, and Mattheson compiled tables of keys and their likely affects. Critics of these lists, who deny their usefulness, have ignored the fact that, as Mattheson points out, key is only one element in the desired affect and other factors such as those mentioned above each have a contributory part to play: 'No key can be so sad or happy in and of itself that one might not compose the opposite'.²⁹² Heinichen agrees that 'it remains the case, therefore, that every single key and all keys ... are suited to expressing many opposing affections'.²⁹³ The table opposite shows a selection of opinions about key affect.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Aristotle, *Politics* VIII.5.1340b.

²⁹¹ (1636).

²⁹² (1739) I.9.48.

²⁹³ (1711) tr. G. Buelow, p. 283.

²⁹⁴ Compiled from R. Steblin, appendix A, and C. Cessac (1988), pp. 384, 406-7.

Keys not in frequent use: D^b/C[#] major/minor, F[#]/G^b major, G[#]/A^b minor

	1691 J. Rousseau	1692 Charpentier	1713-19 Mattheson	1722 Rameau
C maj	gay, grand	gay, militant	rejoicing	for mirth & rejoicing
C min	for complaints, laments	gloomy, sad	lovely, sad	tender, for plaints
D maj	gay, grand	joyful, militant	noisy, joyful	for mirth & rejoicing
D min	serious	serious, pious	devout, grand, flowing not skipping	sweet, tender
E ^b maj		cruel, harsh	pathetic, serious	
D [#] min		horrible, frightful		
E maj		quarrelsome, clamorous	fatally sad	grand, tender
E min	tender	amorous, plaintive	pensive, grieved	sweet, tender
F maj	devotional	furious, quick-tempered	most beautiful, virtuous	for tempests, furies
F min	for complaints, lamentations	dark, plaintive	calm but with deep despair	tender, for plaints
F [#] min			languid, love-sick	
G maj	tender	sweetly joyful	persuasive, serious and cheerful	
G min	sad	serious, magnificent	most beautiful, grace & kindness	sweet and tender
A maj	devotional	joyful, pastoral	lamenting, sad, playful, jesting	for mirth, rejoicing
A min	serious	tender, plaintive	honourable, calm	
B ^b maj		magnificent, joyful	diverting, sumptuous	for tempests, furies
B ^b min		gloomy, terrible		for mournful songs
B maj		harsh, plaintive	offensive, hard, desperate	
B min		lonely, melancholic	bizarre, morose	sweet, tender

Intervals and harmony

Intervals, their size and direction upward or downwards can enhance emotion. Upward intervals are hopeful, and grow stronger, downwards ones are despairing and diminish, in line with the emotional state of the spirit. Chromatic movement in particular is seen as representing pathos (Greek for something suffered), and the rhetorical figure *pathopeia* aims for a strong emotional response. Different types of harmony are produced by different combinations of intervals. Discordant harmony usually indicates strong emotions such as anger or anguish (and so should be played louder). The juxtaposition of discord and concord can lead the listener through tension and relaxation, anticipation and relief by raising and lowering the passions at will. Quantz describes dissonances as disturbing the spirit, and consonances making it peaceful. He lists degrees of displeasure which accompany dissonances of various sorts, some of which should be played louder than others 'to express the sentiments properly'.²⁹⁵

The distance between two notes and their relationship with the home key should excite various feelings in the performer and listener. The contrasting emotional flavours of different intervals are used by composers to create interest, contrast and surprise, as for example when repeating a fragment with an altered interval or harmony. Mattheson considers that harmony, with its combinations of intervals 'ravishes and transports the soul'.²⁹⁶

John Holden, *An Essay towards a Rational System of Music* (1770), Part I, p. 6.

Of the natural scale. It is not so much for the sake of acquiring a habit of performing the notes justly; but chiefly, that he may learn, as it were, to feel the difference between the step of a tone and that of a semitone; and to perceive the different natures and effects of the different notes of the scale, according to their several relations, as 2d, 3d, or 4th, etc to the key. He must not only learn to sing or play the Gamut, but he must learn to know, in some measure, how he does it, and what it is when done.

There is something peculiar in every note, which well deserves our regard. The key note is remarkably bold and commanding, the third and seventh have something supplicative in them: and it is on one of these tones which the beggar chiefly dwells, if he uses any tone at all: the sixth is a kind of plaintive sound; the fourth, as observed before, is grave and solemn; the fifth partakes of the nature of the key, and the second is not unlike to the sixth. It must be observed, that these properties are not unseparable from the sounds; but that the same sound will have different effects, according to the different manners in which it is introduced.



Ex. 2.1. J. S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto no. 6 in Bb major.

The secondary theme is first presented with a plain fourth, but after some repetition and an episode, returns higher and with the first two notes altered to a minor seventh, making it much more pleading and affecting. Although the rhythm is the same, the affect is altered by a change in harmony which results in different intervals. Appropriate delivery would suggest

²⁹⁵ XVII.VI.12 – 16 see *Emphasis in Delivery*, pp. 120–22.

²⁹⁶ (1739) Foreword II.

playing the interval of a fourth ('solemn') shorter and the minor seventh ('plaintive') longer and softer to highlight the difference.

Mace records how the intervals between various tones of the scale may be 'The Good, and the Evil; Love, and Hatred; Joy and Sorrow; Pleasure and Pain; Light and Darkness; Heaven and Hell; God and the Devil.' He describes two intervals which are almost unbearable, the second and the seventh, saying that these give rise to 'Tormenting Unsufferable Horror' like the cutting of one's own flesh. The octave represents unity, even though these horrible intervals are next door to it. He considers the fourth a favourable discord, or neuter, but when struck hard it becomes a 'Hard-Staring-Note'.²⁹⁷

Tempo affect

Tempo word indications usually imply a particular affection as well as a speed, particularly when these first came into use. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the time signature only provided information about the pulse but the use of rubato may create excitement or emphasise a particular affect.

Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), in MacClintock, p. 78.

And sometimes one uses a certain way of proceeding in the composition that cannot be written down – such as to sing piano and forte, and to sing presto and tardo, moving the measure according to the words to demonstrate the effects of the passions of the words and of the harmony ... it will be found that such procedure will please the hearers more than when the measure continues always unvaried ...

The practice of the orator teaches this, for one sees how he proceeds in an oration – now he speaks loudly, now softly, and slower and faster; and this way of changing the tempo has an effect on the mind ...

The same should occur in music; for if the orator moves his auditors with the aforesaid manners, how much more would music, recited in the same manner, accompanied by harmony and well united, make a greater effect.

However, care should be taken to balance the two elements of rubato, the give and take. The frequent or inappropriate use of a flexible pulse can make the music difficult to understand and the listener may lose interest. The musical cadence does not need emphasis by slowing down except to show the ending of large sections, where if used judiciously, it can help the audience understand the structure of the piece. On the other hand, performances which constantly hold back the tempo 'to keep it steady' or prevent rushing may lack the forward momentum which is needed to hold the listener's attention.

The player must also identify certain likely 'natural' means of expression in the composition to realise the intended affect, for example rising music becomes louder, falling softer. Rhythm plays a large part in exciting or cooling emotional tension.

²⁹⁷ (1676) pp. 265–66.

Case studies – affect

The following examples have been chosen to illustrate 'the passions' rather than any concrete event or object.

Mattheson describes the various 'passions' represented in his courante:

Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), II 13.125.

Up to the middle of the third measure, where the + stands, this melody is somewhat hearty, especially right in the very first measure: No one will be able to deny that. From there up to the middle of the eighth measure, where the very same sign of the cross is found, a longing is to be expressed; above all in the last three and one-half measures, and ... finally towards the end a little joy arises, especially in the ninth measure.



Ex. 2.2. Mattheson, Courante 'hopefulness'.

Performance suggestions: slightly unequal smooth quavers to suit the French style. Crotchets on the third and fourth beats of bars 2, 3, 6, 8 and 9 lifted and short. Add cadential trills in bar 4, third beat and bar 10, third beat.

Biber's 'Rosary' sonata no. 1 'The Annunciation' illustrates in sound the emotions behind the biblical text (Luke 1.28-38) on which this instrumental work is based. One may look for and find many literal sound painting and musical textual images in these sonatas, but the following examples have been chosen to show Mary's emotional response to the events. A programme for contemplation of the text from a Renaissance source²⁹⁸ suggests the following approach:

²⁹⁸ M. Baxandall (1974), p. 51, Fra Roberto, *Zardino de Oration* (1454).

Text: 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee'.

Emotion: The Archangel Gabriel arrives with the Announcement.

Musical representation: Paeon-like rhythm (see p. 173) combined with dotted announcement is reminiscent of the first part of a French overture. It rouses the spirit to attention in a trumpet-like call. The key of D minor, reproducing the Dorian affect of grave, devout and serious music implies approaching dramatic event.

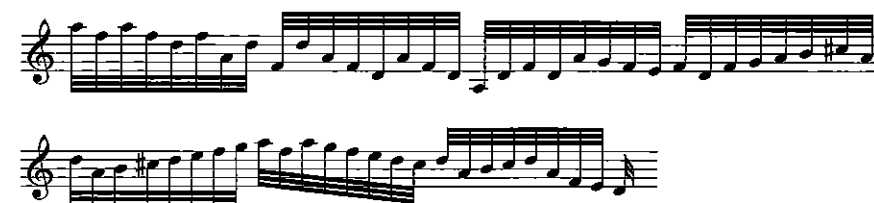


Ex. 2.3. Biber, 'Annunciation' sonata

Text: 'And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be'.

Emotion: Disquiet, agitation

Musical representation: A whirl of rushing fast notes bars 2-17.



Ex. 2.4. Biber, 'Annunciation' sonata.

Text: 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?'

Emotion: Reflection, inquiry

Musical representation: Falling figures bars 18-end of Prelude



Ex. 2.5. Biber, 'Annunciation' sonata.

Text: 'Be it unto me according to thy word'.

Emotion: Submission

Musical representation: Aria. Calm falling fifths seem gently stroking away her anxiety in D minor. The repeated bass with its cadence brings peaceful resolution every four bars.

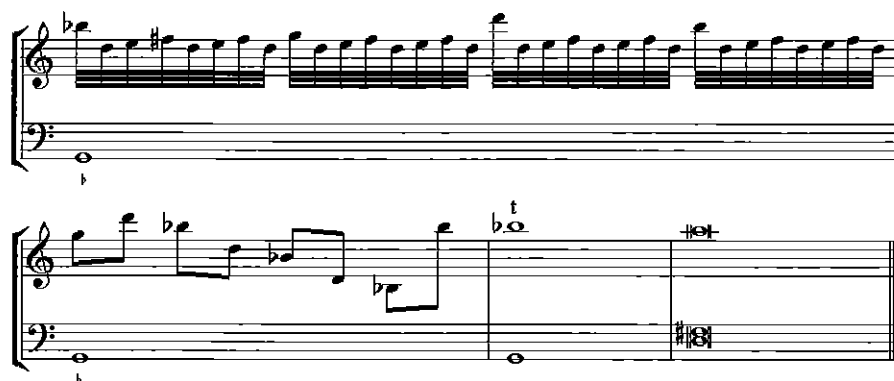


Ex. 2.6. Biber, 'Annunciation' sonata.

Text: 'And the angel departed from her'. [She will give birth to the Son of God]

Emotion: Merit

Musical representation: Dramatic triumphal finale in G minor predicts the great event to come.



Ex. 2.7. Biber, 'Annunciation' sonata.

These emotional states may be seen in the many representations of this biblical 'Mystery' painted during the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Although the most common ones are humility and submission, some depict Mary in a state of agitation.



Lorenzo Lotto, The Annunciation (1527), Museo Civico di Villa Colloredo Mels, Recanati, Italy.

Here not only Mary, but a cat is startled by the angel.

Common affects

The following table shows a selection of commonly-used combinations of tools for affect.²⁹⁹ Mattheson's warning against using these devices like a dictionary should be held in mind.³⁰⁰ Refer to the suggested musical examples for an idea of how these affects are used.

Written	Intended affect	Suggested mode of delivery
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Range or tessitura

Moderate pitch or normal range of voice or instrument.	Moderate disposition. Used for a simple statement of facts such as a fugue subject.	Moderate dynamic, with nuances giving shape and emphasis to characterize the theme.
High range.	Excited and uplifted spirit, enthusiasm.	Loud, energetic.
Low range. Ex. 3.16.	Abject and humbled thoughts. Softness, weakness.	Soft, calm.
Middle range. Ex. 3.13.	Temperance, moderation.	

Tempo

Intermediate tempo.	Poised spirit.	
Rapid tempo. Ex. 2.4, 5.17.	Excited spirit.	
Slow tempo. Ex. 2.9.	Sluggish spirit.	
Alternate quick and slow with abrupt modulations and large intervals. Ex. 5.14.	Impatience, jealousy or mockery.	Slowing up during transition from one section to the next usually destroys impact.
Andante. Ex. 5.28, bars 1-3.	Hope.	Forward-moving and equal, short quavers.
Presto.	Eagerness.	Fast and lively.
Adagio. Ex. 3.13	At ease.	Relaxed.

²⁹⁹ Many ideas from F. T. Wessel (unpub.1955), table 24 'Combinations of Affective Devices'.

³⁰⁰ I.3.83

Written	Intended affect	Suggested mode of delivery
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Intervals: direction and size, and harmony

Dissonance. Ex. 3.4.	Savage and exuberant passion.	Strong and loud.
Consonance.	Gentle, uniform, peacefully flowing.	More relaxed and generally quieter.
Interrupted cadence.	Surprise.	Delay or dwell on the interruption.
Semitones, 'small steps like infants and ill or old people.' ³⁰¹	Tears and moaning.	Held back, smooth, joined-up.
Small intervals.	Sadness, a contraction of the body.	Soft and connected.
Very small intervals	Suffering.	
Slurred and close intervals. Ex. 5.31.	Flattery, melancholy, tenderness.	Soft attacks add to ingratiating affect.
Major intervals. Ex. 3.14.	Energy.	Detached.
Major sixth (rising). Ex. 5.19, bar 2.	Rigour, harshness, bitterness.	Strong dynamic.
Minor sixth (rising). Ex. 2.1.	Great sorrows, pleading.	Smooth, not too loud.
Minor third.	Lesser sorrows.	
Consonant chords.	Cheerful, pompous music.	
Prepared minor dissonances.	Sweetness, tenderness.	Hesitant, gentle.
Unprepared dissonances. Ex. 3.4.	Despair and passions which lead to fury or violence.	Strongly accented.
Chromaticism. Ex. 4.3.	Langour, suffering.	Soft, smooth.
Majestic ascending figures.	Pride, haughtiness, arrogance.	Moderately loud, not rushed.
Large consonant rising intervals. Ex. 5.4, 5.32.	Joy and hope, expansion of the soul.	Moderately loud, getting louder and more detached.
Brief articulated notes, big leaps. Ex. 4.10.	Gaiety, boldness.	Confident and energetic.
Slurred notes with dissonances.	Mournful.	Witheld, contained.
Mad disordered notes with dissonant harmony. Ex. 3.4.	Despair, hate.	Violent and unpredictable, rough.
Unison.	Lack of harmony often indicates desolation or loneliness.	

³⁰¹ M. Mersenne (1636).

Written	Intended affect	Suggested mode of delivery
Dance or other movement type		
Fugue.	Noble, 'like a history painting'. ³⁰²	Parts should all be clearly heard, not 'a confused huddle'. ³⁰³
Chaconne.	Sublime, stately.	Steady in tempo, confident strong dynamic.
Courante (French dotted type). Ex. 2.2.	Tender longing, sweet hopefulness. ³⁰⁴	Gentle, elegant, poised.
Coranto or corrente (Italian type with many notes).	Running, flowing. Instrumental vehicle, not for dancing.	Fast, show-off.
Sarabande/Sarabanda.	17th century: jolly. Later serious ambition and pride. Look for time-signature clue (6/4 or 3/2).	17th century: fast and wild. Slower tempo for later dances.
Allemande (French type).	Content or satisfied spirit. Noble. Leisurely.	Singing unequal semiquavers (French type).
Entrée. Ex. 4.16.	Pomp, conceit, nobility, majestic.	Sharp and punctuated, detached.
Rigaudon.	Agreeable joking.	Light and not sustained.
Bourrée.	Pleasantness, placidity.	Fast, but smooth.
Rondeau.	Cheerful, but with contrast in episodes.	Mood and dynamic should alter in episodes. Look for pathetic falling and hopeful rising figures.
Passepied.	Frivolity, but pleasant.	
Gigue. Ex. 4.10.	Mad, happy.	
Loure (slow gigue).	Proud, arrogant.	Held tempo, crotchets lifted and short.
Italian gig. Ex. 4.10.	'Used for fiddling not dancing'. ³⁰⁵ Joyous.	Can be quite fast. Use slurs to create energy.
Gavotte. Ex. 3.3	Jubilation.	Skipping, hopping. Avoid rushing 2nd and 4th crotchets.
Minuet. Ex. 3.11, 4.13.	Temperate diversion.	Phrases hardly ever have up-beats. Hold poised across the bar-line. Play 2nd and 3rd beats weakly, and look for up-beat bars, and long hemiola bars at ends of sections.
Canaries.	Eagerness and swiftness but simple.	Very fast.
March.	Heroic, fearless.	Steady.

³⁰² C. Avison (1753).³⁰³ Roger North.³⁰⁴ J. Mattheson (1739).³⁰⁵ J. Mattheson (1739).

Written	Intended affect	Suggested mode of delivery
Dance or other movement type (continued)		
Fantasies, Capricci, Toccate, Preludes etc.	Fancy.	Should sound extempore.
Lament.	Lamentation.	Can be loud or soft depending on other factors.
Affettuoso.	Love.	Never very loud or fast.
1st section of French overture.	Special elevation of the soul.	Detached lifted crotchets and dotted notes. Should feel 2 beats in a bar, and energetic not lethargic.
2nd section of French overture.	Joy.	

Combinations of affects

Repeated short figures with rests and dissonance. Slow moving harmonic changes. Ex. 5.30.	Sobbing, pitiful.	Use rests as gasps of breath.
Sustained in one part with slow-moving rising part against it. Ex. 3.16, 4.3, 5.28.	Sadness.	Gentle, hesitant.
Repeated notes with large intervals and fast harmonic change.	Wrath.	Very vigorous and loud.
Long notes during which other parts have quick motion and dotted notes.	Majesty.	Dotted notes must be attacked sharply. Dots held long and the following notes very short. Add trills to dotted notes. ³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ J. J. Quantz (1752).

Written	Intended affect	Suggested mode of delivery
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Rhythmic devices

Syncopated notes.	Ingratiating flattery.	First half of the note must be sounded softly, and the second reinforced by chest and lip action. ³⁰⁷
Wild outcries with rests. Ex. 4.16.	Revenge.	Forceful without rushing.
Quick running passages with sudden stops.	Fear or terror.	Strong dynamic and unpredicted silences.
A single short idea repeated with sustained notes above or below.	Sorrow.	Slow.
Mixed dotted and sustained notes.	Serious, pathetic.	
Long notes at the same time as quick ones. Ex. 5.28.	Majestic, sublime.	
Long notes with full harmony. Ex. 4.36.	Earnestness.	Sustain fully.
Short notes. Ex. 4.10.	Gaiety.	Quick movement of bow or tongue.
Long notes with voluptuous intervals.	Love and friendliness.	Gentle and quiet.
Dotted notes: slow tempo. Ex. 4.16.	Boldness, magnificence.	Slow and take care not to hurry. Dotted notes should be shortened in various degrees according to their emphasis in the bar and harmonically.
Dotted notes: quick tempo.	Liveliness.	Dotted note should be short.
Slow steps. Ex. 2.9.	Melancholy.	Dragging.
Regular accents.	Courage, resolution.	
Solemn steps. Ex. 5.28.	Sublime.	Measured, detached but not too short.
Skiping quick note values. Ex. 4.10.	Hope and joy.	Short and light.

Instrumental choice for decorous affect

Following the principle of decorum, musical instruments carried with them their own rhetorical messages inherent in their original uses at court during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. This became lost in the case of instruments which became obsolete, or was altered after the development of the modern symphony orchestra. In a changing musical milieu, some instruments such as the lute and viol vanished from the composers' palette of sound colour, and with them their cultural images, characters and purposes.

³⁰⁷ J. J. Quantz (1752).

Instruments had their uses in accordance with the principle of decorum, and were used in appropriate locations according to their function. The Medieval distinction between 'haut' and 'bas' (high and low in volume) continued to define the use of instruments at court.³⁰⁸ Loud instruments played out of doors and for entrances and exits (oboes, trumpets, horns, drums), but were also heard inside imitating their outdoor function in dramatic representations of these events such as opera. More gentle instruments were suitable for a small room.

The natural characteristics (volume and timbre) of an instrument give it a character which can then be matched to the affect required by the composer. Oboes might adopt a gentle pastoral vein for indoor entertainment. Shepherds were often represented in sound by the recorder, which was also used by composers of the seventeenth century to represent death. Lutes frequently appear in paintings playing for intimate outdoor dalliances, *fêtes champêtres* or other noble picnics. The lute would most often have been played indoors in a small room to a select audience who would appreciate its subtleties. The lute is also seen ennobled as the voice of the gods (*La Rhetorique des Dieux* music by Denis Gaultier).³⁰⁹ Its function as a chordal instrument led to it being used in many allegorical representations of harmony, the universe, and of marital concord. The use of the flute was reserved for the most refined and elegant musical expression, never aggressive and often imitating birds of various kinds. Avison links the flute to 'the languishing or melancholy style'.³¹⁰

The well-known settings of Dryden's text by Purcell and Handel describe various instrumental affects: the 'flute' (actually recorder) 'am'rous' and gentle, the organ a noble, 'wondrous machine', the violin 'airy' (i.e. suitable for airs or songs) and 'sharp' but the viol 'lofty'. Trumpets and drums 'excite us to arms with shrill notes of anger' and 'in vain attempt the passions'.³¹¹ Avison called 'the Passions raised by these martial Sounds of the social kind: they may excite Courage and Contempt of Death, but never Hatred or Cruelty'.³¹²

The late-eighteenth-century musical theorist John Holden asks for the individual instrumental colours to be regarded relatively: sounds are not to be considered singly but in relation to each other: 'the trumpet is bold, the violin is cheerful, the bassoon is solemn'.³¹³

The differences between the violin and viol families in the seventeenth century are encapsulated by Mace, who thought the violin a 'High-Priz'd Noise' and 'a Great Idol' when it invaded the democracy of the viol consort. Violins 'make a man's Ears Glow' and 'fill his Brains full of Frisks'. Viols, on the other hand should 'Season and Sober his Mind'. He describes the 'Scoulding

³⁰⁸ See p. 55 and Holman (1993), p. 36-38.

³⁰⁹ See frontispiece.

³¹⁰ (1752) p. 113.

³¹¹ *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1692).

³¹² (1752) p. 19.

³¹³ Footnote to p. 6.

Violins' who 'out-Top Them All' but allows them to be used 'for any Extraordinary Jolly, or Jocund Consort-Occasion' if balanced by the right number of bass instruments'.³¹⁴

Avison describes the composer's choice of instrumentation as being like the stops of an organ. He thinks that both trumpets and French horns sound best 'when fully accompanied'. Trumpets 'animate and inspire courage' while horns 'enliven and cheer the spirits' with their sporting resonances. He considers the violin essential so that the composer's 'extensive Genius may rove at large through all the various Kinds of Musical Expression.' Divided violas are especially suitable for 'expressing mournful sounds'.³¹⁵

Tessitura also influences the instrumental affect, with lower instruments such as the bassoon, bass violin and trombone thought to be proud and solemn, and the softer domestic ones like the lute, sweet and gentle. The oboe, being cheerful and gay, is often seen as a pastoral instrument suitable to accompany a shepherd or Bacchus, as it is in Purcell's Masque from *Timon of Athens*.

Speaking appropriately can also involve choosing the correct size and balance of parts in a group. For example, in the seventeenth-century French orchestra the viola parts (two viola parts for Charpentier's four-part writing and three in Lully's five parts) should have proportionately fewer players than the outer bass and single treble parts, to reflect their subservient role in the music. In modern editions of this repertoire, the violin-violita balance is misunderstood and editors use a treble clef for the first viola part, implying that it should be a second violin part. Most viola parts would have originally used the movable C clef.

The word 'viola' or 'viole' is much misunderstood and can lead to inappropriate choices. The fretted *viole da gamba* should not be casually substituted for *viole da braccio* whenever convenient. A work written for a matching band of instruments of the violin family loses its appropriate sonority and style if the middle parts are taken by gambas. Similarly, if *da braccio* instruments are used when the special effect of *da gamba* is required, the music will lose some of its potential power to persuade. It is possible to play Bach suites for solo cello on the bass viol and his sonatas for viol on the cello, but more of the musical affect is lost than gained by this exercise. Playing the cello suites on the viola or the violin would be more appropriate because of their similar tuning in fifths.

In most cases, the composer has already made the choice of instrumentation to suit his material. This choice belongs to the process of invention and, as Mattheson points out and describes, music easily executed by instruments such as violins (arpeggios and dotted rhythms) will be written in a different style from vocal music, as the voice finds difficulty with these instrumental devices. He gives advice on how to compose material that is appropriate for its purpose and instrumentation and, using a most extreme example, advises

³¹⁴ (1676) pp. 236, 233, 246.

³¹⁵ (1752) pp. 114-19.

that the military style of music is obviously not suitable for lutes.³¹⁶ Each combination of voices and instruments holds its own possibilities for special rhetorical effects either of grandeur or variety of expressive sonorities within the group. It is important for the small Baroque chamber group to select appropriate instruments to allow the music to have its effect. For example, where two equal treble instruments are intended, the effect of the musical dialogue is lost if unequal ones are used (e.g. recorder and violin instead of two violins or two recorders). It can also make a difference to the appropriate sonority and affect of the continuo group if a viol, a cello or neither supports the chordal continuo instrument.

The conventions of the period and national style need to be considered to achieve the appropriate sonority and style of delivery.³¹⁷ Choice of tuning, pitch, bow, and the set-up of stringed instruments could all be seen as part of 'speaking appropriately'. Even if appropriate instruments are selected, wrongly applied techniques can mar the sense of decorum, for example if a guitar, useful for strumming in dances, is used in this way for a fugue.

The 'wrong' decision concerning choice of instruments will prevent the musical message from achieving its full potential. When selecting repertoire for a group with fixed personnel (cello or viol would demand certain choices), convenience often outweighs appropriateness. Although arrangements were common practice in the eighteenth-century (for example, Bach's keyboard arrangements of Vivaldi's concertos), the performers should not deceive themselves into thinking that continual compromise is the best way forward for the music's sake. Pragmatism does not sit well with decorum. Continually manipulating and adjusting instrumentation to fit a set group of players weakens the impact of the musical message, even though this might be acceptable to modern concert promoters and audiences.

Seating for affect

The choice of seating for a group can help the modern audience enjoy the music. The structure of the music can be shown and a visual guide to the composition can be provided. A concerto grosso formation with solo violins positioned opposite each other emphasises the tennis match dialogue between the two violin parts and the potential loss of sound from the second player who faces away from the audience can be overcome by turning out towards the audience. The visual effect which is gained more than compensates for the loss of volume and the rich spread of sound when violins are seated on opposite sides of the stage is most satisfying for the audience, although this may not always have been the layout used in eighteenth-century performances, where images show a variety of seating plans. A common eighteenth-century sonority where the violins play in unison can be enjoyed in

³¹⁶ (1739) II.5.107; II.12.

³¹⁷ See J. Tarling (2000), pp. 208-17.

'stereo' and where the violins play antagonistic roles, the dialogue is more telling. Alternatively, the concertino group may be separated from the ripieno, revealing a different type of musical dialogue.³¹⁸

In contrapuntal music where parts are often equal, seating arrangements can be more flexible, and can take into account the position of the listeners. A group such as a string quartet or viol consort could try playing 'in the round' in a small hall, where parts will not, as Mace describes it '*Out-cry* another by *Loud Play*'. The effect of the music also depends on using appropriate instruments and Mace for example tried 'to have All the Parts Equally Heard' by using matching instruments.³¹⁹ These ideas form part of the principle of decorum that is a constant theme of 'speaking appropriately'. The performer who appreciates these ideas will help the audience to enjoy and understand the music with minimal effort.

Mimesis (imitation) and word painting

The noblest objective of music was seen to be the imitation of emotions, with or without words. The representation of either a physical effect or an object (up to heaven, down to hell, flying, languishing, battle scenes etc.) was increasingly ridiculed by eighteenth-century composers and commentators as musical taste changed. Opinions were divided on the value of word painting in the accompanying musical material and some writers regarded it as rather childish and even laughable. Mattheson called the habit of never letting a word pass by without illustration 'a mockery of music'³²⁰ and the sixteenth-century Vincenzo Galilei criticised the habit of abruptly breaking off to illustrate 'die' which he thought would arouse 'laughter and contempt' in the listeners.³²¹

Zarlino describes how to match the affect of the music to the words by using different types of harmony: hard and harsh, or full of sadness.³²² Having played transcriptions of vocal music, instruments acquired a musically expressive language which reflected the textual content and became assimilated into the instrumental style. Later in the eighteenth century, it was thought that music was capable of expressing deeper feelings than words alone. Mattheson describes the difficulty of composing something for instruments in the proper style 'because there are no words present, but merely musical discourse'. 'Instrumental melody can do without the words themselves, but not the affections'.³²³

³¹⁸ For eighteenth-century seating plans see S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* chapter 12, pp. 206-22 and article 'Orchestra' in New Grove.

³¹⁹ (1676) p. 236.

³²⁰ (1739) II.11.10.

³²¹ *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* (1581), O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 186.

³²² *Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558), O. Strunk vol. 3, p. 180.

³²³ (1739) II.12.8; II.12.30.

Avison mocked the use of rising or falling intervals to represent ascent or descent, and broken phrases for interrupted motion. He claimed this representative type of composition fixed 'the Hearer's Attention on the Similitude between the Sounds and the Things which they describe, thereby to excite a reflex Act of the Understanding, rather than to affect the Heart and raise the Passions of the Soul'.³²⁴

A century and a half earlier, Morley thought that allowing the music to rise to heaven and fall to hell *was* appropriate expression, and that for the melody to ascend to hell would be perverse.³²⁵ Roger North pointed out what he considered to be a worse defect, that of illustrating the words literally instead of the emotion which lay behind them, resulting in 'rediculous absurditys'. He gives the example of 'They laugh at my dolorous complaints' which should represent grief, not laughter.³²⁶ Similarly, the first chorus in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* 'banish sorrow' should not sound sad. Geminiani, in a change of aesthetic in line with the more modern musical thought, pleaded for the art of music to be used exclusively to imitate the passions, not birds or other noises, and definitely not for showing off one's technique:

Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), Preface.

The Intention of Musick is not only to please the Ear, but to express Sentiments, strike the Imagination, affect the Mind, and command the Passions. The Art of playing the Violin consists in giving that Instrument a Tone that shall in a Manner rival the most perfect human Voice; and in executing every Piece with Exactness, Propriety, and Delicacy of Expression according to the true Intention of Musick. But as for the imitating the Cock, Cuckoo, Owl, and other Birds; or the Drum, French Horn, Tromba-Marina, and the like; and also sudden Shifts of the Hand from one Extremity of the Finger-board to the other, accompanied with Contortions of the Head and Body, and all other such Tricks rather belong to the Professors of Legerdemain and Posture-masters than to the Art of Musick.

However, in spite of criticisms, illustrative devices were used liberally in Renaissance and Baroque music to bring the text to life. As Mattheson notes, 'Sounds in themselves are neither good nor bad; but they become good and bad according to the way in which they are used'.³²⁷

The 'doctrine of the affections', as it was understood in the first part of the twentieth century, was described by Bukofzer in 1947 as a fixed index of figures corresponding to the affections, which were 'pigeonholed like the affections themselves'.³²⁸ Mattheson clearly refutes the idea of pigeonholing when he describes the variety of affects as 'like the bottomless sea', and entreats us not to use the musical language of affects like a dictionary, stating that 'everything that occurs without affections means nothing'.³²⁹ Mattheson relates the 'doctrine of temperaments' to Descartes' study, in which he

³²⁴ (1753) pp. 57-58.

³²⁵ (1597) p. 291.

³²⁶ Ed. J. Wilson, p. 113.

³²⁷ (1739) Foreword VI.

³²⁸ *Music in the Baroque Era* (1947), p. 5.

³²⁹ (1739) I.3.83.

describes how emotions affect the listener physically.³³⁰ Although some musical ideas are commonly used for certain emotions, or to represent physical phenomena, good Baroque composers used their own invented combinations of instrumentation, harmony, tessitura, intervals and other tools of affect to produce endless variety. Each situation should be examined on its own merits for its particular affect.

Allegory and symbolism

Allegory is the interpretation of experience by means of images.

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 155.

Allegoria ... no man can pleasantly utter and perswade without it ... the chief ring leader and captaine of all other figures, either in the poeticall or oratorie science ... we speake otherwise then we thinke, in earnest as well as in sport, under covert and darke terms, and in learned and apparent speeches. Examples: commonwealth, a shippe; the Prince a pilot.

Metaphor is a very common figure of speech which implies and represents a different thing from that which is stated. For example 'Phoebus' fire' used to mean sunshine, and 'woven wings' for the sails of a ship. In music, representing a movement or object in sound could be considered to be a form of metaphor. Sounds can be used to represent things other than their plain meaning by using devices or symbols such as numbers, shapes or direction of movement.

Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550).

[a trope] Metaphora. Translatio, translacion, that is a word translated from the thyng that it properlye signifieth, unto another whych may agre with it by a similitude. And amonge all vertues of speche, this is the chyefe. None perswadeth more effecteouflye, none sheweth the thyng before oure eyes more evidently, none moveth more mightily the affections, none maketh the oracion more goodlye, pleasaunt, nor copious.³³¹

Although obvious illustrative musical messages such as a rising phrase for heavenly direction or flying, and downward movement for falling, leading to earth or hell were used liberally by some composers (e.g. Purcell) they were considered childish by others. These devices could be thought of as part of the entertainment (delectatio) element of the composition. Cicero's figure of allegory (translatio) is when 'something other than what is said has to be understood'.³³²

This type of 'darke conceit'³³³ was provided for Renaissance princes in the form of court masques and other royal entertainments that combined text, music and dance, such as those devised by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones for Charles I. These masques enabled allegorical parallels to be drawn between gods and heroes and the monarch. Rhetoricians, in collaboration with artists

³³⁰ (1739) I.9.51; R. Descartes (1649).

³³¹ E.g. music and rhetoric. Note the use of the figure epanaphora in this description.

³³² C III xli 166.

³³³ Spenser's description of an allegorical composition made in the dedication to his *Faerie Queene*.

and craftsmen, made extensive use of allegorical schemes for processions, triumphal arches and entrances to promote and enhance the reputation of the important people who were to view or process through them.³³⁴ Printed books and pamphlets used rhetorical images to promote ideas about religion, monarchs and government.



John Case, *De Sphaera Civitas* (1588)

Certain commonplace representative ideas do indeed pervade the structure of Renaissance and Baroque music. The use of the bass line to represent the earth is described by Jean Fery Rebel in the *Avertissement* of the ballet *Les Elémens* (1737-8) as 'a commonly known device ... notes tied together which are played in jerks'. This musical device is also found in the 'et incarnatus est' from Bach's B minor Mass.

³³⁴ See *Bruges and the Renaissance, Memling to Pourbus*, ed. M. P. J. Martens, pp. 34-35 (Bruges, 1998).

18

PFIs

Fls

Vns I

Vns II

Hs C et Ts

Bns

[Cb]

Bs et Clv

3e [Cahos]

L'AIR

LE FEU

L'EAU

LA TERRE

fort

fort

fort

fort

fort

fort

7
5
4
2

Ex. 2.8. Rebel, Cahos from *Les Eléments* (1737)

Violin I & II

Continuo

Vln I & II

S.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Continuo

Et in - car -

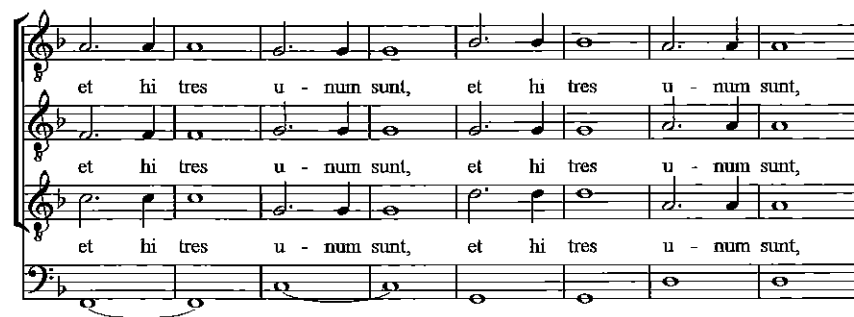
Et in - car - na -

Et in - car - na - tus est, in - car -

Ex. 2.9. 'Et incarnatus est' from J. S. Bach, *Mass in B minor*.

The ubiquitous Baroque ground bass is often used for the same representative purpose (Purcell's *Dido* is 'laid in earth' to a ground bass). These devices may be understood and enjoyed by the performer and may enhance the appreciation of the work for a particularly erudite audience.

Mystical ideas using number or theological concepts represented in musical terms such as the number three in sacred works representing the Trinity were especially popular and may have encouraged religious piety. These elements may be said to show the structure and inspiration behind the invention of the music, and the performer's awareness of these can contribute to the excellence of the performance though it is impossible to know what type of affect this would have had on Monteverdi's devout 'audience'.



Ex. 2.10. Monteverdi, 'Duo seraphim' from *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (1610).

In what could be considered a figure of thought incorporating allegorical and metaphorical sound painting, the number three is used to represent God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the form of three equal tenor voices. The three voices come to rest on a unison at the end of the phrase 'hi tres unum sunt', 'these three are one'. The phrase is repeated higher, and therefore more loudly, for emphasis. If the omission of the tie in the bass is deliberate, this would provide more emphasis to the second statement with the re-iterated bass notes.

PART THREE THE RHETORICAL PERFORMANCE - DELIVERY (Pronunciatio)

M. Praetorius (1619), quoted in J. Butt, p. 48.

The task of an *Orator* is ... to *pronounce* correctly and to *move* the *affect*: in which he now lifts the voice, then lets it sink, now speaks with a powerful, now gentle, now with a full and entire voice: So is it [the task] of a musician not only to sing but to sing with art and charm. Thus is the heart of the listener stirred and the *affect* moved, so that the song may reach its purpose, for which it is made and to which it is directed.

Delivery is one of the principal divisions of rhetoric, and is generally regarded as the most important. Demosthenes, a contemporary of Aristotle, is said by Quintilian to have claimed that delivery was the first, second and third most important aspect of a speech, and awarded it 'the palm'.³³⁵

Kirnberger describes the rhetorical style of performance, still alive towards the end of the eighteenth century:

Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik (1771-79) part 2, section 1, p. 105. Quoted in M. E. Bonds, p. 75.

It is immediately apparent to everyone that the most moving melody would be completely stripped of all its power and expression if one note after another were performed without precise regulation of speed, without accents, and without resting points, even if performed with the strictest observation of pitch. Even common speech would become partly incomprehensible and completely disagreeable if a proper measure of speed were not observed in the delivery, if the words were not separated from one another by the accents associated with the length and brevity of the syllables, and finally if the phrases and sentences were not differentiated by resting points. Such a lifeless delivery would make the most beautiful speech sound no better than the letter-by-letter reading of children.

As we have seen, the main purposes of speaking are to entertain and move the audience. By using a variety of dynamics, different tones of voice and speaking clearly with appropriate articulation and understanding, the orator can hold the attention of the audience and affect their emotions in whatever way he pleases. This skill was known in seventeenth-century France as *déclamation*, and was defined by Rousseau as the art of inflecting the melody with rhythm and 'l'Accent grammatical & l'Accent oratoire', thereby including everything that an orator does or needs to do to deliver his message effectively.³³⁶ The voice must be a perfect instrument, equipped with every stop.³³⁷

³³⁵ The classical symbol of victory.

³³⁶ (1768)

³³⁷ Q XI iii 40.