

Zeitschrift: Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis : Veröffentlichungen der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis
Herausgeber: Schola Cantorum Basiliensis
Band: 41 (2021)

Artikel: Voices, instruments, and the technology of nature : Adriano Banchieri at the Accademia Filomusi
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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-961710>

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Voices, Instruments, and the Technology of Nature

Adriano Banchieri at the *Accademia Filomusi*

Rebecca Cypess

The Renaissance model of instrumental music was rooted in its relationship with the human voice. Instrumental players sought to apply their musical artifice to capture the sounds, rhetorical gestures, and meanings conveyed by the voice – the natural ideal. The opening of Silvestro Ganassi's *Opera intitulata Fontegara* is representative of this thinking:

You must know that all musical instruments, in comparison to the human voice, are lacking; therefore we must attempt to learn from it and imitate it. You will object, saying, "How it is possible for this thing to produce words? Because of this [deficiency] I do not believe that this flute could ever be similar to the human voice." And I respond that, just as a worthy and perfect painter imitates everything created in nature through variety of colors, so with this instrument of wind [or] strings you can imitate the utterances of the human voice.¹

I am grateful to the organizers of the symposium "Stimme – Instrument – Vokalität" at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in November 2016 for inviting this paper and for prompting the stimulating exchange of ideas that took place at the symposium. This paper benefited further from discussion within a colloquium at Cornell University on 16 March 2017 and at the Renaissance Society of America on 30 April 2016. I am grateful, too, to Andrew Dell'Antonio and Alexander Silbiger for their helpful advice and comments.

¹ "Voi havete a sapere co[m]e tutti li instrumenti musicali sono rispetto & co[mp]aratione ala voce humana ma[n]cho degni p[er] tanto noi si afforzeremo da q[ue]lla i[m]parare & imitarla; onde tu potresti dire co[m]e sara possibile conciosia cosa che essa proferisce ogni parlare dil che no[n] credo che dito flauto mai sia simile ad essa humana voce & io te rispondo che cosi come il degno & p[er]fetto dipintor imita ogni cosa creata ala natura con la variation di colori cosi con tale instrumento di fiato & corde potrai imitare el proferire che fa la humana voce". Silvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata fontegara la quale insegna a sonare di flauto chon tutta l'arte opportuna a eſo instrumento massime il diminuire* [...], Venice: Ganassi 1535, 2–3. Further on the connections between song and natural speech in the sixteenth century, see, for example, Anthony Rooley, "Ficino, and the Supremacy of Poetry Over Music", in: *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance: Actes du XXXIVe colloque international d'études humanistes Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1–11 juillet 1991*, ed. Jean Michel Vaccaro, Paris: CNRS 1995, 51–56; and Howard Mayer Brown, "The Instrumentalist's Repertory in the Sixteenth Century", in: *Le concert des voix et des instruments*, 21–32. Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

A large-scale revision of the hierarchy that Ganassi described occurred in the early 17th century, with the first flourishing of a large repertoire of idiomatic instrumental music, independent of specific vocal models and untethered to poetic texts. This change in the conception of instrumental music went hand-in-hand with a shift in the very notion of what an instrument was and what it could do – not only musical instruments, but, as I have discussed elsewhere, instruments of the arts and natural philosophy broadly speaking. As a category, instruments came to be seen as vehicles of discovery and the creation of new knowledge; they and their capacities were, therefore, valuable and worthy of consideration in their own right. Musical instrumentalists began to recognize and exploit the specific properties of each instrument, using them in novel and ingenious ways, and patrons and philosophers supported these efforts actively.²

This change in the status of instruments and instrumental music expressed itself in words as well as musical practice. Writers from the cutting-edge poet Giambattista Marino to the practical organ pedagogue Girolamo Diruta developed new ways of thinking about the relationship between instruments and the human voice. And, in the case I will discuss here, Adriano Banchieri – a humanist cleric, an organist, a composer, a theorist and an academician – drew on ancient mythology, biblical narrative, and practical music-making to reconceptualize the line between nature and artifice in the creation of music.³ Adopting a modern understanding of artisanship in music-making, Banchieri approached the relationship between voices and instruments in terms that were dramatically different from those that had dominated previous generations.

Banchieri at the *Accademia dei Filomusi* of Bologna

On the 14th of November 1625, the organist, abbot, and humanist scholar Adriano Banchieri stood before the *Accademia dei Filomusi* of Bologna to deliver a multi-media discourse on the history and virtues of the instrument known as the

² I have outlined this theory in Rebecca Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions: Instrumental Music as Discovery in Galileo's Italy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2016; see also Rebecca Cypess, "Giovanni Battista Della Porta's Experiments with Musical Instruments", in: *Journal of Musicological Research* 35/3 (2016), 1–17; and Rebecca Cypess, "Frescobaldi's *Toccate e partite [...] libro primo* (1615–16) as a Pedagogical Work: Artisanship, Imagination, and the Process of Learning", in: *Recercare* 27/1–2 (2015), 103–138.

³ Biographical information on Banchieri is in Oscar Mischiati, *Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634): Profilo biografico e bibliografia delle opere*, Bologna: Patron 1972. For an assessment of his theoretical writings within the context of the debates over "ancient" and "modern" music, see Piero Gargiulo, "Adriano Banchieri trattatista tra 'antico' e 'moderno': una ricognizione sui trattati", in: *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 41/2 (2006), 227–260.

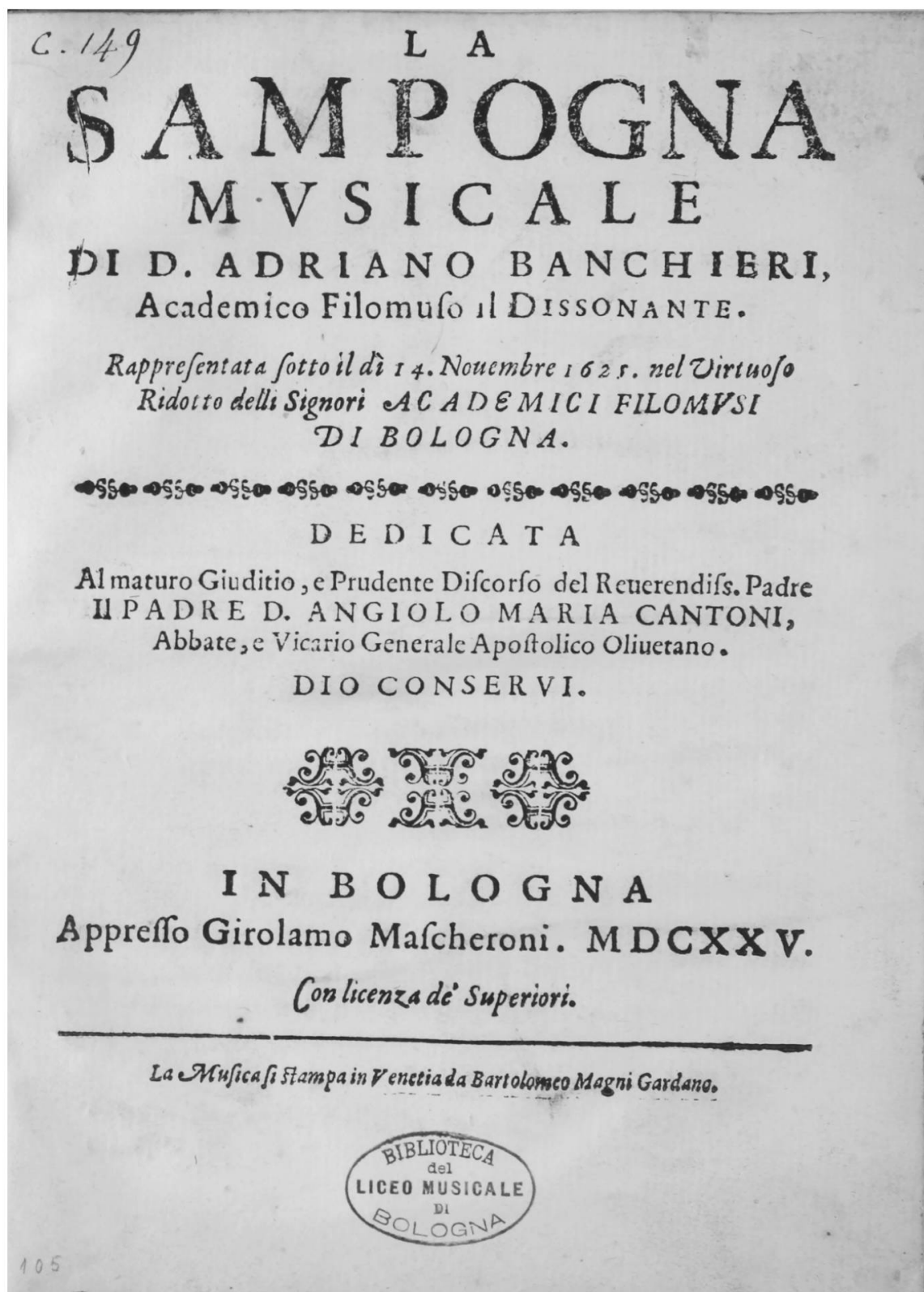


Fig. 1: Title page of Adriano Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale* [...], Bologna 1625. By permission of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna.

sampogna – the symbol of the academy and Banchieri's personal *impresa*.⁴ The presentation was recorded in two separate publications: *La sampogna musicale* (1625; see Fig. 1), which contains the text, and *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico* (1626; Fig. 2), which contains the music that was interspersed throughout.⁵ In the past the discourse recorded in *La sampogna musicale* has been dismissed as an empty manifestation of linguistic and scholarly wit.⁶ The image of the *sampogna*, which appears not only on the title page of the *Virtuoso ritrovo* but also in other publications by Banchieri spanning 25 years, might also seem like little

⁴ A brief description of the *Accademia Filomusi* is in Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, Bologna: A. Forni 1926, 2:435–436. Banchieri himself provides some details about the academy's founding and membership; see the references below.

⁵ See Adriano Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale [...] rappresentata sotto il dì 14. Novembre 1625 nel virtuoso ridotto delli Signori Academici Filomusi di Bologna*, Bologna: Appresso Girolamo Mascheroni 1625; Banchieri, *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico del Dissonante, pubblicamente praticato con variati concerti musicali a 1.2.3.4.5. voci ò stromenti, nell'Accademia de Filomusi opera XLIX*, Venice: Appresso Bortholomeo [sic] Magni 1626. An overview of the *Virtuoso ritrovo* and its connection to *La sampogna musicale* is in Giuseppe Vecchi, "Una seduta dei Filomusi a Bologna e il *Virtuoso ritrovo academico* di A. Banchieri (1626)", in: *Chigiana* 25/5 (1968), 39–52. More recently, Adrien Alix has surveyed Banchieri's discourse on the *sampogna*, and this article explores some of the same material that I present below, especially that on Giambattista Marino, albeit from a different perspective. See Adrien Alix, "Interprétations et créations autour d'un mythe musical: La sampogna d'Adriano Banchieri", in: *La revue du Conservatoire* 5 (June 2017), <http://larevue.conservatoiredeparis.fr/index.php?id=1649>. The sacred dialogues that bear the symbol of the *sampogna*, which I will discuss below, are in Banchieri, *Dialoghi concerti sinfonia e canzoni da cantarsi con due voci in variati modi nell'organo opera XLVIII*, Venice: Stampa del Gardano 1625. Other works by Banchieri that provide more abbreviated discussions of the *sampogna* are Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino [...] entro il quale si pratica quanto occorrer suole à gli suonatori d'organo, per alternar corista à gli canti fermi in tutte le feste, & solennità dell'anno*, Venice: Appresso Ricciardo Amadino 1605, 112; Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche [...] di dedicatione, ragguaglio, congratulatione, buone feste, ringratiamento, piacevolezza*, Bologna: Girolamo Mascheroni 1628, 33 and 130–135; and Banchieri, *Discorso della lingua Bolognese in questa terza impressione arricchito di molte curiosità utili à signori scolari forastieri*, Bologna: Presso Clemente Ferroni ad istanza di Francesco Mascheroni, 1630, 116–118. The presence of the image of the *sampogna* in a painted portrait of Girolamo Frescobaldi is another point that I will address below.

⁶ That William Klenz's discussion of Banchieri's *Sampogna musicale* concerns itself mostly with Banchieri's index, and hardly at all with the content of the discourse itself, exemplifies the lack of interest on the part of modern scholars in engaging seriously with the scholarly wit that characterized academic gatherings in early modern Italy. See William Klenz, *Giovanni Maria Bononcini of Modena: A Chapter in Baroque Instrumental Music*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1962, 40–42. More recently, Roger Freitas and others have attempted to contextualize the academic emphasis on "form over substance"; see Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009, 218–221 and *passim*.

more than a mere ornament, hardly integral to the pressing questions of the tumultuous turn of the seventeenth century. Yet Banchieri's repeated engagement with the image and meanings of the *sampogna* over a long period of time suggests that he ascribed more importance to this instrument than modern scholars have yet acknowledged.

Taking seriously his sustained interest in the theme of the *sampogna*, I propose to reconsider Banchieri's treatment of the symbol and its meanings. As I will argue, by referring to a complex web of literary and music-theoretical works, and by linking it with practical music-making, Banchieri used the *sampogna* to articulate a position on the fundamental unity of instruments and voices. However, rather than adopting the stance exemplified in the passage by Ganassi quoted above, in which artificial instruments are required to imitate the natural voice, Banchieri understood both voices and instruments as manifestations of technology and artisanship, increasingly recognized as legitimate sources of knowledge in the early Seicento. That Banchieri saw the poetic and theoretical explications of the *sampogna* that he advanced in his discourse as related to his work as a practising musician is underscored not only by the fact that he punctuated his spoken presentation with live instrumental and vocal music, but also by the fact that he presented his ideas within the context of a meeting of the *Filomusi*. Musical academies became more widespread in the seventeenth century than they had been previously. Though modelled after humanist academies, they most often retained a rather more professional, perhaps less erudite character. Yet the *Filomusi* seem to have taken pains to place their professional activities within a humanist context. I will explore the manifestation of Banchieri's theoretical conceptualization of the *sampogna* in two volumes of music that bear its image – not only the *Virtuoso ritrovo*, the title page of which links it explicitly to Banchieri's presentation to the *Filomusi*, but also to a volume of sacred *Dialoghi*, published at approximately the time of Banchieri's discourse. As I will show, taken together, these two publications represent complementary themes that emerge from the discourse, uniting the sacred and secular, as well as the vocal and instrumental, in a common musical genealogy.

What was the *sampogna*? Eleanor Selfridge-Field has assumed that Banchieri used the term to refer to a set of bagpipes, noting that the illustration of that instrument in his *canzona* “La sampogna” (a piece that I will discuss further below) is “not sustained musically”.⁷ Yet Banchieri's understanding connects the *sampogna* not with the bagpipes but with the panpipes; this point is clear from his description and from the illustration that appears on the cover of *Il virtuoso ritrovo* and elsewhere in Banchieri's published works. (Banchieri's understanding

7 Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 3rd ed., New York: Dover Publications 1994, 127.



Fig. 2: Adriano Banchieri, *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico del Dissonante, publicamente praticato con variati concerti musicali a 1.2.3.4.5. voci ò stromenti [...]*, Venice 1626. By permission of the British Library.

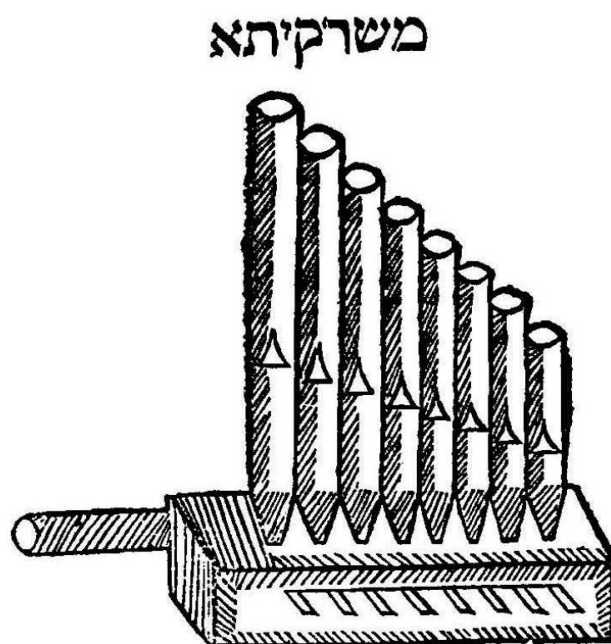


Fig. 3: Illustration of the *Masrakitha*, in A. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* [...], Rome 1650 (facsimile ed. New York and Hildesheim: G. Olms 1970), A53.

is thus not unlike the modern use of the term *zampogna* to describe the panpipes used in Latin America.⁸) The illustration presents the instrument in its idealized form. Encompassing seven pipes, it plays the notes of the *senario*, C-D-E-F-G-A, together with a C an octave above the first note, forming a *settenario*; these, of course, are the finals of Zarlino's twelve modes, as Banchieri notes explicitly in his discourse.⁹ It seems curious that Banchieri's illustration displays the panpipes upside-down. In fact, Banchieri had reason to avoid a straightforward association with the panpipes, since he also argued that the term *sampogna* denoted a primitive organ; this picture invites the viewer to consider the pipes of the *sampogna* as organ pipes. Compare, for example, the image of the *Masrakitha*, mentioned in the biblical book of Daniel, chapter 3, as pictured in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* of 1650 (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Herein, we may assume, lies the reason that the *sampogna* served not only as the *impresa* of the *Accademia Filomusi*, but as Banchieri's personal *impresa*; as an organist, he used this discourse to place himself in the long and venerable musical tradition that he would describe. The sonic diversity that the instrument embodied – encompassing all the

⁸ See the discussion in Thomas Turino, *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993, 42–43 and *passim*.

⁹ Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale* (see n. 5), 5.

¹⁰ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros*, Rome: Corbelletti 1650.

notes of the *senario*, and fusing a variety of instrumental and vocal traditions (as I will discuss below) – is captured by the motto that floats above the image of the *sampogna*: *Discordia concors*, “from discord comes harmony”. An inversion of Horace’s phrase *Concordia discors*, the motto here emphasizes that while the *sampogna* seems to display aural diversity or even chaos, it is in fact the source of all music, and thus, it stands for the most fundamental unity. In Banchieri’s formulation, the *sampogna* helps to justify modern instrumental practice through reference to old and venerable literary and theoretical traditions; it joins classical mythology with Christian theology, and unites the mechanism of the human voice with the technology and artifice of the most complex instrument then in use – the organ.

The structure of Banchieri’s discourse, including both spoken and musical components, is shown in Table 1 in the appendix. The conceit that he used to initiate the discussion is that of the relative merits of the invention of a given object and its perfection in the hands of later generations. The symbol of the *sampogna* forms the example of this conflict between old and new. Banchieri traces the apparently primitive panpipes to their origins, whether in the voice of Syrinx or in the creation story in the book of Genesis. And he connects this primitive invention with contemporary musical theory and practice, linking it to several aspects of modern musical theory and performance. He connects it to Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Istitutioni armoniche*, suggesting that Zarlino’s twelve authentic and plagal modes find their origin in the *senario*, the scale at the heart of the *sampogna*. The musical interludes heard throughout Banchieri’s discourse suggest a link between the *sampogna* and modern music-making in the pastoral mode. And finally, he argues for the evolution of the primitive *sampogna* into the modern-day organ – the musical instrument that displays the most magnificent artifice.

Banchieri’s *Sampogna*, the Metamorphosis of Syrinx, and the Biblical Model

At the heart of Banchieri’s discourse is the myth of Pan and Syrinx.¹¹ Ovid relates that the chaste nymph Syrinx often had to flee from gods and satyrs who pursued her, but she could not outrun one pursuer – Pan – whose obsession with Syrinx was sparked by a vengeful Cupid. Like so many female characters in

11 The association between the *Filomusi* and the myth of Pan and Syrinx was the impetus for a musical “favoletta” produced at the academy in 1628: Alberto Bertelli, *Siringa fugace, favoletta in musica rappresentata nell’Academia de’ Filomusi di Bologna da Alberto Bertelli L’Inutile*, Bologna: Clemente Ferroni 1628.

Ovid, Syrinx fell victim to the violence that forms the dark mirror-image of the idyllic pastoral existence that Arcadia sometimes evokes. As Ovid has it,

There remained to tell
of how the maiden, having spurned his pleas,
fled through the trackless wilds until she came
to where the gently flowing Ladon stopped
her in her flight; how she begged the water nymphs
to change her shape, and how the god, assuming
that he had captured Syrinx, grasped instead
a handful of marsh reeds! And while he sighed,
the reeds in his hands, stirred by his own breath,
gave forth a similar, low-pitched complaint!

The god, much taken by the sweet new voice
of an unprecedented instrument,
said this to her: 'At least we may converse
with one another – I can have that much.'

That pipe of reeds, unequal in their lengths
and joined together one-on-one with wax,
took the girl's name, and bears it to this day.¹²

The violence of this story is not uncommon in Ovid. But the nature of Syrinx's transformation is significant. While Daphne is transformed into a silent tree, and Orpheus's voice continues to sound *as voice* even after his decapitation,¹³ the metamorphosis of Syrinx points in another direction: her voice became embedded in an instrument. She stands for nature turned into artifice, a work of technology cultivated and shaped by her would-be master.

Significantly, Banchieri's discourse does not mention Ovid at all. Instead, he cites a contemporary writer who had treated the myth of Syrinx twice before: the poet Giambattista Marino. Marino's 1620 collection of poetry entitled *La sampogna* included as its seventh *idillo* a poem called "La Siringa". Like Banchieri, Marino associated the panpipes with Syrinx. Yet Marino's retelling of Syrinx's story offered a slightly different perspective from that of Ovid. Picking up on the creative impulse that gripped Pan, Marino emphasizes Pan's status as an *artisan*. The first sounds that Marino's Pan utters upon losing Syrinx are involuntary noises; as Marino has it, "breaths of extreme yearning / escaped his hollow chest; from his vacuous body / escaped a sigh, which trembled with a groan".¹⁴ Yet

12 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, lines 969–985, trans. Charles Martin, with introduction by Bernard Knox, London and New York: W. W. Norton 2004, 44.

13 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, lines 49–53.

14 "spirando i fiati degli estremi anheliti, / dal cavo seno, dale membra vacue / tragge sospir, che gorgogliando fremono". Giambattista Marino, *La sampogna* [...] *divisa in idilly favolosi, et pastorali*, Paris: Abraam Pacardo 1620, 191.

Pan's artisanship allows him to turn these unmusical utterances into orderly and harmonious music:

Then the sadness within him ceded to industry,
and, cutting a portion from the new roots –
piteous lover, and ingenious artificer –
with his very hand, he formed and fashioned of them
a noble (if primitive) instrument,
which had the name of Syrx, and its title
today is *sampogna* – so, in the Italian woods
of Tuscan shepherds do the people call it.
Seven reeds arranged in a beautiful series,
which, from uneven and varied measures
form an even and harmonious proportion,
held together well by soft, pure wax,
positioned so that a harmonic scale
rises in order, step by step.¹⁵

Earlier in his poem, Marino calls Pan an “animate statue, a marvellous machine, a symbol of the universe”.¹⁶ In forging his panpipes, Pan creates a musical machine worthy of the machinery that he himself embodies.

Marino was not alone in viewing Pan as a symbol of the universe; indeed, this association, stemming from an interpretation of the satyr's name as “everything”, dated at least to Medieval times. Giuseppe Horologgi's commentary to the widely read Italian poetic translation of Ovid from the sixteenth century identifies Pan as the symbol of celestial harmony, which creates order out of the great diversity in the universe: As Horologgi's commentary explains,

The fable of Pan and Syrx is rather well known: for this name ‘Pan,’ in Greek, means ‘everything.’ So if I say that nature, which is everything, was vanquished by Love, then these events were produced by this [love]. And Syrx, the beloved of Pan, would be that *concetto* and that suave harmony produced by the movement of the spheres, so much beloved by nature; these are guided with great order and mastery.¹⁷

15 “Allhora il duolo in lui cede al'industria, / e del germe novel troncando i gettiti, / pietoso amante, et ingegnoso artefice / di propria mano ne compone e fabrica / (benche selvaggio) un'istromento nobile, / ch'ebbe pur di Siringa il nome, e 'l titolo, / hoggi sampogna per le selve italiane / de' toscani pastor l'appella il popolo. / Sette boccivoli acconci in bella serie, / che di misura diseguale e varia / hanno proportion pari, e concordia, / con molle cera, e ben tenace, e candida / commette sì, che quasi scala armonica / l'un del'altro maggior saglion per ordine”. Marino, *La sampogna*, 191.

16 “animata statua, / meravigliosa machina, / del'universo è simbolo”. Marino, *La sampogna*, 186.

17 “La favola di Pan, e di Siringa e assai nota: perche questa voce Pan, nella lingua Greca significa il tutto. Si dira dunque che la natura che e il tutto figurata per Pan, rimane vinta

Horologgi's commentary proceeds to enumerate the physical attributes of Pan, each of which bears a symbolic meaning related to the movements of the heavenly bodies: his horns symbolize the moon; his face the sun; his beard the sun's rays, and so on. Therefore, Horologgi claims, "the instrument symbolizes the harmony of the heavens, known by the movement of the sun".¹⁸

The spiritual dimension of the myth of Pan and Syrinx extends still further. Indeed, Marino's earlier treatment of the myth, in his *Dicerie sacre* of 1614, had interpreted it as a Christian allegory; the seven panpipes represent the seven last words that Jesus spoke on the cross. Lifting his description of Pan's body almost directly from Horologgi, Marino concludes that Pan in fact stands for the *Divine* artisan – the source of all harmony and unity in the world. "Pan clearly stands for the great and true God. This is manifested not only in the name Pan, which means nothing less than 'Universe' or 'Everything'; but also even in his strange appearance, which contains all of nature".¹⁹ Moreover, Marino posited that the seven pipes of Pan's instrument stood for "the seven most beautiful and most affected songs [*canzonette*] that [Jesus] now composes and sings on the cross".²⁰ (This association of the Seven Last Words with the musical *canzonetta* is one to which I shall return below.) Marino's allegorical understanding of the myth of Syrinx was not unique: multiple sources from this period interpret the myth through the lens of Christianity. For example, the *Teatro d'impres*e of Giovanni Ferro, from 1623, asserts that the seven reeds could symbolize both celestial harmony and the seven sacraments of the Church.²¹ The *sampogna* signified God's

dall'amore quando ama come fa, le cose prodotte da essa; e Siringa amata da Pan, serà quel concetto, e quell'armonia soavissima de i moti delle sfere, amata molto da essa natura; come quelli, che sono guidati co[n] tanto ordine, e con tanta maestria". Ovid, *Le metamorfosi* [...] ridotte da Giovanni Andrea Dell'Anguillara, in ottava rima [...] con l'annotationi di M. Giuseppe Horologgi [...] con postille, & con gli argomenti nel principio di ciascun libro di M. Francesco Turchi, 6th ed., Venice: Appresso Camillo Franceschini 1578, fol. 13v–14r.

¹⁸ "L'instrumento poi figura l'armonia de i cieli, conosciuta per il moto del sole". Ovid, *Le metamorfosi*, 14r.

¹⁹ "Pan ci viene chiaramente dinotato il grande & vero Iddio. Il che ci manifesta non solo il nome istesso di Pan, ch' altro non importa che Universo, overo Il tutto; ma anche la strana imagine sua, la quale l'universal corpo di tutta la natura contiene". Giambattista Marino, *Dicerie sacre*, Turin: Luigi Pizzamiglio 1614, 1: fol. 95r–95v.

²⁰ "le sette bellissime & affettuosissime canzonette, ch'egli hoggi sopra la Croce compone & canta". Marino, *Dicerie sacre*, 1: fol. 99r. This passage constitutes a prime example of the figurative nature of the *Dicerie sacre*, and of Marino's use of the *concetto* (poetic conceit) as an inspiration for imaginative metaphor. See Erminia Ardissino, "Le *Dicerie sacre* del Marino e la predicazione del Seicento", in: *Marino e il Barocco. Da Napoli a Parigi. Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Università di Basilea (Svizzera) 8–10 giugno 2007*, ed. E. Russo, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso 2008, 165–184.

²¹ Giovanni Ferro, *Teatro d'impres*e, Venice: Appresso Giacomo Sarzina 1623, 2:612.

presence on earth, and God's voice was wrapped up in this story of instrumental artisanship.

Thus when Banchieri's discourse to the *Accademia filomusi* moved on to his second origin story for the *sampogna*, in the biblical book of Genesis, he was only building upon the religious interpretation that he had already begun to establish. As Banchieri explains,

If we look through the sacred book of Genesis, chapter 4, we see, in the list of descendants and offspring of Adam, that the true inventor of the *sampogna* with seven reeds was Jubal, son of Lamech, as the sacred text says, "Jubal was father of players of the *cithara* and the *organo*," and this organ invented by Jubal is the *sampogna* with seven reeds.²²

As evidence of this connection, Banchieri cites the commentary on Psalm 150 by the early Christian writer Cassiodorus: "This organ was like a tower made of seven different reeds'. Could this be any clearer in our favour?"²³ Banchieri went on to confirm his view that this instrumental tradition which began with Jubal was "perfected in the modern organ used in the church of God".²⁴ Juxtaposing the myth of Syrinx and the biblical narrative of Jubal, Banchieri concluded that the two were not necessarily contradictory: the *sampogna* was "poetically invented by the god Pan, but invented in truth by Jubal".²⁵ That Banchieri and Marino shared this dual conception of the *sampogna*, encompassing both classical and biblical poetics, has led Adrien Alix to posit that the two men were responsible

22 "E seriamente scorriamo nella Sacra Genesis al Cap. 4 che ivi haveremmo nella scendenza, e prole d'Adamo, che l'inventore reale della SAMPOGNA di sette canne fù Iuballe figlio di Lamech, dicendo il Sacro Testo *Iubal pater canentium cithara, & organo*. E che quest'organo inventato da Iuballe sia la sampogna di sette canne". Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale* (see n. 5), 4.

23 "benissimo lo dice Cassiodoro in dichiarazione di tal organo nel Salmo Davidico 150. *Organum illud erat quasi turris septem diversis fistulis fabricata. Vogliamola più chiara à favor nostro?*" Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale*, 4. Indeed, Cassiodorus interpreted the Latin *organo* in his text of Psalm 150 as "organ", rather than "instrument" more generally, as Augustine understood it. However, Cassiodorus did not specify the number of pipes on this instrument, writing simply, "*Organum itaque est quasi turris diversis fistulis fabricata*" ("An organ is a sort of castellation fashioned with different pipes, from which is produced a most abundant sound by creating wind from bellows"). See Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. P. G. Walsh, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1991, 3:464; notes to Canto X of Dante Alighieri, *The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise*, trans. Henry Francis Cary, 3rd ed., London: John Taylor, 1831, 216; and James William McKinnon, "The Church Fathers and Musical Instruments", PhD dissertation, Columbia University 1965, 250–252.

24 "perfettionato nell'organo hodiernamente praticato nella chiesa di Dio". Banchieri, *La sampogna musicale* (see n. 5), 5.

25 "poeticamente inventata dal Dio Pane, e veracemente da Iuballe". Ibid., 6.

for endowing the *sampogna* with its symbolism.²⁶ Poetics, including metaphor, allegory, and the Marinist *concetto*, enhanced the messages of the *sampogna*; the myth of Syrinx was simply another layer of the biblical creation story.

Links to Contemporary Musical Practice

As a cleric and organist employed by the church, Banchieri implicitly placed himself in this tradition. It allowed him, moreover, to bridge the worlds of poetry and practice. The meanings of the *sampogna* as a link between the human voice and the most primitive instruments could be transferred, too, to the instruments and instrumental repertoire of Banchieri's own day. In fact, the analogy between the artifice of the late-Renaissance organ and that of the human voice had also been made previously – not just in speculative or poetic treatises. Girolamo Diruta had discussed the connection in the letter to the reader that opened his pedagogical work on keyboard playing, *Il Transilvano* (1593). Diruta stressed the connection between the organs of the human body, which he understood as the instruments by which the body performs its functions, and the organ as a musical instrument. Indeed, he understood the term “organ” as *instrument* – the entire category of instruments of music, sculpture and painting, logic, natural philosophy and so forth, in keeping with common usage by natural philosophers such as Galileo and Francis Bacon. As Diruta wrote,

Today we clearly see that the organ is called the musical instrument par excellence because it includes all the others. That is to say, it embodies in itself the virtue of all the other instruments by which the meaning of music, both vocal and instrumental, is gently revealed. Therefore, the organ so designated is the King of Instruments, justifiably kept in the churches sacred to God for rendering praise and honor to His Majesty [...]. Because it is so much more excellent and noble than the others, it better represents the human voice by combining the functions of breath and hand. The pipes, of whatever material they be, correspond to the throat through which breath passes to form the sound and voice. One can almost surely say that the organ is a mechanical animal that speaks, plays, and sings through the hands and skill of man.²⁷

²⁶ Alix, “Interprétations d’un mythe musical” (see n. 5).

²⁷ “Et chiaramente veggiamo, che si dà hoggi a gli isrumenti musicali, chiamandosi per eccellenza, organo quello che raccoglie in se tutti gl’altri, cioè la virtù di tutti gl’altri instrumenti, con li quali il valore de la musica, ne le voci, & ne suoni soavemente si scopre, onde l’organo, cosi chiamato è Rè de gl’istrumenti ragionevolmente tenuto nelle chiese sacre di Dio, per rendere lode & honore à Sua Maestà [...] & tanto maggiormente è de gli altri più eccellente & più nobile, quanto meglio rappresenta la voce humana, operandosi in esso il fiato, & le mano. Et le canne, di qual materia elle si siano, rappresentano le fauci humane, per dove passa lo spirito à formare il suono, & la voce, che quasi si puo securamente dire, che l’organo sia uno artificioso animale, che parli, suoni, & canti con le mani, & con l’arte dell’huomo”. Girolamo Diruta,

Just as Gioseppe Horologgi had dissected the physical figure of Pan, connecting each part of his body allegorically with a component of the universe, Diruta explains that the organ is a work of artifice that should be likened to the human body:

Its sound, which reaches the ears like words reflecting the affects of the heart, stands for the interior disposition of the person who plays it. The bellows correspond to the lungs, the pipes to the throat, and the keys to the teeth. Instead of a tongue, the player with light movements of the hand, makes it sound smoothly and almost converse in a good-natured way.²⁸

Diruta's exploration of the anatomy of both the organ and the human voice prefigured the remarkable exercise that Marino would undertake in his *Dicerie sacre*. After introducing the idea of Pan as a metaphor for God and the *sampogna* as the voice of Jesus on the cross, Marino went on to dismember the human voice itself, explaining that each part of the voice may be thought of as a part of a musical instrument. Nature – the natural voice – is reconstituted as a complex machine, a work of technology and artisanship. This point is brought to the foreground in Marino's assertion that the "mouth is the first inventor of the sound of the *sampogna*, and that it emulates [the *sampogna*] ingeniously".²⁹ This remarkable statement inverts the Renaissance model of the human voice as the model for all artificial instruments, and the ideal of instruments merely to imitate the human voice. Instead, Marino contends that the human mouth is itself an artificer – a creator of the *samponga*, and that, ultimately, the *voice* seeks to emulate the *instrument*. He asserts, further on, that the voice is nothing but "an animated lyre",³⁰ thus joining the two categories of instruments – winds and strings, embodied in the mythical Contest of Apollo and Pan – in an understanding that disembodies the human voice and renders it alien to the reader. And

"L'auttore dell'opera al prudente lettore", in: *Il Transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna*, Venice: Giacomo Vincenti 1593, 1:[n. p.], translated in Edward John Soehnlein, "Diruta on the Art of Keyboard Playing: An Annotated Translation and Transcription of *Il Transilvano*, Parts I (1593) and II (1609)", PhD dissertation, University of Michigan 1975, 1:89–90.

²⁸ "[i]l suono che arriva all'orecchie come parole che significano gl'affetti del cuore, rappresenta l'interna dispositione de lo spirito, che lo governa, havendo i mantici corrispondenti al polmone, le canne alla gola, i tasti a' denti, e'l sonatore in vece di lingua, che con leggiadri movimenti della mano lo fà soavemente sonare, & quasi con dolci maniere parlare". Diruta, "L'auttore dell'opera al prudente lettore", in: *Il Transilvano*, [n.p.], Trans. in Soehnlein, "Diruta on the Art of Keyboard Playing" (see n. 26), 92.

²⁹ "Del suono della sa[m]pogna sia stata la nostra bocca prima inventrice, & che ne sia tuttavia ingenuosa emulatrice". Marino, *Dicerie sacre* (see n. 19), fol. 127r.

³⁰ "un'animata lira". Marino, *Dicerie sacre* (see n. 19), fol. 127v.

finally, Marino compares the voice to the organ, whose natural home was the church:

Not only were the *sampogna* and the *lira* invented by our mouths, but an instrument even more admirable and strange because of its origins and form [...]. Starting from the end of the first centuries of the growing religion the temples of Christians, to awaken the souls of the faithful to divine praise, they put into use musical instruments called organs [...]. This self-same organ is found in the mouth of man. The voice stands in place of the sound. The lungs sustain the air of the bellows [...] the wind-pipe is like the pipes that are used for discussions of the spirit. The unequal ordering of the pipes corresponds to the various dispositions of the teeth, which serve to articulate and shape the voice, and divide the syllables of the song. Do you desire [an analogy for] the artificer, or the player? That is the intellect.³¹

The same conceits thus appear in a wide array of sources: Diruta's practical volume on keyboard playing, Marino's poetic works and prose essays, and Banchieri's discourse to the *Filomusi* all consider the organ to have been modelled on the human voice; moreover, they consider the organ a means of dissecting, analysing, and understanding the human voice itself. Banchieri unites two strains of thought – the mythological and the Christian – arguing for their fundamental unity in this respect. The artisanship on display in the myth of Pan and Syrinx becomes a metaphor for understanding the Divine Artisan. Since, as Marino put it, the human being was a "portrait of the Divine",³² the technological ingenuity of human creators mirrored the work of God the technologist.

In this context, Marino's claim that the Seven Last Words of Jesus on the cross were not words, but *canzonette*, assumes a new significance. In this allegory, God the Artificer also possessed a human anatomy capable of making music. And this anatomy was comprised of no more and no less than divine technology. The undeniable violence of the myth of Pan and Syrinx is mirrored, in Marino's allegory, by the violence of the crucifixion. But the music of the crucifixion offered the hope of redemption. And what was the music of redemption? Marino knew well that the term *canzonette* most often referred to the light, strophic songs with evenly measured lines – would-be folksongs – in the style that he

31 "Non solo la sampogna, & la lira furono dalla nostra bocca inventate, ma stromento ancora molto più mirabile & strano trasse origine & forma da questa [...]. Furono infin da' primi secoli della dilatata religione ne' templi de' Christiani per risvegliare gli animi fedeli alle divine lodi, messi in uso alcuni stromenti musici, che organi s'appellano [...] Quest'organo medesimamente nella bocca dell'huomo si ritrova. La voce ottiene il luogo del suono. I polmoni sostengono la vece de' mantici [...] L'arteria è come il cannone, per cui discorre lo spirito. Con l'ordine delle canne disuguali si conforma la varia dispositione de' denti, aquali s'appartiene frangere & figurar la voce, & dividere gli articoli del canto. Volete poi l'artefice, ò il sonatore? Ecco l'intelletto". Marino, *Dicerie sacre* (see n. 19.), fol. 128r–129r.

32 "ritratto della divinità". Marino, *Dicerie sacre* (see n. 19.), fol. 97v.

would later use in his poetic collection *La sampogna*. Banchieri may well have had this understanding in mind when composed the music for *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico*, as well as the volume that, I argue, is its companion – his sacred *Dialoghi* of 1625.

The *Sampogna* and Banchieri's Music

That the *Virtuoso ritrovo* includes both vocal and instrumental pieces underscores Banchieri's project in *La sampogna musicale*. His discourse centres around an instrument with lineage in both classical mythology and the biblical tradition. The myth of Pan and Syrinx emphasizes the emergence of the instrumental technology from the voice of the nymph; the voice is embedded in the instrument through Pan's artifice. Through the allegorical understanding that sees Pan as symbolizing "the great and true God", Banchieri links this technological tradition to the organ. Diruta and Marino understood the organ as encompassing the anatomy of the human voice; the artifice inherent in the construction of this instrument makes it especially appropriate for use in the praise of God. Given the unity of voices and instruments inherent in both of these layers of the story, it seems appropriate that the academicians who gathered to hear Banchieri's discourse should hear both instrumental works and vocal works with instrumental accompaniment.

As shown in Table 1, after a brief spoken introduction on the general theme of the invention and perfection of objects, Banchieri's discourse turned to musical performance. The rubric indicates that the piece(s) played here consisted of a "ripieno di varij, e diversi stromenti musicali"; this is the only such rubric that does not mention voices. It seems likely that it was at this point that the *canzona* entitled "La sampogna" was played. The piece is relatively straightforward: scored for four instruments in the disposition CATB, it employs a single motif that appears first starting on G and then on C, cycling through all four voices in counterpoint. Banchieri's use of the Ionian mode underscores the rustic associations of the *sampogna*. The contrapuntal subject itself may be understood as an illustration of the instrument's capabilities: it can be played, in theory, on Banchieri's idealized *sampogna*, since its range is the *senario* from C to A (the octave at the top of the instrument serves to justify that interval as a consonance). The slight chromatic inflection in this theme may be obtained on the panpipes simply by tilting the instrument a bit (see Ex. 1).

Given the possibility that Banchieri was trying to imitate a melody that might be played on the primitive *sampogna* in its form as depicted by Banchieri, it is curious that this *canzona* is scored not for organ, or indeed for any wind instrument, but rather for "four violette da braccio" – violin-family instruments. Indeed, throughout the *Virtuoso ritrovo*, Banchieri seems to have gone out of his

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a canzona titled "La sampogna" by Adriano Banchieri. Each system consists of four staves, labeled on the left as "Viola da braccio [prima]", "Viola da braccio [seconda]", "Viola da braccio [terza]", and "Viola da braccio [quarta]". The music is written in a single system with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system shows the initial measures, with the first staff (Viola da braccio [prima]) featuring a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the other three staves are mostly rests. The second system, starting at measure 6, shows more active participation from the second and third staves. The third system, starting at measure 10, shows the first staff with a melodic line and the fourth staff with a bass line. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, typical of early modern Italian lute tablature transcriptions.

Ex. 1: Adriano Banchieri, canzona "La sampogna", in: *Il virtuoso ritrovo*, mm. 1–13.

way to avoid the mention of organs or wind instruments, substituting instead the harpsichord, spinet, and string instruments. Even with respect to the vocal pieces in this volume – pieces that, because of the mythological link between the voice and the *sampogna*, might be understood to refer symbolically to that

instrument – Banchieri excludes winds, including the organ, entirely. In other respects his scoring was quite flexible; a number of pieces, he indicated, have vocal lines that may be executed on instruments instead. And yet, the fact that the instruments associated with the *sampogna* are excluded from this scenario, with violins replacing melodic wind instruments and the harpsichord or spinetta replacing the organ, indicates that something more is at play.

An understanding of Banchieri's approach requires that we look at one other source. While this volume does not advertise its connection to a gathering of an academy, as the title of the *Virtuoso ritrovo* does, it is stamped with the image of the *sampogna* (Fig. 4). Banchieri's *Dialoghi, concerti, sinfonie, e canzoni* contains vocal works on sacred themes as well as instrumental *concerti* and *sinfonie* based on sacred melodies, all expressly designated for performance *nell'organo*, with the accompaniment of an organ. With a publication date of 1625 and a dedication signed on 8 September of the same year, the volume likely appeared in print right around the time of Banchieri's discourse to the *Filomusi*. While the pastoral associations of the *sampogna* were explored in the music presented at the academic gathering, I think the instrument's sacred associations – and, specifically, its connection to the organ – are exemplified in the *Dialoghi*.

Here I would like to return to a theory that I outlined in my book, and that we have already seen at play in Marino's *Dicerie sacre*: in what I have called the "paradox of instrumentality" in 17th-century Italy, instrumental composers and theorists frequently thought of the effectiveness of instruments not in terms of their close imitation of nature, but in terms of their *distance* from nature. In evoking the natural – whether natural human emotions or natural images of the pastoral, as in the myth of Syrinx – composers such as Biagio Marini sought to use the means, the tools or instruments, that bore the least resemblance to the object of representation.³³ Writing of instrumental music in particular Galileo Galilei explained this aesthetic principle, writing that he valued the ability of instrumental musicians to capture and express human emotions "without voice, with the instrument alone, with musical dissonances and pathos-filled sounds, since the inanimate strings are less able to awaken the secret *affetti* of our soul, than the voice is in telling of them".³⁴ Listeners experienced a sense of *meraviglia* at the representation of human *affetti* through subtle, artificial means. Marino's

³³ See Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions* (see n. 2), 13–50.

³⁴ "se tacendo, col solo strumento, con crudezze et accenti patetici musicali, ciò facesse, per esser le inanimate corde meno atte a *risvegliare gli affetti occulti dell'anima nostra*, che la voce raccontandole". Galileo Galilei to Lodovico Cigoli, dated 26 June 1612. Transcribed in Galileo Galilei, *Le opere*, ed. Antonio Favaro, Florence: Barbera 1901, 11:342. Further on this aesthetic ideal, see Andrea Bolland, "Desiderio and Diletto: Vision, Touch, and the Poetics of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*", in: *Art Bulletin* 82/2 (June 2000), 309–330, as well as the discussion and citations in Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions* (see n. 2), 13–50.



Fig. 4: Title page of Adriano Banchieri, *Dialoghi concerti sinfonie e canzoni da cantarsi con due voci*, Venice 1625. By permission of the British Library.

aesthetic, outlined above, resonates strongly with this understanding. Upending the Renaissance idea of instruments as imitators of the human voice, Marino sought to reconstitute the human voice through consideration of its mechanical

construction and procedures. For both Galileo and Marino, the wonder of the artwork lay in the ontological gap between the instrument used for representation and the object or idea that was being represented.

Banchieri's *canzona* "La sampogna" goes out of its way to construct the musical *topoi* associated with the mythological instrument without imitating it overtly using the sound of wind instruments. The violin stands in for Banchieri's mythical *sampogna*, however. To a listener aware of the title of the piece, the range of the *senario* would evoke the image of the *sampogna* and its associated mythology through artificial means. The same is true in the variation sonatas in the *Virtuoso ritrovo*, in which the line between vocality and instrumentality seems remarkably fluid, as the instruments adopt gestures and motifs familiar from vocal works of the same period. The *Romanesca* seems to have been a vehicle for exploration of just this dichotomy – especially within academic contexts. Compare, for example, Banchieri's *Romanesca* in *Il virtuoso ritrovo* with Biagio Marini's *Romanesca* for solo violin in his opus 3 collection of 1620, which was published while Marini was music master for the *Accademia degli Erranti* of Brescia. That piece opens with three variations derived from the vocal idiom of the early Seicento, but closes with three variations in dance metres that relate to the *Romanesca*'s history as a vehicle for instrumental variation (Ex. 2). Banchieri's *Romanesca* variations do not adopt the same rhetorical tone as that found at the opening of Marini's variations, maintaining instead a light character with division-style ornaments that imply a consistent, forward-moving pulse throughout (Ex. 3). In the table of contents, Banchieri notes that the two melody lines of his vocal *Romanesca* in *Il virtuoso ritrovo* "Io son pur vezzosetta" may be played or sung by "dui soprani o tenori o violini" (Ex. 4). In general, this flexible instrumentation appears in vocal works with a light character such as this one, rather than those in the rhetorical, affective mode (for example, the beautiful "Lamento di Leandro pastore"). Nevertheless, the possibility of performance of these pieces by either voices or violins raises the possibility that Banchieri was not merely trying to accommodate a variety of performing forces, but that he was asserting the fundamental continuity between voices and instruments as a whole.

The musical contents of the *Virtuoso ritrovo* exemplify only certain aspects of the meanings of the *sampogna* – in particular, its pastoral *topoi*. By avoiding wind instruments, including the organ, in this volume Banchieri may have been participating in an important aesthetic movement of the age, seeking to represent the sound of the *sampogna* through stringed instruments. This same movement may be seen in the writings of Giambattista Marino, which Banchieri knew and cited in his discourse. Yet the meeting of the *Filomusi* could not accommodate the implementation of the other association of the *sampogna* – an association that Marino and Banchieri both acknowledged explicitly: that of sacred music, culminating in the organ. Exploration of this association was left for

Prima parte

Violino

Basso

6

11

Seconda parte

16

20

Ex. 2: Biagio Marini, “Romanesca per violin solo e basso se piace” in: *Arie, madrigali e corenti*, Venice 1620, mm. 1–23.

Banchieri’s *Dialoghi*, in which all the dialogues are scored for high and low voice with accompaniment *nell’organo*.

Banchieri located the origin of all music-making in the *sampogna*, using it to argue for the continuity and fundamental compatibility between the sacred and secular, between classical Arcadia and Christian Italy, between nature and artifice, between the ancient world and the modern. His conception of all these

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system includes staves for Violino [primo], Violino [secondo], and Spineta. The second system begins at measure 5, with a measure rest in the Violino [secondo] part. The third system begins at measure 9. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

EX. 3: Adriano Banchieri, “Sonata prima. Riprese e scherzo con due violini sopra la Romanesca”, in: *Il virtuoso ritrovo*, mm. 1–12.

categories was thoroughly rooted in the Marinist aesthetic, which valued technology and invention. Vocality and instrumentality were both products of artisanship, and they mirrored the artisanship of the Divine technologist.

Epilogue: The *Sampogna* in the Hands of Girolamo Frescobaldi

In Banchieri’s understanding, the *sampogna* was a mystical and mysterious symbol. One last mystery that persists even today concerns a painted portrait of Girolamo Frescobaldi (Fig. 5a–b), now held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The portrait shows the composer-keyboardist holding a small piece of

Canto primo

Canto secondo

Arpicordo

Ritornello

5

-set - ta pa - sto - rel - la, vez - zo - set - ta pa - sto - rel - la Che le guan - cie,

Che le

9

che le guan - cie hò di ro - - - - se, hò di

guan - cie, che le guan - cie hò di ro - - - - se,

12

ro - - - - se e gel - so - mi - - - ni

hò di ro - - - - se e gel - so - mi - - - ni

Ritornello

Ex. 4: Adriano Banchieri, "Romanesca Io son pur vez-zosetta", in: *Il virtuoso ritrovo*, mm. 1–14.

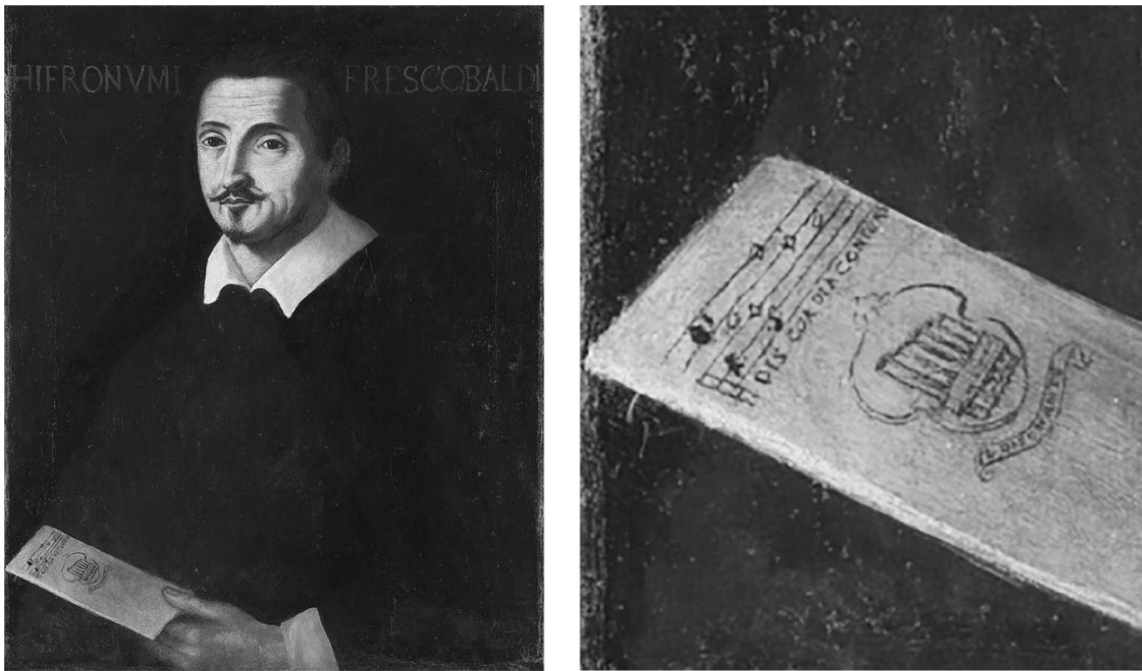


Fig. 5a–b: Anonymous, portrait of Girolamo Frescobaldi, and detail, 17th century, 72 × 59 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie, inventory: GG 7945. Reproduced by permission.

paper on which is drawn a musical emblem – the same *sampogna* that functioned as Banchieri’s *impresa* and that of the Bolognese *Accademia Filomusi*. The academic pseudonym “Il Disonante”, shown on the emblem, has been understood in the past as referring to Frescobaldi.³⁵ Indeed, as Alexander Silbiger has pointed out, there was an academy in Rome known as the *Ineguali* which used this symbol and the phrase “Discordia concors”, as its motto,³⁶ and another academy of *Ineguali* in Florence, though they operated without this motto. A Florentine connection is suggested by the fact that Frescobaldi’s *Arie musicali* of 1630 – issued in Florence after the composer’s brief sojourn there – bears the same emblem, together with the motto and the academic pseudonym, twice, alongside numerous other pictorial flourishes, as discussed by Naomi Barker.³⁷

³⁵ Alexander Silbiger, “The Mystery of the Frescobaldi Portraits”, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, New York, NY, 21 April 2012. I am grateful to Alexander Silbiger for sharing this paper with me prior to its publication. As Martina Papiro points out in personal correspondence, the fact that the emblem inscription is missing one “s”, misspelling the word “dissonante” as “disonante” may be intentional; in this spelling, the word creates a pun, meaning “di-sonante”, or “double-sounding”.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Naomi Barker, “Mottos and Metaphors: Towards an Interpretation of the Emblems in Frescobaldi’s *Primo libro d’arie musicali*”, in: *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 25 (2019): <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-25-no-1/barker-mottos-and-metaphors/#Ch8>.

Although it is certainly possible that Frescobaldi belonged to a professional musical academy, he might also merely have adopted the symbol of the *sampogna*, along with its associated meanings, from his Bolognese colleague. While the portrait in Vienna bears no indication of either the identity of the painter or the year in which the painting was executed,³⁸ the presence of the image of the *sampogna* in the *Arie musicali* of 1630 suggests that it had meaning for Frescobaldi at that time.³⁹ It is possible, too, that Banchieri's use of the image in his volumes of music and his discourse in 1625 and 1626 predated Frescobaldi's portrait. Whether this chronology is correct or not, however, it seems likely that Frescobaldi would have understood the image of the *sampogna* and its motto in terms similar to those explained by Banchieri, as Barker suggests.

A link between Frescobaldi's usage of the *sampogna* and the understanding of Banchieri is supported by a sonnet included in a pamphlet of poetry in praise of Frescobaldi, printed in Rome in 1628.⁴⁰ That these poems are dominated by a formulaic approach overall should not obscure the distinctive imagery that they employ. Two successive poems in the collection glorify Frescobaldi's inventive keyboard playing by referring to specific idiomatic features of different instruments. One of these poems addresses his "sonorous harpsichord" (*gravicembalo sonoro*), where the ivory keys pluck golden strings, uniting earthy music with the melodies of paradise. The other praises Frescobaldi's organ playing in particular:

These animated reeds, in which the accents
So sweetly move the serene air,
Are the images, I imagine, of those harmonies
That Heaven maintains, moving the spheres.

You are the prime mover, who awakens and lures
Thousands of new Syrinxes – even Sirens –
So swiftly that the winds can barely fly
To follow the hand that comes to touch them.

³⁸ Information on the provenance of the portrait is in Thomas Kuster and Veronika Sandbichler, "Erz fürst. etc. Raiß Nacher Welsch Landt [...] De anno 1652. Das Reisetagebuch Erzherzog Ferdinand Karls. Eine kritische Edition", in: *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen* 3 (2010), 194–385: 198, fn. 32.

³⁹ The *sampogna* emblem appears in Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Primo libro d'arie musicali per cantarsi nel gravicimbalo, e tiorba*, Florence: Giovanni Battista Landini 1630, 5 and 43. The iconography of the *Arie musicali* was discussed in Naomi Barker, "Frescobaldi's *Primo libro d'arie musicali*: The Printed Book as Multimedia Experience?" paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Providence, RI, 21 April 2017.

⁴⁰ This document was presented for the first time to modern readers in Frederick Hammond, "A New Frescobaldi Document", in: *Fiori musicali: Liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, ed. Claire Fontijn with Susan Parisi, Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press 2010, 3–22. My thanks to Andrew Dell'Antonio for sharing a facsimile of this document with me.

Neither Zephyr among the leaves, nor stream through the rocks,
Nor pipe of Pan, nor golden lyre,
Has ever made itself heard to compare with you, FRESCOBALDI.

But, if in your fingers, creating a chorus,
Apollo dwells as tenth among the muses,
What equal is there on earth to compete with them?⁴¹

Treating the organ separately from the harpsichord, the poet explicitly connects the organ with the myth of Pan and Syrinx. In calling Frescobaldi the “*primo mobil*”, a “prime mover” who awakens a host of new Syrinxes, he places the organist in the position of Pan, who, as we have seen, was widely understood to represent the *Divine* prime mover. Frescobaldi’s embodied knowledge as an instrumentalist possessed creative, almost alchemical powers. Frederick Hammond has suggested that another of these sonnets in praise of Frescobaldi was meant to liken him to Claudio Monteverdi.⁴² Given that, it seems possible that this sonnet linking Frescobaldi to the *sampogna* and the myth of Syrinx suggested a comparison between Frescobaldi and Banchieri, who had published his discourse on the *sampogna* three years earlier.

Finally, this symbolism may lie behind the brief but very curious letter from Banchieri to Frescobaldi that was printed in Banchieri’s *Lettere armoniche*.⁴³ In this document, strangely, Banchieri offered praise for the octave, noting that the octave was highly esteemed by all ancient writers because it symbolized “la perfetta armonia”, for it included all the major and minor consonances as well as all dissonances. Banchieri’s letter to Frescobaldi is dated 17 December, and Banchieri noted that it would be eight days – an octave of days – until the celestial choir would “announce the birth of the Word made flesh”. This seems like an odd topic of discussion for two musicians – after all, no one would doubt the importance of the octave as the building block for all consonances and disso-

41 “Queste animate canne, ove gl’accenti / Van sì dolci à ferir l’aure serene, / Son l’imagin, cred’io, di quei concetti, / Che le sfere movendo il Ciel mantiene. // Primo mobil sei tù, che desti, e tenti / Mille nuove Siringhe, anzi Sirene, / Ratto così, ch’a’pena à volo i venti / Seguo la man, ch’à tasteggiar le viene. // Ne Zeffir tra le foglie onda fra sassi, / Nè fistula di Pan, nè cetra d’oro / Pari à tè FRESCOBALDI unqua udir fassi. // Ma, se ne le tue dita à fare il coro, / Decimo con le Muse Apollo stassi, / Che vale in terra à gareggiar con loro?” [s.s.v.v.], *Sonetti di diversi eccellentiss. autori in lode del Sig. Girolamo Frescobaldi*, Rome: Andrea Fei 1628, 5. An alternate translation is in Hammond, “A New Frescobaldi Document” (see n. 38), 6.

42 Hammond, “A New Frescobaldi Document” (see n. 38), 14–18.

43 This letter is in Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 63–64. The purposes for which Banchieri published his *Lettere armoniche* are assessed in Abigail Ballantyne, “Social Networking in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The ‘Harmonious Letters’ of a Monk-Musician”, in: *Networks of Music and Culture in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, London and New York: Routledge 2016, 231–250.

nances. The significance of this letter, however, becomes clearer when we observe that a much more verbose version of the same justification of the octave appeared in Banchieri's discourse on the *sampogna* – an instrument that encompassed the *senario* within an octave and that, he claimed, formed the mystical source for all subsequent music – vocal and instrumental, sacred and secular, celestial and earthly. Indeed, Barker posits that the symbol represents, broadly speaking, “a metaphor for resolving discord”.⁴⁴ Frescobaldi's own use of the image of the *sampogna* in his *Arie musicali* of 1630, as well as in his undated portrait, and the prominent usage of the *sampogna* in the sonnet in Frescobaldi's honour also printed in 1628, may constitute a nod toward this mutual understanding between these two organists. In dealing with a musical environment that still favoured guild-based training and relationships alongside written and learned cultures, the use of visual imagery such as the *sampogna* along with hints in written texts may help us to understand how musical meaning could be conveyed and shared. In this case, it seems possible that the image of the *sampogna* stood for the continuity of technology and creativity, humanism and religious spirituality, and vocality and instrumentality in the context of new aesthetic understandings.

⁴⁴ Barker, “Mottos and Metaphors” (see n. 37).

Appendix

Table 1:
The structure of Banchieri's discourse as recorded in *La sampogna musicale*.

Event	Rubric	Theme
Music	p. 3: "Doppo un ripieno di varij, e diversi stromenti musicali, il Dissonante Academico Filomuso intraprende" (After a full consort of various and diverse musical instruments, "Il Dissonante", a member of the Accademia Filomusi, commences).	No specific piece is mentioned, but the rubric suggests that the music was instrumental, not vocal, and it emphasizes the diversity of instruments involved. Perhaps one of the pieces was the canzona "La sampogna", included in <i>Il virtuoso ritrovo</i> .
Spoken introduction (p. 3)		Discusses the question of which is more worthy of praise: the inventor of something or the person who perfects it?
Musical interlude	p. 4: "Doppo alcune sonate, e concerti di voci, e strome[n]ti, Il discorso seguita" (After a few sonatas and <i>concerti</i> of voices and instruments, the discourse follows).	
Discussion of Pan and Syrinx (p. 4)		Banchieri cites "gl'antichi poeti" and his own contemporary Giambattista Marino as the source of the myth, relating them to the <i>sampogna</i> . Syrinx represents "discord", while the sampogna that was formed from her anatomy represents "concord".
Discussion of Jubal, David, and the panpipes as the forerunner of the organ (p. 4)		Cites Genesis, chapter 4 and Cassiodorus's commentary to Psalm 150 as evidence that the <i>sampogna</i> was the forerunner of the organ.
Praise of the seven notes of the <i>sampogna</i> , which produces the octave (p. 5)		Cites Aristotle, King David, Guido, Zarlino, and others. Summarizes the basic elements of Zarlino's modal system.

Event	Rubric	Theme
Summary (p. 6)		Summarizes the discourse and concludes, with Plato, that the <i>sampogna</i> is the “imitator of celestial harmony”.
Musical conclusion by the academicians (p. 6)	“Ripieno di voci, e stromenti. In applause musicale. Gli Academici Filomusi al Dissonante concertino” (Full consort of voices and instruments in a musical applause. The members of the Accademia Filomusi play for Il Dissonante).	The poem “Hor, che da noi non parte / l’animato candor d’alto concento ...”, which appears on pp. 6–7 of <i>La sampogna musicale</i> , may have been the text of the piece sung to regale Banchieri. No music with this text is included.

