

CONTINUO PRACTICE FOR THE THEORBO
AS INDICATED
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN PRINTED
AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

3 VOLUMES

I

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ABSTRACT

Agostino Agazzari, in his treatise *Del sonare sopra'l basso* (1607), divided instruments into two classes according to their role in the continuo body: instruments of 'foundation', which provide chordal support; and instruments of 'ornamentation', which play and ornament a single line. The theorbo was classified as an instrument appropriate for both roles, a double function that, due to the peculiarities of the instrument and the strong influence of Renaissance traditions, emerged as an idiomatic and multifarious accompanying style, more complicated and colourful than that of our modern conception, which is evident in seventeenth-century Italian intabulated continuo sources. Salamone Rossi's *Il primo libro de madrigali* (1600), Girolamo Kapsberger's *Libro primo* and *Libro terzo di villanelle* (1610 and 1619 respectively) and *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* (1612), Flamminio Corradi's *Le stravaganze d'amore* (1616), and Bellerofonte Castaldi's *Capricci a due stromenti* (1622) contain songs with intabulated continuo realizations that demonstrate primarily the foundation role of the theorbo, and reveal an accompanying style that depended more on the sonority of the instrument than on a theoretical basis: the number of voices in the accompaniment varies, the bass line and chord positions are frequently transposed downwards, and even faulty chord progressions with parallel motion and faulty inversions or problematical voice-leading are occasionally allowed, all in order to get what sounds effective on the instrument. These features are also evident in the tables of chordal realizations included in Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (1626) and New York, Public Library, Ms. JOC 93-2 (c.1680), which, together with Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Mus. G. 239 (c.1670), also demonstrate the ornamental function of the theorbo. The presence of collected linear, ornamental realizations over bass notes or sequences, which were intended to serve either as examples for imitation or as mnemonic models to be applied in an actual performance, reveal that ornamental improvisation was an essential element of theorbo accompaniment.

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LIST OF ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL

As part fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music Performance Practice a concert was given on 29 April 2005 in the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall, York. The programme and an audio CD recording of this concert accompany this thesis and they are attached to the inside back cover of the present volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Brussels 275 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. II 275 (The lute book of Raffaello Cavalcanti).
- Brussels 704 Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique, Codex 704.
- Florence LF2 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Landau-Finaly Mus. 2.
- Florence 10431 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. F III 10431.
- Modena C311 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Mus. C. 311 (The lute book of Cosimo Bottegari).
- Modena G239 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Mus. G. 239.
- New York 93-2 New York, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Tilden and Lenox Foundations, call no. JOC 93-2.
- Rome 4433 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barberini Lat. 4433 (Pier Francesco Valentini, *Il leuto anatomizzato*).

Note pitches are specified according to the Helmholtz system of pitch notation:



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1. INTRODUCTION

During the twentieth century there has been a strong movement for the revival of early music. Although from the nineteenth century, inspired by the concept of romanticism, prominent figures such as François-Joseph Fétis and Victor-Charles Mahillon showed particular interest in pre-classical music and instruments, it was not until the time of Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940) when this interest started becoming an actual movement that lasted throughout the twentieth century. Dolmetsch's activities guided the movement for the early music revival, relying on two basic principles: performance on early instruments; and research and understanding of the primary sources, the contemporary aesthetics and the playing techniques of early instruments. The appliance of these principles resulted in performances—not authentic as they were called at first, but historically informed—through which the character of early music may be more vividly appreciated.

The reconstruction of early performing style, however, has not always been accurate or balanced according to historical perspective. For example, basso continuo practices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the distinction between periods and the differences among regions have received insufficient attention until recently. With the tendency to look at what is closer in time and therefore more familiar, mid- and late-eighteenth century keyboard continuo treatises have received exceptional attention and their rules have been frequently applied to music that was composed considerably earlier. Furthermore, a style extracted from the standpoint of keyboard practice was standardized and the more idiomatic styles of other instruments were overlooked. In particular, although for the seventeenth century the instruments of the lute family were equally important for continuo accompaniment, the sources that

contain information about their accompanying style have received very little scholarly attention, and this has been disproportional to the role they played. To some extent, this shortage of scholarship is a result of the keyboard-orientated musical way of thinking of the twentieth century. More importantly it is the tablature notational system of the lute-family instruments, as well as their particularities, which does not allow easy access to scholars, and limits the study of lute music to lutenists.

In an attempt to remedy this shortage of scholarship, and given that the history of the theorbo was especially intertwined with the development of seventeenth-century Italian music, the present work seeks to study and evaluate the most important theorbo sources that contain information about basso continuo practices of this time. The focus will be on tablature sources that contain either continuo accompaniments of songs or instructions for continuo realization. Due to the character of tablature, which indicates the placement of the fingers of the left hand on the fingerboard and the composite rhythms, these sources provide evidence of musical conventions of continuo realization by lute players. They offer written-out evidence of the texture of the accompaniment such as the choice of chords over the bass notes, the number of voices and the restriking of them, the addition of suspensions and passing notes or the addition of melodic ornamentation. Although the intabulations were primarily intended for the use of amateurs, this does not reduce their value, for the reason that they indicate precisely at least the minimum of expectations of the accompaniment.

The task of examining these sources would have been extremely difficult without the prior fundamental contributions during the last thirty years by authors such as Robert Spencer, Douglas Alton Smith, Kevin Mason, Tharald Borgir, Lynda Sayce and Nigel North.¹ These writers all contributed to the classification of lute-family

¹ Robert Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', *Early Music*, 4 (1976), 407–23, Douglas Alton Smith, 'On the Origin of the Chitarrone', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 32 (1979), 440–62, Kevin Mason, *The Chitarrone and its Repertoire in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Aberystwyth:

instruments, brought out the particularities of each one, and described the repertory and their role as solo accompanying instruments or within the continuo body. Yet, a detailed, stylistic examination of the intabulated sources has not materialized. Even in North's continuo tutor, the indispensable tool of every modern lute player,² some of the relevant sources are presented only briefly, simply for the reason that he has to cover continuo playing throughout Baroque Europe.

The important continuo role of the theorbo, or chitarrone as it was alternatively called,³ is well documented from the very beginning of the seventeenth century. The chitarrone was used extensively for the accompaniment of secular song and almost half of the publications between 1600 and 1635 mention it. Similarly widespread was its use for the accompaniment of instrumental music; its employment in sacred music, though not so frequent, should not be overlooked. This tradition, which held well throughout the seventeenth century in Italy, is evident from as early as Giulio Caccini's landmark publication *Le nuove musiche* (1601/2), where he makes clear that the chitarrone is 'more suitable for accompanying the voice, especially that of the tenor, than any other [instrument]'.⁴ Unfortunately, although Caccini offers valuable information in the preface of his collection about the vocal performance of his songs, he does not mention

Boethius Press, 1989), Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), Lynda Sayce, 'The Development of the Italianate Continuo Lutes', 2 vols. Ph.D. diss. (Open University, 2001), Nigel North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

² Another modern continuo tutor is Ronald Huffman Stearns', 'Continuo for Lutenists and Guitarists: A Tutor and Music Theory Supplement', Ph.D. diss. (Texas Tech University, 1992). Though useful in practical terms, it lacks historical perspective, using, for instance, Robert Dowland's accompaniments to Caccini's 'Amarilli mia bella', or Giovanni Pittoni's theorbo part of ensemble music as illustrative examples of continuo styles; Stearns, 'Continuo', 27–31.

³ Throughout the present study the terms theorbo and chitarrone will be used with no distinction and according to the primary source's preference.

⁴ Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, I. Marescotti, 1601/2; facs. edn., Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1983), preface: 'più atto accompagnare la voce, e particolarmente quella del Tenore, che qualunque altro'. Translations, unless otherwise stated, have been made by the author.

much about accompanying style. However, from his description of bass-line figuring, we can presume that he was expecting a simple chordal accompaniment. Agostino Agazzari, in his short treatise on continuo playing, is more descriptive and distinguishes two continuo roles, a fundamental one and an ornamental one:

Thus we will divide the instruments into two categories: that is some like a foundation and other like an ornament. Like a foundation are those which guide and support the entire body of voices and instruments of the mentioned ensemble, which are Organ, *Gravicembalo* etc. and similarly of few solo voices Lute, Theorbo, Harp etc. Like an ornament are those which, with playfulness and counterpoint, make more agreeable and sonorous the harmony. These are Lute, Harp, Lirone, Cittern, Spinnet, *Chitarrina*, Violin, *Pandora* and other similar.⁵

Both of the functions described by Agazzari are well demonstrated in tablature sources for the theorbo.⁶ From the sources that illustrate the chordal function, the ones that will be examined are: Salamone Rossi's *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1600); Girolamo G. Kapsberger's *Libro primo di villanelle* (1610), *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* (1612), *Libro terzo di villanelle* (1619); Flamminio Corradi's *Le stravaganze d'amore* (1616); and Bellerofonte Castaldi's *Capricci a due stromenti cioe tiorba e tiorbino* (1622).⁷ Sources under discussion that illustrate an ornamental role are:

⁵ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti* (Siena: D. Flacini, 1607; facs. edn., Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1969), 6: 'Per tanto divideremo essi stromenti in duoi ordini: cioe in alcuni, come fondamento: et in altri, come ornamento. Come fondamento sono quei, che guidano, e sostengono tutto il corpo delle voci, e stromenti di detto Concerto: quail sono, Organo, Gravicembalo etc. e similmente in occasion di poche, e soli voci, Leuto, Tiorba, Arpa etc. Come ornamento sono quelli, che scherzando, e contraponteggiando, rendono più aggradevole, e sonora l'armonia: cioe Leuto, Tiorba, Arpa, Lirone, Cetera, Spinnetto, Chitarrina, Violino, Pandora et altri simili'.

⁶ Lute continuo sources are not examined in the present study, not due to their inferior importance, but because of the limitations of this thesis. Rome 4433, entitled *Il leuto anatomizzato*, is a very important manuscript treatise by Pier Francesco Valentini, which provides valuable information about continuo realization, ornamentation, transposition and intabulation techniques. A study of this source could be an actual dissertation itself.

⁷ Brussels 704, although considered by some authors as a chitarrone manuscript, will not be included in the present discussion. The major part of the intabulations seems to have been intended for the lute and only a few of them—of doubtful value—may have been intended for the chitarrone. For a discussion of

Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (1626), Modena G239 and New York 93-2.

The first group consists of sources that contain realized basso continuo accompaniments of songs. Sources that do not include a mensural vocal part have been excluded because no actual relationship between the accompaniment and the vocal line can be established. The second group contains documents that are primarily tutors and illustrate how to apply variations over bass notes. Kapsberger's book of 1626 and New York 93-2, in addition to variations, also provide tables of chordal realizations.

One of the problems associated with the revival of early music was the backwards-looking perspective in the definition of musical styles. In order to be able to understand the nature of seventeenth-century theorbo accompanying style, it is necessary to follow the reverse procedure, looking through the background of these accompaniments. For that reason, a brief discussion of the sixteenth-century Italian lute song tradition, which precedes and often extends beyond the continuo song of the seventeenth century, will be included in the present study. An explanation of the requisite elements of the tablature notational system, as well as a classification and definition of the instruments of the lute family are also essential in order to proceed to any examination of tablature sources.

these accompaniments see John Walter Hill, 'Realized Continuo Accompaniments from Florence c1600', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), 194-208 and the correspondence that followed: Robert Spencer, 'Florentine Continuo c1600', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), 575-7 and John Walter Hill and Robert Spencer, 'Florentine Continuo c1600', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 153.

2. NOTATION AND INSTRUMENTS

Although professional lutenists were expected to be able to read mensural notation, the notational system that has been inextricably intertwined with the lute is lute tablature. Tablature played a very important role in Renaissance music and contributed to a great extent to the popularity the lute enjoyed during this period as it functioned as a score for a polyphonic composition that enabled the performer to play polyphony from a single staff. Furthermore, tablature is an easy, purely practical notational system that indicates the positions on the fingerboard where the fingers must be placed in order to produce notes or chords. This simple accessibility to polyphony had 'profound implications in the creation and sustaining of a musically broad culture ... [allowing] the most sophisticated music of the time to enter the personal domain of the individual musician'.¹ Polyphonic compositions could be arranged for solo instrumental performance, and compositions such as chansons, *frottole* and madrigals could be arranged as solo songs with lute accompaniment. Whereas tablature strengthened the lute's position in the musical scene of the sixteenth century, this was not the case in the seventeenth century. Styles of composition were changing and tablature was not a system able to meet the requirements of the new trends. Almost one hundred books that contain tablature were published in sixteenth-century Italy, whereas only about twenty were published in the seventeenth century.²

¹ Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 27.

² Printed sources before 1600 are listed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). Tables of printed sources after 1600 appear in Dinko Fabris, *Andrea Falconieri Napoletano: Un liutista-compositore del seicento* (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), 108 and Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources*, 4.

All of the sources discussed in the present volume employ a specific type of tablature known as 'Italian' tablature.³ Unlike staff notation, which indicates pitch, Italian tablature is a graphic representation of the fingerboard of the instrument. The horizontal lines, six in number as a general rule, represent the courses of the lute while the symbols disposed on the lines represent the frets on which the fingers are to be placed. The first (highest in pitch) course of the lute corresponds to the lowest line of the tablature, while the positions of the fingers are represented by numbers: 1 for the first fret, 2 for the second, 3 for the third and so on; 0 is used for the open course. Time signatures are not consistently used; if they are employed, they are C or C indicating that the beat is divided into binary time, while 3 indicates a triple division. The duration of a note or chord is indicated by a rhythmic symbol placed above the staff. Tablature rhythmic symbols are similar to those found in modern notation (table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1: Tablature rhythmic signs.

or 1	=	o	semibreve
	=	♩	minim
	=	♪	crotchet
	=	♫	quaver
	=	♫	semiquaver

The lute's pitch was nominal in the Renaissance. The lutenist was expected to tune the first string as high as possible, just below its breaking point,⁴ because this is where a gut string sounds best. The remaining five courses were then tuned to the following sequence of intervals: fourth, fourth, major third, fourth and fourth. This

³ Other types of tablature are the French, the German and the Neapolitan which constitutes a variation of the Italian.

⁴ See for instance Luis Milán, *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia: F. Díaz Romano, 1535/6; facs., modern edn. and English trans. by Charles Jacobs, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, [1971]), sig. Aiii^v, or Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (London: T. Este, 1603; facs. edn., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), sig. Cii. Milán's instructions refer to the vihuela, the instrument that surpassed the lute in popularity in sixteenth-century Spain.

tuning, which was employed in almost every piece of lute music during the sixteenth century, is what is generally known as 'Renaissance tuning'. As lutes of various sizes were used, the sounding pitch varied, depending, each time, on the size of the instrument and the thickness of the strings used. These factors defined the pitch of the first string and therefore the tuning of the lute. Thus, if the first string sounded *a'* the tuning was *a'-e'-b-g-d-A* which we now define as Renaissance A tuning; if the first string sounded *g'* the tuning was *g'-d'-a-f-C-G* which we now define as Renaissance G tuning, etc. This lack of a standard pitch, which was still common as late as the end of sixteenth century, is clearly evident in several sources of solo songs with lute accompaniment such as Franciscus Bossinensis' collections of 1509 and 1511, Adriano Willaert's intabulations of 1536 of Verdelot's madrigals, or Modena C311, a large manuscript collection of late sixteenth-century lute songs known as the Bottegari lute book.⁹ All these sources contain rubrics such as to tune the voice 'al primo tasto del canto' (to the first fret of the *canto* [i.e. first course]) (see illustration 2.1). On the one hand, by indicating a fret on the lute 'which will reproduce the correct first pitch for the singer ... the actual pitch in performance depends on the actual pitch



ILLUSTRATION 2.1: Detail from Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati ... libro secundo* (Venice, 1511), f. 52'.

⁹ Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar per liuto, libro primo* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1509; facs. edn., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1978); id. *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar per liuto libro secundo* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1511; facs. edn., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1983); Adrian Willaert, (ed.), *Intavolatura de le madrigali di Verdelotto* (Venice: [O. Scotto], 1536; facs. edn., Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1980); Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Mus. C. 311.

of [the] instrument'.⁶ On the other hand, as music should be performed at whatever pitch suited a particular group of performers, 'lutes intended for lute accompaniment would be chosen for the singer's range'.⁷

Various lutes of different sizes were used during the Renaissance, however, the type in most general use seems to be the one employing a G tuning (known as tenor lute)⁸ and today it is the usual practice to transcribe lute tablature using a G tuning. Table 2.2 shows positions of a six-course lute with such a tuning along with their equivalents in modern notation.

Although six courses is the standard for most sixteenth-century lute music, with the growth in popularity of the lute and the changes of its technique, the number of courses increased in order to extend the instrument's bass register. These courses were indicated above the staff, usually in numerical characters for Italian tablature (θ or 7 for the seventh course, 8 for the eighth, 9 for the ninth, and so on), and they were tuned according to the needs of each particular piece. The lowest course on a seven-course lute, for example, could be tuned either a tone below the sixth course for some pieces, or a fourth below for some others. By the end of the sixteenth century, the constantly increased demand of the instrument's bass register extension led to a modification that radically altered the instrument's structure. In order to increase the string length, thus making lower pitches possible, a neck extension with a second peg box was added to the instrument. The courses of the second peg box, the *contarabassi* as they were called, were unstopped, thus producing only the pitch they were tuned at. Although normal lutes

⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, 'Bossinensis, Willaert, and Verdelot: Pitch and the Conventions of Transcribing Music for Lute and Voice in Italy in the Early Sixteenth-Century', *Revue de Musicologie*, 75 (1989), 33–4.

⁷ Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. ([Lexington, Va.]: The Lute Society of America, 2002), 79.

⁸ Both theorists' descriptions and music written for the lute and other instrument or voice of the Renaissance indicate that the notional tuning designated for the lute was usually that of G. Furthermore, the size of the tenor lute seems to be the most convenient for players' fingers.

continued to be played after 1600, extended-neck lutes had largely supplanted them in popularity in Italy. With the neck extension being a sign of modernity, it is significant that, in seventeenth-century Italy, almost every print of solo music in Italian tablature was intended for extended lutes with only one exception, that of Gardano's collection of popular dances of 1611.⁹

TABLE 2.2: Correspondence between Italian tablature and modern notation (first nine frets of a six-course lute in Renaissance G tuning).

	Frets:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
1st course										
2nd course										
3rd course										
4th course										
5th course										
6th course										

⁹ Angelo Gardano (pub.), *Balletti moderni facili per sonar sopra il liuto* (Venetia: A. Gardano, 1611; facs. edn., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1980).

Extended lutes can be distinguished into two types: the archlute (referred to as *liuto*, *arciliuto* and *liuto attiorbato*) and the chitarrone or theorbo as it was alternatively called.¹⁰ The archlute was the outcome of Renaissance lute's evolution.¹¹ It almost always carried the, by then, standardized Renaissance G tuning for the six or possibly seven fingerboard courses, while the bass courses fitted on the neck extension, whose number varied from one instrument to another, were tuned diatonically with each course a step-down from its neighbour. Thus, the tuning of a thirteen-course archlute is as follows (example 2.1):

EXAMPLE 2.1: Archlute tuning



Alessandro Piccinini claims to have invented the neck extension and the archlute (*arciliuto*) in 1595 but his claim is doubtful because there is evidence that the neck extension already existed.¹² The chitarrone, which was 'most probably evolved c.1580 by a member of the Camerata of Florence, as a necessary adjunct of the new style of song writing, *musica recitativa*',¹³ is a large-bodied lute, whose particular characteristic, apart from the neck extension, is the discontinuous progress in pitch of the open fingerboard courses (example 2.2).

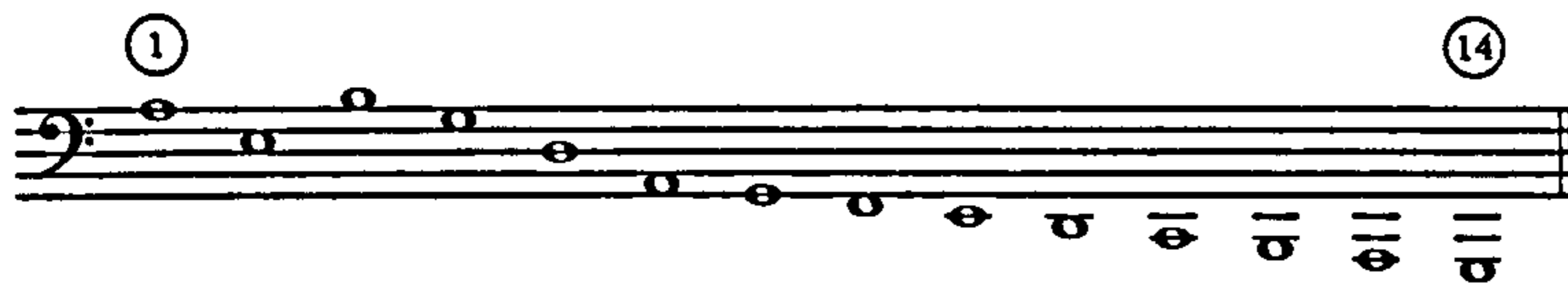
¹⁰ Although it has often been considered that the chitarrone differs from the theorbo, the approach of Henri Quittard who, in his pioneering article about the theorbo as an accompaniment instrument, treats the chitarrone and the theorbo as having no practical differences seems to be appropriate. Henri Quittard, 'Le théorbe comme instrument d'accompagnement', *Revue musicale mensuelle*, Société Internationale de Musique, 6 (1910), 221–37; 362–84. The terms *chitarrone* and *theorbo* seem to refer to the same instrument with the first being usually preferred, as more legitimate, only during the first half of seventeenth-century and only in Italy. See Smith, 'On the Origin of the Chitarrone', 461–2.

¹¹ On the origins, development and usage of the archlute up to c.1650 see Sayce, 'The Development', i. 1–31.

¹² Mason, *Chitarrone*, 25–7 and Smith, *History of the Lute*, 82–4.

¹³ Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', 408.

EXAMPLE 2.2: Chitarrone tuning



This tuning, known as 're-entrant', is in essence a Renaissance tuning with the first two courses lowered an octave. Piccinini is quite clear in his description about the way re-entrant tuning was established through bass lutes:

Moreover *liuti grandissimi* were also made, much appreciated in Bologna, to play passamezzi, arias and similar pieces in ensemble together with other, small lutes. The quality of these such large lutes revealed itself all the more when the tuning was raised so high that the first string, unable to be tuned so high, was replaced with another, thicker string tuned an octave lower. This succeeded with such good effect that it is still done thus today. After some time, when *il bel cantare* began to flourish [in the 1570's in Ferrara] it seemed to these virtuosi that these *liuti grandi*, being so sweet, would be very appropriate to accompany a singer. But finding them tuned much too low for their needs, it was found necessary to furnish them with thinner strings and tune them up to a pitch comfortable for the voice. Since the second [string] could not be tuned so high, they were tuned down an octave just like the first one. Thus they accomplished their aim, and this became the beginning of the *Tiorba*, or *Chitarrone*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Alessandro Piccinini *Intavolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone* (Bologna: G. P. Moscatelli, 1623; facs. edn., Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1982), 5: '& oltre di cio si facevano liuti grandissimi, che in Bologna erano molto apprezzati, per suonare in concerto con altri Liuti piccoli passiemezi, Arie, & alter simili, E la bontà di questi Liuti cosi grandi si scopriva maggiormente, perche li tenevano alti d'accordatura talmente, che la prima corda, non potendo arrivare cosi alta vi posero in vece di quella un'altra corda grossa accordandola un'ottava più bassa, il che riusciva per quell'effetto benissimo, come hoggidì ancor si usa. Doppo alcun tempo, cominciando à fiorir il bel cantare parve à quei Virtuosi, che questi Liuti grandi, per esser cosi dolci, fossero molto à proposito d'uno, che canta, per accompagnamento; ma trovandoli molto più bassi del bisogno loro, furno necessitati fornirli di corde piu sottili tirandoli in tuono commodo alla voce. E perche le seconde non potevano arrivare con l'esempio dell'altra corda le accordono un'ottava piu bassa; & cosi ebbero il loro intento è questo fu il principio della Tiorba, ò vero Chitarrone'. Translation from Smith, *History of the Lute*, 83.

Although the fourteen courses and the re-entrant tuning in A seem to be widely accepted for the chitarrone, various alterations are documented, reflecting thus the fact that the chitarrone was a new and still developing instrument, according to the needs and the personal taste of the players. Girolamo Kapsberger's late works, for example, call for a nineteen-course instrument where courses 15–19 do not extend the range lower, but fill in chromatic notes missing between courses 7–14 (example 2.3); Michael

Praetorius gives a re-entrant tuning in G for his *theorba*¹⁵ (illustration 2.2), while for Adriano Banchieri, who also adopts a G tuning for his *chitarrone*, the second course is in lute pitch, while the first course is tuned 'come piace' (as preferred) either in lute pitch or an octave lower (example 2.4).¹⁶



ILLUSTRATION 2.2: Theorbo tuning as illustrated in Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 27.

EXAMPLE 2.3: Nineteen-course chitarrone tuning.



EXAMPLE 2.4: Chitarrone tuning according to Banchieri.



¹⁵ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: E. Holwein, 1619; facs. edn., Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 27.

¹⁶ Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna: n.pub., 1609; facs. edn., Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1968), 53. For the possibility of alternative tunings, which are not described anywhere but they might be suggested by the context of the music, see Andrea Damiani, 'An Hypothesis on the Tuning of the Italian Theorbo', *LuteBot Quarterly*, 7 (summer, 1999) <<http://www.marincola.com>>, accessed 25 May 2004.

3. THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LUTE SONG

If there is one characteristic of the Middle Ages that fundamentally influenced the western way of thinking and deeply affected contemporary European thought it is the rediscovery of the ancient world. The growing interest in the principles and virtues of the ancient Greeks and the Romans led to the rise of humanism; this is evident in almost every aspect of the culture of the Renaissance and Baroque era. The study of the ancient world and its principles held a prominent position in Renaissance and Baroque education and the ancient Greek and Roman norms served as models for writers and artists to imitate. Although for literature, architecture, sculpture, painting and theatre there were actual models that could be imitated, for music this was not the case. Comparable examples of ancient Greek music that could have served as models for imitation were not available and thus only an indirect imitation could occur. As Claude Palisca points out, 'the humanism that touched music was a literary and scientific humanism and not a strictly musical one'.¹

Music as a discipline, because of its arithmetical character, was a component of the *quadrivium* of mathematical arts, together with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. However, the natural alliance of music with the *trivium* of verbal arts (grammar, rhetoric and logic) has always attracted theorists' and composers' attention.² Gioseffo Zarlino³ not only mentioned the parallels between grammar and music, but he drew upon his knowledge of grammatical punctuation in order to formulate a theory of

¹ Claude V. Palisca, 'Humanism and Music', in Albert Rabil, Jr. (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 450.

² Despite the redefinition and expansion of the liberal arts in the early Renaissance, music, as a speculative science, was still grouped under the *quadrivium*.

³ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: n.pub., 1558; repr. 1573; facs. edn., Ridgewood: Gregg Press, 1966), 221–6.

musical cadences. Nicola Vicentino⁴ advised singers to use oration as model for their performance, adopting rhetorical principles of Aristotle, Quintilian and Cicero. According to Vicentino, the singers should use diverse ways of singing in order to move the affections of their auditors, just as orators use their eloquence in order to adapt the form of their rhetorical speech to its content and expression. The idea that music should move the affections in this particular way was a new goal for composers and performers. Whether deliberately or unconsciously, composers and performers were approaching the task of bringing life to both secular and sacred music in a rhetorical manner. The complex multi-layered musical textures of polyphonic composition were not consistent with the new trends as the mingling of voices in polyphony was thought to impede the communication of the text. On the contrary, the expression of a free, solo voice, which would be the main bearer of the text and message of the musical setting, could communicate them more clearly to the audience.

Despite the fact that the first important polemics against polyphonic composition were launched in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the idea of solo singing was not something new. In Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528) solo and ensemble singing were contrasted in the following way:

In my opinion beautiful music is the good singing from a book, with confidence and in fine style; but the singing to [the accompaniment of] the *viola*⁵ is even better, because nearly all the sweetness consists in the solo and, with greater attention, we note and follow that fine style and the melody; the ears are not occupied with more than a single voice, and every little error is more clearly noticed; that does not happen in group singing because the one [voice] bears the

⁴ Nicola Vincentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: A. Barre, 1555; facs. edn., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), f. 94^v.

⁵ The term *viola* probably refers to an instrument which is a member of the family of the plucked instruments and appears to be the predecessor of the vihuela and four-course guitar; see June M. Yakeley, 'La guitarra a lo español': *Aspects of Guitar Performance Practice 1525–1775* (The Lute Society Booklets, 8; Guildford: The Lute Society, 2002), 6.

other. But above all, I consider the most wonderful the recitative singing to the *viola*; for this adds to the words such a grace and virtue that is most delightful.⁶

Concerning solo singing with instrumental accompaniment, two separated, though associated, traditions can be distinguished: an unwritten one, which is usually the improvised singing of poetry over the accompaniment of simple chordal sequences, and a written one, which relies on written-out arrangements of polyphonic compositions. For the latter, a considerable number of prints and manuscripts survive. For the former, as expected due to its nature, little evidence exists; this is mainly descriptions of performances and a few intabulated accompaniments for simple tunes or improvised singing.⁷ Both of those solo performance traditions held a prominent position in the musical life of Renaissance Italy. Nevertheless, they were not regarded as reflecting literate music and Renaissance music theorists hardly refer to them until the end of the sixteenth century when they started drawing their attention to solo singing. Of the two solo performance traditions, their preference for the written one is evident. Modern historians have tended to reinforce the pre-eminence of the written musical text giving rise to the idea that vocal virtuosity was a late sixteenth-century phenomenon associated with the birth of opera. However, both of the sixteenth-century solo song traditions

⁶ Baltassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Florence: P. Giunta, 1528; modern ed. in Carlo Cordié (ed.), *Opere di Baldassare Castiglione, Giovanni Della Casa, Benvenuto Cellini* (La Letteratura italiana, storia e testi, 27; Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, [1960]), 107: 'Bella musica ... parmi il cantar bene a libro sicuramente e con bella maniera; ma ancor molto più il cantare alla viola, perchè tutta la dolcezza consiste quasi in un solo, e con molto maggior attenzion si nota es intende il bel modo e l'aria non essendo occupate le orecchie in più che in una sol voce, e meglio ancor vi si discerne ogni piccolo errore; il che non accade cantando in compagnia, perchè l'uno aiuta l'altro. Ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di venustà ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole che è gran maraviglia'.

⁷ Concerning the unwritten tradition see *inter alia* Nino Pirrotta's various articles included in his *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); William F. Prizer, 'The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition', *Studi musicali*, 15 (1986), 3–37; James Haar, 'Monophony and the Unwritten Traditions' in Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (eds.) *Performance Practice: Music Before 1600* (The New Grove Handbooks in Music; Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 240–66.

played an important role in the development of seventeenth-century vocal writing and the style of its accompaniment.

Judging from the publications of the sixteenth century the lute was at that time the most popular instrument for secular vocal accompaniment. The number of publications containing lute tablature accompaniments is far larger than of keyboard score accompaniments, despite what we think of now as the keyboard's superiority in reproducing complex, polyphonic textures. Furthermore, the lute's popularity is reflected in Renaissance iconography and poetry.⁸ The evident preference for the lute can partly be explained by taking the humanist and symbolic thought into account. The lute was frequently used to represent the lyre of Apollo and Orpheus and 'the combination of voice and lute can be seen as a manifestation of humanism in which performers sought to imitate the musical recitation of ancient Greek poets who accompanied themselves on the kithara'.⁹ Renaissance iconography representing ancient poets commonly includes lutes or other chordal string instruments but rarely keyboard instruments. Vincenzo Galilei also points out some practical advantages of the lute, such as the ability to play unisons on different courses, the use of equal temperament or portability.¹⁰ Although there is no direct mention of the lute's ability to produce various dynamics and tone colours this would have been considered as an important advantage and consistent with the rhetorical approach of the time. Galilei for example, writes that

[the best organists] never could, never can, never will express the effects of Harmony like hardness, softness, bitterness and sweetness, and consequently the

⁸ See Douglas Alton Smith, 'A Brief History of the Lute as Cultural Symbol' in Philippe Canguilhem et al. (eds.) *Luths et luthistes en occident: actes du colloque 13-15 mai 1998* (Paris: Cité de la musique, 1999), 43-4.

⁹ Kevin Mason, 'Per Cantare Sonare: Accompanying Italian Lute Song of the Late Sixteenth Century' in Victor A. Coelho, (ed.) *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice, 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75.

¹⁰ See Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1584; facs. edn., Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1969), 51-2.

shouting, moaning, shrieking, weeping and finally tranquility and fury, in such a graceful and marvelous way as do the Excellent Players of the Lute ...¹¹

About forty sources containing examples of songs with lute tablature accompaniments from sixteenth-century Italy survive today in both printed and manuscript form.¹² The majority date from the period 1570 to 1600 and present a repertory of about 600 songs, mainly settings of light strophic poetry such as *villanelle*, *canzonette*, *arie* and *balletti*. About 250 songs, almost entirely of the *frottola* genre, survive from the period 1500 to 1520, while from the period between 1520 and 1570 only a very limited number of song intabulations exist, consisting mostly of madrigals and sacred works. However, this scarcity of lute song sources in the middle of the century should be weighted against the evidence of literal sources, which say that strophic poetry was sung to the lute during the mid-sixteenth century to a greater extent than those few surviving examples suggest.¹³ Tablature accompaniments are divided into two categories: those with one or more vocal parts in mensural notation and those without mensural notation, either providing a song-text and known as 'texted intabulations', or without text at all. The absence of mensural notation in the second category of intabulations implies either, most probably, that the song melody was memorized by the lutenist who was also the singer, or maybe that the intabulations were used as accompaniments to a solo or vocal ensemble. As for the tablature accompaniments that come along with mensural vocal parts, the format of the source defines the performance medium: sources with only one vocal part imply a solo

¹¹ Ibid. 51: 'non hanno possuto, non possano ne portanno mai, espimeregli affetti delle Armonie come la durezza, mollezza, asprezza, & dolcezza; & consequentemente i gridi, i lamenti, gli stridi, i pianti, & ultimamente la quiete e l'fuore, con tanta gratia, & maraviglia, come gli Eccellenti Sonatori nel Liuto fanno ...'.

¹² A catalogue of these sources with descriptions can be found in Reichard Falkenstein, 'The Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory of Florentine Lute Song', Ph.D. diss. (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1997), app. 2-3, pp. 289-322.

¹³ See Donna G. Gardamone, *The Canzone Villanesca alla Napolitana and Related Forms, 1537-1570*, 2 vols. (Studies in Musicology, 45: Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), i. 161-78.

performance with lute accompaniment, while sources that contain all the vocal parts can be performed either as solo songs or vocal ensemble songs with lute accompaniment.

Regardless of any dissimilarities, such as place of provenance, dating or format, sixteenth-century Italian solo song intabulations appear to share one common characteristic: they usually derive from a pre-existing polyphonic vocal model and when this is not the case, they seem to have been conceived using the principles of polyphonic composition. However, the extent of the arrangement's accuracy according to the vocal model, the complexity of polyphony, the technique of intabulation or the ornamentation depended on various factors such as the genre of the song, the time the intabulation was made and the intabulator's skills or his intentions.

Franciscus Bossinensis' *frottole* collections of 1509 and 1511 show clearly the intabulation technique and accompanying style of the first two decades of the sixteenth century; most of the *frottole* he intabulated correspond to pieces in Ottaviano Petrucci's four-voice frottola collections. The frottola, as a genre, bears all the essential characteristics in order to function successfully as solo song: the Canto has a distinctive solistic character, the Basso, often moving by leaps, supplies harmonic foundation, while the tenor mainly, but also the alto, offer a harmonically directed polyphonic filling. The frottola texture has been described as having 'much in common with that of Baroque songs with basso continuo, though in the earlier music the realization is superficially contrapuntal rather than purely chordal'.¹⁴ In Bossinensis' collections, the Cantus of the polyphonic version is the solo voice and it is given in mensural notation above the tablature. The Bassus and Tenor parts of the vocal model are reproduced literally by the lute. The Altus is usually omitted, giving a two-part character to the accompaniment. However, in places where the musical writing is strictly homo-rhythmic, showing early evidence of harmonic rather than exclusively contrapuntal thinking, the Altus part is

¹⁴ Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Prentice Hall History of Music Series; Englewood-Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 10.

included. The only modifications to the vocal models that occur are the addition of melodic divisions and simple cadential ornaments and the rhythmic division of long-held notes (see example 3.1). The intabulation principles employed by Bossinensis are virtually identical to those in the remaining frottola sources, indicating a 'persistent tradition of performance practices in the frottola, corresponding to the entrenched compositional in the form itself'.¹⁵

EXAMPLE 3.1: Indicative melodic divisions and cadential ornaments used in Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi ... libro primo* (1509) and *libro secondo* (1511).



A madrigal collection of 1536 entitled *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto* is the most important source of mid-sixteenth-century lute solo song, since it bears the name of Adrian Willaert, one of the most distinguished musicians of the time, and the intabulations were presumably made by him. The volume contains twenty-two songs

¹⁵ Kent David Underwood, 'The Renaissance Lute in Solo Song and Chamber Ensemble: An Examination of Musical Sources to ca. 1530', Ph.D. diss. (Stanford University, 1987), 211.

and all of them have concordances among the four-voice madrigals in Phillipe Verdelot's *Il primo libro di madrigali* (1533). Willaert's intabulations are based on the same roots as are those by Bossinensis; the aim for both is the note-for-note transcription of the vocal model though they used slightly different principles due to the different styles of their repertoires. Willaert also leaves the Cantus part to be sung, but in his intabulations the Altus part is never omitted. His goal is the literal intabulation of all three lower voices of the vocal model, with no additional divisions or ornaments, and the result of that is the full triadic sonority of the accompaniment.¹⁶ Although Willaert is straightforward in his accompaniment settings, he intervenes in the Cantus in order to improve the text placement, particularly at cadences.¹⁷ Example 3.2 shows the strong syllable shift from the weak resolution note of the cadential suspension to the on-beat ending note, an effect that sounds better when only the Cantus part is sung.

Apart from Willaert, the other leading music figure of the sixteenth century who compiled lute songs is Vincenzo Galilei. His fame rests primarily on his opposition to the polyphonic medium of composition, which is well demonstrated in his *Dialogo della musica antica e della musica moderna* of 1581. Although it is held that his activities with regard to the lute song resulted from his association with Giovanni Bardi's and Girolamo Mei's circles, 'Galilei's interest in recitation formulas and native Italian song was not acquired from discussions late in his life with Florentine intellectuals but dates from the very beginning of his recorded career'.¹⁸ Three sources contain Galilei's lute song intabulations: two manuscripts, Florence LF2 and Florence 10431, and one print, the revised and expanded edition of *Fronimo dialogo* published in 1584. The three

¹⁶ Leslie Chapman Hubbell, 'Sixteenth-Century Italian Songs for Solo Voice and Lute', Ph.D. diss. (Northwestern University, 1982), 155.

¹⁷ Bernard Thomas (ed.), *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto de cantare e sonare nel lauto (1536)* (Renaissance Music Prints, 3; [London]: London Pro Musica, [1980]), 4–5.

¹⁸ Howard Mayer Brown, 'Vincenzo Galilei's First Book of Lute Music' in Victor A. Coelho, (ed.), *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo* (University of Western Ontario Series in Philosophy of Science, 51; Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1992), 173.

sources differ in the format in which they are presented, in the repertory they contain and in the intabulation technique they employ.

EXAMPLE 3.2: 'Quanto sia liet' il giorno' (a) Verdelot, *Del primo libro di madrigali*, f. 1, bb. 37–41 (b) Verdelot, *Intavolatura*, f. 3, bb. 42–6.¹⁹

The image displays two musical examples, (a) and (b), for the madrigal 'Quanto sia liet' il giorno' by Verdelot. Example (a) is a score format from *Del primo libro di madrigali*, f. 1, bb. 37–41. It features four vocal staves: Cantus (Soprano), Altus (Alto), Tenor, and Bassus (Bass). The lyrics are: 'no - stris - mo - ri. i - no - stris - mo - ri.' Example (b) is an intavolatura format from *Intavolatura*, f. 3, bb. 42–6. It shows the Cantus line above a lute tablature. The tablature is written on a six-line staff with letters and numbers indicating fret positions. A note (1) is marked above the second measure of the tablature. The lyrics 'no - stris - mo - ri.' are written below the tablature.

(1) Fourth course reads 5 (c')

Florence 10431, among some short solo lute pieces, contains three tablature song accompaniments. These are, in each case, *arie da cantare*, intended to accompany improvised singing of poetry and, because of their improvisatory nature, they lack mensural notation for the solo voice. The texture of the tablatures is simple, consisting of chordal harmonisations of the bass line. Florence LF2 and *Fronimo dialogo* of 1584, on the other hand, are intabulations of a polyphonic vocal model. *Fronimo dialogo* contains two songs, a madrigal and a motet, both presenting their mensural vocal model in score format above the lute tablature accompaniment. One song calls for the Bassus to be sung while the other calls for the Cantus. Consistent with the basic principle of the intabulation technique that Galilei sets in *Fronimo dialogo*, namely that the tablature

¹⁹ On the editorial policy for the musical examples see volume II, p. iii.

should be as faithful as possible to the texture of the polyphonic vocal model, the song accompaniments are masterful intabulations that carefully reproduce note-for-note their vocal model, therefore giving an impression of the part writing of the original. All the voices are intabulated, even the solo one, suggesting thus that any of the vocal transcriptions intended for solo lute could also serve as accompaniments for solo song.

Florence LF2, however, presents a different approach to the way part music is adapted for solo voice and lute accompaniment. The manuscript was found bound together with the first 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* and was probably compiled in order to be used as additional teaching or performance material.²⁰ The manuscript contains, together with some solo pieces, nine madrigals and one *canzona alla napolitana* arranged as solo songs with lute accompaniment. The songs are arranged for solo bass, whose part is provided in mensural notation, with the tablature arrangement of the vocal model placed on the opposing page, thus making the accompaniment by the singer himself inconvenient, unless one of the parts was memorized. The intabulations of the accompaniment do not accurately reproduce the texture of the polyphonic vocal model, primarily because they are restricted to the first five frets of the lute and any notes that require intabulation past the fifth fret are omitted. Furthermore, rhythmic values of notes are often altered in order to provide a homo-rhythmic texture. The primary goal in Florence LF2 intabulations is not the accurate reproduction of the part writing of the vocal model, as it is in *Fronimo dialogo*, but the creation of readily playable intabulations based on the vocal model. This discrepancy can be explained by the nature of the sources: the examples of *Fronimo dialogo* were intended for circulation and so they had to be as ideal examples of intabulation as possible, while the Florence LF2 intabulations were for personal use, probably intended for a student, and 'Galilei's

²⁰ Claude V. Palisca 'Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute', in Gustave Reese and Robert Snow (eds.), *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 212.

arranging style may be a response to the abilities of that individual'.²¹ Yet, this discrepancy demonstrates the contrast between theory and practice: *Fronimo dialogo* shows the theoretical approach on intabulation while Florence LF2 reflects a practical response by the performer.

Both of the intabulation practices used by Galilei are present in the prints and manuscripts of the last decades of the sixteenth century. However, the closer to the end of the century the less literal the arrangements become. Although the vocal part writing still remains the model for the tablature accompaniment arrangement, various modifications occur to it. The type, as well as the amount, of the modifications applied to the arrangements varies from source to source. The most commonly encountered modifications are: the partial or even total omission of any line except the bass, the addition of harmonic filler, the downward octave transposition of notes or passages of the bass part, the downward octave transposition of the upper parts, the addition of passing notes between leaps, the addition of new counterpoint, the addition or restriking of cadential suspensions and the use of major thirds in cadential chords. All of these features are well presented in Simone Verovio's *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* of 1589 and all these, of course, are features of seventeenth-century continuo playing.

The next stage of lute song accompaniment was a newly-composed, or improvised, harmonically-conceived accompaniment above the bass line of the vocal model, without referring to the polyphonic texture of this model. Alessandro Striggio the elder describes this style of accompaniment, while a guest in Ferrara, in 1584:

... I also had written the intabulation [of the piece] for the lute but I forgot it in Mantua at my departure. But this will be of little importance because Mr Giulio [Caccini] will be able to play beautifully, either on the lute or the harpsichord, above the bass.²²

²¹ Falkenstein, 'Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory', 69.

²² Riccardo Gandolfi, 'Lettere inedite scritte da musicisti e letterati, appartenenti alla seconda metà del secolo XVI, estratte dal R. Archivio di Stato di Firenze', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 20 (1913), 530: '...

Documents containing accompaniments composed above the bass are rare in the sixteenth-century Italian lute song repertory. However, a considerable number of such accompaniments are preserved in Brussels 275, which is known as the Cavalcanti lute book. The manuscript presents almost two hundred and fifty tablatures of which eighty-two are lute songs. These are madrigals, *villanelle*, *canzonette*, and *arie da cantare*. There is no mensural notation for the solo voice for all four types of songs; the text is provided underneath the tablature for the first three types, while for the *arie*, due to their improvisatory character, there is no text. Although the arrangements in Brussels 275 seem to be identical to some of Galilei's manuscript arrangements,²³ more or less accurately representing their polyphonic vocal model, many of them are arranged in what might be called a *basso continuo* style of accompaniment. In the latter arrangements Cavalcanti has taken the bass of his model and harmonized it with chords that are easy to play on the lute. These arrangements show that polyphonic compositions were sometimes performed as monodies during the late sixteenth century. That is not to say they were simply performed by voice and lute, but that their textures were transformed from polyphony to homophony through arrangement.²⁴

The process of moving from a literal intabulation to a liberal one, or even further, to newly composed accompaniment above the bass, reflects the decrease of the importance of counterpoint. Meanwhile, harmony was gaining in importance and that led to a homophonically-directed medium of composition. The transition from polyphony to homophony was not a sudden event as we are sometimes tempted to believe. The two styles coexisted for a long period with no strict boundary between

haveno ancora scritto la intavolatura per il lautto et me lo scordai in Mantova nel mio partire. Ma importarà poco, poi che il s' Giulio portà benissimo sonare, o con il lautto, o con il cembalo sopra il basso'.

²³ Victor Coelho, 'Raffaello Cavalcanti's Lute Book (1590) and the Ideal of Singing and Playing' in Vaccaro, Jean M. (ed.) *Le concert des voix et des instruments à Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions du Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1995), 429–31.

²⁴ Falkenstein, 'Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory', 152.

them. On the one hand, there are polyphonic compositions, such as *frottole*, in which signs of a harmonic way of thinking are evident. On the other hand, there are seventeenth-century compositions, which, although homophonic in nature, contain elaborate counterpoint. Likewise, in the seventeenth-century tablature accompaniments one should expect to run into elements of earlier sixteenth-century practices.

4. SALAMONE ROSSI'S CHITARRONE INTABULATIONS

The Jewish composer and instrumentalist Salamone Rossi lived and worked during the heyday of the Mantuan Court under the patronage of the Gonzaga family. As Don Harrán suggests, in his monograph about Rossi's life and works, he might have been born in or around 1570 and died probably in or shortly after 1628.¹ Throughout his life, Rossi witnessed the polarity between two different worlds, not only in purely musical terms, as he lived in period when new styles of composition were set against old, but also in social terms as he had to move between the Christian world of the Court, and the houses of the nobility and the Jewish community with its individual social and religious activities. On the one hand, Rossi was given special privileges by the Court indicating that he was highly regarded as a musician, such as his being granted exemption from wearing the badge which represented the Jews' social and religious inferiority. On the other hand, the fact that 'Rossi was Jewish was undoubtedly the reason his salary, in comparison with those of other musicians on the staff, remained low throughout his career'.² This polarity emerges in Rossi's music: as a composer of instrumental music he has been credited as the one who established the trio sonata, the classic medium of Baroque chamber music, in his *Sinfonie e Galiarde* (1607);³ as a composer of vocal music he has been described as 'a moderate, somewhat conservative madrigalist'.⁴

¹ Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua* (Oxford Monographs on Music; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 12.

² Susan Helen Parisi, 'Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua, 1587–1627: An Archival Study', Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 492.

³ Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era: From Monteverdi to Bach* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1948), 53.

⁴ Judith Cohen, 'Salamone Rossi's Madrigal Style: Observations and Conjectures', *Orbis Musicae: Assaph Studies in the Arts*, 9 (1986–7), 157.

Rossi's compositional works fall into three categories: secular vocal, instrumental and Hebrew sacred works. His secular vocal works consist of one book of *canzonette*, six books of madrigals and one book of *madrigaletti*. The instrumental works include four books of *sinfonie*, *sonate*, *canzoni* and various dances. His only sacred work is a collection of 33 polyphonic settings of Hebrew psalms, hymns and synagogue songs entitled *Hashirim asher lishlomo* (The Songs of Solomon) (1622/3).

Among Rossi's vocal publications *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* of 1600 seems to have been the most popular during his lifetime, judging from the re-publications that followed, as well as from the inclusion of a number of his madrigals in various anthologies. The collection is in part-book format and the title page of the canto part of the 1600 print reads (see also illustration 4.1):

CANTO / IL LIBRO PRIMO / DE MADRIGALI / A CINQUE VOCI, / DI
SALAMONE ROSSI HEBREO / con alcuni di detti Madrigali per cantar nel /
Chittarrone, con la sua intavolatura / posta nel Soprano. / *Novamente composti,*
& *dati in luce.* / In Venetia, Appresso Ricciardo Amadino, / MDC.

This volume was reissued with minor corrections in 1603, 1607 and 1612. Phalèse reprinted it in Antwerp in 1618 omitting the chitarrone tablature but supplying a separate figured bass part for all the madrigals.

Eduard Birnbaum lists earlier editions of 1596 and 1598 but relies on unsubstantiated information from Carl Ferdinand Becker, François-Joseph Fétis and Herman Mendel.³ However, evidence suggests that the 1600 edition was the first: Rossi's dedication to his patron Vincenzo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua, which appears only in the edition of 1600, is dated 16 September 1600; furthermore, the edition of 1600 reads 'novamente composti, & dati in luce' (recently composed and published) while the subsequent editions read 'novamente corretto, & ristampato' (recently corrected and reissued).

³ Eduard Birnbaum, *Jüdische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua 1542–1628* (Vienna: Wainzer & Sohn, 1893), 24.



ILLUSTRATION 4.1: Title page of the Canto partbook from Salamone Rossi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1600).

Il libro primo de madrigali contains nineteen compositions featuring poems by Battista Guarini, Ceccare Rinaldi and Livio Celiano. Guarini is the preferred poet and is represented by thirteen of his texts, Rinaldi by three and Celiano only by one; two texts remain unidentified. The first seventeen madrigals, as implied by the title, are for five voices while the two concluding ones are for six voices. Six of the works (see table 4.1) are supplied with Italian tablature which is contained in the Canto partbook.

TABLE 4.1: Madrigals with tablature accompaniment in Rossi's, *Il libro primo de madrigali*.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Poet</i>
14	'Ohimè, se tanto amate' (Alas, if you love so much)	Guarini
15	'Cor mio, deh non languire' (My heart, do not languish)	Guarini
16	'Anima del cor mio' (Soul of my heart)	Anon.
17	'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno' (Hear, watery spirits of Avernus)	Guarini
18	'Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi' (My Thyrsis, dear Thyrsis)	Guarini
19	'Parlo, misero, o taccio?' (Poor me! should I speak or keep silent?)	Guarini

The tablatures are designated 'per il chittarrone' and are printed on either the left or right facing pages of the Canto part carrying the same page numbering (see illustration 4.2). These intabulations are not only the sole arrangements of this kind in Rossi's work, but they also represent the earliest known documentation of music for the chittarrone. For that reason they occupy a prominent position in the study of the style of accompaniment on the chittarrone in early seventeenth-century music.

Rossi's intabulations have repeatedly been misinterpreted and have mystified scholars and performers for many years. The main reason for this is the definition of the instrument intended for the accompaniment of the madrigals. The designation 'per il chittarrone' leads us to expect the use of a chittarrone with a re-entrant tuning, namely the first two courses lowered an octave. However, the first transcriptions in modern

notation, which appeared as early as 1877, were based on Renaissance lute tuning.⁶ Vincent d'Indy, the editor of this first edition, was presumably unaware of the re-entrant tuning as he lived in a period when little, if anything at all, was known about the chitarrone and its particular features.

The image displays two pages of a musical score. The left page is titled 'Udite lacrimosi' and page number '17'. It features a lute tablature with numbers on a six-line staff. The right page is titled 'di chitarrone' and page number '17', with 'CANTO' written above. It shows a vocal line with lyrics in Italian: 'Dite lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno Udite / noua forse di pen'e di tormento Mirate crud'af- / fetto In sembiace pieto so La mia dōna crudel La mia dōna crudel / più del inferno. Nō può far faria la sua ingorda voglia E la mia vita è / che vna sola morte Nō può far faria la sua ingorda voglia E la mia vita è / quasi vna perpetua morte Mi comandach'io vna Perche la vita mi- / a Di mille mort' il di Di mille mort' il di ricetto su Di mille mort' il / di ricetto su ricetto su. su.' The right page also includes a small illustration of a chitarrone.

ILLUSTRATION 4.2: Salamone Rossi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1600), Canto partbook, 17.

Leslie Chapman Hubbell, in a brief description of Rossi's publication⁷ which contains transcriptions of 'Anima del cor mio, and 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno', simply followed d'Indy and adopted the Renaissance tuning. Hubbell, who considers that the chitarrone and the theorbo 'differed in detail', treats the chitarrone as having a 'conventional G₁ tuning' acknowledging that 'on some *chitarroni* the pitches of the

⁶ Vincent D'Indy (ed.), *Cantiques de Salomon Rossi: Choix de 22 Madrigaux à cinq voix* (Paris: S. Naumbourg, 1877). This edition contains transcriptions for only four of the six chitarrone madrigals. These are: 'Ohimè, se tanto amate', 'Cor mio, deh non languire', 'Anima del cor mio', and 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno'.

⁷ Hubbell, 'Sixteenth-Century Italian Songs', 289–303.

canto and the *sottana* [i.e. the first and the second courses] sounded an octave lower than written'.⁸ The idea of re-entrant tuning is introduced but, instead of providing useful information about the actual pitch produced by the two first courses of the chitarrone, it produces more confusion because the tablature is a notational system that does not represent pitch but rather shows the finger positions on the fingerboard of the instrument. What Hubbell presumably meant is that the pitches of the first two courses would sound an octave lower compared to what appears in the transcriptions; but even if that was the case, someone unfamiliar with the tablature would be unable to identify the notes that would sound an octave lower.

Kevin Mason, in his study for the chitarrone and its repertoire, reproached D'Indy for having 'mistranscribed the tablature using renaissance lute tuning rather than the proper re-entrant tuning'.⁹ However, the results of the transcriptions proposed by Mason appear to be unsatisfactory. Transcribing the tablature with the first two courses lowered an octave as Mason indicates abolishes the bass line's integrity and produces many arbitrary ⁶/₄ chords, as the second course often crosses below the bass line (example 4.1).

Further problems occur in the voice leading as octave leaps appear in melodies intended to be conjunct. Mason, despite acknowledging the problems, accepts *a priori* the re-entrant tuning and avoids giving an explanation:

In imitative passages, however, the chitarrone transposes some entries down an octave or changes the line in some other way because of the re-entrant tuning. Although such breaks in the voice-leading of the accompaniment would hardly be noticeable in the ensemble, they remain less than ideal and it is difficult to say whether or not such an accompaniment was acceptable or if Rossi simply did not know how to write for the chitarrone at this early date ... For an alternate mode of performance—solo voice with chitarrone— ... the breaks in the voice

⁸ Ibid. 293.

⁹ Mason, *Chitarrone*, 45 n.

leading caused by the re-entrant tuning would certainly be more noticeable than in the ensemble version.¹⁰

EXAMPLE 4.1: 'Ohimè, se tanto amate', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 14, bb. 45–8 (chitarrone part transcribed with the two first courses lowered an octave; vocal parts transposed a fourth lower).

The musical score consists of five vocal staves (Canto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, Basso), a piano accompaniment, and a chitarrone part. The lyrics are: "Ma se cor mio vor - re - re Che vi - r'hab - bia da". The chitarrone part is transcribed with two first courses lowered an octave. A footnote (1) indicates that the c# follows later editions, while 1600 and 1603 editions share a misprint.

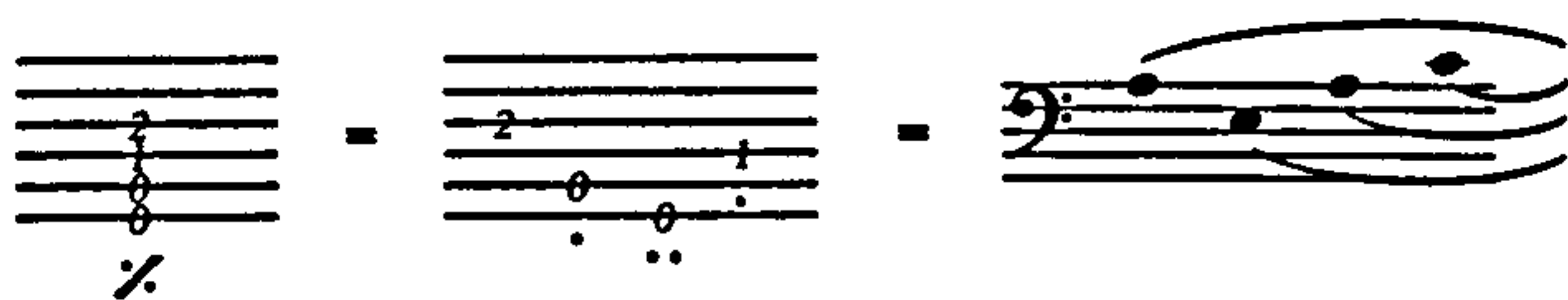
(1) The c[#] follows the later editions; 1600 and 1603 editions share a misprint.

Other sources in the literature concerning the chitarrone also reveal similar problems, despite the fact that the composer provides the tuning usually in the preface of the edition and there is no ambiguity about it. Kapsberger's books of music for solo chitarrone occasionally feature $\frac{6}{4}$ chords as well as voice leading inaccuracies. If such lapses are present in the music of an acknowledged great composer and one who was probably the best chitarrone player of his day, then why not consider this way of writing as permissible, and maybe, idiomatic for the chitarrone? This is a possibility, however, various details should be taken into account: firstly, the fewer occurrences of $\frac{6}{4}$ chords in Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (1626) and *Libro quarto*

¹⁰ Ibid. 45–8.

d'intavolatura di chitarone (1640) compared to *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (1604) show his concern rather than tolerance in the matter; secondly, as, according to Kapsberger four-note chords should be arpeggiated with a specific fingering pattern, the effect of the $\frac{6}{4}$ differs as the true bass note comes first (see example 4.2); furthermore, in his tablature accompaniments of songs, which will be discussed in the following chapter, arbitrary $\frac{6}{4}$ chords are almost absent.

EXAMPLE 4.2: Four-note arpeggiated chord according to Kapsberger, *Libro primo d'intavolatura*, 4.



The transcription of the tablature with just the first string lowered an octave, an option offered by theorists such as Andrea Banchieri, also appears to be unsatisfactory. Despite the fact that the problem of $\frac{6}{4}$ chords is not present in such a transcription, the voice-leading problem still occurs (see example 4.3). Lynda Sayce, in her excellent study on Italian continuo lutes, suggests the tuning with only the first course lowered an octave for Rossi's tablature.¹¹ Based on Piccinini's account quoted in chapter 2, p. 12, the voice-leading issue is justified as follows:

[Piccinini] makes clear that this was a secondary consideration, less important than maximizing the basic timbre of the lute. Any resultant infelicities of counterpoint or chord voicing are much less obvious when the lute is accompanying a voice than when it is playing solo, because much of the listener's attention is focused on the text, and the combined resonance of voice and lute can render any awkward octave jumps inoffensive.¹²

Although such a stance is reasonable, this does not seem to be the case for Rossi's intabulations because, as will be shown below, they lean towards Renaissance traditions and are of very fine quality to contain voice-leading inconsistencies.

¹¹ Sayce, 'Development', i. 70.

¹² Ibid. i. 54–5.

Judging from the voice-leading and the chord spacing, the tablature indicates that the chitarrone implied in Rossi's publication was not an instrument with just the first or the first two courses lowered an octave but rather an instrument with Renaissance lute tuning. Rossi's chitarrone was closer to the instrument modern scholars call 'archlute' rather than to the chitarrone.

EXAMPLE 4.3: 'Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 18, bb. 21-4 (chitarrone part transcribed with only the first course lowered an octave).

The image shows a musical score for the madrigal 'Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi' by Salamone Rossi. It features five vocal parts: Canto, Alto, Tenore, Quinto, and Basso. Each vocal part has a line of music with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: 'Ver - se - rà pur la pia - ga Di tua Fil - li il tuo'. Below the vocal parts is a Chitarrone part, which is transcribed with a single course lowered an octave, indicated by a '2' on the first line of the staff. The Chitarrone part consists of a series of chords and single notes, with some notes marked with a diamond symbol.

In his complete edition of Rossi's works Harrán decided to transcribe the chitarrone tablature based on a Renaissance tuning. According to Harrán, the tablature calls for two different tunings so it can be consistent with the vocal parts: a nominal chitarrone tuning in A (*A-d-g-b-e'-a'*) plus a second tuning a fourth higher in D (*d'-a'-e'-c'-g-d*) for two of the pieces ('Ohimè, se tanto amate' and 'Cor mio, deh non languire').¹³ However, the employment of a second tuning in D seems to be an inappropriate choice, as it requires an instrument of very small dimensions, with an approximate fretted

¹³ Don Harrán (ed.), *Salamone Rossi: Complete Works*, 13 vols. (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 100; American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag, 1995), i. p. xx.

string length of 30 cm, an instrument whose existence is unsupported historically. A tuning in D is possible and might have been used for solo repertory in France, but in this case for a re-entrant tuned instrument of small dimensions.¹⁴ Bellerofonte Castaldi's *Capricci a due stromenti* (1622) requires a very small instrument, which Castaldi calls *tiorbino al ottava*, that is a smaller theorbo tuned an octave above the standard theorbo and retaining the re-entrant tuning in A with its unfretted contrabasses. But even Castaldi's *tiorbino*, with a fretted string length of approximately 45 cm to 53 cm,¹⁵ is far larger than the instrument required to accommodate the tuning in D proposed by Harrán.

In fact, 'Ohimè, se tanto amate' and 'Cor mio, deh non languire' do not call for a different instrument. Occasional discrepancies between keyboard or lute tablatures and their vocal counterpart(s), where the vocal part(s) may be notated in one key while the accompaniment implies another, suggest that an "obligatory transposition" is implicit in the notation of much vocal music in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.¹⁶ This is also supported by some theoretical writings of the time. Among Rossi's chitarrone madrigals, 'Ohimè, se tanto amate' and 'Cor mio, deh non languire' are the only ones set in a high clef combination (G², C², C³, C³, F³). Michael Praetorius, referring to vocal pieces in high clef combination, is clear that such a piece

¹⁴ Alexander Dunn, 'Style and Development in the Theorbo Works of Robert de Visée: An Introductory Study', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, 1989), 61.

¹⁵ David West Dolata, 'The Sonatas and Dance Music in the *Capricci a due stromenti* (1622) of Bellerofonte Castaldi (1580–1649)', Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (Case Western Reserve University, 1998), i. 91.

¹⁶ Andrew Parrott, 'Transposition in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: An "Aberration" Defended', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 491. On transposition, see also Patrizio Barbieri, 'Chiavette and Modal Transposition in Italian Practice (c. 1500–1837)', *Recercare*, 3 (1991), 5–79, Roger Bowers, 'An "Aberration" Reviewed: the Reconciliation of Inconsistent Clef-Systems in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 527–30 and Andrew Parrott, 'Monteverdi: Onwards and Downwards', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 303–18.

must be transposed, if it has a flat down a fourth *in durum* but if it has no flat down a fifth *in mollem naturaliter*, when it is put into a tablature or score by organists and lutenists or all the others who use the foundation instruments.¹⁷

Since 'Ohimè, se tanto amate' and 'Cor mio, deh non languire' are both in the Dorian mode in G, these two madrigals example the expectation of transposition performance practices, and their performance would entail transposition down a fourth. In that case the required tuning for the chitarrone is one in A.

Rossi's accompaniments require an eleven-course instrument with seven courses on the fingerboard (the seventh course is occasionally stopped on the first fret) and four added unstopped contrabasses. Such an instrument is different from what the modern musician would call a chitarrone. It is closer to what we now call archlute but with an A tuning. However, one should not forget that the use of terms is more distinct today than it was in the early-1600s. Adriano Banchieri is the only one who mentions the possible use of Renaissance tuning for the chitarrone, though calling for a G tuning in his case (see chapter 2, p. 13). It is interesting that both Banchieri and Rossi use the same unusual spelling with double *t* and double *r* (*chittarrone*) although the establishment of a connection between them is impossible. Whether Rossi's use of the term *chittarrone* indicates his conception of the chitarrone as an instrument or is an attempt by Rossi to signal his acquaintance with the contemporary modern trends is difficult to say. Whatever the case, the chitarrone madrigals hold an important place in Rossi's musical output. Alfred Einstein credited Rossi as 'one of the first and earliest monodists' because of his chitarrone madrigals.¹⁸ Judith Cohen acknowledges that 'the six chitarrone

¹⁷ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III: Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel: E. Holwein, 1619; facs. edn., Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 80–1: 'Wenn er *b mol*, per quartam inferiorem in durum; Wenn er aber \flat dur, per quartam inferiorem in mollem, naturaliter in die Tabularur oder Partitur von Organisten, Lauttenisten und allen andern, die sich der *Fundament Instrumenten* gebrauchen, gebracht unnd *transoniret* werden muss'.

¹⁸ Alfred Einstein, 'Salamone Rossi as a Composer of Madrigals', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 23 (1950–1), 393.

madrigals, though not equal in their use of elements of the new monodic idiom, are the most ambitious compositions in Rossi's madrigal oeuvre'.¹⁹

Having clarified the issue of the instrument that was intended to accompany Rossi's madrigals and its tuning, a comparison between the vocal model and the instrumental accompaniment is now possible. That comparison is useful not only for the definition of accompanying style but also for the definition of the performance medium. Apart from the option of a solo voice performance with chitarrone accompaniment, it has been suggested that 'they may also be performed *a cappella* or with chitarrone accompaniment'.²⁰ A performance option as *a cappella* madrigals is unchallengeable but a possible performance as ensemble pieces with chitarrone accompaniment is only arguable.

'Cor mio, deh non languire' is a representative example of how the intabulator treats the vocal model in order to generate the accompaniment. At first sight (see appendix I, part I.1) it is evident that the intabulation does not reproduce the vocal model note-for-note. It has a fairly consistent texture by means of melodic and motivic activity but the approach of the accompaniment is more vertical with the voices treated as harmonic filling rather than as independent elements. The only voice that is reproduced almost unaltered is the Basso, while the chords are revoiced according to what sounds well on the instrument and what is convenient for the player. As the accompaniment sits between polyphony and homophony it would be useful to compare in detail the chitarrone tablature with the vocal model. In particular, we see:

- b. 2: the omission of the Tenore motif and addition of a *D* on the third beat of the bar; this breaks the rhythm into two minims, providing rhythmic articulation and preparing the cadence in A major at the following bar.

¹⁹ Cohen, 'Salamone Rossi's Madrigal Style', 163.

²⁰ Ibid. 159.

- bb. 3–5: the support of the beginning of the new phrase on the third crotchet beat of b. 3 by providing a full chord announcing the Basso's *a* of b. 4 a minim earlier. By doing so, the strong beat shifts from the beginning of the bar to the third beat. In b. 4, Alto's *e'* is absent, being considered a tied note, while the passing *d'* is omitted. The added *A* on the first beat of b. 4 serves as a prolongation of the previous chord's sound. The added *a* gives more strength to the third beat of b. 4 as it also restrikes the dissonance on the third beat of b. 5. The Alto held note *c'* is also restruck on the first beat of b. 5 in order to keep the note alive, as the sound on plucked instruments fades fairly soon after being sounded.
- b. 7: the omission of the Alto and Quinto parts at the second half of the bar, presumably in order to highlight the Basso's movement.
- b. 8: the addition of a passing *d* on the fourth beat, which connects the cadential C major with the opening E major of the new section.
- b. 9: the omission of the Alto and Quinto passing *a*, simplifying the rhythm of the bar into two minims. The addition of an *E* on the third beat in order to keep the sound of the instrument alive.
- b. 11: the restriking of the held Quinto *a* in order to maintain the effect of the dissonance and duplication of the root of the chord prolonging the resonance.
- b. 13: the omission of Tenor passing *b*.
- b. 16: the addition of an octave leap in the bass line.
- bb. 17–19: the simplification of the rhythm of the accompaniment into semibreves, giving space but also providing a full support to the Canto melisma.
- b. 20: the alteration of the character of the cadential chord on the first beat. The Tenore has a *g'*♯ producing an E major chord while the chitarrone tablature displays an E minor chord. The possibility of a mistake by the intabulator looks unlikely as the tablature reads two *G*♯, one on the third fret of the second course (*g'*) and one on the open fourth course (*g*). By altering the major tonality and

thus the dominant function of the E chord, the intabulator possibly intended to detach the two sections from each other. If he had retained the major chord then a V-VI relationship would connect the two sections.

bb. 21–2: the addition of an *F* on the first beat of b. 21 providing support to the previous chord which, in combination with the octave-lowered C on the third beat, giving emphasis to the bass line, is preparing for what will follow in b. 22: a stepwise passage has been added in order to bridge the ascending fifth leap of the bass line, giving the chitarrone a totally different role to the one it had in the previous section (bb. 17–20). The register of the chitarrone bass line is an octave lower compared to the vocal model and the added passage runs across the contrabass courses of the instrument providing a harp-like sound as the courses are unstopped.

b. 25: the vocal scheme of $\overset{6}{\#} \overset{5}{4} \bar{\#}$ has been simplified to $4 \# 4$. As the intabulator does not employ the Tenore *c'* at the beginning of the bar; the preceding passing *b* is omitted. The Canto part is duplicated while the dissonant *a'* on the third beat is not restruck (as are the rest notes of the chord) obviously because it is sung by the Canto.

bb. 27–8: the simplification of the rhythm from crotchets to minims in order to liberate the delivery of the text.

b. 29: the passing *d* of the Basso has been moved a crotchet earlier, to the first beat of the bar, becoming a fundamental minim. Thus, an isorhythmic balance is preserved and a $4 \ 3$ suspension with the Canto is created.

bb. 30–3: the omission of the Tenore entrance, which is quite important to the vocal model as it bridges two different, though texturally similar, sections. After the second half of b. 31, the accompaniment rhythm is simplified from crotchets to minims as in bb. 27–8, thus making the Basso passage more distinguishable.

This rhythmic simplification continues until b. 36. An octave leap is also added in the bass line on the fourth beat of b. 33.

- b. 36: the simplification of the Basso's rhythm into two crotchets on the first half of the bar; the addition of a 4^3 suspension at the second half of the bar.
- bb. 39–40: the omission of the Tenore *d'* on the fourth beat of b. 39 and of the Alto *d'* on the second beat of b. 40. The Alto *d'* is omitted in order to avoid parallel fifths between the first and the second beat of the chitarrone part (*c'-g'd'-a*).
- bb. 41–3: the simplification of the accompaniment rhythm into minims. On the first-beat of b. 43, the Quinto *b* has been replaced by the preceding (or the subsequent) *c'* while, on the third beat of the same bar, the Alto *d'* has been replaced by the following passing *c'*. The harmonic sequence of E major-(C major)-D minor is therefore replaced by the dominant-tonic sequence of C major-F major. An added *C* modifies the C major first inversion to a root position and the Basso *f* has been transposed an octave down.
- bb. 44–5: the transposition of the Basso *g* an octave lower in b. 44 and restriking of the dissonant chord in the second half of the bar; The addition of *g'*, which is above the Canto part, to this dissonant chord requires further comment. On first sight it seems that the *g'* has been added for the sake of enrichment of the sound of the dissonance. Yet, more importantly, the *g'* is placed in order to justify the *e'*, which is also higher than the Canto part, of the C major chord at the beginning of b. 45. In order to understand why those two chords are voiced in this manner, we have to look in depth into the Basso passage in b. 45. The Basso passage *c'-b-a-g* is of particular significance because it marks the entrance of the section that accommodates the final line of the poem, and it is imitated, transposed a sixth upwards by the Canto in bb. 48–9 where the Canto sings the final line of the poem. Furthermore, the *c'* and *b* are the highest notes sung by the Basso throughout the madrigal. The intabulator, acknowledging the importance of

Basso's passage, draws attention to it by omitting the Alto and Tenore parts except for one note, the Tenore *c'* on the fourth beat; this is important both for the instrument's resonance and to support of the Canto entrance. The intabulator places all the notes of the passage on the fourth course of the chitarrone despite the fact that he could easily use the first fret of the third course for *c'* and the open third course for *b*. That way he avoids any timbre differentiation resulting from the course change, which is easily noticeable to a well-trained listener. A timbre difference in combination with the Tenore *c'* of the fourth beat would entail the possibility of creating a different phrasing: that would be *c'-b-c'-d'*, as all these notes would be on the third course, with a new entrance of an *a* on the fourth beat of the bar, leading to *g*. In order to avoid such a misinterpretation, the intabulator prefers to place the Basso passage on the fourth course. Such a fingering involves a hand shift on the second beat of the bar; the only way to maintain the sound of the cadential chord is by using the *e'* produced by the open second course. If the *e*, which is produced by the second fret of the fifth course, had been used, then its sound would have been terminated by the left-hand shift, thus separating the Basso passage from the cadential C major chord. Such a separation is undesirable. The connection of the bass passage and the cadential C major chord is dictated not only by the Canto minim that still sounds when the passage starts but also by the text that is accommodated by the *c'-b-a-g* passage: 'chi vivo tien' (who keeps alive). And, indeed, the intabulator keeps the sound of the cadential C major chord alive by replacing the *c* with a *C*. If he had used the *c* produced by the third fret of the sixth course, the sound would stop with the right-hand shift at the second beat of the bar, whereas by using *C* of the open contrabass course, no such problems occur and the sound is richer.

- b. 46: the omission of the Alto part and the Tenore passing notes in the second half of the bar. The accompaniment rhythm is simplified to minims and the chord at the beginning of the bar has been altered from E minor to G major as the Alto is absent.
- b. 47: the addition of a $4\ 3$ suspension but without a restriking of the dissonance. Instead, the Basso *e* has been lowered an octave.
- b. 48: the omission of the Quinto part and simplification of the accompaniment rhythm into minims with full chords.
- b. 50: the dissonance is not restruck but an *E* has been added in order to provide cadential articulation.
- bb. 51–2: the accompaniment rhythm is simplified into minims.
- bb. 54–5: the duplication of the Canto part with restriking of the dissonance; the omission of the Alto *f'* at the second half of b. 54 modifies the $\frac{6\ 5}{4} \bar{\#}$ to a $4\ \#$.

The comparison between the vocal model and the chitarrone accompaniment indicates strongly that the composition of the vocal model came first followed by the chitarrone tablature, which was extracted from the vocal model. That was the common practice throughout the sixteenth century. However, Rossi's chitarrone tablatures 'do not reproduce note-for-note the vocal polyphony but render a playable reduction of it, from the "rules" of polyphony to the "rules of play" providing 'a second reading of existing musical structures',²¹ and they were prepared by someone who had a really good knowledge of the instrument. The modifications made by the intabulator can be summarised as follows:

- The revoicing of the chords according to what is more convenient or sounds more convincing on the instrument (e.g. bb. 2, 23).

²¹ David Nutter, 'Salomone Rossi's Chitarrone Madrigals', in Paola Besutti, Teresa Maria Gialdroni and Rodolfo Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Studi e prospettive* (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 235; 238.

- The partial or total omission of voices, except the Basso part, although in most cases readily playable on the instrument, showing a vertical rather than linear approach to the accompaniment (e.g. bb. 7, 46).

- The rhythmic accompaniment simplification based on the harmonic rhythm as there is no text placement to dictate note repetitions, thus making the texture thinner (e.g. bb. 15–19, 31–4).

- The downward octave transposition of notes or passages of the Basso part, thus taking advantage of the resonance of the instrument, as well as the addition of octave leaps to provide harmonic articulation (e.g. bb. 2, 43–5).

- The addition of cadential $4\ 3$ suspensions and a restriking of the dissonance (e.g. bb. 5–6, 44), a practice that has been described, among others, by Girolamo Frescobaldi:

In suspensions or [other] dissonances as well as in the middle of the work, [the notes] should be struck together in order not to leave the instrument empty; this striking may be repeated as the player likes.²²

- The addition of passing notes between leaps in order to connect chords or phrases, in places where there is no vocal activity (e.g. b. 8, 22).

- The addition of harmonic support to the entrances of new phrases (e.g. bb. 13, 48).

- The modification of the harmonic texture that applies in:

1. the chord itself (e.g. b. 46, E minor changed to G major)
2. the character of the chord (e.g. b. 20, major chord changed to minor)

²² Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo ... libro primo* (Rome: N. Bordon, 1616), pref.: 'è così nelle ligature, ò vero durezze, come anche nel mezzo del opera si batteranno insieme, per non lasciar voto l'Istromento: il qual battimento ripiglierassi à beneplacito di chi suona'.

3. the position of a chord (e.g. b. 43, first inversion C major appears in root position) and,

4. harmonic sequences (e.g. b. 54, $\frac{6}{4} \frac{5}{4} \bar{\#}$ becomes 4 #).

The modifications applied in 'Cor mio, deh non languire' also occur, more or less, in the remaining chitarrone madrigals.

A further comment is required for some particular features extracted from the other chitarrone madrigals. These are:

- The extensive use of major thirds in cadential chords in the tablature when the third of the chord is not present in the vocal model (example 4.4).

EXAMPLE 4.4: 'Anima del cor mio', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 16, bb. 53–4.

The image displays a musical score for the madrigal 'Anima del cor mio'. It features five vocal staves: Canto, Alto, Tenore, Quinto, and Basso, all in 16th-century notation. The lyrics are: Canto: sem - pio, Vi - ; Alto: pio, ; Tenore: fe - des - sem - pio, ; Quinto: ; Basso: sem - - - pio, Vi - . Below the vocal staves is the Chitarrone part, which includes a standard musical staff with a treble clef and a tablature staff with six lines. The tablature uses numbers 0-5 and includes symbols like [] and * to indicate specific fretting techniques. The score is marked with the number 53 at the beginning.

- The insertion of a new bass line in a place where the Basso rests in bb. 44–5 of 'Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi' (example 4.5).

EXAMPLE 4.5: 'Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 18, bb. 44–5.

43

Canto
Alto
Tenore
Quinto
Basso

Fil - li Chè, co - me ve - di,
- - li Chè, co - me ve - di, chè, co - me
Fil - li Chè,
Fil - li Chè,
Fil - li Chè, co - me

Chitarrone

(1) Second course reads 2 (2) Original value crochet

- The modification of the openings of some of the madrigals such as 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno' (example 4.6).

EXAMPLE 4.6: 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 17, bb. 1–3.

Canto
Alto
Tenore
Quinto
Basso

U - di - te, la - cri
U - di - te, la - cri
U - di - te, la - cri
U - di - te, la - cri
U - di - te, la - cri
U - di - te, la - cri

Chitarrone

- The contradiction of the Canto *b'* in the fourth beat of b. 65 of 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno' with the *b'* of the accompaniment, an effect used to enhance the word painting of 'morte' (death), and implying a rhetorical approach to the intabulation (example 4.7).

EXAMPLE 4.7: 'Udite, lacrimosi spiriti d'Averno', Rossi, *Il libro primo de madrigali*, 17, bb. 64-6.

The musical score for Example 4.7 consists of six systems. The first system contains five vocal staves: Canto (Soprano), Alto, Tenore (Tenor), Quinto (Quintus), and Basso (Bass). The lyrics are: Canto: 'a, Di mil - le mor - t' il di ri -'; Alto: 'a, Di mil - le mor - t' il di ri -'; Tenore: 'a,'; Quinto: 'mil - le mor - t' il di ri - cet - to'; Basso: 'a, Di mil - le mor - t' il di'. The second system contains a piano accompaniment (piano) and a Chitarrone part. The piano part has a dynamic marking of *p.* and a cadential suspension. The Chitarrone part shows a sequence of fret numbers: 3, 2, 3, 0, 2, 0, 3, 2, 0, 3, 2, 0.

Returning to the issue of possible ways of performance, the various discrepancies between the tablature and the vocal parts, with the exception of the Canto, indicate that the intabulations were conceived as accompaniments to a solo performance rather than as accompaniments to an ensemble performance. Even if we assume that some of the discrepancies, such as the cadential suspensions, are bearable or that they were expected to be performed in a different way than written (a common feature in the accompanied madrigal and instrumental repertoire), the clash of major and minor harmonies and the modification of passing notes to fundamental ones present bigger problems. Furthermore, the overall treatment of the accompaniment shows that it has only one aim: to support the Canto. Yet, although Rossi's chitarrone intabulations sit

intriguingly between two traditions, they lean towards the style of sixteenth-century lute song accompaniments rather than to the later improvised style of continuo songs because they are still dependent on the vocal model and therefore consistent with the performing traditions of the late sixteenth century. Most of the modifications we find in Rossi's tablatures occur also in earlier lute song publications, such as Simone Verovio's *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicale* (1589).

Rossi's chitarrone accompaniments cannot be described as a complete novelty but they can be seen as a precursor of the new accompaniment style as they include written-down examples of what would later be considered improvised accompaniment above the bass line. The same principle applies to the chitarrone madrigals themselves as, despite the fact that 'their melodies are conceived harmonically, and are supported by harmonic basses which generate predominantly chordal accompaniments',²³ they go so far as to take 'the more traditional form of polyphonic music and refashion it in a style that partakes of the new gains of expressive solo singing without sacrificing the contrapuntal elaboration of motifs and harmonic tensions typical of *seconda prattica* madrigals'.²⁴

²³ Joel Newman, 'The Madrigals of Salomon de' Rossi', Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1962), 200.

²⁴ Nutter, 'Salomone Rossi's Chitarrone Madrigals', 220.

5. GIROLAMO KAPSBERGER'S CHITARRONE INTABULATIONS

If there is one musician inextricably intertwined with the chitarrone that is Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger. The 'nobile alemano' (noble German), a description used in his publications, was undoubtedly the most important lutenist of the seventeenth century in Italy. Thus, any information he provides with his intabulations about performing style and technique is extremely valuable.

Kapsberger was born in or around 1580 and died in 1651.¹ He grew up in Venice, where his father, a military official, was stationed. Nothing is known of his life until the appearance of his *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* in 1604, the first printed solo music for the chitarrone. Shortly after its publication, Kapsberger left Venice for Rome where he spent the rest of his life. Kapsberger's Roman musical activity can be divided into two phases. At first, from his settlement in Rome until about 1623, he was patronized by prominent artistic communities, knightly Orders or by powerful Roman families such as the Bentivoglio.² During this time, Kapsberger firmly established himself as a composer primarily of secular music. He published fourteen volumes that contain almost every category of secular music that was in fashion during the early seventeenth century: madrigals; *arie* in recitative style; strophic *villanelle*; solo instrumental music; *sinfonie* and dances for instrumental ensembles; and opera. The second phase of Kapsberger's activity coincides with Pope Urban VIII's

¹ The birth date is established by his death certificate that bears the date 17 January 1651 and states that 'Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger the German died at the age of seventy-one' (Jo. Hieronymus Kapsberger Germanus etatis sue annorum septuag.^{mo} primo). A complete transcription of his death certificate appears in Paul Kast, 'Biographische Notizen zu römischen Musikern des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Analecta Musicologica*, 1 (1963), 48.

² On Kapsberger's patronage see Victor Coelho, 'G. G. Kapsberger in Rome, 1604–1645: New Biographical Data', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 16 (1983), 111–32.

pontificate (1623–1644) when he was employed in the papal court in the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the nephew of the Pope. During this time, Kapsberger's interest, clearly reflecting Barberini's patronage, shifted to sacred and dramatic music. Nothing is known of Kapsberger's activities after Barberini ran away from Rome between 1645 and 1646 in order to escape an inquiry for account discrepancies.

As a composer, Kapsberger was praised by, among others, Vincenzo Giustiniani, Pietro della Valle, and Athanasius Kircher who, in his *Musurgia Universalis*, used examples from Kapsberger's work in order to illustrate the *stylus dramaticus* and described him as Monteverdi's successor in recitative-style composition:

There was once Claudio Monteverdi among the most celebrated in this kind of style, as witnessed by his *Ariadne*; he was succeeded by Hieronymus Kapsberger who published various [works] in recitative style, composed with excellent skill and taste, and they are certainly most worthy of being imitated by musicians.³

However, Kapsberger's reputation as a composer has been heavily damaged because of Giovanni Battista Doni's defamation, which seems to derive from a personal disagreement.⁴ Doni's opinion is echoed in the writings of Sir John Hawkins, Wilhelm Ambros and Nigel Fortune, who all described Kapsberger as an inferior monodist.⁵

With regard to Kapsberger's skill as a performer there is no ambiguity. Even Doni, his severest critic, in a letter to Marin Mersenne in 1626, writes that 'he [Kapsberger] also plays the theorbo very well, of which he is considered the finest

³ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1650), 594: 'Fuit hoc styli genere cum primis celebris olim Claudius Monteverde, uti eius *Ariadne* ostendit; eum secutus Hieronymus Capspergerus varia edidit stylo recitativo; que summo cum iudicio & peritia composita, ac certe dignissima sunt quale Musici imitentur'.

⁴ Coelho, 'Kapsberger in Rome', 106–8.

⁵ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London: T. Payne 1776), iii. 183–4 and iv. 183–4; Wilhelm August Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 5 vols. (Breslau: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1862–82), vol. iv, 129; Nigel Fortune, 'Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody', Ph.D. diss. (University of Cambridge, 1954), 192.

master that we have in Rome'.⁶ Most of Kapsberger's performances were presumably held in academies, such as the Accademia degli Umoristi, or even his own academy that was held in his house.⁷ During the time he was under the patronage of the Barberini family, he did not participate in any of the Barberini operas as a continuo player and his performances 'seem to have been limited to the academies—both in and out of the Barberini Palace—of which no record survives'.⁸ Even though there is no direct evidence that Kapsberger was performing as a continuo player in ensembles, an idea of his accompaniment style can be gleaned from the publications that contain intabulated song accompaniments and instructions on playing over a bass. These publications are: *Libro primo* and *Libro terzo di villanelle* of 1610 and 1619 respectively, *Libro primo de arie passeggiate* of 1612 and *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* of 1626.

5.1. *Libro primo* and *libro terzo di villanelle*

Kapsberger is known to have composed seven books of *villanelle*. All of them, together with the vocal part(s), provide a basso continuo line and a guitar *alfabeto*, while the first and the third books also contain a chitarrone tablature accompaniment. Books one and three are engraved, while the rest are printed. This explains why tablature is not included in the printed books, as tablature typographical characters were not common and thus expensive. Although the name of the engraver is not known, it seems to be one of the Bordones who also appears to have engraved Kapsberger's *Libro primo di arie*

⁶ Cornelis de Waard, (ed.), *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne religieux minime*, i (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1932), 438: 'Il joue aussi fort bien de la Tiorbe en laquelle il est estimé le premier maistre que nous ayons à Rome'.

⁷ Coelho, 'Kapsberger in Rome', 116–7. For the musical activity in Roman academies see Frederick Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 103–13.

⁸ *Ibid.* 128.

passegiate of 1612, as the letters and the page layout are similar to books one and three.⁹ The title pages of the first and the third book read:

LIBRO PRIMO DI VILLANELLE / à 1 2 et 3 voci accommodate per qual si
voglia / strumento con l'intavolatura del Chitarone / et alfabeto per la Chitarra
Spagnola / DEL SIG.^e GIO: GIROLAMO KAPSPERGER NOBILE ALEMAno /
RACCOLTO / Dal Sig.^e Cavaller Flamminio Flamminii / del ordine di S.^{mo}
Stefano / Con Privilegio et licenza de superiori In Roma. 1610.

LIBRO TERZO / DI VILLANELLE / a 1. 2. et 3. voci accommodate per qual si
vo / glia stromento con l'intavolatura del Chitarone / et alfabeto per la Chitarra
Spagnola / DEL SIG.^e GIO. GIROLAMO KAPSPERGER. / Nobile Alemanno. /
Raccolto. / Dal Sig.^e Francesco Porta / IN ROMA. / Con Privilegio et licenza de
/ Superiori / 1619.

The title pages of both books are followed by the prefatory material, which consists of a dedicatory poem and the editor's introductory address to the reader. The editor of the first book, Flamminio Flamminii, is fairly illuminating about the nature of the music that follows. He describes the pieces as 'scherzi amorozi ... [which] have been composed in a few days',¹⁰ which might not be true but keeps with Kapsberger's noble status.

The *villanelle* that follow the prefatory material are presented in score format with the parts vertically aligned, with the chitarrone tablature placed below the bass line and the guitar alfabeto above the highest voice.¹¹ All the villanella texts are strophic. The text of the first stanza is placed underneath the vocal part(s), while the text of the remaining stanza(s) is/are placed at the bottom of the page (see illustration 5.1). In the first book the bass part has no continuo figuring. Although the character of the chord that has to be placed above the bass note is usually defined by the mensural vocal part(s),

⁹ Kathi Meyer and Eva J. O'Mera, 'The Printing of Music 1473–1934', *The Dolphin*, 2 (1935), 190.

¹⁰ Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 3: 'Questi scherzi amorosi ... in pochi giorni composti sono stati'.

¹¹ Transcriptions of the *alfabeto* chords used in Kapsberger's editions can be found in appendix II, part II.1.

this is not always the case, especially for solo voice songs. In such cases, the chitarrone tablature or the guitar alfabeto have to be consulted. In the third book, however, the bass line is figured according to the early seventeenth-century madrigal figuring practice. The figures used by Kapsberger are sharps and flats for major and minor thirds, $4\ 3$ for cadential suspensions, and 6 or 4 for first or second inversion chords.

In order for the tablature to be consistent with the mensural notation a tuning in A is required for the chitarrone. Concerning the type of instrument designated for the accompaniment, there is no uncertainty, as the whole corpus of Kapsberger's chitarrone music calls for an instrument with a re-entrant tuning with the first two courses lowered an octave.¹² However, in one of the very first attempts to define the accompanying style of early seventeenth-century by Stanley Buetens, Kapsberger's 'Che faro donna in gratta' from the first book appears transcribed with only the first course lowered an octave.¹³ Buetens does not explain this decision, reflecting the confusion on the nature of the chitarrone and its tuning at the time of publication. Concerning the number of courses, the first book calls for a twelve-course instrument with courses 7–11 tuned diatonically and course twelve, which appears only once in 'S'io sospiro', tuned as $F\#$. The third book seems to call for an eighteen-course instrument, as is implied by the use of course eighteen, which is used just once in 'Disperato dolore' and is tuned as $F\#$. However, it should be pointed out that courses 12–17 are not used throughout the entire book.

¹² Although Kapsberger describes the re-entrant tuning in the preface of his *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (1626), the use of the re-entrant tuning is implied from his first chitarrone book both by the voice leading of the music and the use of a specific fingering pattern for arpeggiation; for the latter see Theodoros Kitsos, 'Arpeggiated Chords in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy', *The Lute*, 42 (2002), 54–72.

¹³ Stanley Buetens, 'Theorbo Accompaniments of Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 6 (1973), 43–4.

6 C O B G M H G E H B G L A L

Fulminat accesi lampi sours il cor fiammell'ardenti fulminat occhi lucenti feri

Fulminat accesi lampi sours il cor fiammell'ardenti fulminat occhi lucenti feri

H M G O G H G H L

si che sal
 m'ouampi che da vostra ferezza prouo tanta dol

si che sal
 m'ouampi che da vostra ferezza prouo tanta dol.

C O E O I C H M L C A

cezza ch'io vi bramo crudeli e non vezzosi occhi bell'occhi ferri occhi sdegno si

cezza ch'io vi bramo crudeli e non vezzosi occhi bell'occhi ferri occhi sdegno si

Deuersate a mille a mille
 da quel ciglio sdegnosetto
 occhi crudi entro al mio petto
 soauissime fauille,
 che per luce sdegnosa
 cresce fiamma amorosa
 su vibrare li strali inuitti arcieri
 occhi crudi occhi belli occhi seueri

Occhi belli e dispietati
 affinate i vostri dardi
 fian di sdegno sempre armati
 lumi alteri i vostri sguardi,
 lungi stia la pietade
 regni in voi feritade
 non sara' ch'io non v'ami e non v'onore
 se da vostra ferezza ha vita il core.

ILLUSTRATION 5.1: 'Fulminate' from Girolamo G. Kapsberger, *Libro terzo di villanelle* (Rome, 1640), 6.

The transcription of the tablature with the two first courses lowered an octave does not display any problems, with the only exception of b. 5 of 'Hor ch'amorosi accenti' where an arbitrary $\frac{6}{4}$ chord appears (example 5.1), which might have been an oversight of the re-entrant tuning.

EXAMPLE 5.1: 'Hor ch'amorosi accenti', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 19, bb. 5–6.

The image shows a musical score for 'Hor ch'amorosi accenti'. It consists of three systems. The first system is a vocal line in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The melody is: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter). Above the notes are the letters A, G, D, A, D. Below the notes is the Italian text: 'Cor - ri, cor - rjal - la sel - va che na - scon - d'il tuo'. The second system is a lute accompaniment in treble clef, showing chords: G4-A4-G4, F#4-E4-D4, C4-B3-A3, G3-F#3-E3, F#3-E3-D3. The third system is a chitarone tablature with six lines. The notes are: 0, [3], 2, 0, 3, 3, 0, 2, 3, 0.

This is the only $\frac{6}{4}$ occurrence of this kind throughout Kapsberger's villanelle accompaniments, his first ever intabulated accompaniments of songs that, if we assume that Flamminii saying is accurate, he composed within a few days. Besides that, there are places in the intabulations where a sophisticated use of the re-entrant tuning occurs, like the opening bar of 'Negatemi pur cruda', where the bass $f\sharp$ is placed on the second course and not on the fifth course where it would be expected (example 5.2).

Although there are some common features, the tablature accompaniments of Kapsberger's *villanelle* show a completely different approach to the accompaniment style in comparison to the one encountered in Rossi's madrigals. This is due to the dissimilar style of composition and the different form of the music in their collections. While Rossi presents accompaniments of madrigals based on pre-existing polyphonic vocal models, Kapsberger offers essential accompaniments for harmonically conceived strophic songs with a clear basso continuo line. On the one hand, Rossi's madrigals were

composed based on the old polyphonic compositional manner, though adding modern elements. On the other hand, Kapsberger's *villanelle* work the other way round, as they are continuo songs which retain few old-fashioned elements. The texture of Kapsberger's *villanelle* is predominately chordal with the technique of imitation not often used. When used though, usually in two or three-voice *villanelle*, it does not usually affect the chordal character of the accompaniment, with the most characteristic example being that of the opening in 'Alla caccia', which refers to the fourteenth-century Italian caccia (example 5.3). The text setting is, in general terms, syllabic with a few fully notated ornaments which 'usually occur no more than once in a piece, and occur before the cadences either at the end of a section or at the end of a piece'.¹⁴

Examining Kapsberger's intabulated accompaniments in detail, various expected and unexpected features are to be found. 'Sù desta i fiori' is a good example of these features (appendix I, part I.2).

EXAMPLE 5.2: 'Negatemi pur cruda', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 16, bb. 1–2.

The musical score for 'Negatemi pur cruda' consists of three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and a Chitarone accompaniment. The lyrics are 'Ne - ga - te - mi pur cru - da'. Above the vocal staves, the letters A, C, A, B, D, A are placed above the notes, indicating the chord structure. The Chitarone part is shown with a six-line staff and includes fret numbers (0, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3) and symbols for muted strings (x).

¹⁴ James Forbes, 'The Nonliturgical Vocal Music of Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger (1580–1651)', Ph.D. diss. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1977), 216. For more about the musical characteristics and text setting in Kapsberger's *villanelle* see *ibid.* 189–222.

EXAMPLE 5.3: 'Alla caccia', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 5, bb. 1–6.

The image shows a musical score for 'Alla caccia' by Kapsberger. It consists of three systems. The first system contains two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and a bass line. The vocal lines are in 13/8 time and feature a melodic line with lyrics: 'Al-la cac - cia, al-la cac - cia, al-la cac - cia, al-la cac - cia pas - ro - ri'. The bass line is in 13/8 time and features a steady eighth-note pattern. The second system contains a lute accompaniment with a treble clef and a bass clef, showing chords and a bass line. The third system contains a chitarone accompaniment with a treble clef and a bass clef, showing chords and a bass line. The chitarone part includes 'x' marks under the bass line, indicating natural harmonics.

Treatment of the bass line

The prime concern in Kapsberger's accompaniments is the respect for the mensural bass line, which is reproduced almost unaltered in the accompaniment. Because in a continuo song the bass line is equally important to the melodic line, any fundamental modifications would change the harmonic structure of the piece. Thus, any alterations encountered in Kapsberger's bass line are done in order to emphasize an already existing character.

- Bass notes are transposed an octave downwards (or duplicated by a lower octave) in order to take advantage of the resonance of the instrument and sometimes make the cadence of a section more distinguishable such (see bb. 2, 3 and 5).

- Octave leaps are added in order to provide harmonic and rhythmic articulation as we see in bb. 18, 19 and 27. Focusing on bb. 18–19, we see that the added octave-leaps lead to further alterations in the following bars: in b. 20, the bass rhythm has been altered to three crotchets, something that at first sight seems to be a misprint; and, in b. 21, the bass line has been transposed an octave upwards and an octave leap has been added on the second beat of the bar, thus making the bass line

similar to that in b. 19. This way, an isorhythmic model has been retained throughout the triple section. This isorhythmic conversion of the bass line is quite common in Kapsberger's triple sections. It is also evident in b. 4, where the bass line minim has been divided into two crotchets. All three crotchets accommodate a chord but it is of note that only the first contains a *d'*, thus making it fuller and stronger, and allowing the possibility of strumming in order to make the downbeat more distinguishable.

- A further rhythmic alteration occurs in places where the bass and the vocal parts rest and we have the anticipation of the following chord in the place of the rest, as happens in bb. 13 and 26. This shift is used in order to give a lift to the mood reflecting the beginning of a new strophe in b. 13 and a reaction to the text 'non dormir piu' (do not sleep anymore) in b. 26.

With the exception of obvious misprints or the inaccuracy described in example 5.1, there are few places where the accompaniment does not follow the continuo line. In b. 7 of 'All'ombra', one of the few villanelle where there is motivic imitation, the continuo line is absent in the chitarrone accompaniment at the beginning of a new phrase that accommodates a new line, and, thus, there is a lack of harmonic support. Instead, the chitarrone doubles the motif of the vocal part. The doubling of this motif is continued in the following bars but in conjunction with harmonic support (example 5.4a). However, when the same motif reappears later in the piece, again at the beginning of a new section, it receives totally different treatment with just one full and supportive chord underneath (example 5.4b). Another very scarce occasion where the accompaniment deviates from the continuo line is when one note of the bass is changed in order to modify the first inversion of a chord to a root position (example 5.5). For this modification, which is not fundamental, there are two possible explanations: it is either an oversight of the re-entrant tuning or a conscious decision in order to avoid the use of higher positions of the instrument thus making the tablature easier to perform.

EXAMPLE 5.4: 'All'ombra', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 8, (a) bb. 7–9, (b) bb. 19–20.¹⁵

(a) 7 E B C B
Cor-riò bel-la li-co-ri
Cor-riò bel-la li-co-ri, cor-riò bel-la li

(b) 19 I C
fà di per lei su-do-ri

Chitarone

EXAMPLE 5.5: 'Oluci amate', Kapsberger, *Libro terzo di villanelle*, 23, bb. 1–2.

B D O E
O-lu-cia-ma-te
O-lu-cia-ma-te
O-lu-cia-ma-te

Chitarone

Nature of the accompaniment

The accompaniments built upon the bass line vary in character. In 'Sù desta i fiori' (appendix I, part I.2) different approaches on the accompaniment are clearly

¹⁵ Although it appears that there is a displacement of the slur in the soprano part in b. 20 since it would be expected to involve the dissonant note and its resolution, this is actually a quite common feature in Kapsberger's music. See, for instance, 'Ultimi miei sospiri', b. 1 and 'Interrotte speranze', b. 1 (appendix I, parts I.3 and I.4).

demonstrated. For the opening of the piece (bb. 1–4), solid and sonorous chords are used, providing therefore a full harmonic support to the vocal part. From then on this chordal texture starts to thin and from b. 6 to the end of the piece a persistent two-part writing is used. This ceases with the use of chords with three or more voices at the cadences at the end of each section because of their harmonic significance. The two-part writing is employed almost exclusively when accompanying a single voice, while, for more voices, the accompaniment becomes richer as more parts are used. The two-parts, however, should not be regarded as lean because on plucked instruments—and particularly on the chitarrone—it can sound rich and give clarity to the bass line.

The chordal writing in Kapsberger's accompaniments is simple, following the basic rules of seventeenth-century harmonisation. The bass note usually implies the root of the chord but it may also imply a first inversion chord. In order to identify the chord, the singing part(s) must be taken into account. This is not merely the case for the first book, where the bass is unfigured, but also for the third one, where figure 6, which indicates a first inversion, is rarely used. The presence of $\frac{6}{4}$ chords is very scarce, strictly limited to long held notes, and always figured (example 5.6). As for dissonant chords, such as $\frac{7}{5}$ or $\frac{6}{5}$, which appear infrequently in the accompaniment, these are never figured.

EXAMPLE 5.6: 'Alma fugace', Kapsberger, *Libro terzo di villanelle*, 16, bb. 1–3.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: vocal, figured bass, and chitarrone. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line is in the treble clef with lyrics: "Al - ma fu - ga - ce al - ma ch'A". Above the vocal line, chord symbols G, C, and B are indicated. The figured bass line is in the bass clef and contains the figures: #, 6/4, 5/3#, and 6. The chitarrone part is shown on a six-stringed instrument with a treble clef and contains the following fret numbers: 3, 0, 0, 0, 3, 1, 2, 3, 0, 0, 1, 0.

Further features presented by the accompaniment are the use of major or minor chords and the addition of $4\ 3$ suspensions at cadences. Cadential $4\ 3$ suspensions are added to the dominant chord at almost every opportunity. Even in the third book, where the bass is figured, the use of suspensions is not limited to the places where they are figured, revealing the free use of them. When the suspension is sung by a vocal part, the accompaniment duplicates both the dissonance and the resolution (examples 5.2 and 5.3), in contrast with the modern practice where only the dissonance is played and the resolution is left to the singer.¹⁶ The only exception in Kapsberger's *villanelle*, where the resolution of the dissonance is not duplicated by the accompaniment, is that of b. 5 in 'Sù desta i fiori'. Although it seems very tempting to view this as a different treatment of the suspension in a solo song, where the solo voice is presented with only the accompaniment in contrast to the two or three-voice *villanelle*, this does not seem to be the case for two reasons: firstly, in two other similar occasions in other songs, the resolution of the dissonance is duplicated by the accompaniment; and secondly, the minim tablature rhythmical sign is originally placed upon the first beat of b. 6, which might indicate, not a displacement of the minim but an omission of a *b* in the last beat of b. 5. Doubling a dissonance's resolution seems to be a vestige of sixteenth-century practice that was well in use during the seventeenth century. In chords with $4\ 3$ suspensions a minor seventh is occasionally added (see b. 3). Although it is often considered as a later feature, the addition of a minor seventh in the dominant chords at cadences must have been a common practice in the early seventeenth-century as it is also implied by solo instrumental music (see example 5.7).

¹⁶ As far as the writer is aware, none of the seventeenth-century accompaniment treatises refers to the omission of a dissonance's resolution when this appears in the solo part. This unwritten rule lies on aesthetical and practical reasons which are presented in Andreas Werckmeister's *Die nothwendigsten und Regeln wie der Bassus continuus* (1698; 2nd edn., Aschersleben: G. E. Strunze, 1715), 42: '... when the singer is expressing pleasing sentiment (einen anmuthigen *affectum*) by the dissonance written, a thoughtless accompanist (*General-Bassiste*), if he walk not warily, may spoil the whole pleasing effect with the same dissonance'; quoted from Arnold, *Art of Accompaniment*, 39–40.

EXAMPLE 5.7: Partite variate sopra quest'Aria francese detta l'Alemana, Piccinini, *Intavolatura*, 104, final bars.

Concerning the use of major and minor chords, the key and the vocal part(s) are used as guides for the accompaniment. Quite often in the third book the chords are defined by the use of sharps and flats. However, at cadences, either interior or final, the final chord is always major, as is the preceding dominant chord (see bb. 3–4, 11–12), except when cross-relations with the voice line(s) would result. Even in the cases where the third is also absent from the chitarrone part, the major final chord is implied by the guitar *alfabeto* (see b. 26). This practice corresponds with the rule given by Agostino Agazzari that ‘all cadences, whether middle or final desire the major third’.¹⁷ An exception to this rule is that of b. 9. Although there is a diplomatic realization of the chitarrone part with no third present on the first beat of b. 9, the possibility of using a major third is precluded by the guitar G minor chord. The reason for that is quite evident: the phrase that follows is an embellished repetition of the previous one and the use of a major chord would result in the ceasing of the musical flow and the weakening of the cadence in b. 12. The overall approach in the use of the chords seems to be rather more tonal than modal as shown in b. 2, where a D major chord is preferred to a D minor chord that would fit equally well.

Returning to the two-part writing of the accompaniment, two styles are evident. The first one is that presented in bb. 6–12, where the added part moves mainly in intervals of thirds but also sixths over the bass line, providing harmonic definition. The

¹⁷ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare*, 6: ‘Tutte l’accadenze, ò mezzane, ò finali, voglion la terza maggiore’.

second style presented is apparent from b. 13 onwards and it is similar to the previous one, as it consists of the parallel movement in thirds above the bass line, more or less reproducing the vocal line. This is another occurrence, in addition to the 4^3 suspensions, where the accompaniment doubles the vocal part. Although such a doubling makes more sense in two- or three-voice songs, it should not be surprising as it was thus used during the late Renaissance solo songs.¹⁸ It might look like an ‘amateurism’ according to the modern standards, but there is supporting evidence that it was still in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century: Girolamo Giacobbi in his preface to his *Prima parte dei salmi concertati* (1609) states that the soprano part does not need to be played all the time, ‘implying that it was played at least intermittently ... [and] suggest[ing] that the occasional doubling of the soprano part is needed to support the singer’.¹⁹

A final feature of Kapsberger’s intabulations is an embellishing motif often employed in triple time accompaniments (example 5.8).

EXAMPLE 5.8: ‘Fiorite valli’, Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 4, b. 1.

The musical score for 'Fiorite valli' is presented in three systems. The first system shows three vocal parts: Soprano (top), Alto (middle), and Bass (bottom). Each part has the lyrics 'Fio - ri - te val - li' written below it. Above the Soprano line, the letters 'H G O' are written. The second system shows a lute accompaniment for the Chitarone, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third system shows the Chitarone part on a six-line staff with a 3/8 time signature and a treble clef. The lyrics 'Fio - ri - te val - li' are written below the Chitarone part.

¹⁸ In Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo 1584*, 14–17 for example, the lute accompaniment of ‘Qual miracolo Amore’ reproduces faithfully the singing part.

¹⁹ Borgir, *Performance*, 129.

This, in addition to the flattened sevenths occasionally added to cadential dominant chords, are the only crumbs of added melodic activity in Kapberger's *villanelle* accompaniments.

5.2. *Libro primo di arie passeggiate*

The remaining book that contains intabulated accompaniments is a collection of solo songs. Just like the *villanelle* collections with intabulations, this book is also engraved by one of the Bordones as mentioned above. The title page, which is particularly beautiful, bears Kapsberger's coat of arms²⁰ (illustration 5.2) and reads:

LIBRO PRIMO / DI ARIE Passeggiate à Una Voce / Con l'intavolatura del
Chitarone / Del Sig.^o / GIO: GIROLAMO KAPSPERGER / Nobile Alemano. /
RACCOLTO / Dal Sig.^o: Cav. fra Jacomo / Christoforo Ab Andlaw del / Ordine
di S.^{mo} Gio: Battista / In Roma 1612 / Con Privilegio.

The book contains twenty-two songs and, although described as a collection of arias, it is in essence a collection of solo voice madrigals.²¹ One of the pieces, 'Interrotte speranze' (appendix I, part I.4), contains instrumental *ritornelli*; the use of an obligato instrument is not strictly necessary because the melody is also included in the chitarrone part. The vocal part is notated in the soprano clef in all of the songs but one ('Dove misero mai'), which is notated in the bass clef. The texts are poetic, though without any standard poetic form, and only one of them ('Mentre vaga Angioletta') is strophic.²² The theme of all the songs is hopeless love.

²⁰ The editor, Christoforo Andlaw, makes this clear in his introductory address to Kapsberger. Unfortunately the prefatory material of the collection does not contain any essential information about the music that follows.

²¹ Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Kapsberger—successor to Monteverdi?' in Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (eds.) *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 312.

²² Forbes, *Nonliturgical Vocal Music*, 82.

The layout of the pages is similar to that of the *villanelle* collections, with the solo voice on the top followed by the bass line and the chitarrone tablature. However, guitar *alfabeto* is not included, presumably because the guitar was considered more of an accompanying instrument for light strophic songs rather than through-composed songs infused with embellishments and in the style of recitative.²³ The bass line is unfigured with the only exception of one bar in 'Io amo, io ardo', where a 6 chord and a 4 3 suspension are indicated. Once again, the vocal part and the chitarrone tablature have to be consulted in order to define the character of the chords.

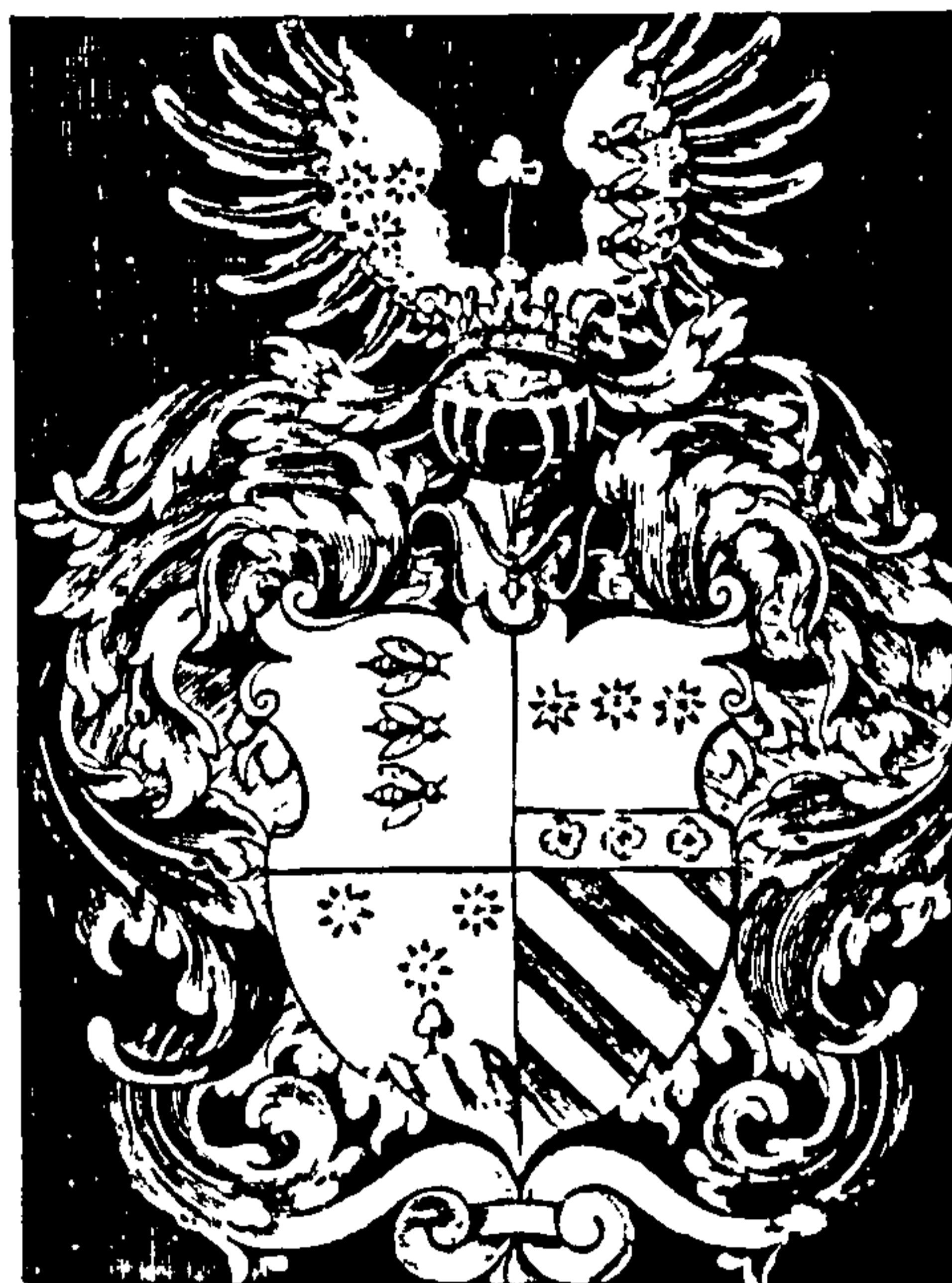


ILLUSTRATION 5.2: Kapsberger's coat of arms. Detail from the title-page of *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* (Rome, 1612).

The type of instrument required for the accompaniment is a nineteen-course chitarrone. Such an instrument covers all the chromatic

notes between *A* and *A'* (see chapter two, example 2.3), thus allowing the precise reproduction of the bass line and eliminating the need of transposing upwards an octave bass notes that do not otherwise exist. However, seeing that such an instrument was in use by Kapsberger in 1612, when the *arie* collection was printed, it raises questions on why it was not used in the 1619 collection of *villanelle*. There, with the use of course 19, octave leaps in melodies intended to be conjunct could have been avoided (example 5.9).²⁴

²³ It should be pointed out however that Kapsberger's recitative in this collection is not a typical example of the style and it rather constitutes a first attempt in composing in this new melodic fashion. See Szweykowski, 'Kapsberger', 312–13.

²⁴ Although a revision of the number of chitarrone's courses in order to meet the demand of the market looks plausible (nineteen-course instruments were not very common), this does not seem to be the case

EXAMPLE 5.9: 'Disperato dolore', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle*, 11, b. 10–11.

The style of accompaniment in *Libro primo di arie* follows the same principles described in the *villanelle* books (see appendix I, parts I.3 and I.4). The bass line of the accompaniment is almost identical to the written bass part, suggesting the possibility that the written bass part derived from the chitarrone tablature and not vice versa.²⁵ However, the downward octave transposition (or duplication) of bass notes in the intabulated accompaniment still occurs, as well as octave leaps, for the sake of harmonic and rhythmic articulation (see for example appendix I, part I.3, bb. 3, 6–7, and part I.4, bb. 6, 9–10). Furthermore, bass notes with long values are broken into shorter values in order to restrike a chord or add a cadential figure, so that the chitarrone part suits the word stresses and keeps the sound of the instrument alive (appendix I, part I.4, b. 21).

Due to the nature of music in the *arie* collection, we expect to find not only new elements in the accompaniments, but also an expanded use of already presented features in the *villanelle* collections. Cadential patterns are not restricted to 4 3 or 4 3 7 but they are expanded to schemes like $\overset{6}{4} \# 4 4 \#$ (appendix I, part I.4, b. 33), or $\overset{7}{3} \overset{6}{4} \overset{5}{-} \#$ (example 5.10) and $\overset{6}{4} \overset{5}{\#} 7$ (example 5.11) with the use of second inversion chords.

because Kapsberger's later editions 1626 and 1640 for solo chitarrone were intended for a nineteen-course instrument.

²⁵ North, *Continuo Playing*, 212.

EXAMPLE 5.10: 'Io amo, io ardo', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 27, b. 7.

gior - ni piu lie - tigr - - - s'il mio co - re

Chitarone

EXAMPLE 5.11: 'Occhi soli d'Amore', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 5, b. 29.

(ho) - - - no - - -

Chitarone

Nevertheless, the use of second inversion chords is strictly limited to cadences and long held notes as in the *villanelle* collection (see example 5.6). Although still not very much in use, passing notes are not limited to flattened sevenths in cadential dominant chords but they are also used to connect chords related by the interval of the second (example 5.12) or third (appendix I, part I.4, b.5).

EXAMPLE 5.12: 'Se la mia vita sete', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 9, bb. 16–17.

In contrast with Rossi's approach, the addition of passing notes in Kapsberger's *arie* collection is restricted to the upper parts and never to the bass line of the intabulated accompaniment, with the only exception that in example 5.12. The use of a passing major sixth in chords related by the interval of a second is also characteristic, thus making the preceding function a dominant chord (example 5.13).

EXAMPLE 5.13: 'Mentre vaga Angioletta', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 21, bb. 38–9.

Regarding first inversion chords, the sixth above the bass note is occasionally delayed and it comes as the resolution of a suspended dissonant seventh (example 5.14). This is a new feature in Kapsberger's accompaniments together with the use of $\overset{7}{5}$ chords with a subdominant function before the cadence (example 5.15).

EXAMPLE 5.14: 'Lasso ch'io ardo', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 13, bb. 45–7.

EXAMPLE 5.15: 'Occhi soli d'Amore', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 4–5, bb. 16–17.

However, the most significant use of dissonance in Kapsberger's accompaniments is when it comes as a reaction to the text. In bb. 23–4 of 'Interrotte speranze' (appendix I, part I.4) he introduces not only a chromatic movement of the voice but also $\overset{b6}{5} \overset{b6}{4}$ chords under the text 'spender lagrimando i lustri interi' (spending entire quinquenniums in weeping). Even more striking are the opening bars of 'Ultimi miei sospiri' (appendix I, part I.3). In b. 1, Kapsberger creates two successive dissonances under the word 'sospiri' (sighs), one with the placement of a $\overset{4}{2}$ chord,²⁶ and another with the clash between the f^\sharp

²⁶ For Kapsberger, the use of $\overset{4}{2}$ seems to be a preferred option to the $\overset{5}{2}$ used widely by his contemporaries like Claudio Monteverdi; see also the opening of 'Io parto achi dura voce' Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 17.

of the accompaniment (the resolution of the previous dissonance) and the delayed vocal *g'*. From the first sight, the accompaniment seems to be very poor, due to the tasteless doubling of the melody notes in its bass part. However, as the F[#] flat-fifth chord has to be arpeggiated and the note *a* comes first, the resulting progression works extremely well. Here, the alteration of the written bass line *a* to an *f*[#] seems to be a deliberate decision, as the aural result with the arpeggiation is completely different from how it looks when written. In b. 4, under the word 'martiri' (sufferings), two dissonances are again apparent but this time aligned vertically, as they appear in the same chord. Besides the clash between the vocal *c''* and the accompaniment *B* and *d'*, Kapsberger adds a suspended seventh, thus making the word painting even more perceptible.

Word painting however, is not apparent in interior cadential chords. Although it would be expected that the final chord of a cadence would be major even if shortly after the voice introduces a new phrase with a minor third—a widely established practice in modern performances—this is not the case in Kapsberger's accompaniments. While Kapsberger constantly uses major chords in interior cadences where the minor third is not being sung by the voice,²⁷ he never places a major chord if the minor third is going to follow before the strike of a new chord, not even for the sake of word painting. This is the case of the cadence in b. 31 of 'Interrotte speranze' (appendix I, part I.4), with the A minor chord under the word 'pene' (anguishes), and it is even more obvious in b. 19 of 'Augelin che la nove', with the C minor chord under the words 'tormenti' (torments) and 'soffrirete' (suffer) (example 5.16).

²⁷ A very scarce exception to this rule can be viewed in example 5.14. Concerning final cadences, throughout the collection, the final chord is always major. The conclusion in Forbes, *Nonliturgical Vocal Music*, 90–1, that the chitarrone part indicates sometimes the presence of a minor final chord, is not realistic. In the example used to support his argument, the tablature has been misinterpreted, thus providing a wrong transcription.

EXAMPLE 5.16: 'Augelin che la voce', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 28, b. 19–20.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: voice, piano, and Chitarone. The voice part is in a soprano clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The lyrics are "(tor) - men - ti sof - fri - re - te voi". The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The Chitarone part is a six-line tablature with numbers 0, 1, 2, 3 and 'x' marks indicating fretted notes.

A final feature is the use of different styles of accompaniments for repeated phrases. 'Lasso ch'io ardo', the only piece that accommodates a strophic text, contains a passage that appears once in each of the four strophes. Kapsberger treats the accompaniment in a different way the first three times and, only the fourth time, he repeats what he has presented on the third occasion. The first time he uses a broken effect, following the written bass line and doubling the vocal part literally; the second he restrikes the dissonances created between the bass and the vocal line; while the third and the fourth time he puts straightforward chords over the bass line despite the clashes caused with the vocal part (example 5.17). The differentiated accompaniment for this recurring motif suggests that the tablature is not necessarily prescriptive, thus offering more options to the performer.

Kapsberger's intabulations could be characterized as fine accompaniments with good shapes, a very useful guide for the accompanying style of the early seventeenth century. Occasional discrepancies, such as the parallel motion of chords, which create parallel fifths and octaves, or different timing of the resolution of a dissonance (example 5.18) are more evident on paper than to the ear. Furthermore, as players and singers were not, and are not, always expected to play and sing exactly what is written, such

discords can easily be resolved with, among other things, the tasteful employment of different kinds of arpeggiation and an awareness of the vocal line.

EXAMPLE 5.17: Different realizations of the same passage from 'Lasso ch'io ardo', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 11–13.

The image displays a musical score for a passage from 'Lasso ch'io ardo' by Kapsberger. The score is organized into three systems, each representing a different realization of the same passage. The first system (measures 11-13) features a vocal line with three different phrasings labeled '1st time', '3rd time', and '1st time' above the staff, and a lute accompaniment with two phrasings labeled '1st time' and '2nd time' below the staff. The second system (measures 14-16) shows a different realization of the lute accompaniment, with a tablature line below the staff starting at measure 10. The third system (measures 17-19) shows another realization of the lute accompaniment, with a tablature line below the staff starting at measure 25. The fourth system (measures 20-22) shows a final realization of the lute accompaniment, with a tablature line below the staff starting at measure 36. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals, as well as lute-specific symbols like circles and crosses on the tablature lines.

EXAMPLE 5.18: 'Lasso ch'io ardo', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 13, b. 42.

The image shows a musical score for 'Lasso ch'io ardo' by Kapsberger. It is in 13/8 time and consists of three systems. The first system shows the vocal line with lyrics '(an) - cor mil - le' and a basso continuo line. The second system shows the vocal line and basso continuo line. The third system shows the Chitarone tablature with fret numbers and 'x' marks for natural harmonics.

Whether Kapsberger's intabulations, both in the *villanelle* and *arie* collections, represent what a professional would do in an actual performance is difficult to say. They were surely made by an experienced player, almost certainly Kapsberger himself (see below, pp. 82–3), presumably with the intention to attract and educate a wider public of buyers, namely amateur lutenists who were not able to realize from the bass line but could read tablature. One should not expect the player to play exactly what is written in the tablatures, but to adopt the main principles of the style and to perform according to his personal taste and imagination. Kapsberger himself shows that there is not one and only way of playing (see example 5.17). Basso continuo by nature has an improvisational character with one purpose, to support the vocal line(s) and the delivery of the text.

5.3. *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone*

Although primarily a collection of music for solo chitarrone with continuo accompaniment, this book is an extraordinary source of accompaniment style during the first half of the seventeenth century. In addition to the chitarrone music, it contains tables of how to realize chords above bass notes and cadences and also examples of how to improvise and ornament above the bass. This ornamental function was, as discussed above, well described by Agazzari but, until the rediscovery of Kapsberger's *Libro terzo*

d'intavolatura di chitarone, no actual musical examples were available from the first half of the seventeenth century.

Libro terzo has been a mystery for players and scholars because, although the existence of a surviving copy of was known,²⁸ any access to it was impossible. However, the book appeared in a Sotheby's auction on 7 December 2001, and it was bought by Yale University and it is now housed in the University Music Library with call number M142 C54 K17+bk.3.²⁹ The book, like Kapsberger's other publications with tablature, is engraved. The title page, which bears Kapsberger's coat of arms, reads:

LIBRO TERZO / D'INTAVOLATURA DI CHITARONE / CON SUE
TAVOLE PER SONAR SOPRA LA PARTE / DEL SIG: / GIO: GIROLAMO
KAPSPERGER / NOBILE ALEMANO / IN ROMA 1626 / RACCOLTO DAL
SIG: / MICHELE PRIULI NOBILE VENETIANO / CON PRIVILEGI ET
LICENZA DI SUPERIORI.

The prefatory material that follows consists of a dedicatory poem to Michele Priuli, the editor, by Leonardo Bondimier, and of Kapsberger's *avvertimenti*—the instructions for reading the tablature. He gives information on the instrument tuning and the signs and execution of *trilli*, arpeggiation, right hand fingering, *strascini* (slurs), and triplets. Kapsberger makes it clear that the chitarrone and the theorbo are the same instruments in that when he provides the instrument tuning, he designates it for 'Chitarone overo Tiorba'. The pages that follow the *avvertimenti* are missing and, starting again at page 7, the book continues until to page 48. Until page 34 the book contains solo music with continuo accompaniment while, from page 35 onwards, Kapsberger deals with matters

²⁸ RISM records its existence in Biblioteca Raimondo Ambrosini in Bologna [K 194]; Karlheinz Schlager, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800 of Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), ser. A, i, vol. 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), 12.

²⁹ It is possible that the copy Yale purchased is the one cited in RISM. Although there was no indication in Sotheby's sale catalogue that this was the unique Ambrosini copy and there are no ex libris plates or markings on the copy, Alfredo Bonora's catalogue of the Ambrosini Library states that the Ambrosini copy lacks pp. 1–6 which is consistent with the copy Yale purchased. Special thanks are due to Ken Crilly, the Music Librarian at Yale, for providing this information. Ken Crilly, 'Kapsberger question' [email to Theodoros Kitsos], (4 May 2005) <Kendall.Crilly@yale.edu> accessed 4 May 2005.

related to playing from a bass line. He obviously regarded this part of the book to be of great significance, for it is mentioned in the title page ('tavole per sonar sopra la parte'). Pages 35 to the middle of 43 contain examples of possible *passaggi* that could be used over a bass note, thus showing how the chitarrone could serve as an ornamenting instrument. From the middle of page 43 until the end, aside from two pages that show how to transcribe single notes in Italian and French tablature, Kapsberger deals with the foundation role of the chitarrone, providing tables of how to realize chords on single bass notes, as well as cadences with chords connected by the intervals of fifth, fourth and second.

Passaggi diversi sù le note per sonare sopra la parte

The section from page 35 to the middle of 43 presents possible ways of making variations over a bass note (appendix II, part II.2). The bass note is always the root or the third of a chord. The character of chords is defined by the use of figures, which are sharp for major third, flat for minor third, and 6 for the first inversion. Chords in first inversion are always major. When no figuring is used, the character of the third is defined by the key signature. The use of key signature, however, is strictly limited from no accidentals to one flat, being consistent with the practice of the early seventeenth century. The whole part is divided into twenty-two sections, each one starting with the bass note, followed by the realized chord and a number of variations. All sections, but two, consist of four tablature staves, presenting usually twelve or thirteen variations,³⁰ each one being of one or two full bars.

Kapsberger's classification of the sections is based on the nominal sequence of notes, departing from note F: the first section contains variations over an F major chord; with the same note as basis, the second section contains variations over an F minor

³⁰ Section 12 contains fifteen variations, sections 18 and 20 contain eleven, while sections 9 and 10, which consist of two tablature staves each, contain six variations each.

chord; on F#, the third section has variations over a D major first inversion chord; the fourth section on G, and so on. The variations over root chords are primarily conceived as if the chord has a tonic function but many of the variations work well even if the chord has a dominant or subdominant function. The variations over first inversion chords denote either the tonic function of the chord, or a dominant function leading to a major or minor chord. However, the borders between the functions are quite loose, due to the many modal elements that can be traced not only in these passages but also in the music of seventeenth century in general.

Kapsberger's variations do not have any specific form but they always depart from and end with notes that belong to the chord itself. This way the variation is complete and it can easily be used no matter what the following harmony is. Examples made with the intention of showing how passages can be used to connect two different harmonies are not presented.

From a technical point of view, the variations show an excellent knowledge of the instrument and its peculiarities, unsurprisingly since they were written by the most prominent player of his time. Melodic lines pass skilfully along different strings by excellent use of the re-entrant tuning and characteristic techniques related to the chitarrone are clearly demonstrated: *campanelle*, where the individual notes of a scale passage are divided up amongst different courses, give a harp-like effect because the notes sound one into the other (see, for instance, appendix II, part II.2, section 6, b. 7) and *strascini*, where the right hand plucks only the first note in each course and the left hand slurs the remaining ones, add articulation (see for instance appendix II, part II.2, section 1, bb. 12–13).³¹ *Strascini*, however, are not always a reliable guide for phrasing,

³¹ Piccinini makes clear that the execution of *strascini* is suitable for the chitarrone but not for the lute; Piccinini, *Libro primo*, 5. Kapsberger seems to be in agreement, as, although he makes an extensive use of *strascini* in his chitarrone music, they are absent from his lute music. This seems to be an indication that the instruments used by Kapsberger and Piccinini were single-strung—slurs are far more effective on a

as they are occasionally employed in order to make possible the fast execution of a passage. Disappointingly there is very limited use of *contrabassi*, a feature that is praised by Agazzari:

The theorbo, then, with its full and sweet consonances, supports greatly the melody [by] restriking and gracefully playing passages on the extended courses, the particular excellence of this instrument ...³²

Only one variation runs in the *contrabassi* courses (appendix II, part II.2, section 7, bb. 11–12), while elsewhere, their use is restricted to single, cadential notes of the variation.

The variations were presumably written with the intention to serve as examples for students and amateurs, and in order to be memorized and used in the appropriate time and place. Apart from their obvious use in places where the sound of the instrument has to be kept alive, by examining descriptions of writers of the early seventeenth century, as well as the music itself, we can get an idea of what the appropriate time and place for executing diminutions would be. Agazzari makes clear that when accompanying one or more voices the player should be aware not to obscure the vocal line(s), ‘playing the work as purely and precisely as possible, and not using a lot of passing notes’,³³ but he also he also admits that one

must play chords sometimes with gentle repercussions; sometimes with slow passages and sometimes rapid ones ... so that he gives grace to the ensemble and enjoyment and delight to the audience.³⁴

Lodovico Viadana, although referring to organ players, makes a similar remark:

single-course instrument than on a double-course one—although it might simply be a practice that stems from the history, use and character of each instrument. *Strascini* are to be found in music of double-course instruments such as the guitar, but this lies primarily on the adoption and application of practices and techniques of similar instruments.

³² Agazzari, *Del sonare*, 9: ‘La tiorba poi, con le sue piene, e dolci consonanze, accresce molto la melodia, ripercotendo, e passeggiando leggiadramente i suoi bordoni, particolar eccellenza di quello stromento ...’.

³³ Ibid. 6: ‘suonando l’opera piu pura, e giusta, che sia possibile, non passeggiando & grave’.

³⁴ Ibid. 8: ‘devesi dunque, horra con botte, e ripercose dolci; hor con passaggio largo, et horra stretto, e raddoppiate, ... che dia vaghezza al concerto, e gusto, e diletto all uditori’.

The organist is obliged to play simply the *partitura*, and in particular with the left hand; and if he wants to execute some movement with the right hand, as to flourish the cadences, or on occasion some passages, he must play in such a manner that the singer or singers are not covered or confused by too much movement.³⁵

As we can see, because the prime concern of the accompaniment was the support of the singer(s), the opportunity for ornamentation would be in few places where the vocal line(s) remain pretty static. Indeed, throughout Kapsberger's intabulated accompaniments, no diminutions are added to the accompaniment with the exception of one case. In 'Deh come posso', just before the final cadence, an ornamented bass line appears under a held vocal *d*"(example 5.19).

EXAMPLE 5.19: 'Deh come posso', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 22, bb. 16–17.

The image shows a musical score for 'Deh come posso' by Kapsberger. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting at measure 16 with a 'sol' and 'pian' marking, and ending with 'to f mor - te.' The middle staff is the lute accompaniment, showing a complex bass line with many sixteenth notes. The bottom staff is the chitarone tablature, with numbers 0-4 and 'x' indicating fret positions. The score is in 16th-century notation with a treble clef and a common time signature.

This bass passage appears in a place where the voice remains static and it is similar in character to some of the variations Kapsberger provides. In fact, if we accept North's assumption that the written bass part derives from the chitarrone accompaniment (see n. 25 of the present chapter), then this is a written-out diminution over a long sustained G bass note. Similar written bass passages under vocal holding notes can also be found in

³⁵ Lodovico Viadana, *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1602), preface: 'l'Organista sia in obbligo di suonar semplicemente la Partitura, & in particolare con la man di sotto, & se pure vuol fare qualche movimento dalla mano di sopra, come fiorire le Cadenze, ò qualche Passaggio à proposito, ha da suonare in maniera tale, che il cantore, ò cantori non vengano coperti, ò confusi dal troppo movimento'.

Jacopo Peri's music and they are also reminiscent of how to ornament a bass line.³⁶ Peri's bass lines may also derive from a chitarrone accompaniment in mind as he was a chitarrone player himself.³⁷

The employment of diminutions, however, does not seem to be restricted to the held notes of the solo voice(s). In repetitions of strophic songs, for example, or in pieces which display (or consist of) recurring harmonic or bass patterns, the judicious use of such diminutions can elaborate the musical text. Coelho has shown that variation technique was not only a fundamental strategy in theorbo composition, but also 'a licence for autonomy and improvisation—or improvised composition'.³⁸ The practical appliance of that sort of use of diminutions is well demonstrated in an anonymous collection of 1645, entitled *Concerto vago*.³⁹ The collection contains ensemble music for lute, theorbo and four-course Neapolitan guitar, but, as the title page indicates, the pieces can also be performed as solos.⁴⁰ However, the alternative solo performance option was presumably suggested in order to attract a wider public of buyers, for only the lute part is entirely self-sufficient to stand as a solo. The theorbo part, although it could pass as a solo, functions better as an accompaniment, while the elaborate guitar part makes sense only when supported by an accompaniment. The opening piece of the collection, a *balletto* based on the popular ground *More Palatino*, has an *A A₁ B C* form. In *A*, the theorbo part presents merely the harmonic outline of the ground. In *A₁*, however, diminutions similar in character to those described by Kapsberger appear in the theorbo

³⁶ Paula Chateaufeuf, 'The Beginnings of Lute Continuo in 17th Century Italy and the Accompaniments of Jacopo Peri', *Lute News, The Lute Society Magazine*, 52 (December 1999), 8.

³⁷ For evidence concerning Peri's chitarrone playing see Mason, *Chitarrone*, 18–20.

³⁸ Coelho, 'Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation', 130.

³⁹ *Concerto vago di balletti, corrente, et gagliarde con la loro canzone alla franzese* (Rome: P. Thomassinus, 1645). The source, with emphasis on the guitar tablature, is discussed in Ivano Cavallini, 'L'intavolatura per chitarrino alla napolitana dal *concerto vago*—1645', *Quadrivium*, 19 (1978), 227–63.

⁴⁰ *Concerto vago*, title-page: 'per sonare con Liuto, Tiorba, et Chitarrino à quatro corde alla Napolitana insieme, ò soli ad arbitrio'.

part, despite the concurrent decorative melodic activity of the other parts (example 5.20).

Doni also refers to the employment of diminutions in the accompaniment, while discussing dramatic music:

those who play the [arch-]lute or the theorbo together with organs and harpsichords always employ diminutions, because if they should use full chords, the discord would be recognized, whereas in fast tempo, dissonance gives no trouble as it is not discernible.⁴¹

He refers to the case where more than one instrument is involved for the accompaniment and presents the intonation problem that arises from the fixed pitch of the keyboard instruments in contrast to the variable pitch of fretted instruments. The practical solution presented is the employment of diminutions. However, exaggeration in the use of diminutions has repeatedly been criticized because of the confusion it produces and even Doni himself, while describing a performance of Adriana Baroni, makes clear that he prefers a simple accompaniment by observing that 'whoever says that such simplicity is not suitable for the stage, for my part, I think he has a corrupted taste'.⁴²

The evidence concerning the use of diminutions in the accompaniment points to a wide range of styles from simple to highly ornamented. Kapsberger's song accompaniment intabulations lack ornamentation but his third chitarrone book demonstrates how a player can add diminutions over the bass, presumably intended for the more advanced player. What is written on the page differs considerably from the result of an actual performance, especially concerning ornamentation, where the amount and style depends exclusively on the performers' personal taste and inventiveness.

⁴¹ Giovanni Battista Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica* (c.1635) in *De' trattati di musica di Gio: Battista Done* (Florence: Stampa Imperiale, 1763), 111: 'quelli che suonano il Liuto, o Tiorba con gli Organi, o Gravicembali, sempre diminuiscono, perche se usassero botte piene, vi si conoscerebbe la dissonanza, la quale in note veloci non da fastidio, perche non si discerne'; quoted from Borgir, *Performance*, 102.

⁴² Op. cit.: 'chi giudichera che questa semplicita non convenga alla scena, quanto a me io credo, che abbia il gusto corrotto'; quoted from Borgir, *Performance*, 38.

EXAMPLE 5.20: Opening bars of the Balletto from *Concerto vago* (liuto, p. 4; tiorba, p. 13; chitarrino, p. 22)

A

Chitarrino

Liuto

Tiorba

(1)

A₁

(2)

(1) Original theorbo part reads G major chord
 (2) Theorbo tablature reads 4 (f#)

Cadenze

Having presented possible ways of improvisation over bass notes, the next issue Kapsberger deals with is how to realize notes that are connected with the intervals of fifth, fourth and descending second. These cadential sequences, which appear on page 43, are organized in three sections: the first section presents perfect cadences where the bass moves either by a descending fifth or an ascending fourth; the second section shows plagal cadences where the bass moves by an ascending fifth or a descending fourth; while the third section shows cadences where the bass moves by a descending second (see appendix II, part II.3).

The perfect cadences are presented nominally starting with the sequence G-C. The chromatic notes used are F# C# G# D# B \flat E \flat A \flat D \flat and they always come after their naturals. Enharmonic sequences are presented in different left-hand positions.⁴³ Cadential chords always have a major third reflecting the early-seventeenth century preference for major cadences as described by Agazzari (see above, p. 62). Dominant chords always present a 4 3 suspension and an added minor seventh. The voice-leading of the sequences seems to be problematic. On two occasions (B-E and B \flat -E \flat) the leading notes do not move a semitone upwards but, instead, they fall a major third. Even in terms of theoretical harmony, this is acceptable if the resolution exists in a higher part. Although Kapsberger possesses left-hand positions that would allow him to present sequences with better voice-leading, as is evident in sequences C#-F# and E \flat -A \flat , he does not do so. There are two possible reasons for this: either he does not want to stretch the

⁴³ This differentiation of enharmonic chords should not be seen as an indication of a meantone temperament. Kapsberger's intabulations indicate the use of an equal temperament as both first and fourth frets are used interchangeably for sharp and flat notes (compare for instance the use of first fret for b \flat on the first course and g# and d# on the fourth and fifth courses respectively or the use of fourth fret for e \flat on the third course and f# or C# on fourth and fifth courses respectively in 'Ultimi miei sospiri', appendix I, part I.3). Equal temperament, after 1550, was considered in most theorists' opinion normal for lutes; see Mark Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 19.

fingers of the right hand, because the first frets are larger, or he is not concerned by the fall of the leading notes. The latter seems to be the case because on three similar occasions (G \sharp -C \sharp , F-B \flat , F \sharp -B) the dissonant seventh does not move down a second and the resolution appears an octave higher than it should. It should be noted that these three sequences share identical left-hand patterns of fingering positions on the fingerboard of the instrument. Although the voice-leading could easily be corrected with the placement of the dissonant seventh an octave higher, Kapsberger does not do so. The same left-hand fingering pattern is to be found also in his intabulated accompaniments (see example 5.21). The steady employment of this specific 'deficient' pattern in both the accompaniment instructions and the intabulated song accompaniments strongly indicates that the latter were made by Kapsberger himself.

EXAMPLE 5.21: 'Mentre vaga Angioletta', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 19, bb. 4–5.

The image shows a musical score for 'Mentre vaga Angioletta'. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line with lyrics 'al let - ta' and a lute accompaniment. The second system shows the lute accompaniment in more detail. The third system is labeled 'Chitarone' and shows fret numbers and 'x' marks indicating muted strings.

Plagal cadences are organized in the same way as are perfect. The final chord is always major, while the preceding one is either major or minor and features a passing major sixth. This is in accordance with Francesco Bianciardi's rules that direct 'when it [the bass] rises a fifth we will give it the natural third; but in many places one gives the minor third, and particularly when approaching the cadences'; additionally, when writing about the interval of sixth he indicates that 'when it [the bass] rises a fifth we

will give it the major sixth'.⁴⁴ In two occasions (A \flat -E \flat and C-G), Kapsberger exceeds the model described by Bianciardi and together with the passing major sixth he adds a passing augmented fourth. This is a conscious decision, for this pattern is also present in his intabulated song accompaniments (see example 5.22) and presumably serves as an example of how to expand the harmonic language.

EXAMPLE 5.22: 'O cor sempre dolente', Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 30, bb. 10–11.

The last section, which deals with the realization of chords when the bass moves a second downwards, is organized diatonically starting from note G and moving downwards. The only chromatic notes used are the common flattened *musica ficta* notes E \flat and B \flat . The Bianciardi rules also apply to these sequences. With the exception of the very first chord, both chords display their diatonic thirds while the preceding chords always bear a passing major sixth.

⁴⁴ Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola per impar'a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'instrumento* (Siena, D. Falcini, 1607): 'Quando sale per quinta, li daremo la terza naturale, ma in molti luoghi se li d'a la terza minore e particolarmente nell'andare alle cadenze ... Quando sale per quinta, li daremo la sesta maggiore'. Bianciardi also provides the following examples in order to demonstrate his rules:

Tavola per sonare il Chitarone sopra il Basso

The last three pages of the book contain charts that show how to realize chords over bass notes (appendix II, part II.4). The charts are divided into six sections, ordered according to their clefs, starting with the lower one (F⁴) followed by the higher ones (F³, C⁴, C³, C², C¹). With the exception of section F⁴, each section is divided into two parts, one that could be described as *durum* for it features B natural and sharpened notes and one that could be described as *molle* because it has B flat as the signature and features flatted notes.⁴⁵ Each part starts with the note below the first staff-line and ends on the note on the first ledger line above the staff. Natural notes in *durum* parts are realized with chords in root position and natural thirds, while chromatic notes, which are limited to F[#], C[#], G[#] and D[#] and always appear after their naturals, are realized with first inversion major chords. In *molle* parts, both natural and chromatic notes are realized with chords in root position and with natural thirds. Chromatic notes are limited to B^b, E^b and A^b and they also appear after their naturals. Additional charts are provided for the F⁴ section. After the *durum* part come charts that contain realizations on figured basses for major and first inversion chords, while after the *molle* section come charts that show realizations on figured basses for minor and first inversion chords.

Ordinarily, the number of voices per chord varies from two to four with the exception of one six-voice chord and seven five-voice chords. As a general rule, the lower the register the fuller the chord reflecting the chitarrone's limited ability to play in high registers. This limitation is obvious also in high-range clefs where downwards octave transpositions occur. However, this transposition indicates a very important practice: the accompaniment depends on the instrument's sonority and not on where it is notated as is the case for keyboard instruments. Most of the C³ section, for example, although it

⁴⁵ Terms *durum* (hard) and *molle* (soft) are borrowed from the solmization system in order to describe these tables because solmization remained a standard rudiment for early seventeenth-century music despite the various alterations proposed by authors in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

could have been realized at the original pitch, is realized an octave lower because this is where the chitarrone has got a fuller sound. Kapsberger makes use of the higher fingerboard positions of the instrument going as high as the tenth fret of the third course, the limit for an instrument of his time. Once again, as in the *passaggi*, the use of contrabasses is limited, presumably because they extend below the range of the mensural notation provided by Kapsberger. The realizations are all accurate but for one: in the F⁴ section, note *a*^b has been realized with a three-voice $\frac{6}{4}$ chord. However, this seems to be an oversight because, in the following sections, *a*^b is always realized with only the third above in order to avoid the second inversion.

The form of chords presented was probably dictated by the wish to make them easy for the reader. There is no variety in chord positions or fingerings, an aspect to be found in the intabulated song accompaniments. The realizations serve as stock chords to be applied to continuo accompaniment, a fairly similar approach to the *alfabeto* notation for the five-course guitar.⁴⁶ Furthermore, in higher positions, a triadic sonority of the chords would be possible with a more meticulous use of the re-entrant tuning.

What is probably the most interesting matter in these last three pages of the book is the information deduced about transposition practices. At the end of every part, there are rubrics such as 'una 4:^{ta} piu basso' (a fourth lower) accompanied by the clef and the signature that, if they were used instead of the given clef and signature, would make the preceding part sound a fourth lower or, in two cases, a fifth higher. This indicates that performers of the time were expected to be able to transpose a piece a fourth downwards by the imaginable exchange of the clef and key signature. In the F⁴ section, however, the rubrics are different. Each part contains two different rubrics, 'un tono piu alto' (a

⁴⁶ On the guitar and the *alfabeto* in Italy see *inter alia* James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music: from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford Early Music Series; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 37-99 and Nina Treadwell, 'Guitar *Alfabeto* in Italian Monody', *The Lute*, 33 (1993), 12-22.

second higher) and 'un tono piu basso' (a second lower), accompanied by the relevant clefs but with the signature remaining the given one. To assume that performers were expected to be able to transpose a second higher or lower seems reasonable and it is quite feasible for some keys but is more difficult for others.⁴⁷ The transposition a second lower or higher would entail key thinking, which is a modern idea, and different fingering patterns, something that comes to contrast with the idea of transposition done by clef substitution, which was routine for the early seventeenth-century musicians. The explanation of what Kapseberger wants to illustrate seems to lie more in practical reasons associated with the instruments of the lute family rather than in transposition techniques, although they are, to some extent, inextricable. Since competent lutenists were always expected to be able to read mensural notation and, given a G Renaissance tuning for the instrument, when a player would see note *A* he would play on the second fret of the sixth course. On the other hand, given an A tuning, a chitarrone player would play the same note as on an open sixth course. Furthermore, lutes tuned in A as well as *chitarroni* tuned in G were also used. Seventeenth-century performers then should be able to read mensural notation in both A and G tuning as modern players are expected to do. What Kapsberger presumably wants to illustrate is that when a player plays an instrument in an A tuning but reads the music like playing on an instrument in G, then the result will be a tone lower. Conversely, when he plays in a G tuning but reading in A, then the result will be a tone higher.

Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone is a very useful guide for continuo practices in the early seventeenth-century. Not only does it provides reliable tables for chord realizations and useful information about transposition techniques, but it is also the earliest surviving source, and the only one printed, that features written-out examples of the ornamental function for the chitarrone. Putting aside the section that contains solo

⁴⁷ A transposition, for example, from G Dorian to A would be possible but a transposition to F would be extremely difficult on the chitarrone.

music for the chitarrone with continuo accompaniment, the rest of the book was compiled with an unquestionable educational intent for students and amateurs, demonstrating what a professional performer can do. It must have been, during its time, a highly appreciated and valuable guide for players, as well as fairly expensive one. This is deduced by a letter dated 14 January 1634 from Jaques Bouchard to Mersenne, where Bouchard reports that, while looking for a method on making diminutions, Kapsberger showed him a booklet 'that he had previously published, of which the title is: *2^{do} Libro d'intavolatura di Lauto, Chitarrone* etc., in which he shows how to make diminutions, but he wanted 12 gold crowns for this book'.⁴⁸ Bouchard's apparent disappointment for the very dear price is understandable, especially if we take into account that Kapsberger's monthly salary—excluding gifts—during his Barberini employment was 3.60 *scudi*.⁴⁹ Bouchard describes the book as 'in-folio', consisting of 10–12 leaves and entitled *2^o Libro d'intavolatura di Lauto, Chitarrone*. This title, however, implies a compound volume for two books that, according to the list of Leone Allacci, were published separately.⁵⁰ Unfortunately no extant copies of these books survive. If we assume that Allacci's list is correct, then Bouchard's description is inaccurate and the book Kapsberger showed him should have been either *Libro secondo* for lute or *Libro terzo* for chitarrone. Furthermore, it seems illogical that Kapsberger would twice publish similar material for the chitarrone. Another possibility is that the book Bouchard saw was a booklet where Kapsberger had joined *passaggi* examples that he had included in *Libro secondo* for lute together with those in *Libro terzo* for chitarrone.

⁴⁸ Quotation and translation from Coelho, 'Kapsberger in Rome', 129: 'qu'il a fait autrefois imprimer dont le tiltre est: *2^o Libro d'intavolatura di Lauto, Chitarrone* etc., où il enseigne la methode de faire les passages, mais il fait ce livre là 12 escus d'or'.

⁴⁹ On Kapsberger's payments see *ibid.* 121–5.

⁵⁰ Leone Allacci, *Apes Urbanae* (Rome: L. Grignanus, 1633), 159. According to Allacci, *Libro secondo d'intavolatura di chitarrone* was published in 1616 and *Libro secondo d'intavolatura di lauto con le sue tavole per sonar sopra la parte* in 1623, both in Rome. Unfortunately both are lost.

An additional important piece of information is that *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* demonstrates, as shown above, Kapsberger as the intabulator of his song accompaniments. This fact gives merit to the intabulated accompaniments, for they were intertwined with the compositional procedure. However, although they are stylish accompaniments, one should not forget that they were intended for players unfamiliar with continuo practice. Certainly they go beyond a basic accompaniment but professional players were undoubtedly expected to go even further and give a more sophisticated performance. Coelho, examining primarily solo lute and theorbo music, has shown that 'the invention and autonomy takes precedence over the musical text: performance practice is inextricably linked to interpretation and the choices made by the performer'.⁵¹

⁵¹ Victor Anand Coelho, 'Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music' in Victor A. Coelho, (ed.) *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice, 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 139.

6. FLAMMINIO CORRADI'S CHITARRONE INTABULATIONS

Very little is known about the life and activities of the singer and composer Flamminio Corradi. Born in the city of Fermo, Corradi was hired as tenor on 11 April 1615 by the procurator of San Marco (and later to become Doge) Giovanni Cornaro; Corradi held this position at least until 1620, when his name appears for the last time in the records of the procurators.¹ His appointment in San Marco may have been a result of the delight Cornaro enjoyed while hearing Corradi singing his own compositions. This is indicated by Corradi's *Le stravaganze d'amore* dedication to Cornaro dated 11 March 1616, where Corradi praises his patron for the predilection he has shown for hearing some of his works which he presents in this collection.² As the interim between the dates of Corradi's employment and his publication is less than a year, it is most likely that a relationship between the musician and his patron pre-existed and Cornaro was aware of Corradi's skills prior to his appointment in San Marco.

While employed in San Marco, Corradi was granted a licence to sing anywhere he pleased outside San Marco as long as his duties there were accomplished. His record of hire was the only one between 1610 and 1630 that specifically allowed one of the musicians this licence.³ Such a privilege within the strict San Marco conditions indicates that Corradi's skills as a singer, but also possibly as a composer, were highly regarded.

¹ Roark Thurston Miller, 'The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody', Ph.D. diss. (The University of Michigan, 1993), 12, 58.

² Flamminio Corradi, *Le stravaganze d'amore* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1616), 2.

³ Miller, 'Composers of San Marco', 31.

Le stravaganze d'amore of 1616 is Corradi's only surviving publication.⁴ Judging from the reprint that followed in 1618, the collection must have enjoyed popularity during its time. It contains songs for one to three voices with instrumental accompaniment. The title page of the 1616 print reads:

LE STRAVAGANZE / D'AMORE / DI FLAMMINIO CORRADI / DA
FERMO / A Una, Due & Tre Voci / Con la Intavolatura del Chitarrone, & della
Chitarra al- / la Spagnola, & con il Basso continuo da sonare nel / Clavicembalo,
& altri Istromenti simili. / Novamente composto & date in luce. / IN VENETIA
/ Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. MDCXVI.

The collection is named after the opening piece, which is a parody of Luca Marenzio's setting of the final intermedio of Cristoforo Castelletti's play *Le stravaganze d'amore*.⁵ The appellation of publications after the titles of well-known dramas was not an uncommon phenomenon. Corradi's choice seems to be associated with his patron. Giovanni Cornaro was familiar with Castelletti's *Stravaganze* as the 1605 edition was dedicated to his son, Luigi.⁶

Corradi's collection contains fifteen songs, all but three of them duets; of those three, two are solo songs, while one is for three voices. All fifteen are strophic songs which, although they derive from polyphonic genres such as the *villanella*, are arranged homophonically in a similar manner to that of Kapsberger's *villanelle* collections. In Corradi's music, however, the use of counterpoint is more frequent in comparison to Kapsberger. The presentation of the music is in score format with a layout identical to that of Kapsberger: the vocal part(s) is/are placed on the top, followed by the bass line

⁴ Fétis mentions the publication of two madrigal collections for four and five voices respectively (1622 and 1627), but no copies survive; François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 8 vols. (2nd edn., Paris, Mesnil, 1860–80), i. 364.

⁵ The play was first performed on 3 March 1585 in Rome and it was published two years later; Cristoforo Castelletti, *Le stravaganze d'amore, comedia...* (Venice: G. B. Sessa, 1587). For a discussion on Castelletti's play and its posthumous influence see James Chater, 'Castelletti's «Stravaganze d'amore» (1585): A Comedy with Interludes', *Studi musicali*, 8 (1979), 85–148.

⁶ *Ibid.* 111–13.

and the chitarrone tablature, while the guitar *alfabeto* is placed above the highest voice;⁷ the text of the first stanza is placed underneath the vocal part(s), while the text of the remaining stanza(s) is placed at the bottom of the page. The difference between Kapsberger's and Corradi's collections is that Kapsberger's books are engraved while Corradi's one is set in typographical characters.⁸ Corradi's intabulations, in order to be consistent with the mensural lines, call for an instrument tuned in A with six fretted courses and five unstopped contrabasses (lowest course used is *ij*). Moreover, chord shapes and voice-leading of the intabulated accompaniment clearly indicate the use of a re-entrant tuning.

Nigel North, in his very brief reference to Corradi's accompaniments, points towards the simplicity of the accompanying style and characterizes the writing for the chitarrone 'occasionally ambiguous'.⁹ Concerning the issue of simplicity there is no dispute. Regarding the ambiguity of the writing, however, this does not seem to be the case. The chitarrone writing is straightforward and particularly predictable for the reason that it mirrors the plainness of the accompanying style. Corradi's accompanying style follows two methods that are clearly demonstrated in the opening and eponymous piece of his collection 'Stravaganza d'Amore' (appendix I, part I.5). The first one is the realization of simple, supportive chords over the notes of the bass line with total lack of

⁷ In Nigel Fortune and Roark Miller, 'Corradi, Flamminio', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), vi. 494, Corradi's collection is described as 'notable for being the first Venetian songbook to be published with Spanish guitar tablature'. As the collection does not contain any guitar tablature, Fortune and Miller almost certainly refer to the guitar *alfabeto*. However, in this case, Corradi's collection cannot take precedence for the inclusion of guitar *alfabeto* in Venetian publications. James Tyler lists three Venetian publications with guitar *alfabeto* that preceding to Corradi's one; Tyler and Sparks, *Guitar*, 96, table 6.5.

⁸ Tablature typographical characters were available to Corradi's publisher Giacomo Vincenti as early as 1591 and continued to be used by his son Alessandro until 1620. For a list of Vincenti publications that contain tablature see Franco Rossi, *Il liuto a Venezia dal rinascimento al barocco* (Itinerari di storia e arte, 3; Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1983), 92–103.

⁹ North, *Continuo Playing*, 210.

any motivic figuration. This style is particularly appropriate when the vocal line(s) reveal(s) a recitation character (see bb. 1–7, 10–15). The second style is used in places where the vocal line(s) is/are more melodic, where the accompaniment, in addition to the supportive chords, reinforces the vocal part(s) by doubling it/them (bb. 8–9, 16–17). These principles are followed thoroughly throughout the entire collection and they shape the writing for the instrument.

This rigorous discipline that characterises Corradi's accompaniments exposes, on many occasions, a very sophisticated use of the re-entrant tuning of the chitarrone. This is evident in the treatment of vocal lines doubled by the accompaniment, as, for example, in bb. 16–17 where the second voice melody *b' b - a' - g' - a' - g' - g' - f' # - g'* continuously changes courses (*b b* first course, *a* fourth, *g* second, *a* first, *g* fourth, *g - f # - g* second), or even more clearly as in example 6.1. While such examples display a high level of knowledge and instrumental skill, when the accompaniment is plainer, consisting of simple chords, the intabulator does not take advantage of the possibilities the instrument offers. Chords like D major, D minor or F major, which can be performed with a variety of left-hand fingerings, are limited to specific forms that are constantly used although they are not necessarily the easiest ones. It looks like the intabulator was consulting a table of stock chords like the one in Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone*, or the one in Brussels 704.¹⁰ If this is the case, it should not be surprising because such a practice seems to have been common, especially during the first decades of the development of chordal accompaniment. On the other hand, an accompaniment based on the literal intabulation of the vocal parts was a long-

¹⁰ Brussels 704 was copied by various scribes. According to William Porter's classification, the table which appears at the bottom of page 209 was made by scribe *b* and the chords were applied to some pieces of the collection. See William Vernon Porter, 'The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song: A Study of Italian Manuscripts and Prints from 1590–1610', Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1962), 259–70 and *ibid.* 'A Central Source of Early Monody: Brussels, Conservatory 704 (II)', *Studi musicali*, 13 (1984), 158.

existing tradition of the sixteenth century and thus the intabulator was more familiar with it.

EXAMPLE 6.1: 'Baci cari e graditi', Corradi, *Le stravagnze d'amore*, 17, bb. 10–12.

(1) Rhythmic sign originally placed in previous bar

Corradi's accompaniments are not characterized by inventiveness but from the strict implementation of a specific procedure. Thus, not many features attract attention. The mensural bass line, which is very simple, is reproduced almost unaltered in the intabulation. Occasionally, bass notes are transposed (or duplicated) an octave lower in order to increase the resonance of the instrument, while the addition of octave leaps for the sake of harmonic and rhythmic articulation is very limited. 'Stravaganza d'Amore' (appendix I, part I.5) clearly demonstrates this simplicity of style with only one bass note duplicated an octave lower in the final cadential dominant chord (b. 17). One of the few places where the addition of an octave leap occurs is shown in example 6.2. The addition of connecting passing notes between intervals is non-existent.

Dissonance is used cautiously throughout the accompaniments and it is limited to the addition of 4^3 suspensions in the dominant chord of interior and final cadences. As happens in both Rossi and Kapsberger, there is always a restriking of the dissonance and, even if the resolution of the dissonance is sung by one of the voices, it is doubled by the accompaniment (see appendix I, part I.5, b. 16–17 and example 6.1). Any other

added dissonances are absent unless they exist in the vocal parts in which case they are literally transferred to the accompaniment (examples 6.3 and 6.4).

EXAMPLE 6.2: 'O che felice forte', Corradi, *Le stravagnze d'amore*, 28, bb. 37-8.

Musical score for Example 6.2, 'O che felice forte'. The score includes two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and a guitar accompaniment staff. The vocal parts are in 3/4 time and feature lyrics: (vo-)glia - mo fru - ir - - - - no - stra bel - ta - de. The guitar accompaniment is in 3/4 time and includes chord diagrams for G, D, C, and A. The guitar part is labeled 'Chitarrone'.

EXAMPLE 6.3: 'Non primavera fiori', Corradi, *Le stravagnze d'amore*, 31, bb. 3-4.

Musical score for Example 6.3, 'Non primavera fiori'. The score includes two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and a guitar accompaniment staff. The vocal parts are in 3/4 time and feature lyrics: nel - - - - - bel gri - bo No. The guitar accompaniment is in 3/4 time and includes chord diagrams for G, A, and B. The guitar part is labeled 'Chitarrone'.

EXAMPLE 6.4: 'O che felice forte', Corradi, *Le stravagnze d'amore*, 25, b. 1.

The musical score consists of three vocal staves and a Chitarrone accompaniment. The vocal staves are in mensural notation with a 13/8 time signature. The lyrics are 'O che felice forte' and 'O che felice'. Above the vocal staves, the letters O, L, (L), and C are placed above the notes. The Chitarrone part is shown on a six-line staff with various chord diagrams and an 'x' mark.

As limited as is the addition of dissonances in the accompaniment, equally sparing is the use of passing notes. The only occurrence is the addition of a passing flattened seventh to cadential dominant chords as demonstrated in example 6.2. It is notable that the passing seventh does not fall a second but a fourth lower. The intabulator chooses not to present the third in the cadential chord, a common feature already presented in Kapsberger's intabulations (see chapter 5, p. 62). However, as the score includes guitar *alfabeto*, a performance with a guitar in addition to the chitarrone would amend the strange fall of the passing seventh because the third of the final chord is included in the guitar accompaniment. This guitar final chord (G major) shows Corradi's preference for the use of major thirds in cadential chords in pieces of a minor mode (see also example 6.1). This preference is also evident even in places where a vocal line shortly afterwards presents a minor third. In this case, the major chord is modified to minor, thus avoiding the clash of dissimilar thirds (example 6.5).

Example 6.5 also demonstrates the restriking of a chord over tied notes. In mensural notation the bass *c* on the first beat of b. 7 is tied to the preceding one, obviously in order not to interfere with the up-beat accent of the vocal lines. In the accompaniment, however, the tie is ignored and the C major chord reappears in an

attempt to keep the sound of the instrument alive. Although one would expect the restriking of the chord with the strong syllable *fi* in the vocal parts with the aim of reinforcing it, the intabulator does not do so. He rather places the chord on the first beat of b. 7, where normally there would only be sustained sound, presumably in order to give rhythmic definition and keep the music moving forward. This is the only intervention from the intabulator's point of view to the musical texture.

EXAMPLE 6.5: 'O mia leggiadra e vaga pastorella', Corradi, *Le stravagnze d'amore*, 38, bb. 6–8.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled 'O mia leggiadra e vaga pastorella' by Corradi. The score is presented in three systems. The first system includes vocal staves for Soprano and Bass, with lyrics: 'Se por-ge-re-te fi - n'al mio do - lo - re Io can-te-ro d'A-mor'. Below the vocal staves is the Chitarrone accompaniment, shown in tablature with fret numbers and chord symbols (G, B, F, I, D). The second system continues the vocal parts and the Chitarrone accompaniment, with lyrics: 'Se por-ge-re-te fi - n'al mio do - lo - re Io can-te-ro d'A-'. The third system shows the Chitarrone accompaniment in tablature with fret numbers and chord symbols. The Chitarrone part is written in a style that combines traditional lute tablature with modern chord symbols and rhythmic notation.

The accompaniments in Corradi's collection are more conservative in comparison to those of Rossi and Kapsberger as the intabulator lacks initiative. As expected for this early time, the accompaniments waver between old and new practices in a similar way to the ones of Rossi. However, Corradi's accompaniments are a step ahead because the differences between styles are distinctive, with sections where the accompaniment is purely chordal and sections where the vocal parts are reproduced note for note. On the other hand, Corradi's accompaniments are conventional in comparison to Kapsberger's. While the former display formalism in their approach to accompaniment, the latter are more inventive and they exhibit a variety of techniques, styles and left-hand positions.

7. BELLEROFONTE CASTALDI'S THEORBO INTABULATIONS

By all accounts, the eccentric Modenese musician, poet, and adventurer Bellerofonte Castaldi was one of the early-seventeenth Italy's most intriguing public figures. His wide-ranging talents, musical and otherwise, his adventures and outspoken and often controversial writings led the eminent scholar Nigel Fortune to aptly describe him as "one of the most colourful musicians of his day."¹

Bellerofonte Castaldi was born in the village of Collegara southeast of Modena probably in 1580² and died in his native country in 1649. He was a well-educated offspring of a rather wealthy family that benefited from the control of an estate owned by Ainolfo Bardi, Knight of the Order of Malta. Relying on a comfortable income, Castaldi did not have to live professionally from music and he presented himself as an amateur lover of music who played for own pleasure:

Friend, my state of life is such that
I get by on my meager income
And all the time I take my pleasure in music
Playing the lute or chitarrone.³

¹ Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 1.

² Until recently Castaldi's date of birth was considered to be 1581 as suggested by Luigi Valdrighi, 'Annotazioni biobibliografiche intorno Bellerofonte Castaldi e per incidenza di altri musicisti modenesi dei secoli XVI e XVII' in *Musurgiana*, ser. 1, iii (Modena: G. T. Vincenzi, 1880), 26. However, modern scholarship has shown that Castaldi's date of birth is probably 1580 prior to 23 July; see Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 14–15.

³ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Deposito del Collegio San Carlo, cd. n. 6 (Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Le Rime Burlesche Seconda Parte*, 1637), 394:

Amici, io son di cetra condittione
Che su miei cinque soldi me la passo
E in smusicar ogn'hor mi piglio spasso
Tempestando liuto o chitarrone.

Translation and quotation from Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 17.

Living an independent life, Castaldi travelled widely and became familiar with the musical and cultural tendencies of the major artistic centres in Italy. He became a friend not only of highly acclaimed musicians such as Claudio Monteverdi but also of prominent intellectuals such as Fulvio Testi. During his various residencies in Rome, Castaldi must have been acquainted with Girolamo Frescobaldi and, at the very least, had the opportunity to listen to Girolamo Kapsberger performing, whose playing ability he praised.⁴

Castaldi's surviving music exists in three musical sources: *Capricci a due stromenti cioè tiorba e tiorbino* (1622), a collection of instrumental music primarily for theorbo⁵ and tiorbino music but also containing six songs for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, which was engraved by Castaldi himself; *Primo mazzetto di fiori colti dal giardino Bellerofonteo* (1623), a printed collection of songs for one to three voices on the accompaniment of an unfigured bass, which was published by Alessandro Vincenti; Modena G239, a manuscript collection that contains, among other material, thirteen songs by Castaldi for solo voice with unfigured bass accompaniment.⁶ Although different in appearance (one engraved, one printed and one manuscript), the three collections all present, either exclusively or partially, songs with instrumental accompaniment over an unfigured bass line, suggesting therefore that Castaldi had a special interest in the genre. *Capricci a due stromenti*, in addition to the bass line, also provides an intabulated theorbo accompaniment for each song, thus allowing an examination of Castaldi's ideal accompaniment.

⁴ See Dolata, 'Sonatas ad Dance Music', i. 22–3 and 27–8.

⁵ Although Castaldi uses interchangeably the terms *chitarrone* and *tiorba*, his preference for the later is evident.

⁶ These thirteen songs are not ascribed directly to Castaldi but they bear the initials 'b.c.'. However, six of the thirteen songs have concordances in *Primo mazzetto di fiori colti* indicating that the musician concealed behind the initials 'b.c.' is none other than Bellerofonte Castaldi; Mirko Caffagni, 'The Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 12 (1979), 29–32.

Capricci a due stromenti is a particularly beautiful piece of artwork. Castaldi's artistic prowess and his direct involvement in the engraving process resulted in a publication that bears his personal taste without any compromises that would occur if a publisher was involved. The visual effect is stunning, especially for non-professional standards, with a particularly legible tablature and high-quality decoration (see illustration 7.1).



ILLUSTRATION 7.1: Detail from Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Modena, 1622), 47.

The title page of the collection, which features angels and other similar creatures as well as various musical instruments, reads:

CAPRICCI / A DUE STROMENTI / CIOE / TIORBA E TIORBINO / E /
 PER SONAR SOLO / VARIE / SORTI DI BALLI / E fantasticarie /
 SETNOFORELLEB TABEDUL⁷

It is followed by the prefatory material which is accompanied by two full-page illustrations, one self-portrait by Castaldi (illustration 7.2) and one portrait that represents three men, two of them playing theorbos, one of them being Castaldi.

⁷ As Dolata points out, 'the "SETNOFORELLEB TABEDUL" in the Capricci frontispiece is Latin for "Bellerofonte played" or "was playing" in reverse'; Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 73.



ILLUSTRATION 7.2: Castaldi's self-portrait from Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Modena, 1622).

The prefatory material consists of one page that includes a dedication 'to the noble, brilliant and refined Genoese youth', where Castaldi talks about the royalty of the lute, the theorbo and the tiorbino and gives publishing information,⁸ one page that contains a table of contents, an unusual feature as, according to the common practice of the time, the table of contents appears to the end of the collection, followed by *gl'avvertimenti*, the advice to the reader, and one page that features a dedicatory poem by Testi, together with Castaldi's response.

The *avvertimenti*, from the first lute publications by Petrucci, always contained short instructions on performance issues, obviously in order to attract the wider public of amateurs. All of Castaldi's contemporary colleagues who published solo theorbo music remained faithful to that norm including such instructions to their collections. Alessandro Piccinini devoted eight pages that contain not only advice on the performance, but also his version on the invention of the chitarrone. Castaldi, on the other hand, deviates from this line declaring that performing information 'is not given, because he who will have the certainty to play securely this tablature, will already know these things'.⁹ This way he makes clear that his music is intended for competent players and, by inference, that he has no concerns about the commercial success of his collection. Given that, in combination with the fact that his solo and duet music 'exploit[s] the various textures and timbres of the instrument, and require[s] complete technical

⁸ The dedication is missing from one of the three surviving copies, the one held in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale et du Conservatoire, Rés 241 which was used for the facsimile reproduction by Minkoff. However, the dedication is reproduced in Robert Spencer, review of Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Capricci a tiorba e tiorbino (1622)* (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1981), in *Early Music*, 10 (1982), 384. For description and observations on the variants between the three copies see Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 56–87.

⁹ Castaldi, *Capricci*, 3: 'non si danno, perche chi havrà giuditio per sonar sicuro questa intavolatura, l'havrà ancora per cosi fatti rimansugli'.

command of its technique',¹⁰ there is no reason to believe that Castaldi would make any compromises in the intabulated song accompaniments.

The six songs with intabulated accompaniments do not appear in a separate section but they are scattered within the solo theorbo music (table 7.1). They all are strophic dance songs about love. The layout is similar to that in Kapsberger's *villanelle* and Corradi's collections with the solo voice placed on the top, followed by the unfigured bass line and then the theorbo tablature. The text of the first stanza is aligned underneath the vocal part, while the remaining stanzas are placed at the end of the piece. In contrast to the Kapsberger and Corradi collections, Castaldi does not provide any *alfabeto* notation. Although a guitarist himself, Castaldi rejected the *alfabeto* system referring to it as 'pedantic clutter', presumably motivated by his political posture against the Spanish, as he seems to regard *alfabeto* as a Spanish notational system.¹¹

TABLE 7.1: Songs with intabulated accompaniments in Castaldi's, *Capricci a due stromenti*.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Poet</i>
40	'Quella crudel' (The cruel one)	Castaldi
42	'Chi vuol provare' (What are you trying to prove?)	Castaldi
45	'Hor che tutto gioioso' (Now that everything is joyful)	Castaldi
49	'Al mormorio D'un fresco rio' (To the murmur of a cool river)	Castaldi
52	'Ohime che non posso più' (Alas, I can no longer)	Castaldi
57	'Aita aita ben mio' (Help me, help me my beloved)	Castaldi

Concerning the instrument intended for the song accompaniments, there is no doubt it was an instrument with re-entrant tuning with the two first courses lowered an octave, like the one used by Kapsberger and Corradi. The tablature calls for a fourteen-course theorbo with six fretted courses and eight diatonically tuned unstopped contrabasses,

¹⁰ Mason, *Chitarrone*, 86.

¹¹ Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 48–9.

while the mensural notation implies a tuning in A. Furthermore, Castaldi's self-portrait provides indisputable evidence that the theorbo Castaldi used was single-strung.

Before proceeding to the examination of the nature of the intabulated accompaniments it should be noted that, in Castaldi's songs, the character of the actual mensural bass line is quite different in comparison to the one found in Kapsberger's and Corradi's collections. While, for the latter, the bass line moves primarily with leaps and it has a strong functional orientation, for Castaldi, the bass line is much more melodious based on step-wise movement and reflects a linear approach rather than a vertical one. Not only the treatment of the bass line, but also the character of his surviving compositions, suggest that his compositional style was strongly derived from Renaissance practices. Although Castaldi was an admirer of the new musical trends of his time, 'his music never completely relinquished its bonds with the past'.¹²

Unlike Kapsberger and Corradi, Castaldi does not closely reproduce the mensural bass lines in his theorbo accompaniments. The reason for that is quite evident: because his mensural bass lines are very melodious, Castaldi quite often reforms them in order to make them more functional, providing therefore a more supportive accompaniment for the solo voice. The means for the achievement of his goal vary, many of them to be found in 'Al mormorio' (appendix I, part I.6). In relation to Kapsberger and Corradi, a common feature to be found in Castaldi's intabulations is the transposition (or duplication with) one, or even two, octaves downwards of bass notes or phrases (see for instance bb. 1, 4, 6, 12–13). Downwards octave leaps are also added for the sake of harmonic and rhythmic articulation (bb. 5, 10). Castaldi, in comparison with Kapsberger and Corradi, takes full advantage of the theorbo's contrabass courses, the use of which was highly praised by writers of his time.¹³ Castaldi uses them constantly thus bringing out the low register of the instrument (see overall approach in appendix I, part

¹² Ibid. i. 213.

¹³ See chapter 5, pp. 76–7.

I.6). Furthermore, passing notes are added in the bass line so as to connect leaps of the intervals of a third and a fourth in places where the solo voice has no comparative melodic or rhythmic activity (bb. 2–3, 11), further highlighting the linear nature of the music.

However, he also simplified the bass line for the sake of clarity in the intabulations. Repeated bass notes that do not affect the phrasing are substituted by longer notes (bb. 3, 5, 6 and 9) and passing notes that connect the root and the third within the same harmony are omitted, particularly when these passing notes coincide with comparative vocal movement (bb. 2, 9 and 11). Occasionally, this simplification is a concomitant outcome of downward octave transposition of the bass and the use of contrabass courses, resulting in the modification of the mensural bass line to inner filling in the accompaniment (b. 6). This is more clearly demonstrated in bb. 1–2 of 'Ohime che non posso più' (example 7.1), where we also see the modification of a first inversion F major chord to root position in order to avoid parallel octaves. For the same reason the *c'* of the mensural bass line, a line that in the accompaniment functions as inner filling, has been moved from the first beat of b. 2 where now stands a *g*. Castaldi, unlike Kapsberger and Corradi, is concerned about the rules of traditional counterpoint and he is aware of avoiding parallel octaves in his intabulations.

EXAMPLE 7.1: 'Ohime che non posso più', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 52, bb. 1–2.

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Ohime che non posso più' by Castaldi. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the vocal line in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics 'Ohi - me che non pos - so più Che' are written below the notes. The second system shows the lute accompaniment in two staves, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The third system shows the lute tablature on a single staff with a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat. The tablature uses numbers 0-6 to represent fret positions and includes various rhythmic markings.

Bb. 10–13 of 'Chi vuol provare' (example 7.2) show even more freedom in treating the bass line. In the imitative melodic chain that appears, only the first half of the bass phrase has been retained in the theorbo accompaniment while the second half has been omitted. Its place has been taken by a held note which gives him room to add an imitative passage on the top.

EXAMPLE 7.2: 'Chi vuol provare', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 42, bb. 10–13.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: voice, piano, and theorbo. The voice part is in mensural notation with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "cor Per - che gia - mai non fu Di co - tal ser - vi - tu Chi bra - mar". The piano accompaniment is in mensural notation with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The theorbo part is in mensural notation with a single staff and a key signature of one flat. The score is numbered 10 at the beginning.

Imitation, as expected due to Castaldi's dependence on Renaissance practices, plays quite a role in his accompaniments. All six songs contain at least one instance where imitation occurs, either between the solo voice and the bass line (example 7.2), or even within the accompaniment itself (appendix I, part I.6, bb. 9–10 and example 7.2). Although in example 7.2 the imitation between the solo voice and the mensural bass line has not been carried literally in the theorbo intabulation, in other instances it has been preserved uncut (example 7.3).

The texture in Castaldi's accompaniments is thin, with the number of voices fluctuating between two and four. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the extensive use of the contrabasses provides strong support, but also limits the capability of the right hand because the thumb has to move away from the rest of the fingers. Secondly, the actual fast dance character of the songs and Castaldi's linear approach require thinner textures in order to ensure the music flows easily. Thirdly, these are

accompaniments for a solo voice. Even in Kapsberger's *villanelle* collections, the texture is thinner in the accompaniments for a solo voice compared to those for two or three voices. Agazzari, referring to the organ, but making clear later that the same comments apply to the lute and the theorbo, says that

if there are many [voices], one must play full and double the stops, but if they are few, reduce them and play few consonances, playing the work as simply and correctly as it is possible.¹⁴

However, it should be pointed out that this thin, clear texture is characteristic not only in the intabulated song accompaniments but also throughout the entire collection of *Capricci a due stromenti*. With only one exception, chords with more than four notes are absent.

EXAMPLE 7.3: 'Hor che tutto gioioso', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 45, bb. 4–6.

Concerning the accompanying style in Castaldi's songs, this is a combination of chordal and part writing. Sometimes only simple harmonies are used, as is the case in the opening of 'Al mormorio' (appendix I, part I.6). Every so often these harmonies are enriched with some melodic activity which, quite often, is nothing more than a duplication of the solo voice part as in bb. 2–3, 5–6. Now and then two-part writing

¹⁴ Agazzari, *Del sonare*, 6: 'se sono molte, convien suonar pieno, e raddoppiar registri; ma se sono poche, schemarli, e metter poche consonanze, suonando l'opera più pura, e giusta, che sia possibile'. A similar remark was also made by the Bolognese Lorenzo Penna sixty-five years later; see Arnold, *Art of Accompaniment*, 369.

appears, with the added part either duplicating the solo voice part (bb. 8–9), or imitating the solo voice part (bb. 9–10), or presenting a newly invented line (bb. 12–13). Chordal writing and in general thicker textures tend to appear at the beginning of phrases, on strong syllables and at cadences.

Vacillating between chordal and part writing, Castaldi's harmonic language is simple and his harmonization straightforward. With only one exception, the instance of a $\overset{6}{4}$ chord (example 7.4), no other surprises are to be found. However, even in this case, the root of the chord comes immediately in the bass, suggesting that this irregularity is rather a result of the use of broken chords. The breaking of chords is a quite common feature in Castaldi's accompaniments for the sake of articulation and to keep alive the sound of the instrument (example 7.5).

EXAMPLE 7.4: 'Aita aita ben mio', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 57, bb. 1–2.

The musical score for Example 7.4 consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in a treble clef with a 3/4 time signature, containing the lyrics "A - i - ta - i - ta ben mi -". The middle staff is the piano accompaniment, with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in 3/4 time. The bottom staff is the lute (Tiorba) part, also in 3/4 time, showing fretting numbers (0, 1, 2, 3) and rhythmic notation.

EXAMPLE 7.5: 'Quela crudel', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 40, bb. 1–2.

The musical score for Example 7.5 consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in a treble clef with a 3/4 time signature, containing the lyrics "Qel - la cru - del che per mia do". The middle staff is the piano accompaniment, with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in 3/4 time. The bottom staff is the lute (Tiorba) part, also in 3/4 time, showing fretting numbers (0, 1, 2, 3) and rhythmic notation.

Dissonance does not play any important role and even the use of $4\ 3$ cadential suspensions is very limited, and only in two pieces (example 7.6). The only other use of dissonance is the presence of $6\ 5$ chords (appendix I, part I.6, bb. 4 and 7) and, once again, these $6\ 5$ chords appear in only two pieces. Regarding the use (or not) of major thirds in final cadences, Castaldi's intabulations are not illuminating. In the only piece that is in minor mode, the intabulation presents a diplomatic solution by not featuring the third of the chord (example 7.6). However, the preference of the natural third for interior cadential chords is evident, as one can see in b. 5 of 'Al mormorio' (appendix I, part I.6).

EXAMPLE 7.6: 'Aita aita ben mio', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 57, bb. 12–13.

The image shows a musical score for 'Aita aita ben mio' by Castaldi. It consists of three systems. The first system shows a vocal line with lyrics 'tan - to - do - lor' and a lute/theorbo accompaniment. The lute part is written in a system with a treble clef and a bass clef, with a 'Tiorba' label. The lute part shows a specific F major chord voicing with the first course open, the second and third courses stopped on the first fret, and the fifth course stopped on the third fret.

An uncommon feature in Castaldi's accompaniments is the left-hand position of F major chord with the first course open, the second and the third course stopped on the first fret, and the fifth course stopped on the third fret (example 7.4, b. 2). This position, although widely used on the lute, is usually avoided on the theorbo for it demands an extremely difficult left-hand stretching. The use of this F major position by Castaldi, as well as the evidence in his self-portrait, indicate clearly that his theorbo was of rather small dimensions, as proposed by Robert Spencer and David West Dolata,¹⁹ but also points towards the lute's Renaissance traditions.

¹⁹ Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', 410 and Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 91.

Castaldi had no concerns for pedagogy. He made that clear in his *avvertimenti*. Therefore, the inclusion of a mensural bass line together with the intabulated accompaniment in his songs had no intention of serving as an example of how to realize a bass line. In addition to the indisputable performance option of solo songs for high voice with theorbo accompaniment, this mensural bass line strongly indicates alternative performance options as, even with the differentiations that are present, no discrepancies occur with the intabulated accompaniment. It is true that a chordal instrument alone would normally accompany a solo voice but more elaborate continuo combinations were also possible.¹⁶ Taking into account the dance nature of Castaldi's songs and the occasional differentiation of the mensural bass line with the intabulated accompaniment, a second performance option is implied with the employment of more than one continuo instrument, which could possibly be a bowed instrument, an organ, or even another theorbo,¹⁷ although for the last it would be expected by Castaldi to provide a tablature. A third performance option, which has been neglected by scholars, is implied by the fact that vocal and bass parts frequently move in the same rhythms. The mensural bass part might well have been intended for singing. Although in such a case one would expect a text placement below the bass line, this is not enough for evaluation, for Castaldi was the first to break a long-standing tradition in text placement. Under his instructions, *Primo mazzetto di fiori colti* of 1623 was the first book to present between the staves all the verses of strophic songs favouring the convenience for the singers,¹⁸ a feature that is standard in our day but was an innovation in the early sixteenth century. The bass line in *Capricci a due stromenti* can easily accommodate the text without any particular

¹⁶ See Nigel Fortune, 'Italian Secular Song', 195; Borgir, *Performance*, 64–6; Stephen Stubbs, 'L'armonia Sonora: Continuo Orchestration in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 88.

¹⁷ The theorbo was often considered as a melodic bass instrument playing primarily the mensural bass line and occasionally adding chordal realizations. For theorbo's melodic bass role see Mason, *Chitarrone*, 24–59, 63–73, 76–84 and Borgir, *Performance*, 101–7.

¹⁸ Dolata, 'Sonatas and Dance Music', i. 48; Dolata also provides a facsimile illustration of Castaldi's 'Saeta pur saeta' in page 51.

problems. In the places where imitation and rhythmic alteration between the two parts occurs, a simple shift is enough to resolve any problems (example 7.7).

EXAMPLE 7.7: 'Chi vuol provare', Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti*, 42, bb. 10–14.

10

cor Per - che gia - mai non fu Di co - tal ser - vi - tu Chi bra - mar po - tes - se piu

[cor Per - che gia - mai non fu Di co - tal ser - vi - tu Chi bra - mar po - tes - se piu]

In support of this view is Castaldi's handling of quaver stems. On the scarce occasions where quavers appear, when consecutive quavers are to accommodate different syllables the stems are separated as in example 7.3, while when they are a melisma of one syllable they are joined together as in example 7.6. In the mensural bass line quavers appear in imitative motifs and they always have separated stems (see example 7.6), although there is no particular reason for that if the bass line is to be performed by an instrument.

Castaldi's songs in *Capricci a due stromenti* were possibly not intended solely as songs for a high voice with theorbo accompaniment as they work equally well as duets and even as solo bass songs. The bass line is very melodious and one should not overlook the very strong solo bass song tradition in late-Renaissance Italy.¹⁹ The accompaniments of these songs cannot be regarded as examples of continuo realizations by any means. They are rather retrospective accompaniments that lean towards the Renaissance aesthetic, refined with features and elements of contemporary trends. Rossi's intabulated accompaniments fall in the same category but they are different in character. The evident reason for that is the dissimilar nature of the music: Rossi's songs are madrigals while Castaldi's are of strophic dance genre. Castaldi was not a professional musician but a devoted lover of music who had the time and the enthusiasm to prepare elegant

¹⁹ For the solo bass singing in Italy at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Richard Wirstreich, 'Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and Secular Solo Bass Singing in Sixteenth-Century Italy', Ph.D. diss. (University of London, 2003), 197–271.

and conscientious accompaniments that are technically not easy to play. Not interested in improvisation, the indispensable tool of a busy professional, his intabulations reflect a personal taste rather than a professional approach that relies on the effective use of simplicity.

8. MODENA G239

Modena G239 is unquestionably the source that has received the most scholarly attention amongst those discussed in the present thesis. Its significance was brought to light by Mirko Caffagni, who described the manuscript in detail in two different articles.¹ A modern edition of the section of the manuscript that contains the theorbo intabulations appeared in modern notation in 1995, thus making the context of the intabulations available to modern scholars.²

The manuscript was copied between c.1632 and c.1670 (a discussion follows below). It is an oblong fascicle of 15.5 × 21.2 cm, and contains 130 pages of music in a parchment cover. Before a binding restoration in 1988, the verso of the first folio bore the heading 'Autore incerto / cantate e canzonete, a soprano solo con B.C. / Cadenze per Liuto / Autore incerto / Pezzi 28', added by a nineteenth-century hand. The same hand is also responsible for the index of compositions placed at the beginning of the manuscript. In the pages that follow, four different numerations appear: a progressive numeration of the pieces, which was added by the same nineteenth-century hand as the title and the index; an unoriginal foliation, which appears on the bottom left angle of the recto folios; an original page-numbering from 1 to 130, which starts on f. 2^v and appears on the top external angle of the pages; this numeration is placed alongside of an older—almost illegible—one, which appears in ff. 1–7^v.

¹ Mirko Caffagni, 'Il chitarrone come strumento per il basso continuo ed esempi del ms. M127 [sic] della Biblioteca Estense di Modena', *Quadrivium*, 11 (1970), 117–51 and *ibid.* 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 25–42.

² Tiziano Bagniati (ed.), *Cadenze e passaggi diversi intavolati per tiorba dal manoscritto Estense G 239 (sec. XVII)* (Società Italiana del Liuto, 1; Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 1995).

The manuscript contains twenty-seven pieces for soprano and continuo, which, apart from the first ('Arianna del Monteverde', pp. 1–9), all lack direct ascription to a composer.³ Between the penultimate and the final piece, a section under the title 'Cadenze finali' has been inserted. This section (pp. 103–27) contains examples of cadential embellishments in Italian tablature for the theorbo. The pieces for voice and continuo were copied by one scribe and all but four (nos. 23, 24, 25 and 26) have the initial letter of the poetic text highly ornamented (illustration 8.1).



ILLUSTRATION 8.1: Opening of Monteverdi's 'Lamento di Arianna', Modena G239, 1.

However, the titles of two pieces (nos. 22 and 23) were written by a different hand. One scribe is entirely responsible for the intabulated section but whether it is the same

³ Thirteen of the pieces bear the initials 'b.c.' and, as mentioned above (chapter 7, p. 99 n), it has been shown that they are compositions by Bellerofonte Castaldi. A table of the contents with incipits of the poetic texts of the manuscript appears in both Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 29–30 and Bagnati, *Cadenze e passaggi*, iii–iv.

person who copied the vocal pieces is difficult to say. The few elements that allow comparison between the two sections—page and tablature numbers, bass clefs, and the inscription 'Cadenze finali' with the song-titles—present minor differentiations (compare, for example, the letter *d* of the words *Monteverde* and *Cadenze*, or the curve of the bass clef in illustrations 8.1 and 8.2). However, as the intabulated section seems to have been copied in a rush and without the elegance of the vocal songs, such differentiations might be a result of hurry, or simply because 'cadenze finali' were copied at a later time.

103 Cadenze finali.



ILLUSTRATION 8.2: First page of 'Cadenze finali', Modena G239, 103.

The task of identifying the place of provenance of the manuscript does not present any particular difficulties. The inclusion of Castaldi's compositions and the reference to him with only the initials of his name—a sign of familiarity—strongly indicate a Modenese origin of the manuscript. The watermark that appears only on the first and the last folios comes to support such a stance. It represents a crowned eagle within a

circle and, although it is not found per se in any lists, it is similar to sixteen-century watermarks of the regions of Modena and Ferrara.⁴

Dating the manuscript, however, reveals several problems. From the songs included in the manuscript, the cantata on the death of King Gustavus Adolphus ('Cantata di Gustavo Adolfo Ré di Svezia morto in Guerra',⁵ pp. 68–79), who fell in battlefield in 1632, set this year as a date before which the manuscript (or at least this specific piece) could not have been copied. This and Monteverdi's 'Arianna', the only surviving piece of the eponymous opera performed in Mantua in 1608 and published as a solo song in 1623, led Caffagni to the conclusion that at least the vocal works were copied around the year 1632.⁶ The same opinion is shared by Coelho in his brief description of the manuscript although he remarks that they might have been copied later.⁷

Caffagni, trying to identify the compiler of the manuscript, after rejecting with a forcible argument the possibility of this being Castaldi, proposes the likelihood of Pietro Betracchini, a singer and theorbo player from Capri, a town just a few kilometres north of Modena.⁸ Born in 1641, Betracchini went to Modena around 1656 in order to study singing and theorbo. He stayed there until 1659 and after some years of living in other Italian cities and performing primarily on the guitar, he returned to Capri towards the end of 1669 and devoted himself to the theorbo. Betracchini is known to have held a collection of beautiful musical manuscripts with highly ornamented letters.⁹ Modena G239 could easily be one of them as it is an attractive manuscript with the initial of the text of almost every piece beautifully decorated. Thus, Caffagni suggested that the

⁴ Bagnati, *Cadenze e passaggi*, iii. The watermark was not visible before the restoration of the manuscript's binding in 1988 because the first and the last folios were attached to the parchment cover.

⁵ The handwriting of the title of this and the following piece is different from that of the song-texts.

⁶ Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 30.

⁷ Coelho, *Manuscript Sources*, 101–2.

⁸ Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 33–6. On Betracchini see id. 'L'autografia di Pietro Betracchini', *Bolletino della Società Italiana del Liuto*, 3 (1993), 9–16.

⁹ Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 33–4.

cadenze section of Modena G239 might have been compiled either between 1656 and 1659 or after 1669, acknowledging though that the above represent 'merely a suggested hypothesis that can only be confirmed or refuted if we could recover a manuscript that is certainly by Betracchini'.¹⁰ Coelho suggests that such a manuscript exists. In a manuscript of Modenese origins of 1691,¹¹ which bears the name of Girolamo Viviani, Coelho sees a stylistic connection as well as a similar handwriting which he calls 'provisionally a scribal concordance'.¹² In this way he dates Modena G239 'to the years around 1670 with some certainty, and even later with a higher degree of probability'.¹³

Whichever is the case, both scholars agree that the *cadenze* section of Modena G239 was compiled later than the vocal works. However, if we assume that one scribe is responsible for both the vocal pieces and the *cadenze* section and that this person is Betracchini, then the compilation of the vocal pieces cannot date from around 1632, as both Caffagni and Coelho suggest, because Betracchini was born in 1641. During the period between 1656 and 1659, however, it seems plausible for the young Betracchini to have copied Monteverdi's famous 'Arianna' and the music by Castaldi who died in 1649, yet the memory of him would still have been alive in the region of Modena. If this is the case, then the compilation of the 'cadenze finali' seems to date from around 1670.

Until the rediscovery of Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* and due to the neglect of New York 93-2 (for reasons that will be discussed below), the intabulated section of Modena G239 was considered as the only illustrative source of the theorbo's ornamental function¹⁴ as described by Agazzari. It contains ninety-nine

¹⁰ Id. 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 36.

¹¹ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Ms. Archivio Ducale Segreto per materie, musica e musicisti, busta IV, fascicolo B (fac. edn. in G. Kapsberger, A. Piccinini, G. Viviani, *Intavolature di chitarrone*; Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1999).

¹² Coelho, *Manuscript Sources*, 103.

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 29 and Bagnati, *Cadenze e passaggi*, vi.

cadences, with a subdominant or a parenthetical dominant harmony quite often preceding the dominant chord. In particular, numbers 1–17 deal with cadences in C, 18–30 with cadences in G, 31–42 in A, 43–7 in B \flat , 48–53 in D, and 54–7 in F. The remaining examples feature other bass movements with 58–70 focused primarily on step-movement (ascending and descending), 71–5 focused on ascending thirds, 76–9 on descending thirds, 80–4 on ascending and descending fourths, 88–97 showing cadences where the bass moves through a descending second; the remaining examples feature mixed bass movement.

EXAMPLE 8.2: Modena G239, 109, bb. 20–3 [Bagnati no. 41].

The musical score for Example 8.2 consists of three staves. The top staff is a bass line with a treble clef, showing a sequence of notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, A5, B5, C6, D6, E6, F6, G6, A6, B6, C7, D7, E7, F7, G7, A7, B7, C8, D8, E8, F8, G8, A8, B8, C9, D9, E9, F9, G9, A9, B9, C10, D10, E10, F10, G10, A10, B10, C11, D11, E11, F11, G11, A11, B11, C12, D12, E12, F12, G12, A12, B12, C13, D13, E13, F13, G13, A13, B13, C14, D14, E14, F14, G14, A14, B14, C15, D15, E15, F15, G15, A15, B15, C16, D16, E16, F16, G16, A16, B16, C17, D17, E17, F17, G17, A17, B17, C18, D18, E18, F18, G18, A18, B18, C19, D19, E19, F19, G19, A19, B19, C20, D20, E20, F20, G20, A20, B20, C21, D21, E21, F21, G21, A21, B21, C22, D22, E22, F22, G22, A22, B22, C23, D23, E23, F23, G23, A23, B23, C24, D24, E24, F24, G24, A24, B24, C25, D25, E25, F25, G25, A25, B25, C26, D26, E26, F26, G26, A26, B26, C27, D27, E27, F27, G27, A27, B27, C28, D28, E28, F28, G28, A28, B28, C29, D29, E29, F29, G29, A29, B29, C30, D30, E30, F30, G30, A30, B30, C31, D31, E31, F31, G31, A31, B31, C32, D32, E32, F32, G32, A32, B32, C33, D33, E33, F33, G33, A33, B33, C34, D34, E34, F34, G34, A34, B34, C35, D35, E35, F35, G35, A35, B35, C36, D36, E36, F36, G36, A36, B36, C37, D37, E37, F37, G37, A37, B37, C38, D38, E38, F38, G38, A38, B38, C39, D39, E39, F39, G39, A39, B39, C40, D40, E40, F40, G40, A40, B40, C41, D41, E41, F41, G41, A41, B41, C42, D42, E42, F42, G42, A42, B42, C43, D43, E43, F43, G43, A43, B43, C44, D44, E44, F44, G44, A44, B44, C45, D45, E45, F45, G45, A45, B45, C46, D46, E46, F46, G46, A46, B46, C47, D47, E47, F47, G47, A47, B47, C48, D48, E48, F48, G48, A48, B48, C49, D49, E49, F49, G49, A49, B49, C50, D50, E50, F50, G50, A50, B50, C51, D51, E51, F51, G51, A51, B51, C52, D52, E52, F52, G52, A52, B52, C53, D53, E53, F53, G53, A53, B53, C54, D54, E54, F54, G54, A54, B54, C55, D55, E55, F55, G55, A55, B55, C56, D56, E56, F56, G56, A56, B56, C57, D57, E57, F57, G57, A57, B57, C58, D58, E58, F58, G58, A58, B58, C59, D59, E59, F59, G59, A59, B59, C60, D60, E60, F60, G60, A60, B60, C61, D61, E61, F61, G61, A61, B61, C62, D62, E62, F62, G62, A62, B62, C63, D63, E63, F63, G63, A63, B63, C64, D64, E64, F64, G64, A64, B64, C65, D65, E65, F65, G65, A65, B65, C66, D66, E66, F66, G66, A66, B66, C67, D67, E67, F67, G67, A67, B67, C68, D68, E68, F68, G68, A68, B68, C69, D69, E69, F69, G69, A69, B69, C70, D70, E70, F70, G70, A70, B70, C71, D71, E71, F71, G71, A71, B71, C72, D72, E72, F72, G72, A72, B72, C73, D73, E73, F73, G73, A73, B73, C74, D74, E74, F74, G74, A74, B74, C75, D75, E75, F75, G75, A75, B75, C76, D76, E76, F76, G76, A76, B76, C77, D77, E77, F77, G77, A77, B77, C78, D78, E78, F78, G78, A78, B78, C79, D79, E79, F79, G79, A79, B79, C80, D80, E80, F80, G80, A80, B80, C81, D81, E81, F81, G81, A81, B81, C82, D82, E82, F82, G82, A82, B82, C83, D83, E83, F83, G83, A83, B83, C84, D84, E84, F84, G84, A84, B84, C85, D85, E85, F85, G85, A85, B85, C86, D86, E86, F86, G86, A86, B86, C87, D87, E87, F87, G87, A87, B87, C88, D88, E88, F88, G88, A88, B88, C89, D89, E89, F89, G89, A89, B89, C90, D90, E90, F90, G90, A90, B90, C91, D91, E91, F91, G91, A91, B91, C92, D92, E92, F92, G92, A92, B92, C93, D93, E93, F93, G93, A93, B93, C94, D94, E94, F94, G94, A94, B94, C95, D95, E95, F95, G95, A95, B95, C96, D96, E96, F96, G96, A96, B96, C97, D97, E97, F97, G97, A97, B97, C98, D98, E98, F98, G98, A98, B98, C99, D99, E99, F99, G99, A99, B99, C100, D100, E100, F100, G100, A100, B100, C101, D101, E101, F101, G101, A101, B101, C102, D102, E102, F102, G102, A102, B102, C103, D103, E103, F103, G103, A103, B103, C104, D104, E104, F104, G104, A104, B104, C105, D105, E105, F105, G105, A105, B105, C106, D106, E106, F106, G106, A106, B106, C107, D107, E107, F107, G107, A107, B107, C108, D108, E108, F108, G108, A108, B108, C109, D109, E109, F109, G109, A109, B109, C110, D110, E110, F110, G110, A110, B110, C111, D111, E111, F111, G111, A111, B111, C112, D112, E112, F112, G112, A112, B112, C113, D113, E113, F113, G113, A113, B113, C114, D114, E114, F114, G114, A114, B114, C115, D115, E115, F115, G115, A115, B115, C116, D116, E116, F116, G116, A116, B116, C117, D117, E117, F117, G117, A117, B117, C118, D118, E118, F118, G118, A118, B118, C119, D119, E119, F119, G119, A119, B119, C120, D120, E120, F120, G120, A120, B120, C121, D121, E121, F121, G121, A121, B121, C122, D122, E122, F122, G122, A122, B122, C123, D123, E123, F123, G123, A123, B123, C124, D124, E124, F124, G124, A124, B124, C125, D125, E125, F125, G125, A125, B125, C126, D126, E126, F126, G126, A126, B126, C127, D127, E127, F127, G127, A127, B127, C128, D128, E128, F128, G128, A128, B128, C129, D129, E129, F129, G129, A129, B129, C130, D130, E130, F130, G130, A130, B130, C131, D131, E131, F131, G131, A131, B131, C132, D132, E132, F132, G132, A132, B132, C133, D133, E133, F133, G133, A133, B133, C134, D134, E134, F134, G134, A134, B134, C135, D135, E135, F135, G135, A135, B135, C136, D136, E136, F136, G136, A136, B136, C137, D137, E137, F137, G137, A137, B137, C138, D138, E138, F138, G138, A138, B138, C139, D139, E139, F139, G139, A139, B139, C140, D140, E140, F140, G140, A140, B140, C141, D141, E141, F141, G141, A141, B141, C142, D142, E142, F142, G142, A142, B142, C143, D143, E143, F143, G143, A143, B143, C144, D144, E144, F144, G144, A144, B144, C145, D145, E145, F145, G145, A145, B145, C146, D146, E146, F146, G146, A146, B146, C147, D147, E147, F147, G147, A147, B147, C148, D148, E148, F148, G148, A148, B148, C149, D149, E149, F149, G149, A149, B149, C150, D150, E150, F150, G150, A150, B150, C151, D151, E151, F151, G151, A151, B151, C152, D152, E152, F152, G152, A152, B152, C153, D153, E153, F153, G153, A153, B153, C154, D154, E154, F154, G154, A154, B154, C155, D155, E155, F155, G155, A155, B155, C156, D156, E156, F156, G156, A156, B156, C157, D157, E157, F157, G157, A157, B157, C158, D158, E158, F158, G158, A158, B158, C159, D159, E159, F159, G159, A159, B159, C160, D160, E160, F160, G160, A160, B160, C161, D161, E161, F161, G161, A161, B161, C162, D162, E162, F162, G162, A162, B162, C163, D163, E163, F163, G163, A163, B163, C164, D164, E164, F164, G164, A164, B164, C165, D165, E165, F165, G165, A165, B165, C166, D166, E166, F166, G166, A166, B166, C167, D167, E167, F167, G167, A167, B167, C168, D168, E168, F168, G168, A168, B168, C169, D169, E169, F169, G169, A169, B169, C170, D170, E170, F170, G170, A170, B170, C171, D171, E171, F171, G171, A171, B171, C172, D172, E172, F172, G172, A172, B172, C173, D173, E173, F173, G173, A173, B173, C174, D174, E174, F174, G174, A174, B174, C175, D175, E175, F175, G175, A175, B175, C176, D176, E176, F176, G176, A176, B176, C177, D177, E177, F177, G177, A177, B177, C178, D178, E178, F178, G178, A178, B178, C179, D179, E179, F179, G179, A179, B179, C180, D180, E180, F180, G180, A180, B180, C181, D181, E181, F181, G181, A181, B181, C182, D182, E182, F182, G182, A182, B182, C183, D183, E183, F183, G183, A183, B183, C184, D184, E184, F184, G184, A184, B184, C185, D185, E185, F185, G185, A185, B185, C186, D186, E186, F186, G186, A186, B186, C187, D187, E187, F187, G187, A187, B187, C188, D188, E188, F188, G188, A188, B188, C189, D189, E189, F189, G189, A189, B189, C190, D190, E190, F190, G190, A190, B190, C191, D191, E191, F191, G191, A191, B191, C192, D192, E192, F192, G192, A192, B192, C193, D193, E193, F193, G193, A193, B193, C194, D194, E194, F194, G194, A194, B194, C195, D195, E195, F195, G195, A195, B195, C196, D196, E196, F196, G196, A196, B196, C197, D197, E197, F197, G197, A197, B197, C198, D198, E198, F198, G198, A198, B198, C199, D199, E199, F199, G199, A199, B199, C200, D200, E200, F200, G200, A200, B200, C201, D201, E201, F201, G201, A201, B201, C202, D202, E202, F202, G202, A202, B202, C203, D203, E203, F203, G203, A203, B203, C204, D204, E204, F204, G204, A204, B204, C205, D205, E205, F205, G205, A205, B205, C206, D206, E206, F206, G206, A206, B206, C207, D207, E207, F207, G207, A207, B207, C208, D208, E208, F208, G208, A208, B208, C209, D209, E209, F209, G209, A209, B209, C210, D210, E210, F210, G210, A210, B210, C211, D211, E211, F211, G211, A211, B211, C212, D212, E212, F212, G212, A212, B212, C213, D213, E213, F213, G213, A213, B213, C214, D214, E214, F214, G214, A214, B214, C215, D215, E215, F215, G215, A215, B215, C216, D216, E216, F216, G216, A216, B216, C217, D217, E217, F217, G217, A217, B217, C218, D218, E218, F218, G218, A218, B218, C219, D219, E219, F219, G219, A219, B219, C220, D220, E220, F220, G220, A220, B220, C221, D221, E221, F221, G221, A221, B221, C222, D222, E222, F222, G222, A222, B222, C223, D223, E223, F223, G223, A223, B223, C224, D224, E224, F224, G224, A224, B224, C225, D225, E225, F225, G225, A225, B225, C226, D226, E226, F226, G226, A226, B226, C227, D227, E227, F227, G227, A227, B227, C228, D228, E228, F228, G228, A228, B228, C229, D229, E229, F229, G229, A229, B229, C230, D230, E230, F230, G230, A230, B230, C231, D231, E231, F231, G231, A231, B231, C232, D232, E232, F232, G232, A232, B232, C233, D233, E233, F233, G233, A233, B233, C234, D234, E234, F234, G234, A234, B234, C235, D235, E235, F235, G235, A235, B235, C236, D236, E236, F236, G236, A236, B236, C237, D237, E237, F237, G237, A237, B237, C238, D238, E238, F238, G238, A238, B238, C239, D239, E239, F239, G239, A239, B239, C240, D240, E240, F240, G240, A240, B240, C241, D241, E241, F241, G241, A241, B241, C242, D242, E242, F242, G242, A242, B242, C243, D243, E243, F243, G243, A243, B243, C244, D244, E244, F244, G244, A244, B244, C245, D245, E245, F245, G245, A245, B245, C246, D246, E246, F246, G246, A246, B246, C247, D247, E247, F247, G247, A247, B247, C248, D248, E248, F248, G248, A248, B248, C249, D249, E249, F249, G249, A249, B249, C250, D250, E250, F250, G250, A250, B250, C251, D251, E251, F251, G251, A251, B251, C252, D252, E252, F252, G252, A252, B252, C253, D253, E253, F253, G253, A253, B253, C254, D254, E254, F254, G254, A254, B254, C255, D255, E255, F255, G255, A255, B255, C256, D256, E256, F256, G256, A256, B256, C257, D257, E257, F257, G257, A257, B257, C258, D258, E258, F258, G258, A258, B258, C259, D259, E259, F259, G259, A259, B259, C260, D260, E260, F260, G260, A260, B260, C261, D261, E261, F261, G261, A261, B261, C262, D262, E262, F262, G262, A262, B262, C263, D263, E263, F263, G263, A263, B263, C264, D264, E264, F264, G264, A264, B264, C265, D265, E265, F265, G265, A265, B265, C266, D266, E266, F266, G266, A266, B266, C267, D267, E267, F267, G267, A267, B267, C268, D268, E268, F268, G268, A268, B268, C269, D269, E269, F269, G269, A269, B269, C270, D270, E270, F270, G270, A270, B270, C271, D271, E271, F271, G271, A271, B271, C272, D272, E272, F272, G272, A272, B272, C273, D273, E273, F273, G273, A273, B273, C274, D274, E274, F274, G274, A274, B274, C275, D275, E275, F275, G275, A275, B275, C276, D276, E276, F276, G276, A276, B276, C277, D277, E277, F277, G277, A277, B277, C278, D278, E278, F278, G278, A278, B278, C279, D279, E279, F279, G279, A279, B279, C280, D280, E280, F280, G280, A280, B280, C281, D281, E281, F281, G281, A281, B281, C282, D282, E282, F282, G282, A282, B282, C283, D283, E283, F283, G283, A283, B283, C284, D284, E284, F284, G284, A284, B284, C285, D285, E285, F285, G285, A285, B285, C286, D286, E286, F286, G286, A286, B286, C287, D287, E287, F287, G287, A287, B287, C288, D288, E288, F288, G288, A288, B288, C289, D289, E289, F289, G289, A289, B289, C290, D290, E290, F290, G290, A290, B290, C291, D291, E291, F291, G291, A291, B291, C292, D292, E292, F292, G292, A292, B292, C293, D293, E293, F293, G293, A293, B293, C294, D294, E294, F294, G294, A294, B294, C295, D295, E295, F295, G295, A295, B295, C296, D296, E296, F296, G296, A296, B296, C297, D297, E297, F297, G297, A297, B297, C298, D298, E298, F298, G298, A298, B298, C299, D299, E299, F299, G299, A299, B299, C300, D300, E300, F300, G300, A300, B300, C301, D301, E301, F301, G301, A301, B301, C302, D302, E302, F302, G302, A302, B302, C303, D303, E303, F303, G303, A303, B303, C304, D304, E304, F304, G304, A304, B304, C305, D305, E305, F305, G305, A305, B305, C306, D306, E306, F306, G306, A306, B306, C307, D307, E307, F307, G307, A307, B307, C308, D308, E308, F308, G308, A308, B308, C309, D309, E309, F309, G309, A309, B309, C310, D310, E310, F310, G310, A310, B310, C311, D311, E311, F311, G311, A311, B311, C312, D312, E312, F312, G312, A312, B312, C313, D313, E313, F313, G313, A313, B313, C314, D314, E314, F314, G314, A314, B314, C315, D315, E315, F315, G315, A315, B315, C316, D316, E316, F316, G316, A316, B316, C317, D317, E317, F317, G317, A317, B317, C318, D318, E318, F318, G318, A318, B318, C319, D319, E319, F319, G319, A319, B319, C320, D320, E320, F320, G320, A320, B320, C321, D321, E321, F321, G321, A321, B321, C322, D322, E322, F322, G322, A322, B322, C323, D323, E323, F323, G323, A323, B323, C324, D324, E324, F324, G324, A324, B324, C325, D325, E325, F325, G325, A325, B325, C326, D326, E326, F326, G326, A326, B326, C327, D327, E327, F327, G327, A327, B327, C328, D328, E328, F328, G328, A328, B328, C329, D329, E329, F329, G329, A329, B329, C330, D330, E330, F330, G330, A330, B330, C331, D331, E331, F331, G331, A331, B331, C332, D332, E332, F332, G332, A332, B332, C333, D333, E333, F333, G333, A333, B333, C334, D334, E334, F334, G334, A334, B334, C335, D335, E335, F335, G335, A335, B335, C336, D336, E336, F336, G336, A336, B336, C337, D337, E337, F337, G337, A337, B337, C338, D338, E338, F338, G338, A338, B338, C339, D339, E339, F339, G339, A339, B339, C340, D340, E340, F340, G340, A340, B340, C341, D341, E341, F341, G341, A341, B341, C342, D342, E342, F342, G342, A342, B342, C343, D343, E343, F343, G343, A343, B343, C344, D344, E344, F344, G344, A344, B344, C345, D345, E345, F345, G345, A345, B345, C346, D346, E346, F346, G346, A346, B346, C347, D347, E347, F347, G347, A347, B347, C348, D348, E348, F348, G348, A348, B348, C349, D349, E349, F349, G349, A349, B349, C350, D350, E350, F350, G350, A350, B350, C351, D351, E351, F351, G351, A351, B351, C352, D352, E352, F352, G352, A352, B352, C353, D353, E353, F353, G353, A353, B353, C354, D354, E354, F354, G354, A354, B354, C355, D355, E355, F355, G355, A355, B355, C356, D356, E356, F356, G356, A356, B356, C357, D357, E357, F357, G357, A357, B357, C358, D358, E358, F358, G358, A358, B358, C359, D359, E359, F359, G359, A359, B359, C360, D360, E360, F360, G360, A360, B360, C361, D361, E361, F361, G361, A361, B361, C362, D362, E362, F362, G362, A362, B362, C363, D363, E363, F363, G363, A363, B363, C364, D364, E364, F364, G364, A364, B364, C365, D365, E365, F365, G365, A365, B365, C366, D366, E366, F366, G

of example no. 86 which contains a section in triple time. The mensural bass line consists predominantly of semibreves with minims also employed.

The realizations over the bass notes are conceived with a linear approach, rather than chordal progressions. They are embellishments that consist of *tirate* and *passaggi* and ornaments such as *trilli* are totally absent. To some extent they are similar to the ones found in earlier collections such as Girolamo Dalla Casa's or Francesco Rognoni's,¹⁶ but they are written so as to meet the character and the peculiarities of the theorbo. Imitation plays quite a role (as in example 8.2) and melodic chains appear frequently (example 8.4).

EXAMPLE 8.4: Modena G239, 119, bb. 1–5 [Bagnati no. 82].

Harmonic ornamentation, such as second-inversion chords and $4\ 3$ suspensions in dominant cadential chords is also evident though in many cases it is more a result of melodic activity rather than of vertical realization. This melodic activity is not restricted only to material above the bass line but is equally apparent in the bass line itself (see, for instance, examples 8.3 and 8.5). The bass line, in addition to its functional harmonic support which is frequently emphasized with downwards octave transposition and leaps, plays an additional melodic role equal to that of the upper voice(s). As Nigel North comments,

¹⁶ Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuire* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1584; modern edn. G. Vecchi (ed.), Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1989); Taeggio Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varii passeggi* (Milan: F. Lomazzo, 1620; facs. edn., Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1983).

with this type of writing it is easy to understand why the theorbo was used so often as a melodic bass [instrument] in trio sonatas and other chamber music in seventeenth-century Italy'.¹⁷

The embellishments of 'cadenze finali' reveal a high degree of musicality and they are written extremely well for the theorbo with the constant employment of *strascini* and use of the contrabass courses—a feature absent in Kapsberger's examples. On the other hand, the scarce use of *campanelle* is surprising. Although they are very efficiently presented in the few places they appear (example 8.6), one would expect a more extended use of one of the theorbo's most effective features in such a fine vade mecum.

EXAMPLE 8.5: Modena G239, 103, bb. 11–14 [Bagnati no. 4].

EXAMPLE 8.6: Modena G239, 107, bb. 5–8 [Bagnati no. 30].

The very limited use of *campanelle*, however, and the musical quality of the examples as well as the understanding of the theorbo, might lead to the presumption that 'cadenze finali' were written by a mature player of plucked instruments not yet

¹⁷ North, *Continuo Playing*, 194.

entirely familiar with the advanced technique of *campanella* execution, a technique inextricably intertwined with the theorbo's re-entrant tuning. Thus, Caffagni's assumption that Betracchini compiled Modena G239 becomes stronger, for we know that Betracchini, after dedicating himself principally to the guitar, with his return to his native land towards the end of 1669, he began to practice again the theorbo 'since [he was] somewhat lacking on ... [the execution of] *flourishes* necessary for accompanying'.¹⁸

Such an account makes clear that, even as late as the second half of the seventeenth-century, older performance practices were still well in use. Despite the fact that the interest of the composers was moving more and more towards a vertical approach, elaborate horizontal lines were applied in the accompaniment, and 'cadenze finali' clearly reflect this view. There is no doubt that, in an actual performance, such embellishments are of improvisational character; however, even in this case a player always makes reference to already familiar models and patterns. Therefore, 'cadenze finali' is a collection of *loci communis*, suitable for every need.¹⁹ In that sense they represent a personal idea of linear ornamentation, and they were compiled with an indisputable didactic intention—or autodidactic if we accept Betracchini as the compiler of the manuscript. Thus, the collection of 'cadenze finali' is an extremely valuable reference document for anyone who aims to understand and revive seventeenth-century accompaniment practice.

¹⁸ Luigi-Francesco Valdrighi, 'Pietro Betracchini e altri musicisti del Sec. XVII' (1881; repr. in *Musurgiana (Modena, 1879–86)*, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1970), 203–4; quoted from Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 36.

¹⁹ Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 36.

9. NEW YORK 93-2

Despite the fact that New York 93-2 is the most comprehensive seventeenth-century continuo tutor for the theorbo, it has never attracted any scholar attention. It is absent from the lists of historical manuscript tablatures of Ernst Pohlmann,¹ and the reference to it that appears in RISM,² provides an erroneous description indicating that it is notated in French tablature while the manuscript is in Italian. The same incorrect description also used to appear, until quite recently, in the records of the New York Public Library.³ Due to this lack of appropriate regard a full transcription that retains the original features and layout of the manuscript appears in a separate volume of the present thesis (volume III).

New York 93-2 is an oblong fascicle of 15 × 30 cm, written in black ink. It contains 49 numbered folios with two systems (each consisting of a five-line and a tablature staff) per page, followed by four unnumbered folios without any staves where a table of contents appears. There is no cover for the manuscript or a title. The heading on f. 1 'Introdutioni. / a Note / con Terza Maggiore, e con Terza Minore e Terza Naturale' is the title of the first section. Apart from the fact that the manuscript comes from Italy, for the obvious reason that it is written in Italian language and tablature, any other attempt to define its provenance remains in the sphere of speculation. It was surely

¹ Ernst Pohlmann, *Laute, Theorboe, Chitarrone: die Lauten-Instrumente: ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (5th rev. and enlarged edn., Lilienthal: Eres Edition, 1982).

² Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts of Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), ser. B, vii (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1978), 334.

³ CATNYP: The Online Catalog of The New York Public Library <<http://catnyp.nypl.org/search/d+theorbo/1,8,17,B/frameset&dTheorbo+Methods&2,,3>>, accessed 15 March 1999 was still describing the manuscript as written in French tablature. Since then, the description has at some point been corrected.

compiled during the seventeenth century and almost certainly in the second half because the writing is very sophisticated and shows an impressive knowledge of the instrument. Two facts bear out such an assertion: the sophisticated use of the high register of the instrument and the appearance of complex chords, both extremely rare in the first half of the century.

Concerning the issue of the manuscript's provenance, although there is no direct evidence, various facts point towards a possible link with the region of Bologna. Firstly, the writer employs the hexachord nomenclature, despite the lateness of the manuscript's compilation. The use of the hexachord system was declining during the second half of the seventeenth century as it was not able to meet the requirements of contemporary practice of theory and composition. However, traditions such as those at Naples and Bologna retained the hexachord system until much later. The influential continuo treatise *Li primi albori musicali* of Lorenzo Penna, published in Bologna in 1672, also used the hexachord nomenclature.⁴ Furthermore, it is the strong Bolognese tradition of theorbo playing, especially of continuo playing, which lasted at least as late as 1747, with a theorbo player employed on a permanent basis for the regular musical activities in San Petronio.⁵ Not only the last-ever printed Italian collections for theorbo by Giovanni Pittoni were published in Bologna,⁶ but also almost every Italian print after 1650 requiring theorbo for accompaniment comes from Bologna.⁷

⁴ Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1672). This basso continuo treatise of extraordinary interest was very famous during its time for several reprints appeared in 1674, 1679, 1684 and 1696.

⁵ Anne Schnoebelen, 'Performance Practices at San Petronio in the Baroque', *Acta Musicologica*, 41 (1969), 46.

⁶ Giovanni Pittoni, *Intavolatura di tiorba ... opera prima and opera seconda* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1669; facs. edn., Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1980). The collections were published twenty-nine years after the previous theorbo publication by Kapsberger in 1640.

⁷ See Sayce, 'Development', ii. 323–9.

The property stamp that appears on folio 1 indicates that the manuscript was owned by Auguste Bottée de Toulmon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although nothing is known about the history of the manuscript during the eighteenth century it is interesting to look into a possibility of how Bottée de Toulmon might have acquired New York 93–2. Bottée de Toulmon, a publisher in Paris, was linked with Italian music through his association with Luigi Cherubini, and he acquired various manuscripts of Cherubini's collection. Cherubini, after being awarded a grant in 1778, spent three years with Sarti, a leading figure in late eighteenth-century opera, in Bologna and Milan studying counterpoint and the style of dramatic music.⁸ Giuseppe Sarti was at his best in accompanied recitatives and some of these are 'highly developed and involve several characters in dramatic action: the harmonies are rich, the instruments comment with expressive solo passages ...'.⁹ Having in mind both Cherubini's and Sarti's interest in the accompanied style,¹⁰ as well as the description of Sarti's accompanied recitatives, which is to some extent applicable to the character of the contents of New York 93–2, there is a possibility that the manuscript was acquired by Cherubini while he was in Bologna, brought by him to Paris and thereafter passed into the possession of Bottée de Toulmon. Such a claim is possible but, as mentioned above, remains merely an hypothesis.

New York 93–2 is a complete and extraordinary continuo tutor intended for a fourteen-course theorbo in A, with a re-entrant tuning for the first two courses. It illustrates both the theorbo's chordal and embellishing functions, something that it is evident simply by looking over the headings assigned to the parts into which the

⁸ Michael Fend, 'Cherubini Luigi (Carlo Zanobi Salvatore Maria)', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), v. 572.

⁹ David DiChiera, 'Sarti [Sardi], Giuseppe'. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), xvi. 504.

¹⁰ Both composers wrote pedagogical works on basso continuo. These are Cherubini's *39 figured basses*, 1798 and Sarti's *Trattato del basso generale*, both surviving in manuscript form.

manuscript is divided (table 9.1). Parts two and three deal with various types of embellishments; part four features solely chordal realizations; the first part combines both qualities.

TABLE 9.1: Structure of New York 93–2.

<i>Part</i>	<i>Folio</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1	1	Introduzioni a Note con Terza Maggiore, e con Terza Minore e Terza Naturale	Introduction to notes with the major third, and with the minor and natural third
2	8 ^r	Abbellimenti sopra Note di Cadenze risolte ...	Embellishments over the resolutions of cadential notes ...
2.1	9	Risolutione di Quarta e Terza, e con Settima	Resolution of the fourth and third, and with seventh
2.2	12	Risolutione di Sesta e Quinta falsa	Resolution of the sixth and diminished fifth
2.3	15	Risolutione di Settima e Sesta	Resolution of the seventh and sixth
3	20	Passeggi sopra Note con accompagniam. ^a et a Note di Cadenze	Passages over notes with accompaniments and on cadential notes
4	28	Accompag. ^a ...	[Chordal] accompaniments ...
4.1	28 ^r	Sopra qualsi voglia Note con ogni accidenti, et in quante forme, modi e maniere possimo tromarsi e formarsi sopra la Tastatura di Tiorba.	Over any notes with their accidentals, and in as many forms, modes and styles as can be found and based upon the fingerboard of the theorbo
4.2	47 ^r	Con Risolutione di Settime, e Seste legate, et unite	With the resolution of the sevenths and sixths tied together

Part one: *Introduzioni*

According to the heading, the first part contains what the compiler of the manuscript regards as the introductory material, the basics for the theorbo

accompaniment. The part is organized in tonic centres according to the nominal sequence of diatonic notes and the character of the third above them,¹¹ departing from note G and moving upwards. One page is devoted to each tonic centre, with its denomination placed vertically at the left edge of each page. The fundamental bass notes are presented on the mensural staff line, with both F⁴ and C⁴ clefs and in different octaves.

In the tablature staff various types of realizations above the fundamental bass note appear. The first imperative of the compiler is to present the chordal realization in root position which functions as the tonic centre. The chord appears in various positions, though not in all the possible ones and, sometimes, some of the main ones are neglected. The writer obviously seeks more to define the character of the chord rather than to show every possible position on the instrument. As is the case with Kapsberger's tables of chordal realizations (see chapter 5.3, pp. 85–6), the realization of the chords is not dependent on the pitch of the mensural notation (and vice versa), but there is a liberal use of octaves (see, for instance, appendix III, p. 2). Once the tonic centre is established, phenomena designated as *durezze* (*durezza* = 'harshness'), *arpeggi* and *ribattute* (*ribattuta* = 'restrike') come along, followed by embellishments such as *campanelle*, *passaggi* and *groppi*. It is remarkable that the compiler of the manuscript considers embellishing as a fundamental principle for the accompaniment, introducing it alongside the basic knowledge of chordal realization. Essentially, this is a testimony to the prevalent taste for improvised execution of embellishments during the seventeenth

¹¹ As the manuscript follows the theory of hexachords, B^b is not considered as a chromatic note but as an integral element of the system. The character of the thirds above the functional notes is not defined precisely according to the modern major and minor approach. The thirds constituted with the diatonic notes of the mode are defined as 'natural thirds' and they can be either major or minor (e.g. C-E and D-F are both described as 'natural thirds'). Designations 'major' and 'minor' are employed in the cases when the third above the bass bears an accidental. The only exception is the treatment of the third above note G because of the mutable step B/B^b. In that case the third G-B is described as 'major', while G-B^b as 'minor'.

century. Furthermore, it is evidence of the importance attached to this type of execution from the very beginning of the educational procedure in the seventeenth century.

Revealing the character of the designations *durezza*, *arpeggio* and *ribattute* is not necessarily a straightforward task because, apart from the actual pitch of the stock chords, there is no allusion to rhythmic values or manner of execution. Nonetheless, it is evident that they all share one common characteristic: they all are multiple dissonances associated with either tonic or dominant chords. To start with *durezza*, as it arises from table 9.2, these are principally $\begin{smallmatrix} 7+ \\ 5 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix}$ chords which resolve onto the tonic. In one case it is a $\begin{smallmatrix} 7+ \\ 5 \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix}$ chord (9.2a), which essentially does not make any difference; while in two other occasions (9.2e and 9.2l) it is a $\begin{smallmatrix} 7+ \\ 6 \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix}$ chord.

TABLE 9.2: Comparative table of dissonances designated as *durezza* in New York 93-2.

The image displays musical notation for Table 9.2, showing dissonances designated as *durezza* in New York 93-2. The notation is organized into two systems, each with seven examples (a-g and h-n). Each example consists of three staves: a bass staff, a grand staff (treble and bass clefs), and a figured bass staff. The figured bass staff contains numerical figures and some chord symbols in brackets. The examples are labeled a) through n).

Examples a) through g) are in the first system. Examples h) through n) are in the second system. The figured bass staff for examples a) and h) shows figures 7 7. Examples b) and i) show figures 7 7. Examples c) and j) show figures i2 i2. Examples d) and k) show figures [ij] ij. Examples e) and l) show figures [9] 9. Examples f) and m) show figures 9. Examples g) and n) show figures 8.

The possibility of a scribal error in 9.2e and 9.2l seems to be out of question because the presence of two *g*, on both occasions, reveals the scribe's wish for the sixth above the

bass. Anyway, these shapes, which are quite similar in character, were used on occasions in late-seventeenth century accompanied recitative.

Unfortunately, there is no indication in the manuscript as to whether the designation *durezza* was related to any particular manner of execution. The Bolognese Alessandro Piccinini, using the same term a few decades earlier, made the following description:

when the music is full of dissonances (*durezza*) it comes out very well for a change to play sometimes as they do in Naples, restriking (*ribattono*) many times the same dissonance (*dissonante*), now soft, now loud, and the harsher it is the more they repeat it; really, such a playing comes out better in practice than in words, particularly when one likes expressive playing.¹²

Whether Piccinini and the compiler of New York 93-2 had the same perception of *durezza* is not ascertainable. What is certain is that, for both, the use of the term *durezza* is related to expressiveness, with Piccinini stating so and the manuscript's scribe applying it to describe tense chords.

The principal idea of chords that bear the designation *arpeggio* is that they have to be dominant chords with a seventh leading to the tonic (volume III, p. 12). On two occasions (volume III, pp. 5 and 7), the root of the dominant chord is omitted; while more frequently (volume III, pp. 2, 3, 4, 10 and 11) the dominant is realized over the tonic, thus providing a $\frac{7+}{\frac{5}{4} \ 2}$ chord. On one occasion (volume III, p. 9) only the tonic appears and the lack of the dominant seems to be a scribal omission. In essence chords with the designation *arpeggio* are similar in character (if not identical) to those designated as *durezza*. As is evident from the term *arpeggio*, its use is certainly linked with a particular way of execution which is nothing more than the successive sounding

¹² Piccinini, *Intavolatura*, 1: 'dove la musica è piena di durezza, per variate riesce molto buono suonare alle volte, come s'usa à Napoli, che alle durezza ribattono più volte quell'istessa dissonanza hor piano, & hor forte, e quando è più dissonante, tanto più la ribattono, ma veramente questo suonare nesce meglio in fatti, che in parole, e particolarmente a chi gusta il suonare affetuoso'.

of a chordally-conceived group of notes. When talking about arpeggiation on the theorbo, the first thing that comes to mind is Kapsberger's right-hand fingering pattern of arpeggiation. That pattern was a result of the physical development of the theorbo and, after it was standardized for the theorbo, it was also applied to other plucked instruments.¹³ Hence, applying this fingering pattern to some indicative *arpeggio* examples, the result would be as in example 9.1.

EXAMPLE 9.1: Kapsberger's fingering pattern applied in *arpeggio* examples from New York 93–2; (a) f. 1', (b) f. 3, (c) f. 6'.

Kapsberger's pattern, however, should not be considered as the only option for arpeggiation. Arpeggiation is not merely a technical phenomenon; it is an embellishment that gains meaning only within a musical context and depends on the performer's personal taste.

Concerning the designation *ribattute*, this must also indicate a distinct manner of execution and in particular of restriking chords, as the term indicates. Any attempt,

¹³ For the formation and evolution of Kapsberger's fingering pattern see Kitsos, 'Arpeggiated Chords', 58–61.

however, to provide a definite description of such an execution is futile. The way of restriking chords, and especially dissonant ones, is a matter that has puzzled many modern scholars because the surviving evidence is insufficient.¹⁴ Concerning the nature of the chords that bear the designation *ribattute*, these display the widest variety in comparison with those designated *durezze* and *arpeggio*. In three cases (volume III, pp. 2, 4 and 7) they are dominant $\overset{6}{5}$ chords with a suspension on the leading note; on two occasions (pp. 3 and 5) they are diminished seventh chords (which have a dominant-chord function) while in another one—which, although it lacks designation, could be subsumed into the class of *ribattute*—the diminished chord is resolved onto the tonic (p. 6); in two instances (pp. 8, 15) they are $\overset{7+}{5}$ / $\overset{7+}{4}$ / $\overset{7+}{2}$ chords resolved onto the tonic, while in another (p. 14) it is a $\overset{7+}{5}$ / $\overset{7+}{4}$ chord also resolving to the tonic; finally, on one occasion (p. 9), it seems to be a flat-fifth chord with a suspension on the leading note.¹⁵

As loose is the use of terms such as *durezza*, *dissonanza*, *arpeggio* or *(ri)battuta* by seventeenth-century writers, equally loose is their use in New York 93–2. The designation *durezze*, however, seems to focus the attention rather on the harmonic texture of a chord—and in particular the dominant over the tonic—while *arpeggio* and *ribattute*, almost certainly, spotlight performing techniques for dissonant chords, almost always of dominant character. Although the manuscript does not offer specific instructions on such performing techniques, it presents evidence that dissonant harmonies received special treatment in order to stress their intensity.

The chordal realizations of each tonic centre are followed by various linear embellishments. These embellishments bear the designations *passaggio*, *grosso* and *campanelle* and occasionally they have tempo or expression indications such as *presto*,

¹⁴ See prob. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, "The Art of "not Leaving the Instrument Empty", *Early Music*, 11 (1983), 300.

¹⁵ The original realization does not seem to make any musical sense therefore suggesting a copying error; see commentary in volume III, p. iv.

piano or *forte* (see, for instance, volume III, pp. 12 and 15). The embellishments do not display any rhythmic indication and, therefore, we can presume that the rhythmic interpretation was left to the performer and in relation to the musical texture to which they should be applied. Furthermore, they are segmented with small vertical lines, one of two-space length that presumably indicates phrases, and another of one-space length that seems to suggest segments within phrases.¹⁶ These fragments are usually self-contained and they can be used in a musical context either on their own or together with other.

The *passaggi* in New York 93–2 are of an improvisatory character, quite similar to the ones found in Modena G239. They often pass over the contrabass courses (see, for instance, volume III, p. 5, second system, bb. 2–3) and they broadly feature *strascini* and the *campanella* technique (see, for instance, volume III, p. 2, second system, bb. 1–2). In addition they include signs of left-hand ornaments such as vibrato and *trillo*,¹⁷ elements absent from Modena G239. The use of the designation *campanelle* is evidence that it is describing the harp-like effect which results from the dividing of step-related notes amongst different courses because they blend one into the other. However, the designation is never used when the *campanella* technique is applied. The term *campanella* is used exclusively to signify the single alternation of one note with an auxiliary a step below and with the notes placed on different courses, thus narrowing its meaning (see, for instance, volume III, p. 2, first system, bb. 5–7). Finally, the designation *grosso* is used to describe melodic shapes that are based on the alternation of one note with the pair of upper and lower notes, once again by using the *campanella* technique. The turn, in most cases, starts from the upper auxiliary note and the number, as well as the order, of the alternations varies (see example 9.2).

¹⁶ These lines will hereafter be treated as barlines.

¹⁷ For a definition of left-hand ornament signs, see volume III, pp. iii–iv of the present thesis.

EXAMPLE 9.2: *Groppo* examples from New York 93–2; (a) f. 3^v, (b) f. 6^v, (c) f. 7^v.

Part two: *Risolutione*

The second part of the manuscript deals with the melodic embellishment of chords that lead to a cadence. It is divided into three sections (see also table 9.1): cadences where the bass moves with the interval of an ascending fourth or descending fifth, with an added $4\ 3$ suspension, with or without a seventh; cadences with the bass moving upwards by a semitone with an added $6\ 5$ figuration; and cadences where the bass moves a step downwards with an added $7\ 6$ suspension. The three sections, in terms of presentation and embellishment, do not receive the same treatment.

The first section is organized by the ascending order of diatonic notes, starting with the note G, and with chromatic notes placed towards the end. The mensural figured bass is given in an F⁴ clef, with the embellished tablature realization placed below it. Throughout this part the only embellishment used is that of *campanella*, in the narrow sense described above, of the single alternation of the one note with its auxiliary below. The reason for this is the fact that all the cadences follow two specific recurrent procedures in the realization: all cadences with a $4\ 3$ suspension are realized with a straight dominant chord and its fifth embellished with a *campanella*, followed by another *campanella* on the third of the tonic and the tonic; all cadences with a 7, in addition to a $4\ 3$ suspension, are realized in the same way but with the *campanelle* applied on the root notes of the tonic and the dominant (see volume III, pp. 17–22).

Concerning the cadences with a solely $4\ 3$ figuring, the fact that the suspension does not appear in the realization leads to the conclusion that the figuring does not indicate to the accompanist what to play but that it is a sign of what a singer or another instrumentalist performs. In that case the accompaniment does not interfere with the upper line but, on the contrary, reinforces the dominant $5\ 4$ dissonance and embellishes the third of the tonic, a note that the upper voice would not perform because it would have to resolve the leading note to the tonic. The case is similar for cadences with a 7 . The accompaniment reinforces the $8\ 7$ dissonance, leaves out the third of the tonic that would exist in the upper part as a resolution of the dissonant seventh, and embellishes the tonic. Hence, those examples reveal a taste for the omission of the resolution of dissonances,¹⁸ in particular when the resolution is the third of the chord. As for the fact that, despite the $4\ 3$ suspension, a straight dominant chord appears at the beginning of every example, there are various justifications: firstly, the chord might have been intended as an indicative detail of the harmony, not expected to be used in an actual performance; secondly, it would fit well if the dissonant fourth of the upper part would be ornamented; furthermore, as this is a very common feature in guitar *alfabeto* accompaniment, such a discrepancy was either bearable or was expected to be performed in a different way than written.

The second section deals with the realization of flat-fifth chords that are resolved onto a major chord. A sixth always precedes the diminished fifth and, in essence, it is a first inversion dominant with a passing diminished fifth leading to a cadence. In any case, the compiler of the manuscript considers this effect as a suspension because he assigns the description 'Risolutione di Sesta e Quinta falsa' (resolution of the sixth and diminished fifth). The examples, unlike in the previous section, are ordered according to chromatic ascending movement, starting from the note G. One or more chordal

¹⁸ This consistent with Werckmeister's account quoted in chapter 5, p. 61 n.

realizations are presented for each example, followed by embellishments which are not limited to *campanelle* but they also feature *groppi* and *passaggi*. The choice of the type of embellishment used is random; there is no intentional avoidance of any particular notes, and therefore the improvisatory character of the embellishments is apparent. It is obvious that this section receives a liberal treatment because the harmonic phenomenon it deals with is not very tense, as was the case in the previous section.

Equally liberal is also the approach in the chordal realizations. The chord voicing is of secondary consideration as, in some cases, 6 chords are realized in root position, and the voice-leading is awkward (see, for instance, volume III, p. 24, second system, bb. 2–3). The possibility of a scribal mistake is non-existent. The compiler of the manuscript masters the theorbo's re-entrant tuning to overlook such infelicities and, besides, if he was offended by the chord voicing, all he had to do was to supply solely the 'correct' realization that he anyway provides in the previous bar. Consequently, his prime concern was focused on the harmonic character of the chord and not on the literal realization of the figuring.

The third and last section of part one is devoted to the realization of cadences with $^7\ ^6$ suspensions. This section is the lengthiest of the three because it presents a range of variant types of $^7\ ^6$ suspensions (major seventh/major sixth, minor seventh/major sixth, major seventh/augmented sixth). Like the previous section, the examples start with the note G and they are ordered according to chromatic ascending movement. Similarly, one or more chordal realizations are presented for each example, followed by various types of embellishments. The overall approach in the realizations is similar to the one of the previous section, with occasionally loose consideration of the chord voicing, and embellishments of an improvisatory character.

Part three: *Passeggi*¹⁹

The third part of the manuscript is ordered according to the diatonic ascending sequence of notes starting, once again, from note G. The use of chromatic notes is limited to B^b and E^b, which are presented straight after their naturals. The part is not entirely devoted to passages, as one might expect from the title, but deals also with chordal realization of, almost exclusively, first inversion chords figuring patterns that are related to dominant-seventh chords. However, the most interesting feature of the part—and obviously the reason for the emphasis given in the title—is the relation between figuring and the passages provided. Unlike the embellishments presented so far, the ones here are entirely applied to the notes given in the figuring. The $4\ 3$ suspension, for example, which was in part two avoided in the accompaniment, here appears not only in the accompaniment but is also heavily ornamented (see, for instance, volume III, p. 45, second system). Examples of ornamental passages are applied primarily to (3) $4\ 3$ figuring, but they are also to be found on other figures too (see, for instance, p. 40).

A matter of peculiar interest in part three is the existence of an example—the only one in the entire manuscript—that displays rhythmic signs in the tablature (volume III, pp. 52–3). This is an individual example for it is not applied on the $\begin{matrix} 6 & 5 & 5 & 7 \\ 4 & 4 & \#3 & 3 \end{matrix}$ figuring, which has already been realized chordally, but it functions as a cadential cue. Instrumental cadential cues were a common feature in seventeenth-century Italian cantata. Their use must have not been applied merely to places where they are noted in the accompaniment but they were also, quite often, to be improvised; the example in pp. 52–3 was obviously intended to demonstrate such a practice. This example was presumably composed after careful consideration because it features most of the effective qualities already presented in the manuscript: passages employing the *campanella* technique (p. 52, first system, b. 2) and *strascini* (p. 53, b. 3), *grosso* (p. 52, second

¹⁹ *Passeggi* is a different spelling for *passaggi*.

system, b. 2), *campanelle* (p. 53, b. 2), left-hand ornaments (p. 52, first system, b. 3 and second system, b. 1), and the designation *ribattuta* for a diminished fifth/diminished seventh chord (p. 52, first system, b. 3). This chord has the value of a minim, thus allowing enough space for an effective restriking. Furthermore, the rhythmic variety of the example should be noted, as well as the reappearance and establishment of the $\begin{matrix} 6 & 5 & 5 & 7 \\ 4 & 4 & \#3 & 3 \end{matrix}$ cadential pattern in a different left-hand fingering position (p. 53, bb. 1–2).

Part four: *Accompagnamenti*

The last part of the manuscript is entirely devoted to chordal realization. It contains tables that show the realization of a selection of chord figures (volume III, pp. 56–93) and also displays descending scales harmonized with $7\ 6$ suspensions (pp. 94–8). Without a doubt, it is the most comprehensive surviving chord reference manual not only from Italy but also the rest of Europe.

The arrangement of the tables is simple and practical. Each table provides almost every necessary chord shape on a particular bass note for the accompaniment of seventeenth-century Italian music. From simple root position chords to more complicated figures such as $\begin{matrix} 7+ \\ 5 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$, one or more possible realizations are provided, in various positions and fingerings. The tables, each occupying two pages, are ordered according to the ascending chromatic sequence, starting from note *G* and going as far as *e'*. A table for note *G#* is, however, omitted for the obvious reason it is not available on the instrument the manuscript was intended for. Occasionally the mensural bass notes are doubled by their octaves (ascending or descending), attesting the tolerant treatment of the actual bass pitch (see, for instance, p. 56, bb. 1–2 and p. 85, bb. 1–9). The full register of the instrument is used and chord shapes extend up to the eleventh fret (see, for instance, p. 56, b. 1). The number of voices per chord varies from three to six according to the character and the position of the chord. However, with the exception of chords in root position, there is a tendency to use only the necessary number of voices

needed to disclose the harmony. Four-part harmonization is not the object because, on the theorbo, three-voice chords are very effective and offer a full sonority.

Up to and including the table of note *e*, the realizations are excellent in terms of chord voicing. From the next table, however, incorrect inversions appear (p. 75, second system, b. 7), and the higher the mensural bass goes, the more such chord voicing infelicities are present (see, for instance, p. 89). The same disregard for the correct chord inversion is apparent in the contemporary continuo tutors published in France by Nicolas Fleury, Angelo Michele Bartolomi and Henry Grenerin.²⁰ The explanation given by modern scholarship to the inversion problems in these tutors is the fact that they 'all appear to have been compiled in a hurry, to meet the demand of the theorbo as it sprang to popularity in Paris in around 1660'.²¹ Even if this is a plausible explanation²² for the French tutors, how can one justify the chord voicing infelicities in New York 93–2? The overall writing for the theorbo in the manuscript indicates that the compiler mastered the peculiarities of the re-entrant theorbo tuning and, therefore, it is unlikely that he overlooked so many incorrect inversions. Equally improbable is the possibility that he intentionally ignored such discrepancies in order to make his tutor easy and accessible for a student; elsewhere he constantly uses difficult (for a beginner) positions in the high register of the instrument. Furthermore, as he often transposes chords an octave lower, he could easily do the same here to avoid faulty inversions.

²⁰ Nicolas Fleury, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement à toucher le théorbe sur la basse-continue* (Paris: R. Ballard, 1660; facs. edn., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1972); Angelo Michele Bartolomi, *Table pour apprendre facilement à toucher le théorbe sur la basse continue* (Paris: n.pub., 1669); Henry Grenerin, *Livre de théorbe ...* (Paris, by the author, [c.1680]; facs. edn., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1984).

²¹ North, *Continuo Playing*, 161.

²² It is generally assumed that the continuo principle was disseminated in France in the 1640s and 1650s and the theorbo after the middle of the century. However, modern scholarship shows that they were both in use well before that time, from the first decades of the century. See, Jonathan Le Cocq, 'The Early *Air de Cour*, the Theorbo, and the Continuo Principle in France' in Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (eds.), *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, forthcoming 2005), 191–207.

Aiming for the best style in the performance it is unthinkable for a modern musician to accept the fact that 'wrong' inversions were tolerable in the seventeenth-century theorbo accompaniment. Nevertheless, the fact that they are more or less present in almost every source from Kapsberger's accompaniments to New York 93-2 it is quite possible that at least they could be inoffensive, especially if the performer had the prowess to beguile the listener's attention with his control of technique and style. In particular, concerning the 'wrong' inversions in New York 93-2, it is characteristic that all of them present the actual bass note on the lowest course, which was expected to be performed by the strongest finger of the right hand, the thumb. This way the actual bass note is stronger than the others and it can be emphasized further with the appliance of arpeggiation. With the proper bass note coming first and on the beat, the chord voicing issue can be partially overcome.

As far it is possible to tell, New York 93-2 is the most complete surviving Italian seventeenth-century source for theorbo continuo playing and, most probably, the latest.²³ It must have been compiled during the last three decades of the century because its maturity and the sophisticated theorbo writing indicates that it has been compiled after Modena G239.²⁴ Although it was compiled with an evident educational purpose, it does not display the usual compromises expected to be found in tutors intended for students as, in many occasions, a high level of skill is required. From that point of view, it might have been intended for a player who was already familiar with lute-family instruments or for a trainee who was expected to follow professional career. Both the chordal and ornamental qualities of the theorbo are demonstrated with an expertise that

²³ Sources that deal with theorbo's continuo playing do exist from the eighteenth century with the latest that of Filippo Dalla Casa's *Regole di musica* (c.1759); Bologna, Civico Museo Bibl. Mus. Ms EE155 (fac. edn., Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1984).

²⁴ Unfortunately, the examination of the original manuscript, which might reveal a more precise dating, has not been possible. The present study has been based on a microfilm copy provided by the New York Public Library.

is usually found only in sources that contain solo music. The chordal examples contain realizations of complex harmonies not present anywhere else, and the ornamental examples are infused with a variety of effective features such as *groppi*, *campanelle*, *strascini*, or left-hand ornaments. Additional importance is added to the manuscript by the fact that it was compiled in period that the theorbo playing in Italy had reached maturity and there was not much room for development. Although the theorbo continued to be used as late as the 1750s, its importance was declining as it was not able to meet the demands of contemporary textures.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The last few decades have witnessed a growing interest in the use of the lute-family instruments—and particularly the theorbo—for the performance of basso continuo. A close study of seventeenth-century Italian sources that contain intabulated continuo accompaniments for the theorbo reveals a far more complicated and colourful style than that of the four-part keyboard-centred realizations that are presented in the majority of modern editions. In fact, such realizations were not the standard even for keyboard accompaniments¹ but it is rather a modern concept resulting from the exceptional attention which mid- and late-eighteenth-century keyboard continuo treatises have received from twentieth-century performers and scholars. Even if, for the seventeenth century, harmony was the most effective medium through which the passions were expressed in music and therefore the prime concern in the accompaniment, various other aspects such as diminutions or embellishments were also playing quite an important role. Although there is a tendency to believe that, all of a sudden, around 1600, music passed from polyphony to homophony, this transition started much earlier and lasted well into the seventeenth century. The coexistence of those two styles is well demonstrated in the surviving theorbo continuo accompaniments and tutors; and in combination with various other features associated with the peculiarities of the instrument, an idiomatic and multifarious accompanying style emerged. Despite the fact that the surviving seventeenth-century Italian sources display a variety of styles, forms, dating and provenances, it is possible to draw several conclusions that resemble the theorbo's accompanying style.

¹ See, for instance, Lars Ulrik Mortensen, "Unerringly Tasteful?": Harpsichord Continuo in Corelli's Op. 5 Sonatas', *Early Music*, 24 (1996), 665–79.

The bass line was an essential component of seventeenth-century composition because along with the solo part(s) they constituted the framework of the work. The significance of the bass line is evident in all the intabulated song accompaniments that contain a mensural bass line. Without exception, all the intabulations exhibit the imperative necessity for the conservation of the mensural bass line's integrity by reproducing it more or less unaltered in the accompaniment. Any occasional modifications serve the purpose of emphasizing the actual character of the bass line: these are the addition of octave leaps and the breaking of long values to smaller ones that provide harmonic and rhythmic articulation, the downwards octave transposition (or duplication) of single notes or passages, and the addition of passing notes between leaps. Although additional passing notes are not very common in these intabulations, their use must have been far more extended judging from the theorbo's employment as a melodic bass or an 'ornamental' instrument, as well as from the ornamental examples found in Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone*, Modena G239 and New York 93-2. Their use must have depended on factors such as the player's ability and inventiveness, the genre of the music, or the number and the combination of instruments involved in the accompaniment.

Unlike the modern idea that music has to be performed at the notated pitch, the downward octave transposition of the bass line must have been common in the seventeenth century, and particularly essential for the theorbo accompaniment. On the one hand, it is required by the theorbo's limited ability to play in high registers. On the other hand, seventeenth-century script and printing, which rarely indicates notes below the first ledger line, is deficient in notating the theorbo's low register—so greatly praised by the writers of the time. The restraint that the notation creates is evident in many seventeenth-century bass lines where octave leaps occur in melodies intended to be conjunct and where one would expect the use of transposition as long as the instrument offers this possibility.

The transposition of the bass is inextricably intertwined with the resonance of the instrument. Lower basses offer full support because they increase the volume and the sonority of the theorbo; furthermore, they allow the use of low positions on the fingerboard for the upper parts of the accompaniment which are the positions where the instrument sounds more effective. Vice versa, a full sound in the accompaniment is normally achieved by the use of fingerboard low positions and therefore lower basses. As is evident in all the sources, chord voicing and spacing depends on what sounds better on the instrument and not strictly on the notated pitch. For the sake of achieving full resonance, occasional 'wrong' chord inversions must have been accepted to a certain extent. Although it is very difficult for a modern player or scholar to accept such a view, the recurrent 'wrong' inversions, from the very early continuo sources to the later ones, as well as in solo theorbo music collections, are hardly explained by the oversight of the re-entrant tuning or by the account that all these documents were intended for amateurs. On the other hand, as awkward as erroneous chord inversions may be for the modern ears, they would sound similarly uncomfortable in the seventeenth century and therefore it must have been up to the performer to find ways to beguile the attention of the listeners with ploys such as arpeggiation, different dynamics within the notes of the chord, strumming, or broken style.

Concerning the chordal accompaniment, comparing Kapsberger's realizations in his *villanelle* and *arie* collections, it is evident that the accompanying style strongly depends on the nature of the music. Whereas the simplicity of style of light strophic genres is mirrored in the accompaniment, in through-composed songs the accompaniment exhibits a more sophisticated approach: the harmonic language is richer with more dissonant chords and more elaborate cadential sequences, and there is some melodic activity, which, however, never interferes with the solo vocal part. The number of voices per chord varies from two to six. Thinner textures are usually applied when there is activity on the bass line or in fast tempi, while fuller chords are used on sustained bass

notes and cadential sequences. In addition to full chords, the restriking of chords when the sound dies is imperative in order to support the soloist(s), a feature used by Kapsberger as is evident in example 10.1. Normally the restriking is done in relation to the phrasing or the stress of the words and the spreading of chords is expected in order to keep the sound of the instrument alive.

EXAMPLE 10.1: 'Tu che pallido' Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie*, 26, b. 28–31.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: voice, piano, and Chitarone. The voice part is in a soprano clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The lyrics are 'dol (ce)'. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with chords. The Chitarone part is shown as a six-line staff with tablature, including 'x' marks below the lines, indicating where the strings are struck to sustain the sound.

The restriking of chords is also evident on the dissonances of cadential (3) 4 3 suspensions though there it is done in order to emphasize the dissonance. Cadential suspensions are added at will in the accompaniment, and, even if the dissonant note and its resolution appear in the solo part, they are doubled by the accompaniment. The doubling of the upper part(s) must have been a controversial issue because, as much as it is apparent that some musicians did not favour it, it was used systematically by others. The occasional doubling of the upper part(s) is ubiquitous in all the intabulated accompaniments of the seventeenth century and it must be considered as a remnant of the sixteenth-century lute song intabulation practice.

Regarding the type of chords used in the accompaniment, when this is not implied by the upper voice(s), there is a tendency for the use of the root position rather than the first inversion, and an obvious preference for the major third in interior or final cadences. Chordal successions every now and then feature parallel fifths and octaves

which, in a modern realization, would definitely be avoided. Despite the fact that such a parallel motion was generally deprecated in the early seventeenth-century, it was theoretically acceptable in the accompaniment. As Viadana, among others, states, 'the accompaniment (*La Partitura*) is never under any obligation to avoid two [parallel] fifths, or two octaves, but the parts sung by the voices are'.² In any case, the poor aural result of parallel motion can easily be overcome by the employment of arpeggiation.

The toleration of parallel motion in theorbo accompaniments is also part of a broader loose notion concerning voice-leading. From time to time, dissonant sevenths are not resolved a second lower, as would be expected, but a seventh higher. This is not only evident in the early seventeenth-century song accompaniments and tutors but also happens in New York 92–3 which dates from the last decades of the century. Therefore, for the theorbo, proper voice-leading is not an end in itself, as it normally is for the harpsichord, presumably because it is more important to form the chords where they sound more sonorous. Moreover, the theorbo has qualities the harpsichord lacks, such as greater dynamics and different tone colours, that, if used in style, can beguile the attention from improper voice-leading.

One feature that is not directly evident in the theorbo intabulated accompaniments is *tasto solo*. On occasion, playing simply the bass line on the theorbo can be very effective as it can provide a full, resonant sound and the required support for the solo part(s). Indirect evidence that *tasto solo* was an option used in the accompaniment are bb. 13–17 of Kapsberger's 'Sù desta i fiori' (appendix I, part I.2): the accompaniment essentially consists of two parts with the upper part simply doubling the solo voice and, therefore, the only effective contribution by the theorbo part is the execution of the bass line. Furthermore, one would expect the theorbo usage as a bass line instrument to have some impact on the style of solo-theorbo accompaniment.

² Viadana, *Cento concerti*, preface: 'che non sarà mai in obbligo La Partitura guardasi da due quinte, nè da due ottuave, mai si bene le parti, che si cantano con le voci'.

Although not evident in the intabulated song accompaniments, the execution of flourishing passages and ornaments must have been an essential, constitutive element of theorbo accompaniment throughout the seventeenth century. The chordal support was indeed the priority of basso continuo accompaniment, though there was always enough space for linear ornamentation, the excess use of which, quite often, raised the discontent of many writers of the time. The art of counterpoint—and therefore the tradition of linear ornamentation—was not forgotten throughout the seventeenth century, and a continuo player was expected to have thorough familiarity with counterpoint, as indicated, among others, by Lorenzo Penna:

... and does not everybody know that Counterpoint is the Theory of Music, and playing the Organ from a bass part is the Practice of it; therefore before the latter is done, it is necessary, although not sufficient, to learn the former.³

The three surviving theorbo sources (Kapsberger's *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone*, Modena G239, and New York 93–2) that contain collections of ornamental passages demonstrate the widespread taste for, as Mirko Caffagni calls it, a 'basso diminuito' accompaniment.⁴ As the accompaniment must never interfere with the solo part(s), such diminutions should be applied in accordance with the music or text setting, on rests or sustained notes of the solo, and cadential cues, which must have been improvised lavishly.

The examples found in these three collections display various effective features of the theorbo such as *campanelle* and *strascini*, and they differ in style for the obvious reason that they reflect each writer's personal taste of ornamentation. Their pedagogical intention is apparent and they reflect the educational procedure of improvisation which

³ Penna, *Li primi albori*, preface to the third book: '... e chi non sà, che il Contarapunto è la Teorica della Musica, & il suonare l'Organo sù la Parte, è la Prattica di essa; dunque prima di questa è necessario, se bene non *simpliciter*, non di meno *segundum quid* l'apprender quella'. Quotation and translation from Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer, 'Del suonare sopra il basso: Concerning the Realization of Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Unfigured Bases', *Performance Practice Review*, 10 (1997), 82.

⁴ Caffagni, 'Modena Tiorba Continuo Manuscript', 37.

is based on learning figures by memory. Under this perspective, however, they should not be considered merely as examples for imitation by amateurs or students. They must have served additionally as mnemonic models to be used by advanced players in an actual performance. The fact that the examples are not applied into musical context, and in the case of New York 93–2 do not display any rhythmic indication, supports that view. Improvisation is not necessarily a spontaneous phenomenon but it usually makes reference to models and patterns already known and practised. It is easy to picture Philippe Venneulen, a young lutenist from the Low Countries sent to Rome in 1612 to learn the art of playing the theorbo, ‘from the morning to the evening locked in his room practising’ and memorizing such ornamental models.

Whether intended for an actual performance or written with an educational purpose, either aimed at the amateur or at the professional, the sources that contain intabulated examples of continuo realizations constitute a valuable guide that can help the modern performer and scholar to identify the traditions and conventions of seventeenth-century continuo practice. Their examination shows that the accompanying style developed on the theorbo was multifarious and idiomatic, inextricably intertwined with the peculiarities and the historical evolution of the instrument. It is true that many of the features present in these sources, such as ‘wrong’ inversions, parallel octaves and fifths, or voice-leading, are diametrically opposed to our modern aesthetics, and whether they should be applied into modern performances is still under discussion. Seen in a context of historical faithfulness, such features should indeed be accepted. However, the aim of a modern performer should not be the injudicious exertion of historical information which might result in an inferior performance but the directed use of knowledge towards an effective and pleasing performance. If by indulging ‘wrong’ inversions, parallel motion or incorrect voice-leading other considerable qualities are

³ Coelho, ‘Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation’, 124.

gained, then there is no reason to avoid them; by no means, however, should they be used as 'historically informed excuses' for poor performances. Historically informed performance, as Mary Cyr states, should not limit 'the boundaries within which good performances may fall ... [but it] may even expand interpretive boundaries for modern performers by leading them to explore techniques no longer in use today'.⁶

In the seventeenth century, the balance between written score and interpretation was different from what it is today. Seventeenth-century performers were expected not only to vary the score but, in some cases, were required to invent new parts. This principle is obvious in the basso continuo, the notation of which provides only the absolutely essential information to the accompanist who is obliged to produce the accompaniment based on a number of specific stylistic conventions. By definition, basso continuo is an improvisational and interactive *modus operandi* which depends on various flexible factors such as the place of performance, the number and quality of the performing force, or personal taste, and which must anticipate the different conditions that may arise in performance. Given that, any expectations for a definite accompanying style emanating from the intabulated theorbo continuo sources would be unrealistic. Nonetheless, all these sources are particularly valuable guides for modern performers and scholars who want to comprehend continuo practice of the seventeenth century. They provide information about the aesthetic context of the time by demonstrating a person's response to continuo under specific circumstances, and ideas that can be applied into modern performances. Most importantly, it becomes evident that accompaniment on the theorbo was strongly dependent on the instrument's peculiarities, emphasising that continuo playing was more complicated, diverse and colourful than we tend to think.

⁶ Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 23.

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