Journal

of the Lute Society of America

John Griffiths
Editor

Volume LIV ISSN 0076-1524 2021

Journal of the Lute Society of America

John Griffiths
Editor

Editorial Team
John Cassidy, Copy Editor
John Orluk Lacombe, Typography and Layout

Editorial Board
Paul Beier, *Civica Scuola di Musica Claudio Abbado, Milan*
Gary R. Boye, *Appalachian State University*
Tim Crawford, *Goldsmiths College, University of London*
David Dolata, *Florida International University*
Richard Falkenstein, *Canisius College, Buffalo*
Klaus Martius, *Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg*
Stewart McCoy, *Nottingham*
Arthur Ness, *Boston*
Franco Pavan, *Conservatorio "Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco," Verona*
Grant Tomlinson, *Vancouver, BC*

The Lute Society of America

http://lutesocietyofamerica.org

Officers
Catherine Liddell, *President*
Mark Rimple, *Vice President*
Jeff Noonan, *Clerk*
Garald Farnham, *Treasurer*

Board of Directors
Brandon Acker
Gary R. Boye
Ryan Closs
Catherine Liddell
James Louder
Jeff Noonan
Anna F. Porcaro
Jason Priset
Mark Rimple

Society Administrator
Nancy Carlin

Membership Director
Fiona Thistle

Webmaster
Ben Romvari

Lute Rental Program Director
James Louder

Lutes For Sale Administrator
Melody Packard

Lute Festival Director
Jason Priset

Outreach Director
Ryan Closs

The Journal of the Lute Society of America is an annual, refereed publication that is free to all members of the Lute Society of America. It is also available as an open access journal in electronic format from the LSA web page. https://lutesocietyofamerica.org. Individuals can also join the LSA directly via the society's web page. Correspondence concerning subscriptions should be addressed to the LSA Membership Director at *membership@lutesocietyofamerica.org* or P.O. Box 6499, Concord, CA 94524. For any other questions contact the LSA Administrator at *administrator@lutesocietyofamerica.org* or (925) 686-5800.

The *Journal* welcomes contributions of scholarly merit and correspondence dealing with issues raised within its pages. Contact the Editor, John Griffiths *jlsa@lutesocietyofamerica.org* for advice regarding preparation of materials for submission, or any other matter.

Journal of the Lute Society of America

Volume LIV • 2021

Editorial *v*

Articles

New Information on the Vihuelist Diego Pisador: His Life, Teaching, and Work 1
Javier Cruz Rodríguez

Guitar Heroes: Teaching, Learning, and Playing Guitar at the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in Bologna and Parma, 1650-1700 21
Cory M. Gavito

Jacques and Laurent Lucas de Saint-Luc: Brussels Lutenists and Theorbists, Father and Son 63
Manuel Couvreur

Review

Music and Instruments of the Elizabethan Age: The Eglantine Table Edited by Michael Fleming and Christopher Page 75
Gary Boye

Contributors to this Volume 79

ISSN 0076-1524

Editorial

Whether it is the instrument itself, its makers, players, the music, or the context in which it thrived, there is always more to learn about the lute and all related early plucked instruments. Learning about new discoveries always brings rewards, no matter what our connection may be. New perspectives and new knowledge inform us as players, listeners, researchers, or simply as pleasure seekers who wish to enrich our experience. It is a vital part of the ongoing process of furthering the horizons of historical music practice.

This volume of the *Journal* is principally devoted to presenting new biographical perspectives about musicians whose names are well known, but whose lives have remained in the shadows. The first is the Spanish vihuelist Diego Pisador whose *Libro de musica* (Salamanca, 1552) is well known, along with a small number of pieces that are staples of contemporary vihuela players and well known to many classical guitarists. Until now, the best-known details of Pisador's life and activity have been the fact that he allegedly printed his book in his own home, and that he engaged in squabbles and legal disputes with his father resulting from his desire to have his music printed. The research by Javier Cruz presented here for the first time reveals many details of Pisador's life and circumstances, establishing his birth and death dates more accurately, locating the family home in the center of Salamanca, and shedding light on the musician and his environment.

Cory Gavito's contribution to this volume focusses on the guitar in seventeenth-century Italy, and the education in guitar playing afforded to young nobles in the cities of Parma and Bologna. The principal teachers in these centers included Giovanni Battista Granata and Francesco Asioli, both well-known today through their surviving tablature books of 1659 and 1676. Gavito's study offers many keys to understanding the music in these collections and the role of some of the talented young men who studied the guitar with them. The study emphasizes the role of the Jesuit Colleges where these young nobles studied, and the fiercely competitive cultural atmosphere in which the most outstanding were rewarded by being able to perform in public ceremonies and other civic occasions. As Gavito points out, this transformed guitar playing from a leisurely pastime into an activity of considerable importance in society.

For a long time, players of seventeenth-century music for the so-called "baroque" lute have been aware of the music attributed to Saint-Luc, a musician from the Low Countries during the period of Spanish dominion. In his article, Manuel Couvreur unravels the questions that have for many years perplexed players and scholars resulting from the stylistic differences between works that survive in sources separated in time by many decades. From his

archival research in both Brussels and Vienna, Couvreur reveals that this repertoire was produced by two lutenists, father and son, Jacques de Saint-Luc (1616–after 1684) and Laurent Saint-Jacques (1669–after 1708), thus resolving the previous enigmas concerning the surviving music.

— John Griffiths (November, 2022)

New Information on the Vihuelist Diego Pisador: His Life, Teaching, and Work[1]

Javier Cruz Rodríguez

Abstract: There are many gaps concerning the life of Diego Pisador. This study sheds light on certain aspects of his life and family, as well as on other questions related to teaching the vihuela and the book Pisador composed for the instrument. New archival data extend our knowledge considerably concerning his life, including details of his home and place of burial, his closest relatives, and his relationship with them. The study also reflects on some aspects of his *Libro de música de vihuela*, as well as on Pisador's possible training and subsequent teaching activity. All of this is done within the context of Salamanca in an era in which the city experienced the height of cultural splendor and, more specifically, the golden age of musical activity. This new information adds to the figure of this illustrious citizen of Salamanca, allowing his work to be better understood in the context of the vihuela itself.

Keywords: Vihuela, Pisador, Salamanca, life, teaching, work.

Introduction

Although there are many gaps in our knowledge of the life and works of the renowned vihuelist and composer Diego Pisador, recent studies on aspects of his life, work, and context have made important contributions (Roa and Gertrudix 2002; Griffiths 2009 and 2010). This study presents some surprising information concerning his life—a much longer life than had previously been known—and about his work for the vihuela, giving a fuller picture of this sixteenth-century musician. Much of this study is based on data extracted from the Ricardo Espinosa Maeso Collection of the University of Salamanca (AUSa_RE), also the main source for what is already known about Pisador. The first part of this article is devoted to biographical aspects of Pisador and his family, and the second deals with questions related to his activities, such as teaching the vihuela and the music he composed and compiled for the instrument.

Salamanca, a leading city of the Spanish golden age and Pisador's home for his entire life, is at the center of this study. It also reflects Salamanca's prosperity during the reign of Charles V and much of the reign of Philip II (Asenjo 1999; Martínez and Visceglia 2008), the city's most illustrious period. Most of this prosperity was due to the university—whose most exalted period

[1] This article is an extension of an earlier study (Cruz 2021). Translated from Spanish by John Griffiths.

© 2022, The Lute Society of America

was between 1520 and 1580 (Fernández, Robles, and Rodríguez-San Pedro 1990)—as well as its cathedral, whose new building was under construction during this period and that, exceptionally, would be joined to the old temple (Castro 2014; Navascués 2014). It was a city with a social and cultural milieu that equaled the finest in the land, immediately evident through its architecture and the construction of new buildings for numerous religious orders, university colleges, and private palaces. This city of knowledge achieved distinction for its teaching resources and for being an important seat of nobility and religious establishments (Castillo 2001), which would also add splendor to the city's musical life. Salamanca also played host to exceptional events, such as the wedding of Philip II in 1543 and many other royal visits and celebrations, which brought added fame to the city and its musical institutions (Cruz 2011b).

Plate l. View of Salamanca by Anton van den Wyngaerde, 1570 (Vienna, National Library).

This was the golden age in the history of music in Salamanca. Under the influence of its incipient cathedral chapel and the chair of music at the university, music teaching and performance flourished with important musicians in either or both institutions (Cruz 201la). Diego Pisador lived in this vibrant culture, particularly regarding music, that continued until the beginning of the seventeenth century (Torrente 2002). This is possibly why he remained in Salamanca until the end of his days, even though much of his life, apart from the publication of his book, remains obscure.

Pisador's Family and Life

I will now present new information that has emerged about Pisador's life—without revisiting all of what is already known—starting with previously unknown details of Pisador's death and burial in Salamanca and some information about his relatives. It can now be confirmed that the vihuelist died at the end of 1589 or the beginning of 1590. Given that he was probably born between 1509 and 1510, this considerably extends what is known of his life, which was previously unknown after 1557 (Griffiths 2001). To begin with, Diego's birthdate can be given more precisely, based on a comment

made by his father, Alonso, in a letter dated October 1550. In this he states that his son was now forty years old, thus implying that he was born between the last months of 1509 and October 1510 (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 59r-59v). This date cannot be specified more precisely as the earliest baptismal records of the parish of Santa María de los Caballeros, where he was born and presumably baptized, date from several years later. These are discussed in more detail below. Material in the Ricardo Espinosa Maeso Archive also clarifies that Pisador died prior to May 11, 1590, specifically in a document written by Garcia de Malla, an episcopal notary of Salamanca who declares himself as the "patron that I am of the pious document left by Diego Pisador, deceased" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 113r).[2] Pisador was still alive on August 30, 1589, when he made his will that commences, "Let it be known to all who see this letter of last will and testament that I, Diego Pisador, citizen of the city of Salamanca, infirmed as I am . . . order my Will in the following manner" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 109r).[3] This narrows the period of his death and supposes that he died in the nine-month period between the two specified dates, at eighty years of age.

Pisador's will provides interesting information, including the place of his proposed burial alongside his mother in the former convent of San Francisco el Real in Salamanca, a prestigious medieval institution. Only a few ruins of the building remain following its collapse during the War of Independence against the French in the first years of the nineteenth century. The preserved ruins include the main apse, with a later carved stone altarpiece from the eighteenth century [image 2], and one of the smaller side chapels.

[2] "el 11 de mayo, García de Malla, escribano de la audiencia episcopal de esta ciudad de Salamanca, como patrono que soy de la pía memoria que dejó Diego Pisador, ya difunto."

[3] "Sepan cuantos esta carta de testamento e última voluntad vieren como yo, Diego Pisador, vecino que soy de la ciudad de Salamanca estando enfermo . . . ordeno mi testamento en la forma siguiente."

Plate 2. Main apse of the convent of San Francisco el Real. Photo by the author.

Diego ordered that his "body be buried in the monastery of San Francisco in the city of Salamanca where my mother is buried next to the pulpit in the aforesaid monastery," and that "a flat stone be placed over my grave with a sign on it stating my name" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 109r).[4] He also indicated that, after interring his mother there, he was to be buried in the same place, close to the small remaining part of the church that is currently preserved, in a tomb next to the pulpit, normally located close to the altar, generally adjoining one of the supports of the church's main nave.

The church was a vast construction with three naves that incorporated a pantheon of noble and important persons [image 3]. It is a place of great historical significance and of particular relevance here inasmuch as the Franciscans donated land to archbishop Alonso III de Fonseca y Acevedo for the construction of what was to become the Colegio Mayor del Arzobispo.[5] This

[4] "mi cuerpo sea sepultado en el monasterio de san francisco desta ciudad de salamanca do esta enterrada isavel ortiz mi madre que esta junto al pulpito en el dicho monasterio" / "pongan una lancha sobre la dicha mi sepultura que ponga un retulo de mi nombre encima de ella."

[5] At this time, the *Colegios mayores* were not student residences as now, but teaching institutions built with papal authorization and enjoying royal protection while having legal autonomy.

is another fact that links the Acevedo family with this convent, where many members of the family were to be buried, having also contributed to the costs of its construction (Abad and Martín 2013).

Contrary to earlier speculation, what seems to verify that Pisador's mother, Isabel Ortiz, was not related to the Acevedo family (Esteve 2018) is that neither Pisador nor his mother was buried in the pantheon of the Acevedo family chapel in the church (Abad and Martín 2013). Furthermore, both the vihuelist and his father are cited in the testimony of witnesses in 1556 as being friends with "Alonso de Fonseca." Elsewhere, this Alonso de Fonseca is clarified to be Alonso de Acevedo y de Zúñiga, count of Monterrey, nephew of Alonso de Fonseca the archbishop, but without any mention of kinship (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 3r and 39v). Alonso de Pisador was employed by the latter as a notary from at least 1529.

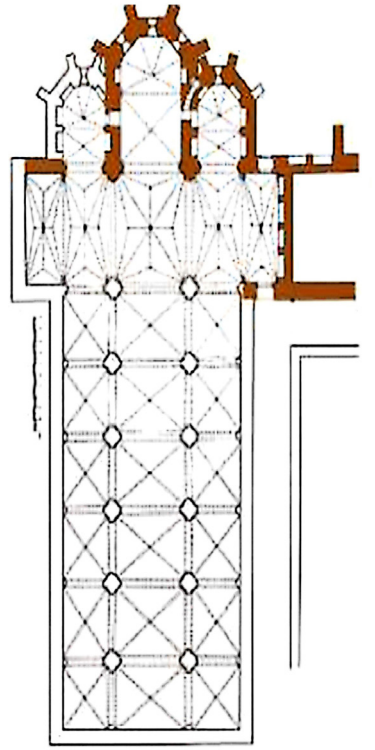


Plate 3. Hypothetical plan of the church of San Francisco del Real with the preserved parts colored in brown (Abad and Martín 2013, 27).

Even though all the details are not known, Diego appears not to have been buried with his siblings, Alonso and Francisca, in their parish church of Santa María de los Caballeros [fig. 4], which is still standing and located close to the family home. It is here that we presume the three siblings were baptized, and it was to this church that Diego also left a benefice that, according to his will, was "to be used for singing after my days [on earth], in perpetuity." This meant that masses would be said in his name and in the names of his parents. In addition to these four weekly masses, a prayer for the dead would be said for "my soul and that of my relatives over the grave where my siblings are buried" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 109r and 110r).[6]

Plate 4. Church of Santa María de los Caballeros. Photo by the author.

This interest in distancing himself from his siblings Alonso and Francisca, perhaps due to their often-fraught relationship (see Alonso Cortés 1921), together with Diego's seemingly contradictory gesture of arranging prayers for his own soul to be said over their graves, is also borne out by his decision not to leave them anything in his will. Thus Diego, with no descendants and with no intention of leaving anything to his sister's children (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 44r and 46r), transfers part of his estate to his servant, Francisco Diez, and specifies that "I leave and appoint as my universal heir the chaplain of the said chaplaincy" of his parish of Santa María de los Caballeros (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 110r and 111r).[7] In other parts of his will he also specified that a mass be said for his soul every year on the day of Our Lady of the Assumption, at the altar of the monastery of San Francisco, as well as a prayer be said over his grave. In addition, "on the day that God takes me away, that twenty-four [poor] from the prison [of the city] be obliged to accompany my body and take it to the said monastery," in what must have been a colorful procession (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 111r).

[6] "que se sirva y cante despues de mis días perpetuamente" and "mi anima y la de mis deudos sobre la sepultura do estan enterrados mis hermanos."

[7] "dejo e nombro por mi universal heredero al capellan que fuere de la dicha capellania."

Contributing to the bad relationship between Diego and his closest relatives were the numerous lawsuits between Diego, his siblings, and his father, reported earlier (Alonso Cortés 1921). With his father, apart from exchanging insults, Diego sought his imprisonment, although it was finally Alonso's guarantor who went to jail (AUSa_ RE 2, 4, fols. 30r, 35v, 38v and 50r). Despite this, Diego eventually became reconciled with his father and his sister. In 1565, in order "to preserve their brother-sister relationship and their kinship,"[8] Diego paid his sister 300 ducats so that she would stop claiming her rights to their parents' estate (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 75r and 77r), thus making him the sole heir (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 90r). Shortly before the death of his father, in an act of concord, all their previous lawsuits were annulled by means of agreements signed by both and that were read in their presence in 1560 (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 64r and ff.). This agreement and another deed for the sale of a property owned by them both seem to confirm their rapprochement; this was the last time they would see each other (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. lr). Given that Alonso is documented to have been thirty-two years old in 1514 (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 117r), he would have been born in 1482. Still alive at the end of December 1561 with talk of him being ill and mention of his will, it seems almost certain that he died in 1562, aged about eighty years old, approximately the same age that was to be reached by Diego (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 49v).

From all available evidence, it appears that Diego Pisador lived in the one house his entire life. The location of this residence can be established initially through his will. In this document Diego specifies his principal property to be "the houses in which I live in the Calle del Prior of this city of Salamanca at the end of it, towards the house of the Count of Monterrey and which has two doors, one in the said Calle del Prior and the other in the street in which are the children of the doctrina"[9] (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. ll0r). In other documents it is described a little differently as "some houses in the street that goes down from the Calle del Prior" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 17r), "with two doors, the main one of which goes out to the Calle del Prior and the other to the Calle de los Bordadores and borders on the Calle del Prior with houses of juan bautista [. . .] and on the Calle de los Bordadores with the Casas de los Niños Huérfanos" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 105).[10] The Calle de los Bordadores

[8] "por conservar la hermandad y parentesco,"

[9] "las casas en que bibo en la calle del prior desta ciudad de Salamanca al cavo della hacia las casas del conde de monterrey y que tiene dos puertas la una en la dicha calle del prior y la otra en la calle que están los niños de la dotrina."

[10] "con dos puertas que la principal sale a la calle del prior y la otra a la calle de los bordadores y lindan en la calle del prior con casas de juan bautista [. . .] y por la calle de los bordadores con casas de los niños huérfanos."

and Calle del Prior are now known simply as Calle Bordadores and Calle Prior. The location of the orphanage known as the Casas de los Niños Huérfanos is unknown.

The house was therefore in a central location very close to the famous plaza mayor and on the corner of two streets, opposite the illustrious Palacio de Monterrey [plates 5 and 6]. This latter building was an expensive enterprise that was never finished due to the count of Monterrey's poor economic situation having also built, for example, the fortress of Monterrey in the province of Ourense (Galicia), where Pisador's father was to work as administrator. The palace in Salamanca was built thanks to the count's uncle, the aforementioned Alonso III de Fonseca, on land where he had some old houses. According to the documents, in 1509 he "donated to his nephew the main houses he had in the city, which would be the basis of the subsequent palace" (González 2010, 56).[11] Thus, Alonso Pisador's house was located very close to the home of his employer, on the same site where this magnificent palace would finally be built, and which Diego, during his father's absence in Galicia, could see being built from his window.

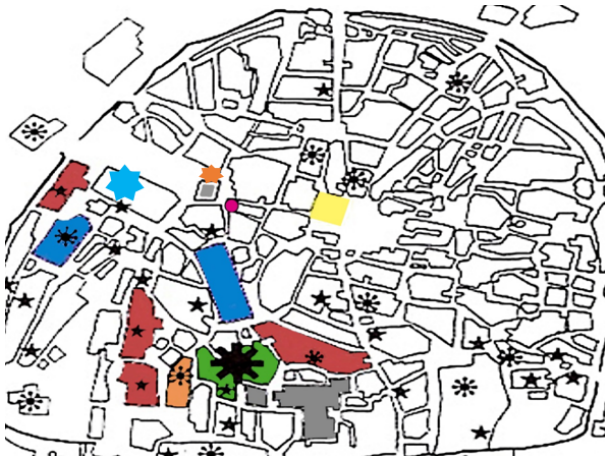


Plate 5. Map of Salamanca at the beginning of the seventeenth century, based on Rodríguez-San Pedro (1986, 785), indicating the main buildings in the city, as well as the vihuelist's house, color coding as follows: gray: the Cathedral and the bishop's house / green: Escuelas Mayores and Menores / brown: Colegios Mayores (student residences) / blue: the old Jesuit college and the site chosen for its new location / orange: the Convent of San Agustín / light gray: Palace of Monterrey / yellow: Plaza Mayor (main square) / light blue star: Monastery of San Francisco / orange star: Church of Santa María de los Caballeros / red dot: the Pisador house.

[11] "donó a su sobrino las casas principales de las que disponía en la ciudad, que serían la base del posterior palacio."

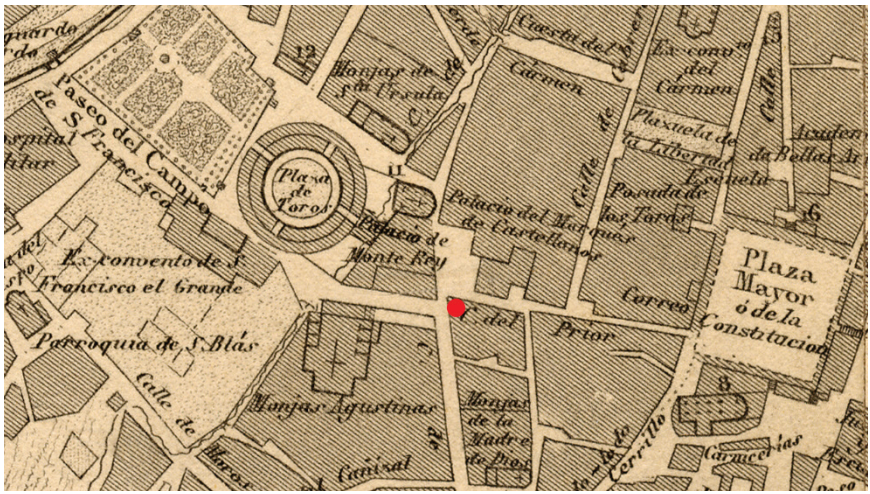


Plate 6. Detail from the map *Salamanca in 1858* by Francisco Coello. The red dot marks the Pisador house in front of the Palace of Monterrey, and where also can be seen the Convent of San Francisco and the church of Santa María de los Caballeros next to the palace.

Plate 7. View of the *Palacio de Monterrey* from where the Pisador home once stood. Photo by the author.

There was at least one period during which Diego did not live in the house, following the conflict with his father, and his father's return to Salamanca from Galicia. Having a change of heart, now favoring his younger son over Diego, his father demanded that Diego leave the residence to make way for Alonso and his wife (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 38r, 38v and 41v, and Alonso Cortés 1921, 334). Nevertheless, it would be his residence for almost all his life. Apart from periods of his childhood when the family all lived together or the time when father and son were in dispute, with the father living downstairs and his son upstairs, for most of the time it appears that Diego lived downstairs in the main part, along with other tenants (AUSa_ RE 2, 4, fols. 17r and 41v). Thus, during his father's absences in Galicia and later after his death, the vihuelist would take advantage of this and sublet the remaining rooms to students until the end of his life (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 17r, 92r, 96r, 108r, 128r, etc.). Diego's father also supplemented the family income from the rent he earned from at least three other houses he owned in Salamanca and several rural properties as well (Alonso Cortés 1921, 331).

From the above information and further references (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 31 v, 32r, 74r, 84r, 87r, 90r, 91r, etc.), it seems that, like his colleague Esteban Daza (Griffiths 1989, 11), Diego was able to support himself until the end of his life by taking advantage of the rents or profits from the family properties, not having to seek a musical career or exercise any other profession. In addition, it might be assumed that he would have made a profit from the sale of his book, although there is no evidence to show how well the edition sold.

Despite the size of the Pisador home, a two-story residence with multiple entrances on two streets and that is known to have been repaired after Diego's death (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 113r), there is no evidence anywhere to indicate that any part of the house could have been used as a printing workshop, as is inferred in the colophon of his book and discussed below. In addition to the residential areas, the references point only to some areas for the storage of grain, as well as the chambers and other lodgings for students (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 17r).

Vihuelist and Composer

No information survives to suggest who may have been Diego Pisador's vihuela teacher or whether he was later engaged as a private teacher. Similarly, there is no evidence to suggest that he might have received a formal education at the University of Salamanca. Unfortunately, the enrollment records from the university begin only in the academic year 1546-47 (AUSa, 270). Additionally, his responsibilities as the firstborn in the family to manage family affairs, particularly given the lengthy absence of his father, suggest that he

was unable to devote himself to training or travel, like other musicians of the time. Instead, it is more likely that he learned the art of the vihuela privately in the little time he had at his disposal. The combined evidence seems to portray a man who wanted to enjoy life without the controlling influence of his father. This is even more apparent if we bear in mind the time he spent in "youthful pursuits" (*mocedades*), as pointed out in some testimonies, and his uncompromising commitment to publishing his vihuela book, which his father regarded as a "stupidity" (*boberia*) or a "fantasy" (*fantasya*) (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 29r and 59r). Aware of the family's debts and economic difficulties, Alonso advised his son to save some money and get married, in order not to need to sell the *mayordomía*, that is, the administrative stewardship position that he had ceded him. Eventually, Diego did sell the position, perhaps in spite of a letter from his father in which he states: "I had understood from you that you did not want to get married, that if you wanted to, it is in your hands, and that I have sworn not to marry you off nor to speak about it because you did not want to marry the person I ordered you to marry [. . .]" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 24r and 59r).[12]

In contrast to the above, the profile of Diego that emerges from all this is of a self-taught musician, his apprenticeship derived from books. This was made possible thanks to factors such as the importance given to both education and to personal development in the arts and literature but, above all, to the availability of books and the important role of the printing press. Printing gained enormous importance and influence in Salamanca, contributing to the city's cultural prestige in the sixteenth century (Ruiz 1994). Moreover, in music, many books were designed for self-instruction, and many of their authors can be considered in the same category as Pisador. It is noteworthy that all the vihuela books printed prior to his were all conceived to be self-instruction manuals. He represents a musician from Salamanca living within the framework of renaissance humanism where good education was valued, and teaching was molded to the needs of the individual (Comellas 2020). It is a context in which there were many treatises for amateurs, who tended to be self-taught. Diego Pisador appears to be one such musician, a mere amateur who understood music, a man who was cultured and self-taught and who, like other lovers of this instrument, learned to play the vihuela for his own enjoyment and, not as a means of earning a living (Griffiths 2001, 828; 2002, 880-81).

The vihuela, the most popular string instrument of its time in Spain, con-

[12] "tenia de vos entendido que no os queriades casar que sy vos quisyesedes que en vuestra mano esta y que tengo jurado de no os casar ni hablar en ello porque no os quysistes casar con quien yo os mandaba."

tributed to the widespread enthusiasm for learning by self-instruction (Otaola 2014). It was widely played by professionals and amateurs from the upper or middle class, men such as Diego Pisador. Within this context in which players from the middle class were not only consumers and practitioners of instrumental music but also creators (Griffiths 2010), a vihuelist such as Pisador could feasibly end up composing a book that, complete with its typographical errors, was not aimed at scholars in the way the ambitious treatise *De musica libri septem* by Francisco Salinas was, but was aimed at other self-taught players. Through books like this, the player would be able to "understand the art of tablature without need of a master" and "begin to play and become an accomplished finished musician" (Griffiths 2009; Otaola 2014).[13]

As an important part of urban musical culture, the vihuela completes the broad musical soundscape of Salamanca, offering a type of music that was not conceived to be played in front of a public in the way of the music of minstrels and choral ensembles. Instead, the vihuela was used for more intimate purposes (Griffiths 2009), forming a local landscape that included professional musicians skilled nonprofessionals (such as traders turned vihuelists), and since the beginning of the sixteenth century, instrument makers (ACSa —Archivo Catedral de Salamanca—, cj. 44, lg. 5, nº 1, fol. 48v, ACSa, cj. 44 leg. 5, nº 2, fol. 360v, ACSa, AC —Actas Capitulares— 26, fols. 377, 390 and 715, ACSa, cj. 3311, leg. 10, fol. 6). Included in these documentary sources are references to the *violeros* Diego Nieto, Pedro Ordoñez, Diego Robles, and Roque de Ávila, who were possibly players as well as instrument makers (Griffiths 2009, 11).

In the same way, Pisador's *Libro de music* contributed to the larger panorama of music education in Salamanca that comprised high-level formal teaching at the university—which boasted the oldest chair of music of any European university—and the cathedral chapel, where there was a master to instruct the *ministriles*, the shawm and sackbut players (ACSa, cj. 30, lg. 1, nº 8, fol. 140v; ACSa, AC 29, fol. 155), as well as the chapel singers. In addition, other private tuition was provided by minstrels, organists, and other teachers whose students included both men and women (Cruz, 2018; AUSa_RE 7, 1, fol. 3r; AHPSa—Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca—, PN —Protocolo Notarial—4392, fol. 804 ff; AHPSa, PN 5891, fol. 414ff.; AHPSa, PN 4114, fol. 352).

Pisador's book focuses on both instrumental works and secular song repertoires, and thus serves as a complement to the teaching of how to sing and to accompany on the organ within the dominant culture of religious

[13] "entender el arte de la cifra sin otro maestro alguno;" "comenzar a tañer y ser músico acabado."

music (Otaola 2014). A book on playing the vihuela served to promote the performer's own public image (Comellas 2020), which may have been Pisador's objective. Seeking such an image may well have been relevant in terms of the social fabric of Salamanca that comprised a second-rank noble class with which the vihuelist is identifiable in his earlier years, but with which he would lose contact after disposing of his *mayordomía*. This social sector was one that essentially lived from the income provided by their lands, as already noted regarding Diego, often adopting a lifestyle characteristic of the more privileged for whom art enjoyed a high status, typical of the early modern period in which appearances were a guarantee of social prestige (López and Rupérez 1993).

Apart from this aspect concerning secular music, Pisador's *Libro de música de vihuela* and similar books contributed strongly to both the dissemination of high-quality polyphonic music and to the cultivation of that era's musical tastes (Griffiths 2002, 880). Pisador's book reached far beyond Salamanca, where it was produced and printed. Its music included settings of both plainchant and polyphony such as that used in the cathedral and the university where, in addition to the relevant occasions for the performance of practical music, half of the class was devoted to music theory (Rodríguez and Alejo 2004, 563; Fiorentino 2014, 149-50).

Regarding the musical currents of the time—whether by Spanish composers such as Morales or international figures such as Josquin—it must be supposed that Pisador's access to such repertoire could have been through the cathedral or the university or, conversely, that his book was one of the first that made known a type of repertoire that was practiced in other settings. Even though other contemporary vihuelists such as Narváez, Mudarra, and Valderrábano all included music by Josquin, none of them made such strong statements about the primal role of this Franco-Flemish composer. If from no one else, it is through the words of Pisador and his intabulation of a large group of Josquin masses that Josquin's importance in midcentury Spain can really be understood. The source of this understanding of Josquin's importance is difficult to know, but the second option that it was through the university, given the dates, seems the most likely. The teaching of practical music at the University of Salamanca is documented from at least 1529 (Torrente 2002, 556). For example, at the end of the sixteenth century, with Pisador's book already long published, there is evidence of the first two books of Morales's masses being taught in the university vocal department (AUSa 952, without foliation, but corresponding to image 212 of the digitized archive of the only book that cannot be consulted due to its poor condition; Cruz 2017, 29). Inventories of the university and cathedral chapels mention both volumes. Also in the closing years of the sixteenth century, there is evidence

of "the masses of Josquin in four-part polyphony"[14] being used in university classes (AUSa 953, fol. 200), which could be from any of the volumes printed by Petrucci or those by Josquin in the *Liber quindecim missarum*, published in Rome by Andrea Antico in 1515, notably the *Missa faisant regretz*, the *Missa de Beata virgine*, and the *Missa ad fugam*, works that were widely transmitted through sixteenth-century Spanish manuscripts (Ros-Fábregas 2001 and 2002). No matter how Pisador acquired these pieces, all this gives food for thought regarding other composers included in *Libro de música de vihuela* and whether, in the absence of archival data, they may have been heard in the Salamanca's musical establishments.

Pisador was granted privilege by the king in 1550 to print his book, which had taken over fifteen years to compile. This means Diego had become acquainted with the art of the vihuela by at least by 1535, probably beginning work on it when he was still under twenty and his father was living in Galicia. The decisive event that made possible the publication of the book in 1552 was the large sum of money he received for selling his position of *mayordomo* in 1551, which was the cause of the prolonged confrontation between father and son (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 4r, 5r and 21r). Witnesses called to give testimony later confirmed that Diego had spent this money, together with money from other inherited items, on publishing the book that he had worked so hard on, rather than on other investments as Alonso had urged him to do. The sale seems to have been a decision taken as a last resort, after his father had refused to help him with his book, a request that Diego made by sending a proxy on his behalf to Galicia to make the request in person. It was his father's refusal that appears to have triggered the final sale (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fols. 37r and 37v).

The neighboring city of Medina del Campo played a significant role in the printing of Pisador's vihuela book (Fig. 7). According to a witness, Francisco de Paz, Diego traveled to Medina del Campo, the center of the book trade in Spain at the time (Rojo 1987), to visit the house of Guillermo de Milis. The witness encountered Diego in the house of this printer and bookseller, and it was the musician himself who told him that "he was there to print the said book of music and [. . .] that it would cost him eight hundred ducats" (AUSa_RE 2, 4, fol. 37r).[15]

[14] "las mysas de Jusquin en canto de organo a quatro voces."

[15] "estaba alli emprimiendo el dicho libro de musica e [...] que le costaba el dicho libro ochocientos ducados."

LIBRO DE MVSICA DE
VIHVELA, AGORA NVEVA
mente compueſto por Diego Piſador, ve
zino dela ciudad de Salamanca, dirigi-
do al muy alto y muy poderoſo
ſeñor don Philippe princi
pe de Eſpana nue
ſtro Señor.
CON PRIVILEGIO.
Eſta taſſado en 6 7 9 marauedis.
1552

Plate 8. Title page of Diego Pisador, *Libro de música de vihuela*, 1552.

These quoted passages lead to three clear conclusions. The first is to confirm that, as Ruiz Fidalgo (1994) assumed, Guillermo de Millis took part in the printing of Pisador's book, and that the trip to Medina could also be crucial to understanding how the tablature type of the Francisco Fernández de Córdoba printers in Valladolid was obtained for the book. As can clearly be seen by inspection of the sources, *Libro de música* was printed with the same type that Fernández de Córdoba had used to print Enriquez de Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* in Valladolid in 1547. Whether sold, leased, or lent, the same type was used to print Pisador's book. The same type was appropriated again by the Fernández de Córdoba family in the 1570s if not earlier for the printing of Esteban Daza's *El Parnaso* in 1576. Regarding the printing of Pisador's book, we need to evaluate his statement in the colophon that it was printed in his house (*impresso en su casa*). Along the same lines as Ruiz, it is likely that only the assembly of the type took place in Pisador's house, espe-

cially considering the difficulty of setting up a printing workshop in a house that was neither suited nor accustomed to it. The second conclusion is that Diego, unlike other authors, "had to continue working on the printing of his book, possibly as Millis's assistant" (Griffiths 2010, 17). The third is that the reported price of 800 ducats for the printing is significantly higher than other works of the time (Griffiths 2010), which could well confirm Diego's need to sell his father's position as *mayordomo*.

Pisador's trip to Medina del Campo is the only surviving evidence of his traveling beyond Salamanca, although there no doubt is still more to be known about the vihuelist, particularly because we have now substantially increased the known length of his life, a long life that coincides with the lives of other notable musicians in the city, including Lucas Fernández, Juan Navarro, and Francisco Salinas. Although he lived for many years after publishing his book, nothing has yet come to light to indicate that Pisador had any further public presence connected with the vihuela. All that is known about him before the publication of *Libro de musica* is connected only with its printing, and not with any activities as a performer, teacher, or anything else. The absence of later information should not be read as implying that he lost interest in the instrument—despite the problems connected with publishing his book—although this needs to be understood in the context of the decline of the instrument in the second half of the sixteenth century in favor of the guitar (Griffiths 2002, 881). Pisador fails to reappear in connection with the instrument beyond his important book publication, in which he even proposed himself as the teacher of the future Phillip II, thus leaving his book as the lone testament to the life of an illustrious character about whom we would like to have more musical information.

Works Cited

Abad, Concepción, and María L. Martín. 2013. *Estudio histórico-artístico del convento de San Francisco El Real de Salamanca, panteón de la nobleza salmantina*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Unebook en PDF.

Alonso Cortés, Narciso. 1921. "Diego Pisador: algunos datos biográficos." *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* 3: 331-35.

Asenjo, María. 1999. "Las ciudades castellanas al inicio del reinado de Carlos V." *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna* 21: 49-115.

Castillo, Miguel A. 2000. "La Salamanca de Fray Luis de León." *Descubrir el Arte* 19: 36-45.

Castro, Ana. 2014. "La fábrica de la Catedral de Salamanca en el siglo XVI. Organización económica y administrativa durante la primera campaña

constructiva (1513–1550)." In *La Catedral de Salamanca. De fortis a magna*, edited by Mariano Casas, 1547–1658. Salamanca: Diputación de Salamanca.

Comellas, Jordi. 2020. "La música dentro de las cortes europeas del siglo XVI. El modelo de Il Cortegiano y el papel de las damas en su consolidación. El ejemplo de las cortes italianas." *Philostrato. Revista de Historia y Arte* 7: 5-32. https://doi.org/10.25293/philostrato.2020.01.

Cruz, Javier. 2011a. "Salamanca como foco de atracción para organistas y organeros en los siglos XVI y XVII: los casos de Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, Tomé Fernández, Juan de Salas y Antonio Cornejo." *Revista de Musicología* 34, no. 2: 235-44.

———. 2011b. *Salamanca histórico-cultural en la transición del siglo XVI al XVII: música y otros elementos en la visita que realizó Felipe 111 en el año 1600*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca. https://gredos.usal.es/handle/10366/83306.

———. 2017. "Nuevos datos sobre el maestro Francisco de Salinas en Salamanca." *Salamanca Revista de Estudios* 61: 13-39.

———. 2018. "El maestro Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo: nuevas aportaciones sobre su etapa salmantina." *Revista de Musicología* 41, no. 2: 429-57.

———. 2021. "Diego de Pisador: Another Illustrious Unknown." In *Centro de Estudios Virtual Tomás Luis de Victoria*. https:/lwww.tomasluisvictoria.es/node/3394 (accessed July 7, 2021).

Esteve, Eva. 2018. "Alonso de Fonseca y la música." In *Musicología en el siglo XXI: nuevos retos, nuevos enfoques*, coordinated by Begoña Lolo and Adela Presas, 57-72. Sociedad Española de Musicología.

Fernández, Manuel, Laureano Robles, and Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro. 1990. *La Universidad de Salamanca. Tomo 1: historia y proyecciones*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

Fiorentino, Giuseppe. 2014. "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento." In *Francisco de Salinas: música, teoría y matemática en el Renacimiento*, edited by Amaya García and Paloma Otaola, 147-60. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

González, Rubén. 2010. *Baltasar de Zúñiga y la encrucijada de la monarquía hispana (1599– 1622)*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. http://hdl.handle.net/10486/5768.

Griffiths, John. 1989. "At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de mano: Current Perspectives on the Instrument, its Music, and its World." *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 22: 1-17.

———. 2001. "Pisador, Diego." In *Diccionario de la música española e*

hispanoamericana, vol. 8, edited by Emilio Casares, 827-29. Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores.

———. 2002. "Vihuela [l. España]." In *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 10, edited by Emilio Casares, 878-83. Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores.

———. 2009. "Hidalgo, Mercader, sacerdote, o poeta: vihuelas y vihuelistas en la vida urbana." *Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela* 9: 14-25.

———. 2010. "La producción de libros de cifra musical en España durante el siglo XVI." *Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela* 12: 10-27.

López, Clara I., and Nieves Rupérez. 1993. "Aportación al estudio de la nobleza salmantina en la Edad Moderna a través de sus casas." *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 11: 149-68.

Martínez, José, and María A. Visceglia. 2008. "Introducción. *La Monarquía de Felipe III."* In *La monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey*, vol. I, edited by José Martínez and María A. Visceglia, 25-55. Madrid: Fundación Mapfre.

Navascués, Pedro. 2014. "*La Catedral Nueva de Salamanca: su intrahistoria."* In *La Catedral de Salamanca. De fortis a magna*, edited by Mariano Casas, 315-84. Salamanca: Diputación de Salamanca.

Otaola, Paloma. 2014. "A los deseosos de saber el arte de la música práctica y especulativa: la figura del autodidacta en el siglo XVI." In *Francisco de Salinas: música, teoría y matemática en el Renacimiento*, edited by Amaya García and Paloma Otaola, 173-87. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Roa, Francisco, and Felipe Gértrudix. 2002. *El libro de música de vihuela de Diego Pisador (1552)*. Madrid: Pygmalión.

Rodríguez, Águeda, and Francisco J. Alejo. 2004. "La Universidad clásica." In *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. Vol. II: Estructuras y flujos, Salamanca*, edited by L. E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, 539-86. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Rodríguez-San Pedro, Luis E. 1986. *La Universidad Salmantina del Barroco, periodo 1598–1625. Tomo II: régimen docente y atmósfera intelectual.* Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

Rojo, Anastasio. 1987. "El negocio del libro en Medina del Campo. Siglos XVI y XVII." *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea* 7: 17-26.

Ros-Fábregas, E. 2001. "Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (II)." *Pliegos de Bibliofilia* no. 16: 32-46. https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/33322.

———. 2002. “Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (III).” *Pliegos de Bibliofilia* no. 17: 16-54. https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/33322.

Ruiz, Lorenzo. 1994. *La imprenta en Salamanca (1501–1600)*. Madrid: Arco.

Torrente, Álvaro. 2002. “Salamanca.” In *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 9, edited by Emilio Casares, 551-62. Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores.

Guitar Heroes: Teaching, Learning, and Playing Guitar at the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in Bologna and Parma, 1650–1700

Cory M. Gavito

Abstract: This article focuses on music education at the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in Parma and Bologna in the second half of the seventeenth century, a time during which several notable guitar *maestri* – including Giovanni Battista Granata, Pietro Bertacchini, and Francesco Asioli – were hired to teach lessons. In contrast to learning the guitar at the royal courts in France and England, where noble amateurs were discouraged from advancing beyond a level that could support "leisurely" performance, Italian noble boys studying the guitar at these Jesuit colleges thrived in a competitive environment that prepared them to perform in high-stakes situations, including well-attended public ceremonies and academic demonstrations. Particular attention is given to the 1660s and 70s, an era that witnessed unrivaled numbers of students enrolled in guitar lessons at the colleges, studying under the tutelage of Granata, Betrtacchini, and Asioli. Yet, it was also a time when the musical talent of the boys became increasingly integrated into the civic and courtly ceremonial life of Parma and Bologna. This context is key to understanding the pedagogical significance of Granata's *Soavi concenti* (1659) and Asioli's *Concerti armonici* (1676), both of which were dedicated to Granata's and Asioli's guitar students at the Jesuit colleges.

Keywords: Guitar, pedagogy, Giovanni Battista Granata, Pietro Bertacchini, Francesco Asioli, Lodovico Roncalli, Italy, Jesuits, Seventeenth century, Parma, Bologna, Accademia degli Argonauti, *contrappunto alle mente*, Baldassar Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, virtuosity, amateurism.

One of the most informative accounts of working in Italy as a professional musician during the seventeenth century is the autobiography of Pietro Bertacchini (b. Carpi, 1641),[1] a figure who led an active life as a maestro of the guitar and theorbo throughout Italy before retiring from music to take over his family's dye business in 1690. There is much to be gleaned from this rare document, especially regarding the networks of patronage and financial support established among guitar *maestri* and their individual and institutional sponsors. One theme that runs throughout Bertacchini's musical career is the relationships of sponsorship he established that were facilitated through contact with the Jesuits in Italy. During his most sustained work as a guitarist, theorbist, and teacher, Bertacchini found himself first in Genoa (1671–1673) and most successfully in Lucca (1676–1685), both where he served the local nobility. In Genoa Bertacchini tells us that he was invited to play the *tiorba* in Antonio Cesti's opera *L'Argia*, which was

[1] Bertacchini's original autobiography survives in a transcription printed in Carpi 1900. I was unable to consult this source, but it is transcribed in Caffagni 1993. An English translation of excerpts from the autobiography appears in Smith and Caffagni 1997, 10-18.

© 2022, The Lute Society of America

performed twenty-six times during the carnival season of 1671 under the musical direction of Pietro Simone Augustini, then maestro di cappella to the Jesuit fathers at the church of Sant'Ambrogio. Soon after his return to Carpi in 1673, Bertacchini notes that he was recruited by the Jesuit College for Nobles in Parma to teach music, where he most certainly taught guitar and theorbo as he had in Genoa. Although he left the College after only a year, this position turned out to be particularly serendipitous for Bertacchini, as it was there where he met and taught a young nobleman from Lucca named Bernardino Orsetti, who in 1676 urged Bertacchini to move to Lucca to serve as maestro in his household. In Lucca, Bertacchini enjoyed the patronage of other noble families and was even granted a civic musical post at the Palazzo Ducale by city officials; it was also there where he met and married Margherita Silvestro, and where his first two children were born.

Among the many details about Bertacchini's success in Genoa and Lucca about which his autobiography is silent is the background of one Giovanni Giacomo Grimaldi, the son of the doge of Genoa during Bertacchini's employment there, and also one of his pupils. In 1659 the teenage Grimaldi was enrolled in the Jesuit College of Nobles in Bologna, where he took lessons with the guitar maestro Giovanni Battista Granata.[2] These lessons clearly made an impact on Grimaldi, as he continued to seek musical instruction from an established guitar maestro many years after his study with Granata in Bologna. This footnote to Bertacchini's autobiography is one of many that links the professional careers of guitarists to Jesuit sponsorship in Italy during the second half of the seventeenth century, and to the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in particular. Another prominent guitar maestro affiliated with the colleges was Francesco Asioli, who in his 1676 guitar book *Concerti armonici* wrote that he was at that time employed as *maestro di chitarra* at the Jesuit College for Nobles in Parma (around the same time as Bertacchini) (Asioli 1676, 5). As they accumulate, these recurring links between Jesuit education and guitar playing and teaching in Italy are worth exploring in much more detail, not least because they document a pathway toward the "professionalization" of the guitar maestro during the second half of the seicento. Moreover, they speak to the increasing demand for guitar instruction among the Italian nobility, a phenomenon with analogs in the royal courts of France and England.

In this article I expand on this topic, first by reporting the details about guitar instruction and student performances at the Jesuit College for Nobles

[2] Granata dedicated an *Alemanda* to Grimaldi (Granata 1659, 200). See below on the pedagogical relationship between Granata and his dedicatees of the *Soavi concenti*, all of whom were students enrolled in the College for Nobles in Bologna.

of Santa Caterina in Parma, where students—several of whom were affiliated with the guitar maestro Francesco Asioli—were enrolled in guitar lessons in record-setting numbers during the 1670s. Pivoting to the Jesuit College for Nobles of San Francesco Saverio in Bologna, I highlight the activity of the guitar maestro Giovanni Battista Granata and the dedicatees of his *Soavi Concenti* (1659), all of whom were enrolled as *convittori* (student boarders) at the college and were under Granata's tutelage. Turning attention to the musical instruction and descriptions of student musical performances at these two Jesuit-run institutions, I show how the colleges cultivated a competitive learning environment in which its noble students could excel in music making while at the same time contribute to the strategic public-facing initiatives of the colleges. In the thirty-year period from roughly 1660 to 1690, the guitar, was the centerpiece of these public musical demonstrations at the colleges, both in concerts and for accompanying dancing. In further examining the published documents, eyewitness accounts, and musical materials associated with learning and playing the guitar at the colleges, we become witnesses to a culture of music learning that prepared students to play in both solo and concerted settings, to improvise accompaniments, and to perform in ways that created surprise and *meraviglia* (wonder) for their captive audiences. We witness, in effect, a class of musical "amateurs" in which "virtuoso" levels of performance were sought instead of shunned, even though these young boys—with perhaps one notable exception—had no intention to embark on careers as professional musicians. Such aspirations complicate and enrich our understanding of seventeenth-century ideas about "noble amateur musicianship," which is often presumed to be incompatible with the goals of professional music making in accordance with Aristotle and the social codes of noble *otium* (leisure, or pastime) established in the nobility manuals of Castiglione, Guazzo, and Della Casa.

Music Education at the Italian Jesuit Colleges for Nobles

Educating the lay nobility had been one of the goals of Jesuit collegiate education since the very beginning, starting with the Papal Bull of 1547, obtained by Ignatius of Loyola himself at the request of the duke of Gandía, Francisco Borja, who wanted to raise the status of the Jesuit school in Gandía to a university (Grendler 2017, 43). The bull authorized the formation of the University of Gandía, which was for all intents and purposes the first Jesuit college to confer university degrees to non-Jesuits; it also served to educate Borja himself as well as his own sons. As the Jesuits established similar types

of collegiate universities in Italy,[3] first in Messina in 1548, and then later in places such as Turin, Padua, Parma, Perugia, Bologna, Modena, Brescia, and Siena, separate boarding colleges for noble boys (*Collegi dei Nobili*) were set up in order to provide an educational experience catering to the nobility that served to prepare them for their future lives as dukes, counts, marchesi, and other elite members of Italy's ruling class. These colleges were also set up to segregate noble students from the non-noble lay students and Jesuits-in-training enrolled at the main colleges, even though they were enrolled in many of the same classes (Brizzi 2015).

To understand the role of music education in these satellite Colleges for Nobles in Italy, it is first important to note that music had no place in the *Ratio studiorum* (Plan of Study), an official decree issued in 1599 that sought to standardize the Jesuit educational curriculum worldwide.[4] Music lessons were given at the Colleges for Nobles as extracurricular offerings and generally taught by non-Jesuits, organized as part of a host of subjects in the *essercizi cavallereschi* (chivalric exercises), which included fencing, jousting, horsemanship, dancing, foreign languages, penmanship, architecture, and other ancillary activities and fields of knowledge that marked the refinement of character and customs expected of members of the nobility. Stefano Lorenzetti, who has written extensively on the musical training of the Italian nobility, notes that music, as it did for Castiglione's model courtiers, provided these students with an "ornamental" talent that embellished their "formative" character (Lorenzetti 1997, 435), the latter of which was cultivated through the study of mainstream humanistic subjects such as Latin grammar, rhetoric, and others prescribed in the *Ratio studiorum*. But music study, in particular, provided students with much more than a Castiglionian "ornamental" talent in their future lives as well-educated noblemen; it also prepared them to provide music for important civic and courtly ceremonies at the colleges such as funerals and weddings, to perform recitals and accompany dancing and tournaments during public academic ceremonies, and to provide music for the interludes (*intermedii*) of the various stage works performed publicly in the college theatres. This "practical" (as opposed to ornamental) musical training not only went hand in hand with the competitive academic environment cul-

[3] Jesuit collegiate universities offered secondary education (the equivalent of high school in the United States) in addition to undergraduate education and some professional graduate education. Italian universities, by contrast, offered only professional graduate education and conferred doctorate degrees in law, medicine, and theology. See Grendler 2017, 46.

[4] I am indebted to the work of three scholars whose previous articles on music education in the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in Parma and Bologna are referenced throughout this paper. See Och 1990, Lorenzetti 1997, and Martini 2013. In addition, concerning music at the Colleges for Nobles in Brescia and Naples, see Bizzarini 2002, and Seller and Caroccia 2014.

tivated by the Jesuit faculty (Och 1990, 48–49) but, similar to the instruction other physical activities of the *essercizi cavallereschi* (fencing, jousting, horsemanship, etc.), musical education also provided a program of technical and physical discipline through which students could learn to control their bodies and manage their comportment, both individually and in groups. Such physical training was an important dimension of Jesuit pedagogical practice at the colleges, both in the instruction of the *essercizi cavallereschi* and for theatrical productions, with their emphasis on regimented physical and bodily rhetoric in staged oratory as well as in dancing (Brizzi 1981, 185-87).

Thus, the purpose of music education was twofold; as a component of the *essercizi cavallereschi*, music provided students with an ornamental skill by which they could later thrive within their rarefied social milieux; and second, as an embedded practice within the public and ceremonial life of the colleges, music (as we will see) played a fundamental role in organizing the staged public *spettacolo* cultivated by the Jesuits. More specifically, as a technical skill, performing music—and playing the guitar in particular—gave students opportunities to outperform their peers, which in turn allowed the colleges to showcase student talent in public academic ceremonies and advertise them in printed descriptions of such events, which were distributed throughout Europe. Similar to the successful way in which the Jesuits established their theatrical plays at the colleges as public sites of propaganda (Brizzi 1981, 188-89), musical performance also held value for these institutions as public displays of *virtù*, with a focus on technical and even athletic competence and control. As we will see, Jesuit-sponsored published descriptions of music making at the colleges emphasize the technical proficiency of performers, as well as the precise execution of music within seamless and well-calculated successions of contrasting musical episodes, which often give the impression of spontaneity and various registers of *sprezzatura*. As public displays of *spettacolo* at the colleges, these performances required technical training, rehearsal, and a practice routine that students undoubtedly learned from their music teachers. It is no coincidence that well-respected guitar maestros such as Granata, Bertacchini, and Asioli would be recruited by the colleges, since the success of their teaching efforts had serious implications for both students' educational accomplishments as well as for the health and prosperity of the colleges' public image and recruitment efforts.

Among the evidence that bears the fruit of this labor to produce competent musicians, and guitarists in particular, is the newly reported biographical information concerning the count, priest, guitarist, and composer Lodovico Roncalli (1654–1713). Rosters of students enrolled in the *essercizi cavallereschi* at the College for Nobles in Parma list the teenage Count Roncalli along with his brother Francesco enrolled in guitar lessons in the early 1670s, the

same time during which Bertacchini was teaching there.[5] Roncalli's only known musical publication, the *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnola* (Bergamo: Casetti, 1692), shows him to be a skillful guitarist and composer with a fine sense of harmonic control and balance (Dell'Ara and Parimbelli 2004, 19). This book, published when Roncalli was thirty-eight years old, is a testament to the musical training he received during his formative years at Santa Caterina in Parma, which may have been directly from Bertacchini himself, since both are documented in historical records as student and maestro in 1674. But the example of Roncalli is only one of many that speaks to the high level of guitar instruction at the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in the late 1600s. Although the guitar was taught at several of the colleges, those at Parma and Bologna stand out on account of the reputation of their guitar instructors, and for the documented evidence that marks the guitar as an essential component of musical activities there.

The Jesuit College for Nobles Santa Caterina in Parma

At the time of its creation in 1601, the Jesuit College for Nobles (named Santa Caterina) in Parma was unique in Italy, one imagined as part of the new "civic-Jesuit" University of Parma, a quasi-religious institution created in tandem with Duke Ranuccio I Farnese in an effort to further consolidate his power in the duchy of Parma, which was sustained by the Farnese dukes throughout the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth (Grendler 2017, 187). Despite the lack of information about the teaching of music at Santa Caterina during Duke Ranuccio I's reign, in 1686 his son Ranuccio II (r. 1646 to 1696) put into place a policy that limited the number of musical lessons in the *essercizi cavallereschi* in which students could enroll, a move that confirms the popularity of music lessons at the college in the 1670s and 1680s, and likely long before then (Martini 2013, 239). At the same time, Ranuccio II invested greatly in developing a culture of *spettacolo* at the college, sponsoring the construction of a great Sala d'Armi and the Teatro Maggiore in 1656, the latter of which remained the largest and most technologically advanced theatre in Parma until the construction of the Teatro Ducale in 1688 (Och 1990, 41-42; Martini 2013, 249). This meant that for several decades the college remained the premiere site for musical theatre in Parma, which included some staged activities performed by the students, for

[5] Lodovico Roncalli is listed among the student members enrolled in guitar and lute lessons at the college in *Il teatro dell'honore*, 1674, 41. His brother Francesco appears in the guitar studio in 1675; *Il teatro dell'honore*, 1675, 37. See below for more information about the Il teatro dell'honore publications.

example, a performance of *Il Dario* in 1662, an "azione tragica" with musical intermezzi and a balletto (Martini 2013, 247).

This surge in musico-theatrical activity also coincides with the rise of documentation that notes the importance of music and other *essercizi cavallereschi* in the educational life of Santa Caterina. An early, if not the earliest, reference to guitar instruction at the college can be traced to the Duchess of Parma Margherita de' Medici's visit to inspect the construction of the Teatro Maggiore in 1648. There she was welcomed with a student concert that featured a duet performed by the nine-year-old Marchese Carlo Valente Gonzaga on guitar and his lute teacher (Martini 2013, 243). From this point until the 1670s, documentation about the musical activities of the students is limited to occasional descriptions of entertainments in the theatres, such as the musical intermezzi and balli performed between the acts of tragedies in 1652 and 1662 (Martini 2013, 243, 247).

Descriptions of guitar playing by students during the 1670s and 1680s are plentiful, beginning with a published account of an academic ceremony honoring the canonization of San Francesco Borgia in 1671, titled *Il corona trionfale intessuta alle glorie di S. Francesco Borgia*. Part of the lavish ceremony featured performances showcasing the talent of students enrolled in the *essercizi cavallereschi*. In the excerpt from the account below, the narrator describes a portion of the demonstration that featured a student exhibition of horsemanship followed by a musical "sinfonia" of violins, lutes, guitars, and a harpsichord:

> Comparvero adunque quattre Cavalieri, e furono li Signori Antonio Moscardino, Co: Carlo Anguissola, Lorenzo Lomellino, e Paolo Nani, quali sù due Cavalli nello stesso tempo cangiandosi à vicenda, hor à due assieme, hor a solo e solo, ordirono salti de più difficili, che tal essercizi si vanti di praticare [. . .] Mentre però lo sguardo in forma simile trattenevasi, hebbe il suo appagamento l'udito: poiche nello stesso tempo risonò una Sinfonia di Violini, Liuti, Chittarriglie, e Spinetta, con tal ordine, che d'improviso tacendo le Chittarriglie, ripigliavano un'aria particolare i Violini, e al mancare di questi ravvivavansi i Liuti: finche tutti insieme di bel nuouo aggruppandosi compirono l'opera. (*Il corona*, 1671, 16-17)[6]
>
> (Then there appeared four Cavalieri; and they were the Signori Antonio Moscardino, Co[nte] Carlo Anguissola, Lorenzo Lomellino, and Paolo Nani, who, on two horses, switched places with each other at the same time, now with two together, now one by one, they carried out the most difficult jumps on which one prides himself in practicing this art. [. . .] While the sense of sight was transfixed in a similar manner, however, the sense of

[6] All translations are by the author except where noted otherwise.

> hearing was [also] satisfied, since at the same time resounded a sinfonia of violins, lutes, guitars, and a harpsichord with such order that suddenly, with the guitars going silent, the violins started up again with a particular aria; [then] with them [the violins] absent, the lutes were revived, until all united again, forming themselves into groups, they finished the musical concert.)

From this description several themes emerge that appear in later published accounts of musical events featuring student performances. The first, and most significant of these, is the timing and execution of the demonstrations, which clearly had been rehearsed by the students beforehand. Readers are also drawn to the skill level of the students and the high quality of their efforts in both individual and group exercises: the students in horsemanship were performing the most difficult jumps and moves known in this art, while the musicians navigated seamlessly through a series of "arias" played by different families of instrumental groups, an act that required careful preparation. Descriptions such as these make clear that students enrolled in lessons of the *essercizi cavallereschi* at the college were prepared to perform in public ceremonies in which their talent would be on display. Thus, the choice of enrolling in these lessons—which were entirely optional—meant that prospective students knew they could be asked to participate in public ceremonies under a considerable amount of pressure to perform well. More important, the high level of skill required to carry out such performances meant that those enrolled in lessons would be subject to a hierarchy within their class based on their skill level. It is important to note that not all students enrolled in lessons of the *essercizi cavallereschi* participated in the academic ceremonies; individuals were selected to perform publicly based on their abilities (Och 1990, 48). All of this is entirely in line with the climate of *spettacolo* that Ranuccio II and the Jesuits worked hard to cultivate at Santa Caterina, which by the 1670s had grown to become one of most important sites of artistic and theatrical production in Parma.

The Guitar at Santa Caterina: Evidence from the *Teatro dell'honore*

A lasting testament to the college's rich culture of *spettacolo* was the Teatro dell'honore, a public end-of-the-year academic ceremony inaugurated at the college in 1670 and performed in the Teatro Maggiore, which showcased and honored the talents and achievements of the students, a tradition that continued until the suppression of the Jesuits in the late eighteenth century. The Jesuits carefully chronicled, printed, and distributed these programs widely throughout Europe, which acted both as memorials of the ceremonies as well as recruiting efforts aimed at prospective domestic and international

students and their aristocratic families (Och 1990, 46). Moreover, these annual academic demonstrations were also political events, typically attended by the duke himself and accompanied by members of the Farnese court and honored guests. The annual Teatro dell'honore of 1678, for example, was dedicated to the birth of Joseph I, the first-born son of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, who would later be crowned emperor after his father's death in 1705. In its published form, the detailed accounts of the 1678 ceremony, which the duke and his sister Maria Maddalena attended, included an elaborate dedication to Leopold I, a conspicuous act of publication broadcasting the strong diplomatic ties among Parma, the Habsburg dynasty, and the Jesuits, of whose educational mission Leopold I himself was the product. Due to the detail in which these politically themed pamphlets describe the activities of the ceremonies (since they are often dedicated to high-ranking members of the nobility), the Teatro dell'honore are valuable documents for registering the musical activity in the college, as they report the names of students and the instruments they studied and provide detailed information about the performances. In the seventeenth century these concerts were typically carried out in the second half of the ceremony, which honored students enrolled in the *essercizi cavallereschi*, although music was sometimes featured at other times during the event.

From 1674 to 1678 the Teatro dell'honore programs document a period in the college in which the guitar figures most prominently in the instruction of students (Table 1). The enrollment numbers are derived from the Teatro dell'honore programs except for the year 1690, where they are taken from Martini's data (Martini 2013, 238).[7] At the height of its enrollment, the guitar studio boasted twenty-three pupils, a number unmatched in any instrumental studio at the college until the violin class of 1731.

	Tromba marina	Harpsichord voice contrabass	Lute	Guitar	Recorder (Flauto)	Mandolin	Violin	Harp
1674	7	9	7	21	2	5	1	0
1675	7	9	9	23	4	4	2	0
1676	5	11	8	23	3	5	2	0
1678	2	12	10	13	5	13	2	4
1683	2	4	10	5	0	10	6	0
1690	N/A	1	6	5	0	8	0	N/A

Table 1. Music Lessons Enrollment at Santa Caterina, 1674 to 1690.

[7] All of the *Teatro dell'honore* programs were published by Mario Vigna in Parma.

After reaching its peak enrollment in 1675 and 1676, the guitar studio quickly dropped off in numbers. By 1704 students were no longer enrolled in guitar lessons (Martini 2013, 238). Although the reasons for the high 1675–1676 numbers cannot be firmly established, it is perhaps not coincidental that in these two years the college employed two professional guitar maestros to teach in the music program: Pietro Bertacchini, who was hired in February 1674 and left in April 1675, and Francesco Asioli, who in his 1676 guitar book *Concerti armonici* wrote that he was at that time employed as *maestro di chitarra* at the college. It cannot be confirmed that the guitarist and theorbist Bertacchini taught guitar; he noted in his autobiography that he was hired simply as a music teacher at the College of Nobles in Parma, and mentioned by name one of his students—Giovanni Francesco Orsetti—who, according to the *Teatro dell'honore* programs, was enrolled in harpsichord, voice, and contrabass lessons in 1674, but not in the guitar studio. Still, it is within reason to assume that Bertacchini taught guitar during his brief tenure at Santa Caterina, given his admission that he seriously studied the guitar in the 1660s. Moreover, with an enrollment of twenty-three guitar students in 1675, it might have been that Asioli and Bertacchini overlapped at the college, with both sharing the load of teaching such a large number of guitar students.

Whatever the reasons for this surge in guitar activity, these student guitarists were tasked with a range of musical activities, including playing in guitar ensembles (with some opportunities for solo playing), providing accompaniment for chamber music performances and singers, and playing for the ubiquitous dance spectacles that took place during the *Teatro dell'honore* festivities. It is likely that such performing traditions were established before 1674, and that the guitar had risen among the ranks of instruments taught at the college in part because it was more desirable than others—on account of its percussive effects as well as its portability—for accompanying dancing and providing dramatic sonic backdrops for the musical numbers performed during academic exercises and other important events. One such performance is described in the *Teatro dell'honore* of 1676, wherein during the presentation of student honors in the *essercizi cavallereschi*, an ensemble of eleven guitars, a mandolin, and violone served as the musical showcase:

> Fece echo gradita al Sig. Secretario un concerto di undici Chitarre con un Mandolino, & un Violone: Erano i Signori divisi in quattro Cori, e variamente hor un solo, hor due, hor tutti assieme replicavano le risposte, e cangiavano con somme piacere l'armonia. (*Il teatro dell'honore*, 1676, 52)

> ([Then] was echoed, to the delight of Signore Secretary [of the Academy], a concert of eleven guitars with a mandolin and violone. [Playing] were

> the Signori divided into four choirs, and variably as one, then two, then all together, they responded to each other by modifying the harmony of their responses with the utmost delight.)

Such ensembles featuring guitars and performing in the concertato idiom were a mainstay of the *Teatro dell'honore* of the 1670s, a programming choice entirely consistent with the musical character of *spettacolo* that marked many public musical events of the seicento (see Stefani 1974, 9-72). As the description above makes clear, the students were admired for their ability to facilitate contrasting instrumental episodes and calls and responses. Such sonic displays of "sorpresa" and "meraviglia" produced by *concertato* effects were standard fare in the *Teatro dell'honore* programs, and not just during strictly musical concerts. In the 1674 presentation of student honors in the *essercizi cavallereschi*, for example, during an exhibition of dance, three guitarists took to the stage with their instruments as they danced and played at the same time:

> S. B. Alberto Ernesto di, & in Lerchenfeld, Corrado Lupi, Co. Gio. Battista del Carretto, Mario Bianchelli, Silvio Gori Pannelini, e Co. Vincenzo Scroffa, accordaronsi a formare un balletto misto d'Italiano, e Francese, l'Aria del quale esprimendosi sù le prime dal Coro de' Stromenti, veniva ripigliata dal suono di tre Chitare, e varie Castagnette, toccate tutte da quegl'istessi Signori, che formavano il ballo, senza punto inframetterlo, mentre tre d'essi con le Chitare, e gli altri tre con le Castagnette accompagnavanlo, e gli altri stromento assordati, e come sotto voce lor servivano. Havevano già sostenuta nobilmente tal pessercizi, all'hor che deposte d'improviso le Chitariglie, e battendosi le Nacchere, risvegliaronsi gli altri stromenti, ed essi seguitarono l'Aria medesima con un ballo in tutto Italiano e[s]si per le figure, che in lui espressero, come per la leggiadria con cui portaronlo, communemente lodato. (*Il teatro dell'honore*, 1674, 43).

> (S[ignore] B[aron] Alberto Ernesto of Lerchenfeld, Corrado Lupi, Co[nte] Gio[vanni] Battista of Carretto, Mario Bianchelli, Silvio Gori Pannelini, and Co[nte] Vincenzo Scroffa, agreed to form a dance mixed of the Italian and French manners, whose Aria was played by a chorus of instruments for the first dances, and then repeated by three guitars and various castanets, all played by those same Signori who formed the dance, without interfering the time [i. e., "without missing a beat"]. While the three of them with guitars and the other three with castanets accompanied the dance, the other instruments were muted, as though [playing] softly in their service. Having already nobly supported such a part, suddenly the guitars were put down, and the castanets were struck; the other instruments were reawakened, and they followed the same Aria with a dance all in the Italian style—which all praised for the movements that were expressed in the dance, as well as for

the beauty with which they carried it out.)

Much more evident in this description is the attention given to the sonic impact produced by concertato effects: contrasts in orchestration and volume, and adept sequencing all contribute to the episode's appeal. Guitars and castanets, the only instruments mentioned by name (probably because they were played by the dancers themselves), appear to act in small groups of soloists in dialogue with a larger supporting body of instruments (*tutti*). Moreover, this dialogue was carried out unexpectedly ("d'improviso" = "suddenly," or perhaps better translated as "from out of nowhere") and executed with great skill and timing ("without missing a beat"), directing equally the attention of readers to the superior talent of the students as well as the great labor that went into rehearsing such well-timed surprises.

Other descriptions of musical performances at the college emphasize the effects of "sorpresa" and "meraviglia" produced by more conspicuous acts of extemporization, or at least those that mimic the effect of spontaneity. In the 1675 *Teatro dell'honore*, during the musical exhibition, the following eyewitness account narrates a series of unexpected "blunders" with suspiciously well-timed outcomes, worth quoting in full due to the elaborate way in which this quasi-theatrical tableau showcases the excellent musicianship of the student guitarists:

> All'espressione de' virtuosi nel suono fù presentata subito una Chittariglia al Signor Abbate Clemente Federico Trotti Sandrio di Mombasilio, quale rifiutatala, e bramando di riconoscere più tosto in questa la peritia del Signor Mario Bianchelli, sè, che a lui si porgesse; ma egli nodrendo anzi pensieri in tutto opposti, di essi con formole significanti di particolar complimento a supplicare il sudetto Signor Abbate a fine, che accettandola, si compiacesse dar prova in tal essercizi del suo profitto, non altro però da esso lui ottenendo, che risposte convenevoli di gentilezza, con cui frà essi formarono un nobile contrasto di cortesia; finche il detto Signor Mario desioso pure di ricevere dal Signor Abbate la richiesta gratia, si essibì di essaminare egli stesso, e concertar l'instromento a oggetto, che più prontamente ai comandi della di lui destra ubbidisse; e già ciò esseguiva, quando all'improviso infrantasi una delle principali corde, parve si troncasse il filo al concerto; ma venne tosto dal Signor Abbate chiamata un'altra Chittarra, non ammessa però dal Signor Mario, fin tanto che non convennero di prendere ogn'uno la sua, e di suonare in concerto. Vero è, che appena di eransi a risvegliarlo con un vago arpeggiamento intrecciato, che si avviddero non spiccare perfettamente da se sole le chittariglie, onde bramarono per appagamento perfetto dell'udito il concorso di qualche altro diverso stromento. Alla di loro brama altrettanto pronto, quanto inaspettato rispose il Sig. Co. Lelio Secco Soardi coll'issibirsi a servirgli con la Tiorba, essibitione, quale si come cadde

opportunissima, così doppo varie gare di gentilezza tra di loro espresse, fù concordemente accettata; nel che alzatosi il Sig. d. Sforza Moroni Stampa, e rinnovata all'accennato Sig. Conte la memoria della promessa suppostagli già di formare in Academia con esso lui una armonica unione di suono, fù anzi egli invitato da primi a concorrere al concerto degli altri con la propria Chittariglia, e venne espressa la preghiera in tal forma, ch'egli non puotè ritirarsi, onde tutti unitamente doppò un'ameno preludio toccarono l'aria d'una spiritosa Alemanda. Al metro di tal suono protestò il Signor D. Sforza di ramentarsi d'un'andamento con simile di suonata, a cui già con le danze in altra Academia corrisposto haveva il Sig. Co. Lelio, anzi facendosi a questi instanza di replicare un tal ballo, ritirossi egli, scusandosi con asserire, che un'altro Cavagliere erasi all'hor à per tale impresa disposto: interrogato chi fosse, e propostosi il Sig. M. OTTAVIO VALENTI GONZAGA ACAD. venne al ballo invitato con offerirglisi tutti a servirlo in tal atto col suono. Doppo qualche cortese renitenza acconsentì egli, regolandosi nelle danze con atteggiamento francese, e insieme accompagnando con le nacchere il concerto composto con i propri stromenti da sudetti quali all'impresa s'accinsero con vivezza, proseguironla con bizzaria, e terminaronla con encomio. (*Il teatro dell'honore*, 1675, 38-39)

(In the [demonstration] of virtuosos [playing musical instruments], a guitar was immediately presented to Signor Abbate Clemente Federico Trotti Sandrio di Mombasilio, who refused it, wanting to instead recognize with this refusal, the expertise of Signor Mario Bianchelli, and insisting that it [the guitar] be offered to him; but [Bianchelli], nurturing completely opposite thoughts, thoughts with significant formulas [of locution] of a particular compliment to beg the aforementioned Signore Abbate [to accept it], who, accepting it in the end, was delighted to give proof of his progress in such an art, for nothing else than obtaining from it courteous responses of kindness, with which among these two men was formed a noble contrast of courtesy; until the aforementioned Signor Mario, also desirous of receiving from Signor Abbate the requested grace, showed off by examining the same [guitar] and tuning it, which promptly obeyed the commands of his right [hand]; and this was already happening when suddenly one of the principal strings [of the guitar] broke, seeming to cut short the thread of the concert. But another guitar was immediately called for by Signor Abbate, [which] was not allowed by Signor Mario unless each agreed to take his own [guitar] and play in *concerto*. It is true, that just as they were going to reawaken [the concert] with a beautiful intertwined arpeggiation, they noticed the guitars weren't exactly standing out by themselves, so they yearned for the involvement of some other different instrument for the perfect fulfillment of the sound. Their desire was as much ready as it was unexpected when Sig[nore] Co[nte] Lelio Secco Soardi responded by offering himself to join them on the theorbo, a most opportune exhibition given what had just happened. Thus, after various competitions of courtesy between them, [the offer] was

> mutually accepted. Then rose up Sig[nore] D[on] Sforza Moroni Stampa, and Sig[nore] Conte, with the renewed memory of the promise already made to him to create a harmonic union of sound with [Stampa] in the Academic exercise, was invited by the first players to compete *al concerto* with the others, each on their own guitar. The request [to perform] was expressed in such a way that he could not retreat, whence all united, after a pleasant prelude, played the aria of a spirited *Alemanda*. Signor D[on] Sforza protested the meter of this sound, remembering a performance with a similarly played piece [of music], which Sig[nore] Co[nte] Lelio had already set to dance in another Academic exercise. Rather than repeating one such dance in this instance, he retreated, excusing himself by claiming that there was another Cavagliere ready for such a challenge. Asked who it was, he proposed that Sig[nore] M[archese] OTTAVIO VALENTI GONZAGA [of the Accademia degli Scelti] be invited to the dance, with all [the musicians] offering to provide him with music. After some courteous reluctance, he agreed, settling on dances in the French manner, and together with the castanets, accompanying the concerto composed of the personal instruments of the aforementioned [musicians], who prepared themselves for the undertaking with energy, proceeding with *bizzarria*, and ending it with praise [from the audience]).

The demonstration begins with what we might recognize as a routine (if somewhat exaggerated) exchange of gallantry in the Castiglionian tradition: as the *Cortegiano* instructs, it is fitting for noblemen to engage in music making only when urged to do so by others, and only among like company (Castiglione [1528], 127). But what is more striking about this account is the narrator's attention to the mishaps and unexpected events that appear to have thwarted the preplanned flow of the concert, all of which, in the end, create opportunities for the musicians to intervene and save it from ending in failure. As a result, the account reads as a script in which the responses to the surprises—the sudden presentation of instruments, the breaking of the string, impromptu invitations for others to join the performances, and the interruption of the dance—all leave the reader wondering if they were really just part of the act. This is most pronounced in the way in which the narrator chooses to recount the interventions of the musicians as acts of competition and one-upmanship: Abbate Sandrio, for example, reluctant to perform in front of the better guitarist Mario Bianchelli, bows out (at first) of the concert and offers the floor instead to Bianchelli, whose superiority on the instrument is demonstrated by the command in which he tunes the instrument; Don Sforza Moroni, when prompted to join the first group of instruments (guitars and a *tiorba*), takes his guitar and "competes" with them in concerto ("concorrere al concerto"); and similarly, in responding to the seemingly ad hoc proposition that Ottavio Valenti Gonzaga come to the floor to dance, the

musicians ready themselves for the challenge ("impresa") of spontaneously providing music for Gonzaga's routine. They, of course, succeed in amazing the crowd with their "bizzarria," a word that eludes English translation (Florio 1611, 62, gives it as "phantasticallnesse"), but in musical contexts is associated with bursts of original, artful spontaneity. These "interventions" appear instead as a pretext of episodes planned to showcase the talents of individual students in the form of friendly competition, which illustrates the various gradations of skill levels among them.

Asioli's *Concerti armonici* (1676) and the *Convittori* of Santa Caterina

As difficult as it may be for us to calibrate these competing skill levels among student guitarists, two of the guitarists mentioned in the above accounts—Corrado Lupi and the Abbate Clemente Federico Trotti Sandrio di Mombasilio—were given dedicatory pieces in Asioli's *Concerti armonici per la chitarra spagnola* (Bologna: Monti, 1676), a book Asioli dedicated to the *convittori* of Santa Caterina, where he taught in the mid 1670s. In fact, all of the dedicatees of this book are cited in the *Teatro dell'honore* pamphlets published in the 1670s, most of whom were either enrolled in guitar lessons or performed on guitar in academic ceremonies during their time at the college (Table 2).

Convittori Dedicatee	1674 Musical Activity	1675 Musical Activity	1676 Musical Activity	1678 Musical Activity
Alessandro Falconieri	Lessons in guitar, mandolin	Lessons in guitar, lute, mandolin; Performed on lute	Lessons in guitar, lute, mandolin	Not enrolled
Alessandro Sforza	None	None	None	None
Annibale Gaetano Bianchelli	None	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar
Annibale Visconti	None	None	None	Lessons in guitar, lute; Performed on guitar
Antonio Leopoldo [Conte di Petting di Praga]	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	None	None
Antonio Ottaviano Garzadoro	Lessons in guitar, tromba marina	Lessons in guitar, tromba marina, recorder; Performed on recorder	Lessons in guitar, tromba marina, recorder, violin	Not enrolled
Bartolomeo Spada	None	Performed on guitar	Performed on guitar, harpsichord, voice, contrabass	Not enrolled
Bartolomeo Visconti	None	None	None	Not enrolled
Carlo Luigi Arborio Gattinara [Cattinara]	None	None	None	Lessons in guitar
Clemente Federico Trotti Sandrio Di Mombasilio	None	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Not enrolled
Camillo Porto	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	Lessons in mandolin; Performed on guitar
Battista Pallavicino	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	None

Table 2. Musical Activity of the Dedicatees of Asioli's *Concerti armonici* (1676) during Their Period of Study at Santa Caterina, 1674 to 1678.

Table 2. cont'd

[Cor] Rado Lupi	Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar	Not enrolled
Cosmo Masi	None	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar harpsichord, voice, contrabass, lute, mandolin; Performed on guitar, theorbo
Ercole Varano Di Camerino	None	Performed (voice)	None	None
Ferdinando Raimondo Massimiliano	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar	Lessons in guitar
Francesco Antonio [Conte di Hohenzollern]	Not enrolled	Not enrolled	None	None
Francesco Giacinto Sangiorgio Aldobrandino	None	None	None	Not enrolled
Gioan Francesco Orsetti	Lessons in harpsichord, voice, contrabass	Lessons in harpsichord, voice, contrabass	Lessons in harpsichord, voice, contrabass	Not enrolled
Gio. Guglielmo [Barone di Lucimberg]	Lessons in guitar	Lessons in guitar	Lessons in guitar	Not enrolled
Francesco Di Passano	Lessons in guitar	Lessons in guitar	Lessons in guitar	Not enrolled
Girolamo Barbarano	Not enrolled	None	None	None
Giuseppe Carpani	None	None	None	Not enrolled
Ignatio Filippo [Breiner]	None	Lessons in guitar, lute; Performed on lute	Lessons in guitar, lute, harpsichord, voice, contrabass	Not enrolled
Leopoldo Raimondo [Braida]	None	None	None	Not enrolled
Lorenzo Cuttica	None	None	Lessons in recorder	Lessons in recorder
Luciano Serra	Lessons in tromba marina	None	None	Lessons in guitar; Performed on guitar

Whether or not Asioli's dedicatory pieces were assigned as teaching pieces, or perhaps as pieces to be performed during the academic ceremonies, remains entirely conjectural. But at the very least, they give us an idea of the "ideal" or "model" way of playing that Asioli undoubtedly shared with his students during lessons. Conspicuously absent from Asioli's dedicatees are the names Lorenzo Nomio and Mario Bianchelli (the brother of Annibale cited above), guitarists who emerge from the *Teatro dell'honore* pamphlets as the most gifted guitarists and musicians at the college during the 1670s. The account from 1676 provided above has already addressed Bianchelli's talents; Nomio, on the other hand, appears with great consistency in the programs during his time at the college; in fact, he is one of the few students singled out by name for his superior musical abilities. The following account from 1674, which describes the only other musical demonstration held during the *Teatro dell'honore* that year (the other demonstration was cited above), gives us a sense of his Nomio's talents:

> All'espressione de virtuosi nel suono alzossi il Principe dell'Academia Sig. Co. LORENZO NOMIO quale comprovando di sostenere tal grado sì per il pregio nelle lettere, come per la prerogativa portata negli essercitij cavallereschi inoltrossi ad accompagnare con la Tiorba il metro d'un Arietta dal Musico di Casa cantata, esprimendo la pessercizi con lodevole armonia; quindi cangiandosi Arietta, cangiò ancor eglì stromento, e preso il Leuto, secondo prontamente al di lei tuono; quale compito, e ripigliandosi di bel nuovo altr' Aria dal Musico, diè di piglia ancora il Prencipe a nuovo stromento, e con il suono della Chitarriglia seguitò la voce dell'Aria; finche sciegliendosi la quarta, e come sempre, diversa canzonetta, a diverso stromento anch'egli appigliossi, ciòe al Contrabasso, con cui secondando gli andamenti del canto, compì l'opera, e ne riportò meritevolmente universale l'applauso. (*Il teatro dell'honore*, 1674, 42)
>
> (In the [demonstration] of virtuosos in the playing [of musical instruments] rose the Prince of the Accademia [degli Scelti] Sig[nore] Co[nte] LORENZO NOMIO, who, confirming that he holds the quality of letters in as high esteem as the quality brought out in the *essercizi cavallereschi*, proceeded to accompany with the theorbo a bit of an *Arietta* sung by the *Musico* of the house, playing his part with praiseworthy harmony; then changing the *Arietta*, he changed instruments as well, and, with the Lute having been taken up, [he played] promptly according to [the singer's] key. With it completed, another new beautiful Aria by the *Musico* was taken up, and the Prince again picked up a new instrument, and with the sound of the guitar followed the voice of the Aria, until a fourth [Aria] was chosen, and, as usual, for a different canzonetta, he again took a different instrument, that is, a contrabass, with which according to the flow of the song he carried out the work, which brought again deserving universal applause.)

It is telling that the narration of this event fails to mention the name of the singer Nomio is accompanying, nor goes into any description about the singer's talents or abilities. The demonstration is clearly a showcase for Nomio, as the focus is squarely on his ability to navigate, presumably improvise, an accompaniment on multiple instruments. Furthermore, in line with the other musical demonstrations given at the college, Nomio is praised for his ability to manage the unexpected: namely, adapting to and accommodating the whims of the singer, who leads Nomio through a series of arias in contrasting keys.

Between 1678 and 1683 the number of guitar students enrolled at Santa Caterina was reduced by more than half. Likewise, in the Teatro dell'honore pamphlets, the vivid accounts of guitar playing in the 1670s gave way to more generic descriptions of ensemble concerts featuring lutes, harpsichords, mandolins, and violins. By 1720 guitars were no longer featured in the academic ceremonies and exercises at Santa Caterina, although, according to the published activities of the college, guitar instruction continued to be offered until at least 1759 (Och 1990, 47). Much more popular among the students were the violin and recorder, which were often featured in larger ensemble performances of sinfonie or concerti (Och 1990, 56).

As products of the culture of *spettacolo* cultivated by the Jesuits under Ranuccio II's sponsorship, the guitar performances by the students in the 1670s were high-stakes activities that held significance for the public image of the college and the quality of its instructors. Performed before a mixed audience of the esteemed nobility, their honored guests, and the general public, these demonstrations were accordingly executed with great skill, likely prepared under the instruction of talented teachers such as Bertacchini and Asioli, and were finally memorialized in published pamphlets that could serve (in part) as political propaganda on behalf of the Jesuits in Parma and the Farnese court. This musical activity runs in alignment with the educational prerogatives and mission of Santa Caterina and the Jesuit-run University of Parma, which was in effect the first Jesuit university in Italy established in conjunction with the local nobility, a successful university model that would later be reproduced by Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga in Mantua (Grendler 2017, 188). By contrast, the College for Nobles in Bologna (named San Francesco Saverio) was the product of Jesuit attempts in Bologna (often backed by Vatican officials and cardinal legates themselves) to offer a competing educational alternative to the already well-established University of Bologna, a lay institution in a city under papal authority (Grendler 2017, 318). Despite these contrasting political landscapes, music education flourished in the Colleges for Nobles both in Parma and Bologna during the late seventeenth century in strikingly similar ways: namely, in the hiring of well-known guitar maestros and the use of

music as an instructional tool not only for providing an ornamental talent for young noblemen, but also for bolstering the public image and reputation of the college through lavish performances and academic demonstrations. The figure of Giovanni Battista Granata is central to this chapter of musical education at San Francesco Saverio, as he stands out as the most acclaimed composer and guitarist affiliated with the college before 1700, the time around which several prominent members of the Accademia filarmonica began to populate its music faculty.

Giovanni Battista Granata, the *Soavi concenti* (1659), and the Jesuit College for Nobles San Francesco Saverio in Bologna

While the details of Granata's career have been recounted elsewhere (Dell'Ara 1979, Blardone 1987, Boye 1995 and 2001, Bongiovanni 2002), a few facts are worth repeating in order to contextualize his relationship to San Francesco Saverio. Born in Torino, by the early 1650s Granata had established himself among the top *liutisti* in Bologna, having been voted as *sopranumerario dei liutisti* (auxiliary lutenist) in the Concerto Palatino (Gambassi 1989, 233-36). In these "on-call" positions, it is unclear if Granata performed as a guitarist, lutenist, theorbist, or perhaps some combination of these three (Boye 1995, 104-5). By 1651 Granata had published three collections of guitar music, two of which were printed in Bologna (Op. 2 lacks publishing credits), and all dedicated to members of the nobility, which confirms that Granata sought the favor of noble patrons to sustain his career as a musician. Despite such efforts, in 1659 Granata acquired a professional license to work as a barber-surgeon in the city of Bologna, which supplemented whatever income he procured as a musician or maestro (Dell'Ara 1979, 11).

His new "official" career, however, did not prevent Granata from seeking aristocratic patronage as a musician, and guitarist, in particular. Also in 1659, Granata published his fourth book with Giacomo Monti in Bologna, the *Soavi concenti di suonati musicali per la chitarra spagnuola*, dedicated to the *convittori* (student boarders) of San Francesco Saverio in Bologna. In the section that follows, I will show not only that these students studied with Granata while they were enrolled at the college, but also that the *Soavi concenti* was composed in part for their musical training, which suggests that Granata was employed at the school as a guitar maestro. These observations are significant for a number of reasons. First, because most of what is known about the musical activities at the college, especially regarding musical instruction, does not occur until after 1700. Also, musical texts (scores and pedagogical texts) affiliated with the colleges are rare, even for the "musically active" Santa Caterina in the seventeenth century. Most important to the present study,

this information about the Soavi concenti positions Granata, his book, and guitar instruction front and center in the musical life of the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles in Italy during the second half of the seicento.

Granata's *Soavi concenti* and the *Convittori* of San Francesco Saverio

Granata's *Soavi concenti* is a large book of guitar pieces (mainly dances), a sonata for violin, guitar, and continuo, and a concluding instructional treatise for realizing accompaniment on the guitar. Today the *Soavi concenti* is best remembered for its novel attributes—the unusual scoring of the sonata, the pieces written in scordatura tunings, and the pieces for the rare *chitarra tiorbata* (a guitar built with an extended neck for extra bass strings)—as well as for Granata's letter to readers, wherein he alleges the plagiarism of his manuscripts, an accusation that may have been directed at Francesco Corbetta[8] (Dell'Ara 1979, 10-13; Boye 1995, 100-49; Tyler and Sparks 2002, 74; Pinnell 1976, 143-50; Pinnell 1979, 323-29). Less attention has been paid to the dedicatees of the *Soavi concenti*—the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio in Bologna,[9] all thirty-four of whom were given individual pieces that Granata assigned in the form of a dedication, a format replicated by Asioli in his 1676 guitar book for his pupils at Santa Caterina. In naming them *convittori*, or student boarders, Granata denotes their status as boys from noble families enrolled in the college, for which they paid room and board, received some free instruction by the Jesuit teachers in subjects such as grammar and rhetoric, and paid fees for extracurricular courses in subjects of the *essercizi cavallereschi*, including music, which were taught by non-Jesuit instructors (Grendler 2017, 306). Although archival records do not acknowledge who was paid to teach music lessons at San Francesco Saverio in 1659, a closer look at the prefatory material of Granata's *Soavi concenti* indicates that he was responsible for teaching guitar to the *convittori* who served as the book's dedicatees.

Evidence for this first appears in the opening dedication of the *Soavi concenti*, where Granata expresses his indebtedness to the *convittori* by invoking the symbol of the college, the Argo, and the story of Jason and the Argonauts:

[8] Boye (1995, 111-12) proposes Corbetta as Granata's target of the plagiarism claim (the offender is unnamed), since the name of this famous guitarist is conspicuously absent from Granata's list of the celebrated guitarists of his day in the letter to readers. Corbetta responded to Granata's preface in 1671, recounted in Hall 1980, 20-22. [Not listed in WC]

[9] Boye mistakes the College of San Francesco Saverio as a "lay society or confraternity," in which Granata's dedicatees were members (Boye 1995, 105). Eisenhardt (2015, 33) assumes that the dedicatees were "highborn Jesuits," but none seem to have been members of the *Compagnia di Giesù*.

> La debilezza del mio plettro posta in elevazione da gli onori cortesi delle Signorie VV. Illustriss. vanterà mai sempre frà le prime sue glorie una tenera servitù egualmente inferiore al loro merito, che disuguale a miei desideri: Ma poiche riconosco l'inabilità delle mie forze al pieno soddisfacimento d'una divota ambizione, non posso meglio riverire la loro grandezza, che sospendendo in omaggio all'ARGONAVE di sì fiorito Collegio, coll'ammutolito mio legno, le fatiche del mio picciol talento, ed inchinando la sovranità di tanti Giasoni, che portano in trionfo il Vello d'oro della Virtù, appellarmi al silenzio per non recar pregiudizio con la povertà delle forme nello sprimere l'osservanza de miei sentimenti, alla integrità d'un fino ossequio, con cui bramo di farmi conoscere Delle Signorie Vostre Illustriss. (Granata 1659, 5-6)
>
> (The weakness of my plectrum, raised up by the courteous honors of Your Most Illustrious Lords, will forever praise among its first glories a tender servitude; [one] equally inferior to their merit, as [it is] unequal to my desires. But since I recognize the inability of my strengths to the full satisfaction of a devout ambition, I cannot better revere their greatness than by suspending in homage to the ARGO of such a thriving college—dumbstruck—my ship/wood [instrument],[10] the labors of my humble talent, and bowing to the sovereignty of so many Jasons, who carry in triumph the Golden Fleece of Virtue: call me to silence for not damning the poverty of style in expressing the observance of my sentiments; [call me] to the integrity of a pure respect, with which I yearn to make myself known by Your Most Illustrious Lords.)

While admitting his "servitude" to and the "sovereignty" of the *convittori*, Granata only alludes to his pedagogical relationship with them. Read in the context of the other prefatory material, however, the image of Granata as maestro of the *convittori* begins to take shape. This is shown in the encomiastic poem printed just after the dedication, an ode titled "Orfeo ravvivato" (Orpheus Revived), whose author is one of the *convittori*, the nineteen-year-old Marchese Giovanni Giordano Gonzaga of Mantua. In Gonzaga's thirteen stanzas, the poet evokes the return of Orpheus in commemorating Granata's arrival in Bologna, closing the ode with particular reference to Granata's role as a teacher to the "Jasons" of "Felsina," the name given to the Etruscan settlement on which the city of Bologna was founded. Gonzaga's tenth stanza begins with an allusion to Granata's "legno" (wood), a symbol that Granata introduced in the dedicatory letter cited above. In Granata's letter and Gonzaga's poem below, "legno" becomes a rich, multivalent symbol that simultaneously describes the materiality of the guitar, the art of guitar playing, and the

[10] See Alighieri 2003.

Argo. The combination also brings immediately to mind Dante's *Commedia*, where the author alludes to his "navicella" (little ship), "barca" (boat), and "legno" (wood) as the narrative vessels of his poetic journey, a metaphorical complex that symbolizes Dante's poetics throughout the text (Alighieri 2003, 51). For Gonzaga, the "legno" in this case is Granata's "noble pine," a clever metaphor for the guitar (whose soundboards were typically made of sprucewood, as they still are today), which "cedes virtue" to its "Jasons"—that is the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio—and fills the pages of the *Soavi concenti* with "thousands" of musical notes:

> Da più nobile pino
> Ove cede virtude a suoi Giasoni
> Di vello pellegrino
> Mille raccolti in un superbi doni,
> Deh ferma il piè sù le Felsinee soglie
> Ove ti vuole il Ciel, Grazia t'accoglie. (Granata 1659, 8)
>
> (From the most noble pine,
> Which cedes virtue to its Jasons
> Of the wandering fleece,
> [Come] thousands of [musical notes] gathered in one splendid gift.[11]
> Ah, stop your [Granata's] feet here above the Felsine threshold
> Where the Heavens want you, where grace greets you.)

As mentioned, the imagery and symbolism of Granata as a "second Orpheus," the *convittori* as his "Jasons," and the College of San Francesco Saverio as the "Argo" alludes to the story of Jason and the Argonauts; in particular, the episode from book four of Rhodius's *Argonautica*, in which Orpheus protects the Argonauts from surrendering to the Sirens' song by drowning out their voices with the strumming of his lyre (Rhodius 2009, book 4, 401-2). An illustration of the episode is beautifully engraved on the frontispiece of the *Soavi concenti* (Figure 1), drawing readers' attention immediately to the story even before reaching the book's title page. In it, the Golden Fleece hangs from the mast of the Argo, beneath which the Argonauts appear to have already succumbed to the spell of the Sirens' song. In the foreground is Orpheus, flanked on the left by the winged Pallas Athena presenting him with a book,[12] while another figure on the right, perhaps Juno,[13] is handing

[11] In the next stanza Gonzaga identifies the thousands of "raccolti" (literally "gathered things"): "[. . .] foglij vergati 'n dotti segni / Di vigilate note augusti pegni" (lined pages in erudite signs / of carefully penned notes, venerable tokens).

[12] In addition to her wings, the helmet clearly identifies this figure as Athena, the goddess of war.

[13] In Valerio Flacco's account of the *Argonautica*, a work familiar to the *convittori* of San Fran-

him a lira da braccio and a bow. Below appears the Latin inscription "miscet [miscuit] utile dulci" (mixing the useful with the pleasurable), an aphorism from Horace's *Ars poetica*,[14] which suggests that together the book and the instrument will empower Orpheus to overcome the Sirens' song, allowing Jason and the Argonauts to resume their quest to bring the Golden Fleece back home to Greece.

Figure 1. Frontispiece of Granata's *Soavi concenti* (1659).

In the context of the book's dedicatory material and musical content, however, the image summarizes the actions of Orpheus just as much as those of Granata, the "revived Orpheus." Like the book in Orpheus's hands, the *Soavi concenti* represents the "useful (*utile*)," that is the course of study, while the instrument—Orpheus's lira and Granata's guitar—provides the "pleasurable (*dulci*)," or the sweet-sounding result of learning and playing from the book. In short, the *Soavi concenti* is as much an instructional book for the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio as it is a collection of guitar compositions.

cesco Saverio (according to *I rombi protettori* 1678, 4-5), both Pallas Athena and Juno guide Jason and the Argonauts throughout their voyage, intervening at life-threatening disasters. See Hershkowitz 1988, 47-50.

[14] "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci, lectorem delectando pariterque monendo" (He has won every vote who has blended profit [i.e., usefulness] and pleasure; at once delighting and instructing the reader). Horace 1926, II: 478-79.

It is worth noting that fifteen years later, the Spanish guitar maestro Gaspar Sanz would cite the same maxim from Horace in his guitar treatise *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española* (Sanz 1674, Book 1, 12), a fitting pedagogical tribute to Granata's *Soavi concenti* given the fact that Sanz himself recommended this book to his own students.[15]

The symbolism of Jason and the Argonauts that pervades the *Soavi concenti* held great significance for its dedicatees, the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio. Also in 1659, the same year in which the *Soavi concenti* was published, a five-act play with four intermezzi titled *Zenone* was staged by the *convittori* in one of the college's theatres. In the published scenario of *Zenone* as performed by the students, which also chronicles the stage action and names of the players, the following synopsis describes the second intermezzo:

> Gli Argonauti tornati vello d'Oro da Colchi, consacrano la loro Nave a Pallade; che comparendo sull'acqua del Mare, accetta l'offerta; e comanda a' venti, che portino in Cielo la detta Nave; dalla quale per essere ella l'Impresa del Collegio, di augura a SS. Convittori gloria, e fama immortale. (*Scenario del Zenone*, 1659, 10)
>
> (With the Argonauts having returned [with] the Golden Fleece from Colchis, they consecrated their ship to Pallas Athena, who, appearing on the water of the sea, accepts the offer and commands the winds to take their ship by air; from which it became the emblem of the college, a wish for fame and immortal glory to the most holy *convittori*.)

According to the scenario of *Zenone* (1659, 6), among the names of the twelve *convittori* who performed the second intermezzo include seven who were also named as dedicatees in the *Soavi concenti* to which Granata assigned dedicatory pieces (Table 3).

[15] In his "reglas" (rules) for accompanying on the guitar, Sanz writes: "Hasta aqui lo contenido en las dos reglas primeras, y algo tambien de la tercera, han enseñado yà algunos Maestros. El que quisiere saber mas escalas, y acompañamientos, vea a Francisco Corbeta, y Iuan Bautista Granada." (Up to this point, that which is contained in the first two rules as well as some in the third [rule] has already been taught by a few Maestros. For those who want to know more [*alfabeto*] scales and accompaniments, see [the books of] Francesco Corbetta and Giovanni Battista Granata; Sanz 1674, Book 2: 4). Sanz is clearly referring to the basso continuo treatise in the *Soavi concenti*, as it is the only one of its kind that Granata produced.

Role	Convittori	Dedicatory piece in the *Soavi concenti* (1659)
Pallade	Antonio Spilinberghi [Spilimbergo]	Alemanda (p. 182)
Tisi	Antonio Moroni	
Anfiarao	Conte Giovanni Valmarana	Alemanda (p. 169)
Ercole	Conte Coriolano Pioveni	
Orfeo	Pietro Gaddi	
Teseo	Conte Vincenzo Manzoli	
Castore	Conte Gasparo Giacinto Martinenghi	Gigue (p. 177)
Giasone	Girolamo Castelli	Corrente (p. 215)
Quattro Venti	Antonio Castelli	Balletto (p. 214)
	Tomaso Asti	Passacagli (p. 208)
	Antonio Maria Zaniboni	
	Giovanni Antonio Corbici	Alemanda (p. 212)

Table 3. Dedicatees of the *Soavi concenti* also Appearing in the Second Intermezzo of *Zenone* (1659).

This information can help fill in some of the gaps regarding our knowledge of both the *Soavi concenti* and the College of San Francesco Saverio. We learn, for example, that the Argo, which Granata evoked in homage to the College of San Francesco Saverio and its students in the *Soavi concenti*, served as the "Impresa" (emblem) of the college. The title page of *Zenone* confirms this as well, on which there likewise appears an engraving of the Argo with the Golden Fleece, but etched with a different inscription: "Propere et prospere." The phrase would later serve as the motto for the Accademia degli Argonauti, a student academy established at the college sometime in the 1670s (Testa and Gianfrancesco). With this information in mind, it is tempting to read the engraved frontispiece of the *Soavi concenti*, with its stage-like backdrop, as a visual rendering—or at least memory—of the boys playing their parts during the second intermezzo of *Zenone* (was Granata in attendance?)

More important, the published libretto of *Zenone* confirms that Granata and his *Soavi concenti* were closely tied to the environment of the college in

the late 1650s, and moreover, that Granata likely served as a teacher to many of these students. Beyond the players of the second intermezzo, an additional thirteen of Granata's dedicatees took part in the production of *Zenone*, which confirms that at least twenty out of Granata's thirty-four dedicatees were enrolled at the college during the 1659 academic year. Estimates suggest that Granata's dedicatees comprised about fifty percent of the total annual enrollment at the ollege of San Francesco Saverio in the late 1650s and early 1660s.[16] Although documentation about the maestros hired at the college does not materialize until the end of the seventeenth century, based on these numbers it seems highly likely that Granata was a maestro at the college.

The *Soavi concenti* and Granata's Guitar Pedagogy

This information is key to understanding the significance of the *Soavi concenti* as a pedagogical book rather than simply a group of guitar pieces independently composed by Granata. Whether or not the *convittori* in question played or could play the pieces dedicated to them is less important than the fact that they could *learn* to play these pieces, in all likelihood with the help of their maestro during guitar lessons. We know from Granata's *Nuovi sovavi* [sic] *concenti* (Bologna: Monti, 1680) that in-person instruction was an important dimension of his teaching practice (Boye 1995, 182-83) and, moreover, that Granata defended publications like the *Soavi concenti* for their pedagogical value, despite the fact that they appear to have been composed for players well beyond the beginner level. Writing in the *Nuovi soavi*, Granata argues just as much in reference to his previous guitar books, perhaps referring directly to the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio themselves:

> Essendo si sparsa voce per il Mondo, che le mie Compositioni sopra la Chitarra Spagnola sono difficili da suonare, e cho non sono da Principianti, ma solo da Maestri, stimolato io da questo, sono sforzato a rispondere con la presente lettera, che non ho mai havuto in pensiero di comporre cose facili, e triviali, ma bensì di andare tirando di grado in grado all'ultima perfettione di suonare bene tale istrumento per quello però, che ha potuto arrivare il mio debole talento, ma non per questo sono tanto difficili, che non solo le possino suonare li Virtuosi di tale istrumento, ma ancora moltissimi Signori miei Scolari, che in varie parti del Mondo si ritrovano, quali essendo stati in varij tempi a Bologna a studiare, hebbi io fortuna di servirli per Maestro. (Granata 1680, iii)

[16] The percentage is based on the 1662 number of seventy-six *convittori* enrolled at San Francesco Saverio, which is the earliest known enrollment figure at the college. Enrollment numbers fluctuated from forty-one in 1689 to 126 in 1699 (Grendler 2017, 306).

> (With the rumor spread throughout the world that my compositions for the Spanish guitar are difficult to play and are not for beginners but only for maestros; I am spurred by this, and am forced to respond with the present letter, that I never had in mind to compose easy and trivial things, but rather [to compose] to proceed, moving step by step to the ultimate perfection of playing this instrument well; because of this, however, my weak talent was able to arrive [at that level]. But it is not because of this that they are so difficult, since not only can virtuosos play them on such an instrument; so can also the many, many Signori (my pupils) who from various parts of the world find themselves in Bologna at various times to study, and for whom I have had the fortune of serving as their Maestro.)

Granata likely had the *convittori* in mind when reflecting on his "Signori" from all around the world, as all of the dedicatees of the *Soavi concenti* came to Granata and the Collegio San Francesco Saverio from noble non-Bolognese families, some from as far away as Como, Genoa, and Venice. Moreover, the written testament of Granata's reputation abroad reinforces the pedagogical value of his guitar books, and the *Soavi concenti* in particular. As referenced earlier, writing in his *Instruccion de musica* of 1674, Gaspar Sanz recommended that students of the guitar consult the "scales" of Granata in order to expand their knowledge of chords (notated in *alfabeto*) one could play over certain bass notes. Sanz clearly had the guitar continuo treatise of the *Soavi concenti* in mind, as it is the only known treatise that Granata produced, and also where one finds a comprehensive treatment of the topic of chord scales written in *alfabeto* tablature. Granata's role as an instructor to the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio also helps to explain why he closed the book with a basso continuo treatise for guitar. Under this training, the *convittori* would be learning how to accompany other musicians as well as how to play in the concertato idiom in ensemble settings. As we will see, these were important skills for guitarists to master for their public performances at San Francesco Saverio, just as it was for the guitar students at Santa Caterina in Parma. A closer look at Granata's continuo treatise opens us to the kind of accompaniment strategies his students were learning, and may even be a way for us to imagine what they were playing during their musical demonstrations.

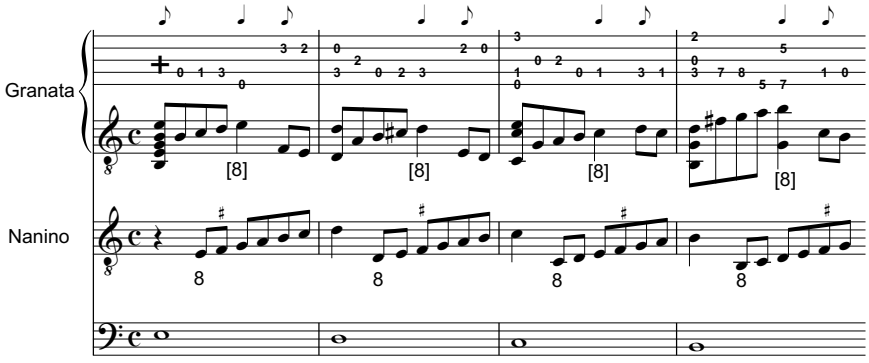
In addition to the chord scales referenced by Sanz, Granata's continuo treatise from the *Soavi concenti* is one of the first of its kind to offer a comprehensive set of practical solutions to harmonic improvisation on the guitar. Moving beyond treatises that offer information about chordal harmonization over individual bass notes using *alfabeto*, Granata's treatise provides additional models in mixed tablature that show guitarists how to improvise melodic passages (mainly in the form of diminutions) over cadences and commonly encountered directional basses (movement by fifth, ascending and descend-

ing stepwise motion, etc.). Looking backward from the eighteenth century, these exercises prefigure the commonplace "diminution" examples found in nearly every performance and thoroughbass treatise produced in the eighteenth century. While it is true that this is new ground for a guitar continuo treatise, the diminution examples from the *Soavi concenti* are hardly novel ways of instructing how to harmonize a bass with melodic figuration. The cues that speak to the historical context of this practice are found in Granata's own descriptions of the examples, which reflect his pedagogical thinking, and likely his own formative musical training. Granata defines his diminution exercises as "Modi di passeggiare" (ways of making passaggi) over directional basses ("sopra un Basso che ascenda di grado, sopra un Basso per grado che discenda," etc.). The choice of the verb "passeggiare" attests to the lasting influence of the sixteenth-century tradition of ornamental passaggi, the improvisatory practice of melodic figuration discussed in the treatises of Ganassi (1535), Ortiz (1553), Dalla Casa (1584), Bassano (1585), and Conforto (1591), among other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century authors who addressed this topic (see Brown 1976).

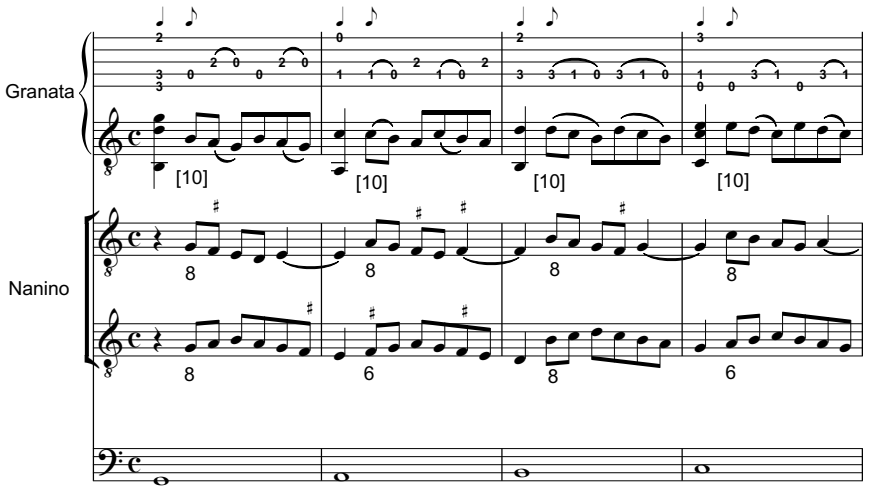
Another historical cue implicit in Granata's captions is reference to the movement of the bass (ascenda/discenda di grado), which is exactly how Giovanni Bernardino Nanino labeled his *contrappunto alla mente* (improvised counterpoint) exercises in the *Regole di contrappunto*, a counterpoint treatise attributed to Nanino and his older brother Giovanni Maria, dated to 1619.[17] This allusion to Nanino's treatise is worth exploring in more detail, as the musical examples from Giovanni Bernardino's section on improvised counterpoint rely on the same principles found in Granata's diminution excerpts from the *Soavi concenti*. A few examples will suffice in highlighting their striking similarities.

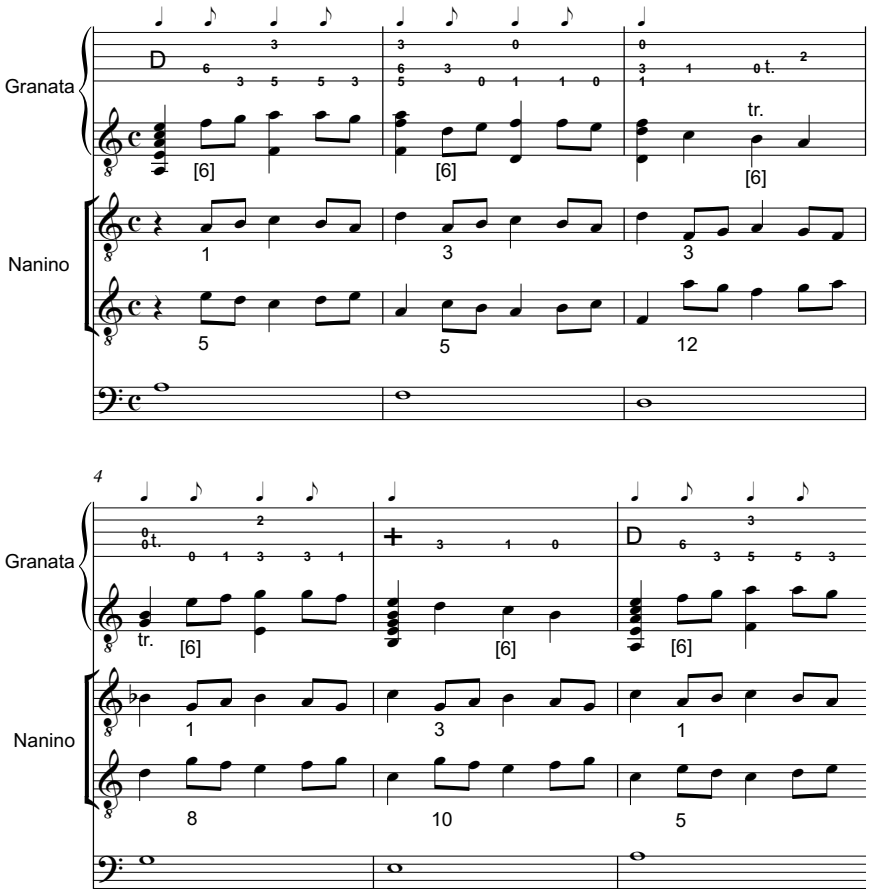
Like Granata, Nanino offers a series of melodic sequences that harmonize various directional basses (stepwise, movement by third, fourth, fifth, etc., and combinations therein). In labeling the intervals at the beginning of each contrapuntal sequence, Nanino offers a visual aid for recognizing patterns of interval chains. Once the patterns are committed to memory, a

[17] The treatise exists today in the form of two copies produced by Giovanni Battista Martini in the eighteenth century and held in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna (I-Bc, B.124 olim 034 and B.125 olim 041). The date of 5 October 1619 appears in an inscription that Gaetano Gaspari found in what he claimed to be the original source in the Biblioteca Corsini in Rome (now lost), from which Martini's copies were made (Gaspari 1890, 302). The section on *contrappunto alla mente* referenced here applies to the examples found in ff.25^{v}-43^{v} of B.124, which is attributed to Giovanni Bernardino Nanino in Martini's commentary on f.22^{r}. On the curious history of these manuscripts, see Ferand 1956; Hill 1997, I: 134-37; and Sabaino 1998, 363-87.

singer or instrumentalist is able to execute an extended passage of sequential counterpoint over a bass that moves in a particular direction (thus *contrappunto alla mente*, or counterpoint in the mind, as opposed to counterpoint "composed" on the page). The simplest of these interval chains are octaves and unisons that proceed uninterrupted, as they require that the improviser simply begin each melodic sequence on the same note as the bass (or its octave equivalence). As shown in Example 1,[18] both Granata and Nanino offer uninterrupted octave counterpoint sequences as options for improvising over a stepwise descending bass.

Example 1. Octave Counterpoint Sequences for Improvising over a Descending Bassline in Granata's *Soavi concenti* and Nanino's *Regole di contrapunto*.

While Granata is fairly consistent in maintaining uninterrupted chains of intervals, Nanino offers more complex combinations, such as thirds, fifths, sixths, octaves, and tenths in alternation. Still, when compared side-by-side, the approaches of both Granata and Nanino produce strikingly similar results. This is shown in the examples of an ascending stepwise bass as well as the movement by descending third and ascending fourth. In the first set, Granata employs uninterrupted sequences of tenths, while Nanino offers octaves as well as alternating octaves and sixths (see Example 2).

[18] The transcriptions reflect a conventional tuning with bourdons on the fourth and fifth courses, (Aa-dd^{1}-g-b-e^{1}), as proposed by Montesardo 1606. In all examples, Nanino's exercises are transposed to Granata's keys. For clarity, the note values of Granata's examples are doubled.

Example 2. Counterpoint Sequences for Improvising over an Ascending Bassline in Granata's *Soavi concenti* and Nanino's *Regole di contrapunto*.

And over descending thirds and ascending fourths, Granata suggests chains of uninterrupted sixths, while Nanino offers more complex patterns of intervals (see Example 3).

Example 3. Counterpoint Sequences for Improvising over a Bassline with Descending Thirds and Ascending Fourths in Granata's *Soavi concenti* and Nanino's *Regole di contrapunto*.

Both Nanino brothers taught singing and counterpoint in Rome at S. Luigi dei Francesi, and Giovanni Bernardino taught these same subjects at the court of Cardinal Montalto, where he is reported to have taught *contrapunto alla mente* to the young pupils recruited by the court (Hill 1997, 130-39). John W. Hill's research has revealed that one pupil in particular during the mid-1610s, Baldassare, was not only instructed by Nanino in the art of improvised counterpoint but was also taught keyboard by Frescobaldi and the Spanish guitar by the Neapolitan virtuosa Ippolita Recupito (Hill 1997, 132-34). Baldassare reminds us first of the guitar's place in the multidimensional character of musical education in Italy during the early seventeenth century, and second, of the significance of *contrappunto alla mente* to the pedagogical training of young musicians. Broadly speaking, it should not be all that

surprising that Granata was familiar with the practice, or at least a version of the practice as it appears in the *Soavi concenti*, even though Nanino's counterpoint examples and pedagogy dealt with the training of vocalists.[19] Other instrumental improvisational manuals of the mid-seventeenth century, such as those by the German keyboardist Spiridione a Monte Carmelo, published in Bamberg and Würzburg in the 1670s, also replicate the *contrappunto alla mente* exercises of the kind presented in the Naninos' treatise, which testifies to the extensive knowledge of this standard practice among instrumentalists of all types both in Italy and abroad (Spiridione a Monte Carmelo 1670/1672, parts III and IV). Unlike Granata, Spiridone was more detailed and explicit in addressing his approach to improvisation, and suggested his method to amateurs and to those interested in learning to improvise in a short amount of time. The sentiment reminds us of Granata's dedicatees, the *convittori* of San Francesco Saverio, who, while not necessarily training to be professional virtuosos like their teacher, were learning to become fluent enough guitar players in order to provide musical performances at the college, many of which were part of high-profile events, sumptuously produced with high expectations of its performers. While the musical performances of Granata's students are not known—apart from their participation in intermezzi such as *Zenone*, which, although not specified, was probably musical in one way or another—there are a few occasions in the later seventeenth century from which we can learn what was expected of students enrolled in guitar lessons.

Guitar Performances at San Francesco Bologna before 1700

Much like the Jesuit College for Nobles in Parma, San Francesco Saverio in Bologna went to great lengths to produce public ceremonies that attracted large crowds, many of which featured musical performances. The most lavish of such events were of a political nature, often celebrating the visits of powerful figures in the Catholic church hierarchy. The earliest of these with a known musical component was recorded in 1668, when the college presented a public disputation at their church featuring a gifted philosophy student sponsored by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (Grendler 2017, 309). The grand spettacolo, whose attendees included the cardinal legate of Bologna, Carlo Carafa, as well as other prominent city officials and professors at the University of Bologna, was accompanied with musical interludes performed by an orchestra of music students.

[19] Yet, as Ferand notes, Giovanni Bernardino's *contrappunto alla mente* examples are highly reminiscent of those from the diminution tutors of the sixteenth century, which affords them a notable "instrumental character" (Ferand 1956, 164).

Later, more specific details about the students' musical participation emerge from an academic ceremony performed on April 11, 1673, when the college produced *La gara delle muse* in honor of Cardinal Flavio Chigi's visit to Bologna (Chigi was a nephew of Pope Alexander VII). According to the published description of the event, among the musical highlights included "isquisita melodia concertata a più stromenti" (exquisite melody performed in concert by more instruments [than previously in the ceremony]), performed by a student ensemble consisting of three lutes, a violone, and three "Chitariglie gentilmente pizzicate" (finely plucked guitars) (see Lorenzetti 1997, 451). Guitars played a more dominant role in the concert given during the annual academic ceremony honoring the college's namesake (St. Francis Xavier) in 1678, with the newly appointed cardinal legate of Bologna, Girolamo Gastoldi, in attendance (the ceremony also celebrated his inaugural visit to the college), as chronicled in *I rombi protettori* (1678). The first part of the concert proceeded "al suono pizzicarono uniti le Chitarre" (to the sound of guitars plucked together) featuring two different ensembles of guitars (four guitars comprising the first ensemble, three comprising the second) (*I rombi protettori* 1678, 6). The musical demonstration ended "in un pieno concerto" (in a full concerto) made of a spinetto, two violins, and three guitars (*I rombi protettori* 1678, 7).

Although these events took place more than a decade after the publication of the *Soavi concenti*, they give us a sense of what guitarists at the college were learning in the second half of the seventeenth century. Interestingly, in these concerts guitarists were described as not strumming chords in the *battuto* manner—an approach associated with amateur guitar playing—but as playing in the pizzicato manner, a more refined style associated with the lute and theorbo, and one also taught (in combination with *battuto*) in Granata's *Soavi concenti*. Moreover, much like the guitar students enrolled at Santa Caterina in Parma, student guitarists in these musical demonstrations were performing as members of an ensemble and exploring the concertato idiom, where their performance roles might traverse both solo and ensemble playing. These "real-life" scenarios corroborate the necessity for the guitar students to learn the principles taught in Granata's basso continuo treatise, an instructional program that emphasizes the improvisational playing of both *battuto* passages (chords strummed as indicated by *alfabeto*) and the more intricate pizzicato playing notated in mixed *alfabeto* and numbered fingerboard tablature. As Granata tells us, this mode of playing, which was seen as advanced by some readers of his books, were well within the reach of his pupils (his Signori), and given the importance of these musical demonstrations as part of the public and political ceremonial life of the college, it is within reason to expect that these students were playing the guitar at a relatively competent level, or

at least a level on par with the other academic exercises on display during such ceremonies, including dancing, fencing, horsemanship, and reciting poetry.

By 1699 records indicate that the college had hired a *maestro della chitarra*, Giovanni Francesco Borgognini, the first maestro after Granata known to have taught its guitar students. From this point on until the middle of the eighteenth century, the musical activities at San Francesco Saverio are documented with more detail, especially regarding musical instruction, which was led by high-profile teachers including Bartolomeo Laurenti, Giuseppe Matteo Alberti, and the great cellist-composer Giuseppe Maria Jacchini, all distinguished members of the Accademia filarmonica in Bologna (Lorenzetti 1997, 445). Another member of the Accademia employed at San Francesco Saverio was Lodovico Fontanelli, who from 1716 to 1727 taught the guitar in addition to the archlute, theorbo, lute, mandolin, and "chitarrone francese" (Lorenzetti 1997, 444). This is undoubtedly the same Lodovico Fontanelli who authored one of the very few collections of music for the *chitarrone francese*,[20] an instrument very similar to what Granata called a *chitarra tiorbata*, and for which he composed some pieces in the *Soavi concenti* (Pinnell 1979, 323). This provides yet another link between Granata and the musical culture later cultivated at San Francesco Saverio. The guitar continued to be taught and cultivated at the college until 1737, where records note for the last time the employment of the long-time *maestro della chitarra* Andrea Sandi (Lorenzetti 1997, 446).

Conclusions

The episodes of guitar playing and teaching at the Jesuit Colleges for Nobles noted above confront several examples of and assumptions about the musical dilettantism cultivated in elite circles among the seventeenth-century nobility. A contrasting picture emerges in France, for example, where the guitar was preferred among members of the aristocracy over other instruments in accordance with the established social codes of noble *otium* established by Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* and rehashed in other courtly manuals that followed in its wake (Bane 2014). Lute playing was particularly suspect in these environments, as the difficulty of learning to play lute was a

[20] *Sonate per il Chitarrone francese* (1733), GB-Lam, Ms. 606. Fontanelli's music for the "arcileuto francese" was written down by Filippo Dalla Casa in a manuscript book dated 1759 (I-Bc, EE.155/2). This is a slightly larger instrument than the "chitarrone francese" and "chitarra tiorbata," with six courses of fingerboard strings (with the standard lute tuning, G-C-F-A-D-G) and four added bass strings (C-D-E-F). On this instrument and its uncertain label "francese," see Dalla Casa 1984, i-iv.

laborious endeavor, met with suspicion and even contempt due to its associations with professional music making. Thus marked the rise in the 1670s and 1680s of "easy" guitar books for amateur playing dedicated to members of the French aristocracy, such as Rémy Médard's *Pièces de guitarre* (1676) and Robert de Visée's *Livre de pièces pour la guitarre* (Paris 1686), a repertory customized for the simple and refined tastes of their dedicatees (Bane 2014, 3.13-3.21). Likewise in England, particularly during the reign of Charles II (1660–1685)—where French attitudes toward the guitar were inherited—the guitar was taken up by the king himself, preferred over instruments such as the lute or viol, whose range of technical skill belonged to professionals, not amateurs (Page 2017, 4).

Similar views about the guitar did not escape the Italian nobility; in fact, they were established there much earlier in the seventeenth century. The sentiment was suggested already in 1606, the year in which Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'intavolura per sonare [. . .] la chitarra spagniuola* was published, the earliest pedagogical text for the Spanish guitar published in Italy. As Montesardo explains:

> E perché molti Signori, e Gentil'huomini, con li quali ho pratticato tutto il tempo di mia vita hanno sempre desiderato di saper sonare la Chitarra Spagniola, è stato necessario, per compiacerli, di farci un studio particolare; e perché anco non solamente hanno desiderato saper sonare quest'istrumento: ma mi hanno pregato caldamente, ch'io inventassi una Regula facile per impararlo di sonare, con tempo, e con misure; senza aiuto, nè di Note, nè di Numeri. (Montesardo 1606, iii)
>
> (Because many noblemen and gentlemen with whom I've associated all my life have always desired to know how to play the Spanish guitar, it was necessary—in order to please them—to make a particular [kind] of method, since they not only desired to know how to play this instrument, but they also heartily begged me to invent an easy rule in order to learn to play with [good] meter and measure with help from neither notes nor numbers.)

In this last phrase Montesardo is clearly referring to mensural notation and lute tablature; the "easy" alphabetic tablature for the guitar he advocates in his book could supplant such difficult notational systems, just as playing the guitar could substitute for playing "difficult" instruments like the lute and theorbo. More directly, writing in 1628, Vincenzo Giustiniani blamed the rise of popularity of the theorbo and guitar in Italy due to the great difficulty of playing the lute:

> Era anche per il passato molto in uso il suonare il Liuto; ma questo stromento resta quasi abbandonato affatto, doppoichè s'introdusse l'uso della Tiorba . . . per schivare la gran difficoltà, che ricerca il sonar bene di Liuto.

(Solerti 1903, 125-26)

(Also in the past playing the lute was very common; but this instrument has almost been abandoned completely following the introduction of the theorbo . . . to avoid the great difficulty of study [necessary] to play the lute well.)

He also confesses (Solerti 1903, 126) that:

Tanto più che nell'istesso tempo s'introdusse la Chitarra alla spagnola per tutta Italia, massime in Napoli, che unita con la Tiorba, pare che abbiano congiurato di sbandire affatto il Liuto; et è quasi riuscito a punto, come il modo di vestire alla spagnola in Italia prevale a tutte le altre foggie.

(At the same time [c. 1600] the Spanish guitar was introduced throughout Italy, mainly in Naples, which together with the theorbo, appears to have exiled the lute completely, and has almost succeeded to the point that, like the fashion of dressing *alla spagnola*, it prevails over all other styles in Italy.)

Underscoring Giustiniani's observations is an anxiety about learning to play the lute that echoes the suspicion with which members of the French elite regarded professional music making. Yet elsewhere in Italy the distrust of professional musicians, especially virtuosos, was a topic of considerable debate, even among the Jesuits themselves. Andrew Dell'Antonio (2011) has brought this discourse to light in his study of Jesuit listening practices in the seventeenth century, which sought to construct a hierarchical dichotomy of virtuosity that distinguished between virtuosi of musical connoisseurship and those of superior musical (technical) skill. Yet the relationships between both kinds of virtuosi and members of the Italian nobility remained as thoroughly intertwined as they were in the sixteenth century. Lorenzetti assesses the situation in Italy as "continually subject to the changing strategies of collective enjoyment and musical practices" among noble "dilletantes" and professional musicians, which at times is marked by an *eguaglianza*—an equality—of musical understanding and even ability that allows for the mutual recognition and exchange of *virtù* (Lorenzetti 2003, 197). This was certainly the case for noble virtuosi such as Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and Carlo Gesualdo, both of whom found themselves playing the precarious role of "courtier-musician" at the Este court of Alfonso II in Ferrara at the end of the sixteenth century.

The guitar, as we have seen, was also learnt, taught, and played at the colleges according to a certain type of noble dilettantism (if that is the appropriate word in this context) that produced significant displays of musical competence, and moreover, performed in front of large crowds and under considerable pressure to impress the spectators. These are not the comfortable and leisurely pastime musical encounters enjoyed in private drawing rooms,

salons, and gardens of an intimate palazzo or villa—the restrained and private kind of musical *otium* advocated by Castiglione. By contrast, these episodes of *meraviglia* and *sorpresa* must be understood within the organization of the staged *spettacolo* cultivated by the Jesuits, expressions of elite festive culture in which music served a fundamental role. This is not to say that every student enrolled in the colleges, or even in guitar lessons with maestros such as Granata, Bertacchini, and Asioli, emerged as competent musicians and guitar players. But many did, such as Lodovico Roncalli, Mario Bianchelli, and Lorenzo Nomio, just as many also excelled in the jousting, horsemanship, fencing, and dancing demonstrations performed alongside and in collaboration with the musical concerts during the demonstrations of *essercizi cavallereschi*. Given the testimony of college alumni Giovanni Giacomo Grimaldi and Bernardino Orsetti, former music pupils who sought Bertacchini's instruction after graduating from the Colleges for Nobles, we are left wondering to what extent the competitive environment established at the Jesuit Colleges was replicated in the future lives of these once noble boys, now noblemen, as they cultivated the festive and ceremonial life of their own households. This is only one question of many worth exploring as our understanding of the guitar and the guitar maestro in Italy during the seicento continues to evolve.

Works Cited

Alighieri, Dante. 2003. *Commedia: Paradiso*, commentary by Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi. Milan: Mondadori.

Asioli, Francesco. 1676. *Concerti armonici per la chitarra spagnuola . . . opera terza*. Bologna: Monti.

Bane, Michael A. 2014. "*Honnêtes gens*, Amateur Musicianship, and the 'Easy Air' in France: The Case of Francesco Corbetta's Royal Guitars." *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 20. https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-20-no-1/honnetes-gens-amateur-musicianship-and-the-easy-air-in-france-the-case-of-francesco-corbettas-royal-guitars/

Bizzarini, Marco. 2002. "Diffusione della sonata a tre nella Brescia di fine Seicento: Il ruolo del Collegio de' Nobili." In *Barocco padano 1. Atti del IX Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII-XVIII, Brescia, 13-15 luglio 1999*, edited by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan, 281-309. Como: A.M.I.S.

Blardone, Aurora. 1987. "Giovanni Battista Granata: una figura da riscoprire." *Il Fronimo* 61: 41-47.

Bongiovanni, Pasqualino. 2002. "Granata, Giovanni Battista." *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 58, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-granata_(Dizionario-Biografico), accessed December

5, 2020.
Boye, Gary R. 1995. "Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Guitar Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy." Ph. D. diss., Duke University.
———. 2001. "Granata, Giovanni Battista." *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 5, 2020.
Brizzi, Gian Paolo. 1978, revised and expanded 2015. *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento: I seminari nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
———. 1981. "Caratteri ed evoluzione del teatro di collegio italiano (sec. XVII-XVIII)." In *Cattolicesimo e lumi nel Settecento italiano*, edited by Mario Rosa. 177-204. Rome: Herder.
Brown, Howard Mayer. 1976. *Embellishing 16th-Century Music*. London: Oxford University Press.
Caffagni, Mirco. 1993. "L'autobiografia di Pietro Bertacchini." *Bollettino della società italiana del liuto* 3: 9-16.
Carpi. 1900. *Memorie storiche e documenti sulla città e sull'antico principato di Carpi*, 5: 9-21.
Castiglione, Baldassar. 1528; revised 1998. *Il libro del Cortegiano*, edited by Giulio Carnazzi. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.
Dalla Casa, Filippo. 1984. *Suonate di celebri autori per l'arciliuto francese*, edited by Orlando Cristoforetti. Florence: S.P.E.S.
Dell'Antonio, Andrew. 2011. *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Dell'Ara, Mario, and Giacomo Parimbelli. 2004. "Ludovico Roncalli, l'abate chitarrista: Aggiornamento biografico nel 350o anniversario della nascita." *Il Fronimo* 126: 15-19.
Dell'Ara, Mario. 1979. "Giovanni Battista Granata: chitarrista, compositore e barbiere chirurgico." *Il Fronimo* 26: 6-15.
Eisenhardt, Lex. 2015. *Italian Guitar Music of the Seventeenth Century: Battuto and Pizzicato*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.
Ferand, Ernest T. 1956. "Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque." *Annales musicologique* 4: 160-64.
Florio, John. 1611. *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. London: Broadwood.
Gambassi, Osvaldo. 1989. *Il Concerto Palatino della signoria di Bologna: cinque secoli di vita musicale a corte (1297–1797)*. Florence: Olschki.
Gaspari, Gaetano. 1890. *Catalogo della biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna, I: Teorica*. Bologna: Libreria Romagnoli Dall'Acqua.
Granata, Giovanni Battista. 1659. *Soavi concenti di suonate musicali per la chitarra spagnuola*. Bologna: Monti.
———. 1680. *Nuovi sovavi* [sic] *concenti di sonate musicali*. Bolo-

gna: Monti.
Grendler, Paul F. 2017. *The Jesuits and Italian Universities, 1548–1773*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.
Hall, Monica. 2006. "Francesco Corbetta and Piracy." *Lute News: The Lute Society Magazine* 80: 18-23.
Hershkowitz, Debra. 1988. *Valerius Flaccus's 'Argonautica*.' Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hill, John W. 1997. *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Horace. 1926. *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, edited and translated by H. Rushton Faircloth. Loeb Classical Library 194. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
I rombi protettori in cielo, e in terra della nave l'Argo. 1678. Bologna: Erede di Benacci.
Il corona trionfale intessuta alle glorie di S. Francesco Borgia. 1671. Parma: Vigna.
Il teatro dell'honore. 1674. Parma: Vigna.
Il teatro dell'honore. 1675. Parma: Vigna.
Il teatro dell'honore. 1676. Parma: Vigna.
Lorenzetti, Stefano. 1997. "*Per animare agli esercizi nobili*: Esperienza musicale e identità nobiliare nei collegi di educazione." *Quaderni storici (nuova serie)* 32, no. 95: 435-60.
———. 2003. *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento*. Florence: Olschki.
Martini, Giuseppe. 2013. "Non è un posto per l'opera: Intermezzi, balletti e altri fenomeni musicali al Collegio nel Sei e Settecento." In *Il Collegio dei Nobili di Parma: La formazione della classe dirigente (secoli XVII-XIX). Atti del Convegno nazionale, Fornovo, Sala Baganza, Fontevivo, 22-24 maggio 2008*, edited by Alba Mora. 213-234. Parma: Monte Università Parma.
Montesardo, Girolamo. 1606. *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagniola*. Florence: Marescotti.
Och, Laura. 1990. "Musica e pedagogia gesuitica: Alcuni spettacoli nel Collegio dei Nobili di Parma fra Sei e Settecento." *Quadrivium (nuova serie)* 2, no. 1: 39-74.
Page, Christopher. 2017. *The Guitar in Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Pinnell, Richard T. 1976. "The Role of Francesco Corbetta (1615–1681) in the History of Music for the Guitar." Ph. D diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
———. 1979. "The Theorboed Guitar: Its Repertoire in the Guitar Books

of Granata and Gallot." *Early Music* 7, no. 3: 323-29.
Rhodius, Apollonius. 2009. *Argonautica*, edited and translated by William H. Race. Loeb Classical Library I. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Sabaino, Daniele. 1998. "Aspetti della teoria contrappuntistica e della didattica della composizione nella Roma del Giovannelli: I precetti teorici manoscritti attribuiti a Giovanni Maria e Giovanni Bernardino Nanino." In *Ruggero Giovannelli: "musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo": Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Palestrina e Velletri, 12-14 giugno 1992*, edited by Carmela Bongiovanni and Giancarlo Rostirolla, 363-87. Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.
Sanz, Gaspar. 1674. *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española*. Zaragoza: Herederos de Dormer.
Scenario del Zenone, tragedia recitata da' Signori Convittori Nobili del Collegio di S. Francesco Saverio. 1659. Bologna: Ferroni.
Seller, Francesca, and Antonio Caroccia. 2014. "Musical Events and Spectacles in the Colleges of Nobles." In *Music as Cultural Mission: Explorations of Jesuit Practices in Italy and North America*, edited by Anna Harwell Celenza and Anthony R. DelDonna. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 104-19.
Smith, Douglas Alton, and Mirco Caffagni. 1997. "A Musician's Life in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The Autobiography of Pietro Bertacchini." *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 30: 7-24.
Solerti, Angelo. 1903. *Le origini del melodramma*. Torino: Fratelli Bocca.
Spiridione a Monte Carmelo (Johannes Henning). 1670, 1672. *Nova instructio pro pulsandis organis, spinettis, manuchordiis, &c*. Part I (Bamberg: Immel, 1670); Part II (Bamberg: Immel, 1672); Parts III and IV (Würzburg: Salver).
Stefani, Gino. 1974. *Musica barocca: poetica e ideología*. Milan: Bompiani.
Testa, Simone, and Lorenza Gianfrancesco. 2017. *Database of Italian Academies, 1525–1700*. https://data.bl.uk/iad/iad1.html, accessed October 8, 2022.
Tyler, James, and Paul Sparks. 2002. *The Guitar and its Music: From the Renaissance to the Classical Era*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. handle/10261/33322.
———. 2002. "Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (III)." *Pliegos de Bibliofilia* no. 17: 16-54. https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/33322.
Ruiz, Lorenzo. 1994. *La imprenta en Salamanca (1501–1600)*. Madrid: Arco.
Torrente, Álvaro. 2002. "Salamanca." In *Diccionario de la música española e*

hispanoamericana, vol. 9, edited by Emilio Casares, 551-62. Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores.

Jacques and Laurent Lucas de Saint-Luc: Brussels Lutenists and Theorbists, Father and Son

Manuel Couvreur

Abstract: The discovery of new documents from Archives in Brussels and Vienna finally sheds light on the genealogy of the Saint-Luc family, lutenists and composers from the Spanish Netherlands. It is now possible to distinguish the life and work of Jacques (Ath, 1616-after August 1684) from that of his son Laurent (Brussels, 1669-after 1708). As for his other son Jacques-Alexandre (Brussels, 1663-?), always mentioned in musical historiography, there is nothing to suggest that he was a musician.

Keywords: Lute, Brussels, Spanish Netherlands, Vienna, Jacques de Saint-Luc ; Laurent de Saint-Luc ; Jacques-Alexandre de Saint-Luc

In 1887 Edmond Vander Straeten rescued from oblivion Jacques Lucas de Saint-Luc, a lutenist born in Ath in 1616 (Vander Straeten 1887). Noting that he was still active in 1700, Vander Straeten commented on his exceptional, though not impossible, longevity (see Couvreur and Vendrix 1995, and Vendrix 1999).[1] It was this observation that focused the research undertaken by Philippe Vendrix and myself on this composer; furthermore, we had to bear in mind the fact that the titles of certain pieces discovered in the meantime proved that he was still active in 1708 when aged over ninety (Maier 2005).

Vander Straeten, while noting the complete absence of concrete evidence, had already put forward the hypothesis that there were in fact two contemporary lutenists by the name of Saint-Luc (Vander Straeten 1887, 30). It was this that in 1947 prompted René Vannes to make the distinction between Jacques de Saint-Luc senior and his son "Jacques-Alexandre, born in Brussels in June 1663, later to become a theorbist of renown" (Vannes 1947, 358-59). Although there is absolutely nothing to suggest that Jacques-Alexandre was a musician, his name is mentioned in general terms in the historiography.

In 1963 the French musicologist Monique Rollin suggested, though without adducing any evidence to support her theory, the possibility that Saint-Luc junior was not Jacques-Alexandre but his younger brother Laurent (Rollin 1963; Dugot 1981, noting that the date Dugot gives as Laurent's date of birth is in fact that of his elder brother, Jacques-Alexandre). In all probability, she had become aware of the discovery in Vienna of a record of Laurent

[1] The comprehensive treatment of the topic in Vendrix 1999 makes it unnecessary to repeat developments and quotations here.

© 2022, The Lute Society of America

de Saint-Luc's marriage through the work of the Austrian musicologist Adolf Koczirz (Koczirz 1918a, 1918b), but whose later research on Saint-Luc remained unpublished at his death in 1941. It is on this evidence that Elisabeth Maier based her biographical note, though without making a clear distinction between Jacques-Alexandre and Laurent. Her caution is explained partly by historiographical tradition and partly by the fact that she had been unable to establish with certainty the family relationship between Jacques de Saint-Luc, born in Ath in 1616, and this "Lorenz du Saint-Luc, a lutenist native to Brussels, Brabant."[2] The discovery in the Brussels archives of the record of the latter's baptism[3] now makes it possible to distinguish clearly between the lives of Jacques, the father, and Laurent, his son (Couvreur 2018a, 2018b).[4]

Jacques Lucas de Sainct-Luc or Saint-Luc

The son of Jérémie Lucas and Marguerite de Bronchin, Jacques was baptized on September 19, 1616, in the church of Saint-Julien, Ath.[5] His father may have been related to Nicolas Lucas, who was deputy burgomaster of Ath several times between 1585 and 1597 (Boussu 1750, 425-27). His godmother was Anne de Glarges, daughter of Pierre de Glarges, deputy and then burgomaster of Ath in 1661 (Boussu 1750, 433-35). Also holding the infant at the baptismal font, in the name of Jacques de Bronchin, was his grandfather, Georges de Bronchin, a herald in the service of Spain. Between 1586 and 1596 a man by the name of Georges Bronchin was a collector of taxes for several seigneuries belonging to Jean de Merode (Devillers 1872, 135, 198). A Jacques Bronchin married Catherine Martin (born 1629), daughter of a bailiff and receiver at the seigneury in Couvin (Goffin and Soupart 2005, n. p.). Thus, we may assume that Jacques was born into a family belonging to a well-to-do upper bourgeois background.

His mother became widowed and on July 24, 1626, married Adrien

[2] "Lorenz du Saint-Luc, ein Lautenenist, zu Brüssel in Braband gebürtig" (marriage certificate Laurent de Saint-Luc and Anne-Marie Masson, May 4, 1705, Wien, Domkirche St. Stephan, Domarchiv); see CD Laurent de Saint-Luc, *Pièces pour luth*, Evangelina Mascardi (luth), Musique en Wallonie, 2018, MEW1786, 27. We are grateful to Bruno Bernard for his help in transcribing and translating this document.

[3] Baptismal certificate Laurent de Saint-Luc, August 10, 1669 (Brussels, Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles [AVB], Registre baptistaire de la paroisse des Saint-Michel et Gudule, 1667–1672, f° 101r°); see id., 11.

[4] The present article specifies the archive sources used. I wish to thank my colleague and friend Michèle Galand for her invaluable help in researching this.

[5] Ath, Paroisse Saint-Julien, Registres paroissiaux. Actes de baptêmes, 1606–1624, 100 (Tournai, Archives de l'État, 9999/998 - 0236_000_03112_000_0_0001_r).

Wattelier.[6] The ceremony took place in the church of Saint-Géry, Brussels, which suggests that the family had left Ath at that time or earlier. In an official document dated 1680, Jacques de Saint-Luc affirmed that he "had always, from the days of his youth, been domiciled in the said city of Brussels."[7] In 1652, widowed again, his mother made him a formal gift of 4000 florins owed to her by Count Egmont and Count Waroux.[8] In 1680 Saint-Luc was able to style himself "seigneur [lord] of Waterlo"[9] and to reckon in 1683 on receiving "a goodly sum from my assets in Arthois [*loc. cit.* Athois], my birthplace."[10]

According to Nicolas de Robbes, "principal instrumentalist at the personal musical establishment of Albert and Isabelle and His Majesty's royal chapel in the city of Brussels," it was at the start of 1639 that Charles Caullier, musical director at the time, directed Saint-Luc to play the theorbo for certain Easter and Christmas carols in the presence of the governor, Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria (1609–1641).[11] The theorbo was a recent introduction that Saint-Luc had made his specialty. Ferdinand pronounced himself satisfied, and from 1641 accounts confirm that "Diego Luques"—an hispanicized version for his name—was an instrumentalist at court.[12] In the same year Gerard Seghers (1591–1651) of Antwerp, a brilliant rival of Rubens's and the archduke's personal artist, painted him playing a lute with two pegboxes. This portrait, now lost, is known of through an engraving made of it by Anton van der Does (1609–1680), doubtless while he was residing in Brussels in 1642.[13] In 1646 Saint-Luc received 230 livres "representing six months' wages at the rate of 25 sols per day," the usual level of pay for a court instrumentalist.[14]

In letters patent from Manuel de Castel Rodrigo (1590–1651), the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Jacques de Saint-Luc was granted permis-

[6] Brussels, AVB, Registres paroissiaux Mariages Saint-Géry, July 1, 1626.

[7] *Attestation de Valentin Godebin*, July 17, 1680 (Brussels, Archives générales du royaume [AGR], Notariat, Notaire N. Philippi, vol. 2546 AB, 1679–1683, microfilm 769290).

[8] *Acte de donation de Marguerite de Bronchin à son fils Jacques de Saint-Luc*, February 8, 1652 (Brussels, AGR, Notariat, Notaire Jean-Pierre de Castillon, vol. 700b, microfilm 750465).

[9] *Attestation de Valentin Godebin*, loc. cit.

[10] *Réplique pour M^re Adam del Serre bourgeois de cette ville de Bruxelles, suppliant et le S^r. S^t Luc rescrivant*, March 13, 1683 (Brussels, AGR, Alcadie. Grand maréchalat et tribunal aulique, I084, n° 994).

[11] "tocar los villancicos y canticos de navidad," *Attestation de Nicolas de Robbe pour Jacques de Saint-Luc*, 1672 (Brussels, AGR, Conseil des finances, Carton 198, n° 342).

[12] *État de la chapelle de Bruxelles, 1^er mai-31 décembre 1641* (in Vander Straeten 1880, 137).

[13] The only known copy of this engraving was donated to the municipality of Ath by Vander Straeten (Fonds Iconographie, n° 1170).

[14] "230 livres à Jacques de St-Lucq, *lutheniste* de la chapelle de Sa Majesté, pour six mois de ses gages à raison de 25 sols par jour" (Finot 1888, n° B. 3055, 1^er janvier–31 mars 1646).

sion to quit the service of the Brussels chapel royal to become theorbist at the chapel royal of the French king.[15] But it seems that he never took up this prestigious appointment. On April 11, 1647, a new governor had been installed in Brussels, and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662) urged him to reenter his service. From August to September 1647 Baroness Haverskercke, who presented herself as his "granny" ("votre bonne Mama"), and Fernando de Quesada, lord of Garciez (d. 1655), were commissioned to negotiate the conditions for his return: "You shall be like a king here. Never has any prince loved the lute as does His Highness. He asks about you every day."[16] The promise of wages of 75 sols per day won him over, and in October 1647 he reappears in the chapel's accounts being paid 230 livres as six months' wages. On December 5 he received an additional bonus of 900 florins.[17] But in 1671 Saint-Luc is found lodging a complaint that the promised salary has not materialized, and when he pleaded the international career he had renounced, the case was decided partially in his favor.[18]

Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) stayed in Brussels in April 1656 and formed a friendship with Saint-Luc, who arranged for him to hear the court and chapel musicians on April 18. They kept in touch by correspondence and, between 1673 and 1676, Huygens submitted to Saint-Luc several of his own lute compositions for expert comment (Rasch 2001).

On June 15, 1658, at the church of St. Gudule, Saint-Luc married Isabelle (called Elisabeth in some documents) de La Grené or Lagrené, a member of a prominent family of artists.[19] Her grandfather, Adam, had settled in Brussels in 1604, and in 1630 had founded a musicians' association whose members included his two sons, Hercule (1597–1682), known chiefly as a dancing master, and Charles, an instrumentalist and Isabelles's father (Van Aelbrouck 1994, 153-56).

The couple went on to have at least eleven children, all baptized at St. Gudule: Catherine Brigitte (March 16, 1659), Anne Marie (December 5, 1660), Jean-Baptiste Arnould (December 1, 1661), Jacques Alexandre (June 8, 1663), Charles Ferdinand (August 7, 1664), Pierre François (September

[15] "teorbista de la capilla Real del Rey de Francia," *Attestation d'Élie de Bie pour Jacques de Saint-Luc*, July 23, 1665 (Brussels, AGR, Conseil des finances, Carton 198, n° 342).
[16] *Copie d'une lettre de madame la baronne d'Aversquerque écrite de Cambrai onzième d'août 1647 à Jacques de Sainct-Luc à Paris* (Brussels, AGR, Conseil des finances, Carton 198, n° 343).
[17] Bruxelles, AGR, Manuscrits divers, n° 1374, f° 7r° (in Thieffry 2002, 167). I am grateful to Sandrine Thieffry for providing this information.
[18] *Requête de Jacques de Saint-Luc théorbiste de la chapelle au Conseil des finances*, 1672 (Bruxelles, AGR, Conseil des finances, Carton 198, n° 337-41).
[19] Brussels, AVB, Paroisse Saints-Michel et Gudule, Registre des promesses et mariages, *1651-1660*, f° 195v°.

10, 1665), Élisabeth Françoise (November 29, 1666), Antoine (January 17, 1668), Laurent (August 10, 1669), Isabelle (September 12, 1670), and a son (August 25, 1672) who died too early to be baptized.[20] On December 14, 1682, a claim for repayment of debts Saint-Luc owed to the innkeeper Adam del Ser or Serre is brought before the Alcalde.[21] In March 1683 Saint-Luc appears on the list of chapel functionaries sent into retirement.[22] The final evidence of any activity by him is the testimonial he signed on August 14, 1684, in support of Jean-Nicolas Le Royer, who had carried out repairs to the organ of the chapel royal (Vander Straeten 1887, 23-24).

To date, his musical output is known only by two pieces for theorbo in a manuscript of tablatures copied for Johann Franz de Trooch, baron von Goëss (1611–1696), and conserved at Ebenthal; Saint-Luc figures there beside some French masters and the Brussels composer Nicolas Hotman (c.1610–1663) (Crawford 2012, *Goëss VI, c. 1685–1700*).

Laurent Lucas de Sainct-Luc or Saint-Luc

Laurent Lucas de Saint-Luc was born in Brussels and was baptized in the cathedral of Saints Michel et Gudule on August 10, 1669. His godparents, present at the baptism, were Laurent de Hovyne (c.1627–1690) and his sister Anne Catherine, both members of a prominent family from Tournai. Their father, Charles de Hovyne (1596–1671), was then president and head of the Conseil d'État and privy councillor to the king in Brussels. Laurent de Hovyne himself, seigneur de Steenkerque, was an ordinary member of the privy council from 1661 on (Vandenbulcke 1997, vol. 4, 98).

It is probable that Laurent learned music from his father. Whereas Jacques had been attached to the Brussels royal chapel from 1639 to 1683, Laurent's name never appears among the court musicians, even under the governorship of Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria (1662–1726), who was one of the most enlightened music lovers of the age. We may infer that by 1691 Laurent was no longer living in the Southern Netherlands, although his reputation remained well established there. As late as 1729 the preface to the *Recueil de pièces de guitare*, a collection of pieces by François Le Cocq, an instrumentalist at the Brussels royal chapel, mentions Robert de Visée and then "Monsieur de

[20] Brussels, AVB, Paroisse des Saints-Michel et Gudule, Actes de baptême, 1658–1663, f° 38r°, 141r° and 198r°; 1663–1667, f° 9v°, 76v°, 136r° and 217v°; 1667–1672, f° 7r°, 101r° and 171r°; 1672-1677, f° 11r°. I am grateful to Jean-Philippe Van Aelbrouck for his assistance.

[21] *Dossier opposant Adam del Ser à Jacques de Saint-Luc*, January-March 1683 (Brussels, AGR, Alcadie. Grand maréchalat et tribunal aulique, I084, pièce n° 994).

[22] *Liste des officiers de la chapelle royale qui sont réformés*, March 16, 1683 (Brussels, AGR, Chambre des comptes, Acquits, T576, n° 49).

Saint-Luc, [who] enjoyed a great reputation at this time and played the guitar with great expertise" (Le Cocq 1730/1979, n. p.).

There may have been no position vacant at court, but another reason why he left Brussels may have been the political situation. After 1689 the War of the League of Augsburg had transformed the Southern Netherlands into a battlefield. In 1695 the bombardment of Brussels inflicted by Marshall Villeroy destroyed two-thirds of the city. Although France was on the opposing side, Saint-Luc, in common with some of his compatriots, had been able to make for Paris. In 1700 Johann von Besser, master of ceremonies and official poet to the Prussian court, wrote of him: "His Majesty the King of France, to whom he owes his renown, judged him more worthy than others to enliven his repasts with the sound of music" (Besser 1711, 378). Laurent de Saint-Luc does not seem to have been officially attached to Louis XIV's musical establishment any more than his father had been, but the dedication of two allemandes to Louis de Lorraine, comte d'Armagnac (1641–1718), suggest that he must have promptly obeyed any summons to court. As a young courtier the count had danced with the king in ballets by Lully, and Saint-Simon relates that he was "one of those long-lasting and notable examples of this prince's bad taste in favourites" (Rouvroy 1986, vol. 6, 657). As grand écuyer from 1658, the count had under his authority the instrumentalists of the Grande et Petites Écuries (bands of musicians attached to the royal stables at Versailles and playing mainly outdoors), and his interest in music is confirmed by the sarabande dedicated to him by Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674–1733) in 1708. The titles of two pieces tend to confirm Saint-Luc's presence in Paris at that time: "L'Arioste moderne" borrows its title from a work by Louise-Geneviève Gillot de Beaucour, which came out in 1685, and "La Belle au bois dormant" refers to the celebrated tale of the Sleeping Beauty by Charles Perrault, published for the first time in *Le Mercure galant* in May 1696. At this time, he may have formed links with Marshal Camille d'Hostun, duc de Tallard (1652–1728). Indeed, although the marshal was later commander-in-chief of the enemy forces during the War of the Spanish Succession, several pieces prove that Saint-Luc was sympathetic to his misfortunes: "La Prise du comte de Tallard" (The Capture of the Comte de Tallard) and "L'Entrée du comte de Tallard à Nuremberg" (The Entry of the Comte de Tallard into Nuremberg) recall that on August 13, 1704, on being defeated by the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene at the Battle of Blenheim (Höchstädt), he had been taken prisoner. As to "La Plainte du comte de Tallard" (The Comte de Tallard's Lament), this must surely evoke the death of his son François d'Hostun, marquis de La Baume, on the following September 20, as a consequence of that same battle.

Saint-Luc's reasons for leaving for Vienna must remain the subject of con-

jecture. His decision is probably explained not so much by an anachronistic "fidelity" to the former rulers of the Southern Netherlands as by the fact that France's economic situation had deteriorated by the end of the seventeenth century. From then on Hapsburg Vienna was uncontestably the focus of the cultural life of central Europe, with significant financial means and, since the lifting of the siege of Vienna, political stability. Other artists of Saint-Luc's generation followed a similar path, for example, the painter Jacob van Schuppen (1670–1751), originally from Antwerp, who, after working in Paris and Lorraine, settled in Vienna, where his employers included Prince Eugene. Other motivations may have included the matter of musical tastes: whereas in France the harpsichord had become fashionable both as a solo instrument and for accompaniment, in the empire the lute remained the instrument of choice for a considerable time.

On his way from France to Vienna, Saint-Luc stopped off in Berlin for the marriage, on May 31, 1700, of the margravine Louisa Dorothea Sophia of Brandenburg (1680–1705) to Frederick, hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel (1676–1751), the future king of Sweden. Von Besser mentions him along with other visiting virtuosos, including the castrato Francesco Ballarini and the oboist François Le Riche from Tournai who, together with their counterparts from court such as Karl Friedrich Rieck (master of the king's chamber music), Attilio Ariosti (viol player and kapellmeister), and Jean-Baptiste Volumier (or Woulmeyr), also from the Southern Netherlands, all vied with each other to entertain the newlyweds. On Sunday, June 6, Saint-Luc gave a *tafelkonzert*: "The meal was accompanied only by soft music, *viz* by the lute, theorbo and guitar, performed by the great French artist Saint-Luc to the great admiration of the whole court, playing all three instruments with an agreeable sweetness which was universally praised" (Besser 1711, 343). His sarabande "La Reine de Prusse" is no doubt his homage to Sophia Charlotte of Hanover (1668–1705), wife of Frederick I of Prussia.

In Vienna Leopold I of Hapsburg was passionately fond of music, which he both performed and composed. On his death on May 5, 1705, Saint-Luc wrote a tombeau in his honor. His successor, Joseph I, was also an experienced composer. Although Saint-Luc was never employed at the Viennese court, he kept company with certain people who were, such as Adam Franz Ginter (1661–1706), a male soprano in the imperial chapel and an esteemed guitarist and lutenist; when Ginter died in 1706, Saint-Luc wrote an allemande titled "Tombeau sur la mort de M^{r} François Ginter." It was no doubt in the entourage of Empress Wilhelmine Amelia, also a great music lover, that he encountered Prince Ferdinand August Leopold von Lobkowicz (1655–1715), who had a particular fondness for the lute, which he played with remarkable skill (Couvreur and Vendrix 2000). Saint-Luc dedicated to him three pieces

composed for his birthday and his patronal feast day. "La Princesse bienfaisante" (The Beneficent Princess) must have been inspired by Lobkowicz's wife, Maria Anna Wilhelmine, margravine of Baden-Baden (1655–1701). He also wrote an allemande "on the birth of Monsieur le comte de Questenberg," one of the two short-lived sons of Johann Adam, count of Questenberg (1678–1752), court councillor and proficient lutenist, whom Saint-Luc may have met previously in the Southern Netherlands or France.

All Viennese life is present in a series of lute pieces evoking notably the balls and other social events at the Mehlgruben-Saal, newly completed by the architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach on the Neuer Markt. On May 4, 1705, in St. Stephen's Cathedral nearby, "Lorenz de Saint-Luc, lutenist and native of Brussels and Brabant," married Anne-Marie Masson, a surgeon's widow from Brest (see note 1). The occasion of the marriage was the inspiration for his bourrée "La Noce de Saint Luc." One of the witnesses at the ceremony was the notable Johann Enzinger von Enzing (d. 1721), imperial inspector of gunpowder and saltpeter. The marriage certificate currently provides the only written evidence of his presence in Vienna.

From 1707 to1708 Saint-Luc's *Suites pour le luth avec un dessus et une basse ad libitum* were published in two volumes by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam (Rasch 2018). The title page mentions that the composer is an "Officier dans les armées de S[a] M[ajesté] Impériale" (an officer in the Austrian army). The composer was still alive at the time; the latest historical event referred to in his compositions was *La Prise de Lille* (The Fall of Lille) on October 28, 1708.

In addition to these eighty-two published pieces, Saint-Luc's music survives in several manuscripts—a testament to his success. Three manuscripts copied for Lobkowicz and formerly kept in his castle, Roudnice and Labem, are now in Prague; more than 250 pieces, some of them duplicates, contain compositions in which the lute is either solo or obbligato in chamber music groups.[23] Probably of slightly later date, the manuscript preserved in Vienna, with its 183 pieces, is the richest source of his solo music.[24] Their titles celebrate victories over the French in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession: *La Prise du maréchal de Tallard* (The Capture of Marshall de Tallard) (1704), *La Prise de Barcelone* (The Capture of Barcelona), and *La Proclamation du roi d'Espagne Charles III*e (The Proclamation of the King of Spain, Charles III) (1705), *L'Entrée de Son Altesse Royale dans le Dauphiné* (The Entry of His Royal Highness into the Dauphiné), *La Défaite des Français par les Allemands devant Turin* (The Defeat of the French by the Germans

[23] CS-Pu: S.Lb.210 (*Pièces pour luth seul*, 1704–1706); II.K.k.49 (*Lautenconcerte mit Violon und Bass*, 1705–1707); II.K.k.54 (*Lautenconcerte*, c.1708); see Saint-Luc 2007.
[24] A-Wn: SM 1586 (*Pièces pour luth seul*, 1705–1708); Maier 1972, 13-16 and 42-68.

outside Turin) (1706), *La Réduction de Naples* (The Capture of Naples), and *La Prise de Gaeta* (The Taking of Gaeta) (1707). The pieces are all bristling with military sounds: nonetheless, although it is true that the taking of Turin inspired a joyful march in D major, a "merry and warlike" key according to Charpentier, one cannot help being struck by the somber character accorded to the capture of Barcelona. This allemande in G minor, a "serious and splendid" key,[25] has nothing triumphal about it, and may rather evoke George of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Austrian field marshal who lost his life there on September 13, 1705. The fact that several of these victories were won by Eugene of Savoy and Marlborough, and that one allemande is called "L'Arrivée du prince Eugène" (The Arrival of Prince Eugene) and another "La Marleborough," does not necessarily mean the composer was in their service (Couvreur and Vendrix 2000).

Works Cited

Besser, Johann von. 1711. *Beschreibung dieses Beylagers nebst allen dabey vorgefallenen Festen und Lustbarkeiten*. In *Des Herrn von Besser Schrifften, beydes in gebundener und ungebundener Rede*. Leipzig: Gleditsch.

Boussu, Gilles-Joseph de. 1750. *Histoire de la ville d'Ath*. Mons: Varret.

Cessac, Catherine. 2004. *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*. Paris: Fayard.

Couvreur, Manuel. 2018a. "Saint-Luc, Jacques Lucas de." In *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, vol. 14, 253-54. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.

———. 2018b. "Saint-Luc, Laurent Lucas de." In *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, vol. 14, 254-57. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.

———, and Philippe Vendrix. 1995. Liner notes for CD by Stephen Stubbs, *Jacques de Saint Luc, Pièces pour luth*. Liège: Musique en Wallonie. CYP 3605.

———. 2000. "Saint-Luc, Jacques de." In *Grove Music Online*.

Crawford, Tim. 2012. "Goëss VI (c. 1685–1700)." In *The Goëss Lute and Viol Manuscripts of Schloss Ebenthal*. Lübeck: Tree Edition.

Devillers, Léopold. 1872. "Notice sur le dépôt des archives de l'État à Mons." *Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons* 10: 135-98.

Dugot, Joël. 1981. "Saint-Luc, Jacques" and "Saint-Luc, Laurent." In T*he New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan.

Finot, Jules. 1888. *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Nord. Archives civiles—série B. Chambre des comptes de Lille*, vol. 6. Lille: Danel.

Goffin, Jean-François, and Auguste Soupart. 2005. *Les Martin. Famille char-*

[25] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Énergie des modes*, in Cessac 2004, 491.

nière des Senzeilles aux maîtres de forges nismois, famille souche à Nismes. Lille-Cerfontaine: Goffin-Soupart.

Koczirz, Adolf. 1918a. "Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720." In *Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 64-67. Vienna and Leipzig: Hollitzer and Breitkopf & Härtel.

———. 1918b. "Saint-Luc." In *Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 50, 88-89. Vienna and Leipzig: Hollitzer and Breitkopf & Härtel.

Le Cocq, François. 1730. *Recueil des pièces de guitare*. Ghent: De Castilion; rpt. Brussels: Culture et civilisation (coll. "Thesaurus musicus"), 1979.

Maier, Elisabeth. 1972. *Die Handschriftlich überlieferten Tabulaturen für Lauteninstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Bestand der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek mit dem Wiener Lautenbuch des Jacques de Saint-Luc*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2005. "Saint-Luc, Jacques-Alexandre (Laurent?) de." In *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, edited by Barbara Boisits, accessed August 11, 2022, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001e02a.

Rasch, Rudolf. 2001. "Contantijn Huygens in Brussel op bezoek bij Leopold Wilhelm van Oostenrijk (1648–1656)." *Revue belge de musicologie* 55: 127-46.

———. 2018. *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène-Swaen*. https://roger.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/416/2018/07/Saint-Hélène-Swaen.pdf, accessed August 12, 2022.

Rollin, Monique. 1963. "Saint-Luc." In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kassel, Bärenreiter.

Rouvroy, Louis de, duc de Saint-Simon. 1986. *Mémoires. Additions au Journal de Dangeau*, edited by Yves Coirault, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, vol. 6. Paris: Gallimard.

Saint-Luc, Jacques Alexandre de. 2007. *Gesammelte Lautenwerke*, edited by Christian Lauermann. Emmendingen: Seicento Edition.

Thieffry, Sandrine. 2002. "L'Archiduc Léopold-Guillaume à Bruxelles (1647–1656): le bon usage du mécénat musical en temps de guerre." *Revue belge de musicologie* 56: 59-175.

Van Aelbouck, Jean-Philippe. 1994. "La Grené (Adam de et Hercule de)." In *Dictionnaire des danseurs à Bruxelles de 1600 à 1830*, 153-56. Liège: Mardaga.

Vandenbulcke, Anne. 1997. "De Hovynes (Laurent)." In *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, vol. 4, 98. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.

Vander Straeten, Edmond. 1880. *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e^ siècle*, vol. 5. Brussels: Van Trigt.

———. 1887. *Jacques de Saint-Luc. Luthiste athois du XVII^e siècle*. Brussels: Schott.

Vannes, René. 1947. "Saint-Luc (Jacques de)." In *Dictionnaire des musiciens*, 358-59. Brussels: Larcier.

Vendrix, Philippe. 1999. "Jacques de Saint-Luc: entre la France et le Saint-Empire." In *Les Luths et luthistes en Occident*, 235-45. Paris: Cité de la Musique.

Review

Music and Instruments of the Elizabethan Age: The Eglantine Table. Edited by Michael Fleming and Christopher Page. Boydell Press, 2021.

Gary R. Boye

It is exceptionally rare that any piece of furniture would warrant its own book, but such is the case with the Eglantine Table now at Hardwick New Hall in Derbyshire. At about ten feet by four feet and dating from the late 1560s, it is the horizontal surface of the table, covered in marquetry and inlay, that attracts attention. Fifteen musical instruments are depicted on the tabletop, as well as various other objects such as books and scrolls with musical notation, gaming boards, heraldry, common plants, and other items of daily life. The table commemorates the marriage of Bess of Hardwick (1527?–1608) and her fourth husband, George Talbot, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522–1590), in 1567, as well as the marriage of their respective children a year later. Carefully placed into a contextual whole, Michael Fleming, Christopher Page, and fifteen contributing authors have responded to the tour de force of artistry on the table with their own tour de force of iconographic interpretation.

The book contains sixteen chapters by various authors arranged into three main parts: "Silent Things," "Music and Instruments," and "Broader Views of the Eglantine Table." Representations of plants, playing cards, gaming boards, and writing implements make up the first part with four chapters; nine chapters on the lute, gittern, cittern, and other instruments form the main core of the book; the book concludes with wider ranging discussions of music in England in the 1560s. Two appendices follow: the first on the renovation of the table in 1996 and some of the substantial changes that were made at the time, and the second on the other furnishings in the Hardwick houses. For obvious reasons, this review will focus on the chapters on the lute (Chapters 6 and 11) by Matthew Spring, with some reference to plucked-string topics covered elsewhere in the volume.

Few people know the English repertoire as well as Spring, and he is ideally suited to situate the table in the context of English lute history. The golden age of English lute music was still to come when the Eglantine table was constructed. The importance of the table for lutenists comes mainly from its date; had the table been constructed after 1600, it would have been far less unique in its musical content. But in 1567 John Johnson and Francis

© 2022, The Lute Society of America

Cutting were just beginning their careers, John Dowland was only four years old, and Daniel Bacheler had yet to be born. The lute was relatively new in England at this time, taught primarily by continental musicians. Spring notes that the translations of Adrian Le Roy's instructions—so influential for Dowland years later—occur in 1568 when the need for lute instruction was outstripping the number of actual teachers. As Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603) changed England, the musical culture during her reign was changed as well, and the Eglantine table becomes one of the rare sources from the early part of this cultural shift.

Spring outlines the few contemporary English sources of lute tablature from the 1560s and earlier, mostly fragments and smaller sources rarely played today. The table itself must be added to this list of sources as it contains a small, incomplete bit of French lute tablature in what appears to be a relatively large manuscript. Whether or not the inlay represents an actual manuscript is unknown, but it seems likely that in the 1560s the amateur musicians of Hardwick New Hall had within their library at least one hefty source for continental lute music. The technical challenges of representing tablature letters in wooden inlay are, of course, prohibitive. Spring deals with the imperfect realization represented in wood on the table, while we can only wonder about what a lengthy volume of lute music contemporary to the table might have contained. A viable reconstruction of the tablature fragment is presented on page 112 in both tablature and keyboard notation.

While Spring covers the notation for the lute in Chapter 6, his Chapter 11 focuses on the instrument itself. First and foremost, the position of the lute is clearly a prominent one: it is centered amid a panel of musical items and is the largest instrument on the table. As noted above, it has its own accompanying book with its own peculiar notation, French lute tablature. While images of the lute are common in continental art of the time and earlier, Spring was able to find only about thirty English representations of the instrument from early Elizabethan England. These sources and the Eglantine table clearly place the lute in elite society, cultivated by both men and women as a high-status musical instrument. The bowl-backed shape of the lute was surely one of the most difficult technical challenges for the craftsmen of the table, and the ornate six-course instrument displayed on the table is a bit twisted and cubist in effect, but nonetheless a stunning example of craftsmanship. Details of the bridge, rose, pegs, frets, and ribs are all evident; even the size of the lute is convincing at a 1:1 scale. Inlays of decorative flowers with foliage have been strewn across and around the instrument, as a type of garland. One is left wishing that contemporary painters had used such attention to detail in the much more forgivable medium of brush and canvas. The painting by Eworth on page 165 represents a convincing parallel of not just

the lute on the table, but the book of tablature nearby. Unfortunately, much of the instrument itself is out of frame in the original.

Placed away from the highly esteemed lute and harp on the table, the representation of a guitar keeps company with the gaming boards and other mere pastimes. No notation is present in this area of the table. Contemporaneous French sources for the guitar are relatively common, while in England the instrument was almost completely undocumented until later in the century. In another chapter written by Page, every likely contextual detail is teased out of the image on the table, from continental sources from the 1560s to what few contemporary references there are for the four-course guitar in England. If contemporary sources for the lute are rare, such sources for the guitar are all but nonexistent. Page identifies one carving c.1580, reproduced on page 140, but most of the other references are to bulk items in inventories and normally called "gitterns." Without written repertoire, it is difficult to envision the role of this instrument on the table, but in context the guitar is clearly off to the side of the table, literally and figuratively. Page suggests that perhaps the lack of a role in the common consorts of the day meant that the instrument was a mere portable plaything to be used to accompany the voice or strummed alone.

The cittern is also a rare object in early Elizabethan England. In Chapter 10 Peter Forrester reckons that the table contains the first known native image of the instrument. On the table, it is placed near a group of shawms and a bagpipe, as well as an open book in standard musical notation. Unlike the guitar, it appears on the same frieze as the lute and other "literate" instruments. Forrester cautions that associations of the cittern and later barber shops and taverns are inappropriate to this period; rather, it was then associated with the court and landed gentry, as well as consort music. Once again, the body of written music for the instrument, at least in England, postdates the table itself, so the Hardwick gentry are shown to be well ahead of the times in having a cittern represented on their table. This chapter on the cittern, as well as Page's chapter on the gittern/guitar, should form a basis for any discussion of the later repertoires of these instruments in England. For all three chapters—the one on the lute, the guitar, and the cittern—the exemplary pattern of a thorough search for contemporary documentation in all forms, written and iconographic, is followed. Each thread of evidence is teased out carefully, creating a convincing argument and context for the instruments as they exist on the table.

One would expect a book on iconography to be lavishly illustrated, and this volume does not disappoint: there is a section of full-color plates in the middle of the book and black-and-white photographs throughout. A small quibble: the black-and-white illustrations are listed merely by chapter and

number with no page number, making it difficult to locate them. For example, on page 106, there is a citation to "Figure 11.2." First, one has to find the beginning of Chapter 11 and then leaf through to find the figure on page 165. It would have been helpful to have "Figure 11.2, page 165" or just "Figure, page 165" as a full citation, mirroring the textual citations on other pages.

One wonders if there is anything more to be gleaned from the elaborate iconography of this table; there is much more discussed in the book not mentioned here but just as fascinating: backgammon tables, card games, flowers, writing implements, pipers and fiddlers, and many other topics. Surely this will be the ultimate reference for the table itself, but will also be an important source for early Elizabethan music and life in general, opening up a world in a way that a single manuscript or printed book cannot. Recommended for anyone interested in the history of English lute music.

Plate 1. Lute depicted on the Eglantine Table in the High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire. ©National Trust Images/John Hammond

Contributors to this Volume

Javier Cruz Rodríguez

Having completed several undergraduate degrees in Music theory, Piano pedagogy, and Voice. Javier Cruz continued his studies with master's degrees in both Art History and Musicology from the University of Salamanca, where he was awarded a scholarship in his final year to study at the University of Heidelberg. He subsequently completed a doctorate in Musicology specializing in the history of music in Salamanca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He is the author of articles and cultural reviews and has given numerous papers at conferences. He is also a member of the technical and management team of the *Centro de Estudios Virtual Tomás Luis de Victoria* and has been on the staff of the Music Department at the University of Salamanca since 2011.

Cory Gavito

Cory M. Gavito studies the early guitar in Italy (1580-1700), focusing on how it engages with improvisation, music learning and teaching, the transmission of song repertories, and the cultural landscape of the early modern Mediterranean world. His work has been published in *Early Music*, *Recercare*, the *Journal of Musicology*, and *Early Music History*. He is the editor of Giovanni Stefani's Song Anthologies (A-R Editions, 2020), and a contributing author to *Seachanges: Music in the Mediterranean and Colonial Worlds, 1550-1800*, edited by Kate van Orden (I Tatti Research Studies, 2021). He has held research fellowships at the Newberry Library, Harvard University, and in 2016-2017 served as the Melville J. Kahn Fellow at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence.

Manuel Couvreur

Manuel Couvreur is Professor at the Free University of Brussels and a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. His research focuses, in particular, on the history of the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, and on music in the Spanish Netherlands in the second half of the 17th century.

Gary Boye

Gary Boye is Coordinator of the Erneston Music Library and Professor

at Appalachian State University and holds degrees in classical guitar performance, library science, and a Ph.D. in musicology. He teaches music research and guitar literature. His research interests include music for the lute, guitar, and vihuela from the Renaissance to the Baroque.