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Monica Hall

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SANTIAGO DE MURCIA
AND FRANÇOIS LE COCQ

Monica Hall

In his article "Santiago de Murcia: the French Connection in Baroque Spain" (JLSA 15 [1982]) Craig Russell implies that Manuscript 5.615 in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale, Brussels, was copied by François Le Cocq himself. This is not so. The manuscript was copied by the Flemish cleric, Jean-Baptiste Ludovico de Castillion. The title page of the manuscript reads:

Collection of pieces for guitar composed by Mr. François Le Cocq, a musician with fifty years service in the Chapel Royal in Brussels, and presented by the author in 1729 to Mr. de Castillion,Provost of St. Pharaïldis in Gent.1

It is, however, quite clear from the preface to the manuscript that it was the pieces which Le Cocq presented to de Castillion in 1729, not the manuscript itself. Castillion writes:

Some little service which I happened to perform for him [Le Cocq], and the long-standing acquaintance which he had with me, prompted him to present them [the pieces] to me in his own hand, authenticated with his signature, which I have copied for my own use likewise in this book, which I have also prepared and ruled myself for the purpose.2 (My italics)

1“Recueil des pieces de guitarre composées par Mr. François Le Cocq musicien jubilaire de la Chapelle Royale a Bruxelles et présentées par l’Auteur en 1729 a Monsieur de Castillon Prevot de Ste Pharaïlde etc. a Gand.”

2“Quelque petit service que je luy ai casulement rendu, et l’ancienne connoissance l’ont porté de me les gracieusement presenter écris de sa propre main et authentiqués par sa signature, que j’ai copié pour mon usage pareillement de ma propre main dans ce livre que j’avoir prépard et réglé aussi moi-même a ce sujet.”
Music attributed to Le Cocq also survives in Manuscript II 5551.D in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. This was also copied by de Castillion, and is a selection of pieces from Ms. 5.615. The title page reads:

Collection of pieces for guitar composed by Mr. François Le Cocq, a musician with fifty years service in the Chapel Royale in Brussels, and by other different excellent masters: copied for his use by I.B.L. de Castillion, Provost of St. Pharaïldis, Vicar General to Monsignor the Bishop of Gent.3 (My italics)

In the preface to this manuscript, de Castillion writes:

I have found Monsieur François Le Cocq’s pieces for guitar so noble in composition, at any rate so much to my taste, that in spite of my other occupations, I have tried to find the leisure to copy myself into an accurate volume a large number which that excellent author had graciously presented to me. It is from this volume that the present collection is taken, similarly written in my own hand, to avoid omissions which another might make.4 (My italics)

Russell also implies that Ms. 5.615 was completed before Santiago de Murcia’s Passacalles y obras (British Library, Reference Division, Add. Ms. 31640), that the music which it contains had been recently composed, and that it was from this source that Murcia obtained the pieces. This is misleading.

Ms. 5.615 is in two sections, the first devoted to music by Le Cocq, the second to music of a number of other well-known composers for the five-course guitar. Although the date 1730 precedes the first piece of music on page 1 of the first section of the manuscript, the unnumbered preliminary pages include an engraved portrait of de Castillion dated 1739. The copying of the music, begun in 1730, may have taken a number of years, and may not have been completed until after the date 1732 which appears on the title page of Passacalles y obras. The title page, together with the index of Passacalles y obras, were added after the main part of the manuscript had been completed. They are not included in the original foliation and are on a thicker, coarser paper than the rest of the volume. The copying of the music may have been carried out at any time before 1732. Passacalles y obras may actually be the earlier of the two manuscripts.

3 "Recueil des pieces de guitarme composées par Mr. Francois Le Cocq musicien jubilaiare de la Chapelle Royale a Bruxelles, et de differens autres excellens masters écrites pour son usage par I.B.L. de Castillion Prevot de Ste. Pharaïlde, Vicaire General de Monseign. l'Eveque de Gand."

4 "J'ai trouvé les pieces de guitarme de Monsieur Francois Le Cocq d'un composition si noble, du moins si fort de mon goût, que malgré toutes mes occupations j'ai taché de trouver le loisir de copier moy-même dans un juste volume un grand nombre que cet excellent auteur m'avoi gratuitement présenté. C'est de ce volume que ce Recueil est tiré, et pareillement écrit de ma main, pour éviter les omissions qu'un autre y pourrait faire . . . "

4
If de Castillion is right in saying that Le Cocq had completed fifty years service as a musician in the Chapel Royal, he would have entered sometime in the 1680s—it is not clear exactly when he completed his fifty years. If he entered as a very young man, or even as a choir boy, his compositions could date from the last decade of the seventeenth century onwards. Murcia may have obtained copies of them many years before he included them in Passacalles y obras. Since his earlier anthology, Resumen de acompañar, was engraved in Antwerp, he may have visited the Netherlands in about 1714. He may even have met Le Cocq personally. All the other pieces in Passacalles y obras which have been traced to pre-existing sources are very much earlier than the date on the title page of the manuscript itself.

There is no reason to suppose that Murcia had at his disposal de Castillion's personal manuscript copies when compiling Passacalles y obras. Of the thirteen pieces which are found in both sources, eight differ substantially one from another. The versions in Passacalles y obras may be earlier versions of pieces which Le Cocq subsequently revised. On the other hand, since Le Cocq was at pains to authenticate the copies which he presented to de Castillion, he may have been aware that unauthorized copies of his music were in circulation. As Murcia's source for the pieces is unknown, the extent of his responsibility for any alterations to them cannot of course be determined. He did not, however, significantly alter any of the other pieces which he included in Passacalles y obras, and it therefore seems unlikely that he would have done so with the Le Cocq pieces.

Russell's list of concordances between the two sources calls for some comment. Although the opening four bars of the Minuet on f. 93/95 of Passacalles y obras are similar to the opening four bars of the second section of the Minuet on p. 11 of Ms. 5.615, the resemblance begins and ends there. Murcia's minuet is in C major, Le Cocq's in A minor. The resemblance between the Gabota on f. 79/81 of Passacalles y obras and the Minuet and Bourée on p. 42 and p. 45 respectively of Ms. 5.615 is even more illusory. It is, however, possible that more of the pieces in Passacalles y obras are by Le Cocq than can at present be attributed to him because they are so attributed in Ms. 5.615. Several of the pieces in Passacalles y obras which have not so far been identified are similar in style to those by Le Cocq. On the other hand, de Castillion cannot be regarded as a wholly reliable source of information as to the authorship of the music he has included in Ms. 5.615. On p. 63 of the section of pieces he attributes to Le Cocq he has copied the second Minuet from the Suite in D minor in de Visée's Livre de pièces pour la guitare (1686). It could be that other pieces in the manuscript are also wrongly attributed.
Only five of the pieces in Passacalles y obras and Ms. 5.615 are included in Ms. II 5551D. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. 5.615</th>
<th>Ms. II 5551D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche allegro</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minuet</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Prestissimo</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ms. II 5551D pieces from both sections of the earlier manuscripts are intermingled and presented in a different order. The composers' names have been omitted throughout. The engraved portrait of de Castillon dated 1739 is included amongst the unnumbered preliminary pages, but otherwise the manuscript is undated.

Two further movements in Passacalles y obras which Russell does not mention are found in other sources. The Minuet on f. 65/67 is from Lully's opera, Roland, and exists as a guitar arrangement in Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Ms. Vm'675 (p. 67). The Zarabanda on f. 68'/70' appears unattributed in Prague, National Museum, Mss. XLb 211a/b209.

P.S.

The sarabande in E minor which is included in Sanz' Instrucción de musica and Carré's Livre de guitare is also found on folio 3 of the Gallot manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, M.S. Mus. Sch. C. 94) where it is apparently attributed to Corbetta—the "f" which follows the titles of many of the pieces in the manuscript is thought to stand for Francesco = Corbetta. It is possible therefore that Sanz and Carré each borrowed the piece from Corbetta independently rather than from one another.
FRANÇOIS LE COCQ'S INFLUENCE ON SANTIAGO DE MURCIA: PROBLEMS WITH DATES, SOURCES, AND RECOMPOSITION

Craig H. Russell

Upon reading Monica Hall's letter to the Journal of the Lute Society of America regarding my recent article "Santiago de Murcia: the French Connection in Baroque Spain (JLSA 15 [1982], 40-51), I was excited to read of her findings concerning Murcia and François Le Cocq. I would like to thank her for her corrections and emendations. I was mistaken in my assertion that the Recueil des pièces de guitare (Ms. 5.615 in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique in Brussels) is copied out by Le Cocq. Ms. Hall convincingly shows that the manuscript is in the hand of the copyist Jean-Baptiste Ludovico de Castillion.

However, on several points I feel her conclusions are incorrect or insufficiently supported. Ms. Hall contends that the Recueil des pièces may actually postdate Murcia's Passacalles y obras (Add. Ms. 31640 in the British Library). She supports this hypothesis with the suggestion that the copyist of the Passacalles y obras may have been writing for years before the title page's date of 1732 and that the Recueil des pièces may have been finished as late as 1739. In support of an earlier dating of the Passacalles y obras Ms. Hall accurately observes that between the title page and the index and the ensuing pages of music there is a change in paper. A change in paper-type could indicate that the elaborate illuminations of the title page and the index (which, incidentally, in the Passacalles y obras appear to be done in a different hand and script from the tablature pages) were done in a different location from the tablature copywork. She notes that the index and title page are not included in the foliation
and that it logically follows that the index was added only after the manuscript was completed. This observation could be said of almost any work—it is a rare index that is paginated with the body of the work and an even rarer index that is written before the work itself! In any case, none of these factors provides any clues as to how long it took to produce the Passacalles y obras.

Ms. Hall's strongest evidence with respect to dating rests on her claim that the Recueil des pièces may have been copied over a span of several years—from 1730 (the date immediately preceding the first copied compositions) to 1739 (the date of the engraved portrait of de Castillion). The preface, however, states unmistakably that the manuscript was completed in 1730. After describing the contents of the entire manuscript de Castillion closes with the words "Done in Ghent during the course of the year 1730." The inclusion of the engraved portrait of 1739, therefore, indicates only that the manuscript was bound in or after 1739. It has no bearing on the actual copywork. Furthermore, the presence of this same portrait in another manuscript (Ms. II 5551.D in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels) would argue against it being a highly accurate tool for dating either manuscript. The evidence supports my initial claim that the Recueil des pièces predates Murcia's Passacalles y obras.

Ms. Hall states that I imply that the music in the Recueil des pièces had been recently composed. I do not state or imply that the works were composed in 1730, only that they were included in the manuscript in 1730. I still hold that to be true.

Ms. Hall feels I am mistaken in believing that Murcia might have obtained Le Cocq's pieces from the Recueil des pièces. Her objections are 1) that the Recueil des pièces possibly postdates Murcia's Passacalles y obras, and 2) a relationship between the two sources is suspect since there are significant discrepancies between the two in their versions of the same pieces. The first objection I have already treated. With regard to her second objection, I agree entirely that there are numerous differences between the two sources, but that does not discount a possible relationship between them. Murcia is taking Le Cocq's material and recomposing it in a manner similar to that of the parody mass in the Renaissance. This practice was very common in eighteenth-century Spain and is the subject of Astrid Russell's and my article "El arte de recomposición en la música española para la guitarra barroca" (Revista de Musicología, vol. 5, no. 1 [1982], 5–23). Ms. Hall states that Murcia did not "significantly alter any of the other pieces which he included in the Passacalles y obras, and it seems unlikely that he would have done so with the Le Cocq pieces." This is incorrect. Nineteen of the twenty-four works by Campion that appear in Murcia's Passacalles y obras are not Campion's scordatura versions but

1Fait à Gand pendant le cours de l'année 1730.
are Murcia's new arrangements for standard tuning. The Corelli sonata found in Murcia's manuscript includes Murcia's new ornamentation. Murcia's version is not a faithful representation of a single Corelli work but is a pasticcio arrangement of movements drawn from different sonatas.\(^2\) Murcia alters works by Francesco Corbetta.\(^3\) He changes the incipit of the A-minor Allemande by de Visée. The "Clarines Ydea especial" that Murcia inserts in his Passacalles y obras is a reworked version of the same piece for keyboard appearing in Antonio Martín y Coll's Flores de música.\(^4\) In fact, very few borrowed works find themselves in the Passacalles y obras without some alteration; Murcia's reworking of Le Coq's pieces is just one more manifestation of this practice. I therefore maintain that the Recueil des pièces is a possible link between Murcia and the works of Le Coq.

Ms. Hall suggests that "Murcia may have obtained copies of them [Le Coq's compositions] many years before he included them in Passacalles y obras. To support this hypothesis she mentions 1) that Murcia may have gone to Antwerp in or around 1714 for the publication of his Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra, perhaps even meeting Le Coq personally and 2) that all the other borrowed works in the Passacalles y obras are drawn from much earlier sources, thus implying that the Le Coq works might be from older sources as well. Her hypothesis is plausible. Her evidence, however, has no bearing on the issue. The placement of Murcia in Antwerp merely because the Resumen was engraved there is unconvincing. Spanish music printing had sunk to dismal levels in the early eighteenth century, and Murcia had few satisfactory alternatives. It was not uncommon for Spanish authors to have their works published by foreign presses. Murcia's presence in Antwerp during the printing of his book was no more necessary than my presence at the press when this is being printed. With regard to Ms. Hall's second point, the presence of older compositions in any source would hardly preclude the inclusion of more recent ones.

Ms. Hall is correct in stating that between Murcia's minuet (f. 95) and Le Coq's (p. 11) the resemblance is short-lived. Though brief, the similarities are striking. I ask the reader to play the appropriate measures and

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decide whether they merit inclusion in the table of correspondences. The similarities between Murcia’s Gabota (f. 81) and a Menuet (p. 42) and Bourée (p. 45) by Le Cocq are anything but illusory as Ms. Hall claims. (Again, consult the article “El arte de recomposición” or volume 1 of my dissertation, pp. 243–53.) The Gabota incipit is taken from Le Cocq’s Menuet. The opening notes after the double bar in the Gabota are from the Bourée. As I have pointed out in previous publications, Murcia re-shapes over and over the motives originally employed by Le Cocq in the 2 Menuet (p. 43) and the Allemande (p. 39). Here in the Gabota, these same motives reappear. Murcia is actively reshaping Le Cocq’s themes; although the finished pot is Murcia’s, the clay is Le Cocq’s. I include the passages in question below so that the reader may judge whether or not the relationships are obscure or “illusory.”

Murcia Gabota, fol. 81

Le Cocq Menuet, p. 42

Murcia Gabota, fol. 81

Le Cocq Bourée, p. 45
With respect to concordances, I have two emendations to my article. I did not get the opportunity to see the galleys so I did not correct the confused heading in Appendix le. It implies incorrectly that all the pieces by Corbetta found in Murcia’s Passacalles y obras are drawn from the Varii scherzi. As Richard Pinnell stated in his brilliant dissertation, only the Zarabanda despacio (f. 100) is from this source; the remaining pieces are drawn from Corbetta’s La Guitare royalle. Also, the following correspondence should be added to Appendix la: Feuillet’s Contredanse on pp. 32–36 of the Recueil de dances is found in Murcia’s Resumen as Otra Giga on p. 60.
ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF WILLIAM LAWES’S
SUITE FOR TWO LUTES

David Buch

Perhaps the most frequently heard baroque lute duet is a suite by William Lawes found in an autograph manuscript in Oxford, The Bodleian Library.¹ A modern transcription of this work for two guitars has achieved some popularity² and seems to have been the basis for a subsequent transcription for two harps.³

The suite is suspiciously French in style and thus stands apart from the rest of Lawes’s compositions. The tablature calls for two lutes tuned in one of the accords nouveaux (B⁰ D E⁰ F G c f a e b⁰) included in Pierre Ballard’s 1631 and 1638 printed collections.⁴ The apparent facility with both idiomatic lute technique and French compositional style is noteworthy.

Despite the fact that Lawes signed his name in several different places on the page, the suite is not entirely his own work. The first lute part of

¹Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Ms. Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 86. This autograph includes suites for two bass viols and organ, catches, and most of Lawes’s music for court masques.
²William Lawes, Suite for Two Guitars, edited by Julian Bream (London: Faber Music Ltd., 1967). The suite was also recorded on a popular album, Julian and John, by Julian Bream and John Williams (RCA Victor LSC-3257, side 1, band 1). Bream has changed the key from B⁰ to D and rearranged the movements, taking the final Corant and placing it before the Alman and the other Corant.
³William Lawes, Suite for Two Harps, edited by Alan Stout (New York: American Composers Alliance, 1972). Although this editor claims to have transcribed the suite from the original manuscript, all the editorial changes are identical to those in the Bream edition for two guitars, viz., key signature, time signatures, voice leading, arpeggiation indications, and the reordering of the movements.
⁴Tablature de luth des différents auteurs sur les accords nouveaux (Paris: Ballard, 1631); Tablature de luth des différents auteurs sur les accords nouveaux (Paris: Ballard, 1638).
the initial Alman is a solo allemande by the French lutenist-composer of the previous generation, René Mesangeau. The first lute part is almost identical to versions of the Mesangeau allemande in Ballard's 1638 print and in two manuscript sources. The earlier of the two manuscript sources (1632) is a collection of lute pieces for the use of one of Mesangeau's English pupils; it includes an autograph version of this allemande.

The present identification of the first lute part of the Alman as a composition by René Mesangeau raises several possibilities in regard to authorship. First, the entire suite may have been composed by Mesangeau. Second, one or both of the following Corants may also be by Mesangeau, with added contreparties by another composer, perhaps Lawes. Third, the first lute part of the Alman may be the only composition by Mesangeau, to which was added a contrepartie and the following two Corants, all written by another composer. Finally, the Corants may have been written as solo lute compositions by one or two other composers and later supplied with contreparties by Lawes or some other composer.

Unfortunately, we have no other surviving lute tablatures that contain music by William Lawes. Is there evidence to suggest that Lawes had the necessary familiarity with French lute style and lute technique to enable him to assume the role of co-composer of the suite? It might be helpful to review some facts that may bear on the question.

The association of Lawes with the French lute master Jacques Gaultier in the production of English Masques is documented. Lawes was given a court appointment for "ye lutes and voices" in 1635. Lawes frequently specified theorbo or lute in his vocal and ensemble compositions; however, these parts involve merely the writing of a figured bass line that one or more continuo players might realize.


6 Tablature de luth (1638), p. 22.

7 Paris, Ms. acquired in 1954 by Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, f. 23 (for further details on this source see Oeuvres de René Mesangeau, xvii-xx); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 9452 (Lord Dalhousie, Ms. No 5), ff. 26'-27.

8 A contrepartie is a second lute part usually added to a pre-existing solo lute piece. Most lute duets in the French baroque repertory were written in this manner.


11 Examples of Lawes's instrumental and vocal pieces with continuo may be found in Lawes, Select Consort Music and Trois Masques à la cour.
The *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* cites an autograph collection of "Dance Tunes for Lute, by William Lawes," but a glance at this tablature confirms that the three dances in question (sara­band, courant, saraband) are pieces for lyra viol and not for the lute. A short group of pieces for solo cittern is ascribed to William Lawes in John Playford’s *Musicks Delight for the Cithern* (1666). Yet these pieces are probably transcriptions of consort music by Lawes: some of the same pieces are found arranged for keyboard in Playford’s *Musicks Hand-maide* (1663), and both Playford prints date from some twenty years after Lawes’s death in 1645.

Finally, one should recall that Lawes wrote pavans on themes by Copra­rio and Cormacke, and a suite on a theme of Alfonso Ferrabosco II. The latter work appears in the same manuscript that contains the *Suite for Two Lutes*. It is possible, though by no means certain, that, like these other compositions, the *Suite for Two Lutes* represents a combination of Lawes’s work with that of another composer.

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13These pieces are found on pages 2–2b.


17Ibid., pp. 53ff.
LUTENISTS IN RENAISSANCE VENICE: SOME NOTES FROM THE ARCHIVES

Jonathan Glixon

Scholars and performers have always considered the lute's principal role to be in the realm of secular music. While this was undoubtedly the case in most times and places, my research in the Venetian archives demonstrates that the situation in Renaissance Venice was somewhat different.* During the years from about 1480 to 1535 the lute was part of the standard instrumental ensemble used for the ceremonies and processions of the large and wealthy religious confraternities of Venice known as Scuole Grandi. Lutenists were in the regular employ of these institutions, and use of the lute is specifically called for in the regulations of the Scuole governing religious ceremonies and processions. At one of the confraternities, the Scuola di San Rocco, lutes were again used at the turn of the seventeenth century.

The Scuole Grandi were organizations of middle-class laymen founded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to glorify God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints through religious ceremony, works of charity, and patronage of the arts.¹ They commissioned important architects and painters to erect...
and decorate their buildings, and hired singers and instrumentalists to accompany their religious observances. On the first Sunday of the month each of the six Scuole performed an elaborate mass in its hall or in a nearby church, often with a procession between the two. Similar ceremonies were held on the annual feast day of each Scuola, with all the Scuole in attendance, as well as on several important holidays during the year. On six days the Scuole joined the rest of Venice in great processions in the Piazza San Marco, and during Lent the Scuole went in procession several times to the Cathedral of San Pietro di Castello. Singers and instrumentalists were an integral part of all of these ceremonies.

A lutenist first appears in the documents of the Scuole in December of 1482, in the *Mariegola*, or day-book, of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista:

Maestro Nichollò da lautto is chosen with the condition that he must play all the ordained days and the processions. At present he has the house where pre Marin lives, and as long as he is provided with a house of the Scuola, he shall be paid only three ducats a year . . .

Maestro Nichollò and his counterparts at the other Scuole were not the only instrumentalists serving at masses and processions. The standard ensemble consisted of lute, harp, and *lira da braccio* (often called *viola* or *violetta* by the non-musical scribes of the documents). Only one player of each instrument was normally required, as an unfortunate lutenist and brother of the Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia discovered in 1496:

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2The six Scuole Grandi (with their dates of foundation) were: Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità (1260), Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista (1261), Scuola di San Marco (1261), Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia (1308), Scuola di San Rocco (1480), and Scuola di San Teodoro (1552).

3Most of the surviving documents are in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASV), but some records of the Scuola di San Rocco are in the Archivio di San Rocco (henceforth ASR), still housed in their original location. Other abbreviations used in the citations are SSGE—Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, SSM—Scuola di San Marco, SSMC—Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità, SSMM—Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia, SSR—Scuola di San Rocco, and SST—Scuola di San Teodoro.

4"Maestro Nichollò da lautto tolto con chondizion che l' debi sonar tutti i zorni hordenadi e le preesion, et abia al presente una chaxa che sta pre Marin, pagando ditto maestro Nichollo ongni ano solamente ducati 3, fin che li se provederà de una chaxa de la schuolla . . ." (ASV, SSGE, Registro 10, *Mariegola*, 1465-1592, f. 11). In the monetary system in use in Venice at this period there were 20 *soldi* to the *lira*, and six *lire* four *soldi* to the ducat. The value of the money is difficult to determine in modern terms, but a salary of fifty to seventy ducats seems to have been average for a professional (such as singer in the ducal *capella*) or a craftsman. Houses rented from anywhere between five ducats a year for a small lodging, such as that under consideration here, and eighty ducats for a house with a shop attached.
On this day Magnio Todescho, lutenist, is present in the Albergo of the Scuola demanding to be paid for having played the morning of the feast of Corpus Christi in the procession, having been called by pre Piero de San Marco, without, [however,] the authorization of the Guardian and his Companions. Because we paid three other players, one of the harp, one of the lute, and the other of the viol, who came to the said procession and played, it is not correct for the said Magnio to want to be paid ...

He was offered a small payment as a gesture of good will, but insulted the Guardian and other officers, and was therefore expelled from the Scuola.

The same ensemble of lute, harp, and lira can be seen in Gentile Bellini's famous painting of a procession in the Piazza San Marco. This work was done in 1496 for the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista to commemorate a miracle that occurred during the procession on the feast of San Marco in 1444 (see Plate I). The officers of the Scuola dominate the foreground, and at the far left are the musicians of the Scuola: five singers and three instrumentalists (a lutenist, a harpist, and a lira player). Many of the figures in the painting are portraits, and it seems likely that the old man playing the lute is the one employed by the Scuola at the time the painting was completed. This possibility is supported by the appearance in another painting for the Scuola, by Lazzaro Bastiani, commissioned at the same time as Bellini's work, of the same man. He can be seen in the foreground, putting a new string on his lute, which he has laid on a table (see Plates II and III). The day-books for this period at the Scuola di San Giovanni are lost, so it is not possible to attach a name to this musician, though it is conceivable that Maestro Nicholló, hired in 1482, was still employed there.

The most extensive documentation of lutenists comes from the Scuola di San Marco. Sonadori, or players, of some kind, possibly lute, harp, and lira, were hired as early as 1486, but a player of the lute is first specified only in 1495. Ser Batistian da lauto, along with a harpist, was paid for playing at a procession on the feast of San Marco. The same account book lists payments to unnamed sonadori (presumably including Ser Batistian) during the previous year for processions on the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Apparition of San Marco (25 June). On 4 December 1496 it was reported to the Council of the Scuola that Ser Sebastian da lauto, undoubtedly the same as Ser Batistian, had been imprisoned as a debtor.

"Conzonia che in questo zorno Magnio Todescho sonador de lauto esendo venute in l’Albergo dimando voler esser pagato per aver sona el di del Corpus Domini la matina alla proezion chiamato da pre Piero de San Marcho senza hordene de missi lo Guardian e di sui compagni, e perché l’era stado pagado tre sonadori, uno d’arpa, una de lauto, l’altro de viola, i quali vene a ditta prieszion e sonò, non porando al dito Magnio voler pagamento ...," (ASV, SSMM, Registro 166, Notatorio I, 1489–1544, f. 34).

6Now housed in the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice.
7ASV, SSM, Registro 16bis, part 1, Notatorio, 1479–1503, f. 9.
8ASV, SSM, Busta 82, Giornale de’ Vicarii, 1495, f. 13.
9ASV, SSM, Registro 16bis, part 1, Notatorio, 1479–1503, f. 45v.
Plate I  Bellini, Procession in Piazza S. Marco, detail
Account books for the year 1497 at the Scuola di San Marco list a larger ensemble than is seen elsewhere, possibly to ensure that sufficient instrumentalists would be present at all times despite the chronic problem of absenteeism among Renaissance musicians. In addition to three players of lire and one harpist, two lutenists are named: Ser Sebastian de Nichollò (apparently no longer a debtor) and Ser Marttin Barbier. Payments for specific occasions are not recorded consistently, but some individual items are of considerable interest. On 16 April the following payment was made:

To the account of 4 of our players for the procession of San Sidro, for strings for their instruments, as payment----------L.2 s..11

Instrumentalists were usually paid wages for their services; payment for equipment or supplies is very rare.12

Four players were again paid on 25 April for the procession in the Piazza for the feast of San Marco,13 and the harpist alone on 11 June for a ceremony at the Church of San Secondo.14 Though instrumentalists were usually not used at funeral processions, an exception was apparently made, for some unstated reason, for a funeral on 10 September 1497:

To the account of Sebastian the lutenist for having played at the procession; and this for strings, by order of the Guardian and all of the Council--------L.1 s.615

There are no records for the next ten years at San Marco, but Sebastian must have been replaced at some point during that interval. On 20 June 1507 the entire ensemble of instrumentalists, Sebastian not among them, was fired:

Be it known that the players of harp, lute, and viola, three in number, were requested to come according to their obligation, that is, they were elected to the Scuola with the condition that they come and play. They were specifically requested to come to play on the day of Corpus Christi, but did not

10ASV, SSM, Busta 229, Libro di Contabilità, 1497, f. 3.
11"Per contadi ai nostri sonadori per la prozesion de San Sydro per chorde de so instrumen-ti per regalia, fo no. 4-------L.2 s..." (ibid., f. 4iv).
12Otherwise unusual modes of payment appear with some regularity in the series of account books of which this is a part. The records for 1484 include, in addition to payments to singers for the purchase of uniforms, a gift of 12 soldi to the singer Ser Marcho Roxeto for the purchase of a chicken to aid his recovery from an illness (ASV, SSM, Busta 229, Libro di Contabilità, 1484, 27 February).
13Ibid.
14Ibid., f. 43v.
15"Contra a Sebastian dal lauto per aver sonado ala prozesion, e questo per chorde; fu de ordine da misser li Vardian e tutta la Bancha------L.1 s.6" (ibid., f. 46v).

19
Plate II  Sebastiani, Donation of the Relic of the Holy Cross
Plate III  Sebastiani, Donation of the Relic of the Holy Cross, detail
want to come, saying they wanted two ducats in payment or would not come, leaving the Scuola to go in procession that day of Corpus Christi without instrumentalists. Even though the Guardian Grande . . . sent for them, they did not want to come, except for one of them, who used several words that demonstrated his lack of respect for the Scuola. For all that . . . they were fired. . . . The names of those players are these: misser Martin Barbier [lutenist] of San Luca, Lazaro Barbier [harpist] of San Moisè, and Zaneto ala Viola from the Calle di Fuxeri. 16

Two weeks later, Zuan Andrea da Forli Barbier of Santa Marina was hired "to play the lute at every request and need of the Scuola . . ." 17 Strangely, Lazaro Barbier, the recently fired harpist, remained in the Scuola, only to be fired again for the same offense in April of 1511. 18 Something similar apparently also happened to the lutenist Martin Barbier, whose name appears on a list of members of the Scuola sometime between 1507 and 1517. 19 In 1518 a new trio of players was hired, 20 but the lutenist, Ser Zan maria da Riva, did not last long, and was replaced later that year by Ser Zerolimo da Cumicher. 21 Zerolimo (or Jeronimo) remained in the Scuola until at least 1527, in which year his daughter applied for a dowry from the Scuola. 22

The pay book of 1527 23 (the next to survive after 1497) provides no names, but lists payments to players of lute, harp, and lira for the processions of San Giovanni to the Church of Santa Croce (3 March), Corpus Christi and its Octave to the Piazza San Marco, Santa Marina to the Piazza (17 July), San Rocco to the Scuola of the same name (16 August), the Conception of the Virgin to the Scuola of Santa Maria della Misericordia (8 December), San Giovanni Evangelista to that Scuola (27 December), the

16 "Conzossia che essendo sta rechiesti li sonadori de arpa e lauto e viola, che sono tre, de vegnir a sonar secondo la sua obligazion i han, per eser tulti ne la Scuola con condizion de vegnir a sonar, et masime havendo manda per loro vegnisse a sonar el di del Corpo de Christo ala precision, non volse vegnir, digando voler ducati do et che altamente non voler vegnir, per modo che la Scuola andò in precision in dito zorno del Corpo de Christo senza sonadori. Pertanto havendo manda per loro misser . . . Guardian Grando non volse vegnir salvo uno de loro, el qual uxo alcune parole con demostrazion che poco se avianovo de la Scuola. Per tanto . . . fuseni casse et privi de la Scuola. Del nome dei qual sonadori sono questo: misser Martin Barbier a San Luca, Lazaro Barbier a San Moix, Zaneto ala Viola in Cale di Fuxeri." (ASV, SSM, Registro 17, Notatorio, 1498–1530, f. 35v). The number of instrumentalists in general, and lutenists in particular, who were barbers by trade is remarkable.

17 "Lui se obligava vegnir a sonar de lauto ad ogni rechiesta et bixonio dela Scuola . . ." (ibid., f. 36).

18 Ibid., f. 50.

19 "ASV, SSM, Registro 5, Mariugola 3, 1507–1517.

20 ASV, SSM, Registro 4, Mariugola 2, 1480–1549, f. 168v.

21 Ibid.

22 "ASV, SSM, Registro 18, Notatorio 3, 1526–1538, f. 18.

23 "ASV, SSM, Busta 229, Libro di Contabilità, 1527."
fifth Sunday in Lent to the Cathedral of San Pietro di Castello, and the Annunciation of the Virgin to the Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità (25 March). The payment on each occasion varied from L.1 s.10 to L.4 for the entire ensemble. The accounts for 1530²⁴ include payments for the above occasions and several additional ones: San Sidro to the Piazza (16 April), SS. Apostoli to that church, San Vido to the Piazza (15 June), the Apparition of San Marco to the Piazza (25 June), and All Saints to the church of that name (1 November). The following year,²⁵ the last for which payments to lutenists at the Scuola di San Marco are recorded, yet more processions involving instruments are listed: San Marco at the Scuola and the Piazza (25 March), the Nativity of the Virgin to the Scuola dei Mercanti (8 September), Palm Sunday to the Cathedral of San Pietro, and a special procession on 1 April to the Church of San Zaccaria. The total annual payments to the players for these occasions were no more than two or three ducats each, a remarkably small amount (the part-time singers of the Scuola received annual salaries of about 12 ducats).

Though the payment records for the Scuola di San Marco make it clear that the instrumentalists and singers participated at the same ceremonies, no indication is provided as to whether they performed together or separately. Some information on this matter is provided by the Ceremoniale of the Scuola di San Rocco, dated 1521.²⁶ Though on most occasions (including the processions of San Vido, Santa Marina, San Pantalon, San Francesco, the Conception of the Virgin, San Giovanni Evangelista, and San Sebastiano) the singers and instrumentalists are listed next to each other in the order of the procession, and even cited as being together, as in the Bellini painting of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, on others they are clearly separated. For example, for the feast of San Marco, the procession of the Scuola di San Rocco in the Piazza San Marco was to be headed by two golden canopies, followed by parasols and 24 double candles. Then "following the said double candles are put the players of harps, viols, and lutes, 4 in number . . . ."²⁷ Next came the banner of the Scuola, more candles, a crucifix, a large candle, small double candles, a canopy, more double candles, a second canopy, yet more double candles, "and after these are our singers, who sing as usual."²⁸ The procession concluded with the chaplain and the Guardian and Council with candles. The separation is similar, but spelled out even more clearly, for the procession of Corpus Christi, also in the Piazza. The order begins with 36 double candles, and

²⁴Ibid., Libro di Contabilità. 1530.
²⁵Ibid., Libro di Contabilità. 1531.
²⁶ASR, Ceremoniale. This volume is arranged by the church year, and is not foliated or paginated.
²⁷"... Item, driedo a ditti Dopieri se mette li sonadori de arpe, viole, et lauti, no. iii . . . ." (ibid.).
²⁸"... Item, dopoi questo, sono li nostri cantadori de canto che cantano al usato. . . ." (ibid.).
continues with a crucifix, large candles, 24 figures of angels, and the relics of the Scuola, "... and then the singers go before the Council, singing; the players, [however,] go before the crucifix."²⁹

The implication of two differing placements of musicians in processions is hard to determine, as there is no clear indication of what music was performed by either singers or instrumentalists. In general, laude were to be sung at these processions, but specific pieces are never mentioned, nor is there any reference until the mid-sixteenth century to specific genres played by instrumentalists alone. The one surviving Venetian lauda collection, Petrucci’s 1508 print of works by Innocentius Dammonis, does include music that could easily be performed by singers alone or by singers with instruments. In fact, while some of Dammonis’ laude are clearly intended to be sung in four parts, others just as clearly are intended to be performed with one vocal line and three instrumental lines (or one instrument, such as lute, playing all three), as in the frottola.³⁰ Whether these or other laude would have been played by instruments alone when they were not with the singers is impossible to know.

The ensemble of lute, harp, and lira used by the Scuole from the 1480s began to be phased out in the 1530s. For most of the Scuole the documentation is too fragmentary to determine the exact date of this development, but such a determination is possible for the Scuola di San Rocco. The last ensemble of lute, harp, and lira was hired on 16 July 1531, to replace one that was unreliable.³¹ On 7 December 1533, it was decided to replace the “old players” with “players of violoni.”³² From this point until the end of the century the standard ensemble at the Scuole consisted of five or six lire, in varying sizes, perhaps including both lira da braccio and lira da gamba, without lutes or harps. During this period lutenists and luthiers appear in the records of the Scuole sporadically, but only as members, never in musical roles (see Table 1).

Lutenists made a brief reappearance at the turn of the seventeenth century at the Scuola di San Rocco, participating in the elaborate annual celebrations for the feast of San Rocco on 16 August.³³ These extravaganzas, sometimes with the participation of all the musicians of San Marco and as many as thirty other singers and instrumentalists, cost the Scuola up to 200 or 300 ducats each year (at its highest, the annual salary of the maestro di capella of San Marco, the best-paid musician in Venice, was

²⁹”... Et poi li cantadori de canto vanno avanti dela Bancha; li sonadori vanno dananti al Christo ...” (ibid.).
³⁰See my forthcoming study and edition of the works of Dammonis.
³¹ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Registro 45, Parti vecchi de Scuola, 1514–1532, f. 92.
³²ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Registro 46, Parti vecchi de Scuola, 1532–1542, f. 10.
³³The records of these celebrations survive only in the buste of loose papers known as Cauzioni.
In 1600 just over one ducat was paid to "Il Priuli dal lautto," and in 1602 nearly twelve ducats were spent on an unspecified number of lutenists. In 1604 four unnamed lutenists were hired at just over six ducats in all, in 1605 three lutenists were paid, and in 1606 two. Though after that theorists became regular employees at these celebrations, lutenists never again appear.

There is no doubt that Venetian lutenists in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries played the kind of music usually associated with the Renaissance lute: dances, ricercars, arrangements of vocal pieces, and lute songs. In the first decades of the sixteenth century the four books of pieces for one and two lutes published by Petrucci were readily available, as were the two books of frottola arrangements by Franciscus Bossinensis, and throughout the period there were certainly numerous manuscript tablatures of such music in circulation. Even the lutenists discussed in this article probably devoted most of their time to the performance of this standard repertory. Although we will probably never know exactly what music was played by the musicians of the Scuole, the documentation of lutenists in elaborate outdoor and indoor religious ceremonies in Renaissance Venice must cause us to revise some of our conceptions regarding the role of the lute as an instrument exclusively for use in intimate secular situations.

54ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Busta 155, Cauzioni, 1599-1600.
55ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Busta 156, Cauzioni, 1602-1603.
56ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Busta 157, Cauzioni, 1604-1605.
57Ibid.
58ASV, SSR, Seconda Consegna, Busta 158, Cauzioni, 1606 and 1608.
Table 1  
Lutenists and Luthiers in the Documents of the Scuole Grandi

The following table includes the names of all of the lutenists and luthiers whose names appear in the documents of the Scuole Grandi. It is arranged chronologically by the first reference to each man. Those names marked with an asterisk are recorded as members only, and probably never served as musicians. For abbreviations see note 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Scuola</th>
<th>Date Hired</th>
<th>Date Fired</th>
<th>Other Refs.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maestro Nichollò da lautto</td>
<td>SSGE</td>
<td>27/12/1482</td>
<td></td>
<td>1495–1497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Sebastian de Nichollò da lauto (Batistian)</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Magnio Todescho sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSMM</td>
<td>12/6/1496</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Martin Barbier sonador di liuto</td>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>20/6/1507</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bortolamio de Mafio sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 15th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Alexandre Conzavari de Zuan lauter</td>
<td>SSR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 15th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Andrea de Martin dai lauti</td>
<td>SSR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 15th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Marcho dal'Aquila sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 15th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuan Andrea da Forli Barbier</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td>4/7/1507</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Domenego de Zuane sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Tomaso Ciprioto dal lauto</td>
<td>SSGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1518–1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Zanmaria da Riva sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Zerolimo da Cumicher per sonador da lauto (Jeronimo)</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>d.6/12/1553</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Antonio Coppo</td>
<td>SSMC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser Zuan Jacomo Strazaruol sonador de lauto</td>
<td>SSRC</td>
<td>10/17/1519</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Santo quondam Bortolomeo Lauter</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Cornello fio de maestro Jacomo Lauter</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1541</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Ser Maneto Lauter</td>
<td>SSM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d.17/9/1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ser Giulio Piazzola dal lauto</td>
<td>SST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1599–1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il Priuli dal lautto</td>
<td>SSR</td>
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SOME LUTES IN PARIS MUSEUMS, PART 1*

Joël Dugot

In the following study my aim is to give an elementary description of some interesting lutes and lute-family instruments which are not listed in the Pohlmann catalogue.¹ Some of these escaped Pohlmann’s notice, e.g., those in two important collections in the Musée de Cluny and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Other instruments entered the national collections since the catalogue was compiled, for example, some in Madame de Chambure’s collection. 71 instruments from this collection were recently donated to the state in settlement of estate duty, and more than 700 others were bought by the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Musique de Paris (abbreviated below as Musée du C.N.S.M.). All of these are now preserved in the Musée du C.N.S.M. These instruments include about 30 lutes from all periods, even the present century (there is a lute, for example, by Hans Jordan).²

With the addition of these new acquisitions, the Musée du C.N.S.M.’s lute collection now ranks among the world’s most interesting and comprehensive. Some lute makers are represented by several instruments in the collection. There are four lutes of different types by the Venetian Matteo Sellas, for example. This of course is very useful for organological studies because it makes various interesting comparisons possible. Such a variety of instruments from different periods and schools helps us to understand not only the slow evolution of tastes and aesthetics, but also

¹This is a translation and revision of an article originally published in Musique Ancienne 14 (1982) and 16/17 (1983).
³A catalogue of Madame de Chambure’s collection of music and instruments is available from: Musiques Anciennes, instruments et partitions, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
the technical solutions provided by lute makers to the specific problems of each period.

Some of the instruments described here are a long way from their original state and I would like to point out in this connection how narrow-minded it is to disregard an instrument because of later transformations. As with reneged violins or extended harpsichords, these altered lutes stand as excellent witnesses both to instrument makers' working methods and to musical practices. They are thus worthy of our attention. Furthermore, in some cases a modern copy of a transformed instrument is as "authentic" as one of a really "original" instrument, if there is such a thing.

Typology

The terms "archlute," "theorbo," and "chitarrone"—terms not always used consistently by the general public and even by some lute players—are used here according to recent research. I shall not propose a definitive terminology for these different types of lutes—I doubt it would be possible to do so—but I wish to use in my descriptions the simplest and most consistent terms. That is why I have chosen the term "archlute" for an instrument supposed to be tuned in the Renaissance tuning in G. Similarly, for simplicity I use only the term "theorbo" (and not also "chitarrone") for an instrument which differs from the archlute in tuning: the top one or two courses are lowered an octave, and in size: a theorbo is too large for a Renaissance G-tuning.

Actually, the problem is more complex, because there existed instruments such as the Italian *tiorbino*, tuned in A an octave above the normal theorbo; the "nova testudo" of Besard, tuned in G an octave higher than the lute; and the French "théorbe pour les pièces," tuned in D. While theorbo tuning cannot be ruled out for smaller instruments, normal Renaissance lute tuning can be excluded for larger instruments: it is impossible to use a Renaissance G-tuning for a vibrating string length on the "petit jeu" longer than about 66 or 67 cm, because the top gut string breaks. Consequently I have chosen to call a theorbo any instrument with more than one pegbox that is too large to be tuned in G.

This terminology is not valid, however, with the use of the D-minor tuning for theorbos. If, as E. G. Baron wrote, lutes and theorbos were both tuned with the D-minor tuning in eighteenth-century Germany, it be-

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2Used by Bellerofonte Castaldi in his *Capricci a due stromenti* (Modena, 1622).
3See the introduction to J. B. Besard's *Novus Partus* (Augsburg, 1617).
comes difficult to distinguish lutes of this period from theorbs. The only difference is the size, but there is in fact no precise division between the two types. That is why I have, following Hellwig, used for German two-headed instruments the term "lute," with "theorbo" in brackets as another possibility.

Terminology and Measurements
The following descriptions use original terminology whenever possible, in conjunction with modern instrument makers' terms. The following diagrams explain some of the terms to be used.


"The great majority of ancient terms relating to the lute have been compiled by Friedemann Hellwig in his "Zur Terminologie der europäischen Zupfinstrumente: Das Vokabularium in den Quellen zum historischen Lautenbau," in *Festschrift für Ernst Enisheimer* (Stockholm, 1974), pp. 81–86.
The descriptions which follow contain few measurements; I have preferred to present the measurements in tabular form for ease of reference. Information on the soundboards, the stringing and string lengths, and the necks is summarized in Tables I–III at the end of the article. In these tables, the instruments are listed in the order of their presentation below.

**MUSÉE DE CLUNY**

This museum, which is located opposite the Sorbonne, owns a rather rich collection of musical instruments. Among them must be mentioned a splendid polygonal virginal by the well-known Antonio Baffo, a unique specimen which fortunately was put on display recently at the Musée de la Renaissance in the Chateau d’Ecouen near Paris. As for the lutes, there are not many but they are all interesting.
Six-course mandora (?) by Matteo Sellas (No. 7688)

Acquired in 1862 by the museum, this instrument is probably among Sellas's best, not only because of its proportions, but also because of the materials used and the extensive decoration. The printed label glued in the back reads "MATTEO SELLAS alla / CORONA in VENETIA 1654." The same text is engraved on a small sheet of mother-of-pearl inlaid on the upper part of the pegbox. The instrument seems to be close to its original state and has reached us in excellent condition except for one rib joint that has come unglued (this helps us to examine the barring).

The back is made of twenty-three snakewood ribs separated by triple spacers (ivory/black wood/ivory). Each rib is decorated at its widest part with a diagonally disposed spacer, creating a very attractive herringbone pattern. The end clasp is decorated with three spacers. The back of the neck and pegbox are veneered with an ivory and ebony inlay of which several other examples are known by this master and other Venetian lute makers of the period. The pegbox is of black-stained hardwood, and its shape is quite different from that of a lute. In the center of the end clasp and on the back of the pegbox we find the characteristically shaped sling attachments that were commonly used on Venetian lutes. Surprisingly for such a small instrument, there are three roses carved in the soundboard. The bridge is of black-stained hardwood, veneered with an ivory, ebony, and mother-of-pearl design used also on the vorder which adorns and protects the edge of the soundboard. The fingerboard is decorated with the same border pattern and with engraved ivory panels.

As can be seen toward the ends of the end clasp, the edge of the back seems to have been trimmed. X-rays of the soundboard show a barring quite different from Venetian practice, with two small bars diagonally positioned on either side of the bridge. It is very difficult, however, to tell if the disposition is original or not.

Four-course miniature lute by Magno Dieffopruchar (No. 2092)

Several miniature lutes are preserved in various museums (Vienna, Munich, and probably some others), but this one stands out both for the exceptional quality of the work and for the fact that it is labelled and dated. The handwritten label yields the name of Magno Dieffopruchar, and the date 1600 is written between the two fingerboard beards (this is uncommon, but then so is this type of instrument). Also unusual is the fact that this lute has reached us in a beautiful leather case, gilded and lined with royal blue velvet.

10 The end clasp is called "brague" in French ("braguer" means "to hold"). Mersenne, in his Harmonie Universelle (Paris, 1636), speaks only of a "contre-brague," which is the inside reinforcement of the shell. The term "brague" is listed in Littré's Dictionnaire de la langue française (Paris, 1886).

11 A technical drawing of this instrument will soon be available from my workshop.
The back is made of twenty-three ribs (Brazil-wood or violet-wood?) with ivory spacers, plus an end clasp. The neck is decorated with an ivory spacer check pattern; the fingerboard is made of the same wood as the ribs and inlaid with ivory. The soundboard has a slight concavity for a better action. The rose is gilded and the edge of the soundboard is decorated with a triple spacer; the bridge has precisely the same shape as those of normal-sized lutes, with a very fine decoration.

Fourteen-course archlute (?), unreadable label: Marc . . . Venetia . . .

This instrument was acquired at the same time as the preceding ones were, in 1862. A label glued inside, half torn from top to bottom, reads "Marc . . . / Venetia . . ." In its present state, it is difficult to determine what type instrument it was originally. The shape of the body is very similar to instruments by Dieffopruchar and Unverdorben, with wide ribs and a flat side view. The nine ribs of a very dark purple wood are separated by triple spacers (light wood/dark wood/light wood) and the edges of the shell seem to have been reshaped by trimming a significant width. The maximum width of the center rib is 55 mm, while the edge ribs are only 31 mm wide at their widest point. In addition, the neck seems to have been shortened: a vibrating string length of about 710 mm would be normal for this size instrument, but the actual length is only 624 mm.

The soundboard seems to be of spruce. The bridge is recent and coarse. The back of the neck and the second pegbox are veneered with the same dark purple wood and inlaid with a mother-of-pearl design representing birds in a floral setting. Since this type of decoration appeared as early as 1530, the style does not yield any information on the exact date of the instrument's manufacture or its transformation into its present state.

Twelve-course archlute (?) with label "Laux Boß zu Schöngaw" (No. 7642)

Acquired in 1862 by the Museum, this instrument is surprising in more than one respect. First, its decoration is unusual, even odd. Second, there is a printed label on the inside of the shell which reads "Laux Boß zu Schöngaw" in black letters. Third, it is not unique: the Victoria and Albert Museum in London owns a very similar lute (same shape, same decoration) labelled "Marx Unverdorben." Moreover, there is an archlute with a very similar shape in the Museum of the Conservatoire de Nice which is labelled "Fedele Barnia, Venetia 1715 [or 1765?]." This begins to read like a mystery story! We will abstain from attempting any conclusions on the basis of these odd facts, remarking only that Laux Boß and Marx Unverdorben seem to have been contemporaries. They are both listed in Fugger's in-

12See, for example, "Magnus Dieffopruchar, a Venetia 1589" (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, L. 17.1764), "Magnus Dieffopruchar" (Vienna, Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Rothschild 969), and "Marx Unverdorben a Venetia 1607" (Prague, Narodni Muzea, no. 656).
ventory, which, however, yields no information as to the real origin of the instruments mentioned above. I should also remark that the back of the Cluny archlute may well be older than the rest of the instrument, which may date only from the second half of the eighteenth century.

The shell is made up of seven ribs composed of triangular pieces of ivory and three shades of exotic woods forming a brown and white pattern. Let me note in passing that the marquetry is only reinforced by thin strips of light paper glued inside. This peculiar decoration was imitated later for the decoration of the neck and pegbox, though the woods there are of slightly different hues from those of the shell. The same pattern can be seen on the fingerboard of the Barnia archlute mentioned above. The double pegbox of blackened wood is also decorated with carved ivory panels representing pastoral scenes. The joint between the neck and the back is masked by a sort of sheathing which probably covers an accident. A similar instrument can be seen in an engraving by Benedetti in the Salzburg Mozarteum, after a painting (now lost) by J. L. Rigaud (1750).

Six-course mandora (?) by Matteo Sellas (No. 7688)
Four-course miniature lute by Magno Dieffopruchar (No. 2092)
Fourteen-course archlute (?), unreadable label: Marc . . . Venetia . . .
Twelve-course archlute (?) with label "Laux Boß zu Schöngaw" (No. 7642)
MUSÉE DES Arts DÉCoratIFS

This museum, located in a wing of the Palais du Louvre, also owns an interesting and varied collection of instruments. One can find sixteenth-century instruments there as well as such twentieth-century instruments as a piano fantastically decorated by the cabinetmaker Majorelle. The latter is unfortunately the only instrument on display.

Seven-course lute by Jacob Hes (No. 40381)

A legacy of the Compte de Ganay (1939), this is probably one of the oldest and most interesting pieces in the collection. The printed label glued inside the back reads "Jacob Hes in Venetia / 1586." The back is made of fifteen ivory ribs with triple spacers (black wood/ivory/black wood). The back of the neck is veneered with ivory and the same triple spacers. These do not continue on the pegbox, which is veneered with ivory, its edges protected by ebony lines. The soundboard is of very fine spruce and the interlacing pattern of the rose is one frequently found on Italian lutes of the period. Unfortunately, the bridge is not original. The instrument was probably used in different ways in the course of its long career, as the present bridge shows—it was made for five pairs of (metal?) strings which are attached to the ivory buttons added to the end clasp. In addition, there are metal frets inlaid in the fingerboard.

This lute has suffered many restorations/transformations, as the many pieces of new wood on the edge of the soundboard show. The soundboard is still protected by a border of dark wood. The back shows an unsightly ivory lamination which covers the block area, and which may well prove that the neck was shifted or replaced. The pegbox is definitely not in its original position and could not be the original piece. It is contemporaneous with the instrument, though, as Robert Lundberg remarked when he saw the instrument. X-rays show that the soundboard barring has unfortunately been greatly altered. Nevertheless, we have here a very interesting example of a small seven-course lute, the original vibrating string length of which must have been about 57 cm, designed in the same Germano-Italian tradition as the famous lutes of Venere.

Ten-course theorbo by Perou (No. 23460)

This is a theorbo that one can unreservedly call "French." The maker's mark "PEROU A PARIS" is branded on the soundboard edge under the bridge. We know only one maker with this name: Nicolas Perou, who worked in Paris from 1775 to 1790. The aesthetic style of this instru-

14A drawing of the pegbox by Grant Tomlinson can be found in the LSA Newsletter, vol. 14 no. 1 (1979), 8.
ment seems to fit into this period rather well. Indeed, the soundboard is decorated with tempera paint in floral arabesques with insects, in the same manner as harpsichord soundboards.\textsuperscript{17} The style of the parchment rose and of the bridge is borrowed from French guitar making of the same period.

The back is made of thirteen shaded yew ribs and in fact the result is not very satisfactory from an instrument maker’s point of view. One can imagine that Monsieur Perou had not had much practice in the technique of yew wood, a technique which had been a specialty of lute makers living in Italy during the seventeenth century and which was lost when their instruments fell into disuse. Perou’s theorbo was made at a time when such instruments were considered in France to be relics of the past.

The back of the neck is veneered with ebony and inlaid with ivory spacers. The very convex fingerboard is also veneered with ebony. The second pegbox is carved in hardwood with good workmanship and is completely gilded. It should be noted that the ivory treble rider—"la poulie" (the pulley), as Mersenne called it\textsuperscript{18}—is inserted in the side of the pegbox, a practice that one encounters quite often on theorbos and archlutes in French iconography. There is an apparent similarity between Perou’s theorbo and an instrument depicted in a painting by Zoffany (1734–1810) now in a private collection in London.

**Thirteen-course lute labelled "WENDELINUS TIEFFENBRUCKER"**

(apparently not listed by the museum)

This lute, in very bad condition, has several printed labels:

a. "WENDELINUS TIEFFENBRUCKER VENERE / PATAVI FACIEBAT";


c. "Joseph Klein, Violin Instrumentenmacher in / Würzburg 1868."

The back is made of eleven ivory ribs with triple spacers (dark wood/ivory/dark wood). The neck is veneered with ivory inlaid with black wood spacers. The belly, probably of spruce, shows a lack of symmetry. The pegbox is veneered with ivory and fitted with a blackened wood rider which is quite crudely made. This instrument, though its back bears a certain resemblance to shapes used during the sixteenth century, is certainly not by Wendelinus Tieffenbrucker. The label is obviously a fake, and could be much older than the instrument.

\textsuperscript{17}Tempera paint is made with egg yolk and was used for decorating soundboards—mainly on harpsichords but also on guitars—because it does not penetrate into the wood.

Five-course lute by David Tecchler (No. 32667)

The printed label reads "David Tecchler, Liutario / fecit Romae Anno 1707." This instrument and the two following ones represent a type of lute whose use and manufacture in the eighteenth century seem to have been limited to the Germanic countries and their peoples (Tecchler, though in Rome, was obviously German). The Tecchler instrument is in playable condition, and all the parts seem original except probably the fingerboard.

The back has seventeen ebony ribs with ivory spacers. The soundboard edge is protected by a very thin edging. The neck and the pegbox are of blackened hardwood. The work is very good. X-rays of the belly show a probably original eighteenth-century barring with seven small bars disposed under the bridge in a characteristic fan position.

Eight-course lute by Johann Blasius Weigert (No. 32032)

This lute, in perfect condition, is all the more interesting because we know its maker through other instruments, among them a very nice eleven-course lute preserved at the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg (Mir 878). The back of the Nuremberg lute has some similarities to that of the present instrument: both have nine ribs, and their shapes are similar (narrow shoulders, with the point of greatest depth below the bridge).

The Musée des Arts Décoratifs instrument has a back of maple (flamed?) covered with a nearly opaque black varnish. The belly is of very fine spruce, and the rose is well carved. An external strip of wood is glued on the edge of the shell from the end clasp end to the neck. The printed label reads "Johann Blasius Weigert Lauten und Geigen Macher In Linz 1743." As with the previous instrument, the parts of this lute seem original. The neck and pegbox are of hardwood stained black. X-rays show a very orthodox "Mersenne" barring with six bars. The area under the bridge is reinforced with six small bars in fan position which point towards the center of the second main bar.

Six-course lute by David Buchstetter (No. 40382)

This lute is a legacy of Comte de Ganay (1939). It is the same type of eighteenth-century Germanic lute as the last two instruments, a type whose place in the history of musical instruments would make an interesting study. The printed label reads "Gabriel David Buchstetter, / Lauten und Geigen Macher zu Stadt am / Hoff nebst Regenspur Anno 1746." The back is made of nine figured maple ribs. On the outside of the edge of the shell is glued a narrow, finely molded strip of wood which extends from the end clasp to the neck. The neck and pegbox are of hardwood, probably maple. The whole instrument is protected by a beautiful orange

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varnish, certainly original, as are all the parts—even the unusual fingerboard made of elm burl.

X-rays show the same pattern of barring as in the previous examples. It is worth noting in this connection that this lute, along with the Weigert lute just described, is quite close in shape and workmanship to its eleven- and thirteen-course cousins made in Germany during the eighteenth century. Even the barring is similar, despite the great difference in string tension.

Seven-course lute by Jacob Hes (No. 40381)
Ten-course theorbo by Perou (No. 23460)
Thirteen-course lute labelled "WENDELINUS TIEFFENBRUCKER"
Five-course lute by David Tecchler (No. 32667)
Eight-course lute by Johann Blasius Weigert (No. 32032)
Six-course lute by David Buchstetter (No. 40382)
MUSÉE INSTRUMENTAL DU CONSERVATOIRE
NATIONAL SUPÉRIEUR DE PARIS

Eleven-course lute, anonymous (inventory number not yet assigned)
This ornate instrument was acquired by the museum in April 1981 at an auction at which it fetched Fr 120,000 (about $15,000). We know nothing of the origin of this lute, except that it was maintained in playing condition until a very recent date. In general morphology it can be compared to quite a few instruments of the same type, eleven courses being the most common number on surviving lutes.

The back is made of nine ivory ribs with triple spacers (dark wood/ivory/dark wood). The shape of the body, in profile and front view, reminds one of the almond-shaped lutes of the sixteenth century. This makes the hypothesis of an earlier shell adapted to fit seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tastes quite defensible, especially since the deepest point of the profile is rather toward the middle of the back, a criterion which most sixteenth-century lutes that have reached us seem to satisfy. At the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, the prevailing tendency seems to have been to place the deepest point of the profile towards the lower end, under the bridge, as one can notice on the fine instruments by J. C. Hoffman, J. Tielke, S. Schelle, and others.

The inside of the shell, as far as one can see through the rose, seems entirely covered with paper brushed over with glue. This repair work, which may hide a maker’s label, was probably undertaken to stabilize the numerous cracks visible on the outside. The back of the neck and the pegbox are inlaid with diamond-shaped pieces of mother-of-pearl separated by dark wood spacers. The fingerboard and its beards are made of ebony with an ivory edge. Finally, the pegs are made of ivory alternating with ebony.

Thirteen-course lute (theorbo?) by Mathijs Hofman (No. 989-2-0)
Formerly the property of Madame de Chambure, this rare example of Dutch lute building is far from its original condition. Like many sixteenth-century lutes, it was converted—probably several times—to satisfy the demands of different periods. It has reached us in a thirteen-course version. The fingerboard and the pegbox are of a period subsequent to the manufacture of the lute; their characteristics bring to mind German lute making, as seen in several instruments by Tielke, Hoffmann, Schelle, and others.

The back is composed of twenty-seven shaded yew ribs and its shape reminds one of the lutes made in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The spruce soundboard seems old and the uncommon rose pattern is well carved. Unfortunately, the bridge, which is larger than any historical example, is very recent (less than twenty years old). The neck is made of black-stained hardwood and
the strongly rounded fingerboard is of ebony, in accordance with eighteenth-century German lute making. The second pegbox is also made of black-stained hardwood with a thick varnish. At the moment it is unglued, a fact which makes the vibrating string length approximate. Through the rose one can read the handwritten label “mathijs hofman / den ouden 1619.”

To my knowledge, there are only two other examples of Flemish lutes. The first is by Jacques Hoffman den Jonghen and is kept at present in the Bayerische National Museum in Munich.²⁰ The second is a soprano lute by Mathis Hofmans “le plus ainé” (the elder) dated “Anvers 1605,” in the Musée Instrumental de Bruxelles.²¹ These instruments belong to the same lutemaking tradition. For example, the Paris lute has a 27-ribbed back and the Munich instrument a 25-ribbed one. One might also note that the quality of work in the Paris instrument indicates that Mathijs Hofman den Ouden had not perfectly mastered the special technique required to work on yew wood used in the shaded manner. This can be observed at the bottom of the back, in the center area over the end clasp, where there are great irregularities in the pattern of colored stripes which are peculiar to yew wood.

Eight-course lute by Laux Boß (No. 980-2-0)

This lute deserves our full attention because it is among the earliest to survive, along with the few examples by Laux Maler, Marx Unverdorben, Hans Frei, and Gaspar Duiffoprugcar. On the printed label one can read “Laux Boß zu Schongaw.” It is known that this master worked in Schön-gaw, near Füssen, one of the instrument-making villages of Bavaria, during the first half of the sixteenth century. In the shape of its back this lute reminds one of Maler’s and Duiffoprugcar’s products: a long almond shape with shallowly curved shoulders and few ribs.

This instrument must have been transformed and repaired several times in the course of its long career, as two printed labels glued to the inside of the back attest. One reads “Sebastian Schelle, Lauten und Geigen Macher in Nürnberg 1702” and the other “Hummel Lauten und Geigen Macher in Nürnberg 1760.” We know from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts that Maler’s and Frei’s lutes were much in demand for their high quality;²² this was certainly also the case with Laux Boß’s lutes,

²¹See Mia Awouters, “Jacques et Mathijs Hofmans, luthiers anversois du XVIIe siècle,” Musique Ancienne 16/17 (September 1983), 9–15. Mia Awouters shows that before Madame de Chambure, the owner of the Paris Hofman lute was Francis Galpin.
²²See, for instance, Thomas Mace’s Musick’s Monument (London, 1676), pp. 48–49; and E. G. Baron, Study of the Lute, p. 81. The surviving Frei, Maler, Duiffoprugcar, and Boß lutes have common features, for example backs with few ribs (9 or 11) made of curly maple or bird’s-eye maple or ash. These are all woods which Mace considered
as our specimen shows. It was transformed and looked after well into the eighteenth century, at which time it seems to have been used as a mandora—a popular instrument then in Germanic countries.

The back of this instrument consists of nine maple ribs with an unpronounced and irregular bird’s-eye. The neck, although it is old, is very likely not original. Its back is veneered with a reddish-brown exotic wood and decorated with twenty-two ivory spacers. The pegbox and bridge are very recent, probably less than twenty years old. The soundboard is decorated with a rather small rose. It shares this characteristic with the Lux Maler lute in the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg (M1 54), the soundboard of which may well be original. Moreover, the patterns of these two roses are rather similar and may point to the same tradition.

Eight-course lute by Jean des Moulins (No. 979-2-69)

The principal interest of this instrument comes from the extreme rarity of lutes manufactured in France, a country whose production seems to have been an important one.23 The printed label reads “Jean des Moulins à Paris / 1641 [or 1644?]”. This is the only instrument known at present by this master, except for one lute transformed into a bad guitar and preserved in the Musée des Traditions Régionales (housed in the Hospice Contesse) in Lille (labelled with the same name24 but is it really by the same maker?). In fact, it is the only French lute from the first half of the seventeenth century.

Could this be the “Monsieur Desmoulins” mentioned in the Mary Burwell manuscript? It is impossible to be certain, because many makers may have had the same name. Nevertheless, an examination of the profile of this lute’s back shows that it meets the Burwell description fairly well. The manuscript’s author reports that “there is a great dispute amongst the moderns concerning the shape of the lute. Some will have it somewhat roundish, the rising in the middle of the back and sloping of each side, as we see [in] the lutes of Monsieur Desmoulins of Paris, which are very good and were sold at first for £20 and are sold still for ten or twelve.”25

good for lutes. [The identity of the “air-wood” which Mace considered the very best wood has puzzled some of Mace’s readers. According to Canon Galpin it is the platanus orientalis, one of several trees commonly called “planes”; see Nicholas Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941), n. 486].


24See the note concerning the Des Moulins lute by Florence Getreau, Curator at the Musée du C.N.S.M., in the catalog mentioned in n. 2 above.

Before it entered the Musée du C.N.S.M.'s collection, this instrument belonged to Mr. Georges Le Cerf, a well-known collector, and then to the Comtesse de Chambure. During this period of its history the Des Moulins lute was restored to a "playable" state, the apparent consequences of which were the replacement of the pegbox, the bridge, and the fingerboard. It was impossible for me to determine the state of the instrument before these alterations.

The back is made of nine maple ribs which have a slight bird's-eye figure and are not entirely quarter-sawn. The soundboard seems to be made of two different pieces and the rose, not particularly fine, has a simple and uncommon design.

Other instruments from the Musée du C.N.S.M. will be described in a second article in the next issue of this Journal.
Eleven-course lute, anonymous

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Thirteen-course lute (theorbo?) by Mathijs Hofman (No. 989-2-0)
Eight-course lute by Laux Boß (No. 980-2-0)
Eight-course lute by Jean des Moulins (No. 979-2-69)
### Table I  Soundboard Measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maker</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Rose Diameter</th>
<th>Rose Center</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sellas</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>43.40</td>
<td>215</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dieffopruchar</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anon. archlute</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>290</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boß, 12-course</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>248</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perou</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>314</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hes</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>242</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tieffenbrucker?</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>252</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tecchler</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>302</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weigert</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>305</td>
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<td>Buchstetter</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>306</td>
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<td>298</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anon., 11-course</td>
<td>482</td>
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<td>112</td>
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<td>Hofman</td>
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<td>323</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>Boß, 8-course</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>295</td>
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<td>Des Moulins</td>
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<td>320</td>
<td>80</td>
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### Table II  Stringing and String Length

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<td>Anon. archlute</td>
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<td>Hes</td>
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<td>Des Moulins</td>
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\[26\]All measurements in these tables are in millimeters.
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ANGELO GARDANO'S BALLETTI MODERNI AND ITS RELATION TO CESARE NEGRI'S LE GRATIE D'AMORE*

Charles P. Coldwell

In March of 1980, Minkoff Reprint issued a facsimile edition of Balletti moderni facili per sonar sopra il liuto. This collection of "Brandi, Saltarelle, Gagliarde, Balletti Francesi, Tedeschi, Arie diverse, Passamezi, Padoane, & Canzoni Fran[c]ese" presented in Italian lute tablature was originally published in 1611 by the press of Angelo Gardano of Venice. Minkoff's facsimile of Balletti moderni makes readily available a collection of Italian lute music previously overlooked by musicologists and lutenists.

The repertory of Balletti moderni is akin to that found in other collections—manuscript and printed—of lute music dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, unlike other sources,

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1Balletti moderni facili per sonar sopra il liuto . . . (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1980). From here on Gardano's publication will be referred to by the abbreviated title, Balletti moderni. Through communication with Minkoff it was learned that the author of the unsigned introduction is François Lesure, and that the English translation is by Frank Dobbins.

the music in Gardano’s collection exhibits strong links with that found in Italian dance manuals, especially Cesare Negri’s *Le gratie d’amore* (Milan, 1602). The concordance between Negri’s treatise and Gardano’s *Balletti moderni* is substantial—thirty-six pieces are common to both, comprising 61% of Gardano’s collection and 84% of the dance pieces in Negri.

The occurrence of sporadic concordances between published collections of dance music and the extant dance treatises of Caroso, Negri, and Arbeau suggests some connection between the actual music played for dancing and the collections of dance tunes intended for recreational music-making by amateurs. The Gardano collection represents the strongest definite link to date between an autonomous publication of instrumental arrangements of dance tunes and specific choreographies in a dance treatise. *Balletti moderni* therefore presents intriguing possibilities (1) as a source of insight into the transmission of a musical text from one type of source—a treatise on dancing—to another type of source—a collection of instrumental music, and (2) as a source of alternate (and possibly corrected) readings of the music given in *Le gratie d’amore*.

The primary concern of this article is to establish the relationship between *Balletti moderni* and Negri’s *Le gratie d’amore*. Since no previous discussion of *Balletti moderni* exists, I shall first describe the book and its repertory.

**Description**

The exemplar for the Minkoff facsimile of *Balletti moderni* is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, acquisition no. 29643, current call number Réserve 116. This apparently unique copy came to the Département de la Musique of the Bibliothèque Nationale from the collection of the Conservatoire Nationale, Paris, probably in 1964 when

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3Specific information about the volume given in this paragraph was learned through correspondence with François Lesure, Conservateur en chef du Département de la Musique, Bibliothèque Nationale, dated July 28, 1981.

valuable holdings of the Conservatoire were transferred to the Bibliothèque. No indication of previous ownership can be found within the volume or on its end papers; the present binding is modern parchment.

_Balletti moderni_ was printed in an oblong format, folded into gatherings of four leaves. Eight gatherings—signatures A through H—give a total of thirty-two leaves which provide a title page, sixty-two numbered pages of lute tablature, and a closing table of contents page.

The first fifteen pages suffer from errors in pagination which are reflected in the original table of contents, reproduced in Figure 1. The order of the pieces given in the table is the order in which they occur in _Balletti moderni_; most of the page numbers given in the table correspond to the numbers given on the pages. The first piece of the collection found on the verso of the title page is "La barera." However, this page is misnumbered as page 5 instead of page 1. The second page of tablature is misnumbered 6, and so on.

**Reperitory**

The repertory of _Balletti moderni_ can be divided into six groups distinguished either by concordance patterns, such as the pieces related to Negri's treatise, or by type of piece, such as pieces composed over a specific bass pattern. Figure 1, an annotated facsimile of _Balletti moderni_ 's table of contents, indicates which pieces form these groups, and their location within the collection. An arrangement of the works contained in _Balletti moderni_ according to these six groups is found in the Appendix, which also lists some concordances.

**Group I**

The largest group, Group I, consists of the thirty-six dances which are also found in Cesare Negri's dance treatise _Le gratie d'amore_. As can be seen in Figure 1 these pieces are presented in three variously sized subgroups separated by two paired sets of dances. Subgroup Ia, consisting of nine dances, is followed by a pair of dances not related to the Negri tunes titled "La massaretta." The thirteen dances of subgroup Ib are followed by an "Aria del gran duca" and its galliard. Subgroup Ic comprises fourteen dances found in Negri.

Cesare Negri's _Le gratie d'amore_, along with the treatises of Fabritio Caroso—_Il ballarino_ (1581) and _Nobilià di dame_ (1600)—provide most of our knowledge concerning Italian dance from the second half of the
Figure 1 Annotated table of contents from *Balletti moderni.*
sixteenth century. Negri’s treatise postdates those of Caroso, and Negri was aware of *Il ballarino*, for he praises it and draws heavily from Caroso’s rules for dance steps in forming his own rules. *Le gratie d’amore* is divided into three sections: the first provides information about Negri’s professional life and productions; the second gives rules and steps for improvised galliard variations; and the third contains directions for 43 dances, with their music printed in lute tablature and mensural notation.\(^8\)

In *Le gratie d’amore* the music for each dance follows the choreography. After instructions on the number of repetitions for each section of music, the melody is given in mensural notation followed by a harmonized version in Italian lute tablature. These are the lute tablature versions which are related to the Group I pieces in *Balletti moderni*. The table provided in the Appendix gives the locations of the related pieces in both books, and also lists some concordances found in other works. A detailed discussion of the relationship between the *Balletti moderni* versions of the Group I pieces and the *Le gratie d’amore* versions is given in the next section, "Balletti Moderni and Le Gratie d’Amore."

An examination of the other concordances listed in the Appendix gives an impression of the popularity of some of the tunes (and possibly some of the choreographies), and confirms the "spread of Italian dances . . . to the courts of Europe" mentioned by Julia Sutton in her article on Cesare Negri in the *New Grove*.\(^9\) Some dance tunes drew from popular vocal melodies, like those found in the collections of Giovanni Gastoldi (see #4) and Orazio Vecchi (see #9). Other tunes are based on popular bass lines or harmonic patterns, such as "Il spagnoletto" (#6), "Canario" (#34), and "Pavanigilia" (#37). That these tunes are also found in English keyboard music and the *Terpsichore* collection of the German Michael Praetorius attests to their wide dissemination and popularity.\(^10\)

Also indicated in the Appendix are several pieces in Caroso’s treatises which bear some semblance to pieces in Group I, and reflect a shared musical idiom commonly employed for dance accompaniment.\(^11\) The appear-

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\(^8\)Julia Sutton, "Negri, Cesare (de)," *New Grove*, XIII, 94.

\(^9\)Ibid.

\(^10\)Even more striking is the appearance of the relatively unknown "Brando gentile" in a four part version in Praetorius’s *Terpsichore*. He possibly collected the piece during one of his "scouting" trips to Italy or France. Such trips are mentioned in his introduction to *Terpsichore*.

\(^11\)The degree of similarity is described in the Appendix. Generally it is limited to a rough variation on the melody and bass line or harmonic pattern. It should be noted that although correspondence between the pieces is often marked at their beginnings, it tends to degenerate quickly in succeeding phrases. In the preface to the Minkoff facsimile of *Balletti moderni* François Lesure suggests an affinity between the tunes in Caroso’s *Il ballarino* titled “Torneo amoroso,” “Saporita,” “Nobilita,” “Il Canario,” and “Cesarina,” and pieces with similar titles in *Balletti moderni*. For all except the “Cesarina” the resemblance is in name only, and even for it the concordance is not identical, but rather one of shared melodic direction over kindred bass lines and harmonies.
rance of nine Group I pieces in Zanetti's II scolaro of 1645 suggests a continued popularity of the music over forty years after Negri published them in Le gratie d'amore.12

**Group II**

Group II consists of four arie da cantar with reprises. Two are titled "Aria ciciliana," the third is titled "Aria da cantar," and the fourth "Aria della pure." Although located among the "balletti de diversi" (as indicated by the foot title), they possess characteristics of melodic formulas intended for verse recitation. The metrically free reprise to the second "aria ciciliana" especially suggests that these pieces were not intended as dances. Indeed, these arie da cantar must be what Gardano refers to as "Arie diverse" on his title page, since he does list them as "Due arie ciciliane, da cantar" and "Due arie da cantar, con represe" in his table of contents.

"Arias as melodies or schemes for singing fixed poetic types were printed throughout much of the sixteenth century in instrumental as well as vocal publications."13 Those texted and untexted formulas which have survived are apparently realizations of an improvisatory practice of accompanied recitation of poetry. Poetic forms for which melodies were frequently provided were the ottava rima, terza rima or capitoli, and sonetti. A single formula devised for one of these poetic forms could serve as accompaniment for several poems in that form (although when fitting verses consideration should be given to textual accentuation). The lack of text for the arie da cantar in Balletti moderni complicates identifying the poetic form the arie were intended to complement. Also, the sparse nature of the pieces suggests that only the lute accompaniment has been provided, without the vocal melody.14 Even so, some observations about these arie may be offered here.

The two pieces titled "Aria ciciliana" belong to the genre of arie da cantar siciliano, a characteristic Sicilian form of ottava rima or strambotto, having a poetic structure consisting of eight hendecasyllabic lines with

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14A substantial source of arie da cantar is the Cosimo Bottegari lutebook (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS C 311, modern edition edited by Carol MacClintock, Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1965). Of the 127 solo vocal pieces in the collection, which include a number of ottava rima, terza rima, and sonetti, only eight were found in which the vocal melody was duplicated in the lute accompaniment. The texture of some of the lute accompaniments to the arie in the Bottegari MS corresponds with the sparse texture of the four arie da cantar in Balletti moderni, consisting of two or three recognizable voices.
Donna incostante

In-gra-ta dis-le-al-i ed in-co stan-ti

Quant'iu t'a-mu lu vi-di-a-per-ta-menti

E fin-gi di l'a-ri chi di mir-can-ti

Qua-si che non mi vi-di-o non mi sen-ti

Qua-si che non mi vi-di-o non mi sen-ti.

Figure 2  Text and melody to the first quatrain of Giovanni Stefani’s “Donna incostante” from Affetti amorosi (Venice, 1618), p. 49.
the rhyme scheme abab abab.\textsuperscript{15} The vocal lines of extant \textit{arie siciliane} are of a declamatory style producing essentially a syllabic setting of the text that reflects its poetic form. Figure 2, which gives the individual text lines and related melodies of "Donna incostante," an \textit{aria siciliana} from Giovanni Stefani's \textit{Affetti amorosi} of 1618, exemplifies characteristics common to most \textit{arie siciliane} dating from the early seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{16} Each line of text has its own melodic phrase, typically of eleven notes to correspond to the eleven syllables of the poetic line. These phrases are usually clearly defined by strong cadences and/or rests. However, "the third and fourth lines are often linked together without an intervening cadence, and all or part of the fourth line is usually repeated."\textsuperscript{17} This melodic linking of the third and fourth lines is a major difference between \textit{arie siciliane} and formulae for other forms of ottava rima. The rhythm of the melody often reflects textual accents, and the use of repeated notes of smaller values is a common device. As with other ottava rima formulas, the same four phrases of music were intended to be used for both quatrains of the strambotto text.

The \textit{arie siciliane} found in \textit{Balletti moderni} exhibit many of the above attributes (see Figure 3). The majority of the phrases (indicated in Figure 3 by A, B, C, and D) are clearly defined by strong cadences and appear suitable for an essentially syllabic setting of the eleven-syllable-per-line text of the strambotto,\textsuperscript{18} In the first "aria ciciliana" (Figure 3a) the division between the third and fourth phrase is rather ambiguous, since the melody of the lute part disappears (perhaps it moves into the bass and cadences in measure 10). In the second "aria ciciliana" (Figure 3b) there is a definite feeling of connection between the third and fourth phrases, despite the rest, due to the comparatively weak cadence in measure eleven. The occurrence of these two \textit{arie siciliane} in \textit{Balletti moderni} places Gardano's publication among the earliest known sources of \textit{arie da cantar siciliano} for the lute.

The "\textit{ri[p]rese}" found on the same page could have been intended to serve as an instrumental ritornello to be played between the stanzas of

\textsuperscript{15}Meredith Ellis Little, "Siciliano," \textit{New Grove}, XVII, 292.

\textsuperscript{16}Giovanni Stefani gives three \textit{arie siciliane} in his Affetti amorosi (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1618, and later editions to 1626), one of which is reproduced in Little's article in the \textit{New Grove}, XVII, 292.

\textsuperscript{17}Little, "Siciliano," p. 292.

\textsuperscript{18}For example, the number of notes per phrase (i.e., per line of text) in the first "aria ciciliana" is very straightforward: phrase A = 11 notes (including the bass G on the second beat of bar two); phrase B = 11 notes; phrase C = 11 notes (again counting the rhythmic motion in the bass); and phrase D = 11 notes. The number of notes per phrase in the second "aria ciciliana" would require a more judicious fitting of text: phrase A = 13 notes; phrase B = 10 notes; phrase C = 11 notes; phrase D = 11 notes. If the setting of the text involved slurring two notes per syllable in measure 3, phrase A, and the eliding of two syllables on one note (or an unnotated repetition of a pitch) in phrase B, then all phrases could accommodate eleven-syllable lines.
notes: 1. original rhythm: $\frac{1}{4}$, with additional d''

2. original rhythm: $\frac{1}{4}$

Figure 3  Two *arie siciliane* from *Balletti moderni*, p. 33.
either "aria ciciliana." Such "riprese" reflect the improvisatory origin of the "aria da cantar." 19

The origin and meaning of the title "Aria delle pure" is unknown; perhaps it is related to some opera or entertainment. The aria proper can be divided into four phrases of three bars each. Although the first phrase could accommodate twelve syllables, it is possible that all four musical phrases were intended to fit eleven-syllable text lines, suggesting that the "Aria della pure" also belongs to the ottava rima family. As with the arie siciliane, the ambiguous location of the "Ripresa" which follows the "Aria delle pure" does not adequately indicate whether it was specifically intended as a ritornello just for the "Aria delle pure," or if it also could be played between stanzas of the "Aria da cantar" found on the same page.

The "Aria da cantar" is not easy to typify. Its four phrases appear to accommodate either seven, eleven, seven, and eleven syllables respectively, or eight, twelve, eight, and twelve syllables, thus precluding its use as a formula to ottava rima, terza rima, or sonetti. The melodic structure of ABAC is also unusual since the internal repetition of melodic material in such formulas is uncommon. The lack of text, which would indicate a rhyme scheme, further frustrates an effort to determine a poetic form. Perhaps the "Aria da cantar" given here is intended to accommodate a form of canzona—described by Howard Brown as consisting of "a varying number of alternating seven- and eleven-syllable lines in irregular rhyme schemes." 20

Group III

Group III contains a series of two passamezzi antichi, a passamezzo moderno, and a padoana on the moderno bass. Also included in Group III is the "Aria del gran duca" which separates subgroups Ib and Ic. The dance pieces in this group utilize either standard harmonic schemes or bass lines widely popular in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The antico and moderno patterns originated within the tradition of improvisatory dance music and eventually became popular harmonic formulas for improvising and composing extensive sets of stylized virtuoso variations. Even as accompaniment to dancing, though, the necessary repetitions of the dance music (as evidenced by Caroso’s "Passe i mezzo") must have invited improvisation. 21 The passamezzi in Balletti moderni are neither the simplest nor the most complex of the period. It is possible,

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21 See Caroso, Il ballarino, folios 46–49 for an example of a choreography for a passamezzo.
though by no means provable, that they were actually conceived as dance accompaniments rather than as stylized variation suites.

The "Aria del gran duca" consists of the aria proper presented twice—once in a "Prima parte" and then in a melodically ornamented "Seconda parte." It is paired with a related duple meter galliard composed on the same bass line. The "Aria del gran duca" is a member of the genre of "Arie de Fiorenza" so extensively discussed by Warren Kirkendale in L'aria de Fiorenza. Thus, Balletti moderni should be added to Kirkendale's "Bibliography of Musical Sources" for "Arie di Fiorenza." Balletti moderni is one of the few lute sources which provides an embellished variation (the "Seconda parte") as well as a galliard. Kirkendale has shown that the model of the "Aria" is a ballo composed by Emilio de' Cavalieri, which served as the grand finale to the intermedio performed at the marriage festivities of Grand Duke Ferdinand I and Christin of Lorraine in May, 1589. The two most common names with which the scheme was labelled are "Aria di Fiorenza"—a reference to the Florentine court where the production of the intermedio occurred—and "Ballo [or Aria] del gran duca"—a reference to the groom. Balletti moderni gains the nominal distinction of being the earliest known printed source to use the title "Aria del gran duca."24

Group IV

The six dances which constitute Group IV possess several shared traits. They are all subtitled padoana; five of the six are in triple meter; and the majority shift frequently in meter between 6/4 and 3/2. They also appear to represent popular dances, for similarly named pieces can be found in other collections of dance music. The Appendix lists these concordances, and gives brief descriptions of the musical relationships among them.

The first four of these padoanas display varying degrees of affinity with dances found in Giorgio Mainerio's Balli of 1578 for four-part instrumental ensemble.25 The bass line and harmonic pattern of Gardano's "La paganina" (see #49 in the Appendix) are very similar to those found in Mainerio's "Passè mezzo della paganina"; and #51, "La gianetta," not only possesses a bass line resembling that of Mainerio's "La zanetta," but it also has a melody easily recognizable as an ornamented version of the melody of "La zanetta" (see Figure 4). In contrast, Gardano's "La fiamenga" (#50) displays only a faint musical relation to Mainerio's dance of the same name.

22Warren Kirkendale, L'aria de Fiorenza id es il ballo del gran duca (Florence: Olschki, 1972).
23Ibid., p. 43.
24The earliest known use of "Grand duca" appears in a manuscript of Philipp Hainhofer, dating from 1604. Ibid., pp. 42, 71.
25Giorgio Mainerio, il primo libro de balli a quattro voci, accommodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de istromenti (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578).
Figure 4  Comparison of "La Gianetta Padoana" and "La Zanetta Padoana."

**Figure 4** Comparison of "La Gianetta Padoana" and "La Zanetta Padoana."
The concordances with Giulio Cesare Barbetta's lute books present an interesting situation regarding "La schiavonetta" versions (#52). The Barbetta "Pavana sesta detta la schiavonetta" bears no musical relation to either Balletti moderni or Facoli's pieces labelled "schiavonetta." However, its bass line is similar to the bass lines of Balletti moderni's "gianetta" and Mainerio's "zanetta," and more surprisingly, Barbetta's "Pavana prima detta la barbarina" concords musically with Gardano's and Facoli's "schiavonettas" (see #54 in the Appendix). Perhaps Barbetta confused the titles.

As with the pieces in Group III, those of Group IV may belong to the genre of dances based on fixed harmonic bass patterns. Indeed, "La paganina" is an obvious member of a recognized family of passamezzi utilizing related bass lines and harmonic schemes. A comparison among the five paganinas listed in the concordance tables (Appendix, #49) allows the formulation of a common skeletal bass line (Figure 5). The basic structure of the line consists of three phrases of four measures, each with a written-out repeat. The uniqueness of the paganina lies not only in its bass line, but also in the sequence of chords used, and especially in the high degree of standardization of the melodic and harmonic rhythm, suggesting that the paganina might have derived from a vocal melodic model.

Skeletal bass and/or harmonic schemes also can be derived for other dances in Group IV. Not all of the dance pieces with similar names, however, adhere as strictly to a common bass line as the paganina pieces do (see concordance table). Since almost all the concordances in printed sources listed in the Appendix were originally published in Venice (in fact, the Mainerio and Facoli collections hail from the press of Angelo Gardano), it seems probable that a few, if not all, of the dances in Group IV represent regional manifestations of bass/harmonic pattern dance forms.

**Group V**

Group V is a collection of those pieces which do not easily fit into any other group. The paired massarettas, which separate subgroups ia and lb, are variations on the same duple meter melody and use similar bass lines. No dance titled "Massaretta" has been found in any other source. The disagreement between internal repeat signs makes initial identification of the melodic elements difficult.

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27 Aspects of this bass line disagree with the line presented in Hudson's article in the *New Grove* (see previous footnote). For this reason it is useful to include this bass line chiefly derived from 16th- and early 17th-century lute and ensemble sources, excluding the guitar sources solely relied upon by Hudson.
28 As did the "Arie di Fiorenza." Hudson believes that the harmonic formula of the "paganina" is based on the same chordal scheme as the passamezzo antico, but this theory ignores the importance of the consistent retention of a rhythmic pattern, as Kirkendale noted in footnote 3, p. 18 in *L'aria de Fiorenza*.
(Figures indicate modality of chords. All chords in root position unless otherwise indicated. Small notes give common variations.)

Figure 5    The *paganina* skeletal bass line
If the designations "in tenore" and "in contralti" in these pieces refer to voice placement of a preexistent tune, the tune is indistinguishable in the tablature versions. It seems more likely that "in tenore" and "in contralti" refer to the different keys of the tabulations. If played on a lute tuned in G, the "Massaretta in tenore" would sound in G minor, and the "Massaretta in contralti" in F minor. The two brentas also display a similar pitch relationship, albeit in major keys. The "Brenta in tenore" is in G major, the "Brenta in contralti" in F major. Similarly designated pieces found in the de Bellis lute manuscript of the San Francisco State University Library exhibit the same key relationship (see Table 1).29 There, five pieces are labelled "in tenore," all either in G major or G minor. Fifteen pieces labelled "in soprano"—rather than "in contralti," a term not found in the manuscript—are either in F major or F minor. The term "in semitone" is appended to two "Corentes," both in F⁵ major, and two "Corentes" in C major are labelled "in basso." The two other works also marked "in basso" do not conform to the theory, since neither are in C. The "Pavaniglia in basso," however, represents a case where the melody of the previous "Pavaniglia in soprano" has been moved to the bass part, key unchanged. The "Spagnoletta in basso" immediately follows a "Spagnoletta in soprano," but is pitched a minor third lower. Similar indications can be found in other printed and manuscript collections.30

Musically, the brenta is a triple-meter dance in three sections, each beginning with a pickup. Repeated chords predominate, and help establish a metric feeling of three strong beats across two bars. The three against two conflict appears common to the first two sections, while the third section of the dance incorporates a more melodic movement either in the bass or cantus (although the "Brenta in contralti" switches to melodic movement in its second phrase). The simple harmonic outline of the brenta is clearly defined by its three eight-measure phrases. The first varies the tonic chord but cadences on the dominant; the second phrase stays in the dominant; and the third returns to the tonic, outlining a I-IV-V-I chordal structure.


30While the appellations may differ, the concept appears consistent. For example, in Emanuel Adriaenssen's Pratum musicum longe amoenissimum... (Antwerp, 1584), five passamezzi, some with paired galliards, have indications of either "in Basso," "in Contratenore," "Superius," or "in Tenore." The pieces labeled Tenore are in G minor, those labeled Basso are in C minor, and the piece labeled Superius is in F major. Thus, they agree with those labels found in the De Bellis manuscript. The pieces labeled "in Contratenore" distinguish a different key, D minor. Although the modal character of major or minor is given in the above descriptions and Table 1, the "in..." indications did not differentiate between them.
The only *brenta* found in other sources is the "Padoana ottava, detto zo per la brenta" from Giulio Cesare Barbetta's *Intavolatura di liuto* of 1585 (Venice), a work also published by Angelo Gardano. This eighth and last *padoana* of Barbetta's collection possesses the characteristics of *Balletti moderni*'s *brentas*, suggesting that those, too, may be *padoanas*. Like *Balletti moderni*’s "Brenta in tenori," Barbetta's "Padoana ottava" (1) is in triple meter; (2) possesses the characteristic continuous hemiola pattern; (3) is in the key of G major; (4) has three phrases with the harmonic structure G-G-G-D // D-D-D-D // G-C-D-G; and (5) consists of two "parte" of which the second, labelled "alio modo," is more ornamented than the first.

The final piece of Group V, "La trombetta," consists of 89 measures of trumpet call configurations over a repeated C major chord drone.

**Group VI**

The last two pieces of *Balletti moderni*, two French chansons, form Group VI. They are intabulations of the four-part vocal chansons "Un gai berger" by Thomas Crequillon and "Frisque et gaillard" by Clemens non Papa. Many intabulations of these chansons can be found in French, Italian, and German lute tablatures. Only one Italian source was found in Howard Mayer Brown's bibliography, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*, which included intabulations of both chansons: Simone Molinaro's *Intavolatura de liuto* (Venice: Amadino, 1599).

Discounting a few changes in chord voicing and several errors including the omission of eight bars of tablature following measure 32, it is obvious that the "Frais & gaillard" in *Balletti moderni* is identical to that in Molinaro's book, especially considering the elaborate ornamentation shared by the two versions. The intabulation was actually the work of Molinaro, for the full heading in his book is "Frais & gaillard Canzone Francese a quattro di Clemens non papa Intavolata dal Molinaro." The appearance of Molinaro's intabulation in *Balletti moderni* is of especial interest because few of his pieces are found in sources other than his book. Also, although the intabulation in *Balletti moderni* is obviously by Molinaro, it shows signs of alteration during transmission. Besides the slight changes in the voicing of a few chords, one cadential ornament has been altered (measure 37 in *Balletti moderni*), and Molinaro's original intabulation for an eight course lute has been adapted to a seven course lute in *Balletti moderni*.

After discovering Molinaro's intabulation of "Frais & gaillard" in *Balletti moderni*, it is surprising to find that the intabulation of "Un gai berger" is not that of Molinaro, for the two are in different keys and have different figuration. No concordance has been found in the sources searched.

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32 I would like to thank James Meadors for bringing this concordance to my attention.
(a) Melody from Orazio Vecchi, Selva di varia ricreazione (1590)

Figure 6 Comparison of Melodies of "Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo"
(b) Melody from Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (1602)

Figure 6  Comparison of Melodies of “Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo”
(a) Melody of "L'innamorato," Giovanni Gastoldi, *Balletti a cinque voci* (1591)

Figure 7  Comparison of "L'innamorato" and "Alta Mendoza"
La Musica della sonata con l'intraversatura di liuto dell'Alta Mendoza. Le prime due
parte si fanno due volte per parte, la seconda due volte, la terza si fa tre volte,
è poi si fa la primaparte fin'al fin del ballo.

(b) Melody of "Alta Mendoza," Cesare Negri, Le gratie d'amore (1602)

Figure 7    Comparison of "L'innamorato" and "Alta Mendoza"
Balletti Moderni and Le Gratie d’Amore

The most remarkable feature of Balletti moderni is the large group of pieces (Group I) with concordances in Cesare Negri’s dance treatise, Le gratie d’amore. There are three factors which confirm the direct linkage of these two works. First, Le gratie d’amore contains unique dance versions of popular tunes which were modified by Negri to fit his choreographic needs. These versions are also found, in virtually identical form, in Balletti moderni; they could derive from no other source but Negri.

"Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo," which uses the tune found in Orazio Vecchi’s balletto of the same name, demonstrates Negri’s kind of modification. Vecchi’s melody and the melody to Negri’s dance are given in Figure 6. While Vecchi’s original presents a duple meter tune with two repeated sections (A and B), Negri has added a triple meter galliard which also has two repeated sections (C and D). The galliard’s melody and harmonies are adaptations of those in the original duple meter sections. Another example is Giovanni Gastoldi’s five-part vocal balletto, “L’in­namorato,” or “A lieta vita.” Originally a two-sectioned piece also, Negri’s modifications involved adding two more repeated sections of new melodic material (see Figure 7). The music of Negri’s dance, named “Alta Mendoza,” is found in Balletti moderni under the title “Lavinia gagliarde,” with all four sections of Negri’s modified version intact.

The second factor which substantiates the relationship between Negri and Balletti moderni has been mentioned before: that is, the large number of pieces (36) common to both sources. No other treatise of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries has concordances for such a high percentage of its dances in a single musical source. Indeed, no dance treatise has concordances for 84% of its dances in any number of sources. This is not to say that tunes in other dance manuals are without concordances in lute and ensemble collections of dance music. Other versions of tunes found in Arbeau’s, Caroso’s, and Negri’s treatises can be found scattered in various collections. It is the high concentration of the Negri tunes found in Balletti moderni which distinguishes it.

An investigation of some of the concordances of Negri tunes found in

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33 Vecchi’s four part vocal version with lute accompaniment is found in Selva di varia ricreazione (Venice: Gardano, 1590), folio 16. A version for solo voice and lute is in the Bottegari lute book, folio 5. Whether Vecchi employed a melody of popular origin or invented it himself is open to speculation.

34 The pieces in Le gratie d’amore not found in Balletti moderni are “Pavaniglia all’uso di Milano” (pp. 157–60), “Bassa delle Ninfa” (pp. 174–77), “Amor Felice” (pp. 178–81), “Tordiglione nuovo” (pp. 193–97), “Bizzarrìa d’Amore” (pp. 254–56), “La Battaglia” (pp. 257–64), and “La Caccia d’Amore” (pp. 281–84).

35 Excepting the concordances between Fabritio Caroso’s two dance treatises, Il ballarino and Nobiltà di dame, since the latter can be considered a second edition of the former. A concordance is here defined as containing nearly identical melodic material.
other collections reveals the third factor: the degree of agreement between the Negri and Gardano tablatures is very high, far higher than between Negri and any other musical source. All the shared pieces are in the same keys, and many intabulations are virtually identical. A comparison with the musical source possessing the next highest number of pieces concordant with those of Negri illustrates the normal degree of difference found between dance treatise versions of a tune and another musical source. Nine Negri pieces can be found in Gasparo Zanetti’s *Il scolaro*, but there they are arranged for a string ensemble of violin, two violas, and a cello. The different degrees of relation between these versions and Negri’s tunes can be seen in Table 2. Keys differ, melodies of dance sections do not completely agree, some of Zanetti’s tunes are ornamented versions of Negri’s, and meter is altered from duple to triple (e.g., “Spagnoletta”).

While there seems little doubt that the dances in Group I derive from the Negri tunes, the line of transmission is open to speculation. Four possible situations present themselves: (1) Gardano’s compositor used Negri’s treatise as a model, copying directly from it and possibly making textual and musical changes; (2) Gardano employed an editor to correct and alter Negri’s versions before they went to the compositor; (3) an antecedent source existed, from which the tablatures in both Negri’s and Gardano’s works were separately derived; or (4) Gardano obtained possession of an intermediary source and used it as an exemplar for setting *Balletti moderni*.

Internal evidence and a comparison between Negri’s and Gardano’s tablatures suggests that the first mentioned situation is improbable. Despite the unusual degree of similarity between the intabulations in the two books, there are differences which suggest that *Le gratie d’amore* did not serve directly for Gardano’s compositors. These differences are mani-

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36Gasparo Zanetti, *Il scolaro di Gasparo Zanetti per imparar a suonare di violino et altri strumenti* (Milan, 1645). David Boyden noted in his *History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) that “This work has been little described and its importance even less appreciated. Nevertheless, it is remarkably significant” (p. 154, note 7). Unfortunately, little further study of this fascinating work has been done since 1965. A modern edition edited by James Tyler has been published in two volumes by London Pro Musica Edition (Brighton, 1984).

37The degree of variation can be seen in the Appendix. Column four of the Group I pieces gives the numeric order as they are found in *Le gratie d’amore*. While a few groupings of pieces within proximity of each other in *Le gratie d’amore* occur, no discernible logical relationship is apparent between Gardano’s arrangement and Negri’s. The differences may be attributable to (1) a rearrangement during layout to accommodate convenient piece lengths; (2) an order imposed by an intermediary source; or (3) an interaction of (1) and (2).

38Most of the differences between titles could be explained as reflecting printing errors, regional preferences, or the typical spelling inconsistencies of the time. However, the name changes involving pieces 4, 18, 22, and 40 (see the Appendix) cannot be so easily explained.
fested in several ways: (1) the order of the pieces given by Gardano differs from the order found in Negri;37 (2) titles and their spelling differ;38 (3) seven of Negri’s dance tunes are omitted from Balletti moderni; and (4) slight differences between the two sources’ tablatures of the dance tunes exist. Individually such discrepancies seem small when compared with the greater variance exhibited by other concordances, such as those in Zanetti’s Il scolaro. However, their nature and extent—over 50 changes altogether—would have required a compositor who was also a skilled lutenist, an unlikely possibility.

What generally has been referred to as a second edition of Le gratie d’amore was issued in 1604 under the title Nuove inventioni de balli. Such an edition could account for the minor differences between the music common to Balletti moderni and Le gratie d’amore.39 A careful bibliographic examination of several copies of Negri’s two treatises revealed that the so-called second edition of 1604 is actually a reissue, under a new title page, of leaves originally printed in 1602.40 Therefore, it seems unlikely that Gardano’s compositor copied from either the 1602 or 1604 issues of the Negri treatise.

The second possibility, that Gardano employed an editor, is more plausible. Gardano’s tablature versions definitely bear the mark of having been altered at some time by a performer’s hand. Sixty-six percent of the changes in rhythms and pitches are additions, deletions, or alterations which do not correct or create errors, but instead reflect some artistic preference. The most notable of these include the addition of fifty proportion signs, and an extensive editing of the dots which indicate an upward stroke of a finger of the lutenist’s right hand. Differences in the spelling of F-major chords, especially, indicate a strong preference for a particular voicing. Three related types of changes are presented in Figure 8. All of the altered F chords found in Balletti moderni exhibit a preference to play c’ on the third string.41 Differences represented by examples A and B (Figure 8) are most prevalent. Fifty percent of all the F chords are so altered.

37Cesare Negri, Nuove inventioni de balli (Milan: Girolamo Bordone, 1604).
38The typefaces, spacings, and running title are identical. The existence in both issues of the same cancels pasted over paragraph one on page 182, the occurrence of a shared sequence of identical watermarks, and the tipped-in title page of the 1604 volumes, confirm that the pages of these two issues were printed at the same press and at the same time. That Nuove inventioni de balli is a reissue of Le gratie d’amore was also noted by an anonymous cataloger at Harvard University. Definitions of edition and reissue can be found in Philip Gaskell’s A New Introduction to Bibliography (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 316. A listing of libraries holding Le gratie d’amore and Nuove inventioni de balli can be found in RISM. However, not listed are the Nuove inventioni in the Newberry’s collection (the date on the title page has been altered to read 1602) and the holdings of both issues in the New York Public Library.
Chord voicing in
*Le Gratie d'Amore*,
Negri.

Chord voicing in
*Balletti Moderni*,
Gardano

Figure 8  Alteration of F major chords.
An extreme example of these types of alterations can be found in "Brando gentile." None of the proportion signs found in the Balletti moderni version are given in Negri's tablature (cf. Plates I and II). The F chords originally voiced F, f, a, f', or f, a, f', have been changed to F, f, c', f' and f, c', f' respectively in nine out of eleven occurrences (indicated in Plates I and II by black pyramids). Six of fifteen chords originally voiced f, f', a' have been augmented with an added c' so that the chords now sound f, c', f', a', giving a fuller sound to the chord (cf. white pyramids). Examples of errors found in the Negri tablatures but corrected in Gardano's are found enclosed in circles or ovals. In Balletti moderni's measures 44 and 62 rhythmic errors are corrected; in measure 49 a note is corrected, changing Negri's G# diminished chord (an obvious error) to a G major chord. Other corrections occur in measures 18, 53, and 60. New errors created in Balletti moderni are found in measures 10, 54, and 57 where, respectively, chord numbers were misplaced, and a repeat sign and a measure were eliminated (enclosed in boxes).

About 15% of the changes in rhythm and pitches account for corrections of errors found in Le gratie d'amore. Yet, errors possibly introduced at the Gardano press account for another 20% of these changes. This higher percentage of newly created errors suggests that Gardano's edition was not as carefully proofread as Negri's was corrected, and also, that Gardano probably did not employ an editor; for why would he go to the expense of hiring a lutenist to amend the Negri tablatures carefully and extensively, and then not have his editor proofread the set sheets? That all of the music throughout Balletti moderni is fraught with errors testifies that Gardano's edition was not carefully proofread.

The third and fourth possibilities, that an antecedent or intermediary source existed, offer a means of accounting for the artistically motivated changes and other corrections despite Balletti moderni's apparent lack of in-house editing. An antecedent source (which shall be called Source Y), or a derivative from it, could have served as a model for the tablatures printed in both Le gratie d'amore and Balletti moderni, and variously adapted for each publication. Although Source Y would have to have existed before the publication of Le gratie d'amore, it could only have originated with Negri; for, as previously demonstrated, some of the tunes, although preexistent, were specifically modified by Negri to accommodate his choreographies. Negri did not simply supply choreographies to a preexistent collection of anonymous tunes. The music and choreographies

42 What Angelo's musical abilities were can only be conjectured. Both his father, Antonio, and Bartolomeo Magni, eventual heir of the Gardano firm, had compositions published. Angelo seems not to have been a composer, but he must have had some musical skills in order to manage the firm effectively. Even if he could have served as editor, the basic premise concerning the number of errors and the other evidence indicating a lack of editorial control remain unchanged.
of *Le gratie d'amore* were collected and devised by Negri over many years, some for aristocratic patrons, others for intermedios and entertainments (in the first part of his treatise Negri recounts forty-five years of activity as performer, director, and dancing master).

It can be hypothesized, then, that if Source Y did exist, it would have existed for the use of accompanying Negri's dances. Such a source could either have belonged to Negri, or to a lutenist employed by Negri to accompany his dance lessons. What we should expect from Source Y, then, are musically accurate and danceable versions of the Negri dance tunes. That typesetting errors or omissions would appear in *Le gratie d'amore* is a normal expectation in a publication from the hand-press era. Likewise, it would be expected that errors would be introduced in *Balletti moderni*, and that they would be different from those found in *Le gratie d'amore*. A comparison of the two versions should then provide an authoritative musical text of the tunes.

This, however, is not the case. A detailed analysis of the errors and corrections in *Le gratie d'amore* and *Balletti moderni* reveals that (1) identical errors can be found in both versions, and (2) some “correct” readings found in *Balletti moderni* are obviously responses to errors in *Le gratie d'amore*, not the result of correct readings of an ideal model. Although the corrections usually resolve errors by providing playable solutions, these solutions do not always agree with Negri’s mensurally notated melody versions, nor with the requirements of the choreography. Therefore, the corrections must have been made without familiarity with the actual dances.

An example of such a miscorrection is in the *Balletti moderni* version of “Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo” (Figure 9). In Negri’s version, first line, last bar, the compositor began to set a measure, then ran out of room and, instead of continuing where he left off on the second line, he repeated from the beginning of the measure. If *Balletti moderni*’s version was derived from an antecedent Source Y, it should contain a correct reading of these measures. However, the version in *Balletti moderni* actually compounds the error. Instead of the partial measure being eliminated, it has been filled out with a rest (printed as the penultimate measure of line one), followed by the correct reading of the measure. Needless to say, the addition of an extra measure would cause great difficulties for dancers attempting to perform Negri’s choreography.

By hypothesizing the existence of an intermediary source (which will be called Source X) the above situation can be explained: at some time after copying “Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo” from *Le gratie d'amore*, the compiler of Source X recognized that something was wrong with the extra measure, but instead of eliminating it, he retained it and added a rest. This “correction” seemed sensible to him, since he was unaware of the requirements of Negri’s choreographies, and he did not have the men-
Figure 9  Comparison of Lute Tablature Versions of "Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo" from *Le gratie d'amore* and *Balletti moderni*
Incomplete measure is "corrected" by adding rest instead of eliminating it.

(b) Gardano, *Balletti Moderni*: "Sò ben mi chi hà bon Tempo"—Aria D’Horatio Vecchi, Da Modeno—p. 6 (7)

Figure 9  Comparison of Lute Tablature Versions of "Sò ben mi chi hà bon tempo" from *Le gratie d’amore* and *Balletti moderni*
surally notated melody of the tune found in Le gratie d'amore to check against. His solution, transferred to Balletti moderni, is found in the penultimate measure of line one.

Other evidence supporting the existence of an intermediary source can be found. While most of the actual errors in Balletti moderni might be attributed to typesetting mistakes—e.g., misplaced numbers, omitted flags, wrong numbers, and occasionally omitted measures—some of the errors could also have originated in hypothetical Source X. There is one major error in particular which probably originated within or because of an intermediary manuscript version. It involves two repeated sections, four measures each, of galliard music. In Le gratie d'amore this galliard music is located at the end of "Adda Felice" (Plate III). Balletti moderni's "Adda Felice" is identical to Negri's except that it lacks the closing galliard music (Plate IV). However, this galliard music is found in Balletti moderni at the beginning of "Tedesca, gagliarde," a piece otherwise equivalent to Negri's dance "Alta Somaglia" (Plate V). Obviously these eight measures are misplaced in Balletti moderni.

Although such a relocation could be the result of an error incurred during typesetting, here internal evidence suggests instead that it reflects the interpretation of an intermediary source. The fermata sign found over the final chord in Balletti moderni's "Adda Felice" indicates that Gardano's compositor assumed he had reached the end of the dance. Also, the bottom staff is empty; there was more than enough room to locate the galliard's sections correctly if he had wanted them there. Moreover, in Balletti moderni, "Tedesca, gagliarde" precedes "Adda Felice" by two pages, which means that the eight measure overflow precedes its "proper" position, an unlikely circumstance if the compositor truly ran out of room. "Adda Felice" is also located in a different gathering from "Tedesca, gagliarde." The repeated use of identical blank staves as filler at several places within Balletti moderni indicates that for each gathering, one side of the large unfolded sheet was printed first, the type used for it was redistributed, and then the other side was set and printed. Because the forms were probably typeset at different times, and sequentially, the location of the galliard section could not have resulted from a typesetter's misplacing the overflow of the "Adda Felice" music onto another page. More likely, it reflects a faulty interpretation of some unusual layout in an intermediary source, possibly the result of space limitations in that source.

The supposition of an intermediary source would also provide an explanation for the differences noted earlier between Molinaro's intabulation of Clemens non Papa's "Frais & gaillard" and the version found in Balletti moderni. The changes in the voicing of the chords corresponds with changes discussed between the music in Negri's treatise and Balletti moderni. Also, that Molinaro's original intabulation for an eight course lute was adapted to one of seven courses is suggestive. It seems odd that a publication pro-
Plate IV  "Adda Felice," *Balletti moderni*, p. 16.
TEDESCA, Gagliarda.

duced twelve years after Molinaro’s book, at a time when lutes with eight or more courses were prevalent, would make such an adaptation. Yet, if Molinaro’s intabulation came to Balletti moderni via a manuscript collection, the alterations could reflect the taste and requirements of the lutenist who compiled the collection. In all probability, that lutenist had a seven course lute.

The preponderance of evidence, therefore, supports the hypothesis that the Group I dances were transmitted to Balletti moderni from Le gratie d’amore via an intermediary source, and that this source could well have provided all of the music found in Balletti moderni. Considering the nature of its complete repertory—the Group I pieces are presented in three sections divided by unrelated tunes, and the diversity of the remaining pieces mirrors repertories commonly found in manuscript collections of lute music—it seems likely that the model of Balletti moderni was a manuscript collection compiled by an anonymous lutenist. From various sources, this lutenist copied those pieces which interested him, and altered and adapted the tablature to suit his personal musical needs and taste. At some later date Gardano obtained possession of the manuscript collection and used it as copy for setting Balletti moderni.

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**APPENDIX**

**BALLETTI MODERNI: CONTENTS AND CONCORDANCES**

- Pieces are arranged by groups as discussed in the section “Repertory.”
- Titles given are from the text. Important differences found elsewhere in the work (e.g., the table of contents) are noted in parentheses.
- Page numbers given are those found on the page. If the number given in the table of contents disagrees, it is given following a slash (/). The actual numerical order of pages is given in brackets when it disagrees with the printed numbers.
- Lawrence Moe’s dissertation, “Dance Music in Printed Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611” (Harvard, 1956) provides incipits and many concordances for the Negri treatise. Reference is made to the source in his dissertation where relevant concordances are listed. Although a few other important concordances are added which were not provided by Moe, by no means is the list comprehensive. Its purpose is to indicate the nature and extent of the concordances.
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OTHER CONCORDANCES

See Moe, p. 273 (Caroso, 1581, II, fol. 78').
Caroso, Fabritio. Il ballarino, (Brown, 1581,1) (Italian lute tablature) II, fol. 78'–79'. Both Caroso and Negri give a dance of multiple sections which alternate between duple and triple meters. Only the first sections of each bear any semblance, being variations on a similar fanfare melody.

Praetorius, Michael. Terpsichore, (1612) (instrumental ensemble), “XIII. Bransle Gentil” (Gesamtausgabe, XV, 23).


[Negri’s and Balletti moderni’s versions are in duple meter.]
See Moe, p. 276 ff. (Caroso, 1581, II, fol. 163').
Caroso. Il ballarino (Brown, 1581,1), II, fol. 163`, “Spagnoletta” (in triple, slight similarity of melodic direction and bass line in first phrase).
Zanetti, Gasparo. Il scolaro, (1645) (strings), p. 92 (see Table 2).
<table>
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<th>Cesare Negri</th>
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OTHER CONCORDANCES

See Moe, p. 270 (Caroso, 1581, II, fol. 9r).
Caroso. *Il ballarino* (Brown, 15811), II, fol. 9r, "Cascarda Alta Regina"; fol. 44r, "Cascarda Squilina"; fol. 146r, "Cascarda Leggiadre Ninfa"; fol. 151r, "Cascarda Cesarina" (Caroso's four pieces are essentially identical. Compared to Negri's music, they exhibit roughly similar melodic direction and harmonies).
Zanetti. *Il scolaro* (1645), p. 96 (see Table 2).
Vecchi, Orazio, *Selva di varia ricreatione* (Brown, 15908) (4 voices, lute), fol. 16, "Sò ben mi c'hà bon tempo."
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C 311. Cosimo Bottegari MS (voice, lute), fol. 5, "Sò ben mi c'hà bon tempo."

See Moe, p. 289 (Negri, 1602, p. 191).
Zanetti. *Il scolaro* (1645), p. 112 (see Table 2).

Caroso. *Nobiltà di dame* (1600), p. 219, "Balletto Forza d'Amore" (variation on melody and bass).
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<td>Marina (Leggiadra)</td>
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<td>(note: in <em>Balletti moderni</em> last 8 measures moved to #18.)</td>
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See Moe, p. 289 (Negri, 1602, p. 206).
Zanetti. Il scolaro (1645), p. 102 (see Table 2).

Zanetti. Il scolaro (1645), p. 90 (see Table 2).

Praetorius. Terpsichore (1612), "XXXI. La Canarie" (Gesamtausgabe, XV, 40).

Zanetti. Il scolaro (1645), p. 102, "Il Canario" (no relationship).

See Moe, (Barberis, IX, 1549 n. 6).
Caroso. Il ballarino (Brown, 1581), II, fol 39, "Balletto Pavaniglia" (melody, bass and harmony very similar).
Zanetti. Il scolaro (1645), p. 104 (see Table 2).

(note: a member of the Spanish Pavan/Pavaniglia family.)
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In January of 1651, Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, an Italian lutenist of German descent, died in Rome at the age of seventy-one.¹ "Il Tedesco della tiorba," as he was called in Italy—a sobriquet that reflected Kapsberger's northern origins as well as the instrument that brought him fame—had come to the Eternal City shortly after 1604, where for the next four decades he enjoyed a distinguished career equalled by few musicians of his time. He became a friend and colleague of men more famous than he, notably the reigning Pope Urban VIII Barberini and his nephews (who were his patrons), musicians like Girolamo Frescobaldi, and the theorists Athanasius Kircher and Giovanni Battista Doni. His prints contain grandiloquent dedications provided by many prominent eruditi of seventeenth-century Rome, and nearly all contemporary theorists ranked Kapsberger among the greatest and most innovative performers they had seen. Kapsberger's achievements were eloquently summed up in Kircher's Musurgia Universalis of 1650:

¹I wish to thank the Fondation des Treilles, Provence, France, and in particular its director, Mme. Anne Gruner Schlumberger, for generous support during the preparation of this article. Research for this project was also supported by a grant from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation.

Unless distinguished otherwise, the word "lutenist" is used here in a generic sense, to describe a player on all lute instruments, including the lute, chitarrone, and liuto attiorbato.
Nobilis musicus Hieronymus Capsergerus Germanus, innumerabilium sere qual scriptorum, qua impressorum voluminum musicorum editione clarissimus, qui ingenio polies maximo, ope aliarum scientarium quarum peritus est, musicae arciana feliciter penetravit. Hic est, cui posteritas debet omnes illas elegantias harmonicas, quas strascinos, mordentias, gruposque vulgo vocant in Tiorba ac Testudine ... 

Kircher's description draws attention to the three fundamental reasons behind Kapsberger's success. First and not unimportantly, Kapsberger was a nobleman—or so he thought—a fortunate circumstance of birth that he used to his best advantage. Secondly, Kapsberger was a prolific composer whose "distinguished musical publications" fall into practically every category of music that was in vogue during the early Baroque: monodies in the stile rappresentativo, strophic airs and villanelle, madrigals, guitar music, dances and sinfonie for instrumental ensemble, operas, and sacred works in the stile moderno. Kapsberger's central musical production is, of course, his remarkable output for the tiorba. Indeed, Kapsberger was the most important Italian lutenist of the seventeenth century, a composer whose innovations stimulated Italian interest in the chitarrone as a solo instrument. The psychological dimensions of Kapsberger's art reveal his acute attunement to Baroque passions: ambiguous, often irrational musical ideas are mixed in with traditional techniques, resulting in a highly dramatic style that is present in the works of no other lutenist of Kapsberger's generation. Finally, Kapsberger's large output—over 150 surviving pieces preserved in printed and non-printed sources—constitutes over half of the extant chitarrone repertory.3

Today, Kapsberger's music is undoubtedly familiar to lutenists, yet the impact of his music has been minimized by modern scholarship. We know nothing about the sources of Kapsberger's style, nor of the influence he

2 Athanasius Kircher, Musurgia Universalis (Rome, 1650), p. 586. On Kircher, see Ulf Scharlau, Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) als Musikschriftsteller (Marburg, 1969). All translations in this article are mine unless cited otherwise.

3 This total is less than half of Kapsberger's entire output for chitarrone. Leone Allacci (Apes Urbanae [Rome, 1633], pp. 159-60) lists three books in print and three books in manuscript "which Kapsberger is preparing for publication." Allacci's list is published in its entirety in Johann Walther's Musikalisches Lexicon, oder musikalisches Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1732), pp. 335-36.
had on other musicians of his day. More importantly, the neglect of Kapsberger’s music has barricaded the main avenue of approach towards an investigation of the entire Italian lute culture of the seventeenth century.

Lying at the root of this problem is the absence of a penetrating biography of the composer—a necessary prerequisite for any serious study of Kapsberger’s music. Some twenty years ago, Paul Kast assembled a convincing, if somewhat speculative biography by examining the information contained in the prefaces and dedications to Kapsberger’s printed works. Despite Kast’s efforts, Kapsberger’s history remained little more than a series of bursts in compositional activity, followed by curious lacunae in his output. Recent investigations of Italian archives, however, have unearthed new documents that illuminate some of the details of Kapsberger’s life. This material, seen within the context of the patronage institutions that governed cultural life in seventeenth-century Rome, provides sufficient information to reconstruct Kapsberger’s life. The purpose of this article, then, is threefold: to furnish a comprehensive documentary biography of Kapsberger from his arrival in Rome ca. 1605 up to his death in 1651; to examine Kapsberger’s relationship to the rich cultural milieu within which he worked; and to lay the groundwork for future studies of Kapsberger’s music, and by extension, for a primary investigation of the lute and chitarrone repertory of seventeenth-century Italy.

In researching the life of Kapsberger, one is at once confronted with two obstacles: 1) reports of an enigmatic, repellant personality, and, 2) lack of sufficient documentation to ascertain the value of these claims. As to the source of the negative charges, the finger can be pointed squarely at the seventeenth-century Florentine theorist Giovanni Battista Doni. Doni had known of Kapsberger’s music since at least 1626, for in the spring of that year he wrote to Mersenne extolling the virtues of Kapsberger’s work, and promising to send the French theorist copies of Kapsberger’s Poemata et Carmina of 1624 (Doni’s letter is translated further on in this study). Doni’s comments are all the more interesting since he


too was patronized by the Barberini, and thus had first-hand experience with Kapsberger and his music. Yet, it was during this association—and for reasons that are unclear—that Doni’s feelings cooled drastically towards Kapsberger, changing from respect and admiration to bitterness and even animosity. In his treatise *De Praestantia musicae veteris libri tres* (1647), Doni levels against Kapsberger a variety of attacks, describing him as boorish, conceited, and opportunistic.7

In the story that has tarnished Kapsberger’s reputation ever since, Doni claimed that Kapsberger, with the help of a bishop whom he coerced, tried to introduce his own music into the Sistine Chapel services as a replacement to the music of Palestrina, which Kapsberger allegedly cited as being “rude” and “inelegant” in its treatment of Latin text. Kapsberger apparently succeeded in his plan, but when the singers were handed Kapsberger’s music, they showed solidarity to Palestrina and refused to sing anything else. Finally, Doni continues, the singers were ordered to sing Kapsberger’s mass, but they did so in such an out-of-tune fashion that Palestrina’s music was quickly restored. Doni apparently felt that Kapsberger’s music lacked the erudite qualities that characterized the true musical imitations of the ancient Greek manner:

Nam si Donium nostrum audimus, tota haec modulandi ratio, quam Symphoniasticam ipse vocat, quae Palilogii, ac Polylogii passim exuberat, barbara prorsus planeque incondita censenda est, quaeque nullo modo repurgari possit, nisi ad vivum refectur. Quod si Capispergius tuus intellexisset, nec talem suscepisset provinciam, nec se Cantoribus deridendum praebuisset, qui vel palam ipsius melodias concinere detrestabant; vel eas de industria sic corrumpabant, ut ingratae paenitus tum Principis, tum astanti-um auribus acciderent.

For, if we heed our Doni, the whole system of music which he indeed calls Symphoniastic and which abounds here and there with *Palilogia* and *Polylogia*, is to be revered as foreign and thoroughly unfounded, and which cannot be clarified except to be cut to the quick. If Kapsberger had grasped this, he would not have undertaken such a provincialism nor held himself up to the ridicule of the singers, who either disliked singing his melodies, or deliberately distorted them, with the result that it was thoroughly unwelcome to the ears of the Pope as well as of the bystanders.8

Doni’s libel appears to be a classic case of calumny; it was later refuted by the Palestrina biographer Giuseppi Baini, who failed to find any record

7Doni’s remarks are summarized in Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1878), p. 126.
8G. B. Doni, *De praestantia musicae veteris libri tres* (Florence, 1647), pp. 98–99.
of the incident in the Sistine Chapel archives. Unbeknownst to Baini, but supporting his general conclusion, are records in the *Libri di Ponti* that document two occasions on which Kapsberger's music was sung at the Sistine Chapel. In December of 1626, a mass by Kapsberger was performed *without incident*—which, at any rate, proves Doni's story to be untrue—and the following year, another Kapsberger mass was sung in the presence of the Pope, "because he wanted to hear it," after which Kapsberger "thanked all the Holy Singers for the favor they had done for him." Doni's story appears now to be an exaggeration, yet Doni succeeded in his attempt to discredit Kapsberger in ways he never imagined. His story was resurrected in important musical histories over the next three centuries. Hawkins was the first to open the coffin, when he paraphrased Doni's entire story about Kapsberger in his widely read *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* of 1776. Hawkins made no attempt to verify Doni's claims. Almost two centuries later, Ambros redrew Doni's character sketch of Kapsberger and amplified his remarks for an even larger musicological audience. Predictably, Ambros called Kapsberger a "bragging charlatan" who achieved success by his noble status and his "pushy and self-conscious behavior." In addition, Ambros called Kapsberger's monodies "unbelievably poor."

Convinced of the accuracy of Doni and Ambros, Nigel Fortune called Kapsberger an "inferior craftsman" and his songs "inept trifles, just like all the other airs composed in Rome—bungling and unmelodious." Was Fortune only drawing on Ambros' earlier statement that Kapsberger's monodies were "no worse and no better than the average work of the

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in inferior monodists of the time.” The views expressed by the triumvirate of Doni, Ambros, and Fortune formed the basis for Wolfgang Witzenmann’s lukewarm appraisal of Kapsberger in the *New Grove*.

Clearly, then, Kapsberger lived and died by the Roman monody—at least he did if we accept the statements by Ambros, Fortune, and Witzenmann at their face value. This view is difficult to reconcile with the applause Kapsberger’s vocal music received during the seventeenth century. In 1628, Giustiniani wrote that Kapsberger “excelled” in a new manner of recitative-style singing “with newly invented melodies and ornamentation.” Kircher echoed Giustiniani, and even hailed Kapsberger as Monteverdi’s successor for his compositions in this genre:

Fuit hoc styli genere cum primis celebriis olim Claudii Monteverdi, uti eius Ariadne ostendit; eum secutus Hieronymus Capsbergerus variae edidit stylo recitativo que summo cum iudicio & peritia composita, ac certe dignissima sunt quae Musici imitantur.

There was once Claudio Monteverdi among the most celebrated in this kind of style, as he showed in his *Ariadne*; Hieronymus Kapsberger followed him who published various books in recitative style, composed with excellent skill and taste, and is certainly most worthy of being imitated by musicians.

Since the bulk of what Doni, Ambros, Fortune, and Witzenmann had to say about Kapsberger’s music is at best offensive, the tradition derived from their writings may have much to do with Kapsberger’s current neglect. There is no hard musical evidence to corroborate the damaging remarks by these writers, and one should probably accept Giustiniani and Kircher as the most reliable critics. One is on somewhat shakier ground in assessing Kapsberger’s personality. Doni apparently had some personal disagreement with Kapsberger, as he did with Frescobaldi; this would account for the rancor in his comments. Yet there may be more than a grain of truth in what Doni had to say, since other witnesses also alluded to Kapsberger’s aloofness and somewhat uncourtly manner. These comments, which seem to be related to Kapsberger’s exploitation of his noble standing, will be clarified in the following biography.

19For Doni’s impressions of Frescobaldi, see Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: His Life and Music* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 85–86.
Giovanni Girolamo was born in Venice around 1580 to parents of noble German origin. His birth date is established by his death certificate, dated 17 January 1651, which states that he died "in about his seventy-first year." Little is known about Girolamo's parents other than that his father, Gugliemo (Wilhelm) Kapsberger, was a military official employed by the House of Austria. He may have come to Italy as an ambassador in the decades following the German advance on the terraferma in the 1520s. Nothing is known of his son's life until the appearance of Girolamo's Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarre in 1604, his first and only Venetian print. For its novelty as the first printed book of chitarre music, and because it contained a short but valuable list of avertimenti for the player, the Libro primo was perhaps the most popular Italian lute or chitarre tablature of the seventeenth century. In fact, the book seems to have been in use for at least the next twenty years, since transmissions of its repertory appear in manuscripts copied as late as 1627. His reputation undoubtedly enhanced by the success of this maiden work, Kapsberger left Venice for Rome shortly after 1604, perhaps lured by the prospect of securing permanent employment.

Kapsberger's Rome during the first decade of the seventeenth century was a bustling and diversified city in the adolescence of a spectacular renewal in its urban, economic, and cultural life. It was a different Rome than existed a century before; even a native centenarian might not have recognized his city were it not for the ancient monuments and traditional church ceremonies. In 1500, Rome held little interest for a newcomer. Its roads were cramped and deformed, its monuments in need of restoration, and civic pride was at an all-time low. Its Renaissance had not yet arrived;

20See Paul Kast, "Biographische Notizen zu römischen Musikern des 17. Jahrhunderts," Analecta Musicologica 1 (1963), pp. 47-48, for a transcription of Kapsberger's death notice. Kast wrote that he was able to confirm the date and place of Kapsberger's birth, but he cited no document. My own search through the Battesimi covering the years 1560-1590 at the Archivio di Stato in Venice produced no birth certificate or baptismal record for Kapsberger. The records for the year 1580, however, are incomplete.

21The only information about Kapsberger's father is contained in Marcantonio Stradella's preface to the Libro primo di madrigali (Rome, 1609), which states: "... la qual bene appaleso el Colonello Gugliemo suo padre al mondo, mentre servi con tanto valore e sede l'imperio di Casa d'Austria."

22On the foreign campaigns in Italy, see Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City States in Renaissance Italy (New York, 1979), pp. 277-96.

23Concordances are contained in the following manuscripts: Modena, Archivio di Stato, Ms. Ducale Segreto Bust a IV, fascicle G, fols. 21v-22; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. ms. 30, fols. 21v, 25; and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini Lat. 4145, fols. 4-9.

as Partner says, "Rome was only a large medieval village smelling of cows and hay." 25 Quite the opposite is true of the same city almost a century later. Under Pope Sixtus V (1585–90), Rome made a phenomenal urban recovery: the city’s churches were connected by a network of roads; major thoroughfares replaced weedy alleys; and most important of all, the completion of Michelangelo’s magnificent dome of St. Peter’s provided the symbol of growth and prosperity that had been missing for so long.

Like Venice, Rome was an international center. Prominent among the non-Italians was the largest German population of any city south of the Alps. Since the fourteenth century, powerful German families such as the Fuggers from Augsburg had been important in the development of the Roman economy. They integrated many of their compatriots into the merchant class. 26 Rome had its own fondaco dei tedeschi—the German merchant center—where young Germans could acquire a knowledge in the trade of goods and in Italian book-keeping. A good liberal arts education was also available to eligible northerners through the German College in Rome. 27 Of special importance is the large number of German lute builders who settled in and around Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 28 Vaccaro has remarked with respect to French lute music that lute makers usually settled close to lute players, since the two often worked together. 29 The significant presence of lute makers in seventeenth-century Rome, then, may indicate that Rome began to rival Venice as a center of lute activity, and that this shift in focus may have attracted lutenists like Kapsberger to Rome.

Above all, Rome offered the artist or musician, the poet or scientist, the chance to work for one of the city’s wealthy patrons. Rome’s emergence as the center of the Baroque spirit in Europe was due to the wealth and tastes of its powerful families. These included the Bentivoglio, the Aldobrandini, and the greatest patrons of them all, the Barberini. Kapsberger’s trip, then, was a well-calculated investment. The promise of artistic patronage, combined with the presence of a large and influential German community and the close proximity of lute players and builders, promised

Kapsberger the rich dividends he was hoping for. He was not disappointed.

No record exists of Kapsberger's first Roman activities, but it is clear that he was soon patronized by members of both the prominent Jesuit and artistic communities. His initial Roman prints, the Libro primo di madrigali (1609) and the Libro primo di villanelle (1610), appeared through the efforts of the poet Francesco de Zazzara and members of the knightly Order of St. Stephen. Where and how Kapsberger met these first patrons of his is not altogether clear. One strong possibility is that the poet Zazzara was chiefly responsible for Kapsberger's first Roman successes. Attracting a patron was a complex process for an artist or musician; it required a precise knowledge of the politics and the formalities of each institution. Success depended on the artist's employment of a competent intermediary, or sponsor, usually from the artist's home town. He could be a friend, perhaps, or a member of the church, but above all he must be someone with connections—what we today call an "agent." Zazzara contributed dedicatory poems for Kapsberger's 1604 Venetian print as well as for three of the first five Roman prints. He appears to have been involved in the publication of Kapsberger's Libro primo in Venice, and then to have travelled with Girolamo to Rome, where he acted as his impresario. Thus, Kapsberger's use of Zazzara in this capacity was a fairly typical procedure. At any rate, Kapsberger's status as a nobile alemano—a distinction not without considerable weight in the class-conscious Rome of Clement VIII—should have ensured the swift publication of his works. It undoubtedly helped him gain entry to the various Roman academies.

While Kapsberger's contacts and distinguished family background (with an equally impressive coat-of-arms) certainly facilitated his absorption into the center of the Roman musical scene, it was his record as a brilliant performer that proved to be most important. Kapsberger's extant lute and chitarrone works show that he must have been an extraordinary virtuoso of superior technique. Kapsberger's music also appears in the two central manuscript sources of chitarrone music (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Ms. Ducale Segreto Busta IV, fascicle B; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms. 30 (see Plate I), suggesting that his

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10 On the methods used in Rome to attract patrons, see Haskell, Patrons and Painters, pp. 1-23.

11 If this hypothesis is correct, it may not have been the only occasion in which Kapsberger employed his Venetian contacts to further his career. The Archivio di Stato in Venice (Batessi 6, 1533-1641) lists the baptismal record of an M. Priuli on 25 November 1581, who may be the same Michel Priuli who collected the works for Kapsberger's Libro terzo di chitarrone (Rome, 1626). In addition, a Michel Priuli is listed in the Archive's Indice dell' Archivio del Conv. dei P. P. Augustiniani di S. Stefano in Venezia, no. 95, 112, which may have some bearing on Kapsberger's close association with the Roman order of St. Stefano.
prints enjoyed a wide circulation. With a rising public image and a distinguished list of publications, it was only a matter of time before Kapsberger began his climb up the patronage ranks of the powerful Roman families in search of the largest rewards.

One of these families was the Bentivoglio, a centuries-old, powerful Ferrarese family who came to Rome around 1600. The nucleus of the family consisted of two extremely well-bred brothers, Guido and Enzo, both of whom possessed a love of music and art. Their opportunities came in 1598 when Duke Alfonso II d’Este of Ferrara died without an heir and the city was brought under direct papal command. The eldest brother Ippolito challenged the change of rule by supporting a dubious claim to the duchy, but Guido and Enzo, with brilliant careers in front of them, sympathized with the new order and were rewarded with the best the papacy could offer. Guido began a splendid career with the church in Rome, and became one of the city’s greatest patrons of the arts. Enzo, the statesman of the family and the wealthiest of the brothers, initially stayed in Ferrara as an ambassador but remained active in Roman cultural events. By 1609, he too was in Rome, where with his brother he exerted a profound influence on Roman music.

Lute music was never far away from the Bentivoglio household. While living in Ferrara, the brothers were undoubtedly familiar with Alessandro Piccinini and his family of lutenists, all of whom worked for Duke Alfonso II. When the Ferrarese court was dissolved in 1598, Piccinini also left Ferrara, and, according to Newcomb, “all evidence indicates that Alessandro Piccinini was, like Frescobaldi, part of the Bentivoglio music establishment in Rome from its inception.” In addition, documents show that Enzo Bentivoglio had contact with nearly all the other important lutenists that were active in Italy during the early seventeenth century,

32Since the Modena manuscript is dated to the year 1619, the six Kapsberger pieces it contains that are transmitted in no other source might be concordant with Kapsberger’s lost Libro secondo di chiamone (Rome, 1616). Similarly, the two unique pieces in the Paris manuscript, dated 1626, might be concordant with either the Libro secondo or the Libro terzo (Rome, 1626), which has been missing for some years. (A modern edition of these two manuscripts, edited by this author, is forthcoming.) In addition, concordances of Toccatas 2 and 5 from Kapsberger’s Libro primo di lauto (1611) appear in the manuscript Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Fiumi-Sermattee della Genga (1974) VIII,H.2, pp. 90,94.

33On the patronage activities of the Bentivoglio, see Hammond, Girolamo Frescobaldi, pp. 12–46; also Haskell, Patrons and Painters, pp. 48–50.


Kapsberger's rapport with the Bentivoglio is documented by excerpts from two letters sent by Vincenzo Landinelli in Rome to Enzo Bentivoglio in Ferrara. The first letter, dated 3 November 1610, establishes Kapsberger's association with the Bentivoglio family, and it illuminates some of the more controversial aspects of Kapsberger's personality:

Questa mattina gli ospiti di Enzo giunti a Roma per le feste di canonizzazione di S. Carlo sono andati a vedere maneggiare li cavalli da Michele Cavallaverio al Coliseo, e poi sono stati a pranzo dal S' Card. le Bevilacqua; e per lor trattenimento ha fatto sonare Il Todesco dalla Teorba, al qu'le ha dato tanti titoli che se n'è retornado a casa gonfio altramente nò havena cenato, pretendendo di essere Gentil huomo e di nò voler cenare se nò cò Gentil huomini et accademici...

This morning, Enzo's guests, who had arrived in Rome for the festival of the canonization of San Carlo, went to the Coliseum to see Michele Cavallaverio manage his horses, and afterwards they went to dine at the home of Sig. Card. le Bevilacqua. And for their entertainment, he had Il Todesco dalla Teorba perform, to whom [Bevilacqua] had given so many compliments, that [Kapsberger] went home with a swollen head, having not as much as eaten, pretending to be a nobleman and not wanting to eat if no other noblemen or accademici were present...

It is impossible to judge the extent of Kapsberger's relationship with Enzo Bentivoglio from this letter. It seems clear, however, that Kapsberger's activities were a subject of some interest to Enzo, and that both he and Landinelli were familiar with Kapsberger's music. This is confirmed in Landinelli's letter of 2 January 1611, in which he assures Enzo:

36 I wish to thank Mr. Dinko Fabris of Bari, Italy, for drawing my attention to these documents. Mr. Fabris is currently engaged in a comprehensive study of the Bentivoglio material. Further evidence of the Bentivoglio family's interest in lute music is given by the so-called "Bentivoglio lute book," San Francisco State University Library, Frank V. de Bellis Collection, M2.1.M3, which carries the inscription "cominciato al 5 agosto 1615," and which seems to have been owned by Ascanio Bentivoglio, from the Milan branch of the Bentivoglio family. For a study of the manuscript and a thematic index, see Gustave Reese, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Manuscript at San Francisco," in Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday, ed. G. Reese (Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 253-79.

37 Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, M. 9-55, c.524v. Documents show that Piccinini remained in Rome through 1610, and, in fact, played a concert only two weeks after Kapsberger's performance on 3 November. (See Newcomb, "Girolamo Frescobaldi 1608-1615," pp. 138-41.) It seems almost certain, then, that Kapsberger and Piccinini had contact during this time.

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that "Girolamo dalla Teorba promised to give me the buco [sonate?] that you wanted so that you will be able to send it on Saturday." 38 Could this indicate Enzo's desire to have an early copy of Kapsberger's Libro primo d'intavolatura de lauto of 1611?

Kapsberger took a wife, the Neapolitan Gerolima di Rossi, shortly before 1609. 39 At least three children were the products of this marriage. Baptismal records survive for two daughters, Clarice Vittoria (born 1619) and Livia (born 1621). 40 The identity of the third child, a son named Filippo Bonifacio, is revealed in the preface he wrote to his father's Christmas cantata, I Pastori di Bettelemme of 1630. 41 According to Kast, Filippo may have been born around 1610. 42 As Kapsberger's reputation grew during these years, so did the demand for his services as a composer. His commissions even came from Florence, where Kapsberger's Maggio Cantata was performed in the Palazzo Pitti during the 1612 Carnival. 43 Kast speculates that this commission may have come through Kapsberger's association with the Order of St. Stephen. 44 Other patrons during this time included the military "knights" of the Order of St. John, represented by Jakob Christoph Andlau, who wrote the preface to Kapsberger's Libro primo di arie passegiate of 1612. Firmly established as a Roman composer, Kapsberger composed steadily for the next twelve years, publishing two more books of villanelle (1619), a book of motets (1612), instrumental dances (1615), sinfonie (1615), solo lute and chitarrone music (1616,

38 Archivio Bentivoglio, M.9-58, c. 30-30v: "... Il S' Girolamo dalla Teorba mi ha promesso di darne le buco che desidera per poterle mandare sabatto, e bacia a V.S. Ills.ma le mani..."

39 The approximate date of Kapsberger's marriage can be deduced by the appearance of an additional coat-of-arms on his escutcheon on the title page of the Madrigali of 1609.


41 "... offerisco a V.S. Illustrissima il presente Dialogo del Signor Giulio Rospigliosi con le musiche di mio Padre..." This preface also reveals that Kapsberger's son was employed in the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. It is reprinted in Lorenzo Bianconi, "Weitere Ergänzungen zu Emil Vogels 'Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500-1700' aus Italienischen Bibliotheken," Analecta Musicologica #9 (1970), pp. 167-68.


1619—both lost), and the Jesuit drama, the *Apotheosis seu Consecratio SS. Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii* (1622).⁴⁵

Most of Kapsberger’s performances during these years were probably held within the confines of the academies.⁴⁶ These institutions can be divided into two kinds. In the loosest and most general sense, an "academy" was nothing more than an occasional gathering of artists, musicians, and scholars who were joined together by common interests. Their meetings were essentially soirées that included displays of music and perhaps even poetry. Kapsberger, like most of Rome’s elite, organized his own academies that he held in his house. They were described as "among the most marvelous in Rome."⁴⁷

There also existed a more formal type of academy that was a rigidly planned institution of learning. A continuation of the great humanistic academies of the sixteenth century, these institutions usually had a literary, philosophical, or scientific scope, though by the seventeenth century academies for the study of fine arts had also come into existence. A major difference between these and the less formal academies was their isolation from the public. Cochrane notes that this type of academy "made no pretense of instructing or edifying their fellow citizens," but addressed "only a select elite."⁴⁸ A common activity in these academies was the presentation by a member of an original work—a musical composition, a short lecture, compendium, or poem, for example—to the academy elders for their review (*critica*) of it. These works were rarely returned to the author, but became the property of the academy. Kapsberger was a frequent performer at one such academy, the Accademia degli Umoristi in Rome. As Umoristi member Filippo Nicolini states in the preface to Kapsberger’s 1611 lute book:

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⁴⁷“...e nostra Accademia? Dove la Musica, e le Muse in si bel commerctio di tanta virtù, e nobilità, sanno mar ina ina nimir la Casa sua tra le maraviglie di Roma” (from Pietro Camillo Beccaria’s preface to Kapsberger’s 1615 *Balli*).

Questi sono le compositioni che V. Sig. per suo gusto, et per obli- gar la nostra Accademia in diverse occasioni ha composte le quali perchè da me particolarmente furon raccolte, come quello che parzialmente stimo tutte le cose sue; essendo a me tutto giorno di diversi amici richiesti e per far che nell’ Accademia con maggior commodità si conoschino . . .

These are the compositions which, Your Lordship, out of your taste and to oblige our Academy on diverse occasions, you have produced, and I have collected with great care, as one who has a strong predilection for all your works; for I am asked every day by various friends to see that in our Academy they are more readily known . . .

Characteristically, the Umoristi’s control over Kapsberger’s work is very much in evidence: Niccolini goes on to say that the pieces that he has selected for publication “are not for everybody, but only for our academy.” Around 1619, Kapsberger was also patronized by the Accademia degli Imperfetti of Rome, as suggested by the dedications written by Imperfetti members Francesco Porta and Cesare Quaglieri in the Libro terzo di villanelle.

By 1623, Kapsberger was indisputably one of Rome’s premier musicians. He was certainly one of the busiest, having published fourteen works since his arrival in the city. Within another year Kapsberger’s status would be augmented even further, for in August of 1623 the Pope’s crown changed heads for the second time in only three years, and Maffeo Barberini was crowned Pope Urban VIII.

III

During Urban’s twenty-one-year pontificate (1623–1644), the elements that governed most Renaissance papal courts—economic, political, and financial power, combined with unlimited spiritual authority—were intensified on all levels.49 By reconciling his own humanistic ideals of aesthetic beauty and learning with financial extravagance, driving ambition, and nepotism, Urban created a court that was itself a work of art. What mainly set this court apart from others was Urban’s magnificent patronage of the arts. Urban was himself a highly accomplished poet who wrote in Italian, Latin, and Greek. Throughout his career—first as papal nuncio, then as cardinal—he moved in a circle of artists, writers, scientists, and poets whom he liked to entertain in the academies he held in his house. Urban’s role as patron, then, began long before he became Pope.

49 The most detailed account of Urban’s reign is in Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, The History of the Popes, trans. Dom Ernest Graf (London, 1938), vol. 29. On Urban and his nephews as patrons, and for a detailed examination of the cultural climate of the time, see Haskell, Patrons and Painters, pp. 24–62.
The splendors of Urban's reign were also due to the efforts of his nephews, Francesco and Antonio Barberini. In a daring display of nepotism, Urban raised both of them to the rank of cardinal—Francesco in 1624, Antonio in 1627—in defiance of a papal bull forbidding the elevation of more than one nephew at any time. But in view of the magnificent flowering of culture as a result of this action, who can argue against Urban's unbridled display of power? Both nephews were as adept in cultural pursuits as their uncle; both had impeccable taste; both were vigorously active in the patronage of artists and poets; and both maintained first-rate musical establishments.50

Kapsberger's name first appears in the Barberini payment books in February of 1625. The reasons behind his appointment to the papal court might be found in an ambitious project realized by Kapsberger some months earlier. In April of 1624, the Roman publisher Luca Antonio Soldi brought out Kapsberger's recitative-style settings of Pope Urban's Poematrix and Carmina, a collection of Latin verses and paraphrases written when Urban was a cardinal. The full title of the work reads: POEMATRIX ET / CARMINA / Composita a MAFFAEO BARBERINO / OLIM S.R.E. CARD. / Nunc autem / URBANO OCTAVO. PON / Musicis modis aptata / Jo. Hieronymo Kapsberger / Nobilis Germano. / VOLUMEN PRIMUM. (POEMATIA ET / CARMINA / Composed by Maffeo Barberino / formerly Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church / but now / Pope Urban VIII / adapted to music by / Jo. Hieronymus Kapsberger / Noble German / Volume one.) That this work was intended as a tribute to Urban is evident from its title page (see Plate II). The figure (but not the likeness) of the Pope stands in the middle of the engraving, behind the three bees of the Barberini arms. Encircling Urban's escutcheon are the symbols that distinguish the Pope's coat-of-arms from those of his nephews: the tiara, the keys of St. Peter, and the undifferenced field. Other Barberini symbols, fire and laurel, are represented on the top of the right and left columns, respectively. Flanking the Pope are two virtues bearing gifts—poetry on the left and music on the right—to symbolize the union of these two arts in the Poematrix. Finally, Kapsberger is represented by the chitarrone on the side of the virtue music.

Like countless other artists and musicians who flocked to Rome during this time, Kapsberger was no doubt anxious to attract the attention of the Barberini, and at first glance it appears that he wrote the work for this reason. But an even closer look at the title-page indicates that the composer

POEMATIA ET CARMINA
Composita
a
MAFEO BARBERINO
OLIM S.R.E.CARD.
Nunc autem
VRBANO OCTAVOPOM
Musicis modis aptata
a
Io Hieronymo Kapspeger
Nobili Germano.
VOLUMEM PRIMUM

Plate II  Title-page of the *Poematia et Carmina*, 1624, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)
may already have been in some favor with the new papal family.\footnote{Exactly where and when Kapsberger may have had previous contact with the Barberini is difficult to pinpoint. The most likely setting would have been the Accademia degli Umoristi, since a summary of the academy's membership after 1608 includes the names of Maffeo, Francesco, and Antonio Barberini. Kapsberger, as we showed earlier, was associated with the Umoristi around 1611. The membership list also includes the names of others who were employed by Pope Urban and his nephews: Giovanni Ciampoli (secretary to Urban), Virgilio Cesarini (Maestro da Camera to Urban), Jules Cardinal Mazarin (Maestro da Camera to Antonio), Doni, and the poets Giacomo Cognini, Ottavio Tronsarelli, and Giulio Rospighi. The list is published in Maylender, Storie delle Accademie, vol. 5, pp. 375–80.}

The appearance of the Pope's coat-of-arms and the words \textit{Volumen Primum} suggest that Kapsberger's settings were intended not simply to attract the attention of the new Pope, but to be part of a larger agreement between the two parties.\footnote{Allacci (Apes Urbanae, pp. 159–60) lists a second volume published in 1633, and a third that existed in manuscript.} We may even suspect that Urban was aware of Kapsberger's desire to set his poetry to music, and perhaps selected the poems himself. Moreover, in setting the \textit{Poemata} and \textit{Carmina}, Kapsberger was participating in a social action that was well understood, even encouraged, by Urban—namely, flattery. It thus appears that the \textit{Poemata} of 1624 was at least partially responsible for Kapsberger's employment by the Barberini.

The \textit{Poemata et Carmina} became one of Kapsberger's best-known works, winning him more widespread acclaim. It was, along with a second setting in 1633, one of the few works that were still in demand after Kapsberger's death.\footnote{See the holdings of the reprint company, the Firma Franzini, in Othmar Wasselyn, "Der Indice der Firma Franzini in Rom," in Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation Franz Graserberger zum 60. Geburstag (Tutzing, 1975), p. 471.} Its favorable reception is borne out by Doni's letter to Mersenne, in which Doni praises the work and its composer, and even apologizes to Mersenne for not having sent him a copy sooner. Indeed, the work—written in a fairly conservative recitative style, sprinkled with occasional arioso passages—fits perfectly with Doni's ideal of "a vocal line that imitates ordinary speech but that is nevertheless varied and arioso" which he postulated in his \textit{Lyra Barberina}.\footnote{"Trattato della musica scenica," in \textit{Lyra Barberina} (Florence, 1763), 11, p. 25; quoted in Claude Palisca, \textit{Baroque Music} (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 115.} Doni's letter, translated below, is important not only for its description of the \textit{Poemata}, but also for the glimpse it offers into some of Kapsberger's activities during his first years with the Barberini:

Having arrived in Rome, I discovered that you have not been sent the music which I was entrusted to send you in Paris. It is for this reason, so that you are not frustrated in your expectations, and so I do not break my promise, that I should like to send you the entire book of \textit{Odes} by our Holy Father, set
to music by that Author of whom I spoke to you in Paris. He is truly a knowl-
edgeable man in his profession and is not without erudition, besides being
extremely polite, very articulate and cordial, and in his music teaches to ob-
serve carefully the meaning of the words, and to adapt, as one should, its
modulations to one another, purging as much as possible the affectation
and corruption in singing that is practiced, for the most part, by modern
musicians and singers, knowing that these ornaments and endless roulades
[desgoisemens] are pleasing more to the ignorant public than to those that
are pleased by things that are more settled and orderly. This is why you will
never find these pieces full of affectations, but rather a melody that is pure
and simple and well constructed, as I advocate, and of which you will be the
better judge. He has often had the honor of having his pieces sung in the
chamber of His Lordship, often being at the Palace as well, with the Secre-
tary of Briefs of His Lordship, who is an avid lover of learned people and
good musicians. He also plays the theorbo very well, of which he is consid-
ered the finest master that we have in Rome...

IV

Kapsberger was employed in the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberi-
ni, with whom he remained—albeit on a non-exclusive basis—until the
Barberini fled Rome in 1645–46. Detailed information regarding the
activities and make-up of Francesco’s household between 1623 and 1643
is preserved in an unusually complete collection of more than four thou-
sand documents housed at the Archivio Barberini in the Biblioteca Apos-
tolica Vaticana in Rome. The documents consist chiefly of payment records,

[55] Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne religieux minime, 1, ed. Cornelis de Waard
(Paris, 1945), pp. 437–38. Letter from Doni to Mersenne, March or the beginning of April,
1626: "Mon Reverend Pere. Etant arrivé à Rome jay trouvé qu’on ne vous avoit point en-
voyé ces pieces de musique que j’avois commis de Paris. C’est pourquoi a ce que vous ne
soyez frustré de vostre esperance et que je ne marque de ma promesse, je vous ay voulu
envoyer tout le livre des Odes de nostre S. Pere, mis en musique par cest Auteur dont je
vous ay parlé a Paris Lequel est veritablement scavant homme en sa profession et qui ne
manque d’erudition, estant au reste personage fort poli, bien disant et accort, et qui pro-
fesse en ce qui concerne la musique d’observer bien la force des paroles et d’accomoder
comme il faut ses modulations à icelles, fuyant tant qu’il est possible l’affectation et ces
corruptions du chant qui se pratiquent pour la plus part par ces modernes musiciens et
chantres, scavoir est ces fredonnemens et desgoisemens de voix qui agreeront plutot à la
populace ignare qu’à ceux qui se plaisent aux choses bien regles et ordonnees. Voilà
pourquoi vous ne trouverez point en ces pieces de telles mignardises, mais un chant pur et
simple et bien ageance, comme je croy et vous pourrez mieux juger. Il a eu bien souvent
l’honneur de faire chanter ses compositions en la chambre de Sa Saincteté, estant bien
souvent au Palais chez le secrétair des Brefbs de Sa Saincteté qui est grand amateur des
personnes doctes et des bons musiciens. Il joue aussi fort bien de la Tiorbe en laquelle il est
estime le premier maistre que nous ayons à Rome:"

[56] Prunieres ("Les musiciens du Cardinal Barberini") mistakenly assigned all the musi-
cians in Francesco’s employ to Cardinal Antonio, as well as misreading their salaries. For
clarification, see Hammond, "A Decade of Music," p. 97, n.6.

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or giustificazioni, of which the most important sources are the payments to the regularly salaried members (salariali) summarized in the Libro mastro generale (LMG). Ninety percent of all the payments to Kapsberger appear as ledger entries that simply list the issuance of his monthly salary. The remaining ten percent are for extraordinary or supplemental duties, and as such, are annotated. These latter payments allow us to draw a fairly accurate picture of Kapsberger’s role within the Barberini house.57

Although Girolamo Tedesco’s employment under the cardinal “officially” began in December 1624, Kapsberger’s professional relationship with Francesco appears to have been established earlier than that. There is evidence that Kapsberger at least performed before Cardinal Francesco: in March 1623, Kapsberger received a “gift” from the cardinal of sc. 50 (sc. = scudi), and a year later, a payment was made by Francesco for “the carrying of the tiorba.”58

Once on Francesco’s regular payroll, Kapsberger’s duties were extremely varied, both in organizing musical events, and in being in charge of putti musici. Between 1624 and 1629, Kapsberger was given sc. 100 every February, “to distribute freely to himself and to the musicians to whom they are given,” which Francesco provided as a gift to the musicians for their participation in the Feast of St. Agatha.59 Being a nobile alemano, it was not unusual for Kapsberger to receive gifts from Francesco under such no-strings-attached conditions. In 1629, however, Kapsberger was paid sc. 40 “on the condition that it is not to be used for your needs without first answering for it,” which may reflect some past mismanagement on Kapsberger’s part.60 In February 1625, Kapsberger was given sc. 11.95 “to take a boy musician to Florence to the service of the Prince of Poland.”61 Hammond has identified this boy musician as Baldassare Ferri, who was sent to Florence while Prince Ladislaio di Polonia was visiting at the Medici Court.61 In July 1627, Kapsberger was paid sc. 24.05 to take another boy castrato to Florence.62

Kapsberger’s primary pedagogical duties, however, seem to have involved the training of the young castrato, Girolamo Zampetti. Cardinal

58I wish to thank Frederick Hammond for providing me with an early draft of his forthcoming article, “Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript,” from which the following payment records concerning Kapsberger were extracted. Archival sigla are thoroughly described in Hammond, “Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript.” C.49, c.10, 29 March 1623: sc. 50 “per un regalo”; g. 130, April 1624, payment for “portatura della Tiorba.”
59Documents listed in Hammond, “Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript.”
60C. 78, fol. 168v, 1629: sc. 40, “quali se li fanno pagare ad effetto, che se ne possa servire per] sue occorrenze senza obbligo di renderne altre conto.”
61C.74, 12 Feb: sc. 11.95 “a putto musico . . . per conduirsi a Fiorenza al servio del P’ di Polonia.” (Another payment for same.)
62Giustificazione 798, July 1627: sc. 24.05 “Per il castratino mandato a Fiorenza.”
Francesco had high hopes for Zampetti, as is shown by the amount of time and money that was spent—not always with great results—on furthering his musical education. Between 1626 and 1629, Zampetti lived with Kapsberger, and was given the necessary means to pursue his studies. We can only speculate as to whether part of the Rome tiorba manuscript, Barb. Lat. 4145, was one of Zampetti's teaching books supervised by Kapsberger. This is a strong possibility, given the pedagogical nature of the source. The primary layer, which contains at least two Kapsberger concordances, was copied in 1627–1628; and the back of the book contains some elementary music theory.

During the following years, Kapsberger displayed great versatility in composing works of diverse sorts, ranging from incidental music (such as the chorus for the 1627 wedding between Urban's youngest nephew Don Taddeo and Anna Colonna [see Plate III]) to sacred music. In July of 1627, Kapsberger provided music at the convent of the Convertite for the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, and for vespers and a mass for the Feast of St. Lucy. The latter might be linked to the composition of Kapsberger's three books of Salmi per vespersi (now lost), which are mentioned by Allacci.

Kapsberger's activities were not limited to events sponsored by Cardinal Francesco. In May 1628, the composer received sc. 50 from Francesco's brother Cardinal Antonio for the music at Antonio's church of Santa Maria in Acquiro. In July, this sum was doubled for the same, and then tripled for the same again the following year. Another of Antonio's favorite churches for which Kapsberger provided music was S. Agnese in Piazza Navona. In 1629, Kapsberger received sc. 100 from Antonio to pay the musicians who sang vespers and mass for the Feast of St. Agnes, and there is another payment the following year, possibly for the same.

The giustificazioni for these years also illuminate Kapsberger's activities as a composer of non-sacred occasional music. During the 1628 carnival season, there is a payment "for the balletto of the commedia rappresentativo for the most excellent Sra. D[onna] Anna Colonna" in the

63Giustificazione 605A, 26 Nov. 1626: "girolamo Putto Castrato che serve ss.ia Ill.ma, e che stà p[er] imparare col sr Gio. Gir.mo Kasperger."
65Document sources (without annotation) are listed in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript.”
67C.212, c.52, 29 May 1628: sc. 50 "a Kapsperger music p[er] la musica fatta alli orfanelli p[er] il possesso preso del titolo Cardinalitio"; 4 July, sc. 100 for the same; c.33 4 July 1629: sc. 150 to Kapsperger "p[er] musiche fatte alli orfanelli nel pigliare il possesso del titolo, e nella festa della Chiesa” C.231, fol. 61v.
CORO MUSICALE
Nelle Nozze de gli Ecc.° Sig.°
DON TADDEO BARBERINI°
e
DONNA ANNA COLONNA
NEPOTI DI N. S. PAPA
VRBANO VIII°
Polto in Musicada
GIO. GIROLAMO
KAPSPERGER NOBILE ALEMANO.
CON PRIVILEGIO.

In Roma, Appresso Paolo Maffei. M.D.C.XXVII.
CON LICENZA DE SUPERIORI.

Plate III  Title-page of the *Coro Musicale*, 1627, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)
house of Sre. Marcello Sachetti." It is tempting to imagine what music Kapsberger used for these sorts of comedies. Might the unusual "Commedia dell' arte" pieces from the *Libro quarto d'intavolatura di chitarron*, such as the *Bergamasca, Sfessania, Colascione*, or even the three *Balli*, have their origin in these theatrical presentations? Similar payments exist for a *commedia* in Monte Rotondo—the old Orsini house that was sold to Urban's brother Carlo in 1628—for which Kapsberger again seems to have provided the music and the musicians, and "for the stockings given to the musicians for the *commedia* performed at the Palace last August." Hammond suggests that this may relate to a performance of Tronsarelli's *Marsia*, which was performed in August 1628 at the as-yet-unfinished palace of the Quattro Fontane, and which might have been set to Kapsberger's music.

Kapsberger received a monthly salary of sc. 3.60 for the duration of his approximately twenty-year employment under Cardinal Francesco. His name appears alongside that of Frescobaldi (who was paid the same) in the monthly payment books (*roli*) under the title of *stradimario*—a title shared by certain painters and sculptors, but also servants of "lower rank." In keeping with his noble status, Kapsberger rarely picked up his monthly salary himself, but delegated the responsibility to one of his students or a musician under his care. These "messengers" carried a note signed by Kapsberger to acknowledge their role in the transaction (see Plate IV). Other than the issuance of his monthly salary, there are no payments after 1630 that can be directly linked with Girolamo Tedesco. Whether this is an indication of an internal change in Francesco's music establishment or simply a reevaluation of Kapsberger's duties is not clear. For more complete information, then, we must look to the surviving prints themselves.

The most cursory glance at Kapsberger's published output after 1624 shows the change his music underwent in terms of genre and style. While his pre-1624 prints are mostly a mixture of secular vocal and instrumental music, Kapsberger's Barberini works show a tendency towards sacred

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70This topic will be expanded in my forthcoming article, "The Colascione and the Commedia dell' arte."
71*c. 241: Payment for "il castratino musico per la Commedia fatta in Monte Ritondo", C.49, 28 Feb. 1629: Payment for "il putto musico che teneva il Kasperger & per calzette date alli musici per la commedia fatta al Palazzo nel mese di Agosto passato."
72Documents relating to this performance are listed in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript."
74Plate III is from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vma. 274. *Prunières* ("Les musiciens du Cardinal Barberini," p. 120) lists three others who, along with Sabatini, performed the same function: Gregorio Gentile, Carlo Bicilli, and an Angelino.
Plate IV  Payment note signed by Kapsberger: "Piacerà à V.I. dare à M. Gio: Battista Sabatini latore della presente li trenta sei giuli del presente mese di Decembre 1641 et li bacio le mani. Gio: Girolamo Kapsperger." (It will please your Lordship to give to Messr. Giovanni Sabatini, bearer of this, the thirty-six giuli of the present month of December 1641 and I kiss your hands. Gio: Girolamo Kapsperger. [Followed by a mark indicating that the note was written mano propria.]) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
themes and occasional music. This switch of emphasis undoubtedly reflects the tastes and commissions of his new patrons. Indeed, practically all of Kapsberger’s music of this period glorifies the Barberini in one way or another. The sacred music consists of the Cantiones sacrae (1628), the Christmas cantata I Pastori de Bettelemme (1630),75 the Modulatus sacri diminutis cancellati (1630), a volume of Missae Urbanae (1631), and the Litaniae Deiparae Virginis (1631). The occasional music consists of the Coro musicale (1627) and the Epitalamio, a recitativo à più voci for the wedding between Caroli Antonii à Puteo and Theodora Costa in 1628. Kapsberger’s works for the stage, none of which are extant, also seem to be an outgrowth of Barberini taste. In his opera Fetonte (1630), Kapsberger collaborated with the poet and librettist Ottavio Tronsarelli, one of the Pope’s favorite poets. More of Tronsarelli’s thirty-three libretti may have been set in Kapsberger’s lost collection of Drammi diversi.76 There is no evidence that any of these works figured in the lavish opera productions put on by the Barberini during carnival season.77

Although Kapsberger ventured into new genres of music after 1624, he did not entirely neglect the types of music that were characteristic of his pre-Barberini period. Leone Allacci’s list of 1633 shows that Kapsberger had also composed additional books of villanelle, balli, arie, dialoghi, sinfonie, and solo lute and chitarrone music. From this group, only the third and fourth chitarrone books (1626, 1640) and the last three books of villanelle (1630, 1632, 1640) were published. It is also significant that while Kapsberger’s sacred, occasional, and dramatic music—those works that most clearly reflect Barberini patronage—were all printed by the large publishing firm of Paolo Masotti, the chitarrone and villanella books were printed by smaller, more obscure publishers. This may reflect the reluctance of Roman printers to publish secular music at a time when the market was strong for sacred and dramatic music.

We have so far said little about Kapsberger’s role as a performer. Unfortunately, this side of his life is somewhat obscure. Although Kapsberger, like Frescobaldi, was a non-resident musician, he seems to have been a frequent performer at the Palace for both Cardinal Francesco and for other members of the Barberini family. Doni’s letter to Mersenne, for example, mentions that Kapsberger’s music was sung “in the chamber of


76See the list of Tronsarelli’s works in Allacci, Aps Urbanae, pp. 206–7. The libretto to Fetonte is published in Tronsarelli’s Drammi musicali (Rome, 1632), pp. 71–103.

His Lordship” (that is, Pope Urban), and that he was often with “the Secretary of Briefs of His Lordship” (at that time, Cardinal Antonio).

Doni’s comment that Kapsberger is “considered the finest master of the theorbo that we have in Rome” confirms Kapsberger’s central position as a performer on the chitarrone, but says nothing about his style of playing. Giustiniani commented that “the tiorba has been invented in our day and Giovanni Geronimo has much improved the manner of playing it.” Giustiniani did not say just what Kapsberger’s improvements were. We know from his surviving chitarrone books, however, that Kapsberger promoted a highly ornamented, rhythmically complex style; that he was the first to use trills, slurs, and arpeggios as they related to the chitarrone; that he advocated a new right hand position, the resting of the ring finger on the belly; and that he augmented the number of courses to nineteen in order to accommodate the full chromatic scale on the bass strings.

Severo Bonini mentioned in his Discorsi e Regole that Kapsberger “flourished in Rome,” but gave no further details, saying only that he was “admired in his profession as all who practice music know.” Pietro della Valle was more explicit. Like Kircher, he drew attention to Kapsberger’s ornamented style of playing: “some of the most outstanding modern composers knowledgeable in the finer points of contrapunti have known how to add to their music many graces such as trills, slurs, syncopations, tremolos, the semblance of piano and forte, and other similar ornaments which in the past few practiced as presently do Kapsberger on the tiorba, Orazio on the harp . . .”

We know little else of Kapsberger’s role as an instrumentalist. He did not participate as a continuo player in any of the Barberini operas, nor do Barberini records show his receipt of items such as instruments, strings, or music paper. His performances seem to have been limited to the academies—both in and out of the Barberini Palace—of which no records survive.

Kapsberger’s fame was by no means limited to Italy. In Gaspar Sanz’ Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española (Saragozza, 1674), Kapsberger is mentioned as being among the “best masters” of the guitar, even though he and other guitarists “didn’t provide enough rules.” A more
comprehensive knowledge of Kapsberger was spread through Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis*, which was widely read in Germany until the early eighteenth century. Baron (1727) even quotes one of "Pater" Kircher's passages about Kapsberger, and describes him as a "fine musician" who "cultivated and ennobled" the chitarrone.\(^82\)

Mersenne, who had already heard about Kapsberger from Doni in 1626, made good use of Girolamo Tedesco's knowledge. In writing the *Harmonie Universelle*, Mersenne solicited information from various contacts stationed throughout Europe who could report on the musical styles and instruments of each region. One of his resources was Jean-Jacques Bouchard, a French "libertin" and mathematician who travelled to Rome, where he became Secretary of Latin Letters to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. In a letter to Mersenne, dated 14 January 1634, Bouchard writes that he has

inquired into this Cristoforo Blanco of whom you say you have a method on making diminutions (*faire des passages*) on instruments. They tell me that the book is really quite ordinary, though without being able to suggest anything more recent, the lute and the viol being almost out of use in Rome these days. Giovan Girolamo, known as il Tedeschino, and who is the most knowledgeable composer here, showed me a booklet, *in-folio*, of 10 or 12 leaves that he had previously published, of which the title is: \(^{\text{2}^{\text{a}}\text{b}}\text{Libro d'intavolatura di Lauto, Chitarrone etc.\, in which he shows how to make diminutions, but he wanted 12 gold crowns for this book, and it seemed also that he did not want to give it to me.\)

This same G. Girolamo teaches to sing with a shortened scale as we do today in France, that is to say, *F* *fa* *ut*, *G* *sol* *re* *ut*, etc. Most of the other Roman music teachers use the Guidonian hand *Gamma* *ut*, *A* *re* *B* *mi*, etc., but in general, everyone uses the standard three clefs.

Here are the Italian tunings that exist for lutes, citterns, guitars, chitarroni, and viols that Giovan Girolamo has given me; you will notice that *citare* means the same as cittern, and that the viola has a similar tuning; and as for the treble viol, the Italians take two treble viols which they tune the same way, and on both they play the alto and tenor interchangeably.\(^83\)

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\(^{83}\)Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne religieux minime, IV, pp. 5–6. Letter from Bouchard to Mersenne, 14 January 1634: "Mon Reverend Pere Je me sui enqui de ce Cristoforo Blanco dont vous dites que vous avez la methode de faire des passages sur les instruments. L'on m'a dit que c'estoit un livre fort ordinaire, sans que l'on m'en ait pu enseigner d'autre plus recent, le lute et la viole estant aujourd'hui quasi hors d'usage à Rome. Giovan Girolamo, detto il Tedeschino, et qui est le plus savant compositeur en Musique qui soit ici, m'a montré un livre *in-folio* de 10 ou 12 feuilles qu'il a fait autrefois imprimer dont le titre est: 2\^e *Libro d'intavolatura de Lauto, Chitarrone* etc., où il enseigne la methode de faire les passages, mais il fait ce livre là 12 escus d'or, et semble qu'encore ne voudroit-il pas le donner.

Ce mesme G. Girolamo apprend à chanter avec la gamme abbregee, comme l'on fait
Thus, Kapsberger was responsible for supplying Mersenne with the tunings for Italian plucked-string instruments that were eventually used in the *Harmonie Universelle*. Curiously, Mersenne does not mention Kapsberger by name in his treatise, but Kapsberger’s assistance is obvious from the context. Mersenne gives the tuning of the theorbo “which is used in Rome” (*Livre I des Instruments*, Proposition 11, p. 88); of the lute, “the way the Italians tune it” (*Livre II*, Proposition 11, p. 87); and of the viol, “which has been sent to me from Rome” (*Livre IV*, Proposition 8, pp. 194–95). In his letter, Bouchard also hints at a certain difficulty in his dealings with Kapsberger. It is unfortunate that the price of “12 gold crowns”—which does sound unreasonably steep—was too high for Bouchard, for we would certainly like to know more about Kapsberger’s lost *Libro secondo* and the types of diminutions he proposed.

Two years earlier, Bouchard was party to other whisperings about Kapsberger’s personality. Bouchard had arrived in Rome from Paris in February of 1631. Except for a brief eight-month sojourn in Naples, he lived in Rome until his death in 1641. All of Bouchard’s travels and experiences were registered in his valuable *Journal*, which includes his vivid account of the 1632 Carnival in Rome.84 One of the most important events of that season was the opening of the Barberini theatre with the opera *Sant’ Alessio*, composed by Stefano Landi to a libretto by Giulio Rospiglioni. Bouchard was in attendance as a distinguished guest of Cardinal Francesco Barberini: “The Cardinal himself aided Orestès [Bouchard’s *nom de plume*] to enter under the scuffle, and led him by the hand to come sit at his feet, and asked Luca Holsteinus to remain close to Orestès to explain to him the story…”85

aujourd’hui en France, c’est à dire *F ja ut, G sol re ut* etc. La pluspart des autres maistres de Rome monstrent la gamme de la main l’*Gamm au t, A re B ni* etc., mais tous en general se servent des trois cles ordinaires.

Voici l’accord d’Italie pour ce qui est des luts, cistres, guitarras, tiorbes et violes que Giovan Girolamo m’a donné, où vous noterez que *ciutra* signifie un cistre et que la haute-contre de la viole est semblable pour l’accord; et pourtant a la Taille, les Italiens prenant deus Tailles qu’ils accordent de mesme façon, et sur toutes les deus ils jouent indifferemment la taille et la haute-contre . . .” The manuscript catalogue of the Bibliothèque des Minimes, *Index / Generalissimus / Dominum Librorum / Bibliothèque . . . TOM 3*, 1776, in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 4149, pp. 116–20, lists four works by Kapsberger that were among their holdings: the *Madrigali* (1609), *Caniones sacrae* (1628), *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis* (1631), and the *Missae Urbanæ* (1631). These works may have been owned by Mersenne, whose library was incorporated into the Bibliothèque des Minimes after his death.


Bouchard’s description of the opera cannot be quoted in full here; after the opera, however,

Orestes was invited by the Seigneur de la Grillière to come dine with the ambassador, who was hosting all the French. But he went instead with Holstein to dine with the Brandini gentlemen, noble Romans, where was found Antonio Bruni, who had written three books of verses and one of heroic epistles, and Stefano Landi, who had composed the music for the representation of St. Alexis, and who said this about the Tedesquin: that he knows how to play the theorbo very well and that he has a great knowledge of music, but that he is not very good at everyday things, being neither dependable nor punctual.86

Urban’s death in 1644 marked the end of the Barberini hegemony. Irresolvable problems plagued the Barberini on every front. Urban’s aggressive policies during the 1630s had brought the Papal States dangerously close to an internal crisis. Moreover, the Barberini had incurred an insurmountable fiscal debt in order to satisfy their enormous cultural appetite. Their troubles were further amplified by an unnecessary and costly war with the Duke of Parma which left the papacy reeling under an even larger financial burden. Urban’s frugal successor, Innocent X, did not continue Urban’s policies but embarked on a course of fiscal responsibility. To the delight of the populace, he immediately began an investigation of the Barberini accounts. Finding discrepancies at every turn, Innocent assumed control over the Barberini palaces and libraries, and confiscated their fortunes. To escape the inquiry, the three nephews, Francesco, Antonio, and Taddeo, all fled to France between 1645 and 1646. There Antonio resumed his patronage of opera under the protection of Cardinal Mazarin.87 "The exile of the Barberini was a terrible blow to artists,"88 for

86Fol. 286; Oeuvres, p. 152.
88Haskell, Patrons and Painters, p. 59.
it meant the collapse of the largest pillar of patronage that supported the creation of the Baroque style in Europe. Aided by the mediating efforts of Cardinal Mazarin, the Barberini returned to Rome only three years later, but they could not recapture their glory of the 1620s and 1630s.89

Kapsberger remained a member of Cardinal Francesco’s household until the death of Urban and the flight of the Barberini nephews. We know nothing of his life from that time until his own death in 1651. Now in his sixties and in the twilight of his career, Kapsberger probably occupied himself with writing and teaching. There is no evidence that he remained with his former patron after the cardinal’s return to Rome. Kapsberger’s death notice, discovered by Kast, is translated below:

Sir: Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger Germanus died in about his seventy-first year in the house of the Holy Apostles and yielded up his soul in communion with the Holy Mother Church; and his body on the aforesaid day was buried in this our Church of St. Blase in a wooden coffin in the Sepulchre near the door of the Sacristy; he confessed to me Johann Hieronymus Mile-sius, Parish Priest of this Church, was nourished by the Most Holy Viaticum, and also aided by the Holy oil by me.90

It is possible that Kapsberger’s high opinion of himself got in the way of his personal dealings with others. The fact is of only peripheral concern, however, and should not impede our progress towards an evaluation and appreciation of his music. I hope that this article has contributed to that progress. Still, many questions have been left unanswered. We have yet to account for Kapsberger’s Venetian years or for his final years in Rome. Thus, a reconstruction of these framing years of his life must remain purely conjectural.

Of greater concern to lutenists is the loss of over half of Kapsberger’s lute and chitarrone works. Of the four lute books mentioned by Allacci two were published, of which one survives (1611); of the six books of chitarrone music four were published, of which only three survive (1604, 1626, 1640).91 There is no trace of Kapsberger’s chitarrone treatise, Il

89“On the last years of the Barberini, see Haskell, Patrons and Painters, pp. 58–63.
91The Libro terzo (1626), once owned by the Biblioteca Raimondo Ambrosini in Bologna, was sold many years ago to an anonymous collector and is unavailable for study. The book’s present whereabouts are unknown, and repeated attempts by myself and others to locate the book—or at least a film—have been unsuccessful. The collector Boris Christoff has informed me that the book is “really very rare.”

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Kapsperger della Musica: Dialogo, nor of a *Capricci a due Stromenti* that has been attributed to him.\(^92\) Although Kapsberger’s chitarrone music is found in at least three manuscripts, we still lack substantial portions of this repertory, and it will remain difficult to trace his stylistic evolution in this genre.

New documents about Kapsberger will undoubtedly be unearthed, and perhaps even new music. While new materials will probably not alter any of the conclusions offered by this study, they will most definitely be a welcome surprise to lutenists, and will help to fill out our knowledge of a composer who was very much in the mainstream of early Italian Baroque music.\(^93\)

\(^{92}\) The *Capricci* is mentioned in Johannes Wolf’s *Handbuch der Notationskunde* II (Leipzig, 1913), p. 117, but is not listed by Allacci. This is probably the work of Castaldi whose print of the same name appeared in Modena in 1622.

\(^{93}\) I am greatly indebted to the following scholars who have graciously allowed me to consult, and in many cases quote from, their unpublished archival research: James Chater, Dinko Fabris, and Jean Lionnet. I am especially grateful to Frederick Hammond for his many contributions to this study.
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<td>.018 to .0215</td>
<td>.75 ea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>.022 to .0295</td>
<td>.85 ea.</td>
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<td>.030 to .0395</td>
<td>1.20 ea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>.040 to .0435</td>
<td>1.60 ea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>.044 to .0505</td>
<td>1.75 ea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>.051 to .0555</td>
<td>1.95 ea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>.056 to .0605</td>
<td>2.30 ea.</td>
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</tbody>
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Postage - add: $3.00 domestic
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