ARPEGGIATED CHORDS
IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

THEODOROS KITSOS

Trying to define the performing style of early-baroque music has always been difficult. Renaissance humanistic thought, as well as the theoretical wish to imitate the ancient Greek style and practice of singing, led to the development of a new musical style: the so-called *seconda prattica*.[1] The principal element of that style was the conscious urge towards the expression of affections (*affetti*). That purpose remained present throughout the baroque era although the means by which it was achieved were continually changing. For the beginning of the baroque era, Giulio Caccini's preface to his *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601/2) is a unique account of how a single voice accompanied by instruments should be able to move the affections of the soul. While Caccini, along with other writers of his time, gives us detailed descriptions about the style of singing then fashionable, such helpful sources do not surive for styles of instrumental performance. The present study is an attempt to focus attention on the performing style of arpeggiated chords in early seventeenth-century Italian music.

The essence of arpeggiation is the successive sounding of a chordally conceived group of pitched notes. It was named after the harp, and from the harp it found its way to the harpsichord, the lute and all the other harmony instruments. Alessandro Piccinini is the first writer who states that arpeggiated chords are so called 'per che sono similar al toccar dell'Arpa' (because they are similar to the playing of the harp).[2] During the sixteenth century no specific reference to the arpeggio exists but, for various reasons, we can take it for granted that the arpeggio was sometimes used. Firstly, the notes of a chord struck simultaneously can tend to sound harsh. Secondly, arpeggio arises from the technique of instruments such as the lira da braccio and the lute. On the lira da braccio, a bowed instrument designed for chordal playing, chords with three or more notes had to be broken.[3] On the lute, bearing in mind that renaissance lute technique required the little finger to rest on the soundboard, any chord of more than four notes had to be broken to some extent, with the thumb, or thumb and first finger, striking more than one course.[4] Furthermore, figures based on broken chords, which are closely related to the arpeggio, even though they are notated in precise rhythm, survive from as early as the fifteenth century.[5] Despite the fact that arpeggiation was used during the renaissance, the conscious use of arpeggiated chords for the sake of enriching the texture is concurrent with the development of the *seconda prattica*. In the sixteenth century the harmonic result was conceived more as a consequence of intervallic thinking than as a primary unit. The chordal

harmony of the baroque was a way of musical thinking diametrically opposed to the intervallic harmony of the renaissance.[6]

As far as it is possible to tell, the first reference to arpeggiation appears in a treatise of 1601 by Scipione Cerreto. In talking of the four-course guitar he states:

> E quando tale Strumento si sonora arpiggiando con tutte le dita della mano destra, fara anco bello effetto, ma questo modo di sonare si puo imprare con lunga prattica.

> (And when such an instrument is played *arpiggiando*, with all the fingers of the right hand, it also has a beautiful effect; but this way of playing can be learned through long practice).[7]

Unfortunately he does not mention anything other than the use of all the right-hand fingers (apart from the little finger which presumably rested on the soundboard of the instrument) and the difficulty of the *arpiggiando* technique. Victor Coelho assumes that 'Cerreto's comment on the difficulty of mastering this technique suggests that arpeggios were played not as simple rolled chords, but in a more complex manner'.[8] What is interesting in Cerreto's treatise is that he makes no mention of arpeggiation when talking about other instruments, even the lute, although many plucked-instrument performers, such as Carlo Gesualdo and Girolamo Kapsberger, were playing interchangeably on lute and guitar. As Cerreto's treatise was published in 1601 we may conclude that he wrote it around 1600; it could be characterised as 'old fashioned' as he hardly mentions anything about the modern compositional and performance practices of his day. This, in combination with his statement that the *arpiggiando* method should be learned with long practice, suggests that *arpiggiando* had already been in use a long time. This is important because, bearing in mind that Cerreto spent his life, and published his treatise in Naples, one person who would surely have known the *arpiggiando* method was Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who was famous for his lute and guitar playing.

Gesualdo was a widely travelled musician with a deep knowledge of musical practice throughout Italy. He was born in the region of Naples but during 1594–6 he settled in Ferrara and so he knew well what was happening in both Naples and Ferrara.[9] He was familiar with the principles of Bardi's Camerata in Florence and he, most probably, knew Caccini's practice, since for almost two years he had employed one of Caccini's best pupils, Francesco Rasi, a man who was to become one of the foremost singers and composers of early seventeenth-century monody.[10] During his stay in Ferrara, Gesualdo associated with Alessandro Piccinini, one of the most important lutenists of his time, whose remarks are among the most valuable sources of information on arpeggiated chords.

Alessandro Piccinini is listed in the rolls of court musicians in Ferrara from December 1582 until the dissolution of the court in 1597.[11] After 1606 he settled in Bologna, where his *Intavolatura di liuto e di chitarrone, libro primo* was published in 1623. In chapter XI of his instructions on lute playing, Piccinini refers to arpeggiation on the lute, and its meaning:

> Arpeggiare nel Liuto, s'intende quando si fanno tirate, ò passaggi con l'indice, e deto di mezzo, e col Police si và toccando altra parte
>
> (To arpeggiate on the lute means to play *tirate* or *passaggi* with the index and the middle finger while the thumb plays another part).[12]

Regarding this passage Stanley Buetens comments that:

> There is a lack of clarity here. His use of the words *tirate* and *passaggi* seems a bit loose, but perhaps any fast notes are *tirate* to Piccinini. He seems to use the word *arpeggiare* on the lute to refer simply to the middle-index stroke.[13]

In stating that Piccinini uses the word *arpeggiare* to refer to the middle-index stroke Buetens is correct, but he neglects to mention that *tirate* differ from *passaggi*. *Tirate* are stepwise (diatonic or rarely chromatic) passages of notes while *passaggi* include all kinds of intervals. Having in mind Piccinini's statement that the thumb has to play one part while the index and middle finger play another, two possibilities suggest themselves. Firstly, the thumb plays another part while the index and middle play *tirate*; in that case the term *arpeggiare* means exactly what Buetens claims, as we have two different voices and the style is strictly contrapuntal. Secondly, the thumb plays another part while the index and middle fingers play *passaggi*; in that case, apart from the contrapuntal style, we can have broken chords, and that can lead us to a second meaning of the term *arpeggiare* which is the one we use today. Piccinini uses this second meaning in chapter XXIX, where he describes how to play chords on the chitarrone. After a few examples of chordal arpeggios in tablature (see Example 1) he says that these are called arpeggiated chords (*pizzicate arpeggiate*).[14] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini interprets the meaning of the term *arpeggiare* according to the instrument to which it refers by saying:

> Unlike the arpeggio on the chitarrone, the lute arpeggio recommended by Piccinini is not what is usually meant by the term. It is a particular mode of execution closely bound up with technical resources of the instrument.[15]

It seems though that the term itself has two meanings. There is no reason to distinguish between these two meanings according to the instrument we are referring to, as both have practical application either on the lute or the chitarrone.

According to Piccinini all chords on the chitarrone should be arpeggiated. He divides chords into two categories: chords without any special arpeggiation sign (Example 1), and chords with special arpeggios that, placed above the rhythmic sign, have a number such as 4 or 2 (Example 2).

Three-note chords   Four-note chords Five-note [chord] Six[-note chords]

in three plucks   in four plucks in five plucks in six plucks

EXAMPLE 1: Arpeggiated chords, from Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto e di chitarrone, libro primo* (Bologna, 1623), p. 6 (a single dot indicates a note plucked with the index finger; double dots use of the middle finger).

EXAMPLE 2: Chords with special arpeggios, from Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto e di chitarrone, libro primo* (Bologna, 1623), pp. 6–7.

In the first category we have arpeggiated chords where the notes are announced without any specified rhythm. In the second category we have arpeggiated chords where the notes are announced in a definite rhythm, and so we could say that this is nothing more than an abbreviation for something that could have been shown in conventional tablature notation.[16] In studying Piccinini's ideas on arpeggiation, these two categories should not be considered together. The first has arpeggios that are free and add charm to the instrumental playing while the second has arpeggios that are notated.

Some years before Piccinini wrote, Girolamo Kapsberger was the first to refer to the chitarrone arpeggio. In the *avertimenti* of his *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Venice, 1604), apart from a special symbol to describe the arpeggio, he also gives three examples in tablature explaining how to arpeggiate:

Il segno del harpeggiare è questo '/. [17] che si fà toccando le corde di quel colpo separate, con sonar l'ultima corda prima et il resto secondo questo essempio [three examples follow] reiterando il colpo quanto durerà il tempo soprascrittoli avertendo però che malagevolinente si harpeggia in meno di quattro corde.

(The sign of arpeggio is this '/. [meaning] that you pluck the strings of the chord separately, playing the bottom string first and the rest according to this example [see Example 3] repeating as necessary to fill the given time being warned however that it is hard to arpeggiate with fewer than four strings.)[18]


EXAMPLE 3: Arpeggiated chords from Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Venice, 1604), p. 4

Kapsberger's examples concern only four-note chords, but that it is difficult 'to arpeggiate with fewer than four strings' indicates either that three-note chords can also be arpeggiated or that various arpeggio shapes can be used by repeating some notes 'as necessary to fill the given time'. If we examine the music that follows, we will see that Kapsberger uses the arpeggio symbol only on four-note chords. It is also important to note that chords with more than four notes do not appear. Within the music that follows, the second toccata, bearing the name 'Arpeggiata', represents the ideal application of Kapsberger's instructions:

> Written in long note values, one chord to a bar, the work requires the arpeggiation
> of every chord—a technique that further dramatizes the effect of the ambiguous,
> suspended harmonies . . . [It] promotes the element of improvisation by leaving
> space within each bar for the player to embellish or restrike the chord.[19]

Looking at the examples of arpeggiated chords with four or more notes, in both Piccinini and Kapsberger it will be noted that the strings are not plucked in order from the lowest to the highest. It will also be noted that a specific right-hand fingering is used: the thumb plucks first (one or more strings); the index follows; after it the middle; and finally the index plucks again. The first question that should come to mind is not what kind of arpeggios—ascending, descending or mixed—are produced by this fingering, but why that specific fingering is used. In order to understand this we have to look into the invention and the development of the chitarrone. The chitarrone originated from the larger lutes, for the specific purpose of accompanying singers. Because of its longer string length, the first two courses, unable to be tuned up to the expected notes without breaking, were replaced with thicker strings tuned an octave lower; and so the third course became the highest pitched.[20] This instrument, according to Robert Spencer, was 'most probably evolved c.1580 by a member of Camerata of Florence, as a necessary adjunct of the new style of writing, *musica recitativa*'.[21] The end of the sixteenth century is certainly the period of the birth of this new style of song writing and singing. Evidence would appear to suggest that the harmonic support provided by the instruments for the singers would have been simple, with three or four-note chords. A comparison of Kapsberger's first book with his later books containing chitarrone tablature supports such a claim.[22] In his first book—that of 1604—chords with more than four notes do not appear. By contrast, in his books after 1610, chords with more than four notes became progressively more frequent. The fact that the first two courses of the chitarrone are lowered an octave, along with the use of four-note chord accompaniments, may lead us to the conclusion that this specific fingering for the right hand was invented in order to provide ascending arpeggios. The important thing—at least at the very beginnings of the new accompanying style—was to give an ascending direction to the arpeggio.

All but one of Piccinini's and Kapsberger's examples of arpeggiated chords with four or more notes have an ascending character. They all start with the bottom note and end with the highest. The only exception is Example 3(c), above, where a mixed arpeggio is provided. If we agree with the claim that the important thing was to give an ascending direction to the arpeggio then why did Kapsberger not do so? It would be very easy by making an alteration in the fingering pattern of the right hand (see Example 4).
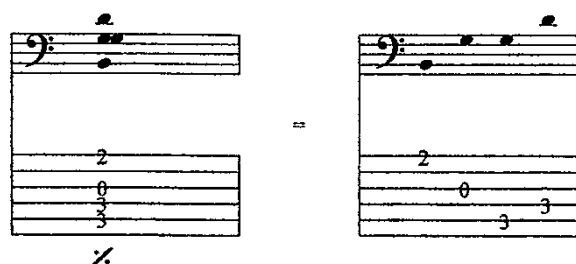
EXAMPLE 4: Alternative fingering pattern for ascending arpeggiation

Nigel North assumes that chitarrone players may well have used a variety of arpeggiations.[23] Piccinini points out that after the instrument was invented for accompanying singers, various virtuosi

> cominciorno a cercar maniera (non ostante l'imperfettione, che apportava loro quella prima, e seconda corda un'ottava bassa accordate) di dilettare ancora col suono solo

> (began to find a way (in spite of the imperfections produced by the octave-down tuning of the first and second courses) of giving pleasure with solo playing as well [as accompanying singers]).[24]

Maybe the character of the arpeggio was one of these imperfections. As the solo style was being developed, we may suppose that a specific fingering was created in order to produce an arpeggio with an ascending character; but, as well shall see, once established, this fingering produced other kinds of arpeggios when transferred to other musical contexts.

We can understand how strong that standardised fingering pattern was from the fact that it was adopted by other instrumentalists where there was no reason for it to be used. In a Roman manuscript attributed to Gioseppe Antonio Doni,[25] this arpeggiation pattern is used for the archlute. On page 68 of the manuscript the scribe gives us five patterns, four of which are based on the fingering invented for the chitarrone (Example 5).
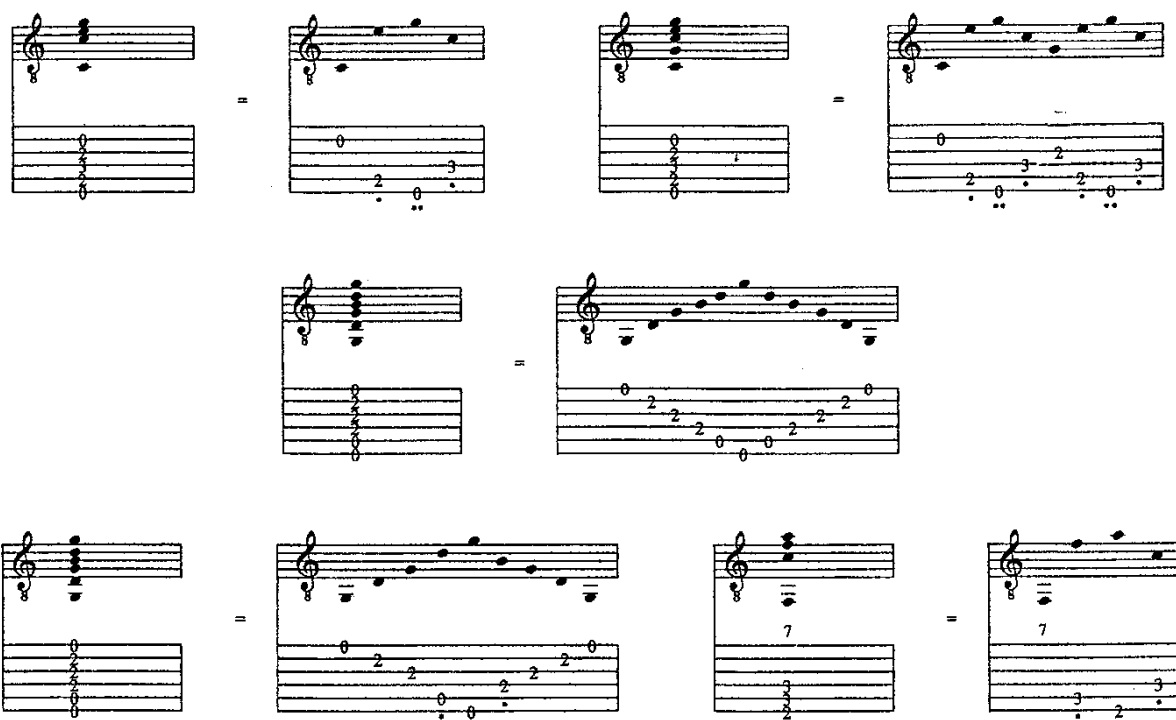
EXAMPLE 5: Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Fiumi-Sermattei
della Genga, MS without shelfmark, p. 68.

Francesco Valdambrini in his *Il libro primo d'intavolatura della chitarra* (Rome, 1646) gives us the same fingering pattern (Example 6), mentioning that he is following the method of Kapsberger.[26] Given that Valdambrini uses a re-entrant guitar tuning with no *bourdons* (low octave strings on the bottom courses)[27] Valdambrini's example of the arpeggio does not start with the lowest or the highest note, and ends at the bottom of the chord.
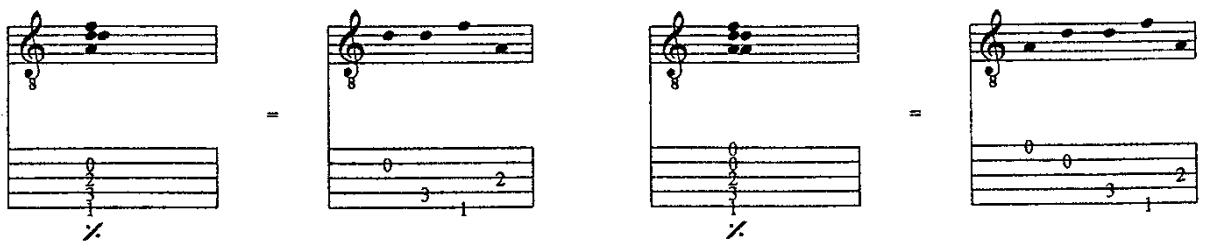
EXAMPLE 6: Arpeggiated chords from Francesco Valdambrini, *Il libro primo
d'intavolatura della chitarra* (Rome, 1646), p. 2.

Such a claim, that arpeggio shapes are strongly dependent on fingerings of the right hand, is also confirmed by Piccinini's examples of three-note arpeggiated chords. In Example 1 the fingering of the first three-note chord provides an ascending arpeggio while the same fingering in the second three-note chord

provides a mixed arpeggio. Though it would be easy for Piccinini to change it, he does not.

According to Piccinini, all the chords on the chitarrone should be arpeggiated. Admitting that this is not always possible he advises:

> nelle Correnti, & in altri luoghi dove fa bisogno andar molto presto da una Pizzicata all'altra non si potra far dimeno di suonare le Pizzicate come nel Liuto, cioe in un colpo solo.

> (in *Correnti*, as well as on other occasions, where fast movement from one chord to another is required, we cannot but play the chords as on the lute, that is with one stroke.)[28]

As we can see, he distinguishes the way one plays chords on the lute from the way we play them on the chitarrone. This presumably stems from the history, the use and character of each instrument. The lute was an instrument with an extensive tradition and a 'strict' way of playing. The chitarrone, on the other hand, was a new instrument that was intimately connected with the development of baroque style. Hence we can understand why Cerreto, in 1601, did not mention the arpeggio technique for the lute but only for the guitar.

Alongside Kapsberger's and Piccinini's descriptions of the arpeggio, another lutenist, Pietro Paolo Melii, refers to it. In the fourth point of the instructions of his *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro terzo* (Venice, 1616) he says:

> dove troverai una bota con questo segno sotto come questa arpigierai le corde in foggia di Tiorba [an example of a chord with ./. underneath follows]

> (when you find a chord with this sign underneath arpeggiate the strings like [you play on] the theorbo).[29]

He does not specify how one arpeggiates on the theorbo but, for various reasons, we can assume that he follows the fashion introduced by Kapsberger in 1604, because Melii uses the same sign as Kapsberger.[30] Following the liuto attiorbato tuning suggested by Melii's instructions,[31] the arpeggio pattern is that in Example 7.
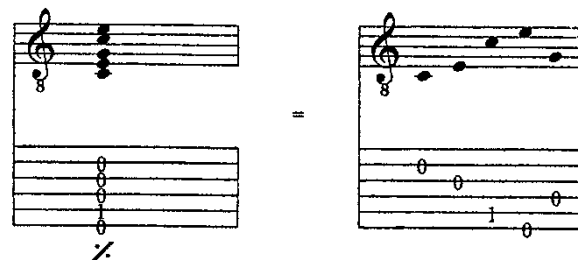

EXAMPLE 7: Arpeggiated chord following Kapsberger's method. Pietro Paolo Melii, *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro terzo* (Venice, 1616), f. 2ᵛ

Melii refers to the arpeggio in the same way in his *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro quarto* (Venice, 1616). In his *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato e di tiorba, libro quinto* (Venice, 1620) the text remains almost the same but the arpeggio sign is modified to a simple dot (.). In the music of these books we rarely come across the arpeggio sign, except in the theorbo section of the fifth book.

Returning to Melii's third book, we find more references to arpeggio patterns but without the use of the term. In the sixth point of the preface he says:

> dove trovarai una botta con questi punti da una parte sola come questa darai col dito grosso in giu in foggia di sprezzo ma con termine [an example follows]

> (when you find a chord with these dots just on one side you will play with the thumb from the top to the bottom [of the strings] in a contemptuous and determined manner).[32]
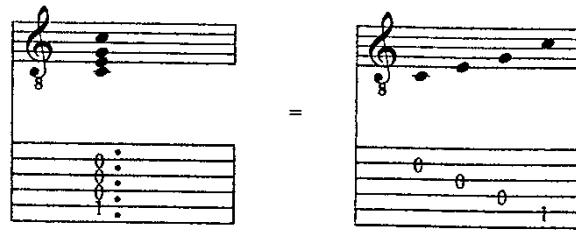
EXAMPLE 8: Interpretation of chords with dots on one side. Pietro Paolo Melii, *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro terzo* (Venice, 1616), f. 2ᵛ.

In the seventh point of the preface he says:

> dove trovarai una botta con li punti da tutte due le parte come questa darai in sù col primo deto accompagnandolo da le alter due, che seguano [an example follows]

> (when you find a chord with dots on both sides you will play with your first [index] finger accompanied by the other two that follow).[33]

The interpretation of this instruction is difficult. If the middle and the ring finger simply follow the movement of the index without striking the strings, we have a simple descending arpeggio (Example 9a); but if the fingers that follow strike the strings we have a combination of descending arpeggios (Example 9b).

Melii's instructions are similar to the strumming technique used by the guitarists and probably originate from it. Examining the music that follows, we see that Melii uses the 'dot' symbols strictly in final chords that always use adjacent
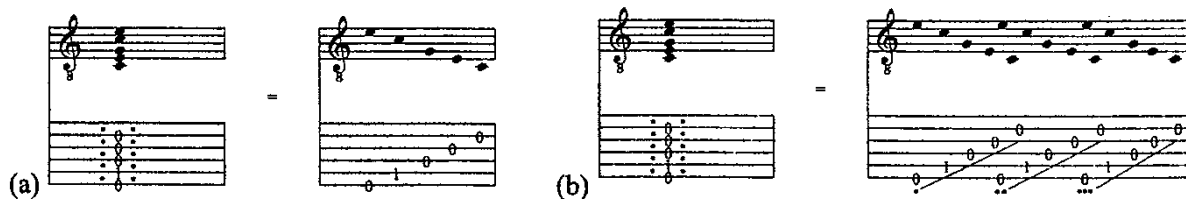
EXAMPLE 9: Possible interpretations of chords with dots on both sides. Pietro Paolo Melii, *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro terzo* (Venice, 1616), f. 2ᵛ

courses. He uses descending arpeggios when the chord includes the first course. By doing so, and as the moving finger, or fingers, come from that direction, it is impossible to strike a note that does not belong to the chord. When not using the first course he uses the ascending arpeggio. This book could be characterised as 'eccentric', not only because of the new instructions but also because of the tuning that Melii uses. Though he seems here to follow the French experiments with new lute tunings, in his later publications he returned to the traditional tuning.

Arpeggio references indicate that the development of arpeggiation technique runs parallel with the development of the musical style and the instruments. As Coelho points out,

> [lutenists] learned how to voice chords according to the musical context. Moreover, with the introduction of new arpeggiation patterns and the appropriation of certain techniques from the guitar, like strumming, the player could draw spontaneously on a variety of possibilities for playing chords.[34]

From the same period as all these lute and chitarrone references to arpeggiation, Girolamo Frescobaldi was the first to make reference to it for the harpsichord in the preface to his *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo* (Rome, 1615), saying 'I Principij delle Toccate sian fatti adagio, et s'arpeggiano le botte ferme' (The openings of the toccatas should be slow, and the long chords arpeggiated).[35] The revised and enlarged edition of 1616 reads:

> Li cominciamenti delle toccate sieno fatte adagio, et arpegiando: è così nelle ligature, ò vero durezze, come anche nel mezzo del opera si batteranno insieme, per non lasciar voto l'Istromento: il qual battimento ripiglierassi à beneplacito di chi suona.

> (The beginnings of the toccatas should be played slowly and arpeggiated; in suspensions or [other] dissonances as well as in the middle of the work, [the notes] should be struck together in order not to leave the instrument empty; this striking may be repeated as the player likes.)[36]

Frescobaldi's comment has always been controversial because of the interpretation of the term *battimento*. Arnold Dolmetsch and Robert Donington interpreted *battimento* as meaning arpeggiation.[37] Pierre Pidoux sees *arpeggiando* as meaning a successive execution and *si batteranno insieme* as referring simultaneous sounding of notes of harmonic grouping.[38] Tagliavini, on the other hand, maintains that these are neither synonymous nor opposite terms:

> Given the brevity of sound of quilled instruments, one must strike the held notes again in order to maintain the effect and flavour of the dissonance. This technique should be used not only for dissonances, but also elsewhere in the course of a piece ('in the middle of the work') to keep the sound of the instrument alive and full.[39]

A documented application of Frescobaldi's instruction being followed with the aim of keeping the sound of the instrument alive seems to appear in a manuscript containing theorbo music housed in Archivio di Stato in Modena. In the Modena manuscript we find the arpeggiation sign *·/:* alongside the standardised sgn *·/..*. The presence of two different—though similar—signs implies that they have different meanings. As the *·/:* sign appears under long-value opening chords of two toccatas and one ricerchata, as well as under some other long-value chords in other pieces one would expect that arpeggiation was executed in a more complex manner by restriking the notes. The restriking of dissonances, not only for the sake of keeping the sound of the instrument going, but also for expressive purposes is confirmed by Piccinini:

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

> (When the music is full of dissonances it comes out very well for a change to play sometimes as they do in Naples, restriking many times the same dissonance, now soft now loud, and the harsher it is the more they repeat it; really, such a playing comes out better in practice than in words, particularly for those who like expressive playing.)[40]

Frescobaldi also mentions expression in a second reference to the arpeggio in the preface to his *Primo libro di capricci* . . . (Rome, 1624):

> Conviene in alcune durezze fermarui con arpeggiarle accio riesca più spiritoso il seguente passo

(it is convenient in certain dissonances to slow down, arpeggiating them, in order that the following passage may come out in a more spirited way).[41]

Unfortunately we have no evidence as to how these arpeggios were performed, presumably because they were left to the performer's judgment.

Tagliavini, trying to define the performing style of arpeggiated chords of the early Italian harpists and harpsichordists, suggests that they preferred descending arpeggios.[42] His hypothesis is based on notated arpeggios (such as that in Example 10) in the opening bars of various toccatas.

EXAMPLE 10: (a) Giovanni Maria Trabaci, Toccata seconda from *Il secondo libro de ricercate* . . . (Naples, 1615), bars 4–5; (b) Giovanni Picchi, Fitzwilliam virginal book, no. 95, bars 1–2.

However, notated arpeggios should not be considered alongside arpeggios that are free and ornamental in function. In the openings of the lute and chitarrone toccatas we also find notated descending arpeggios (Example 11) although ascending arpeggiation patterns were favoured by lutenists.

Nevertheless, it would seem that descending arpeggiated chords originated with harpsichord players because of the technical characteristics of their instrument. It is very easy to produce a descending arpeggio on the harpsichord while on the lute and especially on the chitarrone it is not so simple. However, lute and chitarrone players were encouraged to imitate harpsichord players as the harpsichord gradually became more popular, especially as an accompaniment instrument. Apart from Melii's descending arpeggiation patterns described above, Kapsberger, in the preface to his *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome, 1626), gives a descending arpeggiation pattern for three-note chords (Example 12). The same instruction is reproduced in his *Libro quarto d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome, 1640).

(a)

(b)

EXAMPLE 11: (a) Girolamo Kapsberger, 'Toccata prima' from *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Venice, 1604), bars 1–3; (b) untitled toccata from Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Fiumi-Sermattei della Genga, manuscript without shelfmark, p. 58, [bars 1–2]

EXAMPLE 12: Three-note arpeggiated chords, from Giovani Girolamo Kapsberger, *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome, 1626), n.p. and *Libro quarto d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome, 1640), p. 2

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that there is a considerable difference between written evidence and actual sound. In a period such as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when significant stylistic changes were taking place in music, this difference was even more remarkable. Arpeggiation was left to the performer, who alone was responsible for performing a musical composition in a creative way, based on his or her inventiveness and abilities, as well as the particular features of the instrument he or she was playing. By the manner of spreading or

arpeggiating a chord a phrase can be significantly affected. A spread chord has a different emphasis from a simultaneous chord and an ascending arpeggio arouses different 'affections' from a descending one. During the early baroque era, arpeggiated chords were regarded as an embellishment. Jacopo Peri in the preface to *Euridice* (Florence, 1600/1), when speaking of embellishments, says that

no si possono scrivere, e scrivendole non s'imparano da gli scritti

(they cannot be written, or if written, cannot be learned from writing).[43]

Notes

1   In the present essay the term *seconda prattica* is used in a general way and is equated with *stile moderno* or the new Baroque styles. For the renaissance-baroque problem of periodisation see, inter alia, Tim Carter, 'Artusi, Monteverdi and the Poetics of Modern Music', in *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, eds. Nancy K. Baker & Barbara R. Hanning (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1992), pp. 171–94; ibid., '"An Air New and Grateful to the Ear": The Concept of *Aria* in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy', *Music Analysis* xii (1993), pp. 127–45; ibid., 'Resemblance and Representation: Towards a New Aesthetic in the Music of Monteverdi', in *'Recitar Cantando': Essays on Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera and Song*, eds. Ian Fenlon & Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 118–134; Claude V. Palisca, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)—in particular 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy' pp. 54–87.

2   Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto e di chitarrone, libro primo* (Bologna: G. P. Moscatelli, 1623; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1983), p. 6. An earlier indirect link between the arpeggio and the harp can be seen in Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville: Juan de Leon, 1546; facsimile edition, Monaco: Editions Chanterelle, 1980). The fantasia in f. 13, designated by the composer, 'contrahaze la harpa en la manera de Ludovico' (imitates the harp in the manner of Ludovico) must refer to Ludovico el del Arpa, a musician of King Ferdinand, renowned for his ability to play chromatically on a diatonic harp. The imitation applies not only to the use of chromaticism but presumably also to the persistent use of notated descending arpeggios in the first section of the piece; see John Griffiths, 'Mudarra's Harp Fantasia: History and Analysis', *Australian Guitar Journal* 1 (1989), pp. 19–25.

3   The first evidence of chordal playing on the lira da braccio appears in the well-known heart-shaped manuscript in the Biblioteca Oliveriana at Pesaro (MS 1144) where, in the section devoted to the lira, several charts showing chord positions are included. For a complete study of the manuscript see Vladimir Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentabulatur* (Tutzing: Verlegt Hans Schneider, 1988); for a reconstruction of the lira da braccio playing technique see Benvenuto Disertori, 'Pratica e tenica della lira da braccio', *Rivista Musicale Italiana* xlv (1941), pp. 150–75 and Sterling Scott Jones, *The Lira da braccio* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

4   There is also evidence of strumming in early sixteenth-century repertoire. Hans Newsidler's, *Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nuremberg: J. Petreius, 1536; facsimile edition, Neuss: Institutio pro arte testudinis, 1974) contains pieces, such as 'Ein ser guter hoff tantz mit durch straichen' (f. u2), with thinly textured or single-line passages alternating with full six-note chords. Joan Ambrosio Dalza's *Intabulatura de lauto, libro quarto* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1508; facsimile edition, Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1980) also contains number of pieces with these same formal characteristics. These perhaps have grown out of an earlier performance technique on the plectrum lute that combines single-line and chordal playing; see Vladimir Ivanoff, 'An Invitation to the Fifteenth-Century Plectrum Lute: The Pesaro Manuscript', in *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela*, ed. Victor A. Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–15.

5   See Ivanoff, op. cit. p. 11. A more conscious and frequent use of broken chords in accompaniment figures can be found in sixteenth-century song and dance collections. See for instance in Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati . . .* , *libro primo* and *libro secondo* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1509 and 1511 respectively; facsimile editions, Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1977 and 1982 respectively), *Intabolatura nova di varie sorte de balli . . . libro primo*, ed. Antonio Gardano (Venice: A. Gardano, 1551; facsimile edition, Bologna: Forni editore, 1971).

6   Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1948), p. 10.

7   Scipione Cerreto, *Della prattica musica vocale, et strumentale* (Naples: G. I. Carlino, 1601; facsimile edition, Bologna: Forni editore, 1969), p. 321.

8   Victor A. Coelho, 'Frescobaldi and the Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas of "Il Tedesco della Tiorba"', in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham: Duke University, 1987), p. 143.

9   For Gesualdo's life and music activities see Glenn Watkins, *Gesualdo: The Man and His Music* (2nd edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

10 Antony A. Newcomb, 'Carlo Gesualdo and a musical correspondence of 1594', *Musical Quarterly* liv (1968), pp. 419–22.

11 Antony A. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 179.

12 Piccinini, op. cit., p. 2.

13 Stanley Buetens, 'The Instructions of Alessandro Piccinini', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* ii (1969), p. 11.

14 Piccinini, op. cit., p. 6.

15 Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, 'The Art of "not Leaving the Instrument Empty"', *Early Music* xi (1983), p. 308.

16 Piccinini does not state that chords with special arpeggios have a definite rhythm but his music implies this. Chitarrone toccatas I and VI are very good examples especially for comparing the use of four-note chords with and without special arpeggios.

17 This arpeggiation sign became standardised and is present in many sources of chitarrone or even lute and guitar music, sometimes slightly modified to '//. .

18 Girolamo G. Kapsberger, *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Venice: G. A. Pfender, 1604; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1982), p. 4.

19 Coelho, 'Frescobaldi and the Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas', p. 146.

20 For the physical origins and the stringing development of the chitarrone see Kevin Mason, *The Chitarrone and Its Repertoire in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Aberystwyth: Boethius Press, 1989), pp. 20–7.

21 Robert Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', *Early Music* iv (1976), p. 408.

22 These books are: *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome: F. Flamminii, 1610; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1982), *Libro primo di arie passegiate* (Rome: J. C. ad Andlaw, 1612; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1980), *Libro terzo di villanelle* (Rome: F. Porta, 1619; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1982), *Libro terzo d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome: M. Priuli, 1626) and *Libro quarto d'intavolatura di chitarone* (Rome: G. Pozzobonelli, 1640; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1982). *Libro terzo*, missing for many years as an unknown collector owned it, reappeared in a Sotheby's auction on 7 December 2001. It was bought by Yale University where it is now housed in the University Music Library (call no.: M142 C54 K17+bk.3).

23 Nigel North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo* (London: Faber, 1987), p. 165.

24 Piccinini, op. cit., p. 5.

25 Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Fiumi-Sermattei della Genga, MS without shelfmark (facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1988). The manuscript is dateable to the years 1620–1640 and is one of those sources mentioned above that make use of the of the arpeggiation sign '//. . For description and history of the manuscript see Victor A. Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), pp. 130–5, 518–38.

26 See James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 72–3, 182.

27 Valdambrini's guitar tuning:
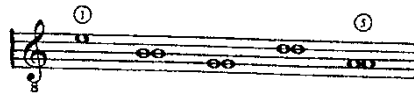
28 Piccinini, op. cit., p. 6.

29 Pietro Paolo Melii, *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato, libro terzo* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1616; facsimile edition, Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1979), f. 2ᵛ. The terms chitarrone and theorbo are used exclusively to refer to the same instrument. For a discussion of the terminology see Douglas Alton Smith, 'On the Origin of the Chitarrone', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xxxii (1979), pp. 440–62.

30 Kapsberger's *intavolatura* of 1604 was probably the most important of the seventeenth-century books and it seems to have remained in use for at least twenty years since some of its contents appeared in manuscripts copied as late as 1627. See Coelho, 'Frescobaldi and the Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas', p. 138.

31 Melii's lute tuning:

32 Melii, op. cit., f. 2ᵛ. Similar right-hand fingering dots, without any indication of their meaning, can be found in the Perugia MS, op. cit. Furthermore, they are present in the contemporaneous French publications of airs de cour especially in the first six anthologies published by Pierre and Robert Ballard (1608–1615), which were arranged by Gabriel Bataille. For the interpretation of notation in Ballard's editions see

Jonathan Le Cocq, 'A Guide to Notation in the Air de Cour for Voice and Lute (Ballard Editions, 1608–1643)', *The Lute* xxxix (1999), pp. 27–45.

33 Melii, op. cit., f. 2ᵛ.

34 Victor A. Coelho, 'Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century Italian Music', in *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela*, ed. Victor A. Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 139.

35 Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo . . . libro primo* (Rome: N. Bordoni, 1615), preface.

36 Idem, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo . . . libro primo* (Rome: N. Bordoni, 1616), preface. The 1616 edition was reprinted with extra pieces in 1637 under the modified title *Toccate d'intavolatura di cimbalo et organo, partite di diuerse arie e corrente . . .* Facsimile of the 1637 edition, with postscript by Laura Alvini indicating the variants in the 1615 edition, by Studio Per Edizioni Scelte (Florence, 1978).

37 Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (London: Novello & Co. Ltd. 1946), pp. 260–2 and Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber & Faber, 1989), p. 278.

38 Pierre Pidoux, *G. Frescobaldi: Orgel und Klavierwerke* (Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag, [1950]), pp. 3–4.

39 Tagliavini, op. cit., p. 300.

40 Piccinini, op. cit., p. 1.

41 Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro di capricci canzon francese, e recercari fatti sopra diuersi soggetti, et arie in partitura* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1624), preface.

42 Tagliavini, op. cit., pp. 303–4.

43 Jacopo Peri, *Euridice* (Florence: G. Marescotti, 1600/1; facsimile edition, New York: Broude Bros., 1973), preface.