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The Seventeenth-Century Battaglie for Lute in Italy

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Submitted 15th December 2010

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Abstract

Italy had been the theatre of war for centuries. Political fragmentation ignited dynastic rivalries, carving out powerful autonomous city-states whose leaders amassed within their courts artists, musicians and writers in order to chronicle their military, religious and political vision. The musical depictions of particular military exploits, or *battaglia*, became popular springboards for colourful, programmatic compositions. These works were often performed in public in order to garner support for campaigns. Originally a vocal genre whose distant relative can be traced back to the *caccia*, or hunting song, the *battaglie* were often transcribed for instruments, in particular the lute, thus supplying an already extensive repertoire with a framework for new, highly original compositions expressed through the delicate idiosyncrasies of the most popular instrument. Battle pieces for solo lute found in both manuscript and published sources throughout Europe, and although they are rarely heard in concert today, they constitute a fascinating glimpse at an almost forgotten genre.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii) contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

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Introduction

"Chi sta in pace mai non sente pene

e chi sta in Guerra nessun ben gli vale...."[1]

Until its unification in 1861, the Italian peninsula was the battleground of Europe and the playground of warring dynasties. In a steady stream of conflicts–dating as far back as the Middle Ages–mercenaries were recruited by professional soldiers (known as *condottieri)* to fight set-piece battles. The spoils for the victor were many and usually revolved around the acquisition of territories or principalities.

From the fourteenth century onwards, the victor often chose to have his win commemorated in some sort of lasting way. For example, he might have a bronze statute erected of his heroic *condottiero*,[2] his court painter may depict his armies crushing his adversary at the point at which victory was clinched or he may even ask his lute player to portray the battle on his instrument, complete with onomatopoeic trumpet calls, battle cries, drums, the thundering cannons and even the advance and the retreat of the opposing armies.[3] This dissertation seeks to shed light on this very repertoire-the Italian battaglia for lute.

While an attempt to catalogue the entire print and manuscript repertoire for lute has been undertaken, it has met with only limited success.[4] More successful has been the entry in New Grove on sources of lute music. Whilst the coverage and the scholarship here is impressive, there are still areas of the repertoire that are somewhat veiled. One such corpus of work are

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[1] 'He who remains in peace feels no sorrow and he who remains at war deserves no peace', Franco Sacchetti, *"Il Libro delle Rime" (Florence, 1397)* cited in Salvatore J. Castiglione, " A 14th Century Pacifist." *Italica* Vol. 24, No. 4 (1974): 311-315. Franco Sacchetti. All translations done by author

[2] A notable example is Donatello's 1447 *Erasmo da Narmi Gattamelata*, found in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio, Padua.

[3] See, for example, *The Battle of San Romano*, by Paolo Uccello, c.1440 (Uffizi, Florence).

[4] See Victor Coelho's review of Wolfgang Boetticher's 1978 RISM catalogue of manuscript lute and guitar tablatures (Handschriftlich uberlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. Bis 18. Jahrhunderts.

the battle pieces, or *battaglie* - a somewhat exotic genre that represents a rare, but highly idiosyncratic category of both vocal and instrumental music.

Chapter one of this study will trace the battaglia back to its distant relative- the *caccia*, and will highlight some of its descriptive elements that subsequently were incorporated into the French chanson (and, as we will see later, indirectly into the battaglia). This will be done by taking a close look at one of the earliest examples of the form. Chapter two will contextualize the battaglia for lute; tracing its development from vocal transcriptions, to the idiomatic solo instrumental forms of the early seventeenth century. In addition, I will offer an analysis of two *battaglie* for lute. The final chapter traces the history of the *Girometta*, an Italian folksong, and its central relevance to the Italian *battaglie*. The dissertation closes with a series of appendices of relevant primary sources.

Chapter One - Origins

i. Historical Background

On March 23, 1397, the bourgeois Florentine poet and diplomat Franco Sacchetti, witnessed the destruction of his property and possessions when the *condottiero* Alberigo da Barbiano and his army, acting on orders received from Gian Galeazzo Visconti, marched from Siena and ravaged the plain of Florence. Shocked and bewildered by the violence, the statesman starts to write a series of twelve sonnets mercilessly condemning war of all sorts.[5] Although his desire for peace was a recurring theme in his poetry, Sacchetti lived at a time that saw little peace. In fact the bloodthirsty Visconti, who was made the first Duke of Milan, was on a warpath that sought to unite all of Northern Italy under a single Lombard Empire.

Sacchetti's peace-loving poetry was extremely popular during his lifetime, and he applauded it being set to musical constructs that abetted their declamatory intent. The subject matter of these works often revolved round hunting, falconry, or some other offenseless episode such as the poetic description of a market scene. Some of the more descriptive compositional devices used throughout the mid to late Renaissance would ultimately serve (possibly to the dismay of Sacchetti) as a means of expressing the emprises of another of the nobility's entrepreneurial pursuits, that of warfare.

For illuminating insight on the association between (western) music and war, or the use of musical instruments in battles, one could turn to the writings by the ancient Greeks pertaining to the recitation of epic poetry. Here we learn how the Greeks believed that specific melodic formulae were employed for their war-like connotations. Similar traits can be found in music of the twelfth and thirteenth-century jongleurs, but as no complete version of the music plus

[5] Salvatore J. Castiglione. "A 14th Century Pacifist." *Italica* Vol. 24, No. 4 (1974): 311-315

its text survives, there are problems with the transmission of these works. R. Gläsel divides the use of *battle music* into four categories:

1. Allegorical dramas: oral representations of conflicts between allegorical or mythical figures, found in dramatic courtly entertainments such as madrigals, mascherades, intermedi, etc...

2. Historical battles: pieces celebrating the victories of a particular battle, the telling of, or reciting (usually sung) of heroic deeds, polyphonic chansons, *caccie* etc...

3. Battle dances: *Canario*, *Moresca*, *Matachin* (*Mattaccino*), *Barriera* etc...

4. Instrumental: Arrangements, transcriptions and free form pieces for solo instruments or ensemble, usually entitled *battaglia* and which customarily rely on common compositional elements.[6]

We must wait until the fifteenth century however before we hear the depiction of real events associated with particular battles. The four-part *A l'arme, a l'arme* by Grimace (*fl* mid-to late 14th century) is the earliest, soon to follow was the three-part *Alla battaglia*, which appears in the Pixérécourt Chansonnier (a selection of French and Italian chansons collected around 1485). But the most influential of the sixteenth-century French *battaglie* was Janequin's four-part chanson *La Guerre* which commemorated the 1515 Battle of Marignano.[7] This work was published by Attaignant in 1528, and reproduced and transcribed frequently. In Spain, during the seventeenth century, the genre was known as the *batalla*. However, here the genre was usually manifest as a solo organ work more so than as a vocal composition about a particular battle. The Iberian organ developed individually in respect to other traditions and cultivated the unique horizontal reeds known as *trompeta de batalla* (battle trumpets).[8] Some composers of Spanish organ *battalie* are José Ximénez (1601- 1672), Juan Bautista José Cabanilles (1644-1712), and even the Italian composer Andrea Falconiero (1586-1612) who composed a

---

[6] Glasel, R. *Zur Geschichte der Battaglia.* Leipzig, University of Leipzig (1931).

[7] A decisive but savage battle fought out during the Italian Wars (1494-1559) in which the newly crowned Francis I achieved victory over Swiss mercenaries, employed by Duke Ercole Sforza of Milan, through audacious but brilliant maneuvers.

[8] Nicolas James. *OrganART Media England,* (Germany, 2007). For further reading on baroque organs and composers see W. L. Summer, " The Baroque organ" *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association.* 81st Sess. (1954-1955), pp. 1-12

battaglia with the Spanish title *Batalla de Barabaso yerno de Satanas* (The Battle of Barabaso son of Satan). After the colonization of much of Central America by the Spanish, workshops of first-rate organ builders began to appear, and consequently one can assume that the Iberian organ *battaglia* was cultivated and also performed in Central America. In England, the genre is less clearly delineated, however William Byrd's *My Ladye Nevell's Booke* (1591), a collection of Byrd's keyboard music, contains an early example. *The Battle*, which was apparently inspired by an unidentified skirmish in Queen Elizabeth's Irish wars, is comprised of a sequence of movements bearing titles such as 'The marche to the fight', 'The battles be joyned' and 'The Galliarde for the victorie'.[9] In relation to lute music, the *King of Denmark's Galliard*, also known as the *Battle Galliard,* by the lutenist and composer John Dowland, exhibits qualities of the continental *battaglia.* In addition, Dowland published, in 1600, *Forlorn Hope, a Fancy.* The term is originally taken from the Dutch *verloon hoop*, literally "lost heap", and refers to a band of soldiers chosen to take part in a military assault who were expected to be killed (or perhaps survive long enough so as to get a foot hold while reinforcements advanced). Dowland's notoriety as a composer of grief-stricken or doleful music is clearly exemplified in this superlative example of *passus duriusculus*, in which we find a subject that descends into melancholic hopelessness. With the Netherlands under Spanish rule, conflicts were very common, however, the *battaglia* is found in only a few sources. The Dutch *carillonneur*, bell expert, composer and recorder virtuoso Jacob van Eyck (1590-1657) published a collection of his music for one or more recorders –*Der Fluyten Lust-hof* (1649). It contains a *batali* of considerable importance, so much so that this music was played well into the seventeenth century and reappears in a collection of 'Old and New Dutch Farmer Songs and Contredances' (1715).[10] The latter is titled 'De slag van Pavie' (The Battle of Pavia). Both versions contain–along with an Italian folksong–the 'Wilhelmus', which, in van Eyck's time, was seen as a symbol of the revolt against Philip II of Spain. Today it is the

[9] O.W. Neighbour. *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London, 1978)
[10] *Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren Lietjes en Contredansen*, published in thirteen volumes by Estienne Roger, the eleventh volume conatins "De slag van Pavie"

Dutch national anthem. Other seventeenth-century Dutch battaglia recreated the battle of Pavia, as can be noted in a diary entry of school master David Beck who visited the Hague on 23 September 1624 "...hearing for the duration of one hour the battle of Pavia played on the organ, attended by many people". This gives great insight not only into the improvisatory skill of musicians but also is a clear indication as to one of the reasons why the *battaglia* rarely survives in written or printed sources. Clearly they were, more often than not, improvised on the spot (which comes as no surprise, given the uncomplicated musical ingredients).[11]

One of the earliest *battaglia*, or *schlacht*, to appear in Germany, was in fact one of the many pieces written in imitation of Janequin's *La guerre*. The chanson *La battaglia Taliana* by Matthias Hermann Werrecore, was written as a type of response to Jenequin's piece (the inspiration, again, being the Battle of Pavia in 1525, in which Francis I was taken prisoner by Charles V of Spain). Another German protagonist, Hans Neusidler, of the battaglia in fact made a transcription of Janequin's *La Guerre* for lute. Hans Neusidler's pavan from *Ein new künstlich Lautten Buch* of 1544 is entitled *Sula battaglia* and the fourth strain is separately labeled 'Der hupff auff'. One of the two instrumental pieces written by the Nuremberg-born Paul Heinlein (1626-1686) is a sonata *a 5*, entitled *Battallia* and although he spent three years in Italy, apparently to keep up to date with the latest Italian style, none of his music asserts any Italianesque characteristics.

Echoes of Janequin's chanson La Guerre can be found in Andrea Gabrielli's eight-part madrigal *Sento un rumor/Alla battaglia* (1587) and in two battaglie for eight wind instruments, one by Gabrielli and the other by Annibale Padovano entitled *Aria della Battaglia* which were published in *Dialoghi musicali* (1590). An area of interest relating to our topic, and one that still needs further study, is the genre of the Battle Mass. These were akin to Imitation Masses in that each movement of the mass was based on a cantus firmus. In the Battle Mass however we see composers setting sections of Janeqiun's La Guerre in a sacred context. The popularity of this genre, in particular, spread throughout the New World.

[11] Thiemo Wind. "An 18th-century source of the Batali." *Jacob Van Eyck Quarterly* No.4 (October, 2002)

A large number of manuscripts are to found in Bogota. It was not the heated hand-to-hand combat or conflicts for territory and or glory that were depicted, but the battle of good over evil on Earth and in Heaven. The onomatopoetic battle sounds such as "rapid-fire" for example, were set to various passages in the 'Credo', turning the wordy ordinary text into a nonsensical patter.

ii. Battaglia of Heinrich Isaac

As stated above, the early *battaglie* were in the style of the French chanson, and these took much of their inspiration from the *caccia*. By the second half of the fifteenth century however, in Italy and in France, the *caccia* was outdated, and the *chanson* was the preferred musical form (in most cases adding a fourth voice). These chanson shared the following attributes: vertical texture, block-like melodies with repeated notes and undifferentiated, often animated rhythms, patter style (a device in which the composer sets a note to each syllable of a text, and is meant to be sung very rapidly- extremely common in comic opera of the eighteenth and nineteenth century), descriptive effects, echo-like devices, frequent changes in number of voices singing, alterations between duple and triple meter and economical use of imitative entries. Even the concern for the meaning of the poetry and the occasional depiction of individual words were said to parallel the aesthetic aims of the Italian madrigalists.[12]

The Italian battaglia is characterized by its deviating and unfixed form and we find compositions entitled *battaglia* by the most celebrated composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Of particular interest is *A la bataglia* by the Brabant-born chanson composer Heinrich Isaac (*c.*1450-1517). Isaac, like so many other Franco-Flemish composers, was patronised by Italian monarchs (in Isaac's case, by Lorenzo de'Medici [*Il Magnifico*] in Florence). Lorenzo filled his court with some of the most distinguished artists, poets, engineers and musicians. Isaac was employed as one of the singers in the baptistery of S. Giovanni, and was also part of Lorenzo's close domestic circle. He was expected to set music to the often-melancholic verse of his illustrious patron.[13] Perhaps it was in anticipation of this pension, or in gratitude for it, that Isaac wrote a composition that catered to the pope's well-known Francophile tastes in music. In 1485, the year of his arrival in Florence (the same year

[12] Lawrence F. Bernstein. "Notes on the origin of the Parisian Chanson." *The Journal of Musicology,* Vol.1, No. 3 (July, 1983), pp. 75-326. University of California Press

[13] Even teaching Lorenzo's son Giovanni, later Pope Leo X, and who, in 1514, would directly intercede to have retirement benefits provided for Isaac, in recognition of his long and faithful service to the Medici.

that Lorenzo brought back from exile in Bologna the religious extremist and political reformer, Girolamo Savonarola) Isaac set to music a poem called *A la Bataglia.* But it was the Genoese, and not the French, who continued the role of Florence's long time nemesis in this conflict, known as the battle of Sarzanello.[14] It is clear to the reader that Gentile Aretino, the author of the poem, was all too aware of the events which transpired on that June morning of 1485 in the town of Sarzana. The Florentine army surrounded the castle Sarzanello, and eventually took it over, and despite a bitter two-year-long siege, the armies of Lorenzo were to reign victorious. The occasion on which the poem and Isaac's musical setting was first performed was most likely two years before the victory of 1487, in connection with the instillation of a successor to the slain captain-general of the army. The first few lines of the poem serve as a harangue, and leave no doubt as to the intended rousing of the troops for a final push on their enemy.

To the battle, quickly to the battle.
Everyone must arm himself with armor
and chain mail
To help the excellent captain[15]
everyone must quickly be armed and go
forth
forward valiant men, one by one,
Signor Julio, Organtino, and Paulo Orsino[16]
Sarazenello must be cleaned away.
Armor for your legs, kidneys and body,
weapons, helmet, and flank armor,
forward lances, rapiers, and maces,

[14]The poet is named in one of only two surviving sources of the poem, of three stanzas of twenty-seven lines, as Gentile Aretino.
[15] Niccolo Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, the newly inducted captain general.
[16] The poet names numerous soldiers, condottieri, mercenaries, nobleman, standard bearers and at one point mentions a large canon called *il Lione Tedesco,* or German Lion, which was given to the Florentine troops by Lorenzo and proved to be the clincher in the victory.

Tighten this cinture.

Here is the bay and the dark-colored horse...

Civic musicians were documented in the employ of Florence from pay records as early as 1292 and at the time of the first performance of Isaac's *battaglia* in 1485 there were eight trumpets and six shawms on the payroll. Was the entire piece performed? If so, by whom? Timothy McGee suggests an interesting theory:

> It would seem that only the first stanza of the poem was ever sung. This is suggested by the absence of the remaining stanzas in the bass part-book as well as by the difficulty of fitting them to music. At the investiture ceremony it may be permissible to imagine that the poem was first recited in its entirety before the first stanza was sung. Who sang it? The records of the civic musicians in Florence include only instrumentalists: players of trumpets, trombones and shawms...some compositions [of the bass part-book] have text and some do not, the performer for whom the book was intended...must have been capable of both playing an instrument and singing....[17]

The music that Isaac used to set this poem can be seen to function on two levels. On the one hand, the music is typical of the type of polyphonic 'song' that was popular throughout the major centers of Europe at the time. On the other hand, Isaac also made much of the compositional devices mentioned above to evoke the battle.

[17] Timothy McGee, "Alla Battaglia: Music and Ceremony in Fifteenth-Century Florence". *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol.36, No.2 (1983) pp.287-302

Chapter 2 – Battaglie for Lute

i. Context

The development of the battaglia for lute and chitarrone can be approximated to that of the *canzone,* in that the origins of both were polyphonic vocal works that were transcribed and adapted for solo instrument, eventually taking on a purely instrumental function.[18]

At the outset of this chapter it is important to note the role that the lute played in musical life throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Its versatility and output cannot be understated. In a study done by Jean Michel Vaccaro on instrumental music of the sixteenth century the following data was collocated:[19]

Music for lute	*-65%*
Music for keyboard instruments	*-22%*
Music for guitar	*-11%*
Music fir viola da gamba	*-2%*

The tradition of intabulating already-existing vocal pieces for lute predates the sixteenth century. The earliest printed sources of lute tablature were published by Petrucci between 1507 and 1511 and contain arrangements of vocal works by Tromboncino, Cara, Michele Pesenti and others. The widespread practice of transcribing polyphonic vocal music for instruments betrays more the ubiquitous adaptability of the contrapuntal style than it does the idiosyncratic personality of the instrument. Such transcriptions existed, and were often published, alongside instrument-specific pieces such as *ricercare*, *toccate*; dance movements such as *salterelli, pive, pavan* and *gagliarde*. The prevalence of ground basses spanning the

[18] For the history of the development of the canzona see the article in new grove, John Caldwell. "Canzona." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.library.ecu.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/04804

[19] Jean Michel Vaccaro, La Musique de Luth en France au XVI siècle, Paris, 1981 p. 63

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lends credence to the axiom that the musician must also be a skilled improviser, embellishing such popular tunes as *La Monica*, *L'Aria di Fiorenza*, *Il Ruggiero*, *La Folia* and the *Passamezzo*. Janequin's chanson *La guerre* acted as a harbinger for the formulae to what would become the seventeenth-century *battaglia* for not only solo lute but also for pieces for organ and large ensemble.

Francesco da Milano's transcription of Janequin's chanson, in its entirety, shows evidently the level of virtuosity to which a lute player might aspire, for it is in every sense of the word monumental and stands out among the other pieces of his 1536 publication.[20] Perhaps on the advice of his publisher, Milano made a reduced version of the work in the form of a pavan of four strains, the first three deriving from the *prima pars* of the original. From an examination of this music it is clear that this version acted as an exemplar model from which later generations of lute composers sought to emulate.

Characteristics

Battaglie are easily identifiable by a number of compositional fingerprints, and these are as follows:

1. Change of meter: the presence of this device delineates and divides the work into discernable sections, allowing the performer to clearly expose the different events of battle.
2. Imitative/Canonic entries: Exposition of melodic motives that are answered in another voice at the octave or fifth. This alludes to the 'bugle call' for communication, giving the impression of physical 'space' or distance between the two motives.
3. Presence of the *Barriera*: A battle dance which is found in numerous seventeenth-century sources of lute and guitar tablature, and is a parody of the 'fan fare' section of Janequin's *chanson.*
4. Use of triadic material: The motives that are made up intervals of thirds, fifths and octaves are used to imitate the sound and resonance of the military trumpet.

[20] Francesco Cavona da Milano, *Intabolatura di liuto de diversi, con la battaglia et altra cose bellissime..* (Venice: Marcolini, 1536)

5. The *Girometta*: An Italian folk-song from the North of Italy.[21]

[21] Bortolai, D."La Battaglia" Origine ed Evoluzione del Genere (1990).

ii Organology

With composers of the seventeenth century turning their backs on the rigorous contrapuntal style of the previous generations in exchange for a more expressive approach, and one that focuses on the inherent qualities of the instrument, it is understandable that the physical parameters of their instruments would ultimately be modified to accommodate the progressive virtuosity of composer/performer.

Without a doubt the most influential modification that took place was the addition of bass strings to the lute. To instruments with seven or eight courses (strings), luthiers were to add an extra five or six bass courses housed in a separate peg box. This rendered the instrument more sonorous when using the new style of chordal accompaniment. The self-confessed inventor of this new instrument, called the *arciliuto* (archlute) (fig.1), was Alessandro Piccinini (1566-1638).

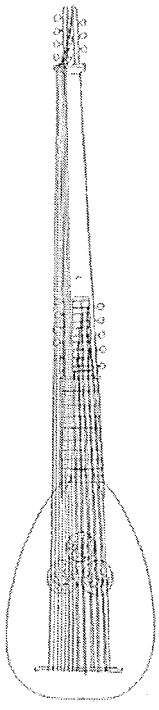

Fig. 1

Archlute designed by Piccinini.

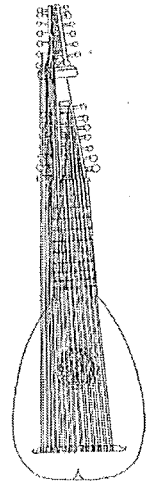

Fig. 2

Liuto Attiorbato.

It then became common practice during the first half of the seventeenth century to modify existing instruments by adding another neck and peg box to accommodate the extra bass strings, thus extending its range and rendering it possible to better accompany singers in the now popular monodic style of singing. This instrument was known as the *liuto attiorbato* (Fig.2) and was stipulated as the instrument of choice on the cover page of printed lute tablature by composers like Pietro Paolo Melli and Bernardino Gianoncelli. Both instruments retained the standard G (sol) tunning (Fig.3).

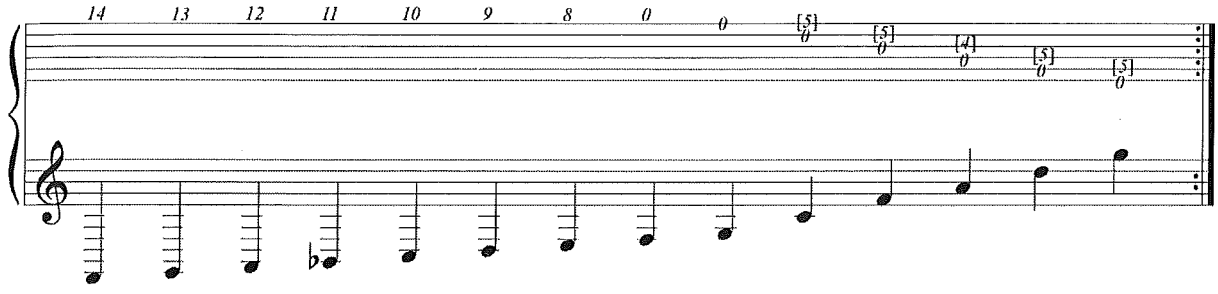

Fig. 3

In France the most celebrated lute players deviated from the standard tuning, and began experimenting with their eleven-course instruments, finally settling on a d (RE) tuning. Composers like the Gaultiers brought this system to England. It was, however, in Germany during the high Baroque that composers were to bring the d minor instrument to its zenith.

iii The Battaglia of Alassandro Piccinini

In 1582 the Piccininis–already famous court musicians in and around the principalities of Bologna and Ferrara–were invited to the Court of Duke Alfonso d'Este to fulfil their duties as court musicians (more than anything else as lute players) performing as soloists, accompanists to singers and instrumentalists and in ensembles for lutes of different sizes. The music played were arrangements of well know songs and madrigals, in addition to performing newly composed music for specific occasions, which by all accounts seem to be significant events.

Ercole Bottrigari describes, in his *Il Desiderio* (Venice, 1594), various aspects of musical life in the d'Este court, in particular the so called *"Concerto Grande"* in which vast *spettacolli* were put on, to the delight of the Duke and his retainers. Bottrigari writes of the audition process of these concerts:

> his Maestro di Capella (Ippolito Fiorini), & head of all musicians of His Highness, public and private servants and secretaries, [...]calls for any Farrese who knows how to sing, & play with style, to be judged by Fiorino and (Luzzaschi) Luzzasco to be sufficient to participate in the said concerto ,he must find his way to the chamber of Music [...] When at the time desired by His Highness, will come and perform the concerto in the place arranged, with great delight, & infinite pleasure of the listening Prince, and of all the other dignitaries present[...][22]

That the Piccinini family, in particular father Alessandro and son Leonardo Maria, auditioned and participated in these grand festivities is of no doubt, as it was their job to take

[22] Cristororetti, O. (1983). Intavolatura di Liuto, et di Chitarrone, Libro Primo. Intavolatura di Liuto, et di Chitarrone, Libro Primo. Florence, Archivium Musicum.

care of all the lute parts. But the daily job of the Piccinini was to play in the private chambers and also in the chapel of the Duke and his wife.

The music for one or more lutes and chitarrone of Alessandro performed at the d'Este court survives in two printed volumes; *Intovolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone, libro primo, nel quale si contengano dell'uno, & dell'altro stromenti arie, baletti, correnti, gagliarde, canzoni, & ricercate musicali, & altre à dui, e trè liuti concertati insieme; et una inscrittione d'avertimenti, che insegna la maniera, & il modo di ben sonare con facilità i sudetti stromenti* (Bologna, 1623), and *Intavolatura di liuto, nel quale si contengano toccate, ricercate musicali, correnti, gagliarde, chiaccone, e passacaglia alla vera spagnola, un bergamasco, con varie partite, una battaglia, & altri capricci* (Bologna, 1639). Alessandro's son, Leonardo Maria, oversaw the posthumous publication of the 1639 volume, and as stated in his dedication letter to Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, it contains *fattiche* "in the same style" by Leonardo Maria himself.[23] Unfortunately we are unable to distinguish between the two writing styles of father and son. We can however, confidently reconstruct the sound and style of Alessandro's playing, as the first volume contains, what is to date, the most detailed manual on performance. Piccinini demonstrates his is a skilled contrapuntilist, united with a deep understanding of the technical possibilities of his newly invented instrument. Piccinini's *battaglia* begins with a six-note motive that is stated in the alto voice and is subsequently treated canonically with entries in the soprano, tenor and finally in the bass voice. After the first section, which closes on a tonic cadence (as do all the sections), a new two-part motive is introduced and is used as a call (upper register) and response (lower register). This type of compositional device, very common in the period, suggests some kind of "battle-field communication" tool, as it gives the impression of spatial distance between the two groups of 'trumpets', which can be seen in Garsi's *battalie* in the section marked *riposta*. In bars 26-34, we can find a precise reference to *La Guerre* by Janequin, which corresponds with the second section of that work which has the text: *Et orez si bien escoutez.* The music develops into strict four-part writing from bar 35 to the end of the first section (bar

[23] Piccinini, A. *Intavolatura di liuto, nel quale...* (1639).

40). The second section, bar 40, is predominantly triadic in straight crochets with all voices sharing the motif until a cadence at 65 leads into a section of somewhat free material. The battle proper seems to begin in bar 79 with the upper voices pronouncing triadic trumpet 'battle calls', ever increasing in excitement; this device is to be used elsewhere in the piece. In bars 89-92 Piccinini uses for the first time the second motive of the Barriera. What can only be seen as a five bar 'repose', or rest from battle, helps defuse the tension. A descending sequence of this kind is found in other battaglie for lute (*bataille*,
Vallet), but is followed with more triadic trumpet calls and a return to arms, bar 99 to 124, in which Piccinini uses more ascending triadic motives in steady groups of quavers. From the second half of bar 125 to bar 134 Piccinini uses a somewhat disguised version of the Girometta in four parts. Bars 135-145 sees a motive which is exchanged between the upper and the lower parts. Some idiomatic lute music takes up bars 146-170 when another 'repose' (171), or rest from battle motive defuses the tension once more before the final battle section which opens the way for the Girometta, written in a simple two-part arrangement. The accompaniment of crotchet against crotchet changes to quaver against crotchet as the melody moves from the tenor to the soprano part. The last section, 214-246, demonstrates a unique departure from the usual way of finishing, not only a *battaglia*, but any other piece of solo lute music. It's not clear Piccinini's intentions in the last section, but the descending motive does come to rest after an expansive gesture through two octaves to land on the tonic.
The tablature contains some obvious errors and some, if intended, angular harmonies.

iv The Battaglia of Donino Garsi

Unfortunately, of Donino Garsi's life we know very little, other than he was either the son or grandson of the renowned lutenist Santino Garsi, who worked for the Farnese court of Ranuccio I in Parma. Donino himself obtained a position as lutenist in the same court in 1619. His extant works survive in a manuscript (PL-Kj Mus Ms 40153), which contains total of seventy-eight pieces in French Tablature with attributions to Santino, Asciano (his brother) and Donino himself. K.S.R. Dusiacki, the Polish nobleman for whom the manuscript was prepared, added ten Polish dances. The body of the manuscript is made up of balletti, dedicated to the duke of Mantua and Parma, correntes, pavans, toccatas, preludes, many galliards, *arie della napolitana* and a folia. It also contains a piece entitled 'battaglia'. Compared to other battaglie of that era, Garsi's battaglia is written in a much simpler style and is divided into ten sections, each of which has its own title. They are:

1- Tamburi per l'Hordinanza *drums for the decree*

2- Trombe con il Tamburo – Risposta in ottava *trumpets and drum*

3- Invito delle Trombe – Risposta in ottava *invitation with the trumpets*

4- Risposta del invito – Risposta in ottava answer of the invitation *–answer in octaves*

5- Tamburi per la meza macchiata

6- Tamburi con il Piffaro, sonato da un Thedesco e risposta
del Thedecso in ottava – *drum with piffaro played by a German with response at the octave*

7- La Girometta fatta dalle Trombe et Tamburi – *the Girometta done with the trumpet and drum*
Risposta della Girometta in ottava – *response at the octave*

8- Tromba per innanimire gli scaramuzanti – *trumpet to play during skirmishes*
Risposta in ottava – *response at the octave*

9- Piffaro a sonata con il Tamburo per la Vittoria – *Piffaro played by the trumpet to sound the victory*

10- Tamburi per la ritirata – *drums for the retreat*

Although Garsi's music is less complex than his contemporaries, his battaglia is a fine example of seventeenth-century programmatic music. Two other battaglie also have descriptive prose heading the various sections of their piece: William Byrd's 'The Battle' and Heinrich Biber's 'Battaglia'

Chapter Three - The Girometta and the Battaglia

Between 1572 and 1581, the theorist, teacher, composer, lutenist and singer Vincenzo Galilei received some thirty letters from the humanist Girolomei Mei, in which he posed for the first time his theory that the ancient tragedies and comedies were sung in their entirety and accompanied throughout in unison by an instrument, most probably an *aulos* or *cithara.* These findings supplied Galilei with fresh ideas on how to legitimize his position that modern music, *monody* in particular, should be able to incite in the modern listener the same *affections* that were possible in ancient times. How these principles were to be applied to modern music was a question that he left unanswered. In 1581 he published his *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna.* However in an essay of 1591, *Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'uso dell'enharmonio con la solutione di essi* "Doubts concerning what I have said about the use of the enharmonic with their solutions"–devised as a supplementary to the larger work–Galilei recalls the songs of the legendary Olympus, which were said to have worked great wonders, requiring the accompaniment of a four stringed instrument.[24] Galilei interpreted this to mean that a melody playable by such an instrument would have to be constructed of four notes.[25]

Galilei, in fact, by observation, found that the popular airs sung by the people of his own time confirmed his theory. Galilei did not have to turn too far in order to find specimens for his experiment. Popular tunes were often incorporated into larger works, and there are many examples of a simple tune set polyphonically and then played on a keyboard or plucked string instrument. The repertoire for Italian domestic music making during the last half of the sixteenth century consisted of popular songs and fashionable dances. Printed intabulations of well-known madrigals for one or more lutes were also in high demand. The airs used by Galilei were among the most celebrated of his day and had currency many years afterwards.

[24] Scholars today believe that the four-stringed cithara was capable of at least a six-note scale through stopping.
[25] Palisca, C. V. Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Illinois (2006).

One folksong in particular–the popular Piedmontese melody *La Girometta*, (also known as *La bella Girumetta, Gioriometta, Ghirumetta*)-is of particular interest due to its adaptability and versatility, and even today this melody is still sung to children as a kind of nursery rhyme. In an article by Riccardo Allorto he says that its origin can be traced back to the fifteenth century to an area called Santuario Oropa near the town of Biella (Piedmont) in Northern Italy[26]. Its melody was used to sing a variety of texts that followed the same poetic scheme. Although the melody underwent some minor modifications, its overall contour was retained for centuries. It is for this reason that Galilei referred to it as an "aria" and not by the first line of the poem, as was the norm. As we can infer from the list of sources for the Girometta (see Appendix Three), it was incorporated into many different genres and can be seen as a type of 'cantus firmus', usually appearing in the soprano part, in that it was used as a basis for developmental sections in larger works both secular and profane. Like several other folk tunes, the Girometta served also as a dance piece. Ciro Spontone, a friend of Ercole Bottrigari, paid tribute to its versatility in his dialogue, *Il Botrigaro* (1589), recalling how in Bologna he had heard:

> *the song "Chi t'ha fatto quelle scarpette che ti stan si ben, Girometta?"*(Fig. 5) *sung by children, now sung to the lute, now to the viol, now to the harpsichord or with the pive at a dance, and finally, as music for trombones, cornets, cornemuses, played by excellent musicians at the railing of the Palazzo Maggiore on the certain holidays to the very great satisfaction of the listening public*[27].

This is the same Bottrigari that gave us the detailed account of the musical life at the court of the d'Este. If the Girometta was such a popular melody sung by children and subsequently adapted as a dance, how does it find its way into the battaglia? The use of pre-existing material in the battaglia was an excepted norm as we can find the motive 'La Tentelore

[26] I canti popolari piemontese nelle Raccolte di Leone Sinigalia, "Ricordiana" III, 1957, p. 283.)

[27] Quoted in Alessandro d'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana,* 2nd ed., Leghorn 1906, p 117

frelelore Bigot' in the last bars of Janequin's La Guerre, and Herman Fiamingo Werrecorn uses 'La Bella Franceschina' in his 'Battaglia Taliana' (1549) which was a well known melody sung by soldiers as they marched in formation. The first use of the Girometta in a piece entitled 'battaglia' was the large madrigal 'Battaglia d'Amore e Dispetto' or Love and Scorn, by Orazio Vecchi. This does not express the episodes of a battle pitched between the armies of two adversaries but instead represents the battle between good and evil. This may well have set the trend for future composers to add the melody to their works. In *"Diversi Linguaggi"* for nine voices which is found in *Selve di varie recreationi* (1590) Vecchi treats the melody in a refreshingly original way. The original madrigal was in five voices by Luca di Marenzio with the remaining four being added by Vecchi. This rarely heard piece is interesting in that all nine characters sing different parts in different Italian Dialects at the same time. The two melodies or characters, *La Girometta* and *La Bella Franceschina* appear, singing their own melodies and don't add any dramatic element to the story, but sing the words that are usually sung to the melody. *La bella Franceschina* experienced the same popularity and was also used by Vincenzo Galilei in the same way as the Girometta in his theoretical experiments.[28]

The texts of all versions do not recall any sort of conflict per se and usually deal with love or a young girl whose name is Girometta. It existed in slightly varied forms throughout its life. The version below (Fig. 4) is the most common version. It is found in the battaglie for lute and was also used as a basis for Frescobaldi's *Capriccio sopra la Girometta* from his *Messa della Madonna* included in his "*Fiori Musicali*" (1635). All the battaglie for lute are composed in mode VI or Hypolydian. When looking for a link between the modes and certain behavior, as theorized by Plato, we see that it was the Dorian and Phrygian modes that were meant to strengthen the will of the soldier. As a result the Girometta must have been used

[28] Kirkendale, W. (1972). "Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal "a diversi linguaggi" by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi." Acta Musicologica 44(2).

because it was a simple melody that was easily played on a number if instruments with a limited range. It is usually flanked by episodes of conflict.

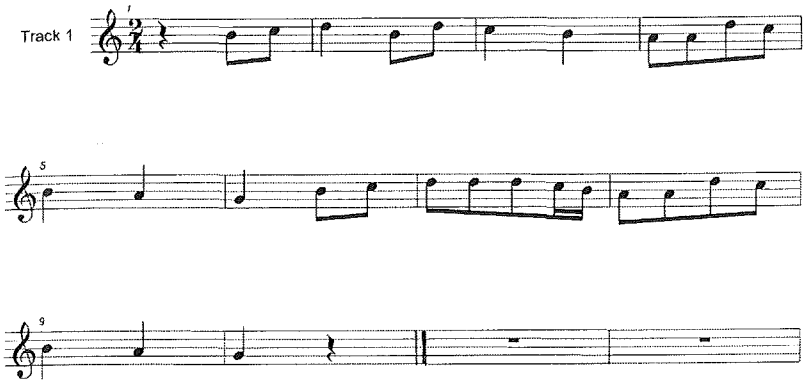

Fig. 4. A very common version. *"Noi siamo tre sorelle Tutte tre d'un gra, Tutte tre d'un gra Girometta Tutte tred'un gra"* – "We are three sisters all three from one great, all three from one great Girometta"

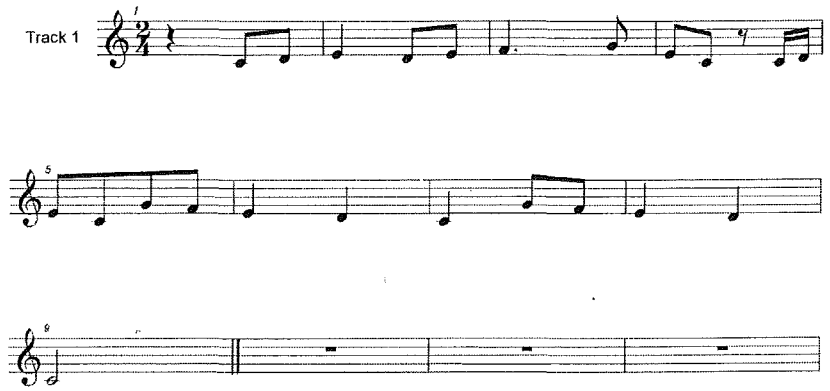

Fig. 5. This version melody that was used to the lyrics *"Chi t'á fatto sti be' scarpette Girometta che te stan si ben che te stan si ben?"*- "Who made you those shoes that suit you so well, Girometta that suit you so well?"

The following is a list of battaglia containing the Girometta:

1590 - Orazio Vecchi, Selva di varie ricreatione, Venezia, Gardane, 1590, Battagli d'Amore e Dispetto. Also contains the madrigal "Diversi Linguaggi".

1603 – Jean Baptiste Besard, Thesaurus Harmonicus, Colonia Grevenbruch, 1603, Bataille de Pavia.

1620 – Donino Garsi, Collection from the late 1500s of music for lute owned by Kasimerez. Stanislaw Rudomina Dusiacki, 1620, Padova

1622 – Bellerofonte Castaldi, Capricci a due strumenti cioé Tiorba e Tiorbina, Modena, 1622. Capriccio di Battaglia a due Stromenti.

1639 – Alessandro Piccinini, Invaolatura di liuto libro secondo, Bologna, Monti e Zenero, 1639. Battaglia.

1640 – Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, Libro quarto di intavolatura di Chitarrone, Rome, 1640. Battaglia.

1649 – Jacob Van Eyck, Der Fluyten Lust-Hof, Amsterdam, Batali.

1650 – Andrea Falconiero, Il primo libro di canzone... per violino e viole..., Naples, Paolini e Ricci, 1650. Batalla de Barabaso yerno de Satanas. [29]

Since the renascence of pre-classical music over the past forty years there has been much study and inquest done into the way music was performed, resulting in what is now called *historically informed practice*. Armed with this knowledge and knowhow we can now confidently elxplore the entire repertoire, not least the most descriptive and anecdotal music of the baroque period with more than complelling results.

[29] Bortolai, D. "La Battaglia" Origine ed Evoluzione del Genere (1990).

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Appendix One

Printed sources of the battaglia for lute, guitar and theorbo

- Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre & apprendre par soy mesmes a jouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tabulature de lutz, avec la maniera d'accorder le dict Lutz. Ensemble XXXIX. Chansons don't la plus part dicelles sont en deux sortes, c'est assavoir a deux parties & la Musique. Et a troys sans Musique. Le tout acheve d'imprimer le VI jour d'octobre 1529. Par Pierre Attaignant demourant a Paris en la rue de la Harpe pres l'eglise Saint Cosme.....
Berlin, Staatsbibliotethek Preussicher Kulturbesitz.

-Intabolatura di liuto de diversi, con la Battaglia, et altre cose bellissime, di M. Francesco da Milano, stampata nuovamente. Venezia, Marcolini, 1536
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

- Das ander Buch, ein new künstlich Lautten Buch für die anfahnenden Schuler die aus rechtem Grund un Kunst nach der Tabulatur gantz laich ring zu lernen durch ein leicht Exempal diesser Pümbtlein... Mit vil schönen lieblichen Stücken teutscher und welscher Tentz auch vil artlicher guter welischer und frantzösischer Stück auch Schlacht die voe Bafia und die Frantzosisch die seind mit allem Fleys mit lieblicher Colloratur gemacht dies ein feder zu seinem Lust gebrauchen mag. Durch mich Hansen Newsidler Lutinisten und Burger zu Nürenberg zusammem gebracht und offenlich aussgangen... Nürnberg, Gunther 1544.
Karlsruhe badische Landesbibliothek.

- Livre premier des Chanson reduictz en Tablature de Luc à duex, trois et quarte parties avec un briefve et familiere Introduction...
Louvain, Phalese, 1545.

London, British Museum.

- Carminum quae chely vel testudine canuntur - trium quatuor et quinqe partium liber secundus.
Lovanio, Phalese, 1545.
Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Intabolatura de lauto di Francesco da Milano novamente ristampata. Libro primo. Venezia, Gardane, 1546.
Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Intabolatura di lauto del Divino Francesco da Milano, et dell' Eccellente Pietro Paolo Borrono da Milano, nuovamente posta in luce, et con ogni diligentia corretta, opera nuova e perfettissima sopra qualche latra intavolatura.
Libro secondo, Venzia, Gardane, 1546.
Uppsala Universitets Bibliothek.

- Intabolatura de lauto di Marcantonio dal Pifaro bolognese de ogni sorte de balli novamente stampati et posti in luce.
Libro primo, Venezia, Gardane, 1546.
London, British Museum.

- Des chansons reduicts en tabulature de luc a trois et quatre parties Livre Deuxieme.
Louvain, Phalese, 1546
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

- Intabolatura de lauto nono intitolato il Bembo di Fantasie, balli, Passi e Mezi e Padoane Gagliarde composta per il reverendo M. Pre Melchioro de Barberjs padoano, musico e sonator di lauto eccellentissimo. Dedicato al Signor Torquato Bembo. Libro nono.
Venezia, Scotto, 1549.
Vienna NationalBibliothek.

- Tabulature de Lutz en diverses sortes, comme Chansons, Pavanes Fantasies et la Bataille le tout compsé par M. Jean Paulo Paladin milanoys.
Lyon, Moderne, 154?.
Munich Bayrische Staatsbibliothek.

- Tabulaturbuch uff die Lutten von mancherly lieplicher italianischer Tantzliedern mit sampt dem Vogelgsang und einer Fäldschlacht uss wählscher Tabulatur, flyssig in thütsche gesetz.
Zurich, Wyssembach, 1550.
Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Le troysieme livre contenant plusieurs duos et trois avec la Bataille de Janequin a trois, nuovellement mis en tablature de guiterne par Simon Gorlier, excellent jouer.
Paris, Granjon & Fezandat, 1551.
San Gallo Staatsbibliothek Vadiana.

- Tiers livre de Tabulature de Guiterne, contenant plusieurs Preludes, Chanson, Basse Dances, Tourdions, Pavanes, Gaillardes, Almandes, Bransles, tant double que simples, le tout composé d' Adrian le Roy e Rbert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy, rue Saint Jean de Beuvais, à l' einseigne Sainté Genevieve, 1552. Avec le privilege du Roy pour neuf ans.
Paris Bibliotheque Mazarin.

- Quart livre de tabulature de guiterre contenant plusiers Fantasies, Psaulmes et Chansons avec l'Alouette e la Guerre, composée par M. Gregoire Brayssing de Augusta.

Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1553.

Paris Bibliotheque Mazarin.

- Theatrum Musicum in quo select optimorum quorum libet autorum ac excellent artificum cum veterum tu etiam novoı ım Carmina...

Lovanio, Phalese, 1563.

Oxford Bodleian Library.

- Il terzo libro di intavolatura di liuto di Messer Giacomo Gorzanis, Pugliese, habitante nella città di Trieste novamenteda lui composto e per Angelo Gardane stampato, Venezia, 1564.

Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Nova et elegantissima in Cythara ludenda carmina quae videlicet in sola Cythara etiam cum tribus testudinibus exhibita, mira dulcedine auditorum possunt oblectare, eaque omnia facilitate quam fieri potuit summia in tyronum usum compostita. Et primo quidem libro Passomezzi, Padoani, Salterelli, ad Ioannis Pacoloni tabulaturas (ut vocant) trium Testudinum apprime congruentes, ut etiam sola Cythara exhibendi. Deinde etiam Alemandae Branles et similia, et seçunda quidem libro habes Cantiones musicales quantum Cythara rei admittit Musicae habes etiam non minuis jucundas. Autore Frederico Viaere frisio.

Lovanio, Phalese, 1564.

Trier Staatsbibliothek.

- Nova longeque elegantissima Cithara ludenda carmina, cum gallicatum etiam germanica: Fantasie item Passomezi Galliarde, Branles, Almandes etc... Nunc primum ex musica in usum Citharae traducta per Sebastianum Vreedman mechliniensem...

Lovania, Phalese, 1568.

Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Giulio Cessre Barbetta, Il primo libro di intavolatura de Liuto... Venezia, Scotto, 1569.

Venezia Nazionale Marciana.

- Carminum quae Cythara pulsantur liber secundus: in quo selectissima queque jucanda carmina continentur. Ut Passomezi, Gailliardes, Branles, Alemandae et alia... Nunc primum summa qua fieri potuit facilitate in tyronum usum per Sebastianum Vreedman mechliniensem composta.

Loviano, Phalese, 1569.

Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

- Hortulus Cytharae, in duo distinctus libros, quorum prior cantiones musicas longe pulcherrimas, Passomezo, Paduanas,

Galliardes, Alemandes, Branles, ad usum volgaris Cytharae: posterior similiter cantiones musicas Passomezo, Alemandes, aliaque nonnulla in tabulaturam Cythara italicae vulgo dictae, conveniente redacta continet.

Loviano, Phalese, & Bellere, 1570.

Rostock (Mecklenburg) Universitätsbibliothek.

- Selectissima elegantissima que gallica italica et latina in Guiterna ludenda carmina, quibus adduntur et Fantasiae, Passomezi, Salterelli, Galliardi, Almandes, Branles et similia, ex optimis elegantissimi que collecta etiam cum omni diligentia recens ompressa. His Accessit luculenta quedam et perutilis institutio qua quisque citra alicuius subsidium artem facillime percepiet.

Loviano, Phalese & Bellard, 1570.

Rostock (Mecklenburg) Universitätsbibliothek.

- Theatrum musicum, longe amplissima cui (demptis quae vetustate viluerant) autorum praestantissimus tum veterum tum recentiorum carmina delectissima sunt inserta majori quam ante hac fide et diligentia in usum publicum comparata... Universam propemodum nunc recenter a peritissimis quibusque translatae in testudinis usum, velut Julio Caesere Paduano, Melchiore Neuslyder germano et Sixto Kargl ac nonullis quorum industria prae caeteris hodie celebratur.

Loviano, Phalese & Bellere, 1571.

Munich Bayrische Staatsbibliothek.

- Tabulatura contienens insignes et selectissimas quasque cantiones quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, testudini aptatas ut sumt: Praeambula, Phantasiae, Cantiones, germanicae, italianicae, gallicae et latinae, Passemesei, Gagliardae, Choreae. In lucem aedita per Matthaeum Waisselium.

Frankfurt, Eichorn, 1573.

Brussels Bibliotheque Royale Albert I.

- Renovata Cythara hoc est novi et commodissimi exercendae cytharae modi, constuates cantionibus musicis, Passomezo, Padoanis, Gaillardis..., ad tabulatura comunem redactis. Quibus accessit dilucida in Cytharam isagoge, quo suo marte quilibet eam ludere discat. Neugestalt Cytharbuch darin Vilerlei art Gesäng... nach germainer Tabulatur auf die teutsch Cythar... Durch Sixt Kärgel Lautinisten.

Strasburo, Jobin, 1578.

Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.

Hortulus Citharae Vulgaris continens optimas Fantasias, Cantiones, que musicas pulcherrimas, et Passomezos in varios tonos, concime variatos arg, deductos: Paduanas, Gailliardas, Almandes, Branles alia nonulla jucundissima in Tabulaturam Cytharae convenienter redacta, nunc primum in lucem elegantiore modo ac ordine edita.

Loviano, Phalese & Bellere, 1582.

Wroclaw (Breslau) Bibljoteka Universyteka.

- Abondante Julio, Il quinto libro de tabulatura de liuto nella quale si contiene Fantasie, Passo et Mezi et Padovane, nuovamente composte...

Venezia, Gardano, 1587.

Bologna Civico Museo bibliografico musicale G.B. Martini.

- Tabulatura allerlei kunstlicher Preambulem auserlesener, teutscher und polnischer Tentze, Passamezen... auf der Lauten zu schlagen... durch Matteus Waissell.

Frankfurt, Eichorn, 1591.

Nuremburg Stadt Bibliothek.

- Le Gratie d'amore di Cesare Negri milanese detto il Trombone, professore di ballare, opera nova et vaghissima divisa in tre trattati. Al potentissimo et Catholico Filippo terzo Re di Spagna et monarca del mondo novo etc...

Con previligio: Milano, erede di Pacifico Pontio & Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, 1602.

Bologna Civico Museo bibliografico musicale G.B. Martini.

- Thesaurus Harmonicus divini Laurencini Romani, nec non praestantissimorum musicarum, qui hoc, seculo in diversis orbis partibus execellunt, selectissima omnis generis cantus in testudine modulamina continens. Joannem Baptistam Besardum.

Colonia, Grevenbruch, 1603.

Genova Biblioteca universitaria.

- Varietie of lute-lessons: Viz. Fantasies, Pavins, Galliards, Almaines, Corantoes and Volta, selected out of the best approved authors, as well beyond the seas as of our owne counrty. By Robert Dowland. Whereunto is annexed certaine obsevations belonging to luteplaying: by

John Baptisto Besardo of Visconti. Also a short tratise thereunto appertaying by John Dowland. London Adams, 1610.

London British Museum.

- Testudo Gallo-Germanica hoc est novae et nunquam et antehac editae recreationes musicae ad testudinis usum...

Nuremberg, Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, 1615.

London British Museum.

- Di Pietro Paolo Mellj da Reggio Lautentista e musico di camera di sua M. Cerarea, e gentiluomo di corte. Intavolatura

di liuto attiorbatto libro quarto nelk quale, si contiene due Corrente sopra alcuni toni senza replica cioe una parte sopr'a l'altra nel capo del libro agiutovi un Balletto concertato con nove Instromenti...

Venezia, Vincenti, 1616.

Reggio Emilia Biblioteca municipale.

- Le second livre de tablature du Luth, intitulé Le Secret des Muses, contnant plusieurs belles pièces mises en tablature pour jouer a quatre Luths differentement accordez. (Nicholas Vallet)

Amsterdam, Jansson, 1618.

London British Museum.

- Di Bellerofonte Castaldi, Capricci a due stromenti cioè Tiorba e Tiorbino e per sonare solo varie sorti di balli e fantasticarie, setnoforelieb tabedul.

Modena, 1622.

Modena Estense.

- Intavolatura di liuto, nel quale si contengano toccate, ricercate musicali, correnti, gagliarde, chiaccone, e passacaglia alla vera spagnola, un bergamasco, con varie partite, una battaglia, & altri capricci, raccolte de Leonardo Maria Piccinini suo figliuolo. Dedicata all' Eminantissimo e Reverendissimo Principe il Signor Guido Card. Bentivoglio.
Bologna, Monti & Zenero, 1639.
Bologna Civico Luseo bibliografico musicale G.B. Martini.

- Di Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger, libro Quarto di Intavolatura di Chitarrone...
Roma, 1640.
London British Musem.

- Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola nelle quali si contengono tutte le sonate ordinarie semplici e passeggiate. Con una nuova inventione di Passacalli spanguoli variati, Ciaccone, Folie, Zarabande arte diverse Toccate musicali, belletti, Correnti, Volte, Gagliarde, Alemande con alcine sonate pizzicate, con il modo per sonare sopra la parte; e nel fine del libro alcune sonate in cordatura differenti con le sue regole per impararle a sonarle facilmente.
Autore l'Academico Caliginoso detto il Furioso nuovamente composto e dato in luce.
Macerata, Bonono, 1640.

- Di Domenico Pellegrini, Armoniosi concerti sopra la chitarra spangola.
Bologna, Monti, 1650.
Bologna Civico bibliografico musicale G.B. Martini.

- Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española, y metodo de sus primeros rudimentos, hasta tañerla con destreza. Con dos labirintos ingeniosos, variedad de sones, y dance de rasgueado, y punteao, al estilo español, italiano, françes y ingles. Con un breve tratado para acompañar con perfeccion, sobre la parte muy essencial para acomañar para la guitarra arpa, y

organo, resumido en doze reglas, y exemplos los mas principales de contrapunto, composicion... compuesto por el licenciado Gaspar Sanz, aragones... libro primo. Zaragoza, eredi di Diego Dormer, 1674.

Madrid Biblioteca Nacional.

Appendix Two

Manuscript sources of the battaglia for lute, guitar and theorbo

La battaglia - D-brd Hs Ms. 272, Germany, Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek. German tablature (first half of the sixteenth century).

Battaglia - I PESc Ms. 1144, Italy, Pesaro, Biblioteca del Conservatorio. Italian tablature (early sixteenth Century).

La Bataglia de Maregno - PL WRu Ms. Mf. 352, Poland, Wroclaw (Breslau), Biblioteca Uniwersytecka. French and German tablature (c.1540).

La Bataglia - GB Lbm Royal Appendix 58, England, London, British Museum. French tablature (c.1550).

La Battaglia di Janequin (prima parte) - S Uu Ms. 87 (Codex Carminum Gallicorum), Sweden, Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotetek. French and Italian tablature (c.1550).

Gaillarde sur la Bataille - S Uu Ms. 412, Sweden, Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotetek. French tablature (numerous similarities with music from a collection of Adrien le Roy, 1560).

Schlacht vor Pavo – S F. IX. 53 (Iselin, Ludwig), Switzerland, Basel, Universitats-Bibliothek. German tablature (24-11-1575).

Principio della Battaglia, La Battaglia, Seconda parte della Battaglia, Gagliarda della Battaglia, La Battaglia - D-ddr Bds Ms. 40032 (currently lost), Germany, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. Italian tablature (second half of the sixteenth century

La Bataglia francese in ballo - D-brd Mbs Ms. 1511b, Germany, Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek. Italian tablature (second half of sixteenth century).

La Battaglia di Marco dall'Aquila (prima parte) - D-brd Mbs Ms. 266, Germany, Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek. Italian tablature, last piece in German tablature (1568).

Pavane de la Bataille - EIRE Dtc D. 3. 30 (Dallis, Thomas), Ireland, Dublin, Trinity College Library. Italian, French and German tablature (1583).

Battaglia da Balletto and Battaglia Balletto - B Bc Ms. II 275 (Cavalcanti, Rafaello), Belgium, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale de Musique. Italian tablature (1590).

Militis Dumpe - GB LbL Add. 31392, England, London, British Museum. French tablature (c.1590).

La Battaglia - US Ws Ms. 446.16 (Dowland), America, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library. French tablature (late sixteenth century).

La Battaglia de li Ucelli (prima parte) - D-brd Hs Ms. 268, Germany, Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek. Italian tablature (c.1600).

Battaglia - I PESc Ms. B. 10, Italy, Pesaro, Biblioteca del Conservatorio. Italian tablature (c.1600).

Preludio della Battaglia e Tamborino - D-brd Mus. 271/1, Germany, Nuremburg, Germanische Museum Bibliothek. French tablature (early seventeenth century

The Battle Galliard - GB Private Collection of Lord Forester, Enlgand, Welde Lute Book. French tablature (c.1600).

Battaglia in contralto - D-brd W Ms. 188 (Hainhofer, Philipp), Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek. Italian tablature (1603).

La Battaglia - Dk Kk Ms. Thott 841 (Petrus, Fabritius/ Schmidt, Peter), Denmark, Copehagen. German tablature (1605-1607).

Battle piece for two lutes - GB Lbm Egerton 2046 (Pickering, Jane), England , London, British Museum. French tablature (1616).

La Battaglia de li Ucelli (quattre parti) - D-brd Ms. 269,Germany, Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek. Italian tablature (1618).

La Battaglia - I Mod Archivio Ducale busta n. 4, Fasc. B, Italy, Modena. Italian for lute and theorob (c.1619)

La Battaglia - D-drd Ms. M/B 2768 (Scheale, Ernst), Germay, Munich, Staatsbibliothek. French tablature (1619).

La Battaglia - D-brd Mbs Ms. 40153 (Dusiacki, Kahmierz Stanislaw Rudomina), Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kilturbesitz. Lost during WWII. French tablature; contains La Battaglia by Doninio di Parma (Padova 1620).

The King of Denmarke his Galliard, Dowland his Gally - GB Margaret Board Lute Book, Private Collection of Robert Spencer. French tablature (1625-1635).

Die Kurtz Schlacht – S F. IX. 53, Switzerland, Basel, Universitats-Bibliothek. French tablature (c.1650).

Battaille - GB Lbm Sloane 2923, England, London, British Museum. French tablature (c.1683)

Pavane de la Bataille - NL Lt Ms. 1666, (Thysius, Johann), Leiden, The Netherlands, Rijksuniversitait Bibliothek. French tablature (c.1690).

Appendix Three

Sources for the "Girometta"[1]

1559 [Filippo Azzaiolo, Bolognese,] *Il Secondo libro de villote del fiore* (Vencie 1559, 1564; composed somewhat earlier, since mentioned in the declaration of the *Terzo libro* as *"giovanili fatiche"*), p. 7 f.: Napolitana *"Girometta senza te"*.

1563 Serafino Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori* (Florence 1563: facs. Bologna 1969), f. 111^{r}: *Priego di Fra Seafino Razzi per nuovi, "Torna, torna, al freddo cuore"*; f. 111^{r-v}: *Laude di Fra Marco della Casa, "Torna, torna al suo Signore"*; f. 110^{v}: music for both lauds (cantus melody, = Ex. 3), with the first strophe of Razzi'a text. The text of the first laud, without music, is reprinted in Razzi's *Santuario di Laudi, o vero rime spirituali* (Florence 1609), p. 213.

1583 *Villote mantovane a quattro voci* [possibly by Alessaandro Striggio] (Venice 1583, only alto and tenor parts extant), pp. 28-30: *"Arpi hormai l'uscio"*.

1588 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice 1588; facs. Farnborough 1966), p. 284.

1588 Marco Facoli venetiano, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice 1588), f. 32^{v}-33^{r}: Napolitana "Deh pastorella cara" (keyboard piece with text underlaid).

[1] Kirkendale, Warren. "Francescina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal "a diversi linguaggi" by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi", *Acta Musiclolgica*, Vol. 44, Fasc. 2 (Jul.-Dec., 1972), pp. 181-235.

c.1590 Costanza Porta (1504/5-1601), I-Bc Ms. Q. 38, *"Cantiones sacrae diversorum auctorum"* (score), f. 106^{v}-112^{v}: *"Girometta"*, for eight instruments.

1590 Orazio Vecchi, *Selva di varia ricreatione* (Venice 1590, 1595): *Battaglia d'amore e dispetto à 10, Secunda Parte: "Da l'altra parte"*, canto, p. 48.

c.1600 I-Fn Ms. Magl. VII, 618, *Canti carnascialeschi* (texts only) and violin tablature, f. 27^{v}: *"Girometta"* (violin tablature, no text).

c.1600 Donino Garsi, D-Bds Mus. Ms. 40153, lute book of Kasimierz Stanslaw Rudomina Dusiacki, *"Anno 1620 a Padova"* (lost since World War II): *Battaglia.*

1603 Jean-Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus* (Cologne 1603), f. 167^{v}-168^{r}: *"Battaille de Pavie"*.

1608 Foriano Pico, *Nuova scelta di sonate per la chitarra spagnola* (Naples 1608, Rome 1609; plagiarized by Pietro Millioni under the title *Nuova carona d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola*, Rome 1661), pp. 24-25: *"Girumetta"* (two pieces).

1614 Giovanni Antonio Cangiasi, *Scherzi forastieri per suonare a quattro voci... Opera ottava* (Milan 1614: only alto part extant), p. 16: *"La Girometta. (All' Ill. Sig. il Sig. Gionavvi Moro)"*.

1615 US-SF Ms M 2. 1 M 3, lute book of Asciano Bentivoglio, *"cominciato adì 5 Agosto 1615"*, p. 90: *"Aria della Girometta"*.

1627 Pietro Millioni, *Quatro libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola* (Rome 1627), p. 65: *"Girumetta"*.

1627 Idem, *Quinto libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnoloa* (Rome 1627), p. 65 *"Girumetta"* (identical to *Quatro libro*, p. 65).

1635 Girolamo Frescabaldi, *Fiori Musicali* (Venice 1635), p. 96ff.: *"Capriccio sopra la Girometta"*. Also in I-Tn Ms. Foà 8, f. 125^{v}-129^{r}. Ex. 4.

1639 Marco Marrazoli, *"La Friera di Farsa"*, first intermezzo for *Chi soffre, speri* (comic opera by Giulio Rospigliosi [later Pope Clement IX], music by Marazzoli and Vergilio Mazzocchi), I-Rvat Ms. Barb. Lat. 4386, f. 200^{r-v}, 202^{r-v}, and I-Rvat Ms. Chigi Q. VIII. 190, f. 20^{v}-21^{r}, 22^{r-v}; *Girometta* quoted freely in the soprano.

c.1640 A-KR Ms. L 81, lute book, probably written by Sebastian von Hallwil (1622-1700) while a student in Italy; f. 143^{v}: *"La Girometta che segue doppo la Trombetta"*.

1643 Antonio Carbonchi, *Le Dodici chitarre spostate... libro secondo* (Florence 1643), p. 43: *"Ghirumetta"*.

1645 Gasparo Zannetti, *Il Scolaro di Gasparo Zannetti per imparar a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti* (Milan 1645), p. 70-71: *"La Girometta"* for CATB (staff notation on p. 70, violin tablature on p. 71).

1645 Giovanbattista Fasolo, *Annuale che contiene tutto quello, che deve far un organista, per risponder al choro tuttol'anno, Opera ottava* (Venice 1645), p. 247-249: *"Girometta Fuga Seconda"*.

1648 *Il Primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola... da incerto autore* (Rome 1648), p. 3-34: *"Girumetta per C"*, *"Girumetta per B"*.

c.1648 Stefano Pesori. *Lo Scrigno armonico, Opera seconda* (n.p., n.p.), p 26: "*Chi t'á fatto quelle scarpetta*", for guitar.

c.1650 I-Rvat Ms. Chigi Q. IV. 28, anon. keyboard music, f. 62^{v}-65^{v}: *"Girometta"*. Ex. 8.

c.1650 I-Fr Ms. 2774, Italian guitar music tablature, f. 78^{v}: *La Girometta"*; f. 82^{v}: *"La Girometta"*. Ex. 5.

c.1650 I-Fr Ms. 2951, Italian guitar tablature, f. 86^{r}: *"Irumetta"*.

1650 Andrea Falconiero, *Il Primo libro di canzone, sinfonie, fantasie... perviolino, e viole... con il basso continuo* (Naples 1650), p. 27: *"Battalla de Barabaso yerno de Satanas"*, for two violins and basso continuo.

1657 Gioseppe Giamberti romano, *Duo tessuti con diversi solfeggiamenti, scherzi, perfidie, et oblighi, alcuni motivati da diverse ariette* (Rome 1657), *"Duo III. Scherzi sopra la Girometta"*, for canto and alto, without text.

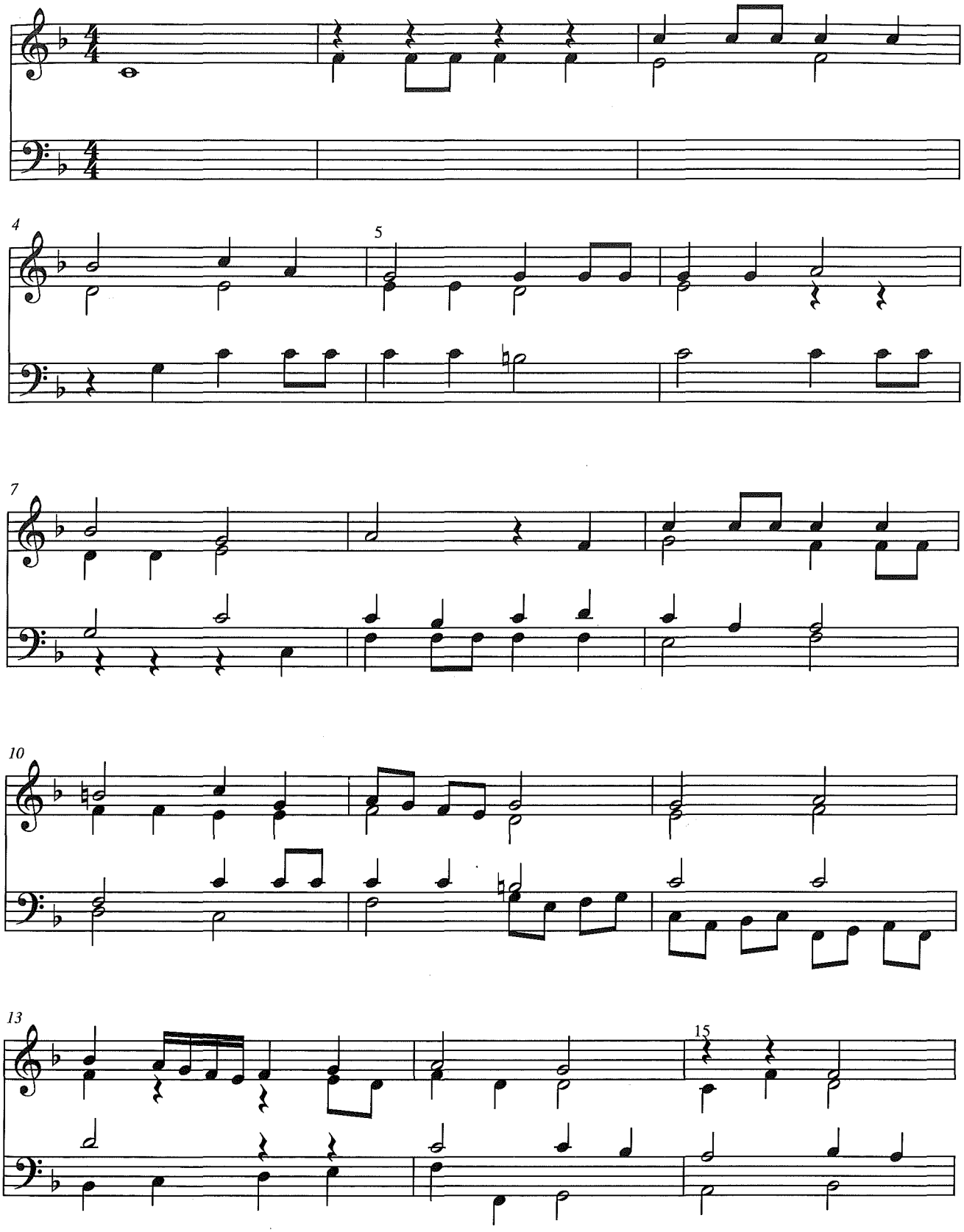
1660 Tomaso Marchetti, *Il Primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola* (Rome 1660), pp.33-34: *"Girumetta per C"*, and *"Girumetta per B"*.

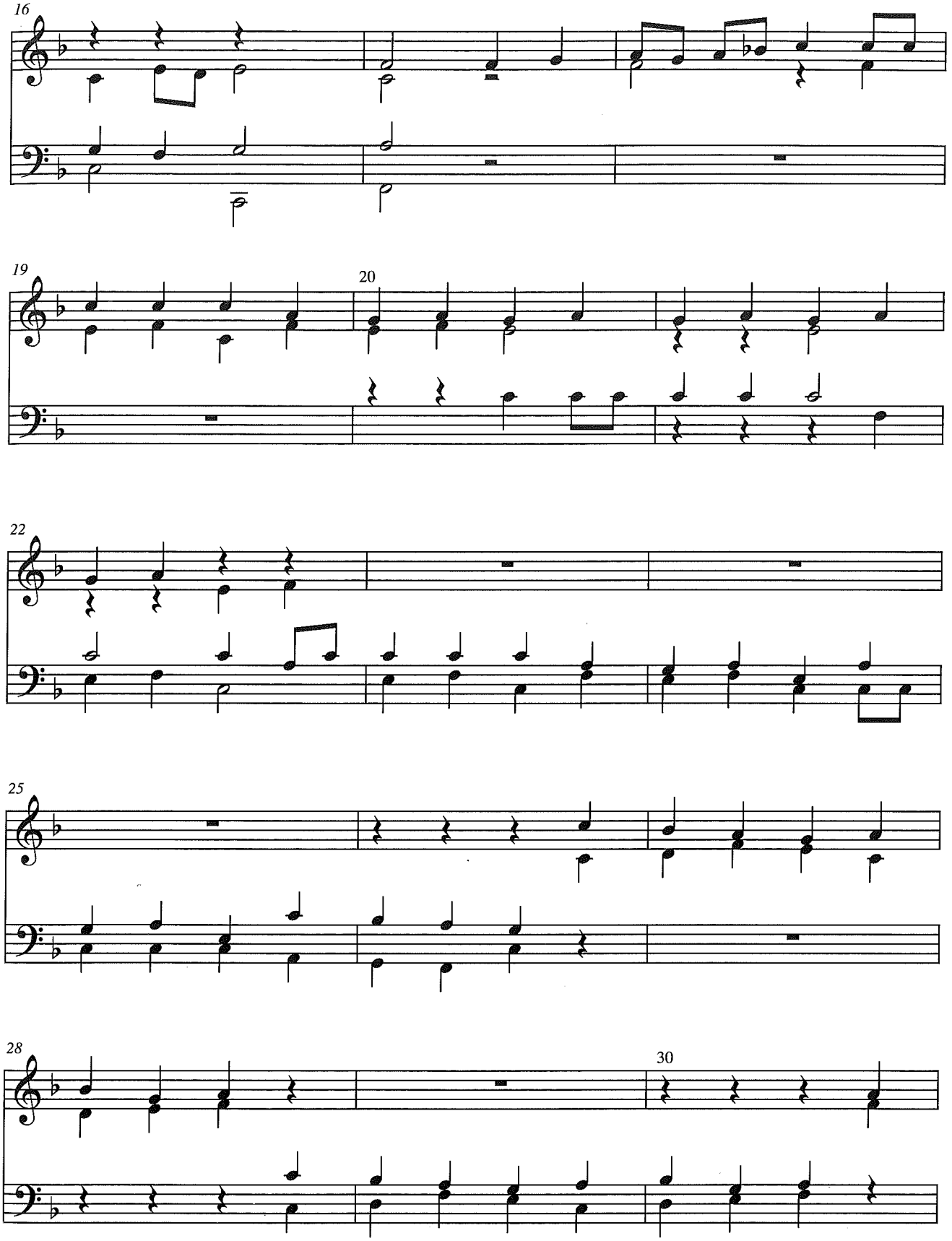
1660 Idem, [Tablature for Spanish guitar, published in Rome; copy in I-Rsc with mutilated title page], pp.24-25: *"Girumetta"* (two pieces, reprinted from Pico 1608).

1675- Matteo Coferati, *Corona di sacre canzoni o laude spirituali di più divoti autori* (Florence 1675, 1689, 1710 pp. 437-440,499-502, 648-686 in the three editions, respectively: *"Ghirumetta. Dialogo tra l'anima, e Cristo"* (with Razzi's text)

Battaglia

A. Piccinini

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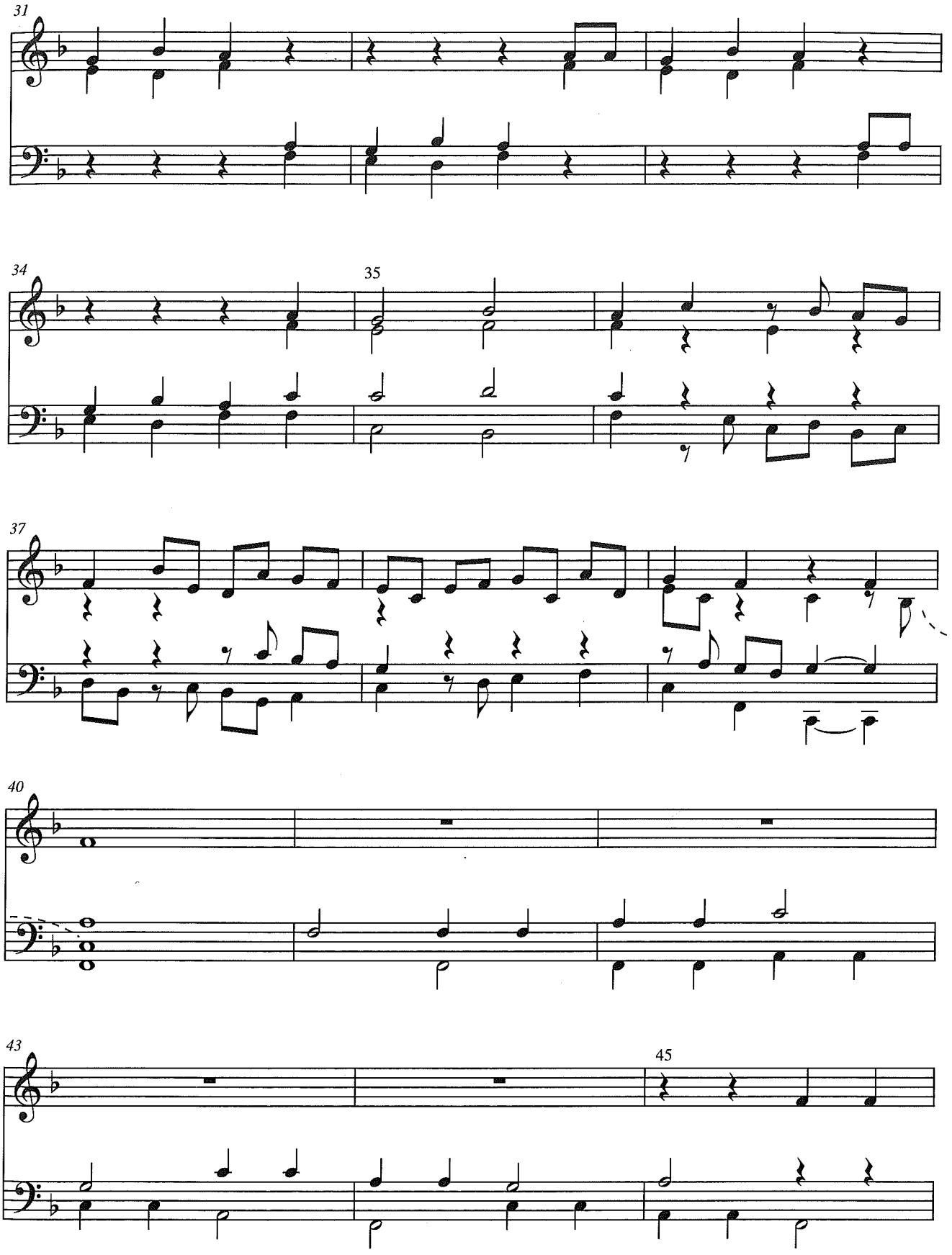
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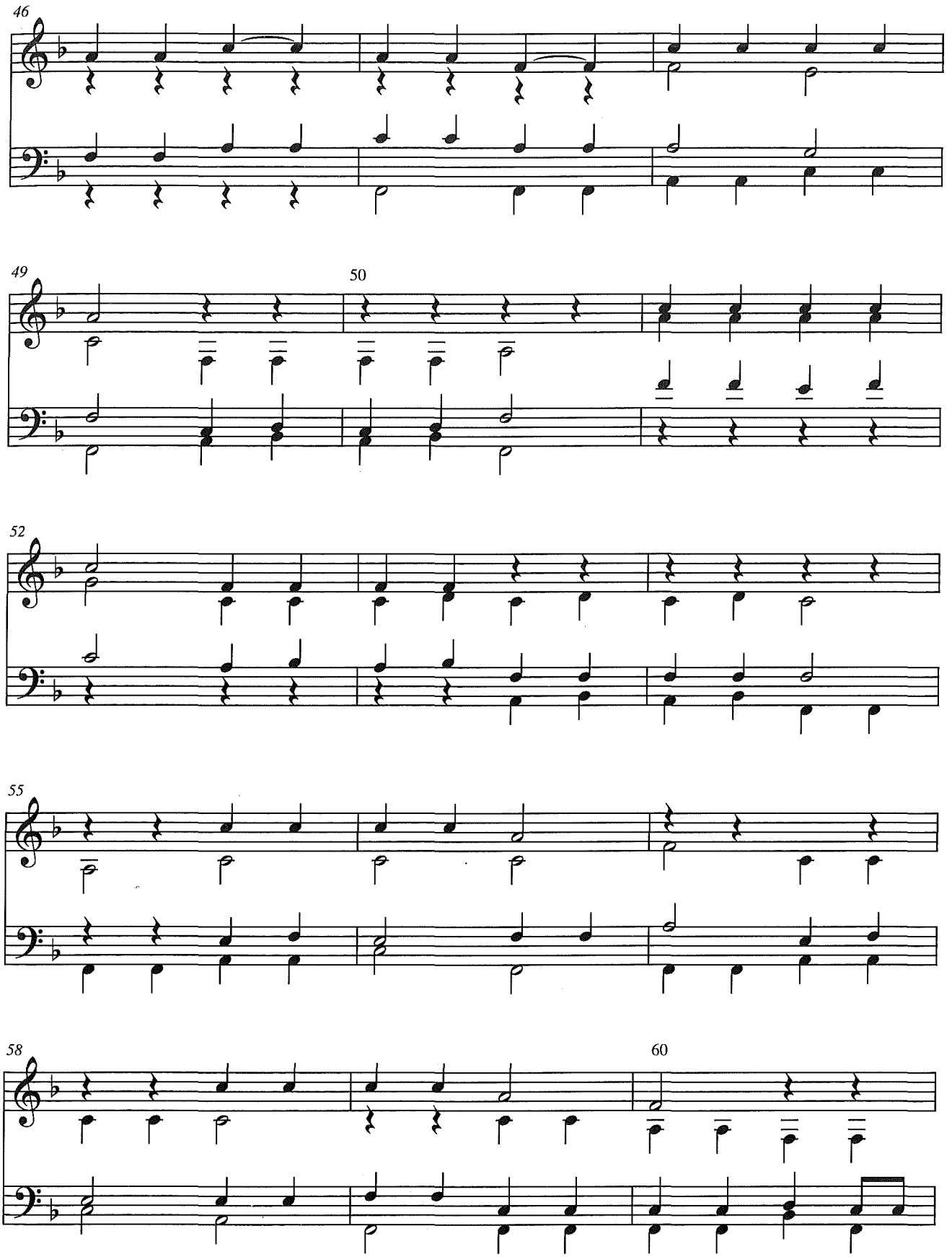
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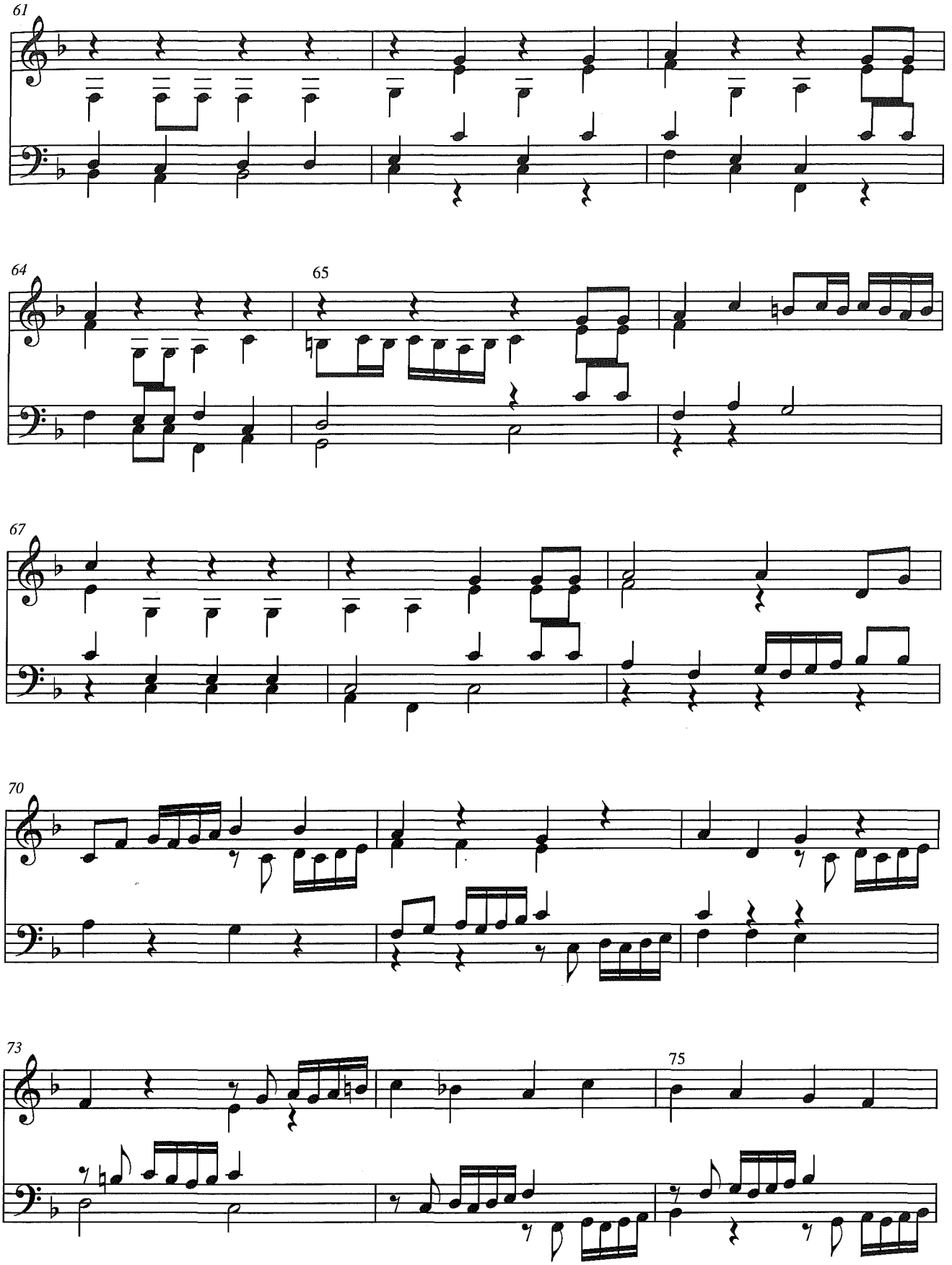
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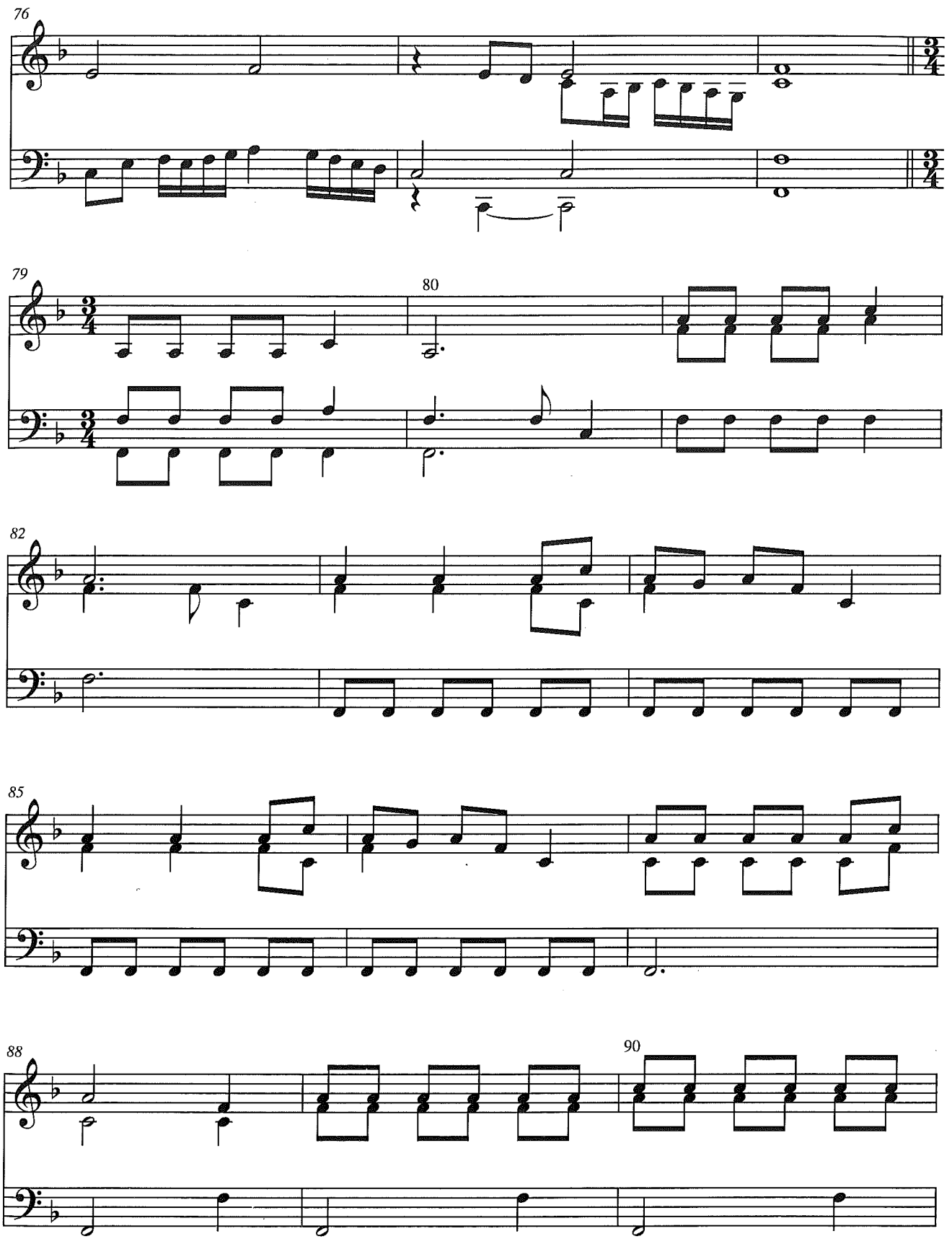
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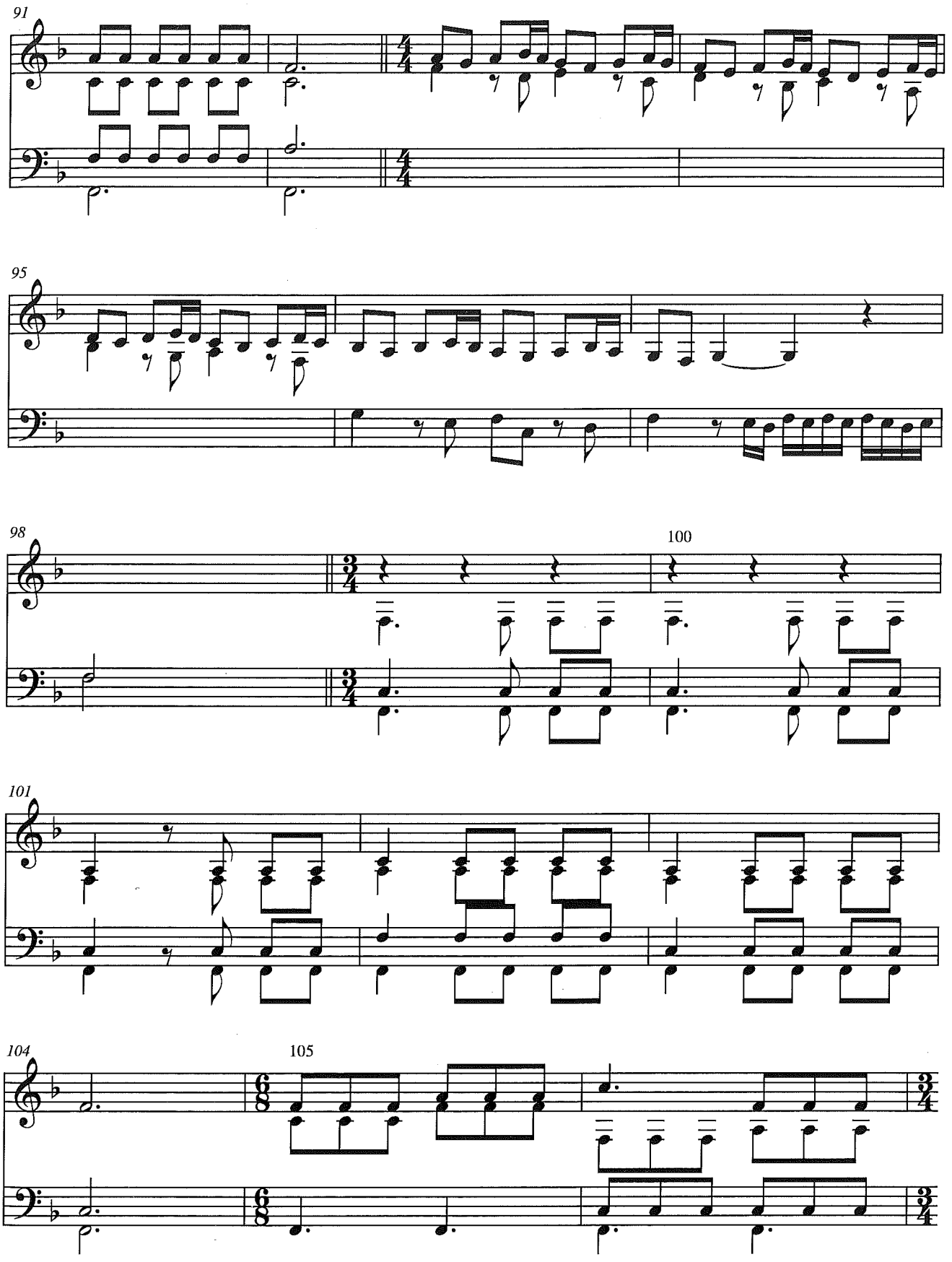
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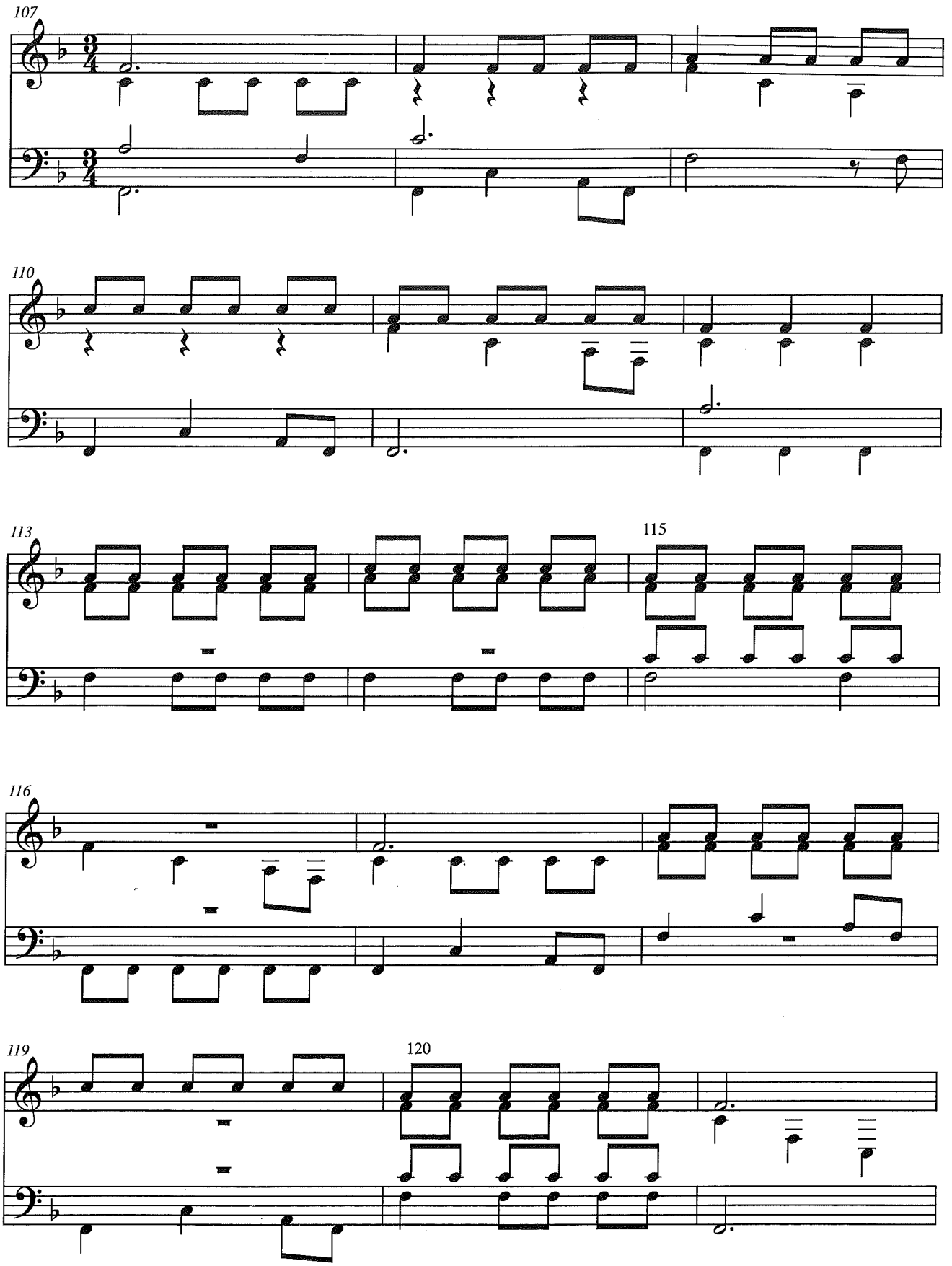
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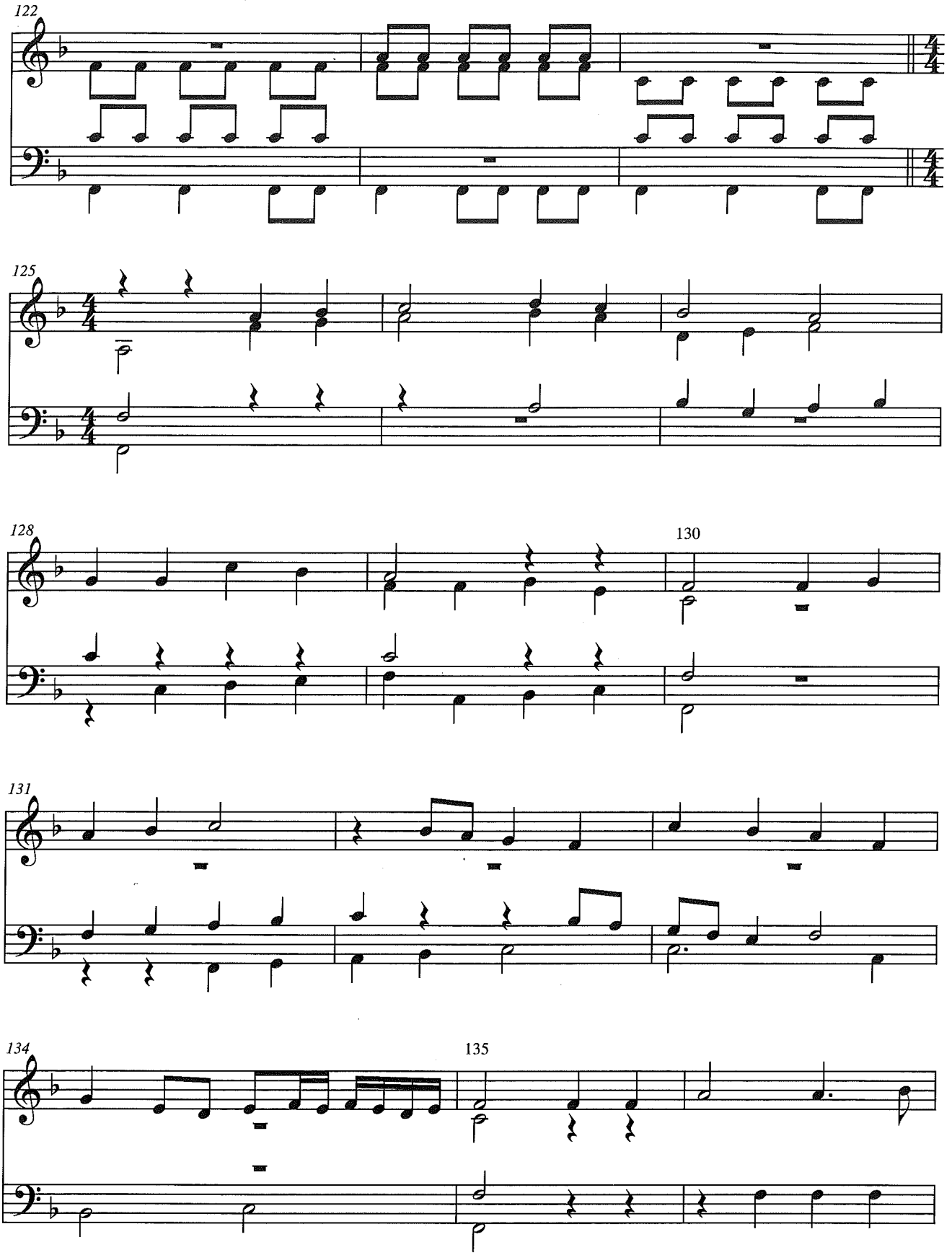
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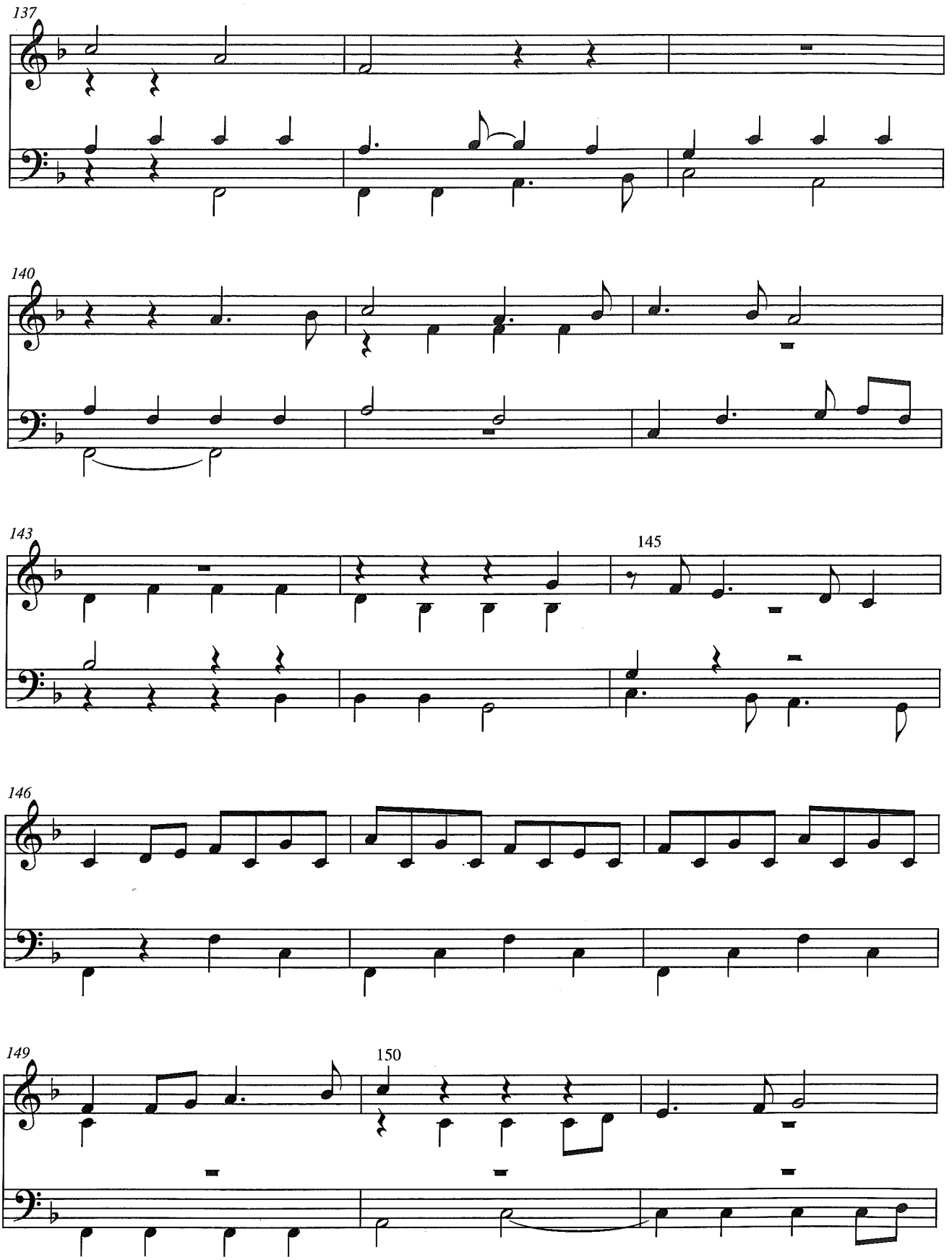
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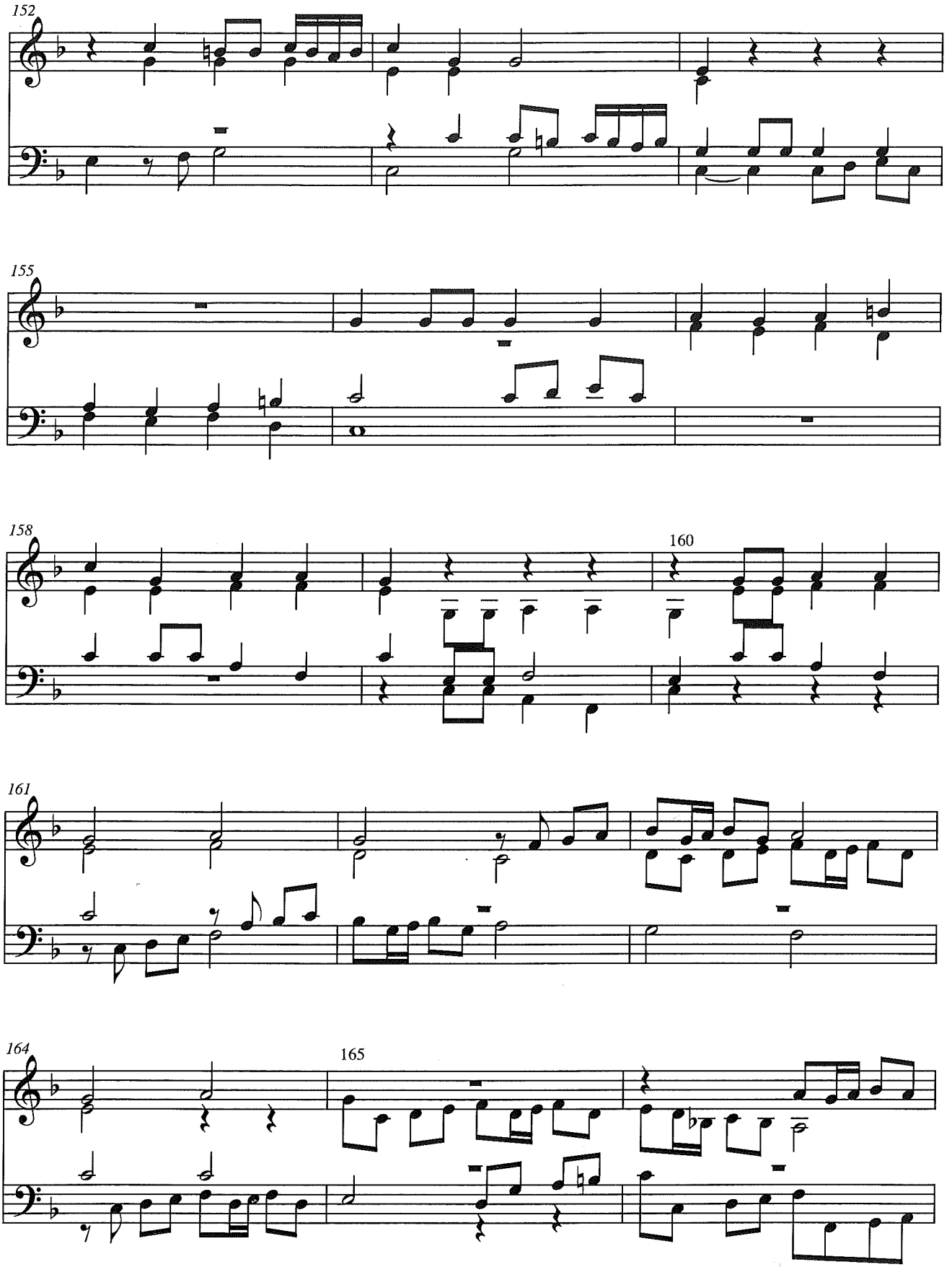
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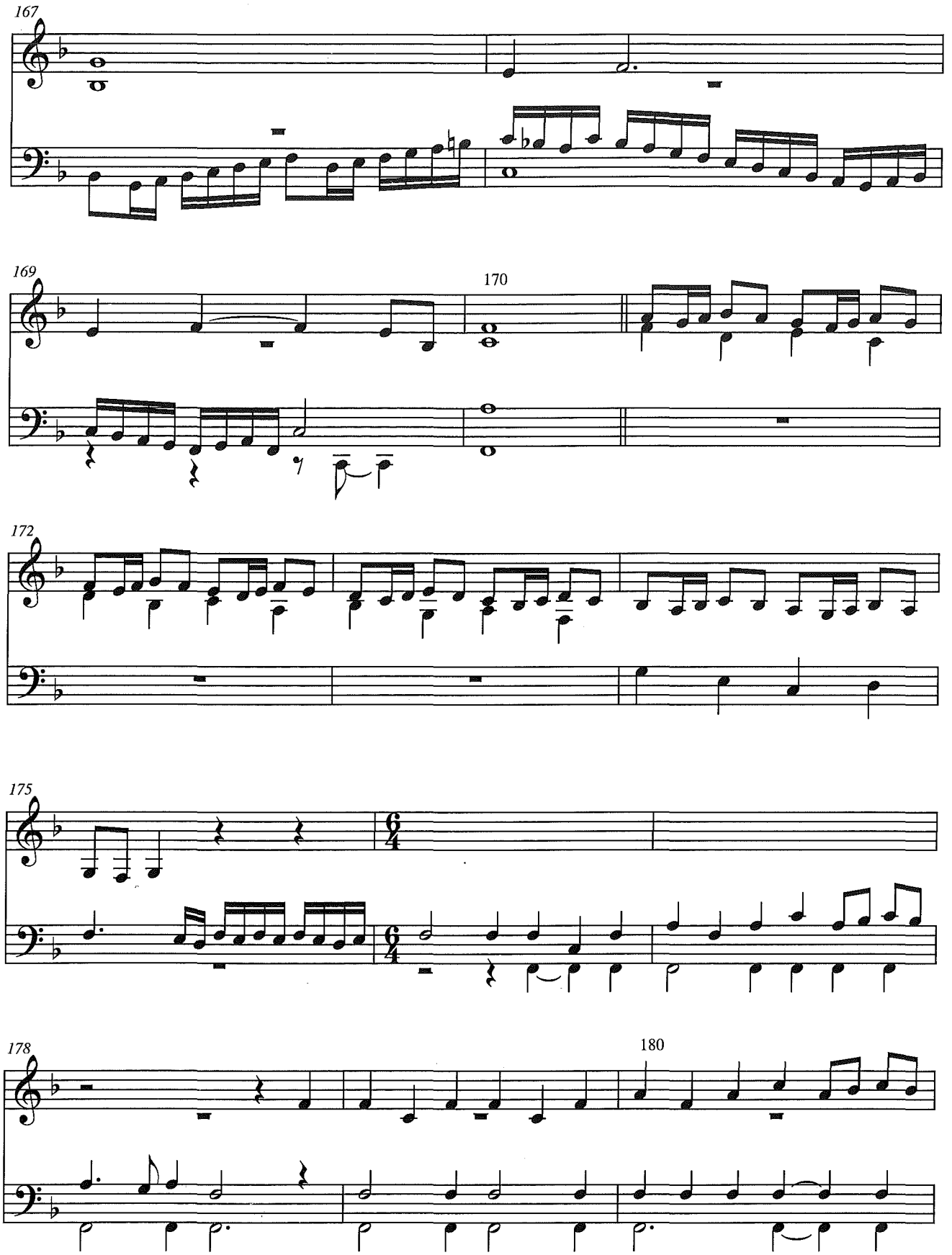
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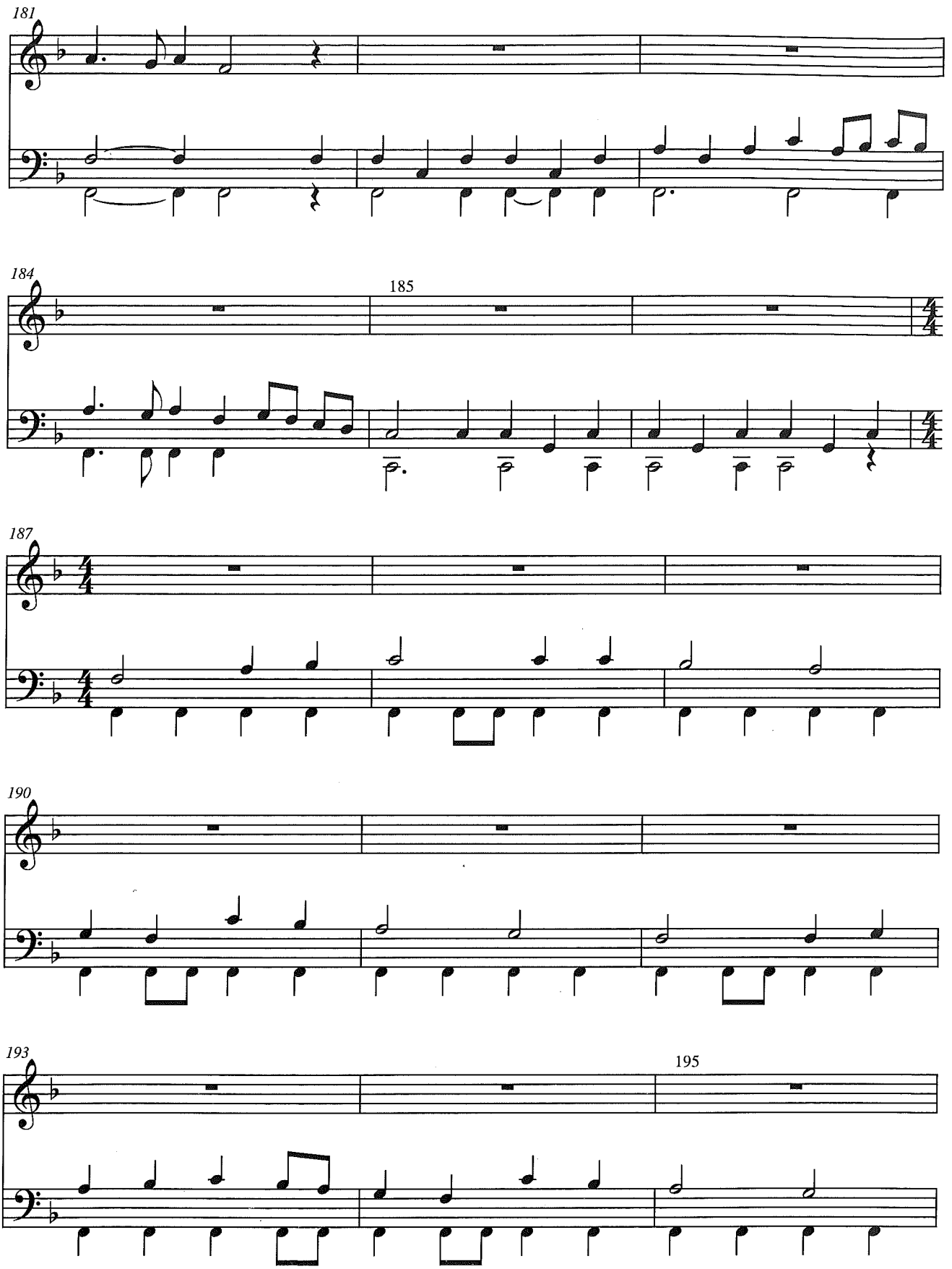
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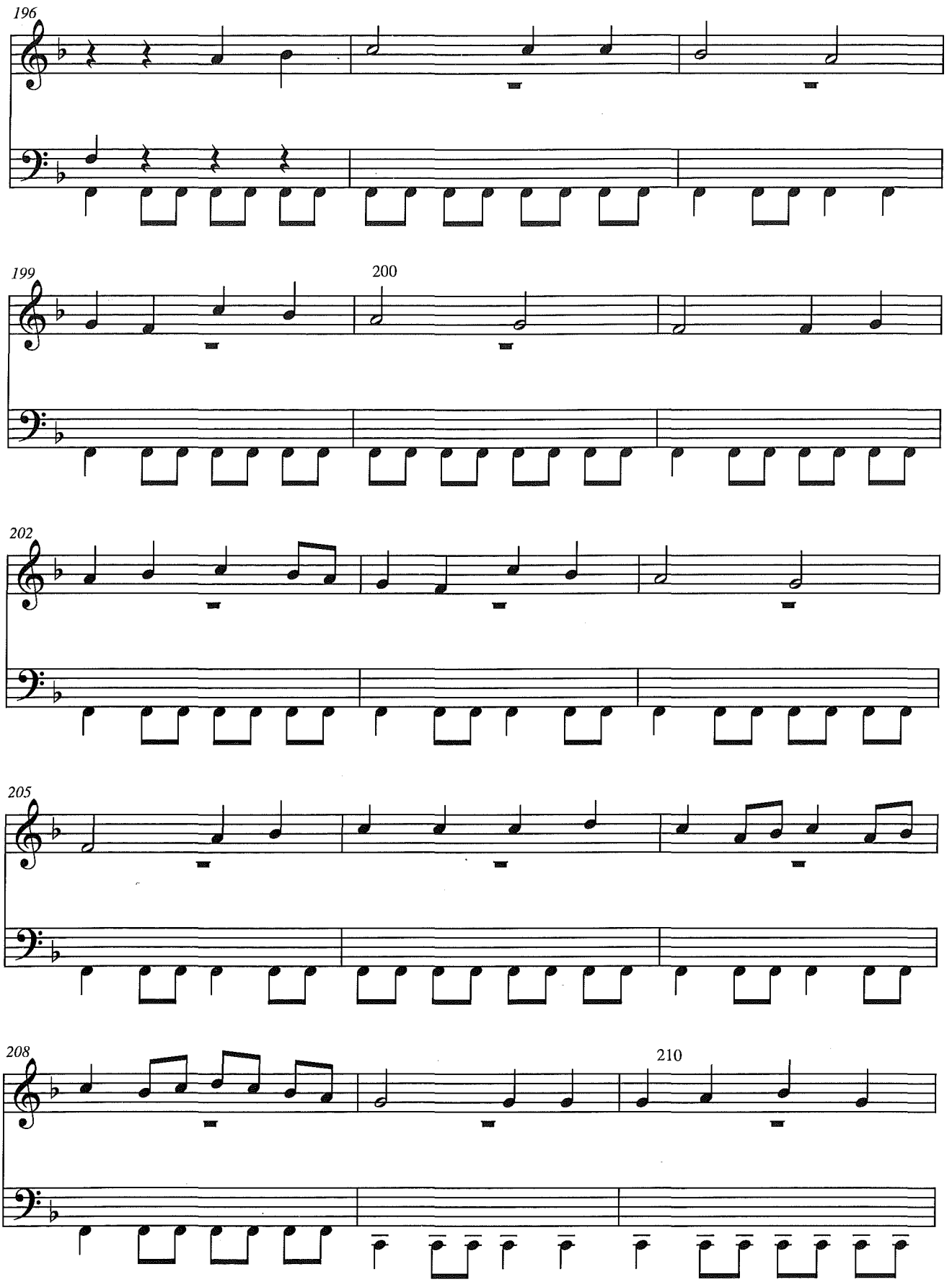
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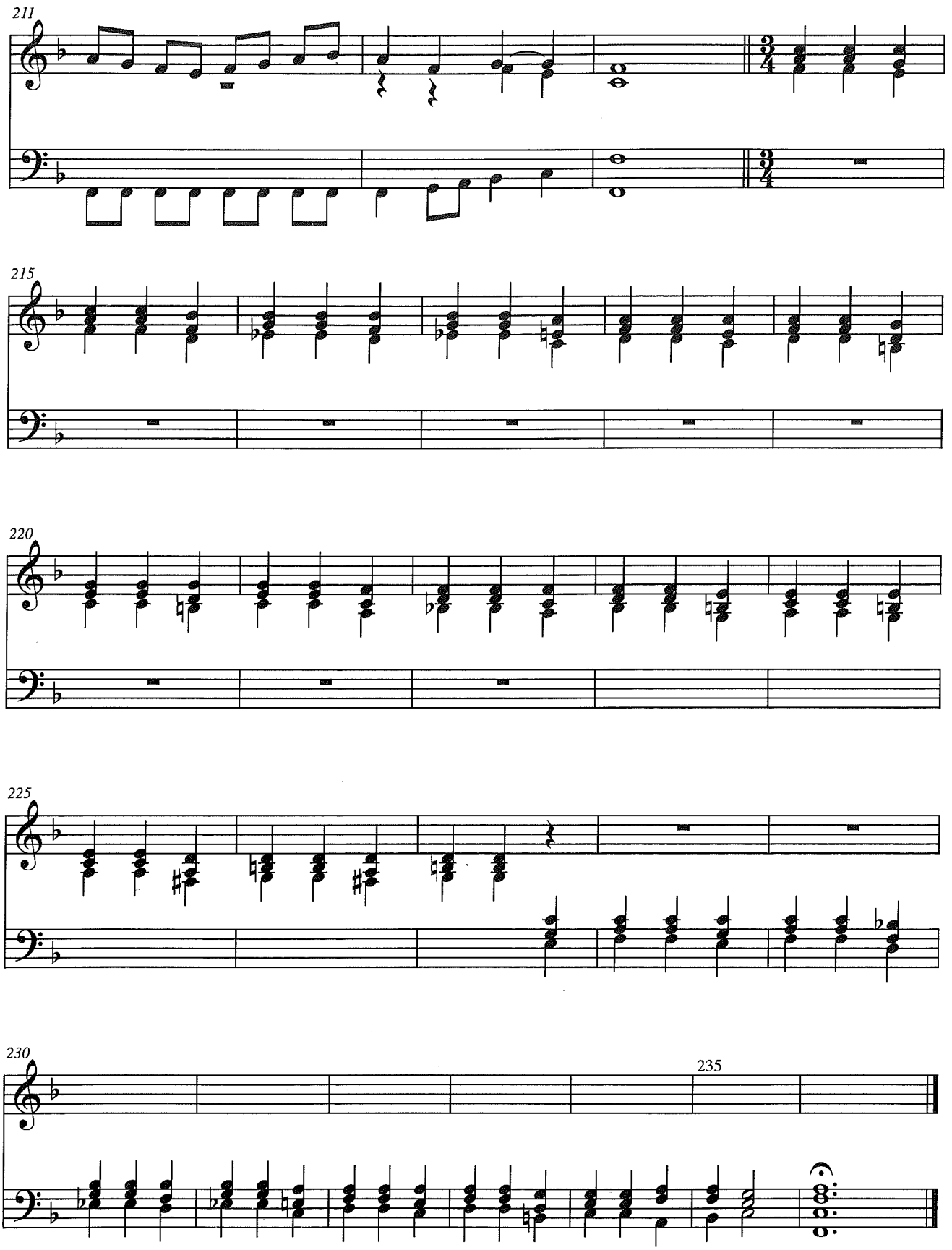
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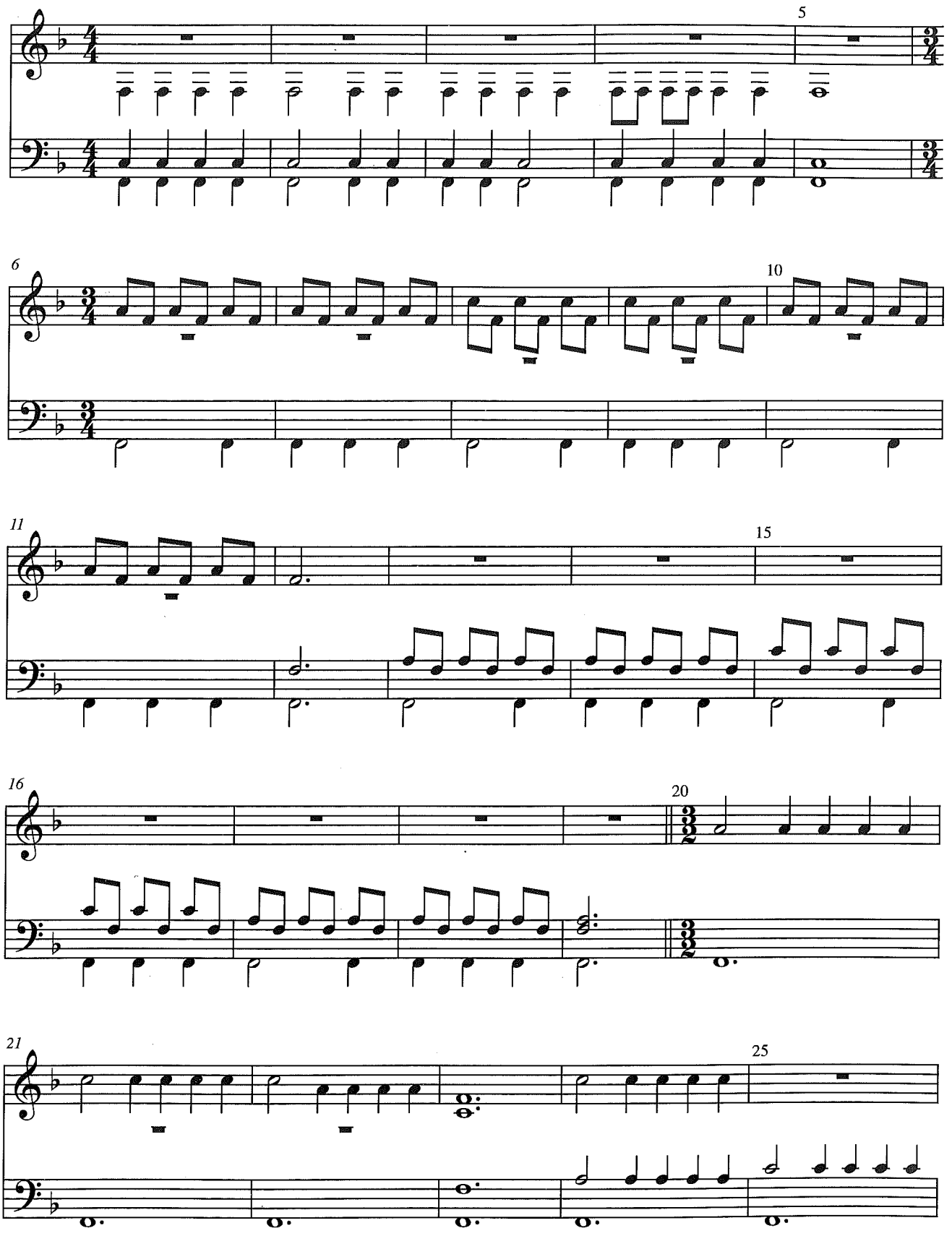
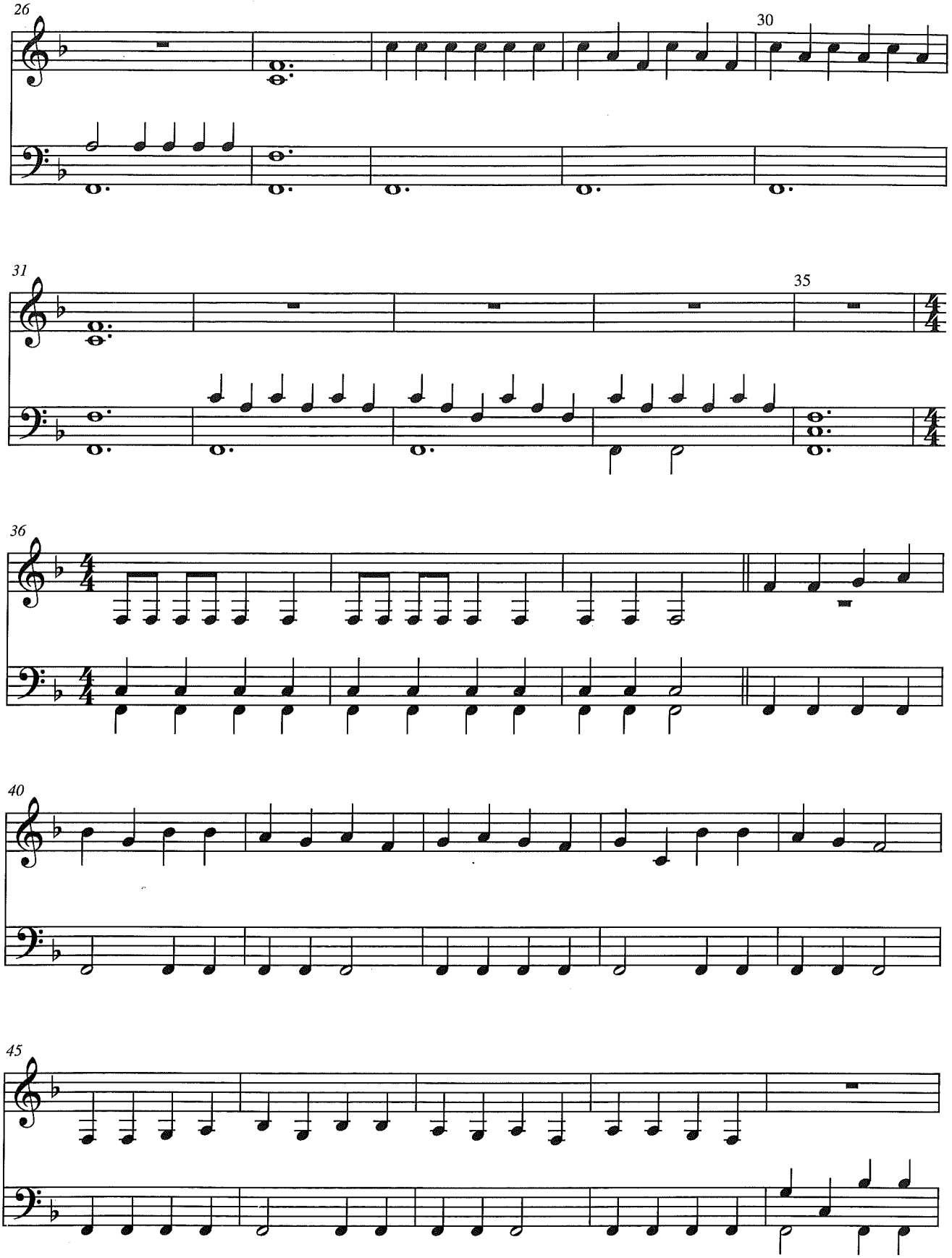
Battalie

Donino Garsi

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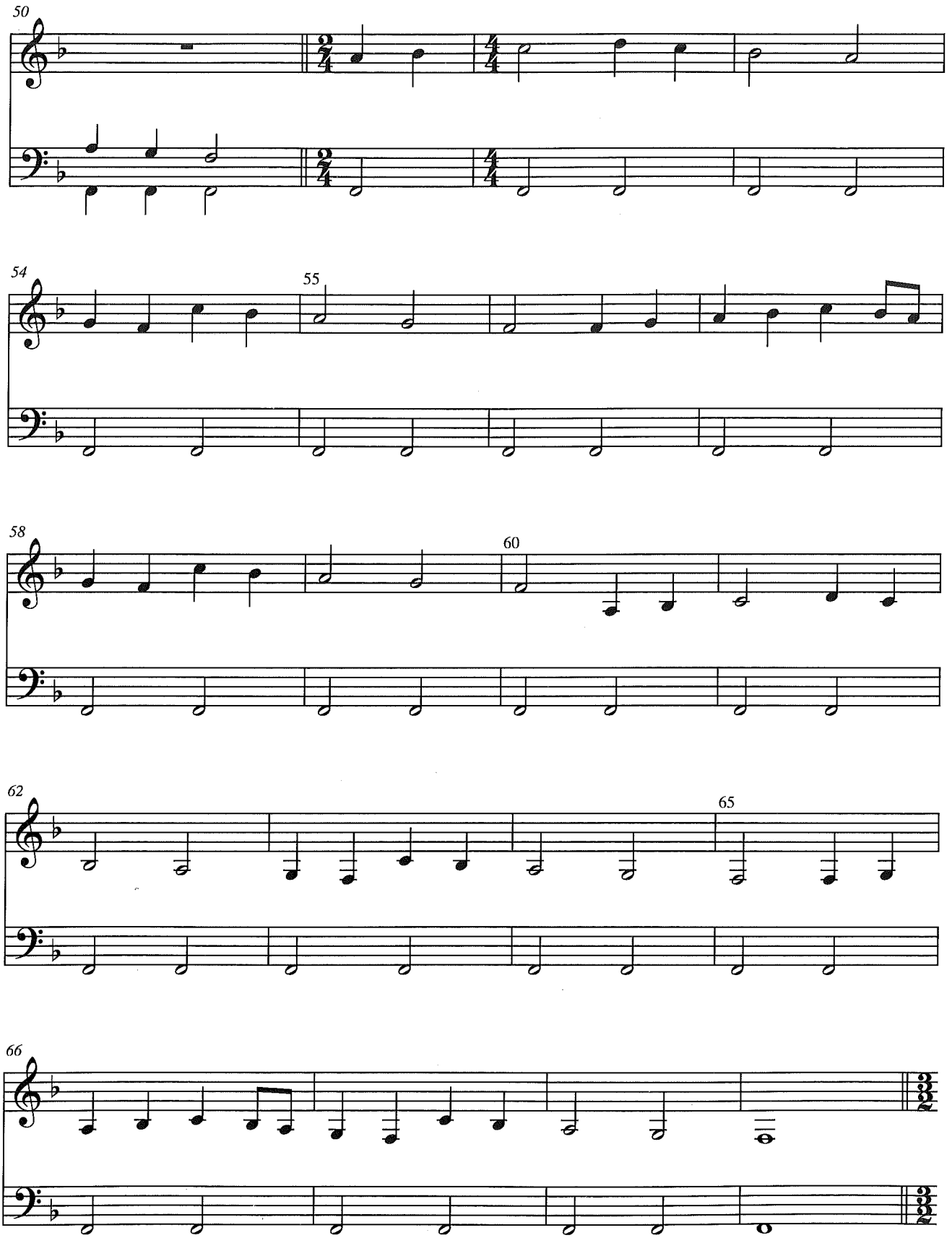
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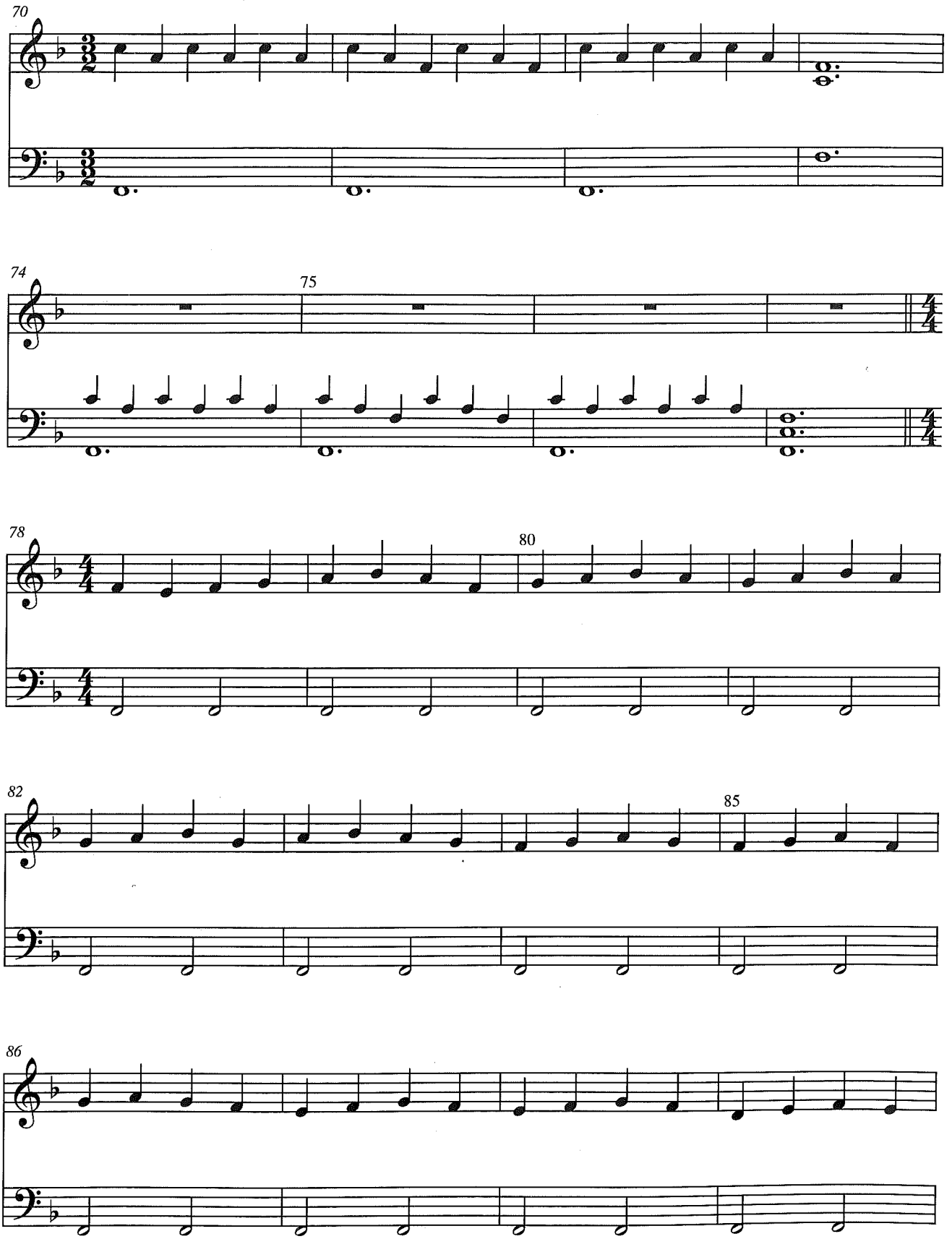
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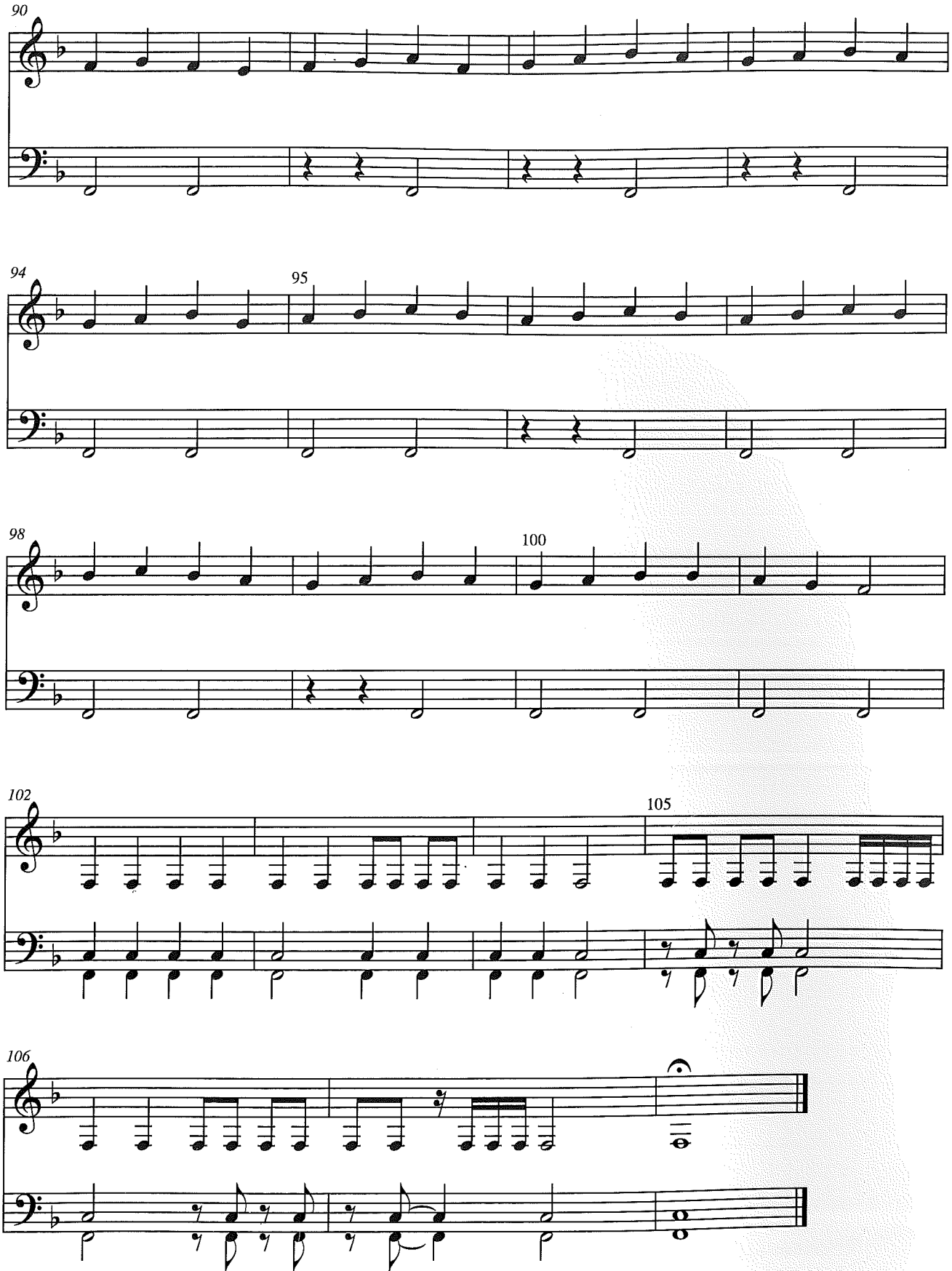
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