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## Visual and poetic allegory in Bellerofonte Castaldi's extraordinary *Capricci a due stromenti*

**B**EST known as a volume of virtuoso music for theorbo, Bellerofonte Castaldi's *Capricci a due stromenti* (1622)<sup>1</sup> is an extraordinary publication designed to exhibit the author's wide-ranging talents as a composer, graphic artist and poet. It unites Castaldi's sophisticated yet lyrical instrumental music and charming dance-songs with allegorical engravings and poetry of the highest order. Notated in Italian lute tablature, Castaldi's eclectic compositions for solo theorbo include popular dance-forms like the corrente and galliard, fantasias, written-out sectional improvisations and single-movement sonatas. The nine extensive duos for *tiorba* (Castaldi's designation for theorbo)<sup>2</sup> and *tiorbino* are the first known music written for the tiorbino, which Castaldi referred to as 'mia invenzion[e] novella'.<sup>3</sup> Constructed as a smaller sized theorbo tuned an octave above the standard instrument, the *tiorbino* retains the theorbo's single strings, re-entrant tuning in A and unfretted contrabasses. *Capricci* also includes six strophic songs with unfigured bass lines and tablature accompaniments that provide an incomparable example of how a well-regarded soloist, singer and poet realized basses and approached the art of song accompaniment. No other lute publication contains such variety.<sup>4</sup>

This essay, however, focuses on the non-musical attributes that further distinguish *Capricci* from every other lute publication of its time. Involved in every facet of *Capricci*'s production, Castaldi viewed the volume as a vehicle to display the cultivation an educated gentleman of the late Renaissance was expected to possess. *Capricci* also established a new standard for user-friendliness among lute publications,

incorporating many inventive conveniences, novel in 1622 that today are commonplace. Most remarkable, however, are the multiple layers of meaning that permeate the highly refined full-page engravings, preface, dedication and poems (all translated below) with which Castaldi adorned his publication. In addition to demonstrating his artistic skills and poetic prowess, they reveal the allegorical depth of his thinking, offer insights into his opinions on performance practice and music as a vocation, fill in chronological gaps and shed light on his enigmatic and fascinating personality.

Knowing him as they did, Castaldi's intimate friends would have immediately appreciated the deeper meanings and allusions hidden within his graphic art and poetry. To enjoy the same benefit, we must first briefly examine the events of his life.

### Bellerofonte Castaldi (1580–1649)

One of *seicento* Italy's most captivating public figures, in his day Bellerofonte Castaldi<sup>5</sup> (illus.1) was as well known for his sensational adventures, controversial poetry and stinging satires as for his musical activities.<sup>6</sup> He was born in 1580 in the quiet village of Collegara, south-east of Modena, where his somewhat well-to-do family controlled an estate on the River Panaro, which produced the income that allowed him to enjoy the autonomous life of a highly educated dilettante largely devoted to artistic activities. As a young man his adventurous spirit and frequent altercations caused him to travel widely throughout Italy and Germany and possibly to France. He participated in the slaying of an instigator of the assassination of one of his brothers; and



1 Bellerofonte Castaldi, Self-portrait, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)

in a related incident was permanently maimed by a bullet wound to his left foot. Bellerofonte's role in this matter led to his banishment from Modena. During his lifetime he resided in Rome for three extended periods, and Naples at least twice. He spent the largest part of his time, however, in his beloved Modena and in Venice, where he was most at home with his small circle of friends—musicians such as Claudio Monteverdi, the Venetian printer Alessandro Vincenti, and artists and writers, among them the controversial poets Fulvio Testi and Alessandro Tassoni. He was perhaps closest to a fellow singer, whom he affectionately referred to as 'Pavarotto Gentil', the likely ancestor of Modena's Luciano Pavarotti.

Castaldi carried out his musical activities during intervals of relative tranquillity that provided sanctuary from the often tumultuous events of his life, yet he published his music in one short but intense burst of energy in 1622 and 1623, when he was in his early forties. In addition to *Capricci*, his musical output includes his monody collection *Primo mazzetto* (Venice, 1623) published by Vincenti,<sup>7</sup> and 13 songs that appear in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Mus. G.239.<sup>8</sup> Toward the end of Castaldi's life the family estate was sacked and burned during a skirmish in a border war between the Papal States and Modena, leaving him financially ruined. After outliving his brothers and most of his friends, his turbulent life ended in September of 1649 at the age of 69.

### *Capricci a due stromenti*: publication, sources, layout

*Capricci* was a luxury edition<sup>9</sup> written for a narrow and discriminating audience. Castaldi's writings reveal that his closest friends had encouraged him to publish his compositions, but it was probably his exposure to Frescobaldi, Kapsberger and other musicians in Rome that ultimately inspired him to bring out the music he had composed over the years. *Capricci* was essentially a private repertory<sup>10</sup> designed primarily for the pleasure of himself and his friends, although he did half-heartedly send a copy of his 'galanterie Tiorbesche' to the Duke of Mantua.<sup>11</sup>

We know very little about the mechanics of *Capricci*'s publication in 1622, how it was distributed,

or how and where its actual printing took place. During the early 1620s Castaldi regularly travelled between Modena and his apartment in Venice; thus he could easily have received advice and perhaps technical assistance from Vincenti in Venice. It is also plausible that Vincenti allowed Castaldi to use his press to print the volume. After all, it is unlikely that more than a couple of dozen copies were produced, if that many—a small enough number to cause Vincenti only minor inconvenience.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the preface, 'Gl'avvertimenti', states that *Capricci* was 'printed' in Modena.<sup>13</sup> Because Castaldi published the work from Modena, whether or not he actually printed it there, he would have certainly been politic formally to credit the city with its printing since he had to seek the approval of its authorities before beginning distribution. Still, the definitive answer to these questions remains to be found.

Castaldi probably composed most of *Capricci* in Rome, where he lived before his return to Modena in the summer of 1621.<sup>14</sup> The interval of time from the summer of 1621, when he left Rome, to the summer of 1622, when the dedication was signed, would have been long enough to account for the engraving of the work, but would hardly have sufficed to compose the entire work as well. And, as we will see below, two of the poems that appear in the introductory material were composed several years earlier. It appears then that *Capricci* was most likely composed in Rome, engraved in Modena and actually printed either in Venice or Modena.

The pages of the three known *Capricci* copies conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,<sup>15</sup> the Fondo Pagliaroli in the private Biblioteca Forni in Modena,<sup>16</sup> and in a private collection in London, all measure 20 cm × 30.5 cm with a printed area of 17.5 cm × 24.5 cm. Each copy has a slightly different ordering of the introductory material and three of the theorbo solos. These variants are listed in table 1. The London and Modena copies are considerably more legible and better preserved than the Paris exemplar, which is smudged or blurred in several places. In the Paris copy p.72 is misaligned,<sup>17</sup> but in the other two is perfect. Castaldi's Dedication to the Youth of Genoa (appendix) appears in the Modena and London copies, but not in the Paris copy.<sup>18</sup> The

Table 1 Variants among extant copies of Castaldi's *Capricci a due stromenti*

	<i>Paris</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Modena</i>
<i>r</i>	Title-page	Title-page	Title-page
<i>v</i>	Blank	Blank	Dedication
<i>r</i>	Table of Contents & Advice	Dedication	Self-portrait
<i>v</i>	Self-portrait	Exchanged Poems	Table of Contents & Advice
<i>r</i>	Exchanged Poems	Table of Contents & Advice	Exchanged Poems
<i>v</i>	Virtus Unita	Virtus Unita	Virtus Unita
4–28	Duos	Duos	Duos
<i>v</i>	Blank	Self-portrait	Blank
<i>r</i>	Tiorba Sola Frontispiece	Tiorba Sola Frontispiece	Tiorba Sola Frontispiece
30 ( <i>v</i> )	Tasteggio soave & Fulminante gagliarda	Tasteggio soave & Fulminante gagliarda	Tasteggio soave & Fulminante gagliarda
31 ( <i>r</i> )	Arpeggiata a mio modo	Arpeggiata a mio modo	Tasteggio insprezzatura
32 ( <i>v</i> )	Tasteggio insprezzatura	Tasteggio insprezzatura	Fantasia detta Pegasea
33 ( <i>r</i> )	Fantasia detta Pegasea	Fantasia detta Pegasea	Arpeggiata a mio modo
34–72	Theorbo Solos and Songs	Theorbo Solos and Songs	Theorbo Solos and Songs

Modena copy is in excellent condition and contains corrections and alterations that appear to be in Castaldi's own hand; neither of the other two copies has these markings.

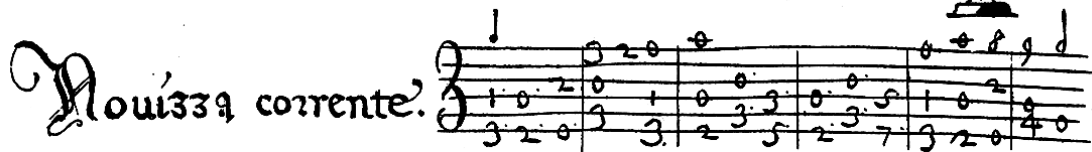
While his colleagues had to rely on non-lutenists or even non-musicians for their engraving or printing, Castaldi hand-engraved the work himself on copper plates, exercising complete control over its final appearance.<sup>19</sup> In its ease of use and beauty of presentation, *Capricci* surpasses other theorbo publications of its time, particularly those of Piccinini and Melii, which were produced with the decidedly unattractive single-impression printing method.<sup>20</sup> In *Capricci* Castaldi rejected established norms in favour of efficiency, concision and practicality. He situated the table of contents in the front of the book rather than at the end in the usual Italian fashion. And instead of placing the scordatura indications at the end of each composition,<sup>21</sup> which forces the player to hunt for the last page of a piece before beginning to play—a particularly irksome task in multi-page compositions—he placed them more conveniently at the beginning.

Unlike other contemporaneous publications of Italian theorbo music, Castaldi arranged the music on the pages so that there are no mid-phrase page-turns. Page-turns present a significant challenge to

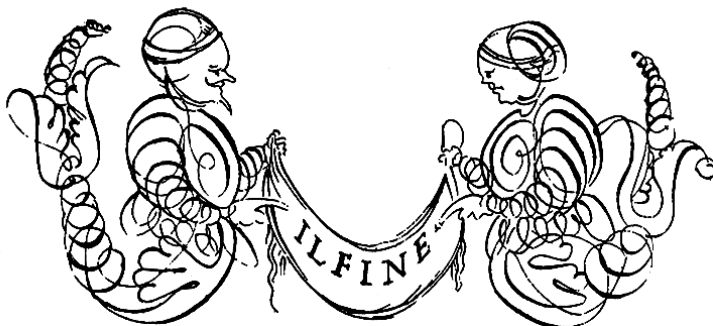
lute players because, except when open strings are plucked, both hands are required to produce a sound. *Capricci's* five mid-composition page-turns (a surprisingly low number considering its 72 pages), four in the duos and one in the 'Contrapunto Tiorbesco sul canto fermo', all occur after cadences, allowing the lutenist to keep the fingers of the left hand on the fingerboard to sustain the cadential chord while the right is free to turn the page, having just plucked the chord.<sup>22</sup> A non-lutenist publisher could not be expected to recognize the benefits of these courtesies; however, a lutenist like Castaldi would have been acutely sensitive to such issues.<sup>23</sup>

Another factor that enhances *Capricci's* functionality is its spaciousness and economy. Castaldi fits more music on each page than other publications of theorbo music (with the exception of Kapsberger's rather cluttered *Libro quarto* of 1640). Also, the arrangement of the tablature systems leaves sufficient white space between successive systems to keep the reader's eye from being distracted by the tablature above and below. Where tablature systems extend less than the full width of a page, the valuable space at the end of the system is decorated with Castaldi's own hand-drawn artwork (illus.2), and elaborate gothic initial letters grace many of the composition titles and song texts (illus.3).<sup>24</sup> These





Sono i suoi dardi  
 Vedon i guardi  
 Le fiamme el so  
 Sono orglie cocenti  
 Di colpo e gioco  
 Et non s'ora d'altro s'attaccio  
 Sono amorofo dolci braccia



2 Filler artwork, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)

**APRICCIO di battaglia a due stromenti**

Two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Violba' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Violino alottava'. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.



e sonate che seguono sono  
 Forastiere in habito  
 tiorbefco



3 Gothic initial letters, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)

tantalizing little ornaments only hint at the splendour of *Capricci's* several full-page illustrations, our next topic of discussion.

### Castaldi as engraver

Visually, *Capricci* is a resplendent work of art, containing four full-page engravings of exceptional quality: two self-portraits, the title-page and 'Tiorba Sola' frontispiece (illus.1, 4–6). In the dedication (see appendix)<sup>25</sup> and elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> Castaldi tells us that he engraved it to distract himself from the constant pain in his left foot. He furthermore claims never to have worked as engraver before, an assertion we should take with a grain of salt in the age of *sprezzatura*, the calculated nonchalance cultivated by Baldassare Castiglione's ideal courtier.<sup>27</sup> While Castaldi may not have had any specific experience as an engraver, he certainly possessed a great deal of expertise in graphic arts that must have come from formal training and/or years of practice. It may have simply been a matter of adapting his well-honed artistic skills to a new medium.

Although composers who engraved their own musical publications usually subcontracted the artwork to professional artists, a number of factors argue in favour of the veracity of Castaldi's claim that he drew and engraved the entire work himself.<sup>28</sup> Not only did he have a reputation as a fine amateur artist and sculptor, but it is telling that none of the engravings is signed. Professional artists customarily sign their engravings with at least their initials; certainly a 'contract' artist responsible for work of this calibre would want to take credit for it.

Further evidence that supports Castaldi's claim can be found by examining his generous attitude toward acknowledging the accomplishments of others. His dilettante status allowed him to remain above the fray that so often marred professions like music and art where the intense competitive pressure to acquire patrons could lead artists to make exaggerated or false claims of accomplishment and innovation. Castaldi had no such concerns and, in fact, regularly praised other musicians in his writings; even Kapsberger, reportedly a most arrogant fellow, received his approbation.<sup>29</sup> In an era lacking the copyright protections we enjoy today, Castaldi was very conscientious about giving credit where

it was due; for instance, he scrupulously cited the author of the text of each song in *Primo mazzetto*.<sup>30</sup> Another example of his publicly recognizing the contributions of others can be found in his choice of dedicatees for *Capricci* and *Primo mazzetto*, the former to the 'Youth of Genoa', who had taken care of him while he recuperated from his bullet wound ten years earlier, and the latter to Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, who had bestowed many favours over the years. These were individuals whom Castaldi wanted to thank for their past aid, not from whom he expected to reap future benefits. In conclusion, it would have been entirely out of character for him to present someone else's work as if it were his own.

The manner of Castaldi's inclusion of the *Capricci* self-portrait in *Primo mazzetto* published one year later in 1623 indicates that questions regarding his authorship of *Capricci's* illustrations may have arisen shortly after its publication in 1622. In *Primo mazzetto*, the conspicuous addition of his signature in the margin below emphasizes that the portrait is indeed his own work. Furthermore, the style and personal nature of the text of the poem on the tablecloth of that portrait explaining Castaldi's reasons for devoting himself to music rather than some other activity confirms that the poem is his own work, strongly suggesting that the portrait is by his own hand as well. The translation of the poem is as follows:<sup>31</sup>

Let others labour in medicine,  
Which to me seems a foul and vulgar profession,  
Or barter in the common crowd,  
Which causes wretched and wicked injustice,  
Or in common philosophy by the dozen,  
Or theologize in the Hebrew language.  
I want none other than musical delight  
To write every hour with the theorbo at my breast.<sup>32</sup>

### Visual allegory

By contrast to the other pursuits he mentions, in this poem Castaldi claims music as a noble calling, well worth his attention and every bit as valid as medicine, merchandising, philosophy or theology. The placement of the poem directly below the two books on the table, one the Bible and the other a reference to the opening quotation from the Book of Ecclesiastes, 'Vanity of vanities', introduces perhaps the most interesting aspect of *Capricci's* non-musical

components, their inherent visual and poetic symbolism. Castaldi jokingly alluded to his interest in visual symbolism in his description of his apartment in Venice: on a wall he had hung his two theorbos and his two *tiorbini* next to his two rifles, illustrating 'peace, the enemy of war'!<sup>33</sup> Yet, as we will see, he employed allegory to express deeply personal feelings that words could only approximate.

Returning to the self-portrait (illus.1), Castaldi presented himself in a rustic setting to assert his place in the pastoral poetic tradition of Ludovico Ariosto and Torquato Tasso.<sup>34</sup> He also portrayed himself where he felt most comfortable, in the countryside where he was allowed his independence, 'where I enjoy my solitude, where the country people allow me to live in peace, where stars by the millions appear at night, and where the days are delightful, long, bright, and serene'.<sup>35</sup> His depiction of himself writing in mensural notation rather than tablature is designed to show that he was not just a lutenist limited to common tablature, but rather a musically educated composer well versed in formal composition.

The most intriguing aspect of the portrait, however, is the placement of the book with the inscription 'VA.<sup>S</sup> VANIT.<sup>M</sup>' upside down, referring to the epigrammatic opening phrase of Ecclesiastes, 'Vanity of vanities . . . All is vanity!' As a unit with the right-side-up Bible, the upside-down 'VA.<sup>S</sup> VANIT.<sup>M</sup>' represents several ideas beyond the basic fact that the quotation itself comes from the Old Testament. First, the Bible's position right side up points to Castaldi's general acceptance of the Bible's message. While in his writings he admitted that he was not an active churchgoer (other than when there was good music to be heard), he frequently expressed his willingness to submit to God's will with whatever tribulations it might bring. For instance, after the devastation of the family estate in 1645, he wrote, 'But I remain content with God's will, / I want nothing more than my freedom, / And happily I await my final ruin.'<sup>36</sup> The inverted *vanitas* reference, however, expresses his rejection of that particular biblical passage.<sup>37</sup> To Castaldi, all is not vanity, particularly not music, the therapeutic benefits and spiritual glories of which he repeatedly praised in his poetry. He was also certainly aware of the contemporary fascination with *vanitas* imagery, in which music,

and particularly the lute because of the rapid decay of its sound, symbolized the fleeting futility of the pursuit of earthly pleasures. Conversely, his message is resoundingly positive: music can help us transcend the miseries of this earth to give us a glimpse of the perfection beyond. The proximity of the poem on the tablecloth to the Bible and *vanitas* reference closely links the two books to the poem, which further reinforces Castaldi's message while also serving as a justification for spending so much time on his music at the expense of the affairs of business, specifically the running of the family estate, the responsibility for which he frequently left in the hands of his sister and her husband.

Illus.4, a portrait of Castaldi playing a duet with one of his friends while another listens, appears in the same location in each *Capricci* print, appropriately opposite the first page of the duos for *tiorba* and *tiorbino*. Almost a candid snapshot, it shows three gentlemen dressed in their finery, wrapped up in their own little world, casually enjoying each other's company while making music. It is difficult to ascertain whether the companion in the middle is directing the seated player to listen to Castaldi, or if he is telling us, the audience, to pay attention. If it is the latter, this action would correspond to Castaldi's complaint in the dedication (see appendix) that the lute, which barbers hung on their walls for customers to entertain themselves with while awaiting their turn, was mistreated—by the pedestrian manner in which it was both played and relegated to providing background music to chatter and gossip. His writings mention two friends by name with whom he played duos, a Gasparo and Pavarotto; this portrait may well depict one or both of them. The motto above the seated player, 'VIRTUS UNITA', clearly refers to the wonderful sounds produced by the union of the two instruments, a subject Castaldi comments on in great detail in his writings, notably in the dedication.<sup>38</sup>

From this portrait we can observe two different approaches to playing posture, a topic seldom treated in contemporary tutors. Castaldi's seated friend crosses his left leg over his right, which props the instrument up at 45° to the horizontal, the same angle preferred by most modern classical guitarists. This position has the advantage of letting the left arm





4 'VIRTUS VNITA', *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)

hang freely below the fingerboard with minimal lateral extension, facilitating the balance and flexibility the left hand requires to form complex chord shapes such as the one Castaldi's friend plays in this illustration. Castaldi, on the other hand, is portrayed standing up with the instrument suspended from a strap. The strap neutralizes the lute's tendency, because of its rounded back, to slip away from the player. It also has the advantage of relieving the left hand from the burden of supporting the weight of the instrument's neck, making it much easier to shift positions and perform difficult chord shapes. Note also that Castaldi favours his injured left foot by supporting his entire weight on his right foot.

Finally, we can see that both players place their right hands very close to the bridge; in fact, Castaldi's little finger is anchored directly on it. The result is a nasal timbre contrary to the sweeter tone preferred by modern lutenists. Both right hands are in thumb-out position with fairly high wrists, placing the weight of the hand directly over the strings in the position advocated by Alessandro Piccinini in the technical instructions that introduce his *Intavolatura di liuto et di chitarrone, libro primo* (1623)<sup>39</sup> and still favoured today by the devotees to Andrés Segovia's approach to tone production on the classical guitar.<sup>40</sup>

*Capricci's* title-page<sup>41</sup> and the 'Tiorba Sola' frontispiece resemble each other in technique, style and content (illus. 5, 6). Their ornamental borders depict cherubs and other such creatures, and a variety of musical instruments and references: recorders, cornetts, violins, partbooks, a tambourine, two lutes and a guitar. Each page prominently features a drawing of a theorbo and a *tiorbino*, their necks crossing each other. In the 'Tiorba Sola' frontispiece they are joined together by a crown, a visual representation of Castaldi's statement in the dedication that the theorbo is the 'queen of instruments' by virtue of her being the wife of the lute, the 'king of instruments'; the *tiorbino* is their son, and thus, the 'prince of instruments'. The two eagles, which also appear emblazoned upon the Este coat of arms,<sup>42</sup> are undoubtedly a tribute to Castaldi's mentor, Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, who like Castaldi, was a fine draftsman with a keen eye for symbolism, both literary and artistic.<sup>43</sup> At the bottom of the title-page, one of the cherubs tunes a guitar while the other replaces

a broken lute string with the one from his bow, symbolizing the transformation of an instrument of war into an instrument of peace. The 'SETNOFORELLEB TABEDUL' in the *Capricci* title-page is Latin for 'Bellerofonte played' or 'was playing' in reverse.

We have seen that illustrations, both full-page and filler, were an integral component of the overall conception of *Capricci*. Our scrutiny of the full-page portraits, title-page and 'Tiorba Sola' frontispiece has revealed that their aesthetic beauty is enhanced by multiple layers of interrelated symbols, which convey hidden meanings and motives. Castaldi's even more impressive command of poetic metaphor, however, allowed him to express his deepest hopes and fears, emotions that touched the very core of his being. The following examination of the remaining introductory texts will complete our picture of *Capricci's* non-musical features.

#### 'Gl'avvertimenti' and dedication

*Capricci's* prefatory material includes three other texts in addition to the tablecloth poem. In the 'Gl'avvertimenti' or advice to the reader, where topics such as tuning, the interpretation of notational devices and ornaments and technical advice are customarily provided, Castaldi declared:

Advice on how to pluck the string; on which fingers to use where, on the execution of trills;<sup>44</sup> on *forte* and *piano*; on the balance and velocity of arpeggios; on the tuning of the instrument, other than what is shown,<sup>45</sup> and other information is not given here, because he who can securely play this tablature, will already know these things. If the author, who lives and believes as a Christian, has offended the chaste ears of the charitable reader or singer with phrases such as 'blessed omnipotent destiny and other similar words among the few canzonettas that there are, he begs of him to not be offended, that he considers this to be the use of poetic licence.

Printed in Modena by the Author himself with the permission of the Authorities.<sup>46</sup>

We learn a number of things from Castaldi's 'Gl'avvertimenti'. Primarily it offers us a glimpse into his concept of *Capricci*, what it is and what it is not. Castaldi makes it very clear that it is not a tutor; rather, it is a collection of virtuoso music intended for the very few whose level of skill is up to its technical demands.<sup>47</sup> The player must already have mastered plucking the strings, tuning the instrument and fingering the music. Castaldi also expected a high





*Is. 1790.*

5 Frontispiece, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)





6 'TIORBA SOLA', frontispiece, *Capricci a due stromenti* (Biblioteca Forni, Modena)



degree of interpretive independence from those who would play his music, relying on the player to know the appropriate places to play loudly or softly, arpeggiate block chords and realize implied trills, cadential and otherwise. All Kapsberger's extant collections of theorbo music, on the other hand, begin with basic performance information for the reader, and Piccinini's 1623 *Libro primo* contains the most lengthy and detailed contemporary technical advice for the theorbo that we have.<sup>48</sup> Piccinini's instructions discuss each of the techniques Castaldi mentions in his 'Gl'avvertimenti'. As professional musicians, it behoved Kapsberger and Piccinini to make their theorbo books useful for players with varying degrees of skill; as a dilettante and aristocrat, Castaldi had no need to appeal to a general audience.

Well aware of his reputation for vulgarity and blasphemy, and with tongue in cheek, Castaldi in the second sentence of 'Gl'avvertimenti' asks his readers to indulge him in his use of poetic licence, citing the relatively benign phrase 'blessed omnipotent destiny' as his example. Here he directs his sarcasm toward the obsequiously pious, one of the classes of 'hypocrites' who were the objects of his most virulent satires. We also learn that, notwithstanding this barb, *Capricci* passed muster with Modena's censors.

*Capricci's* unusually informative dedication (see appendix) consists of two lengthy sentences on separate subjects; the first sentence provides us with the only known explanation of the invention of the *tiorbino*, while the second contains valuable biographical and publishing information. Castaldi may have been inspired to write of the *tiorbino's* invention following the example set by Alessandro Piccinini, who, in the introduction to his *Libro primo* of 1623, described his own supposed role in the invention of the chitarrone and the archlute.<sup>49</sup> Although Piccinini's book is dated a year later than *Capricci*, Castaldi probably had some advance notice of its content. In Castaldi's fanciful story, and with typical poetic flair, he explains that the *tiorbino* was begotten of a marriage between the lute and the theorbo, and that it resembled the theorbo more than the lute. His account explains why the issue from the marriage bed is a *tiorbino* instead of a *tiorbino*: a boy and not a girl!<sup>50</sup> Castaldi's authoritative, albeit poetic, description of its conception and

the fact that his is the first-known music written specifically for the *tiorbino* strongly suggest that he was indeed its inventor.

Castaldi also confirms the notion that the theorbo had superseded the lute in popularity. Elsewhere Castaldi had elaborated on this theme, opining, among other things, that the theorbo's harmony is more delightful than the lute's.<sup>51</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani would echo the description of this state of affairs six years later in 1628 in his *Discorso sopra la Musica de suoi tempi*:

Furthermore, the Spanish guitar came into favour at the same time throughout Italy, especially in Naples, and it seems almost as though the guitar and theorbo have conspired to banish the lute altogether. In this they have succeeded, just as the Spanish fashion in clothes prevails over all other fashions in Italy.<sup>52</sup>

From the biographical part of the dedication, we learn that Castaldi spent an extended period in Genoa before 1622, that he felt particularly beholden to his hosts there and that he returned to Modena in 1613–14 following his brief banishment for avenging his brother's murder. We also learn that he had sought refuge in Rome and that he was wounded by a bullet that became lodged in the bone of his left foot. He mentions that he engraved *Capricci* on copper plates and, as we discussed above, that he had never worked as an engraver before. All this information is reiterated in scattered locations throughout his other writings.

### Poetic allegory

Particularly striking is the fourth of *Capricci's* texts (see the next page). With a few minor changes, Castaldi reproduces the sonnet Testi<sup>53</sup> dedicated to him together with his own poetic response, both of which originally appeared in Testi's 1617 collection, *Rime di Fulvio Testi*.<sup>54</sup> Although Testi's *Rime* was published in Modena, it was written in Rome, where Testi resided during this period. From the appearance that Bellerofonte's response was also probably written in Rome, we can deduce that he had returned to Rome by 1617 or perhaps as early as 1616, since we do not know exactly what month in 1617 Testi's *Rime* was published or how long before publication it was written. This places Bellerofonte in Rome one to two years earlier than previously thought.

**Fulvio Testi a Bellerofonte Castaldi**

La cetra d'oro, i cui beati accenti  
Con meraviglia un tempo Anfriso udio,  
Quando guidar fù visto il biondo Dio  
Fuggitivo dal ciel, gregge et armenti;

Può de la vostra i musici concenti  
Forse agguagliar, per cui s'arresta il rio,  
E i loro usati error posti in oblio

Fermansi in aria innamorati i venti.

Castaldi, ciò che dal'antica etate  
Gia mai del favoloso Orfeo fù detto,  
Voi con veri miracoli mostrate.  
Onde s'odo tal hor pien di diletto  
La soave armonia, parmi c'habbiate  
E mille Febi, e mille Muse in petto.

**Bellerofonte Castaldi a Fulvio Testi**

Fatto esule dal ciel de mie' contenti  
Per colpa di destino iniquo e rio,  
Pasco la greggia di mie voglie anch'io  
Soffrendo in servitù pene e tormenti;

Né formo ancor se non pianti, e lamenti,  
Poi ch'al tornar la sù zoppo, e restio  
Son fatto, e presso al precipizio mio  
Temo ch'Anfriso Lethe non diventi.

Fulvio, mà voi, novello Orfeo, donate  
Ai nomi vita, e con bel canto eletto  
I mostri del Inferno ancor placate:

Onde sia par il mio fosco, e negletto,  
Che per l'alta memoria c'hor ne fate  
Nel centro del'oblio non hà ricetta.

**Fulvio Testi to Bellerofonte Castaldi**

The golden lyre, whose enchanting sounds  
Some time ago the amazed Anfriso heard,  
(When the blond God, who had left the heavens,  
Was seen herding his sheep and cows);

Could perhaps equal your musical utterances,  
That make the brook stand still  
And make the winds, unmindful of their usual  
wanderings,  
Stop idle and love-stricken in the air.

Castaldi, that which was said in olden days  
Of the so wonderblessed Orpheus,  
You show with marvellous deeds of your own.  
So much so that when I hear, full of delight,  
Your enticing music, I feel that both Phoebuses and  
Muses by the thousands dwell within your breast.

**Bellerofonte Castaldi to Fulvio Testi**

Exiled from the heaven of my delights  
Through a stroke of unjust and wicked fate  
I, too, lead the flock of my desires to pasture,  
Suffering in bondage pains and torments;

I cannot yet express but laments and cries,  
For I am lame and reluctant to journey back up there  
And live in fear that, near to my precipice  
The Anfriso might be turned into the Lethe.

But you, Fulvio, new Orpheus, give life  
To the words, and by the beauty of your fine song  
You even appease the monsters of the Inferno:

So may my own, though gloomy and unrefined  
Do the same, for, thanks to your kind mention,  
Into oblivion's pit it will never fall.

---

In these paired sonnets, a 'VIRTUS UNITA' of a poetic sort, Bellerofonte matched Fulvio's rhyme line by line in hendecasyllable, responded to the content of each corresponding stanza and returned his friend's rich metaphorical generosity with interest. The arrangement in *Capricci* of the sonnets side by side with Testi's on the left and Castaldi's response on the right makes this relationship readily apparent. This was not, however, the original arrangement. In the London *Capricci* copy, the dedication is pasted over a page in which the poems appear in the opposite order, with Castaldi's on the left and Testi's on the right. Castaldi clearly thought better of it and rearranged the sonnets so that the

reader could easily recognize that his own sonnet was a poetic and metaphorical response to Testi's.<sup>55</sup>

Fulvio begins by equating Apollo's lyre to Castaldi's lute, writing that its 'enchanting sounds' could perhaps equal Bellerofonte's music. Apollo, the god of the Muses, fed his flocks at the Anfriso, a small river in the Thessalonian province of Phthiotis. The music from Apollo's lyre made its waters stand still and the winds cease. Fulvio's second quatrain suggests that Bellerofonte's lute had similar powers. To extend the comparison between Castaldi and Apollo even further, Fulvio implies that Castaldi, who was blond, even resembles the 'blond' Apollo.

Testi clearly separates the sonnet's second statement from the first by addressing it directly to Castaldi. This second statement encompasses two tercets in an interlocking rhyme scheme of *c d c d c d* in contrast to the previous *a b b a* scheme repeated in each of the quatrains. Testi declares that Bellerofonte's Muse compares with Apollo's. He goes on to compare Castaldi to Apollo's son Orfeo, also a great musician whose musical skills were legendary for their enchanting qualities.

Bellerofonte's response is more complicated, with even deeper levels of meaning and reference. His two quatrains allude to his banishment from Modena and exile in Rome following his revenge for his brother's murder and the crippling bullet to his foot that lamed him. On another level, he is also referring to his banishment from the pleasures of feminine company caused by his lameness and the perceived stigma that accompanied it. Rightly so, Bellerofonte considers his fate unjust and wicked. He compares his exile to that of Apollo, who was also removed from his Heaven while pasturing the flocks of the Thessalonian king Admetus at the Anfriso River.

Castaldi's second quatrain completes the thought introduced by the first. As a result of his misery he can produce only laments and cries, and is afraid to return 'up there' to Modena lame. Not only must he seek to have his banishment lifted and contend with possible reprisals, he must now face his neighbours as a cripple. His reference to Modena as 'up there' is symbolic of Heaven. Many times Bellerofonte described Modena and his family's estate at Collegara in divine terms. 'Up there' also refers to Modena's northern geographic location in relation to Rome. Though left unsaid, by inference, Castaldi may also be repeating his negative feelings for Rome as well, for if Modena is Heaven, Rome is Hell. He had often complained about Rome. For instance, in a letter dated 1 June 1619 found in the Archivio di Stato di Modena, he grumbled about Rome's 'pestilent air and constant noise'.<sup>56</sup>

He completes the first half of his sonnet by referring back to Apollo's Anfriso, a clear reference to the enrapturing power of Apollo's music. The Lethe, on the other hand, is the river that runs through Hades, and a standard poetic metaphor for oblivion. It is also the river from which souls seeking to leave the

underworld must drink to forget their sorrows and suffering on their way to a new life in the world above. Bellerofonte would like to begin anew 'up there' in Modena and forget his misery, but fears that returning home would only reopen old wounds (the loss of his brother, his exile and his lameness) and put him right back in the middle of the squabbles that resulted in these tragedies in the first place. Using the comparison of the two rivers as metaphors for Heaven and Hell, Bellerofonte despairs that his Heaven (Modena) may become his Hell.

Bellerofonte mirrors Testi's tercets by addressing Fulvio directly, returning his friend's compliment by referring to him as the new Orfeo. He continues to praise Fulvio's giving life to the words, further proclaiming that, like Orfeo's music, the beauty of his song even calms the monsters of Hell. Bellerofonte mentions the beauty of Fulvio's song for another purpose as well—to set up a comparison of his own song to Fulvio's. Castaldi prays that his song, though 'gloomy and unrefined' compared to Testi's, may also placate the monsters of the Inferno. Knowing that his poem will appear in his famous friend's *Rime*, Bellerofonte graciously thanks him for it, recognizing that because of Fulvio's kind gesture, his own song will never be forgotten.

Castaldi's 'own song' will be remembered not because his sonnet appeared in Testi's *Rime*, but on its own merits. Any one of the many components that make up *Capricci*, its tremendous variety of exceptionally sophisticated music, its innovative and convenient layout, its artwork or its poetry would make this unique publication noteworthy. Taken in its entirety, *Capricci* represents a multi-layered approach designed to appeal to its exclusive audience of theorbo virtuosos, singers of pastoral love-songs and connoisseurs of fine art and poetry. As we have seen, however, below the surface there exists an allegorical substratum directed toward Castaldi's closest friends, those who knew him well enough to appreciate his opinions and, perhaps even more importantly, to empathize with his responses to the dramatic events of his life. The discovery of these previously unexplored contexts enriches our perception of the extraordinary refinement of Castaldi's art and prompts further investigation into the broader artistic responses to the challenges of Renaissance Humanism.

## Appendix Castaldi's dedication to *Capricci a due stromenti*

ALLA NOBILE, SPLENDIDA E VIRTUOSA GIOVENTU' GENOVESE

Il Liuto Re degli stromenti bontà del suo essere, conforme a la natura de vecchi, è ritroso, e difficile, stracco di soffrire lo strapazzo barbieresco che ne fa la turba errante, Havendo dal Arciduchessa Tiorba, che l'altro giorno per non mancar d'herede egli prese per moglie, havuto un figliuolo vago, e piacevole, che più al Altezza de la Madre che a la Maietà del genitore rassomigliandosi, Tiorbino fù chiamato, visto l'aplausu universale che in omni genere musicorum si dava a la Donna & al putto, come lieto di una tal successione, così mezzo disperato per non trovar più fra quei che si lambiccano in suo servitio, chi modernamente lo contenti, dal suo caro Piccinino, et altri pochi in poi, s'è risoluto d'inviarsi a la volta degli Antipodi, onde hà fatto prima solenne rinuntia, de la Liutesca corona reale che tiene, e d'ogni sua pretensione a la Regina moglie, & al figliuolo, accortosi che l'una, e l'altro, quando stiano accoppiati insieme, fanno ottimo concerto, e perfettamente, e con poco fatica danno quella sodisfattione a tutto il mondo, che a sua Maestà non è mai bastato l'animo di fare se non in processo di lunghissimo tempo.

Hora che ciò ch'io dico sia vero eccone a le SS. VV. virtuosissime un po' d'abbozzo in questa miei capricci li quali più intelligibile ch'io habbia potuto, per non haver io giamai più fatto tal mestiero, sono stati intagliati in rame da me così a la grossa per diversion di quella dolorosa noia, che continoamente mi dà l'inossata palla, che nel mezzo del pie' sinistro mi lasciò per favorirmi tornato da Roma in patria, ott'anni sono una leggiadra e gentil Pistoletta galante, questa mostra dico di fantasticarie tiorbesche dedico, dono, e consacro a le SS. VV. come a persone nobili, Splendide, e che più d'ogn'altra nazione di virtù si diletmano; Suplicandole ad accettar voluntieri, e gradire questo mio picciol dono, qual egli si sia, per segno del obbligo grande, & immortale ch'io tengo a le carezze fattemi in coteste parti mentr'io ci dimorai da le generosità loro, et insieme il buono animo mio, che sarà prontissimo quand'io m'accorga che queste no' gli dispiacciano, di porgere a la giornata con altre gentilezze simili a le nobilità de le SS. VV. virtuosissimo trattenimento. Così N.S. Iddio le concede il colmo d'ogni felicità, come io lo desidero con ogni maggior affetto.

Di Modena li XV Lulio 1622  
De le Nobili Splendide, e Virtuosissime  
SS. VV. Humiliss.<sup>o</sup> & Devotiss.<sup>o</sup> Ser.<sup>e</sup>,

Bellerofonte Castaldi

TO THE NOBLE, BRILLIANT, & REFINED YOUTH OF GENOA

The Lute, King of instruments, owing to its nature, similar to that of the elderly, is stubborn and irritable, tired of putting up with the barbershop kind of mistreatment inflicted upon him by the roving crowd, having from the Archduchess Tiorba (whom, the other day he took for his wife so as not to lack an heir) a handsome and charming son, who because he resembled more the Highness of his Mother than the Majesty of his father, was named the Tiorbino, aware of the universal applause that was given to the Lady and to the child among all kinds of musicians, happy on the one hand for such a succession, yet distressed on the other hand, no longer to find among those who labour in his service anyone able to satisfy him nowadays, other than his dear Piccinino and a few others after him, he decided to go to the other end of the earth; therefore he first made a solemn renunciation, of the lute crown that he holds and, then, of any rights pertaining to him in favour of the Queen, his wife, and to their little son, having realized that the two, when they are joined together, make the best ensemble and, completely and easily, offer to everyone that kind of enjoyment, that his Majesty himself has been unable to provide for a very long time.

Now, to prove that what I say is true, here are for you, distinguished gentlemen, a few examples in these capricci of mine; which I have engraved on copper sheets as neatly as I could (for I have never worked in this capacity before!), although somewhat roughly perhaps, in an attempt to distract my mind from the continuous painful nuisance caused by the bullet that is lodged in the bone in the middle of my left foot, which was offered to me as a gift, when I returned home from Rome eight years ago by a pretty, kind and worthy little Pistol, I mean this showcase of theorbo caprices which I dedicate, give and devote to you, distinguished gentlemen, as to noble and splendid people, and who more than any others know what is truly valuable; begging you gladly to accept and approve of this little gift of mine, as a token of my great and perennial gratitude, for the courtesies extended to me by your generosity while I dwelt in your midst, and at the same time my sincerest wish (once I am certain that my pieces do not displease you) is to reciprocate in turn with



other courtesies comparable to the exquisite hospitality bestowed upon me by you, distinguished gentlemen. May Our Lord God shower upon you every possible happiness, as I ardently hope and pray!

From Modena, on 15 July 1622  
I am, dear noble, brilliant, and refined gentlemen,  
Your most humble and devoted servant,  
Bellerofonte Castaldi

---

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1 Facsimile reproduction by Minkoff Reprints: Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Capricci a due stromenti cioè tiorba e tiorbino e per sonar solo varie sorti di balli e fantasticarie, Setnoforelleb tabedul* (Geneva, 1981); critical edition in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era series*, ed. D. Dolata (Madison: A-R Editions, forthcoming). *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* [RISM], A/I: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, ii (Kassel, 1975), p.79, RISM C 1452. *Capricci* does not appear in Boetticher's RISM catalogue: *RISM, B/VII: Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Boetticher (Munich, 1978).

2 Although the terms *tiorba* and *chitarrone* are frequently used interchangeably, sometimes even by Castaldi himself, he tends to choose *tiorba* to refer to the instrument when it functions in a solo or duo role, and *chitarrone* when it functions as an accompanying instrument. 'Chitarrone' may have referred to the larger and louder instruments with stopped string lengths (the length of string that runs from the bridge over the fretboard to the nut) approaching 90 cm. Because their immense dimensions limit the left hand to simple chord shapes, they are only suitable for accompaniment, while intricate solo work requires the smaller 'tiorba', with its stopped string lengths of 80 cm or less. For excellent discussions on terminology, definition and tuning, and physical origins of the theorbo in its various forms, see

K. Mason, *The chitarrone and its repertoire in early seventeenth-century Italy* (PhD diss., Washington U., 1983), pp.1–26; N. North, *Continuo playing on the lute, archlute and theorbo* (Bloomington, 1987), esp. pp.3–17; E. Pohlmann, *Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone: die Lauten-Instrumente ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bremen, 4/1982), pp.352–92; D. A. Smith, 'On the origin of the chitarrone', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxii (1979), pp.440–62; R. Spencer, 'Chitarrone, theorbo and archlute', *Early music*, iv (1976), pp.407–23; R. Spencer, 'The chitarrone francese', *Early music*, iv (1976), pp.165–6; and A. Dunn, *Style and development in the theorbo works of Robert de Visée: an introductory study* (PhD diss., U. of California at San Diego, 1989), pp.44–66.

3 'Frontispiccio d'un Libro Tiorbesco', reprinted in P. Pergreff, *Bellerofonte Castaldi: Le rime* (Laurea thesis, Bologna U., 1982), p.367. This marvellous work presents a transcription of Castaldi's entire poetic output. 'Frontispiccio' is Castaldi's poetic description of a manuscript that included his own compositions as well as those of Piccinini and Kapsberger. The musician playlist of one of the oratorios of the Roman tiorbista and composer Lelio Colista (1629–80), performed on 8 April 1661 in Rome, included 'Tiorbino pre sonar all'Angelo sopra l'altare'. See H. Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt* (Vienna, 1961), p.59. Contrary

to generally held opinion, none of Colista's music for lute or theorbo that Kircher presented in his *Musurgia universalis* is for *tiorbino*. None of the four unspecified parts in the lute 'paradigms' on pp.480–83 specifically require *tiorbino*, and the two theorbo parts on pp.484–5 fall well within the standard theorbo's range. See A. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in x. libros digesta* (Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1650), pp.480–85.

4 In this article the term 'lute' refers to the broader category of instrument, which includes the standard Renaissance lute of seven to ten courses, the theorbo or chitarrone, the archlute and the *liuto attiorbato*; 'lutenist' refers to the players of any of these instruments. Most lutenists play at least two or more of these related types of lute.

5 Encyclopedic entries on Castaldi include N. Fortune and D. Dolata, 'Castaldi, Bellerofonte', *New Grove II*; J. Seinheuer's extensive article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil, IV, cols. 381–6; R. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1900–1904), ii, p.359; F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Brussels, 1835–44), ii, p.205; *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti, le biografie*, ed. A. Basso (Turin, 1985–8), ii, p.141; *Dizionario Ricordi della musica e dei musicisti*, ed. C. Sartori (Milan, 1959), p.266; *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. C. Sartori



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(Milan, 1963–4), i, p.428; and C. Mutini and C. Orselli's entry in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960–), xxi, pp.552–3.

6 D. Dolata, *The sonatas and dance music in the 'Capricci a due stromenti' (1622) of Bellerofonte Castaldi* (1580–1649) (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve U., 1998), pp.13–37; A. Barbieri, *Modenese da ricordare* (Modena, 1966), Musicisti, p.23; G. Roncaglia, 'Di Bellerofonte Castaldi (con un documento inedito)', *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antic provincie modenesi*, vii/10 (1958), pp.117–23; L. Valdrighi, 'Di Bellerofonte Castaldi e per incidenza di altri musicisti modenesi dei secoli XVI e XVII: annotazioni biobibliografiche', *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie dell'Emilia*, n.s. v/1 (1880), pp.89–115; reprinted as *Musurgiana*, 1st ser., iii (1880/R1970); G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese* (Modena, 1781), i, pp.424–5. G. B. Spaccini, *Cronaca di Modena* (1588–1631) in Modena, Archivio Storico Comunale, Camera segreta, III,

*passim*. Most of the available biographical information on Castaldi is derived from his own poetry, personal correspondence and lengthy versed autobiography, which recount his escapades and articulate his thoughts on everything from politics and religion to music and his personal relationships. Consisting of several hundred pages, this material is contained in his *Rimansuglio di rime berniesche* (1645), Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cd. a. S.1 (1) It. 1407 and *Le rime burlesche seconda parte* (1636) e *parte terza* (1638), Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Deposito del Collegio San Carlo, cd. n. 6.

7 *Primo mazzetto di fiori musicalmente colti dal giardino Bellerofonteo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1623); reprint: Archivum Musicum, *La Cantata Barocca*, xxxii (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1984).

8 For more information on this manuscript, see M. Caffagni, 'The Modena tiorba continuo manuscript', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, xii (1979), pp.25–42, and V. Coelho,

*The manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Italian lute music* (New York, 1995), pp.96, 101–4.

9 Bianconi's terminology. See L. Bianconi, *Music in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 1987), p.79. Some might also refer to *Capricci* as a 'vanity' or 'prestige' publication.

10 My thanks to Victor Coelho for this observation.

11 S. Parisi, *Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587–1627: an archival study* (PhD diss., U. of Illinois, 1989), p.317. Castaldi's *Capricci* is also listed in Parisi's reconstruction of the 'Musical holdings of the Mantuan court, 1587–1623', p.714. In addition to its reproduction in Pergreffi, *Bellerofonte Castaldi: Le rime*, p.680, Castaldi's letter that accompanied *Capricci* is published in A. Bertolotti, 'Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga duchi di Mantova nei sec. XVI e XVII', *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmesis*, s.3, iii (1885), p.138. Parisi reports the existence of a draft of Ferdinando Gonzaga's letter of thanks to Castaldi dated 6 July 1622[2] conserved in the Archivio di Stato Archivio Gonzaga in Mantua (A.G. 2303), p.731. Ferdinando's well-known appreciation of sharp wit, language, poetry and music coupled with his reputation for lavish spending on the arts (often beyond his means) were undoubtedly among the reasons Castaldi chose to send him his *Capricci*. See Parisi, pp.282–6. Apparently nothing came of it, for there is no record of Castaldi's reaping any rewards from Ferdinando's largesse. Castaldi's letter to the Duke of Mantua accompanying a copy of *Capricci* was dated 20 May 1622, nearly two months before 15 July 1622, the date on the dedication. It is possible that once Castaldi realized that nothing would come of his overture to Ferdinando, he then decided to dedicate the work to the 'Youth of Genoa'.

12 That Castaldi chose Vincenti to print *Primo mazzetto* just one year later could indicate a *quid pro quo* arrangement, or it could simply be a matter of Castaldi's selecting an established printer with an extensive

distribution network who also happened to be one of his closest friends. Vincenti was a good choice, since *Primo mazzetto* was still included in his 1649 catalogue, 26 years after its initial publication. It sold for 4 lire, an amount higher than average for books of a similar nature. 'Indice di Tutte le opere di Musica, che si trovano Nella Stampa della Pagina: di Alessandro Vincenti', *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte*, xiv, Supplement, ed. R. Eitner (1882), p.39. *Primo mazzetto* is listed as no.49 in the 45th section entitled 'Musica per cantar, e sonar nel Chitaron, Theorbo, Arpicordo et Chitarra alla Spagnola, et altro simile Stromento'. It appears on Vincenti's p.31.

13 Unfortunately the original copper plates on which Castaldi engraved the work were probably consumed in the fire that destroyed his home in Collegara in 1645.

14 Pergreffi, *Bellerofonte Castaldi: Le rime*, p.19.

15 Shelf reference Rés 241. It is unfortunate that the Minkoff reprint was made from the *Capricci* copy held by the Bibliothèque Nationale (not indicated in the reprint), for it is in the poorest condition of the three extant copies. Ink from reverse pages appears to bleed through much more dramatically in the reprint than in the original from which it was made. For greater detail on this matter, see Dolata, *The sonatas and dance music in the 'Capricci a due stromenti' (1622) of Bellerofonte Castaldi*, pp.56–66.

16 I am most grateful to Count Giulio Forni for his kind generosity in sharing with me the wealth of his private library. *Capricci* was not listed in the library's catalogue list, and it was Giulio Forni's persistent efforts on my behalf that led to its rediscovery. Although it does not appear in the library's catalogue, it bears the label 'XV Mus 13' on its spine. All the *Capricci* illustrations in this article are from Count Forni's copy and are reproduced with his permission. The Modena copy also functions as the primary source for my forthcoming critical edition of *Capricci* in Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era.

17 This page comprises sonata nos.13 and 14. Part of the music on the left side of the page is cut off in the Minkoff reprint; in the original edition from which the reprint was made that portion is blurred, but legible. It appears that the original page was cut out and then replaced, leaving a small portion of the left edge of the music misaligned. Reproductions of p.72 and the dedication in the London copy of *Capricci* appear in R. Spencer, 'Review of Minkoff reprint of *Capricci a due stromenti (1622)* by Bellerofonte Castaldi', *Early music*, x (1982), pp.383–5.

18 Since Castaldi sent the Duke of Mantua a copy of *Capricci* before he wrote the dedication, the Paris copy may very well be the actual copy Castaldi sent him. This is but one of many possible explanations for the absence of the dedication in the Paris copy.

19 The renowned Spanish guitarist Gaspar Sanz (1640–1710) also engraved his own publications.

20 A. Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto et di chitarone, libro primo* (Bologna, 1623), no.50, in Archivum Musicum, Collana di Testi Rari, preface by O. Cristoforetti (Florence, 1983). P. P. Melii, *Intavolatura di liuto, libro secondo (1614) and Libro quinto (1620)*, no.19 in Archivum Musicum, Collana di Testi Rari (Florence, 1979).

21 The method favoured by both Piccinini and Melii and as late as 1699 in the *Manuscript Vaudry de Saizenay: tablature de luth et de théorbe de divers auters* (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 279.152 and 279.153). There are no scordatura indications in Kapsberger's *Libro primo* of 1604. None was necessary in his *Libro quarto* of 1640, since Kapsberger tells us in his introductory notes that this volume was intended for realization on a fully chromatic 19-course theorbo. G. G. Kapsberger, *D'intavolatura di chitarone, libro primo (Venice, 1604)* and *D'intavolatura di chitarone, libro quarto (Rome, 1640)* [facsimile reprint], no.46 in Archivum Musicum, Collana di Testi Rari, prefaces by O. Cristoforetti (Florence, 1982).

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- 22 Since the duos are in score format, the page-turns are even less of a concern; it is quite an easy matter for one of the players to turn the page for both of them after the page's final cadence.
- 23 Given its limited production and Castaldi's status as a dilettante, it is unlikely that Piccinini or Kapsberger would have seen *Capricci* before publishing their subsequent volumes, and therefore would have been unable to profit from his example.
- 24 Castaldi's calligraphy is so varied that every initial is unique, even those representing the same letter, as in the two initial As in illus.3.
- 25 My deepest thanks to Rev. Angelo Della Picca for guiding me toward an understanding of Castaldi's complicated syntax in *Capricci's* dedication and other introductory materials.
- 26 For instance in a letter to his mentor, the like-minded and unusually liberal Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, dated 22 October 1622 contained in Modena, Archivio di Stato, busta 1/A.
- 27 B. Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, trans. G. Bull (Baltimore, 1967).
- 28 My thanks to Jonathan Glixon for bringing this issue to my attention, and to Massimo Ossi and Mauro Calgagno for their helpful observations on Castaldi's engravings.
- 29 Of Kapsberger, Castaldi wrote 'Few are those who can compete with him.' ('Pochi con esso ponno entrar in Giostra.'): Pergreffi, *Bellerofonte Castaldi: Le rime*, p.369.
- 30 Fifteen of the 26 songs were settings of Castaldi's own poems; 11 were set by other poets.
- 31 All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
- 32  
Altri pur s'affatichi in medicina,  
Ch'a me par profession sporca e plebea,  
O bartoleggi in la turba facchina  
Ch'a la ragione dà'l torto, iniqua e rea,  
O sia filosofastro da dozina,  
O pur teologhezi in lingua ebra,  
Ch'altro i'non vo' che musical diletto  
Scrivendo ogn'or con la tiorba al petto.
- 33 Valdrighi, 'Di Bellerofonte Castaldi', p.108.
- 34 My thanks to Barbara Hanning for her comments on *Capricci's* iconography.
- 35 'Godendo in questi luoghi solitarii', where 'gente rusitica Che non può fara altrui ne ben, ne male. Le stelle a milioni apparir fuora. I giorni qui sono piu dilettevoli, / E piu lunghi, e piu chiari, e piu sereni.' *Le rime burlesche, parte terza*, p.178ff. He also enjoyed Venice immensely for the freedom he found there.
- 36 'Ma stò contento a quel che Dio destina, / Ne fuor che Libertà vo' cosa alcuna, / E lieto aspetto l'ultima ruina.' *Rimansuglio*, f.40r.
- 37 Obstinate repudiation of received wisdom must have run in Castaldi's family. One of Bellerofonte's brothers, Sesostro, was a well-esteemed mathematician, architect and philosopher whose writings were highly critical of Aristotle and the popular notion that the philosopher was infallible.
- 38 For instance, in a letter to his friends in the Camerata Musifili, an academy devoted to the study of music and philosophy, Castaldi wrote that the *tiorba* and the *tiorbino* make divine music together, as do tobacco and wine. Pergreffi, *Bellerofonte Castaldi: Le rime*, p.305.
- 39 S. Buetens, 'The instructions of Alessandro Piccinini in Libro primo, Bologna 1623', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, ii (1969), pp.6–17. Piccinini, however, departed from contemporary practice by advocating a hand-position half-way between the rose and bridge.
- 40 See V. Bobri, *The Segovia technique* (New York, 1972).
- 41 The *Capricci* title-page was selected to appear in G. Fraenkel's *Decorative music title pages: 201 examples from 1500 to 1800* (New York, 1968), plate 84, 13 years before the publication of the Minkoff reprint of *Capricci* in 1981.
- 42 In the Este coat of arms, however, each eagle has its own crown.
- 43 J. Southorn, *Power and display in the seventeenth century: the arts and their patrons in Modena and Ferrara* (Cambridge, 1988), p.19.
- 44 This refers to the trills implied by the skeletons of obvious trill formulas.
- 45 '... what is shown' refers to the scordatura indications that are found at the beginning of several of *Capricci's* compositions.
- 46 'Gl'avvertimenti, d'accentar la corda; di punti per metter le dita approposito e per l'insù di strisci di trilli; di forte, e piano; d'ugualianza, e velocità nel battere i gruppi Arpeschi; d'accordar lo stromento conforme a la mostra, et altre non si danno, perche chi havrà giuditio per sonar sicuro questa intavolatura, l'havrà ancora per cosi fatti rimansugli. Fra quali se col beato destino onnipotente e parole simili in quelle poche canzonnette che ci sono, l'autor che vive e crede da Christiano offendesse le càste orecchie del pio legitore, o cantore lo prega a non si scandalizzare, che questo l'hà fatto perche cosi comporta l'uso del chiacchiarar Poetico. In Modena presso l'Autor Medesimo con licenza de Superiori.'
- 47 Mason writes that *Capricci's* solos and duets 'skillfully employ imitative counterpoint, exploit the various textures and timbres of the instrument, and require complete technical command of the instrument': Mason, *The chitarrone and its repertoire*, p.81.
- 48 Melii's *Libro quinto* (1620) also includes a brief preface with playing instructions: Mason, *The chitarrone and its repertoire*, pp.81–2.
- 49 Piccinini, *Libro primo*, pp.5, 8. The truth of Piccinini's claim is irrelevant to this discussion. What is important is that he made it and thus may have inspired Castaldi to describe the *tiorbino's* origins. For very detailed and sometimes contentious discussions on this controversy, see Cristoforetti's introduction to Piccinini's *Libro primo* (no page numbers given); Smith, 'On the origin of the chitarrone', pp.440–62 (Piccinini's remarks translated on pp.448–51); Mason, *The chitarrone and its repertoire*, pp.17–26 (Piccinini's remarks translated on pp.17–19); Spencer, 'Chitarrone, theorbo and archlute', pp.408–10; Dunn, *Style and development in the theorbo works of Robert de Visé*, pp.44–6; H. Turnbull,



'The origin of the long-necked lute', *Galpin Society journal*, xxv (1972), pp.58–66; and M. Spring, 'The theorbo', *Early music today*, v (Oct/Nov 1997), pp.11–13.

50 Dunn, in *Style and development in the theorbo works of Robert de Visée*, p.61, n.32, three times replaces the name *tiorbino* with *tiorbing*. Moreover, in addition to the fact that Spencer published a facsimile of the London copy of *Capricci's* dedication in his 1982 review of the Minkoff Reprint, there can be no confusion as to the identity of the final vowel of the word where it appears in the Minkoff Reprint of *Capricci*. Stanley Buetens makes the same error on p.39 of his article 'Theorbo accompaniments'.

51 For instance in *Le rime burlesche parte terza*, f.157r: 'Chè la Tiorba è questa, più perfetta/Del liuto . . .' and 'L'armonia di Tiorba più diletta,/Che 'l Liuto . . .'

52 'Tanto più che nell'istesso tempo s'introdusse la Chitarra alla spagnola per tutta Italia, massime in Napoli, che unita con la Tiorba, pare che abbiano congiurato di sbandire affatto il Liuto; et è quasi riuscito a punto, come il modo di vestire alla spagnola in Italie prevale a tutte le altre foggie.' Cited in H. Turnbull, *The guitar from the Renaissance to the present day* (New York, 1978), p.44, and N. Fortune, 'Giustiniani on instruments', *Galpin Society journal*, v (1952), p.50. The translation is by Fortune.

53 Fulvio Testi (1593–1646), a celebrated writer, poet and diplomat, was the Modenese resident in Rome, and in 1635 was appointed envoy to Madrid. See F. Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: a guide to research* (New York, 1988), p.167.

54 Fulvio Testi, *Rime di Fulvio Testi* (Modena: Solani, 1617), pp.168–9. Castaldi also included both poems in *Le rime burlesche, seconda parte*, ff.82r, 82v. Testi dedicated another poem to Castaldi, which appears in the introductory material of *Primo mazzetto*. Detailed analyses and assessments of Castaldi's poetry are to be found in G. Cavazzuti's *Frammenti di una corrispondenza poetica del sec. XVII* (Modena, 1910) and *Poesia diattale modenese* (Modena, 1910). *Frammenti*

also explores the relationship between Castaldi and Testi as revealed in the letters and poems the two friends exchanged.

55 Similarly, Castaldi critically re-evaluated his handling of the placement of the texts in *Capricci's* dance songs and revised his approach in his next publication, *Primo mazzetto*. In *Primo mazzetto*, Castaldi placed the second and succeeding verses directly below the first verse, whereas in the *Capricci* songs, the second and succeeding verses appear separately below the musical staves. Upon reflection, Castaldi must have realized the inconvenience of this traditional arrangement, and corrected it in *Primo mazzetto*. For many years it was thought that *Primo mazzetto* was the first publication to place the verses directly under the music, yet officially that honour belongs to Fabio Costantini's collections of Roman song repertory for 1–4 voices entitled *Ghirlandetta amorosa* (Orvieto: Fei & Ruuli, 1621) and *L'aurata cintia* (Orvieto: Fei & Ruuli, 1622). Although he may have been familiar with Costantini's music, their being published in the small Umbrian town of Orvieto makes it unlikely that Castaldi, who had returned north to Modena by 1621, would have been familiar with the details of their presentation in published form. For further information on Costantini and his music, see M. Paquette-Abt, *A professional musician in early modern Rome: the life and print program of Fabio Costantini, c.1579–c.1644* (PhD diss., U of Chicago, 2003).

56 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Materie, Letterati busta 14.

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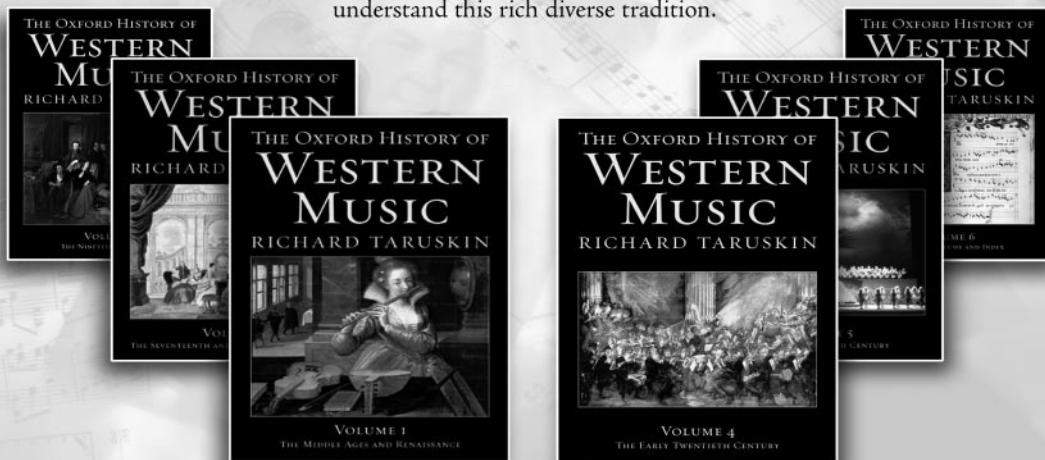
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