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G. G. KAPSBERGER IN ROME, 1604–1645: NEW BIOGRAPHICAL DATA*

Victor Coelho

I

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

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¹Unless distinguished otherwise, the word "lutenist" is used here in a generic sense, to describe a player on all lute instruments, including the lute, chitarrone, and liuto attiorbato.

Nobilis musicus Hieronymus Capsbergerus Germanus, innumerabilium sere qual scriptorum, qua impressorum voluminum musicorum editione clarissimus, qui ingenio polies maximo, ope aliarum scientiarum quarum peritus est, musicae arciana feliciter penetravit. Hic est, cui posteritas debet omnes illas elegantias harmonicas, quas strascinos, mordentias, gruposque vulgo vocant in Tiorba ac Testudine . . .

Noble musician Hieronymus Kapsberger Germanus, author of innumerable writings and distinguished musical publications, who with his superb genius and other scientific skills in which he was expert, successfully penetrated the secrets of music. He is the one to whom posterity owes all those elegant graces, which are called *strascini*, *mordenti*, and *gruppi*, to speak unclassically, applied to the *tiorba* and lute . . .²

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

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

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

³This total is less than half of Kapsberger's entire output for *chitarrone*. Leone Allacci (*Apes Urbanae* [Rome, 1633], pp. 159-60) lists three books in print and three books in manuscript "which Kapsberger is preparing for publication." Allacci's list is published in its entirety in Johann Walther's *Musikalisches Lexicon, oder musikalisches Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1732), pp. 335-36.

had on other musicians of his day.⁴ More importantly, the neglect of Kapsberger's music has barricaded the main avenue of approach towards an investigation of the entire Italian lute culture of the seventeenth century.

Lying at the root of this problem is the absence of a penetrating biography of the composer—a necessary prerequisite for any serious study of Kapsberger's music. Some twenty years ago, Paul Kast assembled a convincing, if somewhat speculative biography by examining the information contained in the prefaces and dedications to Kapsberger's printed works.⁵ Despite Kast's efforts, Kapsberger's history remained little more than a series of bursts in compositional activity, followed by curious lacunae in his output. Recent investigations of Italian archives, however, have unearthed new documents that illuminate some of the details of Kapsberger's life. This material, seen within the context of the patronage institutions that governed cultural life in seventeenth-century Rome, provides sufficient information to reconstruct Kapsberger's life.⁶ The purpose of this article, then, is threefold: to furnish a comprehensive documentary biography of Kapsberger from his arrival in Rome *ca.* 1605 up to his death in 1651; to examine Kapsberger's relationship to the rich cultural milieu within which he worked; and to lay the groundwork for future studies of Kapsberger's music, and by extension, for a primary investigation of the lute and chitarrone repertory of seventeenth-century Italy.

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

⁴These subjects are discussed in Victor Coelho, "Il Tedesco della tiorba and the Role of the Lute and Chitarrone in the Toccatas of Frescobaldi," in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. A. Silbiger (forthcoming), and in the expanded "G. G. Kapsberger 'della tiorba' et l'influenza liutistica sulle Toccate di Frescobaldi," in the *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio su Frescobaldi ed il suo Tempo*, Ferrara, 1983, (forthcoming).

⁵Paul Kast, "Biographische Notizen über Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger aus den Vorreden zu seiner Werken," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 40 (1960), pp. 200–211; see also Kast's "Tracce Monteverdiane e influssi Romani nella musica sacra del Kapsberger," *Rivista Italiana di musicologia* 2 (1967), pp. 287–93.

⁶The bibliography on seventeenth-century patronage is immense. I refer the reader to Alexander Silbiger's excellent bibliography in his "The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), pp. 44–45, to which should be added, Frederick Hammond, "Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, Patron of Music," *Studi Musicali* 12 (1983), pp. 53–66.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷Doni's remarks are summarized in Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1878), p. 126.

⁸G. B. Doni, *De praestantia musicae veteris libri tres* (Florence, 1647), pp. 98–99.

of the incident in the Sistine Chapel archives.⁹ Unbeknownst to Baini, but supporting his general conclusion, are records in the *Libri di Ponti* that document two occasions on which Kapsberger's music was sung at the Sistine Chapel. In December of 1626, a mass by Kapsberger was performed *without incident*—which, at any rate, proves Doni's story to be untrue—and the following year, another Kapsberger mass was sung in the presence of the Pope, "because he wanted to hear it," after which Kapsberger "thanked all the Holy Singers for the favor they had done for him."¹⁰

Doni's story appears now to be an exaggeration, yet Doni succeeded in his attempt to discredit Kapsberger in ways he never imagined. His story was resurrected in important musical histories over the next three centuries. Hawkins was the first to open the coffin, when he paraphrased Doni's entire story about Kapsberger in his widely read *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* of 1776.¹¹ Hawkins made no attempt to verify Doni's claims. Almost two centuries later, Ambros redrew Doni's character sketch of Kapsberger and amplified his remarks for an even larger musicological audience. Predictably, Ambros called Kapsberger a "bragging charlatan" who achieved success by his noble status and his "pushy and self-conscious behavior."¹² In addition, Ambros called Kapsberger's monodies "unbelievably poor."¹³

Convinced of the accuracy of Doni and Ambros, Nigel Fortune called Kapsberger an "inferior craftsman" and his songs "inept trifles, just like all the other airs composed in Rome—bungling and unmelodious."¹⁴ Was Fortune only drawing on Ambros' earlier statement that Kapsberger's monodies were "no worse and no better than the average work of the

⁹Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (1828) rpt. (Hildesheim, 1966). pp. 353ff.

¹⁰Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sestina Diario (CSD) 46, "Libro delle Puntature 1626," fol. 45v: "Il Decembre venerdi . . . Dopo l'offitio venne il S.^r Protettore Cardinal Biscia Mons.^r Ciampoli, Sign.^r Paolo Alaleone Maestro di Ceremonie per sentir una Messa composta dal Sig.^r Gio: Geronimo Kapsperger, essendosi avisati tutti li franchi, accio venessero fu cantata presente med.^o Compositore . . ." CSD 47 (1627), fol. 21v: "Domenica di Pentecoste 23. Maggio, N.S. tenne Capella à Monte Cavallo alla presenza dell' Ill.^{mo} Card.^o et forno n^o 24 Canto messa il Card.^o Pio et fu messa novella sermonegio un seminarista et forno presenti tutti li ss. Compagni serventi, si cantò la messa del s.^r Gio: Girolimo Kasperger alias detto il Todesco della Tiorba et questo fu fatto perche N.S. la volse sentire finito la messa il d.^o s.^r Kasperger sali a choro ringratio tutti li ss. Cantori del favor che gli havevano fatto . . ."

¹¹Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776; rpt. of 1875 edition Graz, 1969), p. 427.

¹²Ambros, *Geschichte*, p. 125.

¹³Ambros, *Geschichte*, p. 131.

¹⁴Nigel Fortune, "Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1954), p. 192.

inferior monodists of the time"?¹⁵ The views expressed by the triumvirate of Doni, Ambros, and Fortune formed the basis for Wolfgang Witzemann's lukewarm appraisal of Kapsberger in the *New Grove*.¹⁶

Clearly, then, Kapsberger lived and died by the Roman monody—at least he did if we accept the statements by Ambros, Fortune, and Witzemann at their face value. This view is difficult to reconcile with the applause Kapsberger's vocal music received during the seventeenth century. In 1628, Giustiniani wrote that Kapsberger "excelled" in a new manner of recitative-style singing "with newly invented melodies and ornamentation."¹⁷ Kircher echoed Giustiniani, and even hailed Kapsberger as Monteverdi's successor for his compositions in this genre:

Fuit hoc styli genere cum primis
celebris olim Claudius Monte-
verde, uti eius Ariadne ostendit;
eum secutus Hieronymus Caps-
pergerus varia edidit stylo recitativo
que summo cum iudicio & peritia
composita, ac certe dignissima
sunt quae Musici imitentur.

There was once Claudio Monte-
verdi among the most celebrated
in this kind of style, as he showed
in his *Ariadne*; Hieronymus Kaps-
berger followed him who published
various books in recitative style,
composed with excellent skill and
taste, and is certainly most worthy
of being imitated by musicians.¹⁸

Since the bulk of what Doni, Ambros, Fortune, and Witzemann had to say about Kapsberger's music is at best offensive, the tradition derived from their writings may have much to do with Kapsberger's current neglect. There is no hard musical evidence to corroborate the damaging remarks by these writers, and one should probably accept Giustiniani and Kircher as the most reliable critics. One is on somewhat shakier ground in assessing Kapsberger's personality. Doni apparently had some personal disagreement with Kapsberger, as he did with Frescobaldi; this would account for the rancor in his comments.¹⁹ Yet there may be more than a grain of truth in what Doni had to say, since other witnesses also alluded to Kapsberger's aloofness and somewhat uncourtly manner. These comments, which seem to be related to Kapsberger's exploitation of his noble standing, will be clarified in the following biography.

¹⁵Ambros, *Geschichte*, p. 129.

¹⁶*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 9 (London, 1980), pp. 800–801.

¹⁷Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorsi sopra la musica de' suoi tempi* (1628), trans. Carol MacClintock in *Musicological Studies and Documents* 9 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962), p. 77.

¹⁸Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, p. 594.

¹⁹For Doni's impressions of Frescobaldi, see Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: His Life and Music* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 85–86.

II

Giovanni Girolamo was born in Venice around 1580 to parents of noble German origin. His birth date is established by his death certificate, dated 17 January 1651, which states that he died "in about his seventy-first year."²⁰ Little is known about Girolamo's parents other than that his father, Guglielmo (Wilhelm) Kapsberger, was a military official employed by the House of Austria.²¹ He may have come to Italy as an ambassador in the decades following the German advance on the *terraferma* in the 1520s.²² Nothing is known of his son's life until the appearance of Girolamo's *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarrone* in 1604, his first and only Venetian print. For its novelty as the first printed book of chitarrone music, and because it contained a short but valuable list of *avvertimenti* for the player, the *Libro primo* was perhaps the most popular Italian lute or chitarrone tablature of the seventeenth century. In fact, the book seems to have been in use for at least the next twenty years, since transmissions of its repertory appear in manuscripts copied as late as 1627.²³ His reputation undoubtedly enhanced by the success of this maiden work, Kapsberger left Venice for Rome shortly after 1604, perhaps lured by the prospect of securing permanent employment.

Kapsberger's Rome during the first decade of the seventeenth century was a bustling and diversified city in the adolescence of a spectacular renewal in its urban, economic, and cultural life.²⁴ It was a different Rome than existed a century before; even a native centenarian might not have recognized his city were it not for the ancient monuments and traditional church ceremonies. In 1500, Rome held little interest for a newcomer. Its roads were cramped and deformed, its monuments in need of restoration, and civic pride was at an all-time low. Its Renaissance had not yet arrived;

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

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

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

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

²⁴See Francis Haskell's excellent *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy*, revised edition (New Haven, 1980), pp. 24–30.

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

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

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

²⁵Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500–1559* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), p. 4.

²⁶On Germans in Rome, see Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, pp. 76–77; also Barbara McClung Hallman, "Practical Aspects of Roman Diplomacy in Germany, 1517–1541," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980), pp. 193–206. For a list of Germans in Rome, see Friedrich Noack, *Das Deutschtum in Rom*, 2 vols., (Stuttgart, 1927). Kapsberger is strangely absent from Noack's alphabetical list.

²⁷See Thomas Culley, "The Influence of the German College in Rome on Music in German-Speaking Countries During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Analecta Musicologica* 7 (1969), pp. 1–35.

²⁸These are listed in Luisa Cervelli, "Brevi note sui liutai Tedeschi attiva in Italia dal secolo XVI° al XVII," *Analecta Musicologica* 5 (1968), pp. 299–337.

²⁹Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *La Musique de luth en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1981), pp. 56–57.

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

No record exists of Kapsberger's first Roman activities, but it is clear that he was soon patronized by members of both the prominent Jesuit and artistic communities. His initial Roman prints, the *Libro primo di madrigali* (1609) and the *Libro primo di villanelle* (1610), appeared through the efforts of the poet Francesco de Zazzara and members of the knightly Order of St. Stephen. Where and how Kapsberger met these first patrons of his is not altogether clear. One strong possibility is that the poet Zazzara was chiefly responsible for Kapsberger's first Roman successes. Attracting a patron was a complex process for an artist or musician; it required a precise knowledge of the politics and the formalities of each institution.³⁰ Success depended on the artist's employment of a competent intermediary, or sponsor, usually from the artist's home town. He could be a friend, perhaps, or a member of the church, but above all he must be someone with connections—what we today call an "agent." Zazzara contributed dedicatory poems for Kapsberger's 1604 Venetian print as well as for three of the first five Roman prints. He appears to have been involved in the publication of Kapsberger's *Libro primo* in Venice, and then to have travelled with Girolamo to Rome, where he acted as his impresario.³¹ Thus, Kapsberger's use of Zazzara in this capacity was a fairly typical procedure. At any rate, Kapsberger's status as a *nobile alemano*—a distinction not without considerable weight in the class-conscious Rome of Clement VIII—should have ensured the swift publication of his works. It undoubtedly helped him gain entry to the various Roman academies.

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

³⁰On the methods used in Rome to attract patrons, see Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, pp. 1–23.

³¹If this hypothesis is correct, it may not have been the only occasion in which Kapsberger employed his Venetian contacts to further his career. The Archivio di Stato in Venice (*Battesimi* 6, 1533–1641) lists the baptismal record of an M. Priuli on 25 November 1581, who may be the same Michel Priuli who collected the works for Kapsberger's *Libro terzo di chitarrone* (Rome, 1626). In addition, a Michel Priuli is listed in the Archive's *Indice dell'Archivio del Conv.^{to} dei P.P. Augustiniani di S. Stefano in Venezia*, no. 95, 112, which may have some bearing on Kapsberger's close association with the Roman order of St. Stefano.

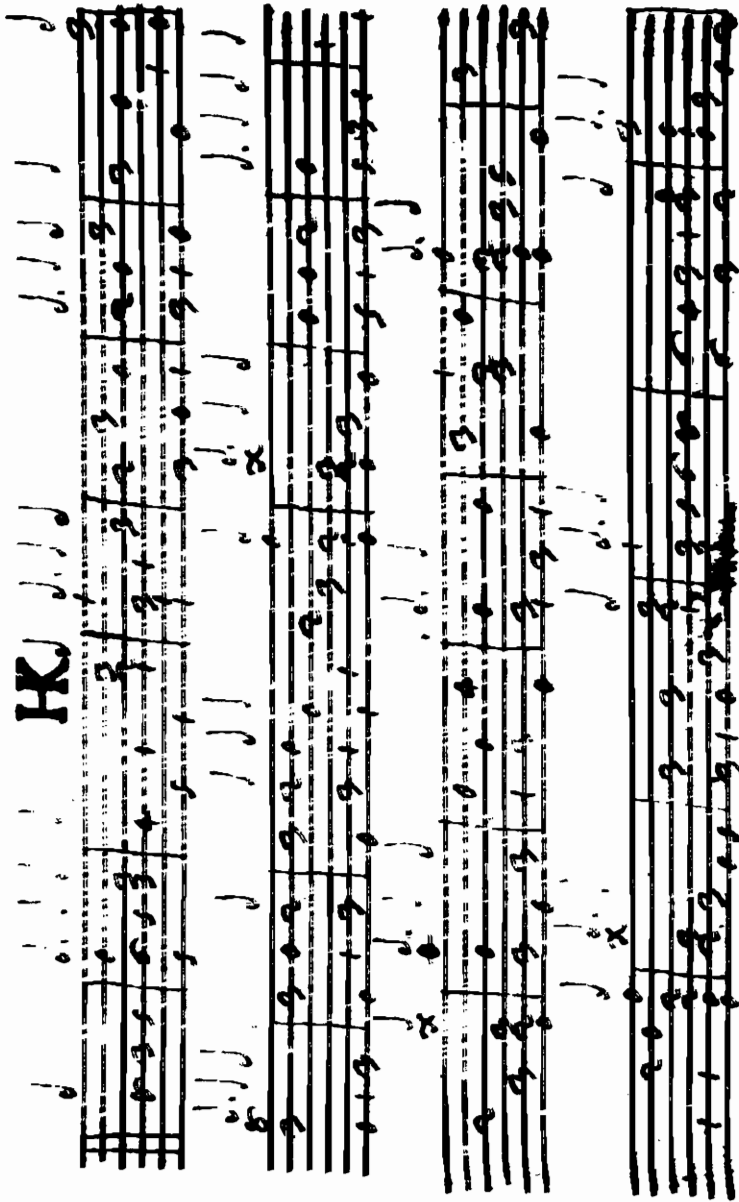


Plate I [Corrente] by Kapsberger from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. Vmd. Ms. 30, fol. 8.

prints enjoyed a wide circulation.³² With a rising public image and a distinguished list of publications, it was only a matter of time before Kapsberger began his climb up the patronage ranks of the powerful Roman families in search of the largest rewards.

One of these families was the Bentivoglio, a centuries-old, powerful Ferrarese family who came to Rome around 1600. The nucleus of the family consisted of two extremely well-bred brothers, Guido and Enzo, both of whom possessed a love of music and art. Their opportunities came in 1598 when Duke Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara died without an heir and the city was brought under direct papal command. The eldest brother Ippolito challenged the change of rule by supporting a dubious claim to the duchy, but Guido and Enzo, with brilliant careers in front of them, sympathized with the new order and were rewarded with the best the papacy could offer. Guido began a splendid career with the church in Rome, and became one of the city's greatest patrons of the arts. Enzo, the statesman of the family and the wealthiest of the brothers, initially stayed in Ferrara as an ambassador but remained active in Roman cultural events. By 1609, he too was in Rome, where with his brother he exerted a profound influence on Roman music.³³

Lute music was never far away from the Bentivoglio household. While living in Ferrara, the brothers were undoubtedly familiar with Alessandro Piccinini and his family of lutenists, all of whom worked for Duke Alfonso II.³⁴ When the Ferrarese court was dissolved in 1598, Piccinini also left Ferrara, and, according to Newcomb, "all evidence indicates that Alessandro Piccinini was, like Frescobaldi, part of the Bentivoglio music establishment in Rome from its inception."³⁵ In addition, documents show that Enzo Bentivoglio had contact with nearly all the other important lutenists that were active in Italy during the early seventeenth century,

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

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

³⁴On the Piccininis in Ferrara, see Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1980), pp. 166, 179; a succinct account of the Piccininis' lives appears in Lucio de Grandis, "Famiglie di musicisti nel '500: I Piccinini, vita col liuto," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 12 (1982), pp. 226-32.

³⁵Anthony Newcomb, "Girolamo Frescobaldi 1608-1615," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1964-1977), p. 140.

including the Cavaliere del Liuto, Pietro Paolo Melii, and Giovanni Kapsberger.³⁶

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

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

This morning, Enzo's guests, who had arrived in Rome for the festival of the canonization of San Carlo, went to the Coliseum to see Michele Cavallaverio manage his horses, and afterwards they went to dine at the home of Sig. Card. le Bevilacqua. And for their entertainment, he had Il Todesco dalla Teorba perform, to whom [Bevilacqua] had given so many compliments, that [Kapsberger] went home with a swollen head, having not as much as eaten, pretending to be a nobleman and not wanting to eat if no other noblemen or *accademici* were present. . .³⁷

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

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

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

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

Kapsberger took a wife, the Neapolitan Gerolima di Rossi, shortly before 1609.³⁹ At least three children were the products of this marriage. Baptismal records survive for two daughters, Clarice Vittoria (born 1619) and Livia (born 1621).⁴⁰ The identity of the third child, a son named Filippo Bonifacio, is revealed in the preface he wrote to his father's Christmas cantata, *I Pastori di Bettelemme* of 1630.⁴¹ According to Kast, Filippo may have been born around 1610.⁴² As Kapsberger's reputation grew during these years, so did the demand for his services as a composer. His commissions even came from Florence, where Kapsberger's *Maggio Cantata* was performed in the Palazzo Pitti during the 1612 Carnival.⁴³ Kast speculates that this commission may have come through Kapsberger's association with the Order of St. Stephen.⁴⁴ Other patrons during this time included the military "knights" of the Order of St. John, represented by Jakob Christoph Andlau, who wrote the preface to Kapsberger's *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* of 1612. Firmly established as a Roman composer, Kapsberger composed steadily for the next twelve years, publishing two more books of *villanelle* (1619), a book of motets (1612), instrumental dances (1615), *sinfonie* (1615), solo lute and chitarrone music (1616,

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

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

⁴⁰Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, Parrocchia di San Lorenzo in Damaso, Battesimi 7, fol. 50v (15 March 1619): Clarice Vittoria nata di 5 fig.a del sig.r Gio: Gerolimo Kapsberger Todesco et della sig.re Gerolima de Rossi Napolitana s[ua] m[oglie] di S. Cecelia bat[tezzata] del so[pra]d[ett]o Comp. Mons.r Gio: Batta. Porta Comasco et la sig.ra Clarice Fosana Romana; fol. 108r (23 Nov. 1621): Livia nata li 20 fig. del s. Gio. Gironimo Kapsberger Todesco, et della Gironima s.m. par. S. Cecilia batta' da D. Gasparo Patr. l'III.mo S.D. Verginio Cesarini, et Livia Mamma.

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

⁴²Kast, "Biographische Notizen über Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger," p. 210.

⁴³See Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637* (Florence, 1905 rpt. New York, 1968), p. 64.

⁴⁴"Möglicherweise hat ihm übrigens die Freundschaft der beiden Angehörigen des Toskanischen Ordens vom Heiligen Stefan den Auftrag zu der Maien-Kantate 1612 für den Florentiner Hof eingebracht," quoted from Paul Kast, "Biographische Notizen über Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger," p. 205.

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

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

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

⁴⁵The *Apotheosis* receives a lengthy discussion in James Forbes, "The Non-Liturgical Vocal Music of Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill, 1978), pp. 248–451.

⁴⁶For a general background on academies, see Edmond Strainchamps, "New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence," *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976), pp. 507–35; see also Allan Atlas, "The Accademia degli Unisoni: A Music Academy in Renaissance Perugia," in *Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein* (New York, 1977), pp. 5–24. An indispensable reference tool is Michel Maylender, *Storie delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols., (Bologna, 1926–30); also useful is Eric Cochrane's *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies 1690–1800* (Chicago, 1961).

⁴⁷"... e nostra Accademia? Dove la Musica, e le Muse in sì bel commercio di tanta virtù, e nobilità, sanno hora mai nominar le Casa sua tra le meraviglie di Roma" (from Pietro Camillo Beccaria's preface to Kapsberger's 1615 *Balli*).

⁴⁸Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment*, p. 22.

Questi sono le compositioni che V. Sig^{na} per suo gusto, et per obligar la nostra Accademia in diverse occasioni ha composte le quali perchè da me particolarmente furon raccolte, come quello che partialmente stimo tutte le cose sue; essendo à me tutto giorno di diversi amici richiesti e per far che nell' Accademia con maggior commodità si conoschino . . .

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

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

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

III

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

⁴⁹The most detailed account of Urban's reign is in Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Dom Ernest Graf (London, 1938), vol. 29. On Urban and his nephews as patrons, and for a detailed examination of the cultural climate of the time, see Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, pp. 24–62.

The splendors of Urban's reign were also due to the efforts of his nephews, Francesco and Antonio Barberini. In a daring display of nepotism, Urban raised both of them to the rank of cardinal—Francesco in 1624, Antonio in 1627—in defiance of a papal bull forbidding the elevation of more than one nephew at any time. But in view of the magnificent flowering of culture as a result of this action, who can argue against Urban's unbridled display of power? Both nephews were as adept in cultural pursuits as their uncle; both had impeccable taste; both were vigorously active in the patronage of artists and poets; and both maintained first-rate musical establishments.⁵⁰

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

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

⁵⁰See Frederick Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini 1634-1643," *Analecta Musicologica* 19 (1980), pp. 94-124. See also Henri Prunières, "Les musiciens du Cardinal Antonio Barberini," in *Mélanges de Musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie* (Paris, 1933), pp. 117-22.



Plate II Title-page of the *Poematia et Carmina*, 1624, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)

may already have been in some favor with the new papal family.⁵¹ The appearance of the Pope's coat-of-arms and the words *Volumen Primum* suggest that Kapsberger's settings were intended not simply to attract the attention of the new Pope, but to be part of a larger agreement between the two parties.⁵² We may even suspect that Urban was aware of Kapsberger's desire to set his poetry to music, and perhaps selected the poems himself. Moreover, in setting the *Poematia* and *Carmina*, Kapsberger was participating in a social action that was well understood, even encouraged, by Urban—namely, flattery. It thus appears that the *Poematia* of 1624 was at least partially responsible for Kapsberger's employment by the Barberini.

The *Poematia et Carmina* became one of Kapsberger's best-known works, winning him more widespread acclaim. It was, along with a second setting in 1633, one of the few works that were still in demand after Kapsberger's death.⁵³ Its favorable reception is borne out by Doni's letter to Mersenne, in which Doni praises the work and its composer, and even apologizes to Mersenne for not having sent him a copy sooner. Indeed, the work—written in a fairly conservative recitative style, sprinkled with occasional arioso passages—fits perfectly with Doni's ideal of "a vocal line that imitates ordinary speech but that is nevertheless varied and arioso" which he postulated in his *Lyra Barberina*.⁵⁴ Doni's letter, translated below, is important not only for its description of the *Poematia*, but also for the glimpse it offers into some of Kapsberger's activities during his first years with the Barberini:

Having arrived in Rome, I discovered that you have not been sent the music which I was entrusted to send you in Paris. It is for this reason, so that you are not frustrated in your expectations, and so I do not break my promise, that I should like to send you the entire book of *Odes* by our Holy Father, set

⁵¹Exactly where and when Kapsberger may have had previous contact with the Barberini is difficult to pinpoint. The most likely setting would have been the Accademia degli Umoristi, since a summary of the academy's membership after 1608 includes the names of Maffeo, Francesco, and Antonio Barberini. Kapsberger, as we showed earlier, was associated with the Umoristi around 1611. The membership list also includes the names of others who were employed by Pope Urban and his nephews: Giovanni Ciampoli (secretary to Urban), Virginio Cesarini (*Maestro da Camera* to Urban), Jules Cardinal Mazarin (*Maestro da Camera* to Antonio), Doni, and the poets Giacomo Cicognini, Ottavio Tronsarelli, and Giulio Rospigliosi. The list is published in Maylender, *Storie delle Accademie*, vol. 5, pp. 375–80.

⁵²Allacci (*Apes Urbanae*, pp. 159–60) lists a second volume published in 1633, and a third that existed in manuscript.

⁵³See the holdings of the reprint company, the Firma Franzini, in Othmar Wessely, "Der Indice der Firma Franzini in Rom," in *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation Franz Gruber zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1975), p. 471.

⁵⁴"Trattato della musica scenica," in *Lyra Barberina* (Florence, 1763), II, p. 25; quoted in Claude Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 115.

to music by that Author of whom I spoke to you in Paris. He is truly a knowledgeable man in his profession and is not without erudition, besides being extremely polite, very articulate and cordial, and in his music teaches to observe carefully the meaning of the words, and to adapt, as one should, its modulations to one another, purging as much as possible the affectation and corruption in singing that is practiced, for the most part, by modern musicians and singers, knowing that these ornaments and endless roulades [*desgoisemens*] are pleasing more to the ignorant public than to those that are pleased by things that are more settled and orderly. This is why you will never find these pieces full of affectations, but rather a melody that is pure and simple and well constructed, as I advocate, and of which you will be the better judge. He has often had the honor of having his pieces sung in the chamber of His Lordship, often being at the Palace as well, with the Secretary of Briefs of His Lordship, who is an avid lover of learned people and good musicians. He also plays the theorbo very well, of which he is considered the finest master that we have in Rome . . .⁵⁵

IV

Kapsberger was employed in the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, with whom he remained—albeit on a non-exclusive basis—until the Barberini fled Rome in 1645–46.⁵⁶ Detailed information regarding the activities and make-up of Francesco's household between 1623 and 1643 is preserved in an unusually complete collection of more than four thousand documents housed at the Archivio Barberini in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome. The documents consist chiefly of payment records,

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

⁵⁶Prunières ("Les musiciens du Cardinal Barberini") mistakenly assigned all the musicians in Francesco's employ to Cardinal Antonio, as well as misreading their salaries. For clarification, see Hammond, "A Decade of Music," p. 97, n.6.

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

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

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

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

⁵⁷See Hammond, "A Decade of Music," for a detailed description of Cardinal Francesco's household, and for a description of the archival documents.

⁵⁸I wish to thank Frederick Hammond for providing me with an early draft of his forthcoming article, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript," from which the following payment records concerning Kapsberger were extracted. Archival sigla are thoroughly described in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript." C.49, c.10, 29 March 1623: sc. 50 "per un regalo"; g. 130, April 1624, payment for "portatura della Tiorba."

⁵⁹Documents listed in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript."

⁶⁰C. 78, fol. 168v, 1629: sc. 40, "quali se li fanno pagare ad effetto, che se ne possa servire p[er] sue occorrenze senza obbligo di renderne altre conto."

⁶¹c.74, 12 Feb: sc. 11.95 "a putto musico . . . per conduirsi a Fiorenza al servio del P^o di Polonia." (Another payment for same.)

⁶²Giustificazione 798, July 1627: sc. 24.05 "Per il castratino mandato a Fiorenza."

Francesco had high hopes for Zampetti, as is shown by the amount of time and money that was spent—not always with great results—on furthering his musical education. Between 1626 and 1629, Zampetti lived with Kapsberger, and was given the necessary means to pursue his studies.⁶³ We can only speculate as to whether part of the Rome tiorba manuscript, Barb. Lat. 4145, was one of Zampetti's teaching books supervised by Kapsberger.⁶⁴ This is a strong possibility, given the pedagogical nature of the source. The primary layer, which contains at least two Kapsberger concordances, was copied in 1627–1628; and the back of the book contains some elementary music theory.

During the following years, Kapsberger displayed great versatility in composing works of diverse sorts, ranging from incidental music (such as the chorus for the 1627 wedding between Urban's youngest nephew Don Taddeo and Anna Colonna [see Plate III]) to sacred music. In July of 1627, Kapsberger provided music at the convent of the Convertite for the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, and for vespers and a mass for the Feast of St. Lucy.⁶⁵ The latter might be linked to the composition of Kapsberger's three books of *Salmi per vesperi* (now lost), which are mentioned by Allacci.⁶⁶

Kapsberger's activities were not limited to events sponsored by Cardinal Francesco. In May 1628, the composer received sc. 50 from Francesco's brother Cardinal Antonio for the music at Antonio's church of Santa Maria in Acquiro. In July, this sum was doubled for the same, and then tripled for the same again the following year.⁶⁷ Another of Antonio's favorite churches for which Kapsberger provided music was S. Agnese in Piazza Navona. In 1629, Kapsberger received sc. 100 from Antonio to pay the musicians who sang vespers and mass for the Feast of St. Agnes, and there is another payment the following year, possibly for the same.⁶⁸

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

⁶³Giustificazione 605A, 26 Nov. 1626: "girolamo Putto Castrato che serve ss.ia Ill.ma, e che stà p[er] imparare col sr Gio. Gir.mo Kasperger."

⁶⁴See footnote 23. See Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen* (RISM, vol. B VII), p. 305, for a description of this source.

⁶⁵Document sources (without annotation) are listed in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript."

⁶⁶Leone Allacci, *Apes Urbanae*, p. 160.

⁶⁷C.212, c.52, 29 May 1628: sc. 50 "a Kapsperger musico p[er] la musica fatta alli orfanelli p[er] il possesso preso del titolo Cardinalitio"; 4 July, sc. 100 for the same; c.33 4 July 1629: sc. 150 to Kapsberger "p[er] musiche fatte alli orfanelli nel pigliare il possesso del titolo, e nella festa della Chiesa"; C.231, fol. 61v.

⁶⁸C. 212, c.33, July 1629: sc. 100 to Kapsberger "p[er] pagare li musici, che sono stati a cantare li vespri, e messa à S.ta Agnesa nel giorno della vigilia, et festa di detta santa . . ." 1630, C. 233, fol. 57v.



Plate III Title-page of the *Coro Musicale*, 1627, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)

house of Sre. Marcello Sachetti.⁶⁹ It is tempting to imagine what music Kapsberger used for these sorts of comedies. Might the unusual "Commedia dell' arte" pieces from the *Libro quarto d'intavolatura di chitarrone*, such as the *Bergamasca*, *Sfessania*, *Colascione*, or even the three *Balli*, have their origin in these theatrical presentations?⁷⁰ Similar payments exist for a *commedia* in Monte Rotondo—the old Orsini house that was sold to Urban's brother Carlo in 1628—for which Kapsberger again seems to have provided the music and the musicians, and "for the stockings given to the musicians for the *commedia* performed at the Palace last August."⁷¹ Hammond suggests that this may relate to a performance of Tronsarelli's *Marsia*, which was performed in August 1628 at the as-yet-unfinished palace of the Quattro Fontane, and which might have been set to Kapsberger's music.⁷²

Kapsberger received a monthly salary of sc. 3.60 for the duration of his approximately twenty-year employment under Cardinal Francesco. His name appears alongside that of Frescobaldi (who was paid the same) in the monthly payment books (*rolì*) under the title of *straordinario*—a title shared by certain painters and sculptors, but also servants of "lower rank."⁷³ In keeping with his noble status, Kapsberger rarely picked up his monthly salary himself, but delegated the responsibility to one of his students or a musician under his care. These "messengers" carried a note signed by Kapsberger to acknowledge their role in the transaction (see Plate IV).⁷⁴ Other than the issuance of his monthly salary, there are no payments after 1630 that can be directly linked with Girolamo Tedesco. Whether this is an indication of an internal change in Francesco's music establishment or simply a reevaluation of Kapsberger's duties is not clear. For more complete information, then, we must look to the surviving prints themselves.

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

⁶⁹c. 241, 1628: spesa fatta nel balletto della commedia rappresentativo all' ecc.^{ma} S.^{ra} D. Anna in casa del S.^{re} Marcello Sachetti il carnevale passato." On Sachetti, see Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, pp. 38–39.

⁷⁰This topic will be expanded in my forthcoming article, "The Colascione and the Commedia dell' arte."

⁷¹c.241: Payment for "il castratino musico per la Commedia fatta in Monte Ritondo"; C.49, 28 Feb. 1629: Payment for "il putto musico che teneva il Kasperger & per calzette date alli musici per la commedia fatta al Palazzo nel mese di Agosto passato."

⁷²Documents relating to this performance are listed in Hammond, "Music in Casa Barberini: A Postscript."

⁷³See Hammond, "A Decade of Music," p. 100.

⁷⁴Plate III is from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vma. 274. Prunières ("Les musiciens du Cardinal Barberini," p. 120) lists three others who, along with Sabatini, performed the same function: Gregorio Gentile, Carlo Bicilli, and an Angelino.

Piacerà à V. I. dare à M. Gio: Battista
Sabatini la somma della presente li trenta sei giuli:
del presente mese di Dicembre 1641 -
Et li bacio le mani: Gio: Girolamo Kapsperger

Plate IV

Payment note signed by Kapsberger: "Piacerà à V. I. dare à M. Gio: Battista Sabatini latore della presente li trenta sei giuli del presente mese di Dicembre 1641 et li bacio le mani. Gio: Girolamo Kapsperger." (It will please your Lordship to give to Messr. Giovanni Sabatini, bearer of this, the thirty-six *giulii*) of the present month of December 1641 and I kiss your hands. Gio: Girolamo Kapsperger. [Followed by a mark indicating that the note was written *mano propria*.] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

themes and occasional music. This switch of emphasis undoubtedly reflects the tastes and commissions of his new patrons. Indeed, practically all of Kapsberger's music of this period glorifies the Barberini in one way or another. The sacred music consists of the *Cantiones sacrae* (1628), the Christmas cantata *I Pastori de Bettelemme* (1630),⁷⁵ the *Modulatus sacri diminutis concinnati* (1630), a volume of *Missae Urbanae* (1631), and the *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis* (1631). The occasional music consists of the *Coro musicale* (1627) and the *Epitalamio, a recitativo à più voci* for the wedding between Caroli Antoni à Puteo and Theodora Costa in 1628. Kapsberger's works for the stage, none of which are extant, also seem to be an outgrowth of Barberini taste. In his opera *Fetonte* (1630), Kapsberger collaborated with the poet and librettist Ottavio Tronsarelli, one of the Pope's favorite poets. More of Tronsarelli's thirty-three libretti may have been set in Kapsberger's lost collection of *Drammi diversi*.⁷⁶ There is no evidence that any of these works figured in the lavish opera productions put on by the Barberini during carnival season.⁷⁷

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

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

⁷⁵The cantata was set to a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi (the future Pope Clement IX), and dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. See Margaret Murata, "Rospigliosiana ovvero gli equivoci innocenti," *Studi Musicali* 4 (1975), p. 132. The work is discussed in Forbes, "The Nonliturgical Vocal Music of Kapsberger," pp. 453–88.

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

⁷⁷On the Barberini opera productions, see Hammond, "A Decade of Music," pp. 111–24; see also Flavio Testi, *La musica italiana nel seicento* (Milano, 1970), pp. 106–78. For a comprehensive study, see Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor, 1981).

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

Doni's comment that Kapsberger is "considered the finest master of the theorbo that we have in Rome" confirms Kapsberger's central position as a performer on the chitarrone, but says nothing about his style of playing. Giustiniani commented that "the tiorba has been invented in our day and Giovanni Geronimo has much improved the manner of playing it."⁷⁸ Giustiniani did not say just what Kapsberger's improvements were. We know from his surviving chitarrone books, however, that Kapsberger promoted a highly ornamented, rhythmically complex style; that he was the first to use trills, slurs, and arpeggios as they related to the chitarrone; that he advocated a new right hand position, the resting of the ring finger on the belly; and that he augmented the number of courses to nineteen in order to accommodate the full chromatic scale on the bass strings.⁷⁹

Severo Bonini mentioned in his *Discorsi e Regole* that Kapsberger "flourished in Rome," but gave no further details, saying only that he was "admired in his profession as all who practice music know."⁸⁰ Pietro della Valle was more explicit. Like Kircher, he drew attention to Kapsberger's ornamented style of playing: "some of the most outstanding modern composers knowledgeable in the finer points of *contrappunti* have known how to add to their music many graces such as trills, slurs, syncopations, tremolos, the semblance of piano and forte, and other similar ornaments which in the past few practiced as presently do Kapsberger on the *tiorba*, Orazio on the harp . . ."⁸¹

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

Kapsberger's fame was by no means limited to Italy. In Gaspar Sanz' *Instrucción de musica sobre la guitarra española* (Saragozza, 1674), Kapsberger is mentioned as being among the "best masters" of the guitar, even though he and other guitarists "didn't provide enough rules." A more

⁷⁸Giustiniani, *Discorso*, ed. MacClintock, p. 78.

⁷⁹See Kapsberger's *avvertimenti* to his *Libro quarto di chitarrone* (Rome, 1640). Gerle (*Musica teusch*, 1532) was actually the first to suggest resting the ring finger on the belly, but it does not seem to have been a very popular technique among lutenists. See Paul Beier, "Right Hand Position in Renaissance Lute Technique," this *Journal* 7 (1979), p. 10.

⁸⁰See MaryAnn Bonino, *Severo Bonini's Discorsi e Regole* (Provo, 1979), p. 155.

⁸¹Pietro della Valle, *Discorso dell'eta nostra* (1640): "Pero alcuni de piu eccellenti moderni che alle sottigliezze de contrappunti hanno saputo aggiunger ne'loro suoni mille grazie di trilli, strascini, di sincope, di tremoli, di finte di piano e di forte e di simile altri galanterie da quelli dell' eta passata poco praticate, come hanno fatto nella presente il Kasperger nella tiorba, Orazio nell'arpa . . ." Quoted in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903), p. 159.

comprehensive knowledge of Kapsberger was spread through Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis*, which was widely read in Germany until the early eighteenth century. Baron (1727) even quotes one of "Pater" Kircher's passages about Kapsberger, and describes him as a "fine musician" who "cultivated and ennobled" the chitarrone.⁸²

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

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

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

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

⁸²Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-Theoretische und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (1727), translated by Douglas A. Smith as *A Study of the Lute* (Redondo Beach, 1976), p. 108.

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

Ce mesme G. Girolamo apprend à chanter avec la gamme abbregee, comme l'on fait

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

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

aujourd'hui en France, c'est à dire *F fa ut, G sol re ut* etc. La plupart des autres maistres de Rome monstrent la gamme de la main Γ *Gamma ut, A re B mi* etc., mais tous en general se servent des trois clefs ordinaires.

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

⁸⁴Preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts, Ms. 502, fols. 274–288; published in Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Oeuvres: Journal I*, ed. Emanuele Kanceff (Turin, 1976), pp. 139–55. The *Journal* is summarized in Lucien Marceix, ed., *Un Parisien à Rome et à Naples en 1632: d'après un manuscrit inédit* (Paris, n.d.).

⁸⁵Fol. 284v: "Le Cardinal luy mesme fit entrer $\text{O}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\zeta$ par dessous l'eschafaut, et le conduisant par la main le fit seoir à ses pieds sur un petit banc, et commanda à Luca Holsteinus de se tenir pres $\text{O}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\zeta$, et luy expliquer le sujet . . ." (*Oeuvres*, p. 151).

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

Ορεστης fut prié par le S^r de la Grilliere de venir souper chez l'ambassadeur, qui traictoît tous les François. Mais il fut avec Holstein souper chez les seigneurs Brandani, gentilhommes romains, où se treuva Antonio Bruni, qui a fait trois livres de rimes et un d'epistres heroïques, et Stefano Lanti, qui avoit composé la musique de la representation de S^t Alexis, lequel fit ce jugement ci du Tedesquin, qu'il sçavoit fort bien jouer de la theorbe, et qu'il avoit une grande theorie de musique, mais qu'il ne reussisoit pas bien à la pratique, n'ayant aucune facilité ni promptitude.

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

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

⁸⁶Fol. 286; *Oeuvres*, p. 152.

⁸⁷See James Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1981), pp. 47-53; see also Catherine Massip, *La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin 1643-1661* (Paris, 1976).

⁸⁸Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, p. 59.

it meant the collapse of the largest pillar of patronage that supported the creation of the Baroque style in Europe. Aided by the mediating efforts of Cardinal Mazarin, the Barberini returned to Rome only three years later, but they could not recapture their glory of the 1620s and 1630s.⁸⁹

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

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

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

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

⁸⁹On the last years of the Barberini, see Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, pp. 58-63.

⁹⁰Paul Kast, "Biographische Notizen zu römischen Musiker," p. 48: "Anno 1651 die 17 mensis Januarij. D.nus Jo. Hieronymus Kapsberger Germanus etatis sue annorum septuag. mo primo circiter in domo Societatis S.orum Apostolorum in communione S. M.ris Ecclesie animam Deo reddidit, cuius corpus eadem suprad. a die sepultum est in hac n.ra Ecclesia S. Blasij in capsula lignea in sepulchro propè ianuam sacrarij: Mihi Jo. i Hier. o Mile-sio huius Ecclesie Parocho confessus, Sanctiss. o Viatico refectus, et Sacri olei unctione roboratus etiam per me."

⁹¹The *Libro terzo* (1626), once owned by the Biblioteca Raimondo Ambrosini in Bologna, was sold many years ago to an anonymous collector and is unavailable for study. The book's present whereabouts are unknown, and repeated attempts by myself and others to locate the book—or at least a film—have been unsuccessful. The collector Boris Christoff has informed me that the book is "really very rare."

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

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

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

⁹³I am greatly indebted to the following scholars who have graciously allowed me to consult, and in many cases quote from, their unpublished archival research: James Chater, Dinko Fabris, and Jean Lionnet. I am especially grateful to Frederick Hammond for his many contributions to this study.