

Harpsichord & *fortepiano*

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FRESCOBALDI UNMASKED: UNRAVELLING COMPLEXITIES OF INTERPRETATION WITHIN THE TOCCATAS

by Richard Lester

Girolamo Frescobaldi was arguably the greatest keyboard composer of the seventeenth century, yet his music is not performed as frequently as it deserves. Frescobaldi's style of writing was completely new in its time; perplexing and even astonishing. From a listener's point of view also and on a first hearing, the toccatas may appear restless and possibly a rather vague compilation of disjointed ideas - but nothing could be further from the truth.

The toccatas in particular have immense originality and a freedom of expression that marked the dawn of a new era in Italian musical history: the early Baroque period.

The first book of toccatas (*Toccate e Partite d'intavolatura di cembalo...*) was printed in 1615/16 by the publisher Nicolo Bordini. Its popularity can be gauged from the fact that it was reprinted in 1616, 1628 and 1637. The second book of toccatas (*Il secondo libro di toccate, canzone, versi d'hinni, Magnificat, gagliarde, correnti et alter partite d'intavolatura di cembalo e organo*) was published in Rome in 1627 and dedicated to the Bishop of Acona, Luigi Gallo, an amateur musician whom it is said, studied with Frescobaldi. This volume was re-edited in 1637.

The historical evolution of the toccata arose not from a contrapuntal tradition but from the improvisatory province of the performer.

Although rather sketchy, the Venetian toccatas of Andrea Gabrieli published in 1593, and Claudio Merulo's two collections of toccatas (1598 and 1604) had set a very definite precedent. These collections together with toccatas by Giovanni Trabaci (in 1603) and Asconio Mayone (in 1609), presented some extremely original ideas acting not only as a paradigm, but also as a departure point for the more labyrinthine form by Frescobaldi, who elevated the genre to a greater level of sophistication.

Of the twelve toccatas in *Libro Primo*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are in the Dorian mode transposed up

a fourth, No. 5 and 6 are Phrygian, No. 7 is Aeolian transposed up a fourth, No. 8 is Lydian, No. 9 is Aeolian, No. 10 is Ionian transposed up a fourth and two (No. 11 and 12) are in the Ionian. The home modes here of course serve merely as a framework in these complex works, which are the outpouring of a freely unfolding imagination, evoking a myriad of creativity that reaches an almost ethereal plateau. Chromaticism, highly imaginative harmonic progressions, frequently oscillating major and minor thirds and rhythmic innovations are just some of the inspirational elements that set Frescobaldi's music apart.

For the serious performer, a thorough familiarity with this "freely interpretative" genre is a prerequisite that reveals musical challenges on several planes. Frescobaldi, aware of these complexities, offers advice in a preface to the first volume of toccatas, which will be examined in due course.

As an introduction to the toccatas, a critical analysis of Toccata Prima (Ex. 8) from *Libro Primo* will, I hope, assist in understanding a few of these intricacies and help unravel conundrums arising in others. In addition a few fingering suggestions based on Banchieri's ideas are included along with practical modifications. The CD that accompanies this article will present suggested interpretations according to Frescobaldi's "good taste and fine judgement".

Written in the Dorian mode and transposed up a fourth, Toccata Prima is structured around three main interacting *passi* (sections) of almost exact proportions. The opening (b. 1-13) floats tentatively around the *finalis* 'g' for two long bars, before an anguished suspension awakens fresh innovation. Imitative figures that fade as quickly as they appear drift into melodic interplay between the hands. A sense of anticipation is intensified by harmonic, melodic and rhythmic exploration and a gesture to the

darker side of the mode. The whole episode is sprinkled with subsidiary cadential points before alighting on a chord of the dominant major. The central section (b. 13-25) then enters into a rhapsodic sequence followed by two imitative ideas that eventually merge into a *passo doppio*, culminating deceptively on a first inversion cadence (b.19). The nucleus of this section again focuses on imitative motives that shadow one another before culminating again on a decisive D major chord (b. 25). The conclusion is now prepared by vocal *affetti*, dissolving into an unbroken succession of harmonies on both the flat and sharp sides of the tonal scheme, complemented by vocal melismas which culminate in a scintillating *passo doppio* cascade.

For Performance

Frescobaldi offers the following advice in a comprehensive preface to the performer (*Toccate e partite d'Intavolatura di cembalo.*, Rome: Borboni 1615-1616) which presents a fascinating insight into their interpretation. I quote here from the original Italian and translation from Frederick Hammond's *Girolamo Frescobaldi: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988). This was a supplementary book to *Girolamo Frescobaldi* (Cambridge, Mass; and London: Harvard University Press. 1983):

"Al Lettore:

Hauendo io conosciuto quanto accetta sia la maniera di sonare con affetti cantabili e con diuersita, di passi, mi è paruto di mostrarmele altrettanto fauoreuole, quanto affectionato con queste mie deboli fatiche, presentandole in istampa con gli infrascritti auuertimenti: protestando ch'io preferisco il merito altrui, et osseruo il ualor di ciascheduno. E gradisca l'affetto, con cui l'espongo allo studioso, è cortese Lettore.

To The Reader:

Since I know how acceptable is the fashion of playing with songlike affects and with diversity of passages, it occurred to me to show myself as favourable to them as I am fond [of them] with these weak efforts of mine, by presenting them in print with the following advice: protesting that I prefer the merit of others, and I observe the worth of each. And may the affection please, with which I expound it to the studious and courteous Reader.

1. Primieramente; che non dee questo modo di sonare stare soggetto à battuta, come ueggiamo usarsi ne i Madrigali moderni, i quail quantunq[ue] difficili si ageuolano per mezzo della battuta portandola hor languida, hor ueloce, è sostenendola etiandio in aria, secondo i loro affetti, ò senso delle parole.

First; that this manner of playing must not remain subject to a beat, as we see practised in modern Madrigals, which although difficult are facilitated by means of the beat taking it now slowly, now rapidly, and even suspending it in the air, according to their affetti, or meaning of the words.

2. Nelle tocche ho hauuta consideratione non solo che siano copiose di passi diuersi, et di affetti: ma che anche si possa ciascuno di essi passi sonar separato l'uno dall'altro: onde il sonatore senza obbligo di finirle tutte potrà terminarle ouunq[ue] più li sarà gusto.

In the toccatas I have taken care not only that they be full of varied passages, and of affetti: but that also each one of these passages may be played separated the one from the other: whence the player without the necessity of finishing them [the toccatas] all will be able to end them wherever it will most please him.

3. Li cominciamenti delle tocche sieno fatte adagio, et arpeggiando: è così nelle ligature, ò uero durezza, come, anche nel mezzo del opera si batteranno insieme, per non lasciar uoto l'Istromento: il qual battimento ripigliarassi à beneplacito di chi suona.

Let the beginnings of the toccatas be done slowly, and arpeggiated: and in the ties or dissonances, as also in the middle of the work they will be struck together, in order not to leave the Instrument empty: which striking will be repeated at the pleasure of the player.

4. Nell'ultima nota così di trilli, come di passaggi di salto, ò di grado, si dee fermare ancorche detta nota sia croma, ò biscroma ò dissimile alla seguente; perche tal posamento schiuerà il confonder l'un passaggio con l'altro.

In the last note of trills, as of leaping or stepwise passages, one must stop even if the said note be an eighth, or a sixteenth or dissimilar to the following; because such pausing will avoid confusing one passage with the other.

5. Le cadenze benchè sieno scritte ueloce conuiene sostenerle assai; e nello accostarsi

il concluder de passaggi ò cadenze si anderà sostenendo il tempo più adagio.

The cadences although they may be written fast it is proper to sustain them very much; and in approaching the concluding of the passages or cadences one will go on drawing out the tempo more slowly.

6. *Il separare e concluder de passi sarà quando troverassi la consonanza insieme d'ambidue le mani scritto di minime Quando si trouera un trillo della man destra ò uero sinistra, e che nello stesso tempo passeggerà l'altra mano non si deue compartire à nota per nota, ma solo cercar che il trillo sia ueloce, et il passaggio sia portato men uelocemente et affettuoso: altrimenti farebbe confusione.*

The separation and conclusion of the sections will be when the consonance will be found in both hands together written in half notes. When one finds a trill of the right or left hand, and at the same time the other hand has a passaggio one must not divide note for note, but only seek that the trill be fast, and the passaggio be taken less rapidly [,] and expressively: otherwise it would make confusion.

7. *Trouandosi alcun passo di crome, e di semicrome insieme a tutte due le mani, portar si dee non troppo ueloce: e quella che fara le semicrome dourà farle alquanto puntate, cioè non la prima, ma la seconda sia col punto; è così tutte l'una nò, e l'altra si.*

When one finds some section of eighths and sixteenths together in both hands, it must not be taken too rapidly: and that [hand] that will do the sixteenths must do them somewhat dotted, that is not the first, but the second should have the dot; and so all the first no, and the second yes.

8. *Auanti che si facciano li passi doppi con amendue le mani di semicrome douerassi fermar alla nota precedente, ancorche sia nera: poi risolutamente si farà il passaggio, per tanto più fara apparire l'agilità della mano.*

Before doing double sections (passo doppio) with both hands in sixteenths one must stop at the preceding note, even if it be black: then one will play the passage resolutely, in order to demonstrate so much the more the agility of the hand.

9. *Nelle Partite quando si troueranno passaggi, et affetti sarà bene di pigliare il tempo largo: il che osseruarassi anche nelle toccate. Laltre non*

passeggiate si potranno sonare alquanto allegre di battutta, rimettendosi al buon gusto e fino giuditio del sonatore il guidar il tempo; nel qual consiste lo spirito, e la perfezione di questa maniera e stile di sonare.

—Christophorus Blancus scu[l]psit. 1616"

In the Partite when there will be found passaggi, and affetti it will be well to choose a broad tempo: which is to be observed also in the toccatas. The other [partite] not having passaggi can be played somewhat allegro in beat, referring to the good taste and fine judgement of the player the conduct of the tempo; in which consist the spirit and the perfection of this manner and style of playing".

—Cristoforo Bianchi engraved [it]. 1616

Although Frescobaldi's instructions are usually specific, a deeper investigation is occasionally required to appreciate the information at several levels. Each paragraph is carefully crafted so that we thoroughly absorb his style. Each part of the numbered translation will be taken in turn.

1. The writer immediately grants expressive licence to the performer, always guided by *affetti*; a profound type of expression to be found in the *songlike affects* of Madrigals. This same expression and improvisatory freedom must be uppermost in the interpretation of the toccatas.

2. This paragraph is related to the fifth with another reference to *affetti* and an instruction permitting the conclusion of the work at any chosen cadential point. The main divisions of the toccata are not always easy to determine amongst the numerous minim beat closes/cadences; which rarely conform to the comparative equal sectionalisation of Toccata Prima.

3. The openings of the toccatas should be *slow and arpeggiated*. This statement is supported in other prefaces including Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote* (1608), who advises playing "with gravity and without passaggi" but not without affetti." The manner in which the opening is arpeggiated pollinates the whole section and sets the mood for the whole work. In Frescobaldi's world of "good taste and fine judgement", complementary passing notes that augment and enliven the texture of these arpeggiated introductions should also be actively considered.

An instruction regarding ties and the word *battere* creates some confusion; it is less clear to the reader and requires some further investigation. Frescobaldi recommends, "e così

nelle ligature, o uero durezza come, anche nel mezzo del opera si batteranno insieme, per non lasciar uoto l'Instrumento." Hammond's translation "and in the ties and dissonances, as also in the middle of the work they will be struck together, in order not to leave the instrument empty" is oddly contradicted in his book *Girolamo Frescobaldi* as whilst discussing the toccatas, he states that Frescobaldi "recommended arpeggiating suspensions or dissonances." This is where the confusion lies as it clearly refers to another quotation from the *Capricci* (1624) that "in certain dissonances it is appropriate to stop there and to arpeggiate them so that the following passage comes out more spirited." In that particular paragraph though there is no reference to "leaving the instrument empty."

There are numerous meanings of the verb "battere" and I am indebted to Professor Gwynne Edwards for ferreting out several from the *Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana*. Amazingly there are 33 entries for the verb 'battere'. Two that seem likely alternatives to "struck", are "to throb" or "pulsate." Is this perhaps what Frescobaldi really intended? If the literal translation of "batteranno insieme" is "struck together", it suggests a more aggressive action which seems at odds with his fondness for *affetti*, described as "a passion of the soul" (*Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Venice 1612); arguably though aggression is a form of expression: so are we are back to square one?

There is a weight of documentary evidence in support of dwelling on expressive dissonances and suspensions. Alessandro Piccinnini in *Intavolatura* (1623) remarks "and where the music is full of dissonances, for variety it succeeds very well to play sometimes, as they do in Naples that at dissonances they repeat the same dissonance as loud & now soft; and the more dissonant it is the more it is repeated." Does this imply "striking together?" Piccinnini was a lutenist and is obviously thinking in terms of the *rasgueado* (strummed) technique where certain dynamic variety is possible; but again there are varying degrees of "battere insieme", either as a gentle, or as a more aggressive and percussive stroke depending on the nature of the passage.

Fra Giovanni Battista Fasolo in *Annuale* (Venice 1645) makes a reference to "sustaining the suspensions beyond their written values." This refers to the Elevation Toccatas for organ but is nevertheless relevant.

This conundrum can never fully be solved and each case must be taken on its own merit; some dissonances will sound better struck together to make a specific point; others will benefit from varying

degrees of arpeggiation, which is left to the player's good taste and fine judgement.

4. *Effetti* or "effects" are varieties of ornaments including trills and as such, are not a topic for lengthy discussion here; but a few points should be clarified. Rather than invent a fresh table of ornaments, the "trend setting" composers and academics of the seventeenth century (Florentine Camerata) adapted existing traditional ornamentation and introduced new life and spirit intended for expression as well as for decoration. Trills would be given expressive gathering of the Florentine vocal type especially at cadential points. (See *Toccata Prima*, b. 19, 24 and 38.)

When Frescobaldi intends a trill, he often presents a brief suggestion in oscillating adjacent semiquavers intended (we imagine) for protraction at the discretion of the performer, either activated by a dotted rhythm or as even note values which are progressively enlivened (Ex. 1 & 2). These examples indicate how Florentine vocal repertoire can effectively intermingle with different instrumental genres.

Written out trills culminating in a turn were often reserved for cadential points. Trills indicated by the letter "t" are thought to be main note trills as referred to in Diruta's treatise (*Il Transilvano*, Venice 1593).

Caccini's *trillo* (Ex. 3, *ribatutta di gola*) as given in *Le nuova musiche* (Florence 1602) was much in use in the Florentine vocal tradition and is a possible contender for the cadence at bar 24. Praetorius also gives a *trillo* in *Syntagma III* (see Ex. 4) and Rognoni in *Selva de varii passaggi* (Milan 1620) (Ex. 5).

According to Frescobaldi's rules, the 'stopping' of a trill is presumably a slight pause before the resolution distinguishing one passage from the next if it is of a contrasting nature.

5. No matter what note values are employed in approaching a cadence or at the end of *passaggi*² the tempo is to be drawn out. *Rallentandi* at cadences were, it seems, general practice since they are referred to in other treatises, such as Trabachi's *Ricerate* [1603]... where they are described as "broaden the beat".

6. When a written out trill appears in one hand against a *passagio* in the other, the *passagio* should be played *affetto*, not metronomically against the trill. There are a few examples and I include an example taken from *Toccata Nona*. (See Ex. 6b, b.4 which can also be heard on the recording.)

7. *Passaggi* for both hands in straight eighth notes against sixteenths should not be taken too fast and the sixteenths should be played in Lombard rhythm, that is with the first short and the second dotted. (See *Toccata Prima*, b. 15 and 17.)

8. Frescobaldi employs the *passo doppio*³ more for dramatic affect than for sheer brilliance, many times preceding a cadential point. A proviso explains that one should stop at the preceding note so that the ensuing passage is played resolutely. (See *Toccata Prima*, b. 18, 24 and 37.)

With these useful suggestions, Frescobaldi allows us the freedom to interpret his great works. But other points need to be considered in the overall soundscape, and foremost in this discussion is the subject of early fingering practices.

Fingering and Articulation

Although several deliberations concerning fingering practices exist in Italian seventeenth century tutors and prefaces, little music remains with fingerings. Girolamo Diruta, in *Il transilvano* [1593], gives detailed examples of “good” (*buone*) and “bad” (*cattive*) notes. Notes 1, 3 and 5 are bad and reserved for rhythmically weak notes, and notes 2 and 4 are good and play strong beats. When 2 is used for rhythmically strong notes, the shorter finger crosses over the longer; the left hand descends (2)3232... and both hands in contrary motion should move towards the body (4)3232... Elsewhere he states that some performers would ascend with 2 and 1 in the left hand and descend with 3 and 4. This, it is remarked has the disadvantage if the key signature has a B flat, as it places undue stress on the weak 4th finger of the left hand. Weak notes if they appeared just before a leap of more than a 5th could be taken with 1 or 5.

Adriano Banchieri, in *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* [1608], states the opposite, proposing that 3 should take the rhythmically strong beat, imposing a preference for passing a long finger over a shorter one; Ex.7 taken from Hammond gives a clearer indication of the two ideas.

The practice of treating the 3rd finger as the principal good finger in both hands is supported by other theorists of the period including Lorenzo Penna in *Li primi albori musicali* [1672] and Bartolomeo BisMantova in *Compendio musicale* [1677]. Lateral shifts were common (taking two notes in succession with the same

finger) and sixths were usually performed with 2 and 5, also in succession; and thirds with 2 and 4.

Contemporary Spanish treatises also highlight alternative fingering techniques which in general make greater use of the thumb than the Italians. Tomás de Sancta Maria, in *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasia* (Valladolid: Fernandez, 1565), tells us that runs in thirds are to be played with 1 & 3 and 2 & 4 alternately – suggesting a slurred phrasing. There is no doubt that early fingering techniques have a direct consequence on phrasing and articulation. It naturally follows that a gently slurred articulation is then generated by successive pairs of fingers. In contemporary performances, too often a *passaggio* is perceived simply as a means of travelling between two points; merely a journey that takes no account of the landscape.

Early fingering encourages consideration of smaller note units which consequently affects articulation, shape, direction and purpose. Banchieri's fingering is certainly preferable for Frescobaldi's works, but certain modifications are essential in occasional *passaggi* involving awkward accidentals; remember that when Banchieri wrote his treatise, Frescobaldi's technically advanced toccatas had not yet reached the printers.

I do not subscribe to the argument that it is possible to obtain a perfect legato touch with early fingerings; in fact it can even have a detrimental effect. Sancta Maria, Diruta and Banchieri imply that the fingers should be in line with the keyboard, slightly curved with the cupped hand resting lightly on the keys for agility and ease. Slurring would therefore result as a matter of course to accommodate any “awkwardness.”

Conscientious phrasing and articulation were advocated and commonplace in vocal, wind and string treatises; the implications in breathing, tonguing and bowing would exhibit extended considerations. Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin 1752), in the chapter relating to singing and playing, mentions the length of time given to each note:

Main notes which the Italians call ‘good’ notes and those that pass which others call ‘bad’ notes should be emphasised more than passing notes. If the semiquavers are played evenly, they will not sound as pleasing as if the first and third of each group were held somewhat longer than the second or fourth.⁴

Notice the passing reference to “good” and “bad” notes; a direct quote from Diruta and Banchieri a century and a half earlier.

Harpsichord touch is another important consideration. A percussive touch is preferred by Diruta “by reason of the jacks, and the plectra that they may play better” and “the finger which has just played should be lifted before the next one plays” (Sancta Maria, 1565).

It may be frustrating for those who have put in so much work on early fingerings, but perhaps comforting to others of a less scholarly mind, to note a comment by Frescobaldi’s contemporary Michael Praetorius, who had this to say on the subject of fingering:

Some persons get special notions about things, and wish to despise Organists who are accustomed to this or that fingering. But it seems to me, it is not worth discussing. Let one run up or down the keyboard with the first, middle, or last finger, and even the nose if it helps, for as long as what he plays sounds fine and pure, and is correct and pleasant to the ear, it is not very important how one accomplishes it.⁵

It is already noted that the toccata evolved from the improvisatory premise of the performer, and any interpretation should arise exactly from that premise. I vividly recall performances of Scarlatti sonatas by my old friend Fernando Valenti. Blessed with a phenomenal memory, he was able to add a distinctly improvisatory feel to his performances.

The opening paragraph of the *Toccate e Partite*.... refers to this form of expression when Frescobaldi refers to ‘the beat, taking it now slowly, now quickly, and even held in the air.....’

One is also reminded here of C. P. E. Bach’s comments on tempo rubato:

When the execution is such that one hand seems to play against the bar, so to speak and the other strictly with it, it may be said that the performer is doing everything that is required of him. It is only rarely that all parts are struck simultaneously.⁶

This style of playing (something that cannot accurately be described on paper), creates a feeling of spontaneity – almost as if what follows is as yet undecided, but at the same time an integral part of an evolving entity.

Robert Donington in *Interpretation of Early Music* quotes Daniel Gottlob Türk:

Tempo rubato, or *robbato*, signifies a stolen, or robbed Time, the application of which is likewise left to the judgement of the Performer. These words have several significations. Commonly they signify a manner of shortening, and lengthening Notes; that is to say, a part is taken from the length of one Note and given to the other... by an anticipation {or} by a retardation. Beside this signification, it is understood by *Tempo rubato*, that the Accent is put upon the inferior {off - beat} Notes instead of the superior {on-beat} ones.⁷ (See Ex. 7b for Türk’s example of the “old sense” of *tempo rubato*.) Needless to say that this form of expression is best reserved for slower, more expressive sections. Readers will observe that quotations by Quantz, C.P.E. Bach and Türk are from a later period, but are still relevant as an important part of a long tradition.

Upon Frescobaldi’s arrival as organist at St Peter’s, Rome in 1608, it is reported that 30,000 people attended his inaugural concert. I doubt if even our most famous pop groups could boast such a number. Girolamo Frescobaldi deserves a much wider appreciation than is at present given. These pages and a complementary CD will, I hope, assist in that elevation.

The enclosed CD contains a selection of works from Libro Primo demonstrating the various techniques already discussed. I have used early fingering techniques wherever possible. The instrument is a double strung Italian harpsichord by Colin Booth, after a single strung 16th century harpsichord by Berterino of Rome. It is mainly of cedar with walnut bridges and a spruce (fir) soundboard. It is also able to play at three pitches, A=390, A=415 and A=440. Pitch varied considerably at this time throughout Italy from as low as A=390 to A=520 and above depending on scaling and string material (brass and iron). I have adopted quarter comma meantone temperament for the recording which I modified for the Cento Partite sopra Passacagli owing to the extreme modulations.

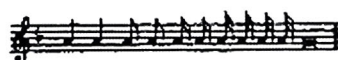
Ex. 1 Mayone (1609)



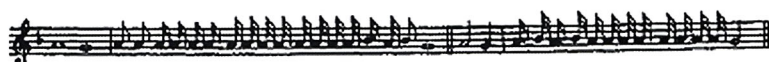
Ex. 2 Fantini (1638)



Ex. 3 Caccini (1602)



Ex. 4 Praetorius (1619)



Ex. 5 Rognoni (1620)



Ex. 6



Ex. 7

Right and left hand: Diruta



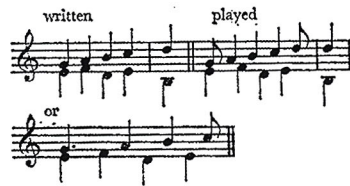
Right and left hand: Banchieri



Interval fingerings: Banchieri



Ex. 7b Türk



Ex. 8



This page contains eight systems of musical notation, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The notation is for a piece in B-flat major, indicated by two flats in the key signature. The systems are numbered 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, and 24, indicating the measure number at the beginning of each system. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The bass line often provides a harmonic foundation with sustained notes and chords, while the treble line contains more melodic and technically demanding passages, including rapid sixteenth-note runs and trills. The overall texture is characteristic of Baroque keyboard music, with a focus on clear harmonic structure and rhythmic precision.

The image displays four staves of musical notation, likely from a manuscript or printed score. The notation is in G minor (one flat) and features complex rhythmic patterns and ornaments. The first staff starts at measure 27, the second at 30, the third at 33, and the fourth at 36. The notation includes various ornaments (trills, mordents) and complex rhythmic patterns in both hands.

1. *Passaggi* - here possibly refers to decoration of the melodic line.
2. *Passaggi* - here refers to a passage of unbroken semiquavers or quavers.
3. *Passo Doppio* - quavers or semiquavers in both hands.
4. J.J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin 1752); transl. with an introduction and notes by Edward R. Reilly, (London : Faber, 1976), 123.
5. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum Volume II*, (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1958); reprint of 1619, 44.
6. C.P.E. Bach, *Versuch uber die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, Berlin, 1753; *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments / by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach ; translated [from the German] and edited by William J. Mitchell* (London: Eulenberg Books, 1974).
7. Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Klavierschule*, (Leipzig and Halle, 1789), English Translation (1804), 40; quoted in Robert Donington, *Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber, 1965) .