Journal
of the Lute Society of America

DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH
Editor

MICHAEL MIRANDA
Associate Editor

MARIAGRANIA CARLONE
A Trip to Venice in 1530 by Francesco da Milano

RICHARD FALKENSTEIN
Perino Fiorentino (1523-1552), His Life and Works

VOLUME XXXIV
2001

ISSN 0076-1526
Journal of the Lute Society of America

Volume XXXIV 2001

Douglas Alton Smith
EDITOR

Michael Miranda
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

CONSULTING EDITORS
Paul Beier, Scuole civiche di Milano
Tim Crawford, Goldsmiths College, University of London

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dinko Fabris, Università di Basilicata and Conservatorio N. Piccinni, Bari
John Griffiths, University of Melbourne
Klaus Martius, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Stewart McCoy, Nottingham
Franco Pavan, Conservatorio N. Piccinni, Bari
Arthur Ness, Boston
Grant Tomlinson, Vancouver, B.C

CONTENTS

A Trip to Venice in 1530 by Francesco da Milano
Mariagrazia Caralone

Perino Fiorentino (1523-1552), His Life and Works
Richard Falkenstein

ISSN 0076-1526
The Lute Society of America

OFFICERS
Dick Hoban, President
Phil Rukavina, Vice President
Garald Farnham, Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Edward Martin
Michael Miranda
Howard Posner
Caroline Usher

SOCIETY ADMINISTRATOR
Nancy Carlin

MICROFILM LIBRARIAN
Anne Burns

The Journal of the Lute Society of America is an annual, refereed publication that is free to all members of the Lute Society of America. It is not available by subscription, but back issues in print may be ordered from the Microfilm Librarian, Anne Burns, Dept. of Music, Theater and Dance, Oakland University, Rochester, MI 48308-4401. Correspondence concerning advertising rates should be addressed to the society administrator. The Society welcomes new members. Information about the Society may be obtained from Nancy Carlin, P.O. Box 6499, Concord, CA, 94524; phone: (925) 686-5800.

The Journal welcomes contributions of scholarly merit and correspondence dealing with issues raised within its pages. Authors should submit two double-spaced hard copies of their typescripts. Electronic submission is particularly encouraged, and authors are urged to contact the associate editor for formatting guidelines. Musical examples should be submitted on separate pages with captions exactly as they are to appear in the article. Camera-ready musical examples are also encouraged, but authors should consult with the editors in order to ensure uniformity throughout the volume. Professionally produced, high quality photographs should be submitted for all plates. For matters of style, the Journal generally follows the Chicago Manual of Style, 13th edition (1982). Articles, correspondence, or queries should be addressed to Michael Miranda, Dept. of Music, Loyola Marymount University, 1 LMU Dr., MS 8347, Los Angeles, CA, 90045-2659; phone: (310) 338-5158.
INTRODUCTION

After several issues focusing on the late Baroque, we return to the High Renaissance with substantial studies devoted to new biographical findings about the central lute composer of the era, Francesco da Milano, and to a summary of the life and works of Francesco's successor Perino Fiorentino.

Musicologist and iconographer Mariagrazia Carlone took her doctorate, with honors, in musicology at the University of Bologna. She prepared a critical edition of the complete works of Lorenzino Tracetti and Vincenzo Pinti (the cavaliers of the lute), with biographical studies of both authors, as part of her research doctorate in musical philology at the University of Pavia. She has conducted research in musical iconography and the history of the lute and its repertory, publishing several articles and a book for the Italian Musicological Society. With her husband, the lutenist and JLSA consulting editor Paul Beier, she is co-author of the design of the musical iconography database software Muslco. She has lectured at seminars in Europe and the United States. Since 1998 she has taught Musical Iconography at the International Courses of Ancient Music in Urbino (Fondazione Italiana per la Musica Antica).

Richard Falkenstein earned his Ph.D. in musicology from the State University of New York at Buffalo with a dissertation on Florentine lute songs. His masters thesis at the same institution appears in revised form in this issue of JLSA. Falkenstein's publications include introductions to editions of music by Francesco da Milano and Vincenzo Galilei (Editions Minkoff, Geneva). For two decades Dr. Falkenstein has performed on lute and guitar in the Buffalo, New York area as a soloist and in chamber ensembles, most notably with the Buffalo Guitar Quartet. While a member of the BGQ, Dr. Falkenstein made concert tours throughout the United States as well as in Poland, Russia and South America. He has also made recordings with the BGQ for Centaur and New World Records. During the 1990's, he and the members of the BGQ were Artists-in-Residence at Canisius College in Buffalo, where he currently serves as Assistant Professor of Fine Arts.

—Douglas Alton Smith

Postscript: The editor's Introduction to JLSA vol. xxx (1997) should have credited Ron Andrico with preliminary editing of two of the articles, performed before the current editors assumed control of the Journal.
A Trip to Venice in 1530 by Francesco da Milano

by Mariagrazia Carlone

In 1997 in Milan, an important symposium organized by the University and the Fondazione Marco Fodella was dedicated to Francesco Canova (called “Francesco da Milano”) (Figure 1). On that occasion, it was pointed out that a complete reconstruction of Francesco’s biography was still far from complete. This article will present evidence for a small but significant addition to the known facts of Francesco’s life: namely, that Francesco and his brother Bernardino went to Venice in 1530 and played together in the presence of an important nobleman, probably the bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that Giberti may well have been Francesco’s patron for a brief period after the Sack of Rome in 1527.

Table 1 below contains a synthesis of the known facts about Francesco da Milano, including the new information I present here:

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1497</td>
<td>August 18: Francesco Canova is born in Monza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1513–1522</td>
<td>Pontificate of Leo X (Giovanni Medici).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519, 1521</td>
<td>Francesco is in the service of Leo X (payments from the papal treasury).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1523–1534</td>
<td>Pontificate of Clement VII (Giulio Medici).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1524, 1525, 1526</td>
<td>Francesco is in the service of Clement VII (payments from the papal treasury and other documents).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A first draft of this study was read at Siena, October 27, 2000 during the 7th Annual Convention of the Italian Musicological Society, and was subsequently published in the Italian journal *Recercare* XIII (2001): 79-95. An updated version was read at a meeting of the Lute Society of America in Cleveland, Ohio, June 2004. The present version has been further augmented with new research and considerations. Acknowledgements are due especially to Franco Pavan and Paul Beier, among others, for their help and advice, and to Olga Visentini and Girolamo Marcello for their expertise on Venetian culinary terminology.


2 Franco Pavan’s article “Canova, Francesco” in the *New Grove*, 2nd ed. (2001)—which with my permission includes the new information that is the object of the present study—is the latest summary of biographical information and bibliography regarding Francesco.

**JLSA XXXIV (2001)**
© 2005, *The Lute Society of America*
1527 Sack of Rome, Francesco probably flees north.

1528 Francesco obtains a prebend and a canonry in Milan, S. Nazaro in Brollo. In a satirical poem Francesco Berni urges "Messer Francesco Milanese" to come from Piacenza to Venice to join him and a group of friends there.

1529 – 1535 Ippolito Medici is cardinal; at some point Francesco is in his service.

1530 January 9: Francesco and his brother play together in Murano (Venice) after a banquet offered by a gentleman of Verona.

1534 – 1549 Pontificate of Paul III (Alessandro Farnese).

1535 Francesco is in the service of Paul III as lute teacher to his grandson Ottavio Farnese.

1536 His brother Bernardino gives up his portion of the family inheritance.

1537 Francesco gives his brother Bernardino his prebend and canonry. In August he is in Rome.

1538 January 1: Francesco is listed among cardinal Alessandro Farnese's gentlemen. June: he travels with the Pope to Nice, where the Pope meets Charles V and François I; he plays for the French king, who thanks him for the "plaisir qu'il a donné au Roy d'avoir joué dudit luc et autres services qu'il a fait par le passe". July: he marries Chiara Tizzoni in Milan. September 25: he inherits all of his family's property.

between 1538 and 1543 He plays at Paul III's court.

1539 He is still in the service of Paul III.

1540 His son, Lelio Donato, is born.

1543 Francesco dies on April 15.

In 1997 my contribution to the Milano symposium was focused principally on my research on portraits and images of Francesco, in which

---

1 See Henry Prunieres, "La musique de la chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François I", "L'Année Musicale" (1911), p. 224, and Franco Pavan, Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543), Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Milan 1997, chap. III fn. 26. Pavan has reasonably deduced that Francesco da Milano may have been in the service of the king of France and may possibly have lived at the French court for a while.

I tried to trace the identities of possible commissioners and purchasers of portraits of the lutenist. When in following years I continued that research, I came across some interesting information that helps to reconstruct the mosaic of his life and the social context in which he lived.

Let’s start with the well-known satirical Capitolo entitled A Messer Francesco Milanese by Francesco Berni.5 The poet was born in a

---

small Tuscan village, Lamporecchio, in 1497 (the same year as Francesco da Milano); he died in Florence in 1535 when he was only 38. The poem we are discussing was published posthumously in 1538, but it had been composed ten years earlier.

Francesco Berni

**A MESSER FRANCESCO MILANESE**

*Messer Francesco, se voi siete vivo,*  
*perché'ho inteso che voi siete morto,*  
*leggete questa cosa ch'io vi scrivo;*  

*Mister Francesco, if you are alive*  
*(Because I heard that you were dead),*  
*Read this thing that I write to you.*

*per la qual vi consiglio e vi conforto*  
a venir a Venezia, ch'ognimai  
a stare tanto in Piacenza aveste torto*  

*It is to advise and encourage you*  
*To come to Venice, because these days*  
*You are wrong to stay so long in Piacenza.*

*e quel ch'è peggio, senza scriver mai,*  
*ché pur saveste scritto qualche volta,*  
di voi starlamo più contenti assai.*  

*And, worse, never to write.*  
*Because, if you had sometimes written,*  
*We would be much happier with you.*

**Qui è messer Achille della Volta,**  
*And the Reverend Monsignor Valerio,*  
*che domanda di voi vorla per volta;*  

*Here is Mister Achille della Volta,*  
*Who asks about you all the time.*

*e mostra avere estrema desiderio;*  
né pur sol egli, ma ogni persona  
n'ha un marcel, ch'è proprio un viuperio.*  

*And he shows great desire [to see you].*  
*And not only he, but every one is so afraid*  
*Of losing you that it is really a disgrace.*

*Lasciamo andar monsignor di Verona,*  
nostro padron, ch'è mai nè di nè notte  
con la lingua e col cuor non s'abbandona.*  

*Not to speak of Monsignor of Verona,*  
*Our master, who never abandons you, day and[or] night,*  
*With his heart and with his tongue.*

**Se voi aveste, non v'adir le gotte,**  
*Se voi aveste, non vodir le gotte,*  
*ma il mai di santo Antonio e 'l mal francese,*  
e le gambe e le spalle e l'ossa rotte.*  

*If you were afflicted, I don't want to say with gout,*  
*But with Saint Anton's sickness or the French disease,*  
*And your legs, back and bones were broken,*

**doverreste esser stato qua già un mese,**  
tanto ogniun si consuma di vedervi,*  
e d'alloggiarvi e quasi far le spese.*  

*You should have already been here a month ago:*  
*That is how much everyone is anxious to see you*  
*And to show you hospitality and even to pay for it.*

**Ma non disegni già nessun d'avervi,**  
*Ma non disegni già nessun d'avervi,*  
*chi' vi vogli'io; e per Dio starei fresco,*  
*se forestieri avessino a godervi.*  

*But may that no-one makes plans to keep you,*  
*Because I want you for myself, and, by God,*  
*I would be upset if strangers enjoyed your company.*

**Venite via, il mio messer Francesco,**  
*Come away, my dear Mister Francesco,*  
*che vi promesso due cose excellenti,*  
*l'unità il ber caldo, e l'altra il mangiar fresco.*  

*Because I promise you two excellent things:*  
*One is hot drinks, the other fresh food.*

**E se voi arreste mascele valenti,**  
*And if your jaws are valorous,*  
*vi gioverà, ch'è qui si mangia carne*  
de catt., d'orsi, di tigri e di serpenti.*  

*It will do you good, because here we eat the meat*  
*Of dogs, bears, tigers and serpents.*

---

Doctors advise this year, to guard against
Hemorrhages, that partridges are bad for the health
Of whomever would eat them.

But I promise that we have the products of bees,
Or bumble bees, as you call them,
By the baskets and by the buckets.

I speak of every kind of delicacy,
I want to drag you by the hair
To be buried in cakes, marzipan, and chicken breasts.

With whipped creams, not just ‘good’ but ‘divine’!
I call them “capri di latte,” here they call them “cai,”
So ‘divine’ that you must kneel to eat them.

Then there are certain peppery biscuits,
Called “berlingozzi” and “confetti,”
You have never eaten anything better.

You are waiting to be dragged here;
Come, because you would be better treated than the
Doge on Ascension day by the Company of Porters

You will be entertained and flattered,
Well thought of by all, like a Baron.
Whoever hears you will feel blessed.

By these waters you will seem like an Amphiion,
Even better, an Orpheus, who was always followed
By numerous beasts of all kinds.

If, as I hope, you are healthy and in good spirits,
By your faith, don’t let yourself be waited for,
And don’t keep us in a state of uncertainty.

Here there is wholesome fun to be had
In every season, here is your dear Valerio,
Who, as you know, is particularly courteous.

That which is his we can consider to be ours,
His bread, his wine... Just think: at this moment
I am writing with his paper and his ink!

We are in a neighborhood and on a canal
Near Santa Trinita and the Arsenal,
In front of certain devout nuns,

Who celebrate Easter as if it were Carnival,
That is, they are not overly scrupulous:
You will not find it such a bad thing.

Come and bring all your things, and right away.
And Bernardino should come too,
So that we can make miraculous harmony together.
Then, at the end of August, or around that time, if it is possible travel about, we could make our way to our patron, who just the day before yesterday left for Verona.

Although Francesco’s biographers have known of the Capitolo for a long time, there has been no serious attempt to see if its allusions to people, facts and places have any verifiable historical basis, nor to ascertain whether this may shed light on the musician’s biography. Two reasons for this neglect may be the somewhat “unserious” reputation of Berni and the light-hearted mood of the poem. Berni, in fact, was highly appreciated by his contemporaries for his biting satire and for his skill in improvising verses, and he is still considered one of the leading figures in burlesque Italian literature. We can get an idea of his reputation from the portrait painted by Rosso Fiorentino, in which he is depicted as Saint Jacob the pilgrim in a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Florence 1517) (Figure 2).

The identification of the protagonist of the Capitolo a Messer Francesco Milanese with the lutenist Francesco Canova was proposed in 1930 by Léon Dorez, then followed by H. Colin Slim and afterwards by all writers on Francesco, without, however, adding any other considerations beyond that of a possible meeting between Berni and our musician at the papal court, since Francesco Canova was in Rome at least since 1519 and was one of the many courtiers (familiare) of Pope

---

7 Rosso Fiorentino (Giovanni Battista di Jacopo di Guasparre, 1495-1540). According to Giorgio Vasari (Le vite de’ più eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino à tempi nostri, Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino 1550), “il Rosso” was a very good musician (“buonissimo musicò”). The identification of Berni in the figure of Saint Jacob is due to a “Monsignor Bottari” (Mutini, Berni cit.).

8 Léon Dorez, “Francesco da Milano et la Musique du Pape Paul III” in La Révue Musicale 11 (1930), pp. 104-113 (110-11). Previously, Antonio Virgili, the foremost expert on Berni, identified ‘Meiser Francesco da Milano’ with a certain Francesco Salamone, a musician cited in 1525 by Pietro Aretino in his comedy La Cortegiana. Later on Virgili and François Fetis (Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique, Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., 1864) proposed instead the name of the poet Francesco Naviziani, actually confusing him with Francesco Canova, who, moreover, Fétis believed to be an organ player in addition to being a lutenist, for no apparent reason. In later literary studies only the name of Naviziani continued to be cited, no longer associated with our musician. However, there is no indication that Francesco Berni ever knew either Francesco Salamone or Francesco Naviziani personally.

Leo X (Figure 3). As for Francesco Berni, he moved from Florence to Rome in 1517, becoming the secretary to his distant relative, Bernardo Dovizi (1470-1520), commonly called the “Cardinal Bibbiena,” who lived at the Vatican as one of the counselors to Pope Leo X (Figure 4). Dovizi, who, by the way, is one of the characters in Baldassare Castiglione’s

---


Figure 3 – Raffaello Santi, detail from Pope Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi (1518-19), Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Figure 4 – Raffaello Santi (1483 - 1520), detail from Portrait of cardinal Bibbiena (c. 1516). Florence, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti).
Book of the Courtier, played an important role in the election of Pope Leo X, receiving from him, in exchange, several lucrative offices and so becoming very powerful. Paolo Giovio described him as: "not too shrewd in difficult negotiations, but ... extremely capable of organizing games. Thus, being a scholar of poetry and of the Tuscan language, he composed comedies full of humor and many jokes; he induced young noblemen to histrionics, and he organized Palace performances in very large rooms."12 And, in fact, a comedy by Dovizi (La Calandria) does survive.13

Pope Leo X, born Giovanni Medici (1475–1521), was the son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the famous ruler of Florence. According to several visitors, the court of Leo X was not concerned only with religion. It included hundreds of people, among whom, in the words of Paolo Giovio, was a group of "young and rich cardinals, who, born of noble families and liberally brought up, spent their time with regal pomp having a very good time hunting, banqueting, and attending performances [...] they maintained in their houses honorable 'families' with an endless number of gentlemen who ambitiously saw to their every wish, and spent incredible amounts of money feeding a great number of horses and hounds." Of course Leo was "greatly obliged" to this swarm of young cardinals, because of their "old friendship, and for the recent favour they granted him of making him Pope."14 In fact the reign of Pope Leo X, who went down in history as one of the most liberal and generous patrons of the arts, was a true golden age, which unfortunately nearly bankrupted the papal treasury. "There was never a [Roman] citizen or a foreigner who was well esteemed at some at least somewhat noble art [...] who did not experience the benignity of that very humane Prince,"15 as Giovio also testifies, and a Venetian ambassador noted that when the Pope,
“a connoisseur of literature, … humanities … and, above all, an excellent musician… sings with somebody, he has him given a hundred ducats and more.”

Leo died in 1521. During the short pontificate (January 1522–September 1523) of the austere Adrian VI (Adriaan Florenzs from Utrecht, 1459-1523), the climate changed completely, and we have no information regarding Francesco in that period. It is possible that Francesco served the new pope, but, on the other hand, Rome did not lack opportunities for good musicians: the “young and rich cardinals” who had taken advantage of the gratitude of Leo X, although they could not do the same with his successor, nevertheless continued to lead a pleasant life, and several accounts testify that they still employed musicians, for instance, during their lavish banquets. As for Berni, whose patron meanwhile had changed to Angelo Dovizi, the nephew of Cardinal Bibbiena, he was expelled from Rome following a sex scandal—in fact, his involvement with young boys was no longer acceptable for the all-of-a-sudden moralistic Roman curia. Berni expressed his hate for the new pope in a violent *Capitolo di papa Adriano*, in which he cries, O poveri, infelici cortegiani, usciti dalle man de' fiorentini e dati in preda a tedeschi e marrani … O poor, unhappy courtiers, escaped from the hands of the Florentines and given as prey to the Germans and Marranos...

---

16 “Il papa è amatore delle lettere, dotto in umanità e giure canonico, e soprattutto musico eccellentissimo; e quando canta con qualcuno, gli fa donare cento e più ducati” (“The Pope is a connoisseur of literature, learned in humanities and canon law, and, above all, an excellent musician; and when he sings with somebody, he has him given a hundred ducats and more.”) Marino Giorgi, “Sommaro della Relazione di Roma” [17 marzo 1517] in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, serie II [Relazioni degli Stati d'Italia], vol. III, ed. by Eugenio Albèri, Firenze, Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1846, pp. 39-60: p. 56.

17 One of them was the Venetian Marco Cornaro (or Corner, 1482-1524), nephew of Caterina, Queen of Cyprus. Cornaro was extremely rich and held several bishoprics (including Padua and Verona), he ran a particularly sumptuous household (“bellissima corte”) which was commented upon by the Venetian orators who went to Rome to pay homage to the new Pope. During a banquet in their honour, Cornaro made his guests “tired and dizzy, both for the abundance of food and because all sorts of musicians who were in Rome came to the Cardinal's table: excellent *pifferi* played continuously; there were harpsichords with amazing voices inside; lute quartets, violins, lirtone; voices inside and out, one song after another” (“stufi e storditi, e per la copia delle vivande, e perché alla tavola del cardinale vennero ogni sorta di musici che si trovano in Roma: li pifferi eccellenti suonarono di continuo; eravano clavicembali con voci dentro mirabilissime; liuti a quattro violoni [sic], lirtone; canti dentro e fuori, una musica dietro all'altra.” - Marco Dandolo, Antonio Giustiniano, Luigi Mocenigo, Pietro Pesaro, “Sommaro del viaggio degli oratori veneti che andarono a Roma a dar l'obbedienza a papa Adriano VI” [1523] in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori cit.*, pp. 77-120).

18 On the sexual proclivities of Berni and his circle, see Giovanni Dall'Oro, “Chiamiamoli prosciutti”: Francesco Berni (1497-1535) e la sua strana cerchia di amici,” in *Babilonia* n. 123 (June 1994), pp. 71-73.
and wonders why on Earth did Pope Leo ever make this “barbarian” a cardinal:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Onde divol cavò questo animale} & \quad \text{Where the Devil did that beast,} \\
\text{quella bentiaccia di papa Leone?} & \quad \text{Pope Leo, find this animal?} \\
\text{Che li marcò da far un cardinale?} & \quad \text{Was he at such a loss to create a cardinal?}
\end{align*}
\]

After the election of Pope Clement VII (Giulio Medici, 1478 - 1534) (Figure 5), cousin of Leo X, many people who had been marginalized by Adrian resurfaced. Among them were both Francesco da Milano and Berni. The latter, abandoning his current patron, Dovizi junior, became secretary to one of the most important personages of the Curia: Giovanni Matteo Giberti (Palermo 1495 - Verona 1543) (Figure 6). Giberti was the son of a rich merchant from Genoa who had been treasurer to Pope Julius II. In Rome the young Gian Matteo had an even more brilliant career, quickly becoming notary of the Apostolic Secretariat (1515), governor of Tivoli, papal courtier (cameriere segreto), comes palatinus and secretary de facto to Pope Leo X, secretary to Giulio Medici and, after Giulio was elected pope in 1523, papal counselor and datarium. The datarium was the administrator of the finances of the church and the official responsible for ecclesiastical dispensations and benefits. In 1524 Giberti also became bishop of Verona, moving to that city four years later, while still maintaining contact with the Roman curia and undertaking various appointments for the Pope. Berni followed Giberti to Verona, but, although Giberti patronized writers and scholars, he soon tired of serving the bishop and, after a first short escape to Padua, from where he came back deluded, in 1532 he joined the entourage of the young Cardinal Ippolito Medici, who, as is well known, was also a patron of Francesco da Milano.


21 Cosimo Bartoli (*Ragionamenti Accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante,* Venesia, 1567 cited in Slim, *Francesco da Milano* 1964 cit., p. 69 fn. 34), who knew Francesco da Milano personally, tells us, writing in 1543, that the lutenist was in the service of Ippolito Medici.
Figure 5 – Sebastiano del Piombo (ca. 1485-1547), detail from Portrait of Pope Clement VII (1526), Napoli, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte.

Figure 6 – Artist and location unknown, detail from Portrait of Gian Matteo Giberti.
Ippolito Medici (1510 / 11 - 1535) (Figure 7), the illegitimate son of Giuliano Medici, was a brilliant patron for an ambitious poet (and for a musician too). He had “a lively and restless nature” and “a quick mind.” By character he was more inclined towards martial arts and worldly pleasures than a life of piety; nonetheless, he was “reluctantly” nominated cardinal in 1529, aged 19, and his uncle, the pope, who had even conferred upon him the post of Cancelleria, the highest position in the curia, exclaimed in despair: “He is crazy! Damn! he is crazy! He does not want to be a priest!” Ippolito’s court comprised about 300 people and his expenses and eccentricities were cause for some difficulty to the Pope. In 1532, both going to and returning from a stormy military mission in Hungary (during which he succeeded in making the Emperor so angry that he was arrested), Ippolito stopped off in Verona with Bishop Giberti, and it seems to have been then that he insisted on hiring Francesco Berni, whereupon he immediately started bullying him. When in 1535 he died, at age 25, in such mysterious circumstances that poisoning was suspected, all of his possessions went to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese except for the jester Gradasso (to whom Berni dedicated a verse, the Capitolo di Gradasso), a horse named Prete (i.e., “Priest”) and a few other items. Alessandro was also given Ippolito’s post at the Cancelleria. It is interesting to note here that Alessandro inherited most of Ippolito’s animals and familiars: Francesco da Milano probably was one of them. Perhaps this is how Francesco was taken under the Farnese family’s patronizing wing.

22 What the Pope actually said was “E’ matro, diavolo, è matro, non vuole esser prete,” according to Antonio Soriano, “Relazione di Roma,” July 13, 1531 in Relazioni Ambasciatori Veneti cit., pp. 275-293: pp. 280-ss. On page 282 Soriano adds “Ho poi sentito mormorate da alcuni essere obbietto del cardinal de’ Medici, disprezandosi, di pigliare per moglie la duchessina, nipote del papa, e sua cugina in terzo grado; con la quale vive in amor grande, essendo anche da lei rimato.” (I then heard gossip that Cardinal Medici’s objective is to leave the clergy and take as his wife the young duchess, niece of the Pope and his third cousin, with whom he lives in great love, which is also reciprocated by her.) The “duchessina” Caterina de Medici (1519-1589), just 12 years old, instead married Henri III, son of the French king François I, in 1533. On the other hand, the mother of Ippolito’s natural son, Asdrubale, is unknown.

23 See the two “Relazioni di Roma” by Antonio Soriano, July 13, 1531 cit. and 1535, in Relazioni Ambasciatori Veneti cit., pp. 300-332: pp. 300-ss. See also Virgili, Francesco Berni cit., pp. 433-ss. An up-to-date biography of Ippolito Medici is still lacking; one of the most complete is still in P. Litta, Famiglie celebri italiane, 13 vols., Milan 1819-1902, IV, table Medici.

24 Soriano “Relazione” 1535 cit., p. 301.

25 “Farnese ebbe ogni cosa, eccetto Gradasso, il quale lasciò per suprema volontà al Marchese del Vasto col cavallo detto Prete, & il brochero delle folgore &c.;” letter from Paolo Giovio to Ridolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza and then Cardinal of Carpi, written in Rome, 1535, in Delle lettere facete, et piacevoli, di diversi grandi huomini, et chiari ingenii, scritte sopra diverse materie, raccolte per M. Dionigi Atanagi, Book I, Venice, 1582, n. 11.)
Figure 7 – Tiziano Vecellio (1490 - 1576), detail from Portrait of Ippolito Medici (1532-34), Florence, Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti).

Thus, both Berni and Francesco da Milano were at the courts of the two Medici popes as well as that of their nephew Ippolito. The connections between the Roman curia, Francesco Berni and Francesco da Milano illustrated so far are summed up in Diagram A (Figure 8). Solid lines show the connections with Berni and gray lines show the connections with Francesco da Milano. Dashed lines mean that the connection is not certain. Finally, dotted lines show other connections between people.

It would be improbable that Francesco Berni and Francesco da Milano didn’t know each other. Apart from the two Popes and Cardinal Ippolito Medici, we know that many of the people who were acquainted with Berni also knew Francesco da Milano. One of them was Baldassare Castiglione, the famous author of *The Book of the Courtier*, who had the pleasure of listening to Francesco at least once, in 1524, during a dinner offered by Pope Clement VII to his guests; an interesting description of the dinner and the musical entertainment is found in a letter to the duke Alfonso d’Este:

Figure 8 – Diagram A – Summary of connections between the Roman curia, Francesco Berni, and Francesco da Milano.
there came two players] of the lute, the first of which is named Francesco da Milano. He plays with two finger picks of silver inside of which are two small quills, and he plays with such speed that, in the opinion of those who know, he is considered unique. He is young, not having yet reached the age of 28 years.27

The story-writer and novelist Matteo Bandello (1485-1555) (Figure 9) mentioned Francesco in the preface of one of his novels:

When the most gracious musician, Francesco da Milano, unique in our days and divine player of the lute, wants to play some beautiful song, before letting it be heard, he plays two or three ‘ricercate,’ as they are called, so that afterwards the listener can better understand and appreciate the harmony of the song that follows harmoniously.28

Bandello knew Berni very well, and he was also a friend of Berni’s patron, the bishop of Verona, Matteo Giberti. In fact, Bandello spent several years in Verona in the service of Cesare Fregoso, a man of arms who belonged to a noble Genovese family (and thus compatriot of Giberti).

In our list of famous literary men who knew both Berni and Francesco da Milano, we should also mention Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) (Figure 10), author of lives of saints, erotic poetry, comedies, tragedies, and innumerable letters.29 Aretino lived for several years at the Roman court, where he is likely to have met and listened to Francesco da Milano, whom he mentioned a few times in his works, praising the sweetness of his “angelic” sound.30 Aretino attained considerable wealth and influence,

27 "[vennero due suonatori] di luto, il primo de quali è chiamato Francesco da Milano che suona con due ditali di argento dentro a quali sono due piccole penne et suona con tanta velocità che ad judicio di chi se ne intende è reputato unico et è giovane che ancora non arriva a XXVIII anni." Archivio di Stato di Modena, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Roma, busta 29, 198-II/25, written by the Ferrarese orator, Antonio Costabili, to the duke, Alfonso d’Este, 14 March 1524. This letter was discovered by Jessie Ann Owens.


30 Pietro Aretino, Il Marescalco. Comedy published in Venice in 1533 but written in 1529 or earlier, in which Francesco is mentioned; ibid., letter to Paolo Manuzio, 1537, where Francesco da Milano is mentioned together with Alberto da Mantova and Marco da l’Aquila; ibid., Le carte parlanti, Venice, 1545 (but possibly already written by 1543).
Figure 9 – Artist and location unknown, detail from Portrait of Matteo Bandello.

Figure 10 – Tiziano Vecellio, detail from Portrait of Pietro Aretino (ca. 1548-51), New York, The Frick Collection.
in part through literary flattery and blackmail. He was even nicknamed the "scourge of princes" because of the harsh, sometimes even cruel sarcasm with which he ridiculed the vices and weaknesses of whomever he disliked. Thus, he was able to inspire the deepest admiration in some, and the most virulent hate in others. Francesco Berni was among those who hated him profoundly—his Capitolo against Pietro Aretino shows this eloquently:

...lingua fricana, marcia, senza sale ... You, rotten, putrid, saltless tongue...

Il papa è papa e tu sei un furfante, The Pope is the Pope, and you are a rogue,

nodrito del pan d' altri e del dir male; Nurtured by other people's bread, and by your gossip;

hai un pie' in bordello e l' altro in ospitale, You have one foot in the brothel and the other in the madhouse,

starpiataccio, ignorante e arrogante. Wretched, ignorant and arrogant.

When, in 1525, Pietro Aretino barely escaped a murder attempt by Achille Della Volta, Berni wrote in dismay:

... al fin si troverà pur un pugnale ... In the end, someone will surely find a dagger

meglio di quel d'Achille e più calsante. Better than Achille's, and more efficacious.

Since the unsuccessfull killer, another man of letters, was a courtier of Gian Matteo Giberti, the datarium bishop of Verona was suspected to have commissioned the murder, notwithstanding his repeated denials. Surely, Berni's threat that did not help to stop the rumors. 32

Other authors, less famous than the three already mentioned, shared a more intimate friendship with Berni and Francesco da Milano. Francesco Della Torre (died 1586) wrote a letter from Verona to Francesco Bini in Rome, inviting him to a meeting with Francesco da Milano and Galeazzo Florimonte. Bini (1484-1556) was a member of the Accademia della Virtù sponsored by Cardinal Ippolito Medici; Florimonte (1478-1567), a bishop, was the model for the main character in Galateo by Giovanni della Casa. (Della Casa depicted the entourage of none other than the bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti, as a perfect example of politeness and good manners.) In fact, both Bini and Della

31 The nickname was invented by Ludovico Ariosto.
Torre—together with Berni—were part of Giberti’s court: an incomplete list of about 30 “ministri ac familiares insigniores” employed by Giberti is included in Girolamo Della Corte’s Historia di Verona, composed in 1596, about 50 years after Giberti’s death. As for Florimonte, who was mainly based in Rome, he also spent a few years in Verona (1527-1528).33

Apart from Castiglione, all of the poets who personally knew Berni and Francesco da Milano were also somehow linked to the bishop of Verona (Diagram B: Figure 11). At this point, almost inevitably, we have to ask ourselves: Was there any direct relationship between Francesco da Milano and Matteo Giberti? Let us leave this question aside for the moment, and go back to Francesco Berni’s Capitolo a Messer Francesco da Milano. It was written in June 1528, one year after the Sack of Rome, one of the most terrible events in the sixteenth century: from May 6, 1527, for at least eight days, Rome was violently sacked and almost completely destroyed. Most of its inhabitants were tortured and killed by the mercenary soldiers of Emperor Charles V, the terrible Landsknechts, who had not been paid for many months and, completely out of control, had chosen Rome as a perfect target for their appetites. Sadly, some Roman families also took advantage of the general disaster by taking revenge on their personal enemies. The Pope took refuge with his small army and a few cardinals in the fortress of Castel Sant’Angelo and was subsequently forced to surrender. Whoever could, fled the town. Several months after the sack many people were still missing. This explains the first lines of Berni’s Capitolo to Messer Francesco:

\[
\textit{Messer Francesco, se voi siete vivo,} \quad \text{(Because I heard that you were alive)} \\
\textit{perch’ho inteso che voi siete morto ...} \quad \text{(Because I heard that you were dead)}
\]

Berni did not know where his musician friend was; apparently he believed him to be in Piacenza. So far, it has not been possible to verify if Francesco da Milano was actually in that town. Franco Pavan has discovered that in 1536, several years after Berni wrote his Capitolo,


Figure 11 – Diagram B: Summary of connections between the poets, Berni, Francesco da Milano, and Giberti.
Francesco’s father owned a house in nearby Salsomaggiore:35 perhaps he already owned it in 1528, and Francesco in that case might have taken refuge there. Otherwise, some friend could have given him hospitality, but who? Perhaps it was a member of the Trivulzio family. As we have seen, Francesco was made canon at the church of San Nazaro in Brolio in Milan, which was aligned with the Trivulzios, and this has given rise to the suggestion that there was some kind of rapport between the musician and this powerful Milanese family. Supposing this to be true, we note that the Trivulzios maintained feudal holdings in the region of Piacenza and that members of the family held posts as governors and bishops of Piacenza. For example, in our period of interest, the bishop of Piacenza was Catalano Trivulzio, who, being a frequent visitor to the Roman court, most probably knew Francesco from that context. A cousin of Catalano, Gianfermo Trivulzio, established ties with one of Piacenza’s most powerful families by marrying Caterina Landi.36 Now, a brother of Caterina Landi, Count Agostino, was a close relative of Cesare Fregoso, the second patron and close friend of Matteo Bandello. Could it be that, through Fregoso, thanks to his friendship with Bandello, Count Landi might have become acquainted with Francesco and thus have offered him refuge in Piacenza after the Sack of Rome? The close relationships between the Landi, Trivulzio and Fregoso families, as well as Bandello himself, with the French court could possibly also explain the following lines in Berni’s Capitolo:

...e per Dio starrì fresco,  
se’ forestieri avessino a godervi.

...and, by God, I would be upset  
if strangers enjoyed your company.

That is, Berni could have feared that Francesco decided to take refuge in France after having been the guest in Piacenza of someone who was close to the French court. On the other hand, these lines could simply refer to the fact that in Piacenza Francesco stayed in the house of some stranger. As for Berni, at the time of writing these lines he was safely in Venice with his patron, Gian Matteo Giberti, the Pope’s datarium.

Giberti, after being captured during the Sack of Rome by the Emperor’s army, made a spectacular escape from the palace where he was being held hostage under threat of death. At first, he took refuge in Orvieto. The horrors of the Sack, the unanticipated result of the failure

36 The Landi were originally from Venice. On the Trivulzio and “Landi di Val di Taro,” see Genealogie delle dinastie italiane, ed. by D. Shamà and A. Dominici Battelli (http://www.sardimpex.com/).
of the pro-French policy which Giberti himself had supported, persuaded him to retire from active politics, at least for a while, and to renounce most of his ecclesiastic benefits and offices, with the exception of his bishopric in Verona and a few others. Thus Giberti planned to go to Verona. The journey was long and dangerous, and it took several months. Instead of going directly to Verona, Giberti first paid a visit to the Doge in Venice in order to announce his arrival in the Venetian state. Marin Sanuto, the author of the Venetian chronicles known as the Diarii, gives us a detailed account of the arrival of Giberti on the morning of January 7, 1528: "the reverend domino Zuan Matheo Giberto, former datarium, bishop of Verona, came to this land [Venice], arriving by way of Chioggia. He comes from Orvieto. He was one of the hostages who fled from the Landsknechts," and, emphasizing his appearance as fugitive: "he came [dressed as] a horseman... He doesn't wear priests' clothing, tomorrow he will dress himself."37 Two days after his arrival, Giberti met the Doge,38 and on January 18 he finally left for Verona, but not without first asking the Serenissimo for permission to leave the city."39

Sanuto informs us that, "as soon as he arrived, [Giberti] went to visit the bishop of Bayeux, who persuaded him to dine with him at the Valier residence."40 Giberti was not alone: after dinner he went to visit another friend "con li soi" (that is, with his entourage). The bishop of Bayeux was the Veronese Ludovico di Canossa (1475-1532), indeed a great friend of Giberti's;41 he stayed at the house of a friend who, in the end, offered his hospitality to Giberti too, as Sanuto testifies: the datarium was a guest precisely of "Messer Zuan Francesco Valier, canon of Padua, [son] of Messer Carlo."42 When, in June, Giberti had to escape to

---


38 Giberti explained "that he is a servant of this State, and that he came here in order to take care of his bishopric. The Serenissimo spoke to him graciously"("come è servitori di questo Stado, et era venuto qui per andar a galder il suo vescado. Il Serenissimo li usò grate parole") Sanuto, Diarii cit., XLVI, col. 464.

39 On January 18 Giberti asked the Doge permission to go to Verona: "he will stay in Monteforte, which is located in his bishopric and has a very nice villa" ("starà a Monteforte, ch'è uno loco del suo episcopato dove è un bel palazzo," Sanuto, Diarii cit., col. 503).

40 "Et subito zontò, andò a visitar monsignor di Baius el qual lo menò poi a disnar con lui a chà Valier; et poi disnar andoe solo con li soi a san Nicola da Tolentino a visitar il padre episcopo di Chieti che li sta, olim a Roma suo amicissimo." (Sanuto, Diarii cit., XLVI, col. 464). The bishop of Chieti was Giovanni Pietro Carafa (d. 1559), the future Pope Paul IV, who, during the Sack of Rome, took shelter at Giberti's house in Verona (Dalla Corte, L'istoria di Verona, cit. II- 726).

Venice again (since new Landsknechts' raids now made Verona unsafe),\(^4\) once more Valier gave shelter to him. Valier (whose name was often latinized as "Valerio") was a talented man of letters, greatly esteemed by famous authors such as Pietro Bembo and Ludovico Ariosto.\(^4\) He was also an old friend of Berni's, their friendship going back to the years when they both had been in the service of Cardinal Bibbiena in Rome.\(^4\) His high-ranking acquaintances, however, would not prevent him from being hanged when, in 1542, it was discovered that he, who was secretary of the "ciphers" (secret encoded messages) for the Venetian republic, had revealed state secrets to a foreign ambassador.\(^4\) His temperament was a bit sanguine, as we learn from Sanuto how he tried to strangle his father ("who had been in bed for many years and was unable to move") because he had decided to leave all of his belongings to his legitimate daughter instead of to him, who was a "natural" child.\(^7\)

According to Sanuto, this man was also the parish priest of Murano, a little island close to Venice (Figure 12). Murano was the seat of the Episcopal parish of Torcello, containing at least twenty churches and several monasteries, and was also an agreeable place to live or spend holidays for the most important Venetian families. Visitors from the terra firma loved to meet there, attracted by the lush gardens of their hosts.

42 "Alzose a Santa Trinità in casa di domino Zuan Francesco Valier canonico di Padova, di sier Carlo." (Sanuto, Diarii cit., XLVI, col. 464).
43 See Mutini, Berni cit. and Franco Pavan, Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543), Ph.D., University of Milan, 1997, ch. V.
44 On the friendship between Valier and Pietro Bembo, who submitted to him the first draft of his Prose, see Cosenza, Biographical cit., I, p. 499 e IV, p. 3542. Regarding his friendship with Ariosto, see Pietro Aretino, Lettere il primo e secondo libro, ed. by F. Flora, Verona, 1960, and in particular the note by Alessandro del Vita on p. 1000.
45 Berni mentions Valier many times. One of the earliest is in a letter from Berni to Cardinal Bibbiena written in Rome on July 23, 1518: "I came to Rome: why? Not to waste my time, nor to indulge in pleasure, but to serve Your Lordship and to make acquaintance with M. Julio Sadoleto, M. Jo. Francesco Valerio, my sweet Sanga, and many other good men" ("Venni a Roma; a che? Non a perder tempo, non a darmi piacerne, ma a servir S.S. et acquisarimi M. Julio Sadoleto, M.io. Francesco Valerio, il mio dolce Sanga, et tanti altri homini da bene [...]": Berni, Rime cit., p. 256).
46 The spy network organized by Cesare Fregoso, the patron of Matteo Bandello and friend of Giberti, was discovered in Venice in 1542. Fregoso, who had become a political informant in service to the French court, was assassinated in 1541 on his return from a trip to France with the Venetian ambassador of François I", Antoine Rincon. See Ettore Mazzali, "Saggio bio-bibliografico" in Matteo Bandello, Novelle, ed. by L. Russo and E. Mazzali (Milan: Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 31-80, in particular pp. 59-61. Could it be that Valier was also one of the incriminated spies?
47 On January 18, 1528, the day of Giberti's departure from Venice, "Father Zuan Francesco Valier, natural child of Mr. Carl, parish priest in sacris of Murano and canon of Padua, having come to talk with his father who had been in bed for many years and was unable to move, had an argument and tried to strangle him. Had it not been for several servants who rushed over, he would have strangled him. The Serenissimo and everybody else were very displeased about this. The case was referred to the office of the Avogaria [court of justice] in order to bring him to trial. After dinner, Mr. Zuan Francesco went to the Serenissimo to excuse himself, saying that his father had married his only daughter to the only son
and the company of illustrious men of letters. Many examples of high society in Murano may be cited. For example, Caterina Cornaro, the Queen of Cyprus, alternated her 'court' in Asolo with family residences in Venice and her 'delizia' (i.e., vacation house) in Murano. Pietro Bembo

of Mr. Antonio of the Pesaro family, a certain Mr. Lonardo called del Chiaro di Lizza Fusina, and that [his father] gave to her as a dower everything he has in the world’ (‘domino Zuan Francesco Valier, fiel natural di sier Carlo qual è in sacra piuvan di Murrn et canonico di Padou, hessendo venuto a parlar a suo padre qual è in leto zà piu anni che non si move; et alterandosi di parole, l’ha voluto strangolat, et si non era alcuni famegii che saltò li, lo strangolava. Il qual caso dispiacque al Serenissimo et a tutti. Et fo il caso comcesso a l’Avangaria azió fazino processo. El qual domino Zuan Francesco poi disnar andò dal Serenissimo scusando la cosa, dicendo il padre ha maridìi sua fiola unica in uno fiol unico di sier Antonio da chà Pesaro, qu. Sier Lonardo dito del Chiaro di Lizza Fusina, a la qual ha dà in dota tutto quello l’ha al mondo [...]’; Sanuto, Diarii cit., XLVI, col. 500.)

88 On the history of Murano see G. Moschini, Guida per l'isola di Murano, Venezia, 1808; E. A. Cicogna, Delle Inscrizioni veneziane, 6 vols., Venezia, 1824-1853, V.
(whose Asolani was inspired by Caterina Cornaro’s court) was often a guest at Andrea Navagero’s Murano villa, famous for its gardens full of exotic trees. Innumerable other more or less famous people owned houses on the island or were regular guests there. Some literary works were also set in Murano, such as the dialogue *De Imitatione poetica* by Bernardino Partenio, published in Venice in 1565.

In Murano, of which he was the parish priest, Zuan Francesco Valier also owned a house of which he was very proud: exponents of the *beau-monde* of literature and other illustrious guests (including Pietro Aretino and Ippolito Medici) gathered there to admire his collection of “beautiful antiques.” From the house of Valier, during that second Venetian exile in the month of June of 1528, Berni wrote his *Capitolo to Francesco da Milano*. He confirms Valier’s hospitality when he writes that “which is his we can consider to be ours, his bread, his wine... Just think: at this moment I am writing with his paper and his ink!”

Sanuto’s testimony and the other sources we have looked at so far seem to corroborate quite closely the details given by Berni in his *Capitolo*, both regarding himself and regarding his relationship with the people he mentions. Having established this, we may now examine more closely what he has to say about Francesco himself. When trying to convince Francesco to come to Venice, Berni predicts that all of his friends will be overjoyed to see him again:

*Qui è messer Achille della Volta,*
*el reverendo monsignor Valerio,*
*che domanda di voi volta per volta;*
*e mostra avere estremo desiderio;*
*né pur sol egli, ma ogni persona*
*n'ha un martel, ch'è proprio un vituperio.*

*Here is Mister Achille della Volta,*
*And the Reverend Monsignor Valerio*
*Who asks about you all the time.*
*And he shows great desire [to see you].*
*And not only he, but every one is so afraid*
*Of losing you that it is really a disgrace.*

Berni’s expression “ avere un martello” (literally, to have a

---

49 About the house owned by Valier in Murano, see the letter to Francesco Bini (sent from Murano, undated, in *Lettere facete cit.*, I n. LXII): “I have built here a small studio, a studietto, as we call it, decorated and full of such beautiful antiques, and [items] in marble and copper” (“Io ho fatto un studietto qui, che così lo chiamiamo noi, ornato, & pien di così belle antichità, & di marmo, & di bronzo”). Another letter to Bini from Venice (ibid. n. LXIII) shows Valier waiting for a “Marsia,” probably a little statue, to be added to his collection. Ippolito Medici and Pietro Aretino were house guests there in 1533 (see Pietro Aretino, letter to Cardinal Ippolito Medici, September 14, 1533 in Pietro Aretino, *Lettere il primo e secondo libro*, ed. by F. Flora, Verona 1960: book I n. 35, pp. 43-44). He also entertained illustrious guests, including Ranuccio Farnese (see *Corrispondenza Giovanni Della Casa-Carlo Gualeruzzi*, ed. by O. Moroni, Città del Vaticano, 1986, letters n. 43, 56, 63, 81, 117). In 1545, three years after “miserable Valerio” was hanged, the author of *Galateo*, Giovanni Della Casa, who went to Murano in order to “lose himself in those swamps,” considered renting the house of Valier for himself, although he finally settled for another house nearby, with a garden.
hammer) meant in Renaissance Italian to be obsessed by the fear that a loved person will be taken away.\textsuperscript{50} This ties in with the earlier lines in which Berni expresses the jealous wish that strangers do not enjoy Francesco's company in Piacenza. It is clear from these lines that Achille della Volta (the unsuccessful killer of Pietro Aretino) and Zuan Francesco Valier already knew Francesco da Milano, and they were affectionate friends of him. And Berni goes on:

\begin{quote}
Lasciamo andar monsignor di Verona, 
nostro patron, che mai né di né noste 
con la lingua e col cuor non s'abbandona.
\end{quote}

Not to speak of Monsignor of Verona,  
Our master, who never abandons you, day and [or?] night, 
With his heart and with his tongue.

Thus, if we trust Berni's \textit{Capitolo}, even the bishop of Verona (that is, Giberti) knew Francesco da Milano and ardently desired him to come to Venice. More important, Berni refers to Giberti as "our patron," instead of "my patron." From this, we might logically infer that, at least at the time of writing, Francesco da Milano, along with Berni and Achille della Volta, was part of the bishop of Verona's entourage, or \textit{familia}. Bishops employed a number of courtiers, or \textit{familiares}, according to their need and personal wealth. Giberti, already a very rich man, had further increased his income with prestigious ecclesiastical offices, so much so that he aroused the envy of his peers. He owned several houses, enjoyed the revenues of a wealthy abbey (of Rosazzo in Friuli)\textsuperscript{51} and, according to his biographers, maintained an impressive court. Berni promises the musician a warm welcome.

\begin{quote}
Venite via, il mio messer Francesco, 
ché vi prometto due cose eccellenzi, 
l'una il ber caldo, e l'altra il mangiar fresco.
\end{quote}

Come away, my dear Mister Francesco,  
Because I promise you two excellent things:  
One is hot drinks, the other fresh food.

And, in fact, here follows a detailed and funny list of foods. Francesco will also be able to enjoy something even more exciting:

\textsuperscript{50} For example, the Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca (Venice, Giovanni Alberti, 1612), gives this definition to the word: "E MARTELLO lo diciamo per una certa passione amorosa, che è quando si dubita, che la cosa amata non ti sia tolta da altri."

\textsuperscript{51} Giberti's estate comprised \textit{palazzi} in Bovolone, Monteforte and the so-called "Nazareth" palace, where Gian Pietro Caraffa (the future Pope Paolo IV) took shelter in 1527 in flight from the Sack of Rome (see Dalla Corte, L'Istoria di Verona cit., II p. 724 e 726; A. Ballerinni, Vita di Giberti in Jo.Matthaei Giberti [...] Opera cit.: p. 323-ff.). Giberti asked Berni to inspect the abbey in Rosazzo (the poet took this visit as a starting point for a well-known satirical poem), and he had it restored and decorated by the painter Francesco Torbido called \textit{il Moro}. This abbey was also the focal point of a harsh quarrel between Giberti and Pietro Bembo, because the Pope himself had previously promised the abbey to Bembo, who was relying on Giberti's help to obtain it: see V. Cian, \textit{Un decennio nella vita di Messer Pietro Bembo}, Torino, 1885 and Virgili, \textit{Francesco Berni cit.}, cap. XI.
Siamo in una contrada et in un ria
presso santa Trinita e all’arzanale,
incontro a certe monache d’Iddio,
che fan la Pasqua come il Carnovale
id est, che non son troppo scrupolese,
ché voi non intenderete qualche male.

We are in a neighborhood and on a
canal
Near Santa Trinita and the Arsenal,
In front of certain devout nuns,
Who celebrate Easter as if it were Carnival,
That is, they are not overly scrupulous:
You will not find it such a bad thing.

Berni works on the lutenist’s ambition, too, when he promises,
humorously,

sarete intrattenuto e corteggiato
ben visto da ognun com’un barone.
Chi voderà se potrà dir beato...

You will be entertained and flattered,
Well thought of by all, like a Baron.
Whoever hears you will feel blessed.

And, in fact, Berni looks forward to the moment when Francesco
will play the lute; indeed, he promises:

Venite a scaricar le vostre cose, et a
diritto;
e venga Bernardino,
che faremo armonie miracolose.

Come and bring all your things, and right away.
And Bernardino should come too,
So that we can make miraculous harmony together.

This new name, “Bernardino,” has not been explained by anybody
except Franco Pavan, who proposed that this is most likely the brother of
Francesco da Milano, who, in fact, was a musician.52 This hypothesis still
has to be confirmed, however, since Berni might have been thinking of
someone else — for instance, we know of a certain Bernardino Donati, a
man of letters who ran a print shop in Verona founded by Giberti;53 one
“Bernardin Veronese” is mentioned, together with Francesco da Milano,
in the poem Il Monte Parnaso, composed between 1519 and 1525 by
Filippo Oriolo da Bassano;54 and finally, in the letter to Francesco Bini
already cited,” Francesco Della Torre mentions one “Maestro Bernardino”:
“Maestro Bernardino and I have been making thousands of nice plans
together.” Thus, we can’t affirm with certainty that Berni was thinking
of Bernardino Canova, brother of Francesco, when promising to “make

identified all of the characters named by Berni except for “Bernardino”; however he did not verify
if any of them knew Francesco da Milano (whomever he thought that may have been), nor did he
ascertain if the poet was reporting real facts and circumstances.
53 Mazzali, Saggio cit.: p. 54.
54 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Campori y.B.6.21, c. 61; see H. C. Slim, “Musicians on
55 Letter from Francesco Della Torre to Francesco Bini, August 4, 1537, in Lettere di diversi autori
eccellenti, ed. by G. Ruscelli, Venezia, Ziletti, 1556 (“Maestro Bernardino e io abbiamo fatto mille
bei disegni”).
miraculous harmony together,” although a reference to a musician seems indeed quite likely. We will come back to this later.

Whether or not Francesco was part of Matteo Giberti’s familia, there has never been any evidence, until now, that Francesco accepted Berni’s invitation to visit him in Venice after the Sack of Rome, where Berni himself, Achille della Volta, Monsignor Valerio, and the bishop of Verona Giberti were impatiently waiting for him.

So far, the only known connection between the lutenist and Venice was the publication of an edition of his lute music several years later by Marcolini, in 1536, which in any case did not necessarily imply that the musician went to Venice in person. Some light can now be shed on this question by a new document, unknown to Francesco scholars, which, although it must be viewed with caution, seems to demonstrate that his visit to Venice did in fact take place, although not in 1528.

Two years after Berni wrote his Capitolo, in January of 1530, the people of Venice and its territories celebrated the treaty signed in Bologna by the Pope and Emperor Charles V (Figures 13a & 13b). As is well known, the treaty established Charles V’s crowning in Bologna as Emperor, the rehabilitation of the Sforza as rulers of Milan, and a general amnesty.56 For three days solemn Masses were celebrated and processions of thanksgiving were accompanied by the “sounds of trumpets, pifferi and great church bells,” people lit bonfires and danced until late at night in the city squares.57 Private banquets were organized for the many ambassadors, orators and other illustrious people, who were given a hearty welcome on their return to Venice from the signing in Bologna.58 Among them, we again find Gian Matteo Giberti. Marino Sanuto tells us in his diary that the bishop of Verona, who attended some of the negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor, arrived in Venice two days before Christmas bearing a letter from the Pope to the Doge, and

56 For one of the many eyewitness descriptions of events in Bologna, see Luigi Gonzaga, Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia (July 26, 1529 to April 25, 1530), in Documenti di Storia Italiana estratto da un codice della Regia Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia, published by G. Romano, Milan, 1892.
57 “Soni de trombe et pifari et gran campane.” Sauto, Diarìi cit., LI, coll. 435, 1 January: “[…] fo ordinato lumiere per li campanili et sonar campane per tre zorni in questa terra et per tutte le terre nostre.”
58 “The most illustrious Duke of Urbino [Francesco della Rovere], our Captain General, arrived after lunch, late [in the afternoon]. Some gentlemen went to meet him. He lodged in [the quarter of] San Polo at the Corner [family] house, and in the evening he was offered a dinner by our Lordship; there were 200 people, and it cost 100 ducats” (“Gionse hozi, poi disnar. al tardo, in questa terra lo illustissimo duca de Urbin capitania zeneral nostro, contra del qual andoe alcuni zentilhomeni et alooe a San Polo in cà Corner, et la sera li fo fatto la cena per la Signoria nostra, che erano da 200 persone, in qual fo speso ducati 100,” Sanuto, Diarìi cit., LI, col. 461, January 6).
**Figure 13a** – Juan de la Corte (1597-1660), Arrival of Charles V and Pope Clement VIII in Bologna for the Emperor’s Coronation (24/2/1530)

**Figure 13b** – Sebastiano del Piombo, Pope Clement VII in Conference with the Emperor Charles V and Others (1530), London British Museum.
he remained in town for most of January, attending religious functions
and banquets.9 Sanuto does not mention if Giberti again enjoyed the
generous hospitality of Valier, but that is probably the case, since, as we
saw before, Valier was a valuable friend of Giberti, ready to provide him
and his entourage accommodation on more than one occasion. We also
know that Berni was with Giberti in Bologna,60 and thus he probably
followed him to Venice.

During this time, another good friend of Giberti arrived in
Venice, Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542) (Figure 14). This celebrated
humanist was a good friend of Erasmus. A former secretary to Cesare
Borgia in 1501, he had been subsequently invited by the French king,
Louis XII, to inaugurate a course in the study of Greek at the University
of Paris, of which he was appointed Rector in 1512. After obtaining a
canonry in Liège, he soon became the chancellor of that town's bishop,
Erard de la Marck, who sent him to Rome in 1516 in order to take care
of de la Marck's affairs, especially of his appointment as cardinal. But
on tasting the Roman lifestyle, Aleandro decided to stay. The French
ambassador to the Vatican got him a job as secretary to Giulio Medici, the
nephew of Pope Leo X, and a couple of years later he was made librarian
of the Palatina. He made the transition to Adrian VI's papacy successfully,
even earning a new canonry in Valencia, and he was appointed apostolic
nuncio to the Diet of Worms. When Giulio Medici became Pope Clement
VII, things picked up even more. Aleandro was quickly appointed bishop
of Brindisi and sent as nuncio to King François I, then to the Emperor
Charles V, and finally to Venice.61 When in Rome, at the papal court he

9 "The bishop of Verona, former datarium, came to the assembly, he comes from Verona and has
been in Bologna, and he brought a letter from the Pope to our Lordship" ("Vene in Colegio el
vescovo de Verona, olim datario, vien de Verona, et è stato a Bologna, et porò uno breve del papa
drizato a la Signoria nostra," Sanuto, Diarii cit., LII, col. 381, December 23, 1529). On December
26 he attended a banquet offered by the Doge, which was particularly sumptuous, followed by
dancing: "The dinner [offered by] the Serenissimo was honorable, and apart from all the other things
he gave each [guest] a pheasant, whereas he used to only give one pheasant to every two [guests],
and [he gave lots of] other food. After dinner there was much dancing by three women with their
men, and they danced very well, ending at 23 o'clock" ("Da poi el pranzo del Serenissimo, qual fu
honorato, et tra le altre cose dete uno fasan per uno, che soleva dar ogni do un fasan, et altre vivande,
et poi pranzo fo balazo alquanto per tre done con li soi homeni che balano benisimmo, et compiteno
a hore 23," Sanuto, Diarii cit., LII, col. 388). See also Prosperi, Tra Evangelismo cit. During his
Venetian trip, Giberti was visited by Pietro Aretino, his implacable enemy, who claimed to have been
overcome by "divine inspiration" to "throw myself at [Giberti's] feet" for a reconciliation with the
prelate, which, in reality, was motivated by astute calculation; see Luzio, Pietro Aretino cit. Giberti
was again in Bologna on January 26: see Sanuto, Diarii cit., LII, col. 542-3, copy of a letter by
Hironimo Bonetempo from Bologna.

60 Mutini, Berni cit., p. 348.

61 Aleandro was born to the nobility in Mostra, Friuli, in 1480. Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese) also
availled himself of Aleandro's experience, and rewarded him by appointing him cardinal, at last, in
almost surely knew Francesco da Milano. In fact, he included Francesco’s date of birth in his book of Ephemerides, commenting:

Franciscus Modoetiensis, Mediolanensis tum dictus, excellentissimus citharoedus, Leonis X pontificis maximi familiaris.62

The Greek word “cithara” was usually used in its modern sense of “lute” during the Renaissance, and lutenists were often referred to as “citharoedi.” Because of his important ecclesiastical and political positions, Aleandro traveled extensively throughout Italy and Europe, meeting political and cultural representatives of the first rank. He described his experiences in a personal diary, written in alternating Latin and Greek,

---

62 “Francesco from Monza, then called Milauese, most excellent lutenist [citharoedus], one of the familia of Leo X pontificis maximi.” Aleandro, Ephemerides cit. It is certain that Aleandro was referring here to Francesco Canova, because the date of birth given by him is the same as that found in two astrological treatises, Luca Guaitricò’s Tractatus Astrolagicus in quo agitur de praeteris luminum accidentibus per proprias corum genituras ad ungueum examinatis, Venezia, Currus Troiani Nàvà, 1552 (fol.80 v) and Girolamo Cardano’s Libelli duo: Item Genitutae LVIII. insignes casibus & fortuna, cum expositione, Nuremberg, Petreus 1543 (cf. P2-P2v). I wish to thank H. Colin Slim for pointing out the importance of the Ephemerides to me.
covering the years 1524 to 1531. Here we read that Aleandro arrived in Venice in January of 1530, and on January 9, a Sunday, he was invited to dinner at a house in Murano.

It is no wonder that a famous humanist such as Girolamo Aleandro got an invitation to a private banquet exactly in such a place as Murano. Aleandro noted in his diary that he had dinner that day with “D. Veronensem”: “Die dominica 9 ianuarii, pransus sum apud D. Veronensem Muran[...].” The capital ‘D’ could be the first letter of the word ‘Dominum’, that is, ‘Lord’, and in this case the ‘Lord of Verona’ could be one of several different people (maybe Cesare Fregoso?). If instead the abbreviated word were ‘Datum’, then Aleandro would certainly have been referring to his friend Giberti, to whom he invariably refers as ‘datarius’ in his diary. This hypothesis is given credence by the fact that Giberti was indeed at Venice in this period, probably a guest of Valier. Furthermore, Giberti could also be considered a ‘lord’ (dominus) of Verona, since he commanded considerable authority there both in religious and cultural spheres. Sanuto even referred to the bishop as “domino Zuan Matheo Giberto”. Lastly, since Giberti was already in Venice when Aleandro arrived there, he would naturally have invited his illustrious friend to dinner.

Now, returning to Aleandro’s diary, he tells us that after the meal there was musical entertainment: Post prandium audivimus Franciscum citharoedum et fratrem accinentem cithara.66

Who were the two musical brothers? I think there is good reason to believe that Aleandro was referring here to Francesco da Milano and

63 Aleandro’s diary was published by H. Omont, Journal Autobiographique cit., pp. 43-98, with the title Journal d’Aleandre.
64 It has not been possible so far to ascertain whether Cesare Fregoso owned a house in Murano.
65 According to Ballerini, Vita cit., p. XIX Caput VIII, referring to Giberti’s consent to the Transactio Gibertina, Giberti went to Murano in 1530: “Gibertus Muriani, quae est insula in aestuarii Venetiarum, huic Transactioni consentit.”
66 “After dinner, we heard the lutenist [citharoedum] Francesco and his brother, who sang to the lute.” As we have already noted, the Greek word “cithara” was usually used in its modern sense of “lute.” The expression “accinentem cithara,” referring to the brother, might either mean that he played the lute while singing, or that he only sang, while Francesco played the lute. “Post prandium” — after dinner — could have taken place somewhere else, maybe in another house or even in another part of the city. Aleandro’s style, extremely concise, sometimes even telegraphic, prevented him from dwelling on such logistical details. For another after-dinner entertainment with Francesco, compare the well-known story told by Pontus de Tyard (Solistaire second ou prose de la musique, Lyons, 1555, ed. by C.A. Yandell, Genève, Droz, 1980) about a ‘concert’ by Francesco da Milano. At the end of a banquet offered to Milanese nobles, “Les tables levées il en prit un [lute] & comme pour tater les acors, se met près d’un bout de table, à rechercher une fantaisie” (“the tables being cleared, he chose one, and as if tuning his strings, sat on the end of a table seeking out a fantasia”; English translation by H.C. Slim).
his brother Bernardino.\textsuperscript{67} After all, Aleandro had already used the same elocution “Franciscus [...] citharoedus,” when mentioning Francesco in his \textit{Ephemerides}. And does this not fit rather well the event that Berni imagined when he invited Francesco to play “miraculous harmonies” with “Bernardino” in the company of the bishop of Verona at the house of Valier in Murano?

One final remark brings us back to the \textit{Capitolo} of Berni. Notwithstanding his friendship with Francesco da Milano, or maybe because of it, the poet takes the liberty of giving his warm invitation a satirical nuance:

\begin{quote}
parrete per quest'acque un Anfione, 
ansi un Orfeo, che sempre avene diritto
bestie in gran quantità, d'ogni ragione.
\end{quote}

\textit{By these waters you will seem like an Amphion.}

\textit{Even better, an Orpheus, who was always followed}

\textit{By numerous beasts of all kinds.}

The subtle comedy of this verse (we imagine the lutenist, divinely inspired, strumming his lute while riding in a \textit{gondola} followed by a crowd of ignoramuses) recalls a passage in Berni’s \textit{Dialogo contra i poeti} (\textit{Dialogue against the Poets}) in which he ridicules his colleagues. By incessantly citing ancient mythology, poets are “beasts,” since they perpetuate the dissoluteness of those Greek rogues (“greci ribaldi”), and they are also crazy (“pazzi”), since “they say they are divine and that God breathes on their brains [...] I excuse them because they are fools, as they themselves call each other [...] saying that they are possessed and imbued with divine fury.”\textsuperscript{68} This, of course, brings to mind the way poets (and, following their lead, courtiers, another group deeply despised by Berni) praised Francesco da Milano, calling him ‘il Divino,’ and ranting about how they

\textsuperscript{67} According to Gaurico, \textit{Tractatus Astrologicus} cit., fol.80 v., “Franciscus de Monza Mediolanensis divinis, Musicorum omnium eminentissimus [...] habuit Patrem Musicum, & tres fratres Musicos, modulationibus claros sed non adeo longevos” (“The divine Milanese, Francesco of Monza, outstanding among musicians [...] had a father [who was a] musician, and three brothers [who were] musicians, famous for their compositions but not as long-lived as he was”). Writing about the Canova family, Franco Pavan (“Francesco Canova [...]” 1991, cit., and “Ex paupertate” cit., especially pp. 365-ss. and fn. 32) has found documents giving the name of Francesco’s father, Benedetto, two of his brothers, Bernardino and Giovanni Battista, and a sister, Costanza. Pavan has also reconstructed part of Bernardino Canova’s biography. Bernardino is found in Rome in 1529 in the company of Jean Consell and later in Milan, where he took over the canonicate of San Nazaro in Brolio from his brother Francesco. Bernardino was still alive in 1563: this contrasts with Gaurico’s comments about the brother’s longevity, since Francesco died in 1543. However, Gaurico did not seem to know the Canova family very well, as he does not mention Francesco’s sister, and he confuses the number of brothers and their death dates.

went into raptures while listening to the "divine sound of his fingers."69 Let the furious "beasts" follow you – Berni seems to suggest to Francesco, and in the mean time, we will make our miraculous harmonies at Valier's house, cheered up with wine, good food and the company of "certain nuns [...] who are not overly scrupulous."

In conclusion, to Francesco da Milano's known biographical data we may now add with fair confidence a new fact: his presence in Venice, and specifically at Murano on January 9, 1530, three years after the Sack of Rome, in the company of his brother Bernardino, at the house of a "d[ominus]" or possibly of the "d[atarius]" of Verona. This fact is documented in the diary of Gerolamo Aleandro and gives further support and credibility to that part of Francesco Berni's Capitolo of 1528 in which the author invites the musician to join him in Venice, where he is waiting for Francesco in the company of his patron Gian Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona and datario of the Pope. From this evidence we can also deduce a probable engagement of Francesco da Milano, and possibly also of Bernardino, on behalf of Giberti himself, or of another Veronese lord, following the loss of his post at the Papal court after the Sack of Rome, and before entering into the orbit of the young cardinal Ippolito Medici (into whose service Francesco may have entered precisely through his relationship with Giberti or with Berni himself). The general credibility of Berni's Capitolo has been partially verified also on the basis of the diaries of Marino Sanuto and on various other letters and documents. The investigation into the personalities known both to Berni and Francesco da Milano has, furthermore, opened new avenues of research into who gave Francesco momentary refuge in Piacenza immediately following the Roman pillage of 1527. The pro-French political leanings on the part of almost all of the personalities involved invigorate the hypothesis of some sort of relationship between Francesco himself and François I. Finally, returning to the Diario of Aleandro, we have new evidence of how the two Canova brothers sometimes performed together, and of the fact that Bernardino was also a singer.

-- translated by Paul Beier

69 See, for instance, the conclusion of the story told by P. De Tyard (see footnote 46 above) and the preface by Francesco Marcolini in Intabulatura di liuto de diversi, con la bataglia, et altre cose bellissime, di M. Francesco da Milano, published in 1536, where he praises the "divino suono delle sue dita."
APPENDIX

TABLE 2

List of people who, according to documents, knew both Francesco Canova (FC) and Francesco Berni (FB). Column 1: Name of the person and circumstances regarding the relationship to FC and FB; Column 2: first-hand knowledge of FC; Column 3: FC cited in literary text; Column 4: first-hand knowledge of FB.

People who knew both Francesco da Milano and Francesco Berni

ARETINO, Pietro (1492-1556), author. He was in Rome between 1517 and 1521 with Leo X and Cardinal Giulio Medici, and again in Rome from 1523 with Clement VII. After a literary scandal and his escape from Rome in 1525, Achille della Volta (familiaris of G.M. Giberti) attempted to kill him. He lived in Venice from 1527 to his death. In January 1530 he met Giberti, who was in Venice with his familiaria (including Berni).

BANDELLO, Matteo (Castelnuovo Scrivia 1485-Agen, after 1555), man of letters, author of a book of Novelle. He was in Milan and Mantua for several periods between 1507 and 1526. Between 1529 and 1536 he was in Verona as secretary to Cesare Fregoso, where he belonged to Giberti’s circle.

CASTIGLIONE, Baldassare (Casatico 1478 – Toledo 1529), man of letters, author of The Book of the Courtier. In 1524 he was invited to dine with Pope Clement VII and listen to the playing of Francesco da Milano.

NETTI Fra Mariano (? – 1531), court jester to Leo X and Clement VII. He also attended the dinner of 1524 with Pope Clement VII, which included a performance by Francesco da Milano (see Castiglione). In 1528 Berni mentioned him in a letter to Caterina Cibo.
DELLA TORRE Francesco (m. 1586), author, secretary to Giberti. In 1537 he wrote a letter from Verona to Francesco Bini in Rome, inviting him to a gathering with Francesco da Milano and Galeazzo Florimonte.

BINI Francesco (1484?-1556), author, personal friend of Berni, *familiaris* of Giberti. He was in Rome from at least 1525. After the Sack of Rome he went to Orvieto, then to Viterbo and finally to Venice as a guest of Pietro Bembo. He was back in Rome (1528-29) with Clement VII, and was a member of the Accademia della Virtù sponsored by Ippolito Medici. In 1537 Francesco della Torre wrote a letter to him mentioning Francesco da Milano (see Della Torre).

FLORIMONTE Galeazzo (1478-1567), bishop of Sessa and Aquino. He was in Verona in 1527 and 1528 as a preceptor to the Serego family, where he met Giberti, Berni and Della Torre. He was the model for the main character in *Galateo* by Giovanni della Casa. In 1536 he left Verona and in 1537 he was in Rome (see the letter of Della Torre to Bini). He lived in Milan in 1541 and in 1542 he was with Pope Paul III.
Perino Fiorentino (1523-1552),
His Life and Works

BY RICHARD FALKENSTEIN

The death of Perino Fiorentino in 1552 cut short what was by all accounts a brilliant career. By the early 1550s the fame he had earned in Rome, the principal center of his activities, had spread as a result of his travels south to Naples and north to France. The legacy of his preserved works for the lute is small, but it testifies to a remarkable performing talent and distinguishes him as an important composer for the instrument. Despite renewed interest in sixteenth-century lute music during the late twentieth century, Perino has never regained the renown he deserves. It is hoped that the present essay will help to restore his stature.¹

Musicologists have been somewhat familiar with Perino for over one hundred years. His music was reintroduced in modern times by Oscar Chilesotti when in 1902 he published a few transcriptions of Perino’s works in a survey of early sixteenth-century Italian lutenists.² The first important study of Perino was Ellyn A. Wienandt’s 1954 paper “Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces.”³ It was a limited account, however, because Wienandt was unaware of much of the documentation...

¹ The following essay is an updated, corrected, and expanded revision of the author’s “The Lute Works of Pierino degli Organi” (M.A. thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1987). In my original study I chose to use “Pierino degli Organi” as my subject’s name because it appears in papal treasury records and in a letter addressed to him by his good friend Giacomo Marmitta. In the revision I have thought it best to avoid confusion and call him “Perino Fiorentino” since it is the name he was known by outside of his intimate circle and since it is the more commonly used name by present day writers.

Acknowledgments and thanks are due to the following scholars: Arthur J. Ness for his generosity in sharing his ideas and materials with me on this project as well as others; Franco Pavan for references to important material concerning Perino’s biography; Douglas Alton Smith for advice and for providing me with materials; and Thomas Banchich of the Canisius College Classics Department for his help with the Latin translations.

All translations are mine except where noted otherwise.


JLSA XXXIV (2001)
© 2005, The Lute Society of America
concerning the lutenist’s life, and he only knew about half of Perino’s works.

Since the 1960s a number of studies have shed considerable light on Perino and his music. During that decade H. Colin Slim and Frank A. D’Accone completed studies that, ancillary to their main topics, included transcriptions of sixteenth-century archival documents and literary references to Perino, information that has helped greatly to flesh out the details of his life. While preparing his 1970 edition of the works of Francesco da Milano, Arthur J. Ness identified five previously unknown works by Perino in the manuscript known as the “Siena Lute Book.” The present author’s 1987 study of Perino included transcriptions of all the lutenist’s then known works as well as a detailed discussion of his biographical material, a description of the sources of his tablatures, and an analysis of his music.

During the 1990s an exemplar of In tabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro primo (Rome: V. and L. Dorico, [1546]) surfaced in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Krakow. It is the only complete copy of the print known to exist. Through the rediscovery of this volume a work previously attributed to Francesco da Milano is now known to be Perino’s. In 1996 Mirco Caffagni and Franco Pavan published a modern edition of Perino’s music that incorporated the new work as well as new biographical material.

**Perino’s Biography**

Perino Fiorentino is one of the few Italian lutenists of the

---


6 See note 1 above.

Cinquecento for whom we have a substantial amount of biographical material. This is largely because of his personal and professional associations: he was a member of an important musical family in Florence, he was the pupil of Francesco da Milano, and he was a prominent musician in Rome at the court of Pope Paul III. In addition, the high quality of his artistry assured his mention in contemporary accounts concerning musicians and music performance. Thus, documentary evidence allows us to reconstruct a considerable amount of Perino’s life, although large gaps in our knowledge of his activities and whereabouts still remain.

Perino’s baptismal record shows that he was born in Florence on 7 December 1523 and was baptized the following day in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore:

[December 1523, Tuesday, the 8th day] Piero Ambruogio [son] of Bartolomeo [son] of Michelagnolo degli Organi, resident of San Piero Maggiore, born on the 7th day, at the 21st hour.  

Perino’s family was made up of musicians. His father was Bartolomeo degli Organi (1474-1539), the distinguished organist, singer, and composer. Bartolomeo held several posts in Florence, the

---


Pavan has proposed another birth date, 17 November 1523, on the authority of a horoscope cast for Perino by Luca Gaurico and published in 1552; see Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto, iii (Appendix I, Document 7 of the present study quotes the horoscope). While this date deserves consideration—Gaurico probably knew Perino since they both served at Pope Paul III’s court—the temporal proximity of the Florentine baptismal entry to the event in question would seem to give it greater weight of authority. We should therefore accept 7 December 1523 as Perino’s birth date.

Wienandt, “Perino Fiorentino,” The New Grove Dictionary, 14:406; and Wienandt and Fenlon, “Perino Fiorentino,” The New Grove Dictionary, 2nd ed., 19:403, give Perino’s birthplace as “Florence,” which would indicate that there is doubt about where he was born, although the authors state no reason for this doubt in either article. Perino’s baptismal record makes it clear, however, that his parents were living in Florence.

most important was at Santa Maria del Fiore where he served as organist during the last thirty years of his life. He was a composer of devotional works (laude), secular Italian works (mainly ballate), and instrumental works. He was well regarded by the Florentines, who knew him as "Baccio" or "Baccino." Perino's mother was Lionarda (née Arrighi), a singer. Her name appears in a manuscript written by the Florentine Giovanni Mazzuoli da Strada (called "Stradino"). The manuscript dates from c.1510 and contains the texts of fourteen frottole. It indicates that three women sang the pieces, one of whom was Lionarda. It also credits her with providing over half of its songs, pieces she received from an unidentified source in Rome. Bartolomeo and Lionarda had many children, three of whom became musicians. Perino was the youngest of these; Antonio (b. 1504) and Lorenzo (1519-1544) followed their father's profession and took positions as organists in Florence.

Florentine archives mention Perino until May 1536, at which time he was about twelve-and-one-half years old. In view of the accomplishments of his family as well as his future career as a musician, it is likely that he had musical instruction at home with his father or perhaps with his brother Antonio, who was about nineteen years older than Perino. Since he belonged to a family of organists, one might expect that Perino received keyboard training, but there is no evidence that he performed on the instrument.


Cesare Corsi has suggested that a musician in the employ of Pietranonio Sanseverino in Naples during the years 1533 and 1534 with the name of Perino is our lutenist; see his "Le carte Sanseverino. Nuovi documenti sul mecenatismo musicale a Napoli e in Italia meridionale nella prima metà del Cinquecento," Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001), 13. Archival documentation identifies the musician as a "musico tamburino" and lists payments to him during those years (ibid., 22 and 26). There are no links between the Neapolitan musician and our Florentine besides the shared name Perino. It does not seem likely that the "musico tamburino" was our lutenist, who was only nine to ten years of age and most likely in Florence during the period. Corsi may have been under the impression that Perino was about twenty years of age in 1533 since he gives 1513 as his birth date. Corsi's identification of the Neapolitan musician with Perino Fiorentino has led to further speculation that the lutenist may have supervised the printing of Francesco da Milano's Neapolitan lute book [8] in 1536; see John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004), x. There is no evidence that Perino was in Naples in 1536, however. He was in Florence until at least May of that year and then went to Rome by the beginning of the following year to become Francesco's student and ward.
Sometime later in 1536 or in the first few days of the following year, Perino arrived in Rome, for he is named in the register of Pope Paul III's *tesorgeria segreta* as the recipient of a monetary gift on 4 January 1537:

[January 1537] on the 4th day 5 *scudi* paid as a gift [per mancia] to Pierino, *creato* of M. Francesco Milanese.\(^{14}\)

Perino's gift—the register designates a gift as a "mancia" to distinguish it from a wage or an allowance—was one of the many that Paul III regularly distributed to his family members and courtiers on certain days of the year: 1 January, late January (on the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul), Easter, 29 June (the day the pope celebrated a Mass for Saint Peter), and 3 November (the anniversary of Paul III's coronation as pope).\(^{15}\) Perino received his five *scudi* on 4 January, three days after all other beneficiaries had received their gifts. Perhaps he was overlooked on 1 January because he only recently had arrived at court. The amount of his gift is significant. In December 1535 the pope's treasury register lists 4 *scudi* as being enough money to purchase two lutes and strings.\(^{16}\)

Besides recording his gift, the treasury entry describes Perino as the *creato* of Francesco da Milano. According to sixteenth-century usage, the term could indicate that Perino was Francesco's student, that he resided with Francesco as his ward, or that he served Francesco in some capacity, such as valet.\(^{17}\) Evidence suggests that all three relationships existed.

The student-teacher relationship between Perino and Francesco

---

\(^{14}\) Appendix I, Document 2a quotes the entry.


\(^{16}\) Wienandt notes this in "Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces," 4-5, note 12. The treasury entry records a payment to Ottavio Farnese, a grandson of the pope and a student of Francesco da Milano: "[24 Decembre 1535] Et piu [scudi] quatro pagati al signor Ottavio Farnese per comprarse doi leuti et corde per imparare di sonare da messer Francesco da Milano." Dorez transcribes the entry in *La cour du Pape Paul III*, 2:12. Perino's gift is considerably larger than those given to other musicians that year. For example, Galeazzo Baldi, a *viola* player and lutenist, received two *scudi* on 25 January, and the lutenists Marc'Antonio and Alejandro shared four *scudi* on 4 November. See ibid., 2:103 (Galeazzo Baldi) and 159 (Marc'Antonio and Alejandro). Wienandt, op. cit., 5; and Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto*, iii, note 4, present two different views concerning the significance of the difference in the amounts of the gifts.

is well documented: a horoscope cast by Luca Gaurico, court astrologer to Paul III, identifies Perino as the “discipulus” of Francesco; Valerio Dorico and Cosimo Bartoli both refer to the relationship in published writings; and the title pages of Venetian lute prints from the period 1547 to 1563 designate Perino as the “discipulo” of Francesco. The thirteen-year-old Perino must have shown great promise to have been placed under the tutelage of Francesco, who was a renowned master by 1537.

It seems that Perino was also in Francesco’s care. The term createo appears elsewhere in papal treasury records with the name of Cencia, a singer who received a monetary gift in 1543. The records describe her as the “creata di San Spirito,” an orphanage (“ospedale”). There can be no doubt that the term indicates “in the care of” in her case. Gaurico’s horoscope provides confirmation that Perino was in his master’s custody by referring to him as the “alumnus” of Francesco. Another document also may show that Francesco was responsible for Perino’s care. Francesco was in the service of the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, one of Paul III’s grandsons. A roster of Cardinal Farnese’s “gentilhomini et camerieri” drawn up on 1 January 1538 indicates that Francesco’s household included two people. It seems likely that Perino was one of them since Francesco was unmarried at the time.

In return for his care, Perino may have provided domestic service of some kind for his teacher or may have assisted in musical duties, such as accompanying him when he performed. Although Francesco is remembered primarily as a soloist, he was also an ensemble player, at least on occasion. One type of ensemble he performed in was a lute duo.

Three lute duets by Francesco have survived: a canon, a setting of the

---

18 See Appendix I, Documents 5 (Dorico), 7 (Gaurico), and 12 (Bartoli) for the pertinent literary passages and Appendix II, items G1547, G1562, and S1563 for the titles of the lute prints.
19 Dorez transcribes the entry, dated 3 November 1543, in La cour du Pape Paul III, 2:260 (there is another entry concerning Cencia on 2:279). For the identification of San Spirito as an ospedale, see ibid., 1:338.
20 The horoscope describes Perino as the “discipulus & alumnus” of Francesco. In addition to its meaning of student, alumnus can also mean “foster-child” or “nursling.”
21 Dorez, La cour du Pape Paul III, 1:227, note 1. Dorez’s source is Naples, Archivio di Stato, Scritture farnesiani, fascio VII. The document mentions that Francesco was responsible for “two mouths” and a horse.
22 A payment made from Pope Clement VII’s treasury on 29 September 1524 to a “Barbero” who played the lute with Francesco (“che sona di liuto con Fr[ancesco]”) is recorded in Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, 1491, fol. 64; see Franco Pavan, “Ex paupertate easius: Francesco da Milano et sa famille,” Le concert des voix et des instruments, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1995), 362, note 8. For more on Francesco’s ensemble playing, see note 67 of the present study.
famous *basse danse* tune "La Spagna," and a fantasia.\(^\text{23}\) Perhaps Perino performed duets such as these with Francesco.

The means by which Perino became Francesco's student are not known, but it is possible that the Medici brought him to the master's attention.\(^\text{24}\) Perino's father, who was well liked by members of the family, had been in Rome more than once during the pontificates of the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, both patrons of Francesco.\(^\text{25}\) Bartolomeo also felt comfortable enough in the family's good graces to appeal to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, on occasion.\(^\text{26}\) It is entirely conceivable that in the early 1530s he asked a member of the family to arrange an apprenticeship for Perino with Francesco, who at that time was in the employ of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici in Rome.\(^\text{27}\)

In any event, when Perino came to Rome, Francesco was in the employ of the Farnese family. As mentioned above, Francesco was a member of the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), sometimes called "the younger" to distinguish him from the pope, who had the same name.\(^\text{28}\) As a result of his grandfather's nepotism, Farnese

\(^{23}\) The canon appears in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Cabinet des manuscrits, MS II 275 (henceforth, the "Cavalcanti Lute Book"), fol. 35v. "La spagna" is found in the same source on fols. 36v-37 and in Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechiano XIX.168, fols. 7v-8 (superius only). The spagna duet appears in Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms. MS 40591, fol. 61v; and in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS Mus. 1608, fol. 31v (superius only); see Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland, 1995), 338 and 574. Arthur Ness has transcribed the canon and spagna duets in *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 242-245. A manuscript presently among the Archivio del Duomo di Castelfranco Veneto preserves the fantasia on fols. 41 (tenor) and 51v (superius); see Franco Rossi, "Paccolini da Borgotaro versus Palacone da Padova. Francesco da Milano nell'antologia manoscritta di Castelfranco Veneto," *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo* (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), 184-185. A transcription of the piece is in ibid., 191-195.

\(^{24}\) D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 49, suggests that Perino's association with Francesco began when the latter passed through Florence while traveling from northern Italy to Rome. There is no confirmation for this, however.

\(^{25}\) D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 51-52.

\(^{26}\) D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 51.

\(^{27}\) Cosimo Bartoli in his *Regiornamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante* (Venice: F. de Franceschi, 1567) mentions that Francesco was in the employ of Cardinal Ippolito; see note 32 of the present study for the pertinent passage. See also H. Colin Slim, "Francesco da Milano (1497-1543/44): A bio-bibliographical study, 1," *Music discipline* 18 (1964): 69-70.

\(^{28}\) The date Francesco began his employment with the Farnese family is unknown, but it may have been as early as 1535. Francesco's service with Ippolito da' Medici ended no later than 10 August 1535 upon the latter's death. On 14 August the pope bestowed on Cardinal Farnese the vice-chancellorship of the Roman Church, a position previously held by Ippolito; see Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 3rd ed., ed. by Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul., 1950), 11:312-313. Francesco may have entered Farnese's service at this time. As Mariagrazia Carlone points out, Farnese inherited much of what belonged to Ippolito and perhaps that included Francesco as well; see her "A Trip to Venice in 1530 by Francesco da Milano," *JLSA* this volume, 13. By the end of the year Francesco was lute teacher to Ottavio Farnese, the cardinal's younger brother (see note 16 of the present study).
was bishop at the age of fourteen, cardinal very soon afterward, and not long after that vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, a position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy second only to the pope. He became an extremely wealthy and powerful man and a great patron of the arts. It is most likely that the Farnese family brought Perino to Rome and provided him with musical training with the understanding that he would then serve the court. Such a situation occurred later in the century when Ottavio Farnese was duke of Parma. Fabritio Dentice, Orazio della Viola, and others instructed Lorenzino Bolognese in music at the duke's expense; afterward, Lorenzino served Ottavio as a singer, instrumentalist, and composer.

When Perino came to Rome the papal court included a number of outstanding musicians. Among them were Jacques Arcadelt and Julio Segni, composers whose works provided Perino with models for his own pieces. In addition to the musicians employed by the pope for his chapel and for ceremonial functions were the instrumental virtuosi for private listening. The latter included Joanni Battista Sansone (called "il Siciliano"), a viola player, Lorenzo Spiriti da Gaeta, a keyboard player, and Galeazzo Baldi, a viola player and lutenist. In his Ragionamenti

---

29 Clare Robertson's *Il gran cardinale: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992) is an extensive study of the cardinal's activities as an art patron. A study of his patronage of music has not yet appeared and is warranted.

30 Pietro Canal, "Della musica in Mantova: notizie tratte principalmente dall'Archivio Gonzaga" in *Memorie del Reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere, ed arti* 21 (Venice, 1879); reprinted in *La musique à Mantoue aux xvi et xvii siècles*, Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1978, 695, note 1 (reprint page 43). Lorenzino Bolognese is very likely to have been the famous Lorenzino Tracetti, whose works are found in Besard's *Theaurus harmonicus* among other sources; see Mariagrazia Carlone, "Lorenzino and the Knight of the Lute: a mystery unveiled," unpublished paper first read at the 2003 Central Renaissance Conference (Lawrence, Kansas) (the paper can be accessed at http://www.musico.it/Mariagrazia_Carlone/Lorenzino and the Knight.htm).

31 The papal treasury records list regular payments of living allowances for Sansone and Spiriti from November 1535 to November 1538; see Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III*, 2:8-253 passim; and McFarland, "Papal Singers," 213 and 218. There is a gap in the treasury records from November 1538 until October 1540 (see note 42 below), but when they resume in November 1540, payments appear for both musicians. They may have left papal service during the following year: Sansone's name disappears from the treasury account ledger after August 1541, and the last entry concerning Spiriti (dated June 1541) provides a living allowance for July; see Alessandro Vessella, *La banda* (Milan: Istituto editoriale nazionale, 1935), 231-232. Galeazzo Baldi was a singer, lutenist, and viola player, whose service at the papal court began during the reign of Leo X. Payments to Galeazzo as a singer appear in account books during Leo X's papacy and later during Paul III's; see McFarland, "Papal Singers," 219-220 (but see her note 35). A payment made to Baldi in 1524 during the papacy of Clement VII designates him as a lutenist; see Hermann-Walter Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle," *Die Musikforschung*, 9, heft 2 (1956): 144. He is likely to be the viola player named in a treasury entry dated 3 November 1537 that records 14 scudi paid "per mancia alli piffari di Castello, computato con loro messer Galeazzo della Viola" (Dorez, op. cit., 2:158). A "messer Galeazzo, musicio" received various types of payments from January 1537 to October 1538 (ibid., 2:103-251 passim) and received a regular living allowance from November 1540 to December 1544 (Vessella, op. cit., 231-236; and Dorez, op. cit., 2:274-330 passim).
accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante, the Florentine Cosimo Bartoli had high praise for Sansone and Spiriti. According to Bartoli, Sansone was in the service of Ippolito de’ Medici with Francesco da Milano. Bartoli considered Sansone and Francesco to be “the most rare and divine instrumentalists” of the age. Lorenzo Spiriti astounded his listeners with his ability to vary his music so that one would think that it derived from the imagination of two people rather than one person. Also active at Paul III’s court were the lutenists Marc’Antonio and Alexandro, who may have formed a duo since they are named together in several entries in the papal treasury records.

Perino was still in Rome as the creato of Francesco on 1 January 1538 when the papal treasury register records another gift of money to him, this time in the amount of four *scudi.* It has been thought that another entry in the register for 1538 also concerns Perino:

And furthermore, [the treasury] shall give on the 1st day of October 1538 ten [scudi] of gold, paid to Pietrino, organist, formerly of the court of His Holiness, who bestows them so that he [Pietrino] can return to Siena [scudi] 10 bolognini.
This entry is the only place in the register where “Pietrino” is mentioned, and this has prompted the suggestion that the organist and Perino were the same person.\textsuperscript{37}

Support for this conjecture is not strong, however, and it seems more likely that the musician named in the entry was not our lutenist.\textsuperscript{38} Although it is possible that Perino played the organ—he came from a family of organists—there is no evidence that he served in such a capacity. Furthermore, since the register indicates that “Pietrino” was returning to Siena, the organist must have been in that city before October 1538; there is no evidence that Perino had been in Siena before that date. Finally, the passage indicates the musician in question had left Farnese service (“olim famigliare di sua Santità”), but as shown below, Perino continued his association with the family.\textsuperscript{39}

Rather than Perino, the entry most likely refers to another musician, someone who was perhaps at the end of his career and ready to return to his native city. Other candidates for the “Pietrino” in the register are two musicians named in a list of singers dated 1502 that appears in a choirbook used at the Sienese cathedral.\textsuperscript{40} Among the twelve singers named are “ser Pietro” and “Pietrino,” a choirboy. A “ser Pietro” was \textit{maestro di cappella} at the Sienese cathedral in 1505, a position that eventually may have brought him to the notice of the papal court.\textsuperscript{41}

At this point there is a gap in our knowledge of Perino’s activities. A lack of information makes it difficult to determine Perino’s whereabouts until the 1540s, when his name again appears in papal treasury records and in other documents.\textsuperscript{42} In view of his age and the short period of time

\textsuperscript{37} Dorez suggests this in \textit{La cour du Pape Paul III}, 1:372.

\textsuperscript{38} After considering the matter, Wienandt, “Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces,” 5-6, also comes to the conclusion that Perino and “Pietrino” were two different people. D’Accone, “Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi,” 49-50, is uncertain on this point.

\textsuperscript{39} Wienandt, “Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces,” 6, notes this as does Pavan in Caffagni and Pavan, \textit{Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto}, iii-iv. Pavan does not take a stand on who the treasury entry refers to, however; instead, he says that the question remains open.

\textsuperscript{40} The list is dated “150ii” and is pasted to the inside of the back cover of MS K.1.2, which is now in the Biblioteca comunale, Siena. According to Frank D’Accone, archival records confirm that the singers named in the list were employed at the Sienese cathedral during the early years of the sixteenth century; see his “A Late 15\textsuperscript{th}-Century Sienese Sacred Repertory: MS K.1.2 of the Biblioteca comunale, Siena,” \textit{Musica disciplina} 37 (1983): 134.

\textsuperscript{41} Giulio Piccolomini’s \textit{Notandi} is the source of information concerning ser Pietro’s employment; see Rinaldo Morrochi, \textit{La musica in Siena} (Siena, 1886; reprint Bologna: Forni, 1969), 82.

\textsuperscript{42} There are gaps in the registers of the \textit{tesoriera segreta} for the period November 1538 to October 1540 and also June 1548 to November 1549; see McFarland, “Papal Singers,” 211, note 5. There are no references to Perino in the extracts of the treasury register dated 3 November 1540 to 2 November 1543 transcribed in Antonio Bertolotti, “Spezierie segrete e pubbliche di Papa Paolo III,” \textit{Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazione di storia patria per le province dell’Emilia}, nuova serie, vol. 3, part 1 (Modena: G. T. Vincenzi e Nipoti, 1878), 179ff. Since Bertolotti only presents extracts, it is
since his arrival in Rome, it is likely that he continued under Francesco's tutelage and care for a few years. Unfortunately, Francesco's activities and whereabouts are not well known for this period. He married Chiara Tizzoni of Milan in July of 1538, and in September he was residing in that city.\(^43\) It is possible, therefore, that Perino may have spent some time in Milan. A papal brief dated 11 January 1539 mentions Francesco's name, which makes his presence in Rome at that time probable.\(^44\) Francesco's subsequent movements up to his death in 1543 are not known with certainty.\(^45\)

After the January 1538 treasury entry, the next document that concerns Perino comes from the fall of 1541. A letter dated 4 September of that year sent by Paolo Giovio in Siena to Cardinal Farnese in Rome mentions Perino's presence in the Tuscan city as a member of the cardinal's retinue. Giovio, Farnese's artistic advisor, was waiting there for his patron in the company of other members of the cardinal's entourage.\(^46\) They were on route to a meeting in Lucca between Paul III and Emperor Charles V. The letter's language is excessively whimsical, containing language and references only the cardinal's close circle would have understood—it will not be quoted here.\(^47\) It mentions the presence of our lutenist but not with the usual epithet "creato di messer Francesco da Milano"; instead, it calls him "Perino citaredo."\(^48\) Over four and one-half years had elapsed since Perino had begun his study with Francesco, and perhaps the almost eighteen-year-old Perino had completed his apprenticeship. Since

---

possible that he has neglected to include entries that concern Perino, but McFarland, op. cit., does not report any entries that concern him in the registers for that time either. No mention of Perino appears in the treasury register dated 2 November 1543 to 1 January 1545, the contents of which Dorez transcribes in *La cour du Pape Paul III*, 2:260-339.


\(^44\) Ariella Lanfranchi, "Canova (Canona), Francesco (Francesco da Milano)" *Dizionario biografica degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1975), 18:220. See also Slim, "Francesco da Milano," 72, note 53.

\(^45\) Franco Pavan has challenged the traditionally accepted date of Francesco's death, 15 April 1543. He gives 2 January 1543 instead; see his "Francesco (Canova) da Milano," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2\(^2\) ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 9:167. The conflicting dates arise out of different interpretations of the wording on the memorial for Francesco (now destroyed) placed by his father in the church of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan. Slim discusses the memorial in "Francesco da Milano," 72.


\(^47\) Appendix I, Document 3 quotes the entire letter.

\(^48\) The use of "citaredo" to indicate a lutenist betrays humanistic training. The use of the term was common in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
Francesco does not seem to have been with the cardinal’s entourage, it is possible that Perino had taken over his position.

At least one and possibly two musicians were with Perino in Siena. Giovio’s letter mentions Lorenzo da Gaeta (Lorenzo Spiriti), who has been discussed above. It also refers to a “messer Antonio,” who may also be a musician since his name comes up in the letter at the same point as those of Perino and Lorenzo. If Antonio was a musician, then he possibly may have been either Antonio Brandici or Antonio Capello.49

Giovio left Siena and was in Lucca at least by 17 September, presumably with the cohort mentioned in his letter.50 They probably had arrived in Lucca on 8 September with Cardinal Farnese as he accompanied Paul III’s entry into the city.51 There the pope and the emperor discussed a recent Turkish victory in Hungary. The pope stayed in Lucca until 20 September and made his way back to Rome by the end of October after making stops at Bologna, Loreto, and Camerino.

The next document concerning Perino dates from 1546, four and one-half years later. It is a papal treasury entry that places him in Rome and still in the employ of the Farnese family (see below). It therefore seems likely that he spent the intervening period in their service, although where he was during those years is not known with certainty.52

It is possible and likely that Perino was in Naples at least for some of the time unaccounted for between late 1541 and early 1546. Luigi Dentice’s Duo dialoghi della musica (Naples, 1552; and Rome, 1553)

49 Pavan has tentatively identified “Antonio” (also “Antonino”) in the letter as Brandici in Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto, iv, note 9. Brandici’s name appears in papal treasury records, sometimes with the indication that he was the music teacher of Vittoria Farnese, a sister of Cardinal Farnese. Brandici may have left papal service before the Lucca expedition, however, since his name disappears from the treasury ledgers after May 1537; see Dorez, La cour du Pape Paul III, 2:125 for the last entry concerning him. Another possibility for “Antonio,” if he is indeed a musician, is Antonio Capello, a singer in the chapel. He is named in papal treasury records during the years 1536-1544. He entered the pontifical choir in 1536 and received payments from the papal treasury with some regularity during the years 1536-1537 and 1540-1544 and was in papal service during the years 1545-1547. See Dorez, op. cit., 1: 221 (note 2), 223 (text and notes 4 and 5), 336 and 2:44, 84, 113, 118, 125, 186, 321; Vessella, La banda, 231, 234-236; and McFarland, “Papal Singers,” 225-227. Capello is perhaps a better candidate for the “Antonio” in Giovio’s letter because he was a member of the chapel choir, a group that was in attendance at Lucca during the meeting under discussion. A papal treasury register entry dated 16 October 1541 lists a payment to twelve chapel singers who had come with the pope from Lucca and Bologna. See Bertolotti, “Speserie segrete,” 181; and Vessella, op. cit., 233.

50 A letter Giovio wrote in Lucca to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi dated 17 September 1541 confirms his presence there; see Giovio, Lettere, 1:269-271.

51 Pastor describes the meeting at Lucca in The History of the Popes, 12:124-129.

52 McFarland, “Papal Singers,” 220, text and note 43, lists payments to Perino during March, June, and July 1545. The register cited as containing the June and July entries is Rome, Archivio di Stato,
mentions his presence there when the dialog's interlocutors, Giovanni Antonio Serone and Paolo Soardo, discuss the practice of music. The pertinent passage begins with the arrival of Soardo, who has just come from the house of Giovanna d'Aragona, one of the most celebrated women in Italy during the sixteenth century. After praising Giovanna and her daughter Vittoria Colonna (who is not to be confused with her more famous aunt and namesake), they discuss music Soardo has heard at their residence and is still marveling at:

Serone: . . . who were the musicians? What sort of music was played?
Soardo: The musicians were M. Giavanlonardo dell'Harpa Napoletano, M. Perino da Firenze, M. Battista Siciliano, and M. Giaches da Ferrara.
Serone: All of these I have heard many times, and certainly, each of them has attained preeminence in the playing of his instrument (in my opinion).
Soardo: You are right. Those who sang were Sig. Giulio Cesare Brancazzo, S[jg]. Francesco Biscalle, Count of Briatico, M. Scipione del Palla, and another who sang soprano and did not please me much but was bearable because of the good quality and perfection of the other voices.53

The musicians named in this excerpt advertise the brilliance and cosmopolitan atmosphere of Giovanna's court. As Serone remarks, the instrumentalists had all attained fame by the middle of the sixteenth century. Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa, harpist, singer, and composer of canzone alla napoletane, was acclaimed by his contemporaries for his improvisatory skills.54 Perino da Firenze is, of course, our lutenist. Battista Siciliano is the viola player Sansone, who has been mentioned above as one of the virtuosi at the papal court with Perino. Cosimo Bartoli praised Giaches da Ferrara, the Este organist Jacques Brunel (Brumel), as

Camerale I, Tesoreria Segreta, MS 1291. Elsewhere in the study McFarland cites entries dating from the beginning of 1545 as appearing in MS 1293 (see p. 224, notes 63 and 65, for example). D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 75, also indicates that MS 1293 covers 1545 (see also Bertolotti, "Speserie segrete," 191). McFarland's 1545 entries for Perino should be in MS 1293, therefore, unless the registers overlap. I have been unable to get clarification whether they do or not. If they do not, then there is an error in the 1545 entry dates or in the MS 1291 source citations.

53 Appendix I, Document 8 transcribes the passage.
a player without equal for grace, art, and musicality.\textsuperscript{55} Two of the singers cited by Soardo were among the most distinguished of the time. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a soldier as well as a musician, was a celebrated bass singer.\textsuperscript{56} The Sienese Scipione delle Palle is probably best known as the teacher of Giulio Caccini, but he was also one of the foremost singers of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{57}

Dentice, through his interlocutors, claims that the instrumentalists had all attained “first place” among their contemporaries. In addition to his talents as singer, theorist, and composer, Dentice was a lutenist and therefore in a position to judge Perino’s abilities with discernment. Thus, according to Dentice, Perino was at that point foremost among the lutenists known to him.

It is most likely that the interlocutors describe the court sometime in the mid 1540s. This would accord well with what is known about the musicians mentioned in the passage whose activities can be traced. Sansone may have left the papal court in Rome after August of 1541 and could have been in Naples at that time.\textsuperscript{58} In 1545 Giovanni Leonardo dell’Arpa, Brancaccio, Scipione delle Palle, as well as Luigi Dentice and his son Fabrizio performed in Gli ingannati at the Neapolitan palace of Ferrante Sanseverino.\textsuperscript{59} If Dentice truly was witness to the music making he describes in his dialog, then it must have taken place before June 1547, for at that time he was in Rome seeking asylum after having been condemned to death in Naples for political agitation.\textsuperscript{60} As far as is known, he never returned to Naples and could not have done so in any case until his pardon in 1554.\textsuperscript{61} Since Perino was in Rome from March 1546 until Dentice’s arrival there, his Naples sojourn probably took place prior to\

\textsuperscript{55} “...che gli suoni con piu leggiadria, con piu arte, & piu musicalmente che alcuno altro...” Haar transcribes the passage in “Cosimo Bartoli on Music,” 65. See also Benvenuti, Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli, iv.


\textsuperscript{58} See note 31 above.

\textsuperscript{59} On the performance, see Benedetto Croce, I teatri di Napoli (Naples: L. Pierro, 1891), 41ff. Brancaccio was in Naples after the Peace of Crépy (18 September 1544) and left in September 1546; see Coldagelli, “Brancaccio, Giulio Cesare,” 13:780-781. Coldagelli identifies the 1545 play Brancaccio participated in as Gli innamorati.


\textsuperscript{61} Fabris, “Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice,” 63, speculates that Dentice was still in Rome in 1552 when his Duo dialoghi was published; Cardamone, “The Prince of Salerno,” 78, places him in France in that year.
that month. Serone’s remark that he has heard all of the instrumentalists many times implies that Perino made more than a short visit.

Perino’s association with Luigi and Fabrizio Dentice probably continued when they all were in Rome in 1547. Fabrizio (c. 1530-1581) would later enter Farnese service and become one of the most important of the late sixteenth-century Italian lutenists.\(^{62}\)

Perino was in Rome from March 1546 to May 1548 when Paul III’s treasury register records regular payments to him.\(^{63}\) The wording of the register entry for the first of the payments is curious:

[1546] On the 5\(^{th}\) day of March: three scudi to maestro Pierino, \textit{creato} of maestro Francesco da Milano, for the provision that Our Lord has ordered for a companion of his that plays in a trio with lutes when they make music for His Holiness, beginning the present month.\(^{64}\)

It is strange that the register still refers to Perino as the \textit{creato} of Francesco, since it dates years after the latter’s death. The subsequent payment entries drop the epithet, and it seems that the scribe may have been trying to clearly identify Perino with it, perhaps because the lutenist had not been at court recently: the register begins in 1545, but there is no mention of Perino before March 1546.\(^{65}\) The acquisition of a dependent, along with the epithet “maestro” that precedes his name in the register entries, shows that Perino had risen to a position of distinction at the papal court by the age of twenty-two. It is not possible to determine whether Perino continued to receive payments for his companion after May 1548 because there is a gap in the treasury accounts that begins with June of that year.\(^{66}\)

The register entries are important not only because they help place Perino but also because they document his ensemble playing. Perino probably accompanied Francesco da Milano as a student and then continued the ensemble tradition when he became a “maestro” himself. Perino’s trio may have consisted of three lutes, but the wording in the register is not perfectly clear on this point. It is also possible that Perino and his lutenist companion performed with a bowed string player, an

\(^{62}\) The most complete study on Fabrizio Dentice is Dinko Fabris, “Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice,” 61-113. See p. 85 for his speculation concerning the relationship between Perino and Dentice. See also the same author’s article “Dentice, Fabrizio,” in \textit{Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil}, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 5:829-832.

\(^{63}\) Appendix I. Document 4 quotes some of these entries.

\(^{64}\) See Appendix I, Document 4a.

\(^{65}\) See note 52 above, however.

\(^{66}\) See note 42 above.
ensemble similar in instrumentation to one Francesco had led.\textsuperscript{67}

It was during this period that Perino saw the publication of his music. The earliest printed edition of his tablatures is likely to have been \textit{Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino}. \textit{Libro primo} published by Valerio and Lodovico Dorico in Rome.\textsuperscript{68} The print bears the date 1566, but its publication must have been much earlier, probably in 1546 (the reasons for this are discussed below). The print consists mainly of Francesco da Milano's music, but it also contains four fantasias and two intabulations by Perino.

The preface of the volume, written by Valerio Dorico, acknowledges Perino's assistance and praises him for helping to share his master's works with the world:

At present he [Perino] has courteously deigned to look over some tablatures with me of his master, perhaps in order not to be ungrateful to him who is so honored and envied by those who have come after him, who conceal what they know. In part, they [the tablatures] will show to the world the full virtue and divine greatness of Francesco.\textsuperscript{69}

This passage and the character of the print suggest planning on Perino's part to publish a memorial to his very famous teacher (the fantasias by Francesco are some of his best) while introducing his own works at the same time.\textsuperscript{70} The decision to include intabulations by both lutenists of madrigals by Arcadelt probably reflects Perino's preference: they are the only known intabulations by Perino and the only known intabulations of Italian-texted works by Francesco, whose usual taste was for the chanson and sacred music.

The works in the \textit{Libro primo} proved to be popular, for in 1547 Antonio Gardano published its music in Venice under the title \textit{Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et Perino Fiorentino, suo discipulo} . . . \textit{Libro terzo}.\textsuperscript{71} He republished his volume in 1562, and Girolamo Scotto


\textsuperscript{68} See Appendix II for bibliographic information on this print.

\textsuperscript{69} Appendix I, Document 5 transcribes the entire preface. Other translations of this preface are Slim, "Francesco da Milano," 78; and Wienandt, "Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces," 3 (a partial translation).

\textsuperscript{70} Wienandt was the first to articulate this hypothesis; see his "Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces," 7.

\textsuperscript{71} See Appendix II for bibliographic information on this print.
brought out an edition of it in the following year.\textsuperscript{22}

Perino distinguished himself in Rome during the mid 1540s and attracted an audience for his music. Cosimo Bartoli wrote the following passage about him in his \textit{Ragionamenti accademici}:\textsuperscript{23}

L[orenzo Antinori]. I recently heard our Florentine Pierino di Baccio in Rome, and I liked the way he played the lute very much.

P[iero da Ricasoli]. Certainly he is very talented, and if he lives, he will one day show that he is a true student of Francesco da Milano. Indeed, today there are those who listen to him most willingly, and perhaps even more than they would have listened to his teacher Francesco. And this is truly not a small honor to the blessed memory of his father Baccio, who, as you know, was very gifted.\textsuperscript{74}

Bartoli, through his interlocutor Piero da Ricasoli, has made an extraordinary statement: there were those who preferred Perino's playing to that of Francesco. This is certainly a possibility, but it may be an example of Cinquecento overstatement or perhaps an expression of Florentine pride. Whatever the case, it is clear that at the height of his career Perino was a formidable musician, greatly admired by his contemporaries.

At some point between May 1548 and July 1550 Perino left Rome. The evidence for this is a letter written by Giacomo Marmitta in Rome on 17 July 1550 and addressed to the lutenist (the location of the addressee is not indicated). Marmitta (1504-1561) was a poet hailing from Parma who found employment in Rome as secretary to ecclesiastical patrons\textsuperscript{75}. The tone of the letter reveals a close friendship that probably had begun in the early or mid 1540s during Marmitta's service with the Cardinal Marino Grimani. Two excerpts from the letter read as follows:

I write to you, my dear Pierino, and I do not know where you are; and you haven't written to me, knowing where I am. Would not someone,

\textsuperscript{22} See Appendix II for titles and bibliographic information on these prints.
\textsuperscript{23} An early version of Bartoli's work was in the form of a lecture, which was read publicly in 1544. He later recast it as a dialog with the addition of the passage translated here, probably in the 1550s, and then published it in Venice in 1567. See Judith Bryce, "The \textit{Ragionamenti accademici} 1567," Chap. 13 in \textit{Cosimo Bartoli: The Career of a Florentine Polymath} (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1983), 253-280, especially 253-54. See also Haar, "Cosimo Bartoli on Music," 48, on the dating of this passage.
\textsuperscript{74} Appendix I, Document 12 quotes the passage. The translation is by D'Accone from his "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organì," 50. There is another translation of this passage in Slim, "Francesco da Milano," 76.
\textsuperscript{75} On Marmitta, see Ireneo Affo, \textit{Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani} (Parma: Stamperis reale, 1793), 4:61-68.
therefore, say that I have died in your memory, whereas you always live in mine?

To what should I then attribute the reason of your so long silence? To your service with your most illustrious and reverend patron? 76

It is clear from the letter that Perino had been absent from Rome, probably for a long time. No documentation has been produced to indicate his presence at the papal court after May 1548, so he could have been away for up to two years or more when Marmitta wrote to him.

Gaurico's horoscope for Perino may provide a clue as to where the lutenist was at the time:

Perino, handsome youth and illustrious [non obscurus] musician, was the student and fosterchild [alumnus] of Francesco da Milano, and went to France to the famous French queen. 77

This passage has given rise to the hypothesis that Perino was in France during the late 1540s and early 1550s and that the queen indicated by Gaurico was Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henry II of France who became king in 1547. 78 This seems to be the best speculation on Perino's whereabouts at that time. He may have left Rome after the death of Paul III in 1549. With the election of Julius III as pope early the following year, the presence of Cardinal Farnese in Rome was infrequent. 79 Contention over the control of Parma, which the cardinal wanted to secure for his brother Ottavio, eventually led to conflict involving the pope, the emperor, and the king of France. As a result, the Roman political climate became very uncomfortable for Farnese.

Since Gaurico's horoscope is not entirely clear about when Perino went to France, it is also possible that he may have gone there at another point in his career. There were a number of opportunities.

76 Appendix I, Document 6 quotes the letter.
77 Appendix I, Document 7 quotes the horoscope.
78 Both Slim and D'Accone have speculated that the French queen Perino met may have been Catherine de' Medici; see Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar," 212; and D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 50. Dinko Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 85, note 59, has also indicated that Perino was in France during the later years of his life, although he places his time there beginning in 1547, which is too early (he was still in Rome at that time).
In the summer of 1538 Paul III met with Charles V and the French king, François I, at Nice.  
It is well known that Francesco traveled in the pope's retinue and played for the king.  
Perhaps Perino went with Francesco to Nice and met the French queen (Eleanor) when she made a visit to the pope at his lodgings on 8 June.  
It is also possible that Perino may have gone in the retinue of Cardinal Farnese when he made diplomatic trips to France that, perhaps not coincidentally, correspond to periods during which Perino's whereabouts are unknown. One trip began with Farnese's departure from Rome on 28 November 1539 and ended when he returned on 31 May 1540.  
Another took place during the period 28 November 1543 to 1 March 1544.  
Perhaps Perino went on one or both of these journeys, for as we have seen with regard to the Lucca meeting, the cardinal appears to have brought musicians with him on such expeditions.

It is also possible, but less likely, that Perino was in Naples when Marmitta wrote his letter because the musicians mentioned above in the passage from Dentice's *Duo dialoghi* were there around that time. Both Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa and Scipione delle Palle appear to have been in Naples in the late 1540s and into the 1550s. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio was in Naples from April 1547 until sometime in 1550 when he left to take part in military campaigns in Africa and Germany. Perino could have performed with these musicians in Naples after leaving Rome sometime between May 1548 and Brancaccio's departure in 1550, but Dentice could not have witnessed such an event for the reasons put forth above. Thus, Perino's presence there around 1550 is less likely.

---

80 Pastor describes the meeting at Nice in *The History of the Popes*, 11:280-293; see also Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III*, 1:297ff.
82 Pastor mentions the 8 June visit in *The History of the Popes*, 11:289. The Archbishop Lodovico Beccadelli's account of the meeting at Nice names members of the king's entourage, which included his sons, the queen, his sister (the Queen of Navarre), and Catherine de' Medici, who as wife of the future Henry II was the dauphine; see Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III*, 1:299.
83 Pastor describes Farnese's trip in *The History of the Popes*, 11:365-389; see also Robertson, "Farnese, Alessandro," 45:53-54.
87 Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto*, v, also suggests that it is more likely that Perino was in Naples c.1545 rather than c.1550. Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 85, note 59, places Perino in Naples at an earlier time as well (between 1537 and 1547).
It cannot be determined if Perino ever returned to Rome. If he did, then it must have been before the end of 1552, for by that time he had died. His death was memorialized by an epitaph written by Marmitta and installed in the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome:

To Perino Organo Florentino,

who of singularly sweet character
and on the lute incomparable,
left doubtful whether he was more worthy
of love for utmost goodness of character
or for admirable artistry as an excellent player.
Jacobus Marmita Parmensis, to a friend
the remembrance placed.
He lived 29 years.88

The inscription indicates Perino’s death occurred sometime during his twenty-ninth year, between 7 December 1551 and 7 December 1552. The date of death can be further limited to before 6 November 1552. That is the date of dedication of the third part of I marmi by the Florentine Anton Francesco Doni, in which he laments Perino’s death:

. . . Our Perino, [son] of Baccio degli Organi, just when he was having a little success and was beginning to reap the fruit of his talent, death has cut short his course (oh, what an admirable youth the world has lost!).89

Francesco Franchino also wrote an epitaph for Perino, which appeared in print in 1554. Franchino (1500-1559) was a poet who became an agent of the Farnese family upon the ascension of Paul III to the papacy in 1534, and in 1556 Pope Paul IV made him bishop of Massa Marittima and Piombino in Tuscany.90 He may have met Perino in the mid 1540s when both of them were in Rome. Franchino’s epitaph reads as follows:

In both lute and song and in brilliance of mind, Perino,
Illustrious before others, died before his time.91

88 Appendix I, Document 9 quotes the epitaph.
89 Appendix I, Document 10 quotes the passage. It also gives a citation for the date of the dedication.
91 Appendix I, Document 11 quotes the epitaph.
Franchino's reference to Perino's singing comes as a surprise since nowhere else in the presently known documents that concern him is there mention of it. Thus, his career was multifaceted, consisting of lute performance in solo and ensemble settings as well as singing. It is also possible that he accompanied his voice with his lute, a popular mode of performance throughout the Cinquecento.

In addition to providing information about Perino's activities, whereabouts, and musical abilities, some of the documents quoted above tell us about Perino's personal characteristics. Gaurico's horoscope informs us that he was attractive in appearance, Marmitta's epitaph praises him for his sweet character and amiability, and Franchino's epitaph indicates he was very intelligent. Clearly, Perino had many qualities that served him well as a courtier, and we need not wonder why he achieved success at a young age when we add these assets to his superior musical abilities.

Perino's music still had currency after his death for a considerable period of time. The republication of his music in the 1560s and the inclusion of his fantasias in manuscripts compiled in Siena, Florence, and Germany in the late sixteenth century attest to this.

Sources of Perino's Works

Perino's surviving compositions, all of them for solo lute, consist of nine fantasias and two intabulations of vocal part-music. These works are found in the following sources:

PRINTS*2

1. Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro primo. In Roma per M. Valerio Dorico & Lodovico fratello. MDLXVI.

2. Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino suo discipulo . . . Libro terzo. In Venetia apresso di Antonio Gardane. MDXLVII.


MANUSCRIPTS

6. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechiano XIX.168.


8. The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, MS 28.B.39; the “Siena Lute Book.”

In the early 1990s a complete exemplar of Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro primo (No. 1 in the list above; hereafter referred to as Libro primo) printed by the Dorico firm became accessible to Western scholars after the easing of Cold War tensions. It previously was known only by the incomplete Charlesville, France exemplar, of which only the first four folios survive.93 The Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków preserves the complete print, which is of the highest importance for the study of Perino’s music because he personally edited its tablatures and because it has added another work to his surviving oeuvre. The Kraków exemplar bears the stamp “Dr. WERNER WOLFFHEIM” on the last folio of tablature (signature E4v), so it must be the copy once owned by Wolffheim that later was among the holdings of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.94

93 For a description of the Charlesville exemplar, see Howard Mayer Brown, Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 221-222, item 1566f.
94 See Brown, Instrumental Music, 222, item 1566f, note 1. A catalog of Wolffheim’s library lists the volume; see Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr. Werner Wolffheim (Berlin, 1928), 1:208, item 1189.
The *Libro primo* bears the date 1566 ("MDLXVI"), but it cannot be correct, and there are strong reasons to argue that it was published in an earlier year. Its preface, written by Valerio Dorico (quoted above), makes it clear that at the time of publication Francesco da Milano had died and Perino was alive and active in the preparation of the volume. Thus, the *Libro primo* must have been printed after Francesco's death in 1543 and before Perino's death (or very shortly after) in 1552; 1566 is too far removed from this period to make it a plausible publication date. Furthermore, the heirs of the Dorico brothers rather than the brothers themselves controlled the family press in 1566 and probably as early as 1563. Finally, as will be shown below, another print dated 1547 containing the same works was most likely pirated from the *Libro primo* and therefore probably postdates it.

The *Libro primo* most likely dates from 1546, and the printed date of 1566 is probably a typesetting error. The date on the title page is in Roman numerals, and it would have been a simple mistake to set "MDLXVI" (1566) instead of "MDXLVI" (1546). A publication date in the middle of the 1540s accords well with Perino's activities, for as we have seen, the lutenist was in Rome between March 1546 and May 1548 and therefore could have helped with the print's publication.

The *Libro primo* has some characteristics that distinguish it from other editions of its music. There is no barring in the tablatures, and a symbol (a small "+" ) appears near appropriate tablature ciphers to indicate that they are to be held, thereby showing the player how to reproduce the voice-leading properly.

In the mid 1540s Antonio Gardano published three lute books of music by Francesco da Milano. The first two appeared in 1546.97

---

95 Suzanne Cusick also doubted the probability of the 1566 date and proposed c.1552; see her *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981), 30-31. Cusick found a watermark in the Charleston exemplar that corresponds to no. 882 in Zonghi's collection, which suggested to her that the paper was produced in Rome in the mid 1550s (ibid., 216). A table of Zonghi's watermarks lists no. 882 and marks resembling it in the fifteenth century, however; see the marks for the years 1406, 1408, and 1473 in E. J. LaBarre, ed., *Zonghi's Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1953).

96 The heirs were in control of the publishing house in 1563, if Giuseppe Baini's reading of the colophon of the now lost *Mosecta festorum* of Palestrina is correct: "Romae apud haeredes Valerii et Aloysii Doricum fratrum bixiensium, 1563." See his *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, (Rome, 1828; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), 1:210. In any event, the heirs of the Dorico brothers published S. Rossetto's *Musica nova* on 15 January 1566. Lodovico may have left the business in the late 1550s since his name does not appear in the colophons of any Dorico print after 1557 (this assumes the *Libro primo* date of 1566 is incorrect). See Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 30.

97 For bibliographic information on these prints, see items 1546a and 1546, in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 79-80.
Evidence suggests Gardano pirated his tablatures for these two volumes: he drew the contents of his first book from a print of music by Francesco and Pietro Paolo Borrono issued by Scotto or one of his associates in 1546, and he probably copied his second book from a volume printed in 1536 by Sulpzbach or from one printed in the same year by Marcolini or from a print entitled Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francesco da Milano that bears no publisher's name or date.98

Gardano published his third book in 1547 (No. 2 in the list of sources above; hereafter referred to as Libro terzo). It has the same music as the Dorico Libro primo along with two additional intabulations, “Que voles vous dire de moy” and “Fort seulement.” The intabulations do not have attributions, but they are concordant with pieces by Francesco in the 1536 Marcolini print mentioned above. Evidence suggests that Gardano pirated the rest of the pieces in the Libro terzo from the Dorico print. Both Gardano and Dorico indicate in their tables of contents that twelve fantasias are by Francesco and four are by Perino. Only in the Dorico print do the individual attributions that accompany each tablature agree with these numbers—the Gardano print has thirteen individual attributions for Francesco and three for Perino. It is possible to explain the discrepancy if Gardano copied his tablatures from Dorico: Gardano's Libro terzo does not present the tablatures in the same order as they appear in Dorico's Libro primo; if he pirated them, it is possible that he confused the attributions while changing the order of the pieces.

98 Jane Bernstein found evidence that Gardano copied tablatures from Intabolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano, et dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano . . . Libro secondo (Venice, [G. Scotto], 1546) for the first book in his Francesco series (she does not indicate exactly what the evidence is, however); see her “The Burning Salamander,” 486, note 19. On the identification of Scotto or one of his associates as the publisher of the Francesco/Borrono print, see ibid., 486 and 493; for bibliographical information on it, see item 1546, in Brown, Instrumental Music, 80-81. In turn, it has been proposed that the Scotto Libro secondo may be based on another print (now lost) published by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione in collaboration with Pietro Paolo Borrono; see the introduction by Franco Pavan to Francesco da Milano—Pietro Paolo Borrono, Intavolatura di lauto (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 2002), especially xi-xvi.

Gardano probably pirated the tablatures in the second volume of his Francesco series from Intavolatura de viola o vero lauto . . . Libro primo (Naples: J. Sulpzbach, 1536) since the order in which the concordant pieces appear in each print is remarkably similar. It is also possible Gardano copied his tablatures from either Intabolatura di lauto di diversi, con la bataglia, et altre cose bellissime, di M. Francesco da Milano (Venice: F. Marcolini, 1536) or Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francesco da Milano (n.p., n.d.). For bibliographical information on the Marcolini print, see item 1536, in Brown, Instrumental Music, 46-47. There are different views about the provenance of the print without date or place of publication. Arthur J. Ness speculates that it antedates the Marcoli print and may have been issued by the same publisher. See The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano, 12, note 26. For another viewpoint, see Franco Pavan’s program notes for the recording by Paul Beier entitled Francesco da Milano, Intabolatura da Leuto (Stradivarius, STR33515, 1999). For bibliographical information on the print, see item 1542, in Brown, Instrumental Music, 121-122.
Gardano’s *Libro terzo* attributes a fantasia on signatures C-C2v (no. 9 in the print) to Francesco, but the piece is attributed to Perino in the *Libro primo* (signatures Dv-D3). Since Perino helped to produce the latter source, we have no reason to doubt the attribution to him. Furthermore, the musical style of the piece, especially the ornamentation and cadential voice-leading, argues for Perino as composer.99

The *Libro terzo* tablatures differ from those in the *Libro primo* in various ways. The *Libro terzo* contains barring in its tablatures, and it does not have the symbols for sustaining notes as in the *Libro primo*. There are also variant readings between the Dorico and Gardano prints, and it is usually easy to determine which of the sources is correct. The *Libro primo* tends to have errors that involve misplaced, missing, or incorrect ciphers on the tablature staves, and there also are a few mistakes in the rhythmic ciphers. The *Libro terzo* contains a greater number of errors involving the rhythmic ciphers in addition to mistakes in the tablature ciphers. If the hypothesis stated above concerning Gardano’s copying of the *Libro primo* is right, then his editor corrected the source’s tablatures while introducing mistakes of his own. In some cases, the Krakow exemplar of the *Libro primo* has handwritten changes to the tablature ciphers that agree with the *Libro terzo* readings (which are correct in each case).100 Another difference between the readings is that a number of the tablatures in the *Libro terzo* (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17) have their final chords notated twice, whereas the *Libro primo* tablatures have them notated once.

Gardano republished the *Libro terzo* in 1562 (No. 4 in the list above). The 1562 *Libro terzo* corrects some errors in the earlier Gardano print, but at the same time it adds a number of its own. In addition, the 1562 editor goes a step further by eliminating some dissonant sonorities. For example, the 1562 *Libro terzo* alters a passage in one of Perino’s fantasies as shown in Example 1.101 Whether the editor thought the dissonance was a mistake or simply offensive we cannot know, but the

---

99 See below concerning Perino’s musical style. Richard M. Murphy thought the piece to be Perino’s for stylistic reasons as well; see his “Fantasia and Ricercare in the Sixteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954), 146.

100 The dating and author of the handwritten corrections are not known.

101 Transcriptions of lute music in the present study assume an instrument tuned in G, and rhythmic values have been reduced by one half in transcription. For the sake of convenience, I have added barlines to the transcriptions of tablatures that do not have them; the barlines correspond to those in concordant printed sources. My use of key signatures in the transcription of the fantasies has been consistent only in avoiding excessive chromatic signs. Therefore, I have used modal signatures for those works in Dorian mode (one flat for a work with a G final and two flats for one with a C final) and major key signatures for those works in Lydian or Mixolydian mode (one flat for a work with an F final, four flats for one with an A-flat final, and one sharp for one with a G final).
1547 reading (which concurs with the Dorico Libro primo reading) is not outside of Perino's style and is appropriate for the piece it appears in, a piece characterized by instances of pungent dissonance. Similar editorial changes occur in the 1562 readings of Francesco's pieces as well.\(^{102}\)

![Example 1](image)

**Example 1** - Perino, Fantasia No. 4, a) *Libro terzo* (1547); b) *Libro terzo* (1562)

In 1563 Girolamo Scotto published another edition of the *Libro terzo* (No. 5 in the list above). Despite a number of printing errors, the readings agree most closely with the 1547 *Libro terzo*, which suggests Scotto copied from that source.

One of Perino's fantasias (Fantasia No. 2, on signatures Dv-D3 in the Dorico *Libro primo*) appears in Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa, y vihuela* of 1557 (No. 3 in the list above).\(^{103}\) It is unattributed and entitled "Tiento de vihuela." Venegas de Henestrosa may have used one of the printed sources available in 1557—the *Libro primo* or the 1547 *Libro terzo*—but it cannot be determined which one, since the Italian sources are very close in their readings for this work.

There are numerous variants between the readings in the Italian sources and the Venegas de Henestrosa print, and the changes made by the Spaniard are in keeping with his general editorial style.\(^{104}\) The most important difference between the two versions is length: the Spanish

---

\(^{102}\) See, for example, "Fantasia de mon triste" (Ness No. 36) in mm. 18, 20, and 33. The 1562 editor is not consistent, however. In Francesco's fantasía beginning on sig. C4v in the *Libro terzo* (Ness No. 39), the concordant tablature begins on sig. C2v in the *Libro primo*; the editor changes a dissonant interval (A over B-flat) in m. 37 to a consonance. Similar dissonances occur in measures 38 and 41 (the last in inversion), but the editor does not change them.

\(^{103}\) The foliation in the print has a number of errors; see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 177, note 1. The piece begins on printed folio number 14; the actual folio number is 16.

\(^{104}\) John Ward gives an overview of Venegas de Henestrosa's procedures in "The Editorial Methods of Venegas de Henestrosa," *Musica disciplina* 6 (1952): 105-113 (see especially 108-111). Ward refers to the piece under consideration (No. 27 in the Spanish source) as a fantasía by Francesco da Milano since he wrote his article long before Perino's authorship of it was widely known.
tiento is roughly seventy-five percent as long as the Italian fantasia because it lacks the final portion of the composition.105 In one passage Venegas de Henestrosa apparently found Perino's use of dissonance not to his taste, so he altered the music.106 As we have seen above, Venegas de Henestrosa was not the only editor to smooth out Perino's harmonic style.

Another of Perino's fantasias (Fantasia No. 1, on signatures C4-D in Dorico's Libro primo) had a wide dissemination to judge from its appearance in two manuscripts, one preserved in Florence and the other in Donaueschingen. The Florentine source (No. 6 in the list above) bears a date of 10 May 1582 on folio 18v.107 It contains a variety of pieces typical of late sixteenth-century manuscript lute collections: dances, fantasias, intabulations of vocal works, and song accompaniments with their texts (it also includes the superius of Francesco da Milano's duet on "La spagna"). The source does not have attributions for most of its tablatures, but some pieces are by Cipriano de Rore, Giovanni Domenico da Nola, and Francesco da Milano, as well as Perino. There is a pedagogical aspect to the book in the ordering of its pieces, which get increasingly more difficult; perhaps it belonged to a student or an amateur player. The manuscript may have been associated in some way with Jacopo Corsi's household because its paper bears a watermark that is the same as that found in one of his account books.108

Perino's fantasia appears in a curious location in the manuscript. The first twenty folios of the source are taken up by tablatures, but there follow about fifteen folios with only tablature staves. Perino's piece then appears (folios 35v-37), and there are more folios with only tablature staves after that. The piece is set apart from the rest of the works, but the reason why is not clear.

A comparison of the reading of Perino's fantasia in the manuscript

105 Measures 70 through 93 of the tablature in Gardano's Libro terzo do not appear in the Spanish source (I cite the Libro terzo here since the Dorico Libro primo does not contain barlines).

106 The concordant points are as follows: Perino, mm. 17-18 and Venegas de Henestrosa, mm. 31-33. A transcription of the Venegas de Henestrosa tiento is in vol. 2 of Higinio Anglés, ed., La música en la corte de Carlos V in Monumentos de la música español, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Instituto español de musicología, 1965), 20-22.


with its other sources suggests that it was copied from the Dorico *Libro primo*. Although the Florentine and *Libro primo* readings are not exactly the same, the manuscript agrees more often with it than with the three editions of the *Libro terzo*. The tablature also contains symbols for sustaining notes (marked with “+”) and part of it is unbarred, two characteristics of the *Libro primo*. Furthermore, the Florentine source notates the final chord only once as in the *Libro primo*, whereas the *Libro terzo* editions notate it twice.

Another source for the same fantasia is a manuscript preserved in the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek in Donaueschingen (No. 7 in the list above). It is a lengthy three-volume collection of German lute tablature produced in south Germany sometime during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. Perino’s piece appears in the first volume on folios 66v-67. A comparison of the reading of the fantasia in this manuscript with the printed versions suggests that the Donaueschingen scribe copied the tablature from the 1562 *Libro terzo*: a few variant readings that the two share do not appear in the other sources for this work.

The most important manuscript source for Perino’s music is the “Siena Lute Book” (No. 8 in the list above), a lengthy anthology compiled in Siena c.1590. The contents of the manuscript are for six- and seven-course lute and span much of the sixteenth century: they include works by Francesco da Milano, Albert de Rippe, Giulio Segni, Fabritio Dentice, Giulio Severino, Andrea Feliciani, and others. The highly organized arrangement of its contents and accuracy of its readings suggest that it may have been put together as a preservation copy, a repository to be drawn upon for copying into other sources.

A section for six-course lute occupies the first sixty-nine folios of the source. That portion of the manuscript begins with fantasias and ricercars organized by mode, and it is there that Perino’s pieces are found. Four appear on folios 6-7v among the first mode pieces with the attribution “Di Pierf.” Another appears on folios 27v-28 between the sections for the fifth and sixth modes. The rubric “Di Perino Sesto tono Una voce più basso” prefaces the piece and refers to its final. It is A-flat.

---

109 Christian Meyer describes and indexes the manuscript in *Sources manuscrites en tablature: lute et théorbe (c.1500-c.1800) catalogue descriptif*, vol. 2, Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1994), 80-96.

(assuming a lute tuning in G), which is one tone lower than B-flat, a final for a transposition of the fifth or sixth mode.

The "Siena Lute Book" is the only known source for these fantasias by Perino. How they found their way into the manuscript, which was copied long after Perino's death, is unknown. Clearly, the "Siena Lute Book" scribe must have had access to a source that no longer survives or has remained unidentified. Perino was in Siena in 1541 (apparently with time on his hands, according to Giovio's letter), and perhaps he left tablatures there that were later used by the manuscript's scribe.

We can assume that Perino's early death prevented him from publishing or preserving in manuscript more of his compositions. It is possible, of course, that he or someone else intabulated additional pieces, but they are now lost or remain unrecognized among the many anonymous lute pieces from the time. In addition, his repertory probably included part-music since he performed regularly in an ensemble and sang. Improvisation may have been an important part of his performance as well. Most sixteenth-century instrumentalists were skilled in the art, and Francesco da Milano must have instructed him in it. 112


Concordances for "Ricercar da Coregio" and "Tamburina galgialarda" indicate to me that they were composed after Perino's death. The ricercar (on fol. 49v) is an embellished arrangement of the first two-thirds of an instrumental canzona by Claudio Merulo. A transcription of Merulo's work appears in Walker Cunningham and Charles McDermott, Claudio Merulo: Canzoni d'inaiavolatura d'organo (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1992), 176-177. The "Tamburina galgialarda" (on fol. 69v) uses the same melodic and harmonic materials as "Galgialarda detta Tamburin" on pp. 4-5 in Giovann Antonio Terzi's Il secondo libro de insavolatura di liuto (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1599), although the latter tablature is more extensive and elaborate. In my opinion, if the pieces designated by "del Fiorenza" in Cavalcanti's index are all by the same composer, then they are not by Perino but by a different and later lutenist. For the sake of completeness, however, I have included the titles here.

112 The theorist Francisco Salinas mentions Francesco's improvisation upon a galliard tenor in De musica (Salamanca, 1577; facsimile ed. Macario Santiago Kastner, ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1958), 342.
**Perino as Arranger and Composer**

Although the number of Perino's preserved works is small, they still give us an idea of his arranging and compositional styles. The following overview will begin with a description of his methods for arranging part-music. It will continue with a discussion of the general aspects of his fantasias and profiles of each of them with regard to motivic development, formal procedure, parody technique, and other notable aspects.

Perino's intabulations of "O felici occhi miei" and "Quanti travagli e pene" appear in the Dorico Libro primo as well as in the subsequent editions of the Libro terzo.\(^{113}\) They are arrangements of works by Jacques Arcadelt from his first book of four-part madrigals (1539), a popular collection that was republished many times.\(^{114}\) Besides Perino, the lutenists Giovanni Maria da Crema and Melchior Newsidler and the vihuela player Miguel de Fuenllana made intabulations of "O felici occhi miei" and published them between 1546 and 1574; other instrumental arrangements appeared in print during the same period as well.\(^{115}\) Perino appears to have been the sole intabulator of "Quanti travagli e pene."\(^{116}\)

In general, Perino's intabulations stay faithful to their vocal models. The only major alteration Perino makes to either of them (excluding ornamentation) appears in "O felici occhi miei" at its end. There Perino extends the final cadence and changes the voicing of the final

---

\(^{113}\) Wienands is the only scholar besides the present writer to have commented on the intabulations, but he makes only a few general remarks; see his "Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces," 7-8.


\(^{115}\) The intabulations appear in the following sources: Intabolatura di lauto . . . messer lo. Maria da Crema, Libro terzo (Venice: n.p., 1546), sig. H4v; Melchior Newsidler, Teutsch Lautenbuch (Strassburg; Bernhart Jobin, 1574), sig. H3v; and Miguel de Fuenllana, Libro de musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra (Seville: Martin de Montesdoca, 1554), fol. 120v. For bibliographical information on these prints see Brown, Instrumental Music, items 1546_h, (see also item 1546_i), 1574_j, and 1554_r. There is also an intabulation in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliotheke, Musikabteilung (D W) MS Codex Guelferbytianus 18.7. Augusteus 2", fols. 114v-115; see Meyer, Sources manuscrits en tablature: Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 305 (this tablature was not available for comparison with the others). Other instrumental arrangements of "O felici occhi miei" appear in Diego Ortiz, Libro segundo, Tratado de gloss (Rome: Valerio and Lodovico Dorico, 1554), 69-85; and in Vincenzo Ruffo, Capricci in musica (Milan: Francesco Moscheni, 1564), fols. 5-5v. For bibliographical information on these prints see Brown, op. cit., items 1553, and 1564_r.

\(^{116}\) Brown does not list any intabulations of this work in Instrumental Music. There is an intabulation of a piece with the same textual incipit in the Castelfranco Veneto lute manuscript; see note 150 below.
chord (Example 2). Clearly, he does this to end the piece in a way that makes better use of the lute’s sonority than a straightforward intabulation would. With regard to ornamentation, Perino often embellishes cadential points, but diminution is rare.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example2}
\caption{Example 2 – “O felici occhi miei,” a) Arcadelt; b) Perino.}
\end{figure}

A remarkable passage opens Perino’s “O felici occhi miei” where he introduces each of the upper voices of the madrigal on a different course of the lute. In this manner Perino retains the integrity of each voice-part of the model through the distinct timbres of each course (Example 3). A few measures later Perino uses the same technique to maintain the voice-leading of the upper voices in a passage where they cross (Examples 4a-c).\textsuperscript{18} None of the other three intabulators of this piece employ a similar procedure; in fact, Giovanni Maria da Crema and Melchior Newsidler deliberately obscure the voice-leading with ornamentation (Examples 4d and e).

A comparison of the four intabulations of “O felici occhi miei” shows that Perino, Fuenllana, and Newsidler represent the music of the vocal model faithfully, while Giovanni Maria da Crema has produced a freer arrangement. The latter makes modifications in its part-writing and

\textsuperscript{17}There is a passage with diminutions in “O felici occhi miei” at mm. 27-29.

\textsuperscript{18}Another example of this kind of fastidiousness appears in Vincenzo Galilei’s \textit{Fronimo dialogo} (Venice: G. Scotto, 1584) in his intabulation of “Qual miracolo Amore.” See Falkenstein, “The Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory of Florentine Lute Song,” 66-67.
even alters the harmony in some passages. With regard to ornamentation and the application of musica ficta, Perino is more conservative than Newsidler, but the most conservative in this respect is Fuenllana. Fuenllana may have avoided embellishing his intabulation since he intended it to serve both as a vihuela solo and as an accompaniment for a singer.

It may be best to approach Perino’s fantasias by first describing their general characteristics and then by examining them as two groups of pieces, those in the Dorico Libro primo and those in the “Siena Lute Book.”

The texture in Perino’s fantasias is usually of three or four parts, less often two (except in sections of passagework). Perino treats voice-leading freely at times by adding notes to fill out a texture. His compositional technique, therefore, shows that sometimes he is more concerned with the lute’s sonority than with maintaining consistent voice-leading. Point of imitation technique characterizes most of Perino’s fantasias. The presence of imitative writing ranges from intermittent to pervasive.

Example 3 – Perino, “O felici occhi miei”

---

119 The numbering of Perino’s fantasias follows that in Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto. Fantasias Nos. 1-4 comprise those in the Dorico Libro primo, and Fantasias Nos. 5-9 comprise those in the “Siena Lute Book.” The works are numbered according to the order of their appearance in each source. The measure numbers in the present discussion also follow Caffagni and Pavan.

120 This contrasts with Francesco da Milano’s approach to voice-leading. As Dietrich Kämper has pointed out, Francesco’s works have the appearance of intabulated ensemble works; see his Studien zur Instrumentalen Ensembelmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien, in Analecta musicologica 10 (1970): 113-114. See also Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements of Vocal and Instrumental Part-Music,” 36.

121 The lengthy chordal passages in Perino’s Libro primo fantasias led Murphy to state that they are homophonic “in the broad sense”; see his “Fantasia and Ricercare,” 147. This overlooks the polyphonic character of the pieces, however.
Chordal sections, sequential passages, and episodic passagework interrupt the imitative texture in most of the fantasias. Works that use a chordal texture extensively are Fantasias Nos. 3 and 9.

A distinctive feature of Perino's fantasias is his treatment of cadence. Like other composers of his time, he often maintains a continuous flow in his works by avoiding frequent cadences through the use of overlapping points of imitation. Where he differs is in his use of unorthodox voice-leading and harmonic progressions at cadential points. Example 5 provides illustrations of this. In each case an ornament
Example 5 – a) Perino, Fantasia No. 5; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 9.

articulates the end of a section, but the chord that follows is not typical as the goal of the cadential progression.

Perino's treatment of dissonance shows the influence of the post-Josquin generation of composers. His fantasias contain suspensions and accented passing tones, especially in chordal passages, where such dissonances keep the musical flow moving forward. There are rare instances where a non-harmonic tone sounds against its resolution, producing the interval of a major second, and occasionally the vertical alignment of the voice parts results in what would be an augmented chord in modern analysis.122

The style of ornamentation in Perino's works sets them somewhat apart from those of his contemporaries. He is as liberal with the use of the trill-like gruppo in some of his fantasias (Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 9) as he is in his intabulations. As one scholar has noted, Perino's ornamentation shows "a proximity to the keyboard style."123 It is possible that he absorbed this stylistic aspect during childhood when he was with his family of organists.

Perino's works also show that he must have been a performer of consummate skill. His dense textures, stretto passages, and passagework could only have been performed well by a lutenist of the highest caliber.124

122 Dissonant notes sounding with their resolution appear in Fantasia No. 4 (m. 28) and Fantasia No. 7 (m. 41). Harmonies that are the equivalent of augmented chords appear in Fantasia No. 1 (m. 57), Fantasia No. 4 (m. 28), Fantasia No. 5 (m. 48), and Fantasia No. 7 (m. 48).
123 Murphy, "Fantasia and Ricercare," 147.
124 Chilesotri gave a transcription of mm. 29-41 of Fantasia No. 4 as an example of Perino's abilities as a lutenist in "Note circa alcuni liutisti italiani," 47.
As shown above, literary references attest to this as well. By any standard, Perino must have been one of the finest performers of the lute during the sixteenth century.

The most striking aspect of Perino's fantasias in the *Libro primo* is their variety of character.125 Since he was actively involved in its publication, it very well may be that he intended to show the range of his compositional skill at his debut in print.

As discussed above, Perino's Fantasia No. 1 seems to have been his best known work since it was the most widely disseminated. Perino begins the piece by presenting a subject that he then varies and develops in imitation (Example 6a; brackets indicate the subject and some of its variations). He follows that with a lengthy section of passagework made up of scale runs and arpeggios. Afterward, Perino introduces a subject related to the opening material by its dotted rhythmic figure, and he develops it in a lengthy strettto passage (Example 6b). He then presents a new subject in counterpoint with a motive related to the opening idea ("x" indicates the new subject in Example 6c). This leads to the final cadence. The general formal outline of this piece is similar to many contemporary lute fantasias.

Perino's fantasia shares thematic material with a piece by Francesco appearing in the same print (on signatures A2v-A3; Ness No. 30). One hesitates to consider Perino's work a parody of Francesco's, but it is clearly indebted to it. A comparison of the two works will point up the similarities and differences in the styles of the two composers.

While they do not begin similarly—Francesco starts out with a point of imitation and Perino begins with a chordal section—they develop similar subjects (compare Examples 6a and 7a). Both composers develop them by changing their initial intervals from a minor third to a fourth, which allows presentation of the subjects on a greater variety of scale degrees (Example 6a, mm 10-11; Example 7a, mm 12-13). At this point the compositions diverge somewhat in their formal plans. Francesco introduces two new subjects and develops them for a while, and then a section of passagework follows. Perino moves directly into passagework. Both composers arrange their passagework in the same way, with fast scales giving way to arpeggiated chords. Perino has two such passages in his piece connected by a section featuring dissonance through suspensions. The two composers then proceed by developing similar subjects that are related to the opening motive by their dotted

125 Wienandt noticed this as well in his discussion of three of the printed fantasias; see his "Perino Fiorentino and His Lute Pieces," 8-13.
Perino inflects the modal tone "A" to "A-flat" earlier in the piece, but only briefly, so that it has a greater effect when used at the end of the piece. Francesco uses "A-flat" frequently throughout much of the middle of his piece.
Example 6b – Perino, Fantasia No. 1.

Example 6c – Perino, Fantasia No. 1.
Example 7a – Francesco, Fantasia [Ness No. 30].

Example 7b – Francesco, Fantasia [Ness No. 30].
places the climax of the piece (the fast passagework) and follows it with a
denouement that brings the fantasia to a satisfying close.

Perino aims more for dramatic effect.\textsuperscript{127} Juxtapositions of
different textures produce an almost jarring effect at times, a good
example being the connecting section between the passagework episodes.
He also extends his climaxes (the passagework and the stretto sections),
thus prolonging their effect.

Perino’s Fantasia No. 2 is a lengthy piece. Indeed, at ninety-three
measures it is one of longest fantasias in the \textit{Libro primo}. It begins with a
subject that Perino draws upon for motivic material in subsequent points
of imitation. The work’s formal design is similar to that in Fantasia No.
1: imitative writing gives way to a climactic section of scales, arpeggio
figures and sequence; the piece continues with a contrapuntal section
using two motives—one recalled from earlier in the piece and one newly
introduced—before the final cadence. As mentioned above, Perino
liberally sprinkles this fantasia with \textit{gruppo} figures that accompany a
variety of cadential progressions.

Fantasia No. 3 differs greatly in texture and style from the
preceding two. It is a piece in which suspensions enliven what would
otherwise be a largely homorhythmic texture. It divides into four sections,
the third of which is an ornamented repeat of the second (ABB’C). The
sectional repetition in this piece has been compared to that frequently
encountered in the ensemble ricercars of Andrea Arrivabene’s \textit{Musica
nova} (Venice, 1540).\textsuperscript{128} Perino provides coherence in this work through
relationships between the material of each section. The beginning of
section B (Example 8b) is a variation of the chordal statement that opens
the piece (Example 8a). In turn, the first few measures of section B
provide subject material for section C (Examples 8c and d).

Fantasia No. 4 is a parody of Philippe Verdelot’s five-part madrigal
“Italia mia.”\textsuperscript{129} The beginning of the fantasia resembles that of the model,
especially in its five-part texture (Example 9). The fantasia contains
several subjects that appear in the madrigal, and both works present them
in the same order (compare Example 10a with 10d, 10b with 10e, and

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[127]{Douglas Alton Smith notes the dramatic aspect of Perino’s music in \textit{A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance} (n.p., Lute Society of America, 2002), 131.}
\footnotetext[128]{Slim, “The Keyboard Ricercar,” 281.}
\footnotetext[129]{I credit Paul O’Dette with pointing out to me similarities between the fantasia and the madrigal. The
part-music model of “Italia mia” was published in \textit{De i madrigali di Verdelotto et de altri eccellentissimi autori a cinque voci, libro secondo} (Venice: O. Scotto, 1538) (\textit{RISM} 1538\textsuperscript{11}); see also
\textit{RISM} [c.1538]\textsuperscript{20}, an undated print by Gardano. For concordance information on the madrigal, see
score of the madrigal is in ibid., 1:398-406.}
\end{footnotes}
Example 8a–8d—Perino, Fantasia No. 3.

Example 9a & 9b—a) Verdelot, “Italia mia”; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 4.
Perino Fiorentino (1523-1552), His Life and Works

Example 10a - 10f – a) quintus, b) altus, c) superius from Verdelot, “Italia mia” ; d-f) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 4.

10c with 10f). The final measures of the fantasia are an arrangement of the final point of imitation in “Italia mia” (Example 11).

The “Siena Lute Book” fantasias are five in number, and they show some of the same variety as the Libro primo fantasias. In addition, they are interesting in the way that Perino manipulates and develops motivic material and in their formal designs.

Perino’s Fantasia No. 5 is modeled on a four-part ensemble piece in Arrivabene’s Musica nova attributed to Julio da Modena—that is, Julio Segni.\textsuperscript{130} Although the fantasia and the ensemble piece are in different modes, the opening subjects of each work are virtually identical and

\textsuperscript{130} Musica nova attributes the ensemble ricercar (Ricercar XIII) to Segni (see Brown, Instrumental Music, 65, item 1540, no. 13). It also appears twice in Jacques Moderne’s Musique de joye (Lyon, n.d.), in one case attributed to Segni (Ricercar No. 17) and in the other to Willaert (Ricercar No.
are disposed similarly in each composition's opening point of imitation (Example 12). Perino draws upon other subjects of the ensemble piece as well (compare Example 13a with 13c, and 13b with 13d). As in his parody fantasia on Verdelot's "Italia mia" (Fantasia No. 4), Perino presents and develops the subjects in the same order as they appear in the model.

Example 11a & 11b – a) Verdelot, "Italia mia"; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 4.

20). H. Colin Slim considers the attribution to Segni correct; see his modern edition of Musica nova in Monuments of Renaissance Music, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), xxxiii-xxxiv. A score of the ricercar appears on pp. 60-65 of Slim's edition. (Note: the numbering of pieces in the Moderne print is confusing; Brown, Instrumental Music, 123, item 154, gives the two printings of the ricercar in his inventory as nos. 15 and 18, which correspond to Modernes nos. 17 and 20.)

There are two arrangements and one parody of the ensemble piece besides that of Perino. The two arrangements are Julien Belin's lute fantasia on signature A2v of his Premier livre (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1556) and the keyboard tiento attributed to "Antonio" (presumably Antonio Cabezón) on folio 31v of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's Libro de cifra nueva (which also contains Perino's Fantasia No. 2). A transcription of Belin's fantasia is in Michel Renault, ed., Œuvres de Julien Belin (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976), 1-2; and a transcription of the keyboard tiento accompanies the score of Segni's piece in Slim's modern edition of Musica nova. A lute parody of Segni's work by Laurencini is in Besard's Thesaurus harmonicus (Cologne: G. Grevenbruch, 1603) on folio 19.

131 Another example of a piece arranged in different modes is in the "Cavalcanti Lute Book." On fol. 54 there is a setting of the villanella text "Vorrei saper da voi, occhi mortali." Another tablature appears on fols. 76v-77 with the title "Vorrei saper da voi ochii mortali spostato." Both tablatures share a similar bass line, but they are in different modes.
Example 12a & 12b – a) Segni, “Ricercar”; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 5.

Example 13a - 13d – a) altus, b) superius from Segni, “Ricercar”; c & d) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 5.
The opening imitative subject in Segni’s ricercar and Perino’s fantasia is strikingly similar to the superius at the beginning of Claudin de Sermisy’s chanson “C’est a grant tort.” There are some other similarities between Sermisy’s chanson and the instrumental pieces, but not enough to make a good case for parody.

Development of related subjects in an imitative texture characterizes Fantasia No. 6. The subjects have a pitch contour that begins with an upward skip and continues with a stepwise descent. The opening upward skip ranges from a third to a fifth in various entries, and sometimes Perino deploys the variants at the same time (brackets indicate the opening subject and some of its variations in Example 14). He also achieves variation through diminution and other rhythmic alterations. A lengthy scale passage interrupts the imitative texture in the second half of the piece. The following cadential section uses the fantasia’s main subject with its opening skip reduced to stepwise motion. As in Fantasia No. 1, Perino flattens the sixth degree of the mode for the final cadential area (both fantasies are in the Dorian mode), a chromatic alteration he uses sparingly elsewhere in the piece, usually at cadential points.

Fantasia No. 7 is a parody of Jean Richafort’s “De mon triste desplaisir,” a chanson that also served as a model for a parody fantasy by Francesco da Milano published in the Dorico Libro primo. The opening measures of Fantasia No. 7 resemble the beginning of Francesco’s piece (which is an arrangement of the chanson), although Perino’s version is more compressed (compare Example 15a with 15b). After this point, the lutenists borrow different material from the model. While Francesco develops motives from the lower, accompanimental voices of the chanson, Perino draws his subjects from Richafort’s superius. Each of Perino’s imitative subjects retains the rising and falling third that distinguishes the upper voice at the beginning of the chanson (compare Examples 16b-d with 16a). Perino and Francesco both develop their material by

---

132 For a transcription of the chanson, see Chansons, vol. 3 of Claudin de Sermisy Opera omnia, ed. by Gaston Allaire and Isabel Cazesux, in Corpus mensurabilis musicae, vol. 52 (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 33-35. Sermisy’s chanson was published in Trente et quatre chansons (Paris: P. Attaingnant, 1529 [RISM 1529]). The same print contains Richafort’s “De mon triste desplaisir,” a chanson used by Perino as a model for his Fantasia No. 7 (see below).

Example 14 – Perino, Fantasia No. 6.
Example 15a & 15b — a) Francesco, "Fantasia de mon triste" [Ness No. 36]; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 7.

Example 16a - 16d — a) superius from Richafort, "De mon triste desplaisir"; b-d.) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 7.
employing retrograde versions of their subject material. Francesco does this about midway through his piece, and Perino's second subject is the retrograde version of the superius in his opening measures (compare Example 16c with 16b).

Fantasia No. 8 begins with a disjunct melody that soon gives way to a new subject characterized by the motivic idea D E-flat D ("a" and "b" indicate the two subjects in Example 17a). Perino reintroduces the subjects in the same order and briefly develops them. A passage then follows of fast downward moving scales. Afterward, the development of the two subjects continues, and the piece ends with a fusion of the two ideas in the same melodic part (Example 17b, mm. 64-72).

A scholar has noted the similarity between the second subject of Perino's Fantasia No. 8, particularly as it is developed in measures 28 through 32, and the main subject of Francesco da Milano's famous "La compagna" fantasia (compare Examples 18a and 18b). The motive D E-flat D followed by the drop of a fifth also appears in another fantasia by Francesco in the Libro primo, the work discussed above in connection with Perino's Fantasia No. 1.

There does not seem to be the same degree of relationship or development in the subject material of Fantasia No. 9 as in the pieces discussed above. There is a general resemblance of some of the melodic material to the rising stepwise motion of the opening subject, but it might be best to describe the work as a succession of diverse sections. There is use of imitation, but about half of the piece is homophonic. Suspensions, passing tones, scale fragments, and gruppi ornament the chordal texture (Example 19).

The range and inventiveness of Perino's works show him to be a lute composer of the first rank and, to paraphrase Cosimo Bartoli, a worthy successor to Francesco da Milano. Like Francesco, Perino blends idiomatic instrumental writing with procedures borrowed from vocal composition and gives formal coherency to his works through motivic relationships and development. Perino differs from Francesco by incorporating stylistic features typical of a later period. While Francesco's works reflect the music of the Josquin generation, Perino's dense textures

\[\text{References}\]

135 The fantasia is on sgs. A2v-A3 of the *Libro primo* (Ness No. 30). For a complete transcription of the piece, see Ness, *The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano*, 100-102. The subject appears in mm. 37-44 (the initial entries are G A-flat G C). This idea also appears very briefly in Francesco's "Fantasia de mon triste" from the *Libro primo* (sgs. B4-B4v; transcription in Ness, op. cit., 114, mm. 28-29). The motive D E-flat D or its transposition is common in subjects by both Francesco and Perino, for example in Francesco's Fantasias (Ness) Nos. 33 (*Libro primo*, sgs. A3v-A4v), 44, 53, 66, and 81; and Perino's Fantasia No. 5.
Example 17a & 17b – a) Perino, Fantasia No. 8; b) Perino, Fantasia No. 8.
Example 18a & 18b – a) superius from Francesco, Fantasia “La Compagna”; b) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 8.

Example 19 – Perino, Fantasia No. 9.
and dissonance treatment are similar in style to the music of the post-Josquin generation.

Perino deserves our consideration of him as one of the important lutenists of the Cinquecento. He served prominently at one of the leading centers of Italian artistic culture and had begun to advance his reputation to the international level at the time of his death. His works show a total mastery of his instrument, and they are remarkable for their variety of style, formal designs, and skillful manipulation of motivic materials. His early death is truly to be regretted since all signs point to a continued and perhaps greater success had he lived longer, and we may well lament with his contemporaries for the loss of such an admirable youth.
APPENDIX I:

DOCUMENTS

Document 1: Extract from Florence, Archivio dell’Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, “Libro Battesimi, Maschi, 1522-1532,” folio 16v.137

DJCEMBRE M[D]xxiii
MARTEDJ: A ddj. 8


Document 2: Extracts from the register Tesoreria Segreta, 2 November 1535 to 2 November 1538 (Paris, Collection Ferdinant de Navenne).138

a.) folio 50v. 4 January 1537.

Et piú a di 4 detto [scudi] cinque pagati per mancia a Pierino, creato di messer Francesco Milanese. [Scudi] 5 b[olognini].

b.) folio 88. 1 January 1538.

Et piú [scudi] quatro pagati per commissione di sua Santità a Pierino, creato di messer Francesco da Milano. [Scudi] 4 b[olognini].

c.) folio 123v. 1 October 1538.

Et piú deve dare a di primo Ottobre 1538 [scudi] diece d’oro pagati a Pietrino, organista, olim famigliare di sua Santità, quale se li donano per possere ritornare a Siena. [Scudi] 10 b[olognini].

Document 3: Letter from Paolo Giovio to Alessandro Farnese dated 4 September 1541 (Parma, Archivio di Stato).139

Sig.re Cardinale, Ancorché abbiate assassinata la famiglia con farla stare a Siena un di e mezzo a tutto pasto a marzapani mal cotti, non resta però che non abbiamo preso piacere di 24 sospiri di messer Antonino impagati per amor di madonna Eufrasia Venturi: robba ch’ancora ha commosso Lorenzo da Gaeta, con tutto

136 The texts of the following documents appear here as they do in the primary or secondary sources cited below except for the material in brackets [ ] and where otherwise noted.

137 The record can be viewed at the following website: http://www.operaduomo.firenze.it/battesimi/frame.htm. See also note 8 of the present study. I thank Dr. L. Fabbri for the rendering of the abbreviations in the document.


139 Giovio, Lettere, 1:268-269.
che a maggior pericolo fusse San Lorenzo, avendo a dormire con Perino citaredo; ma gran cosa è la teatinaria che sel toca con la camiscia, e quando la notte li galli cantano essi si trovano a caldo di lenzoli. O signor nostro, Dio vi guarì da' teatini ante partum, in partu et post partum. Ma torniamo a proposito: messer Antonio si cavò la voglia de marzapani: vide Fontebrando e Fontebeccio, e non comprò altro che un bossolo del senno de palazzo, per portare al signor conte Nicola, quando anderà a servire messer San Marco: perché per ora non ha molto bisogno, avendo il susdito caritativo del mantaco e del bufalo, con le postille di messer Silvio Serlupi, e qualche scolio del cavaliere Casale in militari; per non dire di messer Tiberio Alborino, qual verìa [MS: veria] alle mano senza cartello; né di messer Camillo de' Rustici accade a dir altro, se non che nel caso de' duelli resta iudice verdadero.

Messer Angelo d' Amelia, messer Blosio e il sacrista vanno in groppa al corpo di Cristo inclusive usque ad Evangelium di messer Gio. Battista. Dio sa come andrà la cosa a Lucca. E Rodamonte, come cima d'omo, pregò la compagnia di Barbarossa in San Lorenzo che li volesse smorzare una candelà; di che don Antonio caudatario fece un romore inaudito e disse: o Prospero cavalerizo, ove sei tu?

Intendiamo ch'el signor Sforza è passato incognito, e intendiamo che è omo senza bugia et dati casus et impregnativi; et prosi e; che Dio nel dia maschio di e notte camerlengaliter, cum auctoritate iuris periti di messer Restoro.

Noi andremo a madonna la ventura, poi che V. S. R.ma, occupata nella cogitazione per non dire sgonfiatura di brachesse della Fortiguerra, si scorda di darci avviso della partenza nostra; di modo che messer Antonio dormirà ad uso delli aruspici de' Persi sub dio et in nuda humo, pensando alli silogismi della filosofi senesi bizarri come la Lupa, quale non vorrà marito per stare in chiasso. Resta dire che avemo trovato don Gio. da Siena, corografo pittore pratico per il mondo e in Constantinopoli: quale aviamo disegnato cappellano per monsignor Rev.mo Cervino, quando lei rol voglia á osadas; per che l'Armillino [MS: armellino] nol lassaria salpare per far quattro officii, purché abbia una dispensa di tenere un beneficio curato di 24. Basiamo la mano di V. S. Rev.ma, che Dio li dia salvo condotto di strangolioni debiti pagati, e un alchimisto che li fissi il suo nobile mercurio ad un studiolo per un'ora il giorno, e che spirito con ossa non vi possi entrare. Valete.

Da Poggibonzi, ad ore 18, con li stivali per Castel Fiorentino, die 4 Septembris 1541.
Document 4: Extracts from the register Tesoreria Segreta, 1545 to 1548 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, MS 1293). 140

a.) folio 82. 5 March 1546.

b.) folio 84v. 5 April 1546.
A di 5 d'april [scudi] tre a maestro Pierino degli Organi musico per la provisione del suo compagno per il presente mese. [Scudi] 3

c.) folio 103. 20 October 1546.
A di 20 di ottobre [scudi] tre a maestro Pierino degli Organi, musico, per la provisione del compagno che sona di leuto seco in terzo per il presente mese. [Scudi] 3

d.) folio 156. 23 December 1547.
A di 23 di dicembre [scudi] tre a maestro Pirino musico per provisione del suo compagno che sona seco per novembre prossimo passato. [Scudi] 3

e.) folio 172v. May 1548.
A di maggio [scudi] tre a maestro Pi[e]rino musico per sua provisione del compagno per il presente mese. [Scudi] 3

Document 5: Preface by Valerio Dorico in Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro primo (Rome: Valerio and Lodovico Dorico, 1566 [1546], signature A1v.) 141

Valerio Dorico a quelli se dilettno de la musica de lauto.
Io non vi loderò, Generosi spiriti, con cerimonie, Misser Francesco da Milano, Vi dico bene, che, dov'altri s'affaticano per adonibrar il poco, io durerei fatica, arrivare al vero, & quanto più lo lodassi, meno lo loderèi: Basta questo, che ai tempi suoi, niuno gli fu pare, nel sonare il Leuto, la dove Arte, o Dolcez[za]a

140 D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 75-76. D'Accone also gives folios in the same register that record similar payments: 108v, 114v, 134v, 138v, 143v, 150, 156, 162, 163, 166, and 169v. Antonio Bertolotti also transcribes Documents 2a and 2b in "Speserie segrete e pubbliche di Papa Paolo III," 198-199. The order in which Bertolotti presents them is confusing: he lists the April entry before the March entry.

141 Transcribed from the exemplar in Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska. The reading is identical with that in the Charlesville, Bibliothèque municipale exemplar. I have modernized the spelling somewhat. See also Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto, ix.
s'adoperasse, con infinita gratia, Alquale grado, pero, ne va a gra[n] passo: il suo
nobilissimo Scolaro, misser Pierino Fiorentino, se di gia non vi e arrivato: Il qual
meco al presente per sua cortesia, s'e degnato rivedere alcune Intavolature, del suo
Mastro, Forse, & per non essere ingrato a quello, per il quale, e, intanto honore,
o, invido ai posteri, celando quello che pur: in parte mostrrano, al mondo, la
somma Virtu, & Grandezza, divina: di Misser Francesco: Apprendete adunque
dalle fatiche nostro questa, Opera: Ne manchate d'esercitarsi in quella, se desiate,
participare, della maravigliosa, eccellenza sua, & honorate lui morto, & amate
Misser Pierino vivo, se quello trovo la via dell'arte, & questo vel'ingegna.

Document 6: Letter from Giacomo Marmitta to Pierino degli Organi dated
17 July 1550.142

A. M. Pierino de gli Organi.

Io scrivo a voi M. Pierino mio, & non so dove vi siate, & voi non mi scrivete a
me, sapendo dove io sono. Chi non direbbe, ch'io così fossi morto nella memoria
vostra, come voi sempre vivete nella mia? Ma non per ciò l'ardisco di dire, per
non mettermi a pericolo di riceverne una manifesta [mentita?] dalla vostra vera, &
lunga amicitia, dove poi io ne rimanessi con carico appresso a tanti huomini da
bene, che hanno conosciuto, quanta, & quale ella sia stata si gran tempo fra noi.
A che debbo io adunque attribuire la cagion di questo vostro si lungo silenzio?
Alla servitù, che havete con l'Illustrissimo & Reverendissimo padrone? A questo
nò, ch'io non la conobbi mai per tanto aspra, & assidua, che vi togliese il potere
alcuna volta far parte di voi a gli amici. A continuai studi, che fatte intorno alla
virtù: meno: perciocché questi sono i mesi dedicati al riposo: & anche sono i
giorni tanto lunghi, che possono supplire all'uno, & all'altro officio. A qualche
indisposition vostra? Questo voglio io credere meno d'ogni altra cosa, come
quella, che sarà per offender più l'animo mio di qualunque altro impedimento,
offendendo voi, ch'io amo, quanto me stesso. Dirò adunque, che voi dovete
aspettare, ch'io sia prima la primo a salutarvi, forse per esser voi meno di me essercitato
in questa facoltà di scrivere: & volendo che le mie lettere vi porgano materie da
dire, & per ciò giudicate di poter vi pigliar sicuramente questa licenza: ancora
che di ragione si convenga prima all'amico, che parte, di dovere avvisar per
camino di sua salute, & non a quel che si rimane. Sia adunque come piu vi
piace M. Pierino mio honoratissimo: ecco ch'io vi scrivo, vi do avviso del mio
ben essere, et di tutti gli amici vostri, & del gran desiderio, che noi habbiamo del
vostro ritorno. Et vi prego non solo a mantenermi fermo nel possesso dell'amor

142 Slim quotes the letter in "The Keyboard Ricercar," 213-214. His source is Francesco Turchi, ed.,
Libro secondo (Venice, 1575), 265-267, letter no. 109. A slightly different transcription of the letter
is in Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto, ix.
vostro, ma operare in modo, che ciò sia conosciuto, ancora da gli altri per mia maggior consolatione. Il che sarà scrivendomi spesso, & valendovi di me, ove mi conosciute buono a farvi servizio: che una gran sicurità nel commandare, dimostra alle volte così bene una vera benivolenza verso l'amico, come anche uno affetuoso servire.

Parti di questa vita la Signora Cleopatra vostra vicina Domenica passata, la notte veggente fu sotterrata a Santa Lucia.

O d'humana beltà caduchi fiori.

Attendete a far buona ciera, poiche come disse quel divino Poeta,
Tutti habbiamo, com'asini, a morire.


Servitor,
Giacomo Marmitta.

Document 7: Horoscope for Perino in Luca Gaurico, Tractatus astrologicus (Venice, 1552), fol. 84v.¹⁴³

Perinus Francisci discipulus.

ANNO
1523
NOVEMBRIS
D.H.M.
17 7 24 N.S.
17 12 0 P.M.

Perinus Iuvenis formosus, & Musicus non obscurus, fuit discipulus, & alumnus domini Francisci Mediolanensis, & se contulit in Galliam ad Reginam Francorum inclitam.


Serone,

¹⁴⁴ Transcribed from the exemplar in Rochester, New York, Sibley Music Library (Eastman School of Music). I have modernized the spelling somewhat. There is a facsimile edition of the 1553 Lucrino edition with an introduction by Patrizio Barbieri (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1988).

Document 9: Epitaph for Perino written by Giacomo Marmitta.145

PERINO ORGANO FLORENTINO
QVI SINGVARI MORVM SVAVITATE
AC TESTVDINIS NON IMITABILI
CONCENTV DVIVM RELIQVIT
AMABILIOR NE ESSET SVMMA INGENII BONITATE
AN ADMIRABILI ARTIS EXCELLENTIA CLARIOR
IACOBVS MARMITA PARMEN AMICO
M P
VIXIT ANN XXIX

Document 10: Passage from Anton Francesco Doni, I marmi (Venice, 1552), part 3.146

---

145 The epitaph is quoted in P. F. Casimiro Romano, Memorie istoriche della Chiesa e Convento di S. Maria in Araceli di Roma (Rome, 1736), 172; in Affo, Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani, 4:64; and in Vicenzo Forcella, Iscrizione delle chiese e d'altre edifici di Roma (Rome, 1869), 1:253, no. 966. Michael Pocciotto quotes a slightly different text in Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum omnis generis (Florence, 1589), 144: "Perino Organo Florentino. Qui singulari morum suavitate ac testudinis non imitabilis concertu dubium reliquit amabilior ne esset summaque ingenij bonitate; an admirabili artis excellencia clarior Paulus Iacobus Marmita. Parmensis amico. M. D. Vixit annos 29." See also Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar," 213, note 297. According to Forcella (loc. cit.), the epitaph was on the floor before the chapel of S. Pasquale.

146 Anton Francesco Doni, I marmi, ed. Ezio Chiòrboli, (Bari: Gius. Laterza & figli, 1928), 2:12. The dedication of Part 3 is to Ferrante Gonzaga and is dated 6 November 1552; see ibid., 2:5.
Pierino di Baccio degli Organi nostro, ora che egli s'era fatto un poco d'entrata buona e cominciava a mietere il frutto della sua virtù (oh che mirabil giovane ha perduto il mondo!), la morte gli ha troncato la strada.

Document 11: Epitaph for Perino in Francesco Franchino, *Francisci Franchini Poemata* (Rome, 1554), 123.\(^{147}\)

**Epit. Perini Citharedi**

Et cithara et cantu, et mentis candore Perinus
Clario ante alios, occidit ante diem

Document 12: Passage from Part 3 of Cosimo Bartoli’s *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante* (Venice, 1567).\(^{148}\)

L[orenzo Antinori]. Io udij in Roma ultimamente Pierino di Baccio nostro Fiorentino che mi piacque grandemente nel sonare il liuto. [Perso da Ricasoli]. Valentissimo certo, & se egli vive mostrerà un di che è vero scolare di Francesco da Milano, ancor che e’ ci è qualcuno che hoggi odè così volentier lui, & forse piu che non udirebbe Francesco suo maestro; & veramente fa non piccolo honore alla buona memoria di Baccio suo padre che sapete quanto era virtuosa.

APPENDIX II: CONCORDANCES

Primary Sources

**Prints**\(^{149}\)

D[1546] = INTABOLATURA DE LAUTO DI M. FRANCESCO MILANESE ET M. PERINO FIORENTINO Ricercate Madrigali, & Canzone Franzese: LIBRO PRIMO. In Roma per M. Valerio Dorico, & Lodovico Fratello. M. D. LXVI. Cum privilegio summi Pontificus ad quinquenium. [BROWN

---


\(^{148}\) Transcribed in Haar, “Cosimo Bartoli on Music,” 63-64. See also Benvenuti, Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli, lv; and Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto*, ix.

\(^{149}\) The references in brackets after the title of each print are to items in Brown, *Instrumental Music*. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 215-216, also gives bibliographical information for the Dorico print (D[1546]); and Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 590-591, does likewise for the 1547 Gardano print (G1547).
1566,

G1547 = INTABOLATURA DE LAUTO DI M. FRANCESCO MILANESE ET M. PERINO FIORENTINO Suo Discipulo Di Recercate Madrigali, & Canzone Francese Novamente Ristampata & corretta. LIBRO TERZO In Venetia Apresso di Antonio Gardane M. D. XLVII. [BROWN 1547,]

VdH1557 = LIBRO DE CIFRA NUEVA PARA TECLA, HARPA, Y VIHUELA, EN EL qual se enseña brevemente cantar canto llano, y canto de organo, y algunos avisos para contrapunto. Compuesto por Luys Venegas de Henestrosa. Dirigido al Illustrissimo señor don Diego Tavera, obispo de Jaen. En Alcala. En casa de Joan de Brocar. 1557. [BROWN 1557,]


S1563 = LA INTABOLATURA DE LAUTO DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO ET M. PERINO FIORENTINO SUO DISCEPOLO Di Recercate Madrigali, & canzone Francese. Novamente ristampata & corretta. LIBRO TERZO. IN VINEGIA Appresso Girolamo Scotto. 1563. [BROWN 1563,]

Manuscripts

Flo168 = Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechiano XIX.168.

DonGI4 = Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, MS G.I.4.

Siena = The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, MS 28.B.39; the “Siena Lute Book.”

Modern Editions/Transcriptions


FANTASIA NO. 1

| ms. | Title | Sigla
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D[1546]</td>
<td>&quot;Fantasia di M. Perino Fiorentino&quot;</td>
<td>C4-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1547</td>
<td>&quot;4 Fantasia di M. Perino&quot;</td>
<td>A3v-A4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1562</td>
<td>&quot;4 Fantasia di M. Perino&quot;</td>
<td>A3v-A4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1563</td>
<td>&quot;Fantasia di M. Perino Fio&quot;</td>
<td>pp.6-8 (sigs. A3v-A4v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flo168</td>
<td>&quot;Ricercha di Pierino delli Organi&quot;</td>
<td>fols. 35v-37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DonGI4</td>
<td>&quot;Phantasia dj M. Perino&quot; vol. 1, fols. 66v-67.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Caffagni & Pavan, 1-3.
Falkenstein, 64-67.
Possiedi, 16-17.

FANTASIA NO. 2

| ms. | Title | Sigla
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D[1546]</td>
<td>&quot;Fantasia di M. Perino Fiorentino&quot;</td>
<td>Dv-D3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1547</td>
<td>&quot;9 Fantasia di F. Milanese&quot;</td>
<td>C-C2v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vdh1557</td>
<td>&quot;Tiento de vihuela&quot; fols. [16-17].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1562</td>
<td>&quot;9 Fantasia di F. da Milano&quot;</td>
<td>C-C2v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Caffagni & Pavan, 4-7
Ness, 116-119

FANTASIA NO. 3

| ms. | Title | Sigla
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D[1546]</td>
<td>&quot;Fantasia di .M. Perino Fiorentino&quot;</td>
<td>D3-D3v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1547</td>
<td>&quot;15 F. di perino Fiorentino&quot;</td>
<td>D4-D4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1562</td>
<td>&quot;15 Fantasia di Perino fiore[n]tino&quot;</td>
<td>D4-D4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1563</td>
<td>&quot;Fantasia di Perino Fio&quot;</td>
<td>pp. 31-32 (sigs. D4-D4v).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Caffagni & Pavan, 8-9.
Chilesotti, 44-45.
Falkenstein, 73-74.

**FANTASIA NO. 4**

D[1546] "Fantasia di .M. Perino Fiorentino" sigs. D4-E.
G1547 "13 F. di perino Fiorentino" sigs. Dv-D3.

Caffagni & Pavan, 10-13.
Falkenstein, 68-72 (Fantasia II).
Remarks: This is a parody of Philippe Verdelot's madrigal "Italia mia."

**FANTASIA NO. 5**

Siena "Di Pierj[n]o" fols. 6-6v.

Caffagni & Pavan, 14-15.
Falkenstein, 80-82 (Fantasia IV).
Remarks: This may be a parody of Giulio Segni's "Ricercar XIII" in *Musica nova*.

**FANTASIA NO. 6**

Siena "Di Pierj[n]o" fols. 6v-7.

Caffagni & Pavan, 16-17.
Falkenstein, 83-85 (Fantasia V).

**FANTASIA NO. 7**

Siena "Del Med[esim]o" fol. 7.

Caffagni & Pavan, 18-19.
Falkenstein, 86-88 (Fantasia VI).
Ness, 471-473.
Remarks: This is a parody of Jean Richafort's chanson "De mon triste desplaisir."

**FANTASIA NO. 8**

Siena "Del Med[esim]o" fol. 7v.

Caffagni & Pavan, 20-22.
Falkenstein, 89-92 (Fantasia VII).
FANTASIA NO. 9
Siena
"Di Perino Sesto tono Una voce più basso" fols. 27v-28.
Caffagni & Pavan, 23-25.
Falkenstein, 93-96 (Fantasia VIII).

O FELICI OCCHI MIEI
G1547 "17 O felici o[c]hi m[i]ei de P. F." sigs. Ev-E2.
Caffagni & Pavan, 26-27.
Chilesotti, 45-47.
Falkenstein, 75-76.

QUANTI TRAVAGLI
D[1546] "Quanti travaglii di M. Perino. F." sigs. E4-E4v.
Caffagni & Pavan, 28-29.
Falkenstein, 77-79.

150 There is the possibility of another concordance for this piece in the Castelfranco Veneto lute manuscript. On fol. 34v is a tablature entitled "Quanti travagli: e Pene": see Rossi, "Pacolini da Borgotaro versus Pacalone da Padova," 184. Two works with this incipit are listed in Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana (Pomezia: Standerini, 1977). The first is Francesco Corteccia's setting of "Quanti travagli et pene humana nature," which appears in his first book of madrigals for five and six voices (Venice, 1547)[Vogel 629]. The other is Jacques Arcadelt's setting of "Quanti travagli et pene quant'ogn'hor dogli'e morte," which Perino arranged. If the tablature in the Castelfranco Veneto manuscript is of Arcadelt's madrigal, then it might be Perino's since works from Dorico's Libro primo appear in the source (Rossi gives concordances to the equivalent pieces in Gardano's Libro terzo).
MUSICAL EXAMPLES

EXAMPLE 1:
Perino, Fantasia No. 4
a) Libro terzo (1547), sig. Dv.
b) Libro terzo (1562), sig. Dv.

EXAMPLE 2:
“O felici occhi miei”

EXAMPLE 3:
a) tablature
b) transcription.

EXAMPLE 4:
“O felici occhi miei”
a) cantus and altus from Arcadelt, after Seay, ed., Madrigali, Libro primo, 83.
b) Perino, Libro primo, sig. E3v, tablature.
c) Perino, Libro primo, sig. E3v, transcription.
d) Giovanni Maria da Crema, Intabolatura di lauto... Libro terzo, sig. H4v.
e) Melchior Newsidler, Teutschen Lautenbuch, sig. H3v.

EXAMPLE 5:
b) Perino, Fantasia No. 9, “Siena Lute Book,” fol. 27v.

EXAMPLE 6:
Perino, Fantasia No. 1, Libro primo
a) sig. C4.
b) sig. C4v-D.
c) sig. D

EXAMPLE 7:
Francesco, Fantasia [Ness No. 30], Libro primo
a) sig. A2v
b) sig A3.

EXAMPLE 8:
Perino, Fantasia No. 3, Libro primo
a) sig. D3.
EXAMPLE 9:


d. sig. D3.
c. sig. D3v.
b. sig. D3v.

EXAMPLE 10:

a) quintus, b) altus, c) superius from Verdelot, "Italia mia," after Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2:398-406. The transcriptions have been raised one whole step to facilitate comparison.
d-f) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 4, *Libro primo*, sigs. D4-E.

d. sig. D3.
c. sig. D3v.
b. sig. D3v.

EXAMPLE 11:

a) Verdelot, "Italia mia," after Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2:405. The transcription has been raised one whole step to facilitate comparison.
b) Perino, Fantasia No. 4, *Libro primo*, sig. E.

d. sig. D3.
c. sig. D3v.
b. sig. D3v.

EXAMPLE 12:


d. sig. D3.
c. sig. D3v.
b. sig. D3v.
EXAMPLE 17:
a and b.) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 8, "Siena Lute Book," fol. 7v.

EXAMPLE 18:
b) superius from Perino, Fantasia No. 8, "Siena Lute Book," fol. 7v.

EXAMPLE 19:
Perino, Fantasia No. 9, "Siena Lute Book," fol. 27v.
Dues are $40 - 1 year, $75 - 2 years, $110 - 3 years, $35 - student 1 year. Members are entitled to receive the LSA Quarterly, the Journal, the Membership Directory, and to have borrowing privileges at the LSA Microfilm Library. To join the LSA, paying by check, mail to: Lute Society of America, Garald Farnham - Treasurer, 255 West 98th #5C, New York, NY 10025 USA. Checks must be in US dollars drawn on a US bank. Email: GFminstrel@earthlink.net. Questions: Call LSA Administrator Nancy Carlin 925 / 686-5800.

Name __________________________________________________________

Address ________________________________________________________

City ___________________________ State _________________

Postal code ____________________________________________________

Country _________ Email _________________________________________

Credit Card: VISA / Mastercard (circle one)

Account number _______________________________________________

Expiration date ___________ Total Charge ________________

Signature ______________________________________________________
Wear your passion for the lute on your lapel or around your neck! Gents, now's the time to make all right with that long-suffering lute widow!

The LSA is now offering a limited number of copies of this lute-rose medallion. Available in 14-carat gold or sterling silver, a one-inch disc is first cast in relief and then hand-engraved to create a stunning piece of jewelry. The lute rose design combines both geometric and botanical motifs and is dramatically attractive even in miniature. There is space on the back for engraving. The lute rose comes as a pendant (chain not included) or can be fitted as a pin.

Silver lute rose: $200
14K Gold lute rose: $300
+ postage & insurance - $15

Payment by check (in US $ drawn on a US bank) can be sent to Lute Society of America, P.O. Box 100182, Fort Worth, TX 76185-0182. Payment by credit card - by phone to (925) 686-5800 or by fax to (925) 680-2582. Include credit card, type, number and expiration date.
The Venere Lute Quartet playing Vallet quartets from Secretum Musarum II, as well as their own quartet arrangements of 16th century music. Please check the LSA web site for a detailed listing of the track selections on the CD.

The quality of the performance throughout is highly accomplished-as times passionate, at other times evocative and eternal. With Sweet Division it is not possible to single out a best track, for all are a delight.

Sweet Division is a unique recording to be sought for its originality, depth, and poetic entwining of evocative harmonies, and demonstrates the artistry of a bygone era of unrivaled creativity and verve.

Marc Cramer, Renaissance Magazine

$15.00 plus $2.50 S&H  ♦ For fastest delivery order from the LSA web site or fax your order to 925/6802582.
♦ Mail your order to: Lute Society of America, P.O. Box 100182, Fort Worth, TX 76185-0182. Include name, address and email. Mail orders can be paid by check or money order (it must be in US currency drawn on a US bank) or you can include credit card information (Visa or MasterCard, account number & expiration date).
Michael Schreiner
Luthier

Lutes & Guitars
16th & 18th Century
Theorbs & Archlutes

602 Palmerstone Avenue
Toronto, Ontario M6G 2P9
Canada

schreiner @sympatico.ca
647-272-9218
A NEW HISTORY OF THE LUTE!

A HISTORY of the LUTE
from ANTIQUITY to the RENAISSANCE

DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH

Use this order from and send to
Lute Society of America
P O Box 100182 Fort Worth, TX 76185-0182

The Author Douglas Alton Smith received his Ph.D. in music from Stanford University in 1977 with a dissertation on music of the Baroque lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss. From 1974 to 1982 he served as associate editor of the Journal of the Lute Society of America, and is currently guest editor of three issues of JLSA that will be devoted to the life and music of Weiss. Since 1973 he has published many academic studies on the lute and its music, including the article "Lute" in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music.

A History of the Lute is a complete history of the instrument, its players and composers, its music and its cultural significance from Greek antiquity to the end of the Renaissance. It includes the author's evaluation and synthesis of previous lute scholarship by hundreds of writers, as well as new research.

* Approximately 400 pages
* 75 illustrations
* 50 musical examples

$85.00 PLUS $14.95 S&H

PLEASE ALLOW 4 TO 6 WEEKS FOR DELIVERY

The Author Douglas Alton Smith received his Ph.D. in music from Stanford University in 1977 with a dissertation on music of the Baroque lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss. From 1974 to 1982 he served as associate editor of the Journal of the Lute Society of America, and is currently guest editor of three issues of JLSA that will be devoted to the life and music of Weiss. Since 1973 he has published many academic studies on the lute and its music, including the article "Lute" in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music.

Use this order from and send to
Lute Society of America
P O Box 100182 Fort Worth, TX 76185-0182

Name ____________________________________________
Address ____________________________________________
City ________________________________________________
State ______ Zip ______ Country ___________________
E-Mail _______________________________________________

send me _____ copies at $85.00 plus $14.95 S&H each

Total Amount enclosed:

____ Check enclosed ______ MC ______ VISA

Account # ___________________________ Exp __________
or order on our website at
www.lutehistory.com