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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This issue of the Journal consists of only one study, which will continue in a subsequent issue. References in the current article to Section III refer to the forthcoming issue.

Mariagrazia Carlone's doctoral dissertation at the University of Pavia in 2005 was devoted to unraveling the biographical mysteries behind the Knight of the Lute, in Italian Cavaliere del Liuto, and the lutenist known to many connoisseurs of Renaissance instrumental music as Laurencini in Besard's Theaurus harmonicus. It also examined the sources of their surviving corpus of music, and produced a new edition of the music itself. This ennobled musician -- or rather, these musicians, for she has identified them as two -- left one of the finest bodies of solo lute music of the Italian Renaissance. The second part of her study will be an overview and catalog of the surviving musical sources, together with an appreciation of this music by Paul Beier.

Mariagrazia Carlone is known to members of the Lute Society of America through her lecture at an LSA summer seminar in 2004 and her article on Francesco da Milano in Volume XXXIV of this Journal. A former lutenist, she specializes in music iconography and historical research. Her publications include many articles and the book Iconografia musicale nell'arte biellesi, vercellesi e sabiesiana (Rome 1995; Società Italiana di Musicologia). She is currently an archivist at the State Archive in Milan, where she has produced exhibitions on musical themes.

Douglas Alton Smith
The Knights of the Lute

By Mariagrazia Carlone

Foreword

Lorenzino was one of the most appreciated virtuosi, composers and lute instructors of the 16th century. Celebrated in poetry and called "divine," he was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the leading lutenists of his day. His works have come to us through numerous manuscripts and prints produced in Italy and other European countries between the 1580s and the middle of the following century. In contrast, until recently, very little was known about him. In the following account, I will briefly outline the state of Lorenzino studies as it was evolving up to the time that I took up my own research.

One of the most pressing issues from the beginning has been to determine if Lorenzino could be identified with the equally famous and similarly enigmatic "Knight of the Lute," mentioned in a few well-known sources and the subject of a number of musical attributions. This identification was first tentatively suggested by Pietro Canal in 1879. He...

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1 In the text of this article, numbers, labels and acronyms have been used in reference to documents and literary texts, musical sources and works, and bibliographic citations. They are defined in Sections I (II.a and II.b), III (III.b: musical sources, III.c: works) and in the Bibliography. Section III, devoted to the musical sources, will appear in a subsequent issue of this Journal.

2 Until the last few decades most of what was known about Lorenzino's biography was brought to light by three musicological pioneers who sifted through the archives of Mantua, Ferrara and Parma in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in search of documents relating to the musical life of those cities: Pietro Canal, Luigi Francesco Valdrighi and Nestore Pelicelli (CANAL 1879, VALDRIGHI 1883, PELICELLI 1932). According to Antonio Bertolotti, Canal based his work "on documents furnished by Mr. Ferrato, archivist in Mantua" (BERTOLOTTI 1890: 3). Unfortunately, these scholars almost never indicated with precision details about the sources they cited, thus making it difficult to verify their findings.

3 The present article is an expansion of my PhD dissertation at the University of Pavia (CARLONE 2005). While working on my dissertation, I publicized various aspects of my research in papers delivered at seminars and conferences: University of Pavia, Musicology Faculty (Cremona), November 14, 2002; Central Renaissance Conference, University of Kansas, Lawrence, September 19-20, 2003; Renaissance Society Annual Meeting, New York, April 1-3, 2004; Lute Society of America Lute Festival 2004, Cleveland, June 27–July 2, 2004. A text based on these papers (CARLONE 2003) was published on the Internet, "Lorenzino and the Knight of the Lute: A Mystery Unveiled" (http://www.musico.it/Mariagrazia_Carlone/Lorenzino and the Knight.htm). Following the publication of this text and of my dissertation in 2005, some of my research was re-examined and put into question by Marco Pesci (PESCI 2003 [2004] and PESCI 2005 [2007]). I respond to his criticism in the course of the present article.

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based it on textual evidence in the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of Jean Baptiste Besard, a vast anthology of lute music published in Cologne in 1603 and the largest surviving source of Lorenzino’s music. Lorenzino’s name appears in a prominent position throughout the work and on the title page, which can be translated roughly as: *Harmonic Treasure of the divine Lorenzino of Rome, as well as [of other] most valid musicians who in this century excel in various parts of the world, containing the choicest compositions for lute of every kind.*

In the preface to his *Thesaurus*, Besard described “this Divine author Lorenzino of Rome” (*hic Divinus ille artifex Laurencinus Romanus*) as his “former teacher” (*instructor quondam meus*). Moreover, the last seven pages of the *Thesaurus* contain a treatise on lute playing, *De modo in testudine studendi libellus*, that reveals, according to Besard, the teachings of Lorenzino: “Here you have, collected into a number of rules that follow, that which I have been able to observe from Lorenzino and others here and there, and finally from practice.” When Besard published two other lute anthologies in Augsburg in 1617 (*Novus Partus* and *Isagoge in Artem testudinariam*), he again inserted the lute treatise: in the first it is still in Latin but slightly amplified and endowed with a new title; in the second, it is issued in German translation. In both of these books Besard claims to have traveled in Italy.

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4 Canal 1879: 45. Canal asks, “could this *Lorenzino del liuto* [...] be the same as the one mentioned by Pietro della Valle [...] named *Cavaliere del liuto*?” But after having posed the thorny question, he sidesteps the issue: “But let us leave this aside and come to those few items [about Lorenzino] that are offered by the Mantuan archives.” He then cites, as the only bibliographical references known to him, WALTHER 1732 and MENDEL-REISSMANN 1870-1879. Since neither of these authors discusses a possible identification of Lorenzino with the *Cavaliere del Liuto*, it would seem that the hypothesis originates with Canal. In fact, he observes that Walther and Mendel based themselves exclusively on the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of Jean Baptiste Besard.

5 *Thesaurus Harmonicus divini Laurencini Romanici, nec non posteaestissimorum musicorum, qui hoc seculo in diversis orbis partibus excellunt, selectissima omnis generis canus in testudine modulamina continentis* (Section III.b: BESARD 1, frontispiece).

6 “Ex Laurencini, & aliorum passim observatione, ac ipso tandem usu annotare potui, sequentibus aliquot regulis comprehensum etiam sic habes.”

7 The new Latin title reads: *Ad artem testudinis, brevi citraque magnum fastidium capescendam, brevis et methodica instituit.* The treatise enjoyed considerable success. Besides its appearance in the three books published by Besard, it appeared in another printed work and two manuscripts, all non-Italian sources. It was translated into English, perhaps by the celebrated lutenist John Dowland, with the title “Necessary observations belonging to the lute, and lute playing,” published by Dowland’s son Robert in *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, London, 1610. It appeared in Latin in the manuscript of Besard’s friend Philipp Hainhoffer (Section III.b: WOLFENBÜTTEL). Finally, it appeared in another German translation in a manuscript of around 1630 (Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen National Museums, Ms. 3148/M.260). As Dinko Fabris comments (FABRIS 1997: 36-37), it would have been interesting to compare the instructions transmitted by Besard with the *Instructio tradens eiusmodi Tabellatam intelligentiam, quod tactum Testudinis* which, together with a composition by the “Cavalliero maestro di Roma,” was included in the now lost manuscript of Sorau (Section III.b: ZARY).
THESAURVS HARMONICVS
DIVINI
LAVRENCINI
ROMANI, NEC NON PRAE-
STANTISSIMORVM MUSICORVM,
QVI HOC SECVLIO IN DIVERSIS ORBS
PARTIBVS EXCELVNT, SELECTISSIMA
OMNIS GENERIS CANTVS IN TESTY-
DINE MODVLANNA CONTINENS.

NOVVM PLANEX, ET LONGE EXCELLEN S O P P S, IN GRATIAM LI-
HERalis huius facultatis excultorum, quanta si fieri potuit diligentia, methodo, & saepe spiri-
iporum Authorum scriptis (quorum nomina proxima praestatione paucius nec consuetur) in
hoc volume conscllum, & descensibus (quorum qui, hic peculiar me-
modi genus complectitur) dissum, Per
JOANNEM BAPTISTAM BESARDVM VESONTINVM, ARTIVM
liberalium excultorem, & Muficis peritiissimum.

Additus est Operis extremnitati de medio in teUulino fludenti libellus, in gratiam
liberorum ab eodem Authoris

Qui Sappho Musis profet, & astrum astra
Eruptit, & humana ad radum bellet.

COLONIÆ AGrippinæ,
Execlebat Gerardus Greovenbruch, sumptibus Authoris
Aucto redemptionis M. DCCXII.

Figure 1 – J.B. Besard, Thesaurus Harmonicus, frontispiece
Thus it would seem that Besard, presumably during his trip to Italy, studied with the great Lorenzino in person.

We do know that Besard was indeed in Italy for an unspecified period between 1587 and 1592, although it has not been possible to ascertain if he actually took lessons from the Roman lutenist during that period. His claim could be false, accountable to a desire to augment his prestige. Besard, in fact, pursued a career as lute instructor to young German noblemen and aspired to a post at one of the German courts. But a confirmation, albeit an indirect one, of his claim to have personally studied with Lorenzino can be inferred from the great quantity of music by Lorenzino published by Besard in his Thesaurus, much of which is found only in this source. Besard might have obtained these pieces through direct contact with the maestro, although one cannot exclude that he may have procured them through a different route.

If it could be established that Besard did know Lorenzino personally, then the information he transmits would acquire greater credibility, particularly the claim stated in one of the poems included at the beginning of the Thesaurus Harmonicus, that Lorenzino was a knight (“... qui propter insignem testudinis experientiam eques Auratus Romae fieri promeruit”), which is the basis for Canal’s suggestion that Lorenzino was the Knight of the Lute. Canal’s hypothesis is reinforced by evidence of musical attribution in other sources. Two manuscripts, one of which preceded Besard’s Thesaurus, contain works that describe Lorenzino as a knight: a fantasy by “M[esser?] Lorenzino Romanese [...] Kowalis [=Knight] Lorentio” and a “Praeambulum equitis aur[ati] Laurencini civis Romani.” Furthermore, there are four instances in which a work attributed to Lorenzino in one source is ascribed to the Knight in another. Nevertheless, there is evidence that contradicts the claim, even within Thesaurus Harmonicus itself. In the book’s preface there is a list of composers whose works are contained in the volume. “Laurencinus Romanus” and “Eques Romanus” (that is, “Roman Knight”) are listed separately, and Besard ascribes six musical works to the Roman Knight. Why should he have done this if we are dealing with a single

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10 See Section I.a.1.
11 The first manuscript (Section III.b: DONAUESCHINGEN) was presumably compiled between circa 1580 and 1595; the second (Section III.b: WOLFENBÜTTEL) was produced for Philipp Hainhofer around 1603-1604.
12 See Section III.c: 6, 81, 82, 83.
13 “Nomina Authorum qui passim in hoc volumine occurrant.”
musician? A similar procedure occurs in four other musical sources, which include separate music by both Lorenzino and the Knight.\textsuperscript{14}

Another problem concerns Lorenzino’s provenance. As has already been mentioned, he was identified by Besard as a “citizen of Rome.” The connection with Rome is corroborated by five other sources.\textsuperscript{15} This fact would seem to negate the possibility of identifying the celebrated lutenist with a certain “Lorenzino Bolognese” cited in two letters written in 1585 and 1586 (reported by Pietro Canal), according to one of which he had been a student of the famous lutenist Fabrizio Dentice in Parma. These documents defined Lorenzino Bolognese simply as a “musician,” singer and viol player, and not as a lutenist. In fact, Canal did not make the identification between the Roman Lorenzino and “Lorenzino Bolognese,” nor was this suggestion ever taken into consideration until recently.\textsuperscript{16} To add to the confusion, there were other lutenists named Lorenzino or Lorenzo in this period.\textsuperscript{17} A certain “Lorenzo del Leuto detto Perla,” possibly related to Ortensio Perla, lived in Padua. The lutenist and composer Lorenzo Allegri (1567-1648) was also called “Lorenzino del liuto,” and yet another lutenist named Lorenzino is documented in Rome in the 1620s.\textsuperscript{18}

In the attempt to unravel this jumble of names and circumstances and lacking more solid evidence, scholars have advanced various more-or-less ingenious hypotheses. For example, Diana Poulton informally suggested that Lorenzino might have been known by his name until receiving the order of knighthood, after which he became the “Knight of the Lute.”\textsuperscript{19} In 1987 Dinko Fabris proposed the identification of “Lorenzino Bolognese” with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} See Section III.b: WOLFENBÜTTEL (which contains seven compositions by Lorenzino, five by “Eques Romanus” and one, as mentioned above, by “Eques Aur[atus] Laurencinus cives Romanus”); Section III.b: CAMBRIDGE 1 (with one each by Lorenzino and Eques Romanus); Section III.b: CAMBRIDGE 2 (two each by Lorenzino and the “Cavallieri di Liuto”); Section III.b: DOWLAND (one each by Lorenzino and the “KNIGHT of the Lute”).

\item \textsuperscript{15} These are the already cited manuscripts in Wolfenbüttel and Donaueschingen, the autograph manuscript of Joachim Van den Hove (Section III.b: BERLIN 1) and the printed books of Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, Testudo Gallo Germanica (Nürnberg, 1615) and Robert Dowland (Varieties . . . cit.).

\item \textsuperscript{16} For example, Robert Eitner (EITNER 1900-1904: 76, 221 and 221) composed two distinct entries for “Lorenzini dal liuto” and for “Lorenzino bolognese,” and, in addition, a third entry for “Laurencino Romanus” (identical to the entry for “Lorenzini dal liuto” except that it refers to a possible equation with “Eques Romano”).

\item \textsuperscript{17} Not to mention other periods: for instance, in the 1470s the Duke of Milan requested the services of a certain “Lorenzino sonatore de Lauto” who lived near Pavia (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Autografi, busta 94. Pavia, January 15, 1471).

\item \textsuperscript{18} See ROBINSON 2000: 6, which refers to an unpublished work-in-progress by Peter Király, KIRK- ENDALE 1993: 299–303, WAŻBINSKI 1994 (I thank Dinko Fabris for this citation), and TRINCHERI CAMIZ 1988.

\item \textsuperscript{19} Cited by Poulton’s student, Paul Beier, in BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996, and previously by a student of Beier (PELÁ 1992: 8).
\end{itemize}
Besard's "Laurencinus Romanus;" Paul Beier, while contemplating the fact that there may have been diverse Lorenzos and Knights of the Lute, suggested that Lorenzino, born in Bologna, may have moved to Rome and become associated with that city, not unlike the "Roman" madrigalist Luca Marenzio, who was actually born in Coccaglio near Brescia.

In the 1980s and 1990s, new information finally came to light through archival research into the musical activities of various Italian courts and musical patrons. An important fact was discovered independently and nearly simultaneously by John W. Hill (1987), James Chater (1988) and Patrizio Barbieri (1989): the place and date of death of the Knight of the Lute, indicated as November 23, 1608, at the Roman house (Palazzo della Cancelleria) of Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto. Then, in 1989, Annunziato Pugliese came across a certain "Lorenzino Traetti dal liuto" employed in the musical chapel of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. Documents brought to light by Vera Vita Spagnuolo in 1994, in a systematic research of Roman archives for the year 1590, revealed that a "Lorenzino del liuto," whose last name was Tracetti, or Traiecti, son of one Francesco "gallus belgicus," died in Rome in 1590. And in a happy awakening of interest for this musician whose works finally began to enter into the repertoire of modern performers, the lutenist Carlo Stringhi announced on an internet lute forum in 1998 that he had found a source of 1612 in which the "knight of the lute of the Roman court" was named Vincenzo Pinti.

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21 See BEIER 1996. Beier further developed the question in an article that was slated to appear in the Journal of the Lute Society of America: "The most famous and Divine Laurencini of Rome: His role in the development of Italian Lute Music." Shortly before the article was to be published, the Hungarian musicologist Peter Király informed Beier of some important documents regarding Lorenzino in Italian sources, and the two decided to integrate the new information into Beier's original article, putting off the publication. For various reasons, the result of this collaboration (BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996) was never published. However, the authors have graciously allowed me to read their work and cite the documents brought to light by Király.
22 HILL 1997: 24 (this information was already known to John W. Hill in 1987 when he communicated it to Dinko Fabris: see FABRIS 1987: 23, fn. 55; CHATER 1988: 195; BARBIERI 1989: 166.
23 See PUGLIESE 1993.
24 See VITA SPAGNUOLO 1994. Marco Pesci was the first to gather the discoveries of Pugliese and Vita Spagnuolo into a study dedicated specifically to Lorenzino (PESCI 1997).
25 See CRAWFORD 1979. The first recording entirely dedicated to Lorenzino/Cavaliere del Liuto was recorded in 1994 by Paul Beier (Stradivarius STR 33447, published 1996), who also wrote the booklet (BEIER 1996).
26 See Section II.b: Boccalini 1612. Stringhi communicated this important discovery, made in the course of his "erratic reading," on the internet lute forum LIUTO-IT (http://it.groups.yahoo.com/group/Liuto_it), on September 25, 1998. Stringhi wondered if his discovery might indicate that there were a "plurality of knights of the lute that populated our peninsula," in an open reference to the program notes to Paul Beier's CD (BEIER 1996). Consequently, in the most recent edition of The New
This new information made a general reconsideration of the entire matter indispensable, as there were still many unanswered questions. While it was now evident that at least two celebrated lutenists coexisted in Rome—Lorenzino Tracetti, who died in 1590, and Vincenzo Pinti, who was called “Knight of the Lute” in 1612—we could not affirm with certainty that Pinti was the name of the knight who died in Montalto’s palace in 1608, nor could we exclude the possibility that Lorenzino was also a knight. The question as to a possible identification between Lorenzino “Romano” and Lorenzino “Bolognese” remained unanswered, and, last but not least, the problem of the musical attributions was not resolved.

The present article will present a wealth of new historical information about Lorenzino Tracetti, Vincenzo Pinti, Lorenzino Bolognese and others. Much of this new material is the result of very recent work by scholars who are not specifically interested in Lorenzino _per se_. For example, in 2006 Seishiro Niwa published a study on the musical chapel of Duke Ottavio Farnese,27 and more recently Matthew Vester investigated the figure of Jacques de Savoy, whom I had recognized as the patron of “Lorenzino Bolognese.”28 In my own studies, I have re-examined the original documents cited in previous research. In doing so, not only have I found numerous inaccuracies or lacunae in the published citations and transcriptions, but very often relevant new material has turned up by examining the archival contexts and following leads in the paper trail. Every person or circumstance cited in these sources was made the object of further research, which in turn brought out new threads to investigate and new documents to add to the growing list of original sources. Given the scarcity of information specifically about Lorenzino and the Knight of the Lute, it seemed useful to attempt to identify the largest number possible of people who may have been in contact with them, in particular their patrons.29

_Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians_, under “Lorenzino” (FABRIS 2001), Dinko Fabris noted that “other ‘Cavalieri del liuto’ were active in Rome after 1608.” The same conclusion was made by Douglas A. Smith in the chapter concerning Lorenzino in his recent book on the history of the lute, Smith 2002: 151-52.

27 NIWA 2006. I wish to thank Dr. Seishiro Niwa for kindly sharing his information with me in January and February of 2006 and for his discussion of my own ideas regarding the possible presence of the lutenist Lorenzino in Parma. Immediately following the publication of Niwa’s research, Marco Pesci published an article (PESCI 2005 [2007]) reiterating the new information about musicians named Lorenzo and Lorenzino in Parma that Dr. Niwa had put forward in his article.

28 Thanks are due to Dr. Matthew A. Vester, with whom I had a useful correspondence during the summer of 2006. His research has just been published in VESTER 2008.

29 This was not an easy task, since it is usual in old texts to name people by title or position rather than by their first and last names, and these labels could, of course, designate different people at different times. Moreover, title or position is usually indicated in abbreviated form or ambiguously, and
The new information presented here can be summarized in the following points:

• The “knight of the lute” active in the service of Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Montalto, who died in 1608 in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, was, in fact, Vincenzo Pinti.

• Since at least 1564, Pinti belonged to the Portuguese order of the Knights of Christ in Lusitania. This order did not include the title of Golden Knight (“Eques Auratus”).

• Thus the enigma of two distinct lutenist “knights” in Rome in the same period has been resolved: the first was the Knight of Christ, Vincenzo Pinti, and the second was the Golden Knight, Lorenzino Tracetti, possibly of the Angelic order.

• Significant differences between the biographies and the personalities of Pinti and Tracetti have been delineated. The former was probably celibate and very likely spent his entire life in the peaceful shade of the Roman curia, motivated by his sense of religious modesty to hide his real name in connection with his musical activities, and to circulate his compositions only with great reluctance. If he were of the nobility (something which has yet to be ascertained), this would have been yet another reason for him to hide behind a nickname. The latter, Lorenzino Tracetti, was much attached to his wife, whom he married at a young age. He was an active promoter of his own career, in search of prestigious posts at some of the most important European courts, and was sometimes unfaithful to his patrons. Proud of his students, he owed to one of them in particular, Jean Baptiste Besard, the publication of many of his compositions.30

• Pinti was appreciated as a singer of religious music, perhaps madrigali spirituali, by Federico Borromeo and by people who came “from afar” to hear him, among whom was possibly Giovenale Ancina.

• There are traces of a “soprano” by the name of Lorenzo in the chapel of San Lorenzo in Damaso, at which Lorenzino’s father was a singer in the choir.

• The family of Lorenzino might have come to Italy from Belgium through the protection of Ottavio Farnese, whose wife, Margaret of Hapsburg,

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30 This is, of course, the already cited Thesaurus Harmonicus, published in 1603 at Cologne. It is quite possible that other students of Lorenzino also contributed to the divulgation of Lorenzino’s works; see for example Section III.b, ROMA.
was Regent of Netherlands; the existence of one “Flemish” Lorenzino at the Farnese court in those years is unveiled and the possibility of identifying him with Lorenzino Tracetti is discussed and rejected.

- The life and personality of Lorenzino “Bolognese” is explored; his surname is shown to have been Lodi, thus eliminating the possibility of identifying him with Lorenzino Tracetti; a side inquiry regarding this musician’s teacher, Orazio Bassani “della Viola,” leads to a better knowledge of Orazio’s whereabouts in the early 1570s, while another vein of inquiry brings into view the charming figure of Jacques de Savoy and his son, Henri, who also played the lute.

Finally, there is the question of the music itself: across the spectrum of attributions to Lorenzinos and Knights of the Lute in the many manuscripts and printed books containing their music, how can we untangle the true identities lurking behind each attribution? Can we say categorically that Besard’s “Laurencinus” and his “Eques Romanus” were separate individuals, and identify them conclusively with the characters in the present study? Unfortunately, while biographical research such as this can help to delineate the various personalities involved and define the confines of inquiry, it cannot offer, in the present case, definitive answers to these questions (which are discussed in more detail in Section III.a). Perhaps a thorough analytical study of the nearly one hundred surviving tablatures will one day help to resolve some of the mystery.31

I. Biographies

I.a. Lorenzino Tracetti
I.a.1 Eques Auratus

Following custom, Jean Baptiste Besard included a series of laudatory poems at the beginning of his prestigious Thesaurus Harmonicus. The first and fourth were dedicated to Lorenzino; the second to Lorenzino and Diomede; the third to Diomede; and another seven were dedicated to Besard himself. The first poem, written by “Elias Assaeus Londinensis Anglus,” carries the title:

31 To facilitate this, a complete, critical edition (with transcription in modern notation) of all the surviving pieces attributed to Lorenzino and/or the Knight of the Lute is being prepared by the author.
AD DOMINVM LAVRENCINVM CIVEM ROMANVM,
quipropertinjegmestudinisexperiemntequies Auratus
Roma fietispromeruit.

Aureus, an Laurus (Laurenti) aut aurea Laurus,
Seu fis laura dapis, seu super aura chori:
Seu flos Aureor certi rore rubentis,
Seu rota, seu nullo laudamur ruta gelu,
Torus es Angelicus: nihil humanum esse videris:
Seu facem spectes, mentis an hic aciem,
Non sicvox hominum non aut modulamina mentes
Terrenz hanc melcent par facis ipse Diis,
Quid Patronus tii prae ejus, quod eis.
Et nihil est praet, qui putat esse aliquid,
Quis gerere hanc laurum Dux Laurentine studet,
Lauram pro lauro crassis, inerqui, geret.
Et veluti arceius fine vito sanguine corpus,
Are cent studia laurea fuit.

ELIAS ASSAEVS Londinensis Anglia.

ALIVD CARMEN EIVSDEM DE LAUREN.
CINO ET DIOMEDES.

CERTARUNT quondam Laurentius & Diomedes,
Extimium patris haren melcent sui.
Non chimici lapidis pretio contentio maior,
Quis Chelis Angelice Laurea fera gerat.
Sic erat Aiace quondam, & certario Vulvis:
Magnus venterque sui, maior at Aesacidae.
Quid hujus judicium poscent Iouis: arbor aequus
Huic focas Lauras, huic Diadema dedit.
Cur lauros veluti certi sunt signa trophaei,
Sic LAVRENCINVS visior onus sui erat.
Cur Diadema dedit regale vti signat honorem,
Proximus huic Lauro Rex Diomedeis erat.
Quam belle huic bello posuit concordia finem,
Inuiicit eft Laurus, fit Diadema potens.

PRO DIOMEDE INCERTI AUTHORIS.

Dum Diadema genis Diomedis Iupiter aperat,
Et Laurentiin Laurea fera comis,
Difpare promeritos insigne laude triumphos
Inuicit, & genij fertilloris opes.
Post debellatas dantor Diademata gentes.
Post viatius auro texta corona duces.
Clarus Alexander Diademate, clarus & auro
Enuit, domiti chm caput orbis erat.
Scilicet emeriti sunt hinc insigne trophaei,
Et super Inuici eft numeri milite.
Lauro cinge duces & primo rege secundos,
Nobilius regis des Diadema decus.

IN DIVINA LAVRENCINI Modulamina.

VT Genica Odysius pulsa reflutudine vares
Reddedit aronitos afera perente Deos;
MIArandum Alsraeli acriui & arte puellas,
PAmosum, decus sama per afera volat:
SOLus Trejcidium retulit refludine vatem
LAvri qui Diuum numine nomen habet.

IOANNES A SIGEN.

Figure 2 – J.B Besard, Thesaurus Harmonicus, poems dedicated to Lorenzino
The fact that a musician, solely by reason of his musical excellence, was made a knight, does not conflict with the customs of an age in which belonging to one of the many orders of knighthood guaranteed not only unquestioned prestige, but considerable economic benefits as well. While the legal act of Lorenzino's nomination to knighthood has not been located so far, it is nevertheless revealing to look at the complex world of the orders of knighthood in the mid-16th century so as to place Lorenzino within it.\textsuperscript{32} In this period there existed numerous orders of knighthood, some of which conferred the title of "eques auratus" (i.e., "golden knight") and could even, under certain circumstances, be passed from father to son. As Francesco Sansovino explained in 1566, "Every supreme Prince can create Knights;"\textsuperscript{33} naturally, "the more worthy the Prince, the greater the Knight created by him, compared to one made by a Prince of lesser stature, because some Princes bestow authority to the Knight to create Knights from doctors or notaries."\textsuperscript{34} Thus, doctors and notaries could be created knights by other knights of a "higher stature." Sansovino continues:

Knights are created by the Emperor, all crowned heads and similarly Dukes. From this it follows that the Prince of Venice, as one who has the title of Duke, can create Knights. Likewise, the Pope can make Knights of valor, as can all the Princes, and it is said that the first [Pope] that put into practice this authority was Paul III of the Farnese family [ . . . ] and after him all the other Popes did the same. The Pope can also create another kind of Knight, but for payment.

\textsuperscript{32} Among the numerous sources on knighthood, the following are particularly useful: SANSOVINO 1566; BONANNI 1711; ANGELI 1841; MORONI 1841; ZEININGER 1935; ZEININGER 1939; BASCAPÈ 1972.

\textsuperscript{33} SANSOVINO 1566: 8: "Ogni Principe supremo può creare cavalieri." The term "principe" in the 16th century meant not only first-born sons of kings and dukes, but in general any kind of great lord ("gran signore"): See ROMEI 1585: 182.

\textsuperscript{34} SANSOVINO 1566, loc. cit.: "quanto il Principe è più degno, tanto più il Cavaliere creato da lui è maggiore, che non è quell'altro, ch'è fatto da un Principe di minor portata, perché tal'uno d'essi dà autorità al Cavaliere di creare Cavaliere dottori, o notari." See also MORONI 1841: vol. LXVII: 239-40: "Alcuni collegi di dottori godevano pur essi il titolo di conti palatini e cavalieri aureati, e fra questi quelli di Milano e di Cremona" ("Some colleges of doctors also enjoyed the title of Palatine Count and Golden Knight, among them those of Milan and Cremona").
These take the name from the Pope who made them knights, so that there are Knights of Saint Peter, of Saint Paul, Knights of the Lily, Julius Knights, Pious Knights, of Loreto and so forth. But the amazing thing is this, that the Turk is also wont to make Knights, and I can affirm this as a witness, as one who has seen the privilege bestowed upon Gentile Bellini, excellent painter of his times, by Selim, father of the current Sultan, who invited him to Constantinople to paint some of his rooms. And besides the privilege of knighthood, he gave him a beautiful necklace, like the emperors do.  

Here Sansovino doubtfully wonders whether the knighthood of Bellini, conferred by the Sultan ("il Turco") was valid, because knights should, in theory, defend Christianity. He continues,

Nowadays Princes give Knights golden or gilded spurs. Stirred by that gold, Filelfo, an erudite man of his time, was the first to call the knights "golden" [...] they also give a necklace with a medallion attached containing the effigy of the Prince that bestowed it.

Knights, therefore, were not only numerous and of different ranks and types, they were also sometimes nominated "for valor" and at other times "for payment." In the Papal court, in fact, knighthood was considered a marketable entity, and as such—similar to other papal offices—it was sold for considerable amounts of money. In exchange for the initial investment, one could count on a proportional annual dividend based on the assets of

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35 SANSOVINO 1566, loc. cit.: “Crea Cavalieri l’Imperatore, tutte le teste coronate, & i Duchi simili mente. Di qui è, ch’il Principe di Venetia, come quello che ha titolo di Duca, può creare Cavalieri. Il Papa parimente fa Cavalieri per dignità, si come anco tutti Principi & si dice ch’il primo che mettesse in uso quast’autorità fu Paolo Terzo della famiglia Farnese […] & dopo di lui tutti gli altri Pontefici hanno fatto il medesimo. Crea parimente [il papa] un’altra sorte di Cavalieri, ma per denari, i quali prendono il nome da quel Pontefice, dal quale essi son fatti, per ciò che vi sono i Cavalieri di San Pietro, di San Paolo, Cavalieri del Giglio, Cavalieri Iulij, Cavalieri Pij, Lauretani, e simili. Ma notabil cosa è questa, che il Turco suole anco egli creare Cavalieri, et io come testimone lo affermo, come quello che ho veduto un privilegio fatto a Gentil Bellino pittrice eccellente de suoi tempi, da Selim padre del predente Solimano, il quale lo haveva chiamato a Costantinopoli per dipingere alcune sue sale. Et oltre al privilegio della Cavalleria, gli donò una bellissima collana, come fanno gli Imperatori.”

36 SANSOVINO 1566: 8v, 10: “donano oggi i Principi al Cavaliero, spioni d’oro, o dorati, dal quale oro mosso il Filelfo dotto huomo dell’età sua, fu il primo che chiamasse i cavalieri, aureati. […] [dai Principi viene] anche donata una collana da cui pende una medaglia con l’effigie del Principe che la dona.” Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), poet, was created knight in 1453.

37 On this complex subject, see for example MORONI 1841 passim, in particular vol. VII: 185 and following; vol. LXXXVII: 70-102 (on the marketable offices), and vol. LXVIII: 52-53, concerning “Pious Knights” who had to pay 267,000 scudi in exchange for an annual pension of 34,000 scudi. From 1560 there were 525 Pious Knights, 401 Knights of Saint Peter, 200 Knights of Saint Paul, 260 Knights of Loreto and 350 Knights of the Lily; these people, with their initial investments, provided a considerable income to the papal treasury.
the order. Princes could also make knights of people who were “unworthy, abject, and of little consideration,” because “it is by their request, or as a ceremonial gesture.” Furthermore, entire categories of people automatically became knights: for example, all of the courtiers of the pope, from the steward to the sacristan to the “dapiferi,” that is those who, during the conclave, brought refreshments to the cardinals. Many of these, in their turn, had the right to nominate a certain number of other knights.

Sansovino illustrated the complex hierarchy of knights as follows:

a) “Knights of the Ecclesiastical Militia”: Knights of Jerusalem (or of Rhodes, “now called Maltese”), Knights Templar, Teutonic Knights, those of Saint James of the Sword, of Calatrava, of Alcantara, of Saint Mary of the Redemption, of Montesio, of the Sepulchre, of Saint Mary Mother of God, of Christ, of Saint Lazarus, “and recently the Knights of Saint Stephen, founded and ordained by the Duke of Florence.” These knights were made to submit to religious observance, including the vow of chastity (which did not exclude marriage, but excluded adultery), and were divided into three categories: military, priests and servants (who were divided into knights of arms and offices, or of station);

b) “Knights of Orders, that is, of the Necklace:” knights “of the Round Table, of the English Garter, of the Star, of the Annunziata of Savoy, of the Ribbon, of the Fleece of Burgundy, of Saint Michael of the King of France”: only princes or select personages nominated by them could aspire to one of these titles;

c) Lastly, all of the others, “which we call of the spur, created by Princes:” they were those whom Filelfo defined golden knights (“cavalieri aureati”) and the “golden spur” was the “sign of their worthiness [...] they similarly wear a necklace like Princes, as a simple gift of the person who ordained them, and not as a badge of some order of knighthood [...] the necklace is plain like all the others and they wear it on the neck and do not adorn the arms and emblems with it as Princes do.” Some of them were nobles and had the title of Count, and as such could “create Notaries, Doctors, legitimize bastards and had other similar privileges,” and could even “create (as is done by

37 SANSOVINO 1566, loc. cit.: “... indegni, abbietti, & di poca consideratione,” “richiesti da loro, o mossi per cerimonia.”
38 SANSOVINO 1566: 11 v. and 133 v.-139 v. In the second description, Sansovino inverts the order of importance of the first two types (which are here indicated “a” and “b”).
Princes) other Knights.” The knights “of the spur” were not necessarily warriors who defended Christianity by force of arms, but were obliged to live “honorably” and “nobly,” “leaving all lowliness and all vileness.” Unfortunately, however,

...this last kind of Knight [...] has lost, for the most part, its reputation [...] And one has little or no esteem for it in the courts of Princes and Lords [...] we can call them common Knights, because in every city, in every time, and by every Prince, they are created from persons of every quality and condition, and often from people of no virtue whatsoever, unworthy of the honor, as we have said. 40

It would seem that a simple musician who was not born into the nobility could only aspire to become a knight “of the spur,” and thus a “golden knight.” Regardless of whether a knight’s title was esteemed at court, it was a very desirable distinction. Nevertheless, we know of several musicians who received titles of knighthood that belonged to the first two classes listed above. For example, Orazio Michi dell’Arpa and Fabio Buonsignori de Grandi were knights of Saint Stephen, Sebastián Raval was a Knight of Malta, and Cesare Marotta was given the Cross of Savoy.41 Lorenzino was a Golden Knight, thus a knight of the spur. We do not know to which order he belonged, but maybe a poem contained in Thesaurus Harmonicus gives us a clue. Addressing the divine “Laurencinus,” after having punned on his name and its assonance with “lauro” (laurel) and “Aura” (air), the author declares:

Totus es Angelicus: nihil humanum esse videris:  
Seu faciem specto, mentis an hic aciem,  
Non sic vox hominum sonat, aut modulamina mentes  
Terrenae haec mulcent, par facis ipse Dijs.

(You are completely angelic: you show nothing human:  
Both in your appearance and in the acumen of your mind.

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40 SANSOVINO 1566: 138 v- 139 v. The over-abundance of knights reduced the value of their title; for example, as reported by CASTELNAU 1621: Book I chap. VI: 39-40, the necklace of St. Michael was by now called the “necklace of all animals” (“collier à toutes bêtes”). Obviously this did not happen for the more prestigious orders, such as that of the Golden Fleece, which was awarded only to princes. 41 See CHATER 1987: 189-93, NESS 1988: 9, HILL 1997: 25. Also numerous painters and sculptors were awarded knighthoods, such as Gentile Bellini, Giuseppe Cesari (called “cavalier d’Arpino”), Domenico Fontana, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Peter Paul Rubens (see ANGELI 1826: 132, ORBAAN 1910: 289-90, CHATER 1987: 193, FLETCHER 1998: 149).
The voice of men does not sound like this, nor do terrestrial minds
Produce these modulations; you are the equal of the Gods.)

In the next poem, the same author speaks of a competition between Diomede and Lorenzino, who, playing on “angelic lutes,” wear “laurel wreaths.” Could these possibly be veiled references to the order of Angelic Knights? According to Filippo Bonanni, the Angelic order of Constantine was “Aureato” (golden), consisted of diverse grades (from the most elevated Gran Maestro to the humble “Squire and servant”), and its members could wear a necklace with a golden cross, adorned with red enamel bearing the image of Saint George killing the dragon.

Ia.2 Trejicium vatem

The fourth poem found at the beginning of Thesaurus Harmonicus (“On the Divine Modulations of Lorenzino”) also contains a small but suggestive detail: it defines Lorenzino as “Trejicium [...] vatem,” that is, “Thracian bard.” This is an explicit reference to Orpheus, to whom the divine lutenist is likened following a well-established tradition of comparing great lute virtuosi to the mythical musician (we think, for example, of Pietro Bono, who surpassed Orpheus—“Orpheum superans”—according to the inscription placed on the commemorative medal of him coined by Giovanni Boldù). It is tempting to speculate that the poet may have played with the assonance between the term “trejicium” (Thracian) and the last name

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42 “Certarunt quondam Laurentius, & Diomedes, / Eximium patriae lumen uterque suae. / Non chimici lapidis pretio contentio maior, / Quis Chelis Angelicae Laurea serta gerat. / Sic erat Aiicis quondam, & certario Ulysis: / Magnus uterque fuit, major at Acides. / Quid sit Iudicium poscunt Iovis: arbitrer aequus / Huic sacras Lauros, huic Diadema dedit. / Cur lauros? Velius certi sunt signa trophaei, / Sic LAURENCINUS victor onustus erit. / Cur Diadema dedit? Regalem ut signat honorem, / Proximo huic Lauro Rex Diomedes erit. / Quam belle huic bello posuit concordia finem, / Invicta est laurus, fit Diadema potens.”

43 Despite the legend that the Imperial Order of the Angelic Golden Knighthood had been created by the Roman emperor Constantine, the oldest version of its statute comes from the 16th century; the first known printed version was published in Venice in 1573. The order was “under the protection” of the warrior Saint George; among the first Grand Masters of the order were members of a family of condottieri named Angeli Flavii (thus the name “Angelik Knights”). In 1585 Pope Sixtus IV bestowed privileges of ecclesiastical benefits on its members. See SEWARD 1986.

44 BONANNI 1711: cap. XXIV.

45 Ioannes a Sigen, “IN DIVINA LAURENCINI MODULAMINA. UT Getica Odysius pulsa testudine vates / REDdedit attonitos astra petente Deus / Mirandum Ascraeis ascivit & arte puellis, / FA-mosumque decus fama per astra volat: / SOLus Trejicium retulit testudine vatem / LAuri qui Divum numine nomen habet.”

46 See HILL 1930: I n. 418 p. 110 / II tab. 79. The medal was coined in 1457.
of the musician, which today we know to be “Traiecti,” or “Tracetti.” It is probable that Lorenzino’s last name refers to the place of origin of the family. Since his father Francesco is defined “gallus belgicus” in the documents, we might, for example, think of a city in present day Netherlands such as Maastricht, whose Latin name was “Trajectum ad Mosam.”

In light of the recent discovery of Lorenzino’s last name and of his father’s name, apart from the Franco-Belgian provenance of the family, it is now possible to reconsider some of the well-known evidence about Lorenzino, whose significance has never been fully understood. To start with, it is evident that Lorenzino’s father, Francesco Tracetti, was a musician. In fact, he is cited as a singer of the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome during the period of 1564 to 1569. It is not known if he also played the lute, nor if he was personally responsible for the education of his children. In the same chapel, from April 1559 to November 1564 (shortly before the period in which Francesco Tracetti is documented to have been there), a “Lorenzo soprano” is found: a “putto,” or child. It is possible that this refers to our Lorenzino. If the termination of service for a boy soprano corresponds to the changing of his voice, we might presume a birth date for this child of around 1550-52. This is the same date of birth for Lorenzino that can be deduced from other documents that refer to him with certainty.

47 See VITA SPAGNUOLO 1994 and, in this article, Section II.a, 23-29. This group of documents will be further discussed below.

48 This information was kindly supplied to me by the Belgian scholar Jeanine de Landtsheer (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven). Marco Pesci (PESCI 1997: 237, fn. 13) suggests the cities of Utrecht and Thorn. Pesci also cites an ingenious suggestion of Dinko Fabris, according to whom “the surname could be connected with the illustrious patrician family of Caetani, whose Anagni branch inherited the county of Traiectum, modern day Minturno” [actually “Traietto” or “Traietto,” from “traghetto,” i.e. “ferry boat”]. Considering, nevertheless, that the father of Lorenzino was defined as “gallus-belgicus,” the first interpretation would seem more probable.

49 Payments survive from January 1564 to December 1569: see DELLA LIBERA 1997: 56. See also PESCI 2003 (2004): 125-27, fn. 18, where it is suggested that a “Francesco tenor,” active at the same institution from January to October 1571, was the same person.

50 The names of two brothers of Lorenzino, Innocenzo and Giovanni Angelo, are cited in Section II.a, n. 29. Innocenzo was a musician, as seen in another document cited by VITA SPAGNUOLO 1994: 40, n. 84 (Roma, Archivio di Stato, Notai Auditor Camerense, vol. 1204, c. 731, 1590 June 20). Moreover, one “Innocentio soprano” (who might have been Lorenzino’s brother) was active in San Lorenzo in Damaso from January 1568 to May 1569 (DELLA LIBERA 1997: 54).

51 DELLA LIBERA 1997: 56 (“that the sopranos were ‘putti’ seems entirely self-evident”), 55.

52 In absence of ulterior confirmation (and of any indication of a last name) this for now remains speculation.

53 See in particular Section II.a, n. 3 (September 2, 1570), where the father of Lorenzino declares that he would like to keep the still very young Lorenzino with him for some time (“per esser [Lorenzino] anco giovane volentieri lo terria anco appresso di lui un pezzo”).
The Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso was, and still is, annexed to the Palace of the Chancellery, whose entitlement belonged to the Vatican vice-chancellor, the most important personage in the Roman curia after the Pope himself (the office of chancellor having been abolished at an earlier date). Beginning in 1535 the vice-chancellor was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), grandson of Pope Paul III. The Pope conferred to him both the cardinal's hat and the prestigious position of vice-chancellor, which had been vacant since the death of the young Ippolito Medici. The maestro di cappella of San Lorenzo in Damaso, from April 1559 to December 1561 and again from 1567 to 1604 (information about the intermediate period is missing), was fellow Fleming Jean Matelart, who in 1559 published a book of lute tablature containing a number of duets with probable didactic intent. That there was contact between this musician and the young

Figure 3 — Marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret of Hapsburg, detail (Taddeo Zuccari, Caprarola, Farnese Villa, Sala dei Fasti, 1560-66). Margherita is on the left, Paul III is in center, Ottavio and his brother Cardinal Alessandro are on the right.

51 Clement VII, in conferring the office of vice-chancellor to his second cousin Ippolito Medici in 1532, "added to this position the attached basilica, with the title of Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso" (MORONI 1841: vol. VII: 158 and 163). The assignment of prestigious positions within the papal curia was almost always influenced by political considerations as well as, when possible, nepotism. Regarding nepotism at the papal court, I take the opportunity to suggest a few amendments to PESCI 2003 [2004]: 125: Leo X (Giovanni Medici) was the cousin, not the uncle of Clement VII (Giulio Medici); it was Clement VII who nominated Ippolito Medici vice-chancellor in 1532, and not Angelo Medici (elected pope in 1559 under the name of Pious IV), who was not Ippolito's uncle and belonged to a different branch of the Medici family; and Paul III (Alessandro Farnese) was the grandfather, not the uncle, of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (see the genealogical tree of the Farnese family).
55 DELLA LIBERA 1997: 40-segg., 55. Payments to Matelart are documented between April 1559 and December 1561 and from January 1567 to July 1604.
56 See BROWN 1967: 189.
Lorenzino, including perhaps a direct teacher-student relationship, is a strong possibility.

The presence of Flemish and northern musicians in Rome in the 1560s was common, but their engagement on the part of the Farnese family could have been facilitated by the wife of Ottavio Farnese, Margaret of Hapsburg, natural daughter of Emperor Charles V and half-sister of Philip II, king of Spain and the Netherlands.\(^57\) Notwithstanding their kinship, relations between Ottavio Farnese and the Hapsburgs were not idyllic. One of the problems was over control of the castle of Piacenza, occupied by the Spanish but sought by Ottavio for himself. In April 1559 he was in Brussels with his brother-in-law, Philip II, who had just nominated his half-sister to become regent of the Netherlands. Margaret accepted the post, which would prove to be of great hardship, in the hopes that her collaboration could in some way help with the negotiations for Piacenza.\(^58\) At the end of April, Ottavio Farnese returned to Parma; perhaps he brought with him, as "booty," a number of musicians.\(^59\) It might not be a coincidence that the above-mentioned soprano, Lorenzo, as well as the chapel master Jean Matelart appeared at the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damasco (run by Ottavio's brother, Cardinal Alessandro) in that same month. It is also possible that Matelart and the Tracetti, father and son, or sons, entered into the orbit of the Farnese under the direct protection of the duchess Margaret while she was in Belgium, but it seems more probable that it was Ottavio who engaged the musicians, as this hypothesis accords better with the dates.\(^60\)

I.a.3 Quel giovane, che sona di lauto

Now we come to the years 1570 to 1572, during which, as has been known for a long time, Lorenzino was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, also known as the Cardinal of Ferrara (or, simply, "Ferrara"). Until recently, this information was based exclusively on three letters conserved at the State Archive in Mantua, first described by Pietro Canal and cited in all

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\(^{57}\) Her mother was a certain Johanna van der Gheenst. See the genealogical tree of the Farnese family, and D'ONOFRIO 1919 (especially Section I).

\(^{58}\) On the Farnese, see DREI 1954, passim. Margaret left Parma in the end of June 1559, arriving in Brussels on July 26; she was allowed to go home on December 27, 1567. See D'ONOFRIO 1919: passim, and especially 72 and 165.

\(^{59}\) D'ONOFRIO 1919: 72.

\(^{60}\) From existing documentation, however, which covers the period starting in 1559, it does not appear that Tracetti family members were in the service of Margaret, nor, for that matter, of Ottavio Farnese: see NIWA 2006.
successive studies on Lorenzino. In his 1920 book on Cardinal Ippolito, for example, Vincenzo Pacifici commented on how “Lorenzino dal liuto, perhaps the famous knight of the lute, admirable musician [...] stayed with Ippolito, enlivening his final years.”

Annunziato Pugliese, during a symposium in 1989, gave notice for the first time of some registers showing that “Lorenzino Traetti dal liuto” was part of the musical chapel of the cardinal. Since we now know that the last name of Lorenzino was in fact Traetti, or Tracetti, it is clear that we are dealing with the same person.

From the registers in the Modena State Archive we can reconstruct in great detail the relationship of service that links our lutenist to the cardinal. Hired in 1570 (in fact, his name is not among those paid in 1569), he received a monthly salary of 2 scudi and 20 baiocchi; from the total for that year, however, the sum of 3 scudi and 30 baiocchi was subtracted, corresponding to the salary of a month and a half, “with notification that the time he was away from service has been deducted.” This detail, which until now, I believe, has not been cited by other scholars, is interesting because it confirms with greater precision what was already evident from the three letters cited above, to which can now be added a fourth which, although it does not explicitly cite Lorenzino by name, certainly refers to him. The people involved in this important correspondence were the Mantuan Annibale Cappello, who worked for the Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, and three employees of Guglielmo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua: Francesco Fellonica, Roman agent of the Duke; Aurelio Zibramonti, secretary to the Duke; and an unnamed castellan of Mantua. In 1570 Guglielmo Gonzaga wished to hire good musicians for the chapel of Santa Barbara, and since those available “were many, but not too many, because not only every prince, but every family that wanted greatness kept a few on the payrolls,” he searched for them wherever they were to

61 CANAL 1879: 44-45. See Section II.a: n. 1, 3, 4.
62 PACIFICI 1920: 387. This is the most complete study to date on Ippolito II d’Este, son of Alfonso d’Este and Lucrezia Borgia. See also the genealogical tree of the Este family.
63 The acts of this symposium were published four years later: see PUGLIESE 1993, in which the imminent publication is announced of a Dizionario dei musicisti alla corte del cardinale Ippolito II d’Este. This work has finally been published (PUGLIESE 2006). In his 1993 article, Pugliese specifically cites registers n. 908, Salariati 1569, cc. 99v.-107 r., n. 875, Conto di tutti li denari che resconterà e pagherà M.A.Cambio 1569, cc. 60r.-v. and n. 876, Conto di tutti li denari che resconterà e pagherà M.A.Cambio 1570, c. 90 v. He also cites two more registers (n. 896 and 898), in which “Dardes Traetti” is mentioned among the musicians: so far I have not been able to verify the accuracy of this information, nor ascertain if this musician was related to Lorenzino, which is probable.
64 See Section II.a, n. 8, 9, 10.
65 See Section II.a, n. 1-4.
66 CANAL 1879: 38. For an overview of the musical activities at the court of Guglielmo Gonzaga and
be found. The best place to hunt for musicians in this period was Rome, the universal marketplace ("la piazza universale"), largely because of the musical interests of two powerful cardinals, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop-Prince of Trento, and the aforementioned "Cardinal Ferrara," Ippolito II d'Este. The duke of Mantua sent his agent, Francesco Fellonica, to Rome in order to "stalk" ("appostar") the "valorous men" of the two cardinals who happened to be out of town at the time, in case "any of [the musicians] left them, and arrived" back in the city.

Cardinal Ippolito was by this time old and sick with gout. Bitter about the bad behavior of his nephew Luigi (for whom he had made an effort to procure an unmerited cardinal's hat) and about the hostility of Pope Pius V (Michele Ghislieri), he appeared very rarely at the papal court and had a habit of staying away from Rome for most of the year, enjoying instead his splendid villa in Tivoli, renowned for its ornate gardens and ingenious fountains, among which was the famous hydraulic organ. Tivoli was the seat of his prestigious musical chapel, which in the years of interest to us was directed by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. The following table lists the musicians that were part of this chapel during the years 1569 to 1572. The names of the musicians and their positions or instruments are cited in Table I as written in the documents.

In the summer of 1570, therefore, while the cardinal was at Tivoli, "Lorenzino Traietti" was one of the two lutenists in his service. However, much as the cardinal's villa was splendid and his musical chapel prestigious, it must have felt oppressive to the young lutenist who, as everyone claimed, was "a monster of nature in that profession for his [young] age." Far from wanting to enliven the solitary days of the aging prelate, our lutenist preferred

a bibliographical update, see FENLON 2001.a.

67 CANAL 1879: 32.
69 From his letters, it can be deduced that the cardinal usually stayed at Tivoli from July to October: see PACIFICI 1920: 341. On the hydraulic organ at Tivoli, see BARBIERI 1986.
70 The initials "A.P." stand for "Modena, Archivio di Stato, Amministrazione dei Principi"; the number is that of the register. The register for 1569 does not include Lorenzino Traietti. The other three registers for the years 1570-72 correspond to our Section II.a, n. 8-10.
71 The other one was Giovanni Antonio Severino. CERRETO 1601 states that he was still living in 1601. According to John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris (GRIFFITHS-FABRIS 2004: X), in 1579 he was the lute teacher at the residence of Don Carlo Ruffo.
72 See Section II.a, n. 1.
Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musician</th>
<th>Position or Instrument</th>
<th>1569 A.P. 908</th>
<th>1570 A.P. 909</th>
<th>1571 A.P. 911</th>
<th>1572 A.P. 1023/b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1     Gioanni Pietroalugi</td>
<td>maestro di Capella</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2     Bernardino Pagano</td>
<td>Cornetto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3     Gio. Batt.a</td>
<td>called “dalla viola”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4     Oratio Massarelli/o</td>
<td>Musico, falsetto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5     Iulio Guerini</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6     Savino di Franc.o</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7     Gioanni Schinetta, Eschinetta</td>
<td>Musico, tenore</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8     Giovanni Battista</td>
<td>Organo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9     Nicolo Fiamingo</td>
<td>Musico, contralto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10    Giovanni Contino, Cartino</td>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11    Don Constantino Bocchio, Rocchio</td>
<td>Musico, tenore</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12    Premoro</td>
<td>Scrittore e musico, trombone</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13    Allessandro Barre, Barze, Romano</td>
<td>Musico, contralto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14    Lorencino Traietti</td>
<td>Liuto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15    Gasparo Fiorini</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16    ‘Giovanni Antonio Severino</td>
<td>Liuto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17    Mattheo Masini</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18    Ottavio Barre</td>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19    Tomaso</td>
<td>Contralto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20    Pietro Paolo</td>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21    Raniero</td>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22    Don Alvaro</td>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23    Bartholomeo</td>
<td>Organo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of musicians in service by year</td>
<td>13  16  15  17 [+2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Legend: X = musician in service; [X] = in service for only part of the year and already decommissioned by the time of the composition of the document.)
to escape to Rome, and he did this surely not out of indolence:73 “that youth, who plays the lute, who is in the service of his Illustrious Monsignor [...], stays here in Rome and goes around playing here and there all day long, while the cardinal is in Tivoli.”74 Deaf to the requests of his patron, who ordered “that he promptly mount a horse and return to Tivoli,”75 Lorenzino flew from villa to villa, playing without pause “at the houses of cardinals and lords,” seizing the opportunity to be heard by “his lordship, the ambassador of the emperor,” and “stupefying everyone” with his lute playing.76

All this frenetic activity, evidently, was motivated by the desire to find a new patron, and the agents of Guglielmo Gonzaga were ready to “stalk” him. Among the people cited in the Mantuan correspondence, we find an “illustrious prior,” organizer of a banquet for the imperial ambassador at which Lorenzino was heard playing the lute.77 This was probably Giovanni Vincenzo Gonzaga, prior of Barletta and cousin of the Duke of Mantua.78 It seems he was enrolled to mediate between the Duke and Cardinal Ippolito in case the latter accepted to relinquish Lorenzino. It was to be the lutenist’s father, Francesco, who would make the initial inquiries, “not mentioning, however, the most excellent lord, Duke [of Mantua].”79 It seems clear from the letter of September 2, 1570, from Fellonica to Zibramonti, that Francesco Tracetti played an active role in promoting the career of his son. He told Zibramonti in person that, since Lorenzino was so young, “he would happily have kept him by his side a little longer,” adding however that “he did not lack opportunities [to find a new patron],” and citing by way of example “Cardinal Orsino.” In case Lorenzino wanted instead to “stay in Rome,” there was the possibility of an “even better catch” than the already lucrative Cardinal of Ferrara, who guaranteed him a stipend of “three gold scudi a month” as well as an advance payment of two months salary.80 Finally, Francesco Tracetti claimed to be “most devoted” to the Duke of Mantua’s “illustrious family.”81

73 Compare with PESCI 1997: 240, who, in fact, accuses Lorenzino of “un pizzico di indolenza” (a pinch of indolence).
74 See Section II.a, n. 2.
75 See Section II.a, n. 3.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 See the genealogical tree of the Gonzaga family. The Avvisi di Roma (Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1042): c. 61 show that he left for Naples on May 12. CANAL 1879 erroneously identified the prior of Barletta as Ferdinando Gonzaga.
79 See Section II.a, n. 3.
80 Ibid. This salary conflicts with that indicated in our Section II.a, n. 8, where Lorenzino’s monthly stipend is indicated as 2.30 scudi, and the payment was made, not in gold scudi, but in monetary scudi
It also appears that it was not only the Gonzaga who hoped to take advantage of Lorenzino's (or his father's) desire to change patrons. A respectable prospect was Cardinal Flavio Orsini, noble Roman and Neapolitan patrician, who "entertained him" and "showed a desire to have him." Orsini's prestigious family was closely interconnected through numerous marriages to the even more illustrious Sanseverino family. For example, the cardinal's sister-in-law was the sister of Niccolò Bernardino Sanseverino, who had just inherited the title of Prince of Bisignano. This is the prince who, according to Annibale Cappello, was able in the end to land Lorenzino. In the summer of that year, Niccolò Bernardino Sanseverino, while traveling across the Lazio region, went to Caprarola to see Cardinal Farnese. He probably later stopped in Rome, possibly at the house of his relative, Cardinal Orsini, and it would be perfectly understandable if Lorenzino joined his entourage at that time. But we cannot verify the truth of Cappello's assertion, nor could the lutenist's father, Francesco, who claimed to "know nothing of this thing." The rumor that Lorenzino was about to shift his loyalty to the Prince of Bisignano must have sounded sufficiently credible to give additional impetus to the efforts of other aspiring patrons to attract the musician.

In fact, Lorenzino did not leave Cardinal Ippolito after all. The behavior of a servant who is disobedient to his patron, leaving without permission and ignoring his pleas to return, must have seemed intolerable. Perhaps it was this that Zibramonti referred to as the "things about him" that rendered Lorenzino "unworthy" to serve at the court of Mantua, saying

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81 There is no evidence at present that Francesco Tracetti ever served the Gonzaga.
82 See the genealogical trees of the Orsini, Sanseverino and Gesualdo families.
83 The Prince of Bisignano should not be confused with the Prince of Salerno, Ferdinando Sanseverino, who belonged to a different branch of the family and is known to have been a patron of Luigi and Fabrizio Dentice.
84 Cappello expressed regret that he was earlier unaware of the interest of Duke Guglielmo for the lutenist. Note that the two letters to Zibramonti (Section II.a, n. 1-2) carry the same date.
85 The Avvisi di Roma inform us that in July the Prince was travelling to Pesaro with his wife, Isabella della Rovere, Princess of Urbino. After having accompanied her to Assisi for the "Festa del Perdono" on August 1 and 2, he arrived at Caprarola on August 12 to visit Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Avvisi di Roma. Urb. Lat. 1041, p. II, c. 209 v. and 318 v.). Further confirmation of this is provided by a letter written on August 12 from Rome to the Duke of Parma (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio Farnesiano Estero b. 461), informing him that the Prince of Bisignano, although he had wanted to visit Cardinal Farnese in Rome, has decided not to go back to the city because of the heat ("per questi caldi"), so he proceeded to the Cardinal's villa at Caprarola.
86 The Prince must have nurtured a certain interest in music, since a number of composers dedicated works to him: see LARSON-POMPILIO 1983: 111, 118.
that “in a few days” he would be fired and predicting for him an imminent punishment.\textsuperscript{87} It would seem, instead, that Lorenzino was not punished for his summer escapade, other than the withholding of his stipend for the period, a month and a half in all, in which he was absent.\textsuperscript{88} The cardinal evidently forgave him, perhaps on account of his youth, which could have justified such impetuous discourtesy, and he even gave him a raise in salary, probably to discourage further misbehavior.\textsuperscript{89}

Thus we find Lorenzino happily settled in the service of the old Ippolito for the whole of 1571, where, furthermore, he no longer had any rivals, the second lutenist having disappeared from the payment register. On February 10 the Duke of Mantua’s secretary Zibramonti showed his puzzlement concerning the behavior of “Lorenzino, who last summer showed infinite desire to be accepted into the service of his Excellency, but after my arrival here he was always aloof saying that he is satisfied with the illustrious monsignor of Ferrara;”\textsuperscript{90} but the following year things began to change. On December 2, 1572, Ippolito II d’Este died. Shortly thereafter a list was compiled of the employees of his “blessed memory” that still had to be paid up to November 1572.\textsuperscript{91} Here we find the names of seven musicians, but not that of Lorenzino, who appears, instead, further on in a list of 16 people who “were no longer in service.” This list, which included “m. Gioanni da Pellestrina maestro di Capella,” shows that “m. Lorencino dal lauto” was owed 12 scudi and 55 baiocchi. Since the document does not specify how long Lorenzino was out of the cardinal’s service, we cannot know the amount of his monthly salary for that year. If it were the same as the previous year’s salary, 3 scudi and 85 baiocchi per month, we can deduce that Lorenzino remained with Ippolito for about three months during 1572. Where did he go after that period?

\textsuperscript{87} See Section II.a, n. 4. It has not been possible to ascertain whether Lorenzino was guilty of some other offence.

\textsuperscript{88} See Section II.a, n. 8.

\textsuperscript{89} See Section II.a, n. 9.

\textsuperscript{90} See Section II.a, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{91} See Section II.a, n. 10.
I.a.4 Lorentzin

Most of the cardinal's inheritance was passed on to his nephew, Cardinal Luigi, but it has not been possible to ascertain if Lorenzino entered into Luigi's service, which would, in any case, have been improbable seeing that Lorenzino already left Ippolito well before he died. Until now, nothing was known about the subsequent eight years of the lutenist's life. However, it is now possible to point to an interesting episode that took place during this period that surely refers to our lutenist.

As is well known, Orlando di Lasso, maestro di cappella of the court of Bavaria, travelled in Italy in 1574, passing through Trento, Mantua, Bologna, Rome and Naples. During his stay in Bologna on March 3, he sent a light-hearted letter to his patron and friend, Prince Wilhelm of Wittelsbach, the son of the Duke of Bavaria, in which he describes the musicians he would like to bring with him to the German court. Among these was "il Lorenzino," one of the "virtuosi" whom Orlando hoped to meet in Rome. We do not know if Wilhelm specifically desired to engage Lorenzino at this time, or if he was simply interested in acquiring a good lutenist. Nor do we know if Lasso already knew Lorenzino; his reputation may have reached Wilhelm and his maestro di cappella through a common Roman acquaintance, perhaps the Bavarian ambassador in Rome.

Ernst, the younger brother of Wilhelm, was in Rome from January of that year; his arrival had been announced by his father to Cardinal

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92 My enquiry in the State Archive of Modena, where the majority of documents related to Luigi are collected, was fruitless. In Amministrazione dei Principi, n. 910, “Vachetta di Salaritani diFranza” for the years 1570-72, no references to musicians have been found. In n. 1372, “Ruolo di tutti li Gentilhuomini et altre Persone quale si ritrovano al servitio di mons.re Ill.mo et R.mo Car.le d’Este in Roma” there is a list of “mouths to feed” (“bocche”) in 1579 that includes the following names: “Cavaliere Roma,” Annibale Cappello, “Sucha cantore,” “nic.lo cantore,” “Giulio organista,” “il musico Gio. Pietro d’forno per insegnare alli ss.ri Paggi per cantar,” “Giulio Cesar branchacio.” Luca Marenzio is named in n. 404a/b for the year 1580.

93 Thanks are due to Peter Király for bringing these documents to my attention. I also wish to thank Király, Bjoern Tammen and Douglas Alton Smith for help with translations from the antiquated German texts.

94 OWENS 2001. When Orlando reached Rome, he was knighted by Pope Gregory XIII; see also BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996.

95 See Section II.a, n. 11, and the genealogical tree of the Wittelsbach family.

96 Wilhelm’s interest in lute music is reinforced by Vincenzo Galilei’s dedication to him of his lute treatise Il Frontino in 1568, on the occasion of his marriage to Renée of Lorraine.

97 BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996. We know that the Bavarian duke’s Roman ambassador had ample opportunities to hear music in the eternal city: in BELTRAMI 1917: 6, citing the Avvisi di Roma, we read, for instance, that due to the inattention of the papal singers, a book fell from their music stand onto the ambassador’s head during Vespers at St. Peter’s on December 28, 1572, and the poor ambassador
Alessandro Farnese. It was left to Ernst, after Orlando returned to the Bavarian court, to continue the negotiations with “Lorentzin,” which proved more difficult than expected. On May 22 Ernst confidently assured his brother that he would satisfy his desires by proceeding with diligence to secure the services of the lutenist, as well as those of Johannes Baptista de la Harpa. By June 5, however, he had to admit that he had run into

was sent to bed wounded (“per inavertenza deli cantori casò un libro del legiglio che diede in capo all’Amb.as di Baviera et ne sst in letto aggravato”).

98 Parma, Archivio di Stato. Carteggio farnesiano estero, Baviera, series 2: letter from the Duke of Bavaria, Albert Wittelsbach, to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, dated January 2, 1574, in which it is announced that his son Ernst will go to Rome in January. Ernst stayed in Rome for a year and a half, due to the fact that, being a man of the church, he aspired to the important bishopric of Münster, which was vacant, but he had a number of competitors and had therefore to occupy himself personally with his candidature. After many difficulties and another ten years of waiting, his hopes were finally satisfied; see PASTOR 1955: X, 623.

99 See Section II,a, n. 12. It is improbable that we are dealing here with the famous Giovanni Leonardo Dell’Arpa (see CARDAMONE 2001).
Lorenzino’s “stubbornness.” Still, he hopefully promised that “with all our energy we shall try [to make him come to us], so that we might get hold of him and speak to him today or tomorrow.”\(^{100}\) The virtuoso lutenist finally agreed to attend a meeting with Ernst and declared himself willing to accept an engagement at the Bavarian court, requesting a salary of 300 scudi per year, plus a gift of an equal amount for expenses and upkeep for himself and his wife.\(^{101}\) Wilhelm replied aghast: “in our country [...] nobody, excellent as he ever may be, will get more than 120 [scudi]!”\(^{102}\)

The prince, nevertheless, really must have desired to obtain the lutenist’s services. In fact, he proposed in the same letter a compromise: 200 scudi per year plus another gift of 200 scudi, plus travel expenses for Lorenzino and spouse. Thinking he had clinched the deal, he even suggested to his brother the name of a person who could be counted on to lend them the 200 scudi for the gift. The meaning of the last phrase of Wilhelm’s letter is unclear: “But in case this should not happen and he insists on such a high level of remuneration, we must resign ourselves and let the matter pass.” (The final part of the sentence is difficult to interpret and may mean instead “…we must accept it and let it pass to him.”)\(^{103}\) In any case, it is noteworthy that despite the increasingly frustrating nature of the negotiations, they were kept alive for another six or seven months.

Ernst finally announced his failure to hire Lorenzino to Wilhelm on July 3, and on July 16 Wilhelm urged him to try again, but in case it didn’t work out, to look for another lutenist.\(^{104}\) A few days later, on July 22, Ernst reveals a new twist. He writes to Wilhelm, “With respect to Lorenzino we cannot hide from you the fact that the King of France desires him and is interested in engaging him in his service. But he is absolutely not willing to move [to France] or to be hired unless the King would grant him 1000 “Cronen” as a gift and the same figure as annual salary.”\(^{105}\) However, Lorenzino seems to have assured Ernst that if the French deal fell through, he would accept the Bavarian offer. In the next letter on October 16, the lutenist was still waiting for a decision from France, but Ernst, tired of waiting

\(^{100}\) See Section II.a, n. 13.
\(^{101}\) See Section II.a, n. 14.
\(^{102}\) See Section II.a, n. 15.
\(^{103}\) “Im Vhal es aber je nit statt hete vnd er so hoch auf gedachte Zerung thringen würde, hat es seinen weg vnd muessen ihme die hierüber wol lassen Passiren.”
\(^{104}\) See Section II.a, n. 16-17. These two letters were cited by Berndt Philip Baader in 1943 (BAADER 1943: 226, note 34); unfortunately I have not been able to locate them.
\(^{105}\) See Section II.a, n. 18.
for so long, began “dealing with another [lute player], being superior and excellent, so that even Lorenzin will not be able to reach his level ....”\textsuperscript{106} Three months later, on January 8, after Ernst had already left Rome, Wilhelm’s chamberlain, Caspar von Lockhenburg, finally had some good news: Lorenzino had decided to go to Bavaria, but only for half a year starting in spring and without his wife, who would join him later if the “German air” is found to be acceptable. The lutenist asked for a gift of 200 scudi, saying that leaving his wife and students behind “would be a huge disadvantage and burden.”\textsuperscript{107}

\textbf{Figure 5} - Ernst Wittelsbach (from Dominicus Custos, Atrium heroicum Caesarum, regum, [...] imaginibus [...] illustratum. Pars 1-4. Augsburg: M. Manger, J. Praetorius, 1600-1602)

\textsuperscript{106} See Section II.a, n. 19. Ernst offers no other clues about who this other marvelous lutenist might have been.

\textsuperscript{107} See Section II.a, n. 20.
After that, the archives are silent. Király, citing Sandberger, notes that from 1575 the Bavarian registers contain no trace of Lorenzino and deduces that, despite the efforts of Wilhelm and Ernst, he remained in Rome.\footnote{BIEKER-KIRÁLY 1996.} In the absence of other evidence, the question remains open. It is interesting to note, however, that Wilhelm was in Rome the following August with 60 courtiers in train, and a few months later they were all aboard four galleons sailing off the coast of Lazio.\footnote{BELTRAMI 1917 cites a few interesting letters from the Este correspondence (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Belgioioso collection). For instance (BELTRAMI 1917: 10), a letter from Rome of August 6, 1575, tells of the "inconsiderate departure of the Prince of Bavaria" who "went away for five miles alone with a single servant without telling any of the 60 gentlemen whom he kept. And he did this because he was offended by the fact that his [guests] discovered the route by which he went out at night for pleasure." Strange behavior indeed for someone who was known to posterity as "der Fromme," i.e., "the Pious!" The letter concludes: "it is hoped that he will have to return, but for now we talk of nothing else." In another letter of October 3, 1575 (BELTRAMI 1917: 11-12), we read: "The Prince of Bavaria came with his court as far as Ostia with 4 galleons and not finding horses there continued to Civitavecchia."} If Lorenzino really joined him that spring, he may have been among the group of 60, or perhaps he took advantage of the trip to Italy to return to Rome. On the other hand, we might even imagine Wilhelm to have disembarked in Rome personally in order to try again to convince the recalcitrant lutenist to join his court.

The inventory taken of Lorenzino's belongings after his death incongruously included one "coat of bear fur lined with velvety silk."\footnote{See Section II.a, n. 28.} Could this garment, perhaps somewhat unusual for the Roman climate, have served to protect him from the rigors of weather in Bavaria? The only other evidence that may possibly indicate that Lorenzino had concluded an agreement with Wilhelm, if even for just a few months, is the great number of German sources for his music.\footnote{See Section III.b.} Most of these are of a later date, but they might reflect a tradition that was established on German territory by the presence of the lutenist in person.

The letters in the Bavarian files reveal other interesting details. Beginning with the second one, there are repeated references to Lorenzino's wife without, however, ever mentioning her name. If the "Lorentznin" of the Bavarian letters refers to our Lorenzino Tracetti, which indeed seems highly probable, his marriage must have taken place sometime between 1572 and 1574, when the lutenist was still quite young, given that in the preceding documents there is no mention of a wife. If any documentation about the marriage could be found in the Roman archives and if his spouse were
ever named, this could provide definitive proof, since we know from later documents that the wife of Lorenzino Tracetti was a Roman woman named Lucrezia Paolina (or Paolini).  

Another reference in Ernst's January letter is worth commenting upon. Lorenzino complains that if he went to Bavaria he would suffer great damage by leaving his students behind. From this we can deduce that Lorenzino had a number of students in Rome, and that they must have provided a substantial income since the lutenist was so reluctant to leave them. It is also possible that Lorenzino brought the students up simply to get a better deal in his negotiations with Wilhelm. As we have seen from the letters in the Mantuan files from 1570 to 1571, Lorenzino's strategy in negotiations for a new job (or perhaps that of this father) had been to feign indifference and to leak information about the existence of other, much better offers without, however, closing any doors. We have the impression that a similar strategy was being used in the exchanges with the Prince of Bavaria. It is not known if the attempted engagement on the part of the King of France was a pure invention on the part of Lorenzino to up the ante with Wilhelm Wittelsbach, but this would seem unlikely considering the close rapport between the French and Bavarian courts (Wilhelm married Renée of Loraine). In any case, the young French king, Charles IX, died on May 30, 1574, and was succeeded by his younger brother Henry III. It could be that Lorenzino had been contacted by Charles who, like his mother Caterina Medici, had a fondness for the lute, and that his unexpected death put an end to the negotiations. Thus, as related by Ernst Wittelsbach, Lorenzino was still waiting and hoping for a reply from France in October.

112 The name of Lorenzino Tracetti's wife is found in the documents listed in Section II.a, n. 23, 26-28. As we will see further on, we know that in 1590 Lorenzino Tracetti lived in the Ponte district of Rome. Assuming that he might have lived in the same district for an extended period of time, it was worth inquiring in parish archives for that area if there are any references to his marriage. So far, this effort has not borne fruit.  
113 See Section II.a, n. 20.  
114 See BRANTÔME Oeuvres (1858-95), VI: 291-4 (regarding Charles IX) and X: 44-segg. (on Caterina Medici). In 1574 Charles had also attempted to hire Orlando di Lasso (see LESURE 2001: I.2.i).  
115 See Section II.a, n. 19.
I.a.5 Dominus Laurentius Traciettus Romanus

In 1580 “Dominus Laurentius Traciettus Romanus regionis Trevij, musicus” (Sir Laurentius Traciettus, Roman of the Trevi district, musician)116 was able to maintain a promise made in his matrimonial deed, increasing his wife’s dowry by 200 gold scudi, two chests of linen and clothing, some furniture, paintings, silverware, a harpsichord, and a substantial collection of jewels: a golden headpiece (“fronzetta”) with precious stones and pearls, a diamond ring, another gold serpent-shaped ring with sapphire, three other gold rings without jewels, a necklace (“vezzum”) with 68 round pearls worth 100 scudi, and a crown of coral interlaced with gold and topped with a golden cross.117 In this period, the only property allowed to married women was their dowry.118 On the death of the pater familias, a family’s wealth was inherited by his children or relatives; widows were not allowed to inherit clothing or even their own wedding ring. A husband could circumvent this custom by augmenting his wife’s dowry, donating to her everything that he wished to remain in her possession after his death. Such donations were quite frequent when men feared that their death was imminent, such as in the case of old age, sickness, war or other dangers. We do not know if Lorenzino, who was still quite young in 1580, was moved by such anxieties, or simply by love and concern for his wife.

Lorenzino may have bought the precious jewels mentioned in the donation for Lucrezia. In particular, the diamond ring was probably her wedding ring (diamonds symbolized the strength of love), and the serpent-shaped sapphire ring was typically used as an engagement ring (sapphire symbolized chastity, and the circled serpent was an image of eternity, the perfect token of long-lasting conjugal love).119 Some of the other jewels might

116 See Section I.a, n. 23-24. The “Rione Trevi,” also called “Monte Quirinale” or “Monte Cavallo” (because of the presence of the famous statues of horse tamers), was known for its good air and was sparsely inhabited. There were villas with gardens, including one that belonged to Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, vineyards and olive groves. See PASTOR 1963: VI, 277.
117 The definition of “fronzetta” is not entirely clear. It could mean the same as “fronzolo,” that is, decoration, or else it could indicate a pendant in the form of a little branch or leaf (from “fronda”). We find “frontale” in FLORIO 1611, meaning “a frontlet, a fore-headpiece, a frontstale, a headband. Also a square as women weare on their heads being sicke.” Neither the “vezzum” nor the crown described in the acts can plausibly be identified with the necklace given to knights on their investiture (see the illustrations of such necklaces in SANSOVINO 1566). On the other hand, it is highly improbable that Lorenzino would have donated this important decoration to his wife.
118 See VENTURELLI 1996: 73.
119 See VENTURELLI 1996: 134 and 141-42.
have been given to Lorenzino as gifts by one of his patrons, or possibly by a well-heeled student. In any case, we can see that, however his negotiations may have gone with the King of France or the Prince of Bavaria, Lorenzino was able to amass a discreet fortune, and that if at the time of his marriage his finances perhaps were not in excellent shape, by 1580 his affairs had considerably improved.

However, after only another five years, we find Lorenzino at the Tor di Nona, one of Rome's notorious prisons, implicated in a complicated web of debts and credits. He owed 26 scudi to the heirs of a certain Antonio Bonolis, but was owed money in turn by Giovanni de Musci, who had lent 41 scudi to one Giovanni of Margival, who promised to return the money. It is not clear if Lorenzino was simply at the prison for the drafting of the document, or if he was serving time for debt. This would be unlikely, as we know from the documents compiled after his death, which would occur on July 19, 1590, that Lorenzino certainly had not fallen into destitution. He lived in the prestigious neighborhood of Ponte and possessed a vineyard and a grove just outside the gate of San Lorenzo. With the exception of the jewels, all of the other things given to his wife in 1580 are still found in the various rooms of his house at his death. From the detailed inventory of his belongings at his death, we can get an idea of this man's lifestyle and tastes. His professional tools were spread throughout the upper and middle floors of his three-story house and comprised three "used" lutes and a chitarrone, two old lute cases, 11 books of tablature, "a set of books to sing with five voices," "diverse sheets of ruled paper, some with writing and others blank," and the "Great harpsichord with its legs." The music paper suggests

120 See Section II.a, n. 25.
121 Margival is a town in Picardie.
122 See Section II.a, n. 27-29. Lorenzino lived in the street "ut dicitur passato l'orso" (said to be after the bear), now called "Vicolo del Leuto." The current name of this street is unusually appropriate and may well have derived from the memory of the famous lutenist and the coming and going of his many students with their lute cases. In 1664 there was "un'antica osteria con albergo d'infini'dordine" (an old tavern with rooms of poor quality), whose sign depicted a lute: see ROMANO 1948-1949: 264, and also BLASI 1971: ad locum, DELL' 1975: 506, and PESCI 1997: 238-239. The neighborhood of this street, near the Ponte Sant'Angelo, was one of the most lively in the city, and there lived "rich merchants and bankers, eminent prelates and artists, but also numerous courtesans ... there were many hotels, such as the hotel of the Lion in Via Tor di Nona and the hotel of the Bear in the continuation of that street" (PASTOR 1963: VI, 261-261).
123 See Section II.a, n. 23 and 28.
124 According to Alessandro Piccinini (see Section II.b: Piccinini 1623), the chitarrone did not have the extended neck and bass strings yet by this date. It was a "liuto grosso," that is, a large bass lute strung with thin strings tuned higher than usual, but with the first and second courses lowered an octave, used to accompany singing. On the chitarrone, see MASON 1989. For an alternative interpretation, see SMITH 1979, SMITH 2002: 84.
that we are dealing with a composer or a teacher who had to copy pieces for his students. In addition, he had a wooden study chamber ("studiolo di Albuccion") in which he kept various books, and in a small inlaid chest there were a number of books in Italian. In addition to reading, it seems that Lorenzino enjoyed other pursuits. There was "a game-board with its pieces," as well as a "Drum covered with green velvet" and "a sword and a dagger." And perhaps he liked to dress up on occasion as well. Besides the already mentioned bearskin coat, he had a "purple outfit of the Buratto Bergamasco" and a "French felt hat" (a memento of a visit to France?).

By the time he died in July 1590, Lorenzino had become a respectable citizen. According to our calculations, he must have only been about 40 years old. We do not know why death gathered him in the prime of his life.

1.6 Other musicians with the name Lorenzino
1.6.1 Lorenzino Fiammingo (Lorenzo Zevero)

As we have seen in the previous section, many Flemish servants were hired by the Farnese court starting in 1559, the year in which the wife of Duke Ottavio, Margaret of Hapsburg, became regent of the Netherlands. Their names are known to us through two large registers in the Farnese documents at Parma: the "Ruoli Farnesiani" and the "Mastri Farnesiani." Among the musicians, some were already active and in some cases famous; others, taken in at a young age, were trained at court under the tutelage of the older maestri. For example, between October 1563 and October 1564, a certain Gabriele Valono received 4 scudi a month for the expenses of a "little Flemish boy" (puttino fiammingo) who, beginning in the third month of payment, is indicated by his baptismal name, Lorenzino. In November

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125 The Ruoli are the lists of court employees in alphabetical order. Each person appears only once, together with the payments received by him. The Mastri, huge volumes containing hundreds of pages, record all of the monthly payments and earnings; employees are listed month by month with their relative salaries, but their names could also appear elsewhere in the book, under headings such as "special payments," "travel expenses," etc. Ruoli and Mastri each cover slightly different chronological periods, and the Mastri have a number of lacunae. For the present research, I have consulted the Ruoli n. 2 (1553-1570), 3 (1571-1577), 4 (1578-1582), 5 (1583-1587), 6 (1587-1590) and the Mastri n. 3 (1557-1560), 4 (1561-1564), 5 (1565-1568), 6 (1569-1570), 7 (1574), 8 (1575-1578), 9 (1583-1586), 10 (1588-1590), 11 (1591-1592), 12 (1593-1594); see Section II.a. n. 21-22.

126 Mastro n. 4, pp. 322, 350, 386, 404, 422, 430, 438. Payments for the month of April 1564 are missing. This child was possibly one of the two Flemish pages who came from Flanders ("paggi fiamminghi venuti di Fiandra") for whom, in November 1563, six scudi were spent for towels, handkerchiefs
1564 Lorenzino Fiammingo was paid in person, but in December he was again assigned to the care of an adult; this time his caretaker was none other than Cipriano de Rore.\textsuperscript{127} Having just returned to Parma after a brief period in Venice, Cipriano was \textit{maestro di cappella} of the ducal chapel.\textsuperscript{128} He was likely the one who requested the acquisition of a "quill instrument" \textit{(strumento di penna)—probably some variety of harpsichord} with the intent of teaching Lorenzino.\textsuperscript{129} Cipriano continued to receive 4 scudi a month "per Lorenzino fiammigo musico" up to May 1565; after this date, Lorenzino was paid directly.\textsuperscript{130} Payments to him continued until June 1588, then again for three more months beginning in December of that year.\textsuperscript{131} In a list of "extraordinary expenditures," 5.52 scudi were given on December 28, 1566, "to the musician Giuschino, for the price of a fur given to Lorenzino fiammingo when he was sick, by order of his Excellency."\textsuperscript{132} We do not know if this illness was the cause of a hiatus in payments to Lorenzino Fiammingo for five months, from July to November. The fact that "his Excellency" the Duke was personally involved in ordering one of his musicians to acquire a fur to help cure the sick youth shows how much Ottavio Farnese cared for his musicians, and also perhaps indicates a special affection he may have had for this young Fleming. After February 1567 there is another hiatus of six months in payments to Lorenzino Fiammingo; they take up again in September and proceed uninterrupted until August 1570. The last payment was his salary for five months, from April to August; as we will see below, this lump payment may have had a certain significance.\textsuperscript{133} In this period, two events of interest occurred: starting in May 1568 Lorenzino Fiammingo’s

\textsuperscript{127} Mastro n. 4, p. 444; Mastro n. 5, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{128} The duchess Margaret is also thought to have facilitated the engagement of Cipriano de Rore with the Farnese dynasty. Margaret was born in a village not far from Cipriano’s native city. See also OWENS 2001, who cites "Cambier and others" (CAMBIER 1981).
\textsuperscript{129} Mastro n.5, p. 96 (January 22, 1565): "Scudi 4 ½ d’oro pagati a messer Ottobuono organista alla Steccata per uno strumento da penna per far imparare Lorenzino."
\textsuperscript{130} Mastro n. 5, pp. 96, 124, 136, unnumbered page (writ no. 69), pp. 152, 176.
\textsuperscript{131} Mastro n. 5, pp. 184, 194, 210, 220, 234, 256, 320, 336, 358-9, 368. Payments for the month of August and December 1565 are missing. For the second group of payments, see Mastro n. 5, pp. 466 and 496.
\textsuperscript{132} Mastro n. 5, p. 386: "a Giuschino musico per il prezzo d’una pelliza che diede a Lorenzino fiammingo quando era amalato d’ordine di sua eccellenza." The "Giuschino musico" cited here was Josquin Persones.
\textsuperscript{133} Mastro n. 5, pp. 532, 534, 580, 606, 610, 612, 622, 630-31, 642; Mastro n. 6 pp. 44, 84, 104, 105,
monthly salary was raised from 4 to 7 gold scudi, and on August 3 he received 8 extra scudi “to pay for debts from clothing expenses.”

Considering the facts as I have set them out so far, one would indeed be tempted to identify this Lorenzino Fiammingo with our Lorenzino Tracetti. The elements in favor of such identification are: they share the same first name, they are both natives of Flanders, they both worked at the Farnese court, and the scarcity, or rather absence, of information specifically about Tracetti before 1570. On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that Lorenzino Fiammingo was a lute player; as we have seen, the instrument acquired to instruct him was a “quill instrument,” not a lute. Of course playing the harpsichord did not exclude lute playing, and the Parmesan court was surely well endowed with lutes and lute teachers. More serious objections, however, are raised through a more accurate analysis of the dates. As we have seen in Section I.a.2, it is probable that the “Lorenzo soprano” active in Rome at the chapel of San Lorenzo in Damaso from 1559 to 1564 was really Tracetti, but already from the month of October 1563 and for all of 1564, Lorenzino Fiammingo was at Parma. Another serious obstacle is that while Lorenzino Fiammingo continued to be paid regularly by the Farnese through August 1570, Tracetti was on the payment books of Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este in Tivoli from January of that year. For all of Tracetti’s infidelity and bad behavior toward the decrepit cardinal (see Section I.a.3), it is difficult to imagine that it would have been possible for him to double cross his employer that spectacularly.

After August 1570 the name “Lorenzino fiammingo” no longer appears in either the Ruoli or the Mastri of the Farnese accounts. Instead, on February 10, 1574, a certain “ms. Lorenzo Fiamingo musico” appears on a list of back expenses. He was given 42.12 scudi, 30 in restitution of the sum he had anticipated for rent of the room where he stayed from September 1, 1570, to the end of February 1573, and 12.12 for “provisions” he had received at an unspecified time. These payments were part of a promise he received on return from a trip to Flanders, stipulating that he would be paid a monthly salary of 8 gold scudi plus the rent of a room, as was customary with the other musicians. In fact, going back to April 3, 1570, among

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113, 124, 135, 152, 158-9, 170, 190, 206, 263. Ruolo n. 2 only shows Lorenzino Fiammingo between October 1567 and September 1568 (Ruolo n. 3 only starts at the beginning of 1573).
134 Mastro n. 5, p. 628: “per pagar debiti per vestiri.”
the "Travel expenses and horse-drawn carriages" notated in Mastro n. 6, we find an entry of 48.30 scudi "to messer Lorenzo fiammingo for his trip to Flanders;" although it is not specified that this Lorenzo was a musician, it is probable that it refers to our Lorenzino Fiammingo. If so, then his trip to Flanders may have begun in April and ended in August, when he returned to Parma and received, in one lump sum, the salary of those last five months. Bearing this in mind, let us look again in greater detail at the annotation of 1574, which leaves many points unclear. For example, the address of the room he rented is not given, and the period of time for which he was compensated for "provisions" is not specified. The sum given for his provisions corresponds to only a month and a half of his salary, so it is also unclear why he was not paid for the nearly two-and-a-half-year period during which he rented his room.

One explanation may be that during this time Lorenzo was "on loan" to another court which paid his salary, with the proviso that he eventually return to Parma. In fact, during this period there is no mention of a Flemish musician named Lorenzo or Lorenzino in the Parmesan court records. At this point, however, one would expect to find him reinstated at court starting in March 1573; instead, he completely disappears! Two conclusions are possible: either he left for good, or he returned, but he was registered under a different name. In fact, a few months later, from October 1573 and continuing for nearly ten years until March 1583 when he dies, all of a sudden there appears a new Lorenzo: "Lorenzo Zeviero Fiammingo musico." The patronymic Zeviero, also written Zeveri or even Zeuri, may have been an Italianization of Sèvres, perhaps the native city of this musician. It is never stated in the documents whether we are dealing with a singer or an instrumentalist, or, in case of the latter, what instrument he played. Nor is it ever specified whether he was the same as the Lorenzino/Lorenzo Fiammingo of the earlier registers, and thus we may be dealing with an entirely different person. But the fact that his monthly salary was exactly the same as that of Lorenzino Fiammingo, eight gold scudi, leads us to believe

tempo a [scudi] 8 d'oro il mese che tanto se li promise quando tornò di Fiandra et fatto di casa come li altri musici." In trying to find out to which period "detto tempo" refers to, I checked the preceding pages of the Mastro, in which various back payments are recorded, but to no avail. Musicians' rent expenditures are extremely detailed in the Mastri, which record whether they lived together (as in the case of the "five violinists," Mastro n. 5, p. 98), or alone (as with Cipriano de Rore, Mastri n. 4 and 5, passim).

136 Mastro n. 6, p. 214.
137 Ruoli n. 3, 4, 5; Mastri n. 7, 8, 9.
that he was in fact the same person.\(^\text{138}\) Apart from a few interruptions, the court paid his rent every six months and at his death on March 26 1583 the last two months of his salary were paid to unspecified heirs.\(^\text{139}\) Considering the date of his death, it would be impossible to identify Lorenzino Tracetti with Lorenzo Zevero and if, as seems probable, Zevero was the same person as the Lorenzino Fiammingo active at Parma from 1563, it is evident that he, too, could not have been the same person as our Roman lutenist.

**I.b.2 Lorenzino Bolognese (Lorenzo Lodi)**

In the same years there were other people named Lorenzo employed at the Parmesan court: I have carefully followed the career of each of them to see if anyone could be identified with our lutenist. Two names in particular stand out: a certain “Lorenzo da Bologna sotto bottigliere” (Lorenzo from Bologna assistant bottle-man), and a musician called “Lorenzino Bolognese”. The first personage, some sort of second-rank butler, is certainly not a candidate for our study, but the similarity of names can lead to some confusion. In fact, a recent study on Lorenzino conflates the two, and sustains that the entry recording the death of the “former bottle-man”\(^\text{140}\) refers to the musician. However, the two are easily distinguishable in the court registers by the fact that the butler’s salary was always much lower than that of the musician. We will henceforth only refer to Lorenzino Bolognese the musician.

According to Nestore Pelicelli, Lorenzino Bolognese was “at the Court of the Duke [of Parma] from October 1, 1573 to June 3, 1582, on which day he quit in order to join the service of the Duke of Namur, demonstrating in this way his ingratitude. He asked to return to his previous patron and after great insistence he was readmitted on April 20, 1584, and then let go definitively on September 30, 1586.”\(^\text{141}\) Pelicelli states that he

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\(^{138}\) There is some confusion in the way in which payments to Lorenzo Zevero are recorded. In the Ruoli n. 3, on February 8, 1574, there is an entry for his allowances for the “past” October and November, i.e., of 1573; the same payment for the same period is recorded in Mastro n. 7 on April 10. In the Ruoli n. 3 Lorenzo Zevero’s salary is indicated as 5 monetary scudi and subsequently as 8 gold scudi, but in fact the actual payment is always of the second figure, whether indicated as monetary or gold scudi. (11.20 monetary scudi corresponded to 8 gold scudi, but beginning in November 1576 the exchange was 11.36.)

\(^{139}\) His death is recorded in Ruoli n. 5, the payment to his heirs in Mastro n. 9, p. 312.

\(^{140}\) Ruolo n. 5, entry “Lorenzo da Bologna già sotto bottigliere” (on a different page, following those for “Lorenzo Zevero” and “Lorenzo Lodi”). See PESCI 2005 [2007]: 353; Pesci also erroneously identifies the page on which this information is found.

\(^{141}\) PELICELLI 1932: 121
gathered this information from the Ruoli of the Farnese court, without, however, giving precise indications as to which ones. An examination of both the Ruoli and Mastri shows that the information given by Pelicelli is incomplete and at times inexact. For example, Pelicelli reports that Lorenzino Bolognese appears at Parma beginning in 1573. I have found no trace of him before October 1574; perhaps he mistook him for Lorenzo Zevero, who does appear in October 1573. Furthermore, Pelicelli does not seem to have noticed that this Lorenzino "Bolognese," or "da Bologna" as he is sometimes called, and a certain "Lorenzo Lodi musico" were, in fact, the same person. The following outline contains all of the information about Lorenzo Lodi, alias Lorenzino Bolognese, which can be gathered from the Parmesan Ruoli and Mastri:

- 1574. In December he received three months salary. The register comments: "Lorenzino da Bologna is with his Excellency as a musician, his salary is seven gold scudi a month and begins on the first of October [corrected from January] 1574, formerly he ate at the table." From this we can deduce that by October 1, 1574 he lived at court, but we do not know when he arrived there. On October 17 he received 10 gold scudi for medicine purchased to cure an illness.
  
- 1575-1581. During this period his monthly allowance is paid regularly. It is always 7 gold scudi, or its equivalent of 9.80 monetary scudi. He also receives a bi-monthly payment for rent from June 1575 to November 1577 and from June to November 1578. Despite the fact that the registers show him always to be at court, he did not receive rent payments for the entire period.

142 Pelicelli was not alone in confusing the identities of these two musicians. In Mastro n. 8, for example, I have noticed several places in which the scribe of the registers showed uncertainty. For instance, on page 290 the name "Zevero" is crossed out and substituted with "Lodi." Often one or the other is simply identified generically as "Lorenzo musico," and it is only by the difference in salary that we are able to deduce to which musician each entry refers.

143 That they were the same person can be seen by comparing the entries for the two names in the Ruoli with those in the Mastri, and by examining the entries themselves. For example, he is listed in the Ruoli n. 5 as "Lorenzo Lodi da Bologna."

144 Ruoli n. 3: "Lorenzino da Bologna sta con sua Eccellenza per musico ha di salario [scudi] sette d'oro il mese ed il comincia al primo di ottobre [corrected from: gennaio] 1574 che per l'adietro hà mangiato in casa." The medical expense is listed in Mastro n. 7, p.125: "17 ottobre 1574. A messer Lorenzino da Bologna musico [scudi] dieci d'oro mandaroli per spenderli in medicine mentre sta malato." Regarding the expression "mangiare in casa," literally "eating in the house," Dr. Niwa, in a personal correspondence, suggests that this may indicate that the musician was first employed as a page: "I guess that he was fostered as a page in the ducal chamber."

145 Ruoli n. 3 (end of November 1577) and n. 4 (December 1577 to December 1581); Mastri n. 8
• 1582. The stipend of Lorenzo Lodi, always 7 gold scudi a month, continues until June 15, “at which time he quit.” 146 Mastro 9 records a payment in January, listed under “extraordinary expenses and gifts” for of the end of the previous year, of a gift of 5.68 monetary scudi from “His Excellency.” 147

• 1583. Fleeting reference in Ruolo n. 5 to: “m. lorenzo lodi, in the service of his Excellency as a musician with a monthly stipend of seven gold scudi;” however, no actual payment is registered. 148 It may be that this entry was predisposed by the scribe of Ruolo n. 5 who did not yet know that the musician was no longer at court.

• 1586. Payments to “Lorenzo Lodi musico” start up again in Mastro n. 9. He returns to service in April with a monthly stipend of 10 gold scudi and is paid until December 8, at which time he is dismissed. His rent is paid starting in May and continuing with certainty until September, and possibly for the two following months. 149

Traces of Lorenzo Lodi are no longer found after December 8, 1586.

While the information in the Ruoli and Mastri helps to clear up some of the previous confusion about this musician, it does not paint the full picture of his role at the Farnese court. For this let us return to Pelicelli, who referred to two letters conserved in the State Archive of Mantua. 150 To these I can now add another. 151 All three stem from the pen of Ippolito Olivo, who was at the Farnese court in Parma. The letters of November 25, 1585, and December 11, 1586, are addressed to his cousin Luigi Olivo, “castellan of Mantua”; the third letter, written on December 18, 1586, was addressed to “Cavalier Federico Cattaneo,” at Goito, a feudal holding of the Gonzaga.

Let us begin with the middle letter (December 11, 1586). 152 Here, Ippolito Olivo informs his cousin that, following the death of Duke Ottavio

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146 Ruoli n. 4: “che poi si è presa licentia.”
147 Mastro n. 9, pp. 554-55.
148 Ruoli n. 5: “m. lorenzo lodi stà al servizio di Sua Elevelzena per musico con provisione di scudi sette d’oro il mese dievi”. The last word of this sentence is barely visible; the letters seem to spell out “dei,” but its significance is unclear. On the following page, the death of Lorenzo Zevero is announced.
149 Ruoli n. 5; Mastro n. 9.
150 See Section II.a, n. 5 and 7. Pelicelli refers to Canal and Eitner. Actually the entry under “Lorenzino Bolognese” in EITNER 1900-1904, VI, 221 is based entirely on CANAL 1879.
151 See Section II.a, n. 6. Canal cited this letter partially and without revealing that it too regarded “Lorenzino Bolognese”.
152 See Section II.a, n. 6.
Farnese (on September 2, 1586), the new duke (Alessandro) had released all of his employees, including the musicians. If the Duke of Mantua were interested, there was still the possibility of hiring some of the virtuosi who were still free, but he would have to hurry: there were “those who would take great pains to have them, and in particular the Duke of Bavaria, who sent a messenger a few days ago in order to acquire most of them, and with carte blanche to give them whatever they ask.” Evidently, while others were unable to renounce the acquisition of a prestigious musical establishment, the “hero of Flanders,” Alessandro Farnese had other things in mind. His son Ranuccio, however, was of a different opinion, and claimed to “have written to Flanders to the lord Duke his father, asking his highness to concede him the favor of maintaining in service” at least some of the musicians, presumably the best ones, among whom was Lorenzino Bolognese. Lorenzino, then, was released from court on September 30, 1586, as reported by Pelicelli, but he was not necessarily fired on account of his ingratitude towards the Duke, since he was not the only one to be released at that time, and if Ranuccio’s pleas to his father were heard, Lorenzino may have been re-hired soon thereafter.

In the letter written by Ippolito Olivo the year before, there is even more information about Lorenzino Bolognese.153 “This youth,” he related, “was raised by my lord the Duke [of Parma, Ottavio Farnese], and all that he knows, he knows thanks to the good maestri that His Highness has always maintained, as for example one Fabritio Dentici, a Horatio dalla Viola, and many other valiant men;” the result of this education was that Lorenzino joined the ranks of the “valiant men” and that there were “few his equal,” he was “a most perfect tenor for the choir” and performed “also as a contralto,” singing “with good grace and disposition.” Furthermore, he knew composition “most well and his things [compositions], amongst these valiant men here, are in good esteem.” In short, he was an authentic talent, so much so that “he played his part, extremely well, on the Viol.”

Ippolito Olivo reports that Duke Ottavio gave Lorenzino Bolognese the opportunity to study with Fabrizio Dentice and “Horatio dalla Viola” (Orazio Bassani). It does not appear that Dentice arrived at the court of Parma before January of 1569, or, at the earliest, the end of 1568.154 As for

153 See Section II.a, n. 5.
154 FABRIS 1992: 73. Fabris writes that Dentice arrived at Parma in January 1569, based on two letters addressed to Ottavio Farnese. The first (Pesaro, October 22, 1568) was written by Paolo Animuccia informing the Duke that Dentice was “available and inclined to serve the lord marquis” (“si trova libero et con animo di servire il signor marchese”), and affirming that by hiring him, Ottavio would acquire “the number one virtuoso in this profession, and a most honoured and virtuous gentleman”. The second letter (Pesaro, December 28, 1568) is by Giachetto Buontempo, who writes, “your excellence could not
Bassani, until now it has been thought that his arrival at Parma could not be dated earlier than 1574.\textsuperscript{155} In reality, the date of Bassani's service at the court of Parma should be moved back at least by four years. In the month of January 1570, Lucrezia d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, married Francesco Maria II Della Rovere, who was the nephew of the Duke of Parma (he was the son of Vittoria Farnese and the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II della Rovere).\textsuperscript{156} This wedding took place in the city of Ferrara, and one year later, in January of 1571, the bride moved from Ferrara to Pesaro to join the court of her husband. The processional entrance of the Duchess was celebrated, at least officially, with great pomp and was accompanied by abundant festivities. The musical director of the entertainments was Fabrizio Dentice, on loan for the occasion from Ottavio Farnese to his brother in law, the groom.\textsuperscript{157} Dentice had arrived in Pesaro at least a month earlier. In fact, on December 22, 1570, he wrote to the secretary of the Duke of Parma, Giovan Battista Pico, with a specific request:

"the Lord Duke of Urbino this morning ordered me to write to his Excellency supplicating him to command messer Horatio to be sent immediately to Pesaro, because he plans to adorn himself with his virtues at this festival. Your Lordship would be well served to do me the favor of telling this to his Excellency and giving the order as soon as possible that messer Horatio come here. [...] If there were a way to bring here the viol of messer Horatio, this would contribute to a good result because there is no appropriate thing here."\textsuperscript{158}

It is clear from these lines that the celebrated "Horazio della Viola" was already at Parma in the service of Duke Ottavio in the month of December 1570,

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{155} See NEWCOMB 2001.
\textsuperscript{156} See genealogical trees of the Farnese and Este families. The marriage, imposed on the groom, Francesco Maria, by his father, was not a happy one, and was later dissolved. The lack of enthusiasm on the part of Francesco Maria for this union was such that he didn't even bother to show up for his wedding ceremony, and was represented by a substitute (marriage "by proxy" was common but usually occurred when there was good reason for the absence of the groom, such as obligations during wartime, etc.). Francesco Maria arrived in Ferrara ten days after the ceremony in order to attend the festivities, but forgetting to bring his bride a wedding gift, and left quickly afterwards without her. See SCOTONI 1899: 75-76.
\textsuperscript{157} See FABRIS 1992: 73-74, who erroneously indicates January 1571 as the date of the wedding.
\textsuperscript{158} Parma, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio Farnesiano Estero, Pesaro, b. 289. This letter is cited in its entirety in FABRIS 1992: 102 (doc. 11).
\end{flushleft}
four years earlier than the date previously thought. Since no documents regarding the preceding period of Bassani's life have come down to us, we may well speculate that he was in Parma even earlier. Thus, if Dentice was in Parma from the end of 1568 and Bassani from the end of 1570, Lorenzino Bolognese may have benefited from their teaching in the period in which he “ate at the table,” before, that is, he entered into the court register as a musician in his own right (i.e. October 1574).159

In the letter of November 25, 1585, Olivo mentions another fact about Lorenzino Bolognese that merits attention: his service with the “Duke of Namur.”160 Olivo writes, “My Illustrious, most Reputable Lord Cousin. I believe that Your Lordship ought to remember well that when I was in Mantua a few days ago, I told you that because of the death of the Duke of Namur there was a musician by the name of Lorenzzino Bolognese [sic] who was without a patron.”161 Canal, commenting on this letter, modified without explanation the title of the duke in question from “Namur” to “Nemur.”162 A direct examination of the document shows, however, that the spelling given by Olivo is, indeed, “Namur” (with an “a”). This would lead us to think that Canal simply made a mistake in transcribing the letter, or that there was a typographical error in the printing of his book. In an attempt to follow this lead, I was surprised to find that the “Duke of Namur” never existed. In fact, the city of Namur, in Belgium, was never a dukedom, it was a county.163 Evidently it was in the letter by Olivo that some kind of error had been made, and I have formulated a number of possible solutions:

1. Olivo may have erred in calling the lord of Namur a “duke” rather than a “count.” If this were the case, then the person being referred to here would have been Phillip II, who was given the title “Count of Namur”

159 The service of Fabrizio Dentice to the Farnese may also have facilitated an encounter with Lorenzino Tracetti. In January 1570 Tracetti was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, the uncle of Lucrezia d’Este. It is indeed possible not only that the Cardinal was present at her marriage in January 1570 in Ferrara and a year later for her processional entry at Pesaro, but that he also contributed to the good outcome of the festivities by lending his musicians, among whom may have been the young and promising lutenist. Thus, Lorenzino Tracetti, following the Cardinal, may have encountered Dentice at Pesaro, at Parma or even Ferrara on the occasion of the marriage, and might have benefited from his advice and teaching. The stylistic influence of Dentice on Tracetti has been noted in BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996 and FABRIS 2001.
160 This detail has been noted in past studies of Lorenzino, but its implications have never been explored.
161 See Section II.a, n. 5.
162 CANAL 1879: 41.
at the death of his father, the emperor Charles V. But Phillip II was still alive in 1585; he would live for another 13 years.

2. The city Namur was governed by the son of Ottavio Farnese, the condottiero Alessandro; perhaps Olivo was thinking of him? To begin with, Alessandro was still alive and, moreover, he was not a duke. The title “Duke of Parma” belonged to his father, who would die a year later. As a matter of fact, no member of the Farnese dynasty died in or shortly before 1585. Finally, Olivo, who lived at the court of Parma, would hardly have used the expression “Duke of Namur” (incorrect in itself) to refer to one of his patrons: he would surely have used the elocution “the Lord my Duke” or something like that.

3. Could Olivo have merely made a mistake in the spelling of “Namur”? Reconsidering Canal’s transformation of the name into “Nemur,” and after having searched in vain for a city of that spelling, I noticed that in northern France there is the town of Nemours. Moreover, the title of “Duke of Nemours” existed and during the 16th Century it was conferred upon various people belonging to different families of the highest nobility. After Louis d’Armaignac, Gaston de Foix and Giuliano Medici, it was given to Phillip of Savoy in 1528 and, after his death, to his son Jacques.\(^{164}\) Cultivated gentleman, lover of poetry and music, an able dancer, Jacques of Savoy would seem the perfect candidate to have desired engaging the services of a musician of the caliber of Lorenzino Bolognese. This duke, in fact, died precisely on June 18, 1585. Thus, it seems to me, there is no doubt that Olivo was referring to Jacques of Savoy in his letter.

Jacques of Savoy was a personage of great prominence. First cousin of François 1\(^{st}\), King of France and famous in his youth as a dandy of the French court,\(^{165}\) he undertook a military career, becoming lieutenant general of France. His commanding officer was the highest ranking soldier of the French army, François de Lorraine, Duke of Guise and Count of Aumale, called “Balafre” ("Scarface") on account of his famous facial wound. In 1566, three years after Balafre was killed by pistol during the siege of Orleans, Jacques married his widow, Anna d’Este (rumors of a preceding love affair

\(^{164}\) See the genealogical trees of the Valois and Savoy families.

\(^{165}\) See BRANTÔME Oeuvres V: 77-102: "He was a beautiful prince, very gracious, brave, valiant, handsome, pleasant, personable, well-spoken, able to write well both in verse and prose. He was among the best dressed, so much so that in his time, the whole court, or at least the youth, took him as a model and dressed like him".
between the two raged like wildfire). Anna, the sister of Lucrezia d’Este, was the favorite niece of Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, who, as we have noted, was once the patron of Lorenzino Tracetti. The marriage of Anna and Jacques took place shortly after the liquidation of a legal dispute against Jacques by one of his former lovers, Francesca of Rohan, who had a child by

166 See BORDEAUX 1920. In 1678 Madame de la Fayette published a novel, Les aimants d’Annecy, which was liberally inspired by the story of the Duke of Nemours and Anna d’Este, who appears as “Princesse de Clèves”; the work was successful and gave rise to considerable controversy because of its explosive mixture of history and fiction.

167 See PACIFICI 1920: 299. Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este was also particularly fond of the first husband of Anna, François de Lorraine Duke of Guise. Thus, Anna may have been familiar with the Cardinal’s famous lutenist Lorenzino Tracetti, and may even have nurtured an interest in hiring him. Another interesting consideration is that Renée de Lorraine, nephew of Anna and her first husband, married Wilhelm Wittelsbach, Prince of Bavaria in 1568 (see the genealogical trees of the Guise, Lorraine and Wittelsbach families). This was the same prince who, as we have already seen, was later to become very interested in hiring “Lorenzin”. These facts once reinforced a possible identification of Lorenzino Bolognese with Tracetti.
him whom Jacques always refused to recognize. Soon after the marriage, however, Jacques suffered from severe gout and his social life diminished as a consequence. He retired to his castle at Annecy and later to Cassine-Chastelier near Moncalieri, where he died on June 18, 1585.

Anna d’Este (who apparently preferred to remain at the court of Paris after her husband’s retirement) had several children with her first husband and gave birth to three more with her second: Charles-Emmanuel, Marguerite Marie, who died aged three, and Henri. Certainly Anna and Jacques were able to provide the best education possible to their offspring, including music. That at least Henri (known also as the “Marquise of Saint-Sorlin”) knew how to play the lute and collected music is shown by the heading of a manuscript conserved in Genoa: “Garden of Tablatures for the Lute [...] in which the Prince, his Lord Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, brother of the Lord Duke of Nemours, granted me the favor of letting me copy from all of his most rare Tablatures.” At Jacques’ death the title of “Duke of Nemours” was passed to his first born, Charles-Emmanuel. In the written “instructions” left to his children, the duke recommended that they not fire the servants, unless they had been unfaithful. When, on November 25, 1585, Ippolito Olivo wrote to his cousin that “because of the death of the duke of Namur [...] Lorenzzino Bolognese [...] was without patron,” we find that, just a few months after the death of Jacques, the musician evidently was fired by the Duke’s son. It could be that Charles-Emmanuel was not particularly interested in music (unlike his brother Henri), or that Lorenzino Bolognese had not shown sufficient proof of loyalty. From the words of Ippolito Olivo it is not clear if the unemployed musician was in Parma or Mantua at the time. Coincidentally, at precisely this moment

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168 This natural child usurped the title of the “Duke of Nemours” for a few years. For information about Jacques of Savoy, besides BRANTÔME Oeuvres (1858-95) and BORDEAUX 1920, see LITTA 1839-1846: vol. X tab. XIII.
170 Genoa, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms. cartaceo sec. XVI, Ms.FVII.1. The complete title is: “Giardino de’ intavolature per il lutto et villanelle et capriccio Brandi volte. Et corrente Gagliarde, pat et mezzo che il Principe il Sig.r Marchese di San Sordino fratello del Sig.r Duca di Nemours mi ha fatto favore di lasciarrei copiare sopra tutte le sue più rare Intavolature.” See TANASINI 1994: 6. It would be interesting to know who the lute instructor of Henri was. There are no works attributable to Lorenzino in this manuscript.
Charles-Emmanuel happened to be traveling in the area of Mantua. From a number of heretofore unpublished letters, we find that the young Duke of Nemours and his entourage were sailing up the river Po in a bucintoro. Starting in Ferrara and heading toward France, he landed here and there at nightfall to the discomfort (and even panic) of the locals who had to supply the large group with provisions and hospitality. Is it possible that Lorenzino Bolognese was initially with this group, and that he disembarked during their passage at Mantua? We do not know. In fact, nothing more is ever heard about Lorenzino Bolognese after the death of Ottavio Farnese in 1586.

When, in 1987, Dinko Fabris first proposed to identify Lorenzino Bolognese with the lutenist Tracetti, two main objections were raised. The first was that no reference to Lorenzino Bolognese ever mentions that he played the lute, the second that if he were "Bolognese" (i.e. from the Italian city of Bologna), he could hardly be "Romano," as the many references to Tracetti attest. In my doctoral thesis on Lorenzino, I was inclined to dismiss these objections as being inconsistent. However, in examining the Olivo correspondence, I raised a third, more subtle objection. In 1571 the secretary of the Duke of Mantua, Zibramonti, wrote about Lorenzino (Tracetti) to the castellan of Mantua. It is clear from this letter that the castellan already

172 Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga busta 2632, c. 635, 652, 656, 660, 665 (letters dated 1585 November 2, 8, 11, 12 and 13). A letter from Girolamo Arrigoni to the Duke of Mantua[?], Ferrara, November 13 1585 reads: "The Lord, Duke of Nemur [sic] has entered the Bicintoro at Bonizio probably at the seventeenth hour, and is now coming toward us with as great diligence as possible. His Excellence took a meal at Melara, and as soon as he boarded the Bicintoro he set himself to playing dice. I doubt it will even reach the fourth hour of the night before he gets to Mantua". A bucintoro was a double decked ceremonial galley with a large canopy. The most famous example was the one used by the Venetian Doges for the yearly celebration of Ascension Day. These letters, if nothing else, at least confirm the difficulties for contemporaries in the spelling of "Nemours": Charles-Emmanuel is called alternatively the Duke of "Nemur", "Anemors", "Nemorus" (the correct spelling appears only once). It is no wonder, then that Olivo, too, was prone to error in this regard.

173 For example, Ercole Strozzi of Borgoforte, who had already waited for three days, was greatly worried about the food and carriages. Another declared: "Here we cannot procure fish and if it were a day for meat, those necessary supplies would not be here".


175 See CARLONE 2005: 39-41. My arguments can be summed up, briefly, as follows. 1) Olivo may simply not have known that Lorenzino played the lute; he may have taken it for granted, since in the Renaissance most musicians were familiar with the lute even if they were not specifically identified with the instrument (i.e., Mattei, Palestrina, and Marenzio to name a few — see OWENS 1997: 293-294 who cites a letter of October 18 1578 from Annibale Cappello to the Duke of Mantua, and BIZZARINI 1998: 40-41, 45-47). Alternatively, Olivo may have thought that the Duke of Mantua was more
knew all about Lorenzino: his identity and activities are taken for granted. Fourteen years later, in 1585, the castellan of Mantua received another letter, this time from his cousin Ippolito, which amply describes the story and activities of Lorenzino “bollognese.” Why was Lorenzino's story related in full to the castellan in the second letter but not in the first? It would make sense if Lorenzino Tracetti and Lorenzino Bolognese were different people.¹⁷⁶

The matter has now been definitively resolved, thanks to the detailed examination of the Farnesian Ruoli and Mastri. The real name of Lorenzino Bolognese was Lorenzo Lodi, singer, violist and composer, first in the service of the Farnese court at Parma from 1574 to 1582 (and possibly as a page from childhood), then in that of the Duke of Nemours, Jacques of Savoy from 1582 to the Duke’s death in 1585, and finally with the Farnese again until the death of Duke Ottavio in September 1586. Thus, he could not have been the same person as the golden knight, Lorenzo Tracetti.

I. C. Vincenzo Pinti

I. C. 1 Vincentius Pintus Cives Romanus

As we have seen in the Foreword to this article, one of the most difficult problems in the reconstruction of Lorenzino’s biography was first advanced by Canal in 1879: can he be identified with the lute player known in the sources only as the “Cavaliere del Liuto” (written hereafter as “Cavaliere”)? Until recently, given the scant information available about this

interested in viol players and singers than in lutenists. Moreover, Ottavio Farnese maintained highly skilled lutenists at his court, such as Fabrizio Dentice, whose students – including Lorenzino Bolognese – would certainly have had the opportunity to advance in their study of the instrument. 2) Apart from the possibility that a native of Bologna could have acquired Roman citizenship, the term “Bolognese” itself might be open to question. Rather than to the Italian city of Bologna, it may have referred to the town of Boulogne in the French district of Nord-Pas de Calais (now called Boulogne-sur-Mer), which in the 16th Century was part of Flanders. The art historian Michael Amy called my attention to the case of the famous sculptor known as “Giambologna” (alias “Giovanni da Bologna”, “Jean Boulogne”, “Jean de Bologne”, “Boullongne”…), who was in fact of Flemish origin, being born in Douai, not far from Boulogne. Lorenzino Tracetti, whose origins were Franco-Belgian, may well have been a native of that city. Situated strategically on the border between France and Flanders and near the port of Calais, Boulogne was the theatre in those turbulent years of numerous battles, causing the destruction of, among other things, most of the city’s archives. Thus, it would be difficult to ascertain the presence of any family – including the Tracetti – in that city in the 16th Century.

¹⁷⁶ See Section II.a, n. 4. It could also be that the castellan was not the same person. In 1585 he was Luigi Olivo, cousin of Ippolito Olivo, but in 1571 his identity is not known. On the other hand, Luigi Olivo may have known Lorenzino well from the 1570’s, but his cousin Ippolito may not have known this. I discuss these points in detail in CARLONE 2005.
knight in a few contemporary documents and several literary and musical sources, such identification did not seem unreasonable.\textsuperscript{177}

• in 1581 he was in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese;\textsuperscript{178}
• in 1589 he entered into the service of "Cardinal Montalto," with whom he was still found in 1593 and 1602;\textsuperscript{179}
• he enjoyed a certain celebrity, although he was judged inferior to Fabrizio Dentice;\textsuperscript{180}
• he was said by Piccinini to have appreciated his new invention, the archlute, and he kept it for himself for some time.\textsuperscript{181}

New findings made in the late 1980's and early 1990's, however, showed that the Cavaliere, who died in 1608, could not have been the same person as Lorenzino Tracetti, who died in 1590.\textsuperscript{182} The discovery of a literary source of 1612 (Traiano Boccalini, \textit{Ragguagli di Parnaso}),\textsuperscript{183} in which "the knight of the lute of the Roman court" is given a name, Vincenzo Pinti, was at first received with a certain amount of skepticism, since the text in question, written and published after the death of the Cavaliere, spoke of Pinti in the present tense:

"Apollo proposed Vincenzo Pinti, called the knight of the lute at the Roman court for the excellence with which he \textit{plays} that instrument [...] You, Vincenzo, you are the first of your profession that has been admitted into this company of literati [...] but the need we \textit{have today} of your person has moved us to make this resolution. \textit{Teach}, therefore...," etc. (italics mine).\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{177} See, for instance, how Dinko Fabris (in FABRIS 1987: 23-25) succeeded in reconstructing in an apparently logical and coherent way the then available biographical details regarding Lorenzino-Cavaliere del liuto-Lorenzino Bolognese, considered as a single person, placing him within a wider historical-musical context.

\textsuperscript{178} See Section II.b, n. 32.

\textsuperscript{179} See Section II.b, n. 39, 56, and Raval 1593.

\textsuperscript{180} See Section II.b, Tagliaferro 1608.

\textsuperscript{181} See Section II.b, Piccinini 1623.

\textsuperscript{182} See Section II.b, n. 57 (death of the Cavaliere) and Section II.a, n. 26-29 (death of Lorenzino Tracetti).

\textsuperscript{183} See Section II.b, Boccalini 1612, and \textit{Forward}, fn. 25.

\textsuperscript{184} "Apollo propose Vincenzo Pinti, per l'eccellenza con la quale \textit{suona} quell'istrumento [...] Voi, Vincenzo, \textit{siete} il primo della vostra professione che sia stato ammesso in questo letterato collegio [...] ma la necessità \textit{che oggi si ha} della persona vostra, ci ha violentati a far questa risoluzione. \textit{Insegnate} dunque [...]". See Section II.b, Boccalini 1612.
Furthermore, it seemed strange that not a single musical source mentioned the name Vincenzo Pinti. In sum, even admitting that Pinti was an excellent lutenist and was, in 1612, a “knight of the lute of the Roman court,” one could not exclude that another “Cavaliere del Liuto” worked in Rome at an earlier date.

Starting with these scarce and contradictory facts, the first thing that stimulated my curiosity was the Cavaliere’s move in 1589 from the service of Alessandro Farnese to that of Alessandro Peretti (called Cardinal Montalto). In fact, Alessandro Farnese died that year, and the office of vice-chancellor that he held for over fifty years passed to Montalto. As we have already seen, the vice-chancellor’s residence included the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, and it is from the parish register of this church that we have the indication of the death of the Cavaliere. In the course of my research into the history of San Lorenzo in Damaso, I discovered that the tomb of the “Cavaliere del Liuto” was originally placed there, and I was able to recover the text of the now missing tombstone, which was transcribed by Vincenzo Forcella in his monumental 14-volume collection of the *Inscriptions in Churches and other Buildings in Rome From the 11th Century to the Present*, published in 1874:185

![Figure 7 - Cardinal Montalto (Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1622)](image)

185 FORCELLA 1869-1884: V (1874): 196 number 559. See Section II.b, GALLETTI 1760-Pinti 1608. Valtieri (VALTIERI 1984: 102) tells us that the tombstone was originally placed in the transept. As Franco Pavan has kindly told me, the book by Forcella was very likely the source for Camillo Frangipane, *Memorie sulla vita e i fatti del Cardinale Alessandro Farnese*, Roma, 1876, p. 36: “Among the many noteworthy personages who frequented the rooms of his residence, there was still that famous musician Cavalier Vincenzo Pinti, decorated with the chivalric order of Christ of Lusitania, renowned professor and familiar to Farnese as well as to Montalto. It is also known that the pages, living in a house next to the villa of Caprarola, sang praises with harmonious invention to their munificent lord, and the melody
To the Lord, the Best, the Greatest.

To Vincenzo Pinti, Roman citizen, Knight of the Militia of Christ of Lusitania, Among the grooms of the chamber to Julius III Greatest Pontiff, most illustrious for the candor of his faith and for his ability to make strings vibrate, at a more advanced age equally dear to the two great Alexanders, Farnese and Montalto, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church and vice-chancellors. The Arch-confraternity of the Holy Apostles, heirs by testament, erected [this monument].

He lived 66 years, 5 months and 16 days. He died fifteen [days] before the Calends of January 1608. “Nothing if not befitting to strings” No one was ever better in faith/strings or in conduct, thus your conduct was maintained by your faith/strings.

Here, finally, we have the full name of the Cavaliere, and many of the essential facts of his biography come into view:

- he was a Roman citizen;
- he was Knight of the Militia of Christ in Lusitania (i.e. Portugal);
- he was groom of the chamber to Pope Julius III (Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte, 1487-1555, elected pope in 1550);

of those notes echoed in that sublime monument.”
• he was esteemed by the two cardinals and vice-chancellors, Alessandro Farnese and Alessandro Peretti Montalto;
• his heirs, the Arch-confraternity of the Holy Apostles erected his tombstone;
• he died on December 18, 1608, at the age of 66 (thus he was born in 1542);
• he was appreciated for the purity of his faith and his high morality;
• he was famous for his ability to “make strings vibrate.”

The tombstone shows unequivocally that the so-called “Cavaliere del liuto” was, in fact, Vincenzo Pinti, and we can now positively identify him as the same Cavaliere cited by Traiano Boccalini in 1612. His name is again shown on a baptismal act of 1581 in which “ms. Vinc.” Pinti detto il Caval.ro del liuto” is named godfather of the baptized subject. The fact that Pinti was a Roman citizen (“cives romanus”) is confirmed in his autograph testament where he states that he was born “here, in Rome.” As with the case of Lorenzino, this does not necessarily imply that Pinti had Roman, or even Italian ancestry, and there is some indication that his family origins may have been Portuguese. A contemporary of Vincenzo living in

Figure 8 – Pope Julius III (anonymous)

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186 See Section II.b, Boccalini 1612. Boccalini’s use of the present tense in citing Pinti, even though his text was dated 1612, could be explained in several ways: he may not have known of Pinti’s death, his text may have been written prior to 1608 and only published later, or he may have selected the present tense to give the impression of reality to his fantasy of life in Parnassus.
187 See Section II.b, n. 55.
188 See Section II.b, n. 45.
Rome was Antonio di Francesco Pinto, canon of Lisbon, and the wealthy and noble family of the Freitas Pinto, whose origins were Jewish, Spanish and Portuguese, flourished in Naples in the 17th Century. Other Pintis, possibly unrelated to the Neapolitan family, lived in the Republic of San Marino during the early 16th Century and occupied political positions of importance. It is not known if these were of Portuguese origin. In any case, no information has come to light so far linking our Vincenzo with any of these families, and we do not know if he was of noble birth, nor if he was a *converso* (as the Jewish converts to Christianity from the Iberian Peninsula were called). Regarding the order of knighthood to which he belonged, the Militia of Christ of Lusitania, this is not in itself sufficient to confirm his Portuguese origin, since orders of knighthood could be bestowed for various reasons. I shall return to this point further on.

As to the date of death, there is a contradiction between the date engraved on the tombstone and the information given in the death registers of San Lorenzo in Damaso, which gives the date of the Cavaliere’s death as November 23. The inscription on the tombstone reads “OBIIT XV. KAL. IAN. M.D.C VIII,” which means, literally, “Died on the fifteenth day before the Calends [first day] of January,” that is December 18. Another inscription on the tombstone reads “he lived 66 years, 5 months and 16 days.” If this amount of time is added to the date of birth given by Pinti in his testament, July 2 1542, the same date of death, December 18, 1608, is

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189 See PESCI 2003 [2004]: 124, fn. 16.
190 See RAUZINO 2003.
191 One “Giacomo di Lodovico Pinti” was, in 1530 and again in 1541, one of the two “Capitani Reggenti” of the Republic of San Marino. He also had the delicate mission of defending the autonomy of San Marino against Rome during a long negotiation, concluded successfully in 1549 with a Papal Brief by Paul III (Archivio Storico della Repubblica di San Marino, *Inventari e Sommari*, Busta 345).
192 He is always cited in the Farnese accounts and elsewhere as a knight. As already shown in Section I.a.1, noble birth was not a requirement for knighthood. Furthermore, nobility was also not required for employment by the Curia. There are many cases of musicians of humble origins who served at Italian courts, including that of the Pope, on account of their artistic value. A well known example is Francesco da Milano: see PAVAN 1995. Pope Julius III, Pinti’s first patron, caused a sensation when he adopted a young boy from the underclasses, Santino (subsequently re-baptized Innocenzo del Monte) to whom he also conferred an unmerited cardinal’s hat. (See BURKLE YOUNG – DOERRER 1997).
193 This would not have prevented them from being given the honor of knighthood, as was often the case, despite recurrent protests such as that of Cardinal Francisco Mendoza y Bobadilla, who, in his *Título de la nobleza española* (1581) revealed that a large portion of the Spanish aristocracy was not, in reality, of “sangre limpio”.
194 See Section II.b, n. 57.
obtained. However, this does not take into account the ten days subtracted from the calendar in 1582 by the reform of Pope Gregory XIII. Taking this into account would put the date of his death back to December 8. Two documents seem to further complicate the situation. They testify that the corpse of Pinti was seen on December 10, and on the same day 75 scudi were paid for his funeral. Thus, he may have died on December 10.

Of the four dates under consideration (November 23, December 8, December 10, and December 18), the first is certainly erroneous, since Pinti signed his own testament three days after this date. The second one seems the most likely, since the funeral payment may have plausibly been made two days after his actual death, and it accords with the calculation of his age made taking into account the Gregorian reform. Regarding the erroneous date of December 18, this may be due either to an error in the 19th Century transcription made by Forcella, which is the only evidence of the text of the tombstone in our possession, or to the possibility that the author of the inscription did not take into account the Gregorian reform when calculating the date of death. There is further evidence in this inscription of a certain amount of confusion on the part of its author: 15 days before the calends of January 1608 gives the wrong year, 1607.

The engraving of the tombstone and its erection was executed by the Arch-confraternity of the Twelve Apostles, following indications given by Pinti in his testament, which nominated the Arch-confraternity as "universale herede" (sole beneficiary).

I.c.2 Nee fidibus quisquam melior

The final lines of the text of Pinti's tombstone play with the double meaning of the word "fides," which can be translated both as "faith" and "strings," implying any stringed musical instrument. These lines praise Pinti for being the best both in his religious faith, and in the art of lute playing.

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195 See Section II.b, n. 45.
196 See Section II.b, n. 40, 49.
197 See Section II.b, n. 48 (a second testament, with autograph signature).
198 See GUIDOBALDI 1995 and 1999: 291-293, for a detailed exposition of the many ways in which the double-meaning of "Fides" is used in Renaissance allegory and iconography. Examples are found in the epigram for political alliances ("foedera") by Ambrogio Alciati, based on the reciprocal faith of the allies, and in the elaborate marquetry of the "studiolo" of Federico Montefeltro (Federico = "Fede" + "ricco," i.e. rich with faith) in the ducal palace at Urbino: in both cases the concept of faith or fidelity is summoned by means of the image of a stringed instrument.
(represented by "strings"). It is possible, however, to read yet a third meaning into the word "fides," regarding a certain expertise that Pinti apparently possessed for lute strings as objects in and of themselves. Returning to Boccalini’s Raggiagli di Parnaso, we learn that the “Cavaliere del liuto” is invited to “teach princes and commoners the most necessary arts of tuning the lutes, in which many are ignorant, so much so that by overstretching the strings, they break them. And above all you should take care of certain wacky fools who I know will surely fall into your hands and who, being obstinate in wanting the bass strings to do the job of the chanterelles, will stretch them so much that, although they are very thick strings, they break anyway, and smash the lutes to smithereens."  

In fact, Pinti’s involvement with lute strings went deeper than this. An official letter issued by the Vatican chamberlain nominated Pinti superintendent of the “master lute string makers.” Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of this document, which is referred to in the statute of string makers issued in 1589. If, as is probable, the letter originated in the same year or thereabouts, the chamberlain would have been Cardinal Enrico Caetani, elected to the office in 1587. String makers were bound by their statute to follow very precise rules, and the job of the superintendent was to resolve any disputes between them. It must not have been a very time-consuming job for Pinti, since he could delegate his duties to someone else, yet it was not merely an honorary position, as it provided him with a good income.  

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199 This comment might have arisen from a misunderstanding of the new chitarrone tuning invented by the Florentine Camerata; see PICCININI 1623: 5: “furnish with thinner strings” the “large lutes”, which “being so sweet” were “very appropriate to accompany one who sings”, by “pulling them up to a pitch which is comfortable to the voice”, having “found them much lower than was necessary.” For a political-allegorical interpretation of Boccalini, see PESCI 2003 [2004]: 122-123.

200 VITA SPAGNUOLO 1994: 25, fn. 6. The author does not give precise indications as to the date of this letter or its present location.

201 See Section II.b, n. 42.

202 See the genealogical tree of the Caetani family.

203 VITA SPAGNUOLO 1994: 24. Vita Spagnuolo cites three documents, one of 1588 and two of 1589 (Section II.b, n. 40-42), in which the string makers were rigorously assigned by statute to buy material for making gut strings from specific butchers. Claudio Annibaldi has pointed out (ANNIBALDI 1987-1988: I, 82, fn. 180) that, in 1599, the new chamberlain, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, Caetani’s successor, clamped down severely on the fraudulent practices of Roman lute string makers, citing the Roman Avviso: "because there had entered even among themselves deceit and fraud regarding their art, not only in falsifying the strings and their measurements, but also in making it so that one had to beg them to have some" (AVVISI 1600, July 12, c. 419v.). A new string maker’s statute was drafted in the same year (see Section II.b, n. 44).

204 PESCI 2003 [2004]: 133. See Section II.b, n. 43, for an example of the direct intervention of Pinti
Two documents from this period regarding the Roman string-makers guild mention a certain “Pietro Alberto” (also cited as “Alberto teutonico”).²⁰⁵ This may be the same “mastro Pietro-Alberto” cited a few years earlier in a letter to the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso II d’Este, which also mentions the Cavaliere.²⁰⁶ In this letter, Giulio Masetti, a Roman agent of the Duke, wrote to inform his patron that three “excellent” lutes made by Pietro Alberto, which cost eight golden scudi apiece, were ready to be sent to Ferrara. Alfonso had ordered his maestro di cappella, Ippolito Fiorini, to ask the “Cavalliero dei leuto del sig. Cardinale Farnese” to retrieve the three “most rare” instruments for his court.²⁰⁷ The letter also mentions a man named Pignati, presumably one of Alfonso’s lutenists, who had asked that one of the lutes be chosen by the Cavaliere for himself. Masetti asks Alfonso, therefore, if the lute for Pignati could be sent directly to him rather than to Ferrara with the other two.²⁰⁸ There was nothing unusual in asking an expert lutenist to check out the work of a lute maker before spending a large amount of money on his instruments. That Pinti and Pietro Alberto knew each other and were possibly friends is shown by the fact that a few months later, Pinti was named godfather at the birth of the lute maker’s son.²⁰⁹ In any case, Masetti’s letter shows that Pinti was considered an authority on lutes, and informs us that he was well enough known at the Ferrarese court, by fame if not in person, that his judgement could be trusted by one of his peers.

Also at the court of Alfonso II d’Este in Ferrara was the celebrated Piccinini family of lute players: Leonardo Maria I and his three sons Alessandro, Girolamo and Filippo.²¹⁰ Alessandro is not only remembered

²⁰⁵ See Section II.b, n. 40 and 42.
²⁰⁶ See Section II.b, n. 32.
²⁰⁷ On Fiorini, see BOTTRIGARI 1594 (cited in CRISTOFORETTI 1983: [i]).
²⁰⁸ Patrizio Barbieri (BARBIERI 1989: 166) erroneously interprets the document, attributing to the Cavaliere the acquisition of the lutes. It is clear from the text, however, that Pinti was simply asked to retrieve the instruments and consign them to Masetti. A final consideration is that Pignati would have wanted the instrument for his own use and was therefore anxious to make sure that it was of the highest quality, but the owner of the instrument would probably have been the Duke, as it was usually the case that instruments played by court musicians were owned by the court and not by the musicians themselves.
²⁰⁹ See Section II.b, n. 55. Marco Pesci suggests (PESCI 2003 [2004]: 130) that Pinti was selected as godfather by the luthier for the advantage of Pinti’s highly placed contacts.
²¹⁰ For more on the Piccinini brothers see CRISTOFORETTI 1983. The music of Alessandro Piccinini is found in his Primo libro di Intavolatura di liuto, ed di chitarre (Bologna 1623) and the post-
for his compositions, but also for his experiments in lute design. In the introduction to his *Primo libro d'intavolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone*, published in Bologna in 1623, he claims to have invented both the archlute and the “pandora,” a type of chitarrone with the “fifth string, and the sixth, and the contrabasses in silver thread”. He writes that his “exquisite” archlutes were very much appreciated both by Duke Alfonso and by the Prince of Venosa, Carlo Gesualdo. Such was Gesualdo’s enthusiasm, it seems, that the Duke gave him two of them. Gesualdo knew something about lutes: in playing the lute he is said to have had “few peers.” When he returned to Naples, he stopped in Rome and left one of the archlutes there, which, according to Piccinini, “then fell into the hands of the Knight of the Lute, who always used it, infinitely appreciating that invention.” Piccinini was able to get the instrument back when he visited Rome after the death of the Cavaliere.

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**humous Intavolatura di liuto. Secondo libro** (Bologna 1639) which includes compositions by the book’s editor, Alessandro’s son Leonardo Maria II.

211 See Section II.b, Piccinini 1623. It is not exactly the case, as some commentators have affirmed, that Piccinini was, or claimed to be, the inventor of the chitarrone. Instead, he states that his “invention” consisted of the addition of a long neck extension for additional bass strings to the ordinary lute, thus producing the “archlute,” and that this type of extension was applied to the chitarrone (originally the name given to an ordinary bass lute with a new tuning) a few years later, not earlier than 1597. Regarding the “pandora”, see PICCININI 1623: 5.

212 As is well known, Gesualdo da Venosa married Eleonora d’Este, cousin of Alfonso II, in 1593: see the genealogical tree of the Este family.

213 This expression comes from a letter from Jean de Macque to Camillo Norimberghi, July 30, 1586, cited in LIPPMANN 1978: 263.

214 This probably happened during Gesualdo’s second trip from Ferrara to Naples, which took place between late summer and December 1595, and not during the first trip, between May 15 and December of 1594 (see BIANCONI 2001). This is because Piccinini invented his archlute after having failed at his first experiment in lute design, the “liuto dal corpo longo” (long-bodied lute), which was constructed beginning in January, 1595. Piccinini wrote to Duke Alfonso on January 31, 1595, that he went to Padua on the 25th of that month and ordered the new lutes to be made, but had to wait for the long soundboards to arrive from Germany (CRISTOFORETTI 1983: [iii], who in turn cites VALDRIGHI 1884: 272). The resulting instrument, which was called “stravagante” (extravagant) by the lute maker, was judged to be a failure for its acoustic quality. It was after this first experiment that Piccinini had the brilliant idea of extending the neck, rather than the body of the lute.

215 There is no trace of this archlute in the inventory of objects in Pinti’s room at the palace of the Chancellor at the time of his death (see Section II.b, n. 50). The inventory only contains one “liuto con la sua cassa” (lute with its case). It is possible that the archlute was housed elsewhere, for example at his private home in the Trevi district of Rome (see Section II.b, n. 45), but considering that Pinti was employed by the vice-chancellor, the instrument may have belonged to his patron, who may have kept it in a different part of his residence.
Although Piccinini does not say so (perhaps he didn't know), the
archlute probably did not fall into the hands of Vincenzo Pinti by accident.
It is not certain that Pinti and Gesualdo knew each other, but it is likely,
and their acquaintance may have been facilitated by the composer Jean de
Macque. Before joining the court of Gesualdo at Venosa in 1585, the Flemish
musician lived and worked for many years in Rome and made many close
friends whom he remembered in later years with nostalgia. One of these
was probably Vincenzo Pinti. In a letter written on April 28, 1589, to his
friend Camillo Norimberghi, Jean asked for news of the lutenist: "I beg you
[...] to inform me if the Knight of the Lute [...] has retired into the service
of the Cardinal Mont’Alto, as here it has been said." Cardinal Farnese
had just died and Pinti did in fact "retire" to Montalto's household: could
this letter suggest perhaps that someone in Naples also hoped to acquire the
services of our lutenist?

Nicolò Tagliaferro, "singer in the royal chapel of his Catholic
Majesty in the Kingdom of Naples," also knew the Cavaliere and dedicated
a somewhat confused passage to him in his list of those who "raised that
instrument [the lute] to such perfection as we see today." The first players
he cited in his list were "signor Luise Denticie, most expert in that practice,
and after him signor Fabritio his son, true light and master regarding the
way to play the lute, who has no equal either in Italy or outside of Italy."

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216 See LIPPAMANN 1978 for a well-documented examination of the relations between Jean de
Macque and the two cities.
217 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Pinti's patron, was a cousin and good friend ("cugino e amicissimo")
of Nicolò Caetani, uncle of Camillo Caetani, to whom Jean de Macque dedicated his Secondo Libro
Di Madrigali Ei Napolitane A Sei Voci (Venice 1582): See LIPPAMANN 1978: 250-51, and the gene-
ealogical trees of the Caetani and Farnese families. The relationship between Alessandro Farnese and
Nicolò Caetani may have facilitated an encounter, and perhaps friendship, between Vincenzo Pinti and
Jean de Macque. It also seems probable that it was Cardinal Farnese who suggested in 1588 the choice
of Pinti as superintendent of the string makers' guild to the chamberlain, Cardinal Enrico Caetani,
another nephew of Niccolò. While on the subject of the Caetani family, it is possible that a member of
this family from the next generation knew Pinti, i.e. Cardinal Bonifacio, who was the patron of Traiano
Boccalini, author of the Ragguagli di Farnaso (see PESCI 2003 [2004]: 123). Note, too, the somewhat
distant familial relationship between Cardinal Farnese and Carlo Gesualdo (see the genealogical trees
of the Farnese and Borromeo families) which may also have facilitated an encounter between Gesualdo
and Pinti.
218 See Section II.b, n. 39. Documents from between 1583-84 and 1589 indicate that Norimberghi
was in the service of the Caetani during this period; one of his duties was to hire musicians for religious
services (LIPPAMANN 1978: 252-3).
219 See Section II.b, Tagliaferro 1608.
After this, he conceded, the "Cavaglierino [little knight] who lived in Rome with the Lord Cardinal Farnese was not of negligible renown." The use of the diminutive "Cavaglierino" and the description that follows seem to indicate a certain amount of condescension on the part of the singer of the royal chapel. Perhaps Tagliaferro also wanted to underline the difference in social class between Dentic e (who belonged to "one of the principal noble clans of Naples, that of the Capuana," and was thus without doubt a knight of "great stature") and the Roman lutenist. Certainly the "little Cavaliere" could not compete with the great Dentic e, who, Tagliaferro adds, was without equal both "in lute playing" and "in every other thing that can induce harmony and beauty," that is: "arias for bass and soprano to sing to an instrument," "madrigaletti," "but above all those things that are sought for the Holy Week."

Let us return to Jean de Macque. While in Naples, Jean's religious fervour, not entirely evident in some of his profane compositions, was suddenly heightened after an encounter with the fierce moralist Giovenale Ancina, who had been sent to Naples in 1586 by Filippo Neri as part of his counter-reformation program of religious renewal. One of Ancina's missions was to ensure that the musical arts were addressed to the greater glory of God. In 1602, a few months before being elected bishop of Saluzzo, Ancina wrote a letter to his good friend, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, in which he touches on musical matters in a post scriptum:

"I have at hand a young Roman, 19 or 20 years old, who plays the lute excellently, and he is a diligent student of the works of the G. knight, known as 'of the lute,' praising them lavish ly. Therefore, I pray your most illustrious

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220 The "cavaglierino" referred to by Tagliaferro would appear to be Pinti because of his description as being in the service of Cardinal Farnese, but it might also refer to Lorenzino Tracetti, if he was also in Farnese's service (see above, Section I.a.2). Tracetti was a golden knight and thus, according to Sansovino, of a lesser rank than the noble Dentic e.


222 See the clarifications by Francesco Sansovino: "The more worthy the prince, the greater the knight created by him, compared to one made by a prince of lesser stature". Pinti may have been created knight by a prince of "lesser stature" (SAN SOVINO 1566: 8).

223 The methods of persuasion used by Ancina were quite radical. For example, in the case of Jean de Macque, after having scolded him for setting lascivious lyrics, he tore apart his book of madrigals, at which point the composer was promptly convinced. This episode, which can be seen in the Apostolic "Processi" (Rome, Chiesa Nuova, Archive of Padri Filippini) is recounted by DAMILANO 1956: 36. Ancina was sent to Naples in 1586 by Filippo Neri, who recalled him to Rome ten years later. On Giovenale Ancina and his works, see FISCHER 2001 and Tempio armonico 2007.

224 The text of the letter contains a few comments about various common acquaintances and news of the imminent arrival in Rome, "in the red habit of a pilgrim", of the recently converted "Dotor
lordship to do me the courtesy of [writing] a letter [to the knight] so that he may not be reticent in communicating his works to the virtuosi, who will do him honor; and that he give me some rare examples of his compositions, all of which I will devote to the praise of God and Our Lady the Blessed Virgin. Signor Emilio de Cavallieri, musician extraordinaire, is dead. We will all die."

I have not so far been able to identify the young Roman lutenist who was so enthusiastic about the Cavaliere's music, nor have I been able to clarify the significance of the letter “G” that precedes the word “cavallier” (maybe “Gran,” i.e. “Great”). Nevertheless, the following significant points are raised by this letter: there existed compositions by the Cavaliere “of the lute,” these works had a very limited circulation but not so much so that they could not fall into the hands of a young Roman virtuoso, and Ancina counted on Federico Borromeo to convince the Cavaliere not to be “reticent” in “communicating his works,” guaranteeing that they would be “devoted to the praise of God and Our Lady the Blessed Virgin.”

Who was Ancina trying to reassure with this last phrase, Borromeo or the Cavaliere? Probably both. Borromeo, cousin of Saint Carlo Borromeo, was, like his friend Ancina, a staunch and active counter-reformation moralist, but Vincenzo Pinti, too.

Figure 9 – Cardinal Federico Borromeo

Rossetri," who was “formerly [...] a most rotten Calvinist and fierce antagonist of the Catholics.” See Section II.b, n. 30.  
225 The last phrase regarding the death of Emilio de’ Cavallieri is cited in KIRKENDAL 1993: 386. To date, I have not seen the preceding part of the letter cited in modern musicological studies.  
226 As far as I know, no other documents, apart from the document discussed here and Section II.b, n. 31, show a personal connection between Vincenzo Pinti and Federico Borromeo. Such a connection
was known for his religiosity, as his tombstone records: "most illustrious for the candor of his faith." That this was not simply rhetoric, but reflected a commonly held opinion about Pinti seems to be confirmed by another, heretofore unnoticed document.

In a long sermon for the nuns of Saint Catherine, written at an unspecified date between 1612 and 1614, Federico Borromeo explains that in the Holy Church, one sings not for "vanity, from which may God save you," but to "accompany the singing of Angels," so that the souls of listeners are moved to devotion. To obtain this admirable effect three conditions are necessary: a good voice, music well composed, and above all the sincerity of the soul of the singer, because "he who does not practice prayer or does not feel within himself a certain pious and devoted emotion cannot arouse it in others." The third condition counted for so much that, even if the voice was not very good, the "pious and devote emotion" of the singer would be enough to give him such a beautiful and convincing manner that he would be able to "suspend the souls" of the listeners. And to better convince the good nuns of the truth of his words, Federico cited a few examples, both of "saintly souls" (such as, "Saint Catherine of Siena, who played and sung very well"), and of contemporary people, among whom were two men that he himself had heard with his own ears. One of these was an "Excellent Musician" from Ferrara (not identified), and the other was the "Knight of the Lute," known by this name "because he played excellently on this Instrument:"

he also sung in a marvelous way and although the voice was not good but rather quite hoarse ("rauca"), nevertheless he sung some Psalms with such a beautiful manner that he attracted to himself the souls of the people who even came from afar to hear him.

It is not surprising that a lutenist would recite psalms, perhaps according to the tones, with a chordal accompaniment on his instrument, and he would certainly not be lacking for repertoire. His voice may have been hoarse, but it was evidently inspired by a sincere faith, a faith also asserted,

might have been facilitated by the long friendship between Borromeo and Pinti's patron, Cardinal Montalto. The two cardinals were given their hats at the same session in 1585 by Pope Sixtus V. Borromeo was a groom of the chamber to this pope (Felice Peretti) and Montalto was the pope's nephew. See LITTA 1839-1846: IV, table "Peretti di Montalto".
227 See Section II.b, n. 31.
228 To cite one example, Vincenzo Galilei published in his Fronimo an "In exitu" for four voices "per canare sul liuto la parte piu grave" (GALILEI 1584: 14, 17-23). That Pinti may have composed vocal
as we have seen, on his tombstone, which notes that he was loved by a pope (Julius III) and two cardinals. It is not known if he composed his psalms, hiding his authorship for religious modesty, and it may be that this modesty was also responsible for the limited circulation of his instrumental compositions and for the total absence of his proper name (substituted, as it were, by that pseudonym, “knight of the lute,” that has so exercised lutenists and musicologists) in the musical sources.

I.c.4 Lusitaniae Christi Militiae Eques

Turning again to Pinti’s tombstone inscription, we read that he was a “Knight of the Militia of Christ in Lusitania.” We do not know when or by whom he was nominated knight, but it is unlikely to have been by Pope Julius III, because Pinti would have been too young for such recognition by the time of the pope’s death in 1555, although young children, usually the sons of “great princes” were sometimes so honored even shortly after birth. In the accounts of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese conserved at the State Archive in Naples, we find Vincenzo Pinti’s name reccurent among the Cardinal's salaried employees. He is always listed there as “signor cavalier Vincenzo Pinto” (in a single occasion with the addition of “sonatore di liuto”). Thus, he was already a knight at least from the beginning of

music is suggested by the presence of a villanella, “Di pianti e di sospir nodrisco il core,” attributed to “S. Cavalier del Leuto” in Ms. B, k. 6. 31 (olim lt. 1384), cc. 8v.-9r., in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena. This collection of villanelle was arranged to include a line of lute tablature, but the tablature itself was omitted. I wish to thank Franco Pavan for this important information. Julius III was particularly fond of music (see PASTOR 1963: VI, p. 38). In a report by Ippolito Capilupi of February 3, 1551 (Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, cited in PASTOR 1963: VI, appendix 12, p. 602) we learn that Plauto’s comedy Aulularia, “with nice costumes and well recited by young boys, with intermezzi of good music,” was given at Belvedere that year. Is it possible that the young Vincenzo took part among the “fanciulli” on that occasion? It may be that the high esteem Federico Borromeo had for Pinti caused him to suggest the lutenist’s inclusion in an unexpected place: among the poets of Parnassus in Traiano Boccalini’s Ragguagli di Parnaso. Borromeo was closely associated with Boccalini, who entrusted the cardinal with his Roman affairs in 1596 (see FIRPO 1969).

231 Unless, of course, it is eventually shown that Pinti was of noble birth. For example, the two children of Jacques of Savoy (the Duke of Nemours) received the necklace of the “Annunziata di Savoia” when they were respectively five and ten years old. See LITTA 1839-1846: vol. 10, table XIII, and GIGNA-SANTI 1786: 74.

232 See Section II.b, n. 33-38, which cover the years from 1564 (not 1563 as erroneously reported by NIWA 2006 and repeated by PESCI 2005 [2007]) to 1570. I would like to thank Dr. Rosa Russo for her help in reading these documents. Apparently, the accounts for the following years are missing, and thus it is not possible to ascertain if Pinti remained with the Cardinal after that date. There is a letter
these accounts in January 1564. And in 1581, Giulio Masetti speaks of him as the "Cavalliero del leito del sig. Cardinale Farnese."234 It was probably Alessandro Farnese (the first of the two "great Alexanders" named on the tombstone) who elected him to the prestigious order of knighthood. The vice-chancellor could, by right, nominate a certain number of knights (for the record, he could nominate 26 Knights of Saint Peter, 13 of Saint Paul, 20 Pious Knights and 2 Knights of the Lily).235 Furthermore he often succeeded in conferring additional knighthoods on his protégés by exerting influence over those who could intervene on his behalf. Cardinal Montalto used this strategy to have Sebastiano Raval declared Knight of Malta and to give Cesare Marotta the Savoy Cross and Pompeo Stabile that of Saints Maurice and Lazarus.236 Cardinal Farnese beseeched the Duke of Savoy to bestow "the cross of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, as you are in the habit of benevolently conceding to all those who, with the appropriate means, ask for it," to a certain "Knight [...] being one of my gentlemen, and long-standing servant in our household," promising "particular obligations" in exchange for this favour.237 In the case of Pinti, Alessandro Farnese could have turned for help to his relative, Carlo Borromeo, who was the protector of the Order of the Militia of Christ in Lusitania until his death in 1584.238 This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that Carlo's cousin, Federico Borromeo, knew the lutenist personally and appreciated his religious fervour. The choice of the Portuguese order of knighthood would concord with the possible Portuguese ancestry of Pinti, and the direct involvement of the King of Portugal in this matter cannot be entirely excluded.239

of November 15, 1570, from Ludovico Tedesco to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese that speaks of the dismissal of musicians, which must be carried out while trying not to displease "the knight of Aragon, at whose request [the Cardinal] took the said musicians into his service" (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio Farnesiano Estero b. 462 [ex 362]). It cannot be stated with certainty that Pinti was among those being dismissed, since it is not known if Pinti was one of the musicians hired at the suggestion of the knight of Aragon. That Pinti could not be dismissed on account of his nobility, as affirmed by Pesci (PESCI 2005 [2007]: 357-8), is still an open question.

233 See Section II.b, n. 33, c. 17.
234 See Section II.b, n. 32.
235 See MORONI 1841: VII, 163.
236 See CHATER 1987 p. 189-93.
237 Turin, Archivio di Stato, Lettere Cardinali mazzo 1°, n. 32: December 12, 1580.
238 Carlo Borromeo was nominated Protector of the Order of the Militia of Christ in Lusitania in 1560 when he was made cardinal by his maternal uncle, Pope Pious IV (Gian Angelo Medici). See PASTOR 1963: VI, 85, and the genealogical trees of the Farnese and Borromeo families.
239 Documentation regarding Pinti's elevation to knighthood has not been found so far. In the inventory of his belongings (Section II.b, n. 50) there is a certificate for "keeping the cross of Christ" ("Breve di poter pigliar la croce di Christo"), and a document conceding to Pinti the collection of revenue deriving from his membership in the order of knighthood, allowing him to display the order's emblem in his house. This privilege of displaying the emblem of knighthood was prohibited to "golden knights."
The knighthood of the Militia of Christ in Lusitania, according to Francesco Sansovino, was a “religious militia” or knighthood “of the cross”, and its adherents were committed to religious regulations. We learn from the roundabout explanation of Filippo Bonanni that such regulations were originally those of Saint Benedict: poverty, obedience and chastity, “but then, by indulgence of [Pope] Alexander VI, they can practice marriage, and they vow to take up arms for the Catholic faith whenever needed”. Although the vow of chastity did not exclude marriage, Pinti does not seem to have taken advantage of this loophole: his tombstone, so rich in information about his life, mentions neither wife nor children, to whom Pinti probably would have left his inheritance, instead of the arch-confraternity. On the other hand, at the time of his death, Pinti may have been a widower and/or may have survived children who died young. There is no strong evidence for this, but there are two indications that are worthy of note and might stimulate further research. The first is that in his testament, Pinti left a substantial gift to the “monastery of the virgins of Saint Catherine of the Rose in Rome […] for the benefit and service of the said virgins and for those things that they need for their use and for themselves: to keep themselves clean, and both for sleeping and for eating.” Could this generosity have been motivated by the presence of a close relative in the monastery? Furthermore, the inventory of his belongings mentions two birth certificates (“fedi”) for one “Giovanni Battista Pinto” and a “letter of lady Menichina, his mother”. That Pinti saved these birth certificates suggests that the person named may have been a son. The reference to “his mother” is less easily explained: if Giovanni Battista was his son, it is strange that the lady in question was referred to as the mother of Giovanni, rather than as the wife of Pinti, unless, of course, Giovanni Battista was born out of wedlock. Giovanni Battista could also have been a nephew or other relative. Another possibility is that the person named in these birth certificates was not the son, but the father of Vincenzo. A document of 1599 reveals that Vincenzo’s father was in fact named Giovanni, but a second name of Battista is not indicated there.

240 SANSOVINO 1566: 11 v., 22 r. and 133 v.
241 BONANNI 1711: Section LVI.
242 See Section II.b, n. 45.
243 See Section II.b, n. 50.
244 Marco Pesci suggests that Menichina might be Vincenzo Pinti’s mother. However the grammatical construction of the phrase implies that she was the mother of Giovanni Battista (see PESCI 2003 [2004]: 131). Vincenzo Pinti did have a loved nephew, Francesco Leone (or Leoni) Pinti, who died when he was 25 years old (see Section II.b, GALLETI 1760-Leoni 1597). His tombstone, erected by
The vow of poverty, too, was not to be taken too literally. As we have already seen, the position of superintendent of the string makers guaranteed Pinti a fairly good income. That his economic situation was discretely florid is seen from his testaments and from the inventory of his possessions drawn up after his death.246 Since Pinti was neither a soldier, nor, as far as we know, a chaplain, we can infer that within his order of knighthood he would have been considered a “servant”, probably “of office”.247 We learn from Bonanni that knights of Lusitania wore around their necks a “red cross bordered with gold with another white cross set in the middle of it” and that “the clothing used in the capitulary functions is a large cloak of white wool tied around the neck with two white ropes”.248 In fact, such a cloak is possibly referred to in the second testament, in which Pinti asks to be buried in “the white clothing that I usually wear when in communion.”249

The Militia of Christ in Lusitania was an “ecclesiastical militia”. Sansovino informs us that knights of the ecclesiastical militia were a separate, distinct category from knights “of the spur,” i.e. “golden knights.” Thus the expressions “cavaliere aurato” and “eques auratus” (golden knight) could only refer to Lorenzino Tracetti and not to Vincenzo Pinti, although both Lorenzino and Vincenzo could be aptly described as a “knight of Rome” and, no doubt, “knight of the lute.”

his uncle Vincenzo, records that he worked in the household of the Cardinal of Saint George (Cinilio Passeri Aldobrandini, 1551 - 1610), nephew of Pope Clement VIII. The use of the term “avunculus” (maternal uncle) to indicate Vincenzo Pinti on the tombstone points to the existence of a sister of the lutenist, whose death probably predates that of her son, as otherwise she would have been mentioned on the tombstone. See PESCI 2003 [2004]: 134-135, who seems to have overlooked this detail, and inexplicably affirms that the death of the young nephew must have been violent.

245 See Section II.b, n. 54. This document is mentioned by Marco Pesci (PESCI 2003 [2004]: 128, note 24), but he doesn’t seem to have noticed the reference to Pinti’s father.

246 See Section II.b, n. 45, 48 and 50.

247 See Section I.a.1: the classification of orders of knighthood.

248 The description of the cross given by Sansovino (f. 22) is a little confusing: “una croce rossa, ma tonda con certe tacche d’oro per entro sparse” (a red, but rounded cross with certain marks of gold spread around inside).

249 See Section II.b, n. 48.
II. Documents and literary texts

The documents and literary texts cited in this article as sources for biographical information are categorized into two sections: documents and texts concerning musicians named “Lorenzino” (Section II.a), and documents and texts concerning Vincenzo Pinti (Section II.b). Within each section, documents are listed first, then literary texts. Documents are numbered progressively. They are grouped alphabetically by city according to their present place of conservation, and then ordered chronologically. Labels have been assigned to literary texts, in order to identify them easily within the text of the article. The labels are composed of the name of the author, if known, or the title in abbreviated form, plus the date. Literary texts are listed in chronological order of publication, or compilation in the case of unpublished manuscripts.

A short description is given for each documentary source. For the more important documents and texts, a partial or total transcription is given, sometimes provided with short explanatory notes. In the transcriptions, abbreviations are spelled out whenever possible, and the use of capital letters is modernized. Documents in Italian and Latin have been left, for the most part, in their original language. It was considered opportune to translate documents from Bavaria written in early German, which is substantially different from modern German. Finally, a bibliography is listed for each document and text, referring to studies, published and unpublished, that cite the source in question in the musicological literature.

II.a. Sources relating to musicians named “Lorenzino”

DOCUMENTS

MANTOVA (Mantua): ARCHIVIO DI STATO (MANTOVA-AS.)

1. MANTOVA-AS. 1570 August 12 [1].
   Archivio Gonzaga / busta 904 / cc. 696 r. – 697 r.

Tivoli. Letter from Annibale Cappello, agent of Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, to Aurelio Zibramonti, secretary to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. In this letter Capello also refers to a “mottetto a otto ch’ha fatto il Palestina [sic] per il Re di Spagna”.

[... ] “Non accade ch’io dia particolar ragguaglio a Vostra Signoria delle qualità et sufficienza di Lorenzino dal liuto, né meno ch’io scriva con che conditioni verria a sevire Sua Eccellenza, essendo partito da questo servizio per andare col principe di Bisignano,
che se prima avessi saputo questa volontà di Sua Eccellenza li haverei mandato senz’altro che ne sarebbe restata sodisfattissima, essendo veramente un monstro di natura in quella professione per l’età sua; se comparirà qualch’altro che sia bono, farò che Sua Eccellenza resterà servita."


2. MANTOVA-AS. 1570 August 12 [2].

Archivio Gonzaga / busta 904 / cc. 694 r. – 695 r.

Rome. Letter from Francesco Fellonica, agent of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua, to Aurelio Zibramonte. Fellonica expresses his gratitude for having been asked to find singers for the ducal choir ("per servitio del Signor Duca Eccellentissimo nostro signore in materia de trovargli Cantori da Coro"), and reports that he found one who had a good tenor voice and is experienced in counterpoint ("uno mi è cappitato, che buonissimo, et sufficiente sarìa, per la parte del tenore, con voce gagliarda, et piena, bellissimo cantante, et di buon contrapunto"). However, he reports that the singer will not leave Rome if not well paid ("non uscria di Roma se non ben paggato"), since he hopes to enter the Papal choir and is also in negotiations with a Neapolitan abbot. He asks Zibramonte therefore if he should continue to insist with this singer, considering that "questa professione di Musica al presente in Roma, e tanto al basso, che non ci cappitano huomini come solea, s’il Cardinale di Ferrara, et quel di Trento non ci recappitassen questa sorte d’huomeni, la musica correria tutt’il giorno alla staffa, dietro a Cocchi, et a Mulle, li quali Cardinali tutti dua sono fuori di Roma, et hanno de buoni huomini in tal professione, che se alcuno se ne partisse, et cappitassero qui, non mancherei appostarlo per sua Eccellentia, quando fusse a proposito."

Although the name of Lorenzino does not appear in this letter, it is nevertheless probable that Fellonica refers to him in the following passage, referring to the correspondence between Cappello and Zibramonte:

"Ho visto quel tanto Vostra Signoria dice scrivere a Don Hanibal nel particolar di quel giovane, che sona di lauto, che sta con Monsignor Illustissimo suo, so che da lui ne sarà ragugliato apieno, pero io non gli dico altro, se non che lui, se ne sta qui per Roma et tutt’il giorno, si va sonnando in qua e in la et il cardinale e a Tivoli; or esso non canta nel lauto, ma ben sa contrapunto, come esso sia grato a Sua Signoria Illustissima io non lo so, ne meno dirò se quella servitu a corte sia di sodisfazione a lui, ch’el tutto lasciaro dir a Don Hanibale".

Bibliography: CANAL 1879: 33; BEIER-KIRÁLY 1996; CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005

3. MANTOVA-AS. 1570 September 2.

Archivio Gonzaga / busta 904 / cc. 714 r. – 715 v.

Rome. Letter from Francesco Fellonica to Aurelio Zibramonte:

[...] Subito hafta la lettera di V.S. di 28 del passato et visto quel tanto la mi scrive intorno a quel che Don Hanibal Cappello, ha scritto di Lorenzino dal lauto, gli dico, che
ritrovandomi con suo padre hieri, del tutto mi ho voluto chiarire, il qual mi riferisce, che quattro giorni fa il Cavagliere Montino scrisse, a detto Lorenzino, che senza altro se ne montasse a cavallo, et se n’andasse a Tivoli, per comissione di monsignor eminentissimo suo; il qual come quello, che fa professione di non volerlo più servire, per molte cause non lo volesse altrimenti ubbidire, et se ne restò, andandosene tutt’il giorno sonando in casa de cardinali, et signori, et pur l’altra matina il signor priore illustissimo diede desinare al signor ambasciatores cesareo, et ancor lui vi fu che sonando fece stuppir ogn’uno, or ragionando io pur con suo padre, et dimandandogli che animo aria il suo intorno al giovane, quando non restasse al servizio del signor cardinale, esso mi rispose, che partiti non gli mancavano, ma che per esser anco giovane volontieri lo terrà anco appresso di lui un pezzo et che il cardinal Orsino gli fa gran chiera et gli dà intrattenimento, et mostra desiderio d’haverlo, quanto a quello V.S. dice, che scrive don Annibale, che è partito dal cardinal di Ferrara, per andar a servire il prencipe di Bisignano, esso suo padre dice non saper tal cosa, et che se harà a partirsia da Roma non vorrà lasci la servitù del signor duca nostro excellentissimo, essendo esso per molt’anni affezionatissimo a questa casa illustissima, ogni volta, che gli sarà fatto partito che vi possi stare; io gli ho dimandato di quel tanto si contentaria, esso mi dice, che dal cardinal di Ferrara havesa la spesa per due bocche, et tre scudi d’oro al mese per provisione, et quando voglia star in Roma, sa trovarà maggior partito; et in conclusione siamo restati, poi che così suspe se ne sta, per le parole che il cavaglior Montino gli mandò a dire, che dimane o l’altro, esso suo padre se ne vadi a Tivoli, et chiarirsi del fatto, et saper qual sia l’animò di sua signoria illustissima, o di volerlo, o lasciarlo, non nominando però il signor duca excellentissimo, né altri et così ha promesso fare; fra tanto se vostra signoria mi farà saper qual sia la mente di sua excellencia intorno al provisione col resto che li volesse dare, ogni volta, che si risolvesse, et fosse con buona licenza lasciato, acciò gli puossi offrire, et propenergli, per non dar tempo al tempo, et per venir tosto a conclusione, io n’ho fatto motto al signor priore illustissimo del tutto, et quel tanto è passato fra il padre, et me, se sarà bisogno dell’opera sua, non mancarà interponervisi. Quanto po acciò che il Tenore ch’al di passati propis a Vostra Signoria, per hora non ne posso dir altro, per esser fuori di Roma con quel suo abbate [...] se sia meglio di quel A[...] Antonio Napoletano, o buono, come lui, non lo so” [...]
sua, et che perciò dovessi intendere la sua mente scrivendone da sua parte. Veggo questo castrato risoluto di non ritornar pero quando non mi venga contraria commissione non solo non rifiutar la promessa di detto signor Cardinale, ma secondo le [...] gli raccorderò l'ordine ch'ho da sua Eccellentia di rimandarlo per che non si ritrovando se non rarissimi di questi animali, et essendo quelli puochi che si trovano tutti volubili et huomini di puoco senso non mi par di dover haver altra mira che di far che venga ch'inver se questa considerazione non mi consolasse restarei con molto dispiacere che costui m'havesse così ben ucellato a farmi scrivere quel ch'io scrissi a Vostra Signoria, perché fosse ricevuto in gratia di sua Eccellentia. Non son restato manco chiarito di Lorenzino il quale questa estate mostrò infinito desiderio di esser accettato al servigio di sua Eccellentia ma dopo la venuta mia qui è stato sempre su la sua dicendo che stà bene con monsignor illustrissimo di Ferrara; ho di poi anco inteso alcune cose di lui per le quali lo repto indegno di tal servitù et son sicuro che sua eccellentia in pochi di lo licentiarebbe, et buona sarebbe per Lorenzino che se ne andasse impunito. Ho perciò procurato che il signor segretario Mondino habbi sentito a sonare un giovane il quale sona di leuto bene et poco meno di Lorenzino, è rarissimo di viola da musica, et di violino, sona bene l'arpa et clavicordo e giovane di buoni costumi, ma perché guadagna bene qui dimanda tanto di provisione et due spese che non prenderemo più oltre sinche esso segretario Mondino alla venuta sua haver parlato con sua eccellentia" [...] 


5. MANTOVA-AS. 1585 November 25.

*Archivio Gonzaga / busta 1381 / c. 370r – 371v.*

Parma. Letter from Ippolito Olivo to his cousin Luigi Olivo, castellan of Mantua.

"Illustre Signor mio Cugino Osservandissimo. Credo che Vostra Signoria si deve molto ben arircordare, che quando io fui alli di passati in Mantova, io li dissi, che per la morte del duca di Namur, vi era un musicò addimandato Lorenzino Bollognese che era senza patrone et [...] questo giovine è stato allevato dal Signor Duca mio, et tutto quello che sa lo sa per boni magistri che le mantene sempre Sua Eccelenza come sarebbe a dire un Fabritio Dentici un Horatio dalla Viola, et molti altri vaenthuomini li quali sono stati, et sono [...] al servizio di questi Signori desiderava in estremo di ritornare ad costé servitio Ma perché il Signor Duca si sdegnò assai seco quando li dimando licentia, dicendoli che quando era in termine di servirlo lo voleva piantare, che questo era un riconoscer poco l'ammorevolèzza che li hava ea usata seco con haverlo ridotto à quella perfetione et haver speso assai per farlo uomo da qualche cosa, et che li pareva pur strano che adesso che se ne poteva mo servire usase un termine così fatto, ma che andasse pure al bon viaggio, et cetera hora mo come dico a Vostra Signoria il Signor Duca con tutto che lo conosca per vaenthuomio et haverne di grandissimo bisogno, per trovarsi pochi suoi pari et allevato in casa, con tutto questo non lo ha voluto accettare. Ond'io, desideroso di far [...] a Sua Altezza il grandissimo desiderio che io ho di ben servirlo, son stato sempre, avertito, che lasciandose questa praticà, di operare che venghi questo valenthuomo al servitio di Sua Altezza et perché Vostra Signoria sappia le qualità sue, Dicole, che questo è un tenore perfetissimo da Capella, et serve anco per contraldo, in camera [...] Canta con bona gratia, et dispositione Conpone benissimo et le cose sue, qui presso questi vaenthuomini, sono in bona considerazione, sono la sua parte, assai
bene, di Viola et altri virtu le quali meritano che sij stimato assai Io li ho parola da lui, che ogni volta che Sua Altezza voglia trattarlo al paro di quello che hanno fatto li altri principi, che ha servito che molto volontieri venira a servir, questo Serrenissimo principe. Si che ho voluto darne conto a Vostra Signoria di quanto habbia fatto per in sin adesso di questo negozi, perchese so certo che Sua Altezza sara molto ben servita, et haverà uno giovine che molto si parlerà; Prego mo Vostra Signoria che di gratia mi favorisci o dentro o fuori darmi risposta di questo negozi et dir a Sua Altezza, che bisogna risolversi presto perché vi sono partiti grandi per lui, che tutta via li sono preposti, et a me basta l’animò di trattennerlo qualche giorni, perché io ne posso disponere assai, et perché anco Vostra Signoria sappia quello che per in sin adesso lui ha havuto di trattenimento erano dieci scudi d’oro in oro; et la spesa per lui et du servitori et stantia fornita, et credo certo che a questa hora dal Duca di Ferrara ce ne siano stati offerti dodeci, Ma quando Sua Altezza si risolverà a volerlo a me basta l’animò, di farlo venire per li dieci, se bene trovasi anco piu di dodici et anco tredici, perché so io quanto me amico et quanto ne posso disponere che sera per fine di questa mia, pregando Vostra Signoria a darmi, presto risposta, perché sappia anch’io quello che posso risolvermi a risponderle, et per riconpensa di questa fattica che io faccio per Sua Altezza io non voglio altro che la gratia Sua la quale stimo piu che tutte le cose di questo mondo, et che se degni gratiar mi di un Cavallo, della sua tanto famosa stalla che ottenendo queste due cose mi reputero felicissimo et me ne andro altiero. Vostra Signoria mi farà gratia ancora di arricordarsi di Messer Giulio Camillo mio fratello et haverlo per raccomandato sappendo, il grandissimo suo bisogno. Et a Vostra Signoria insieme con la Signora sua consorte, le baccio le mani, avisandola, che volendo scrivermi, sero a Piacenza perché il Signor Duca se parte vener che viene, per dar l’ordine del Tosone al Duca di Terra nova. Di Parma il di 25 di Novembre 1585. Di Vostra Signoria Illustre Cugino et Servo Hippolito Olivo.”


6. MANTOVA-AS. 1586 December 11.
Archivio Gonzaga / busta 1381 / c. 457 r. – 469 r.

Parma. Letter from Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo. Following the death of Duke Ottavio Farnese on September 2, 1586, Ippolito Olivo discusses the funeral, and informs his cousin Luigi that Carlo Arrecordati (probably in the service of the Farnese) has arrived from Flanders with a great case for the defunct duke. The new duke, Alessandro, wrote to the prince (his son Ranuccio) asking Arrecordati to dismiss all of the dependents of “happy memory” (“felice memoria”), with no exceptions (“non eccettuando servitori vecchi di fine merito”), knights, vassals, etc., whether at Parma, Piacenza, Rome, Milan, Bologna, Venice, etc.). On the other hand, the Duke reconfirmed four gentlemen (“gentilhuomini”), including himself (Ippolito Olivo). In this wholesale dismantling of the old order, the musicians were also dismissed:

“[...] tutta la musica è licenziata. Perche so che Sua Altezza desidera avere parte di questi musici, ho subito parlato a molti et in particolare a messer Paolo Basso, il quale mi ha risposto di questa maniera, che vuole esser libero della persona sua e che a nessuno vuole promettere di certo; che, buon servitore all’Altezza Sua, et desidera grandemente servirla, e che le fa sapere che il Duca di Baviera li ha offerto alli giorni passati trecento scudi di
provisione e un donativo, e che Sua Altezza facci mo lui l’offerta ancora, che secondo che l’offerta che li sara fatta che si governera ancor lui, et fara quel tanto che li tornera a piu utilita, per che per essere aggravato di bona famiglia la quale e di dodici bocche, et non avendo altra possessione ne entrata che questa della musica et vole che il Signor Julchi [?], li piaciendo loro, bisogna che se la facci velen [?] et ne vene sopra, avvertendo Sua Altezza che la provvisone che li offriria, vuole haverla in vita. Et questo e quanto ho potuto cavar de questo huomo. Ho parlato medesimamente col castratino, il quale mi ha detto che al presente non puo far determinatione alcuna della persona sua per un travaglio grande che ha al presente. [...] Vi e ancora una muta di questi musici da concerto che sono in cinque; i quali, quattro ve ne sono che sonano trombone, ed un contratlo che e valentissimo giovane; e tutti cinque sonnano piu sorte di instrumenti, come sarebbe a dire tromboni, fiferi, flauti, viole; et fra questi vi e un fratello di Messer Horatio della Viola tanto famoso, il quale sara ancora lui divinamente bene e piacera assai a Sua Altezza. Questi cinque si sono messi insieme, e serviranno all’Altezza Sua molto volentieri ogni volta che siino trattati bene et che posino vivere. Vi sono poi altre voci e valenluomini in componere, di tal maniera che se Sua Altezza desidera fare una bella musica di cantanti diversi, d’instrumenti et voci, adesso ha la comodita pero per servir all’Altezza sua et accio resti sattisfata di me et che veda che nel servitio suo sonno accuratissimo ho preso espedienti che mandar il presente messo a posta et inviarlo a Vostra Signorla accio sij subbito ragualio a Sua Altezza et desiderando servirsi [?] di questi tali mandi some a fusi qui a Parma una risolucionne di ogni cosa et finisco perche vi sonno chi fa molta instantia per averli, et in particolare il duca di Baviera, il quale pochi giorni sonno mando un corriero a posta per levarne la maggior parte e con carta bianca addimandassero cio che volessero [...] Occorre che Sua Altezza si risolva, egli dera tutti il possibile: ma sono certe genti, questi colla quale et con gran difficolta si puo trattar seco [...]”

Bibliography: CANAL 1879; CARLONE 2005.


Parma. Letter from Ippolito Olivo to Cavalier Federico Cattaneo, at Goito (Mantua). This document has numerous lacunae.

“Illustre Signor mio Osservandissimo. Da il Reverendo Messer Don Sigismondo, Ma[...]ndo, et Messer Battista Com[...] Serrenissima intendera minutamente, come passa il negotio [...] Il quale per non essen riuscito conforme al desiderio [...] ne ho sentito grandissimo dispiacere. A loro adunche [...] in tutto quello che essi rifferirano, in questo sugge[...]] diro per conclusione di questo negotio, che havendo il Signor Principe mio patronne, fatto intender à Messer Paolo Basso al castratino, a Messer Giamaria contraldo à Lorenzino Bolognese et à Messer Gottofredo che essi vadino riserbarati in accettar alcun partito, perché Altezza sua dice haver scritto in Fiandra al Signor Duca suo padre, accio Altezza sua le facci gratia di confermarle al suo servitio, questi cinque. Et il corrento dice che ogni volta che Sua Altezza vorra et commandara, che tutto il concerto insieme d’instrumenti, venghino à Goito, à farsi sentire, che sonno cinque, come ho scritto in due altre mie, che fatto le feste, se ne vennirano tutta[...] et serviranno Altezza sua Serrenissima in tutto quello ch[...] et sapperano fare. Ma che il venir solo, suplica[...] sua a perdonarle, perché non vuole lasciar la [...] alla quale ha promesso la sua parola,
che e per fine di questa mia, pregando Vostra Signoria farmi gratia con tutta Humilta che se conviene far, riverendo a mio nome [l'Alte]zza sua Serenissima et famele degno della gratia sua [...] viva speranza di ottener dalla benignita et cle[mentia?] sua, quella gratia, per mio fratello, la quale nell'[altra?] mia scritt a Vostra Signoria ho mostrato desiderare col [...] medesimo (?) di Vostra Signoria. Alla quale, offrendomele divotissimo Servitor suo le baccio le mani. Di Parma il di 18 di Dicembre 1586 Di Vostra Signoria Illustre, Affezionatissimo et divotissimo [...] Hippolito Olivo”

Bibliography. CANAL 1879; CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005.

MODENA: ARCHIVIO DI STATO (MODENA-AS.)

8. MODENA-AS. 1570 January - December.
   Amministrazione dei Principi / registro 909 / Salariati 1570

Tivoli or Rome (?). Register of employment of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este for the year 1570. The employed are grouped according to their occupation. Folios 74 v. to 75 r. are dedicated to one “messer Benedetto maestro da Ballare”, while from folio 85 v. to folio 101 r. the names of 16 musicians are listed, members of the musical chapel:


Regarding Lorenzino:
folio 98 v.: under the name “m. Lorenzino Traietti” two payments are indicated, the first of 16.50 scudi and the second of 9.90, but corrected to 6.60; the original total is also given (i.e.16.50 + 9.90 = 26.40).
folio 99 r.: for “Lorenzino, dal leuuto” the old total of 26.40 scudi is listed and then corrected to 23.30 with the proviso: “avertendo che s'è abbatuto il tempo che stete fuori del servitio”.

Dividing an annual salary of 26.40 scudi by 12 gives a monthly salary of 2.30 scudi. The deduction of 3.30 scudi thus indicates an absence of about one and a half months.


   Amministrazione dei Principi / registro 911 / Salariati

Tivoli or Rome (?). Register of employment of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este for the year 1571. The organization of the register is similar to that of the preceding year, but headed by an alphabetical list of the same names subsequently listed by occupation. From folio 70 r. to folio c. 84 v. the salaries for members of the musical chapel are listed; these are
the same names as those listed for the year 1570, with the single exception of Mattheo Masini who took over the position of Giovanni Antonio Severino "dal lauto":

Gioanni Pietroaluigi, maestro di Capella / Bernardino Pagano / Giovanni Battista, decio [?] / Oratio Massarelo / Iulio Guerrini / Savino di Francesco / Gioanni Eschinetta / Gioanni Contino / Constantino Bocchio / Giovanni Battista, Organista / Nicolo Fiamingo / Allessandro Barze / Premoro / Lorenzo dal leuto / Mattheo Masini.

Regarding Lorenzino:
folio 82 v.: under the name "Lorenzo dal leuto" three payments are indicated (9.90, 26.40 and 9.90) for a total of 46.20 scudi.
folio 83 r.: repetition of Lorenzino's salary: 6.60 and 39.60; total 46.20.

In 1571 Lorenzino's monthly salary rose to 3.85 scudi.


10. MODENA-AS. After December 2, 1572. Amministrazione dei Principi / registro 1023/b

Tivoli or Rome (?). List of employees of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este compiled after his death on December 2, 1572:

"Denari che la Beata memoria del signor Cardinal di Ferrara Illustissimo, dovea pagare all'infrascritte persone salariate da Sua Signoria Illustissima per le loro provigioni di tutto novembre 1572"

The list of musicians and their salaries includes:
Bernardino Pagano dal Cornetto a scudi cento venti d'oro l'anno / Giovanni Battista detto dalla viola a scudi cento di moneta l'anno / Oratio Massarelo falsetto a scudi sessanta d'oro l'anno / Iulio Guerrini dal Trombone a scudi quarantaotto d'oro l'anno / Sanino di Francesco dal Trombone a scudi quarantaotto d'oro l'anno / Don Alvaro Basso a scudi quaranta otto d'oro l'anno / Bartholomeo organista a scudi quarantaotto d'oro l'anno.

[...] "Altri debiti da pagarsi all'infrascritte Persone salariate che non stavano più al servitio":

[...] m. Gioanni da Pellestrina mro di Capella 39 & 60
[...] m. Lorencino dal lauto 12 & 55

Bologna. Letter from Orlando di Lasso to Wilhelm Wittelsbach, prince of Bavaria.

"Al Illustissimo et excellentissimo principe Guilielmo, Duca de le due Baviere, et mio signor sempre osservandissimo in Monaco, o Lantzhueit:

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo principe mio et patrone sempre osservandissimo:

Nel partir nostro da Mantua, dove il signor Ioan Pietro e stato presentato di catena, e danari satis,\(^{250}\) e così in Ferrara d’una bellissima catena siamo arrivati sani e salvi per la gratia de Dio in Bologna, dove havemo trovato il re di saltatori, un giovine garbatissimo che fa piu cose differente, come saltar il cavallo, saltar salti di piu sorte saltar con una corda, camina con due gran bastoni, gioca de piu sorte arme, danza mirabilmente bene, et in somma fa tutte le cose sue con tanta gratia, che io non ho mai visto un suo pari: speramo con l’agiuto del signor principe di Fiorenza che verrà al servitio di vostra Excellentia ho trovato qua medesimamente musici Excellentissimi un rarissimo contralto per il signor duca padre di vostra Excellentia se io potro far che voglia venire con un tenor bonissimo, ho trovato il magnifico Gerardo qual ci ha fatto ridere e piangere, è vecchio di 56 anni, se vostra Excellentia sarà servita, io faro il mio potere di condurlo solo meco, perché si ritrova con moglie e figlioli, se satisffara a vostra Excellentia lo potera accordare, ho anco trovato un giovine di buono aspetto che canta un basso in camera benissimo sona di cornetto, e di viola: e sicurissimo, e credo che piacera a vostra Excellentia vedero di menarlo, ho anco udito una vergine di buona famiglia, di Mezze Vilano\(^{251}\) che m. Ioan Batista\(^{252}\) cognosca bene, questa giovane sona assai bene di leuto, et ha una bellissima voce, e canta sicuramente al libro, et in leuto, e credo che diventara eccellente perché e tutto spirito, è di età di 14 anni, Io ho parlato con suo padre circa a la volonta di vostra Excellentia così mi ha promesso de consigliare e farmi intendere la sua volonta e deliberatione in Roma, se la [ven] in Baviera, venira a condurla un suo fratello galante gentilhuomo che ancora lui sona e canta honestamente, io havrei a caro a menar a vostra Excellentia, io mi sono poi informato di quel Iulio che canta il soprano,\(^{253}\) qual è conosciuto molto bene qua in Bologna è dicono che e raro nella voce e nella dispositione, ma si trova con moglie e figlioli, si che ci andara, qualche spesa a condurlo con tanta gente se vorà venire, cosa che tutti qua, mi dicono che verrà volontier, et lo laudano grandemente di molto ben creato, sona di organo, di leuto mediocrementre, si che si vostra Excellentia lo vuole mi scriva quello ho da fare, perché trovando si come spero in Roma quelli altri virtuosi, ho dubbio che li danari non bastano a condurre tanta gente che sarebbono: in primis, gerardo Magnifico venturino, la moglie, il saltatore un suo putto che salta, il basso da camera, li duo in

\(^{250}\) "Ioan Pietro" received an order of knighthood.

\(^{251}\) Ippolita Mezzovillano (LEUCHTMANN 1977).

\(^{252}\) Giovan Battista dell’Arpa? (LEUCHTMANN 1977).

\(^{253}\) Giulio Gigli (LEUCHTMANN 1977).
Roma gia promessii, Il giulio discanto, la sua moglie, 3 figlioli, la signora Ipolita che canta e sona, con il suo fratello e un servitore, il Lorenzino, Ioan Batista con il suo padre, un bon sonator de cornetto che fanno il numero di 20 persone che oltra esser condotti a le spese di vostra Excellentia, voranno quasi tutti 50 scudi in primis de presente, si che ho voluto far indendere a vostra Excellentia il tutto, di Fiorenza piacendo a Dio o di Roma aviso a vostra Excellentia il resto, per hora humilmente baso le mani di vostra Excellentia insieme con tutta la nostra compagnia, pregando del medesimo a madame la princesse, qui n'a mal au fesse’ pardonnez moi madame Renee, in fretta di Bologna adi 3, del mese di marzo 1574. Di vostra Excellentia humilissimo servitore Orlando Lasso.”


12. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 May 22.


[...] "vns ist disse tag Euer Liebdens schreiben Vom 26sten abgoloffenen monats Aprillis wol Zucken [...] dem Orlando [...] die Zween Instrumentalisten, Lorenzinz, Vnnd Joan. Baptista de la Harpa Hinauss Zubringen, fiër beuell gegeben. [...] Wir wollen aber nitt Vanterlassen, Vnns obuemeller Instrumentalisten halber, so Vll Inviemöglich Zubeuelchen, Ob duuch ain oder annder weg ettwas bei Ihnen Zuerhallten Vnnd sie beredt möcht werdet. [...] Ob wir auf den fall, da bey den ersten Instrumentisten nichts Zuerhallten, eines Harppfenisten, Vnnd Lutenisten halber, darum Eener Liebden melden, etwas gewiiss schließen, Vnnd dieselben bestellen sollen, Wollen wir das Inen bestes Vleiß Vnnd Vermögens trewlich hanndlen.”[...]

(We received this day Your Grace’s letter of the 26th of the past month of April [...] in which You gave the order to Orlando [di Lasso] [...] to bring [from Italy to Bavaria] the two instrumentalists, Lorenzinz and Joan Baptista de la Harpa. [...] We do not wish to neglect, in the case of the above-mentioned instrumentalists, to attempt as far as possible to compel them, or by another way to convince them to come. [...] But in the event that no assent can be obtained from the first musicians, we will continue to attempt, with our best diligence and capability, to conclude something with a harpist and lutenist that Your Grace are concerned with [hiring:]


13. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 June 5.

Rome. Letter from Ernst Wittelsbach to Wilhelm Wittelsbach.

[...] "den Lorenzinz betreffend, dem haben wier (allß aignsinniger) noch biß auf diese
stundt nitt: Zu Vnns Bringhen kunnen, wir wollen aber allen Vleiß füerwenden, Ob wir heut oder morgen etwas bey Im erhalten Vnnd Im bereden mechten...

(Concerning Lorenzini: To this hour we still have not been able to get him to come to see us (he is obstinate). But we will use all diligence to see him today or tomorrow, so that we can talk with him...)


14. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 June 12.

Reichsarchiv, Fürstensachen II. Specialia Lit. C. Fasc. XXXIV. No. 408: Hofstaatsachen Herzog Ernst 1574-1592.

Rome. Letter from Ernst Wittelsbach to Wilhelm Wittelsbach.

"Was wir Euer Liebden bey negster Posst vor 8 tag wegen [...] auch des Lorenzini [...] freundlich zuegeschrieben, werden dieselb Euer Liebden hierzwisch[en] empfahen; vnd nachdem wir Vnns sonnderlich mit ermeltem Lorenzino ehesten gelegenheit verner Zehandeln vnd Euer Liebden deßwegen etwas gewises vnd richtiges Zuegeschreiben erboten, Also fuegen wir dero hiemit freundlich vnd Brüderlich zessay, wie das er gleich erst diser tag auf vnsser erfordern vnd begern Zu vnsn kromen; da wir dann Im namen vnd von wegen Euer Liebden alle notozuflugt Hanndlungen mit Ime gepflogen vnd also möglichen veis fürgewenndt, damit derselben Euer Liebden In deme gewillfahrt wurde; vnd berhuet ermelte Hanndlung darauf, das er Euer Liebden vor anndern gehorsamlich gern dienen vnd sich hinaus begeben will, wofern dieselb Ime für ain Present vnd dzuegizlichkeit dieser mutation 300 \(\nabla\) vnd dann pro annuo Salario auch 300 \(\nabla\) In goldt genedigcligen verschprechen vnd Ime also samt seinen weib, das er nit hindert sich Zelassen gedenckt, vndherhalten wellen. Welches wir Euer Liebden erstlichen dergestalt zuegeschreiben vnns erboten, vnd wir seindt hirüber dero enntlichen Resolution, was sy disfells Zuthain gesohnen mit ehestem gewärtht...

(In the meantime Your Grace will have received what we kindly wrote to Your Grace concerning Lorenzino in our letter eight days ago. Since we [promised] in particular to negotiate further with this Lorenzino at the earliest opportunity, and Your Grace requested that we write something definite about the matter, thus herewith we report to You kindly and fraternal that only today did he responde to our demand and desire and come to us. We then conducted, in Your name and for Your Grace’s sake, all provisional negotiations with him, and applied all possible diligence so that he would comply with Your Grace’s request. And barring further negotiations, we report that he is pleased to serve Your Grace before all others and to make the journey, regarding which he asks for a present and bonus of 300 \(\nabla\), and then that Your Grace kindly promise him annually 300 \(\nabla\) in gold and to support him and his wife, whom he would not think of leaving behind. This we initially report to Your Grace, and we await Your final decision on this matter.)

\(\nabla\) = scudi.

15. MÜNCHEN-BH?: 255 1574 June 29.

Landshut. Letter from Wilhelm Wittelsbach to Ernst Wittelsbach

"Wir haben Zway Euer Liebdens schreiben, beede Zu Rhom, das ain den 21' [sic] verschinen Monats May vnnn das andner den 12" disd dadiert, wol enpfangen [...] Was dann den Lorenzino Luttenisten betrifft, vernemen wir gern, das er sich gegen Euer Liebden souil erklärts, das er sich vnnn Zudienen erboten, sich auch mit seiner anuorderung was nöchner [näher] alls der Joan Babtista Zum Zil gelassen. Allain will vnnn sein anuorderung der 300° Verehraung vnnn 300° Jerliche besoldung noch zuwil sein, dann heraut zu Lanndt solche grosse verehraungen vnnn besoldungen, wie Euer Liebden selbs wol weiß, nit der gebrauch, wie man dannn auch khainem, er seqn so güt als er Immer sein khan, vber 120° Besoldung Jerlich nit raicht. Aber des wellen wir willigen, Imre erstlich für die Present albandt dahnenn [In Rom] 200° wie nachgemelt richtig machen, vnnn dann für sein Jerliche besoldung auch 200°, vnnn dieselben Quartals weise Im Jar bezelen lassen. Ist auch solchem nach an Euer Liebden vnsrer gannz Bruederlich gesynhnen, Sy weill möglihen vleis fuereunndten, wie vnnn dann nit Zweifelt, ob er auf disem weg berrett werden mechte. Vnnn so er sich darüber heraus zubegeben bewilligt, wolle Sy verer mit dem Bernhardo Oligiati In Rhom, alles der uns wolbekannten, dahin handnten, das Er vnnn solche 200° Presentn darleih, vnd Imre Lorenzino die von vnnseretwegen erlegen; [...] Im vhal aber diser vnsrer fürschlag bey gemeltem Lorenzino nit verfenncklich sein oder staht haben, sonnder er ain meres begeren wollte, mügen Euer Liebden Imre hier aufs avis vnd anders entdeckhen. Also da er sich der gebur nach mit aufwartung seines diennstes vleissig vnnn threu erzaigen vnnn verhalten werde, Wie wir vnnn dem Zu Imre verhoffen, soll er an vnnn jederzeit einen Geneiden Heren haben, vnnn ewo von vnnn daneben sowil bekomen, als man Imre vileucht sons geben mecht. Vnnn damit er sich volgents der Zerung halb auch nicht zubeschlagen, wellen wir Imre noch verrer disse genadt erzaigen, vnnn solche von Rhom aus biß hiecheer für Ine vnnn sein weib bezalen; will er gedachte Zehrung von seinem gent darleihen vnnn sich deren heraux wider entrichten lassen, steht zu seinem gefallen. [...] wellen Sy ermeltem Lorenzino ernnstlich einbinden vnnn auferladen, das er auf negt khomenden Sannt Michels tag gewislich allhie ankombt vnnn lennger nit ausbleibe [...] Post Scripta. [...] Ist an Euer Liebden vnser Bruederlich gesynhnen, Sy wellen vleis fürwenndten, ob der Lorenzino mit dem vorgemelten 200° Present vnd 200° Jerliche besoldung vngnuegig wäre. Also das er sich vnnn sein weib selbs vnd seinem gent heraus verzöret. Im Vhal es aber je nit stat hete vnnn er so hoch auf gedachte Zerung thingen würde, hat es seinen weg vnnn muessen ihme die hierüver wol lassen Passiren."

(We have received two letters from Your Grace, both from Rome, one dated 21 May, past month, the other the 12th of June. With respect to Lorenzino the lutenist, we are pleased to

255 It has not been possible to discover in which archive this document is conserved: the studies cited in the bibliography, starting with SANDBERGER 1895, all refer to TRAUTMAN 1887, which does not contain precise indications.
hear that he has declared to Your Grace to be willing to serve us, and also that his demand is closer to the point than that of John Baptista. But his request of 300\(^\dagger\) as a gift and 300\(^\dagger\) as annual remuneration is still too high, since in our country, as Your Grace will certainly know, such gifts and remunerations are not customary. Nobody, excellent as he ever may be, will get more than 120\(^\dagger\) as annual remuneration. But nonetheless: For the moment we are willing to give him 200\(^\dagger\) as gift (as is made clear in the following) and 200\(^\dagger\) as annual remuneration. He shall be paid each quarter of the year. If this is consistent with Your Grace's very fraternal opinion, you may apply due diligence, and we do not doubt that he [Lorenzino] will be persuaded in this way. If he should be willing to make the journey, you should arrange with Bernardo Oligiati in Rome, who is well known to us, that he should lend 200\(^\dagger\) to us and pay them out to Lorenzino. [...] But in case this proposal should not work with respect to the aforementioned Lorenzino and he should demand more money, you may tell him the following: If he should behave diligently and faithfully in fulfillment of his duties, as we expect him to do, he shall find in us ever a gracious sovereign, and he might get from us in addition as much as he might be given at any other place. Since he should have no trouble with daily expenses, we shall further do him the favor to pay his and his wife's travel expenses from Rome to here. He may lend the expenses from his own money and get the money back, just as he wishes. [...] Kindly bind and charge him earnestly to arrive here by the coming St. Michael's day and not tarry longer. [...] P.S. It is my fraternal desire that Your Grace take great pains in this affair so that Lorenzin might be content with 200\(^\dagger\) as a gift and 200\(^\dagger\) as annual remuneration, so that he is able to maintain himself and his wife from this money. But in case this should not happen and he insists on such a high level of remuneration, we must resign ourselves and let the matter pass.\(^{256}\)


16. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 July 3.
   Abteilung III: Geheimes Hausarchiv Korrespondenzakten 606/6

Rome. Letter from Ernst Wittelsbach to Wilhelm Wittelsbach, indicating that the negotiations with Lorenzino have been interrupted.\(^{257}\)


17. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 July 16.
   Abteilung III: Geheimes Hausarchiv Korrespondenzakten 606/6

\(^{256}\) The meaning of the last phrase is unclear and may mean that if Lorenzino insists on such a high remuneration, they will have to accept [let pass] his terms.

\(^{257}\) It has not been possible to consult this document, which is described but not transcribed in full in the texts cited in the bibliography.
Landshut. Letter from Wilhelm Wittelsbach to Ernst Wittelsbach. William suggests to his brother to try again with Lorenzino, but in case that fails, to engage another lutenist.258


18. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 July 22.

Reichsarchiv, Fürstensachen III. Specialia Lit. C, fasc. CCCVIII, Nr. 430.

Tivoli. Letter from Ernst Wittelsbach to Wilhelm Wittelsbach.

"Euer Liebdens Außfiedlich schreiben vnnd auff vnser hiezuousen [...] gegeben Anntwort vom 29. abgeoffenen monats Juny, haben wir den 17ten diß gar wol empfanngen [...] Was dan den Lorenzino Betrieft, khönennen wir Euer Liebden freundlich nitt Bergen, wie daß der König auß Franckreich nach Ime begert, vnnd Im Zu dienstesten begert. Er aber wil sich mit nichten dahin Begeben, noch einlassen, der könig thue Ime dann ain Presen od[er] vererung von tausend Cronen, vnnd so vil Jhrelich Besolldung, Erwartet also von dannen ainer resolution vnnd Anntwort. Im fall das nit Beschicht, will er sich ferner mit vnns Inn Handlung einlassen, ob er nit Euer Liebden accordire, vnnd Dienstes halber etwas schließn möchte. Verhoffen also, er werde sich (auf den fall er Bey Hochstverdachten könig nit Dienstn haben wierdet) der Anforderung Halber, billich vnnd Zimblich finden lassen, wir dann dißfalls mit Ihme Zuhandeln, an Vnns nichts erfinden soll."

(We have received your extensive letter on the 17th of July, responding to our response of this past 29th June. [...] With respect to Lorenzino we cannot hide from you the fact that the King of France desires him and is interested in engaging him in his service. But he is absolutely not willing to move [to France] or to be hired unless the King would grant him 1000 Cronen as a gift and the same figure as annual salary. Thus he is waiting for a decision and answer from there. If this should not transpire, he is willing to negotiate further with us, to reach an accord with Your Grace, and to make the agreement with you about this service engagement. Therefore we hope (in case he should not serve the aforementioned King) that according to our request he will fairly and fittingly appear and this time find no reason not to negotiate with us.)


19. MÜNCHEN-BH. 1574 October 16.

Abteilung III: Geheimes Hausarchiv Korrespondenzakten 606/6

Rome. Letter from Ernst Wittelsbach to Wilhelm Wittelsbach.

258 Ibid.
"... Euer Liebden etliche an vns gethane schreiben, fürnemlich die Lauttenisten und Harpffenisten bedreffende, haben wir zue unglekhe [?] Zeiten empfangen, vnd Jnhalts velesende [?] Vernommen.

So viel nuhn den Lorenzin betrifft, ist es an deme, das er nochmals seiner Resolution aus Frankreich gewertett. Mit dem ande[ren] aber gar vmb sonst, wir stehen aber noch mit ainem andern, so auch treffich vnd exellent, dem der Lorenzin das Wasser Nicht rächen khann, Jmm Handlung, das er sich hinaus zue Euer Liebden aufs wenigist das lant zue besehen, und sich zuversichen, verfuge, da dann derselbe Euer Liebden verer mit Jme handeln vnd schliessen mögen. [...] datum Rom den 16 8bris Anno 74 / Euer Liebden Alzeit willige Bruder / Ernst"

(We have received several of your letters directed to us, mainly concerning the lutenists and harp players, at inopportune times, and we took notice of the contents. With respect to Lorenzin: he is once again waiting for a decision from France. With respect to the other one: all has been in vain. But we are still negotiating with [yet] another [lutenist], who is so superior and excellent that even Lorenzin cannot pour water for him. [We are inviting him] to travel to Your Grace and at least have a look at your country and reassure himself, so that he might finally negotiate and contract with you. [...] Dated Rome, 16 October [15]74... Your Grace's Ever willing Brother Ernst.)


Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern, Hofamtsregistratur Sign HR 469/645.


"Genedigster Fürst vnnd Herr etc., Euer fürstlicher Gnaden schreiben vom 9. decembris hab Ich den letsten desselbigen vndertheniglich empfangen, vndon vermög dessen dem Lorenzino angesproch, ob Ich ihm doch möcht bereden, d[a]z er sich sambt seinem hausgesind fertig machet, damit er auf khünstigem frueling hinaus zug, vnd gleich gar in Tütschland blib, dessen er sich aber mit dem wenigsten nit verwilligen wölle, sondern zu endlichem beschluß gesagt, sovil sein Person belang, sej' er zufrieden daz er wöll hinaus ziehen, vndon vngefeyhlich vm Halbs Jahr da bleiben, doch mit dem geding, daz mann Jm 200. ∇ vor hinnein geb, ehe Ehr von Rom aus heich [?], sambt der Zerung, dem er mit geringerm vnkosten nit khomme khund, diewil Jm grosser nachtail vnnd beschwerung sein wurd, daz er seine discipul allie verlassen, vndon sein Hausfauen in seinem abwesen vnderhalten solle, vndon Jm fahl er befind, daz Jm der luft im Tütschlandt gezundt, so wöll er sein Hausfrawe durch seiner guteen friesend nun auch hinaus füren lassen, gleichwel sage er, daz er vor dem anderen oder dritten Oster fayértag nit aufsen khunde. So hab Ich den Organisten auch erjnnet, daz Ehr eure fürstlichen gnaden seinem erbieten noch, sein meinung selbst zuschreiben soll, darauf er mir geantwortt, Er wöll sich zuvor wol darüber bedenken. Damit thue Ich euere fürstlichen gnaden mich vnderthenigst beteilen [?] etc. Datum Rhom den 8. January 1575. Euere fürstlichen gnaden vnderthenigisten gehorsamst diener Caspar von Lockhenburg."
(Most Gracious Prince and Lord, I most obediently received Your Princely Grace’s missive of 9 December on the last day of last month. And on the basis of this letter I have spoken to Lorenzino, asking if he might not be willing to make himself and all his household ready to move next spring and stay in Germany. But he was unwilling to content himself with the minimum. He told me about his solution: With respect to his own person he would be content and willing to go and stay for about half a year, but on condition that 200
should be given to him in advance, before he should leave Rome, together with the daily allowance, since he could not come with a lower expense allowance because it would be a huge disadvantage and burden for him to leave all his students behind and to maintain his wife during his absence. But in the case that he should find the German air wholesome, he would have his good friends bring his wife [to Germany]. But he told me that he could not be ready before the second or third day of Easter.\footnote{Having admonished the organist to let Your Princely Grace know his own opinion about this affair, he answered me that he will make up his mind beforehand. Whereupon I commend myself with best regards to Your Princely Grace, etc... Date: Rome, 8 January 1575. Your Princely Grace’s most obedient and faithful servant, Caspar von Lockenburg.)}


\section*{PARMA: ARCHIVIO DI STATO (PARMA-AS.)}


Lists of employees at the court of Parma, among whom are Lorenzo Zevero, alias Lorenzino Fiammingo, and Lorenzo Lodi alias Lorenzino Bolognese.

\textit{Bibliography:} CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005; NIWA 2006; PESCI 2005 [2007].

22. Mastri Farnesiani n. 3 (1557-1560), 4 (1561-1564), 5 (1565-1568), 6 (1569-1570), 7 (1574), 8 (1575-1578), 9 (1583-1586), 10 (1588-1590), 11 (1591-1592), 12 (1593-1594)

Registers of payments and proceeds at the court of Parma, including monthly stipends to employees, including Lorenzo Zevero, alias Lorenzino Fiammingo, and Lorenzo Lodi alias Lorenzino Bolognese.

\textit{Bibliography:} Van STRAETEN 1867-1888, VI (1882): 158 (Mastri n. 4, 5); CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005; NIWA 2006; PESCI 2005 [2007].

\footnote{In 1575 Easter fell on April 3.}
Rome. Donation of various possessions of Lorenzino Tracetti to his wife Lucrezia Paolini in accordance with stipulations in their matrimonial contract. In synthesis: the sum of 200 gold scudi, 2 chests of linen and three suits of apparel; jewelry: one golden headpiece with gems and pearls, a diamond ring, a saffire ring in the form of a golden serpent, a necklace ("vezzum") containing 68 round pearls valued at 100 scudi, a crown of coral laced with gold and topped with a golden cross, three more gold rings without precious stones; two pair of silver forks and spoons; a harpsichord; furniture: a cupboard ("credenza"), a large table, chairs and stools, pots and pans, a green rug; a bed with cushions, two new mattresses and an old one; two new bedcovers; a bed with canopy of deep blue cloth and valences embellished with red velvet; three paintings with religious subjects: two of the Blessed Virgin of Loreto and one of Saint Gerome.


In mei et cetera Dominus Laurentius Tracetti Romanus regionis Trivii musicus qui alias ut etiam cum iuramento tactis et cetera affirmavit in tractatu matrimonii inter ipsum et Dominam Lucretiam Paulini etiam Romanam eius uxorem contracti eidem suue uxori titulo donationis Inrevocabilis inter vivos de suo proprio pro diecute suue uxoris augumento et nomine donis promisit summan scutorum ducentum in pecunia numerata et etiam alia sua bona mobilia et infrascritta et hac promissione stantem ipsam induxit ad secum facere et promissionem predictam facere et promissionem predictam executioni demandare. Ideo idem sponte et cetera ac omni meliori modo et cetera ex sua mera liberalitate donavit et titulo donationis inrevocabilis inter vivos in augumentum et nomine donis presente suue uxoris ac ipsi Domine lucretie eius uxor presentis et cetera nunc in presentia mei et testium infrascrittorum dedit et cetera infrascritta omnia sua bona mobilia videlicet duo forzeria plena pannis albis ut vulgariter dicitur de biancharie quod cucumque opus fuerit Latius exprimi possunt a dicta donatrice et dare listam mihi notario. Item unam fronzetam aurii cum gemmis et perlis duas annulos unum qui habet unum diamantem et alterum zafirum in una serpe aurea unum vezzum perlarn rotundarum numero sexaginta octo valoris scutorum centum unam coronam corallorum cum intermediis areus cum cruce supra aurea tres alios annulos absque lapidibus duo paria unum forchetarum et alius cocleanorum argentorurn Lectum suum nempe culitra seu mataria duo nova et unum venus copertas duas novas rubias padiglioniem panni turchini cum tornalëto ornatum velluto rubice gravimbalum unam credentiam cum suis bonis unam tabulam magnam cum tapeto viridis quatuor concubinas duas stagnatas duas cacbas suue caldaras duas tiellas alaria duo, quatuor ciamarras tres seteas qu aram una habet pelles et alteram panni tres vestes unam mocarabis et alteram sete unum riversum viride quattuor sedes coreas quatuer scabellas duas brochas aeras tria quadra videlicet salvatoris beate Marie de Laureto et santl Hieronimi aliud itineris beate Marie de Laureto Item nunc manualiter et cetera dedit ac solvit in causam predictam scuta ducenta auri in auro que ipsa post receptionem iterum tradidit dicto eius viro ad effectum ut ipse nomine ipsius donatarie investire possit in tot rebus stabilibus pro ut idem donator
promisit et cetera ad beneplacitum dictis donativis presentis et cetera Item donavit etiam titulo presenti et in causam predictam brachia quattuorcenta tele que existunt apud textores dans potestatem et cetera capientem et cetera properea auctoritate et donec et cetera Item omnia iura et cetera nullo iure et cetera ita quod et cetera ad habendum et cetera ponens et cetera constituentes et cetera et hanc donationem idem donator semper ratam et cetera habere et tenere eamque non revocare nec revocari facere et contra non facere et cetera aliqua ratione et cetera causa vel occasione cognita vel incognita iusta vel iniusta paupertatis ingressus religionis susceptibilitym seu super venientiam liberorum vel per alias causas quantum vis privilegiatas ac in corpore utriusque iuris clausas promisit renuntians nihilominus cum iuramento tactis et cetera ad certiorationem mei eiusdem notarii. I. fin. C. de revocatione donat: et omni alteri legum et statutorum auxilio in favorem donatum quomodolibet Introducti et introducens et pro firmiore huiusmodi donationis validitate constituit eius procuratorem et cetera Magnificum Dominum Matheum de Matheis de Vicovario V.I.D. presentem et cetera cum iuramento infra prestans Irrevocabilem ad ipsius nomine et pro eo coram quocumque judice ordinarium huius Alme vobis comparans huiusmodique donationem insinuans insinuame et in actis meis publicis describi petens et faciens cumctis solitis obligans et cetera properea se ipsum ac bona et cetera in forma Camere Apostolice cumctis et cetera citra et cetera et sic tactis et cetera Iuravit Rogavitque me notarium et cetera Actum Rome in aula domus solite habitations predicti Domini Donatoris presentibus et cetera Domino Pompeo Martini de Monticellis Tiburtine dioecesis V.I.D. D. Antonino quondam cive Cherubino Romano impressore et Cesare de Principibus Romano eiusdem regionis testibus et cetera
Ego Laurentius Traccectii dono ut supra nomine dotis
Ego Pompeius Martinus pro teste interfui huiusmodi donationi
Io Antonino Carobini fui testimonio a detta donatione
Ego Cesar de Principibus fui presens huiusmodi donationi
Iohannes Do. Peracha notarius rogavi"


24. ROMA-AS. 1580 June 4.

30 notai capitolini / officio 20 / vol. 11 / cc. 267r-v.

Rome. Substitution of the administrative official (procuratore) in charge of the donation by Lorenzo Tracetti to his wife.

"Eadem die 4 Junij 1580
Procura pro Lucretia uxore Laurentii Tracetti Romani
In mei et cetera Dominus Laurentius tracctus Romanus regionis Trevii qui alias donavit Dominae Lucretie eius uxori quedam bona mobilia et scuta ducenta aurii in auro etiam pro augumento sue dotis et in ipsa donatione constituit procuratorem suum Dominum Matheum de Vicovario V.I.D. ad illam insinuant et insinuari faciens, pro ut alias in dicta donatione à me eodem notario die 21 februarii prox[…] preteriti rogata et quia ipse procuratore ipsa donatione non insinuata ab urbe recessit ideo idem cupiens illam

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260 Vicovaro, province of Rome, about 13 kilometers from Tivoli.
insinuare ac insinuari facere sponte et cetera omni me... modo et cetera fecit constituit et cetera eius procuratorem et cetera D. Iohannem Antonium faballum clericum Laudens V.1.D. hinc absentem et cetera ad ipsius nomine et pro eo coram magnifico Domino Primo Co... Cu... Cap... llii comperes ipsique donationem prescriptam Insinuans ac insinuari et in actis meis publicis registrari mandari petens et faciens cum c...litis solitis et cetera promittens et cetera supra quibus et cetera presentibus et cetera Iohanni Petro Peracha et Bartholomeo scolare vicentino testibus et cetera / Io Do. Pacha notarius rogatus


25. ROMA-AS. 1590 May 15 (or 5?).

Notai dell'Auditor Camerae / vol 4014 / c. 206 r.-v.

Rome, Tor di Nona prison. Obligation contract of a certain Giovanni Margival in favor of Giovanni de Musci, debtor to Lorenzino Tracetti. This document has numerous lacunae.


d. Ioannes Margival gallus sponte [...] med.to tactis [...] recognovit et constituit se verum et legitimum debitorum[...] Ioannis de Musci etiam Galli [...] in summa scutorum quattraginta unius auri in auro debitorum ex causa Puri et amicabilis mutui et prototidem sibi [...] d. Ioannem de Musci mutuatum gratis et amore, quae scuta 4i dicto d. Ioannes Margival solvere et [...] e [...] promisit d. Io: [...] ad omne eius beneplacitum et requisitionem Rome libere et omni penitus iuris et facti exceptione remota alias[...] ex quibus scutis 4i auri in auro [...] debit[...] d. Ioannes marginal solvere et exbursare promisit Mag.co d. Lorenzino Tracetti Romano p[...] creditori d.i d. Ioannis de Musci p[...] consentientis et suum consensum et assensum prestans ac iata mandantis scuta viginti sex auri in auro ei[...] Lorenzino debit[...] pro mercede ipsi d. los deservitore, cita tamen liberationem d.i d. Ioannis Musci et non alias[...] alia auro scuta quindecim auri in auro d[...] d. Ioannes Musci cessit[...] m[...] d. p[...] absen[...] me[...] ad haben[...] [...] ponen[...] constituen[...] et donec[...] constituit, et consensit quod d.a scuta quindecim auri in auro solicantur dicto domino in satisfactionem eius crediti, et pro totidem sibi debitis pro mercede deseruit[...] dicto domino Io. et eius domestici in medendo in eorum infirmitatibus obligans prop.a [...] bona[...] in ampliori forma Cam. le a[...] ad[...] solisit citra[...] renuncian[...] consenscien[...] tactis[...] lurt supraquibus[...] . Actum Romae In Carceribus Curiae Turris Nonae presentibus ibid[...] d. Petro [...] Gallo et Montano de Montanis Sabino testibus Incontinenti [...] d. Lorenzinus Tracetti Dom.s suprad.s asserens se esse debitorum m.[...] d[...] hereditibus q. Antonii Bolis in certa pecunia[...] summa et quantitate causa et [...] bono [...] fundatulium e [...] eorum Apo[...] habitorum sponte[...] omnis vel deb[...] et citra qui liberationem ac sine preijudicio quo[...] Iunium eius quo modo [...] competen[...] et competituro[...] et non alias [...] suprum[...] creditiut[...]."


30 notai capitolini / officio 20 / vol. 21 / c. 350 r.-v.

Rome. Declaration of Lucrezia Paolini regarding the donation of linen she received from her husband on February 21, 1590.


27. ROMA-AS. 1590 July 20 [1].

30 notai capitolini / officio 20 / vol. 21 / c. 351 r-353 r.

Rome. Inventory of possessions found in the house of the deceased Lorenzo Tracetti made on behalf of his wife Lucrezia Paolina, his father Francesco and his brothers. This was probably a first draft or notary's draft of the inventory given in following entry.


28. ROMA-AS. 1590 July 20 [2].

Notai dell'Auditor camerae / vol 1725 / cc. 142 r.-143 v., 164 r.-v.

Rome, home of Lorenzino Tracetti at “via passato l’Orso”. Inventory of the belongings of Lorenzo Tracetti, who died the preceding day.

“Inventarum. Die xx Iulii 1590,

Inventarium omnium et singulorum bonorum repertorum In domo solitae habitatioinis quondam Domini Laurentii Tracetti Romani heri defuncti situ in via ut dicitur passato l’orso factum ad Instantiam Dominae Lucretie Pauline olim eius uxoris et Domini Francisci Tracetti domini quondam Laurentii patris et eius domini quondam Laurentii fratrum que Domina Lucretia Paulina uxor protestata fuit quod non intendit modo aliquo pro presentis Inventarii confectionem sibi in aliquo preudicature supra bonis suis propriis sibi donatis prout in institutio donationis et declarationis bonorum nuncupatum biancaria nec minus intendit ab illorum possessione recedere ac citra preudicium quorumque allorum suorum iurium de quo expresse protestatur omni me[…]i mo […]

In primis In stantis superioribus dictae domus duas stantias pellium coraminum aurei pellium in torum n.° 293 que fuerunt de consensu predicti Domini Francisci patris et Dominae Lucretiae uxoris in manibus meis med[…]to presto pignori data ebreis pro scutis tritinta quinque exponens pro[?] ut dixerunt in Pompa funerali Item in eiusdem stantis superioribus corami usati pelli n° 35.

Item due casse di noce intagliate che dissono assieme con le infrascritte biancarie che vi sono dentro esser comprese nella donatione fatta da domino quondam Lorenzo a Madonna Lucretia qual biancheria sonno le infrascritte cioe libre 39 di stoppa filata ingommerata / Tovaglie diverse numero tredici / Tovaglioli diversi numero Venti / Lenzuoli di lino sottili et grossi numero diciassette / Camiscie da uomo et da donna numero sedici / Traverse Tonde da donna numero tre / Salviette di renza nove numero Ventuno / Scarpini para numero sei / Bambacine da donna numero 2 / Un tornaletto con una coperta di bambacina usati / Sei para di foderette fra quali vi era un paro lavorate di seta et uno di rete di filo / Otto fazzoletti sei novi et dua vechi / Sei traverse

Item nelle stanze di mezzo:

Item in sala:
Cinque sedie di carame / Una tavola grande con suoi piedi e suo panno verde sopra / Una tavola grande fatta aletto

Item nelle stanze a terreno:
Sette botti vore / Diversi legnam et travicelli vechi / Dua scabelloni longhi de albuicio

Item asseririno, haverli da essere un cavallo il quale l'haveva hauto messer Francesco padre del detto quondam messer Lorenzo Que omnia et singula suprascripta bona ut supra inventariata de consensu ipsius Domini Francisci dicti quondam Laurentii patris remanserunt in
depositum penes suprascriptam Dominam Lucretiam eiusdem quondam Laurentii olim uxor presentem pque ea cum eadem qua supra protestata et sine preiudicio suorum iurium & acceptavit et confessa fuit ac declaravit dicta bona tenere penes se in depositum et de eis cui de iure & reddet bonum et legale computum et quod sic faciet ibidem presens Magnificus Dominus Marcus Antonius Alberici Romanus qui sciens & sed & sponte & suprascripte obligatione et promissione accessit uti [p.tis p.tum] et in solidum et promisit quod dicta Domina Lucretia in eventum restitutionis dictorum bonorum ea restituet et de eis bonum et leale computum reddet cui de iure [...] ultra premissa et ad omnia damna & de quibus & absque & Pro quibus observandis dicta Domina Lucretia de ipsam & ac Dominus Magnificus Marcus Antonius se ipsum & eorumque heredes & ac bona & iuraque & in ampliori forma Camere Apostolice cum solitis clausulis & citra & In solidum obligarunt & renunciantes & consentientes & iuraru[r]t & super quibus & Actum Roma In domo qua supra presentibus ibidem Magnifico Domino Dominico Blanco Fanensis et Domino Thoma de Puteis Bononiensis Testibus"

**Bibliography:** SPAGNUOLO 1994; PESCI 1997; CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005.


30 notai capitolini / officio 20 / vol. 21 / c. 360 r.-v.

Rome - Canneto. Lorenzino Tracetti's father, Francesco, takes possession of his son's belongings in the name of the widow (Lucrezia) and brothers (Innocenzo and Giovanni Angelo) of the deceased.

"Indiczione 3a Die vero 21 Iulii 1590 hora decima in circa Pontificatu Sanctissimi Domini Nostri D Sexti pp v anno 6° Possessio Pro domino Francisco Tracietto Gallo In mei et cetera Dominus franciscus Traiettus Gallus belgicus pater quondam Laurentii alias Lorenzini sonatoris leuti heri defuncti seu sepulti premisso protestatione quod pro presentem actum non intendit hereditatem domini Laurentii adire nisi cum beneficio legis et inventari et non alias et cetera sponte et cetera omni me [...] moda et cetera tam pro se quam vice et nomine eius uxoris matris dicti quondam Laurentii nec non Innocentii et Iohannis Angeli eius filiorum et fratrum domini quondam Laurentii cohered [...] propria auctoritate intravit et adepus fuit realem et corporalem possessionem et tenutam vacantam vinee relicte a domino Laurentio eius filio posite extra portam sancti Laurentii iuxta ab uno vineam Iohannis Baptiste autoris ab alto vineam Nicolai Picheni tabernarlii in suburrea à pede vinee domini Octavii del fornol salvis et cetera per illam intrando stanno ambulans de fructibus terra ac lapidibus dicre vinee accipiendo et demum proiciendo domumque in dicta vinea existens intrando portas et fenestras aperiendo et chiudendo serram Cancelli mutando et alios altus possessiones faciendo denotantes veram possessionem Protestans quod per quemcumque suum adicta vinea discessum non Intendit modo aliquo â dicta possessione recedere sed illam animo et corpore continuare et retinere super quibus et cetera Actum Roma in vinea p[...]ta [...] et cetera Thoma filio petri de Donato spoletanensis [...] clavario et Stephano filio quondam Iacobi Bonanni Parmensis vinearolo testibus et cetera Deinde id dominus franciscus cum protestatione ac pro [...] de quibus supra propria sa [...] te intravit et ad ipsus fuit realem et corporalem possessionem vacantem a [...]dineti olim a domino Laurentio possesi positi extra portam sancti Laurentii Iuxta te [...]tam d. Hieronimii de sanctis Romani et hospitium pretelate per illud Intrando terminus et
The Knights of the Lute

fines recognoscendo de frondibus arundinum accipiens et demum proiciens et alios actus possessiones faciens denotantes veram possessionem et cetera protestans quod per quicumque suum ab eo discessum non intendit et cetera super quibus et cetera Actum in dicto Canneto. In[...] fano Filio quodam Iacobi Bonanni Parmensis Vinarolo Io. Baptista Dato de Vino testibus et cetera Io. Andreas Pescha notarius rogatus.”


LITERARY TEXTS

• De metodo 1617

De metodo studenti Testudine. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 1021 f. 24r (after 1617)


• Gumpelzhaimer Gymnasma 1622.

Georg Friedrich Gumpelzhaimer, Gymnasma de Exercitii Academicorum (Argentinae [Strassburg]: 16222): Part. II Sectio I. De Musica: 140

“Celeberrimi testudinarii sunt et fuerunt In Italia Lorenzino”.

II.b. Sources relating to Vincenzo Pinti

DOCUMENTS

MILANO (Milan): BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA
(MILANO-BA.)

30. MILANO-BA. 1602 March 23.

\[G\ 190\ inf.\ C.\ 43\]

Rome. Post-scriptum to a brief letter on various topics from Giovenale Ancina to Federico Borromeo.


è morto il signor Emilio de Cavallieri musico raro. Omnes morimur."\(^{261}\)

\textit{Bibliography:} CARLONE 2003; CARLONE 2005.

31. MILANO-BA. 1612-14 (?).

\[Ms.\ F4.inf.\ ecc.\ 357-368.\]

Milan (?). Federico Borromeo, Dell'Assuntione della B.V. Sermon on spiritual music.\(^{262}\)

"Salendo la Beata Vergine al Cielo non per virtu propria come Cristo mà portata da gl'Angeli non è da credere che quelli celesti spiriti stessero in silentio ne che le loro lingue fossero tarde à cantar le lodi di tanto trionfo anco canta la Santa Chiesa. Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudenti Angeli; adonque per accompagnar il canto dell'Angeli diremo qualche cosa circa la musica spirituale [...] la prima cosa che si ricerca per cantar bene è la buona voce; la 2.a è la composizione che sia giuditiosa et bene compartita, ma la 3.a et quella che più importa è l'affetto [...]"; perfection in music is born "dal modo del cantare et dal affetto di colui che canta", which has to contain "in se un certo pio et divoto affetto"; two examples are cited: "vi fù in Ferrara un Musico eccelente,

\(^{261}\) The last phrase, referring to Emilio de Cavalieri, is cited by Warren Kirkendale (KIRKENDALE 1993: 386), who does not seem to have noticed the paragraph regarding the Cavaliere del Liuto.

\(^{262}\) This sermon is not dated; it is preceded on folio 377 by a sermon dated 1612 and followed by one dated 1614.
il quale faceva restare come attoniti et fuori di se quelli che l'udivano et questo no era per la bontà della voce, mà per il modo del cantare [...]. L'istesso faceva un'altro Musico eccellente nominato il Cavaglier del liuto perché sonava eccellentemente questo Istromento egli anco cantava con modo maraviglioso se ben la voce non era bona mà più tosto alquanto raуча, nondimeno egli cantava alcuni Salmi con tanto bella maniera che attraveva à se gli'animi delle persone si che venivano anco da lontano per ascoltarlo, tal'e questo modo di cantare che nasce dall'affetto, et non dall'Arte, qual non si può fingere, mà bisogna o haverlo naturalmente [...]


MODENA: ARCHIVIO DI STATO (MODENA-AS.)

32. MODENA-AS.263 1581 July 15.

Rome. Letter from Giulio Masetti to Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.

“Di Roma li XV di luglio 1581.
Il Cavalliero del leùto del sig. Cardinale Farnese ha eseguita la commissione che le diede a nome di Vostra Altezza il Fiorino, et mi ha portato qui tre leùti di quel mastro Pietro-Alberto tanto eccellenti, et mi dice che sono rarissimi, gli ho pagatiotto scudi d'oro l'uno et s'invieranno lunedì prossimo per Silvestro da Calcinara, se Vostra Altezza non ne haverà bisogno li leùti se ne potrà fare consignare uno al Pignati ad instanza del quale io l'ho fatto scegliere dal suddetto Cavalliero. Devotissimo et fedelissimo Servitore Giulio Masetti.”


NAPOLI (Naples): ARCHIVIO DI STATO (NAPOLI-AS.)

33. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2093 (1564-1565).
Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2093

The “signor cavalier Vincenzo Pinto,” defined on folio 17 as “sonatore di liuto,” is paid from January 1564 to December 1565 with a monthly stipend of 11 scudi.

263 This document was reported by Francesco Valdrighi, who did not, however, indicate its exact location.
34. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2092 (1566).
   Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2092

   Tri-monthly payments to Vincenzo Pinti from January to December 1566.

35. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2094 (1567-1568).
   Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2094

   Bi- and tri-monthly payments to Vincenzo Pinti from January to December 1567, January to February 1568, and July to November 1568.

36. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2095 (1568-1569).
   Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2095

   Bi- and tri-monthly payments to Vincenzo Pinti. Payments are made for January 1568, there is a partial payment of 7 scudi for the month of April, and the payments proceed uninterrupted from May to December 1568. On folio 36 there is a reference to the account books of Monreale, in Sicily, from which the knight was paid only 4 scudi for the month of April. It is possible therefore that the payments for February and March are also in the accounts of Monreale. Cardinal Farnese was bishop of Monreale and probably occasionally spent time there, bringing his dependents with him, among whom would have been Pinti.

37. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2096 (1569).
   Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2096

   Monthly payments from January to December 1569.

38. NAPOLI-AS. Registri 2097 (1570-1571).
   Archivio Farnesiano. Registri di conti di casa Farnese, vol. 2097

   Monthly payments from January to December 1570.


   ROMA (Rome): ARCHIVIO CAETANI (ROMA-AC.)

39. ROMA-AC. 1589 April 28.
   n. 58194

   Naples. Letter from Jean de Macque to Camillo Norimberghi.
"la prego [...] di farmi intendere se il Cavaliero del lute et m. Bartolomeo si sono retirati alli servitij del Cardinale Mont'Alto come si é detto qua."


ROME, ARCHIVIO DI STATO (ROMA-AS.)

40. ROMA-AS. 1588 December 10.
   Notai segretari e cancellieri della R.C.A. / vol. 1233 / c. 491

Rome. Three string makers, Matteo Paolo, Flaminio Galizia and Pietro Alberto, defined "artifices nervorum pro fidibus et cithara pulsandis", accept the Roman Vincenzo Pinti as judge in their disputes.


41. ROMA-AS. 1589 January 13.
   Notai segretari e cancellieri della R.C.A. / vol. 1234 / c. 1

Rome. The string maker Antonio Galizia accepts Pinti as judge.


42. ROMA-AS. 1589 February 23.
   Notai segretari e cancellieri della R.C.A. / vol. 1234 / cc. 65-72

Rome. The string makers Jacopo Buccio Romano, Matteo Paolo, Flaminio Galizia, Orazio Marinis, Antonio Galizia, and Alberto Teutonico accept the articles of agreement drawn up by the designated judge Vincenzo Pinti.


43. ROMA-AS. 1589 June 7.
   Notai segretari e cancellieri della R.C.A. / vol 1234 / c. 72

Rome. Declaration by Vincenzo Pinti, with autograph signature, regarding a dispute between two string makers.

44. ROMA-AS. 1599 November 13.

Notai segretari e cancellieri della R.C.A. / vol. 1245 / c. 281r.-286v.

Rome. New statutes of musical string makers.


45. ROMA-AS. 1608 November 15.

Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / Testamenti novembre 1612 / cc. 505-511

Rome. First will of Vincenzo Pinti with autograph signature.

“[...] Si accaderà che io vogli a morte nel palazzo della Cancellaria dove al presente habito [il mio corpo] sia sepelito nella sua chiesa di Santo Lorenzo in Damaso [...] et se accaderà che io mora nella casa mia posta nel rione de Treio dietro a S. Marcello sia sepelito in detta chiesa di S. Marcello”. In both cases: “con una lapide [...] con il mio nome cognome, et l’arme, potendosi cavare il conto della mia età da questo che io nacqui qui in Roma alli 2 di luglio 1542 [...] instituisco, et nomino [...] per mio universale herede detta venerabile archiconfraternita dell Dodeci Apostoli di Roma”.

The confraternity must distribute Pinti’s possessions in the following manner:

- 200 scudi to the church in which he is buried, for a monthly mass: “dire in perpetuo una messa la settimana”
- 5 “luoghi di monti del quatrino della Carne del Popolo Romano” to the monastery of the “Zitelle di Santa Caterina della Rosa di Roma.”
- The yield from two houses in the Trevi quarter to the sick: “alli poveri infermi”
- 3 “luoghi di monti del quatrino della Carne del Popolo Romano” to Francesco Barufaldo da Sabioneto of the dioceses of Cremona, familiaris of Cardinal Lanti.
- 200 scudi to “Daria figliola di messer Stefano Martio da Tivoli”.
- 3 scudi a month to Pinti’s servant, Gabriele Talamazzo.
- 100 scudi “pro una tantum” for “l’hospitale de Fate Bene Fratelli per li poveri infermi”.

The yield “de censi stabili o de censi vitalitii o pensioni o altre entrate di qualsivoglia sorte” and money obtained “dai mobili che sono nella mia camera che si venderanno et anco deli frutti de luoghi de monti” to cover “le spese deli funerali, della lapide” etc.


46. ROMA-AS. 1608 November 16.

Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / 1608 / c. 534, 537.

Rome. C. 534: Receipt by Vincenzo Pinti in favor of Caterina Battiana; c. 537: consignment of the testament.

47. ROMA-AS. 1608 November–December.
   *Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / sett.-dic.1608 / c. 617 r.-v., 618, 621 r.-v.*

Rome. c. 617: Vincenzo Pinti names as his attorney Francesco Baraffoldo; c. 618: receipt in favor of Francesco Baraffoldo and Gabriele di Casale Maiori; c. 621: consignment of the testament terminated.


   *Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / Testamenti 1608 / cc. 716 r.-717v., 732 r.-733 r.*

Rome. Second will of Vincenzo Pinti with autograph signature. The contents are the same as in the first will, with the exception of the following points:
To signor Francesco Barufalco “durante la sua vita solamente et non più oltre” he leaves “una delle mie case cioè la minore posta dietro S. Marcello nel rione di Treio”. He asks for payment of a number of small debts (“debitucci”); the money will come from two monthly payments of 50 gold scudi from his “pensione [...] sopra il vescovado d’Adria”, and the annual payment of 60 gold scudi from his “pensione [...] sopra la Cappella di S. Biagio della Tinta all’Orso”. He asks to be buried wearing: “l’abito bianco quale soglio portare quando mi comunico”.

*Bibliography:* PESCI 2003 [2004]: 127 note 20, 130, 139-142 (complete text); CARLONE 2005.

49. ROMA-AS. 1608 December 10.
   *Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / 1608, cc. 714 r.-v.*

Rome. The representatives of the Arch-confraternity attest that Vincenzo Pinti, “unum ex confratribus dicte societatis”, is dead, “et mane eum mortuum vidisse in palatio Cancellarle in eius solito cubiculo et deinde in ecclesia s.ti Laurentij in Damaso ubi ejus cadaver transportatum fuit”.


50. ROMA-AS. 1609 January 7.
   *Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / 1609 / cc. 83 r-86 r.*

Rome. Inventory of the possessions of Vincenzo Pinti in the palace of the Chancellery, left in heredity to the Arch-confraternity of the Twelve Apostles. Note in particular the following objects and possessions:

“Un Liuto con la sua cassa [...] Una cassetta con alcuni libri de musica / Diversi pezzi de libri tra piccoli et grandi in tutto numero 30 [...] Un calamaro di piombo et un
polverino\textsuperscript{264} [...] Due fedi della natività di Giovanni Battista Pinto et una lettera di madonna Menichina sua madre. [...] Breve di poter pigliar la croce di Christo tener le pensioni et incidere sua [habit?]"


51. ROMA-AS. 1609 January 9, 13, 16, 27, 28.
\textit{Trenta Notai Capitolini / uff. 13 / 1609, cc. 106 r.-v., 108 r.-v., 139 r.-140 r., 150 r.-v., 251 r.-v., 253 r.-v.}

Rome. c. 106 and 108: Two powers of attorney in favor of the Arch-confraternity of the Saint Apostles: 139 and 140: consignment of the codicil of the testament and text of the codicil; 150: transfer of bonds to Baroffaldo and to the Arch-confraternity of the Saint Apostles; 251: power of attorney of the Saint Apostles in relation to the bonds; 253: transfer of bonds to Baroffaldo and to the Arch-confraternity of the Saint Apostles.


ROMA (ROME): ARCHIVIO STORICO CAPITOLINO (ROMA-ASC.)

52. ROMA-ASC. 1584.
\textit{Camera Capitolina / Credenzone I / tomo 4 / c. 191}

Rome: “Vincenzo Pinti is recorded among the councilors of the Regola district” (PESCI).


53. ROMA-ASC. 1595 June 9.
\textit{Camera Capitolina / Credenzone II / tomo 51 / Monte dell’annona. Rassegne, traslazioni, vendite, cessioni e quietanze del Monte Annona. 2. a erezione / busta 90 / c. 26}

Rome. The knight Vincenzo Pinti purchases bonds from Francesco, son of Francesco of Florence.

“\textit{Magnificus Dominus Franciscus Francisci Florentiae sponte cessit et resignavit Magnifico Domino Equiti Vincenzo Pinto Romano loca quattuor Montis Annuae nuncupati praetio convento et soluto cum fructibus a kalendis futuri mensis Iulii. Actum}"

in Banco Dominorum de Troncis Instantibus Dominis Roberto Pisano et Caesario Fusco Romano. Curtius Martiolum scriba.”


54. ROMA-ASC. 1599 June 8.

Camera Capitolina / Credenzone II / tomo 67 / Monte Sussidio d’Ungheria. Rassegne, cessioni, vendite e quietanze del Monte Sussidio d’Ungaria / busta 99 / c. 119

Rome. Vincenzo son of the deceased Giovanni Pinti of Rome purchases bonds from Giulio Roberti of San Sepolcro.

“Die 8 Januarii 1599. Dominus Iulius quondam Bartholomei Roberti filius et civitate Burgi Sancti Sepulcri sponte vendidit et resignavit loca duo Montis Secundi Quattreni gabellae carnium Urbis pro subventione Regni Ungariae erecti ad favorem Magnifici Domini Vincentii quondam Ioannis Pinti Romano cum fructibus a kalendis futuri mensis martii convento et soluto de quo vocavit se contentum etc. Solutum etc. Iuravit etc. Actum in Capitolio presentibus Domino Quintio Amicio Illustissimorum Dominorum Coss. Computista et Claudio del fattore romano testibus. Ita est Curtius Martholus Sacri Senatus scriba.”


ROMA (Rome): ARCHIVIO STORICO DEL VICARIATO (ROMA-ASV)

55. ROMA-ASV. 1581 October 12.

San Lorenzo in Damaso / Battesimi 1575-1581 / c. 178 r.


“Vendelino di messer Pietro Alberti tedesco liutaio, et di madonna Antonia sua moglie di questa parrocchia, messer Vincenzo Pinti detto il Cavaliero del liuto, madonna Emilia moglie di messer Vincenzo Mancini.”


56. ROMA-ASV. 1602.

San Lorenzo in Damaso / Stati d’anime 1602 / c. 77 r.-78 v.

Rome. The “Cavalier del Leuto” is listed 14th among the 125 residents of the palace of the Chancellery. The list “seems to have been copied from a role book” (HILL)

Bibliography: HILL 1997: 23 (this information was already known to Hill in 1987, when he communicated it to Dinko Fabris: see FABRIS 1987: 23, note 55); CHATER

57. ROMA-ASV. 1608 November 23.

San Lorenzo in Damaso / Libro dei morti II / c. 60 r.

Rome. Registration of the death of the Cavaliere del liuto.

"+ 23. Il Cavallier del liuto in Palazzo di M.Alto"


58. ROMA-ASV. 1608 December 10.

San Lorenzo in Damaso / Entrate e uscite di sacrestia / 1603-1616 / c. 14r.

Rome. Notation of expenses for the burial of the Cavaliere del liuto:

"Adi 10 per sotterratorio del Cavalier del leuto, 75"


LITERARY TEXTS

• Raval 1593.

Sebastiano Raval, Primo Libro De Madrigali A Cinque Voci (Venice, G. Vincenti 1593), dedicated to Michele Montalto

"Et per mostrare io alcun minimo segno del gran obligo all'illustrissimo & reverendissimo cardinal Mont'alto suo fratello, & a Vostra Eccellentia con tutto il core la pregho accetti questi madrigali, quali certissimo impensatamente portai a Roma, venendo da Urbino, & trovandomi al presente in servizio dell'altezza serenissima del duca mio signore, si degnò Vostra Eccellentia nel palazzo udirmi alcuni Contraponti, et altre habilità, che all'improvviso fece innanzi del Signor Cavaliere del Liuto universal nel Mondo, del Signor Scipion Dentici rarissimo nel Cimbalo, il Signor Luca Marentio divino Compositore, et il mio Signor Stella virtuosissimo in differenti virtù, coi quali et altri Gentiluomini dell'Illustrissimo Suo fratello, e di Vostra Eccellentia indifferenti volte cantassimo di queste operine".

• GALLETTI 1760-Leoni 1597.  

Inscription on the tombstone of Francesco Leone Pinti, nephew of Vincenzo Pinti:

"DOM / FRANC. LEONIO PINTO RO. AMPLISS. / CARDI.115 S. T. GEORGII FAMILIAR IVVE.11 / SPECTATAE VIRTUTIS IMMORTVAE MORTAE / PEREMPTO QVI VIXIT AN XXV MEN X / OBIIT DIE XVI SEPTEMBRIS / M DXXVII / VINC. PINTVS AVVUNCVLVS NEPOTI / OPT.* MVLTIS CVM LACHRIMIS POSVI"”

(To Signor Francesco Leonio Pinti, young familiaris of the most illustrious cardinal of San Giorgio,116 of unblemished virtue, cut down by untimely death, who lived 25 years and 10 months. He died on September 16, 1597. His maternal uncle Vincenzo Pinti sets this to his excellent nephew, with many tears.)


• GALLETTI 1760-Pinti 1608.  
1608 December 8 (or 18). Rome.

Inscription on the tombstone of Vincenzo Pinti, once found in Rome in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso:


(In the year 1608. To the Lord, the Best, the Greatest. To Vincenzo Pinti, Roman citizen, Knight of the Militia of Christ of Lusitania, among the grooms of the chamber of Julius III Greatest Pontiff, most illustrious for the candor of his faith and for his ability to make the strings vibrate, at a more advanced age equally dear to the two great Alexanders, Farnese and Montalto, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church and Vice-chancellors. The Arch-confraternity of the Holy Apostles, heirs by testament, erected [this monument]. He lived 66 years, 5 months and 16 days. He died fifteen [days] before the Calends of January 1608. "Nothing if not befitting to strings." No one was ever better in faith/strings or in conduct, Thus your conduct was maintained by your faith/strings.)

Cinzio Passeri (ex Persomeni) Aldobrandini (1551 - 1610), nephew of Ippolito Aldobrandini (Pope Clement VIII).
Tagliaferro 1608.


“Seguitarrò dunque quelli che della musica e del liuto mi restano. Per dar del tutto fine al discorso, i quali merce de loro studi, hanno innalzato quell’instrumento à quella perfettione ch’oggi vedemo, con l’intelligenza de l’arti dela Musica senza la quale non si può haver quella perfetta cognizione che l’ordine di tal Instrumento ricerca. Il primo de quali fu il Signor Luise Dentice versatissimo in tal’esercitio, e appresso lui il Signor Fabritio suo figlio, vero lume e disciplina circa il modo del sonar’il liuto, e il quale ne in Italia, ne fuori d’Italia trovò pari. Se ben il Cavaglierino che stava in Roma appresso il Signor Cardinal Farnese non era di picciol nome, con tutto ciò egli il cedeva per vedere la perfettione, il modo, e l’osservanza di quello, non solo nel liuto, ma in ogn’altra cosa che potesse inducere armonia e vaghezza, come aria per cantar’un bavscio et un supranì sopr’un istromento e madrigaletti, ma sopr’il tutto quelle cose che ricercano la Settimana santa, egli vi uso grandissima e esquisita diligenza. Di modo che non vi è stato chi l’habi equiparato, così è l’opinion de tutti che dell’armonia si sono dilettati.”


Boccalini 1612.

Traiano Boccalini, Ragguagli di Parnaso (Venezia 1612), Vol. I: 45-46.266

Ragguaglio XII: “Nella dieta generale de’ letterati intimata da Apollo in elicona, Sua Maestà contro l’aspettazione di ognuno decreta l’eternità al nome di Vincenzo Pinti, nella corte di Roma detto ‘il cavalier del liuto’.

Sono già passati quattro mesi che Apollo per gli otto del corrente fece intimar la general dieta dei letterati in Elicona, ove al tempo determinato essendo comparsi i princiopi poeti, la nobiltà et i deputati delle universitati virtuose, la mattina per tempo tutti si congregaron in la gran sala, dove sotto l’ombrella dell’eternità nel suo lucentissimo trono sedette Sua Maestà in mezzo alle serenissime muse. E perché Apollo negli editti che avea pubblicati della dieta, avea specificato ch’egli la chiamava per dar l’eternità al nome di un virtuoso che avrebbe proposto, vari furono i discorsi dei letterati sopra il soggetto che doveva esser nominato; ma la più comune opinione si ristringeva nel

letterissimo Giusto Lipsio, uomo fiammingo, gli scritti lucubrissimi del quale tanta fragranza rendevano in Parnaso, che in tutti i virtuosi avevano destata più tosto rabbia di divorarli che appetito di gustarli. Altri dicevano che doveva determinarvisi la pubblica entrata, l’audienza nella sala regia e poi l’eternità al famosissimo nome dell’illustissimo e virtuissimo cardinal Serafino Olivieri, principe de’ letterati moderni, il quale ultimamente essendo giunto ai confini di questo stato di Parnaso, con insolite dimostrazioni di onore fu incontrato dalla maggior parte de’ virtuosi, i quali grandemente rimasero maravigliati che un uomo, che per tutti gli anni della sua vita era stato occupato nel laborioso carico della Rota romana, avesse potuto acquistar esattissima cognizione della teologia e della filosofia, che fusse il primo giureconsulto dell’età sua, sommo matematico, valente astrologo, e così li fusse familiare la lingua greca come la latina: faceva il miracolo maggiore l’essersi saputo che un prefato pieno di tante scienze, colmo di tante virtudi, era morto scolare: poiché parendoli di saper poco, nell’età sua ottuagenaria si era posto ad imparare la lingua arabica. Accresceva la riputazione di così nobile personaggio la famosissima sua biblioteca, che egli aveva portata seco: per questo nobilissima, che aveva il padrone più dotto de’ libri di lei, tutti così esattamente bene studiati, che erano consumati dagli occhi di quel letteratissimo signore. Mentre dunque il venerando collegio de’ virtuosi stava aspettando che la nominazione cadesse in uno dei due tanto famosi soggetti che si sono nominati, Apollo propone Vincenzo Pinti, per l’eccellenza con la quale suona quell’strumento, nella corte di Roma detto il cavalier del liuto. Talmente per la viltà del soggetto rimasero storditi i letterati, che con umilissima istanza fecero saper a sua Maestà ch’essi di buonissima voglia avrebbono eseguito quanto egli comandava; ma che solo li ricordavano che il suo fidelissimo collegio de’ virtuosi con mal animo nel suo numero ammetteva un citadino. A questa istanza rispose Apollo ch’egli aveva antiveduta la presente maraviglia del collegio: che nondimeno di buon animo decretassero l’immoralità al cavaliere, poiché sapea di comandar cosa necessaria, ancorché loro paresse strana. Per decreto scrutinio dunque fu vinto il partito, e favoritissimamente decretata l’eternità al nome del cavalier del liuto; il quale, incontanentemente dai maestri delle cerimonie pegasee fu introdotto nel collegio de’ virtuosi. Disse allora Apollo al cavaliere: Voi, Vincenzo, siete il primo della vostra professione che sia stato ammesso in questo letterato collegio: dignità solo riserbata a quelli che co’ perpetui sudori loro hanno fatto acquisto delle buone lettere; ma la necessità che oggi si ha della persona vostra, ci ha violentati a far questa risoluzione. Insegnate dunque ai prencipi e a’ privati l’arte necessarissima d’accordar i liuti, nella quale molti sono tanto ignoranti, che per troppo tirar le corde le strappano; e sopra tutti caramente vi sieno raccomandati certi cervellacci bizzarri, che so che sicuramente vi capiteranno nelle mani, i quali, essendosi ostinati in voler che i bordoni facciano l’ufficio dei canti, tanto gli stirano, che tuttoché sieno corde molto grosse, le rompono nondimeno, e mandano in fracasso i liuti.”


- Piccinini 1623.


p. 8: "Dell’Arciliuto, e dell’Inventore d’esso. Cap. XXXIII.
“Dove hò nominato il liuto, hò voluto intendere ancor dell’Arciliuto per non dire,
come molti dicono, Liuto Attiorbato, come se l’invenzione fosse cavata dalla Tiorba, è Chitarrone, per dir meglio, il che è falso, e lo so io, come quello, che sono stato l’inventore di questi Arciiluì: anzi havend’io fatto fare li primi come se detta invenzione per all’hora fosse poco stimata, per ispatio di due anni non si vide abbracciata da nissuno, ne si vedeva alcun simile strumento fuor, che quelli, ch’io facevo fare. Pure è stata poi ultima perfezione al Liuto, & hà dato vita al Chitarrone. Et che ciò sia vero, si sà, che essendo io l’anno MDLXXXIII al servigio del serenissimo Duca di Ferrara, andai a Padova alla bottega di Christofano Heberle, principalissimo Liutaro, & li feci fare per prova un Liuto di corpo così lungo, che serviva di tratta de i contrabassi, & haveva due scanelli molto lontani, uno da l’altro, & riuscì di poca voce, perché non si potevano toccare i contrabassi appresso lo scanello; Tal che ne feci far’ un’altro con la Tratta al manico, & riuscì buonissimo, poi simile à questo né feci far’ altri con maggior diligenza e riuscirono isquisiti, i quali tuttì portai à Ferrara dove dal Serenissimo mio Signore, & dall’Eccellentissimo Principe di Venosa, che all’hora ivi si trovava furono con grandissimo gusti uditi; e molto lor piacquero quei bassi così sonori, e Sua Altezza ne donò due al sudetto Principe di Venosa, i qual con esso lui li portò alla volta di Napoli, & ne lasciò uno a Roma, che poi capitò alle mani del Cavalier del Liuto, il qual sempre l’adoperò gustandoli infinitamente tali invenzione; & essendo io à Roma, dopo la morte del Cavalier sopradetto, il medesimo Liuto mi ritornò nelle mani. Quell’altro poi Arciiluò del corpo lungo detto di sopra, quand’andai al Servizio dell’Illustriissimo Cardinale Pietro Aldobrandino lo lasciò in Ferrara al Signore Antonio Goretti mio tanto caro amico, il quale ancora lo conserva nel suo celebre Studio di Musica, dove non solamente hà in una camera ogni sorta di strumenti Antichi, e Moderni tanto da fiato quanto da corde di bellezza, e bontà isquisiti, ma tiene ancora con ordine bellissimo in un’altra Stanza tutta la Musica Antica, e Moderna, così da Camera, come da Chiesa, che sia possibile ritrovarsi."

(Where I mentioned the lute I also wished to imply the arciliuto, not to say liuto attiorbato, as many do, as though it were an invention derived from the tiorba, or more correctly, chitarrone, which is false. I know this because I was the inventor of these arciliuti. I even had the first ones made, althogh this invention was little esteemed at the time and for two years was not adopted by anyone, nor was any similar instrument seen aside from the ones that I had had made. Nonetheless the ultimate perfection of the lute was thus achieved, and it gave life to the chitarrone. And [to prove] that this is true, let it be known that I, being in 1594 in the service of his highness the Duke of Ferrara, went to Padua to the workshop of Christofano Heberle, one of the foremost luthiers, and had him make as an experiment a lute with a body so long that it could serve as an extension for the contrabasses. It had two bridges quite far apart. However, the resulting instrument had a small sound, since the contrabasses could not be played near the bridge. Thus I had another made with the extension on the neck, and this succeeded very well. Then three others were made in like fashion with more diligence and they were exquisitely successful. I took all of them to Ferrara, where they were heard with great pleasure by his highness my master and by the most excellent Prince of Venosa, who was there. They were delighted by those very sonorous basses. His highness gave two of the lutes to the above-mentioned Prince of Venosa, who took them on his way to Naples, leaving one in Rome, which then came into the hands of the Cavalier of the Lute, who always used it, infinitely relishing this invention. When I was in Rome, after the death of the Cavalier, the same lute returned to my hands. More about the arciliuto with the long body mentioned above; when I came into the service of the most illustrious Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini I left it in Ferrara with Signor Antonio Goretti, my dear friend, who has it preserved in his famous Studio di musica. In one room he has all sorts of ancient and modern instruments, both winds and strings, of exquisite beauty and quality,
and in another place he keeps in wonderful order all the old and new music for chamber and church that one could possibly find."


- Giustiniani 1628.
  Vincenzo Giustiniani, Discorso sopra la musica (1628; manuscript. Lucca, Archivio di Stato).

  "Successo poi al Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici il cardinal Montalto, che niente meno di lui si dilettò della musica, perché di più sonava il cimbalo egli per eccellenza, e cantava con maniera soave et affectuosa e teneva in sua casa molti della professione che eccedevano la mediocrità, e tra gli altri il Cavaliere del Leuto e Scipione Dentici del Cimbalo, sonatori e compositori eccellenti, e poi Orazio sonatore raro d'Arpa doppia, e per cantare aveva Onofrio Gualfreducci eunuco, Ippolita napoletana, Melchior Basso, e molt'altro a' quali dava grosse provvigioni."


- Della Valle 1640.
  Pietro Della Valle, Della musica dell'età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella dell'età passata. Al sig. Lelio Guidiccioni (1640).

  "Nel sonar solo più che in altre guise fanno bene tutti i maggiori artifici del contrappunto: ma ricordo a V.S. che il sonare solo per eccellentemente che si faccia, a lungo andare suol venire a noia; onde spesso è avvenuto a diversi organisti e de' migliori, che quando invaghitì soverchio de' loro contrappunti hanno fatto certe ricercate troppo lunghe, si è dato loro del campanello per farli tacere; il che non suole accadere a quei che cantano, i quali alle genti dispiace quando finiscono, e vorrebbero sempre che durassero più che non durano. In questa parte del sonare solo anche io riconosco per grandissimi valentuomini quei che V.S. mi nominava, Claudio da Correggio in Parma, Luccianese in Ferrara, Annibale Padovano, Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli in Venezia, Giovanni Macque in Napoli, il Cavalier del Leuto in Roma, e altri tali, benché da me conosciuti solo per fama [...]."


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267 English translation from Smith 1979: 448-450.
Genealogical Trees

Genealogical trees of families whose members were in some way connected with the musicians discussed in this paper have been included. For practical purposes, these trees are not intended to represent the complete genealogical information of each family; to do so would have required far more space, and most of the information would have been irrelevant to this study. Instead, for the most part, only those who have some relevance to our study, or those who may help to clarify these relationships in some way, have been included. Furthermore, titles and dates are specified selectively. Matrimonial ties between different families involved in our story are usually cited in order to underline the dense network of relationships that existed among the principal families of the period. Wherever possible, different families who are tied through marriage have been grouped together on the same page, using an equal sign to indicate marriage, and an asterisk to signal the presence of the same person on separate family trees. Boldface indicates those people who are known to have been directly in contact with one of the Lorenzinos or with Vincenzo Pinti.

The following families are represented:

A Borromeo
B Caetani
C Este
D Farnese
E Gonzaga
F Orsini – Sanseverino – Gesualdo
G Valois – Savoy
H Wittelsbach – Guise – Lorraine

Legend:
= marriage
= (date) name (date of) marriage to the person named
= 1., = 2., etc. subsequent marriages of the same person with different spouses
[A], [B]... reference to another genealogical tree

Among the many sources for these genealogical trees, the following have been most useful: LITTA 1839-1846, and the continuously updated tables of the GENEALOGIE DELLE FAMIGLIE NOBILI ITALIANE, edited by Davide Shamà and published online at www.iagi.info/genealogienobili.
Genealogical Trees - A

BORROMEO

Federico

Maddalena
= Sebastiano FERRERO

Giberto (+1558)
Count of Arona
= Margherita de MEDICI

Federico (+1562)
= Virginia DELLA ROVERE*

* Carlo
(1538-1584)
cardinal saint

Camilla = (1560)
Cesare I GONZAGA [E]

Geronima = Fabrizio GESUALDO
Anna = Fabrizio COLONNA

Carlo GESUALDO
(1566-1613)[F]
3rd Prince of Venosa musician

Isabella Federico Renato
(1564-1631) cardinal

Laura

* Sister of:
Francesco Maria DELLA ROVERE (= Lucrezia d’Este[C])
Isabella DELLA ROVERE (= Nicolò Bernardino Sanseverino [F])

Isabella
= Ersilia FARNESE [D]
CAETANI

Onorato
= Caterina ORSINI

Guglielmo (+1519)

Camillo

Bonifazio I
(1516-1574)

Camillo II
(1552-1602)

Camillo

Ersilia

Onorato

Guglielmo

Niccolò
(+ 1585)
cardinal

Onorato IV
(1542-1592)

5th Duke of Sermoneta

Enrico I
(1550-1599)
cardinal
chamberlain from 1587

Filippo I
(1565-1614)

7th Duke of Sermoneta

Antonio
(1566-1624)
cardinal

Pietro III
(+ 1593)

6th Duke of Sermoneta
Giovannella
= (1464) Pier Luigi FARNES

Alessandro FARNES
Pope Paul III
[D]

Genealogical Trees - B

Bonifacio
(1568-1617)
cardinal
Genealogical Trees - D

FARNESE

Alessandro
(1468-1549)
Pope Paul III

Costanza

Pier Luigi
(+1547)
1st Duke of Parma and Piacenza
= Gerolama ORSINI

Costanza

Pier Luigi
(+1547)
1st Duke of Parma and Piacenza
= Gerolama ORSINI

Vittoria

= (1547) Guidobaldo DELLA ROVERE

Alessandro
(1520-1589)
cardinal

Ottavio
(1524-1586)
2nd Duke of Parma and Piacenza
= (1538) Margaret of Hapsburg

Francesco Maria II
DELLA ROVERE
= (1570) Lucrezia d'Este[C]

Alessandro
(1545-1592)
3rd Duke of Parma and Piacenza
= (1565) Maria of Portugal

Isabella

= (1579) Renato BORROMEO[A]

Ersilia

= (1579) Renato BORROMEO[A]

Lavinia

Margherita

= (1579) Vincenzo GONZAGA[E]
(annulled 1583)

Ranuccio I
(1569-1622)
4th Duke of Parma and Piacenza
= (1599) Margherita ALDOBRANDINI

Ranuccio

Odoardo
cardinal
VALOIS

Jean

Philippe II
"sans terre"
(1443-1497)

Charles

Emmanuel Philibert
"Tête de Fer"
(1528-1580)

Louise

Jérôme

Charles III
"le Bon"

François I
King of France

Charles

Philiberte II
"le Beau"

Louise

Charles de Valois

Henri II
(+1559)
King of France

= Caterina de MEDICI (+1589)

François II
(1544-1560)
King of France
1559-1560

Charles IX
(1550-30 May 1574)
King of France
1560-1574

Henri III
(1551-1574)
King of France
1574-1589

SAVOY

François I
King of France

Charles Emmanuel I
(1562-1630)

= (1585) Catherine of Hapsburg

Henri II
(+1559)
King of France

Henri ID
(1551-1574)
King of France
1574-1589
Genealogical Trees - G

Louis

Philippe
1st Duke of Nemours

another
10 children

Jacques
(1531-1585)
2nd Duke of Nemours
= (1566) Anna d'ESTE [C]

Charles Emmanuel
(1567-1595)
3rd Duke of Nemours

Marguerite Marie
(1569-1572)

Henri II
(1572-1632)
4th Duke of Nemours
Marquis of Saint Sorlin
Genealogical Trees - H

LOURNAINE

WITTELSBACH
Dukes of Bavaria

Wilhelm IV
(1493-1550)

Albrecht V
(1528-1579)

Antoine
(1489-1544)
Duke of Lorraine

Claude
(1496-1550)
1st Duke of Guise

François I
(1517-1545)
Duke of Lorraine
= Christina of Oldenburg

Renée
(1544-1602)
= (1568) Wilhelm V Wittelsbach

René II
(1451-1508)
Duke of Lorraine

Marie
Francois
(1519-1563)
"Balafré"
2nd Duke of Guise
= (1548) Anna d'ESTE [C]

another 2 daughters

Charles
(1524-1574)
cardinal

another 7 children

another 2 sons
and 3 daughters

Ernst
(1554-1612)
archbishop of Cologne

Karl
Wilhelm V
(1548-1626)
"der Fromme" (the Pious)
= (1568) Renée of Lorraine

2 daughters
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GUSTAFSON-FULLER 1990

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