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Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday
Part III

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A Political Fantasia and the Siena Lute Book 
Richard K. Falkenstein 

Spinacino's Twelve-tone Experiment 
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Vol. 44 of the *JLSA* is the concluding issue in the series of *Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday*. With this group we come full circle back to the Renaissance with four articles that span from Spinacino to Fiorentino and the Dentices in Italy, and from Newsidler in Nuremberg to Nárvaez in Valladolid. As earlier in the series, these offerings represent a small reflection of Arthur Ness's broad cultural interests and his very broad interests focusing on lute music.

— Michael Fink

**Richard Falkenstein** received a Ph.D. in musicology from the University of Buffalo, where he studied as a Woodburn Fellow. He has published essays on sixteenth-century Italian lute music and the Beatles, and he is a member of the editorial board of the *JLSA*. He has performed on lute and guitar in Western New York as a soloist, in small ensembles, and with orchestras and choral groups, and he has toured extensively as a chamber musician in the United States, Canada, South America, and Europe; he has also made two critically acclaimed recordings with the Buffalo Guitar Quartet. He is an Associate Professor of Fine Arts at Canisius College, where he also serves as Chair of the Fine Arts Department.

**John Griffiths** is known for his research on sixteenth-century music, the lute, and more particularly the Spanish vihuela. His publications include modern editions of music for vihuela and lute, studies on interpretation, music analysis, renaissance music printing, urban music in the early modern period, organology, and the role of plucked instruments in Renaissance society. Now an honorary professor of music at Monash University and languages at the University of Melbourne, he also has an established performing career and was director of early music at the University of Melbourne for thirty years. Currently he is Co-director of the Corpus des Luthistes project at the CESR in Tours, Vice-President of the Sociedad de la Vihuela in Spain, and chair of the "Tablature in Western Music" study group of the International Musicological Society. In 1993 he was decorated with the Cross of Officer of the Order of Isabel de Catholic for his contribution to Spanish music.

**Joachim Lüdtke** was born in Schleswig (Northern Germany). After initial training as an office clerk he went to a commercial high school, and afterwards served as a regular soldier for a couple of years. Following this, he studied musicology, European ethnology and the history of arts. His PhD on the lute books of Philipp Hainhofer was published in 1999. He works as a freelance editor and proof reader in Fuerth.
(near Nuremberg in Franconia) and works on a volunteer basis for the Jewish Museum Franconia, currently on the transcription and critical commentary of a diary written by the 19th-century painter David Ottenssooser. He is the co-author of Andreas Schlegel's *The Lute in Europe 2*, and editor of the German lute society's newsletter.

After receiving two degrees in music composition and serving a stint in the U.S. Air Force, **Michael Fink** began his doctoral studies in musicology at the University of Southern California. By the time he completed his Ph.D. in 1977, he had been teaching at the University of Texas at San Antonio for two years. He continued his professorial career there for 25 years, writing two college textbooks (both published by Schirmer Books). He also initiated a successful guitar ensemble series with Southern Music Co., and he built a writing service focusing on program notes for symphony orchestras and chamber music presenters, as well as album notes for CDs (Philips and Deutsche Grammophon). After retiring in 2000, his interests focused on research and music for the lute, vihuela, and guitars of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In 2007, he began assisting Douglas Alton Smith in preparing new issues of the *JLSA*, and he became editor of the *Journal* in 2010 with the publication of Vol. 40.

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Perino Fiorentino and the Dentices: A Political Fantasia and the *Siena Lute Book*

BY RICHARD K. FALKENSTEIN

Among the important figures of Italian lute music in the mid-sixteenth century stand Luigi Dentice, his son Fabrizio, and Perino Fiorentino. They have received attention separately (although Luigi and Fabrizio are usually discussed together), but the relationship between the Dentices and Perino has not been examined. The present state of our knowledge about their careers, their music, and the historical and cultural period in which they lived allows us to attempt an initial exploration of their affiliation. In the following essay I will briefly delineate points at which the lutenists made contact, and I will argue that their association may have been at least partially responsible for compelling Perino to compose a fantasia on Verdelot’s madrigal “Italia mia.” I also will provide evidence to suggest that their relationship has left its traces in the manuscript known as the *Siena Lute Book* and will offer a few thoughts about the provenance of some items among its contents.

1 My memories of Arthur Ness go back to the late 1970s and early 1980s when he was Director of Music at Daemen College in Buffalo, NY. I knew him as the “lute guy.” He brought Paul O’Dette and Hopkinson Smith to Buffalo for concerts, some of the first live lute performances I heard. Arthur was later my reader/advisor for the theses I completed for graduate degrees at the University at Buffalo, and I always found him (and still find him) to be an extremely generous and gentle mentor. I never cease to be astonished by the thoroughness of his scholarship and the breadth of his command of bibliographical materials. My best memories, however, are of the times spent in friendship with Arthur and his wife, Charlotte.

Points of Contact

It is not known when Perino and the Dentices met. There has been speculation that Perino was active in Naples during the mid-1530s, which would have brought him into contact with Luigi, a member of the court of Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno. Documents recording payments to musicians in the employ of Pietrantonio Sanseverino, kin of Ferrante, show that a “Perino, musicus tamburino” was active in Naples during the years 1533 and 1534, and one scholar has proposed that this musician may have been Perino Fiorentino. This is a very remote possibility, however, since there is nothing to link the musicians beyond their general occupation and a common first name. Other scholars have suggested that Perino supervised the printing of two Neapolitan lute books containing music by Francesco da Milano in 1536. The reason for this hypothesis is not clear, and what is known of Perino’s whereabouts at the time does not offer support for it: the colophon of the first book is dated 25 May 1536, but archival documents place Perino in Florence with his parents in that month. This circumstance and the lack of any other evidence make his involvement with the prints doubtful.

It is possible, however, that Luigi may have met Perino in 1536, not in Naples but in Florence. A document in the archives of Ferrante Sanseverino records a payment made in Florence by his agent Marchio Antonio Villano to musicians of Duke Alessandro de’ Medici on 2 May 1536. There is no evidence to place Luigi in the city at the time, but as a courtier of Sanseverino, he may have been present. As noted above,

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4 John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004), x. The lute books are Intavolatura de viola o vero lauto... Libro primo and Libro secondo, both of which were published in Naples by Joannes Sulzbach; these prints are presented in facsimile in Francesco da Milano, Intavolatura de viola o vero lauto I-II, with Preface by Arthur J. Ness and Index by Claude Chauvel (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1988).
5 The date of Sulzbach’s Libro primo is given in the colophon following fol. 31v in the facsimile edition cited in n. 4 of the present study. The archival document concerning Perino is cited in Frank A. D’Acone, “Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance,” Analecta musicologica 4 (1976): 49.
6 The archival entry is transcribed in Corsi, “Le carte Sanseverino,” 36.
7 Although this is not regularly reported in biographies of Luigi, his association with Ferrante Sanseverino went back to the late 1520s when they were both members of the Accademia Intronati in Siena (see n. 43 below).
Perino was in Florence in May 1536. Although he was only a twelve-and-a-half-year-old, he must have shown promise as a lutenist or at least as a musician because within months he would be in Rome under the tutelage of Francesco da Milano. Since Perino was the son of the important Florentine musician Bartolomeo degli Organi, he may have been introduced to Luigi, a talent scout for Sanseverino, with an eye toward a possible position in the future.

Another possible meeting between Luigi and Perino may have occurred a few years later. In February and March 1540 Luigi was in Ferrante Sanseverino's entourage in Antwerp. Perino's patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, was in Ghent as papal legate to Emperor Charles V from late February until early May 1540. The proximity of these cities and the somewhat lengthy stays of both patrons make it possible that they and their followers may have had contact with each other. It is not known whether Perino traveled with Farnese, but it seems a good possibility because in the next year he was among the cardinal's retinue for a high profile political meeting in Lucca.

The first point of contact between Perino and the Dentices for which we have more substantial evidence occurred sometime in the middle of the 1540s. Luigi's *Duo dialoghi della musica* contains a well-known passage in which his interlocutors Paolo Soardo and Giovanni Antonio Serone discuss music performed at the home of Giovanna d'Aragona in Naples. Soardo names Perino among a group of participating instrumentalists and singers. It is not entirely clear that an actual performance as portrayed in *Duo dialoghi* ever took place, but as Richard Wistreich has suggested, the passage tries to give the reader an idea of the artistic

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8 See Falkenstein, "Perino Fiorentino," 41.
9 Treasury account entries associated with the journey name Luigi; they are transcribed in Corsi, "Le carte Sanseverino," 37.
10 The entire legation is described with all of its political ramifications in Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes. From the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1912), 11:365-89; see pp. 369 and 387 concerning Farnese's arrival in Ghent and his departure.
environment of Naples before Luigi went into exile in the summer of 1547.\textsuperscript{13}

Luigi, through his interlocutors, seems to be describing the Neapolitan cultural scene around 1545 or 1546. At that time some of the performers named in his text were involved in productions of G'\'ingannati and La Filenia at the palace of Ferrante Sanseverino. The first of these plays utilized the musical and dramatic talents of Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, Scipione delle Palle, and Giovanni Leonardo de l'Arpa—all of whom are named in the passage from Duo dialoghi—as well as Luigi and his son Fabrizio.\textsuperscript{14} This is also the period when these musicians (except Fabrizio) and the interlocutor Soardo were members of the short-lived Accademia dei Sereni, which drew up its charter in 1546 and was forced to disband in 1547.\textsuperscript{15} Luigi could not have witnessed a performance by Perino in Naples after 1546 because there does not appear to have been an opportunity when both could have been in the city after that date.\textsuperscript{16} Nor is it likely that such a performance took place much before 1545. In the Duo dialoghi passage cited above, Serone—and we may assume Luigi—remarks that he has heard each of the instrumentalists many times, and in his opinion each has attained preeminence, "il primo luogo," in the playing of his instrument. It seems unlikely that Luigi would have considered Perino to have obtained "first place" as a lute player until after the 1543 death of his teacher, Francesco da Milano. Thus, taking all these considerations into account, one must come to the conclusion that Perino's music making in Naples is likely to have been in the mid-1540s, probably ca. 1545.

In addition to Luigi, Perino would have come into contact with his son Fabrizio while in Naples. We do not know the exact age of Fabrizio, but he was probably in his mid-teens in 1545.\textsuperscript{17} He had an impor-

\textsuperscript{13} Wistreich, Warrior, Courtier, Singer, 138.

\textsuperscript{14} The plays are discussed in ibid., 25-27.

\textsuperscript{15} The charter with a list of the Accademia's members is transcribed in Benedetto Croce, "L'accademia dei Sereni," in Aneddoti di varia letteratura (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1953), 1:304-7. On the dissolution of the Accademia, see Wistreich, Warrior, Courtier, Singer, 26-28.

\textsuperscript{16} See Falkenstein, "Perino Fiorentino," 48-51 and 55.

\textsuperscript{17} Fabrizio's age cannot be precisely determined because the year of his birth is not known. Two scholars give the year 1539 (or thereabouts): New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., s.v. "Dentice; (2) Fabrizio Dentice," by Keith A. Larson; and Donna G. Cardiannone refers to Fabrizio in 1554 as the "teen-age virtuoso" in "Orlando di Lasso and pro-French factions in Rome," Orlando Lassus and his Time: Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation (Peer: Alamire Foundation, 1995), 43, which has been reprinted in Cardiannone, The canzone villanesc a alla napo liana: Social, Cultural and Historical Contexts (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Dinko Fabris has argued for a birth date of ca. 1550, which surely must be closer to the truth; see his Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd ed., s.v. "Dentice; 2. Fabrizio." Fabris bases his argument on Fabrizio's participation in the 1545 production
tant role in one of the plays mentioned above, *Gl’ingannati*, and contemporary commentary reports that he performed his part "graziosamente." We lack an account of his musical abilities at the time, but we can assume that he had at least begun to play the lute—perhaps under his father's tutelage—and to study singing—perhaps with his father, Scipione delle Palle, or one of the other musicians in his father's circle.

A second point of contact between Perino and Luigi occurred in Rome in the late 1540s. During the period March 1546 to May 1548, Perino was active at the court of Pope Paul III, from whom he received monthly payments on behalf of an unnamed "compagno" who played the lute in a trio with him. In addition to his performing duties, Perino was also busy editing a lute print that the Roman publisher Dorico issued in 1546 under the title *Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino... Libro primo* (Libro primo hereafter). Luigi arrived in Rome in 1547. A letter from the imperial ambassador, Don Diego de Mendoza, to Charles V places him there in early June. In the

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of *Gl’ingannati* at the Sanseverino palace. In "Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice," 61-62, n. 2, Fabris points out that the role Fabrizio played is too full of sexual innuendo ("troppo ricca di ammiccamenti e riferimenti erotici") to be entrusted to a six-year-old child, which Fabrizio would have been in 1545 if the birth date of 1539 were to be accepted. I would add that the part is extensive and agree that it is certainly not within the abilities of even a precocious six-year-old, but it could have been handled by a gifted teenager. For an English translation of the play, see Laura Giannetti and Guido Ruggiero, *Five Comedies from the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 205-84. Another date, 1526 or a few years later, also has been proposed for Fabrizio's birth; see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Dentice," by Salvatore De Salvo. This would be problematic, though, if we accept the same source's date of 1510-1520 for Luigi Dentice's birth.

18 Fabrizio portrayed the worldly-wise maid Pasquella. The comment on his performance was made by Antonino Castaldo, an eyewitness to the event as one of its participants; it is quoted and translated in Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 24-25.

19 Scholars have thought that praise for Fabrizio's performance in *Gl’ingannati* may have included his musical abilities. At the end of his account of the performance, Castaldo comments on its music, stating that "il Dentice con il suo Falsetro, ed il Brancaccio col Basso ferno [fecerono] miracoli!"; see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 24-25 (see n. 52 for the quote). There has been some confusion as to which Dentice Castaldo means, father or son. Some consider that the reference is to Fabrizio; see Fabris, "Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice," 61, n. 2; and Griffiths and Fabris, *Neapolitan Lute Music*, xi. I do not think this was the case, however. Earlier in the passage Castaldo refers to Luigi as "Il Dentice," and he uses the same wording in the passage under consideration, which I would interpret as again indicating Luigi.

20 The payments are listed (some are transcribed) in D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi," 75-76.


22 I quote the translation of the letter from Donna G. Cardamone, "Orlando di Lasso and pro-French factions in Rome," 39, n. 58: "The Viceroy [Toledo] alerted me to the arrival here of Luis Dentice who was and is a great part of those uprisings. He is going to Milan and Genoa in order to give an account to Don Fernando [Gonzaga] and to the Prince [Andrea Doria] of what transpired.
previous month Luigi had given an inflammatory speech in the church of the monastery of San Lorenzo in Naples, urging his fellow citizens to rebel against the tyrannical excesses of their viceroy, Don Pedro of Toledo. As a result, he was forced to flee and seek refuge elsewhere. Don Diego reported in his letter that Luigi had asked for protection from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Perino's patron, to stay in Rome, and there was the presumption that the fugitive would eventually make his way to France.

It has been thought that Fabrizio also resided in the household of Cardinal Farnese or at least in Rome at the same time. The ambassador's letter cited above does not mention him, so it is not clear on what basis this claim rests, but it may stem from remarks by Niccolò Tagliaferro in a passage of his "L'esercitio" (1608) where he praises Luigi and Fabrizio and then writes about a "cavaliereino" who stayed with Cardinal Farnese. There appears to have been a misunderstanding that the designation refers to Fabrizio, but a careful reading of the passage makes it clear that

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The Viceroy suspects he is covered for going to France. He came to my house. I advised him to go right away to your ministry and to stay in Milan without returning here. It seems to me that he has requested safe conduct from Cardinal [Alessandro] Farnese to stay here [in Rome] and in light of all this, I will look into what he is doing here." Letter to Charles V from Don Diego de Mendoza, imperial ambassador, dated 3 June 1547 in Rome. Cardamone's source for the document is J. J. Dollinger, Dokumente zur Geschichte Karl V., Philipp's II. und ihrer Zeit aus spanischen Archiven (Regensburg, 1862), 80. The material in brackets is in Cardamone's translation.

24 See Cardamone, "Orlando di Lasso," 39: "... [Luigi] was convicted of treason and banished from Naples. He sought asylum in Rome, placing his eldest son Fabrizio as lute-singer in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese." See also Fabris in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v. "Dentice; 2. Fabrizio": "Nach den Unruhen des Jahres 1547 ging er [Fabrizio] zusammen mit seinem Vater nach Rom, wo über sein Wirken nichts bekannt ist." ("After the disturbances of the year 1547 he [Fabrizio] went together with his father to Rome, where nothing is known about his activities.

Bracketed material is mine.

25 The pertinent passage is as follows: "Seguitarro dunque quelli che dela musica e del liuto mi ries- tano. 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 del'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 Cavaliereino che stava in Roma apresso il Signor Cardinal Farnese non era di piccol nome, con tutto ciò egli il cedeva per vedere la perfettione il modo, e l'osservanza di quello, non solo nel liuto, ma in ogni'altra cosa che potesse inducere armonia e vaghezza, come aria per cantar'un'ascolto e in un supranor sopra'ostamento e madrigaletti, ma sop'il tutto quelle cose che ricercano la Settimana santa, egli vuò usare 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." Naples, Biblioteca dei Gerolamini, SM XXVII.1.66, "L'esercitio Niccolò Taglia Ferro della città d'Altraro, cantore della regia cappella di sua maestà cattolica nel regno di Napoli" (1608); transcribed in Fabris, "Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice," 104; and Mariangrazia Carbone, "The Knights of the Lute," JLSA 37 (2004): 98.
Tagliaferro is indicating a third person. The “cavaglierino” has been identified recently as Vincenzo Pinti, one of the “Knights of the Lute.”

Nevertheless, there is circumstantial evidence that leads me to believe (tentatively) that Fabrizio was in Rome during the mid-1540s. As mentioned above, the payments to Perino from the papal treasury at this time were made on behalf of a “companion” who played the lute with him in a trio for the pope. There are two puzzling aspects of the treasury entries that record these payments. First, the companion is not named in any of them, nor is there any other indication of who he is except that he played the lute. It is curious that someone receiving regular payments for over a year would not be better identified in the account books. Individuals receiving payments are usually identified by first name and sometimes an epithet: Perino’s was “creato di messer Francesco da Milano.” A second curious aspect is that the payments are not made to the companion but to Perino. This might lead one to believe that the companion was under the care or supervision of Perino, but there is no indication of that relationship. In such cases a designation such as “discipulo” or “creato” usually is found, but even in those cases the account books indicate payments made directly to those under supervision.

In view of this, I think there is a possibility that the companion lutenist may have been Fabrizio. He could have traveled with Perino from Naples to the papal court sometime before the payments began in March 1546. If I am correct, the mystery surrounding the treasury entries could be explained by considering the Dentice family’s pride in their noble lineage and disdain of appearing to be “professional” musicians who served for remuneration. Out of courtesy and sensitivity to the Dentice family, the Farnese may have decided to surreptitiously provide

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26 The identification of Pinti is made by Carlone in “The Knights of the Lute,” 57-58. Fabris also identifies the “cavaglierino” as a third person in “Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice,” 75. See also Griffis and Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music, xx, n. 39.

27 The first of the payments under consideration (5 March 1546) calls Perino the “creato” of Francesco da Milano, even though the elder lutenist had died about three years earlier. Most musicians in the account books are clearly identified, except for those in larger groups such as the choir and the ceremonial instrumentalists. Transcriptions and summaries of account entries from the period appear in vol. 2 of Léon Doré, La cour du Pape Paul III d’après les registres de la trésorerie secrète (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1932); and in Alessandro Vessella, La banda (Milan: Istituto editoriale nazionale, 1935), 230-36.

28 For example, payments were made “a mastro Marcantonio musico et al suo discipulo”; see Vessella, La banda, 233. In another instance a “Cencia,” who is described as a “creata di San Spirito,” was given a monetary gift for singing for the pope; see Doré, La cour du Pape Paul III, 2:260.

29 The Parma court chronicler Rolando Pico had this to say about Fabrizio: “... but because he was a Neapolitan gentleman, he disdained the pursuit of this profession and the title of lute player ... as a Cavalier of very noble affiliations, he believed such profession would compromise his noble status.”
Fabrizio with a living allowance by funneling payments through Perino, his colleague. It seems entirely consistent with the patronage habits of the Farnese family that the payments came from the pope rather than from the cardinal, Perino’s patron, since the family regularly shared artists and artistic expenses. 

Why would Fabrizio go to Rome? Besides the artistically rich atmosphere of the city under the Farnese, a possible reason may have been related to the political situation in Naples. The charter for the Accademia dei Sereni was drawn up on 14 March 1546, nine days after Perino began to receive payments for his companion. While the Accademia was ostensibly dedicated to cultural affairs, music chief among them, it was forced to disband because it was suspected of politically subversive activities. If the members were involved in conspiracy as suspected, it is possible that Luigi may have wanted to get Fabrizio out of the way of any trouble, and Rome certainly was a safe haven in his mind: he himself sought refuge there as noted above.

At some point both Perino and Luigi left Rome, but their departure dates are not known with any certainty. Perino left sometime after May 1548, most likely headed for France to see the queen, as reported in a horoscope cast for him by Luca Gaurico. The horoscope does not indicate where in France Perino went, and while Paris would seem to be the most likely destination, Lyons presents itself as an equally strong possibility. Lyons was France’s second city in the sixteenth century, and there would have been a number of reasons why it would have been attractive to Perino. Music flourished there in the 1540s as did the accompanying businesses of music publishing and instrument making, and trade fairs held regularly in the city drew people from all over Europe. The latter, in particular, may have been of interest to him. He probably had copies of his Libro primo for sale, and he may have been anxious to get his edition into the hands of European book dealers before they obtained a rival print of the collection published in Venice in 1547: Antonio Gardano’s

Rolando Pico, Appendice di varii soggetti parmigiani. Aggiunte II all’Appendice (Parma, 1642); transcribed in Fabris, “Vita e opera di Fabrizio Denticè,” 104-5; and translated in Griffiths and Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music, xii. See also Cardamone, “Orlando di Lasso,” 41, n. 68.


Falkenstein, “Perino Fiorentino,” 53-55. The horoscope was published in Luca Gaurico, Tractatus astrologicus (Venice, 1552), fol. 84v. It is transcribed in Falkenstein on p. 91.

The period under consideration was a golden age for musical activity in Lyons. It is described in detail in Frank Dobbins, Music in Renaissance Lyons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino ...

Libro terzo (hereafter Libro terzo). Another attractive aspect of Lyons would have been the large Florentine community that was a main source of musical patronage. Perino even had familial ties to its musical scene. Francesco de Layolle, one of the city's most distinguished musicians during the sixteenth century, had married the sister of Perino's mother. Francesco moved to Lyons from Florence ca. 1518 and remained there until his death ca. 1540. Although Francesco was no longer alive by the time Perino was in France, his son Alamanno was active in Lyons as a "joueur d'instrumens" and "musicien et organiste."

It is possible that the horoscope cited above might refer to a specific event that took place in Lyons. It mentions that Perino went to see the French queen: in September of 1548 Henry II and Catherine de' Medici made their "superbe et triumphante entrée" into the city as newly crowned king and queen of France; the festivities for the event lasted days and included the performance of an Italian comedy with musical intermedi in addition to other entertainments. The horoscope could also refer to another visit Catherine made to Lyons in June 1549.

Like Perino, Luigi also went to France. A list of Neapolitan exiles at the French court in a contemporary account of a military campaign verifies his presence there around 1556 or 1557, and a few years later (ca. 1560) he received a pension from the king of France. It is difficult to establish exactly when he left Rome and arrived in France because the documentary evidence for his activities in the late 1540s and early 1550s is scanty. He may not have left Rome until after his Duo dialoghi was issued there in 1553, but he did not have to be in the city for its publication. It is just as possible that he went to France before that date: it will be remembered that the imperial ambassador who recorded his arrival in

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33 On the Gardano print, see Brown, Instrumental Music, item 1547. The Libro terzo includes the contents of the Libro primo and two other works by Francesco.
34 Patronage in Lyons at the time is described in Dobbins, Music in Renaissance Lyons, 3-7.
36 Dobbins, Music in Renaissance Lyons, 176-77
37 Ibid., 204.
38 The event is described in ibid., 109-17.
39 Concerning the 1549 visit, see Jean Héritier, Catherine de Medici, trans. by Charlotte Haldane (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), 53.
40 Luigi is listed among the "fuorusciti Napolitani" at Henry II’s court in Alessandro Andrea, Della Guerra di campagna di Roma et del regno di Napoli nel pontificato di Paolo III l’anno MDLVI. et LVII. (Venice, 1560), 44; see Wistreich, Warrior, Courtier, Singer, 55, n. 22. Luigi was given a pension at the royal court, but when is not known; overdue payments were made during the short reign of Francis II (1559-1560); see Cardamone, "Orlando di Lasso," 36, n. 50.
Rome mentioned that he thought Luigi was headed there. France had become a very popular refuge for Italian exiles, for Florentines and Neapolitans in particular. After the death of Pope Paul III in 1549 the prestige of the Farnese in Rome waned somewhat, and that might have been enough to induce Luigi to move if he had not left the city already. Thus, it is possible that Perino and Luigi traveled to France together sometime in the late 1540s or they met there after traveling separately. If so, they could have maintained their association until Perino's death in 1552.

While there is evidence to place Luigi in France in the 1550s, he does not seem to have been there throughout the decade. He may have been in Spain in 1554 and perhaps there again with Fabrizio in 1559. Furthermore, it seems probable that Luigi would have returned to Naples during the early 1550s after he was pardoned for his part in the 1547 rebellion. There also has been speculation that at some point during the 1550s he was in Siena. The likelihood of the latter is supported by his connections with the city. He and his patron Ferrante Sanseverino had been there in the late 1520s and early 1530s as members of the Accademia degli Intronati and were involved in the theatrical productions the group staged.

**Perino's Fantasia on “Italia mia”**

I now will attempt to show that the lutenists' relationship may have inspired the composition of one of Perino's fantasias in the 1546 *Libro primo*. The fantasia is based on Philippe Verdelot's madrigal “Italia mia, ben ch'el parlar,” which is a setting of the first stanza of a canzone by Francesco Petrarch. Both the text and its setting had political import for poet and madrigalist, and I think it likely that Perino chose the work

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41 Fabris, “Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice,” 64. Fabris also proposes that Luigi may have been in England in 1554, but see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 38-41.
43 For the connection of Luigi and Sanseverino with Siena during the 1520s-1530s, see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 25-26; and [Accademici Intronati di Siena], *G'ingannati con il sacrificio e La canzone nella morte d'una civetta*, facsimile with Preface by Nerida Newbigin (Sala Bolognese: Arnoldo Forni Editore, 1984), vi-ix and xi-xii.
44 The fantasia appears in the *Libro primo* on sigs. D4-E1. It also appears in the three editions of the *Libro terzo* published by Gardano and Scotto on sigs. D1v-D3; the latter three prints are listed in Brown, *Instrumental Music* as items 1547, 1562, and 1563. The piece is known as Fantasia No. 4 among Perino's complete works.
to use as a model because of its political implications. As I will try to demonstrate, the sentiment behind the fantasia may have been shaped by the situation the Dentices experienced in Naples.

The model for the fantasia is not identified in the *Libro primo*, nor is the use of borrowed material immediately perceptible as it begins. In its opening moments the fantasia's resemblance to Verdelot's madrigal is mostly textural: Perino employs a five-part texture as in the madrigal, but the musical material is only somewhat similar. As the fantasia continues, Perino draws upon motives from the madrigal and introduces them in the same order they appear in the model (compare the motives in Example 1).\(^{45}\) Verdelot sometimes states his motives only in a single voice; Perino, on the other hand, develops them throughout his texture, sometimes in very dense imitation.\(^{46}\) At the end of his piece Perino includes an almost literal quote of a section at the end of the madrigal. Thus, to the listener the model reveals itself more clearly as the fantasia comes to a close. The procedure Perino follows here differs from that in his other fantasias based on preexisting works. Those pieces, one on Richafort's chanson "De mon triste desplaisir" and the other on an ensemble ricercar by Julio Segni, begin with more or less literal quotations of the openings of their models and then develop motives from them.\(^{47}\)

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\(^{45}\) Measure numbers in Example 1 correspond to those in the following modern editions: Verdelot = H. Colin Slim, ed., *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972), 1:398-406; Perino = Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino, Opere per liuto*, 10-13. The examples by Verdelot are based on Slim's edition; those by Perino have been transcribed from a microfilm of the Francesco-Perino *Libro primo*. For the lute transcription, a G-tuning is assumed and the minim rhythmic sign is transcribed as a half note. See Falkenstein, "Perino Fiorentino," 76-78 for other musical examples.

\(^{46}\) The following list indicates where Perino borrowed from Verdelot's madrigal and the places in his fantasia where he develops the same material. Measure numbers given here correspond to the editions cited in n. 45 above.

Verdelot, mm. 1-4 (general texture) and Perino, mm. 1-4; Verdelot, mm. 8-12 (all voices) and Perino, mm. 5-6, 23-25, 29-32; Verdelot, mm. 13-14 (quintus) and Perino, mm. 9-21; Verdelot, mm. 17-23 (all voices) and Perino, mm. 33-57 (there are variations of the motive throughout this section); Verdelot, mm. 27-29 (cantus), 58-62 (cantus, quintus, and bassus) and Perino, mm. 59-78; Verdelot, mm. 35-38, 54-57 (altus) and Perino, mm. 79-82; Verdelot, mm. 78-79 (altus) and Perino, mm. 84-88; Verdelot, mm. 81-92 (entire texture) and Perino, mm. 88-94.

\(^{47}\) The use of borrowed material in these two fantasias is discussed in Falkenstein, "Perino Fiorentino," 77-83.
**Example 1:** Motives from Verdelot's "Italia mia" and Perino's fantasia on "Italia mia"

a.) Verdelot, cantus, mm. 9-11.

\[
\text{A le pia-ghe mor-ta -}
\]

a.) Perino, mm. 5-6.

\[
\text{Che nel' bel cor-po tuo}
\]

b.) Verdelot, quintus, mm. 13-14.

\[
\text{Piace m'al-men'}
\]

b.) Perino, mm. 17-18.

c.) Verdelot, cantus, mm. 21-23.

d.) Verdelot, cantus, mm. 27-29.
d.) Perino, mm. 63-64.

e.) Verdelot, altus, mm. 35-38.

f.) Verdelot, altus, mm. 78-80.

f.) Perino, mm. 84-85.

g.) Verdelot, cantus, mm. 81-83.

g.) Perino, mm. 88-89.
The appearance of Verdelot's madrigal in a handful of part-music prints during the period 1538 to 1549 suggests that it enjoyed some popularity as a vocal piece around the same time that Perino's fantasía was published. It does not appear to have had the same success with instrumentalists, however. I know of only one other instrumental work based on it, an arrangement for voice and vihuela by Enriquez de Valderrábano that was published in 1547. Therefore, Perino's choice of this work as a model for his fantasía is not likely to have been because of its popularity with instrumentalists. Instead, I suggest he chose it for the political implications of its text and setting, which I will now outline.

Verdelot's madrigal sets the first stanza of Petrarch's canzone, which in its entirety consists of seven stanzas and a commiato. The composer's setting includes the following text:

Italia mia, ben ch'el parlar' sia indarno
A le piaghe mortali
Che nel' bel corpo tuo si spesse veggio,
Piacem'almen' ch'e' mia sospir' sien quali
Sper'il Tever' et l'Arno
E'I Po dove doglioso et grave hor' seggio.
Rector' del' ciel', io cheggio
Che la pietà che ti condusse in terra
Ti volgha al tuo dilet'almo paese:
Vedi, Signor' cortese,
Di che levi cagion che crudel guerra,
I cor', ch'indur'et serra
Marte superb' et fero,
Apri tu, padr', c'ntenerisci et snoda;
Ivi fa ch'el tuo vero,
Qual' io mi sia per la mia lingua s'oda.

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48 The publishing houses of Gardano and Scotto printed the madrigal in 1538, 1540, 1541 and 1549, and it was copied into manuscript sources as well; see Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 1:227. It also served as a model for Gasparo Alberti's *Missa super Italia mia*, which was published in 1549 but probably composed earlier; see Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 1:213; and *New Grove*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Alberti, Gasparo,” by Victor Rovetta and Gary Towne.


(My Italy, though speech is of no avail / to the mortal wounds / that I see
so thickly spread over your fair body, / I rejoice, however, that my sighs are
/ the hopes of [the peoples of] the Tiber and the Arno / and the Po, where
I now sit grave and sorrowful. /

Ruler of the heavens, I ask / that the compassion that guided You on earth
/ make You turn to Your fair beloved country. / Behold, kind Lord, / what
slight causes brought on so cruel a war, / and the hearts that were hardened
and shut / by Mars proud and fierce / open, Father, soften and unbind; / in
them see to it that Your truth— / for as much as I am worth—may be heard
from my tongue.)

Petrarch's poem is noteworthy among his works for its political content. He wrote it to lament the constant conflict among the various rulers on the Italian peninsula during the fourteenth century. The reference to the river Po suggests it was probably written at Parma during the years 1344 to 1345, when Petrarch was almost captured by forces laying siege to the city. In the stanzas that follow the first, Petrarch appeals to nationalistic sentiment and bemoans the presence on the peninsula of "barbarians," that is, German soldiers. He notes that Nature favored the Italians by placing the Alps between them and the savage northerners (lines 33-35), and he makes reference to classical Roman leaders, Marius and Caesar, who famously defeated them (lines 45-51). At the end of the poem Petrarch appeals to the Italian lords of his day to put aside their hatred for each other and use their energies for more praiseworthy activities such as study and intellectual pursuits: "... qualche atto piu degno/
o di mano o d'ingegno,/ in qualche bella lode,/ in qualche onesto studio
..." (lines 103-110).

While Petrarch's specific politics would not have been those of Verdelot or his patrons almost two hundred years later, the general theme of the poem, Italy lacerated by the wounds of constant warfare, would have been appropriate during the early sixteenth century. Italy was the battlefield of Europe during the Cinquecento, with conflicts ranging from those prosecuted or instigated by the great powers of the time, such as the king of France and the Holy Roman Emperor, to localized civil strife. Italian city-states allied themselves with stronger powers, changing to other alliances when it suited their purposes. Even though the last part of the poem was not set by Verdelot, it may have been known by those

51 Translation from Harrán, "The 'Sack of Rome' Set to Music," 420-21, to which I have made minor alterations. Durling provides a slightly different translation in Petrarch's Lyric Poems, 256.
52 Durling, Petrarch's Lyric Poems, 256.
belonging to the society within which the madrigal would have been heard: the academy.53 The idea of men pursuing intellectual activities instead of fighting among themselves certainly would have resonated with the members of such a group.

Verdelot probably composed “Italia mia” ca. 1527 to 1529, and it was copied into a Florentine manuscript now in the Newberry Library in Chicago no later than 1529.54 The first stanza of Petrarch’s canzone may have had particular relevance for Verdelot since it refers to the rivers of Rome and Florence, the Tiber and the Arno, where the composer was active around the time he composed the madrigal.55 Both cities underwent serious trials during the 1520s: the 1527 Sack of Rome was a horrific event that loomed large in the Italian consciousness for a long time; in the same year Florentines ousted the Medici, the de facto rulers of their city, and established a short-lived republican government that fell in 1530 after a siege that restored the family to power.

“Italia mia” is only one of a group of works written by Verdelot that refer to the turmoil of the times. The texts of two of his motets have been cited for their association with Savonarola or his ideals, which were popular during the Florentine republic, but there is disagreement about this.56 Don Harrán has remarked about the texts of two madrigals by Verdelot, “Trist’Amarilli mia” and “Italia, Italia ch’hai sì longamente,” that express the composer’s political views or perhaps those of his patrons.57 Harrán is able to point to specific circumstances for these works, the Sack of Rome and the situation of the papacy of Paul III under the control of the emperor ca. 1538. He also discusses “Italia mia,” but he

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53 It is also possible that all stanzas of the canzone could have been performed to Verdelot’s setting as suggested in Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, 1:172.
54 Ibid., 1:35 and 186.
55 For an overview of Verdelot’s career, see New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v. “Verdelot, Philippe,” by H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via. Verdelot came to Florence in 1521 and soon began to serve as maestro di cappella at the Baptistry of S. Maria del Fiore (1522-1525) and at the cathedral (1523-1527). He made a trip to Rome when Giulio de’ Medici became Pope Clement VII that lasted from the end of 1523 into 1524. There are different accounts of Verdelot’s life around the time he composed “Italia mia.” Slim believes he may have remained in Florence until 1529, noting that his whereabouts after that year are not known; see his A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, 1:59-61. Iain Fenlon and James Haar argue that there is no documentary evidence Verdelot was in Florence after the Baptistry chapel closed in June of 1527 and suggest the composer may have been among the victims of the plague that caused the closing; see their The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 45-46.
56 For a survey of the arguments and further commentary, see Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, 1:55-56; and Fenlon and Haar, The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century, 44-45.
does not have a clear idea about the exact event that may have elicited the madrigal. He sums up his thoughts about the piece as follows:

The content of the verses cannot be pinned down explicitly. They might just as well refer to the Sack of Rome as to the fall of the last Florentine republic (1530), the continuing hostilities between rival city states, or the oppression of a foreign rule. What is clear, though, is that here, as in “Italia, Italia,” the threat of the prolongation of these miseries left no time for licking past wounds (as was the case in “Trist' Amarilli mia”). Circumstances called for a rallying of forces. From a lament on destruction the composer turned his skills, and rightly so, to poetry appealing for national consolidation.58

The Sack of Rome may have been the political inspiration for the madrigal, but the fall of the Florentine republic in 1530 is too late for it.59 The madrigal could have been written in response to events associated with the Florentine republic before 1529, perhaps, but there is ambiguous evidence of Verdelot's political views in this regard.60

Whatever Verdelot's intention, when Perino fashioned his fantasia, “Italia mia” already had a politically charged history. As with Verdelot's madrigal, there is good reason to think that Perino's fantasia may have been a political statement of sorts, either of his personal sentiments or perhaps those of his associates or patrons. By the time he published the fantasia, the lutenist had spent time in Florence, Rome, and Naples, cities embroiled in some of the most contentious issues on the Italian peninsula. His association with people involved in those issues must have had an effect on his own political outlook. While the specific political situations of Perino's time were not those experienced by Petrarch or Verdelot, there are some general similarities among them. In particular, the oppression by a foreign power and the resultant call for a rallying of forces Harrán points out seem pertinent. I now will sketch three possible political scenarios that could have affected the lutenist.

58 Ibid., 421.
59 Harrán would not have known this, however, because his essay was written before Slim demonstrated that the madrigal dates from ca. 1527-1529.
60 Some modern scholars have thought that Verdelot allied himself with those seeking to prevent the reinstallation of the Medici; see Fenlon and Haar, The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century, 22. Anthony M. Cummings has expressed a contrasting view, challenging the charge that Verdelot was anti-Medici by citing his association with the Medici pope Clement VII; see his The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 156. Statements by the sixteenth-century writers Antonfrancesco Doni and Cosimo Bartoli about his sympathies seem to be contradictory; see New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v. “Verdelot, Philippe.”
The first involves Florence and the Medici. During much of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Florence was controlled by the branch of the Medici family descended from Cosimo (1389-1464), a branch that included Catherine de’ Medici. In the 1530s a cadet branch that traced its ancestry to Cosimo’s brother Lorenzo (1395-1440) came into power. When Perino published his fantasia in 1546, Florence was under the rule of Cosimo I, a member of the cadet branch. Some Florentines were dissatisfied with and persecuted him as a usurper. As a result, they sought protection and asylum in France with Catherine, who had married into the royal Valois family. Catherine’s power and prestige began to rise when she became queen in 1547, and Florentine exiles as well as others from different places in Italy came to her court in increasing numbers as she began to exert growing influence. Catherine supported French military campaigns in Italy with the hope that Florence would eventually come under French protection and control, allowing the exiles at her court to return home. Progress toward this goal was made at the end of July 1552, when the people of Siena restored their republic by driving out a Spanish garrison manned by imperial soldiers. The Sienese looked for aid from the French, who provided money and soldiers until the city fell to imperial forces in 1555. The Sienese revolt was widely viewed as an important step towards a possible French liberation of Florence from the regime of Cosimo I, an ally of France’s nemesis, the emperor.

A second scenario involves Perino’s patrons, the Farnese. The family was involved in controversy with regard to the Duchy of Parma-Piacenza. In 1545 Pope Paul III sought to confer upon his son Pier Luigi Farnese the fiefs of Parma and Piacenza, which were among the Papal States. In exchange, he offered the Farnese controlled cities of Camerino and Nepi. This scheme was met with contention on various sides. The College of Cardinals debated the question in August, and some felt the

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62 See Paul Van Dyke, Catherine de Médicis (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923), 1:55-57; and Frederic J. Baumgartner, Henry II, King of France 1547-1559 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 55 and 171. In June 1547 an imperial ambassador remarked that the Italian exiles at the French court included “diplomats, soldiers, clergymen, merchants, engineers, poets, artists, couriers, spies, fools, and court[e]sans.” The remark is quoted in Van Dyke, Catherine de Médicis, 1:56.
63 The Siena revolt is discussed in Baumgartner, Henry II, 155.
64 Ibid., 170.
65 The narrative here summarizes Pastor, The History of the Popes, 12:229-33.
cities offered by the pope were not equal to those he desired. Charles V was not amenable to the exchange either, preferring that Parma-Piacenza go to Ottavio Farnese, who had become his son-in-law by marrying his natural daughter Margaret. Nevertheless, the pope announced the exchange in a papal bull of 26 August, and Pier Luigi became the duke of Parma-Piacenza. Tension between pope and emperor increased when the latter made Ferrante Gonzaga viceroy of Milan in April 1546. Gonzaga was an enemy of the Farnese, and the pope regarded the installation of an imperial ally in Milan as a threat to the independence of Italy and the Church since the emperor also controlled Naples and Sicily. Other matters of contention between the emperor and the pope as well as a quarrel between Pier Luigi and Count Verme of Romagnese kept the situation tense through the last days of 1546.

The third scenario concerns Naples. The mid-1540s were turbulent years for the kingdom, ultimately under the control of the emperor and directly under the control of the Spanish viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo. The viceroy's oppressive policies became intolerable to the local population, especially the Neapolitan nobility. The friction led to rebellion in 1547 and further persecution and exile for Neapolitans, many of whom went north to other cities in Italy and to France. Luigi Dentice's part in the revolt has been recounted above.

Any of these scenarios or a combination of them may have elicited an artistic response in Perino, although they probably did not have equal prominence in his thinking. Perino certainly may have felt faithful to Catherine and her branch of the Medici or an aversion to the Habsburg sympathizers who ruled Florence: as noted above, Perino went to Catherine sometime in or after 1548. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether these were his sentiments ca. 1546. It also would be difficult to gauge Perino's feelings about the situation in which the Farnese found themselves. The court around Paul III would have been understandably alarmed with an increased imperial power in Italy, especially with the memory of the Sack of Rome still lingering in many minds. But the event probably did not inspire the same sense of dread in Perino, who was only in the early years of his life in Florence when it occurred. The Neapolitan situation, on the other hand, may have had a particularly strong effect

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66 The situation is recounted in ibid., 12:320-23.
67 The circumstances and consequences of the 1547 uprising are summarized in Benedetto Croce, History of the Kingdom of Naples, trans. by Frances Frenaye and ed. with an Introduction by H. Stuart Hughes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 95-115 passim; see especially 113-14. Croce's study was originally published as Storia del regno di Napoli (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1925).
on the lutenist. As we have seen, Perino was part of the Naples musical scene just before the rebellion against the viceroy took place, and there is a good chance that he was aware of what was about to occur because of his association with Luigi Dentice, one of its leaders. Verdelot's madrigal enjoyed some popularity in music prints of the time, and it is quite possible that within Neapolitan intellectual society the work was known and performed; it is equally possible that Perino may have adopted as a model for his fantasia a work that would have expressed the intolerable situation facing his associates.

**The Siena Lute Book**

I propose that another important musical testament to the relationship of Perino and the Dentices is the manuscript known as the Siena Lute Book (Siena hereafter). Although it was copied late in the sixteenth century, portions of it have traces of the Perino-Dentice relationship of the mid-Cinquecento. This is most obvious in the works by Perino and Fabrizio that appear among its fantasias and ricercars, but there also is evidence that some of its contents may have been compiled by someone in the Perino-Dentice circle. The following discussion will rely heavily on the Preface and Table of Contents for the facsimile edition of the manuscript by Arthur J. Ness and on his study of the arrangements in the source. I will add some observations of my own and weave the results into the fabric of the broader theme of this essay.

Ness delineates distinct sections in the manuscript, designating them as Sections I, IIA, IIB, III, IV, and V. Sections IV and V do not appear to have a connection with the Perino-Dentice circle, so they will

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69 NL-DHgm 28 B 39. A facsimile edition of this manuscript with a Preface and concordances by Arthur J. Ness is *Tablature de luth italienne*.
71 Ness, *Tablature de luth italienne*, 7-14; and "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 30-49. Other literature on this source is cited by Ness and the present study.
72 Ness identifies these sections in *Tablature de luth italienne*, 7 and in a slightly different configuration in "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 31. The present study follows the latter's divisions.
not be discussed here. The first four sections—I, IIA, IIB, and III—were probably separate books before they were copied into Siena. The original books may or may not have been created by the same person, and the dating of the concordances indicates that the periods during which they were being assembled most likely overlapped. The accuracy of many readings in Siena suggests that the tablatures were collected close to their sources, perhaps from the composers themselves.73

Section I, folios 1 through 34v, consists of works organized by mode, with groupings for Modes I through VII. Most of the works in this portion of the manuscript do not have titles. Despite this, their general musical character (with one exception) places them in the categories of fantasia and ricercar.74 Roughly one third of them carry composer attributions (some of which are only initials). Ness has identified composers for about another third through concordances, and another third remain anonymous and without concordances.75 Among the composers represented are Perino, Fabrizio, Francesco da Milano, Gianantonio and Giulio Severino, and Julio Segni. There are also works under the attributions “Francesco da Parigi” and “Monzino” that have various levels of certainty in their assignment to Francesco da Milano.76 Works attributed to “B.M.” may possibly be by the mysterious “Florentine gentleman” identified by the same initials in Vincenzo Galilei’s 1584 edition of Fronimo dialogo since the works by “B.M.” in both sources are similar in style.77

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73 Ness remarks on the accuracy of the readings in Tablature de luth italienne, 7; see also his “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 43, n. 2. While this may be true of most of the tablatures, some exceptions are discussed in n. 95 of the present study.

74 See the designations by Ness in his Table of Contents in Tablature de luth italienne, 10-14. The one exception is the arrangement of Rogier Pathie’s “D’amour me plains” that appears on folios 25-25v (no. 67).

75 See Table of Contents in ibid., 10-14. Some of the marginal attributions, titles, and other text do not show up well or at all in the facsimile.

76 The pieces by “Francesco da Parigi” are on fol. 10v (no. 27), fol. 11 (no. 28), fol. 15v (no. 40), fol. 24v (no. 65), and fol. 25 (no. 66); see Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 44, n. 9/4 concerning concordances and attribution. H. Colin Slim first proposed that “Francesco da Parigi” and Francesco da Milano were the same person in “Francesco da Milano (1497-1543/44): A bio-bibliographical study, I,” Musica disciplina (1964): 71. The piece ascribed to “Francesco da Parigi” in Siena on fol. 10v (no. 27) is attributed to Albert de Rippe in another source. If the attribution to Albert is correct, then he may also be the composer of the piece that immediately follows it in Siena on fol. 11 (no. 28) with the indication “del medesimo.” The work by “Montzino” is on fol. 24 (no. 64); see Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 44, n. 9/1 concerning attribution.

77 Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 44, n. 9/6; see also his Tablature de luth italienne, 11-12, and 9, n. 14. The works by “B.M.” in Siena are on folios 16v-17 (no. 43), fol. 19v (no. 51), folos. 25-25v (no. 67), folos. 25v-26 (no. 68), folos. 26-27 (no. 69), and fol. 29v (no. 75). Maria-grazia Carlone has suggested that the initials might stand for Bernardetto de’ Medici, who is named in Galilei’s dedication to his Intavolature de lauto (Rome: V. Dorico, 1563); see her “The Knights of the Lute: Musical Sources,” JLSA 38 (2005): 4-5.
There is also a variant version of a prelude published in Attaingnant’s 1529 *Tres breve et familiare introduction*. Two tablatures have concordances with anonymous works in another manuscript source that dates from ca. 1550, and there is one piece attributed to “Pineta,” a composer whose identity has not been discovered. This section of the manuscript is followed by blank tablature staves on folios 35 through 40v.

In the main, the attributions and concordances for the works in Section I show they originate from composers or sources associated with Rome, Naples, and perhaps France, the principal places in which Perino and the Dentices were active during the 1540s and 1550s. Among the pieces from the Roman orbit are those by Perino, Francesco da Milano, and Julio Segni. The five fantasies by Perino in *Siena* are unique to the source. This is in sharp contrast to his printed works, which appear in no less than four editions and in a few other print and manuscript sources.

Sixteen works in this section are attributed to Francesco or can be identified as his through concordances, and all circulated in prints dating from 1548 and earlier, four of them in the Francesco-Perino *Libro primo*. Julio Segni, who was active in Rome beginning sometime around

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78 The prelude is on fols. 17-17v (no. 45) in *Siena* and is discussed in Kwee Him Yong, “A New Source of Prelude 1 in Attaingnant’s *Tres breve et familiare introduction*,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 21/4 (1970): 211-24.

79 The two anonymous tablatures on fols. 5v (no. 14) and 29 (no. 74) both appear in *F-Pn* Rés. 429, a manuscript in Italian lute tablature compiled in Germany, perhaps Bavaria, ca. 1550; on this source see Meyer, *et. al.*, *Sources manuscrites en tablature*, 1:71-75. The piece by Pineta is on fols. 9v-10 (no. 26) in *Siena*.

80 Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 44. n. 8 suggests these folios may have been set aside for tablatures of Italian texted works, which are conspicuously absent from the source, or dance formulae. It is also possible they were set aside as a section for works in Mode VIII, which also is absent.

81 Perino’s fantasies are on fols. 6-6v (no. 17), fols. 6v-7 (no. 19), fols. 7 (no. 20), fols. 7v (no. 21), and fols. 27v-28 (no. 71). There has been doubt about Perino’s authorship of the piece on fols. 27v-28; see Paul Beier’s comments on p. 8 (Italian translation) and p. 14 (English) of the booklet that accompanies his *Francesco da Milano [and] Perino Fiorentino: Quanta Belsi*, STR 33787, © and ® 2007 Stradivarius. While it is possible that Perino did not compose the piece, there are aspects of the work that support the attribution. In particular, its cadential treatment and ornamentation are characteristic of his works; see Falkenstein, “Perino Fiorentino,” 68-70, 83, and 85 (the work is identified as Fantasia No. 9).

82 Perino’s printed pieces appear in Dorico’s *Libro primo* and in three other editions of 1547, 1562, and 1563, and two of the works are found in other print and manuscript sources as well; see Falkenstein, “Perino Fiorentino,” 93-97; and Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino, Opere per liuto*, xi-xiii.

83 Francesco’s pieces in Section I of *Siena* appear in the following five prints, which are identified by short titles; the numbers in brackets after the print information indicate the items in Brown, *Instrumental Music*. The concordances also provide the standard numbering of Francesco’s works (indicated in braces) as assigned in *The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano (1547-1543)*, ed. by Arthur J. Ness (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

1.) *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori* (Milan: Castelione, 1536) [1536.]; *Siena* fol. 1 (no. 1) (Ness
1534, is represented in Siena by arrangements of his ensemble ricercars from the print Musica nova (Venice, 1540), all of which are unattributed in the manuscript.\textsuperscript{84}

The Neapolitans include Fabrizio and the brothers Giulio and Gianantonio (or Giovanni Antonio) Severino. There are seven fantasias by Fabrizio in this section: six are unique to the source, and one appears otherwise only in a late sixteenth-century Neapolitan manuscript.\textsuperscript{85}

Most of the works by the Severino brothers are unique to the source as well.\textsuperscript{86} Little is known about their careers, which seem to have been pursued during the second half of the 1500s.\textsuperscript{87} Luigi Contarino’s 1569 Nobilità di Napoli in dialogo (Naples: Cacchi) names them and another family member, Pompeo, as excellent players of the viola, so they must

\textsuperscript{84} It is known that Segni was in Rome, but it is not absolutely clear when he arrived and how long he stayed. He probably came to the city sometime after 1534, and he may have remained there for the rest of his life; see New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v. “Segni, Giulio,” by H. Colin Slim and Kimberley Marshall.

\textsuperscript{85} The works in Siena on fol. 8 (no. 22) and fol. 21 (no. 56) are arrangements of Segni’s ensemble ricercars, and those on fol. 4-4v (no. 10) and fol. 14 (no. 35) appear to be parodies; see Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 36-37. There is also a parody fantasia by Perino on one of Segni’s ricercars on fols. 6-6v (no. 17); see n. 47 of the present study for a reference to a discussion of the piece.

\textsuperscript{86} The piece by Gianantonio on fol. 2v-3 (no. 5) is an unicum. Giulio’s pieces on fol. 12 (no. 30), fols. 16-16v (no. 42), fol. 17v-18 (no. 46), fols. 27-27v (no. 70), and fols. 28-28v (no. 72) are unica. A work attributed to Giulio on fol. 16 (no. 41) has a concordance in PL-Kj 40032 on pp. 258-59, where it is attributed to Fabrizio Dentice. See Griffiths and Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music, 178-79.

\textsuperscript{87} The Severino family is discussed in Griffiths and Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music, ix; see also New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v. “Severino, Giulio,” by Pier Paolo Scattolin.
have been active for some years before the late 1560s. Giulio's career was underway at least as early as 1561, when some of his music was published in a book of madrigals. In light of this, it is possible that he may have been composing and playing the lute as early as the 1550s.

Other works in this section probably were obtained in France. Because of the epithet in the ascription "Francesco da Parigi," the pieces attributed as such are likely to have been collected in France or to have originated from a French source. If any or all of them are by Francesco da Milano, they may have been left by him during a stay in Paris. The variant version of the prelude from Attaingnant's lute book of 1529 may have been collected in France as well. While it has been identified as a work created by an Italian composer, its appearance in Attaingnant's print indicates at least limited circulation in France, and it does not appear in other Italian sources.

The sources of a few more pieces in Section I are unclear, but they may also be the works of composers associated with Rome or France. The piece by "Monzino" may be by Francesco da Milano, but his brother Bernardino (Bernardo) also has been suggested as composer. As noted above, the pieces attributed to "B.M." may be by the Florentine gentleman identified by the same initials in Galilei's Fronimo dialogo. While these works may have been collected in Italy, it is also possible that they

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88 Contarino names them in a list on p. 166; the passage is quoted in Gianluca D'Agostino, "'Napolitani . . . eccellentissimi musici, della compostione e del suono.' Aspetti della vita musicale a Napoli nel Cinquecento," Uno gentile et subtil ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filcamo, and Leofranc Holford-Stevens ([Turnhout, Belgium]: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 707. D'Agostino adds the name "Serone" in brackets after "Gio. Antonio" in the quote, referring (eroneously) to one of the interlocutors in Luigi Dentine's Due dialoghi della musica. Griffiths and Fabris, Neapolitan Lute Music, xix, n. 8 briefly quote the passage, but their reading differs in some details.

89 It was published in Pietro Vinci's Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci (Venice: G. Scotto, 1561) [RISM V1668].

90 The appearance of one of the pieces in a French print under Albert de Rippe's name also supports the idea of a French source; see n. 76 above.

91 This is suggested in Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 44, n. 9/4. The only documented visit Francesco made to France was in Nice; see Slim, "Francesco da Milano," 70-71. It is possible that his tablatures could have found their way to Paris after this event or perhaps at another time: Franco Pavan interprets the document concerning Francesco's appearance in Nice to imply previous contact with the French court; see his "Francesco Canova and his Family in Milan: New Documents," JLSA 24 (1991): 11, n. 29.

92 Yong, "A New Source of Prelude 1," 215-17 proposes that an Italian lutenist wrote the work.

were circulating in Lyons within the sizeable Florentine community residing there.

The contents of Section I must have been assembled and organized by one person since they are arranged carefully by mode, but it does not seem likely that the late sixteenth-century scribe of Siena accomplished that task: if that were the case, one would expect the fantasias and ricercars of Sections IIA and III to have been included with those of Section I since the repertories are similar (as we will see). Even though not all works in Section I have been identified, I would maintain that its contents must have been collected and organized by someone in or associated with the Perino-Dentice circle. This hypothesis rests primarily on the presence of the unica by Perino and Fabrizio. The appearance of a few unique works by either one of these composers would not be a reason to make such a claim, but the inclusion of unique works by both lutenists—a collection that adds up to a considerable portion of their preserved repertories—strongly suggests the tablatures were compiled within their circle. Furthermore, the provenance and dating of other pieces in the section, where they can be determined, fit in with the circle’s activities. Some aspects of the repertory eliminate Perino as compiler, however. The piece on folio 15v attributed to “Francesco da Parigi” is one of the works Perino edited for the Libro primo. The reading is corrupt and could hardly come from someone so close to the composer, and I can think of no reason why Perino would have identified his teacher with such a designation. In addition, because of his death in 1552, Perino probably

94 Perino’s assistance in preparing Francesco’s works for the Libro primo is acknowledged by Valerio Dorico in his preface to the print (sig. A1v), which is transcribed in Falkenstein, “Perino Fiorentino,” 89–90; and in Caffagni and Pavan, Perino Fiorentino, Opere per liuto, ix.

95 The tablature attributed to “Francesco da Parigi” on fol. 15v in Siena (no. 40) appears in the Libro primo on sigs. A2v-A3. The many variants and obvious errors in the Siena tablature suggest that it was not copied from the print or a related source but probably from one with a corrupt reading. The piece also appears in Section III of Siena on fol. 68 (no. 132) attributed to “F.M.” [Francesco da Milano], and the reading there is closer to that in the Libro primo, but see n. 100 below.

Since I am suggesting that the compiler of Section I was a member of Perino’s circle, a word should be said about whether the readings of Francesco’s other fantasias in this portion of Siena with concordances in the Libro primo (see n. 83 above) reveal any relationship between the two sources. Some errors in the Libro primo readings are corrected in Siena, which might indicate that the tablatures were not collected from the print but from a source close to Francesco or Perino or perhaps that the Libro primo tablatures were corrected by the original compiler of Section I. The tablatures in Siena are not totally free of errors, however, which might argue against the latter notion. Still, the errors in Siena are mostly common copyist errors—missing ciphers, ciphers placed on incorrect tablature lines, and incorrect rhythmic signs—that could have been introduced by the late sixteenth-century scribe who copied Siena rather than the original compiler. Other significant differences in the readings probably originated with the compiler of Section I or in a source different from the Libro primo: the end of the tablature on fol. 18 (no. 47) in Siena differs from the concordant
would not have been able to collect the tablatures of the Severino brothers, whose careers may not have begun before the late 1550s. Fabrizio, on the other hand, may have been able to do so: Giulio Severino was known as his emulator, which suggests some contact between them. It is difficult, nevertheless, to evaluate Fabrizio as a possible compiler of other works in *Siena* because his activities during the 1540s and 1550s are not well known at present. In view of this, Luigi emerges as the best candidate for compiler, and there is good reason to recommend him. He was old enough to have collected the tablatures that date from the early 1500s, and he lived long enough to have collected the works of the Severino brothers, to whom he may have had ties through their father, a fellow member of the Academia dei Sereni. One particular aspect of the section, its organization by mode, may also point to Luigi: while it may have been devised for use by a practical musician, it also indicates the approach of someone who, like him, had a theoretical bent. Finally, there is documentation for Luigi’s activities in all the known places associated with the contents. This extends to Siena, and if he retained connections with the city late into his career, he could have provided the means through which the section eventually was copied into the larger manuscript.

There is another aspect of some of the ricercars and fantasies in this section that might also point to the Perino-Dentice circle. In addition to the arrangements of ricercars by Segni, Ness has discovered other tablatures that also appear to be arrangements of ensemble works, some of which are by Francesco da Milano. The pieces could therefore include works in the repertory of Perino’s trio during the years 1546 to 1548. It must be acknowledged, however, that there is no way to know what kind of music the trio performed, especially since we do not know whether the third member of the group was an instrumentalist or a singer. Furthermore, the ensemble may have improvised. Nevertheless, there is no

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tablature in the *Libro primo*, and the piece on fols. 34-34v (no. 87) in *Siena* adds a few semi-minims (in m. 35) that do not appear in the concordant tablature in the *Libro primo*. In summary, the complex nature of the variants between the *Libro primo* and *Siena* readings makes a determination of their relationship difficult.

96 I assume here that the “Vincenzo Severino” in the 1546 member list of the Accademia (see n. 15 above) is the same person as the “Vicencello Severino” named as the father of the Severino brothers by Seipme Cereto in a list of deceased Neapolitan lutenists in his *Della pratica musica vocale et strumentale* (Naples: G. Carlino, 1601; facs. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), 159.

reason not to admit the possibility that among the intabulated ensemble pieces in *Siena* there may be something the trio performed.\(^9\)

The discussion will pass over Sections IIA and IIB for the moment. Section III, folios 58v through 69v, contains another group of fantasias and ricercars. Almost all have titles, and the composers of most of the works can be identified through attributions and concordances. One piece is by Fabrizio and six are by Francesco da Milano. The other attributed pieces include three fantasias by the Sienese lutenist Andrea Feliciani and one work by Aluigi Vindella. There are three unattributed ricercars that are unique to the source, one of which is on Josquin’s motet “Benedictus es caelorum regina.”

Like Section I, Section III also contains works issuing from Rome and Naples. The Romans are represented by the works of Francesco da Milano, three of which appear in the 1546 Francesco-Perino *Libro primo* and two of which were issued in other prints of 1546 and 1548.\(^9\) A tell-tale aspect of two of the *Libro primo* pieces suggests that the *Siena* tablatures were probably not copied from that source but from a later Venetian print. Their final chords are intabulated to be played twice in *Siena*: these readings are not characteristic of the *Libro primo* but are found in concordant tablatures in the 1547 *Libro terzo*, a print that has been mentioned above.\(^10\) In addition to the pieces with print concordances, there is another work by Francesco in this section, the fantasia

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\(^9\) A related point: one discerns a difference in the fantasias by Perino printed in the *Libro primo* and those by him in *Siena*. Three of his four printed fantasias open with a chordal section, while his *Siena* pieces begin with imitative points. The latter style may result from the influence of the ensemble ricercar, a hypothesis that is supported by the appearance in *Siena* on fols. 6-6v (no. 17) of his fantasia based on one of Segni’s ricercars published in *Musica nova* (n. 47 above cites a discussion of this work).

\(^9\) *Siena* fols. 58v-59 (no. 123), fol. 68 (no. 132), and fol. 69 (no. 134) appear in the *Libro primo* on sigs. A3v-A4v, A2v-A3, and Cv-C2. Concordances for the two other works are as follows: *Siena* fol. 66v (no. 130) is also found in *Intabolatura de lauto di Francesco da Milano* (Venice, 1546) [Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1546], sigs. D3v-D4; and *Siena* fol. 69 (no. 135) appears in: *Intabolatura de lauto Libro settimo* (Venice, 1548) [Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1548], sig. A2. For more concordances, see Ness, *The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano*, 20-22 (nos. 28, 30, 33, 36, and 43).

\(^10\) Compare the endings of the following pieces: *Siena* fols. 58v-59 (no. 123) and *Libro terzo*, sigs. B-B2v; and *Siena* fol. 68 (no. 132) and *Libro terzo*, sigs. Av-A2v. Other fantasias in the print also have their final chords restructured. The contents of the *Libro terzo* were republished in new editions in 1562 by Gardano and in 1563 by Scotto (Brown, *Instrumental Music*, items 1562, and 1563). The relationship of these prints with Dorico’s *Libro primo* are discussed in Caffagni and Pavan, *Perino Fiorentino, Opere per liuto*, v-vii; and Falkenstein, “Perino Fiorentino,” 57-62. A facsimile of the 1562 print with an Introduction by the present author is *Intabolatura di liuto di M. Francesco da Milano et Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro terzo* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1562; facs. Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 2002).
known as “La compagna,” which also appears in other late sixteenth-century sources.\footnote{Siena fols. 59-59v (no. 124) has concordances in B-Br II 275, fols. 70-71; PL-Kj 40032, pp. 220-21; and GB-HAdolmecth II.C.23, pp. 1 and 18-20.} It shares motives with a fantasia printed in the Libro primo and is found alongside it in the exclusively manuscript sources that preserve it (including Siena). This suggests a history of being paired with the Libro primo fantasia and therefore a piece perhaps known to Perino and perhaps in his possession.\footnote{Valerio Dorico’s preface to the Libro primo in which he praises Perino for his help in producing the print does not make it clear who provided Francesco’s tablatures for it (see n. 94 above for the citation). In any case, Perino’s relationship with Francesco makes him a logical choice as a source of his teacher’s unpublished works.} The Neapolitans are represented by Fabrizio’s work, which is unique to the source, and by another—dubbed by Ness the “monster ricerchare”—that may also be Neapolitan in origin because it contains notational and musical aspects in common with that compositional milieu.\footnote{Fabrizio’s piece is on fol. 68v (no. 133). The anonymous “monster ricerchare” is on fols. 62v-66 (no. 129); Ness comments on this work’s scribal features in “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 46, n. 27. The piece changes to triple meter during its course, which is a feature of some Neapolitan fantasias in the source such as those by Fabrizio on fols. 3 (no. 6) and 28v-29 (no. 73).}

The other works in this section of the manuscript do not have demonstrable connections to Rome or Naples. There are three fantasias by Andrea Feliciani. Feliciani’s activities are not known before 1575, but he appears to have spent most if not all of his life in Siena.\footnote{On Feliciani, see New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v., “Feliciani, Andrea,” by K. Bosi Monteath. The pieces by Feliciani in Siena are on fols. 61-62 (nos. 126-128).} Since he died in 1596, it seems likely that his career began sometime near the midpoint of the century. It is not possible to determine much about the provenance and dating of the other works in this section. The piece by Aluigi Vindella does not have a concordance, and nothing definite is known about the composer. He may perhaps be related to Francesco Vindella from Treviso, who published a book of madrigal arrangements for lute in 1546.\footnote{Fabris, Review of Tablature de luth italiennes, 166 suggests the two lutenists may have been related. Francesco’s print is Intavolatura de liuto di Francesco Vindella triviggiando d’alciuni madrigali d’Archadell . . . Libro primo (Ant. Gardano, 1546) [Brown, Instrumental Music, item 1546,]. Aluigi’s piece in Siena is on fol. 69v (no. 136).} Perhaps Aluigi was active at about the same time and his Siena piece dates from the mid-1540s or later. Among the three unattributed ricercars in this section is one on Josquin’s motet “Benedictus es caelorum regina.” I have been unable to find another fantasia or ricercar on this model, but there are many instrumental arrangements of the motet in publications that date from 1547 to 1589 and in lute manuscripts.
that date from the 1560s.\textsuperscript{106} In view of this, the piece may date from sometime during the middle decades of the 1500s.

The concordances for Section III make it likely that its original compilation was completed after 1550. Like Section I, Section III contains works by Roman and Neapolitan lutenists associated with the Perino-Dentice circle, but the connection to it is less clear. The inclusion of \textit{unica} by Feliciani suggests that it was at least partially compiled in Siena, which may explain how the entire section ended up in the larger manuscript as well. There is also the possibility of a Venetian connection if Aluigi Vindella was from Treviso as speculated. The inclusion of Francesco da Milano's works from the Venetian \textit{Libro terzo} instead of the Roman \textit{Libro primo} also appears to support this. The use of the \textit{Libro terzo} readings suggests that Perino's hand in the creation of Section III is not likely. There is some reason to consider Luigi as compiler of at least part of its contents. As mentioned above, he had an association with Siena that may have continued into midcentury; if this is true, he could have collected the local tablatures by Feliciani in addition to the Roman and Neapolitan pieces. Even so, the appearance of the \textit{Libro terzo} readings is problematic: we would expect Luigi to use the readings from the \textit{Libro primo}, a print he must have known through Perino. In summary, it is possible that Section III could have originated within the Perino-Dentice circle, but the chances seem slim.

Sandwiched between Sections I and III of \textit{Siena} are two sections that would appear not to have anything to do with Perino or the Dentices. I will suggest here that there might be a connection to them while admitting that much of the evidence is purely circumstantial. Section II A, folios 41 to 47\textsuperscript{v}, contains fantasias and ricercars in various modes, some with titles. Attributions appear only as initials. A work attributed to “F.M.” is by Francesco da Milano, and it has concordances in prints from 1548.\textsuperscript{107} The first piece in the section carries the inscription “Del libro di F.B.,” and Ness suggests that eight works that follow it may perhaps be

\textsuperscript{106} The \textit{Siena} ricercar on the motet is on folios 67-67\textsuperscript{v} (no. 131). Printed instrumental arrangements of Josquin’s motet are listed in Brown, \textit{Instrumental Music} under the following item numbers: 1547\textsuperscript{v}, 1547\textsuperscript{v}, 1552\textsuperscript{i}, 1553\textsuperscript{v}, 1554, 1558, 1563\textsuperscript{v}, 1568, 1571\textsuperscript{v}, 1574, 1578, and 1589. The manuscript sources of lute arrangements are F-Pn Rés. 429 (ca. 1560), D-Bib 40632 (ca. 1565), and D-Mbs 267 (ca. 1560); see Meyer, et al., \textit{Sources manuscrites en tablature}, 1:72, 2:65, and 2:211.

\textsuperscript{107} The piece is on folios 45\textsuperscript{v}-46 (no. 99). The prints with concordances are listed in Brown, \textit{Instrumental Music}, as items 1548, and 1548; the piece is also found in \textit{B-Br II 275}; see Ness. \textit{The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano}, 22 (no. 55).
by the same composer. There is also an attribution to "G.P." for one piece; neither "F.B." nor "G.P." has been identified with any certainty. Section IIB includes folios 47v through 58, which are devoted to a group of chanson arrangements under the heading "Canzoni Francesi." While a few of the works are unique to the source, Ness found that most in this section have part-music models that were first published during the late 1530s and 1540s. Siena does not indicate the arrangers of these works, but Ness has identified Albert de Rippe as the arranger of one and possibly a second piece, and there are concordances for a few of the others. Ness has noted a correspondence between the modes of the fantasias in Section IIA and the chanson arrangements of Section IIB and has suggested that they may have been intended for performance together.

I will treat Section IIB first, and the discussion will be based on the information contained in the Appendix to the present study: the reader should consult it for more bibliographical detail. As mentioned above, Ness found that most of the models for the tablatures in this section were first published during the late 1530s and 1540s. For those

108 The work with the attribution to "F.B." is on fol. 41 (no. 89), and the works that follow are on fols. 41-45 (nos. 90-95 and 97-98); see the Table of Contents in Ness, Tablature de luth italienne, 12. There is a correlation between two of these pieces since the "Fantasia in Sesquialtera" on fols. 43-43v (no. 94) uses an opening motive similar to that in the untitled piece on fols. 41-41v (no. 90). The work on fol. 41 (no. 89) is concordant with a piece attributed to Sixt Kargel in Theatrum musicum (Louvain: Phalèse & Bellère, 1571). Ness argues that Kargel may not be the composer since he often pirated the compositions of others; see his Tablature de luth italienne, 9, n.13; and "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 46-47, n. 29.

109 The piece attributed to "G.P." is on fols. 46-46v (no. 100). There have been various suggestions as to the identities of "F.B." and "G.P."; see Ness, Tablature de luth italienne, 9, n. 13; Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 46, n. 27; and Fabris, Review of Tablature de luth italienne, 167. See the table in Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 42. The present study adds one concordance to those of Ness: "Celle qui a facheux mari." The model for Jannequin’s "Or sus, or sus vous dormes" (L’Alouette) is earlier than the others, being issued in 1528; the arrangement is on fols. 55-55v (no. 117) in Siena. Prints containing the chanson that date from the late 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s show that it was popular for decades (see the Appendix to the present study). One piece published much later than the others is "Petit Jacquet," an untexted work in the style of a chanson; the arrangement is on fols. 47v-48 in Siena (no. 102). The earliest printed source of the piece is Musica de diversi autori (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1577) [Brown, Instrumental Music, item 1577].

110 See the table in Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 42. The arrangements that have concordances are "Mais pour quoy" on fol. 54 (no. 115), which also appears in a print of Albert de Rippe’s works, "Elle a bien ce ris graceux" on fol. 53v (no. 114), "Pour ung petit coup" on fol. 56v (no. 119), and "Je prens en gre" on fols. 57-57v (no. 120). The Appendix to the present study gives the bibliographical details of the concordances for these works. An arrangement in Albert de Rippe’s style and therefore possibly his is "Dieu des amants" on fol. 52 (no. 111). While not an exact concordance, the arrangement of "Dames d’honneur voquez mon adventure" on fol. 53 (no. 113) is similar to that in Simon Ginzler’s Intabolatura de luto of 1547 [Brown, Instrumental Music, item 1547].

111 Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements," 38; see also p. 46, n. 27.
works that have other instrumental arrangements, such arrangements began to appear in the middle of the 1540s to the early 1550s. There is one exception, “Petit Jacquet,” which dates from the 1570s.

Some of the models for the *Siena* tablatures are well-known works that were popular with a host of international instrumentalists: Sandrin’s “Doulce mémoire,” Clemens non Papa’s “Je prens en gré,” and Crecquillon’s “Pour ung plaisir.” We might also add to this group Curtois’s “Petit Jacquet,” Villiers’s “Veu le grief mal,” Sandrin’s “Dame d’honneur vouez mon adventure,” Sermisy’s “Elle a bien ce ris gracieux,” and Jannequin’s “Or sus, or sus vous dormes” (L’Alouette), although their instrumental concordances are not as extensive. Arrangements (sometimes in dance forms) of these pieces appear in prints and manuscripts dating from the mid-1540s on, and some pieces remained popular to the end of the century.

Other chansons in this section seem to have enjoyed popularity as instrumental arrangements mostly in France. These works include Sohier’s “Un mesnagier vieillard,” Sandrin’s “La Volunte” and “Mais pour quoy” (the latter piece arranged by Albert de Rippe), Boyvin’s “Je sens l’affection” and “Je cherche autant amour,” and the anonymous “Pour ung petit coup.” All except the anonymous work appear in at least one arrangement for the four-course guitar, an instrument in vogue in France but not especially so elsewhere (“Elle a bien ce ris gracieux” and “Or sus, or sus vous dormes” also have guitar arrangements). “La Volunte,” “Mais pour quoy,” and “Je cherche autant amour” have instrumental arrangements in sources from outside of France, but the number of such arrangements is modest compared with those in French sources.

There also are pieces with no instrumental arrangements outside of *Siena*. They are Villiers’s “Rien n’est plus cher,” Sandrin’s (or Sermisy’s) “Las qu’on congeust,” Arcadelt’s “Dieu des amants” (possibly arranged by Albert de Rippe), and Gentian’s “Celle qui a fascheux mari.” Three other works, “Ardent’ amour,” “Ung jour du matin,” and “Je voys, je viens,” also have no other instrumental arrangements, and part-music concordances have not been discovered for them either—*Siena* is the only presently known source that preserves them in any form.113

The exclusivity of French-texted models for the arrangements of vocal works in *Siena* is curious. It would not be for an early sixteenth-

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113 I have altered the titles of these works somewhat from the spellings in *Siena*; see the Appendix for the source’s orthography. The melody of “Je voys, je viens” can be found in other sources listed in the Appendix.
century Italian source, but it is for one from the 1540s or later. I have been able to identify only two Italian printed sources dating from the period 1540 to 1599 that contain among their contents instrumental arrangements of only French vocal music.\(^{114}\) It is possible that the chanson arrangements of \textit{Siena} reflect the preference of its owner or that its scribe intended to include arrangements of Italian works but did not complete the task for some reason.\(^{115}\) While one of these reasons may be true, it seems as likely that Section IIB was compiled in France. In addition to the aspects just discussed—the exclusivity of French models, the particular popularity of some pieces with mainly French instrumentists, and the appearance of unique French works—the inclusion of one and possibly two tablatures by Albert de Rippe lends some support since his works are rare in Italian sources after 1536.\(^{116}\) The compiler of this section is not likely to have been French, however, because the peculiar spellings of the textual incipits accompanying each piece point instead to an Italian not completely comfortable with the language. Because of the dating of the models and their instrumental arrangements in other sources, it seems likely that Section IIB was compiled by the middle of the 1550s. The one anomaly is “Petit Jacquet,” which as mentioned above, dates from much later. Since it appears at the head of the section and its model is so far removed in date from the others, it may have been added later, after the other pieces had been compiled.

If the tablatures in Section IIB were compiled in France, then that may also be the provenance of Section IIA if Ness is correct in his suggestion that the two belong together. Native French lutenists were not noted for cultivating the fantasia and ricercar, but there were Italians working in France who were, and this is particularly true of the lutenists associated with Lyons. I think it likely that Giovanni Paolo Paladino is the composer of the piece attributed to “G. P.”\(^{117}\) Although the date of his arrival in Lyons is not known, he appears to have been active there by the

\(^{114}\) Angelo Gardano (pub.), \textit{Musica de diversi autori} (Venice, 1577) is devoted entirely to chansons in keyboard arrangements; and Simone Molinaro, \textit{Intavolatura di liuto . . . libro primo} (Venice: R. Amadino, 1599) contains arrangements by Gostena and Molinaro of six chansons. See Brown, \textit{Instrumental Music}, items 1577, and 1599.\(^{\text{a}}\)

\(^{115}\) The latter possibility is posited by Ness in “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” \textit{44}, n. 8.

\(^{116}\) This point is articulated in Ness, \textit{Tablature de luth italienne}, 7; Ness, “The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements,” 30; and Fabris, Review of \textit{Tablature de luth italienne}, 167.

\(^{117}\) Fabris names Paladino as a possibility for “G.P.” in his Review of \textit{Tablature de luth italienne}, 167.
early 1550s. The style of the *Siena* tablature has characteristics in common with Paladino's fantasias, especially those published in the 1560 *Premier livre de tablature* (Lyons: S. Grolier). As in other midcentury lute fantasias, it has an imitative texture with three active parts and chordal sections that expand to a four-voice texture, but one aspect of the piece is more specific to Paladino's style: its motives are similar to those in the fantasias in the *Premier livre*, especially the opening idea with its dotted rhythm (see Example 2). On the other hand, Paladino's fantasias often have passagework with scales or short repeated motives, and this does not appear in the *Siena* piece. The stylistic evidence, therefore, is not conclusive, but I would suggest that the work might very well be by Paladino.

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118 Scholars agree that Paladino lived in Lyons for many years before his death there in September 1565. His purchase of an estate in one of the city's parishes and the publication of his tablatures by printing houses in Lyons provide evidence of his residence. See François Lesure and Richard de Morcourt, "G. P. Paladino et son 'Premier livre' de luth (1560)," *Revue de musicologie* 41 (July 1958): 170-73; and Dobins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, 183-84.

119 The print is listed in Brown, *Instrumental Music* as item 1560. The fantasias are discussed in Lesure and Morcourt, "G. P. Paladino et son 'Premier livre' de luth," 170-83, especially 174-78. For an edition of the works, see Giovanni Paolo Paladino, *Oeuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, ed. and transcr. by Michel Renault and Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 7-40 (Fantasias III-VIII). The tablatures in the *Premier livre* probably were published first by Giovan Pullon de Trino in a 1553 print that does not survive; see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item [1553].

120 The motives are transcribed here from facsimile editions: the *Siena* piece is transcribed from Ness, *Tablature de luth italiens*, the works by Paladino are transcribed from *Premier livre de tablature de luth de M. Jean Paule Paladin* (Lyons: Simon Gorlier, 1560; facs. Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1983). The rhythmic sign for the first note in Example 2.d is missing a dot in its source.

The two fantasias by Paladino published in another print, *Tablature de lute... compose par M. Jean Paulo Paladin Milanoy* (Lyons: J. Moderne, s.d.) (Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1542), differ somewhat from the works in the *Premier livre*: they maintain a three-part texture, and their opening motives do not have the dotted rhythm common in the later pieces. For a modern edition of the works, see Paladino, *Oeuvres*, 1-6 (Fantasias I-II).
Example 2: Opening motives from fantasias in *Siena* and Paladino’s *Premier livre*

a.) “G.P.,” *Siena*, fol. 46, mm. 1-5.

b.) “Fantasia,” *Premier livre*, fol. 1, mm. 1-6.

c.) “Fantasia,” *Premier livre*, fol. 2v, mm. 1-3.

d.) “Fantasia,” *Premier livre*, fol. 6, mm. 1-4.

e.) “Fantasia senza canto,” *Premier livre*, fol. 8v, mm. 1-3.

Continuing along this line of thought, I would propose Francesco Bianchini as a possible identification for “F.B.” in this section. The Lyons publisher Jacques Moderne issued his *Tablature de luth* in the 1540s, probably in 1547. The lutenist may have taken up residence in the vicinity of Lyons since it was there that he signed the print’s dedication.

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to his patron François Gouffier, bishop of Béziers. The Tablature de lutz does not contain any of the pieces in Section IIA of Siena, but Bianchini’s presence in Lyons, even if only to sign its dedication, offers the possibility that tablatures by him besides those in the print circulated in the city. I will not hazard supporting Bianchini’s authorship of the Siena pieces with a stylistic analysis: his print contains only one fantasia among its contents to examine, a situation that makes a general style analysis problematic and a comparison with the Siena pieces therefore unfeasible.

If Sections IIA and IIB were compiled in France as I suggest, either Perino or Luigi could have completed the task since both were there at some point around midcentury. While documentation is lacking to place him in the city for certain, earlier in this essay I made a case for Perino’s presence in Lyons in or after 1548, a period of time when both Giovanni Paolo Paladino and Francesco Bianchini could have been there as well. It also would have been possible for Luigi to pass through the city on his way from Italy to Paris during the 1550s. To be sure, this conjecture rests on quite a bit of speculation, but the appearance of Sections IIA and IIB in Siena with Section I, which likely comes from the Perino-Dentice circle, would also seem to favor it.

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It will be admitted that a good portion of the preceding discussion is based on hypothesis and supposition. Nevertheless, some of the important points can be supported by evidence. It is certain that Perino and the Dentices were associated with each other in Naples during the middle years of the 1540s. This association is close in date to the publication of a fantasia Perino composed on Verdelot’s madrigal “Italia mia,” a work that has political sentiments that could be applied to the Neapolitan situation in which Luigi took a leading role. Both Perino and Luigi were in Rome in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1547, where their association must have continued.

We are on weaker ground with other points. While there is no firm evidence for Fabrizio’s presence in Rome while his father was there, circumstantial evidence offers the possibility that he may have preceded him to the court of the Farnese and may have spent a few years performing with Perino for the pope. Since both Perino and Luigi went to France

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122 See Bianchini, Tablature de lutz, xi.
123 A transcription of the printed piece appears in Bianchini, Tablature de lutz, 1-4.
sometime in the late 1540s or 1550s, it is possible that they may have traveled together, perhaps remaining with each other until Perino’s death in 1552.

Finally, although definitive proof is lacking, it seems to me likely that someone in the Perino-Dentice circle compiled Section I of *Siena*, and while the evidence is considerably weaker, this may also be the case for Sections IIA and IIB. Luigi seems to be the best candidate for compiler of Section I. His connection to Siena could have provided the opportunity for its repertory consisting largely of Roman and Neapolitan works to reach the hands of the scribe who copied them into *Siena* during the late sixteenth century.
APPENDIX

Models and Other Instrumental Arrangements of the “Canzone Francesi” in Siena

The following list identifies part-music models and other instrumental arrangements for the tablatures on folios 47v-58 of Siena. Each entry gives the foliation of the item, its number as assigned by Ness in the facsimile edition in parentheses, its title, the title as it appears in Siena in quotation marks, and its composer’s name in brackets (when known). The bibliographical information that follows uses abbreviations found at the end of the Appendix. For published models, an early source is cited, and a time span during which other editions appeared is indicated; the reader is directed to the bibliographical references for more detail. Specific editions of the model are given for works that do not have such information readily available. Modern editions of some of the models are also cited. The entries identify item numbers rather than page numbers for sources listed in Brown, Heartz, Pogue, and RISM. Dates of publication in parentheses follow the Heartz and Pogue item numbers. Each citation of a printed instrumental arrangement provides the Brown item number, an indication of composer or publisher in parentheses, and the instrumental medium in brackets. Each citation of a manuscript instrumental arrangement provides the library citation, date and provenance in parentheses, instrumental medium in brackets, and bibliographical references in braces. Library citations for manuscript sources use sigla in New Grove, 2nd ed.

NOTE: The citations are title concordances based on entries in the bibliographical sources cited. The present writer makes no claim for completeness in the following Appendix; that will not be approachable until more comprehensive bibliographical controls are available.

47v-48 (102) Petit Jacquet “Petit’ Jachet” [Lambert Curtois]
MODEL: Brown1577, (Ang. Gardano) [keyboard].
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1582, (Barbetta) [lute]; Brown1584, (G. dalla Casa) [viola bastarda]; Brown1592, (Merulo) [keyboard]; Brown1593, (Terzi) [lute solo or duet]. MANUSCRIPT: I-Be Q.26 {Brown, 289}.
NOTES: The work previously was thought to have been written by Thomas Crecquillon, but attribution has since been given to Lambert Courtois; see New Grove, 2nd ed., s.v. “Crec-
quillon, Thomas,” by Barton Hudson and Martin Ham; and s.v. “Courtois, Lambert,” by Thomas W. Bridges.

48
(103) Ardent’ amour [?] “Ardent’ amor”
MODEL: unknown.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.

48v
(104) Un mesnagier vieillard “Vn Mesanger Vallarte” [Mathieu Sohier]
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown15533 (Brayssing) [guitar]; Brown15704 (Phalèse & Bellère) [guitar].

49
(105) Veu le grief mal “Veu le grief mal” [Pierre de Villiers]
MODEL: RISM153814. Other eds.: RISM153817, RISM154012, RISM154313, RISM154917; see also A-Wn Mus. Hs. 1881 (ca. 1560, Lyons?) [Call]. Mod. ed.: Call.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown15473 (Gintzler) [lute]; Brown155211 (Phalèse) [lute].

49v
(106) Rien n’est plus cher “Rien ni est plus cher” [Pierre de Villiers]
MODEL: RISM154312. Other eds.: Heartz113bis (1543), RISM154311, RISM154918; see also A-Wn Mus. Hs. 1881 (ca. 1560, Lyons?) [Call]. Mod. ed.: Miller, 83-85.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.

50
(107) Doulce mémoire “Doulce memeoir” [Sandrin (Pierre Regnault)]
MODEL: RISM153811. Other eds. 1538-1554: see Sandrin, xvi. Mod. ed.: Sandrin, 5-7.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown15479 (Phalèse/Teghi) [lute]; Brown15496 (H. Newsidler) [lute]; Brown15498 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown155211 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1553 (Ortiz) [ricercars for viol and keyboard on chanson]; Brown15562 (Drusina) [lute]; Brown15623 (Heckel) [lute]; Brown156210 (Albert de Rippe) [lute]; Brown156312 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown15686 (Vreedman) [cittern]; Brown15687 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown15703 (Phalèse
& Bellèrè) [cittern]; Brown1571 (Phalèse & Bellèrè) [lute]; Brown1573 (Waissel) [lute]; Brown1574 (Phalèse & Bellèrè) [lute]; Brown1577 (Gardano) [keyboard]; Brown1578 (Cabezón) [keyboard]; Brown1578 (Kargel) [cittern]; Brown1582 (Phalèse & Bellèrè) [cittern]; Brown1583 (Ammerbach) [keyboard]; Brown1584 (dalla Casa) [viola bastarda].


50v (108) La volonté si longtemps "A Volunte" [Sandrin (Pierre Regnault)]
MODEL: RISM1543. Other eds. 1543-1554: see Sandrin, xxi. Mod. ed.: Sandrin, 44-46.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT: Brown1547 (Attaingnant) [basse dance on chanson for 4v instrumental ensemble]; Brown1549 (Barberiis) [lute]; Brown1551 (Gorlier) [guitar]; Brown 1552 (Morlaye) [guitar]; Brown1552 (Morlaye) [guitar]; Brown1554 (Albert de Rippe) [lute]; Brown1562 (Albert de Rippe) [lute]; Brown1574 (Phalèse & Bellèrè) [lute].

51 (109) Je sens l'affection "Je Sens L affection" [Boyvin]
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT: Brown1551 (Le Roy) [guitar]; Brown1558 (Albert de Rippe)
[lute]; Brown1562₉ (Albert de Rippe) [lute].

(110) Las qu'on congneust "Las qu'on cong'neust" [Sandrin (Pierre Regnault) or Claudin de Sermisy]
MODEL: 1538₁[7]. Other eds. 1538-1573: RISM1543₁[3]; and see Sandrin, xix; and Sermisy, xxiii. Mod. eds. Sandrin, 23-24; and Sermisy, 148-149.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.
NOTES: This piece has conflicting attributions to Claudin de Sermisy and Sandrin.

(111) Dieu des amants "Dieudes Ama'ë" [Jacques Arcadelt]
MODEL: RISM1543₁. Other eds. 1543-1573: see Arcadelt, xxviii. Mod. ed.: Arcadelt, 9-10.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.
NOTES: Ness notes that the Siena arrangement is in the style of Albert de Rippe; see NessArr, 42 and 47, n. 31.

(112) Celle qui a fasheux mari "Celle quia fait leuÿ marÿ" [Gentian]
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.

(113) Dame d'honneur vouez mon advenure "Dames d'honneu voez mon ad veneure" [Sandrin (Pierre Regnault)]
MODEL: RISM1543₁₁. Other eds. 1543-1551: Heartz113bis (1543); and see Sandrin, xxi. Mod. ed. Sandrin, 43-44.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT: Brown1547₃ (Gintzler) [lute]; Brown1562₁₀ (Albert de Rippe) [lute].
NOTES: The Siena arrangement is similar to that in Brown1547₃; see NessArr, 42; and NessSiena, 13.

(114) Elle a bien ce ris gracieux "E'lla ceris bien gracieu" [Claudin de Sermisy]
MODEL: Heartz101 (1541). Other eds. 1542-1543 and MS sources: see Sermisy, xix. Mod. ed.: Sermisy, 70-73.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT: Brown1552₉ (Morlaye) [guitar].
MANUSCRIPT: D-Mbs 1627 (1550-1580, Germany) [lute] {Meyer2, 230}; MS Castelfranco Veneto (ca. 1565, Padua) [lute] {Rossi, 183}.

NOTES: The Siena arrangement is the same as that in D-Mbs 1627; see NessArr, 42.

54 (115) Mais pour quoy “Mais pour quoý” [Sandrin (Pierre Regnault), arranged by Albert de Rippe]
MODEL: RISM1543. Other eds. 1543-1555: Heartz113 bis (1543); and see Sandrin, xxii. Mod. ed. Sandrin, 46-47.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1547, (Gintzler) [lute]; Brown1552, (Phalése) [lute]; Brown1553, (Morlaye) [guitar]; Brown1562, (Albert de Rippe) [lute]; Brown1574, (Phalése & Bellère) [lute]; Brown1571, (Phalése & Bellère) [gaillarde on chanson for 4v instrumental ensemble]; Brown1583, (Phalése & Bellère) [gaillarde on chanson for 4v instrumental ensemble].
NOTES: The Siena arrangement is the same as that in Albert de Rippe’s Second livre de tablature de luth [Brown 1562]; see NessArr, 42 and 47, n. 31.

54v (116) Je cherche autant amour “Je chierchie au tan amour” [Boyvin]
MODEL: RISM1545. Other eds: RISM1545, RISM1549, RISM1567; see also A-Wn Mus. Hs. 1881 (c. 1560, Lyons?) {Call}. Mod. ed.: Bernstein, 61-63.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1551, (Le Roy) [guitar]; Brown1552, (Morlaye) [guitar]; Brown1553, (Brayssing) [guitar]; Brown1556, (Drusina) [lute]; Brown1559, (Le Roy) [lute]; Brown1570, (Phalése & Bellère) [guitar]; Brown1582, (Barbetta) [lute].

55-55v (117) Or sus, or sus vous dormes: L’Alouette “Orsus, orsus” [Clément Jannequin]
MODEL: RISM J443 (1528). Other eds. 1537-1559 and MS (there is also a 3-part version of 1520): see Pogue27 (n.d.); and Jannequin, 182. Mod. ed.: Jannequin, 99-105 (3-part version) and 106-115 (4-part version).
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1544, (H. Newsidler) [lute]; Brown1553, (Brayssing) [guitar].
(118) Ung jour du matin [?] "V goir du mati"
MODEL: unknown.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.
NOTES: See NessArr, 49, n. 39/11.

(119) Pour ung petit coup "Pour ua patit coup" [Anonymous in source of model]
MODEL: RISM1545; see also NessArr, 42.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1545 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1547 (Phalèse) [lute].
MANUSCRIPT: D-Mbs 267 (1550, in Herwart Library from 1586) [lute] [Meyer2, 212].
NOTES: The Siena arrangement is the same as that in D-Mbs 267; see NessArr, 42.

(120) Je prens en gré "Je prés engre" [Jacob Clemens non Papa]
MODEL: RISM1539. Other eds. 1539-1600s and MS: see Clemens, 1; and see Musica disciplina 15 (1961): 190-191. Mod. ed.: Clemens, 14-17.
OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1545 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1547 (Phalèse/Teghi) [lute]; Brown1552 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1556 (Drusina) [lute]; Brown1557 (L. Venegas de Henestrosa) [keyboard]; Brown1562 (Heckel) [lute]; Brown1563 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1568 (Vreed) [cittern]; Brown1568 (Phalèse) [lute]; Brown1571 (Phalèse & Bellère) [lute]; Brown1572 (Jo bin) [lute]; Brown1573 (Waissel) [lute]; Brown1576 (Daza) [vihuela]; Brown1577 (Schmid) [keyboard]; Brown1577 (Gardano) [keyboard]; Brown1578 (Cabezón) [keyboard]; Brown1582 (Phalèse & Bellère) [cittern]; Brown1583 (Ammerbach) [keyboard].
MANUSCRIPT: D-Bsb 40632 (ca. 1565, Bavaria) [lute] {Meyer2, 65}; PL-Kj 40598 (ca. 1570-1583, Germany) [lute] {Meyer3/2, 137}; CH-Bu F.IX.70 (1591-1595, Basel) [lute] {Meyer1, 14}.
NOTES: The Siena arrangement is the same as that in Brown1571; see NessArr, 42.

(121) Pour ung plaisir (no title in Siena) [Thomas Crecquillon]
MODEL: RISM 1543. Other eds. 1560-1562 and MS
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sources: see Crecquillon, xlvi; see also A-Wm Mus. Hs. 1881 (ca. 1560, Lyons?) [Call]. Mod. ed.: Crecquillon, 55-58.

OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS, PRINT:
Brown1546_18 (Phalese) [lute]; Brown1552_11 (Phalese) [lute]; Brown1557_2 (L. Venegas de Henestrosa) [keyboard]; Brown1558_5 (Ochsenkun) [lute]; Brown1563_12 (Phalese) [lute]; Brown1568_7 (Phalese) [lute]; Brown1571_6 (Phalese & Bellère) [lute]; Brown1577_6 (Schmid) [keyboard]; Brown1578_3 (A. de Cabezón) [keyboard].

MANUSCRIPT: D-Bsb 40632 (c. 1565, Bavaria) [lute] [Meyer2, 65]; MS Castelfranco Veneto (ca. 1565, Padua) [lute] [Rossi, 183]; A-Wm 19259 (after 1564, between 1570-80? Germany?) [lute] [Meyer3/1, 136]; H-Bn Mus. pr. 19 (ca. 1600, Bártfa) [lute] [Meyer3/2, 82]; PL-LZu M 6983 (ca. 1600, Germany) [lute] [Meyer3/2, 158].

(122) Je voys, je viens "Je voîys Je Vieens"
MODEL: See BrownMFST, 243.

OTHER INSTRUMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS: none.
NOTES: This is based on a theatrical chanson; its melody was used as a timbre for a Protestant chanson (1546; text published 1535-1543); see BrownMFST, 243. The Siena arrangement uses the same cantus prius factus as settings in Chansons a troy (Giunta, 1520) and by Gascongue. See NessArr, 49, n. 39/13; and Brown, Theatrical Chansons (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), 126-127, nos. 43 and 44.

Bibliographical Abbreviations


Call = Jerry Max Call, "A chansonnier from Lyons: The manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs. 18811," 2 vols. (PhD diss, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1992).


Perino Fiorentino and the Dentices


RISM = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales


Spinacino's Twelve-tone Experiment

by John Griffiths*

This essay is about one of the most extraordinary lute ricercars of the sixteenth century, a sophisticated tonal experiment and a work that has passed virtually unnoticed in the revival of lute music in the last century and in the scholarship that has accompanied it. A piece of music designed to upset the apple cart through being conceived in complete contravention of accepted music theory, it is even more remarkable that such a work should be found in the first book of lute music ever printed, Francesco Spinacino's Intabulatura de Lauto, Libro primo (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507). Both the structural and conceptual elegance of this ricercar as well as its radical interrogation of the principles of tonality and the practice of modal composition obliges a reconsideration of the status of the earliest lute ricercars within the broader musical context, as well as a reevaluation of Francesco Spinacino as lutenist, composer, and musical thinker.

* I first became acquainted with Arthur Ness through his edition of Francesco da Milano soon after its publication, just as I was beginning my graduate studies and discovering the lute. Identifying with it at first sight, it had a profound influence on the way that I was to approach lute music, scholarship, and editing. From the very beginning, Arthur's edition made Francesco's music look as fresh on the page as if it had just been written and, moreover, instantly comprehensible. It was only after the advent of e-mail that I came to know Arthur personally through interchanges of messages and participation in various lute-based networks. During this period our scholarly exchange solidified into a more personal friendship, and I increasingly grew to witness at first hand Arthur's dedication to scholarship, the lute, and scholarly integrity. It was not until 2005 that we had the chance to meet in person, and I have very fond memories of the evening of 31 May that we shared together in Boston. We have had the fortune to be able to meet again and to remain in contact, and so it is with great pleasure that I pay homage to Arthur through this study of early Italian lute music, an area that has fascinated him for so long.

1 The only surviving copy of this work is kept at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Kraków, Poland. This copy was previously in the collection of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, and for many years thought to have been lost during World War II after being removed from the library for safekeeping. In 1978 a facsimile edition was published in Geneva by Editions Minkoff from photographs taken in the 1930s by André Pirro and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The survival of the former Berlin music collection was first reported in the mid 1980s, but it is only since the 500th anniversary of its publication that it has become freely available in digital format due to the generosity of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska. It is available on the Corpus des Luthistes website http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/luth/pages/noticc.asp?numnotice=2 (accessed December 31, 2010).

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Generally of short duration, freely structured, and highly idiomatic in conception, the ricercars of the early sixteenth century have been characterized as the compositions of improvisatori whose musical practice was rooted in spontaneous creation within an unwritten tradition located at the periphery of the polyphonic domain. Some of these works were clearly intended to serve as preludes to songs, but there has been an un­founded tendency to assume that this was true of all ricercars, including those by Spinacino. It is absolutely clear from the ricercar examined here that this work was conceived as a self-contained independent work. It is a long piece of 334 measures with an estimated performance duration of between seven and nine minutes—the margin is wide given that there is no tempo marking to allow a more precise indication—and it both confirms and magnifies the opinion summarized by Lyle Nordstrom in the current edition of New Grove (2001) that "Spinacino’s ricercars are among the most elaborate of the period" and that "he must have been one of the finest lute players of the time."2 In contrast to the haphazard or impulsive image that is conjured by the notion of non-literate lutenist improvisers, the ricercar that Spinacino chose to use as the pièce de resis­

2 Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, s.v. "Spinacino, Francesco" by Lyle Nordstrom. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (consulted 5 October 2010). In his article "Ricercare" in the same source, John Caldwell discusses Spinacino’s ricercars under the heading "Preludial or rhapsodic ricercars." Even Nordstrom, however, reiterates the opinion that they must have been "intended to serve as preludes to other pieces." The received view of Spinacino’s ricercars comes from a line of scholarship forged principally by Otto Gombosi, John Ward, H. Colin Slim, Henry L. Schmidt, and Piotr Pozniak. Gombosi, in his book Composizione di Meter Vincenzo Capriola: Lute-book (circa 1517) (Neully-sur-Seine: Publications de la Société de musique d’autrefois, 1955), describes the ricercars of the Petrucci lutenists as “with a few exceptions, short and rudimentary compositions without any recognizable form idea: pieces of improvisatory character and rather lightweight” (p. xxxi). In “The ‘Vihuela de mano’ and its Music, 1536-1576” (Diss., New York University, 1953), John Ward comments on them in the context of the work of Spanish composers, describing the fantasias of Luis Milán as a “bridge between the improvisatory style of the Petrucci and Attaining lutenists and the technically more mature style of the Francesco da Milano generation” (p. 247). In the opening chapters of “The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy, c.1500-1550, with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period,” (Diss. Harvard, 1960), H. Colin Slim portrays the Spinacino ricercars in a didactic context, largely as preludes to be paired with intabulations, although recognizing that some of the longer ricercars, including the work under consideration here, were free-standing independent pieces (p. 236). In the most detailed study of Spinacino’s ricercars to date, “The First Printed Lute Books: Francesco Spinacino’s Intabolatura de Luto, Libro Primo and Libro Secondo” (Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1969), Henry L. Schmidt elaborates many of the detailed procedures that occur in the works but describes them as works that “point the way towards the flowering of a Renaissance instrumental practice which develops new techniques and procedures to complement those it inherits from an older tradition” (p. 72). Of all the writings, Piotr Pozniak’s study “Problems of Tonality in the Ricercars of Spinacino and Bossinensis,” JLSA 23 (1990): 64-80, is the only one to have come close to understanding the experimental nature of the ricercar discussed here, concluding that “the key to the piece lies in its exploration of tonality” (p. 78).
dance at the end of his Libro primo is a carefully structured architectonic work that reaches into territory otherwise unexplored by any other musician of his generation. It is in every way its crowning jewel.

Ottaviano Petrucci, the publisher of Spinacino's music, appears to have planned his series of lute books carefully with respect both to the authors he chose and the contents of each volume. The series of six books appears to represent the variety of lute music that was in vogue at the time, and the little information that survives about their authors points to them being leading players. The series comprises three books of intabulations, one of dance music, and two of frottola, each complemented with a selection of abstract ricercars. The two books of ornamented intabulations of Franco-Flemish polyphony and ricercars by Spinacino—the Libro primo and Libro secundo of the series—were both issued in 1507. The Libro terzo by Gian Maria Alemani, now lost, was issued the following year. The contents of this book, described in an inventory by Ferdinand Columbus who bought a copy in Rome in 1512, indicate very similar contents to the preceding books. The Libro quarto by Joan Ambrosio Dalza was also issued in 1508, and comprises principally dance music together with ricercars and tastar de corde. Two books of frottola, entitled Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col soprano in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto and arranged by Francesco Bossinensis, complete the series. Scarcely anything is known about the identity of the Petrucci lutenists. The only independent testimony that confirms their reputations is the inclusion of Spinacino, Gian Maria, and Dalza in a list of renowned lutenists in Philippo Oriolo da Bassano's poem Monte Parnaso (c.1520), where they are named alongside Testagrossa, Marco dall'Aquila, Francesco da Milano, and others, although it might be that Phillipo only knew of the Petrucci lutenists through their publications. Whatever the case, the scant evidence points to Petrucci having chosen his lutenists with the same acumen that he displayed in his choice of composers of vocal polyphony.

Spinacino's Libro primo comprises 20 intabulations of vocal polyphony, five of which are set as duos for two lutes, one bassadans, and

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2 The inventory is reproduced in Brown1, 1508.
3 Inventories of the surviving books are all given in Brown1 respectively as 1507, 1508, 1508, 1509, and 1511.
17 ricercars. Most of the ricercars are simply titled *Recercare* apart from three whose titles offer a little more information. The first two are entitled *Recercare de tous bien* (no 22, fol. 37v) and *Recercare Juli amours* (no 23, fol. 38), and incorporate motives from the chansons *De tous bien playne* by Hayne van Ghiseghem and *Je loe amours* by Johannes Ghiselin, both of which are intabulated earlier in the volume. In most respects, except for their quoted material, these two ricercars closely resemble the style of the majority of the other ricercars. They alternate freely between single-voice writing, including some sequential figures, and music in two or three voices. Each is just over 60 single-tactus measures, between one and one and a half minutes in duration, consistent with what might be regarded as approximate average length of most of Spinacino’s ricercars. Much of the scholarly discussion of these particular pieces has centered on whether their function is preludial, and whether they are intended to be played preceding the ornamented intabulations of the chansons after which they are named. Such a practice would be consistent with Bossinensis’ ricercars, which are clearly signaled to be used as preludes to his frotola arrangements. There is nothing in Spinacino’s book, however, to support this generally accepted conclusion.⁷ Despite the extensive discussions by Slim and Schmidt and the analogy with Bossinensis, the Spinacino ricercars are quite different, and there seems no reason why these short pieces should not be treated as independent works. They are not located adjacent to the intabulations in question, and they are long enough and sufficiently self-contained to be considered as valid works in their own right. Probably conceived as music for personal use or private entertainment rather than public performance repertory, there is absolutely no reason to suppose a preludial function for Spinacino’s ricercars. This point is crucial as it appears to me that many scholarly judgments of this kind are unconsciously conditioned by the contemporary expectation that the concert hall is the natural performance destination of art music, whereas the music may have been composed for other contexts, locations, and functions, and should be judged in terms of its own raison d’être. It will no doubt illuminate the music of Spinacino and his contemporaries to take this broader view of Renaissance performance contexts in future revision of the nature and status of the early ricercar.

Not only has there been little new scholarly investigation in the area, but

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⁷ This assumption, drawn from research in the 1950s and 1960s, is reiterated by later writers such as Pozniak, "Problems of Tonality" (p. 63), and in Nordstrom’s *New Grove* article cited above.
also there has also not been any serious revision in the new editions of the standard reference works such as *New Grove* (2001) and *MGG* (1994-2008) of some of the now dated conjectural proposals of some older and highly esteemed scholars.

Besides the ricercars with titles associating them with chansons, the third ricercar with a special title is quite distinct in style and content, something of a counterpart to *Recercare II/38* that is the center of the present study. An exploration of how to realize modal-based tonality on the lute, the *Recercare de tutti li Toni* (no 26, fol. 40v) is a longer and more involved work. Ninety-three double-tactus bars in length, it is approximately three times the length of the preceding ricercars and is composed in two and three voices throughout, with no passages of single-voice writing. More important and as its title suggests, this ricercar is an experiment in writing a coherent, continuous piece of music using all of the eight melodic modes. It systematically progresses through each of the eight modes, in numerical order from one to eight, in the space of about four minutes. Double bars separate the sections in each of the modes, and the number of the mode is clearly indicated at the beginning of each section. Schmidt’s analysis of the work is marred by the fact that he transcribed it (and all of Spinacino’s music!) for a lute in G rather than in A. His descriptions are therefore cumbersome and make hard reading. Having erred in his choice of tuning, the descriptive analysis needs constant decoding so that, for example, it is understood that the initial section in mode 1 is in not in “C Aeolian” as he suggests, but a tone higher in the expected instead Dorian mode that a transcription in A-tuning would have revealed.6 Despite this difficulty, Schmidt does still manage to point to a number of the ways in which Spinacino’s writing diverges from classical modal theory and practice. Pozniak’s transcription and analysis of the work, on the other hand, are much more convincing and show each of the sections in Spinacino’s work to cadence on the appropriate modal finals, albeit if some of the ways he differentiates authentic and plagal modes correspond more closely to a lutenist’s interpretation than to that of a singer or to theoretical prescripts. Pozniak summarizes Spinacino’s practice clearly and succinctly:

In the entire work, awareness of the relation between the authentic and plagal modes is very logical although, to be sure, atypical.

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It consists of the transposition to the fifth below, which in the Hypophysygian and Hypomixolydian is realized by the final cadences, and in the Hypodorian and Hypolydian by the transposition of the scale. . . . The Recercare de tutti li toni of Spinacino is therefore a sort of treatise showing the method for moving from one mode to another. This ability was indispensable for the technique of improvisation, so integral to the period.9

The significance of this work in the context of the present study is to confirm Spinacino’s knowledge of the theoretical precepts of the music of his time. This should come as no surprise given his knowledge of the refined repertory imported from France and the Low Countries, and the skill with which he crafted such exquisite solo and duet versions of polyphonic chansons by Agricola, Brumel, Caron, Ghiselin, Hayne, Isaac, Josquin, Ockeghem, and Urrede. Spinacino was thus no ordinary rank-and-file musician, but one who obviously moved in the circle of the cultural elite in northern Italy, a learned musician deeply entrenched in the polyphonic milieu of his time and quite removed from improvisatori of the oral tradition who did not necessarily possess such depth of musical knowledge. Moreover, the fact that Spinacino could even contemplate creating a ricercar that essays the full diversity of the modal system within a 186 tactus piece shows him to have been a creative musical thinker, an innovator, and an experimenter. This observation balances the impression created by the generalized characterization of his creative output as “rudimentary… improvisatory… and somewhat lightweight,”10 that his ricercars “are free in form and often change direction and style abruptly, from virtuosic running passages to imitative sections,”11 images that are in complete contradiction to what we find in his most extensive and considered compositions. Instead, what is revealed in the Recercare de tutti li toni makes Spinacino more appropriately compared with some of the very same highly intellectual polyphonists and theorists whose music he intabulated, the creators of sophisticated mensuration canons and other similarly learned works, such as Ockeghem’s Missa cuiusvis toni, which makes a comparable exploration of the possibilities of the modal system. Spinacino’s composition presents a thoughtful and intelligent

9 Pozniak, “Problems of Tonality,” 75-77.
10 Gombosi in 1955 in Composizione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola. See note 2 above.
way to treat authentic and plagal modes differently on the lute, adapting theoretical constructs to the idiom of the instrument. It thus represents a serious and considered contribution to the debate on modes and their use that was one of the key intellectual issues among musicians, composers, and theorists of the time.

Spinacino's fascination with the tonal system and the exploration of the tonal possibilities of the lute was evidently not unique to him, but was echoed by lutenists later in the sixteenth century and beyond. Half a century after Spinacino, Giacomo Gorzanis composed a set of 48 passamezzi and saltarellesi in major and minor keys on the 12 semitones of the octave. Preserved in one of the carefully copied manuscripts that once belonged to German patrician Hans Heinrich Herwarth and held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Ness describes it as "a cycle of 24 passamezzo-saltarello pairs that, alternatively using the antico and moderno patterns, ascend through all the ‘major’ and ‘minor’ keys, causing it sensationaly being dubbed as a 16th-century ‘well-tempered lute book.’"12 Vincenzo Galilei similarly provided a set of 24 ricercars in major and minor "keys" on each of the 12 semitones of the octave in the expanded edition of Fronimo that he published in 1584.13 At the other end of the lute's history, the eighteenth-century German lutenist Adam Falkenhagen (1691-1761) composed a "Preludio nel quale sono contenuti tutti i tuoni musicali" that moves through the complete range of major and minor keys in a way that parallels Spinacino's experiments.14 Falkenhausen's teacher, the renowned Sylvius Leopold Weiss, is reputed to have composed a piece with identical title, but this has not survived.15

This rather different image of Spinacino, whether viewed directly in the context of the lute or more broadly in the milieu of music theory and practice at the beginning of the sixteenth century, helps us situate the discussion of Ricercare II/38 within a broader intellectual perspective. Without any distinctive title to distinguish it from his other

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13 Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo dialogo (Venice: Scotto, 1584) = Brown 1584 [, nos. 21-44.
compositions, this ricercar was composed on a grand scale, occupying six full pages of the book. It is almost twice the proportion of the *Recercare de tutti li toni*, and approximately four times the length of most of the other 16 ricercars in the *Libro primo*. Pozniak is the only scholar to have understood the connection between *Recercare I/38* and the *Recercare de tutti li toni* as experimental essays in tonality. He points to the analogy between the two works, commenting that “the progression of modulations [in *Recercare I/38*] is not as systematic nor is the division into sections underscored by the notation” but observes, more importantly, that “the key to the piece lies in its explorations of tonality.”

It is a fully independent composition of considerable musical weight with a more highly structured design and a significantly more elaborate experimental design than any other of Spinacino’s works. Its extended duration presents substantial performance challenges, particularly given the difficulties involved in sustaining continually engaging rhetorical discourse on the lute for considerable time. The most outstanding features of the work are its carefully planned, balanced architectonic structure—an innovation usually associated with the following generation of lutenists, especially Francesco da Milano—and its chromatic variety that results in cadences on every semitone of the octave. There is hardly another musical work, instrumental or vocal, composed during the entire sixteenth century that presents such a bold musical experiment, and that brings it to fulfillment in such a convincing fashion.

Almost as astounding as the work itself is the fact that these features have remained undetected for so long, particularly in light of the number of scholars who have focused their attention on Spinacino’s music. Slim appears not to have paid any special attention to *Recercare I/38* in the survey of this composer’s ricercars in his dissertation on the early keyboard ricercar. Henry Schmidt made a long analysis of *Recercare I/38* in his dissertation on Spinacino (pp. 67-70), but concentrated his attention on motivic devices and the succession of textures and cadences, remaining impervious to the deeper layer of design within the work. His statement that gives his overview of the work betrays this interest only in the surface layer of the music:

In spite of its great length, however, it can be readily seen that much of the piece really consists of small (usually four to eight

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16 Pozniak, “Problems of Tonality,” 77-78.
measures) “block” or “cell” phrases which are related to immediate neighbors through some recurring device: a suspension, a similar melodic motion or motive, a contrasting (but often motivically-derived) pattern, or textural similarity.17

In the rather dull descriptive commentary that follows, Schmidt did observe some of the cadential behavior, commenting on the “sudden shift to A major” in m. 112 ff.” and subsequently “a change to the ‘sharp’ side of the instrument (the previous material being in flats)” but attached no special meaning or significance to it. Bearing in mind that his transcription of the work erroneously assumes the lute was tuned in G rather than in A, the A-major chord to which he alludes is actually a B-major chord that is functioning as a dominant in a cadence on E in the following measure, and that the shift “to the sharp side,” in fact, commences several measures earlier. Pozniak, while not having gone as far as identifying the systematic progression of modulations in the work, did nonetheless come quite close in observing that “the division [into sections] is enacted nonetheless by distinct cadences and by the diversity of the scales used in the ricercar.”18 He comments on the presence of a large number of non-diatonic notes and concludes that the work is based on a “scale of 15 degrees,” that it “is based on a more modern principle and it would be perhaps more appropriate to understand it in terms of the categories of the major-minor system.”19 He was absolutely correct both in his comment cited above concerning the exploratory nature of the ricercar’s tonality and this last comment on the modernity of its quasi major-minor tonal system. In trying to reduce this to some fundamental principles, Pozniak concluded that in comparison to the multi-modal Ricercare de tutti li toni “there are only three tonalities, major, minor, and Phrygian, which follow each other according to the relation of the dominant, the mediant changed from minor to major, or the tonic.”20 To complement these insights about the ricercar’s essentially diatonic tonality and its use of only three modal scale types, one further observation needs to be added in order to complete the equation. Within the confines of this one work, Spinacino constructs cadences on each of the 12 semi-

18 Pozniak, “Problems of Tonality,” 77.
19 Ibid., 77-78.
20 Ibid., 78.
tones of the chromatic octave, and this appears to have been one of the principal aims of his musical experiment.

Before exploring the musical content of Recercare II/38 in greater detail, it is necessary to make a short detour to consider the tablature notation itself and some of the problems presented by the notation. In general, the tablature of this ricercar is competently set, and shows no marked difference from the level of typographical accuracy of the remainder of the book. Within its six pages there are a dozen places where the notation is inaccurate or questionable. I wish to comment on these passages in detail, as they are relevant not only to the transcription provided below, but also to a closer understanding of the typical errors committed by typesetters (and tablature copyists) and that represent some kind of weak point in the execution of their work. They are not restricted to the typesetting of either Spinacino's Libro primo or Libro secundo, but to tablature copying and typography in general. The most common error in the copying or typesetting of lute tablature results from placing correct figures on the wrong line (or space) of the staff. The Spinacino books are no less exempt from this than any other source: five errors of this kind occur in Recercare II/38. Example 1 presents a brief passage from the opening of the work that gives four misplaced figures in close succession within a matter of four measures, perhaps the result of a momentary lapse of concentration on the part of the typographer.21 These occur at the end of the work's opening single-voiced phrase, mm. 8-11. In the example, the erroneous notes have been enclosed in boxes and the correct notes added in italics. In mm. 8 and 11 single figures are located incorrectly. The third note of m. 8, figure 3 on the second course (shorthand: II-3) needs to be moved onto the adjacent third course (III-3). The same applies to the IV-2 in m. 11 that should be played as V-2. Experienced lutenists would have detected and corrected such errors almost intuitively as they do not fall under the fingers naturally, and they create awkward melodic movement in places that are usually intended to move by step. In m. 9, the final two figures have been reversed, a tablature typographer's Spoonerism. As can be seen in the literal transcription and corrected reading below, the rectification of these errors converts a seemingly irrational phrase ending into a passage of two-measure melodic sequences: mm. 6-7, 8-9, 10-11. Similar errors occur in mm. 71, 128, and 323. Another example of notes in reverse order is found in m. 110 where the third and fourth

21 The wavy line inserted between measures 10 and 11 denotes a line break in the source.
notes are reversed. In the latter case, a literal reading makes little sense and falls very awkwardly under the fingers of the left hand.

![Example 1: Spinacino, Recercare II/38, tablature with corrections, mm. 8-12, fol. 53v](image)

Another unusual typographical anomaly occurs only a few measures later. In a passage in which it would not be expected, two successive measures, 15 and 16, are identical. The tablature is shown in Example 2, and corresponds to the end of the second measure of the transcription given at the end of this essay. Performance experiments do not clarify the situation as the passage can be made to work satisfactorily either omitting one of the measures or playing them both. On the one hand, omission of the repeated measure assists the melodic flow of the music, but retaining the repeated measure helps the phrase maintain a sense of duple meter consistent with the two-semibreve units of the sequence that precedes it. While exact repetition of this kind is highly unusual and therefore possibly erroneous, the evidence is ambiguous and cannot be definitively resolved here.

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22 Each measure of the tablature represents one semibreve of mensural notation.
23 Two other comparable repetitions occur in Spinacino's ricercars: in close succession in Recercare II/30, measures 48-49 and 51-52, Libro primo, fol. 45, Schmidt “The First Printed Lute Books,” 119. These instances appear to me to be redundancies as the work is phrased in two-measure units and these repeated measures convert the phrasing into three-measure units.
Example 2: Spinacino, Recercare II/38, mm. 15-16, fol. 53v.

On the second page of the source (fol. 54) there is another passage with four apparently erroneous figures within a short space. The first of the errors shown in Example 3 shows what appears to be an erroneous V-1 as the first figure of measure 65 where the indicated alternative of IV-0 gives stepwise movement that is stylistically more consistent with the passage and the work. The next two amendments, in mm. 69 and 71, are clear cases of the correct figure placed on the wrong line, while the last one in m. 76 is the simple omission of a note. This may have been intentional if the fourth course of Spinacino's lute were strung with an octave string as the octave of IV-2 would have produced the note a', which I have added. Only a few similar instances have been located elsewhere in Spinacino's music, and it thus it seems an unlikely explanation for the absence of the highest note of the chord and a principal point of emphasis in the phrase.

Example 3: Spinacino, Recercare II/38, mm. 62-76, fol. 54.
A similar situation occurs in m. 92 where the lower of what might be expected to be an octave d–d1 is omitted. To give the octave, the figure III-3 would need to be added beneath the I-5 at the beginning of the measure, as suggested in Example 4. The note may have been omitted deliberately to allow the discant pedal to be heard clearly or for some kind of textural consistency with the suspensions at the beginning of mm. 91 and 95, but these latter instances are consonances, not unresolved dissonances of a seventh. Again, there is insufficient evidence here to be able to claim definitively that there is a typographical error: it may simply be a compositional quirk, an idiomatic effect, or a performance-related idiosyncrasy.

Example 4: Spinacino, Recercare I/38, mm. 90-96, fol. 54v.

For the ten-measure passage in triplets beginning at m. 279, Spinacino’s tablature gives no indication of a change of time signature other than to use rhythmic signs with rounded tails to underline the change (Example 5).

Example 5: Spinacino, Recercare I/38, triplet notation, measures 275-282, fol. 55v.

The transcription of Recercare I/38 at the end of this study pays homage to Arthur Ness by using editorial principles that closely follow the ones he used so effectively in his outstanding 1970 edition of The
Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543). Note values have been reduced by a ratio of 4:1 to render each measure of the original tablature as one quarter note in the transcription. Barlines are inserted to separate phrases. This style of transcription has never been used widely despite its successful use for presenting Francesco da Milano's music. Especially for analytical purposes, it is one of the most effective ways of presenting polyphonic lute music. My transcription is for a lute tuned in A, and this is assumed in the following discussion. Emendations to the original tablature including those commented upon in the previous paragraphs are indicated with footnotes.

In analyzing Recercare 1/38, I have attempted to seek out the elements that give the work coherence and that govern the unfolding of its narrative. To reduce the amount of prose required, the examples below and the annotated transcription of the work are aimed at providing a large amount of analytical data that requires only minimal explanation. The structural organization of the work is plotted in Example 6 together with its tonal plan and the deployment of thematic material. The tables given as Examples 7 and 8 complement Example 6 by providing tabulated information about cadential tones, the frequency of cadences, and their location in the ricercar. Examples 9, 10 and 11 provide details of the main unifying materials in the surface structure of the work, the two principal rhythmic-melodic cells that are deployed in many different ways throughout the ricercar, and the cadential formulae that provide further cohesion to the texture. The transcription has also been heavily annotated to show cadential points, the two principal thematic cells, unifying cadences, and pedal points.

Detailed examination of Recercare 1/38 shows it to be cast in a sophisticated structural framework of the kind that is more readily associated with lutenists such as Francesco da Milano active in the 1530s and beyond, and keyboard composers such as Girolamo Cavazzoni, Jacques Buus, and his successors. In this sense, this work blurs the distinction drawn in contemporary scholarship between the improvisers of the early sixteenth century and lutenists of Francesco's generation whose architectonic fantasias and ricercars show the extent to which they absorbed the voice-leading and structural techniques of polyphonists of the Josquin

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generation. In keeping with Spinacino's other works, the textures used within this work are varied and range from unaccompanied figuration (mm. 1-12) to chordal homophony (mm. 222-232), with one passage written in triplets (mm. 279-288), other passages that employ pedals in either the treble or bass, passages in parallel tenths, some quasi-imitative writing, and an assortment of free writing in two, three, and four voices. The two rhythmic-melodic fragments mentioned in the previous paragraph and indicated in the transcription recur throughout the work and help the music maintain momentum and purpose, but their role seems to be as much to generate new ideas and textures as to provide coherence. There is also a consistency in the cadential counterpoint used to close many of the phrases of the work. This plays a particular role in articulating the work's structure and its exploration of tonality.

The unique feature of the work is the sequence of cadences on each of the 12 semitones of the octave. The complete antithesis of his Recercare de tutti li toni, this piece explores the entire chromatic spectrum of the lute; it ignores any potential obstacles imposed by tuning and temperament; and in a thoroughly convincing manner, it openly subverts the conventional theoretical space that music inhabited in the early sixteenth century. Conforming to none of the sixteenth-century modes as they were defined in Spinacino's time, Recercare 1/38 begins and ends in C. In its entire 334 measures there is only one other cadence on C: in measure 169, only two measures after the arithmetical mean of the piece, and arguably Spinacino's intended midpoint. This gives the work a proportionally based formal structure previously not seen in early sixteenth-century instrumental music, but more common in the "architectonic" ricercars of Francesco, Cavazzoni, and others, moreover very frequent in many polyphonic vocal works by Spinacino's contemporaries. As can be seen in the diagrammatic representation of the work in Example 6, it is possible to extend this argument further and to suggest that Spinacino may have planned the piece as four periods of approximately equal length. The dia-

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25 This distinction is still sharply drawn in reference works such as Grove Music Online (consulted 20 December 2010) and The New Grove (2001) where the article "Ricercare" written by John Caldwell is divided into subsections dealing with "The preludial or rhapsodic ricercare" and "The imitative ricercare," largely based on the research of the 1950s and 1960s, particularly H. Colin Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy" of 1960. The article is also remarkably keyboard-centric and makes only scant reference to the sixteenth-century lute repertory, let alone seminal scholarly works including Otto Gombosi, "A la recherche de la Forme dans la Musique de la Renaissance: Francesco da Milano," in La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1955), 165-76, and Jean Michel Vaccaro's study of the fantasias and ricercars of Albert de Rippe in the preface to the collected edition: Albert de Rippe, Fantaisies, vol. 1 of Œuvres, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro, Corpus des Luthistes Française (Paris: CNRS, 1972).
gram plots the cadences of the work and locates them according to a cycle of fifths moving each side of C. At the top of the diagram, the root notes of each cadence is annotated with upper case and lower case letters respectively showing "major" and "minor" tendencies, simply according to the gender of third used in the passage that each cadence serves to bring to a close. On the graph, the "major" cadences are black dots and the "minor" cadences are void. As pointed out by Pozniak, the harmonic and tonal behavior of the ricercar is very modern and the terms "major" and "minor" provide the clearest description of it. These are given, nonetheless, in inverted commas to distinguish this superimposition of modern terms on music that is usually better explained wherever possible in the language and terminology of its own time. See Example 6.

Example 6 needs to be viewed in conjunction with Examples 7 and 8 as they show more clearly the number of cadences on each pitch of the octave, and also the measures in which they occur. These tables reveal that nearly half of the total number of cadences in the piece, 17 of a total of 39, occur on A and D, and might thus better be described as the principal tonal axes of the piece, more significant than C, which merely frames the work like an allegorical alpha and omega. A and D, respectively, used eight and nine times for cadences, also correspond to the open fifth and sixth courses of a lute in A and show the strong idiomatic influence of the instrument in the way the tonal centers of the work were chosen. The progression of cadences shown in Example 6 also shows the structural logic of Spinacino's ricercar. The first half of the work is based on tonal excursion combined with motivic interplay, whereas the guiding principle of the second half is the exploration of textural variety within tightly restricted tonal confines. The excursions to remote and unusual keys that characterize the first half of the ricercar reveal an even more carefully structured proportional framework. The journey around the flat side of the circle of fifths occurs in the first quarter of the work, while cadences on the sharp side occur exclusively within the second quarter.

After the initial monophonic exordium on C and an initial exposition of the two central thematic motives (mm. 13-27 and 28-40), there is a remarkably modern progression by fourths from F to B-flat, E-flat and A-flat between mm. 40 and 62. By way of G and A, the music returns to the stability of D at m. 84, quickly reinforced four measures later at m. 88 to leave no shadow of doubt. This is the midpoint of the first half. Immediately thereafter, attention is drawn to the opening of the second quarter of the piece by ten measures of a pedal on d2 in the Superior voice from m. 88. (The corresponding point in the second half is treated similarly with 22 measures of pedal on a1 from m. 251.) The second quarter of
Example 6: Spinacino, Recercare II/38, structural plan
the piece is marked by gravitation to the sharp side. Again proceeding through the circle of fifths between measures 100 and 130, except for the cadence on e in m. 113, the cadences are in a mixture of “major” and “relative minor” keys, successively on G, D, (e), f# and c#.

Example 7: Recercare I/38, number of cadences on each chromatic tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C#</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Eb</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F#</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Ab</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Bb</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of cadences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 8: Recercare I/38, Measures in which cadences occur on each note (pitch specific)

After each of the tonal excursions, four degrees in each direction around the circle of fifths, Spinacino was able to bring his music back towards center by clever and carefully contrived semitonal shifts using a magician’s sleight of hand. From m. 28, the musical discourse is controlled through quasi-imitative reiterations of a rhythmic cell in combination with a stereotypical characteristic cadence formula to move within 34 measures from A to A-flat by way of cadences on E, F, D, B-flat, and E-flat. After arriving in A-flat at m. 62 and using an extension of the same rhythmic motive, Spinacino’s music suddenly turns towards a cadence on G through clever momentary use of the note A-flat as the second degree of a transposed Phrygian mode. The pitches A-flat and E-flat are then discarded after the cadence in a melodic figure that imitates the rhythm of the preceding one (mm. 68-71), but which uses the residual B-flat in exactly the same way to make another Phrygian-style cadence on A in measure 72. The maneuver achieved, the harmonic movement rapidly returns to a conventional state.

Not very much further into the work, a similar ploy is used to return to safe territory after having moved on the sharp side and a cadence on C-sharp, as relative minor of E. Starting at m. 100, the music begins.
a progression from G to D, then to cadences on F-sharp and C-sharp, both in distinctly “minor” tonalities achieved by the addition of one extra sharp to the scale in local use at that particular junctures of the piece. As this is pre-tonal music—of course it goes without saying—the manner of making these shifts does not necessarily accord with later tonal behavior. From G to D, for example, a melodic C-sharp is added in measure 100 immediately following the cadence, although the 1-5-8 “open” chord on F-sharp at measure 104 is unconventional but lacks the necessary cadential apparatus to make it into a potential resting point. The subsequent cadence on D at m. 109 is achieved through a straightforward V-I progression without suspension. Instead of relying on formulaic repetitions for a subsequent movement around the circle of fifths, Spinacino replicates the V-I progression, but this time seemingly backwards to E at m. 113. F-sharp “minor” is achieved by slipping down from G to F-sharp in the bass at m.123, in yet another pseudo-Phrygian gesture. C-sharp is reached at m. 130 by similar means. The move back to tonal centricity comes from the use of C-sharp as a leading tone back to D (m. 142) and E (m. 155) and C at 169, the midpoint.

Spinacino uses pedals on three occasions to reinforce local tonal areas. Pedals or drones were part of the sound of the times, probably more common in unwritten instrumental music than in written polyphony, although they are in many ways similar to passages of vocal polyphony of the time involving long-note cantus firmi, usually in the Tenor. Unusual as they may seem in lute ricercars, this work uses pedal points in a total of 40 measures, nearly one-eighth of its length. As already indicated, they are used at two important structural points, to open the second and fourth quarters of the piece, also to mark the end of the journey to the sharp side and to assist in providing a link back to the D at m. 142. These three passages are marked in grey crayon in the transcription. The first two passages are remarkably similar in texture and the decorative flourishes in the lower of the two sounding voices (c.f. mm. 88-98, mm. 130-138). The third passage begins in the same way as the previous ones albeit at a lower pitch ("a"), but “harmonized” most of its 22 measures by a lower f that makes it seem as though the animated middle voice were doing nothing other than animating a static triad on F. There is no other passage like this in any of Spinacino’s other ricercars. The only analogous passages in his music occur in the Bassadans that also has some prolonged harmonies as a result of its slow moving cantus firmus.26 It is thus tempt-

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26 Intabulatura de Lauto. Libro primo, fols. 28v-31.
ing to link these pedal passages to extemporized lute practices of the time, but this remains conjectural.

Closely linked to the tonal design of the first half of the ricercar are the two rhythmic-melodic motives that have already been mentioned several times in the preceding commentary. Both motives are more easily identifiable by their rhythmic identity than their melodic contour. This is interesting in itself, as it is quite different from the imitative material in contemporary vocal polyphony in which melodic identity is usually more crucial than rhythmic shape. Again, possible reasons for this can only be conjectured, but they may arise from anything from the extemporization practices of instrumentalists of the period through to the more percussive nature of the lute's sound. Whatever the case, these two motives are clearly identifiable by their rhythm and provide coherence within the ricercar despite the large number of melodic variants. These motives have been designated as X and Y, and are clearly indicated on the transcription. The X motive is little more than a simple dotted rhythmic cell that is identified by its three initial notes and which assumes a remarkably dramatic and recognizable role in an otherwise undotted context. It is used as a generative cell, whether at the very beginning of the ricercar, at the opening of the polyphony in m. 13, or to commence new motion with fresh melodic impulses at m. 100, or particularly with the sparse cadences in the “sharp” quarter of the piece at mm. 113, 123, and 152. The 14 appearances of motive X are presented in Example 9. The ascending versions of the motive are given in the left-hand column and are restricted to the first 125 measures of the work. The descending version of the motive, shown in the right-hand column, occurs between mm. 134 and 196 in approximately the second third of the work. There is little apparent significance afforded to the particular melodic direction of the motive, although the descending version makes its first appearance precisely at the point where the work reaches its sharpest extreme with the cadence on B at m. 152. After its last appearance at m. 196, the motive does not recur during the final 138 measures of the piece. See Example 9.

In contrast, the Y motive is not used merely as a structural marker and initiator of new ideas, but in a much more conventional way as an active participant in the melodic motion and contrapuntal interplay of Ricercar II/38. Again, it is principally the rhythmic identity of the motive that is significant, and it recurs in the large number of melodic permutations shown in Example 10. Only three of these permutations are used more than once, if we make allowances for minor chromatic differences. Shown in Example 11, version a) is used four times, version b) is used three times, and version c) is used twice, but it is significant that these
Example 9: Occurrences of motive X, and variants.

only account for one-third of the 27 occurrences of the motive. The very first set of appearances of the Y motive shows typically how it is used. Whereas the opening polyphonic passage of the work employs the X motive in m. 13 to initiate 15 measures of free movement mainly in parallel tenths, the Y motive is used in a loosely imitative fashion in mm. 28-56, in which the rhythmic identity is sufficient to allow the recurrences to be identified with one another even though the melodic contours are different. When read as four-part polyphony, there are entries in the Altus in m. 28, the Bassus at m. 33, Superius at m. 36, and so forth. In the following passage from m. 56, the figure is used in modified format, both curtailed and extended. The passages described correspond to the first quarter of the work and specifically to the series of cadences on flat keys. The motive is scarcely used in the passages built on sharp keys, until after the pedal on c#2, from m. 138. The motive is less prominent in the second half of the work, except close to its outset, mm. 183-191, where it is used in an analogous way to its first appearance from m. 28.
Example 10: Occurrences of motive Y

Example 11: Melodic patterns in motive Y

Cadential patterns are the further element that serve as recognizable points of articulation throughout Recercare II/38. Designated in the transcription with the letter K, there are sixteen variants of the essentially
the same pattern, usually in three voices but derived from the standard conventional prototype shown in Example 12. The vast majority of the cadences used by Spinacino in this work proceed by step to resolution at the octave. Stepwise contrary motion to the octave is vastly preferred to the more modern V-I style cadence with a descending fifth or ascending fourth in the lowest voice, even though this latter cadence type was already widely used by this time in both instrumental and vocal idioms. The formula is used equally in "major," "minor," and Phrygian modes, that is, on the three "modal" finals ut, re, and mi. In the continuous flow of the music and the constant flow of new ideas, these cadences are important points of repose, particularly in such an undulating tonal landscape.

Example 12: Cadential prototype

In contrast to the highly organized first half of Recercare I/38 with its proportional structure and tonal experimentation, the second half initially appears somewhat bland and uninteresting. It is certainly true, from a performer's viewpoint, that the music requires greater effort to maintain momentum and interest in view of the tonal stability and the resulting absence of clear signposts leading to each successive cadential goal. Given the innovative structural plan of the first half, it would seem inconsistent for Spinacino not to have had some strategic aim in mind for the second part of his ricercar, although it is admittedly more difficult to detect, to elucidate, or to prove beyond reasonable doubt. Equally, consistency may not have been his aim, and it could simply be that he was content to allow the ricercar to play itself out in a more haphazard fashion using the same language and idiom that characterizes his other ricercars.

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Looking to the possibility of a conscious organizational strategy, there is some evidence to suggest that the second half of the work may have resulted from Spinacino’s desire to explore textural variety within a harmonically stable setting. The evidence is not unequivocal, but merits consideration. The strongest indication that suggests conscious planning of this second half is the introduction of a sustained pedal point—a device that occurs nowhere else in Spinacino’s ricercars—exactly at its midpoint. The harmonic stasis that accompanies the pedal, somewhat ambiguous initially, consolidates into a static F triad for ten measures and may be seen as a decisive point in the work’s narrative course, providing a certain energy that presages the imminent culmination of the ricercar.

Other distinctive textures that contribute to the character of the second half of Recercare II/38 include a brief passage of imitative dialogue with a two-note cell (mm. 215-220), an 11-measure passage of broken chords in a sequence of descending thirds commencing at m. 222, a group of interlocking cadential formulae in mm. 243-251, and a passage in triple time in mm. 279-288. None of these devices is unique to this ricercar and thus weakens any argument for this section of the piece being as innovative as the first half. Each of the devices, however, is used here in more extended form than elsewhere among Spinacino’s ricercars. The open-textured treble-bass imitative dialogue in mm. 215-220 is similar to a brief passage in Recercare II/28, and broken chord passages similar to the one here occur in at least four of his ricercars. One comparable set of interlocking cadences is found in Recercare II/34, and passages of triplets occur in Recercare II/25 and Recercare II/30.

Even if these devices cannot be seen in structural terms, they are a fundamental part of the narrative of the ricercar. The two-note imitative dialogue assists in strengthening the cadential resolution on G at m. 222, giving way at this point to the passage of broken chords that descends sequentially in thirds, and whose slower rhythms and languid

28 Recercare II/28, mm. 28-31 (Libro primo, fol. 43v; transcription in Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," 115).
29 Recercare II/25, mm. 44-46 (Libro primo, fol. 43v; transcription in ibid., 105); Recercare II/26, mm. 32-35 (Libro primo, fol. 41; transcription in ibid., 108); Recercare II/33, mm. 49-60 (Libro primo, fol. 48; transcription in ibid., 130); and two passages in Recercare III/41, mm. 38-48 and 72-83 (Libro primo, fol. 54; transcription in ibid., 315-16) although the treatment of the chords in this last work is notably different.
30 For interlocking cadences, see Recercare II/34, mm. 61-69 (Libro primo, fol. 49v; transcription in ibid., 134). Triplet passages are in Recercare II/25, mm. 48-49 (Libro primo, fol. 43v; transcription in Schmidt, "Spinacino," 105), and Recercare II/30, mm. 123-128 (Libro primo, fol. 45v; transcription in Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," 121).
predictability provide a low ebb in the narrative. At the conclusion of this passage the work builds quickly through strong reiterated cadences on D, and the group of interlocking cadences that give a sudden propulsion in mm. 243-251 whose goal appears to be the cadence at m. 251, the moment of the ricercar that sees the introduction of the Superius pedal on a'. The dramatic tension of the pedal point extends and develops further from m. 273 until reaching the passage in triple meter in mm. 279-288. From the end of this passage, there is an obvious further increase in intensity until the cadence on A in m. 302. This is effected through a denser texture, more intense melodic movement, and a rapid succession of cadences on A, additionally strengthened by the strong open sixth course that gives its root note. This tension gradually unwinds in the following passage through the use of a much lighter texture with a lightly accompanied melodic line that traces an extended IV-V-I pattern to m. 322, a reaffirmation of the tonal centre of A at m. 326, and the unanticipated, more gentle conclusion on C.

This attempt to describe in succinct prose something of the musical drama of the last third of the work comes nowhere close to providing a satisfactory account. Furthermore, it is written with caution, as it represents a personal response to the stimulus of the music and cannot hope to be objective or universal. On the other hand, it is my own interpretation of the materials present in the score itself in conjunction with experience that comes from many performances of the ricercar in concert. This is a brief example of the much closer rapport that can be achieved through reconciling scholarship and performance, by marrying rational close readings of individual works with the intuitive responses generated by performance, to provide contemporary interpretations that will draw us closer to the ways this music was perceived in its own time. I have referred several times in the last pages to the narrative dimension of the music, the expressive result that comes from approaching musical composition from within the realm of sixteenth-century rhetoric, as a means of constructing and pronouncing discourse with a blend of logic and emotion, whether as words or as music. It is difficult to conceive that a composer of Spinacino's mettle, so well abreast of contemporary intellectual currents of music, would not also have been versed in rhetoric or have had some intuitive sense of rhetorical modeling. Recercare II/38 is more than an exercise in structural organization and tonal experimentation, and the materials from which it is constructed clearly transcend their literal meaning to become part of a more personal mode of expression. Whether viewed more superficially as structure, or considered at the more profound level of musical discourse, clearly this music is far
too sophisticated and too self-contained to be dismissed as rudimentary, extempore, or preludial. *Recercare II/38* is an exceptional work for its time and is without peer among Spinacino's output. It is the work of an instrumentalist who, like the most avant-garde musicians of his time, was reevaluating many fundamental principles of music and musical expression. In this one piece Spinacino shows himself to be a musicus in the purest Boethian sense, and this last *Recercare* of his *Libro primo* is a significant contribution to the discussion of some of the most urgent musical issues of its time: the role of the melodic modes as a workable tonal system for polyphony, temperament, structural modeling in polyphonic music, and rhetoric within the poetics of composition.
Recercare
[lib. I/ no 38]

Intabulatura de Lusio. Libro primo
fol. 53v-56

Lute in A

Francesco Spinacino

(1) II/3 = g'; (2) IV/2-III/0 = a-b; (3) IV/2 = a; (4) V/1 = e-flat; (5) II/3 = g'; (6) III/1 = e'
Hans Newsidler in Nuremberg

by Joachim Lüdtke*

Sixteenth-century Nuremberg was a major center of trade, arts, crafts, and printing. In 1525 the free imperial city had adopted the Reformation. Nuremberg's population in the time of the Reformation has been estimated at 40,000-50,000. They were governed by an oligarchy of noble upper-class families (patricians). The town's council consisted of the Greater Council (Größerer Rat) and above that the Inner Council (Innerer Rat), led by a group of seven senior councilors (Septemvirat/Sieben alte Herren/Eltern) and three men (Triumvirat), two of whom also called "Losunger" formed the Duumvirat at the top of the town's government. Groups outside the patricians had at best very limited or even only representative functions in Nuremberg's government. Craftsmen not only were virtually excluded from the government of the town, they were not even allowed to organize in guilds. Many were self-employed on paper, while they actually did piecework for commissionaires. Musicians were employed in church service, as town waits ("Stadtpfeifer", "Ratsmusik"), or worked independently. Some also gave music lessons to the children of the upper classes. The literature on music in Nuremberg is comparatively rich, but the sources contain a certain amount of material that has not yet been evaluated.¹

Among the musicians who have left traces in the documents over which I have stumbled are a few lutenists. Jorg Peck, whose tombstone is

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¹ It is an honor for me to contribute to the Festschrift for Arthur J. Ness. His edition of the lute music of Francesco da Milano was one of the most important discoveries for me in the early phase of my musicological studies and my lute playing, and it continues to be a work I consult time and again, as I do his study of the Herwarth Lute Manuscripts and others of his works. It always was a pleasure to receive messages from him, answering a question of mine about a certain Francesco fantasia, while I was working on my dissertation, or even a postal card with a motif from a castle at the Bodensee.

² Manfred H. Grieb (Ed.), Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon. Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Müzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 4 vols., Munich 2007, contains an enormous wealth of information about musicians, too, and may in the future serve as one of several starting points for an updated history of music in Nuremberg. The registration of the Libri Litterarum and the Libri Conservatorii of the Nuremberg Stadtarchiv in a database (see: www.stadtarchiv.nuernberg.de/aktuelles/gerichtsbuecher.html) promises to make the contents of these sources more accessible, as it is the case with the often only summary indexes of the archives.
preserved in the St. Rochus cemetery of Nuremberg, had been a priest, married in 1528, and died and was buried in 1541. His tombstone, showing his coat of arms in brass and identifying him as the Honourable Jorg Peck Luteplayer ("Erbar Jorg Peck Lautenschlager"), indicates that he did not die in poverty. Others—some of them mentioned further down in this text—remain mere names mentioned in payments for musicians, or are documented as living in poverty, like Andreas Mendel (d. 1620), who lived with his family in one of the cells of a building for the helpless old belonging to a charity foundation once founded by one of his ancestors. A few lutenists from Nuremberg are well known today, the most prominent being the Newsidlers. I will concentrate first on the biography of Hans Newsidler and then take a brief look at his activities as publisher of his own lute books, chiefly the Newgeoisden Künstlich Lautenbuch, which appeared in 1536.

A New Look at the Biography of Hans Newsidler

In 1911 Adolf Koczirz published the first extended biography of Hans Newsidler, relying almost completely on original sources from different archives in Nuremberg. Newsidler's first lute publications had been recorded as early as 1548, when Conrad Gesner included entries for both in the second volume of his Bibliotheca Universalis, the Pandectae. Gesner, who knew the printer of these publications, Johann Petreius, and dedicated the sixth book of the Pandectae to him, became the source for later publications, which cited his short paragraph, adding some information from archival sources and from Baron's Untersuchung. Apart

3 Conrad Gesner, Pandectarum sive Partionum universalium Conradi Gesneri Tigurini, medice et philosophie professoris, libri XXI (Zurich, 1548), Liber VII. De Musica, Ttlulus VII.: De Musicis instrumentis, et si quis eorum usum clarserunt, fol. 85v: "Nouus liber de artificio ludendi testudine, in duas partes diuitus, per Ioannem Newsidler, huius artis professorem et civem Nürnbergae." In transcriptions of source texts, small brackets mark abbreviations, and occasionally I have used a vertical line to mark the end of a line in a manuscript. I have not normalized the use of u and v.
from these, only a few articles and books—which either concentrated on Newsidler’s lute prints or used them for studies of lute music—had appeared before Koczirz’s text, but did not add to the scarce biographical information on the lutenist.5

Koczirz’s readings of the sources are usually quite accurate, but his interpretation of them is influenced by a popular image of the artist current in his times: The artist had to be (or become) impoverished, unrecognized, and meshuggah, or at least morally depraved, and Koczirz outfits the life and personality of Newsidler with all of these elements. Later writers, especially Kurt Dorfmüller,6 have corrected the interpretations of Koczirz at least to a certain degree, and amended and added to the biography of Newsidler, but the picture of a man whose fortunes begin to wane in the 1540s, and who is ultimately brought to ruin by the large number of children he had with two wives, colors even the recent literature.7

For this sketch of Newsidler’s life, I have undertaken a revision of the archival sources, which are listed in Appendix B. A few entries in the Nuremberg sources, which seem to have eluded Koczirz, do not add substantially to the picture. But with regard to the information claiming that the lutenist’s life was rather shattered, which is at least several decades old—if not a hundred years like Koczirz’s—and an apparent lack of bibliographic control even over the secondary literature on Newsidler, it seems fit to revise the biographical picture8 and update the information about locations and shelf marks of the sources in the Nuremberg archives. Some of the shelf marks of sources in Nuremberg’s municipal archive given by Koczirz cannot be used directly any more in finding the sources, as the only documentation which allowed them to be linked with the original titles of the manuscripts (and thus with the present shelf

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8 Newsidler is called a lutenmaker in documents from 1550 and 1556 (see below), a fact that Koczirz knew about but avoided admitting, stating that Newsidler was called only a lutenist in the sources. Dorfmüller, p. 38, locates the 1550 sources, but Mirko Arnone in his article “Neusidler” in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Peri­mentiell, vol. 12 (2004), refers wrongly to “Boer­richter 1943” for information about these documents.
marks) was destroyed in 1945. A source in another archive in Nuremberg cited by Koczirz was so difficult to identify that I thought for some time he had invented it—a suspicion I could not avoid after having found that Koczirz actually had manipulated his sources. Lastly, one element in Koczirz's biography has been widely accepted: his almost teleological approach to the interpretation of those sources, which document either the lutenist's asking for financial aid at difficult times or his raising mortgages on his house, and finally the sale of this house. Although in his later years Newsidler obviously was in a less-than-comfortable position, I doubt if these sources can be interpreted as signs of a more or less steady decline from the 1540s on. I doubt, too, that Newsidler was a late developer and a sluggish character without entrepreneurial energy.\(^9\) The sources show the contrary: a man who left his war-troubled hometown to look for his fortunes abroad, who ran a lute-making workshop, published his own lute books, worked as a lute teacher, and was ultimately defeated only by the recurrent epidemics of the plague, which were an uncontrollable threat to early modern Europe.

Pressburg, Newsidler's hometown, is situated about sixty kilometers to the east of Vienna and about thirty kilometers northeast of Neusiedl at the Neusiedler See, where Hans's family may have come from. There are records of the name "Newsidler" (in variant spellings) in the Pressburg archives from about the middle of the fifteenth century on. In 1504 a Georg Newsidler left a house in Pressburg to his wife Barbara and his son Johann, and in her will from 1 May 1509, Barbara left two wine gardens to her youngest son Hannsl.\(^10\) There is, however, no proof that Johann or Hannsl are identical with the lutenist Hans, but since he called himself "bürtig vom Preßburck" (born in Pressburg) in the colophon of his first publication, it is at least possible to tentatively link

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\(^9\) Krautwurst, p. 10, characterizes Hans's eldest son as the opposite of Hans: "Melchior Newsidler war im Gegensatz zu einem Vater offensichtlich eine frühreife, sehr dynamische und unternehmensfreudige Persönlichkeit." (Melchior Newsidler was, in contrast to his father, obviously a precocious, very dynamic, and enterprising personality.)

\(^10\) These records have been published in Theodor Ortvay's history of Pressburg and were subsequently cited from the German edition (Theodor Ortvay, Geschichte der Stadt Preßburg, Deutche Ausgabe, vol. 2/1 [Preßburg, 1893], 399 and 455, and vol. 2/2 [Preßburg, 1893], 275) by Othmar Wessely, "Zur Lebensgeschichte von Melchior Newsidler," in Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 36 (1985): 17–34, and from the Hungarian edition (Tivadar Ortvay, Pozsony város története [Pozsony, 1894]) by Peter Kirdy, A lanjított Magyarország a XV. századlard a XVII. század közepeig. Humanizmus és reformáció, vol. 22 (Budapest, 1995), 177. According to a communication from the Archív hl. mesta SR Bratislava (Archive of the Slovakian Republic's Capital Bratislava), the documents Ortvay cited are still in Bratislava (Protocolla testamentorum I, 1427–1529, shelf mark 4 n 1; Grundbuch und Sarzbuch 1439–1514, shelf mark 4 i 2, 3).
his person with these documents, which would mean that he was born before 1504.\(^\text{11}\)

In 1526 an army under the command of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia, was defeated by the Ottoman forces of Sultan Süleyman I in the battle of Mohács, about 300 kilometers southeast of Vienna. King Louis died in the battle and left no legitimate child. The election of archduke Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg—Louis’s brother-in-law through marriage to his sister Anne—as his successor was opposed by the governor of Transylvania, Jánus Szapolyai. This led to the eastern part of Hungary becoming incorporated into the Ottoman empire with Szapolyai as its king, while the remaining, western part came under Habsburgian government with Ferdinand—who was to become emperor in 1556—as king and, from 1536 on, Pressburg (today Bratislava in the Slovakian Republic) as its capital.

Although the date of Newsidler’s leaving Pressburg is not known, it is not unlikely that the disturbances caused by the military expansion of the Ottoman empire were the reason for his immigration to Nuremberg, nearly 500 kilometers west-northwest of Pressburg. When in 1529 Süleyman I besieged Vienna (though only for a short time), Newsidler probably left his hometown, as did many other inhabitants of Pressburg. He is first recorded in Nuremberg on 21 February 1530, when the town’s council decided to allow him a one-year stay in the town.\(^\text{12}\) In December of the same year, the council accepted Newsidler as a citizen with limited rights of citizenship, and in March 1531 it granted him the full rights of a citizen. That in both instances the fee commonly charged was waived, should indicate that Newsidler was of only small means when he arrived in Nuremberg.\(^\text{13}\) He was sworn in as a Nuremberg citizen on 17 April 1531. His entry in the register of citizens is among the very few with a note saying that nothing was paid on the occasion.\(^\text{14}\)

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\(^{12}\) Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 780, fol. 14v (Monday, February 21, 1530): “hansen Newsidler lautenschleger ein Jar hy vnuertrieben lassen.” In the following notes, I have given only the name of the institution in Nuremberg housing the respective source referred to.

\(^{13}\) Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 790, fol. 9r (December 8, 1530): “hans Newsidleren zu pürgen annemen vnd Im das halb pürger Recht schencken.” & Rep. 60a Nr. 794 (March 14, 1531): “hansen Newsidler lautenschlager das burge-recht gar schencken.”

\(^{14}\) Staatsarchiv, Rep. 52b, fol. 161r: “Secundà post Quasìsìmodògeniti [...] hans Newsidler Lautenschlachter dedit anhib.” The whole group of entries under that date is marked with a bracket and the word “Juraveriën” (“They have sworn”). Koczírò, p. XXIII, reads incorrectly „dedito. juravit.” Dorfmüller, p. 38, corrected this error, just as he corrected many of Koczírò’s erroneous interpretations.
Newsidler had married his first wife Margaretha, daughter of Matthes and Anna Regenfus, in September 1530, and in the following year their first child was born: Melchior. Melchior’s birth is not recorded in the register of baptisms of St. Sebald’s parish, which only begins with the year 1533. This has made it possible to speculate about his relation to Hans Newsidler and to see him as a brother of the older lutenist, but such speculations have been convincingly rejected.

In the years following the marriage, Hans must have installed himself with quite some success in Nuremberg as a lutenist and as a lutemaker. Members of the family of Margaretha may have been active as lute builders also: Anthon Regenfus, a younger brother of Margaretha, is called a lutemaker in 1561. Marriages among families active in the same profession were frequent. Newsidler bought a house with a “Hofreit” (an inner courtyard) in the quarter called Zotenberg east of the fruit market. This house is first mentioned in legal documents from 1550 (see below), when Newsidler and his wife raised mortgages on it. In these documents and in a later one from 1556, Hans is called a lutemaker. That he built lutes is confirmed by Ernst Gottlieb Baron’s statement that he had seen bodies of lutes made in 1553 by Newsidler. Koczirz had seen most of the

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15 Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 20, fol. 103r: “hans Newsigler Lautenschlaber. Margaretha 13 Septembris: 1530.” Margaretha appears as one of the daughters of Anna, the wife of Matthes Regenfus, in a document from April 10, 1538, where she is also called the wife of Hans Newsidler (Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/II Nr. 42, fol. 186v).


17 Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 1/1 Nr. 30, fol. 65v: “Michel Schuldhaissen zins In der Newengassen darInnen Anthoni Regenfuß lautenmacher wonnt.” That Anthon was a brother of Margaretha follows from his inclusion in the group, which on April 10, 1538 released Anna Regenfus from having to confirm by oath the written inventory of her possessions. This group consisted of four married daughters of Anna (Margaretha, Hans Newsidler’s wife, among them) and two guardians of “the young Anthoni Regenfuss,” which should mean that his father (who is named as the man Anna was married to but who is not named in the document) was dead by then and the guardians had been appointed by the Nuremberg council to represent the interests of the underaged son (Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/II Nr. 42, fol. 186v). I have not encountered any other Anthon Regenfus in the sixteenth-century Nuremberg sources, so I think it safe not to doubt that Margaretha’s brother and the lutemaker are one and the same person.

18 Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Historisch-Theoretisch und Praktische Untersuchung des Instrument der Lauten, Mit Fleiß aufgesetzet und allen rechtaffichen Liebhabern zum Vergnügen heraus gegeben (Nuremberg, 1727), 99: “Hannß Newsiedler der in Nürnberg gelebet, hat sich nebst seiner Musiz auch auf das Lauten-Machen applicirt, und habe corpon, voriniten die Jahr-Zahl 1553. gestanden, von ihm gesehen, welche etwas groß von besondern fremden Holzre und ziemlich proportioniertlich ausgegehen haben.” There seem to be no extant instruments from Newsidler’s workshop, but the information from Baron may have been the motivation for a forger to cut up the title page of a copy of
original documents (including at least two of those in which Newsidler is called a lutemaker), and he knew Baron's statement, but he expresses doubts about the lutenist having been a craftsman. It is conspicuous that he does not cite these documents but only describes their contents briefly (p. XXIV), while giving the full text of others where Newsidler is called a lutenist. One may think that he would have felt hindered in his efforts to portray Newsidler as an artist if he had had to admit the possibility that the musician might have built instruments. Indeed, Koczirz expressly states that Newsidler was called lutenist alone in the original sources, and he tries to discredit the inclusion of Newsidler in Lütgendorff's dictionary of luthiers by suggesting that what Baron had seen were lutes which Newsidler had marked as his personal instruments.

He tries to further strengthen his point by noting that Doppelmayer did not know Newsidler as an instrument maker, while mentioning the younger Hans Gerle as a builder of string instruments. (Johann Gabriel Doppelmayer in his Historische Nachricht von den Nürnbergischen Mathematis und Künstlern indeed knows "Johann Neusidler" only as a musician and author of a lute tutor in two parts, but as noted above, he merely cites from Conrad Gesner's Pandectae.)

The figure of the morally depraved, disorderly maker of artifacts originally applied to craftsmen as well as artists (indeed, a painter or sculptor was seen as a craftsman). When the merchant Philipp Hainhofer in 1617 wrote to the Stettin court of Duke Philipp II of Pommerania-Stettin about the behavior of craftsmen and artists in Augsburg, he could rely on a tradition that was then at least several decades old. For Koczirz

19 Koczirz, XXVI.
21 See Joachim Lübcke, "Die Lautenbücher Philipp Hainhovers (1578–1647)," PhD diss., Göttingen 1997. Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, Vol. 5 (Göttingen 1999), 46. The first such characterizations of artists I am aware of are found in Giorgio Vasari's Le Vite de piti eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, which first appeared in Florence in 1550, but I suspect that Vasari stood in a longer tradition, too.
and his contemporaries, the modern dichotomy that separates the artist proper from the craftsman would have been difficult to overcome, especially in the case of sixteenth-century Nuremberg people, after Germany had chosen the town as one of the central focuses of its romantic picture of the Renaissance.\(^\text{22}\) I suspect, in short, that Koczirz did not want to accept, even as a possibility, that Newsidler may have been active as a lute builder, and he chose not to cite the documents calling the lutenist "Lautenmacher" in order to be better able to characterize him as an artist in the sense described above.

The house "Am Zotenberg"—or at least the place where it stood—can be located on maps of Nuremberg right into the twentieth century. Figure 1 shows a detail from a 1608 bird's-eye view plan of Nuremberg (south is up) drawn by Hieronymus Braun, a clerk of the Nuremberg council.\(^\text{23}\) The arrow points to the position of Newsidler's house in back of the group of houses. In Figure 2 (a detail from a land register map of Nuremberg from 1811;\(^\text{24}\) north is up), the arrow points again to Newsidler's house. An inner courtyard can be seen. Figure 3 shows a schematic plan of Nuremberg. The letter A locates the house "Am Zotenberg."

It has been assumed that a considerable dowry from Newsidler's first wife made it possible for him to buy the house\(^\text{25}\) (and, in consequence, pay for the printing of his lute books), but as it is not known when he purchased the house, this remains speculation. It is, however, conspicuous that he seems to have arrived in Nuremberg with only small means in 1530 but was able to marry shortly thereafter. What would have made a man without much money a good catch for the daughter of well-to-do citizens? Possibly he installed himself in Nuremberg first and then had money sent to him from Pressburg, but there are no documents to prove either of these ideas.

\(^\text{22}\) An example of this dichotomy "at work" is E.T.A. Hoffmann's sixteenth-century Nuremberg fantasy \textit{Meister Martin der Küfner und seine Gesellen} (Master Martin the Cooper and his Assistants), first published in 1818, in which the assistant Friedrich is torn between his engagement in master Martin's profession and workshop and his longing to become an artist: "ich kann nicht [...] mehr arbeiten im schnöden Handwerk, da es mich hinzieht zu meiner herrlichen Kunst mit unwiderstehlicher Gewalt" (I can no longer work in the disdainful craft, as I am drawn towards my magnificent art by an irresistible force). Cited from the edition in \textit{Hoffmanns Werke in drei Bänden}, Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker (Berlin and Weimar, 1986), 2: 7–70, here p. 64.

\(^\text{23}\) Staatsarchiv, Best. Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Karten und Pläne Nr. 42. The exact location is based on Karl Kohn's \textit{Häuserbuch der Stadt Nürnberg}, which exists both as a manuscript and a database in the Intranet of the Stadtarchiv Nuremberg.

\(^\text{24}\) Bayerisches Landesamt für Vermessung und Geoinformation, Munich.

\(^\text{25}\) Koczirz, XXV.
Figure 1: Detail of a bird’s-eye view plan of Nuremberg by Hieronymus Braun, 1608. South is up. In the center the group of houses, on the back of which Newsidler's house "Am Zottenberg" lay, is marked with an arrow. (© Staatsarchiv Nuremberg, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Karten und Pläne Nr. 42).
Figure 2: Detail of a land register map of Nuremberg, 1811. North is up. The arrow points to the front of the house “Am Zottenberg”. An inner courtyard is visible. The colonnades on three sides of the “Hauptmarkt” (main market, visible in Figure 1 on the right hand side) were erected only in 1809, and pulled down in 1895. (Uraufnahme a. d. J. 1811 © Bayer. Vermessungsverwaltung, 2471/10)
Figure 3: Nuremberg's historical center. North is up. A = The location of the house "Am Zottenberg"; B = that of Newsidler’s residence in 1561, and C = the place where he died, near the Zachary bath.

A further assumption, which authors following Koczirz have accepted, is that the large number of children from his two marriages were the cause of his economic decline, which is recorded from the 1540s on. Again, there is no proof for such an assumption. With his first wife Margaretha, Newsidler had at least fourteen children. Among the baptisms recorded in the parish registers of St. Sebald, Melchior (who was born before these records began) and a son named Caspar are missing. Caspar is mentioned in 1557 among the children and foster children of Hans and his second wife, the widow Walburg, and who may be a child from Walburg’s first marriage. Although, in a document from 1561, when he had reached full legal age and the control of his maternal inheritance
went from two guardians into his own hands, he is called Newsidler's legitimate child.26 Two daughters named Ursula, baptized in 1536, and Elsbeth, baptized in 1545, seem to have been overlooked by Koczirz.27

Of the fourteen known children to whom Margaretha gave birth from 1531 to 1553, at least eight were still alive in 1557. From the second marriage sprang four more children, so Newsidler may have had to care for quite a number of underaged children during his later years, when he obviously was in financial difficulties. But were the children the cause of these difficulties? Their number is not exceptional,28 nor have I found any document that testifies to Newsidler's finances having come into trouble because they could not sustain this crowd of offsprings.

There were other troubles and catastrophes to endanger the finances of a man who was at least partly dependent on income from giving lute lessons and playing the lute. Since the fourteenth century, recurrent outbreaks of the plague ravaged European towns and countryside every ten to twelve years.29 Three-and-a-half years after Newsidler had come to Nuremberg, the town was struck by the disease. Every time a dying ("Sterb") began, the Nuremberg authorities tried to gain a certain amount of control by putting into force a number of measures, codified and published in a decree ("Pestordnung" or "Pestregiment" = plague rule, from 1562 on called "Sterbeordnung"). In 1533 the town council had a "Pestregiment" printed by Johannes Petreius (who in 1536 became Newsidler's first printer), containing urgent advice to leave the town in order to escape the plague.30 According to a letter written in October 1533 by Michael Behaim—the son of the Nuremberg merchant and councilor Friedrich Behaim—from Breslau to a relative in Cracow, more

26 Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/II Nr. 82, fol. 109v f.
27 See the excerpts from the parish registers in Appendix A. Koczirz may have been irritated by variant spellings of the lutenist's name ("Neusinger" in the 1536 birth record for Ursula and "leyßigler" in that for Elßbeth in 1545), but then he accepted other variants ("Neusigler" in the entries for Lucia, born in 1533, and Sebolt, born in 1538).
28 Philipp Hainhofer, the collector and writer of a large two-volume lute anthology, was the eleventh of fifteen living children of his parents. Seven further children were either born dead or died very early; see Lüdtke, p. 11.
29 Within time frames of roughly 100 years each (1348–1442, 1449–1544, and 1547–1641), there occurred outbreaks of the severe form of the plague nine times in each, always beginning in the late summer or early autumn and lasting into the following year. Cf. Charlotte Bühl, "Die Pestepidemien des ausgehenden Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg (1483/84 bis 1533/34)" in Nürnberg und Bern. Zwei Reichsstädte und ihre Landgebiete, Rudolf Endres, ed., Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A: Geisteswissenschaften, vol. 46 (Erlangen, 1990), 121–68.
30 Charlotte Bühl, 159.
31 Johann Kamann, ed., "Aus Paulus Behaims I. Briefwechsel (1533 bis 1535)," in Mitteilungen des
than one third of the population of Nuremberg had fled by then.\textsuperscript{31} For the upper strata of the town's society ("erbarn") this was more easily possible than for the common townsfolk, who were dependent on maintaining their activities in the workshops to secure their income. But Behaim reports that not only the "erbarn" had fled (leaving only the seven, the senior councilors of the Inner Council, in the town), but that the craftsmen also had left town in large numbers.

One of the measures taken to control the epidemic was the isolation of the sick and dying and also those who had recovered from the plague but were seen as being contagious for about four weeks after recovery. The "Sterbeordnung" of 1562 demands at least a month's time for this isolation.\textsuperscript{32} The months an outbreak lasted, and the accompanying economic downturn that each time lasted several years, must have brought about a considerable loss of income for a musician, even if neither he nor someone in his family fell ill. In 1533-34, when Newsidler had not yet invested money in printing his lute books, he may still have had sufficient means to sustain his household without help. Certainly the plague of 1533-34 meant a setback in the preparation of the\cite{Newsidler:1981} Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch, which otherwise might have appeared one or two years earlier than it did in 1536.

In 1543 the plague broke out in late September and lasted until the middle of April of the following year, killing more than 1,500 people, followed by a less severe outbreak.\textsuperscript{33} This time Newsidler had to ask the council of Nuremberg for financial help, and in October 1543 he seems to have applied for the grant of a permanent income (a "pension"), which would have brought him into the position of an appointed town lutenist,


a position which in fifteenth-century Nuremberg had been occupied by Hans Ott the Elder, who, like Newsidler (and Newsidler’s contemporary Hans Gerle), also built instruments. The council, however, turned his application down, but with reference to the state of things in late 1543, granted him the sum of twelve gulden. It is obvious from the text of the council’s decision (“mit guten worten” = with friendly words) that Newsidler was held in high esteem. This became even more evident in 1554, when Newsidler again asked the council for help.

After the printing of the two parts of the Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch in 1536, Newsidler published lute prints in 1540, 1544, 1547 and 1549, each time employing a different printer. Why the series of prints then seems to have stopped is unknown, but if Newsidler had published further lute books, their repertory certainly would have undergone a revision, as was the case with the lute publications of his fellow citizen Hans Gerle. Gerle—who, like Newsidler, was active also as a lute builder—had published tutors for bowed strings (“Geygen”) and lute in 1532, 1537, and 1546, and a lute book in 1533, always working with the printer Hieronymus Formschneider. The contents of these publications are composed almost exclusively of intabulations of German and French pieces, and a few Latin motets. When he published a second lute book in 1552 (again with Formschneider), it contained exclusively reprints from Italian lute books, as was the case two years before with the Zurich printer’s Rudolf Wyssenbach Tabulaturbuch uff die Lutten. The generation of German composers like Paul Hofhaimer and Ludwig Senfl—whose songs feature prominently in the German music of Gerle’s earlier prints—had died. Most of the collections of Tenorlied compositions had appeared before 1550 (and a good part of them in Nuremberg), and the musical fashion among amateur players, for which Gerle as well as Newsidler catered with their prints, obviously had begun to change.

At the time Wyssenbach’s Tabulaturbuch appeared, Newsidler seems either to have come into financial difficulties or needed to raise money for an enterprise, which either he never could realize or which

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35 Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 962, fol. 26r (Saturday, 27 October 1543): “maist-en hannesen Newsidler dem lutenist-en di begert pension mit guten worten ablenen, vnd obser der jetzigen leuffe halb mit .12. gulden vorerhen lassen.”

36 Staatsarchiv, Rep. B 14/I Nr. 65, fol. 21r f., dated 14 February 1550: “hannß Neussidler lautenm-
remains completely unknown to us. In 1550 he and his wife raised mortgages on their house. In two documents from 13 and 14 February 1550 this house is mentioned for the first time, and Hans is called a lutemaker for the first time.\footnote{Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 1111, fol. 34r under the date of Friday, December 28, 1555 (recte: 1554): „Auff hannsen Neusidlers, des luttinist-en suplicirendt bit vmb hilff vnd Steur, damit er sich mit weyb vnd kindern noch lennger hinpringen müss Sol man die sach bey meinen hernn den Eltern widern fürlegen. Vnd dasselbst rathig werden. wie Im ausserhalb der Costung [?] stub-en. weil er dess wol nootturftig vnd werth ist, mit einem zimlichen zuhelfen möchten sein, vnd dasselb in volziehung pringen lassen.“ I am not sure about the reading of the word „Costung“. Koczirz, XXIV, has „Losung stuben“, which would mean that the council had asked the Septemvirat to decide on Newsidler’s petition, but that the matter should not be further handed up to the Triumvirat (two of whose members were called „Losunger“). “Costung stuben” (accountancy room) would mean, that whatever the Septemvirat would decide should not become a burden to the budget of the town.}

In 1554 the plague again sprang up in Europe. Although the Nuremberg sources seem not to record 1554/55 as a time of remarkable dying, there are several hints as to the occurrence of at least a less severe outbreak in Nuremberg. Newsidler asked the council for help late in 1554 (that is, when an outbreak of the plague, which always began in the late summer or early autumn, had reached its climax). The town clerk, who wrote down the council’s decision to let the seven senior councilors determine how to supply the lutenist with considerable means, seems to have been confused as to what year it was: the entries for 1554 are all wrongly dated 1555.\footnote{Staatsarchiv, Rep. 52a, Nr. 216, fol. 102v: “Januarius 1556. | Sebaldi | [...] Margreth Hans} Again, there is an expression of high esteem for Newsidler: “Because he is really in need of it and he is worth it” (“weil er dess wol notturftig vnd werth ist”).

In January 1556 Newsidler’s first wife, Margaretha, died. The series of registers of burials in the parish of St. Sebald only starts with the year 1557, and there is no exact date of her death known. “Margaretha hannß neüsiderin lautenschlagerin am zottenberg” is the whole text of an entry on fol. 138v of the manuscript (Nuremberg, Library of the Germanische Nationalmuseum, HS 6277) recording the ringing of church bells in memory of deceased citizens (if it were paid for—the fee was one gulden). Fol. 138v contains entries from 17 December 1554 to 25 Febru-
ary 1556. There is a manuscript among the holdings of the Staatsarchiv in Nuremberg containing in its fourth fascicle excerpts from the Nuremberg council’s registers of deceased citizens, where Margaretha’s death is recorded in January 1556. On February 4 the watchman Hans Koler’s wife, who must have been a close relative to Margaretha, tried to get hold of the pewter left by her.

Three months later Newsidler married a widow named Walburg, whose family name I have not been able to find. Between 1557 and 1562, four children were born to the couple. The mortgages on Newsidler’s house had since been reduced from 600 gulden held by two parties to 200 gulden held by Erhardt and Katharina Öllinger alone. They sold this mortgage in January 1556 to the tailor Gabriel Raith, who acted for his wife Barbara. Again, Newsidler is called a lutemaker, pointing as much to his continuing activities as to the fact that he was able to pay back the greater part of the money raised in 1550, which testifies to the success of these activities. The following year, however, seems to find Newsidler in trouble. On 26 January 1557 he and his wife sold their house—including the mortgage resting on it—to the goldsmith and Nuremberg citizen Conrad Königsmüllner and his wife Katharina for 165 gulden. From that point on, he was called lutenist alone. With the sale of the house and the move into rented, possibly smaller rooms, he seems to have stopped making lutes. In the same year Hans and Walburg Newsidler received a loan of sixty gulden from the widow Anna Trautner, which they paid back in April 1561 (see below).

In April 1557 the guardianship authorities of Nuremberg drafted a document to secure for the eight underaged children of Newsidler the inheritance left to them by his first wife Margaretha. This inheritance of twenty gulden was left in the hands of Newsidler and his wife, but should be handed over to the guardians of the children (which had

Neusiedlerin lautenschlagerin am Zottenberg. Sind Vormund gesetz vnd der Inventari angezeigt.”

38 Staatsarchiv, Rep. 60a, Nr. 1126, fol. 21v, 4 February 1556: “Auff gesuchten bescheid. wie sich den hert zynnsmäster mit hannyaen Neuysiders Lautenschlagers verstorbner hausfraw. verlassenen Zynnkram, weil hannya koler auffen Thuren weyb, auch darumb angesuscht, haben sol, habens meine herrn, lme widen haymegestelt, denselben nach seinem gutbedüncken selbs zuverlassen etc.] hr. Zynnsmäisten.”


See Appendix A.

42 Stadtdarchiv, Rep. B 14/1 Nr. 71, fol. 170r–171r. One of the witnesses of this transaction was the farrier Jorg Burchhardt, one of the guardians of Gregor Spengler’s daughter, who in 1550 had held the second, smaller mortgage on Newsidler’s house. Kochiz has ignored this document.

43 Stadtdarchiv, Rep. B 14/1 Nr. 72, fol. 67v f.

44 Stadtdarchiv, Rep. B 14/1 Nr. 74, fol. 117r (April 7, 1557).
been appointed at the time of the death of Margaretha and the death of Walburg's former husband) in case Hans died before Walburg. Why this was done at that moment is not clear, but possibly Hans was then ill or seemed frail. Four years later he even seems to have been near death, for a document from April 1561, certifying the complete repayment of the loan taken up from Anna Trautner in 1557, calls him the late Hans Newsidler, former citizen and lutenist "here" (i.e., in Nuremberg) and his offspring, the children he had left ("weylundt hansen Neusidlers gewessnen burgers vnnd Lautenistens hie seligen verlossner kinnder"). Koczirz seems again to have felt the need to simplify the goings on in his biography of Newsidler. Again he avoided citing a document directly, only stating that the lutenist was called "weiland," not mentioning that half of the sentence consisted of words designating Newsidler as a deceased man, and inventing the explanation that the name of Newsidler's first wife (to whom the "weiland" originally should have referred) got stuck in the pen of the clerk.

Half a year later further measures were taken in the interest of three of the underaged children, whose maternal inheritance amounted to just over twenty four gulden, and whose father's means were seen as too small for their proper upbringing. Newsidler was at that time living as tenant of one of three flats in a house owned by the tailor Bastian Huber, not far from the house he formerly had owned. The children were Lucas, born in 1546, Franz, born in 1551, and Johannes, born in 1553. Newsidler's eldest son Melchior provided for the education of Lucas and Franz. The former had already been in training with the "Rechenmaister"—which could mean either a teacher of arithmetic or the head of an accounting office—Hans Strobel for a year, and Franz would train as a schoolmaster for one year. Melchior guaranteed any payments for their education which could not be made from their respective shares of what Margaretha had left to her children, and he took the youngest of the three, Johannes (called "hensslein," literally the little Hans, in the document) with him to care for his upbringing in Augsburg, where Melchior had been a citizen since 1552. It is possible that he also took

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45 Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/1 Nr. 82, fol. 108v (April 29, 1561).
46 Koczirz, XXV.
47 Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 1/1 Nr. 30, part 2 fol. 46v: "In herr Sebaldt Tuchers hauptmannschaft am Obsmarck herum biß an herrenmarck beym Rathhauß [... 47r:] Bastian Huber schneiders haus vnnd seine drej zins, darinnen | Hans Newsidler der Elter | Esaias von Mastrich pretelmachern | Gregorius Sirenwitz schuster, wonnen."
48 Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/11 Nr. 84, fol. 22v f. (October 13, 1561).
49 See Arthur J. Ness, "The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State Library, Munich. A
Conrad, born in 1541. Conrad is recorded in Augsburg since 1562. It is impressive and even a bit disturbing that the fate of most of Newsidler’s children remains unknown. Apart from the lutenists Melchior and Conrad, only one of the two daughters named Ursula has left any known later record, when on 2 October 1585 she died in the “Seelhaus” close to the bath “Rosenbad” at the Nuremberg castle. This “Seelhaus” was founded by the Berner family in 1280, and during the 1580s it was one of twenty-two such institutions in Nuremberg to house elderly women who lived there in semi-monastic communities, caring for the sick and dying. Ursula had obviously never married as she was called a virgin at her death.

Melchior was again back in Nuremberg in August of the following year, possibly to care for his relatives, when Newsidler’s second wife fell ill. The months from August 1562 to April 1563 witnessed a severe outbreak of the plague in Nuremberg. At the beginning of this outbreak, which claimed more than 9,000 lives (between twenty and twenty-five percent of the town’s population), members of the upper-class families fled the town and spent the following months in Nördlingen, about eighty kilometers southwest of Nuremberg. The majority of Nuremberg’s population could not afford to leave. Walburg Newsidler died during August. On August 21 the council forbade Hans to leave the house and go among people or to receive visitors. The usual quarantine time of one month was far exceeded for Hans: Nearly two months later the council decided to prolong his isolation and at the same time to help


* Krautwurst, 6.

* Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 34b, fol. 240r: “Jungfrau Vrsula Neusidlerin | beim Rosenbad im Seelhaus | 2 octob.” [1585].

* Stadtarchiv, Rep. B 14/II Nr. 82, fol. 158 contains a record of Melchior Newsidler acting on behalf of a second party. I have not been able to link this document with his relatives.


* Stadtarchiv, Rep. 52a Nr. 216, fol. 119v: “Augustus 1562 | Sebaldi | [...] Walburg, Hanna Newsidlerin lautenschlagerin hinter d-e-n rathaus. Sind vormund gesetz und der Inventarium angezeigt.” There is no entry for her burial in Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 34a, where a whole section covering the months July to September is missing.

* Stadtarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 1213, fol. 2v (Friday, August 21, 1562): “Hanssen Neusiedler, weil Im das weib gestorben. vnterstehen sich des aufgehens under die leith. zuennthalten./vnd ein zeitlang von knaben vnd annder-n niemand zu lme gehen zulassen.”

* Stadtarchiv, Rep. 60a Nr. 1215, fol. 4v: Saturday, 17 October 1562: “hannsen Neusiedler dem
him with the small sum of two gulden. Possibly, further members of his household had died after Walburg.

From the two documents cited, it becomes clear that Hans was at least partly dependent on giving lute lessons, especially to young boys ("knaben," "Jungen Inn die lernung anzunemmen"). The sources in or from Nuremberg may contain information about his pupils as at least one source from Augsburg contains a document of Melchior teaching lute playing to the young Veit Konrad Schwarz, the son of the accounts department's director of the Fugger firm—but I have not encountered such information. There is, however, some documentation of male children from Nuremberg's upper classes receiving lessons. Christoph Kress the Younger (b. 1541), the son of one of Nuremberg's oldest patrician families, received lessons from the organ player Paul Lautensack, organist at St. Sebald, and stayed in contact with Lautensack during his studies in Leipzig (where he lived in the house of Joachim Camerarius I, who had been the first director of Nuremberg's Gymnasium, founded in 1526) and then in Bologna. Paul Behaim (b. 1557) received clavichord lessons from Lautensack in 1567, and Christoph Behaim (b. 1562) had lute lessons with a certain "Grienewold" as early as 1568. Grienewold is possibly identical with the lutenist Georg Grünwald, who, besides other lutenists, is recorded in accounting books of the family Behaim from 1573 on. Balthasar, the son of the merchant Balthasar Paumgartner the Younger, had keyboard lessons with a local musician, who is identified only with his first name Wolf or Wolfgang (lit. "welsla," which is a diminutive) in letters written by Magdalena Paumgartner, the mother, to her husband, who was temporarily in Italy.

I do not know if the quarantine imposed on Newsidler was lifted at any time, or if the plague did not subside in the quarters where he lived during his last months. He died at the beginning of February 1563

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57 See August Fink, Die Schwäbischen Trachtenbücher (Berlin 1963), 292ff.
60 I have found these names in Rep. II/167 of the archives of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, but have not as yet found the time to consult the actual documents listed in this repertory.
61 Archives of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Reichsstadt Nürnberg XVIII = Geschlechter. Paumgartner Nr. 4, letters of November and December 1591.
62 Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 34a, fol. 97r: "Hans Newsigler Lutenist Neben dem Zacherspadt
and was buried on February 2. The entry recording his burial locates the place where he last lived as “near the Zachary bath” (“Neben dem Zachrespadt”), which was a short distance north of a small island, around which two arms of the river Pegnitz flow and today is called the “Trödelmarkt” (flea market). His eldest son Melchior may have maintained at least a loose contact with relatives in Nuremberg, but nothing seems to be known of later visits of his, nor of Conrad or Johannes. Melchior traveled in December 1565 from Padua with Philipp Camerarius, a son of Joachim Camerarius I, and an unnamed Silesian nobleman northwards, passing in the winter cold and snow over the Alps. Camerarius names Innsbruck, Augsburg, and then Nuremberg (where he visited his brother) as travel stations, before going to meet his parents in Leipzig, but he does not mention where Melchior left him.

**The Publisher and his Public**

Hans Newsidler’s lute books were printed by five different offices in Nuremberg: the two parts of *Ein Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* from 1536 by Johannes Petreius, *Ein neues Lautenbüchlein* from 1540 by Hans Guldenmundt; *Das Erst Buch, Das Ander Buch*, and *Das Dritt Buch* from 1544 by Hans Günther; *Das Erst Buch* from 1547 by Christoff Gutknecht; and *Das Ander Buch* from 1549 by Julius Paulus Fabritius. However, whoever printed them, the music typography of Newsidler’s lute books remained exactly the same, and there is no print outside his own lute books utilizing the same tablature type (see Figure 4). This means that he owned the type used for them. This was obviously true also for the type in which the texts, titles, etc., of all the books were set, with the exception of headlines and occasionally titles in larger type,

den 2. februarii” (1563).

63 Camerarius’ report of his captivity in Rome (he had been imprisoned there by the Inquisition), including his traveling back, has been published as a separately paginated part of Johann Georg Schelhorn’s *De vita, fatis ac meritis Philippi Camerarii* (Nuremberg, 1740): *Relatio vera et solida de captivitate Romana, ex falsa delatione orta, et liberatione fere miraculosa Phlippi Camerarii et Petrie Rieteri*, 53ff.: “Ferraria cum Rietero nostro discessi 14. Decembris [1565] eundem Venetiam venimus secundo Pado, 16. die ejusdem. Permanii ibi comparato equo, eo alii ad reditum necessariis, usque ad ultimum hujus mensis eo iter in Germaniam, relicto ibi Rietero, ingressus sum comite quodam Silesio, eo Neuendorfo musico, hyberno tempore eo frigore intentissimo, pervenimus autem, non sine difficulitate superatis Alpibus, in altissimo nive, eo intentissimo frigore Oenipontem eo postea Augustum, denique Noribergam, ubi aliquot dies apud fratrem D. Joachimum subsidi, eo vires collegi, postea Lipsiam ad parentes, admodum latus de mea reditu, salvis eo incolmis reversus sum. Christo, qui me duxit eo reduxit, sit laus, honor eo gloriam!”

64 Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr, *Historische Nachricht von den Nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Kün-
Figure 4: Individual tablature typefaces.


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Saltarello
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d.) Rudolf Wyssenbach, *Ein schön Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten*, fol. 18r, printed in 1563 by Jacob Geßner in Zurich.
and decorative initials, which sometimes come from a different font than that in the 1536 book and may have been obtained by Newsidler in small quantities whenever needed. The offices which printed his books were employed by him merely as service contractors, and probably their composers did set the books from manuscripts of Newsidler, but the font and most likely the punches and matrices from which the tablature type was founded were his. As in the case of buying the house “Am Zottenberg,” this raises the question of how he, who seems to have arrived in Nuremberg without much money, had come by the means to finance the production of the type and the printing of the books; and who had cut the punches of the tablature type? As long as no further documents come to light, it seems impossible to arrive at a conclusive answer to any of these questions. Johannes Petreius, the printer of both parts of Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch, was said to have built the tools necessary for his printing office all by himself and produced type in quite some variety. He could have cut the punches for the tablature type, beat the matrices with them, and cast the type, then later sold this equipment to Newsidler. The type used for the German texts in Newsidler’s 1536 prints, e.g., the address to the reader on fol. a ii of the first part of Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch, identified with that used for pages of German text in, e.g., Georg Forster’s Der ander theil / Kurtzweiliger guter frischer Teutscher Liedlein, printed by Petreius in 1540, seems to point to such an arrangement.

As no contract between Newsidler and Petreius seems extant, the origin of Newsidler’s tablature type remains open to speculation, as do details of the actual printing process. It was customary to produce proof sheets, which would have been corrected by Newsidler. In the production of Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch, corrections were even made during the printing process, so that individual copies of the

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65 Cf. the reproduction of the dedication of Forster’s Der ander theil in Armin Brinzinger & Mariko Teramoto, Katalog der Musikdrucke des Johannes Petreius in Nürnberg, Anhang 13 (Catalogus musici, vol. 14) (Kassel, etc., 1993).

66 Occasionally, such proof sheets have been used as padding material in bookbinding, and sometimes they are the only remains of an otherwise lost print. Cf. Henri Vanhulst, “A Fragment of a Lost Lutebook by Phalese (Louvain, c1575),” Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis 40/2 (1990): 57–80.

67 I have used a microfilm of the copy in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbе-
book differ in small details: On fol. f ii recto of the copy in Zofingen, as in the copy in Berlin and in at least one of the copies in Leipzig,\textsuperscript{67} the letter l has twice been stamped in after the sheet had been printed, using a single inked letter, which in both cases was pressed onto the paper quite vigorously, so that the upper and lower edges of the letter's shank have also left ink, appearing as thick black lines above and below the letters. In the copies in Bern and Munich, such a correction was unnecessary: Both letters had been added to the page, either after the sheet had been printed several times with either wrong letters in those places, or with letters missing. This meant dismantling the imposition for the printing of one side of a sheet (taking apart the group of compositions/settings of individual pages, which where simultaneously printed on one side of the sheet), and the partial dismantling of the composition of fol. f ii recto. Correcting the setting in such a way must have seemed tolerable, as the parts to be corrected were near one of the margins of the page. In a similar manner, the section heading “hie folgen etlich Preameln.” at the upper left corner of fol. s iii recto (Berlin, Bern, and Munich) was corrected to “hie folgen etlich Preameln” (Leipzig, Zofingen). Detected errors in more central parts of a page were listed on an erratum page (fol. x iii verso), their correction by hand left to whoever obtained a copy, as in the case of a wrong cipher 5 for the letter v (corrected in Bern, Leipzig, Munich, and Zofingen) in the second tablature line on fol. o iii recto. Both the Bern and the Zofingen copies are printed on at least three different papers, which may be the rule rather than the exception with prints from Nuremberg in the sixteenth century. The printing offices of the town needed paper in such quantities that local mills were not able to meet their demand. Paper was imported from far abroad, and so it is no surprise that closely matching watermarks to those found in Bern and

\textsuperscript{67} A trumpet mark, related to Briquet Nrs. 15990–15993. The first two of these have been found in
Zofingen (where they are always only partially visible) point to Geneva\textsuperscript{69} and to the area west of the Rhine.\textsuperscript{69} The quality of the papers is uneven to the point that the Bern copy contains inner layers, in which parts of insufficiently beaten fibers are visible in the substance of the paper.\textsuperscript{70}

The printed books were stored and sold by Newsidler himself. When in 1540 \textit{Ein neues Lautenbüchlein} appeared, Newsidler advertised the two parts of \textit{Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch} on the second page. Those in need of one of these larger books might request them from him, “Hansen Newsidler Lutenisten zu Nürnberg.” Some of those who obtained his books have left their names (and sometimes lute pieces added in manuscript) in their copies, and some of these names can be identified. The original owner of the second copy in Leipzig (shelf mark II.6.8) got the book as a gift from his uncle, whose name has been erased from the entry on the inside of the front cover: “Hunc librum dono dedit mihi patruus | ... | Anno salutis nostrae | .1552. | Lautenbuch Zahariae Schildters | lipsensis.” (This book my uncle gave ... to me as a gift in the year of our salvation 1552. Lute book of Zacharias Schildter of Leipzig.)\textsuperscript{71} Schildter was born in 1541 into a family of Leipzig citizens. His education is said to have been strongly influenced by Camerarius, which adds an element connecting him personally to Nuremberg. He matriculated at the university of his hometown in 1549, became bachelor in 1557, master in 1562, bachelor of theology in 1567, professor of the Hebrew language and licentiate of theology in 1572, doctor of theology the following year, and was rector in 1573 (the same year he became rec-

\begin{namedcite}
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\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{69} A medallion mark with three fleurs-de-lis, related (although not very closely) to Piccard, Lilie, Nrs. 1378–1384 (all fifteenth century, Utrecht, Culemborg, Trier, and Straßbourg); see www.piccard-online.de.}
\end{namedcite}

\begin{namedcite}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{70} Dr. Christine Sauer (Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg) was so kind as to inform me about the relation between paper demand in sixteenth-century Nuremberg and the import of paper into the town. Not to put paper of lesser quality into the outer sections of a book, where it would be more easily detected—especially in unbound copies—seems logical (cf. Philipp Gaskell, \textit{A New Introduction to Bibliography} (Oxford, 1972), 124).}
\end{namedcite}

\begin{namedcite}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{71} In addition to erasing the name of the uncle, someone has canceled the words “Lautenbuch Zachariae Schildters,” and there is another later entry, noting that a man named Johann Richer had been given the book by a Simon Behn oder Behn. The page with these entries has been published as an addendum to the facsimile of the copy of \textit{Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch} with the Leipzig Städtische Bibliotheken shelf mark II.6.7 by Tree Edition, Lübeck, in 2006.}
\end{namedcite}

\begin{namedcite}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{72} Georg Müller, “Schilter, Zacharias,” in \textit{Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie}, vol. 31. (Berlin, 1970).}
\end{namedcite}
tor honoris causa at the university of Jena), in 1577, 1589, and in 1603, etc. ... He died in July 1604.\textsuperscript{72}

I have not been able to find anywhere the “Johannes halblebleber” who has identified himself as the original owner of Leipzig II.6.7 and added a few pieces here and there in the print, nor the “Jo. Waytzhofer” whose name is to be found in the Berlin copy. Otto Hartmann from Neustadt/Orla in East Thuringia, original owner of the Munich copy, is recorded as a student in Jena in 1562.\textsuperscript{73} A person named “Delius,” who wrote a quotation from the Carmina of Horaz and its equivalent German expression in the book (and thus documents the use of the lute book as an “Ersatz”-Album Amicorum) may be the Joachim Delius who matriculated in Jena in 1593, but as Delius only wrote his family name in Hartmann’s copy of \textit{Ein Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch}, this is not sure.\textsuperscript{74} The Bern copy was originally owned by Leonhard Hospinian (= Wirth, 1500/05–1564), who entered a motto and his name on a flyleaf in the front of the book.\textsuperscript{75} Hospinian studied theology in Vienna, Zurich, Freiburg/Breisgau, and Wittenberg, and became professor of the Latin language at the university of Basel in 1537 and then teacher of Latin in Reichenweier (Riquewirh in the Elsace) and Brugg (Aargau/Switzerland). He left his library to his son-in-law, Johannes Fädminger, who in turn left it to the library of Bern.\textsuperscript{76}

Thus the owners of copies of Newsidler’s \textit{Ein Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch} that I could identify have all been at universities, and at least one of them got his copy while he was a student. The names of lute


\textsuperscript{73} Mentz and Jauernig, 141: “Hartmann, O., Neostadts. 1562b, 61.” In the Berlin copy, he has quoted the book as saying: “Ottonis sum hartmanni Neostadiensis ad Orilam” (I am Otto Hartmann’s, [who is] from Neustadt at the Orla).

\textsuperscript{74} Munich copy, fol. d i verso: “Horatius | Rebus angustis animosus atque Fortis appare: sapienter item Contrahes uento nimium secundo Turgida uela.” (Horaz, \textit{Carmina}, 2, 10, 22), d ii recto: “In ungluek fuhr ein Löwen mutt. | Traw Gott es wird wol wieder gutt. | Delius manu propria”. There is a third name on the inside of the back cover: “Georgii Schlybern”, which I have not found in the university \textit{matrikulae}.

\textsuperscript{75} “Gottesfach Vnnnd grimen muet | lßt myn grootes hauptguet | Leon. Hospinian” (Fear of God and a grim courage are my greatest goods). There is a donation note on the title page: “Pro L. Hospiniano,” but no name of a donor.

book owners in general (prints and manuscripts) are to be found in the *matriculae* with quite some regularity, and it is no surprise that one would meet with *Album Amicorum* entries in lute books—the *Album Amicorum* seems to have originated in student circles of the protestant universities in the Germany of the 1540s. What seems to be missing is a book documenting lessons given by Newsidler to one of those young Nuremberg citizens whom he was teaching the lute. It may be, that Nuremberg's history (with a plague outbreak in 1632/33 claiming nearly 16,000 lives) and economic decline during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not favor the preservation of documents like lute books. However, economically, Leipzig—the home town of Zacharias Schildter—suffered a far more dramatic decline in the seventeenth century than did Nuremberg, and the plague and the Thirty Year's War were not restricted to small, isolated regions. Further research in Nuremberg's archives and in the copies of Newsidler's later lute prints may bring more documents to light, as this limited study may seem to promise.

I wish to express my gratitude to all the individuals and institutions that opened their doors for me and made it possible to examine the sources, supplied me with reproductions, and met my inquiries with friendly readiness: Dr. Sabine Schlüter/Universitätsbibliothek Bern; Dr. Anna Buzinkayová/Archív hl. mesta SR Bratislavy; Dr. Radoslav Ragač/Slovenský Národný Archív, Bratislava; Dr. Frank P. Bär and Klaus Martinus/Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg; Dr. Herbert Schott/Statatsarchiv Nuremberg; Dr. Walter Bauernfeind/Statatsarchiv Nuremberg; Dr. Christine Sauer/Stadtbibliotheek Nuremberg; Kevin LaVine/Library of Congress Washington, DC; Cécile Vilas/Stadtbibliothek und -archiv Zofingen; Wolfgang Wenke/Eisenach; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich; Landeskirchliches Archiv Nuremberg; Manfred H. Grieb/Nuremberg; Karl Kohn/Nuremberg; Albert Reyerman/Lübeck for a copy of the Tree Edition's facsimile of *Ein Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch*; and Andreas Schlegel/Menziken, who examined the Zofingen copy of *Ein Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* and took photographs of watermarks and details from this copy and the one in Bern, and whose enthusiasm for all lute-related items has always been a source of inspiration to me.
APPENDIX A
CHILDREN OF HANS NWSIDLER

Melchior, 1531

Nuremberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 1
fol. 121 v: “1541: hanns Neusidler, Ein son conradus 13 februarij”

Caspar, between 1541 and 1544

Nuremberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 2

Nuremberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, S 3

77 I have not found a name like “leysigler” anywhere in the sources, and I am sure that this is a writing error made in copying from a rough draft, where “neysigler” or “neusigler” would have been written; or it might even be an error which occurred from an aural misunderstanding.
APPENDIX B
SOURCES IN NUREMBERG

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Library
HS 6277 “Buch der grossen toden gelewt zu Sannd Sebalt” (Register of Memorial Ringing of the Bells of St. Sebald), 1517–1572

Landeskirchliches Archiv
Registers of the Parish St. Sebald:

S 1  Baptisms, 1533–1543
S 2  Baptisms, 1544–1555
S 3  Baptisms, 1556–1578

S 20  Marriages, 1524–1543
S 22  Marriages, 1556–1586

S 34a  Burials, 1557–1570
S 34b  Burials, 1570–1587

Staatsarchiv
Rep. 52a, Nr. 216. Four originally independent fascicles containing: a) a register of marriages among the Nuremberg patricians and merchants from 1352 to 1644; b) excerpts from the register of memorial bell ringing at Nuremberg’s St. Sebald church, 1439 to 1517; c) records of deaths in Nuremberg, among the upper classes 1540–1570, and during the plague epidemics 1533, 1543/44, 1562/63, and 1585/86, plus biographical notes on Emperor Maximilian II and his children; d) excerpts from the Nuremberg council’s registers of deaths (Ratstotenbücher) 1550–1567.78


Rep. 60a. Decisions of the Nuremberg Council:
Nrs. 780, 790, 794, 962, 1111, 1126, 1213, and 1215.

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78 The fourth fascicle of this manuscript is mentioned and cited by Koczirz, XXIV and XXVI without shelfmark.
Hans Newsidler in Nuremberg


**Stadtarchiv**

Rep. B1/I Nr. 30, part 1 and 2: "Feurbesichtigung in Sanct Sebalts Pfarr" (Records of a visitation in 1561 of houses in the parish St. Sebald for the purpose of establishing the state of fire-prevention measures and detecting fire hazards).

Rep. B 14/I – Libri Litterarum (Records of valid contracts, primarily concerning real estate):

- Nr. 65 (olim lib.lit. 65), 1550
- Nr. 71 (olim lib.lit. 71), 1555–1556
- Nr. 72 (olim lib.lit. 72), 1556–1558

Rep. B 14/II – Libri Conservatorii (Records of valid contracts, and judgments in civil proceedings):

- Nr. 42 (olim lib.cons. 43), 1537–1538
- Nr. 74 (olim lib.cons. 79), 1556–1557
- Nr. 82 (olim lib.cons. 87), 1560–1561
- Nr. 84 (olim lib.cons. 89), 1561–1562

**Stadtbibliothek**

Abteilung Sammlungen, Nachlass Dr. Wagner (Card index of about 40,000 cards with data concerning Nuremberg's music history).
Luis de Narváez: Some Fresh Perspectives on His Life and Music

by Michael Fink*

The main points of the biography of Luis de Narváez, as they were known a decade ago, are reflected in New Grove 2.¹

• Born in Granada;
• Flourished 1526-1549;
• Probably was a salaried musician in the service of Francisco de los Cobos (Charles V’s First Secretary), possibly as early as 1526;
• Probably served until Cobos’s death in 1547;
• Served in the royal² chapel from 1548 teaching choir boys and probably also as a singer;
• Travelled abroad with Prince Philip (later King Philip II of Spain), 1548-1549,³ and is thought to have died in 1549 or shortly thereafter;
• His son Andrés was also an accomplished vihuela player.

* My acquaintance with Arthur Ness goes back to the late 1950s, when we were both undergraduates in the USC School of Music (now the Thornton School). Arthur was a theory major and I was in composition, so we shared a few classes—and a few knowing looks when odd things might be said or played during class. After his graduation, we lost touch for over ten years. In 1970, I began my doctoral studies at USC, and again there was Arthur, this time a prominent member of the Musicology faculty. In the course of that year, he became even more prominent with the publication of his edition, The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano (1547-1543) by no less than Harvard University Press. I took one or two graduate courses under Arthur’s brilliant leadership, and several times he was a mentor to me, especially concerning lute matters, with which I was beginning to become interested. A few years later, Arthur (newly married to Charlotte) moved on to Buffalo, N.Y. for a new teaching position, and it would be many years before our paths would cross again. After joining the LSA and becoming interested in publishing tablature editions, I contacted Arthur for some advice, and we have been corresponding ever since. He has been consistently generous with advice and new ideas for the journal, as well as with his expertise in music and tablature engraving. For all his work on the Journal’s Editorial Board and all the rest of his help, I am deeply grateful.

² Actually, the princely chapel of Philip II.
³ The cities visited on this journey were in Italy (Genoa, Milan, and Mantua), Germanic territories (Trent, Innsbruck, Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, and Heidelberg), Luxembourg, and Flanders (Namur and Brussels). Regarding court chapel records mentioning Narváez until 1552, see below.

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The space restrictions of a *New Grove* article allowed only the most salient information. In addition, around and since its publication, some new data have come to light, including the month and year of Narváez's death. Also, the possibility of Narváez traveling with Cobos (long before his journey with Philip II) and thus meeting foreign lutenists and composers has been touched upon only briefly. Through Cobos, the connection of Narváez with the musical establishment of Charles V, and indeed an intimate acquaintance with the emperor's musical tastes, also can now be approached.

One of the earliest historical documents to mention Narváez was an anonymous manuscript from the early 17th century titled "Granada," concerning features of the city, the area, and noted personages who were born there. Under the section "Famous Musicians of this City" we read:

Luis de Narváez was a very famous master of the vihuela. He was with Philip II. / His son Andrés de Narváez, in the opinion of many, was the equal of his father. / Luis Guzmán, very famous and with a sweet voice. He is the one who Paulo Jovio praises in his *History*. / Hernando de Jaén, great player of the vihuela and who was with the king of Portugal. / Baltasar Ramírez was the great lute player who was known in Europe. . . .

**Education**

Granada apparently was an important center of vihuela and lute activity. Narváez's upbringing there must have emphasized music, for he writes in the *Prólogo* to his vihuela collection, *Los seys libros del Delphín*, that "the striving of my life has been the practice of music. . . ." There is reason to speculate that Luis de Guzmán (d. 1528), another Granadine, may have been Narváez's vihuela teacher. As a vihuelist-composer, Guzmán was praised in Bermudo's *Declaración* (1555).

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4 "Músicos famosos de esta ciudad."
5 "Luis de Narváez fué Fuélo de Felipe II. / Su hijo Andrés de Narváez, en el parecer de muchos, igualó a su padre. / Luis famosísimo y de suave voz. Éste es el que Jovio en su Historia. / Hernando de gran músico de vihuela y lo fué del rey de Portugal. / Baltasar Ramírez fué el se conoció en Europa. . . ." Published in Bartolomé José Gallardo, et al., *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, 4 vols. (Madrid: 1863-89). "Granada" is item no. 773, beginning vol. 1, p. 870.
6 Juan Bermudo, . . . *Declaración de instr[umentos] musicales. . . .* (Ossuna, 1555; reprint 1957), Book II, chap. 36 and Book IV, chap. 61, 62.
Service with Cobos

Francisco de los Cobos (1477-1547) was born a commoner, but rose through the ranks of government “secretaries” to one of the most influential positions in the court of King (Holy Roman Emperor from 1519) Charles V: the equivalent of “Secretary of State” for Spain. Having been part of the pools of government bureaucrats under Ferdinand and Isabel, it was an easy and natural transition to the court of Charles, who became King of Spain in 1516. Cobos was brilliant, and in Charles’s Flemish court he was valued for his knowledge of Spanish ways, laws, and important aristocrats. Charles rewarded Cobos often, usually with the leadership of and income from some town in Spain, such as his appointment as Lord Governor of the town of León. Cobos eventually also was named administrator of the royal treasury with special duties regarding the wealth brought in from the New World. He became extremely rich and powerful.

A connection between Cobos and Granada went back as far as 1508, when he had been appointed chief accountant (contador mayor) of that city. Nominally, he retained that post for life but also rose to higher appointments there.

During summer and fall of 1526, the newlyweds Emperor Charles and Empress Isabel spent their honeymoon in Granada, and their court (including Cobos) was also in attendance there. Quite possibly Cobos already knew of Narváez and had an opportunity to employ him during that period, then retaining him as an entertainer in his household. In any case, Narváez and Cobos undoubtedly were associated from the 1530s until the latter’s death in 1547. If, theoretically, Narváez were about 21 years old in 1526, the year of his birth would have been about 1505.

Considering the dearth of factual evidence of the life of Luis de Narváez, we may wish to speculate on certain strong possibilities. We do know that music by Narváez became known in Flanders, France, and England (see the Table of Concordances below). There is also some evi-

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7 Technically, Juana “la loca,” Charles’s mother, was queen and ruler of Spain. However, due to her schizophrenia, she authorized Charles to become co-regent and de facto King of Spain.
idence pointing to a connection with Italy before the 1548 journey, when Philip II took him there. This suggests that the composer might have visited some or all of those countries (except England), probably in the retinue of Cobos. Ruiz Jiménez, citing Keniston, has pointed out the possibility that by tracing the travels of Cobos, we might also uncover the travels of Narváez. Moreover, John Griffiths offers the pithy statement, “Tracing the life of Francisco de los Cobos means, effectually, tracing the life of Narváez.” The most important journeys are:

- **1529-1532**: Charles V embarked on a journey from Spain. In Bologna he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. In Rome Cobos met with the Pope (1530). The court then stayed nearly a month in Mantua before traveling to Germany and Flanders. Charles moved about those areas until 1532, when he returned to Italy (Mantua, Milan, and Genoa) and finally to Spain.

- **1535-1536**: Cobos accompanied Charles V on his triumphant campaign in Tunis, following which the imperial party made a progress through Sicily and wintered in Naples. During those months the Neapolitan publisher Joannes Sulzbachius was preparing two volumes of lute/viola da mano music by Francesco da Milano (1497-1543), which he issued in April and May 1536. If Narváez were with Cobos, he would have just missed these releases, for the party left Naples on March 22, 1536, arriving at Rome on April 4. However, between that date and April 25, Narváez would have had ample time to personally seek out Francesco, who was residing there in service to Pope Paul III. (During 1536 no fewer than five books containing tablatures by Francesco were published.) The emperor then lingered in

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10 The “Privilege” for Los seis libros mentions Narváez’s collection of music by Francesco da Milano. See Ruiz Jiménez, 4-5, fn. 7.
11 See Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana, s.v. “Narváez (I)” 1. Luis de,” by John Griffiths (“Trazar la vida de Francisco de los Cobos significa, efectivamente, trazar la vida de Narváez.”).
12 Keniston, 118-55.
14 Ruiz Jiménez, 10-11, makes connections between Narváez and da Milano in the matters of Italian lute tablature and compositional procedures.
15 New Grove 2, s.v. “Francesco (Canova) da Milano [da Parigi, Milanese, Monzino],” by Franco Pavan.
northern Italy for a time but arrived back in Spain on December 5.

- **1537**: Cobos and his associate Granville met with French ambassadors for peace talks at Fitou between December 21, 1537 and January 11, 1538. It was an austere meeting, and Cobos was unlikely to have brought musicians along. In any case, this may have been the period when the printing of *Los seys libros* (dedicated to Cobos) had begun at Valladolid, and the need for Narváez’s supervision there might have excused him.

- **1538**: A formal conference between Charles V and King Francis I (with Pope Paul III as mediator) was held at Nice between May 28 and June 20, 1538. It is possible that Narváez was there, because it was an imperial event, and we have a report that Cobos hosted a supper that included music and dancing.¹⁷ The Pope had brought with him his lutenist, Francesco da Milano, and Francis had brought Albert de Rippe, the finest lutenist in France. It is tantalizing to imagine Narváez joining them for a summit of the plucked string.

Other meetings between Charles and Francis dragged on until July 18, always with Cobos in tow. The publication date of *Los seys libros* is October 30, so if the party arrived back in Valladolid the first part of August, Narváez would still have had time to finish seeing his book through the press.¹⁸

Cobos was the dedicatee of *Los seys libros del Delphin* (1538), the monumental tablature print for the vihuela de mano by Luis de Narváez, consisting of original compositions, intabulations, and secular vocal music. The *Prólogo* is the composer’s dedication to Cobos. Amid the usual flowery praises found in Renaissance dedications, we can detect that the composer is paying more than the usual respectful compliments to his patron. The text implies a long relationship. Woven into it are metaphorical references to Cobos as the Delphín (dolphin) who, charmed by

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¹⁷ Keniston, 211.

¹⁸ The book’s *Privilegio* is dated May 18, 1537; however, it is doubtful that production began that year. (In fact, the printer, Diego Hernandez de Cordova, prints the year 1538 on the title page, and for the colophon (on the last page) he gives October 30, 1538.) In other published vihuela books, the period between the privilege and completion of printing varies widely, usually more than a year. The shortest known period is that of Valderríbano’s lengthy *Silva de Sirenas*: May 6, 1547–July 28, 1547 (2 months, 22 days). So, it is possible that the printing of *Los seys libros* took place entirely between early August and October 30.
the music of Arion (Narváez), saved his life, enabling the continuation of his art.\textsuperscript{19}

From Luis de Narváez, \textit{Los seys libros del Delfín}, the illustration that precedes the \textit{Prólogo} and each \textit{Libro} from 2 through 6.

\textbf{Connections with the Imperial Court}

During the lifetime of Francisco de los Cobos, the home of the Spanish royal court was Valladolid. Of necessity, that town would have been his own home base, and he built a magnificent palace there. A later memoir by one of the empress's pages attests to Narváez being well known there:

During my youth there was at Valladolid a vihuelist named Narváez, of such an extraordinary skill in music that, upon the four voices written in a book of counterpoint, he improvised another four; a thing that seemed miraculous to those that did not know about music, but most miraculous to those who did understand it.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{19} Arion was an ancient Greek poet, possibly from the late 7th c. BCE. According to legend, Arion was on a ship at sea, when a band of pirates threw him overboard. He was saved by a dolphin, which was charmed by his music.

\textsuperscript{20} Keniston, 211, quoting Luis Zapata (1526-1594), \textit{Miscelínea} (1592).
Although the writer gives the location only as Valladolid, he might have heard Narváez play either at court or perhaps during a visit by Empress Isabel to the Cobos palace, since Señora Cobos (née María de Mendoza) was a lady in waiting to the empress. The imperial court seems the more likely location. Thus, it is likely that Cobos regularly shared the services of Narváez with the imperial court, or the vihuelist-composer moved freely between the palaces of Cobos and the imperial family. The latest date this anecdote could have occurred was May 1, 1539, since that is when the empress died.

Most famous among the royal children raised at Valladolid was Prince Philip II. It has been suggested (without substantiation) that Narváez was young Philip’s vihuela teacher. Although some aspects of music may have been part of the prince’s education, very likely he had neither the aptitude nor the inclination to develop himself musically.

As for the travels of Cobos, the emperor’s secretary remained in Spain from 1539 until the end of his life about eight years later. So, we may infer that Narváez also resided there during that period.

The most telling information about connections between Narváez and musical life at the Imperial Court is to be found in the music of his Seys libros del Delfín. Although the most celebrated works in the collection are the history-making variation sets, those and the fantasies are not a full profile regarding the imperial music. Rather, the seven intabulations of vocal works in Book III complete the picture of imperial style preferences. All seven are by Franco-Flemish composers, who correspond to what we may assume to be the emperor’s musical taste, formed during his early years in the Netherlands. Three of the intabulations are portions of Masses by Josquin Des Prez. The remaining four are based on chansons: one each by Josquin, Gombert, Courtois, and Richafort. A strong leaning toward the music of Josquin is significantly old-fashioned for the 1530s, since he had been dead since 1521. The other composers, notably Gombert, were members of the current post-Josquin generation.

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21 José Subirá, Historia de la música española e hispanoamericá (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953), 208.

One intabulation associates Narváez with the emperor's music most closely: that of the chanson *Mille regrețz*. In the two tables of contents in the *Seys libros* that list the intabulation and in the rubric preceding the work, Narváez inserts a supertitle: *Canción del Emperador*. The implication is that this chanson was particularly dear to Charles V. Undoubtedly, this was not general knowledge. Aside from Narváez, among the six different instrumental arrangements and intabulations of *Mille regrețz* listed in Brown23 spanning 1533-1562 and two manuscript intabulations,24 none show any written indication of the emperor's partiality to this chanson. In addition, most of these were printed or originated in lands that had honored Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. Thus, by means of this simple supertitle, "The Emperor's Chanson," Narváez demonstrated his intimate proximity to details of the imperial music.

**Later Years**

The year after the death of Francisco de los Cobos in 1547, Charles V's son, Crown Prince Philip II,25 took Narváez into his service among the singers of his private chapel as *maestro* to the five choir boys.26 A note in the margin of the *capilla* payroll for 1548 reads:

Luis de Narváez, who must take charge of teaching the boy treble singers of the chapel among other [duties]: 40,000 [maravedís] per year, beginning September of the said year and onward.27

Narváez was a member of the *capilla* during and shortly after Philip II's circuitous journey to Flanders during 1548-1551. Among the musicians accompanying Philip, the blind keyboardist Antonio Cabezón figures prominently. However, Narváez is also in the list and on the pay records:

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25 Philip II was made King of Naples in 1554, Sovereign of the Netherlands in 1555, and King of Spain and its dominions in 1556.

26 Luis Estaire, "La estructuración de las casa reales: Felipe II como punto de encuentro y punto de partida," in *Aspectos de la cultura musical*, 18.

27 "Los de Narbáez, que ha de tener cargo de enseñar a los muchachos cantoríclos tiples de la capilla, con otros Xl mill cada año, desde setiembre del dicho año adelante," Higinio Anglés, *La música en la Corte de Carlos V* . . . , vol. 2 of *Monumentos de la música española* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1944), pt. 1: 104. For a photo facsimile of this document, see *Aspectos de la cultura musical*, 54.
Luis de Narváez holds the position of teaching singing to the boy treble singers of the chapel from August 4 until the following year . . . . He goes in the service of His High[ness] . . . .

The Libro de la Veeduría from the end of 1549 continues to list Narváez among the singers as “maestro de los mochachos.”29 The presence of Narváez during the entire journey has been confirmed.30 Records of the personnel in Philip’s capilla show the name of Narváez until 1552. For that year, his name appears with the marginal notation: “† II-1552,” establishing the composer’s death as occurring in February 1552. Officially, the court was at Valladolid. However, during the first half of 1552, Philip’s base of operation was Madrid.32 For so long a period, he might have taken with him his capilla or part of it. Thus, Narváez most likely died in Valladolid, but Madrid is also a possibility.

In addition to his work in the capilla, Narváez played the vihuela at court. The high regard in which he was held in Philip’s court is reflected in the memoir of Francisco Bermúdez de Pradaza, Antigüedad y Excelencias de Granada (Madrid, 1608): “He was such a famous musician that he merited serving King Philip, because the sweetness of his vihuela filled with wonder the king’s spirit.”34

Post Mortem

In Bermudo’s Declaración published in 1555, Narváez tops the list of the vihuela’s “mejores tañedores.”35 The names that follow are Martín de Jaén, Hernando de Jaén, López, Fuenllana, Mudarra, and Anriqué [de Valderrábano]. Although the Declaración took years to write, we know

28 “Luis de Narváez, tiene asiento para enseñar a cantar a los mochachos cantoricos típles de la capilla desde quarto de agosto desde año en adelante . . . va en servicio de su Al. . . “. Angels, 109, 112.
29 Ibid., 112-13.
30 Knighton, “La música,” Table 4, 55.
31 Aspectos de la cultura musical, Appendix 20, p. 360.
33 Angels did a splendid job of tracing the main line of employment in Philip’s capilla; however, it was very general, and marginal notes were not considered consistently. It remained for Tess Knighton nearly 50 years later to make a detailed transcription of the archives, where the death of Narváez was documented.
35 Bermudo, Book II, chap. 35.
that Mudarra, Fuenllana, and probably also Valderrábano were still living in 1555. Vihuelist Miguel de Fuenllana (fl. 1553-1578) was affirmed at Philip II’s court on March 29, 1554, probably replacing Narváez.

Works Summary

All of Narváez’s known music for the vihuela is contained in Los seys libros. He also composed vocal music; however, only two such works have survived: motets published in collections by Moderne. These are settings of De profundis clamavi for four voices and O salutaris hostia for five voices. We may assume that both were performed in either the chapel of Charles V or Philip II or both. In these works, Narváez employed the type of dense, continuous polyphony associated with Gombert and the post-Josquin generation of composers. In Narváez’s “privilege” to publish Los seys libros, Charles V mentions Narváez having composed “... many masses and psalms and other works that are sung by Our Holy Mother Church with learned style and novelty, as well as other works such as motets and villancicos ...”

Apparently, Narváez was also a poet. In Los seys libros, his dedicatory poem at the beginning and his ode to music at the end demonstrate his poetic abilities. In addition, he wrote courtly poetry, some of which was included in a book published after his death: Cancionero general de obras nuevas nunca hast[a] a[h]ora impressas ... (Zaragoza, 1554). Nineteen of Narváez’s poems appeared in this anthology, some of which express courtly love for a lady (one Ana de Prado in at least two poems), and one poem dedicated to Emperor Charles V. Pepe Rey has published the titles of all 19 poems, along with a few quotations and some criticism, including this assessment: “Narváez is, naturally, in the group associated with traditional style and is, together with [Juan] Boscán, one of the best represented authors with 19 poems.”

36 New Grove 2, s.v. “Fuenllana, Miguel de,” by John Griffiths,
37 Quartrus liber cum quattuor vocibus, Motetii del flore (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, 1539); Quintua liber motetorum ad quinque, et sex, et septem vocem (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, 1542).
39 Ruiz Jiménez, 5.
**Relationship to Contemporary Composers**

**Luis de Guzmán (d.1528).** Guzmán may have been Narváez’s teacher. In the “Privilege” that Charles V granted to Narváez to publish *Los seys libros*, mention is made of works by Guzmán that Narváez had “collected and compiled,” suggesting that there may have been a connection between the two.

**Luis de Milán (c.1500-after 1560).** The first published book of vihuela music in history was the *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro* (Valencia, 1536) by Luis Milán. *Los seys libros* by Narváez (Valladolid, 1538) was the second. It is safe to assume that neither of these remarkable composers even knew of the other. Milán makes no mention of other vihuelists in his *Prólogo*. Narváez apparently knew nothing of *El maestro*, since he writes in his *Prólogo*, “I have been moved with a very zealous intention to create a book so new and beneficial that until now in Spain there has not been any foundation for such an artifice and fair art as this . . . .” Among the contrasts between Milán and Narváez is that of musical style, Narváez being slightly more modern (post-Josquin).

**Nicolas Gombert (c.1495-c.1560).** Raised in the Netherlands, Charles V had a particular taste for Franco-Flemish composers, notably Josquin des Prez (c.1450/55-1521) and Nicolas Gombert. From 1526, Gombert was a singer in Charles V’s court chapel, and from 1529 until shortly before 1540, he was *maître des enfants* (a job Narváez eventually held in the chapel of Philip II). Since Gombert was an employee of the emperor and Narváez’s patron was the emperor’s personal secretary, very likely the two composers knew one another. Gombert was the leading figure of the “post-Josquin” generation, and his style of overlapping phrases was a powerful influence on the fantasias of Narváez. One chanson by Gombert appears as a vihuela intabulation in *Los seys libros*.

**Francesco da Milano (1497-1543).** Another practitioner of the post-Josquin musical grammar was Francesco “Il Divino.” As the most famous Italian lutenist of the age, Francesco composed music that was likely circulated in manuscript copies long before his first publications in

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41 Ruiz Jiménez, 5.
42 “Yo me he movido con buen zelo intencion a hacer un libro como este nuevo y provechoso que hasta esto tie[n]pos en españa no se a dado principio a una inve[n]cion y arte delicada como esta . . . .” Narváez, *Los seys libros*, f.72. The novelty of Narváez’s musical style in Spain relates to the influence on Narváez of the new Italian lute music, especially that of Francesco da Milano.
1536. By at least 1537, Narváez owned a collection of Francesco’s music (see above). In addition, Narváez could have been exposed to Francesco’s lute music (and possibly to Francesco himself) through Charles V’s envoys and Cobos’s travels. The relationship is born out in textures and formal procedures in Narváez’s fantasias (and possibly also in his adoption of the Italian tablature format).

Jean Courtois (fl.1530-1545). Although he was a cleric, Courtois apparently composed mainly French chansons. Some of these became well known. Narváez intabulated one, although he may have thought it was written by Gombert. The piece appears immediately following Gombert’s chanson with only the words, “Chanson in the first mode.” Until recently, the Gombert attribution has persisted. However, the intabulation follows exactly the harmonies and several melodies found in Si par souffrir by Courtois.43

Jean Richafort (c.1480-c.1550). A Franco-Flemish singer-composer of the post-Josquin school, Richafort was a cleric who served in France, including some work for the French royal family. Thus, he was not in any way related to the circle of Charles V. Richafort composed mostly sacred music. His more than 15 chansons must have circulated in manuscript copies. Los seys libros includes an intabulation of one of his chansons.

Antonio Cabezón (c.1510-1566). In 1526, Cabezón was appointed organist in the chapel of Empress Isabel. He held that position until 1538, the year before her death, at which point Charles V transferred him to his own capilla and for the benefit of Philip II. The latter took Cabezón on his 1548 journey to Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. As fellow-instrumentalists of the imperial court and members of the chapel, Cabezón and Narváez surely must have been well acquainted. The parallels between their careers are noteworthy. However, a more important parallel is between their individual accomplishments as composers. While Narváez was contributing to the basic style of vihuela music, Cabezón was doing the same for early Spanish keyboard music.

Influence of Narváez’s Vihuela Music outside Outside Spain

France and the Netherlands. While concordances of Narvaez Narváez pieces might be expected in an Iberian anthology such as the

43 A French tablature version of the Narváez intabulation on the website http://www.gerbode.net/ attributes the chanson to Courtois. The name of the tablature’s contributor has not been found.
five that appear in Venegas de Henestrosa (1557), the appearance of his work in publications outside Spain is remarkable. Of the six other vihuela composers published in Narváez's century, only Valderrábanos work was reprinted abroad: three pieces in three publications by Pierre Phalèse.44 A total of 16 pieces by Narváez appeared in collections published in Paris and Louvain. No. 9 (Fantasia [No. 1]) was the most popular, appearing in the first lute book of Guillaume Morlaye and three collections of Phalèse (none of the four books giving credit to the composer). Similarly, the King of France's lutenist, Albert de Rippe, adapted No. 1 (Primero tono) to head his Quart livre de tabulature de luth. Phalèse, in his second collection of lute music (1546), included a block of eight Narváez fantasies in addition to one romance and three villancicos. Two other Phalèse lute collections included music by Narváez. Judging by the use of Latin in his prefatory texts, Phalèse was targeting a pan-European market. Thus, his books indicate that Narváez maintained an international appeal at least between 1546 and 1568.

England. Narváez is the only identifiable vihuela composer to be included in English lute books: the Willoughby Lute Book and Osborn Ms.45 The earliest pieces entered in the Willoughby book (c.1560-1564) are probably written in the hand of Sir Francis Willoughby. Since he identifies the composer of the fantasias, it is likely that either he had copied it from Los seys libros himself, or the scribe of his source did.46 In the Osborn Ms., No. 5, the use of Narváez's tempo signature and other idiosyncratic features also suggest direct access to the original. Unlike this piece, No. 15 in the Osborn MS differs enough from the original in details as to suggest an intervening copy as its source.47

These two books yield further evidence of Spanish influence as well. Willoughby No. 30 contains 22 variations on Conde claros (f.38-39v),48 and 15 variations for four-course guitar on the same ground appear on f.45v-46 (41v-42) of the Osborn Ms.

The most likely means of conveying Narváez's music to England was probably the arrival of Philip II to wed Queen Mary in July 1554 and his sojourn there until August 1555. John Ward writes, "Vihuelists may

44 No. 43 = 1552, #5; No. 53 = 1553, #22; No. 66 = 1568, #106.
46 "fantasi de narboyes"; see Ward, Music for Elizabethan lutes [MEL], vol. 1, 45.
47 Ibid., vol. 1, 30.
have been in Prince Philip's entourage and that of some of the grandees who accompanied him during the time of the Spanish connection; this might account for the appearance of pieces by Narváez and the Conde claros variations in the Osborn and Willoughby Mss.\textsuperscript{49}

The following table of concordances shows the appearance of pieces from \textit{Los seys libros} in sources both within and outside Spain:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{NARVÁEZ} & \textbf{CONCORDANCE} & \textbf{Source ID} & \textbf{No.} & \textbf{Pg./Fo.} \\
\hline
1 & Primer tono & 1546\textsubscript{18} & Phalèse, \textit{Des chansons reduictz en Tablature} & 9 & c2 \\
 & & cf. 1553\textsubscript{9} & de Rippe, \textit{Quart livre de tabulature de luth} & 1 & 2 \\
 & & cf. 1557\textsubscript{2} & Henestrosa, \textit{Libro de cifra nueva} & 56 & 34 \\
2 & Segundo tono & 1546\textsubscript{18} & Phalèse, \textit{Des chansons reduictz en Tablature} & 10 & e3 \\
4 & Quarto tono & cf. 1557\textsubscript{2} & Henestrosa, \textit{Libro de cifra nueva} & 62 & 37 \\
5 & Quinto tono & cf. 1557\textsubscript{2} & Henestrosa, \textit{Libro de cifra nueva} & 66 & 39 \\
6 & Sesto tono & cf. 1557\textsubscript{2} & Henestrosa, \textit{Libro de cifra nueva} & 67 & 39v \\
7 & Setimo tono & cf. 1557\textsubscript{2} & Henestrosa, \textit{Libro de cifra nueva} & 69 & 40v \\
9 & Fantasia [No. 1] & 1546\textsubscript{18} & Phalèse, \textit{Des chansons reduictz en Tablature} & 3 & b2 \\
 & & 1552\textsubscript{4} & Morlaye, \textit{Primiere livre de tabulature de leut} & 3 & 4v \\
 & & 1563\textsubscript{12} & Phalèse, \textit{Theatrum musicum} & 12 & 7 \\
 & & 1568\textsubscript{7} & Phalèse, \textit{Luculentum theatrum musicum} & 21 & 11 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{49} Ward, \textit{MEL}, vol. 1:5; see also n. 17 on that page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Verso</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fantasia [No. 2]</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>b2v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Fantasia [No. 3]</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>b3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fantasia [No. 4]</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>b4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fantasia [No. 5]</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>c1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fantasia [No. 6]</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>clv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Sacris solemniis</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>&quot;Tercero contrapunto&quot;, Osborne Lute MS. (Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib., Music Ms. 13)</td>
<td>3v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Paseavase el rey Moro</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>h1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Si tantos halcones</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>h1v-h2v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Y la mia cinta dorada</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Phalèse, <em>Des chansons reduictz en Tablature</em></td>
<td>h3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Baxa de contra-punto</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>&quot;the base of spayne&quot;, Osborne Lute MS. (Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib., Music Ms. 13)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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