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of the Lute Society of America

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Review

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Richard Falkenstein is the current editor of the *Journal of the Lute Society of America,* and previous to taking that position he served on its advisory board. He received a PhD in musicology from the University of Buffalo, where he studied as a Woodburn Fellow. His academic interests lie in the culture of the sixteenth century, and most of his published musicological work has been on Italian lute music of the period. He has performed on guitar and lute as a soloist and in a variety of large and small ensembles throughout the US and in Canada, Puerto Rico, South America, and Europe. An Associate Professor at Canisius College (Buffalo, NY), he serves as Chair of the Fine Arts Department.

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An Unknown Lute Piece in a Keyboard Manuscript with Works by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*

By Stephan Olbertz

Introduction

A known but little discussed fact among today's lutenists and scholars is that lute music has survived the centuries not only in tablature but also in staff notation. Besides the well-known Vivaldi and Bach pieces, there is a significant treasure trove of music for solo or obbligato lute that has come down to us in staff notation, which is often its only source. For a musician or scholar, these sources can serve three possible functions: as master copies for the lutenist to intabulate or play from; as parts for alternative or additional performance with keyboard or harp, with string or wind instrument(s), or with voice; and as transcriptions or arrangements of original lute music.

The historical reasons for notating music for lute in staff notation may have been quite diverse. We can guess that a main point was to avoid the practical aspect of arranging the music in a suitable way on the fingerboard, a task that could not easily be done if a composer's knowledge or playing capabilities were limited or nonexistent. It can safely be assumed that nonexperts thought of staff notation as a more common, clear, and flexible medium to express their music; in some cases, even accomplished lute players preferred staff notation over tablature.[1] Another reason for not notating lute music in tablature would surely have been the desire to play the music on other instruments in addition to the lute or to have it arranged by other musicians.

* I would like to thank the editor of the *JLSA*, Richard Falkenstein, for his kind and patient help in creating the final version of this article.

[1] Prominent examples are Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le lut, contenant une metode nouvelle et facile pour aprendre à toucher le lut sur les notes de la musique* (Paris, 1679; facsimile: Genève: Minkoff, 1973), and Filippo Dalla Casa, *Suonata di Celebri Autori per L'Arciliuto Francese . . .* (facsimile: Firenze: SPES, 1984).

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The following essay will examine a *Fantasia* in a keyboard manuscript held in Vilnius, Lithuania, that recently has been included in the list of works by J. S. Bach's first-born son, Wilhelm Friedemann. It will show that the piece probably stands in the tradition of lute music arranged for keyboard. A facsimile of the original and a reconstruction for lute are provided, followed by a discussion of its authorship and possible alternative attributions.

The Tradition of Lute Music in Staff Notation

The tradition of lute music in staff notation can be divided into two main phases. From the 15th to the 17th century the lute was mainly understood as an instrument that was notated as it sounded, if one judges by surviving printed and manuscript sources.[2] This changed with the beginning of the late baroque, which marks the second phase. In middle and southern German countries from around 1700, an increasing number of sources used for all the functions mentioned above (see paragraph one) are preserved in which at least the upper voice of lute music is notated one octave higher than it sounds. The early Viennese lute concerto shows this new practice in the string accompaniments that are an octave higher than the lute tablature parts they more or less double.[3] Several prominent sources connected to Dresden, Prague, Vienna, and Rohrau in eastern Austria give further evidence. The compositions by Antonio Vivaldi, Antonio Lotti, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, and an anonymous Italian composer (possibly Giovanni Zamboni) imply an Italian tradition of notating an octave higher than the actual sound; indeed, more than a thousand pieces of similar solo and obbligato music can be traced in Italian sources from the second half of the 17th century on.[4]

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[2] For more details on this and a broad overview on pitch-notated lute music, see Stephan Olbertz, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Notierung von Lautenmusik im historischen Kontext," forthcoming.

[3] For composers and works, see Per Kjetil Farstad, "German Galant Lute Music in the 18th Century" (doctoral thesis, Göteborg University, Department of Musicology, No. 58, Göteborg, 2000), Appendices I and II: Lauffensteiner, Radolt, Saint-Luc, Hinterleithner, Weichenberger; see also manuscripts like New York Public Library, Harrach 11; Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, codex M.III.25 (lute only).

[4] Cf. Antonio Vivaldi, RV 82, 85, 93, 540; see Antonio Vivaldi, *Conceri e Trii, per liuto e per mandolin*, ed. Fabio Rizza (Milano, 2010); Antonio Lotti, "Lascia che nel suo viso," from *Teofane*, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus. 2159 F-7; and the anonymous *Sinfonia à Solo di Arciliuto* (London, Royal College of Music, formerly in the possession of Robert Spencer. Two anonymous concerti

This practice apparently was borrowed by German-speaking composers like Johann Friedrich Fasch, Johann Sebastian Bach, Christoph Schaffrath, and Josef Kohaut (among others).[5] Mid-century examples of arranged music for or with lute are results of a similar understanding, and written out continuo parts and an anonymous continuo manual of the period give the impression that the lute's deep basses were commonly used like a 16′ organ or harpsichord register in German countries.[6] Some works are even transmitted both in staff notation and tablature: several cantatas by F. B. Conti known from a Viennese manuscript score that includes a tablature stave have concordances with versions that are probably earlier in a Berlin manuscript where the upper lute voice is notated without a bass in a treble clef that transposes down an octave,[7] and a concerto for flute, lute, and violoncello by Adam Falckenhagen has bits of the lute's upper voice included in the flute part.[8] Also, Silvius Leopold Weiss appears to have arranged music from or into lute parts using this approach, which is hinted at in his surviving, sometimes fragmentary, ensemble music. This assumption is further supported by a contemporary account of him playing violin concertos right from their scores.[9]

Some 18th-century lute pieces notated as they would actually sound only give further evidence that writing *en musique* instead of tablature was not at all exotic during the 18th-century in German-speaking

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for lute and strings from the same collection are currently missing.) For Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, see n. 7 below. I am very grateful to Franco Pavan for the information about pitch-notated Italian lute music, which seems to await a detailed study.

[5] Johann Friedrich Fasch, *Concerto* [for lute and strings, fwv l: d 2], Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus. 2423-V-1; Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 245/Nr. 19, BWV 997/I-IV, BWV 1025; Christoph Schaffrath, *Sonata á. 2 / Cembalo overo Liuto Obligato. e Violoncello* [cswv f: 1], Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Am.B. 497 (an edition by the present author is forthcoming); Josef Kohaut [Kohault], *Trio pour le clavecin, la Harpe ou le luth /Avec accompagnement d'un Violon et la Basse* (Paris, 1767).

[6] Cf., e.g., Karl-Ernst Schröder, "Generalbass-Aussetzungen zu Arien aus Johann Adolf Hasses Oper Cleofide," in *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 19 (1995): 159–87, and *Fundamenta der Lauten Musique und zugleich der Composition*, Manuskript Prag, Ms. KK 51, ed. Rainer Luckhardt and Matthias Rösel (Frankfurt/M., 2002).

[7] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.17593/1-8 and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin— Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Singakademie, SA 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271. This information was generously provided by Markus Lutz.

[8] Adam Falckenhagen, Concerto op. 3/3, from *Sei Concerti à Liuto, Traverso, Oboe ó Violino e Violoncello* (Nürnberg, n.d.).

[9] Cf. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nürnberg, 1727; facsimile: Lübeck, 2006), 78.

countries. Clearly, further discovery of lute music surviving in staff notation can be expected, and some discussions have already been started regarding works by J. S. Bach and those around him.[10] Thus, the following examination of a work by his son is particularly pertinent.

A Hidden Lute Work and its Reconstruction

In 2009 a complete edition of the works of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784) was started,[11] and a new catalogue of his works appeared a few years later,[12] both edited by Peter Wollny from the Bach Archiv Leipzig. The project was accompanied by CD recordings of selected works, and it was one of these CDs that made me aware of the nice little *Fantasia* in d minor, BR-WFB: A 105 (Fk deest), that I instantly assumed to be a lute work originally.[13]

The *Fantasia* is contained in a large compilation of nearly all the keyboard works by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach preserved in Vilnius,[14] which is the second volume of a former double manuscript. Curiously, composer names are not provided within the 142 pages of the second volume, and the first volume with works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach is missing.[15] The manuscript was copied out from W. F. Bach's own li-

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[10] See Klaus Hofmann, "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung. Diskurs zur Vorgeschichte der Sonate h-Moll für Querflöte und obligates Cembalo von Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 84 (1998): 23–43; Francois-Pierre Goy, "Unechtes Bachsches Werk, aber echtes Lautenstück: Die ursprüngliche Fassung der Variatio von BWV Anh. II 79," in *Lauteninfo* 4/2012 (Deutsche Lautengesellschaft e. V., Frankfurt/M.), 14ff.; Stephan Olbertz, "Verborgene Trios mit obligater Laute? Zu Fragen der Fassungsgeschichte und Autorschaft der Sonaten Es-Dur und g-Moll, BWV 1031 und 1020," in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 99 (2013): 261–77; and "Bach"/Carl Heinrich Graun (?), *Zwei Sonaten für Violine, Laute und Violoncello*, ed. Stephan Olbertz (Wuppertal, 2014).

[11] Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Bach Archiv Leipzig (Stuttgart, ongoing).

[12] Peter Wollny, ed., *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke*, Bach-Repertorium, Werkverzeichnisse zur Musikerfamilie Bach, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 2012).

[13] CD *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Claviermusik I*, Léon Berben, Carus 83.346/00. The piece is not included in Martin Falk's old work catalogue of the composer: *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: sein Leben und seine Werke mit thematischem Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen und zwei Bildern*, a Leipzig dissertation first published in 1913.

[14] Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, Ms Mk Grn-7 (the shelf mark in Wollny, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis* is missing the letter "n")

[15] There are, however, later pencil additions "Friedemann Bach" to twenty-two pieces.

brary, as it seems, by a distant relative of the Leipzig Bach family, Johann Christian Bach of Halle (1743–1814, the "Hallescher Clavier-Bach," as he is called to avoid confusion with Johann Sebastian's youngest son). Johann Christian was a student of Wilhelm Friedemann in Halle (until 1764 at least), and they must have met also later during his time in Berlin (from 1774 on), where the compilation was written around 1780.[16] Today Johann Christian is known mainly because of his copies of works of the Leipzig Bach family, and in fact, he can be regarded as an important figure in the Wilhelm Friedemann branch of the family.[17] He was an ardent admirer of his teacher's art, and shortly before he died he gave his manuscripts to Johann Nikolaus Julius Kötschau, whose estate was bought in large part by the Königsberg collector Friedrich August Gotthold.[18] Gotthold's vast library of books and musicalia was inherited by the Königsberg Royal and University Library, later known as the State and University Library. In the last days of World War II, important parts of the collection were deposited in the vicinity of Königsberg for safekeeping. But the loss it suffered during the bombardments and the first postwar month was nevertheless enormous. Today the little that is still traceable of the treasures of this library with its unique 500-year tradition is scattered between Berlin and Novosibirsk.[19] The surviving parts of

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The manuscript is listed in Joseph Müller, *Die musikalischen Schätze der Königlichen- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg in Preussen* (Bonn, 1870; reprint: Hildesheim, 1971), as "Sammlung von Sonaten, Fantasien etc. von C. Ph. Emanuel Bach. Vol I–II" with the old shelf mark Rfß3 (98ff.). See also the description and contents (including Falk and Bach Repertorium numberings) given in Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1: *Klaviermusik I*, ed. Peter Wollny (Stuttgart, 2009), 168ff. The *Fantasia* will be published in ibid., vol. 2: *Klaviermusik II*.

[16] Peter Wollny, "Tennstedt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Halle—Neuerkenntnisse zur Bach-Überlieferung in Mitteldeutschland," in *Bach Jahrbuch* 88 (2002): 47–52. For details concerning W. F. Bach's life see Peter Wollny, s.v. "Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed.

[17] Cf. Kirsten Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel, 1992), 110ff.; Wollny, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, 47ff. (compare also the works copied by J. C. Bach in this catalogue); Bach, *Klaviermusik I*, 168ff.

[18] Cf. Wollny, "Tennstedt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Halle," 49.

[19] See Axel E. Walter, "Das Schicksal der Königsberger Archive und Bibliotheken—eine Zwischenbilanz," in *Königsberger Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte*, ed. Axel E. Walter (Köln, 2004), 1ff.; and "Die virtuelle Rekonstruktion der versunkenen Königsberger Bibliothekslandschaft," ibid., 695ff.; see also a more recent and more music-specific article by the same author, "Der Untergang von Bibliotheken und seine Spuren im kulturellen Gedächtnis. Vernichtung und Zerstreuung wertvoller Sammlungen im und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg am Beispiel der Königsberger Bibliotheken," in *Musik-Sammlungen—Speicher interkultureller Prozesse*, Berichte des interkulturellen Forschungsprojekts

Gotthold's music collection are now mainly kept in Vilnius,[20] with the present manuscript in the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania.[21]

Written in grand staff notation as a single, unattributed movement between other, unconnected entries (on pages 47-48), the *Fantasia* stands out from the manuscript's other compositions by the eldest Bach son because of some interesting characteristics, which led Peter Wollny to the assumption that it could be an early work.[22] The part-writing of the piece is remarkably thin: a very slow-moving, unharmonized bass that does not go deeper than AA places full attention on an upper part that also is a bit on the high side and is set freely in one to four voices that only occasionally cross the bottom line of the treble staff. The harmonic progression is quite slow, and different *arpeggio, separée*, and *bariolage* figures used in the stream of flowing sixteenth notes suggest the *style luthée.* From a keyboard technical point of view, the piece can at best be regarded as a beginner's piece, especially when compared to the typical full-voiced, demanding keyboard pieces that surround it.[23] Even so, the inactivity of the left hand's part seems rather strange. To a much greater degree, its style and form give the impression of an allemande for solo lute composed in a late baroque lute style, slightly adapted for the keyboard and notated an octave higher in both staves.

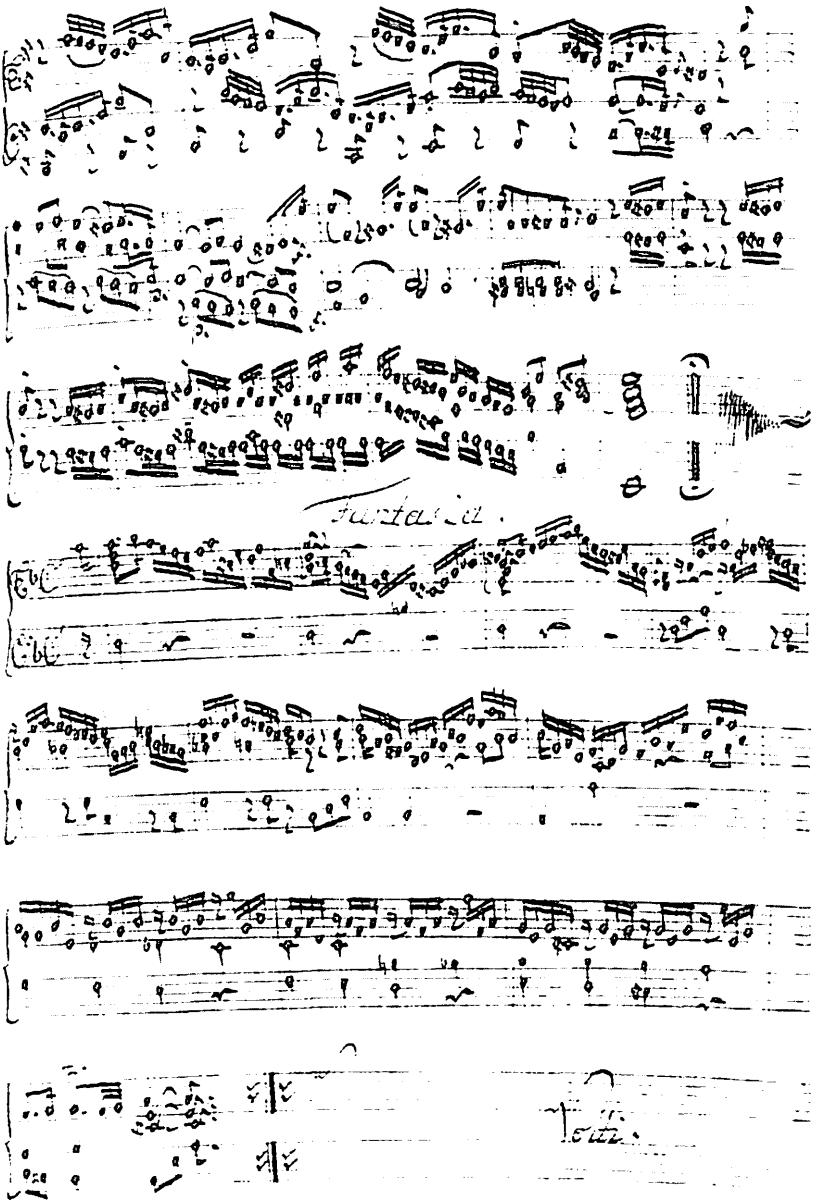
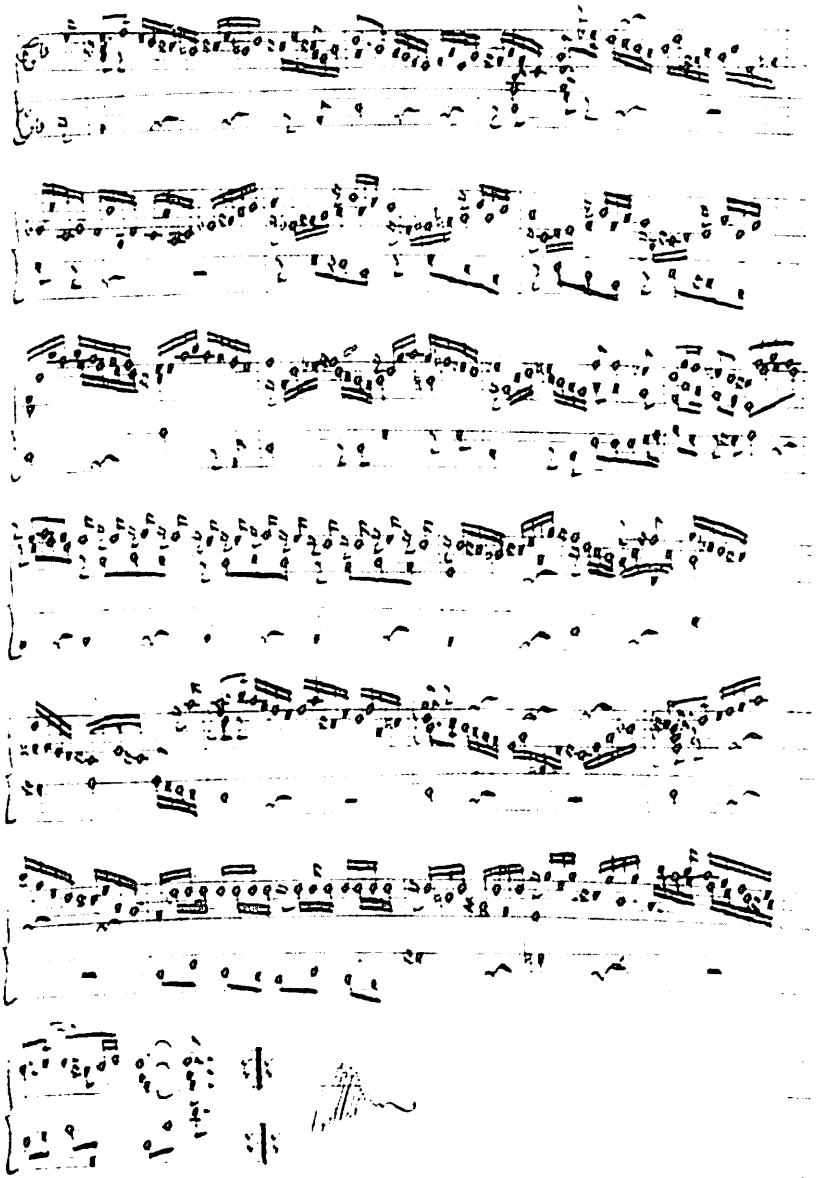
"Deutsche Musikkultur im östlichen Europa," vol. 2, ed. Erik Fischer (Stuttgart, 2007), 19–71.

[20] See Elzbieta Wojnowska, "Auf der Suche nach Königsberger Musikalien—ein kurzer Bericht," in Walter, "Das Schicksal der Königsberger Archive und Bibliotheken," 677ff.; Jūratė Trilupaitienė, "Musikalien aus Königsberg in der 'Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka' und in der 'Lietuvos nacionaline Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka,' " in *Musik-Sammlungen—Speicher interkultureller Prozesse*, 195–206; Klaus-Peter Koch, "Die Gotthold-Sammlung in der ehemaligen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg—Musikalieninventarverzeichnisse und Kataloge verschollener Bestände als Primärquellen," ibid., 576–89, followed by the addendum "Musikalien der Gotthold-Sammlung in der Martynas-Mažvydas-Nationalbibliothek Vilnius," 589–96.

[21] I am grateful to the staff of the National Library in Vilnius, Lithuania, for their help and copies of the manuscript.

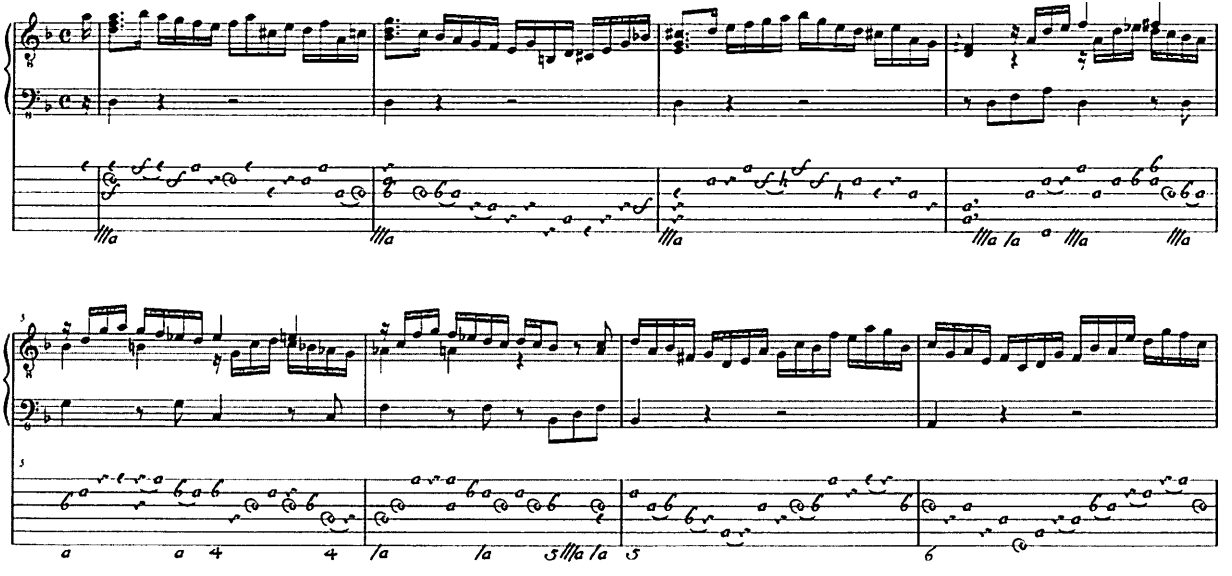
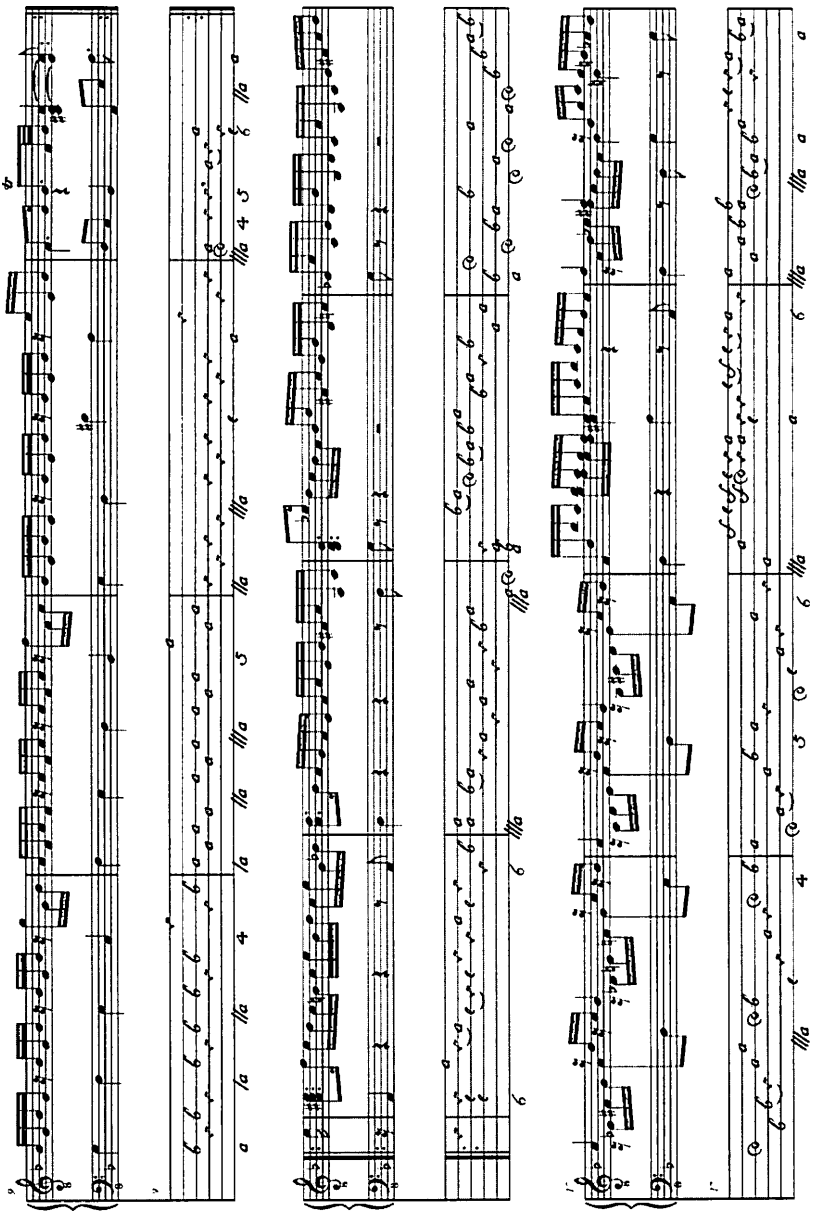
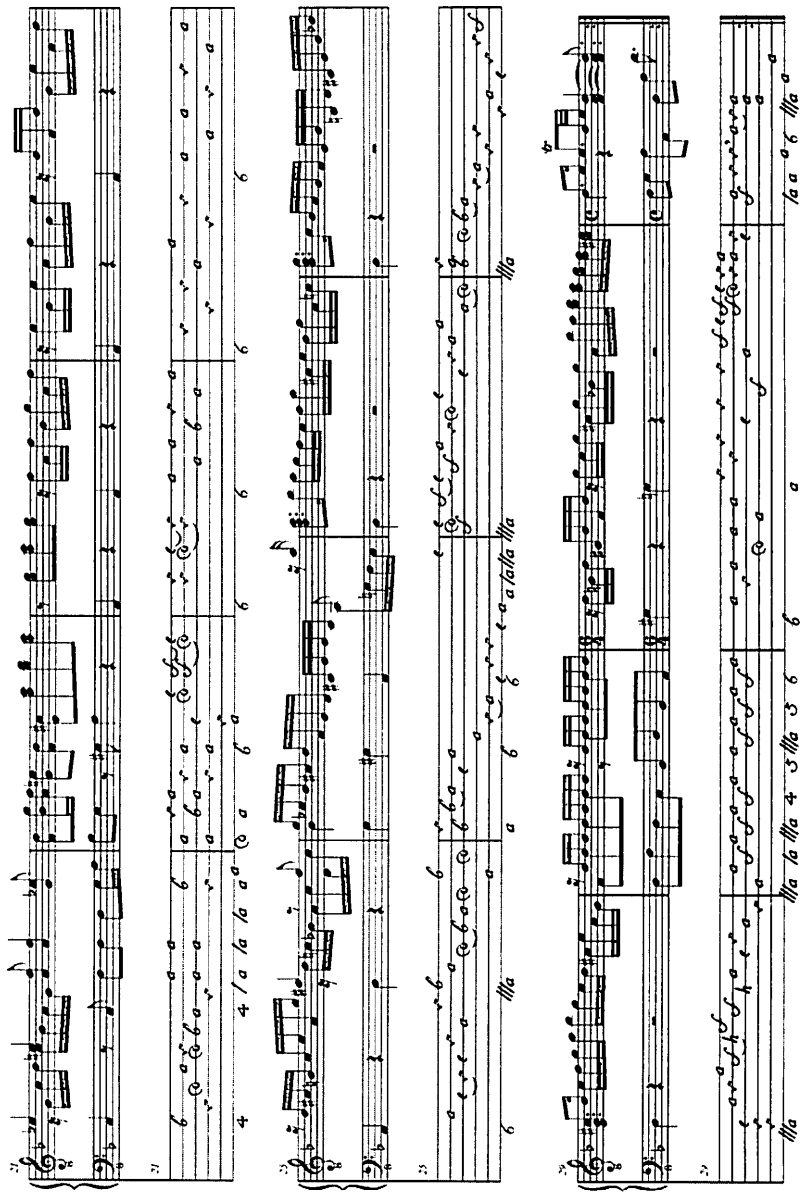
[22] The manuscript contains several *unica* formerly unknown to W. F. Bach scholarship (cf. the contents referred to in n. 15 and Wollny, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis).* It apparently "surfaced" only recently: although rediscovered in 2001, it is not contained in Koch's 2007 catalogue (see n. 20).

[23] The already known *Fantasia* in e-minor, BR A 23/Fk 20 and a "new" *Fantasia* in G-major, BR A 106/Fk deest.

A reconstruction of the *Fantasia* for lute is quite easily done. There is no difficulty in playing the piece right from the score and identifying where an arranger would have added or changed a few notes to accommodate keyboard technique. In addition to some editorial changes for musical reasons, the occasional transposition of bass notes and a thinning of chords are required to create a fluent lute texture. I have provided a facsimile of the original with a reconstructed tablature for lute on the following pages. Above the reconstructed tablature is its transcription in staff notation, which might give a more neutral idea of it since the distribution of the notes on the fingerboard and their articulation are always a matter of personal taste. For the same reason, I did not want to go so far as to add more ornaments, but they can and should be added in performance. Editorial notes are to be found in the appendix to this essay that document the editorial decisions. In the reconstruction, I have chosen what appeared as simple solutions that keep close to the source, but alternatives are possible and often appealing. See the appendix for some second thoughts.

Lithuania, Martynas Mažvydas National Library, Ms Mk Grn-7, pp. 47-48. Reproduced with the kind permission of the library.

Fantasia d-minor

BR-WFB A 105

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach(?)
Reconstructed for baroque lute by Stephan Olbertz

The tablature transcription and all slurs are editorial.
The grand-staff notation has been slightly modernized.
See also the editorial notes below.

The Question of Authorship

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach is known for his great stylistic versatility, ranging between the compositional ideals of his father and new stylistic idioms that culminated in what Christoph Henzel called "Berliner Klassik."[24] His virtuosic tendency even in lighter pieces and a certain musical quirkiness can often be quite demanding for both listener and player, a fact that together with a rather uncompromising attitude may have inhibited greater professional success during his lifetime.[25] The *Fantasia*, on closer examination, seems to lack the usual stylistic features of the works of Wilhelm Friedemann and other prominent composers of his generation, which include an expressive, striding melody, usually characterized by dissonant jumps, and rather varied, often jagged rhythms with frequent use of triplets and graces. Even if considered as an early or very early work, the piece is quite different in style from the *Allemande*, BWV 836, in the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, assumed to be by the youthful composer himself, and from the "capricious, sometimes bizarre" Dresden keyboard works of the 1730s that suggest Jan Dismas Zelenka's influence.[26] But played on the lute, the *Fantasia* loses its unusual character, and the music seems right for the instrument. We suddenly hear an idiomatic piece of lute music on the edge between high baroque and galant idioms. Could Bach, who until now never appeared as a lute composer, have written the piece? Or did he just arrange an original lute piece by a composer friend?

Musical forms with a "multiple personality" were typical of the German mixed taste in the first half of the 18th century. S. L. Weiss in his mainly dance-based *Partien* made extensive use of features of the Italian sonata, the French ouverture and suite, the concerto, and the fantasia.

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[24] For a short overview on his keyboard works, see Wollny, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, 23ff.

[25] See, e.g., Carl Friedrich Zelter's report to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1829): "He was held to be stubborn, since he would not play for anybody, although he was not that way toward us young people and would play for hours. As a composer he had an obsession ('tic douloureux') with being original and distinguishing himself from his father and brothers. He therefore got involved in piddling, petty, fruitless things . . ." Translation after David Schulenberg, *The Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (Rochester, NY, 2010), 9ff. Concerning W. F. Bach's usually technically demanding early and galant style, see Peter Wollny, "The Polonaises of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach," in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge, 2003), 171.

[26] According to Peter Wollny in W. F. Bach, *Klaviermusik I*, viii.

In this regard a "fantasia in the style of an allemande" would fit quite well into his œuvre, and indeed, of his sixteen authentic fantasies there is one that is transmitted as both a fantasia and an allemande.[27] Likewise, allemande-like structures can be found among his works under the title *Entrée* or *Intrada, Ouverture, Tombeau, Andante*, and even *Vivace*. The reprise of the opening material of the A section toward the end of the second strain in the *Fantasia* under consideration is also a common feature in Weiss's music, and it adds a bit of concerto character and the opportunity to repeat an especially successful *inventio*. Allemandes with reprises can be found in the following works by Weiss: SW 35, 40 (under the title *Entrée*), 48, 51, 95, and 98. Also, from a more structural view, the character of the *Fantasia* is clearly similar to Weiss's style of the 1730s: a long but varied improvisational binary structure with *inventio* followed by sequential work and a cadenza is combined with a singing upper voice, occasional imitation, and spicy use of chromatic elements. However, the *Fantasia* doesn't seem to match Weiss's mature style completely.[28] Something seems to be missing compared to his usually virtually unending cantabile lines. The rather plain modulation scheme is accompanied by typical *galant* features instead: short phrases (notably in the first strain), abrupt texture changes to consecutive thirds and sixths (in the second strain), double appoggiaturas (in measure 4 and also written out in measures 22 and 23), and the delayed bass figure in measures 4 and 6.

Interestingly, several examples of similar "pseudo-Weiss" pieces exist in a lute manuscript held in Moscow, notably two allemandes with end-reprises of their opening themes.[29] The manuscript is probably con-

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[27] Cf. WeissSW 71.2, titled *Fantasie* in Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, VIII.2, and Allemande in Rheda, Fürst zu Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek, Ms. 879 (olim 604).

[28] I am indebted to Tim Crawford for this evaluation. For a description of Weiss's style see David Ledbetter, *Unaccompanied Bach: Performing the Solo Works* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 53ff.; Douglas Alton Smith, "The Late Sonatas of Silvius Leopold Weiss" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1977), 43–114; also the booklet texts Tim Crawford has written for Robert Barto's recordings of Weiss's lute sonatas (Vols. 2–11, Naxos). No concordances, neither melodic nor harmonic, have been found until now in the baroque lute literature via the incipits listed by Peter Steur and Markus Lutz at *Musik für Barocklaute*, http://mss.slweiss.de.

[29] Moscow, Glinka National Museum, Ms. 282/8; facsimile: Tim Crawford, ed., *The Moscow Weiss Manuscript* (Columbus, OH, 1995). A similar style is found in a Baltic manuscript now in Strasbourg (Institut de Musicologie de l'Université, Rm 271), cf. ibid., n. 45.

nected to S. L. Weiss's student Timofei Bielogradski and the time he spent in St. Petersburg or to the Königsberg school of lutenists around the latter's student Johann Reichardt and Weiss's nephew Carl Joseph Franz Weiss.[30] If the *Fantasia* originally belonged to W. F. Bach's own library, as it appears, it is possible that he received and arranged it on a journey to the Baltic and St. Petersburg in the mid-1760s, about the time the Moscow manuscript was written.[31] There is, however, no music that can be ascribed securely to any of these lutenists, so this speculation remains tentative.

Another work in a Brussels manuscript, a sonata stylistically close to the Moscow pieces, also has an allemande with a recapitulation of the opening theme at its end. It was anonymously transmitted in a manuscript owned and possibly even written by Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched in Leipzig.[32] It must be noted, however, that the *Fantasia* under consideration is a well-proportioned and masterfully varied elaboration on the *inventio* of its first three measures. It is clearly a better work than the *galant* pieces just mentioned, which like much of the 18th-century lute literature besides that of S. L. Weiss and a few others have to be considered a bit amateurish, if nevertheless charming.

S. L. Weiss was the most influential lute composer in the 18th century, praised by both lutenists and nonlutenists. A recently discovered honorary poem on the Saxon court chapel by Johann Gottlob Kittel has eighteen lines devoted to Weiss, exceeding in length all other musicians' entries by far.[33] It is quite possible that W. F. Bach, like his father, also

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[30] See Crawford, *The Moscow Weiss Manuscript*, xvi; for C. J. F. Weiss see Rüdiger Thomsen-Fürst, ". . . *mit einem Priester in der Pfaltz verheyrathet.* Zur Biographie der Juliana Margaretha und zu einem unbekannten Zweig der Lautenistenfamilie Weiss," in *Die Laute* (Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft), vol. 4 (Frankfurt/M., 2002), 41-47. The "Königsberg-Weiss" had formerly been suggested to be Weiss's son Johan Adolph Faustinus, though without concrete evidence.

[31] Cf. Wollny, "The Polonaises of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach," 176ff.; Crawford, *The Moscow Weiss Manuscript*, viii.

[32] *Sonata* in E flat major, B-Br Ms. II 4087, fascicle II, titled "supposedly by Baron" (in German) by a later hand, but probably not by Baron. See E. G. Baron, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, ed. Jan W. J. Burgers (Lübeck, 2004), 30ff.

[33] Cf. Johann Gottlob Kittel, *Lob-Gedicht auf die sächsische Hofkapelle* (Dresden, 1740, facsimile: Beeskow, 2008, ed. Gerhard Poppe). Since the source is not commonly known yet, I am providing the original German text here: "Kaum als er [Apollo] das geredt, ward in der *Assemblée* / Annoch zu guter letzt aufs allerkünstlichste / Ein Solo angestimmt vom Weltberühmten **Weisen**, / Dich, großer *Virtuos* kann ich nicht gnugsam preisen, / Sprach er, ich geb Dir freiwillig selbst den Rang: / denn Dein *harmonischer* und sanfter Lauten-Klang, / dem meine Harfe weicht, ermuntert, labt, erquicket, / Stärckt und belustiget,

appreciated the famous man's art. Weiss's compositional skills seem to have especially ripened during the time Wilhelm Friedemann worked in Dresden as organist in the Sophienkirche, from 1733 to 1746, and we might speculate that there was some mutual influence between them. The lutenist's *Sonata* in g-minor, WeissSW 94 (stemming probably from the 1730s), is maybe the closest in style to W. F. Bach, both harmonically and formally, and it recapitulates the opening theme at the end of its allemande, titled *Andante.* It is of course tempting to imagine Weiss and Bach offering their mutual compliments in the 1730s by imitating each other's style in the *Sonata* and the *Fantasia.* The *Fantasia* in its assumed original form as a lute composition is a nice fit for the instrument from a technical point of view, which would definitely call for a close collaboration with a lute player who could give technical advice. This could have been Weiss himself—or perhaps Johann Kropfgans (1708–ca. 1770). Unfortunately, today we have hardly any sources concerning W. F. Bach's professional or private musical activity in Dresden.[34] His duties in the church were few, as his income was low, and there are no records of a courtly appointment for him, so further teaching and playing activities are quite probable. Apart from the records about the musical ensemble of Prime Minister Count Heinrich von Brühl, there are hardly any sources from the time informing us about aristocratic chapels and private music circles in the city, where musicians surely would have met and where W. F. Bach's acquaintance with Weiss and Kropfgans could have originated.[35]

As a matter of fact, Kropfgans could have taken part in producing such a cooperative work with a different nonlutenist composer, a long

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durchdringet und entzücket; / Ja dieser Zauber-Thon bezwingt die Herzen so, daß man bald traurig wird, bald unvermuthet froh; / Wird dort *Amphions* Ruhm durch Fabeln nur erhoben, / so kann ich Dich vielmehr mit Grund der Wahrheit loben, / Die Herzen folgen Dir von Eisen Stahl und Stein / Und also mußt Du mehr als jener Künstler sein. / Kurz es vereinigen sich alle Lieblichkeiten / Der ganzen *Musica* mit Deiner Laute Sayten, / Als in den Mittel-Punckt, daher Dein Instrument / Der andern Königin, wie billig wird genennt."

[34] Cf. Gerhard Poppe, "Ein Sohn des Thomaskantors in der kursächsischen Residenzstadt—Annotationen zum Thema, Dresden und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach," in *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und die protestantische Kirchenkantate nach 1750*, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 1, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Peter Wollny (Beeskow, 2012), 69–78.

[35] Cf. Poppe, "Ein Sohn des Thomaskantors," 75ff. For Brühl's chapel see Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703– 1755), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig* (Beeskow, 2006). See also the anecdote about Benda, Weiss, and Pisendel in Johann Adam Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler, neuerer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1784), 45ff.

Tombeau for solo lute written in 1738 by his friend and colleague Georg Gebel the younger (1709–1753).[36] Both from Breslau, they entered the service of Count von Brühl together in 1735.[37] Gebel is indeed reported to have composed for the lute while still in Breslau, which would make him the only known nonlute-playing composer besides J. S. Bach who wrote solo music for the instrument.[38] The *Tombeau* seems to be cleverly written for the lute, already *empfindsam* in style and form. However, since Gebel learned to play Pantaleon Hebenstreit's large dulcimer pantalon and is reported to have composed for it in Dresden, the often thin-voiced *Tombeau* with three slow movements and frequently indicated dynamic changes from *pianissimo* to *forte* could also be a transcription of an original work written for that instrument, a forerunner of the fortepiano in technique and dynamic possibilities.[39]

It seems only remotely possible that Kropfgans or Gebel could have composed the *Fantasia* based on Weiss's stylistic idioms, for their known compositions bear no stylistic resemblance to the piece. Similar doubts arise concerning two other lute-playing composers known to W. F. Bach during his Leipzig years: Johann Ludwig Krebs and Rudolf Straube. The list of names could be continued with Johann Christian Weyrauch

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[36] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 5362, f. 51vff. Thanks to Tim Crawford for bringing my attention to Gebel.

[37] In 1746 Gebel changed to the court of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, while Kropfgans and three other Breslau musicians stayed for nearly thirty years in von Brühl's service until the latter's death in 1763; cf. Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer*, 61ff. and 73. On Gebel's life see Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1754), 250–66; also Manfred Fechner, "Ein weißer Fleck: Georg Gebel d. J. (1709–1753) als Kirchenkomponist. Vom Breslauer Wunderkind zum Rudolstädter Hofkapellmeister," in *Probleme der Migration von Musik und Musikern in Europa im Zeitalter des Barock*, Arolser Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 9, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Klaus-Peter Koch (Sinzig, 2002), 57–75.

[38] Cf. Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*, 258, though Marpurg's informant wasn't too sure about Gebel's lute compositions, which like much of Gebel's instrumental music have not survived. Concerning the evaluation of the lute solo repertory, see Konrad Junghänel, "Lautenkompositionen," in *Johann Sebastian Bach, Spätwerk und Umfeld* (Duisburg, 1986), 157–68, especially 159. Junghänel apparently wasn't aware of Gebel, though.

[39] See Wolfgang Ruf, s.v. "Hebenstreit, Pantaleon," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed; on Gebel's pantalon playing see Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*, 262ff. Incidentally, Gebel's smaller version of the instrument had only one register strung with gut strings, as opposed to Hebenstreit's two registers with a low gut- and high metal-strung register, so his playing would have actually sounded quite lute-like. Cf. Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt/main, 1802), 1134ff., http://archive.org/details/MusikalischesLexikon1802.

and L. A. V. Gottsched, who are both known to have composed, though no compositions of theirs have survived to compare with the *Fantasia*. A rather intriguing, if still speculative, possible composer would be the young Friedrich Wilhelm Rust (1739–1796), W. F. Bach's student and secretary in Halle around 1760.[40] His surviving lute works date from the end of the century and are completely classical in style, whereas his early instrumental works seem to be stylistically closer to his tutor's music.[41] Sadly, we don't know when he began his lute studies, and his autobiography doesn't even mention the lute at all.[42] Another interesting connection is that to Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723–1787), King Frederick's sister residing in Berlin, whose patronage Bach gained and unluckily lost again in his first Berlin years (from 1774 on). Like her sister Wilhelmine, the music-loving princess composed on a rather high level and played the lute.[43] Her conservative taste would certainly correspond with the piece, though it is not known whether she still played the lute at the time Bach was in Berlin.

Conclusion

In the end, two questions remain: Why should W. F. Bach have chosen to arrange a piece by a student or admirer of S. L. Weiss, when he doesn't appear to have transcribed a work by the master himself? And if the *Fantasia* discussed in the present study is by Bach himself, why would he have hidden his own somewhat eccentric style to such a degree? While the quality of the composition definitely diminishes the circle of possible lutenist composers, it still seems too speculative to postulate an author other than Wilhelm Friedemann Bach for the lack of hard evidence to the contrary. The attribution to him is supported by the character of the source, which was written by a most reliable copyist from his close circle and which contains almost all of his keyboard works. We might guess that the title hints at a fancied Weissian lute style or that the work may be reminiscent of an improvisation session, possibly with S. L. Weiss

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[40] Cf. Wollny, "Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann."

[41] Cf. Farstad, "German Galant Lute Music," 463ff. for a list of lute works by F. W. Rust.

[42] Thanks to Peter Wollny, who kindly answered my query about this autograph source in private possession.

[43] She took lute lessons with E. G. Baron; cf. Reinhard Oestreich, *Verzeichnis der Werke Christoph Schaffraths* (Beeskow, 2012), 12. It is possible that Schaffrath's sonata for lute and violoncello was written for her as he served from 1744 on as a chamber musician and probably also music librarian for the princess.

himself.[44] Although the idiomatic writing of the *Fantasia* points to the editorial involvement of a lute player to some extent, it seems best to consider the piece as a composition by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, albeit with a question mark.

What seems clear is that the *Fantasia* in its manuscript form deals with the third category of the functions of lute music in staff notation described earlier: transcriptions or arrangements of original lute music. Interestingly, this would put the *Fantasia* in line with two little known transcriptions J. S. Bach made of his *St. John Passion* lute obbligato (BWV 245/19) for organ in 1732 (with *Chorton* transposition) and for harpsichord in 1749.[45] Both share with the *Fantasia* the consequent notation one octave higher in both staves.[46] If the son followed his father's example, his *Fantasia* could have been originally written down for an unknown lutenist dedicatee, be it out of friendliness, flattery, or pure financial reasons, and then reworked for his own use, probably for harpsichord.

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[44] See the anecdote on Weiss and J. S. Bach improvising in a private contest in the "Autobiographie von Johann Friedrich Reichardt," *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung* 1, no. 71 (1805): 281, https://archive.org/details/BerlinischeMusikalischeZeitungBd.11805. W. F. Bach in his later years was known as the greatest living improviser; cf. Wollny, "Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann."

[45] As was recently noted by David Ledbetter in *Unaccompanied Bach*, 252. Cf. sources B 25 and B 26 in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245, ed. Arthur Mendel, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke (*NBA*) 2, vol. 4 (Kassel, 1974).

[46] In BWV 1025 the bass is occasionally notated at sounding pitch, much like a violoncello part in contemporary lute trios.

APPENDIX

Editorial Notes

The following comments indicate where changes have been made in reconstructing the lute version of the *Fantasia.* Accidentals follow modern usage in that they are in effect for the remainder of a measure after once indicated. Polyphonic notation has been simplified for ease of reading, and stem directions have been altered where appropriate. Note names follow the octave transposing clefs used in the reconstruction, except where stated otherwise. The reconstruction uses clefs that both transpose down an octave; pitches are identified in the comments by how they actually sound: c′ = middle c (notated in the third space from the bottom of the upper staff in the reconstruction).

Measure/beat	Comment
3/1	chord note b-flat omitted (see "Explanations and Alternative Solutions" below)
5/3	imitation in middle voice adjusted (compare m. 21/1): third and fourth sixteenth notes mistakenly one third too low (note also the missing warning accidental on b′-flat in the source), first sixteenth note omitted
6/1	chord note c′ omitted; f′ in upper voice omitted according to imitation in mm. 20-21
6/3	b-flat in middle voice omitted
7–8	middle voice on beats 1 and 4 omitted; bass notes on beat 2 omitted
9–10	middle voice on beat 4 transposed down an octave instead of rest in bass
9–11	middle voice on beats 1–3 omitted
9/1	fourth sixteenth note changed from e to g (see "Explanations and Alternative Solutions" below)
10/1	fourth sixteenth note changed from d to f
11/1	fourth sixteenth note changed from c-sharp to e
11	bass note on beat 3 transposed up an octave; middle voice on beat 4 becomes bass instead of rest in bass voice

12	middle voice f (unison) added (see m. 32) on beat 1; middle voice A and B-flat on beats 1 and 2 omitted (see m. 32)
13/4	chord notes c′-sharp and a omitted (see "Explanations and Alternative Solutions" below)
14/4	chord notes d and f-sharp omitted
17–18	first two bass notes on beats 1 and 3 omitted; second notes of upper voice on beats 2 and 4 omitted (see "Explanations and Alternative Solutions" below)
19/1	middle voice d omitted (octave effect of the 10th course)
23/3	sixteenth note rest added
26	middle voice f omitted on beat 2; bass note on beat 3 transposed down an octave
29/1	see m. 3/1
31	time signature change added
31/3	middle voice e omitted
32/2	middle voice c′-sharp omitted

Explanations and Alternative Solutions:

- The diminished seventh chord on beat one of measure 3 of the keyboard arrangement (also in measure 29) has to be thinned out to be playable on the lute. The solution in the reconstruction of omitting the b′-flat provides a nice connection to the end of measure 3 and the following double appoggiatura in measure 4. Alternatively, one could leave the g′ or e′ out.
- The reconstruction of measures 9–11 is based on the assumption that the keyboard arranger filled out the original lute texture by introducing a more or less chromatic middle part. Beginning with chord notes on the first beat of each measure, the line descends chromatically to the last measure of the section, where it combines with the bass. The upper voice is connected to this middle part by the fourth sixteenth note of the first beat of each measure, which in each case is an upper neighbor tone to the note that immediately follows in the middle part. The reconstruction proposes that the original lute figuration on the first beats of these measures had the same notes as those on the second and third beats although not disposed in the same way. Alternatively, the figuration might also have been exactly the same with a rest followed by the upper, lower and again upper chord notes.
- In the keyboard score the second half of measures 13/4 and 14/4 have two somewhat superfluous chord notes that seem to have been written in by the arranger for extra rhythmic support. The reconstruction suggests that the original lute melody had the rising thirds g′ to b′-flat (13/4) and a to c′ (14/4). The latter (14/4) is not supported by the beaming in the keyboard score, however, and could also be left as it appears there (f′-sharp to c′), but compare measures 1/4 and 2/4.
- The sequence in measures 17–18 had to be thinned out both in the upper and lower part in the reconstruction to give an idiomatic result. The second sixteenth notes on beats two and four repeat the preceding notes of the middle voice and thus have been omitted in favor of the bass, which on the lute doesn't seem to need the first two notes of its figure. If all upper voice notes in these measures are to be played, however, the second notes of the bass figures in the keyboard source would also be required to avoid the impression of covered fifths.

A Souvenir from the Veneto: Vincenzo Galilei's First Book of Lute Tablatures (1563)

By Richard K. Falkenstein

It is unfortunate that the early years of Vincenzo Galilei's career remain obscure in view of his place in sixteenth-century Italian music. What is known about that time—when he was active primarily as a lutenist, teacher, and composer—rests on scant archival material and has been overshadowed by his later contributions to music theory and by his role as spokesperson for the Florentine intellectual circles he frequented. His practical experience informed his theoretical work, however, and it is an important element in the consideration of his position within his musical culture. The present study intends to shed some light on his activties and musical tastes during the early 1560s by focusing on his first publication, the 1563 *Intavolature de lauto . . . Libro primo* (hereafter referred to as *Libro primo*).[1]

While the *Libro primo* has received mention from modern scholars treating Galilei, there are only a few studies that have dealt with it to any substantial degree. Oscar Chilesotti discussed it briefly in an early twentieth-century article, and it has received some passing attention from others whose commentaries on the volume focus primarily on its relationship with Galilei's later work and the pieces it preserves that are found in no other source: ricercars by Francesco da Milano as well as arrangements of vocal works by Alessandro Romano, Galilei himself, and

[1] The only known surviving exemplar of the *Libro primo* is preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Suzanne G. Cusick describes the bibliographical aspects of that exemplar in *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 200-1, see also 63-65. It is also described in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 205 (item 1563$_7$). Brown gives corrections to his description in his later "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome: His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context," *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, ed. V. Coelho (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), 154-56. Appendix 2 of the present study further updates and corrects that information. I wish to acknowledge here my gratefulness to the late Mme. Sylvie Minkoff for providing me with a photostat of the *Libro primo;* the present essay is an expansion of an introduction I wrote for a projected facsimile edition she planned to publish.

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others.[2] Howard Mayer Brown has provided the most extensive examination of the source to date in a study published in1992.[3] In his usual masterful style, Brown analyzed the source's contents and made many thought-provoking comments concerning Galilei and his place in the development of Italian music. He also made a strong case for the possible association of the musician with Rome during the early years of his career, basing that speculation on the activity orbits of the composers represented within the *Libro primo*, the musical style of its contents, and the tendencies of its printer.

For several reasons, the *Libro primo* deserves another look. In particular, the evidence of Galilei's association with Rome needs reevaluation, and that will occupy much of the following discussion. Since the publication of Brown's article, our understanding of the careers of the musicians represented in the *Libro primo* has changed; furthermore, statements made by Galilei in his 1568 *Fronimo dialogo* that are pertinent to the 1563 publication need to be brought into consideration. To be more specific, Galilei's announcement that not all of the arrangements in the *Libro primo* are his is of obvious significance. An examination of the source confirms that there are different arranging styles in its tablatures, some of which adhere to the principles later advocated by Galilei in *Fronimo dialogo* and some that do not. The results of such an examination will be presented below, and one of the conclusions to be drawn from them is that those tablatures most likely from Galilei's hand suggest that, instead of Rome, he was active in Venice and especially in the Veneto—the nearby mainland area that includes the cities of Treviso and Verona—such that at least part of the *Libro primo* might be considered a sort of souvenir album of his experiences there.

Some context for the publication of the *Libro primo* is in order here before launching into the main argument of the present study. Galilei was in his early or midthirties in the year of its issue, and he wrote its dedication on 7 April 1563 in Pisa, where he had been living since the 1550s and where he had married Giulia degli Ammannati the previous summer.[4] The dedication is addressed to Alessandro de' Medici in grati-

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[2] Oscar Chilesotti gives a brief overview of the book's contents in "Il primo libro di liuto di Vincenzo Galilei," *Rivista musicale italiana* 15 (1908): 753-58. Other studies with significant discussions of the volume are Chiara Orsini, "Vincenzo Galilei," *Fronimo* 62 (1988): 22-23; and Philippe Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei* (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 184-88.

[3] Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 153-84.

[4] We do not know Galilei's birth date, but there is growing consensus that he was prob-

tude for unspecified favors rendered by his father, Bernardetto. Father and son belonged to a branch of the Medici family distinct from that of the duke of Tuscany, a branch that by the early seventeenth century included Pope Leo XI and the duke of Sarno among its members.[5] Galilei appears to have had a business relationship with Bernardetto since there is a record of a transaction between them concerning fabric; members of Galilei's family were involved in the textile trade, so perhaps he was active in the profession to some degree as well.[6] Thus, it is possible that the favors Galilei mentioned could relate to business dealings. The dedication might also indicate that Alessandro had somehow aided in the publication of the *Libro primo*, perhaps by providing financial backing, since Galilei mentions that the book was put into press under the protection of his dedicatee's name.[7]

The *Libro primo* was published in Rome by Valerio Dorico, who was not an especially prolific publisher of lute music, having issued only two books of tablature besides Galilei's: one containing music by Francesco da Milano and Perino Fiorentino, and another by Johannes Matelart.[8] It is not clear why Galilei chose to publish with Dorico, but the

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ably born in the late 1520s or perhaps early 1530s rather than the traditionally accepted date of 1520. Thus, by 1563 he was probably in his early to midthirties. Galilei's biography is discussed in Orsini, "Vincenzo Galilei," 7-16; see also Fabio Fano, *La camerata fiorentina. Vincenzo Galilei, 1520?-1591. La sua opera d'artista e di teorico come espressione di nuove idealità musicali*, Istitutioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana 4 (Milan: Ricordi, 1934), xxii-xxxiii. Another useful study is Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo* Galilei, 17-44. See Appendix 1 below for a transcription of Galilei's dedication.

[5] See the family tree preceding chapter 1 and also the text on pp. 290, 375, and 574 (index: "Ottaviano") in Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: I Medici* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1976). On Bernardetto, see Mariagrazia Carlone, "Knights of the Lute: Musical Sources," *JLSA* 38 (2005): 5, n. 10.

[6] Orsini, "Vincenzo Galilei," 10-11. Mariagrazia Carlone has proposed that Bernardetto might be the composer identified as "B. M." in the 1584 edition of *Fronimo dialogo*; see her "Knights of the Lute: Musical Sources," 4-5.

[7] The pertinent passage reads as follows: "Percio sentendomi per la bassezza della fortuna mia, privo di altri mezzi a pervenire al fine di tal intentione, mi·e parso di mettere insieme alcune intavolature mie, & fattone un libro, dedicarlo a voi, & sotto la protetione del nome vostro, mandarlo in luce."

[8] *Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino . . . Libro primo* ([1546]) and *Intavolatura de leuto de Ioanne Matelart* (1559). The Francesco/Perino print survives complete in Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, and incomplete in Charlesville, Bibliothèque municipale; see Mirco Caffagni and Franco Pavan, eds., Perino Fiorentino: *Opere per liuto* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 1996), v-vi. The Charlesville exemplar is described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 221-22 (item 15661); and Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 215-16, see also 30-31. The volume is dated 1566 but was probably published in

idea could have come from Galilei's professional contacts. It is thought that he studied music in Florence as a youth, so he might have asked for advice concerning publishers from someone there, and indeed, two Florentines—Giovanni Animuccia and Stefano Rossetto—published with the Dorico firm in the 1550s and 1560s.[9]

Table 1 lists the contents of the *Libro primo*. An index in the source provides attributions for the part-music models of the vocal arrangements, although there are errors in it concerning the composers for two pieces and an incorrect title for another: in the index Vincenzo Ferro's "Vel può giurar Amor" is attributed to Jhan Gero, Giovanni Domenico da Nola's "Giunto m'ha amor" is attributed to Orlando di Lasso, and the title of Vincenzo Ruffo's "Com' havrà vit' Amor" is given as "Com' havrà fin' Amor." Table 1 provides the correct composers and title.[10] Most notable is that about two-thirds of the source's contents, twenty-two of thirty-four pieces, are unique to the source; that is, they appear nowhere else in any form (the unique works are marked with an asterisk in the table).

1546, the incorrect date on the print probably resulting from a scrambling of its Roman numerals. I have discussed this most recently in "Perino Fiorentino (1523-1552), His Life and Works," *JLSA* 34 (2001): 59-60. Dorico (or his typesetter) seems to have had a problem with Roman numerals: the date on the title page of Galilei's *Libro primo* is also wrong ("MLXII"—the "D" after the "M" is missing), but it is correct in Galilei's dedication.

The Matelart print is described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 189 (item 1559_7); and in Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 192-94, see also 63-65. Two exemplars of this print survive, one in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, and the other in Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna (formerly called Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale). The latter copy has been published in facsimile by Orlando Cristoforetti, ed. (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1979).

[9] Giovanni Animuccia, a Florentine active in Rome, published his first book of motets for 5 voices (1552) and a book of madrigals for 5 voices (1554) with Dorico; the books are described in Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 175-76 and 181. Stefano Rossetto published his *Musica nova* with the heirs of Dorico in 1566, three years after the publication of Galilei's *Libro primo*, writing his dedication for the volume from his post in Florence; see the description in Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 217-18.

[10] "Vel può giurar Amor" was published in *Madrigali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissime autori . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1551), which is a possible source for the model of the lute arrangement. If so, it is likely that composer attributions were confused during the arrangement process because Ferro's piece sits side by side with one by Gero in the part-music source. Giovanni Domenico da Nola's "Giunto m'ha amor" was published under his name in 1562, but it seems to have been unclear who the composer was to other lutenists in addition to Galilei: both Cosimo Bottegari and Emanuel Adriansen indicated that its composer was "incerto" (see Appendix 2 of the present study). The appearance of the incorrect title for Ruffo's piece is probably the result of confusion with

Table 1:
Contents of Galilei's 1563 *Libro primo.*

Page	Title	Composer
1	*Ahi bella libertà	Alessandro Romano
2	*Pur mi consola	Alessandro Romano
3	*Gl'occhi invaghiro al' hor'	Alessandro Romano
3-4	*Ne mi lece ascoltar	Alessandro Romano
5	*Pur mi consola	Alessandro Romano
6	Com' havrà vit' Amor	Vincenzo Ruffo
7-8	*Ahi chi mi da consiglio	Alessandro Romano
9-10	Baciami vita mia	Domenico Maria Ferrabosco
11-12	*Mordimi questa lingua	Giovanni del Cartolaio
13-14	Vel può giurar Amor	Vincenzo Ferro
15-16	Chiare fresche e dolci acque	Jacques Arcadelt
17-18	S'egli è per mio destino	Jacques Arcadelt
19-20	Tempo verrà ancor forse	Jacques Arcadelt
21-22	Da' bei rami scendea	Jacques Arcadelt
22-24	Quante volte diss'io	Jacques Arcadelt
25-26	*Signor mio caro	Vincenzo Galilei
27	*Alcun non può saper	Vincenzo Galilei
28-29	Nasce la gioia mia	Giovan Nasco
30-31	Dove tocca costei	Giovan Nasco
32	*Dapoi che sotto il ciel	Vincenzo Galilei
33	*Questa leggiadra	Vincenzo Galilei
34-35	Io mi son giovinetta	Domenico Maria Ferrabosco
35-36	*Deh non fuggir	Ippolito Ciera
37	*O famelice inique	Vincenzo Galilei
38	*Così nel mio cantar	Vincenzo Galilei
39-40	Giunto m'ha amor	Giovanni Domenico da Nola
40-42	*Nella più verde piaggia	Ippolito Ciera
43	*Zefiro torna	Vincenzo Galilei
44-45	*Ricercare primo	Francesco da Milano
45-46	*Ricercare secondo	Francesco da Milano
47	*Ricercare terzo	Francesco da Milano
48	*Ricercare quarto	Francesco da Milano
49	*Ricercare quinto	Francesco da Milano
50-51	*Ricercare sesto	Francesco da Milano

* Indicates the piece is unique to the source.

Of special interest among the contents are the arrangements of a madrigal cycle, Jacques Arcadelt's setting of Francesco Petrarch's canzone "Chiare fresche e dolci acque" (pages 15 through 24), and of what might be called an expanded sonnet setting, Alessandro Romano's "Ahi bella libertà" (pages 1 through 5). Instrumental arrangements of madrigal cycles are rare in printed collections from the sixteenth century: outside of the one in the *Libro primo* and some in Galilei's two editions of *Fronimo dialogo*, there are only a few other examples.[11] Although unique to the source and without text, it is almost certain that the arrangement of Alessandro Romano's "Ahi bella libertà" is a multisection setting of Petrarch's sonnet with the same incipit since two succeeding tablatures (nos. 3 and 4 in the *Libro primo*) have titles that correspond to the incipits of the second quatrain and the concluding sestet of the same poem. The other two tablatures associated with these settings (nos. 2 and 5) have the same incipit, "Pur mi consola," very possibly the last tercet of another sonnet by Petrarch, "Fera stella"; both poems incorporate the image of Amor's arrow (strale):

No. 1) Ahi bella libertà, come tu m'ài,
partendoti da me, mostrato quale

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the similar title of Cipriano de Rore's "Com' havran fin," a work arranged by Galilei in *Fronimo dialogo* (the correct title of Ruffo's work appears next to the pertinent tablature on p. 6 of the *Libro primo*).

[11] The 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* contains arrangements of the following cycles: Cipriano de Rore's "Alla dolc' ombra," Annibale Padovano's "A qualunque animale," Orlando di Lasso's "Standomi un giorno," and Lasso's "Là ver l'aurora"; the 1584 edition contains arrangements of Padovano's work and Ippolito Baccusi's "Per pianto la mia carne." A survey of the printed collections in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, adds a few more arrangements from the following sources: *Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano di Rore . . . spartiti et accommodati per sonar d'ogni sorte d'instrumento perfetto, & per qualunque studioso di contrapunti* (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1577), Rore's "Alla dolc' ombra" [Brown, 286, item 1577_5]; Giulio Cesare Barbetta, *Novae tablulae musicae testudinariae hexachordae et heptachordae* (Strassburg: B. Jobin, 1582), Giaches de Wert's "Che giova posseder" [Brown, 307-8, item 1582_1]; Girolamo della Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & do voce humana . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1584), superius excerpts from Rore's "Alla dolc' ombra" [Brown, 327-28, item 1584_1]; Girolamo della Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & do voce humana . . . Libro secondo* (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1584), Rore's "Alla dolc' ombra" [Brown, 328-29, item 1584_2]; and Gabriel Fallamero, *Il primo libro de intavolatura da liuto* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1584), Lasso's "Standomi un giorno" [Brown, 329-31, item 1584_3].

era 'l mio stato quando il primo strale
fece la piaga ond' io non guerrò mai!

(Ah, sweet liberty, how by departing from me you have shown me what my state was when the first arrow made the wound of which I shall never be cured!)

No. 2) Pur mi consola che languir per lei
meglio è che gioir d'altra, et tu mel giuri
per l'orato tuo strale, et io tel credo.

(Still it consoles me that it is better to languish for her than enjoy another, and you swear it to me by your golden arrow, and I believe you.)[12]

The *Libro primo* includes a large proportion of pieces by composers active in Rome before its publication: namely, Jacques Arcadelt, Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, and Francesco da Milano. Arcadelt was a member of the Cappella Sistina from 1540 until sometime just before 1551, after which he went to France for the remainder of his career.[13] Ferrabosco served as a singer in the papal chapel during the 1550s and then as *maestro di cappella* at the Roman church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso; he later left Italy and was in Paris during the late 1550s and early 1560s.[14] Francesco da Milano had a long association with the city, having served various popes from the early years of the sixteenth century until a little after 1540, just a few years before his death.[15] Together their works make up thirteen of the thirty-four pieces in the print, a little over one-third of its contents.

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[12] The texts and their translations are from Robert M. Durling, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 200-1 (no. 1: opening quatrain of "Ahi bella libertà") and 320-21 (no. 2: last tercet of "Fera stella").

[13] See *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Arcadelt, Jacques" (James Haar).

[14] See ibid., s.v. "Ferrabosco (1) Domenico Maria Ferrabosco" (John V. Cockshoot).

[15] The basic biographical study of Francesco is H. Colin Slim, "Francesco da Milano (1497-1543/44): A bio-bibliographical study," *Musica disciplina* 18 (1964): 63-84; 19 (1965): 109-28. The most recent summary of Francesco's career is Franco Pavan's article in *New Grove*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Francesco (Canova) da Milano"; see also his articles listed in the bibliography of his *New Grove* entry.

All of the vocal models for the works by Arcadelt and Ferrabosco were printed by 1555, and two of them, Ferrabosco's "Io mi son giovinetta" and Arcadelt's "Da' bei rami scendea," appeared in other instrumental arrangements during the sixteenth century (for these concordances and those cited below, see Appendix 2 of the present study). The ricercars by Francesco da Milano are unique to the source, and there are two theories as to how Galilei came into possession of them, both of which suggest transmission in Tuscany.[16] One proposes that he may have received them from the Torello family. Francesco Torello was at the court of Pope Paul III, Francesco da Milano's patron, and thus had an opportunity to acquire tablatures from the lutenist. Gasparo Torello, his son, was a lecturer in Pisa in the early 1560s and wrote a dedicatory poem for the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo*, so his connection with Galilei could have been the means by which the music was transmitted. Another possibility is that Galilei obtained the tablatures from Francesco da Milano's brother, Bernardino: a musician bearing his name was present in Florence during the period 1559 to 1564, a time when Galilei was living in Pisa and therefore near enough to come into contact with him, but the identification of this Bernardino as Francesco's brother is tenuous. In addition to the uncertainty of transmission, the attribution to Francesco of the *Libro primo* ricercars is problematic. There has not been any firm agreement about it among modern scholars, who hold opinions ranging from accepting all of them as authentic to considering all of them spurious.[17] Furthermore, since all the ricercars appear in the *Libro primo* for the first time many years after Francesco's death, it is likely that those that are authentic might not precisely represent his versions of them.[18]

Other composers represented in the *Libro primo* have a connection with a different part of the Italian peninsula, the Veneto, and were

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[16] The theories are summarized in Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 21, n. 10.

[17] Franco Pavan includes all of the ricercars in the works list for his *New Grove* article (see n. 15 above). On the other hand, Victor Coelho disputes the authenticity of all of them in "The Reputation of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543) and the Ricercars in the Cavalcanti Lute Book," *Revue belge de musicologie* (1996): 49-72 (see especially 51-52 and 60-63). In private correspondence Arthur Ness has indicated to me that Francesco's authorship of *Ricercare primo* on pp. 44-45 of the *Libro primo* is doubtful, but the other ricercars in the source contain stylistic features closely identified with him.

[18] I quote Arthur Ness, *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 9: "Francesco's works are probably several removes from their originals, and that although remarkably few reach us with conflicting attribution, the authenticity of some is open to question."

active there in the years prior to its publication. Jan Nasco was *maestro di cappella* at Treviso Cathedral until 1561, and Vincenzo Ruffo was *maestro di cappella* at Verona Cathedral during the early 1560s.[19] Ippolito Ciera was a singer and teacher in Treviso beginning in 1546, and by 1561 he was *maestro di cappella* at the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.[20] Until recently it had been thought that Alessandro Romano's professional career was spent mostly in Rome, but we now know that to be untrue, the result of confusing him with Alessandro Merlo.[21] Alessandro Romano was instead active during the mid-1500s in northeastern Italy, in the Veneto: he probably was there in the 1560s after service during the mid-1550s in Verona since he became a novice at the Olivetan Monastery of S. Bartolomeo in Rovigo in 1571.[22] Taken together, the works by these composers amount to eleven, about one-third of the pieces in the entire source and just a few less than those by the Roman composers. Most of the works by the Veneto composers are *unica*; those that do have concordances, the three works by Nasco and Ruffo, were published in the early 1550s. Of all the pieces mentioned here, only Ruffo's "Com' havrà vit' Amor" appears in another instrumental arrangement, a lute song in the manuscript known as the *Bottegari Lute Book*.

There are three composers besides Galilei who have not been considered in the discussion because it has been difficult to determine whether they belong with one of the groups discussed so far or perhaps in a separate category. Giovanni del Cartolaio is a shadowy figure whose vocal works occasionally are found in part-music collections, but "Mordimi questa lingua" does not appear outside of Galilei's lute book. It is unknown where he worked, although the misattribution of one of his pieces to Palestrina in a 1561 collection might indicate his presence in Roman musical circles.[23] Like Cartolaio, Ferro's activities are not known with

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[19] See *New Grove*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Nasco, Jan" (George Nugent); and ibid., s.v. "Ruffo, Vincenzo" (Lewis Lockwood and Alexandra Amati-Camperi).

[20] See ibid., s.v. "Ciera, Ippolito" (Philip T. Jackson).

[21] Richard Sherr clears up the confusion in ibid., s.v. "Merlo, Alessandro" (see also the following note).

[22] See ibid., s.v. "Alessandro Romano" (Stefano La Via).

[23] Cartolaio's madrigal "Com' in più negre tenebr' et più forte" is attributed to Palestrina in *Il terzo libro delle muse* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1561) [RISM 1561[10]], but in subsequent publications it is credited to Cartolaio; see Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland/Routledge, 1988-2005), 3:148 concerning the 1561 print. *Il terzo libro delle muse a cinque* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1569) [RISM 1569[18]] and *Il terzo libro delle muse a cinque voci* (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1580) [RISM 1580[9]] attribute the work to Cartolaio; see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 3:427 and 147 (under "Editions"). *Prima stella. De madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: G. Scotto,

any certainty, but his works sometimes appear in print alongside those of Vincenzo Ruffo, which might indicate some association of the two, so perhaps Ferro was active in northeastern Italy.[24] In contrast to Cartolaio and Ferro, Giovanni Domenico da Nola's career is better known, and unlike the other composers represented in the *Libro primo*, his main sphere of activity was in the south of Italy, in Naples.[25] As noted above, the works by Ferro and Nola in the *Libro primo* are misattributed, a situation that must be taken into account here. Ferro's "Vel può giurar Amor" is attributed in the *Libro primo* to Jhan Gero, whose biographical information is just as sketchy as Ferro's, but there is some reason to associate him with Venice.[26] Nola's "Giunto m'ha amor" is misattributed to Orlando di Lasso, whom we might place with the composers associated with Rome since he was active there in the early 1550s, although at the time of the publication of Galilei's lute book he had been serving in Munich for years.[27] For the purposes of the present essay, it seems best to consider the perception of those involved in producing the *Libro primo* and tentatively place Ferro's work with those of the composers active in Venice and the Veneto and place the pieces by Cartolaio and Nola with those of the Romans.

Tables 2 and 3 summarize the results of this preliminary survey and give rise to a few observations (the works in parentheses are those that I have tentatively placed in each category). While the number of

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1570) [RISM 1570[16]] attributes the work to Cartolaio as well; see Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 830.

[24] This has been noted by Don Harrán in *The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals*, vol. 73/2 in Corpus mensurabilis musicae (American Institute of Musicology, 1978), x. Three madrigals by Ferro appear in Ruffo's *Il terzo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, [1554]); see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 2:291-94. Ferro's works appear in anthologies with Ruffo as well: *Il vero terzo libro di madrigali de diversi autori a note negre* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1549) [RISM 1549[31]] (see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1:663-66); *Libro terzo de d. autori eccellentissimi li madrigali a quatro voce a notte negre* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1549) [RISM 1549[30]] (see Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, 402-4); and *Madrigali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venice: Gardano, 1551) [RISM 1551[10]] (see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 2:214-16). When the Venetian Antonio Gardano republished the contents of Antonio Barrè's *Primo libro delle muse* (Rome, 1555) [RISM 1555[27]] under the title *Madregali ariosi a quatro voci . . . libro primo* (1557) [RISM 1557[17]], he left out works by Barrè and Fiesco and added compositions by Ferro and Ruffo (see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 2:367-71).

[25] See *New Grove*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Nola, Giovanni Domenico da" (Donna G. Cardamone).

[26] See ibid., s.v. "Gero, Jhan" (James Haar).

[27] See ibid., s.v. "Orlande de Lassus" (James Haar).

arrangements of works by Roman composers gives them a considerable presence in the *Libro primo*, the number of those by composers associated with Venice and the Veneto is almost as large; moreover, Alessandro Romano's "Ahi bella libertà" is placed at the beginning of the book, representing the Veneto composers in a position of prominence. Another observation is that the models for most of the arrangements of vocal works by the Roman composers were published, while in contrast, most of the models for works by the Veneto composers, in particular those by Ciera and Alessandro Romano, do not seem to have been published, nor have they survived in manuscript collections.

Table 2:
Compositions in the *Libro primo* by composers associated with (or perceived to be associated with) Rome.

Pages	Title	Composer
9-10	Baciami vita mia	Domenico Maria Ferrabosco
(11-12	*Mordimi questa lingua	Giovanni del Cartolaio)
15-16	Chiare fresche e dolci acque	Jacques Arcadelt
17-18	S'egli è per mio destino	Jacques Arcadelt
19-20	Tempo verrà ancor forse	Jacques Arcadelt
21-22	Da' bei rami scendea	Jacques Arcadelt
22-24	Quante volte diss'io	Jacques Arcadelt
34-35	Io mi son giovinetta	Domenico Maria Ferrabosco
(39-40	Giunto m'ha amor	Giovanni Domenico da Nola; attr. to O. di Lasso)
44-45	*Ricercare primo	Francesco da Milano
45-46	*Ricercare Secondo	Francesco da Milano
47	*Ricercare terzo	Francesco da Milano
48	*Ricercare quarto	Francesco da Milano
49	*Ricercare quinto	Francesco da Milano
50-51	*Ricercare sesto	Francesco da Milano

* Indicates the piece is unique to the source

Besides the Roman works and those from Venice and the Veneto, there are seven arrangements of Galilei's own madrigals. No part-music versions of these pieces exist, nor are there any instrumental concordances. It is noteworthy that Galilei chose to represent himself as a composer of vocal music rather than with works in the genres usually written by lutenists such as the ricercar, variation set, and dance piece—

Table 3:
Compositions in the *Libro primo* by composers associated with (or perceived to be associated with) Venice and the Veneto.

Pages	Title	Composer
1	*Ahi bella libertà	Alessandro Romano
2	*Pur mi consola	Alessandro Romano
3	*Gl'occhi invaghiro al' hor'	Alessandro Romano
3-4	*Ne mi lece ascoltar	Alessandro Romano
5	*Pur mi consola	Alessandro Romano
6	Com' havrà vit' Amor	Vincenzo Ruffo
7-8	*Ahi chi mi da consiglio	Alessandro Romano
(13-14	Vel può giurar Amor	Vincenzo Ferro; attr. J. Gero)
28-29	Nasce la gioia mia	Jan Nasco
30-31	Dove tocca costei	Jan Nasco
35-36	*Deh non fuggir	Ippolito Ciera
40-42	*Nella più verde piaggia	Ippolito Ciera

* Indicates the piece is unique to the source

genres in which Galilei did compose, as his tablatures in other sources amply show. Although the texts for these works are only indicated by their incipits, conjectural identifications can be made for all of them with varying degrees of confidence. Two of them have incipits of sonnets by Petrarch, "Signor mio caro" and "Zefiro torna," and a third has one from the same poet's *Triumph of Eternity*, "Dapoi che sotto il ciel." Two pieces appear to be settings of stanzas from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, "Alcun non può saper" and "O famelice inique," and two others might be settings of a sonnet and a canzone by Dante, "Questa leggiadra" and "Così nel mio cantar."[28] It is probable that the identifications of "Alcun non può saper" and "Così nel mio cantar" are correct since Galilei made other settings of these texts (see Appendix 2). Most of these tablatures are fairly short, so perhaps they do not represent settings of complete texts.[29]

[28] Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 168, rightly points out that the incipit "Questa leggiadra" is too brief and ambiguous to identify a particular poem, but given Galilei's penchant for setting Dante, not at all common in the sixteenth century, I think it quite possible that Galilei's piece is a setting of the poet's sonnet.

[29] Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 171, comments on this aspect of Galilei's settings.

Essential to the present discussion is material contained in Galilei's most famous lute publication, the treatise *Fronimo dialogo*, which appeared in its first edition in 1568, five years after the publication of the *Libro primo*.[30] In the treatise, the teacher Fronimo and his pupil Eumatio discuss various topics that concern arranging part-music for the lute, and at one point the conversation turns to the *Libro primo*. Through his interlocutors, Galilei explains that instead of choosing new and complicated vocal works to arrange for the *Libro primo*, he drew upon more modest pieces in order to show how he could present such works to their best advantage, which he considers a more praiseworthy endeavor:

> FRONIMO. Tell me, please, what have you thought of that book of his [the *Libro primo*]?
> EUMATIO. Very good, in truth, yet it seemed to me, as to many others, if he had included newer and more difficult pieces, he would have better shown his art.
> FRONIMO. On the contrary, he better made known his art by means of those old and simple songs by intabulating them in such a way that then hearing them on instruments they are pleasing to hear. It would be the same difficulty to adorn an old woman without graceful features with makeup and a costly and lovely dress, whereupon then seeing her the eyes would judge her to be young and beautiful. So, Galilei having wanted to show in his first book how worthy he was in the intabulation of music for the lute, it was more suitable for him to choose those pieces rather than the new and difficult ones or those written by the most excellent composers. And if the short time we have would allow it, I would discuss this with you further; I would show you by the clearest reasons that those songs valued more than the others by judi-

[30] The three prints pertaining to this title are *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei Fiorentino* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1568); *La seconda parte del dialogo di Vincentio Galilei Fiorentino* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1569); and *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile Fiorentino* (Venice: heirs of G. Scotto, 1584). All are described and indexed in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 225-29 (item 1568_2), 241 (item 1569_8), and 331-34 (item 1584_5). The most up-to-date bibliographical study of these prints, however, is Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, which also has a thoroughgoing analysis of their contents. A facsimile of the exemplar of the 1584 edition in the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna with an introduction by Rolf Rapp is *Il Fronimo* (Bologna: Forni Editori, 1969); an English translation of the 1584 edition with facsimile images of its musical examples is Carol MacClintock, trans. and ed., *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584* (Neuhaussen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985). For the present essay, I consulted the facsimile of the 1584 edition cited above, and for the 1568 edition I consulted a scan of an exemplar posted as a PDF file on the IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library website on 3 November 2013, which can be accessed at http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/2/2e/IMSLP257147-PMLP416905-galilei_fronimo_1568.pdf.

> cious and learned musicians are the simplest, and [I would] make you see they could not be otherwise to be solely apt to express the human affections [with] their harmonies that issue from notes of a few [rhythmic] values; and those songs lacking that are worth little or nothing.[31]

This clearly defensive passage indicates that Galilei received or perceived that he received criticism for the arrangements in the *Libro primo* based on the character of their vocal models. The objection that the models are not new is somewhat puzzling because a survey of the contents of printed lute collections from the first half of the 1560s shows that other lutenists and publishers were presenting similar repertories.[32] The other half of the criticism concerning lack of "difficulty" in the vocal models, probably referring to complexity of texture or perhaps of rhythm, may be true of some or even most of the compositions—those by Alessandro Romano and Galilei for certain—but this aspect of style

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[31] "F[RONIMO.] Dite di gratia quello che ve n'è parso di quel suo libro? E[UMATIO.] Molto bene in verità, ancora che à me pareva come à molti altri, che gl'havesse havuto per far ciò, à torre canzoni piu nuove, & piu difficili; per che saria maggiormente venuto à mostrare le sue arte. F[RONIMO.] Anzi è venuto à far conoscere maggiormente la sua arte, co'l mezzo di quelle canzoni antiche, & facili; per esser' nel' intavolarle di maniera che udendole poi ne gl'instrumenti, grate sieno à udito: l'istessa difficultà: che sarrebbe mediante i belletti, & un ricco leggiadro habito, ornare di maniera una donna vecchia & di non molte leggiadre fattezze, che vedendola poi; giovene & vaga l'occhio la giudicasse. Talche havendo voluto il Galileo mostrare in quel suo libro sapere intavolare, fu piu conviente il tor di quelle; che tolse, che delle nuove & difficili, ò da piu eccellenti autori composte, & se la brevità del tempo comportasse, che piu à lungo sopra questo discorrer' vi potesse; vi mostrerei con chiarissime ragioni, che quelle cantilene, quale piu del altre in pregio sono de giudiciosi, & dotti musici facilissimi sono, & farevi anchor vedere che altrimenti esser' non possono; per esser solo atte à esprimere gli affetti humani, l'harmonie che escono da Note di alquanto valore, & quelle cantilene che di cio son prive, poco ò nulla vagliono." This appears in the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* on p. 28. A slightly different reading appears in the 1584 edition on pp. 47-48; an English translation based on the text of the 1584 edition is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 81; the passage is transcribed with a translation in French in Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 185-86. I have chosen to use the 1568 edition for the reading of this and other quotes below because it is closer to the publication of the *Libro primo* and so might better represent Galilei's views in the early 1560s; citations of the parallel passages in the 1584 edition are provided as well, however. For this and the remainder of the essay, all translations are mine as is material in brackets [ ].

[32] See the entries for the period 1560-1565 in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 190-221. While the publications that have arrangements of vocal music do have some works based on models that at that time would have been considered recent, they also contain arrangements of works contemporary with Galilei's repertory and in some cases earlier.

is not homogenous in the *Libro primo*.[33] Perhaps the most striking statement in this passage is what Galilei has to say about the qualities music should have to fully express human affections, which to some degree foreshadows what he professed many years later; if he had such ideas at the time of the publication of the *Libro primo*, then they were already forming before the events generally credited with shaping those views: his correspondence concerning the aesthetics of ancient Greek music with Girolamo Mei and the discussions held under the patronage of Bardi and Corsi.[34]

Continuing on to the next passage in *Fronimo dialogo*, we learn another reason why the discussion has turned to the *Libro primo*:

> [FRONIMO.] And turning to the above-cited book [the *Libro primo*], I tell you that I have examined it diligently and that not all but only part of it is his [Galilei's]; the reason that moves me to believe thus is based on the observances seen in his songs and not in the others in the book; and particularly that one you have intabulated, which you say you found in his book ["Io mi son giovinetta"], is one of those he never considered his.[35]

To my knowledge, this extraordinary statement has not been explored to any significant extent despite its implications. Not only does it eliminate one arrangement from those ascribed to Galilei and suggest that there are others not from his hand, it also has an important bearing on the broader theme of the present essay, the activities of his early career. As mentioned above, Galilei's *Libro primo* includes a significant number of arrangements of vocal works by composers working in Rome, which has been cited as evidence that he spent some time in the city prior to its publication. If it is questionable that some of the arrangements are not his, a reassessment of that evidence would be in order.

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[33] I agree with the point made by Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 187, that the vocal models arranged for the *Libro primo* are not all of a type.

[34] See Brown's discussion in "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 171-74.

[35] [Fronimo] "& tornando al libro sopr'allegato, vi dico per haverlo io essaminato diligentemente, che non tutto, ma parte e suo; & la ragione che me muove à creder cosi, è fondata nel'osservationi che nelle sue ca[n]zoni si vedono, & no[n] nelle altre di tal libro; & particolarmente quella, che voi intavolata havete, che nel suo libro dite ritrovarsi, è una di quelle che lui gia mai per sua no[n] vidde." This appears in the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* on p. 28. A slightly different text appears in the 1584 edition on p. 48; an English translation of the 1584 text is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 81; a transcription of the same text with a translation in French is Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 186.

Since Galilei does not further identify which tablatures in the *Libro primo* are his and which are not beyond "Io mi son giovinetta," the present discussion will now turn to an examination of its arrangements in an effort to determine which may be in a style consistent with his. It is fortunate that his *Fronimo dialogo* is available to consult about his ideas on arranging technique; it is especially fortunate that he provided his own arrangement of "Io mi son giovinetta" within that treatise, which will provide a starting point for the following analysis. The examination will focus primarily on the handling of texture—one aspect among those treated in *Fronimo dialogo* and one that Galilei discusses at some length—and it will attempt to show that there are indeed different approaches to arranging within the contents of the *Libro primo*.[36]

Example 1 compares Ferrabosco's part-music model of "Io mi son giovinetta" with the lute arrangements in the *Libro primo* and the 1568 *Fronimo dialogo*.[37] Since both arrangements transpose the piece down from its original G tonic to one on D, a necessary procedure to

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[36] Modern studies that contain significant discussions of Galilei's arranging technique are Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, chapter 2, "La mise en tablature selon Vincenzo Galilei"; Canguilhem's anaylsis of Galilei's arrangement of "Anchor che colpartire" on pp. 95-103 is particularly revealing of the lutenist's style. Another study that treats Galilei along with other sixteenth-century authors of intabulation treatises is Hiroyuki Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation," 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988); see especially 1:89-109.

[37] As will be the case with examples that follow, transcriptions of lute tablatures assume a G tuning, and rhythmic values are halved: semibreves (whole notes) are transcribed as minims (half notes). I have tried to present what is possible on the lute with regard to holding pitches. Thus, I have had to indicate rests in places where the left hand must shift position, a finger sustaining a note must be lifted to accommodate a new pitch, or a finger is placed on a string and thereby stops a note already sounding: other interpretations are possible, of course. The mensural signs (time signatures) of the vocal models have been applied in the lute transcriptions, although such signs do not always appear in the tablatures. It is to be understood that in the examples accidentals continue to be observed throughout a single measure after they first appear or into the next measure in the case of a tie over a bar line as in modern practice; nevertheless, some chromatic signs not necessary under this rule have been added for clarity. Chromatic inflections added in the part-music scores as the result of the editorial application of musica ficta follow the same rule and are placed above the note heads for the cantus, tenor, and quintus voices or below the note heads for the altus and bassus voices (except in Example 1 where one accidental appears above a note of the altus in m. 32 to avoid confusion). Inverted carets indicate the end of a line of tablature, and the appropriate page number is indicated when a tablature continues past its first page. For critical notes, variant readings, and other information for this and the following musical examples, see Appendix 3 below.

place the madrigal's texture in a tessitura suitable for the lute, Ferrabosco's part-music has been similarly transposed to facilitate comparison. A cursory glance at the tablature scores gives the impression that one is looking at the same arrangement: both have the same ornamentation in some spots (measures 3, 9, 12, 20, 27, and 35), and there are similar chromatic inflections (measures 1-2, 6-10, 16-17, 20-22, 29-32, and 34).

Closer inspection reveals subtle differences, however. One observes, for example, that the *Fronimo dialogo* tablature has more ornamentation than the other (measures 17, 19, and 22-23). More important are the differences in the ways in which voice-leading and texture are handled. The lute can accommodate polyphonic textures of three or four voices rather well, but difficulties arise when the parts are closely spaced or cross and cannot be faithfully represented because of the instrument's limitations. Models of five, six, or more voices can present even greater challenges. One way to treat such difficulties is to raise or lower an inner voice by an octave, which maintains the harmonic character of a passage if not the original voice-leading; both arrangements of "Io mi son giovinetta" follow this procedure at points, although the one in the *Libro primo* does so a bit more often (compare measures 15-16, 23, and 33). Another approach is to leave notes out of the inner voices. Galilei sets forth his thoughts about handling texture in arranging for the lute in *Fronimo dialogo*, and while he sanctions leaving out notes in certain situations, he stipulates that the primary consideration is to preserve a model's textural integrity.[38] Notes can be left out of an arrangement here and there to enhance its grace and beauty ("gratia & leggiadria") or when the limitations of the lute make it necessary, but he insists that omissions should be made intelligently and with care, and he gives some specific advice to illustrate. He does expect, however, that the outer voices should be left intact, as the following instruction from Fronimo to Eumatio urges: "every time you intabulate a vocal work of less than five voice parts you should strive to not only to include [far non solo udir] the outer voices but also those in the middle."[39]

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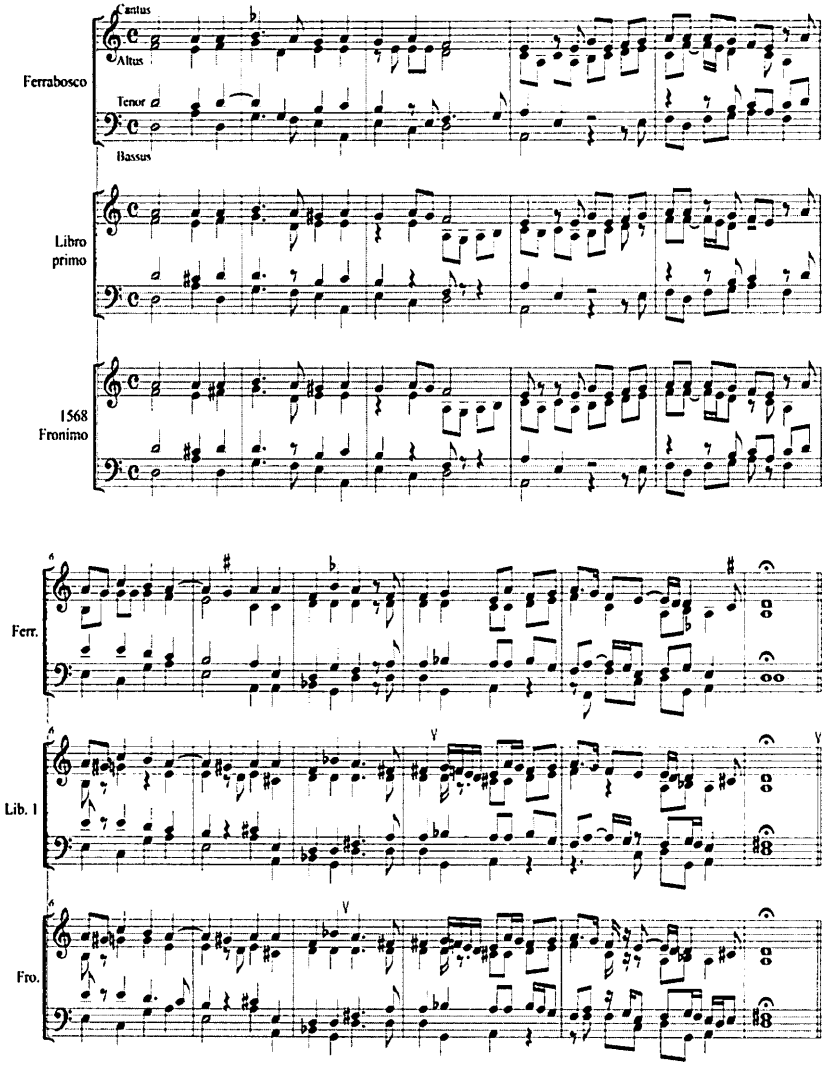
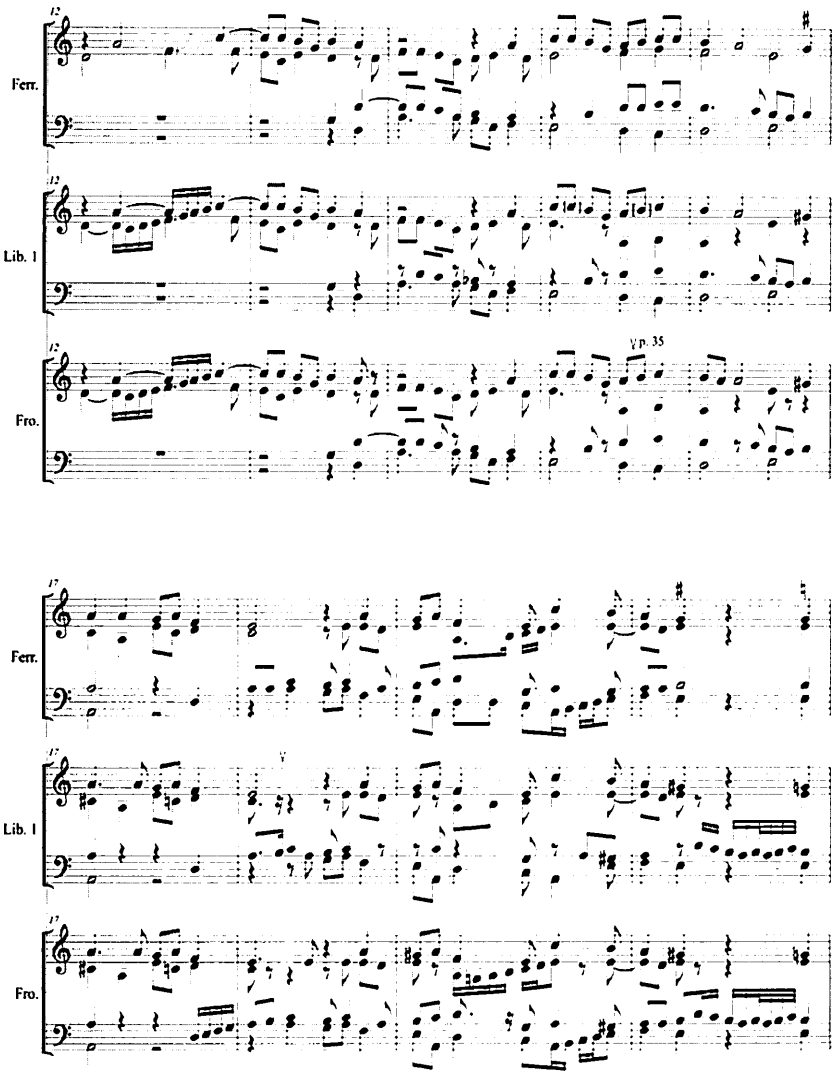
[38] Galilei discusses this aspect on pp. 31-33 in the 1568 *Fronimo*; the same discussion appears on pp. 52-55 in the 1584 edition. A translation of the latter is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 90-92. See the commentary in Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises," 91-95; and Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 79-94.

[39] The passage is found in the 1568 *Fronimo* on p. 33: "che ogni volta che voi intavolarete qual si voglia cantilena che sia à manco de cinque voci, vi havete da ingegnare far non solo udir le parti estreme: ma che quelle di mezzo ancora." Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 84-85, gives a transcription of the 1568 text with a French translation. A slightly

Example 1: Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, "Io mi son giovinetta."

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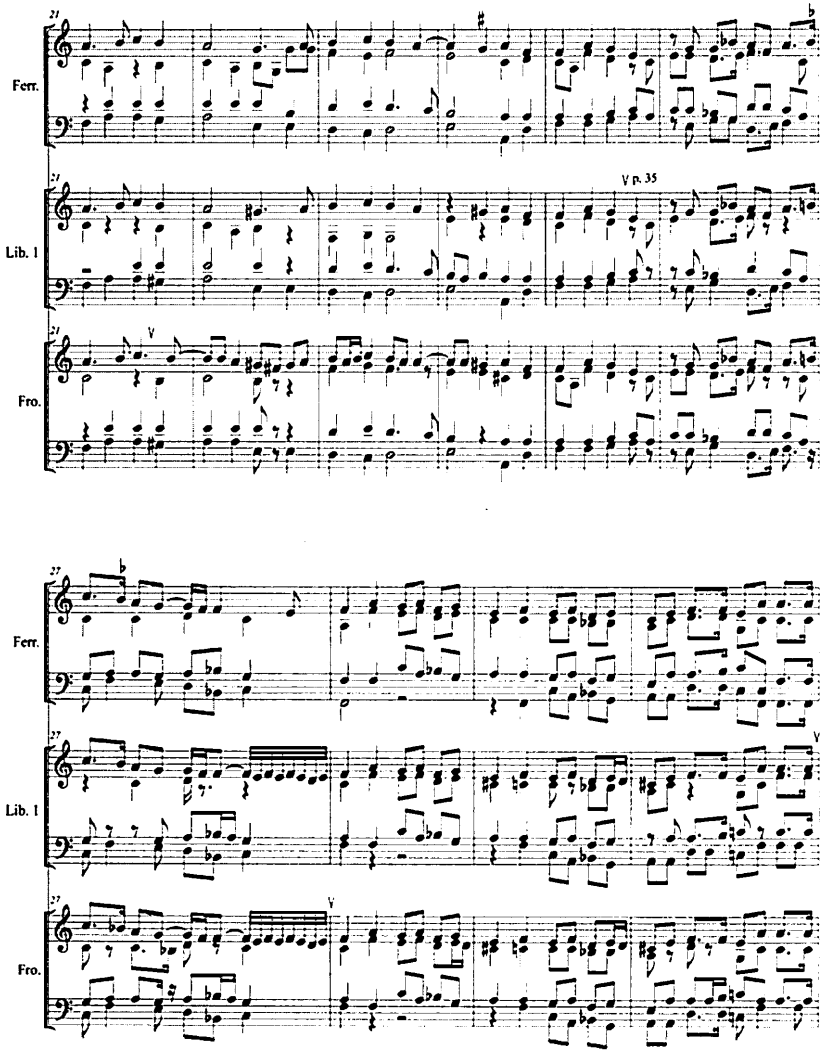
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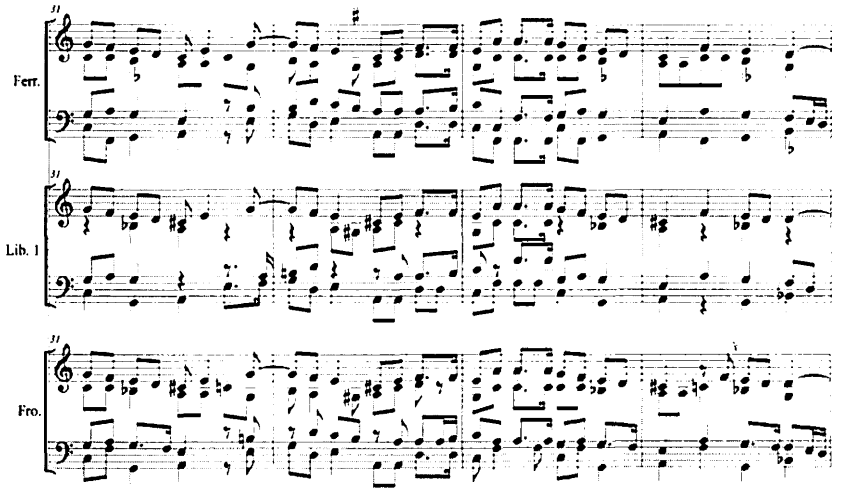
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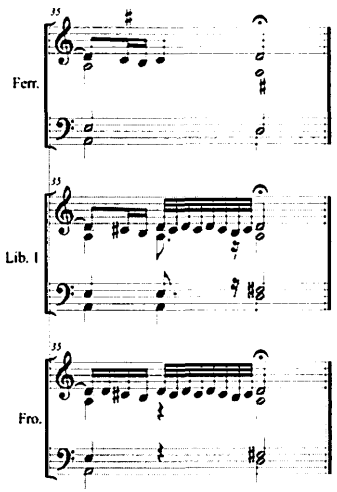
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It is in this respect that the differences between the *Libro primo* and *Fronimo dialogo* tablatures of "Io mi son giovinetta" become clearer. While both arrangements leave out notes, the tablature in the *Libro primo* leaves out more of them and does so more often (compare measures 5, 19, 25-27, 30-32, and 34). The same tablature also leaves out notes of one of the outer voices, the bassus, in a few spots, whereas the *Fronimo dialogo* tablature avoids doing so (compare measures 10, 19, 31, and 34). Perhaps a more telling distinction than the number of omissions is how they are dispersed in the arrangements: the *Fronimo dialogo* tablature has a note or two missing every once in a while, but the *Libro primo* tablature often omits significant portions of a texture. In measure 5 of the example both the altus and tenor voices are missing two consecutive notes at the same point in the measure in the *Libro primo* arrangement, which effectively thins the texture, while the *Fronimo dialogo* arrangement retains the original four-part writing. Similar examples appear in measures 10, 31, and 33-34.

This close comparison of the two arrangements gives the impression that the *Fronimo dialogo* tablature is a "corrected" version of the one in the *Libro primo*, an impression that is strengthened by the placement of Fronimo's (Galilei's) version in the 1568 treatise: it appears as an example of how the work should be arranged just after the student Eumatio has presented his own tablature of it, a tablature that, of course, contains errors teacher and student can discuss.

With these observations in mind, we turn to the other pieces in the *Libro primo* to discover which might be from the hand of Galilei. Unfortunately, only works with preserved part-music models can be analyzed properly, which disqualifies a good portion of the contents. Among the pieces with part-music models, we might point to "Giunto m'ha amor," shown with its model in Example 2, as one with an arranging style that keeps to the precepts of *Fronimo dialogo* by following the voice-leading and maintaining the texture of its model. As the example shows, the arrangement varies from the model only in some chromatic inflections and in the frequent addition of ornamentation. Another piece that follows its model closely is the tablature of Jan Nasco's "Dove tocca costei," which leaves out very few notes, although one of them is from the cantus. It otherwise differs from Gailei's style as just described in that it has very little in the way of ornamentation. This last point may not be

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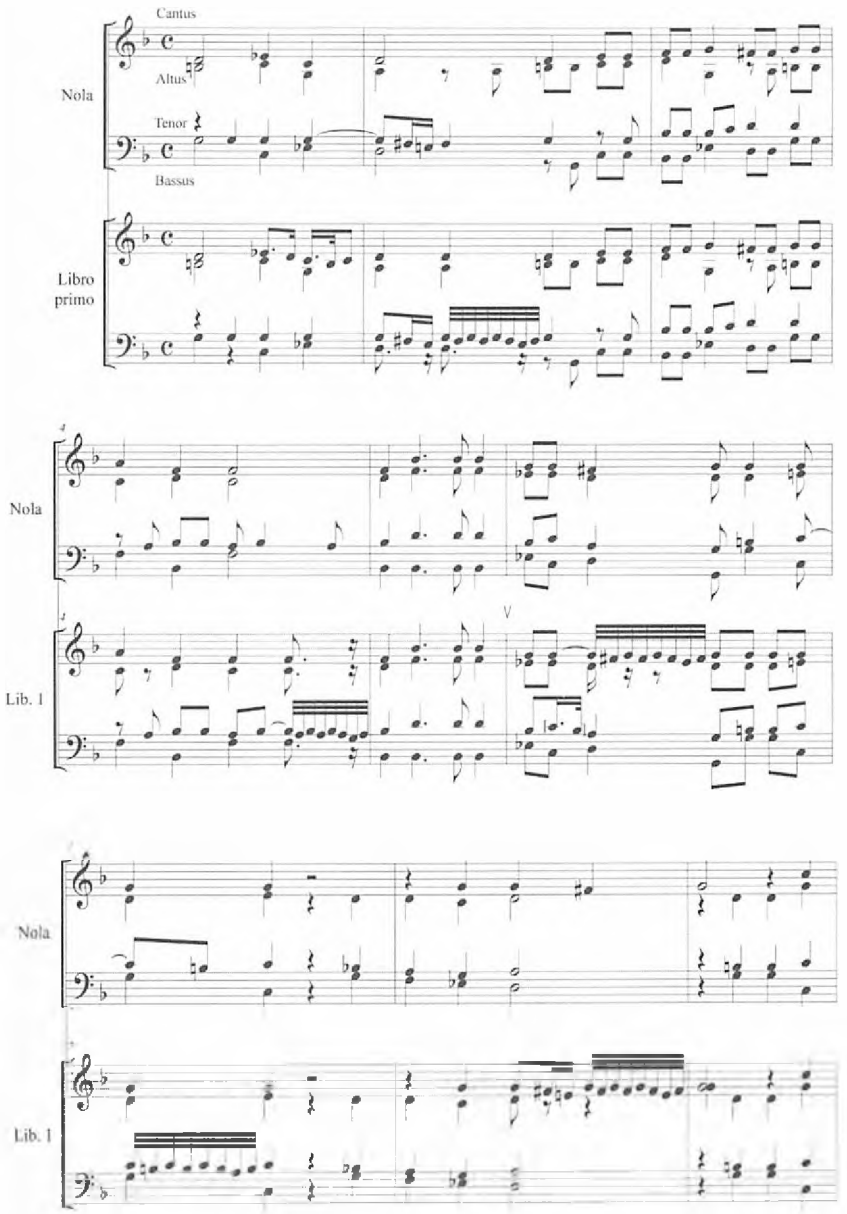
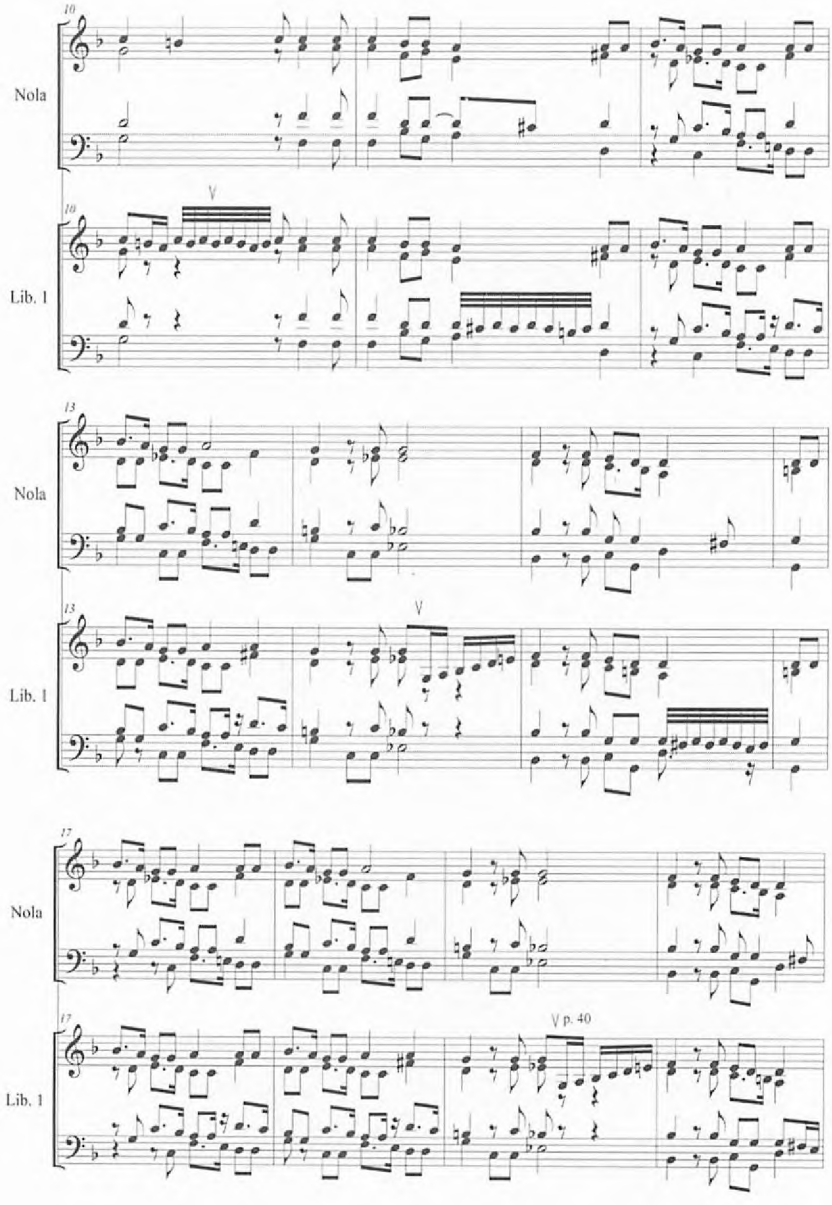
different reading appears in the 1584 *Fronimo* on p. 55; an English translation of it is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 92.

Example 2: Giovanni Domenico da Nola, "Giunto m'ha amor."

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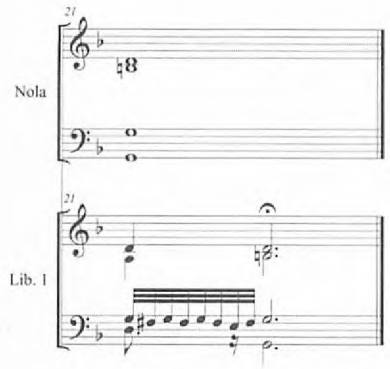
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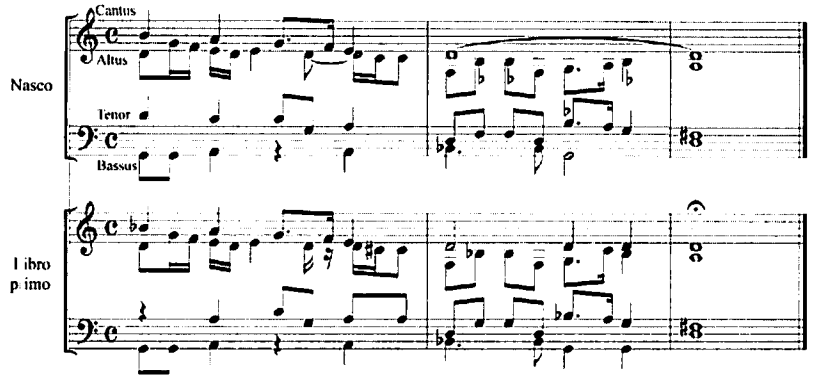
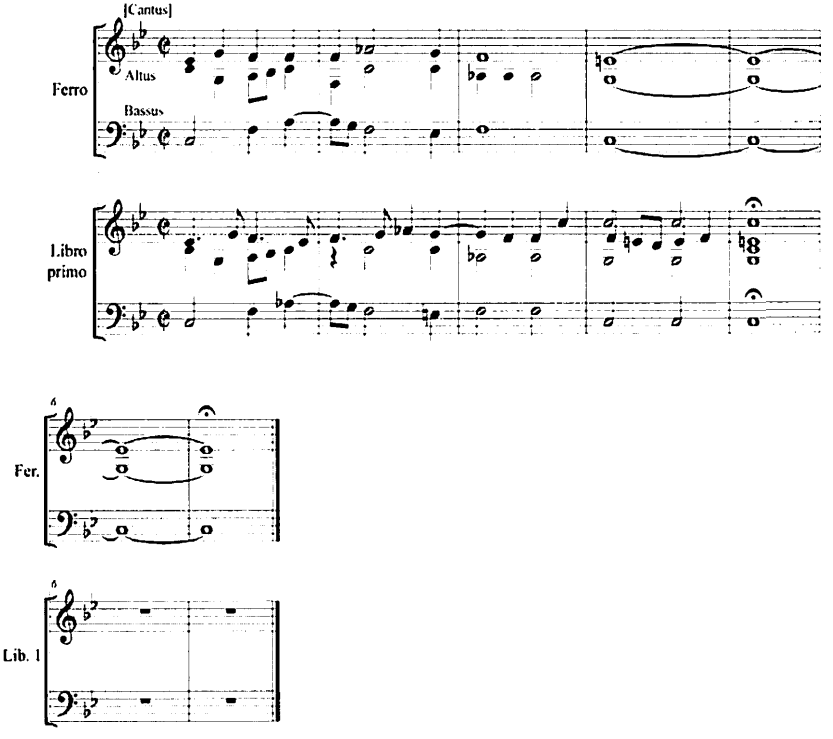
significant, however, since the same restraint seems to be shown in some of the arrangements of Galilei's own vocal models in the *Libro primo*, arrangements we can accept as Galilei's without further comment. The tablature of "Nasce la gioia mia," another madrigal by Nasco, also has very few omissions, but there are a few spots in which the arranger has altered pitches. Example 3 illustrates one such point, the final measures, where some of the notes in the altus and tenor voices have been changed for the arrangement: the second quarter note of the tenor in the first measure; the second and third notes of the tenor in the penultimate measure; and the altus in the same measure. A similar case is Ferro's "Vel può giurar Amor," a three-part work that has an ending that expands to four parts in the *Libro primo* tablature (Example 4). While there are some discrepancies between the arrangements of these last two pieces and their vocal models that would seem to defy Galilei's precepts, for the most part they follow them, and it therefore seems probable that they are his.[40]

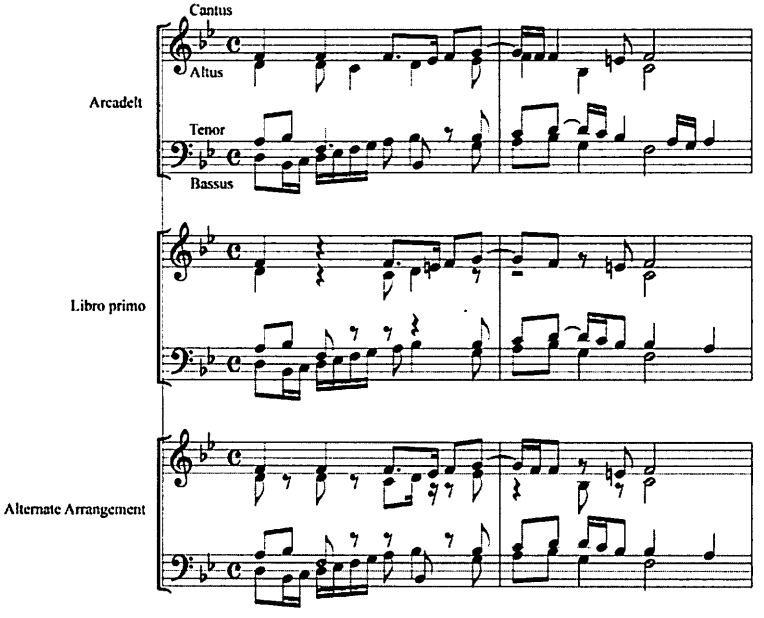
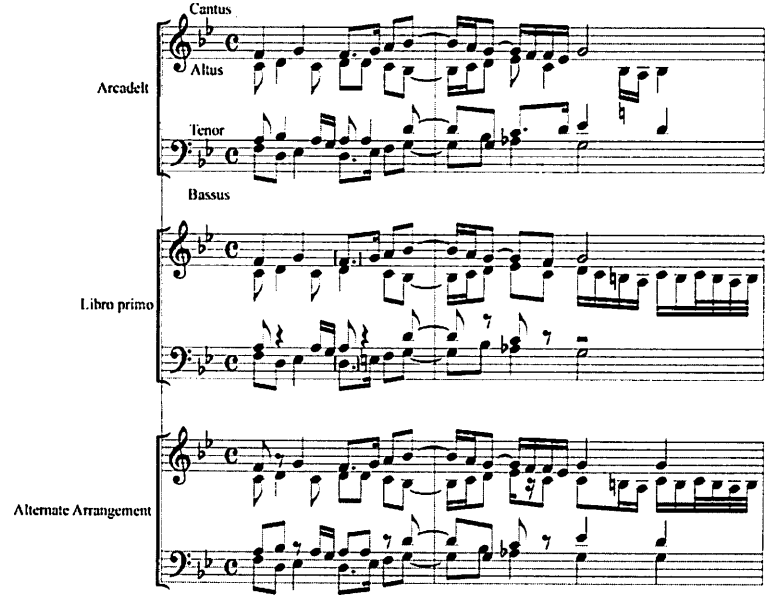
Comparisons of some other arrangements with their part-music models show they are unlikely to have been arranged by Galilei. Such is the case for Arcadelt's "Chiare fresche e dolci acque" cycle. Not only do the tablatures for the cycle leave more notes out of the texture than the arrangements just identified as probably by Galilei, but they also exhibit other aspects that do not follow his rules and examples. Examples 5 and 6 are difficult passages from "Da bei rami scendea," the fourth madrigal in the cycle. Since it is a four-part work presenting similar arranging challenges as "Io mi son giovinetta," it provides a good starting point for an examination of the entire cycle. The *Libro primo* passage in Example 5 leaves out notes in the altus and tenor as well as a note of the cantus in the first measure, which as we have seen is something Galilei advises against. There are more serious edits made in the passage of Example 6. The *Libro primo* tablature changes the harmonies in the second measure

[40] The source of the part-music model I consulted for "Vel può giurar" is British Library, Add. MS 30823-5, fols. 17v-18 (three part-books: superius, altus, and bassus), which I viewed on microfilm in British Library, *The Music Manuscripts from the Great English Collections*, series 4, part 2: British Library, London, section B: Polyphonic Music before c.1640 (Brighton, Sussex, England: Harvester Press Microform Publications, 1983), reel 29. There are a number of discrepancies between the reading of this source, which dates after 1604, and the tablature in the *Libro primo* that lead me to think that, rather than changes or errors by the arranger, the source used as a model had a significantly different reading: the tablature contains notes for the outer voices not in the manuscript model (this excludes ornamentation), and some of the motives are displaced rhythmically. Alternate sources of the model were published (see Appendix 2), but I was not able to access them or a modern edition for use in this study.

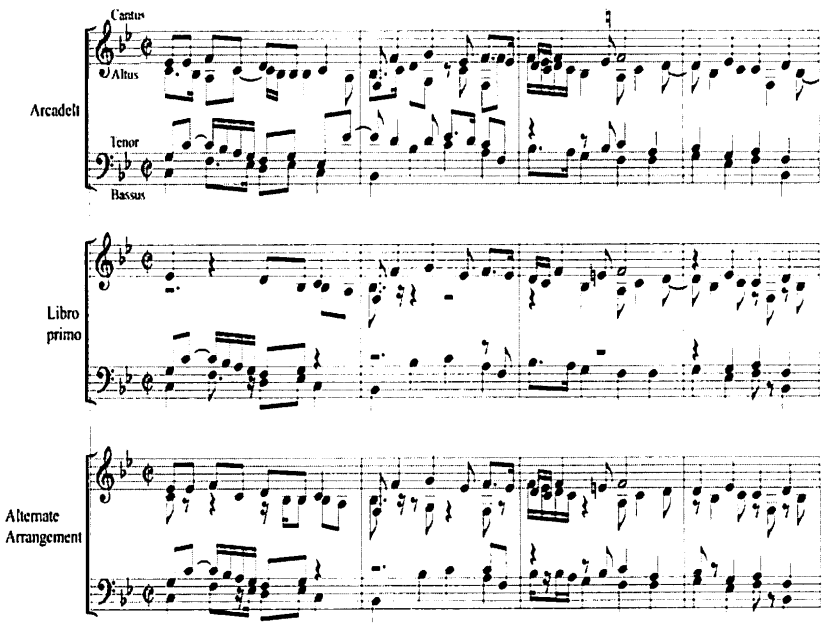


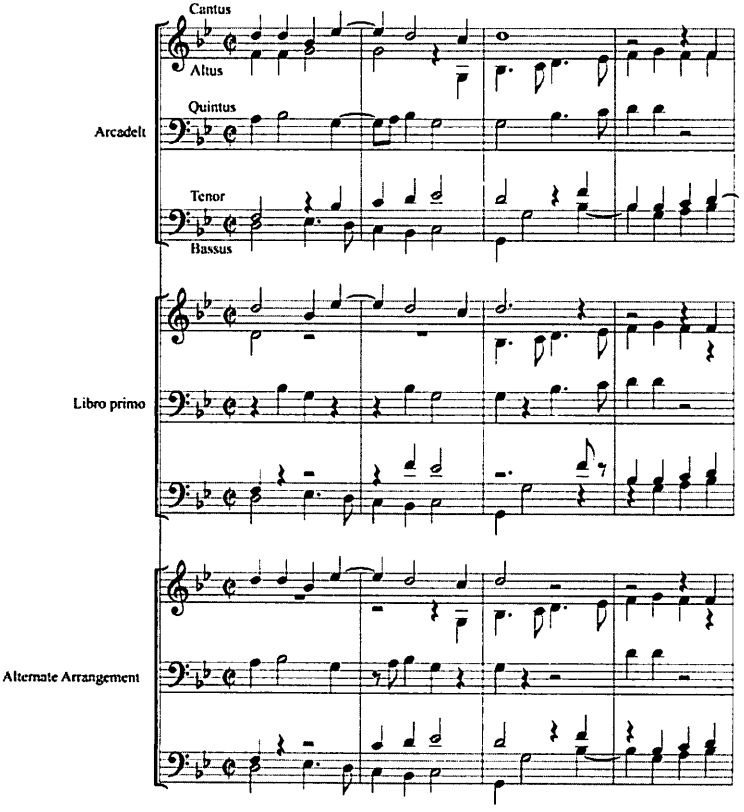
Example 3: Jan Nasco, "Nasce la gioia mia," excerpt.



Example 4: Vincenzo Ferro, "Vel può giurar Amor," excerpt.

Example 5: Jacques Arcadelt, "Da' bei rami," excerpt.

Example 6: Jacques Arcadelt, "Da' bei rami," excerpt.

(second eighth note; third quarter note) in addition to some of the same types of omissions as in Example 5. In both cases the tablatures fail to represent Arcadelt's part-writing as well as they could; as proof, I have provided alternate arrangements of the passages that are possible within the technique of the lute, both of which include more of the model's texture and adhere more closely to Galilei's procedures.

A similar arranging approach appears in another four-part madrigal in the cycle, "S'egli è per mio destino," which is shown in Example 7. The *Libro primo* tablature omits notes from the cantus, altus, and bassus in the first measure and much of the inner voices in the second. While close voicing and crossing of the upper three voices are difficult to represent on the lute, it is certainly possible to include the outer voices as well as more of the texture as the alternate arrangement shows. The third measure of the example has an interesting challenge: the cantus and altus cross and proceed downward in thirds. The omission of the altus voice in the *Libro primo* arrangement allows the cantus to be heard as the highest voice in the texture at that point, but that was not Arcadelt's intention. It is possible to include both the cantus and the altus and thus preserve the original texture as the alternate arrangement illustrates.

Example 7: Jacques Arcadelt, "S'egli è per mio destino," excerpt.

Five-part models present particular difficulties for the arranger, and Arcadelt's cycle contains two of them, "Chiare fresche e dolci acque" and "Quante volte diss'io." As with the four-part madrigals in the cycle, both arrangements contain indications they probably are not Galilei's work. "Chiare fresche e dolci acque" presents the particularly difficult to intabulate passage appearing in Example 8. The closeness of the voice-leading in addition to the number of voices makes the omission of notes inevitable, but the *Libro primo* arrangement goes beyond necessity in leaving out parts of the texture, including a note of the bassus (third measure). In addition, the arrangement includes changes to pitch that do not represent the part-writing at all, even though it is possible to accommodate the model's voice-leading as in the alternate arrangement (compare the altus and quintus voices in the first two measures and the tenor voices in the second measure).

Example 8: Jacques Arcadelt, "Chiare fresche," excerpt.

The other five-part madrigal, "Quante volte diss'io," illustrates another violation of Galilei's precepts in the passage shown in Example 9. Referring to the application of *diminutioni,* Galilei says that it should not obscure the voice-leading of a model and that all voices should be heard if possible when ornaments are added.[41] In addition to the omission of notes in the cantus in measures 2 and 3, the ornamentation in measure 3 of the tablature obscures the voice-leading of the two upper parts. In a sense, the arranger created a composite voice out of them: even though the pitch c′ of the cantus can be held while the ornament of the altus is performed, it is likely the listener will perceive the two parts as one since the ornament begins a step above the cantus. If the arranger had restruck the pitch f′ of the altus with the above-mentioned pitch c′ of the cantus and continued with the ornament in a different manner, that perception could have been avoided. As a result, the arrangement does not does not seem to follow Galilei's advice.

The last piece in Arcadelt's cycle to consider is "Tempo verrà ancor forse," which is a three-part setting. The arrangement follows the part-writing of its model closely, but as in "Quante volte diss'io," its ornamentation is a telltale sign that it probably is not by Galilei. Example 10 shows a passage that has instances in which the voice-leading of the model is obscured by the diminutions added by the arranger. In the first measure, the *Libro primo* tablature omits the cantus note (c′) during the

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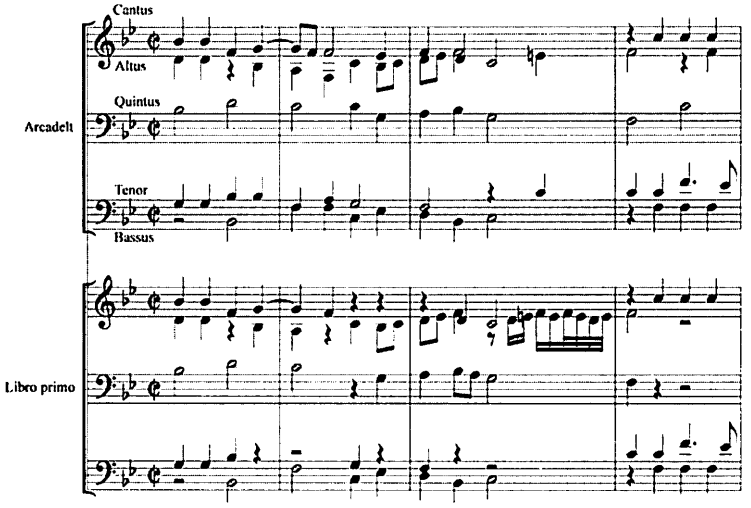
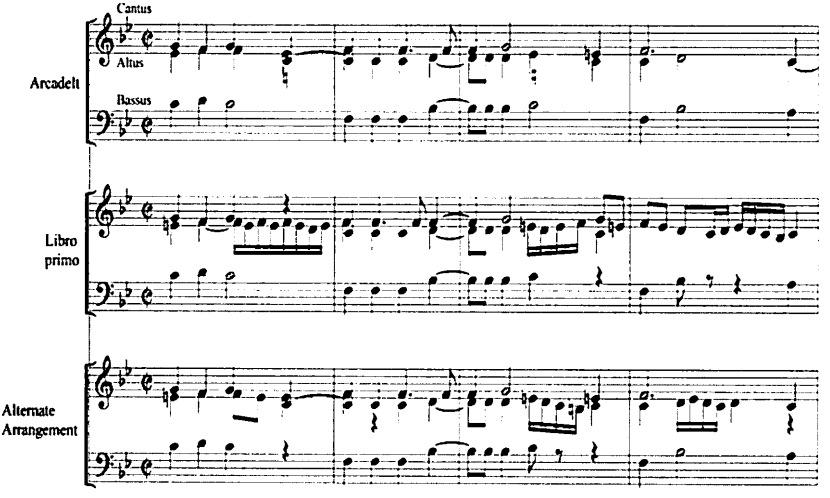
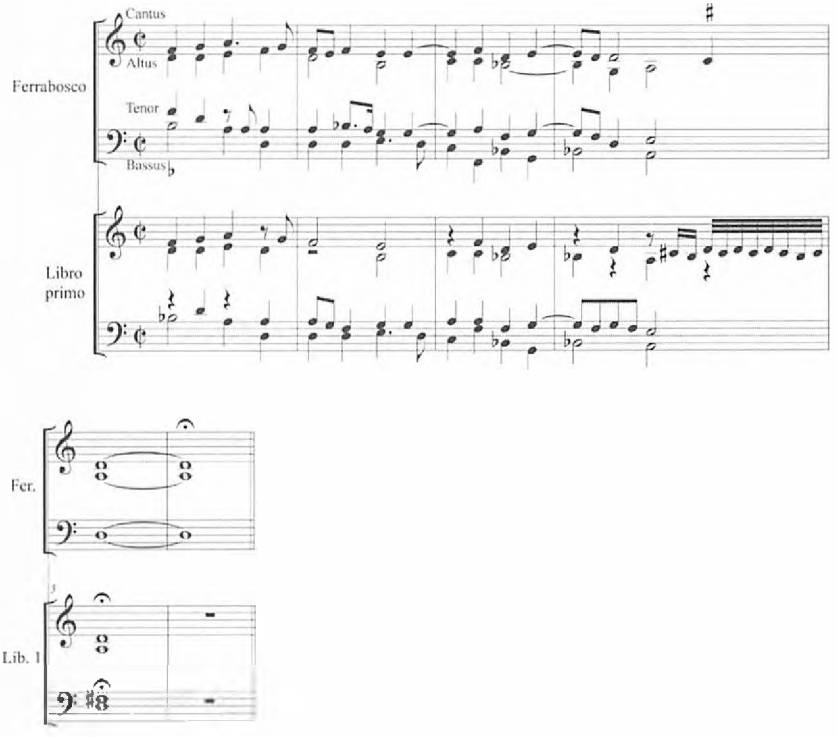
[41] The pertinent passage in the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* (p. 18) reads as follows: [FRONIMO] "ma in qual si voglia Cantilena, ch'io mai habbi intavolata, & ciò è stato, che l'aggiunto de passaggi, & delle diminutioni, sono state accommodate da me con tal arte, che le non hanno mai vietato, che non si sieno interamente udire tutte le parti, & dove questo è stato impossibile rispetto alla quantità; ho cerco con ogni diligentia fare udire le piu necessaria. Non mai (se ben me ricordo) ho commesso alcuni de sopradetti errori con alcuna di essi parti; ne anco ho guasto, ne impedito l'ordine delle fughe che le non si sieno interamente udite." A different reading appears in the 1584 edition on pp. 29-30; an English translation of it is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 61. Canguilhem discusses the passage in *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 68, where it is quoted and translated into French; in his words, "Galilei est clair: l'ajout de diminutions est possible, du moment qu'elles n'obscurcissent pas le contrepoint original. Tout les voix doivent être reconnaissables." As Minamino points out in "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises," 1:107-8, Galilei provides one exception to this: when there is a rest in all voices of a part-music model, the lutenist may add ornamentation that does not apply to any one particular voice. To illustrate this point, Galilei provides a tablature example in the 1568 *Fronimo dialogo* on p. 53 and in the 1584 edition on p. 111; the 1584 passage is translated with a facsimile of the example in MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 172. The scale figure in the tablature transcription in m. 19 of Example 2 of the present study is an incidence of the procedure.

Example 9: Jacques Arcadelt, "Quante volte diss'io," excerpt.

Example 10: Jacques Arcadelt, "Tempo verrà ancor forse," excerpt

gruppo in the altus voice, a situation that could be avoided with a more modest approach as the alternative arrangement shows. While the entire texture is presented in the third measure of the *Libro primo* arrangement, the melodic contour of the altus diminutions confuses the voiceleading in a manner similar to the example in "Quante volte diss'io." The fourth measure presents the same situation, and the omission of the altus adds to the effect. The partwriting of both measures would be clearer if the ornamentation of the alternate arrangement (or something similar) were to be adopted.

There is one more piece for which attribution to Galilei seems to be unlikely. While the arrangement of Ferrabosco's "Baciami vita mia" represents its four-part model in a fairly accurate manner for the most part, there are many missing or changed cantus notes, and the arrangement of the part-writing of its final measures differs significantly from its model (Example 11).

Example 11: Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, "Bacciami vita mia," excerpt.

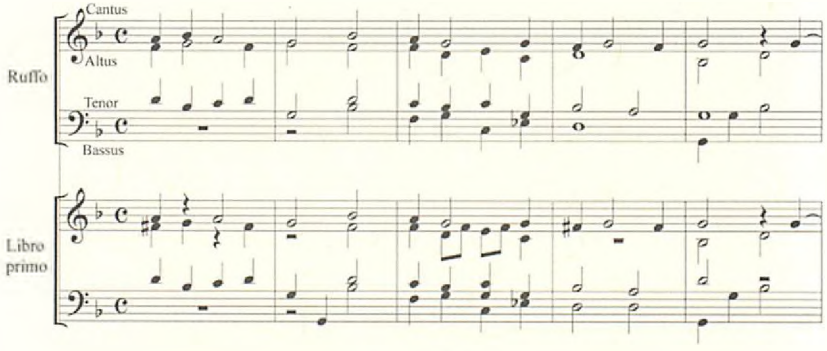
The tablature of Ruffo's "Com' havrà vit' Amor" is a borderline case. For the most part, it maintains the integrity of the model's part-writing in line with Galilei's practice, but there are spots where the tablature strays from it. Example 12 shows one such passage. The omission of the cantus note in the first measure would seem to go against Gailei's principles, and it is possible to include all notes of the texture at that point. Another detail to notice is the ornamentation in the third measure that obscures the voice-leading of the upper two voices, an effect that the addition of another pitch (g) among the lower voices enhances. While not extensive, these deviations from Galilei's precepts are similar to what has been discussed in the Arcadelt cycle.

Example 12: Vincenzo Ruffo, "Com' havrà vit' Amor," excerpt.

Table 4 summarizes the results of the preceding analysis. As the lower left corner section indicates, most of the arrangements of the models by Roman composers besides "Io mi son giovinetta," which we know is not Galilei's, do not show his style and therefore are probably not from his hand. The works that are likely to be his are those by Nasco, Nola (with misattribution to Lasso), Ferro (with misattribution to Gero), and possibly Ruffo. To some degree this reflects Galilei's choices for his models in the two editions of *Fronimo dialogo*: setting aside "Io mi son giovinetta," which he uses as a teaching piece, Galilei did not present any other arrangements of works by Ferrabosco or Arcadelt in either of them; he did include a significant number of arrangements of models by Nasco, Ruffo, and Lasso, however.[42] Galilei was an admirer of Ruffo and praised

[42] See the contents of the editions in Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 139-44 (1568 edition) and 145-49 (1584 edition); this updates Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 225-

Table 4:
Attribution of tablatures in the *Libro primo* according to arranging style.

Probably by Galilei	Possibly by Galilei
Ferro (Gero): Vel può giurar Amor Nasco: Nasce la gioia mia Nasco: Dove tocca costei Nola (Lasso): Giunto m'ha amor	Ruffo: Com' havrà vit' Amor
Probably not by Galilei	**Not by Galilei**
D. Ferrabosco: Baciami vita mia Arcadelt: Chiare fresche e dolci acque Arcadelt: S'egli è per mio destino Arcadelt: Tempo verrà ancor forse Arcadelt: Da' bei rami scendea Arcadelt: Quante volte diss'io	D. Ferrabosco: Io mi son giovinetta

him as a "diligent man" and an "observer of good precepts" in the text of *Fronimo dialogo*, which perhaps provides some support for accepting as his the *Libro primo* tablature of "Com' havrà vit' Amor" despite the reservations mentioned above.[43] If the findings of the preceding analysis are accurate, then it might be concluded that Galilei's preference for arranging was not music from the Roman milieu for the most part but from the composers active in the Veneto and Venice, namely, Nasco, Ruffo, and Gero (or Ferro).

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29 (item 1568_2) and 331-34 (item 1584_5). There are nine tablatures of pieces by Nasco and Ruffo and a whopping twenty-four by Lasso in the 1568 edition; for the 1584 edition Galilei left out the arrangements of the Nasco works but included all of the Ruffo pieces from the earlier edition and added two more madrigal arrangements by the same composer (which have conflicting attributions to Vincenzo Ferro), and he greatly reduced the repertory of Lasso's works to five. It should be pointed out that, in general, Arcadelt's music was not popular with Italian arrangers in the years after the publication of Galilei's *Libro primo* if the surviving instrumental editions printed in Italy are any indication; arrangements of Arcadelt's music do appear in instrumental collections printed in other countries during the same period, however (see Brown, *Instrumental Music*).

[43] Through his interlocutor Fronimo, Galilei says, "Vincentio Ruffo (come sà tutto il mondo) huomo diligentissimo, & osservatore de buoni precetti." The passage appears in the 1568 edition on p. 30 and in the 1584 edition on p. 50; English translation of 1584 edition in MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 85.

This conclusion assumes that Galilei always followed his own procedures and heeded his own proscriptions, but not all of Galilei's arrangements do so. Such is the case with those preserved in a manuscript mostly in Galilei's handwriting currently in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.[44] Their performance medium—they are for voice and lute—might have had something to do with their more relaxed arranging style. To counter that notion, however, there are the two pieces he arranged for voice and lute for the 1584 edition of *Fronimo dialogo*, Galilei's own "Qual miracolo" and "In exitu Israel," which are arranged with his usual care.[45] As I have argued elsewhere, however, the manuscript most likely belonged to someone else, probably a student, and its arrangements were not for Galilei's own use but for that of the owner; as a result, the tablatures were written to accommodate the latter's playing abilities, which necessitated alterations to the texture of the model atypical of Galilei's usual procedures.[46] So, rather than representative of his arranging style intended for circulation in print as in the case of the *Libro primo* and *Fronimo dialogo*, the manuscript lute songs were practical solutions to meet the needs of the circumstances and intended performer, and therefore their existence should not alter the findings of the *Libro primo* analysis.

In returning to the *Libro primo* and accepting that some of the arrangements are not Galilei's, we should ask why another lutenist's tablatures appear in his print without attribution or any other indication in the dedication or title page that they are not his. One suspects the publisher was responsible. In her study of the Dorico publishing house, Suzanne Cusick showed that the firm usually printed the works of musi-

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[44] MS Landau-Finaly, Mus. 2. The arrangements are discussed in Claude V. Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute," *Essays in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 207-32; and Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 91-93; see also my discussion cited in n. 46 below. While the main points of Canguilhem's discussion are valid, his choice of musical illustration, "Vestiva i colli," is probably not the best: the lute part of the arrangement is not in Galilei's handwriting and therefore may not be his.

[45] The models and their arrangements appear on pp. 14-23.

[46] See my "The Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory of Florentine Lute Song" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1997), 35-69. As evidence of the Florentine manuscript belonging to a student, I cite and compare another Galilei manuscript with MS Landau-Finaly, Mus. 2: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS F. III 10431. Both are similar in layout and both are attached at present to copies of the 1568 *Fronimo dialogo*. Their contents suggest that players of very different abilities owned them, and there is also the appearance of handwriting (probably the owner's) that is not Galilei's in each.

cians active in Rome, music that would appeal to the parochial tastes of Dorico's clientele.[47] This certainly is the case with his other lute publications, which contain works by Francesco da Milano, Perino Fiorentino, Johannes Matelart, Jacques Arcadelt, and Cristobal Morales, who all were active in Rome at some point.[48] Thus, one suspects that Dorico suggested or demanded the inclusion of works by Arcadelt and Ferrabosco for Galilei's *Libro primo* to cater to his Roman customers. It is possible that, although he might not have arranged them himself, Galilei could have provided the tablatures because statements in *Fronimo dialogo* indicate that he maintained a collection of arrangements by other lutenists.[49]

It is also possible that Dorico could have obtained them from another lutenist, perhaps a local musician, whom he would have needed to proofread and perhaps edit the tablatures of the *Libro primo* since Galilei does not appear to have been in Rome for the printing process.[50] This last point, that Galilei was not present during the printing process,

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[47] This is a main theme of Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, and Brown mentions it as a point in favor of Galilei's association with Rome in "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 160-61. Cusick does note, however, that on occasion the firm published volumes by those not active in Rome (p. 105).

[48] See n. 8 above.

[49] There is some evidence in the text of *Fronimo dialogo* that Galilei might have been collecting tablatures of other lutenists, perhaps with an eye to their publication under his editorship. He makes detailed references to arrangements by others, Francesco da Milano and Giovanni Paolo Paladino in particular, as illustration or to add authority to his dialogue. Since not all the tablatures have survived or seem to have been printed, he must have had them in a private collection that has not come down to us. Moreover, in the 1584 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* (p. 104) Galilei makes the incredible statement that he plans to publish over three thousand French, Spanish, and Italian songs and motets as well as hundreds of other works written by himself and others. He does not clearly say that the arrangements of vocal music are all his, although he does state immediately beforehand that he has intabulated all the "good music of the world"; see the translation in MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 159. This reckoning seems fantastic and perhaps impossible if Galilei were to arrange such a number by himself; see the commentary in Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 42-44 (the passage includes Galilei's text with a French translation); and Victor Coelho, "The Reputation of Francesco da Milano," 61. Of course, it is likely that Galilei is indulging in the cinquecento penchant for exaggeration and braggadocio, but there may be some semblance of reality to his statement: through arranging and collecting he might have amassed a large number if not thousands of tablatures by 1584, at which time he was over fifty years old and would have had about thirty-five years or more to do so.

[50] Galilei wrote the dedication of the volume in Pisa, which suggests that he was not present during its printing. Dorico would have needed the help of a lutenist for proofreading and perhaps editing as he had in the past when he relied on two musicians working in

also allows the possibility that Dorico might have added tablatures by another lutenist to the print without Galilei's knowledge or consent.

While the arrangements of Galilei's own works can be assigned to him without further discussion, it will not be possible to speculate about who produced the nine works by Alessandro Romano, Ippolito Ciera, and Giovanni del Cartolaio based on arranging style because of the lack of part-music models. Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence does provide a basis for a hypothesis about most if not all of them. As noted earlier, Alessandro Romano and Ciera worked in the Veneto during the years just prior to the publication of the *Libro primo*, the same part of Italy where Nasco and Ruffo were active. In light of this, we could speculate that the arrangements of the works of Alessandro Romano and Ciera might be Galilei's if it could be shown he had an opportunity to access their part-music, and there is documentary evidence that he had that opportunity just a few years prior to the publication of the *Libro primo*. In one of his manuscript treatises completed toward the end of his life in the early 1590s, Galilei mentions that he met the keyboard player and singer Jacomo Finetti in Venice in 1560.[51] Because his treatise was written at a date far removed from his meeting with Finetti, we might suspect that Galilei was thinking about his sojourn in Venice when he was studying with Gioseffo Zarlino, that is, a little before 1565.[52] Events of enough

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Rome: Perino Fiorentino and Johannes Matelart. In the preface to the volume Perino shares with Francesco da Milano (see n. 8 above), Dorico makes explicit reference to Perino's work on its production.

[51] "Discorso intorno all'uso dell'Enharmonio, et di chi fusse autore del Cromatico," Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Anteriori a Galileo III, fol. 9; the pertinent passage is transcribed in Frieder Rempp, *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag Hans Gerig, 1980), 166. Most biographies of Galilei do not mention this; Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 19, n. 4, is an exception. The musician Galilei mentions could be related to (or could be?) the Giacomo Finetti who was active in Iesi, Ancona, and Venice during the early seventeenth century; see *New Grove*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Finetti, Giacomo" (Jerome Roche).

[52] In his *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Sanese, 1588; facsimile New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1979), 5-6, Zarlino quotes a letter from an unnamed former pupil who is clearly Galilei. In the quote Galilei says that he studied with Zarlino "a little before" Cipriano de Rore left Venice and Zarlino succeeded him in his position, by which he meant at S. Marco in 1565 (this is cited in Fano, *La camerata fiorentina*, xxvi, n. 2). Thus, it is most likely that Galilei's study with Zarlino was after the publication of the 1563 *Libro primo*. Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 153, seems to agree with this since he indicates that Galilei had not studied with Zarlino before the publication of the *Libro primo*.

significance in the lutenist's life—his marriage and the publication of the *Libro primo*—occurred between 1560 and his study with the theorist to allow us to take him at his word, however. Thus, a few years before the *Libro primo* was issued he was active in Italy near to where Alessandro Romano and Ciera were working, and he could have gained access to their music by meeting them or someone close to them; he might have met Nasco and Ruffo at the time as well. If so, it could be significant that Nasco, Ruffo, and Alessandro Romano were associated with the famous Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, all having served as its music director in the 1540s and 1550s.[53] The inclusion of their works in the *Libro primo* and Galilei's presence in the vicinity of Verona might indicate his association with the Accademia as well, if only peripherally.

In view of this connection to Venice, we might well wonder why there are no arrangements in the *Libro primo* of the works of Adrian Willaert, the most important composer in the city in 1560. This is particularly curious since Galilei expresses his reverence for Willaert's music only a few years later in the first edition of *Fronimo dialogo*, where he provides seven tablatures devoted to arrangements of his works.[54] The most likely reason for the lack in the *Libro primo* is that prior to its publication Galilei had yet to begin his study with Zarlino, Willaert's great champion, so the print represents his tastes before his introduction to Willaert's music.

There is another point that should be made about the arrangements in the *Libro primo*. In addition to their use for performance, tablatures acted as scores for sixteenth-century musicians. Galilei alludes to this in *Fronimo dialogo* when he presents a duet in both mensural notation and tablature to explain some of his arranging principles. At one point he describes the use of the cross in tablature, a device that aids in showing voice-leading:

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[53] Nasco was its musical director from 1547 until 1551 and was succeeded by Ruffo, who served in the position until 1552; Alessandro Romano was musical director from 1552 to 1553 and again from 1556 to 1557. Citations for the sources of biographical information on these composers are in nn. 19 and 22 above.

[54] Galilei cites as authority Willaert's music several times in *Fronimo dialogo*, and at one point he mentions an arrangement by Francesco da Milano of "la mirabil musica del Divino Adriano." The quote appears in the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo* on p. 14 and in the 1584 edition on p. 24; an English translation of the passage appears in MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 54. While there are seven tablatures of Willaert's works in the 1568 edition, there is only one in the 1584 edition.

> FRONIMO. That sign of that little cross in my tablatures not only signifies that the finger should be held firm as is the case in many others, but most of the time it shows what voice does not move, so that, for whatever purpose desired, someone wanting to can most easily draw the same notes as those drawn for the intabulation [from its part-music model]; because [the intabulator] not having used such care, it would be much more difficult and perhaps impossible for many to do so.[55]

Galilei expands this passage in the 1584 edition and is more precise about how his tablatures can be used as scores:

> That sign of that little cross . . . is used by me with such art that each skilled contrapuntist and lute player may see by means of it how the dissonances are accommodated and resolved and how the parts are joined together and consider in detail all the artifice and value to be found there no less than if it had the same notes scored in the manner that they see in the above-mentioned Duo [the mensural notation]. And furthermore, one could with the greatest ease extract from it [the tablature] these same notes, distinct in the quantity and quality as in the part from which the intabulation was arranged by me, and then use them for any purpose.[56]

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[55] *Fronimo dialogo* (1568 edition), 13: "F[RONIMO.] Quel segno di quella picciola croce, nelle mie intavolature, non vuol solo significare come in molt'altre in tener fermo il dito: ma vuole il piu delle volte manifestare che quella parte non si muove, accio che volendo alcuno per qual si voglia sua commodità trarne l'istesse Note, dalle quali l'intavolatura fu tratta, piu facilmente possa, che non ci havendo usata tal diligentia, era assai piu difficile, & à molti saria stato forse imposibile." Unlike *Fronimo dialogo*, the *Libro primo* does not have the cross indication, also known as a *tenuto* sign. As confirmation of the necessity of this notational feature, see Brown's comments about the difficulty of determining the voice-leading of the arrangements in the *Libro primo* in "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome," 162, n. 21.

[56] The passage appears in the 1584 edition on p. 14: "Quel segno di quella picciola croce, nelle mie intavolature, non vuol solo significare come in molt'altre in tener fermo in quel luogho il ditto, & manifestare che quella parte dov egl'è no[n] si muove, ma vi è da me accomodato con tal arte, che può ciascuno perito contrapuntista, & sonator di liuto col suo mezzo, scorger come in esse siano accomodate & resolute le dissonanze, & come siano conlegate insieme le parti, & considerare minutamente tutto l'artificio & quanto di buono in esse si ritrova: non meno che s'egli havesse inanzi l'istesse notte [*sic*] spartite nella maniera che si vedono nel Duo sudetto, & in oltre può agevolissimamente trarne l'istesse note distinte in quella quantita, et qualita, di parte, dalle quali esse intavolature furno da me tratte, & servirsene dipoi per qual si voglia suo comodo." Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 66-67, compares the passages of the 1568 and 1584 editions and has French translations of both with a discussion. An English translation of the 1584 edition is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584*, 44.

Galilei's approach to arranging is not just pedantic fussiness; instead, his arrangements in the *Libro primo* were completed at least in part to provide him with scores, especially for those works that do not seem to have been readily available in printed part-music collections. He stresses the usefulness of tablatures as scores elsewhere in *Fronimo dialogo* and even introduces a notational technique in which tablature ciphers representing notes added to the model are printed in red to distinguish them from the surrounding black ciphers; in that way, the original part-writing of the model is easily discerned.[57] The tablatures that Galilei made for the *Libro primo* represent arrangements intended as scores for his own use, no doubt, but perhaps they were also intended to be offered to the dedicatee of the book or some other patron as examples of rare unpublished music, mementos of his 1560 trip to northeastern Italy.

The *Libro primo* was an important achievement of Galilei's early career and represents his first attempt to establish through publication his reputation as lutenist as well as a composer of vocal music. Its contents and context give some idea of his activities, tastes, and thinking on music at a point early in his career. He states in his *Fronimo dialogo,* published five years later, that not all the arrangements in the *Libro primo* are his, identifying only one specific piece, "Io mi son giovinetta," and saying that his pieces show certain (unspecified) "observances," with the implication that the arrangements he did not make do not show them. As the preceding analysis and discussion has suggested, there are indeed different approaches to arranging in those works that have part-music models with which to compare a tablature with its model. The arrangements of works by Nasco, Ferro (attributed to Gero), Ruffo, and Nola (attributed to Lasso)—composers active in the Veneto or southern Italy for the most part—appear to be by Galilei since they follow some of the arranging precepts he discusses and professes in his *Fronimo dialogo*: in particular, the maintenance of textural integrity and voice leading of a part-music model. Arrangements of works by Arcadelt and Domenico Ferrabosco, composers associated with Rome for at least part of their careers, do not

[57] The tablatures so treated are Ruffo's "Lieti felici spirti" and "Il vostro gran valore," which appear in the 1568 edition on p. 29 with Galilei's explanation of his notation on the following page; the tablatures reappear in the 1584 edition on pp. 49-50 (explanation on p. 50), but all ciphers are in black. Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, 88-89, provides a color facsimile of the 1568 tablatures, a transcription of the pertinent passage with French translation, and a discussion of it. An English translation with tablatures (in black and white) is MacClintock, *Vincenzo Galilei Fronimo 1584,* 84-86.

exhibit the same arranging style and are probably the ones Galilei alludes to as not his. This is significant because it has been thought that Galilei was somehow artistically aligned and associated with Rome in the early 1560s, an argument partly based on the supposition that he arranged all the Roman works in the *Libro primo*. Instead, its contents show that Galilei had an interest in the works of and perhaps an association with the composers active in the Veneto and Venice in the years just prior to its publication. This point is further supported by the appearance in the *Libro primo* of the arrangements of works by Alessandro Romano and Ippolito Ciera, who were active in the Veneto and Venice during the early 1560s. Their works have no known concordances, part-music or otherwise, which suggests that if Galilei is their arranger, and we have no evidence to the contrary, he might have had access to their models from the composers themselves or someone close to them during his 1560 trip to Venice.

APPENDIX 1

The following is a transcription of the dedication of Vincenzo Galilei's *Libro primo*, sig. A2. Resolutions of elisions are indicated with brackets [ ]; some spellings have been modernized ("v" to "u"; "j" to "i").

AL MOLTO ILL.^re^S. IL SIGNOR ALESSANDRO DE MEDICI.
S. mio sempre osservandissimo.

Per gli infiniti benefitii ch'ho ricevuti dal S. Bernardetto vostro padre essendo molto maggiori che da me non si saprebbe esprimere, Son ito sempre pensando, non gia di corrispondere loro, ma siben di far fede a Voi, e testimonio al mo[n]do dell'obbligo con cui mi vi hanno astretto di perpetua Servitu. Percio sentendomi per la bassezza della fortuna mia, privo di altri mezzi a pervenire al fine di tal intentione, mi e parso di mettere insieme alcune intavolature mie, & fattone un libro, dedicarlo a voi, & sotto la protetione del nome vostro, mandarlo in luce, Ilqual vi dovera essere tanto piu grato, quanto io per tale effetto vi ho aggiunto certe Ricerche del non mai a bastanza lodato M. Francesco da Milano. Pregovi dunq[ue] ad accettarlo con lieto animo, & come ostaggio de molti obligh̄ miei ritenerlo presso di Voi, promettendovi intavolato, se questo non vi sara discaro, il primo libro de Madrigali di Cipriano a quattro voci, e con questo facendo fine, prego Dio a felicitarvi. Di Pisa il di Vii. di Aprile.
M. D. LXIII.

Di V. S. Ill.^re.
Humilis. Servitore.
Vincentio Galilei.

APPENDIX 2

Contents of Galilei's *Libro primo*

Galilei gives composer attributions for the arrangements in the index at the end of the *Libro primo* (p. 52) and for the ricercars by Francesco da Milano in its dedication (sig. A2). I have slightly modified titles (adding accents, for example) and the spelling of some composers' names to conform to modern usage.

The following bibliographical abbreviations will be used to identify sources of concordance information, modern editions, and transcriptions in the index below:

BROWN = Brown, Howard M. *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

BROWNVG = Brown, Howard M. "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome: His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context," *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo,* ed. Victor Coelho. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992, 153-84.

CAMMAROTA = Cammarota, Lionello, ed. *Gian Domenico del Giovane da Nola.* 2 vols. Rome: Edizioni de Santis, 1973.

CHARTERIS = Charteris, Richard, ed. *Domenico Maria Ferrabosco Opera Omnia.* Vol. 102 in Corpus mensurabilis musicae. American Institute of Musicology, 1992.

COSSIO = Cossio, Aluigi. *The Canzoniere of Dante: A Contribution to its Critical Edition.* New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1918.

DURLING = Durling, Robert M., ed. and trans. *Petrarch's Lyric Poems.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.

EINSTEIN = Einstein, Alfred. *The Italian Madrigal.* Trans. A. Krappe, R. Sessions, and O. Strunk. 3 vols. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949.

FANO = Fano, Fabio. *La camerata fiorentina. Vincenzo Galilei, 1520?-1591. La sua opera d'artista e di teorico come espressione di nuove*

idealità musicali. Vol. 4 in Istitutioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana. Milan: Ricordi, 1934.

HARRÁN = Harrán, Don. *The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals.* Vol. 73/2 in Corpus mensurabilis musicae. American Institute of Musicology, 1978.

KIRSCH & MEIEROTT = Kirsch, Dieter and Lenz Meierott. *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau.* Mainz: Schott, 1992.

LEWIS = Lewis, Mary S. *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer 1538-1569.* Vol. 1, New York: Garland, 1988; vol. 2, New York: Garland, 1997; vol. 3, New York: Routledge, 2005.

NESS = Ness, Arthur J., ed. *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano.* 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

NV = Vogel, Emil, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori. *Bibliografia della musica italiana profana.* 3 vols. Pomezia: Staderini, 1977.

OWENS = Owens, Jessie Ann, ed. *Jan Nasco: Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci (Venice, 1554).* Vol. 20 in Sixteenth-Century Madrigal. New York: Garland, 1991.

RISM = *Recueils imprimes xvie-xviie siècles.* Vol. B I^1 in Répertoire international des sources musicales. Munich: G. Henle, 1960.

RISMEin = *Einzeldrucke vor 1800.* Vol. A I in Répertoire international des sources musicales. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978.

SEAY = Seay, Albert, ed. *Jacobi Arcadelt Opera omnia madrigali miscellanei.* Vol. 31/7 of Corpus mensurabilis musicae. American Institute of Musicology, 1969.

MEYER = *Sources manuscrits en tablature, luth et theorbe (c. 1500–c. 1800), catalogue descriptif.* Vol. 2, ed. Christian Meyer et al. Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1994; vol. 3/2, ed. Christian Meyer et al. Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1999.

I have simplified concordance information by including only the earliest printed sources of part-music models. The appropriate identification numbers in standard bibliographies are also provided (BROWN, LEWIS, NV, RISM, and others). If the work appears in other editions, I have given references to appropriate bibliographies for that information (BROWN, LEWIS, and others), and I have included additional concordances to those in the bibliographies as well. For the ricercars by Francesco da Milano, I have indicated the numbers assigned to them in the complete edition by Arthur Ness (NESS).

1) p. 1: **Ahi bella libertà**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: First quatrain from sonnet (97) by Francesco Petrarch; ed. DURLING, 201.

Notes: Nos. 1-5 form a cycle based on Petrarch's sonnet "Ahi bella libertà" with interpolation of "Pur mi consola" for nos. 2 and 5, which is possibly the last tercet of Petrarch's sonnet (174) "Fera stella"; ed. DURLING, 321. A transcription of no. 1 is BROWNVG, 176-78.

2) p. 2: **Pur mi consola**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: Probably last tercet of sestet from "Fera stella," sonnet (174) by Francesco Petrarch; ed. DURLING, 321.

Notes: See notes for no. 1; cf. no. 5. A transcription of no. 2 is BROWNVG, 179-80.

3) p. 3: **Gl'occhi invaghiro al' hor'**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: Second quatrain from "Ahi bella libertà," sonnet (97) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 1.

Notes: See notes for no. 1.

4) pp. 3-4: **Ne mi lece ascoltar**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: Sestet from "Ahi bella libertà," sonnet (97) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 1.

Notes: See notes for no. 1.

5) p. 5: **Pur mi consola**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: Probably last tercet of sestet from "Fera stella," sonnet (174) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 2.

Notes: See also notes for no. 1. This piece begins the same as no. 2, but it diverges in the second tablature staff. No. 5 is a longer piece and contains a change of mensuration in the third tablature staff.

6) p. 6: **Com' havrà vit' Amor**

Composer: Vincenzo Ruffo.

Text: Madrigal by Luigi Cassola.

Concordances: Part-music model in Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de madrigali cromatici a quatro voci* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1552) [NV 2475, RISMEin R3067]. See LEWIS, 2:251-53 for other concordances; see also *Il primo libro de villotte alla padoana con alcune napolitane a quatro voci intitolate Villotte del fiore* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1557) [RISM 1557[18]] (LEWIS, 2:341-43). An arrangement for voice and lute by C. Bottegari is in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS Mus. C 311, fol. 27.

Notes: Galilei's index gives the title as "Com' havrà fin' Amor." He has apparently confused the title of Ruffo's madrigal with one having a similar text incipit by Cipriano de Rore. An intabulation of Rore's work appears in Galilei's *Fronimo dialogo* (p. 67 in 1568 ed., p. 138 in 1584 ed).

7) pp. 7-8: **Ahi chi mi da consiglio**

Composer: Alessandro Romano.

Text: A madrigal with the same incipit appears in Anibale Zoilo, *Libro secondo de madrigali a quattro et a cinque voci* (Rome: A. Blado, 1563) [NV 3027, RISMEin Z338]. Poet unknown.

8) pp. 9-10: **Baciami vita mia**

Composer: Domenico Maria Ferrabosco.

Text: Ottava rima, poet unknown. The poem was derived from Catullus; see EINSTEIN, 1:310-11, especially n. 16.

Concordances: Part-music model in *De diversi autori il quarto libro de madrigali a quatro voci a note bianche* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1554) [RISM 1554[28]]. See LEWIS, 2:296-97 for another concordance.

Notes: A modern edition of the part-music model is CHAR-

TERIS, 156-59. The arranging style indicates that this piece is probably not by Galilei.

9) pp. 11-12: **Mordimi questa lingua**

Composer: Giovanni del Cartolaio.

Text: Settings of a text with the same text incipit (as a later part of "Deh, Clori mia gentil") appear in Paolo Virchi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Vincenzi & Amadino, 1584) [NV 2929, RISMEin V2105]; Antonio Barrè, *Madrigali a quattro voci libro primo* (Rome: V. & A. Dorico, 1552) [NV 250, RISMEin B951]; and Lancilotto Fidelis, *Il primo libro di madrigali aerosi a quatro voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1570) [NV 980; RISM 1570[25]]; see BROWNVG, 155. Poet unknown.

10) pp. 13-14: **Vel può giurar Amor**

Composer: Vincenzo Ferro.

Text: Madrigal by Luigi Cassola ("Madonna, io v'amo et taccio").

Concordances: Part-music model in *Madrigali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissime autori . . . Libro primo* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1551) [RISM 1551[10]]. See LEWIS, 2:214-16 for other concordances.

Notes: Galilei's index erroneously names Jhan Gero as the composer.

11) pp. 15-16: **Chiare fresche e dolci acque**

Composer: Jacques Arcadelt.

Text: First stanza in a canzone (126) by Francesco Petrarch that has 5 stanzas and commiato (not set by Arcadelt); ed. DURLING, 245-47.

Concordances: Part-music model for the entire cycle in *Il primo libro de le muse a cinque voci composte da diversi eccellentissime musici* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1555) [RISM 1555[25]]; and *Primo libro delle muse a cinque voci* (Rome: A. Barrè, 1555) [RISM 1555[26]]. See LEWIS, 2:319-21 for other concordances.

Notes: A modern edition of the cycle's part-music model is SEAY, 94-96 and 162-74. The arranging style of this cycle (nos. 11-15) indicates that it is probably not by Galilei.

12) pp. 17-18: **S'egli è per mio destino**
Composer: Jacques Arcadelt
Text: Second stanza of a canzone (126) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 11.
Concordances: See concordances for no. 11.
Notes: See notes for no. 11.

13) pp. 19-20: **Tempo verrà ancor forse**
Composer: Jacques Arcadelt.
Text: Third stanza of a canzone (126) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 11.
Concordances: See concordances for no. 11. This madrigal was published separately from the "Chiare fresche" cycle. Its earliest appearance was in *Madrigali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venice: Ant. Gardane, 1551) [RISM 1551[10]]. See LEWIS, 2:214-16 for other concordances.
Notes: See notes for no. 11. A transcription of the tablature is Oscar Chilesotti, "Il primo libro di liuto di Vincenzo Galilei," *Rivista musicale italiana,* 15 (1908): 756-58.

14) pp. 21-22: **Da' bei rami scendea**
Composer: Jacques Arcadelt.
Text: Fourth stanza of a canzone (126) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 11.
Concordances: See concordances for no. 11. This madrigal was published separately from the "Chiare fresche" cycle. Its earliest appearance was in *Il primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1542) [RISM 1542[17]]. See LEWIS, 1:351-59 for other concordances. Instrumental arrangements of this piece appear in J. Abondante, *Intabolatura di lauto libro secondo* [BROWN 1548_1]; V. Ruffo, *Capricci in musica a tre voci* [BROWN 1564_8]; J. Paix, *Ein Schön Nutz und Gebreüchlich Orgel Tablaturbuch* [BROWN 1583_4].
Notes: See notes for no. 11.

15) pp. 22-24: **Quante volte diss'io**
Composer: Jacques Arcadelt.
Text: Fifth stanza of a canzone (126) by Francesco Petrarch; see no. 11.

Concordances: See concordances for no. 11.
Notes: See notes for no. 11.

16) pp. 25-26: **Signor mio caro**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Probably sonnet (266) by Francesco Petrarch; ed. DURLING, 435.

17) p. 27: **Alcun non può saper**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Canto 19, Stanza 1 of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso.*
Notes: A transcription of the tablature is BROWNVG, 181-84. Galilei composed a different setting for Ariosto's stanza for his *Il secondo libro de madrigali a quattro, et a cinque voci* (Venice: Ang. Gardano, 1587) [NV 1055, RISMEin G149]; a modern edition of the 1587 setting is FANO, 140-43. The *Libro primo* setting is shorter and might only set the first four lines of the text.

18) pp. 28-29: **Nasce la gioia mia**
Composer: Jan Nasco.
Text: Madrigal; poet unknown.
Concordances: Part-music model in *Di Giovan Nasco il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1554) [NV 2004, RISMEin N78]. See LEWIS, 2:285-87 for other concordances.
Notes: A modern edition of the part-music model is OWENS, 81-85.

19) pp. 30-31: **Dove tocca costei**
Composer: Jan Nasco.
Text: Madrigal; poet unknown.
Concordances: Part-music model in *Di Giovan Nasco il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1554) [NV 2004, RISMEin N78]. See LEWIS, 2:285-87 for other concordances.
Notes: A modern edition of the part-music model is OWENS, 86-91.

20) p. 32: **Dapoi che sotto il ciel**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Probably from *Triumph of Eternity* by Francesco Petrarch.

21) p. 33: **Questa leggiadra**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Probably sonnet by Dante Alighieri; ed. COSSIO, 233.

22) pp. 34-35: **Io mi son giovinetta**
Composer: Domenico Maria Ferrabosco.
Text: Ballata by Giovanni Boccaccio
Concordances: Part-music model in *Il primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1542) [RISM 1542[17]]. Extensive part-music and instrumental arrangement concordances are in CHARTERIS, xxxv-xxxvi. See also LEWIS, 1:351-59. There are many instrumental arrangements of this madrigal for lute, cittern, keyboard, and lute with voice that appear in printed and manuscript sources. Some, but not all, of the instrumental arrangements listed in CHARTERIS are given in BROWN. See the following entries there: M. Newsidler, *Il primo libro intabolatura di liuto* [BROWN 1566_2]; V. Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo* (two arrs.) [BROWN 1568_2]; Theatrum musicum (attr. to "Orlando") [BROWN 1571_6]; B. Jobin, *Das erste Büch newerlessner fleissiger ettlicher viel schöner Lautenstück* [BROWN 1572_1]; M. Newsidler, *Tabulatura continens praestantissimas et selectissimas quasque cantiones* [BROWN 1573_1]; P. Virchi, *Il primo libro di tabolatura di citthara* [BROWN 1574_6]; B. Schmid, *Zwey Bücher. Eine neuen kunstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel und Instrument* [BROWN 1577_6]; E. Ammerbach, *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch* [BROWN 1583_2]; G. Fallamero, *Il primo libro de intavolatura da liuto* [BROWN 1584_3]; V. Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo* (two arrs.) [BROWN 1584_5]; E. Adriansen, *Pratum musicum* [BROWN 1584_6]; A. Gabrieli, *Il terzo libro de ricercari* (attr. "Giachet") [BROWN 1596_7]. Two lute intabulations not listed in CHARTERIS are Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. MS 40032, p. 76 (see MEYER, 3/2:104; and KIRSCH & MEIEROTT, 9, no. 53); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS autogr. Hove 1, fols. 3v-5v (see MEYER, 2:20).
Notes: The titles on p. 34 of the *Libro primo* have been switched: the title for the first staff should read "Io mi son giovinetta," and

the title for the third staff should read "Seconda Parte." A modern edition of the part-music model of Ferrabosco's madrigal is CHARTERIS, 150-52. Galilei says in the 1568 *Fronimo dialogo* that this arrangement is not his (see text above); an arrangement by Galilei appears in *Fronimo dialogo* (pp. 34-35 in 1568 ed., pp. 56-57 in 1584 ed.). *Fronimo dialogo* also contains another arrangement of this piece (p. 27 in 1568 ed., p. 47 in 1584 ed.) attributed to one of the interlocutors (Eumatio), where Galilei incorporates a number of errors to illustrate his discussion of arranging style.

23) pp. 35-36: **Deh non fuggir**
Composer: Ippolito Ciera.
Text: Form and poet unknown.

24) p. 37: **O famelice inique**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Probably Canto 34, Stanza 1 of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso.*

25) p. 38: **Così nel mio cantar**
Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.
Text: Canzone by Dante Alighieri; ed. COSSIO, 159-61.
Notes: Galilei composed a different setting for the text in his MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Galileo I, "Dell'arte e della practica del moderno contrappunto"; a modern edition of the MS setting is FANO, 277-78.

26) pp. 39-40: **Giunto m'ha amor**
Composer: Giovanni Domenico da Nola.
Text: First quatrain of sonnet (171) by Francesco Petrarch; ed. DURLING, 317.
Concordances: Part-music model in *Il terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci* (Rome: A. Barrè, 1562) [RISM 1562[7]]. For other concordances, see HARRÁN, xxxiii under "Other settings." CAMMAROTA, 83, also gives as a concordance *Libro terzo delle muse a quattro voci, madrigali ariosi da diversi eccell. musici* (Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1563) [RISM 1563[9]]. Other concordances are an arrangement for lute in Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechiano XIX 168, fols. 15v-16;

an arrangement for lute and voice by C. Bottegari in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS Mus. C 311, fol. 25; and an arrangement for lute and voices (SB) in E. Adriansen, *Novum pratum musicum* [BROWN 1592_6], fols. 29v-30. The lute sources do not provide attributions for the model; Bottegari and Adriansen indicate instead "d'incerto."

Notes: Galilei's print attributes this piece to Orlando di Lasso. A modern edition of the part-music model is CAMMAROTA, 308-9.

27) pp. 40-42: **Nella più verde piaggia**

Composer: Ippolito Ciera.

Text: Form and poet unknown.

28) p. 43: **Zefiro torna**

Composer: Vincenzo Galilei.

Text: Probably sonnet (310) by Francesco Petrarch; ed. DURLING, 489.

29) pp. 44-45: **Ricercare primo**

Composer: Francesco da Milano (?).

Notes: NESS no. 68. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 182-84. The attribution to Francesco is doubtful (see n. 17 of the present study).

30) pp. 45-46: **Ricercare secondo**

Composer: Francesco da Milano.

Notes: NESS no. 69. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 184-85.

31) p. 47: **Ricercare terzo**

Composer: Francesco da Milano.

Notes: NESS no. 70. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 186.

32) p. 48: **Ricercare quarto**

Composer: Francesco da Milano.

Notes: NESS no. 71. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 187.

33) p. 49: **Ricercare quinto**

Composer: Francesco da Milano.

Notes: NESS no. 72. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 188-89.

34) pp. 50-51: **Ricercare sesto**

Composer: Francesco da Milano.

Notes: NESS no. 73. A transcription of the tablature is NESS, 189-91.

APPENDIX 3

Variant Readings and Critical Notes for Musical Examples

The notes below give variant readings for the musical examples, which are indicated by brackets [ ] in the scores (the more extensive rhythmic variants are not so indicated, but they are described in the notes below) and other critical notes. All pitches are indicated with the understanding that middle c = c′. To indicate where a variant reading appears in the transcription, the beat is identified, which should be understood as occurring on the quarter note in the transcription regardless of time signature. The voice parts in the tablature transcriptions should be read cantus (stems up) and altus (stems down) on the top staff (treble clef); tenor (stems up) and bassus (stems down) on the bottom staff (bass clef); in those cases where there is a quintus, it will appear between the two staves (in bass clef). For rhythmic variants, the notes sometimes refer to a tablature column, which indicates the pitch ciphers that line up in a single vertical column.

In many cases a modern edition of a part-music model has been the basis for the vocal scores in the examples, and those sources are indicated below using the bibliographical abbreviations of Appendix 2 of the present study. For critical notes for those models, the reader should consult the pertinent modern editions.

Contrary to the procedure one finds in many editions and studies that involve the comparison of part-music and lute arrangements, part-music models in the present study have been transposed or have had their rhythmic values changed to correspond with their lute arrangements; the notes below indicate such changes. As mentioned in n. 37 above, the lute transcriptions assume a G tuning and rhythmic values have been halved.

Since there are no bar lines in the tablatures of the *Libro primo*, the references below to the passages in Examples 3 through 12 are to page numbers, specific tablature staves, and positions within those staves to indicate where they are found in the source. For each variant in the same examples (3 through 12), the measure of the passage in the example by itself is identified (1st m.), not the measure number of the entire piece from which it is drawn.

EXAMPLE 1: Io mi son giovinetta

Ferrabosco

The vocal score in the example is after CHARTERIS, 150-52. It has been transposed down a perfect fourth, and the modern edition's rhythmic values have been reduced by one-half.

Libro primo

m. 15 1st beat, 2nd eighth note, cantus: reads g′ in source (pitch cipher on wrong staff line?).

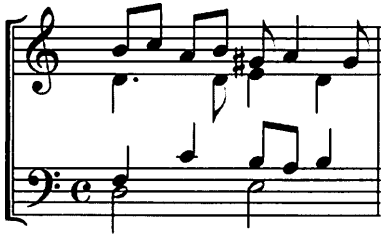
m. 15 3rd beat, 2nd eighth note, cantus: reads f′-sharp in source (pitch cipher on wrong staff line?).

1568 Fronimo

Note: The reading for the example is based on the 1568 edition of *Fronimo dialogo*, which differs significantly in some passages from that in the 1584 edition; those differences are noted along with changes made in the transcription for Example 1.

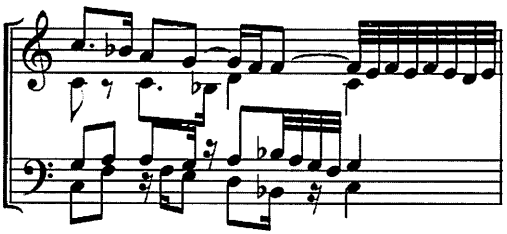
m. 2 2nd eighth-note of 2nd beat: rhythmic cipher in 1584 ed. reads sixteenth note.

m. 3 3rd beat, tenor: 1584 ed. omits f.

m. 16 This measure is rearranged in 1584 ed.:

m. 19 2nd beat, 3rd sixteenth note, altus: 1568 ed. has 0 on 3rd course (a); 1584 ed. has 4 on 4th course (a; same pitch).

m. 20 1st beat, 2nd eighth note, tenor: 1584 ed. does not include the pitch a.

m. 27 This measure is rearranged in 1584 ed.:



m. 30 2nd beat: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note in 1584 ed. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to 1568 ed.).

m. 30 2nd beat, 2nd eighth note: rhythmic cipher reads eighth note in 1584 ed. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to 1568 ed.).

m. 30 4th beat: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note in both 1568 and 1584 eds. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to transcription).

m. 30 4th beat, 4th sixteenth note: rhythmic cipher reads eighth note in both 1568 and 1584 eds. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to transcription).

m. 32 4th beat: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note in 1584 ed. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to 1568 ed.).

m. 32 4th beat, 2nd eighth note: rhythmic cipher reads eighth note in 1584 ed. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to 1568 ed.).

m. 33 2nd beat: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note in both 1568 and 1584 eds. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to transcription).

m. 33 2nd beat, 2nd eighth note: rhythmic cipher reads eighth note in both 1568 and 1584 eds. (placed one tablature column to the left compared to transcription).

m. 35 2nd beat: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note in 1568 ed. (placed one tablature column to the right compared to the 1584 ed.); 1584 ed. reading used.

EXAMPLE 2: Giunto m'ha amor

Nola

The part-music score in the example is after CAMMAROTA, 308-9. It is at pitch, and the rhythmic values of the modern edition have

been reduced by one-half; bar lines in Example 2 do not correspond to those in CAMMAROTA, and a section between repeat signs in the same edition has been written out.

Libro primo

m. 6 1st beat, 2nd eighth note, tenor: rhythmic cipher reads dotted eighth note.
m. 6 1st beat, last thirty-second note, tenor: rhythmic cipher reads sixteenth note.

EXAMPLE 3: Nasce la gioia mia

Nasco

The part-music score in the example is after OWENS, 81-85; the passage appears on pp. 84-85, mm. 26-28. It is at pitch, and the modern edition's rhythmic values have been reduced by one-half.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 29 and begins at the end of the third tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 4: Vel può giurar Amor

Ferro

The part-music source is British Library, Add. MS 30823-5, fols. 17v-18; consulted in British Library, *The Music Manuscripts from the Great English Collections,* series 4, part 2: British Library, London, section B: Polyphonic Music before c.1640 (Brighton, Sussex, England: Harvester Press Microform Publications, 1983), reel 29. The passage appears on fol. 18 in the final staff of each part-book. It has been transposed down one whole tone, and the rhythmic values are the same as those in the source.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 14 and begins at the end of the third tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 5: Da' bei rami scendea

Arcadelt

The part-music score in the example is after SEAY, 94-96; the passage appears on p. 94, mm. 13-14. It has been transposed down one whole tone, and rhythmic values are the same as in the modern edition.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 21 and begins at the middle of the first tablature staff.

m. 1 4th beat through 2nd m., 1st beat: rhythmic cipher reads quarter note.

EXAMPLE 6: Da' bei rami scendea

Arcadelt

See Example 5 notes; the passage appears on. p. 96, mm. 27-28.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 21 and begins at the end of the fourth tablature staff and continues on to the following page.

m. 1 3rd beat, cantus and bassus: rhythmic cipher reads eighth note (no dot).

EXAMPLE 7: S'egli è per mio destino

Arcadelt

The part-music score is after SEAY, 166-68; the passage appears on p. 168, mm. 44-47; it has been transposed down one whole tone, and rhythmic values are the same as in the modern edition.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 18 and begins in the middle of the first tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 8: Chiare fresche e dolci acque

Arcadelt

The part-music score is after SEAY, 162-65; the passage appears on p. 164, mm. 41-44; it has been transposed down one whole tone, and rhythmic values are the same as in the modern edition.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 16 and begins in the middle of the first tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 9: Quante volte diss'io

Arcadelt

The part-music score is after SEAY, 171-74; the passage appears on p. 171, mm. 6-9; it has been transposed down one whole tone, and rhythmic values are the same as in the modern edition.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 22 and begins in the middle of the third tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 10: Tempo verrà ancor forse

Arcadelt

The part-music score is after SEAY, 169-71; the passage appears on pp. 170-71, mm. 52-55; it has been transposed down one whole tone, and rhythmic values are the same as in the modern edition.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 20 and begins at the end of the second tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 11: Bacciami vita mia

Ferrabosco

The part-music score is after CHARTERIS, 156-59; the passage appears on p. 157, mm. 17-21; it is at pitch, and rhythmic values of the modern edition have been reduced by one-half.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 9 and begins at the end of the second tablature staff.

EXAMPLE 12: Com' havrà vit' Amor

Ruffo

The part-music source is *Di Vincenzo Ruffo Il primo libro di madregali cromatici a quatro voci con la gionta di alquanti madrigali* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1556), accessed as a digital file from the online catalog of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The passage appears on p. 21 in all part-books; it begins at the end of the second staff in the cantus, near the beginning of the third staff in the altus and tenor, and near the end of the second staff in the bassus. It is at pitch, and rhythmic values are the same as in the part-books.

Libro primo

The passage appears on p. 6 and begins in the middle of the third tablature staff.

Review

Gorzanis, Giacomo. *Il primo libro di napolitane che si cantano et sonano in leuto (1570); Il secondo libro delle napolitane a tre voci (1571).* Ed. Alenka Bagarič. Monumenta artis musicæ Sloveniæ, vol. 51. Ljubljana: Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2007.

_____. *Compositions for Lute: Intabolatura di liuto. Libro primo (1561).* Ed. Alenka Bagarič. Monumenta artis musicæ Sloveniæ, vol. 53. Ljubljana: Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2011.

Giacomo Gorzanis holds a noteworthy place in the history of 16th-century lute practice, so both scholars and performers should welcome a new critical edition of his works. The volumes under review are the first to appear in a planned *opera omnia* to be published under the aegis of the Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana.

Gorzanis is a significant figure in the history of Slovenian music because he was associated with the area of present-day Slovenia while working in Habsburg-controlled Trieste and Graz. His four printed books of solo lute music (1561, 1563, 1564, and 1579) include mostly dance music, but there are also arrangements of vocal works and ricercars. He produced another collection in manuscript that contains 24 passamezzo–saltarello pairs written on all possible finals in both major and minor modes; it is dated 1567 and therefore predates Vincenzo Galilei's similar cycle of dance groups by over 15 years. Gorzanis also published two books of *napolitane,* one for voice and lute (1570) and the other for three voices in mensural notation (1571). His corpus of work is notable not only for its intrinsic musical value and what it tells us about the development of lute technique but also for its part in the general development of 16th-century music with regard to the dance suite, variation technique, equal temperament tuning, and lute-accompanied song.

Only a portion of the lutenist's music has been issued in modern editions. The 1567 manuscript has been of special interest to performers and scholars and has appeared in two editions, but the transcriptions in both use notational systems that no longer serve a modern scholar.[1] Gor-

[1] Bruno Tonazzi's *Libro de intabulatura de liuto (1567)* (Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1975)

zanis's first three solo prints (1561, 1563, and 1564) have been published in facsimile as a single volume, and various studies have included transcriptions of pieces from the same sources; some of his vocal works have appeared in modern editions as well.[2] All told, much of his music still has not been transcribed from tablature or is accessible only in older or not easily obtainable editions, so a complete critical edition will provide the opportunity for a better and more comprehensive evaluation of his work.

The volumes under review are of very high quality, and they contain all of Gorzanis's vocal music and his first printed book of solo lute music. All editorial material, including critical notes, appears in both Slovenian and English, and there are brief essays introducing the particular works of each volume that provide biographical background and a general overview of musical style. The volume containing the vocal works includes critical notes for the song texts as well as free translations in Slovenian and English. While the introductory essays may not be as extensive as one expects for scholarly editions, they have ample references to many studies pertinent to Gorzanis and his music.

The critical apparatus for the music employs a system of denoting variants that is clear and easy to follow (for the tablatures, "fingering" = column of tablature in a measure). Unlike many scholarly editions, the volumes under review do not indicate editorial changes in their transcriptions or in the typeset tablatures, nor are editorial accidentals distin-

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has guitar transcriptions (single staff with an E tuning) that were apt for a period when 16th-century lute music was more likely to be performed by a guitarist than a lutenist. The other edition is Issam El-Mallah, *Ein Tanzzyklus des 16. Jahrhunderts für Laute von Jacomo Gorzanis* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979). It includes a diplomatic facsimile of the manuscript and an eccentric great staff transcription that reproduces the rhythmic notation of tablature.

[2] The facsimile of the three solo lute books is Giacomo Gorzanis, *Intabolatura di liuto I-III* (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1981). For the studies containing transcriptions from these books, see the introduction to Volume 51 of the edition under review, p. xxvi, n. 6. The introduction also cites two modern editions of Gorzanis's first book of *napolitane* for voice and lute: a transcription with facsimile edited by G. Balestra (p. xxix, n. 30) and Bruno Tonazzi's transcriptions of 15 songs arranged for voice/flute and guitar (p. xxvi, n. 6). Not mentioned, perhaps because of its limited use for scholars, is *Sette napolitane per 3 flauti dolci e voce feminile ad lib.*, ed. by Elio Peruzzi (Padua: Zanibon, 1975), which contains arrangements of works from the same source. Modern editions also are cited in the works list in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Gorzanis, Giacomo," by Arthur J. Ness; and in the individual bibliographical entries for each printed lute source in Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 195-96 (item 1561_2), 206 (item 1563_8), 212-13 (item 1564_4), 242 (item $156?_3$), and 243 (item 1570_1).

guishable from those in the original sources. Using square brackets and accidentals above their staff notes would have been helpful to identify editorial alterations, but the interested scholar or performer can check the critical notes for them.

Volume 51 contains the music of Gorzanis's two books of vocal music. It presents each of the lute songs from his print of 1570 in facsimile on the left-hand page of an opening with its transcription on the right. This works well since each piece in the original source fits on one page and is in score format, the vocal part in mensural notation above the lute tablature. The edition's page layout makes it useful for performing lutenists, who can use the excellent facsimile, and for scholars, who can see both the facsimile and modern transcription on facing pages. Self-accompanying singers will find the score format of the facsimile useful as well, even though the voice and lute parts do not line up perfectly—an aspect typical of other 16th-century Italian sources of lute song in the same format. The works for the second book of *napolitane,* originally printed as part-books in 1571, are presented only in a modern score transcription.

The first book of *napolitane* is of particular interest. Between 1540 and 1570, very little in the way of lute song was published or copied into manuscript sources in Italy. The collection by Gorzanis and similar ones by Cornelio Antonelli (1570) and Gasparo Fiorino (1571) were the first books of such music to appear there after the 30-year dry spell. Literary sources show that the lighter forms of Italian vocal music such as *napolitane* were performed as accompanied song during the middle years of the 16th century, so the reason for the lack of musical examples is not clear.[3] Also unclear is why Gorzanis and his contemporaries suddenly published their three collections within a year or so of each other. Perhaps it was a response to the growing needs of amateur lutenists who, for one reason or another, did not make their own lute song arrangements or needed models to show them how to do so. Gorzanis's book is unique among the three in that it is the only one that was both composed and intabulated by its author: Antonelli arranged the works of others for his

[3] Donna G. Cardamone cites literary descriptions of lute- and keyboard-accompanied performances of the lighter forms in *The canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms, 1537-1570* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 1:161-78.

volume, and Fiorino composed the songs in his collection but left the preparation of the lute parts to Francesco di Parise.[4]

The edition of the 1561 *Libro primo* for solo lute in Volume 53 includes for each piece a diplomatic facsimile of the lute tablature aligned with its modern transcription. This is ideal for the scholar, but it creates a problem with page turns for the performer in the longer pieces. The tablature layout is not any worse than what one finds in many quarto lute books of the 16th century, however, and it is clear that awkward page turns have been avoided when possible. In the preface to the earlier Volume 51, members of the editorial board state their reason for including diplomatic rather than photographic facsimiles of the tablatures: three of the solo lute books already have been made available in facsimile from another publisher, so it has not been necessary to include them.[5] Since the publication of that preface (2007), the publishing house offering the facsimile has ceased to operate, so it is hoped that facsimiles might be considered for upcoming volumes. If not, a bolder typeface should be adopted for the diplomatic tablatures since the current one is a bit light.

Gorzanis organized the contents within the three volumes of solo lute music published during his lifetime (1561, 1563, and 1564) in a similar manner. Each begins with dance groups, continues with single dances and arrangements of vocal works, and ends with two or more ricercars (the second book concludes with a vocal arrangement after the final ricercar). Most of the pieces preceding the ricercars utilize the same final if not the same mode: in the first book it is C, in the second G, and in the third F (this assumes a G tuning). The editing procedure in the volume under review conceals that to some degree by presenting some transcriptions in G tuning and others in A. This approach is not unique to the edition and has the advantage of avoiding key signatures atypical for the period. Nevertheless, it obscures what must have been the overall conception of Gorzanis for the three books: to present volumes that ex-

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[4] All but the last two pieces in Gorzanis's book are his compositions. The title pages of the other collections indicate the nature of their contents: Cornelio Antonelli, *Il Turturino il primo libro delle napolitane ariose da cantare et sonare nel leuto, composte da diversi eccellentissimi musici, & novamente per il Rever. P. F. Cornellio Antonelli da Rimino detto il Turturino, acomodate sul leuto* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1570); Gasparo Fiorino, *La nobilità di Roma. Versi in lode di cento gentildonne romane, et le vilanelle à tre voci di Gasparo Fiorino . . . Intavolate dal Magnifico M. Francesco di Parise, musico eccellentissimo in Roma* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1571). Both volumes are described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 250-51 (item 1570_4) and 255-56 (item 1571_4).

[5] See the comments of editorial board members Metoda Kokole and Dinko Fabris on p. x. They probably refer to the Minkoff Reprint facsimile cited in n. 2 of the present review.

plore the possibilities of lute technique in pieces with finals on one of the three lowest open courses of the six-course lute. Such pieces lie naturally on the instrument and often utilize common chord formations.

The 1567 manuscript collection by Gorzanis, prepared three years after the third volume, may be seen as a complement to the printed books. It contains dance groups that utilize finals on all chromatic pitches—beginning on G and progressing by half steps to F#—that exercise the lutenist in difficult position playing. Together, the printed books and manuscript form a systematic approach to mastery of the lute's fingerboard. That Gorzanis had a pedagogic purpose in mind might be supported by a classical reference in his dedication in the first printed volume. He likens the pleasure his lute playing has given to his dedicatee, Giovanni (Hans) Khisl, to that given by Chiron with his cithara playing to Achilles.[6] Chiron, a centaur in Greek myth, was not only a musician but also a renowned teacher.

The first book of solo lute works contains many similar dance pieces, so the opportunity for tediousness presents itself, but Gorzanis is able to avoid it with invention. The pieces have different modes and chordal patterns that help prevent the harmonic monotony the common final could produce. Furthermore, the composer has written variations for the dances that explore all manner of lute figuration, often requiring considerable technique for their execution: pieces generally begin in first position with moderately paced melodies punctuated by chords; the variations that follow introduce upper positions, faster rhythmic values, thicker chordal textures, and all sorts of combinations of these and other idiomatic writing.

The two volumes of the *opera omnia* of Giacomo Gorzanis reviewed here make available to both performers and scholars the works of this significant figure in a high-quality edition, and the publication of the remaining volumes will provide the opportunity for a better assessment of Gorzanis as lutenist, composer, and teacher. The complete works series

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[6] The dedication appears on sig. A1v: "Ne vi dee mancho esser caro (se ben sette avezzo al nitrir dei Cavalli, & al suono delle Trombe, & dei Tamburri) che il Gorzane servitor Vostro diletti à voi con l'harmonia del Liuto di quello, che gia dilettasse Chirone con la Cithara ad Achille. Il quale qualhor doppo la fatica dell'arme & del combatere si riduceva ai padiglioni: haveva niun'altro maggior diporto che il concento della Musica & del suono."

will be an important addition to academic music libraries in general and will be essential to any collection that aspires to have even minimally comprehensive holdings of 16th-century lute music.

Richard K. Falkenstein

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