

THE COMPOSITIONS OF FRANCESCO DA MILANO IN THE CASTELFRANCO VENETO MANUSCRIPT
FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

*In memory of Ugo Sesini
(Trapani 1899 - Mauthausen 1944)*

The rediscovery of the sixteenth-century manuscript containing tablatures for one, two and three lutes preserved in the Archive of the parish of San Liberale di Castelfranco Veneto dates from about twenty years ago. It was the curator, Mary Cusin Frattin, who identified it in a business envelope in a cupboard in the priest's house, and communicated its existence to the scholar Franco Rossi. The latter announced the discovery to a wider audience in two articles which appeared in August 1991, and later to the musicological community in two far-reaching studies published in 1993 and 1996. Finally, we should note the important publication, during 2000, of the musical catalogue of the Archive curated by Franco Rossi himself: this takes up the previous studies in one section, extending them and above all offering an incipitarium of the manuscript with a preliminary attempt to indicate concordances.¹ In the meantime, the lutenist Paul O'Dette was recording two pieces from the manuscript with the permission Mary Cusin Frattin. The disc was issued in 1994 and was recorded on 28th and 29th September 1990 and 22nd February 1992 in the Skywalker Sound studio in California.²

It is not possible here to study the manuscript in greater depth. Rather, we shall try to offer a more **precise** picture of the compositions of Francesco da Milano contained in the collection, at the same time giving indications which may be useful for the continuation of research.

According to Rossi's description, the manuscript is a quarto volume, 320 millimetres by 225, composed of 110 sheets. The first page(s) are missing. Six hexagrams appear on each side. The dimensions and the number of hexagrams indicate that the manuscript is the work of or the property of a professional musician, with the same physical characteristics as other important sixteenth-

¹ See Franco ROSSI, *Il manoscritto di liuto di Castelfranco Veneto*, in «Bollettino della Società Italiana del Liuto», Anno III, N. 1, Vol. VII, Gennaio 1993, pp. 8-11 [text sent by the author to the annual conference of the S.I.L. at Carrara on 13 and 14 June 1992, and read on that occasion]; Franco ROSSI, *Pacolini da Borgotaro versus Pacalone da Padova. Francesco da Milano nell'antologia manoscritta di Castelfranco Veneto*, in *Trent'anni di ricerche musicologiche. Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani, Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, Roma 1996, pp. 167-196; Franco ROSSI, *Catalogo del fondo musicale del Duomo di Castelfranco Veneto*, Edizioni Fondazione Levi, Venezia 2000, pp. XXIX-LXV and pp. 339-370.

² *Deleigning et Amoreux. Early Italian Renaissance Lute Music. Harmonia Mundi France 007042*

century tablatures.³ In fact, the volume can be classified as an autograph work of Giovanni Pacalono, the Paduan lutenist, whose signature and dates appear in various places. Particularly important in this connection are the words added to c. 108: « Jouani Pacalono Padoano manu propria 1565. /Patavis die xv mensis may », which indicates very precise details regarding the writing, ownership and dating of the codex.

As Franco Rossi rightly underlines, the biographical data concerning Giovanni Pacalono are extremely slight. The only, controversial, testimony, repeated several times in the subsequent literature, can be found in the entry «Pacolini (Jean)» by François Joseph Fétis in the famous *Biographie Universelle*:

« Pacolini (Jean), luthiste, né à Borgotaro, dans le duché de Parme, vécut dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle et fut attaché au service du duc de Parme. Il a publié des pièces pour trois luths, sous le titre *Tabulatura tribus Testudinibus*; Milan, Simon Tini, 1587, in fol. Une autre édition de cet ouvrage a été faite à Anvers par Pierre Phalèze et Jean Bellere, en 1591, in fol.»⁴

Owing to the strange events affecting the world of antique books, today we do not know of copies of the volumes indicated by Fétis, but of a still older edition, dating from 1564.⁵ The history of this volume has been outlined by Franco Rossi, and we refer the reader to his studies. However, some aspects of the Fétis entry should be underlined. First of all the name, Pacolini, which never appears in this form in other evidence of the composer. Within Castelfranco's manuscript the form used is *Pacalono*; in the 1564 printing, the frontispiece bears the words "Longe elegantissima excel | lentissimi mvsici Ioannis Pacoloni | Chelistae Patavini, tribus testudinibus ludenda Carmina [...]",⁶ thus giving the name in the genitive singular, to resolve with a nominative *Pacolonus*; and, above all, in the invaluable archive extracts proposed by Claudio Bellinati, the name vacillates between *Pachalono*, for Giovanni and his father Alessandro, *Pacalone*, for Giovanni himself, and

³ See, for example, the mss. *Siena, PL-Kj 40032, D-Mbs Ms. 266*, to cite only a few.

⁴ François Joseph FÉTIS, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique*, Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1875/2, p. 401.

⁵ We may add that a copy of a volume by Pacalono (we do not know, however, of which edition) was owned by João IV di Portogallo. See *Livraria de Música de El-Rei D. João IV. Estudo Musical, Histórico Bibliográfico*, Lisboa, 1967, p. 475: *Cifras para Viola de 6 De João Pacoloni*. Another copy was preserved in the library of the Duke of Croy; see Edmond DE COUSSEMAKER, *Notice sur les collections musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai et des autres villes du département du Nord*, Techener, Paris 1843, p. 123: *Pacolini (Jean), Tabulatura tribus testudinibus, in -4*. Could this be one of the two volumes seen by Fétis? The description of the volume as quarto rather than folio would seem, however, to exclude this.

⁶ The collection was published in a facsimile edition by Minkoff, Genève in 1981 with an introduction by Henri VANHULST. Absent in the repertory of Howard Mayer BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600. A Bibliography*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., London 1979/3, but indicated in the volume of the series A/I del RISM, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, edited by K. SCHLAGER, *Dresseliter Katalog 1076 VI*, p. 266.

Paccalona, for his sister Alessandrina. But certainly the most intriguing aspects of Fétis' account is the birthplace of the lutenist, which the Belgian scholar indicates as Borgotaro, while all the other documents in our possession define Pacalono as a Paduan lutenist. At the moment we have no further evidence that can link Pacalono to Borgotaro and to his service at the court of Parma, while his very close connection to Padua appears evident. On 20th October, 1553 our lutenist was called upon to testify in a dispute between the heirs of Angelo Petrobelli and the heirs of the important artist Tiziano Minio.⁷ From this testimony one can deduce the strength of the friendship between Minio and Pacalono, but above all, as already stated, the name of his father, Alessandro, appears. It is a small but extremely significant indication, invaluable for future research and which has already borne, I believe, some small fruit.

On page 20 of the *Dialogo | Facetissimo et | Ridiculissimo di | Ruzzante. | Recitato à fosson alla caccia, | l'anno della carestia. | 1528*, we find, in fact, the following observation:

« Z. Barba Polo e qui, e piu su le piacevolezze che mai, tutto ringiovenito, io lho lassato à desso, chel havea intorno Alessandro Pacalono, che li dava animo col tuono [*sic*] del liutto, con parecchi altri buoni compagni, che ivi era il maggior spasso, & le maggior risa, del mondo.»⁸

The character indicated by Z. is the soul of Zaccarotto, who takes part in the hunting party with Menego and Duozzo, in the form of a ghost. Menego questions the spirit, asking after his friend Barba Polo, and the spirit replies in the above words. There are many questions and research lines of enquiry which open up around the Pacalono family thanks to this little item of information. We cannot be at all sure that the Alessandro cited by Ruzzante is the father of Pacalono, but I would consider the association with the character's lute rather interesting. If it were Giovanni's father, we would have to deduce that our lutenist was born in 1528 or earlier, since Alessandro was already placed in Paradise in Ruzzante's text. Also, we could discern still deeper roots in the Paduan character of the Pacalono family, the profession of lutenist already present in the hands of Giovanni's father, and above all an intimate familiarity with the circle of Alvise Cornaro and the company of Ruzzante. This latter is an indication of fascinating scenarios and indications for further research. I believe that I can also reasonably recognise Alessandro Pacalono in a letter from Alvise Cornaro after Ruzzante's death:

⁷ See Franco ROSSI, *Catalogo...op. cit.*, p. XXXVII; and Franco ROSSI, *Pacolini da Borgotaro... art.cit.*, p. 174.

⁸ In Vinegia, Stephano di Alessi, at the Libreria del Cavalletto, at the Fontego dei Todeschi, in Calle della Bissa, 1554. The *Dialogo* was written for Alvise Cornaro in the winter between 1527 and 1528. Note that the term *barba* should be understood as *uncle*. The original spelling of the text has been maintained.

« [...] tuta la so brigà, che in ella ghe è cinque puteti puorpio da far bello un paradiso e tuti i suò parente pì cari e così i suò cari amichi; e si a' vogion che a' fazè tornare vivo so frelo e el Foscaro e l'Alvaroto e Ruzante e 'l Zacaroto e Barba Polo e Pacalonio e Moro e Pasin e 'l Schirinzi [...]».⁹

I therefore leave this line of research to those with greater competence than I: if it is confirmed, it will allow us to see Giovanni Pacalono's childhood or even early youth in close contact with Cornaro's cultural circle, a contact full of artistic and musical implications.

Now we come to the significant presence of Francesco da Milano's compositions within the Castellano manuscript. The pieces attributed to the Lombard lutenist are the following:

cc. 13v-14v	<i>fantasia bellissima</i> (Ness 19)
cc. 18v-19	<i>fantasia de franceco da milano / dolsicima et amorosa</i> (Ness <i>deest</i>)
cc. 26-29	<i>Reveillez Vous</i> (La canzon degli uccelli) (Ness 120)
c. 41	<i>tenore de una fantasia a dui liutti / di franc.o milanese</i> (Ness <i>deest</i>)
cc. 44v-45v	<i>fantasia de franc.o milanese / divina che si pono dire</i> (Ness App. 31)
cc. 46-47	<i>fantasia di francec.o milanese</i> (Ness 34)
cc. 47v-48 {49v}	(anepigraphic) (Ness 55)
cc. 48v-49	<i>recercata di franc.o da milano</i> (Ness 33)
cc. 51v-52	<i>fantasia di franceco da milano a dui liutti</i> (Ness <i>deest</i>)
c. 53v	[Quando io penso al martire] (partial) (Ness 123) (Not indicated by Rossi as a piece by Francesco da Milano)
c. 60v-61	<i>tirate per far la mano di franceco milanese / molto legiadre</i> (Ness <i>deest</i>)

This is certainly a particularly large and important *corpus*, not only because of the unknown pieces, but also because it makes it possible to attribute with certainty to Francesco da Milano the fantasia placed in cc. 18v-19 and to be able to give a better reading to the piece placed by Ness at App. 31.¹⁰ Also, the versions of the pieces already known are illuminative on the tradition of some fantasias, particularly the one bearing the number 34 of the Ness edition.

⁹ Cited in Emilio LIPPI, *Cornariana: Studi su Alvise Cornaro*, Antenore, Padova 1983, p. 127.

¹⁰ Arthur J. NESS, *The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543)*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1970. The compositions of the Milanese are published in guitar transcription in Francesco DA MILANO, *Opere Complete per liuto*, edited by Ruggero CHIESA, Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, Milano [1971], 2 volumes. In the TABLE below these words we have marked the correspondences between the two editions of the *opus omnia* of the Milanese lutenist

Franco Rossi sees the reason for a strong presence of Francesco da Milano within the manuscript, justifying it by a shared contact between Francesco and Pacalono and the Parma court. Let us read the scholar's words:

" [...] a birth [of Pacalono] to be placed around 1510-1520 could mean that the presence (hypothetical) of Pacolini at Parma [Rossi decides to use the form of the name proposed by Fétis] coincides with the certain presence of Francesco da Milano, since 1535 Ottavio's lute master by express desire of Paul III, formerly Alessandro Farnese; perhaps a direct acquaintance would have assured Pacolini that familiarity with the greatest lutenist of the time which not all the manuscripts demonstrate. [...]".¹¹

I beg leave to differ from this statement. It is certain that Francesco was the lute master of Ottavio Farnese, but when the young man was still in Rome. He would become Duke of Parma in 1547, and take full possession of the city in 1550: Francesco da Milano died in 1543, making it impossible that he resided in Parma with Farnese.¹² We do not possess any document that testifies with certainty to the presence of Francesco in Parma, while the connection with Ottavio and his wife Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V, is undeniable. The two youngsters, who married in 1538, must have maintained quite close contacts with the Milanese lutenist, given that the last known document regarding the life of Francesco Canova was handwritten by Margaret of Austria. It was a letter addressed from Rome on 24 June 1542 to D'Avalos, the then Governor of the state of Milan:

Illustrissimo signore

Avendo sua santità fatto gratia di certi benefitij di non molta valuta à messer Gabbriello casato gentil'homo et doctore milanese et à messer Francesco da milano musico, de quali avendo secondo dicono trovato impedito el possesso da uno che vi pretende ragione sopra, desidererieno che vostra signoria Illustrissima fussi contenta commettere al commissario apostolico (al quale portano un Breve di sua santità per pigliarne el possesso), che conosca summariamente chi di loro a ragione [...]¹³

¹¹ See Franco ROSSI, *Catalogo...op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII; and Franco ROSSI, *Pacolini da Borgotaro... art.cit.*, p. 176.

¹² One can read the summary of the biography of Francesco da Milano by the writer: "Francesco (Canova) da Milano", *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, London. MacMillian, 2001, vol. IX, pp. 166-168.

¹³ Archivio di Stato di Milano, *Potenze Estere 2* (Austria), n. p.; published unabridged in Christine Suzanne GETZ, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan*, Ashgate, Aldershot-Burlington 2005, p. 270.

But this document, as we have seen, confirms the presence of a Rome and not Parma connection between Francesco da Milano and the couple Ottavio Farnese and Margaret of Austria.

I do not consider a direct contact between the two lutenists necessary to justify the presence of pieces by the Milanese in the Castelfranco manuscript, given the speed with which music for the lute travelled in the sixteenth century. However, rather than the improbable Parma, it is more reasonable to think of traces left in Veneto by Francesco thanks to his ascertained presence during 1530 in Venice. In fact, he was in Murano with his brother Bernardino on 9 January, 1530, and certainly made contacts in the City of the Lagoon with Giovan Francesco Valier, a canon from Padua in Marin Sanudo's words, who gave hospitality to Giberti, the Bishop of Verona, another person linked to the Milanese lutenist.¹⁴ Or we could reflect on another indication, worthy of study and investigation, which could see Francesco at Vicenza, not necessarily resident, in fact the contrary, as a tenant of the bishop's palace between 1537 and 1539.¹⁵ There were, however, innumerable ways by which the music of the great Milanese could have reached Pacalono. There are other notable particularities in the Castelfranco manuscript indicating Pacalono's broad knowledge of the repertory and access to very important sources. For example, the presence of the two fantasias taken from *El Maestro* by Luis Milàn is important and unfortunately not mentioned by Rossi: it is the only example of music by the Catalan maestro in manuscripts preserved in Italy; or the intriguing English concordance to the *Pavana deta la descordata*, also not mentioned by Rossi, preserved in one of the oldest lute sources surviving in British culture, the ms. Royal App. 58, with the title *The Duke of Somerset Dump*.¹⁶ The complete study of the concordances, begun by Franco Rossi in his works but far from being completed, will allow us to have a more precise picture of the library available to Pacalono when he wrote his manuscript. The Paduan lutenist shows a direct knowledge of printed Venetian sources published between 1546 and the year of completion of the collection, but also his own activity as composer, which was at least partly transmitted and which today we know in concordances to other sources. The most important testimony linked to Pacalono is certainly to be found in Mus. Ms. 266 preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The manuscript, well known to students of lute music sources but unfortunately not mentioned by Franco Rossi in connection with the testimony linked to Pacalono, is composed of innumerable parts of different origin, assembled in the course of the nineteenth century. Only the scrupulous and patient work of analysis carried out by Arthur J. Ness has allowed us to reconstruct the origin and

¹⁴ See Mariagrazia CARLONE, *New Biographical Information on Francesco da Milano*, in «*Recercare*», vol. XIII, 2001, pp. 79-96.

¹⁵ Information kindly brought to my attention by Philippe Canguilhem.

¹⁶ The fantasias of Luis Milan are on sheets 29v-30 and 35. For *The Duke of Somerset Dump*, see Matthew SPRING, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music*, Oxford University Press US, Oxford 2006, p. 70 and bibliography.

most of the provenance of the individual parts and sometimes of single sheets.¹⁷ The section comprising the pieces numbered from No. 161 to 166 is particularly interesting for us in that it shows the same watermark of the first part of the Castelfranco manuscript. It also clearly bears the words *Zuà Pacalono* in the upper part of sheet 130, coinciding with the concluding section of the tablature of the piece *O passi sparsi* by Festa. It is not clear whether the indication is a note relating to the piece or to the entire part. In fact, at No. 161 we find an extremely precise concordance with the Castellano manuscript, the piece *Quand'io penso al martire*, placed on sheet 23v. The hand which wrote the part, identified by Ness as *hand K*, is different from that of the autograph version of the Castelfranco manuscript. The Munich part is thus composed:

[Mus. Ms. 266, n. 161-66]

c. 130v	<i>Quand'io penso al martire</i> [Arcadelt]
cc. 131v-132v	<i>Fantasia</i> [Marco dall'Aquila]
cc. 132v-133	<i>Il ciel che rado</i> [Arcadelt]
cc. 133v-134	<i>Toutes les nuicts</i> [Crecquillon]
cc. 134v-135	<i>Responces Quest il besoing</i> [Crecquillon; second part of <i>Toutes les nuicts</i>]
cc. 135v-130 [sic]	<i>O passi sparsi o pensier grami e promti</i> [Festa-Giovanni Pacalono]

On the basis of the watermark, Ness makes the hypothesis of a possible compilation of the section of this manuscript dating from 1552, but also imagining the presence of Hans Herwart and his lutenist in Padua in that period coinciding with the difficulties linked to the war of Schmalkaldien.¹⁸ Herwart was the first owner of most of the sixteenth-century manuscripts today preserved in the Bavarian library. There are no doubts that this part is closely linked to Pacalono, because of the presence of a piece coinciding with the autograph, the attribution of at least one piece and the

¹⁷ See Arthur J. NESS, *The Herwart Lute Manuscript at the Bavarian State Library, Munich. A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on the Work of Marco dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler*, Ph. D. Diss., New York University, 1984. See also Marie Louise GÖLLNER, *bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 2 Tabulaturen und Stimmbücher bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, G. Henle Verlag, München 1979, p. 32; *Sources Manuscrites en Tablature (c. 1500- c. 1800)*, Volume II, edited by Christian MEYER, Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden 1994. Note that other pieces by Pacalono are preserved in the Bavarian library, copied from the printed edition, in the codex 9516. See Elisabeth OTTMANN, *Neue Konkordanze zu einer anonymen Lautentabulatur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in «Musik in Bayern», XXIX, 1984, pp. 61-68. See also *Sources Manuscrites... op.cit.*, p. 237, which establishes the provenance of the codex as the Parochial Library of Haldenwang, and Marie Louise GÖLLNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199, who offers an incipitarium in a modern edition.

¹⁸ Arthur J. NESS, *The Herwart... op.cit.*, pp. 160-166. Note that the same hand could have copied also the pieces attributed to a person simply denoted as A. R., who could be interpreted as another Paduan lutenist, Antonio Rotta.

coincidence of the use of the same paper. Finally, note in the Monegasque manuscript the arrangement of nine hexagrams on each side, exactly as in the Castellano autograph manuscript. The so-called *hand K* also copied three pieces in Mus. Ms. 1511D preserved at the same Bavarian library: these are a sequence *Pass'e mezzo-Padoana-Saltarello* placed after cc. 18-21v.¹⁹

Another manuscript which testifies to the diffusion of Pacalono's music is today preserved in L'viv University Library, with the number 1400/I. The volume has been thoroughly studied in the last ten years: we should mention the exemplary work of Piotr Pozniak, who wrote an important article about the manuscript in 2004.²⁰ The book bears on c. 1 the signature of Hans Kernsthok, who defines himself as the compiler of the volume, while Andres Schwartz-Andrzej Czarny (the same name in two different languages), announces that he is the owner of the volume, originating from Cracow, and adds the date 1555. The collection has numerous points of contact with the Castelfranco volume, but I feel I must recommend particularly the *Fantasia bellissima Gioane Pacalono*, placed at cc. 40v-42, and the *Pass'e meze de la verlata G. Pacalono*, followed by the *Pado[vaj]na Verlata e dal Saltarello*, placed at cc. 45-47. The Fantasia corresponds with the piece of the same title in the Castelfranco manuscript on cc. 24v-25, while the sequence of the *Verlata* is arranged for three lutes in the latter: the L'viv version coincides with that of the *superius* in the Castellano manuscript on cc. 88v-89v. According to a plausible hypothesis by Pozniak, one of the numerous Polish students present in Padua to study at the University could have had contact with Pacalono's circle or with the lutenist himself and thus included the Paduan lutenist's pieces in his own book.²¹

Thus an image of Pacalano is formed, in the light of the manuscripts which we have briefly mentioned, which is in no way isolated from the artistic context of the city and above all the international context. The probable contact with the musicians linked to Herwart and with foreign, particularly Polish, students, could have contributed to enlarging the lutenist's musical knowledge, through the exchange of valuable material. It should also be remembered that the compositions for three lutes in the Castellano manuscript were written by Pacalono for Master Tomaso Paro, an Englishman, "my sponsor and friend", as the musician himself wrote on c. 106. Thus the door was open to draw on manuscript material from very distant sources, and we cannot exclude that also Francesco's compositions reached Pacalono in this way.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 160.

²⁰ PIOTR POZNIAK, *The Kraków Lute Tablature: A Source Analysis*, «Musica Iagellonica», vol. III, 2004, pp. 27-91. The article contains the entire incipitarium of the manuscript and the complete bibliography of the ms. The codex was acquired by the University Library from an antiquarian in Vienna in 1937, and incredibly survived the terrible events that shook the city during the Second World War. Here the Nazis murdered tens of thousands of Jewish citizens before sending the survivors to concentration camps. One of the few to survive was Simon Wiesenthal.

²¹ PIOTR POZNIAK, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

The analysis of the Francesco da Milano pieces chosen and included by Pacalono in the manuscript is somewhat surprising. Let us consider the pieces already known, in particular the fantasias catalogued by Ness at numbers 33 e 34.

These are two key cases, since they raise questions of pure musical textual criticism. These two pieces, which are central in the production of Francesco da Milano for their particularities of writing and architecture, have been the subject of attentive study by Victor Coelho.²² As I have already written, the important critical examination of the sources of lute music in no way must be undertaken lightly. I regret the necessity of repeating some fundamentals of the philological approach to the text, but I consider it necessary in view also of the importance that the Castellano manuscript assumes in this context. The Coelho's work focuses on the distinction between *biography* and *reputation* and on the connection between "authenticity in authorship and posthumous reputation", quite an interesting and stimulating point of view, which leads him to state that "the layers of interpolations that can be added to a single lute piece as it is disseminated by the manuscript tradition reveal a process that can be compared to the troping chant: the spine of the original conception remains, along with its distant, perhaps even apocryphal authorship, but the interpolations reveal efforts of modernization, pedagogy, enshrinement, revival, imitation, a striving for geneational relevance, and, consequently, the making of reputation". Given this strong assertion, one expects a very rigorous analysis of the sources, such as to demonstrate an extremely strong disturbance in every single reading. Unfortunately, Coelho's work is very disappointing from this point of view. After having given an extremely inexact and sketchy biography of Francesco da Milano, which certainly does not assist the reading of the evidence, but which fundamentally does not in itself affect their comprehension, Coelho inserts into his study a chronology of the main sources of the Milanese lutenist's music. This moment, defined for centuries *critical revision*, represents a fundamental step in the approach to the text and its restitution. In this phase of the work, the philologist is still unaware of how it will be possible to restore the text critically. The work of bringing together all the sources of every single piece will allow us to understand whether the critical revision is of the open type, thus with horizontal disturbances, and therefore cannot lead to the construction of a genealogical tree following Lachmann's method, or whether the revision is

²² Victor COELHO, *The Reputation of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543) and the Ricercars in the Cavalcanti Lute Book*, in «Revue Belge de Musicologie», Vol. L, (1996), pp. 49-72; see also Victor Anand COELHO, *Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music*, in *Performance on Lute Guitar and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, edited by Victor Anand COELHO, Cambridge University Press, [Cambridge 1997], pp.108-141 and Victor Anand COELHO, *Papal Tastes and Musical Genres: Francesco da Milano (1497-1543) and the Clementine Aesthetic*, in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, edited by Kenneth COVENS, Sheryl E. DESS, Ashgate Publishing, 2005, pp. 277-302.

closed, thus enabling us to follow the Lachmann method. Coelho indicates four "boxes" which constitute the four main phases, according to him of the evolution of Francesco da Milano's "reputation" as conveyed, in his opinion, by the sources. This then is an extremely complex study, which should be very thorough and not only linked to the phase of *recensio* but also that of *collatio*. A study that could be enormously helpful for the criticisms of the text of the Francesco da Milano pieces included in the autograph manuscript written by Pacalono, and which could allow us to identify extremely valuable ancestries and relationships. But already on a first reading we can note that no criticism of the sources has been carried out. The absence of fundamental testimonies like the *Intabolatura da Leuto | del Divino Francisco | Da Milano Novamente Stampata*,²³ a work copied by Marcolini in 1536,²⁴ must be considered as extremely serious, since it is probably the first printed publication containing the music of the Milanese; the absence of the Casteliono edition edited by Pietro Paolo Borrono in Milano in 1548²⁵, marked, if my intuition can be of help to me, as a mere reprinting of a pirate edition of Scotto, is equally serious, since it contains music of Francesco da Milano previously not printed; there is an incomprehensible error in the dating, evidently false, of the printed edition published by Dorico in 1546 which has, due to a printing error, the date 1566 on the frontispiece.²⁶ This last case is of great interest for us, since the volume was edited by Perino Fiorentino, the favourite pupil of Francesco da Milano, and because it contains the first printed version of the Fantasia Ness 33. In Coelho's list it is included at No 16 as a "reprint of no. 8 [this is simply a printing error, 8 instead of 9, since the author certainly wishes to indicate the Venetian pirated edition by Gardane of 1547 rather than the publication of 1546 by Formschneider]": but it is a placing which is little less than grotesque, if you will pardon the term. Like the incomprehensible footnote which reads "I have not included in this table the English sources of Francesco's music"²⁷ without any other explanation. This is a curious attitude, which prevents us reading a *corpus* which is extremely complex and in any case not to be judged a priori. Also in this case the information is of interest for Castelfranco manuscript, since the Fantasia Ness 33 is also present in the English sources. Another very important point in Coelho's article is that printed editions assume a value of authoritativeness greater than that of manuscripts, without having been sifted by criticism. The printing stages, and note that we have no certainly on any volume edited by the author, do not entail the greater authoritativeness of the witness. Also in this case, it is

²³ See in the list of sources [s.d.].

²⁴ See in the list of sources [36M].

²⁵ See in the list of sources [48C].

²⁶ See in the list of sources [66D1]. The correct dating of the edition had already been proposed by Richard Keith FALKENSTEIN, *The Lute Works of Pierino degli Organi*, M. A. thesis, University of New York at Buffalo, 1987, especially pp. 22-28 and in the volume PERINO FIORENTINO, *Opere per liuto*, edited by Mirco CAFFAGNI and Franco PAVAN, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna 1996.

²⁷ Victor COELHO, *The Reputation of Francesco da Milano*, p. 50, note 22.

a question of working on the criticism of the text: in no way can we assume *a priori* that the manuscript evidence can be subjected to disturbance and corruption greater than printed evidence. The same is true for dating: *recentiores non deteriores*, we shall never tire of repeating.

Rightly, Victor Coelho analyses for example the ricercars included in the lute tablature published by Galilei in 1563 and attributed to Canova, highlighting some incongruities that allow him to dispute the attribution of their paternity to Francesco da Milano. And this is the way to follow, not that of the temporal distance from the death of the composer, a conclusion that unfortunately the author hastens to present in the course of his study. In his opinion, the Galilei printing opens the way to a third phase in which Francesco da Milano is totally re-invented in the manuscript sources, in a *corpus* dating, according to the scholar, from the end of the sixteenth century. The extremely high mortality rate of sixteenth century lute manuscripts and printed editions does not allow in any way attribution exercises on the basis of the dating of evidence. The process of reconstruction of a text, let us say for the **nth** time, is solely that of criticism of the text, including everything that also codicological instruments can offer us, archive documents, in sum all the apparatus that enables us to place the evidence in the historical context. We are to say the least doubtful about the following statement: "[...] the earliest attribution of Fantasia 34 to Francesco is in *Cavalcanti*, a manuscript whose attributions to Francesco are suspect to say the least, and the works themselves pastiches. Not one of the versions is identical to any others, and all of them contain mistakes that require some editing on the part of the player. Clearly, no *Urtext* of this particular work was ever known. [...]"²⁸ The presence of the Fantasia 34 in the Castellano manuscript, clearly attributed to Francesco da Milano and whose textual links with other sources we shall see, dramatically corrects this statement. A statement which is still less convincing in that the error is identified as an unfortunate element, when it is in fact precisely the presence of at least one significant common error in all sources that can allow us to hypothesise that an archetype exists. Everything depends on the error, therefore, and not on the correctness of the sources. It is a question of identifying the indicative, significant error or errors and not the perfectly concordant versions, which are useful for knowing the transmission of the text, but useless for its restitution. New, hoped-for, sources can always be discovered. And this is precisely the situation of the Pacalono autograph manuscript. Rather, criticism of the sources becomes still more necessary, if this were possible, in the case of the lute repertory, because of the high concentration of oral disturbance and of codices in movement, not necessarily autograph codices. This situation makes it almost impossible for us to restore an archetypal

²⁸ *Idem*, p. 70

text. In the specific case of Francesco da Milano's music, we may observe how Arthur J. Ness, in the context of his edition of the *opera omnia* of the Milanese, opted for the choice of *codex optimus*, entrusting the apparatus with the variant readings.

Let us thus proceed logically and consider first of all the already known compositions of Francesco da Milano included in the manuscript produced by Giovanni Pacalono. The *fantasia bellissima* placed on cc. 13v-14v at the moment is known from nine other sources, a total of ten concordances, and is published in the Ness edition with the number 19. The piece has numerous particularities. In the first place, it is the only piece we have from Francesco da Milano written in the "posta" of E flat, considering a nominal tuning of the lute to G; it appears in the first printed versions of music by the Milanese: *s.d.*, in the volume published by Marcolini in 1536 and in two volumes published in Naples in the same year by Sultzbach; in these latter collections it appears as many as three times, even if in different versions. This piece must have in effect assumed a particular significance for Sultzbach or for his unknown publisher. The *Recercare* in fact is placed at the beginning of the first volume (in Italian tablature), at the end of the second volume (in Neapolitan tablature) and in the sixth place of the second volume (also in Neapolitan tablature). Out of a total of fifty-five compositions we would have our piece placed at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the two combined collections. Note that the piece occupies the duration of 131 bars, and that the "posta" of E flat favours in the Italian tablature the use of the numbers 1 and 3. We cannot fail to feel that the number 131 may correspond to the sum equivalent to the letters of the name "Ferrante Sanseverino", Prince of Salerno and greatest benefactor of music and the arts in Naples at the moment of the double publication by Sultzbach, and also protagonist of a dialogue with Agostino Nifo, published by Galeazzo Florimonte, in which Francesco da Milano is mentioned frequently. The event of the publication must have been extraordinary: the visit of Charles V to the city and the dedication to the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, also he traceable in the numerical sequence of our ricercare, give a possible reason for this. Without digressing excessively, just reflect on the fact that it would be precisely in Naples that the philosopher Giovanni Battista della Porta would publish *De Furtivis Literarum Notis Vulgo De Ziferis Libri IIII*,²⁹ which contains a table of concordances between letters and numbers and above all its continuation, the *De Furtivis Literarum Notis Vulgo De Ziferis Libri Quinque*, where one can read a chapter dedicated to the method of encrypting messages in music.³⁰

²⁹ Neapoli, Mariam Scotum, 1563, p. 85.

³⁰ Neapoli, apud Joannem Baptistam Subtilem, 1602, p. 4 and especially p. 156. On the use of numerical transliteration of names in the period immediately preceding that of Francesco da Milano

In the *s.d.* and of Marcolini editions the *Recercare* is placed at the end of a series of free compositions, before the beginning of the vocal pieces scored by tablature.

The piece presents only one evident point of corruption, corresponding to bars 54-56 of the Ness edition and the same bars of the Castellano manuscript, resolved in different ways in the sources. The Castelfranco manuscript does not follow other readings, thus indicating that it belongs to an unknown branch or to an intervention *ope ingenii* by Pacalono or by the copyist who wrote the codex used by the Paduan lutenist. An evident and important feature is the lack of as many as 14 bars at bar 222: which cannot be found in any of the surviving sources.

The *fantasia de franc.o milanese / divina che si pono dire* on cc. 44v-45v presents only one concordance with the current state of studies, which has the title *Recercare dj Francesco da Milano* and can be seen in a manuscript preserved at Donaueschingen and published by Ness as App. 31. The American scholar places the piece in the appendix to his work, considering it difficult to assign to the Milanese lutenist on the basis of stylistic elements. The Donaueschingen manuscript is composed of three volumes and contains about 350 compositions in German tablature, partly copied from Italian printed editions; among the composers represented we find Hieronimus Faber, Conrad and Melchior Neusidler, Georg Hofstetter and Christopher Volker.³¹ The version of the *fantasia* by Francesco da Milano contained in the German manuscript has effectively undergone an overlaying of diminutions to the structure of the piece, inducing Ness to consider it a spurious work. The Castelfranco Veneto version, on the contrary, reveals a work certainly of the Milanese's more mature period: the structural use of the semitone interval E-F-E and its inversion, and the insertion of counterpoint sections, with false relations and particularly original rhythms which contrast with rapid sequences of scales, give us one of Francesco da Milano most interesting fantasias. The *fantasia di francec.o milanese* placed on cc. 46-47 is published by Arthur J. Ness at number 34 of his edition. This piece was studied by Victor Coelho in the study previously mentioned. We ask for the reader's patience in reading particularly attentively the following words of the American scholar:

" That the piece is so firmly established in Francesco's canon should not dissuade us from raising concerns about his authorship. The work was never published, and it does not appear in any source until the 1580s, long after 'new' works by Francesco had ceased to appear. Nevertheless, it was

see, for example, Jaap van BENTHEM, *Fortuna in focus; concerning 'conflicting' progressions in Josquin's Fortuna dun Gran Tempo*, «Tijdschrift van de vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis» 30, 1 (1980), pp. 1-50.

³¹ The manuscript Ms G I 4 is preserved at the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Donaueschingen. Il *Recercare dj / Francesco da / Milano* is on sheets 67v-68. See *Sources Manuscriptes de l'ut*, vol II, n. 84, p. 116.

copied into manuscripts from about 1580-1620 more frequently than any other work by (or attributed to) Francesco. [...] ".³²

Let us analyse Coelho's reasoning. In the first place, he states that the piece has never been published. Italian philologists say that when philology is good it is good, not when it is necessarily innovative. We cannot be certain in any way that the piece has not been published and, it is *per se* unimportant that the composition was printed in order to obtain the distinction of a composition attributable to Francesco da Milano. An archetypal copy may in fact have circulated without necessarily having been printed in a printing works. Coelho continues by observing that the piece did not appear in any source until the 1580s. Also this statement has no value from a philological point of view. If the appearance of evidence in a relatively late period were in itself to be the source of doubts on paternity, we should have to say goodbye to the *Bible* and the *Commedia* by Dante Alighieri, to mention just two texts. Also, as I have already written, statements like these are dangerous, because we are always at the mercy of emergence of new sources, as in the case of the Castelfranco Veneto manuscript. The *fantasia* Ness 34 is based on the same material as the *fantasia* Ness 33, also this present in the Castellano manuscript with the title *recercata di franc.o da milano* on cc. 48v-49: two pieces which represent a contribution of considerable interest for the sector of monothematic fantasias. While we do not possess printed versions of the *fantasia* 34, as we know, the *fantasia* 33 was published for the first time in 1546 by Perino Fiorentino, a pupil of the Milanese, in a volume published in Rome by the brothers Dorico.³³ Both the compositions use *formulae* derived from the tablature, created by Francesco da Milano, of the chanson *De Mon Triste* by Jean Richafort: also this was published in the same volume, together with the fantasia-parody *Fantasia De Mon Triste*. The main element of the two fantasias 33 and 34 is the pervasive presence of the interval E-F-E and of its inversion, an element that almost becomes a signature of the Milanese lutenist and which he exhibits in other compositions, as we have already seen. It is very evident in the *chanson*, and is taken up and developed in the *Fantasia de Mon Triste*. Also, the Milanese composer uses on bb. 19-24 of the *fantasia* 33 the *cantus* of *De Mon Triste*, taken from the bars 4-8, to combine it with another formula derived from the same *chanson* on bars 11-12. This last idea, composed of four ascending semiquavers culminating in two quavers that express the interval of semitone, will then be taken up and amplified during the *fantasia* 34. Another important counterpoint element taken from bb. 28-29 of the tablature of the *chanson* is used in the course of bars 31 and following of *fantasia* 33.

³² Victor COELHO, *The Reputation...art.cit.*, p. 70.

³³ See in the list of sources: [66D11]

The systematic comparison with the corresponding sources shows a notable proximity to the Dorico version, with the exception of the variant placed in bar 59, the only one of the witnesses. The comparison with *Krakow*, a typical shifting witness, is particularly interesting: the piece was copied incorrectly by a copyist and later corrected by another on the basis of the collection belonging to the Dorico family.³⁴ This fantasia had much success due to its formal characteristics and its writing in literature for the lute and was copied, re-elaborated and republished in German, Flemish and English manuscripts and printed editions up to the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The version of the *fantasia* 34 contained in the Castelfranco Veneto manuscript is the oldest known source that attributes the piece to the Milanese. The comparison of the variants underlines a possible relation with the fragment (unfortunately only a fragment) which appears on the first sheet of the so-called, and incorrectly called, *Medici Lute-Book* preserved in Haslemere, Britain, and which restores to the cc. 18-20 also another version of the piece, integral, copied from another source.³⁵ The nodal point of differentiation of the two versions of this fantasia are the choices linked to the *musica ficta* within the ascending and descending monodic passages. The only version which agrees exactly in this particularity is precisely the one copied on c. 1 of the *Medici Lute-Book*. The most recent study on this collection, published by John H. Robinson, demonstrates that the watermark contained in the manuscript was widespread in Rome and Venice between 1560 and 1580.³⁶ The manuscript presents similarities with the *Siena Lute-Book*, today preserved at The Hague, compiled in the Siena area and among the most important witnesses of the sixteenth century lute repertory, in which the fantasias 33 and 34 are explicitly linked, since the second was copied subsequently to the first and named *la Compagna*. From present studies it is impossible to establish whether there is a real relationship between the two codices, since they do not have significant common errors. We thus look forward to new discoveries of sources to help us to understand the path of *fantasia* 34, since we now have at our disposal a new and interesting source for the reading of this piece.

The *fantasia de franceco Milanese* on cc. 47v-48 e 49v is published by Ness at number 55 of his edition. The piece was published through the efforts of Pietro Paolo Borrono in 1548, and only

³⁴ The volume *Krakow*, ex Berlin, is catalogued in Dieter KIRSCH and Lenz MEIEROTT, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau*, Schott. Mainz [1992], pp. 1-53. For an excellent study of the manuscript, read *Neapolitan Lute Music*, edited by John GRIFFITHS and Dinko FABRIS, A-R Editions, Inc., Middleton, Wisconsin, 2004.

³⁵ The most recent study on the manuscript is by John H. ROBINSON, *A Description of the Medici Lute Manuscript (MS.II.C.23) in the Dolmetsch Library, and a Summary of Modern Studies*, «The Consort», vol. 62, Summer 2006, pp. 5-19, where one can find all the bibliography regarding the collection. I am grateful to Professor Robinson for his help about this topic.

³⁶ *Idem*, p. 11. The Medicean provenance of the codex has been hypothesised because of the presence of a coat of arms belonging to the Florentine house in the top left corner of the first sheet. The stamp is a little suspicious, since the ms. is without the first page(s). In addition, the style of the crown surmounting the coat of arms recalls a nineteenth-century reconstruction rather than a sixteenth-century original.

appears in a pirated printing of the same year published in Venice and in two manuscripts, the *Siena Lute-Book* and the Cavalcanti manuscript, an important Florentine source dating from the last decade of the sixteenth century, which also contains the fantasias 33 and 34 but unfortunately in inexact version.³⁷ We know that Pacalono could have had one of the two printed editions at his disposal in 1548, since a piece included in the Castellano manuscript, the *Pavana detta la bella Andronica. cosa vecchia et a stanpa*, placed on cc. 43v-44, by Pietro Paolo Borrono, was published precisely in these two volumes. But we cannot exclude that the two pieces arrived separately on the table of the Paduan lutenist. Like the other fantasias published by Borrono in 1548, also this composition presents itself as an important work from Francesco da Milano's mature period. The Castellano version is very little different from the one published by Casteliono and Borrono in 1548, with only the evident lack of one bar.

The *Canzone degli uccelli* survives in six printed editions and in a single manuscript, the already mentioned source preserved at Donaueschingen. This is indisputably one of the most notable of Francesco da Milano's works in the tablature of vocal pieces, both in the length of the piece and in the difficulty of imitating the onomatopoeic contents in the original composition on the instrument. Too often, in fact, do we think that vocal compositions were scored in tablature on the lute with the aim of working on models elevated from the structural and contrapuntal point of view. I would give due consideration to the following testimony from the pen of Federico Borromeo:

4. Furono 3 eccellenti Musici in un tempo. Filippo, Alberto, et Fran.co Milanese. Il primo superava gl'altri di Teorica, il 2.o di m.o [molto, mano?] il terzo superava et era superato da tutti dice et sonava con tanta energia che faceva intendere le parole spiccate delle Canzoni francesi che allhora si cantavano³⁸

Filippo can perhaps be identified with Verdelot, Alberto with the great lutenist Alberto da Mantova, while the third I should certainly say is our Francesco da Milano. The reference to a style of execution which allowed the interpreter to highlight the accentuation of the words and the poetic verse can be considered very important, and it is to be hoped that interpreters today fully observe it. The anepigraphic fragment placed on c. 53v should be identified with the beginning section of the tablature of *Quand'io penso al martire*, published for the first time by Perino Fiorentino in 1546 in the Dorico printed edition previously mentioned. It is the only version known of this piece until now contained in a manuscript. Unfortunately, Pacalono interrupted his work of writing, perhaps

³⁷ On the 1548 publications, see Francesco DA MILANO, Pietro Paolo BORRONO, *Intavolatura di Lauto*, introduction by Franco PAVAN, Forni, Bologna 2002.

³⁸ Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, G. 309 inf. (ca. 1620) Autograph note by Federico Borromeo. My sincere thanks to Robert L. Kendrick for indicating this passage to me.

aware of already having copied a version of this piece on cc. 23v-24, the same piece that corresponds with the composition included in Ms. Mus. 266 preserved at Munich, which we discussed at the beginning. In any case, we know that the last piece differs from that created by Francesco da Milano.

The *fantasia de franceco da milano / dolsicima et amorosa* found on cc. 18v-19 at the moment is known only in another version contained in *Como*. This extremely important manuscript, dated 1st July 1601, was in part produced by Pietro Paolo Raimondi, an interesting figure in the cultural life of Como in the seventeenth century. He was decurion of the city in 1608 and died in 1647. Nephew of the Bishop of Novara, Archbishop of Chieti and Nuncio at the court of Phillip III, Ulpiano Volpi, Raimondi was appointed by the latter to supervise the work of construction of a magnificent palace at Como, designed by the Roman architect Sergio Venturi. Volpi followed the construction work from Rome, initiating and maintaining a lively concordance with Raimondi of considerable interest. Thus it may not be surprising that in the manuscript which belonged to Raimondi we can find pieces with concordances to compositions included in Roman manuscripts and compositions by lutenists who lived in Rome, like the “Cavaliere del Liuto”.³⁹ Also the piece corresponding with the composition contained in the Castellano manuscript, entitled in the Como collection *fuga* without ascription of authorship, could have arrived from Rome. But also in this case it is not possible to know it with certainty. The version copied by Raimondi presents insertions of diminutions, typical of other pieces copied by the Como composer, particularly in the final section. Also, the piece was written by Raimondo only from bar 48 on, the first 47 bars being copied by another. The *fuga* of the Como manuscript is preceded by another composition which is explicitly entitled *Toccata con una fuga*. This *Toccata* can be found also in the ms. *Krakow* on page 249: I would exclude, however, the possibility that it was composed by Francesco da Milano, because of the enhanced use of the seventh chorus – once even the eighth appears - but above all because of the way of writing counterpoint, full of *ritardi* typical of late sixteenth-century lute writing.

Note, finally, that the Como manuscript also contains the fantasias given the numbers 33 and 34 by Ness, which we have discussed above, and that also the anonymous *Fantasia* placed on cc. 27v-29v could belong to the catalogue of the Milanese.

³⁹ The manuscript is published in facsimile: Pietro Paolo RAIMONDO, *Libro de Sonate Diverse*, A.M.I.S., Como 1980, with an introduction by Oscar TAJETTI. bibliography and incipit in Victor COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music*, Garland, New York and London 1995, pp. 68-72 and 246-266.

The *fantasia di franceco da milano a dui liutti* is certainly an important and substantial addition to the lute repertory.⁴⁰ We know only two pieces for two lutes by Francesco da Milano, probably works with a didactic intention.⁴¹ This duet is structured like the *Spagna* of the Milanese, with a lute entrusted with the chord accompaniment – the so-called *tenore* - and a lute that develops a series of discontinuous diminutions. The piece is divided into two main sections – the second is marked *alio modo* – within which the initial idea expressed by the first lute is taken up in reverse at the beginning of the second part. The beginning of this last section recalls the incipit of one of the duets published by Vincenzo Galilei in the edition of *Il Fronimo* of 1584⁴², attributed to a noble Florentine whose initials are B.M. A composer also present in the *Siena Lute-Book*, he could be identified according to Philippe Canghilem as Bernardetto de' Medici.⁴³ Note, in any case, that more than once Galilei expresses his admiration for Francesco da Milano, both in his volume *Intavolature / de Lauto*⁴⁴ and in the course of the *Fronimo*, in which he analyses the style used by the Milanese in scoring his vocal works.

The *tirate per far la mano di franceco milanese / molto legiadre* prove to be of great interest for their didactic character. I have been able to find only one partial concordance in the anonymous *Passagio* placed in the late Ms. 16.662 of the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels, which, however, testifies to its diffusion. It is not improbable that other fragments or concordances can be found in the great number of *tirate* or *passaggi* which can be read in the manuscripts and printed versions for the lute in the second half of the sixteenth century or at the beginning of the seventeenth.⁴⁵

In the first hexagram, the Brussels *Passagio* takes up the ninth casella of the *tirate*; in the second hexagram and at the beginning of the third, the scale expressed in the Castelfranco Veneto manuscript in the fourth and fifth bars; in the second part of the third hexagram and at the beginning

⁴⁰ Published in a modern edition by Franco ROSSI, *Pacolini da Borgotaro..art.cit.*, pp. 191-95. Facsimile of the first lute part (partial) in *Idem*, p. 196.

⁴¹ See Arthur J. Ness. *The Lute Music...op.cit.*, n. 93 e 94, pp. 242-245. Two other sources of *Spagna* (Ness 94) have come to light after the edition of the American scholar: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. Ms. 40591, c. 61v (completa) e Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1608, c. 31v. Si veda Victor COELHO, *The Manuscript...op.cit.*, p. 338 e p. 574.

⁴² Howard Mayer BROWN, *Instrumental Music...op.cit.*, 1584/5, *Contrapunto primo di B. M.*, p. 178, n. 107.

⁴³ On the importance of *Il Fronimo*, see the recent work Philippe CANGUILHEM, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, Minerve, Paris -Tours 2001.

⁴⁴ Howard Mayer BROWN, *Instrumental Music...op.cit.*, 1563/7.

⁴⁵ The manuscript in an anastatic edition: *Recueil de pièces de luth en tablature italienne XVIIe siècle*, Editions Culture et Civilisation, Bruxelles 1980. Studied and catalogued by Victor COELHO, *The Manuscript...op. cit.*, pp. 65-66 and pp. 235-237 who suggests a plausible didactic use of the manuscript. The *Passagio* is found on c. 28. The *tirate* di Francesco da Milano are published in facsimile by Franco ROSSI, *Catalogo...op.cit.*, pp. XLIII-VLIV.

of the fourth the scale included in the sixth bar of Pacalone's autograph manuscript; in the following part of the fourth hexagram and in the fifth we find concordances with bars thirteen and fourteen. The *tirate* of the Castellano manuscript are subdivided into two main sections. In the first, we find progressive exercises in the transposed Doric mode (considering a lute tuned to G, extremely idiomatic on the instrument), which start from a simple third interval up to a scale of three octaves: this latter covers all the extension of the instrument from the sixth open course up to the twelfth fret of the first. In the second the interpreter faces mainly *groppi* in different positions on the fingerboard, until he reaches, also in this case, the twelfth fret of the first order. Note that the three duets written by Francesco da Milano known today are composed in the same way, and that we can even find an exact concordance between bars five and six of the *superius* of the *Spagna* with casella two of the *tirate*.

The *tirate* are particularly important, since we do not know explicitly didactic material by the great composer of lute music of the first half of the sixteenth century, also known as a virtuoso. In an important and unfortunately neglected treatise dedicated to the viola da gamba and the lute, the *Letzione Seconda* by Silvestro Ganassi, we can read the following passage:

« [...] io trovo essere in proposito a regolarti uno modo de sonar over praticar il tuo diminuir & non diminuir fora delli tasti cioè sul corpo del liuto & il violon alla estremità del manico come il peritissimo di tal istromento dirò del violon un messer Alfonso da Ferrara, & un Messer Ioanbattista Cicilian io dico averli veduto a far quello che si può mai far s'ul ditto stromento il medemo un Messer Francesco da Milano & un Messer Rubertino Mantovano & certo non si trova in fama hoggi di solo questi quattro in tal strumento e strumenti & certissimamente sono degli di grandissima laude si che io dico averli visto praticar tal strumenti di fuori de li tasti cioè sul corpo del liuto alla estremità del manico con tanta agilità effetto bono come se gel fusse stato li tasti posti alli sui termini con ogni diligentia per tanto tal secreto ancora voglio rasonar & regolarti [...]»⁴⁶

The *tirate* of Castelfranco could thus unveil to some degree the modes of study and didactic methodology of the great Milanese virtuoso.

The edition of Francesco da Milano's pieces contained in Pacalono's autograph manuscript is an invaluable indication of the extraordinary importance for the history of lute literature of the Castellano manuscript. It is an urgent priority, therefore, to publish the entire collection, accompanied by a thorough critical study which casts light on the extent of the problems raised by

⁴⁶ *Letzione seconda pur / della pratica di sonare il violone d'ar/co da tasti. Composta per Silvestro Ga/nassi dal Fontego [...], presso l'Autore*, Venezia, 1543, cap. XX. Anastatic edition Arnaldo Forni Editore [Bologna, s.d.]

this manuscript, with the aim of restoring a precious part of the heritage to the history of European culture.

Franco Pavan

TABLE

	Title	Ness	Chiesa	Concordances
13v-14v	<i>fantasia bellissima</i>	19	<i>Ricercare XIX</i>	<i>s.d.</i> , cc. 16v-18 <i>SultzI</i> , cc. 2v-4v <i>SultzII</i> , cc. 9-11 (with variants) <i>SultzII</i> , cc. 37-39 (with variants) <i>36M</i> , cc. 14v-16 <i>46G2</i> , B4-Cv <i>61G2</i> , B4-Cv <i>63S2</i> , pp. 15-18 <i>Paris</i> , cc. 22v-27 <i>Upps</i> , cc. 62-62v
18v-19	<i>fantasia de franceco da milano / dolsicima et</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>Como</i> , 18-20v

	<i>amorosa</i>			
26-29	<i>Reveillez Vous</i> (La canzon degli uccelli)	120	<i>vol. II,</i> <i>pp. 183-</i> <i>208</i>	<i>46G1</i> , cc. Av-b2 <i>46P2c&d</i> , cc. M2v-O4 <i>46[S]2</i> , cc. 41v-45v <i>50W</i> , cc. 34v-40 <i>56G1</i> , cc. 1-6 <i>63W</i> , cc. 34v-40 <i>DonII</i> , cc. 4v-6
41	<i>tenore de una</i> <i>fantasia a dui</i> <i>liutti /di franc.o</i> <i>milanese</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	
44v-45v	<i>fantasia de</i> <i>franc.o milanese</i> <i>/ divina che si</i> <i>pono dire</i>	App. 31	<i>deest</i>	<i>DonI</i> , cc.67v-68
46-47	<i>fantasia di</i> <i>francec.o</i> <i>milanese</i>	34	<i>Ricercare</i> <i>LVII</i>	<i>Hasl</i> , c. 1 [6r.] <i>Hasl</i> , cc. 18-20 [18v-19v] <i>Brus</i> , cc. 70-71 <i>TheH</i> , cc. 59-59v <i>BE032</i> , p. 152 <i>Como</i> , cc. 55-56v <i>Firenze 109</i> , c. 21 (fragment)
47v-48 {49v}	<i>fantasia de</i> <i>franceco</i> <i>Milanese</i>	55	<i>Fantasia</i> <i>XXII</i>	<i>48C</i> , cc. 20v-22 <i>48S8</i> , cc. E2-E4 <i>Brus</i> , 38v-40 <i>TheH</i> , cc. 45v-46
48v-49	<i>recercata di</i> <i>franc.o da</i> <i>milano</i>	33	<i>Fantasia</i> <i>XIII</i>	<i>66D1</i> , cc. A3v-A4v <i>47G3</i> , B-B2v <i>62G3</i> , B-B2v <i>63S3</i> , pp. 9-12 <i>71Ptm</i> , cc. 7v-8 <i>Kargel</i> , A2v-A3v <i>Mertel</i> , pp. 206-208 <i>Mylius</i> , pp. 35-36

Brus, cc. 71v-72v
Edin, cc. 27v-28v
TheH, 58v-59
D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 52-53
D-W, cc. 204v-205v
BE032, pp. 218-19
Como, cc. 80v-82 [e 74]
Schele, pp. 100-101 (fragment within
another composition)
GB-Och 1280, c. 1 (fragment)

51v-52	<i>fantasia di franceco da milano a dui liutti</i>	<i>deest deest</i>		
53v	[<i>Quando io penso al martire</i>] [parziale]	123	<i>Vol. II,</i> <i>pp. 260-</i> <i>266</i>	<i>66D1</i> <i>47G3</i> , cc. E4v-F <i>62G3</i> , E4v-F <i>63S3</i> , pp. 40-41
60v-61	<i>tirate per far la mano di franceco milanese / molto legiadre</i>	<i>deest deest</i>		<i>BrusII</i> , [c. 4] [partial: <i>Passagio</i>]

[SultzI]

INTAVOLATURA // DE VIOLA O VERO LAUTO CIOE // Recercate, Canzone Francese,
Mottette, Composto per // lo Eccellente & Unico Musico Francesco Milane // se, non mai piu
stampata. Libro Primo della // FORTUNA. // [marchio tipografico col motto NON SEMPER SIC]
Colophon (c. 32r) : C V M Gratia & Privilegio decennali nequis in Regno Neapolitano imprimet //
nec alibi impessum ferat venale, q[uae] siquis aliter ferent, libros // amittet &, poenam in Privilegio
latam solvet. // Impressum Neapoli Inventione, & solertia Ioanni Sultzbachy Ger // mani, Regnante
Invictissimo Imperatore Carolo quinto sem // per Augusto Anno Domini. 1536. // adi 25. De May.

8°, 32,

Copy in: F:Pn

[SultzII]

INTAVOLATURA // DE VIOLA O VERO LAUTO COMPOSTO // per lo Eccellente & Unico Musico Francesco Milanese non mai piu // stampata // Libro Secondo de la Fortuna. // [Marchio tipografico con il motto: NON SEMPER SIC]

Colophon (c. 39v) : C V M Gratia & Privilegio decennali nequis in Regno Neapolitano imprimet // nec alibi impessum ferat venale, q[uae] siquis aliter ferent, libros // amittet &, poenam in Privilegio latam solvet. // Impressum Neapoli Inventione, & solertia Ioanni Sultzbachy Ger // mani, Regnante Invictissimo Imperatore Carolo quinto sem / // per Augusto Anno Domini. 1536.

8°, 39, A-K, i quaderni 8-10 sono legati rovesciati

Copy in: F:Pn

[36M]

[B1536/3]

INTABOLATURA DI LIUTO DE DIVERSI, CON LA // BATAGLIA, ET ALTRE COSE BELLISSIME, DI M. FRANCESCO DA // MILANO, STAMPATA NUOVAMENTE PER FRANCESCO // MARCOLINI DA FORLI, CON GRATIA E PRIVILEGIO.

Colophon (c. 34r) : In Vinegia per Francesco Marcolini da Forli, In la Contrà di Santo Apostolo, ne le case de i Frati Crosachieri, ne gilanni [*sic*] del Signore. M D XXXVI. del mese di Maggio.

8°, 34 c.

Copy in : A:Wn

[s.d.]

[B154?/4]

INTABOLATURA DA LEUTO // DEL DIVINO FRANCISCO // DA MILANO NOVAME //
NTE STANPATA

8°, 36c.

Copy in: A:Wn

[46G1]

[B1546/6]

INTABOLATURA // DE LAUTO // DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO // NOVAMENTE
RISTAMPATA // LIBRO PRIMO // INTABOLATURA [printer's mark] DE LAUTO // IN
VENETIA Appresso di // Antonio Gardane // M. D. XXXXVI.

8°, 20

Copies in: A:Wn, (olim:CH:Lcortot), D:Ngm, GB:Lbl, US:Cn, US:NYp, [PL:S].

[46G2]

[B1546/7]

INTABOLATURA // DE LAUTO // DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO // De motetti recercari &
canzoni francese novamente ristampata. // LIBRO SEGONDO. // [printer's mark] // In Venetia
appresso di // Antonio Gardane. // M.D.XXXXVI.

8°, 20

Copies in: A:Wn, (olim:CH:Lcortot), D:Ngm, F:Pn (olimthibault), GB:Lbl, US:Cn, US:Wc.

[46[S]2]

[B1546/8]

INTABOLATURA // DI LAUTO // DEL DIVINO FRANCESCO DA MILANO, // ET
DELL'ECCELLENTE PIETRO PAULO // Borrone da Milano, nuovamente posta in luce, et con
ogni // diligentia corretta, opera nuova, & perfettissima // sopra qualunche altra Intavolatura. //
LIBRO SECONDO // VENETIIS M D XLVI.

8°, 50

Copy in: S:Uu.

[46P2d]

[B1546/18]

Des chansons reduictz en Tabulatu // RE DE LUC A TROIS ET QUATRE PAR // TIES LIVRE
DEUXIEME. // A LOUVAIN // Par Piere Phaleys libraire. Lan de Grace M. D. XLVI.

Colophon (c. p1v) LOVANII. Ex officina Servatii Zasseni Diestensis, Anno M. D. XLVI

Copy in : GB:Lbl

[46P2c]

[B1546/19]

Carminum Quae chely vel testudi // NE CANUNTUR, TRIUM, QUATUOR, ET // QUINQUE
PARTIUM LIBER SECUNDUS. // LOVANII. // Apud Petrum Phalesium bibliopolam, anno M. D.
XLVI.

Colophon (c. p1v) LOVANII. Ex officina Servatii Zasseni Diestensis, Anno M. D. XLVI

Copy in A:Wn

[47G3]

[B1547/2]

INTABOLATURA // DE LAUTO // DI M. FRANCESCO MILANESE // ET M. PERINO
FIORENTINO // Suo Discipulo Di Recercate Madrigali, & Canzone Francese // Novamente
Ristampata & corretta. // LIBRO [printer's mark] TERZO // In Venetia Apresso di // Antonio
Gardane // M.D.LVII.

8°, 24,

Copies in A:Wn, D:Mbs, D:Ngm, F:Pn (*olim*thibault), US:Cn, US:Wc, [PL:S; Biblioteca
Wolffheim].

[48S8]

[B1548/2]

INTAVOLATURA // DI LAUTO // DELL'ECCELLENTE PIETRO PAOLO BORRONO // DA
MILANO, NUOVAMENTE POSTA IN LUCE, ET CON OGNI //diligentia corretta, opera
perfettissima sopra qualunche altra Intavolatura // che da qua indrieto sia stampata./LIBRO
[printer's mark] OTTAVO // Venetiis apud Hieronimum Scotum./M.D.XLVIII.

8°, 36, c. A-I

Copy in: I:Vnm. (*olim* D:B-Wolffheim)

[48C]

[B1548/3]

INTAVOLATURA DI // LAUTO DEL DIVI // NO FRANCESCO DA MILANO, ET DELL'//
ECCELLENTE PIETRO PAULO BOR // rono da Milano nuovamente posta in luce: & con ogni
diligentia cor // retta, opera novissima & perfettissima sopra qualunche alta In // tavolatura che da
qua indreto sia stampata facendo certo a // tutto il mondo che piu non si poter a imprimere de

meglio. // CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGII CONCESSI DAL // SANTISSIMO PAPA PAULO .III.
DAL SE //renissimo Imperatore, Et Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia che niuno // possa Imprimere
tale opera, ne Impresa vendere fino ad // anni dieci sotto pena como in esst Privilegii si contene. //
M.D.XLVIII. // LIBRO SECONDO.

Colophon (c. 40v) : Stampato nella Inclita Citta de Milano per Gio : Antonio da Castilliono ad
Instantia de .M. Gio : Bap. Borrono.

8°, 40,

Copy in: F:Pn (*olimthibault*).

[50W]

[B1550/4]

Tabulaturbüch uff die Lut // ten, von mancherley Lieplicher Italianischer // Dantzliedern mitsampt
dem Vogelgsang und einer Fäld // schlacht, uss Wälhscher Tabulatur, flyssig // in Thütsche gesetz.
// Getruckt zü Zürych Rüdolf Wyssembach // Formschnyder, Im M.D.L.Jar.

Copies in: A:Wn, D:LEm.

[56G1]

INTABOLATURA // DE LAUTO // DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO // NOVAMENTE
RISTAMPATA // LIBRO PRIMO // [printer's mark] // In Venetia apresso di // Antonio Gardano //
1556

Copy in in: F:Pn (*olimthibault*)

[61G2]

[B1561/3]

INTABOLATURA DI LIUTO // DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO // De Motetti Recercari & Canzoni Francese Novamente ristampata. // LIBRO [printer's mark] SECONDO // In Venetia Appresso di // Antonio Gardano. // 1561

Copies in: A:Wn, F:Pn (*olim*F:Pc)

[62G3]

[B1562/1]

INTABOLATURA DI LIUTO // DI M.FRANCESCO DA MILANO // ET PERINO FIORENTINO SUO DISCI // pulo. Di Recercari, Mardigali[*sic*], & Canzoni Francese. // Novamente Ristampata & Corretta. // LIBRO [printer's mark] TERZO // In Venetia appresso di // Antonio Gardano.// 1562.

Copies in: A:Wn, F:Pn, GB:Lbl.

[63S2]

[B1563/5]

LA // INTABOLATURA DE LAUTO // DI FRANCESCO DA MILANO // DE MOTETTI RECERCARI // ET CANZONE FRANCESE // Novamente ristampata & corretta // LIBRO SECONDO // [printer's mark] // IN VINEGIA Appresso Gyrolamo Scotto // 1563.

Copy in: A:Wn.

[63S3]

[B1563/6]

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

Copy in: A:Wn, (Brown indicates the presence of a copy also in I:Gu, which, however, it is not in
the catalogues of the Library).

[63Dg1]

[B1563/7]

INTAVOLATURE // DE LAUTO // DI VINCENZO GALILEO FIORENTINO // MADRIGALI, E
RICERCATE // LIBRO [printer's mark] PRIMO. // In Roma per M.Valerio Dorico, l'Anno
M.LXIII. // con privilegio per Anni X.

[63W]

[B1563/10]

Ein schön Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten [...] Rudolph Wyssembach, Zurich, J. Gessner, 1563

[66D1]

[B1566/1]

INTABOLATURA // DE LAUTO // DI M. FRANCESCO MILANESE ET M.PERINO //
FIORENTINO // Ricercate Madrigali, & Canzone Franzese: // LIBRO [printer's mark] PRIMO. //
In Roma per M.Valerio Dorico, & Lodovico // Fratello. // M.D.LXVI. // Cum privilegio summi
Pontificis ad quinquenium.

Copy in: F:CV(c.1-4), P :Kj (*olim* D:Bds).

[71Ptm]

[B1571/6]

THEATRUM // MUSICUM, LONGE AM // PLISSIMUM CUI (DEMPNIS QUAE //
VETUSTATE VILVERANT) AUTHOREM PRAE // STANTISS. TUM VETERUM, TUM
RECENTIORUM CARMINA SE // LECTISSIMA SUNT INSERTA, MAIORI QUAM ANTE //
HAC FIDE ET DILIGENTIA IN USUM PUBLI // CUM COMPARATA. // Et primo quidem
ordine αὐτὸμῶτα quae Fantasiae, vel Praeleudia noncupantur. // Secundo Cantilenae vulgares, sed
exquisite tum 4. tum 5. vocum. // Tertia classis eorum Carminum quae ex lingua Gal: Italica Latina
à praestan/tissima artificibus instituta (ut Clemente non papa, Orlandoque di Lasso,/& pluribus aliis)
Moteti nomen 4. 5. aut 6. vocum promerentur. // Quibus succedunt alia quae duabus Testudinibus
concini solent. // Postremò & eius generis Carmina, quae tum facilitate tum lepore discentes, //
pariter ac audientes rapiunt, ut sunt Passomezzo, Gaill. Branles etc. // Universa propemodum nunc
recenter à peritissimis quibusque; translata in Testudinis usum, velut // Julio Cesare Paduano,
Melchiore Nenslyder Germano, & Sixto Kargl // ac nonnullis aliis quorum industria prae cateris //
hodiè celebratur. // LOVANII. // Excudebat Petrum Phalesius sibi & Joanni Bellerio Bibliopolae
Antverpiensi. // ANNO M.D.LXXI.

Copies in: D:Mbs, GB:Ob, PL:Kj, [D:Bds], [D:KA].

Mertel

Elias Mertel, HORTUS MUSICALIS NOVUS / [...], Argentorati, per Antonium
Bertramum/M.DC.XV.

Copies in: F:Pn; F:Pm; GB:Lbl

Mylius

Johann Daniel Mylius, *THESAURUS GRATIARUM*, Frankfurt, 1622

Copy in: D: Bds

BE032= KRAKOW, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus.Ms.40032

(*olim* BERLIN, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.40032,

olim Ms. Z 32)

RISM BVII p. 22, ca.1590.

BRUS= BRUXELLES, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique Albert Ier,

Departement de la Musique, Ms. Cabinet des manuscrits,

fonds général II, 275 (*olim* LITTERA S.II, 275).

RISM BVII, pp. 57-58, dated 1590.

BRUS2= BRUXELLES, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Ms. 16.662

RISM BVII, p. 57, dated 1612.

CAM3= CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Ms.Additional 3056.

RISM BVII, p.78, ca.1595-1606.

COMO= COMO, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 1.1.20.

NO RISM, ca.1601-1610.

on c. 74 an added sheet inserted between the cords of the binding bears the words «fine della fuga» referring to the fantasia beginning on c. 80v.

D-LEm = LEIPZIG, Musikbibliothek der Stadt, Ms. II. 6.15

RISM BVII, pp. 164-65.

DON= DONAUESCHINGEN, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek,

Ms. G I 4 (3 voll.)

NO RISM, ca.1580-90.

D-W= WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7

RISM BVII, pp. 361-364.

EDIN= EDINBURGH, University Library, Ms.Dc.5.125.

RISM B VII, pp.105-106, ca.1590-1605.

FLOR= FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Fondo Magliabechiano, Classe XIX,

Codice 109, (Provenienza Mediceo Palatina)

RISM BVII, p. 111.

GB-Och 1280= OXFORD, Christ Church Library, ms. 1280

NO RISM

MUN2= MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung,

Ms. Mus.266.

RISM BVII, pp. 214-215, ca. 1550-70.

PARIS= PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique,

Ms. Rés. 429 (*olim* 23000).

RISM BVII, p. 269, ca. 1540-1580.

THEH= DEN HAAG, Gemeentemuseum, Ms.28.B.39, "Siena Lute-Book".

RISM BVII, p. 84, ca. 1585-1590.

SCHELE= HAMBURG. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. M B/2768

RISM BVII, pp. 129-130, ca. 1619.

UPPS= UPPSALA, Universitetsbiblioteket, Ms.Vokalmusik i h.87,

"Codex carminum Gallicorum".

RISM BVII, pp. 336-337, ca. 1562-157.

