

Chapter 15

Papal Tastes and Musical Genres: Francesco da Milano "Il Divino" (1497– 1543) and the Clementine Aesthetic

Victor Anand Coelho

Francesco Canova da Milano (Figure 15.1), the only musician to share Michelangelo's epithet of "Il Divino," was one of the most highly esteemed musicians of the sixteenth century, and the most influential and important lutenist of the Renaissance.¹ Flourishing during a period when the musical establishments of most Italian courts were dominated by *oltremontani*, Francesco was, in addition, the first Italian-born musician of the Renaissance to achieve truly international fame. His music circulated widely Europe through single-author prints, anthologies, and manuscripts, and by the end of the sixteenth century his works had achieved a "classic" status, withstanding the dramatic changes in musical style and modifications to the instrument itself that had rendered most of the sixteenth-century lute repertory obsolete. His music continued to appear in English and Continental sources (particularly from the Lowlands) a century after his death.²

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- 1 The starting point for all work on Francesco is still H. C. Slim, "Francesco da Milano (1497–1543/44): A Bio-bibliographical study," *Musica Disciplina* 18 (1964): 63–84, and *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965): 109–28. A recent (though difficult to obtain) study that brings together all of the surviving documentation on the composer is F. Pavan, "Francesco Canova da Milano," Ph.D. diss. (Università degli Studi, Milan, 1997); a revised version of this work is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. For recent summaries of Francesco's life and work see V. Coelho, "Francesco Canova da Milano" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 2002), cols. 1571–5; F. Pavan, "Francesco (Canova) da Milano," in *TNG*, 2nd edition, ed. S. Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 9:166–8. Michelangelo was referred to as "*divino*" as early as 1532 by Ariosto in *Orlando furioso*. See P. L. Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 183. The great artist was also referred to as "divine" in the *esequie* for him of 1564, for which see R. and M. Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564* (London: Phaidon, 1964).
 - 2 H. Vanhulst, "The Music of Francesco da Milano Published by Pierre Phalèse between 1546 and 1571," unpublished paper given at the international conference "Il Divino Francesco," held at the Università degli Studi in Milan in October, 1997, commemorating the 500th anniversary of Francesco's birth. Phalèse targeted Francesco's Louvain publications, particularly to the university market, for which older styles and composers were of historical interest and value. The papers given at this conference are briefly summarized by M. Carlone in the *JLSA* 26–27 (1993–4): 106–14.

Francesco was born in the Milanese suburb of Monza in 1497, one of three sons fathered by Benedetto Canova (the name of Francesco's mother is not known), a clever entrepreneur who invested in property, founded a company that produced gold and silver thread, and capitalized on his son's distinguished musical career to further the family's economic and social status.³ Little is known of Francesco's life prior to his entrance into papal service around 1514.⁴ From then until the Sack of Rome, he worked continuously as lutenist for three pontiffs serving as one of Pope Leo X's private musicians (sometimes listed along with his father), a position he maintained even under the austere Adrian VI.⁵ Continuing his employment into the pontificate of Clement VII, Francesco performed before such figures as Baldassare Castiglione and Paolo Giovio in 1524, and Isabella d'Este in 1526.⁶ He returned to Milan briefly after the Sack, but came back to Rome in 1531 to work under Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici and then for Clement's successor, Paul III, teaching lute to the pope's grandson Ottavio Farnese.⁷ Francesco's most distinguished student, worthy enough to be called his "disciple," was Perino Fiorentino degli Organi (1523–1552), a Florentine lute virtuoso in his own right who became a member of Paul III's household at the age of thirteen.⁸ Some of Perino's works were published alongside his teacher's. In 1533 (the year Clement commissioned Michelangelo to paint the *Last Judgment*), Francesco accompanied the pope to Bologna for his meeting with Charles V, and in 1538, Francesco was the only musician brought to Nice by Paul III for his meeting with Charles V and Francis I. Thus, Francesco da Milano's music was often requested at functions in which diplomatic honor was at stake, suggesting connections among papal taste, ceremony, politics, and compositional style. In this article, I would like to investigate these connections and to bring some of the existing studies on the composer to bear on the relationship between Francesco's music and André Chastel's

- 3 On Francesco's early life and family, see F. Pavan, "Francesco Canova and his Family in Milan: New Documents," *JLSA* 24 (1991): 1–14; F. Pavan, "*Ex paupertate evasit*: Francesco da Milano et sa famille," in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. J.-M. Vaccaro (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1995), 361–70.
- 4 At the Francesco da Milano conference of 1997 in Milan, Dinko Fabris cited references between 1512–18 to a cleric named "D. Francisco da Milano" in Barletta, near Bari, at a church that was under the authority of bishop Giovanni Maria Ciochi del Monte, the future Pope Julius III (1550–55); see Carlone (1993–94): 110–11.
- 5 Regarding the papal employment of Francesco's father, Benedetto, see A. Mercati, "Favori di Paolo III a musici (Giacomo Archadelt—Ivo Barry—Bartolomeo Crotti—Francesco [Canova] da Milano," *Note d'Archivio per la storia musicale* 10 (1933): 114, cited by Slim (1964): 72, n. 52.
- 6 The letter pertaining to Francesco's performance before Isabella d'Este is published in W. Prizer, "Lutenists at the Court of Mantua in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," *JLSA* 13 (1980): 26, 34, and in A. Cummings, "Giulio de' Medici's Music Books," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 69–70, n. 14 (henceforth cited as Cummings [1991a]); Francesco's performance in the presence of Castiglione and Giovio is mentioned in a letter by the Ferrarese ambassador, cited by Pavan (2001), 167.
- 7 Cited in L. Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III d'après les registres de la trésorerie secrète*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), 1:226.
- 8 Information and documentation about Perino is contained in the introduction to the complete edition of his works, *Perino Fiorentino: Opere per liuto*, ed. M. Caffagni and F. Pavan (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 1996), 3–15.

notion of a "Clementine Style."⁹ In the process I shall propose a methodology for contextualizing instrumental music of the Renaissance.

Testudine Mirabilis

Of the approximately 125 compositions that have been attributed to Francesco, only 51 pieces appeared during his lifetime.¹⁰ These works were published in five books—now considered seminal in the history of Renaissance instrumental music—published almost simultaneously in Milan, Naples, and Venice in 1536 (see Table 15.1). Another publication, undated and unsigned (a Bolognese provenance has at least been suggested) is closely related to the Venetian print and has been dated to the same year.¹¹ Four of these five (1536^{a-c} [note that 1536^b comprises two books]) are devoted exclusively to Francesco's music and are almost identical in their choice of contents. The anthology published by Giovanni Antonio Castelvione (1536^d) includes only five works by Francesco, but Castelvione acknowledges Francesco's pre-eminence among lutenists by opening the book with one of his fantasias, and Castelvione may have even reproduced Francesco's likeness on the title page as yet another gesture of flattery (see Figures 15.2 and 15.3).¹²

The ubiquity of the lute in both courtly and noble domestic circles—not to mention in paintings—nevertheless, solo lute books were still something of a novelty in 1536.¹³ Prior to the appearance of these prints, not a single book of solo

9 See André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. B. Archer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), esp. chap. 5. For further discussions of Chastel's notion, see the contributions to this volume by Elam, Reiss, Wolk-Simon, and Sherr.

10 Most of Francesco's music, with the exception of a few recent discoveries made over the past thirty years, is published in *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497–1543)*, ed. A. J. Ness (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

11 For a facsimile of the undated and unsigned 1536 print, see F. Pavan, ed. *Francesco da Milano: Intabolatura da leuto* (Bologna: Forni, 2000). Pavan devotes much of his introduction to this facsimile reviewing an article of mine of 1996 (V. Coelho, "The Reputation of Francesco da Milano (1497–1543) and the Ricercars in the Cavalcanti Lute Book," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 50 [1996]: 49–72) in which I cast doubt on the authorship of number of works attributed to Francesco in subsequent prints and manuscripts. Pavan's criticisms cannot be taken seriously, however, since he completely ignores the compelling stylistic and analytical evidence I put forth in my article, and seems, moreover, unwilling to consider the historiographical considerations regarding revival that I raise in my argument. In addition, his introduction fails to discuss the music contained in the print of 1536 or its importance.

12 On the iconographic history of Francesco, see H. C. Slim, "Some Possible Likenesses of Francesco da Milano (1497–1543)," in his *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography*, ed. H.C. Slim (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), essay 2; see also M. Carlone, "Portrait of a Lutenist at the Museo Civico of Como: An Inquiry," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. K. A. McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 91–100.

13 For a catalogue of images featuring the lute, see the old but still valuable book by Hermann Sommer, *Die Laute in ihrer musikgeschichtlichen, kultur- und kunsthistorischen Bedeutung* (Berlin: Ad. Koster, 1920).

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Table 15.1: Solo Lute Music Published in Italy, 1500–36

1507	Francesco Spinacino, <i>Intabulatura de Lauto / Libro primo & Libro secondo</i> (Venice: Petrucci)
1508	Giovan Maria, <i>Intabulatura di Lauto</i> (Venice: Petrucci) lost (if it ever existed)
1508	Joanambrosio Dalza, <i>Intabulatura de Lauto / Libro quarto</i> (Venice: Petrucci)
1536a	Francesco da Milano, <i>Intabulatura di Liuto ...</i> (Venice: Marcolini)
1536b	Francesco da Milano, <i>Intavolatura de viola o vero Lauto ... Libro primo della Fortuna e Libro Secondo</i> (Naples: Sultzbach)
1536c	Francesco da Milano, <i>Intabulatura da Leuto del Divino Francisco da Milano ...</i> (n.p. [Bologna?])
1536d	Giovanni Antonio Casteliono, <i>Intabulatura de Leuto de diversi autori ...</i> (Milan: Casteliono)

lute music appears to have been printed in Italy after Petrucci's lute publications of 1507–08, some of which, including a publication in 1508 by Giovan Maria Alemanni, are lost. In 1536, Francesco Marcolini was granted an exclusive ten-year privilege to print lute tablatures, which he did not exercise again prior to its expiration. Consequently, the publication of Francesco's lute music did not resume until 1546, three years after the composer's death. At this point, the printed lute book entered a fast-moving commercial mainstream in *grosso modo*. For the next 60 years printed lute books appeared on a regular basis, many of them enjoying a wide international circulation and bringing large profits to the publisher with print runs sometimes exceeding 1000 copies.¹⁴ In short, the importance of 1536 as a pivotal year can be summed up in a single statistic: prior to this year, only three lute books had been printed; but after this date, Italian publishers produced close to 70 lute books before 1600. In addition, almost half of Francesco's works appear in 1536. Clearly, it was an historic and stylistic turning point in the history of the lute, and Francesco's prints from that year, compiled during Francesco's period of employment under Leo X and Clement VII, cry out for closer scrutiny than they have received.

Stylistically, Francesco's music in these books reveals a dramatic evolution from the repertory contained in the Petrucci series of almost thirty years earlier. The basic musical styles and technique cultivated by the Petrucci lutenists were indebted to the repertory and somewhat formulaic rhythmic patterns encountered in fifteenth-century instrumental music. Francesco, on the other hand, displays a new contrapuntal artistry that is derived mainly from his study of contemporary vocal polyphony, now adapted to the lute. To be sure, his music draws on traditional lute idioms, but his main influences are the formal, motivic, and contrapuntal features of the Latin motet,

14 See J. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13–14. Michel Fezendat's edition of lutenist Albert de Rippe's tablature of 1552 was published in a run of 1200 copies; see J.-M. Vaccaro, *Œuvres d'Albert de Rippe I: Fantaisies*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), xxvii.

the French chanson, and the new Italian madrigal, which Francesco amalgamated into a broad-based instrumental style that moves between virtuosic artifice and natural part-writing.¹⁵ Although Francesco's music is wordless, it appears to react to an idealized text—John Griffiths' definition of the fantasia as an "instrumental motet" is appropriate—and his works exhibit the unity, balance, architecture, and diversity of the finest vocal pieces of the day.¹⁶ Indeed, the attributes of "pure language, elegant discourse, and style," with which Chastel has characterized the culture of the Clementine literary milieu, are precisely those qualities that separate Francesco's fantasias from those of his predecessors.¹⁷

We have also mentioned above the notion of "diversity" as an important ingredient in Francesco's works. The term can, in fact, be considered as a new aesthetic of sixteenth-century music, and relates to the themes underscored by Chastel ("unusual freedom of speech and behavior") and Reiss ("*stile mescolato*") as evocative of the Clementine Style.¹⁸ If the "multiplicity of Clement's interests," in the words of Chastel, was expressed around 1525 by Roman artists mixing together political and dynastic themes, rich symbolism, ancient and pagan models, mythology, and self-conscious artifice, then Francesco's fantasias provide us with an almost identical repertory in sound.¹⁹ Not only can a single fantasia by Francesco reveal a plurality of styles drawn from many current trends of vocal music—frottola, madrigal, chanson, mass and motet—but his corpus of works as a whole contains some of the most inventive music of its day. There is no doubt that Francesco raised the musical bar on every technical and stylistic level and established a new standard for lutenists. His may be the first instrumental works to cultivate consciously the notion of *virtuosity*. Moreover, they provided a contemporary stylistic model for other players to imitate that was as distinguished as a motet by Josquin des Prez or a madrigal of Jacques Arcadelt. It was inevitable that Francesco's music would itself become a rich source for parody and imitation by other lutenists; we even find entire passages of Francesco's

15 Francesco's intimate knowledge of madrigal, chanson, and motet repertories was facilitated by the interest in and cultivation of these genres within Medici circles during the first few decades of the sixteenth century. On the Medici, and, specifically, Clementine, interest in the early madrigal, see A. Cummings, "Medici Musical Patronage in the Early Sixteenth Century: New Perspectives," *Studi musicali* 10 (1981): 208–9 (which supports earlier speculation by Nino Pirrotta on Medici patronage of the of the early madrigal); similarly, see R. Sherr, "Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer La Fiore," *JAMS* 37 (1984): 402–11; reprinted in R. Sherr, *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and Other Courts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), essay 19.

16 See J. Griffiths, "*Une fantaisie de la Renaissance: An Introduction*," *JLSA* 23 (1990): 4. This article is part of a special volume that brings together new work on compositional process in the Renaissance fantasia.

17 See Chastel (1983), 151.

18 Chastel (1983), 4; S. E. Reiss, "Cardinal Giulio de' Medici as a Patron of Art, 1513–1523," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1992), 26; S. E. Reiss, "Klemens VII," in *Hochrenaissance*, 61, for Clement's privileging of what Sebastiano Serlio called a "*stile mescolato*." On Clement's "mixed" tastes, see also A. Nesselrath, "Il 'libro di Michelangelo' a Lille," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* n.s. 24 (1994 [1997]): 35–52. See also Caroline Elam's contribution to this volume.

19 Chastel (1983), 216.

music quoted verbatim by composers of the likes of Vincenzo Galilei and in the tablature *florilegia* of Florentine lutenists.²⁰

The impact of Francesco's music on other lutenists was immediate and lasting, and it is extraordinary how quickly his music became canonized as the *ars perfecta* of the lute after its first appearance in 1536. It is a process that is similar in many ways to the classicization of Arcadelt's first book of madrigals—a repertory that Francesco knew very well—which remained popular for over a century through the familiarity of a few choice pieces from that collection. Similarly, most of Francesco's works from 1536 are precisely those for which we have the most concordances, indicating that publishers, lutenists, and the consumer public of the sixteenth century preferred these works over all others by him. Chastel has similarly remarked on the rapid classicizing and canonizing of contemporary works during the Clementine period, which might be interpreted as a way of mounting one's own history, rather than trust that history will work on your behalf.²¹

Thus far we have described the "Francesco effect" of 1536, but we have not yet speculated on its cause. What were the roots of Francesco's style, and what traditions, musical and otherwise, are possibly embedded in his music? Scholars studying Francesco da Milano have been preoccupied for so long by the task of establishing a reliable chronology of his works, that we have yet to confront many of the hard questions concerning his musical style. Another serious obstacle is that there is just not enough lute music that survives from between the Petrucci school of the early sixteenth century and Francesco's of 1536 to be able to bridge the large stylistic and technical gap that exists between them.

On the other hand, if it is logical to assume that Francesco's prints of 1536 had their compositional origins during the composer's service to the Medici popes from ca. 1514 to the 1530s, then it would be natural to interpret Francesco's music as being fundamentally formed within, and informed by, the artistic culture around Leo X and Clement VII. Even if Francesco's works stop short of reflecting specific papal commissions, they may well be part of the overall program of such patronage based on the general aesthetics that were cultivated during the Leonine and Clementine periods. In particular, several persuasive analogies exist between the artistic production undertaken during Clement's pontificate and the development of a new instrumental style in the hands of Francesco da Milano, one that was distinctly recognized by observers of the day. I will try to support this idea by briefly following three promising lines of inquiry. The first of these concerns Francesco's development of the fantasia from a purely preludial genre of music to an *artistic creation* that is informed by rhetorical and humanistic text/music considerations. The second approach examines Francesco's choices of repertory and the genres that he cultivated, including the arrangements, or intabulations, of vocal music (motets, chansons, and madrigals) he made for lute, many of which are based on vocal models contained in the repertory of the Cappella Sistina. Finally, I will consider the strong Florentine

20 I have dealt with these issues in Coelho (1996).

21 This idea is inspired by Chastel (1983), 50, when discussing the completion of the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican Palace, in which "Contemporary history is vivified at the same time that the permanence of the institution is stressed." See also Charles Stinger's essay above, with further bibliography.

tradition of Francesco's works, which clearly reflects what Chastel has called the "Tuscanization" of Rome during the Clementine period.²² While I will provide some specific musical details, my discussion will be more generally directed toward establishing some common ground between musical and non-musical creations during the pontificate of the second Medici pope.

The Fantasia and the Clementine Aesthetic

Unlike sacred vocal music of the period, the music of lutenists is rarely revealing of its function, ritual, commission, dedication, or occasion. There is no lute equivalent of the Sistine Chapel choirbooks, for instance (which at least provide evidence of the musical repertory and general function), and there is no source by Francesco—printed or manuscript—that specifically places the repertory within the ambiance of the papal court. Simply put, Francesco's publications transmit the works, but without any information about their context, while documentary sources tell us about context, but not about specific works.²³ For example, in 1526, the pope, in the presence of Isabella d'Este, invited "Francesco da Milano, most excellent player of the lute, as perhaps your Excellency knows, who with two companions played music with two lutes and a viol."²⁴ But which music and even which genre—fantasia, intabulation, an improvisation on a preexisting melody, perhaps?—is impossible to know. Similarly, an entry in Marin Sanudo's diary from 1533 mentions that after the pope had finished lunch and had retired to bed, he heard music played by three lutenists, but once again the tantalizing connection between function and work eludes us.²⁵ Francesco's specific contributions as a member of the papal entourage in 1533 to Bologna and in 1538 to Nice remain equally vague.

To explore how Francesco's music is evocative of Clementine taste (or, rather, how such taste was expressed during Clement's pontificate), we must look elsewhere: to Francesco's choices of repertory, ranging from the overall genres of composition that he cultivated to specific work, his musical style, and the compositional process of his music, that is, how his works were conceived. Francesco is unusual, perhaps even unique among lute composers of the sixteenth century, in his total avoidance of dance music and variations, which otherwise constituted a considerable

22 Chastel (1983), 151–4.

23 However, lute manuscripts are occasionally revealing of courtly context, as for example the lute sources that transmit some of the music for the wedding of Cosimo II Medici and Maria Maddalena of Austria in 1608. See V. Coelho, "Public Works and Private Contexts: Lorenzo Allegri and the Florentine *Intermedi* of 1608," in *Luths en Occident*, ed. J. Dugot (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1999), 101–12.

24 See note 6. The original text, written from one Francesco Gonzaga to Federico Gonzaga, is as follows: "Il cavagliero Franceschino condusse Sua Signoria [Isabella d'Este] in la stantia dove Nostro Signore manza hora ordinarimente, et havendo preparata li una bella colatione de confetti di zucharo. frutti et altre diverse cose, fece doppoi venire Francesco da Milano, eccellentissimo sonatore de liuto, come forsi deve sapere Vostra Excellentia, con due compagni che fecero musica con due liuti et uno violone."

25 Sanuto, 58: 610, cited in A. Cummings, (1991a), 68. On Clement's pleasure at listening to music, see the contribution in this volume by Richard Sherr.

portion of the lute repertory.²⁶ How this might reflect a specific initiative of what Sheryl Reiss has called the “hands on” patronage of Clement is difficult to say, but it might be analogous to the reasons for certain subject matter in art during the Clementine period.²⁷ Rather, Francesco concentrated on two interrelated genres: (1) the arrangement of vocal models, or intabulations (so-called because it involved transcribing music from staff notation into lute tablature notation); and (2) the fantasia (or *ricercar*—the names are synonymous in this period), which in Francesco’s hands is a discursive instrumental work that is constructed around the elaboration of one or more subjects. Since intabulations are derived from vocal music, they were accorded a place of distinction over all other styles of instrumental music, adding musical legitimacy to printed lute books. Masses, motets, chansons, madrigals, and particularly the music of Josquin, were considered by instrumentalists to be the worthiest models to imitate, and it was through arranging these works that lutenists learned the craft of composition.²⁸ The procedures learned through intabulation brought the influence of vocal music into genres of instrumental music, most notably the fantasia, and recent work in this area has shown how subjects from madrigals and chansons were borrowed, paraphrased, and reworked in lute fantasias of the Renaissance.²⁹ This was not the case with the earlier Petrucci lutenists. Their works entitled *ricercare* were usually generated by idiomatic patterns, stock cadential formulas, and clichés, much like a written-down improvisation, with little respect to overall symmetry or formal balance. Their works in this genre do not seem to be derived from vocal music or other borrowed material, and their function was often prescribed as preludes or postludes to other pieces.

But the close relationship that exists between Francesco’s fantasias and intabulations betrays the direct influence of vocal music on his instrumental style. It reveals that intabulations were by no means just derivative *arrangements* of a vocal model; they are testimony to larger musical *procedures*, including parody and paraphrase, which are central compositional techniques employed by the composers of masses and motets. In the end, it is clear that many of Francesco’s fantasias are related, through the mediation of intabulations, to vocal music, similar to the way a text of Pietro Bembo’s is indebted to Petrarch. Stefano Mengozzi has provided persuasive

26 A short lute duet on the fifteenth-century *basse danse* tenor melody “La Spagna” is attributed to Francesco in only one late Florentine source from the late sixteenth century, BNCF, Magl. XIX 168.

27 Reiss (1992), 622.

28 Vincenzo Galilei’s treatise on lute intabulation, *Il Fronimo* (Venice, 1568/reprint 1584) is essentially a counterpoint treatise, a point made in P. Canguilhem, “Les deux éditions de ‘Fronimo’ (1568 et 1584) et la place du luth dans la pensée musicale de Vincenzo Galilei,” Thèse de doctorat (Université de Tours, 1994), revised as *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei* (Paris and Tours: Minerve, 2002).

29 See, for example, S. Mengozzi, “‘Is this Fantasy a Parody’: Vocal Models in the Free Compositions of Francesco da Milano,” *JLSA* 23 (1990): 7–17; S. Mengozzi, “Vocal Themes and Improvisation in Alberto da Ripa’s Lute Fantasies,” in Vaccaro, ed. (1995), 371–88; J.-M. Vaccaro, “The *Fantasia sopra*... in the Works of Jean-Paul Paladin,” *JLSA* 23 (1990): 18–36; and V. Coelho, “Revisiting the Workshop of Howard Mayer Brown: [Josquin’s] *Obsecro te Domina* and the Context of Arrangement,” in *‘La musique de tous les passetemps le plus beau’: Hommage à Jean-Michel Vaccaro*, ed. H. Vanhulst, F. Lesure and V. Coelho (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1998), 47–65.

evidence of how borrowed material from Arcadelt's madrigal *Quanta beltà* is used in Francesco's Fantasia 21 while yet another fantasia by Francesco (no. 30) appears to be based on the initial subject of Philippe Verdelot's madrigal *Quanto sia lieto il giorno*, written to a text by Niccolò Machiavelli and performed as the prologue to his *La Clizia*.³⁰ It may be significant that upon his return to Rome in 1531, Francesco's patron was Ippolito de' Medici, who was present at an important performance of Machiavelli's play outside Florence in 1525 that met "with an exceptional response."³¹ As a product of the new Florentine literary culture of the 1520s, the Italian madrigal had a direct influence on Francesco's music, and both Clement's early patronage of Verdelot and his interest in the madrigal while still a cardinal have been established by documents uncovered by Richard Sherr.³² This might also explain Francesco's use of a Verdelot madrigal based on a text by Machiavelli as a source for imitation.

The elegant discourse, refinement, and rhetorical expression of the Francesco da Milano fantasia represent a reform in instrumental music similar to what Bembo had contributed to the Italian language. Here is a purely instrumental work that is based on a "classical" model—be it a motet by Josquin or a madrigal by Arcadelt—that establishes a *point de départ* for yet newer pieces through the addition of idiomatic, vernacular techniques. Bembo's influence on the literary culture of Clementine Rome is well known, and his presentation of the manuscript of the *Prose della volgar lingua* to Clement in October 1524 coincides with Francesco's employment under the pope. The connection between Francesco and Bembo is not simply coincidental; it is also supported by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana portrait of Francesco illustrated in Figure 15.1. The cantus part-book on the table in front of Francesco is open to Arcadelt's madrigal *Quand io pens'al martire*, whose text was written by Bembo. The madrigal was published in 1539, but it had been circulating in Florentine manuscripts already by the early 1530s and would have been known by a Clement who cultivated the madrigal in its formative stages.³³

I am not the first to suggest a connection between the literary culture inspired by Bembo and the new musical fantasia of the 1530s. Over two decades ago, Warren Kirkendale published a now-famous article on how the imitative fantasia (that is, the fantasia of Francesco's time) evolved in harmony with the Ciceronian rhetorical strategies that Pietro Bembo was championing for literature.³⁴ Many sixteenth-century writers, in fact, saw it the same way, which Kirkendale documents thoroughly and persuasively. Briefly, the fantasia or *ricercar* as transmitted in the Petrucci prints, which often functioned as a prelude to another piece, was likened by writers to the prologue of Aristotelian rhetoric—as something that prepares for what

30 See Mengozzi (1990).

31 The performance is discussed in A. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512–1537* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 122–7.

32 See Sherr (1984).

33 On the manuscript circulation of madrigals in Florence, see I. Fenlon and J. Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988), 163–5.

34 W. Kirkendale, "Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach," *JAMS* 32 (1979): 1–44.

follows, as in the beginning of the oration.³⁵ This evolved into the imitative fantasia, which was developed in connection with Bembo's Ciceronian revival (albeit a "revival" that had seen its beginnings already with Petrarch). In this stage, the Aristotelian "prologue" has become a much shorter "exordium," no longer improvised and rhapsodic, but formally structured, thematically integrated, and premeditated.³⁶ From Kirkendale's impressive and well-documented study, what emerges with respect to the history of the fantasia is the following:³⁷ (1) During Francesco's service under Clement VII, the lute fantasia developed from a functional, preludial (and postludial) work written to be played in conjunction with other pieces, to an *autonomous* work, an *artistic creation*, that is formally conceived along the lines of rhetoric. This is the style of the 1536 fantasias, many of which were written during Francesco's period of employment under the Medici popes; and (2) Many of Francesco's fantasias are probably based on vocal models, placing the composer's works within the larger aesthetic context of *imitatio*. In short, rather than seeing Francesco's surviving corpus as motivated by autonomous compositional choices, we can understand it in the light of the musical aesthetic projected by his Medici patrons.

Francesco da Milano's Musical Choices

Table 15.2, below, lists all of Francesco's intabulations of vocal works, not just those from 1536. Almost all of these arrangements are either based on exact vocal models or at the very least are by the same composers that are represented in the repertory of the papal chapel during the first half of the sixteenth century. Turning first to the motets, Francesco's setting of Compère's *O Bone Jesu* represents the style of the slightly older generation, but it reflects a composer who was probably in Rome around 1495—just before Francesco's birth—and whose music remained in the chapel repertory, reflecting its antiquarian taste which persisted through the first half of the sixteenth century.³⁸ The work was published in 1519, which was probably the source of the model used by Francesco to make his intabulation and this allows us to date the arrangement to his period of employment under Leo X.

The music of Josquin des Prez, which was well known in Rome and especially in the papal chapel, was arranged by lutenists more often than that of any other composer. Not surprisingly, the model for Francesco's intense arrangement of Josquin's *Pater Noster/Ave Maria*, is found in Cappella Sistina 55, a source that contains the

35 Kirkendale (1979): 4.

36 Kirkendale (1979): 13–21.

37 Kirkendale (1979), 17, n. 89) incorrectly identifies Pope Leo X's prized lutenist Gian Maria Giudeo as Giovanni Maria da Crema, a lutenist of a later generation. On Gian Maria Giudeo, see A. Cummings, "Gian Maria Giudeo, Sonatore del Liuto, and the Medici," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 38 (1991): 312–17; see also H. C. Slim, "Gian and Gian Maria, Some Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Namesakes," *The Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971): 562–74.

38 On the sustaining of older repertories at the papal chapel and their canonization, see J. Dean, "The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel: The Importance of Old Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. R. Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 138–66.

Table 15.2: Vocal Models Arranged (intabulated) for Lute by Francesco da Milano

MOTETS	
108a	<i>Pater noster a sei</i> (Josquin des Prez)
108b	<i>Ave Maria a sei</i> (Josquin)
109	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> (Josquin)
111	<i>O bone Jesu</i> (Loyset Compère)
FRENCH CHANSONS	
96	<i>Mon per si ma marie</i>
97	<i>Le plus gorgais du monde</i>
98	<i>Chi voleno dir de moy [Si j'ay perdu mon amy]</i> (Josquin)
99	<i>Tu discois que je mourroye</i>
100	<i>Fors seulement</i> (Antoine de Févin)
101	<i>Nos bergeres</i>
102	<i>Quand j'estoie à marier</i> (Adrian Willaert)
103	<i>Se la natura en la diversité</i>
104	<i>Gentil galans</i>
105	<i>Resionit [Rejouissez vous bourgeoises]</i> (Jean Mouton)
106	<i>Las je me plains</i> (Claudin de Sermisy)
107	<i>Pour quoy alles vous seulette</i>
110a	<i>La Bataglia</i> (Clément Janequin)
110b	<i>La Bataglia francese</i> (Janequin)
111	<i>Reveillez moi</i> (Garnier)
112	<i>Pour avoir paix</i> (Francesco de Layolle)
113	<i>Hors envieulx retires vous</i> (Nicolas Gombert)
114	<i>Sur toute fleurs jayme la margarite</i>
115	<i>Pourtant si je suis brunette</i> (Sermisy)
116	<i>Fortune alors</i> (Pierre Certon)
118	<i>Martin menuyt</i> (Sermisy)
119	<i>Martin menoît</i> (Janequin)
120	<i>Le chant des oiseaux</i> (Janequin)
121	<i>De mon triste desplaisir</i> (Jean Richafort)
124	<i>Vignon vignetta</i> (Sermisy)
ITALIAN MADRIGALS	
122	<i>Quanta belta</i> (Jacques Arcadelt)
123	<i>Quando'il penso al martire</i> (Arcadelt)

arms of Clement VII and that was copied during Clement's reign.³⁹ Similarly, the model for the intabulation of Josquin's *Stabat Mater* can be found in Cappella Giulia XII.4, dated 1536 (94v–98r), and copied substantially by the prolific Vatican scribe Johannes Parvus, as well as in Florentine sources.⁴⁰

If Francesco's setting of music by Josquin is to be expected in view of the strong presence of his music in the Vatican choir repertories, the way in which Francesco treated a Josquin model is not standard at all. Referring to Example 15.1a–b, in the intabulation entitled in 1536 *Chi voleno dire de moy*, Francesco seizes upon the last line of the Josquin chanson *Si j'ay perdu mon amy*, which contains the refrain "Qu'en voules vous dire de moy," and freely adapts his piece around this literal quote of the chanson.⁴¹ This unorthodox, highly independent manner of treating borrowed material blurs the distinction between the intabulation, which is usually more respectful to the model, and the fantasia, resulting in the kind of diverse, hybrid genre that is part of the ingenuity of approaches that scholars have observed in the production of young artists during the Clementine period.⁴²



Example 15.1a: Josquin des Prez, *Si j'ay perdu mon amy* (refrain)

Example 15.1b: Francesco da Milano: *Chi voleno dire de moy* [*Que voulez vous dire de moy*]

39 BAV, Capp. Sist. 55. Cummings has suggested that the manuscript may indicate the kind of repertory sung by the papal choir that Pope Clement VII brought to Bologna for the coronation of Charles V. See Cummings (1992), 130–31. See also Richard Sherr's contribution to this volume.

40 See M. Brauner, "The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535 to 1580," Ph.D. diss. (Brandeis University, 1982), 61–92.

41 This work appeared in a very popular edition published by Andrea Antico in 1536, so the work was current insofar as Francesco was concerned. It also appears in BNCF, Magl. XIX 164–167.

42 See the contribution in this volume by Linda Wolk-Simon.

Of course, the bulk of Francesco's intabulations derived from French chansons—25 out of 31 pieces—provides the clearest examples of the noble Florentine taste that was adopted under the Medici popes. Many of the chansons listed in Table 15.2 were copied into Florentine manuscripts during this period, such as *Nos bergiers* (Florence, BNCF, Magl. XIX 117, dated 1510–15,⁴³ *Si j'ay perdu mon amy* (BNCF, Magl. XIX 164–167), a chansonnier from the 1520s that was probably prepared for a noble Florentine family, and *Gentil galans*, which appears in both BNCF, Magl. XIX 164–167, and in a manuscript that has strong ties to Clement in *minoribus*. Or, the models of Francesco's intabulations are by composers who were well known in Florence and at the papal court. Antoine de Févin (*Fors seulement*), is represented throughout BNCF, Magl. XIX 117, and a work of his is found in one of the manuscripts prepared for Cardinal Giulio.⁴⁴ Adrian Willaert's (*Quand j'estoie a marier*) presence in Rome can be established shortly after 1516, while Clément Jannequin's *Chant des oyseaux* was published in Rome in 1530 and 1534, and his music was cultivated in Roman circles.⁴⁵ Jean Richafort's music was sung in the papal court and the composer received a benefice from Pope Leo X in 1516.⁴⁶ The high esteem in which Richafort was held by the Medici is perhaps the motivation behind one of Francesco's most unique works, his Fantasia 36 "De mon triste," published first in 1547. The work uses as its model Richafort's chanson *De mon triste et desplaisir*, which Francesco also arranged as an intabulation. If the intabulation differs from Richafort's vocal model only in details, the fantasia parodies the chanson extensively, effectively drawing only on parts of the model at the beginning of the work, substituting new motives for Richafort's existing material, and in the end using Richafort's piece as a point of departure towards the creation of an entirely new creation.⁴⁷ As a work that pays homage to Richafort through imitation, but is nevertheless a new composition, Francesco's *Fantasia* [sopra] *De mon triste* falls within the parameters of emulation and imitation theory that characterizes the Ciceronian revival, and which has been applied to the study of instrumental music by both Warren Kirkendale and Howard Mayer Brown.⁴⁸

43 On the dating of BNCF, Magl. XIX 117, see L. Bernstein "La Couronne et fleur des chansons a troys: A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano," *JAMS* 26 (1973): 14, n. 36. For a complete study of BNCF Magl. XIX 117, see L. Bernstein, "A Florentine Chansonnier of the Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX 117," *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 1–108. The provenance and context of BNCF, Magl. XIX 164–167 is discussed in the introduction to the facsimile of the manuscript by H. Brown, ed. *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MSS Magl. XIX, 164–167* (New York: Garland, 1987). On manuscripts copied for Clement, see Cummings (1991a).

44 Févin's music was part of the French tradition cultivated by Leo X, and his music follows the same patterns of transmission from the French court chapel to the papal court. On Giulio's manuscripts, see Cummings (1991a), 75–9.

45 Bernstein (1973): 17.

46 See "Richafort, Jean," in *TNG*, 2nd ed., 21:330.

47 This discussion is indebted, in part, to the excellent analysis in Mengozzi (1990): 9–11.

48 In addition to Kirkendale (1979), see H. Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *JAMS* 35 (1982): 1–48.

The Tuscanization of Francesco da Milano

I will now turn to the "Tuscanization" of Francesco's music and the composer's reception, which I believe was initiated as a result of the excellent relations he enjoyed with the Medici popes. In a recent article, I have examined the particularly strong Florentine transmission of Francesco's work and the manner in which the composer's musical reputation was memorialized by these sources after his death.⁴⁹ I was struck by the insularity of these sources, all manuscripts, and believe now that this Florentine tradition has further implications for the present study. With the strengthening of artistic bonds between Florence and Rome during the pontificates of Leo X and Clement VII, direct and exclusive lines of cultural transmission were established and nurtured.⁵⁰ The main sixteenth-century manuscript sources of Francesco's music are all Florentine—or at least Tuscan—and some of these contain works attributed to Francesco that appear nowhere else (Table 15.3). This suggests that some of Francesco's music circulated privately through Medicean and other Florentine channels, similar to the way in which Arcadelt's earliest madrigals were transmitted within Strozzi and Cavalcanti circles years before they were published.⁵¹

The Cavalcanti manuscript (1) and the Siena lute book (2), both compiled decades after Francesco's death, contain several unique works.⁵² The Siena lute book, in fact, has been considered as one of the central sources of Francesco's music despite its late date (around 1580–90), and it was used for several of the readings published in Francesco's complete edition.⁵³ It has been suggested that the manuscript was compiled by members of the Medici family, possibly to be used during their frequent

Table 15.3: Florentine Sources of Francesco's Music

1	Brussels, Bibl. Royale de Belgique, M. II.275 ("Cavalcanti")
2	The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, Ms. M28.B 39 ("Siena")
3	Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library, Ms. II. C23
4	Vincenzo Galilei, <i>Intavolature de lauto di Vincenzo Galilei Fiorentino...</i> (Venice, 1563)
5	Florence, BNCF Magl. XIX, 109
6	Florence, BNCF Magl. XIX, 168

49 Coelho (1996).

50 See Cummings (1981). On the artistic ties between Florence and Rome, see Chastel (1983), chap. 5 and Reiss (1992), esp. chap. 10 and 615–16.

51 See R. Agee, "Ruberto Strozzi and the Early History of the Madrigal," *JAMS* 36 (1983): 1–17.

52 On the Cavalcanti lute book, see Coelho (1996); V. Coelho, "Raffaello Cavalcanti's Lute Book (1590) and the Ideal of Singing and Playing," in Vaccaro, ed. (1995), 423–42; see also R. Falkenstein, "The Late Sixteenth-Century Repertory of Florentine Lute Song," Ph.D. diss. (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1997), 101–52. Documentary information about Cavalcanti and his family within the context of his performance activities is given in V. Coelho, "The Players of Florentine Monody in Context and in History, and a Newly Recognized Source for *Le Nuove Musiche*," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* (2003), accessible online at <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Coelho.html>.

53 See note 10.

summer excursions to the cooler hills of Siena.⁵⁴ The manuscript also contains previously unpublished works by Francesco's above-mentioned Florentine student, the papal lutenist Perino Fiorentino degli Organi, which supports the close connections among Francesco, the papal court, and this Tuscan manuscript. One of the most interesting aspects about the fantasias contained in the manuscript is that several of them are derived from subjects taken from Francesco's works, while others can be grouped into "pairs," in that they are based on the same musical material.⁵⁵ This shows that Francesco's works continue to be used as sources for new compositions in the last decades of the sixteenth century in manuscripts of Tuscan provenance, effectively continuing a Florentine tradition of his music.

Similarly, the Cavalcanti lute book, compiled in 1590 by 15-year-old Raffaello Cavalcanti—whose family had supported Medici interests for centuries—contains several unique pieces by Francesco da Milano (whose authenticity, however, I have questioned) as well as other works that also point to an active, private network of musical transmission between Rome and Florence.⁵⁶ The Haslemere manuscript (3) brings these connections even closer. It contains the Medici *palle* on the title page and was once owned by the Torrigiani family of Florence, which had important connections to the grand-ducal line.⁵⁷ Containing several works by Francesco, this manuscript, like the Siena Lute Book, testifies to a strong Medici predilection for Francesco's work. This tradition is confirmed in the preface to Vincenzo Galilei's first book of lute music of 1563 (4), dedicated to Alessandro de' Medici, nephew of the Alessandro who later (and only briefly) became Pope Leo XI in 1605. The impecunious Galilei, a Florentine, first thanks Alessandro's father Bernadetto for various favors, which he is repaying by dedicating this book to his son. Galilei continues by stating that he has "added some ricercars by the insufficiently praised [!] M. Francesco da Milano" in this volume, most probably in order to give Alessandro a particular gift of six new works by Francesco (Fantasias 68–73 in the Ness edition).⁵⁸ The works, however, might be fakes; they borrow not only motives from Francesco, but they also quote verbatim large chunks of his music, suggesting that the pieces may have been woven by Vincenzo Galilei himself, using only a few threads by Francesco. It is clear that this father of Galileo understood the special significance of Francesco's music, particularly the "unknown" Francesco, to a member of the Medici family. Galilei's dedication is yet another confirmation of an important cultivation of Francesco da Milano's music that was sustained by the Medici, similar to

54 I am grateful to Dinko Fabris for communicating this idea to me.

55 See Coelho (1996): 68–70.

56 On the authenticity and possible misattribution of Francesco's works in the Cavalcanti Lute Book, see Coelho (1996).

57 The manuscript's Florentine provenance and acquisition history are discussed in D. Fabris, "Une extension du Manuscrit de Sienne (c. 1590) à Haslemere (GB): hommage à Bob Spencer," in Dugot ed. (1999), 113–20.

58 From the dedication: "quanto io per tale effetto vi ho aggiunto certe Ricerche del non mai abastanza lodato M. Francesco da Milano. Pregovi dunq; ad accettarlo con lieto animo, & come ostaggio de molti oblighi miei ritenerlo presso di voi, promettendovi intavolato, se questo no vi sara discaro, il primo libro de Madrigali di Cipriano a quattro voci...."

their patronage of the works of Verdelot, which was initiated during the time of the Medici popes and eventually canonized as part of the Medici artistic legacy.⁵⁹

* * *

I have approached the question of Francesco's connection to the aesthetic program of Clement VII in three ways. The first seeks to understand the evolution of the *fantasia* in Francesco's hands from a *functional* genre to a creation of artistry and virtuosity that relates to the particular artistic and literary patronage of Pope Clement VII. The second, source-based approach establishes both a Clementine provenance and an aesthetic predilection for the vocal models Francesco used in making his intabulations. The third approach shows how the strong and insular Florentine transmission of Francesco da Milano's work was founded at the court of the Medici popes and sustained in Florentine manuscripts in recognition of this status. All three lines of inquiry reveal how distinct papal tastes and dynastic aspirations could influence instrumental styles and genres, and they offer a methodology for how Francesco's music can be understood as part of the larger context of Clementine aesthetics of the 1520s and 30s.

59 For a detailed study of Galilei's 1563 book, see H. Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome: His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context," in *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, ed. V. Coelho (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), 153–75.



Figure 15.1: Anonymous, Portrait of the Lutenist Francesco Canova da Milano, seventeenth-century copy (?) of a sixteenth-century original, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

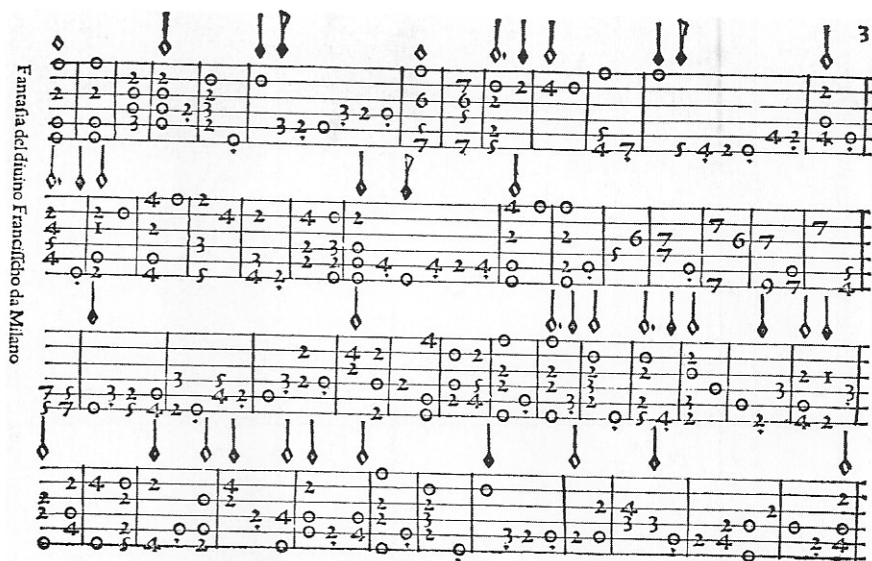


Figure 15.2: Giovanni Antonio Casteliono, *Intabolatura de Leuto de diversi autori* (Milan, 1536), f.3.



Figure 15.3: Giovanni Antonio Casteliono, *Intabolatura de Leuto de diversi autori* (Milan, 1536), frontispiece.