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Author(s): Victor Coelho

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THE REPUTATION OF FRANCESCO DA MILANO (1497-1543) AND THE RICERCARS IN THE *CAVALCANTI LUTE BOOK*

VICTOR COELHO
(University of Calgary, Alberta)

How was a reputation formed during the Renaissance, and what were the modes by which it was sustained, enhanced, re-invented, or dissolved after a composer's death? Which works of a composer were known by later generations, and which pieces were thought to be most representative, or relevant to their age? Having identified this repertory, how accurately were these works transmitted, and by what means – print, treatise, personal manuscript, or retrospective anthology? For each of these formats projects a different cultural aesthetic onto the composer and reveals how his repertory was used. Finally, what kinds of revisionism can take place during the evolution of a reputation, and how does one arbitrate discrepancies between the authenticated facts of a composer's life as we know them today, and the mythical reputation of a composer that was constructed by writers just after his death, for both our and their 'histories' are equally valid.⁽¹⁾

The distinction between *biography* and *reputation* is particularly crucial in this case. Biography rests on verifiable facts, records, and the ideology of the biographer; reputations, on the other hand, are creations of history, generational change, and changing aesthetics. They are the result of shifting historical patterns and evolving taste, as well as the process of revival. The responsibility for sustaining a reputation is borne by successive generations according to their own cultural needs for doing so. Enshrinement, re-invention, and revisionism are all dynamics at work in posthumous reputations. Therefore, a study of how reputations are formed can tell us much about generational change, canon-formation, and the emergence of a historicism. In short, reputations are built not simply by exposure and longevity, but by the *manner* in which a composer's work is exposed, and by the modes and reasons by which successive generations choose to remember or re-create the past. In this study I propose to confront these questions by focusing on a particular manuscript tradition involving the transmission of works by the great *cinquecento* lutenist

⁽¹⁾ On the topic of the changing histories of a musical work, the process of renewal, and the problem of the concept of 'authenticity,' see Wim VAN DOOREN, "General Problems of Authenticity in the Context of Renaissance Philosophy," in Willem ELDERS (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986* (Utrecht, Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), pp. 15-23, to which this discussion is indebted.

Francesco da Milano, and my conclusions will point, I hope, to some interesting connections between authenticity in authorship and posthumous reputation.⁽²⁾

My questions along these lines were first raised by problems of attribution I encountered while working on the so-called "Cavalcanti Lute Book" (hereinafter, *Cavalcanti*), a large manuscript dated 1590 located in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Ms II 275, containing solo lute music and vocal music with lute accompaniment. Although *Cavalcanti* is the largest and most comprehensive anthology of Italian lute music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its repertory of almost 250 pieces remains virtually ignored outside a small handful of studies.⁽³⁾ This is unfortunate, since *Cavalcanti* is an important point of reference in the history of Italian music that offers a bifocal perspective on the music of both past and future. It contains *ricercars* and dances composed prior to 1590 that were still current as the sixteenth century drew to a close, as well as works contemporary with the manuscript that appear in sources of many decades later. Moreover, the manuscript is one of the most important collections of accompanied secular song of the late sixteenth century and it reveals musical procedures that can now be seen as embryonic in the evolution of seventeenth-century solo song and monody. *Cavalcanti* allows us to see the styles of lute music and their composers from the earlier part of the sixteenth century that were still in vogue and why these pieces were sustained in the repertory.

The authority of the manuscript as a marker of both current and transitional musical styles is supported by its origins, provenance, and repertory. All evidence points to a Florentine pedigree and its owner and probable copyist is Raffaello Cavalcanti, a young member of a centuries-old Florentine family. Bound in plush

(2) The study of reputations resonates to some degree with problems confronted in the area of *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, though I am concerned here less with the *reception* of Renaissance music than I am with issues related to its *transmission*. Moreover, where reception history has concerned itself traditionally with music that crosses different epochs and/or cultures – the reception of Frescobaldi north of the Alps or the Mendelssohn and Schubert revival in Victorian England, for example – I am interested more in how and why reputations bear up, evolve, or decline in the generation immediately following that of the composer – the period that precedes revival. For one study of reception history that is appropriate to this discussion, see Friedrich W. RIEDEL, "The Influence and Tradition of Frescobaldi's Works in the Transalpine Countries," in Alexander SILBIGER (ed.), *Frescobaldi Studies* (Durham, Duke University, 1987), pp. 218-232.

The issue of reputations is also recognized by studies of self-fashioning in the Renaissance, in which, for example, cryptic codes of patronage strategies and the manipulation of court culture are used towards re-inventing and renegotiating existing codes of persona to fashion a new type of identity. Here, the identities of self-worth, self-consciousness and the making of a reputation are advanced by the composers/courtiers themselves (see, for example, Mario BIAGIOLI, *Galileo: Courtier* [Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993], pp. 11-101). What I am attempting to describe here, however, is practically a deconstruction of self-fashioning, insofar as it relates to a composer's reputation that is based on works of questionable authenticity and that are moreover stylistically incongruous to the composer's sanctioned corpus of works.

(3) See Victor COELHO, "Raffaello Cavalcanti's Lutebook (1590) and the Ideal of Singing and Playing," in Jean-Michel VACCARO (ed.), *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance* (Paris, C.N.R.S., 1995), pp. 423-442. For a summary of the vocal music in the manuscript as well as an inventory and some transcriptions, see Leslie CHAPMAN HUBBELL, *Sixteenth-Century Songs for Solo Voice and Lute*, 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1982, pp. 461-495.

green velvet bindings with raised velour patterns of flowers and silk clasps, the manuscript was no doubt the property of a nobleman – one with an inside track to rare, unpublished music of a distinct Florentine flavor. Included are arrangements of madrigals by Cristofano Malvezzi⁽⁴⁾ and Alessandro Striggio, as well as by "Cavalier Antinori,"⁽⁵⁾ from the wine-producing family whose chapel was next to that of the Cavalcanti. There are also some close connections between the Cavalcanti lutebook and one of the most important musicians in Florence at that time, Vincenzo Galilei, that warrant more serious investigation. *Cavalcanti* contains vocal works with lute accompaniment in which the song texts are sung to the bass voice of the lute tablature, a practice that was first described by Galilei and revealed in several manuscripts.⁽⁶⁾

Most importantly, *Cavalcanti* and Galilei's first book of lute music, the *Intavolature di lauto* (Rome, 1563), contain between them fourteen unique fantasias or ricercars (I use the term equally) that are attributed to Francesco da Milano – six in Galilei's book and eight in *Cavalcanti*.⁽⁷⁾ These works do not appear in any other source. They are known to us only posthumously, and are transmitted in these sources that have no traceable ancestry to their alleged author. The works were nevertheless accepted as authentic by Ness and they appear in his edition of Francesco's lute music.⁽⁸⁾ But a close study of these fantasias reveals such stylistic incongruities with Francesco's authenticated output that their attribution to the lutenist cannot be accepted without a legitimate challenge. Most of them are far too long and their dense textures are totally unlike Francesco's printed work. The fantasias develop sequences to the point of tedium and cadential points are too infrequent; the idiomatic play, which is one of the most consistent and characteristic qualities of Francesco, is contorted, static, and awkward, and the development of subjects in most of the fantasias is perfunctory. Many fingerings (tablature, of course, shows hand position) have no precedent in Francesco's authenticated work, and the large-scale repetition found in Fantasia 77 is a formal anomaly in Francesco's fantasias. Several of the fantasias contain quotes of earlier pieces by

⁽⁴⁾ *Occhi miei che vedeste*, f. 74v.

⁽⁵⁾ *Empio cor cruda voglia*, f. 52.

⁽⁶⁾ See COELHO, "Raffaello Cavalcanti's Lutebook," pp. 429-431; also Claude PALISCA, "Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Solo Lute," in Gustave REESE and Robert J. SNOW (eds), *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 207-232.

⁽⁷⁾ For the contents of Galilei's lute book, see Howard Mayer BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge Mass., Cambridge University Press, 1965), 1563-7. An excellent study of the repertory contained in this book is Howard Mayer BROWN, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome: His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context," in Victor COELHO (ed.), *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, (Dordrecht - Boston, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), pp. 153-184. For a study of the 1563 print within the context of Galilei's *Fronimo*, see Philippe CANGUILHEM, *Les deux éditions de Fronimo (1568 et 1584) et la place du luth dans la pensée musicale de Vincenzo Galilei*, Doctoral Thesis, Université François Rabelais, Tours (1994), pp. 213-218.

⁽⁸⁾ Arthur J. NESS (ed.), *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543)*, (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1970; "Harvard Publications in Music," 3-4), see nos. 68-73 (Galilei) and 74-81 (Cavalcanti).

Francesco, which suggests the presence of parody or pastiche technique. Finally, the strongly Florentine repertory contained in *Cavalcanti* betrays the influence of Vincenzo Galilei whose first printed lutebook of 1563 also contained six previously unknown fantasias attributed to Francesco da Milano, all of them *unica*.⁽⁹⁾ It is surprising that no one has ever questioned why (or how) some twenty years after Francesco's death, six new and unique fantasias appeared at the end of a book by Galilei, and almost thirty years later another eight fantasias, most of them also unique, appear in a Florentine manuscript, one with possible ties to Galilei.

On the other hand, these works are not entirely devoid of Francesco's influence. Some of them contain literal quotations from his fantasias or else evoke the formal or motivic 'hooks' that are characteristic of his style. One possibility is that these pieces could be reworkings or pastiches of Francesco's fantasias, which by the time of *Cavalcanti* came to be attributed as authentic, or at best *acceptable* Francesco. And it is with this question that we come to the heart of the problem: if scholarship today, even with its secure bibliographic control over the sources, has accepted the attribution of the Galilei and *Cavalcanti* ricercars to Francesco, it is certain that a sixteenth-century amateur lutenist like Raffaello Cavalcanti would have done the same. Text-critical analysis and the concept of authenticity in sources were not crucial issues for a sixteenth-century lutenist, given the enormous variation that can and did appear between concordant versions of the same piece. Lute music, more than any other musical repertory of the Renaissance, was subject to quite substantial textual variation, and there are many pieces even by composers like Francesco or Dowland for which there is no fixed version or *Urtext* at all. This is particularly true during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the printed tradition of lute music began to experience its decline, and the transmission of Francesco's music was dependent on the often-unscrupulous manuscript tradition, the skill of copyists, who were often students, and their personal choices. In short, even though the *Cavalcanti* fantasias may well be reworkings, pastiches, or tropes of fantasias by Francesco, they may have still counted, in the eyes of the copyist, as authentic works, or at the very least as legitimate compositions in the category of *Fantasia*. Flexibility and transformation could be accepted as part of the lute tradition and did not necessarily conflict with established authorship or the integrity of the original.

Through some important recent work, we are coming to realize that the fantasia during the Renaissance is better understood as a *process* rather than a *genre*, and the variant readings that appear in concordant versions of a single piece are reflective of this process. As John Griffiths has remarked:

⁽⁹⁾ It is true that the bulk of the music in Galilei's 1563 lutebook is heavily influenced by Roman traditions, as noted by BROWN ("Vincenzo Galilei"), but Galilei's large manuscript anthology *Florence 1584* is distinctly Florentine in conception, and two works of particularly Florentine flavor, a set of variations *Sopra l'aria del Gazzella* (p. 120) and *Viva Don Giovanni* (p. 255, known alternatively as *A caso un giorno*) also appear in *Cavalcanti* (f. 30 and f. 11, respectively). *Florence 1584* is reproduced in facsimile as *Vincenzo Galilei: Libro d'intavolatura di Lauto, Firenze 1584*, ed. Orlando CRISTOFORETTI (Florence, Studio per Edizione Scelte, 1992).

As music, fantasia is a living organism, ephemeral and amorphous; it is a cellular substance shaped into matter by its creators, reconstituted — perhaps even reincarnated in each successive performance, but always remaining malleable, always adaptable and able to change its physiognomy in response to new conditions, personalities and environments.⁽¹⁰⁾

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 of 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 generational relevance, and, consequently, the making of reputations.

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* *

Francesco Canova da Milano was born in Monza (outside of Milano) in 1497.⁽¹¹⁾ His father Benedetto, a musician, owned significant property, which testifies to a steady income, and also founded a corporation that produced gold and silver thread. All of the Canova sons were active as musicians, a profession that was promoted by their father as a way of advancing through professional and social ranks. We know little of Francesco's early training in music, and there is no foundation to Gaurico's claim that he studied the lute with Giovanni Testagrossa (1470-1530), the lutenist to Isabella d'Este in Mantua.⁽¹²⁾ Following Francesco's entrance into professional service, his life becomes much better known. He was lutenist to three successive popes, Leo X (1513-21), the austere Adrian VI (1521-23), and Clement VII until the sack of Rome in 1527, after which Francesco returned to the north, living in Piacenza and working as organist at the Duomo of Milan.

Francesco is found back in Rome before 1535, where he served under Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici and was the teacher to Pope Paul III's grandson, Ottavio Farnese. In 1536, three prints devoted to his music appeared, constituting the only music of Francesco that was published during his lifetime. In 1538 he is listed as one of the musicians in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and in that year he travelled to Nice with Paul III for a meeting between Charles V and Francis I.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Introduction to Victor COELHO and John GRIFFITHS (eds), *Une fantaisie de la Renaissance: Compositional Process in the Renaissance Fantasia*, in *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, XXIII (1990), p. 3.

⁽¹¹⁾ The starting point for biographical information about Francesco is still H. Colin SLIM, "Francesco da Milano (1497-1543/44): A bio-bibliographical study," *Musica Disciplina*, XVIII (1964), pp. 63-84 and XIX (1965), pp. 109-128. Recent archival studies on Francesco have yielded fascinating new information, particularly on Francesco's family; see Franco PAVAN, "Francesco Canova and his Family in Milan: New Documents," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, XXIV (1991), pp. 1-14, and "Ex paupertate evasit: Francesco da Milano et sa famille," in VACCARO (ed.), *Le Concert des voix*, pp. 361-370. Pavan discusses all of the relevant documents about Francesco in *Francesco da Milano (1497-1543)*, unpublished thesis, Università degli Studi di Milano (1994).

⁽¹²⁾ This is mentioned in Luca Gaurico's horoscope for Testagrossa, contained in the *Tractatus*; see SLIM, pp. 65-66.

Francesco returned again to Rome in 1539 where he remained in the service of Paul III, presumably until his death in 1543. Francesco was survived by his father, who erected a tombstone for him at the church of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan.

The excellent relations he enjoyed with four papal families, combined with the praise given to him in writings of the day, testify to Francesco's fame in his own time and his mastery in playing the lute. Gaurico placed him among the usual mythical Gods of music, Orpheus and Apollo, while Pietro Aretino mentioned that Francesco, along with the lutenists Alberto da Ripa and Marco dall'Aquila, "took pleasure in listening to the strummings of a barber's lute" – a comment that suggests Francesco's interest in hearing popular, perhaps even street music. Calagius in 1543 mentioned that Francesco was "a most excellent musician on every kind of instrument." The account of Francesco that seems to have served as the basis for many others is the horoscope written by the Milanese physician, mathematician, and astrologer Girolamo Cardono, published in Nuremberg in 1543. One of the most informative and unembellished of all of the accounts, Cardono's horoscope referred to Francesco as one of

...our fellow townsmen. He was such a famous musician on the lute that he was dear even to many princes as well as to the pontiffs Leo, Clement, and Paul. He gained the admiration of everyone, surpassing musicians not only of his own age but those of preceding times. He was a man who taught that [theoretical] speculation could be exceeded by an artist's skill. Having been enriched by many gifts, he escaped from poverty...⁽¹³⁾

Many of these characteristics, which were reiterated in other accounts about Francesco, are incorporated in the most well-known of the two surviving portraits thought to represent the lutenist. Located in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, the portrait reproduced as Plate 1 is an accurate indication of Francesco's reputation during his lifetime.⁽¹⁴⁾ The inclusion of a flute and a bowed string instrument (only the scroll is visible to the sitter's lower left), confirms the statements by Gaurico (*Tractatus astrologicus*, 1552) and Calagius (*Natales illustrium...*, 1609) that Francesco was competent on many different instruments;⁽¹⁵⁾ Bartoli and Florimonte mention specifically that Francesco played the lute and the viola – though it is not clear whether the latter suggests a viola *da gamba* or *di mano*. The cantus part-book on the table in front of Francesco is open to Arcadelt's *Quando pens'al martire*, published in 1539 but circulating in Florentine manuscripts in the early 1530s.⁽¹⁶⁾ Francesco's intabulation of this madrigal was published after his death, in 1547.⁽¹⁷⁾

⁽¹³⁾ Quoted in SLIM, p. 64.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Since the portrait identifies the sitter only as "Franc^o del liuto," there can be no absolutely definite identification of the lutenist as Francesco da Milano, though the possibility of this being someone else is remote.

⁽¹⁵⁾ See SLIM, p. 67.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See Iain FENLON and James HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 163-165.

⁽¹⁷⁾ See BROWN, *Instrumental Music*, 1547₂.



Plate 1: *Franc[esc]o [da Milano] del liuto*
(Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana)

Both Antonfrancesco Doni (1544) and Ringhieri (1551)⁽¹⁸⁾ placed Francesco alongside Arcadelt as deserving of the same praise, and the inclusion of the Arcadelt

⁽¹⁸⁾ SLIM, p. 77.

madrigal, specifically one that sets a text of Pietro Bembo, serves to show Francesco as a consummate musician, equal in stature to a composer of vocal music.

If these accounts, some of them contemporaneous with Francesco, provide specific information about biography, patronage, family, and position, they are devoid of actual eyewitness descriptions of his playing. For these, we must turn to the more numerous writings about Francesco that appeared after his death. As biography turned to posthumous reputation, Francesco's performances became 'miracles' that writers now claim to have witnessed.⁽¹⁹⁾ They begin to 'remember' occasions on which they heard him play, and as they canonize him the visions they recount test the limits of authenticity or reliability.

Writing in his *De musica* of 1577, Francesco Salinas remembered hearing Francesco in Rome improvising over a *gagliarda* tenor, which probably occurred between 1538 and 1543.⁽²⁰⁾ The most ornate description is the well-known account of Pontus de Tyard in his *Solitaire second* of 1555, in which Francesco's playing of a fantasia had the effect of taking his listeners through 'ecstatic transport' into a 'divine frenzy.' Employing a rich vocabulary of neo-platonic terminology, Tyard describes courtiers "sprawling with... limbs in careless deportment, with gaping mouth and more than half-closed eyes... and [one with] chin fallen on his breast" in reaction to Francesco's sublime playing. Though difficult to accept at face value, Tyard's comments contributed to the mythology of Francesco as it was being developed and re-fashioned in the years following his death towards the enshrinement of Francesco as a Classical master, much like Petrarch became for the poets.

In short, Francesco's reputation was not founded exclusively upon his living achievements, but evolved rather through various stages in the posthumous transmission of his fantasias, of which *Cavalcanti* is at the end. This chronology can be followed in Table 1, in which the four boxes constitute four phases in the evolution of Francesco's reputation as transmitted by the sources.

Table 1: Chronology of the main sources of Francesco's music

1) 1536: <i>Intabolatura di liuto de diversi... di M. Francesco da Milano</i> (Venice, Francesco Marcolini). Contains 35 compositions (18 <i>ricercars</i>) all by Francesco.
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⁽¹⁹⁾ Along similar lines, CNN reported, for example, that one million people now claim to have attended the Woodstock Festival in 1969, though precise estimates place the total number at a maximum of 300,000 for the duration of the three-day event.

⁽²⁰⁾ SLIM, p. 72.

2) 1536: *Intabolutura de leuto de diversi autori...* (Milan, Giovanni Antonio Casteliono). Contains 5 fantasias – one of debatable authorship – by Francesco, none of them concordant to no. 1, above.

3) 1536: *Intavolutura de Viola overo Lauto... composta per Io Eccelente e Unico Musico Francesco Milanese non mai più stampata...* [2 volumes] (Naples, Sulzbachius). Contains 22 + 33 compositions by Francesco, including many concordances between the two volumes, as well as several works that do not appear in nos. 1 and 2, above.

4) ca. 1536-40: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 429. Contains 28 ricercars by Francesco copied from no. 3.

5) 1546: *Intavolutura de Lauto di Francesco da Milano novamente ristampata...* (Venice, Antonio Gardane). Reprinted in 1556 and 1563 (with some additions).

6) 1546: *Intavolutura de Lauto di Francesco da Milano... Libro Secondo* (Venice, Antonio Gardane). Reprinted in 1561 and 1563.

7) 1546: *Intabolutura di Lauto del Divino Francesco da Milano et dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano...* (Venice, n.p.).

8) 1546: *Musica und Tabulatur, auff die Instrument der kleinen und grossen Geygen, auch Lauten...* (Nuremberg, Hieronymus Formschneider). Contains a single fantasia from no. 1 in German tablature.

9) 1547: *Intabolutura de Lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino...* (Venice, Antonio Gardane). Reprinted in 1562, 1563, 1566.

10) 1548: *Intavolutura di Lauto dell'eccellente Pietro Paolo Borrono da Milano...* (Venice, Geronimo Scotto). Reprinted later that year.

11) 1548: *Intabolutura de Lauto Libro Settimo. Recercari novi del Divino M. Francesco da Milano...* (Venice, Geronimo Scotto).

12) 1552, 1553, 1556 = reprints of previously published individual works and complete books.

13) 1559: *Intavolutura de Leuto de Ioanne Matelart Fiamengo Musico...* (Rome, Valerio Dorico). Contains a second lute part to several previously published fantasias by Francesco.

14) 1561, 1562, 1563 = reprints of earlier pieces and books.

15) 1563: *Intavolature de Lauto di Vincenzo Galilei Fiorentino / madrigali, e ricercate / Libro Primo* (Rome, Valerio Dorico). Contains 6 'new' ricercars attributed in the dedication to Francesco.

16) 1566: Reprint of no. 8.

17) 1568: Reprint of earlier pieces.

18) 1568: *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum...* (Louvain, Pierre Phalèse). Six ricercars by Francesco all taken from no. 1.

19) 1571: *Theatrum Musicum, longe Amplissimum...* (Louvain, Pierre Phalèse & Jean Bellère). As in previous entry.

20) 1586: *Intabolatura di lauto...* a lost volume of questionable date listed by Brown, *Instrumental Music...*, as [1586₃].

21) ca. 1575-1590: The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, Ms 28 B 39 (“Siena Lute Book”). Contains 28 concordances.

22) ca. 1575-1590: Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library, Ms II. C23 [in same hand as *Siena*]. Contains 3 concordances.

23) 1590: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Ms II 275 (“Cavalcanti Lute Book”). Contains 9 'new' ricercars and 6 concordances.

24) ca. 1590-1611: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Ms Mus 40.032. Contains 3 concordances.

25). 1601: Como, Biblioteca comunale, Ms 1.1.20. Contains 3 concordances.

Box 1 lists the three prints of Francesco’s music that appeared during the composer’s lifetime. They all appeared in 1536, during the period of Francesco’s service under Pope Paul III, and had a remarkable longevity, reappearing in prints of up to thirty years later. The so-called ‘Casteliono’ lute book (no. 2) is the first great Italian anthology of lute music, containing music by Francesco, as well as by Alberto da Ripa, Pietro Paolo Borrono and Marco dall’Aquila. Even though the majority of the pieces are by Borrono, the lutenist depicted in the woodcut on f. 1



Plate 2: *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori...*
(Milan, Giovanni Antonio Casteliono, 1536), f. 1.

of the book may well be Francesco (Plate 2), and the same case has been made about the lutenist depicted on the title page of Marcolini's 1536 print.⁽²¹⁾

The book listed as no. 3 was published by Sulzbachius of Naples between April and May 1536 as a two-volume set, thus making it exactly contemporaneous with nos. 1 and 2, both of which date from May of that year.⁽²²⁾ Several pieces appeared for the first time in this print, and it is also notable for the fact that the second volume was printed in 'Neapolitan' tablature, a rare type of Italian lute notation that employs the number 1 rather than 0 to designate the open string (the first fret is thus notated as '2' and so on). The Francesco pieces in *Paris 429* (no. 4) were copied directly from no. 3. This manuscript is of Bavarian provenance, and along with nos. 8, 18 and 19, testify to Francesco's growing reputation outside of Italy.⁽²³⁾ Thus, like many lutenists of the sixteenth century, such as Albert de Rippe, Francesco's works were much more widely disseminated after his death. Only three prints containing his music appeared during his lifetime. *Paris 429* is the only extant manuscript contemporary with Francesco in which his music appears, and even these pieces were copied directly from the Sulzbachius print of 1536.

The six items listed in the second box, nos. 5-11, appeared after the lutenist's death in 1543, and they constitute the high water mark of Francesco's publication history. As a result of these prints and their reissues over the next twenty years (nos. 12-14) Francesco came to represent the *Ars Perfecta* of lute music, and lutenists took his works to be the standard of excellence. There arose a need for more music by Francesco during this period, and this was no doubt one of the reasons behind the appearance of 'new' pieces after the 1560s. This trend was, in fact, anticipated by the print listed as no. 13 in Table 1, Matelart's *Intavolatura*, which created several new works by Francesco simply by providing a second lute part, a *contrapunto*, to five of his *ricercars*, turning them into lute duos. Taken together, these prints coincide with an emerging mythology of Francesco, as his reputation became subject to troping, reformulation, and ornamentation.

With these prints the entire corpus of Francesco's music was now apparently placed before the public, and following the appearance of no. 11, the *Libro Settimo* printed by Scotto in 1548, no new works of Francesco appear in any of the prints or reprints that followed in the next twenty years. Even no. 11 contributed only nine pieces (out of a total of twenty-five) that had not been printed before. Since the reprints nos. 12-14 and 16-20 transmitted only previously published works, it seems likely that Francesco's entire work had been published by 1548.

⁽²¹⁾ Reproduced in NESS, p. xxiii.

⁽²²⁾ This print was discovered only in 1968 and therefore does not appear in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, where it should appear as 1536. See Yves GIRAUD, "Deux livres de tablature inconnus de Francesco da Milano," *Revue de Musicologie*, LV (1969), pp. 216-217. A facsimile edition of this print has been published (Geneva, Minkoff, 1988).

⁽²³⁾ I have not included in this table the English sources of Francesco's music.

Thus, it is puzzling indeed as to how Vincenzo Galilei was able to include six previously unknown ricercars by Francesco in his first book of lute music of 1563 (see Box 3). It is curious that Francesco's name is not mentioned on the title page next to the word "ricercate" – after all, these are the only ricercars in the book – nor does it appear next to the pieces when they appear in the book, which is the standard practice of acknowledging works by other composers in Renaissance printed music. Raising more suspicion is that Francesco is the only composer whose name does *not* appear in the table of contents next to the works Galilei alleges are his. Whereas for every other work, all of them intabulations, the composer of the model is listed to the right of the title, a conspicuous blank space has been left where the author of the six ricercars should appear (see Plate 3). Instead, one finds Francesco's name mentioned only once: in the dedication to the book Galilei wrote from Pisa addressed to Alessandro de' Medici. After thanking Alessandro's father

**TAVOLA DE' LII MADRIGALLI
NUMERO. XXVIII.**

Abi bella liberata a	4	Di Alessandro Romano	1	Ni mi lovedolida a	4	Di Alessandro Romano	3
Abi chi mi da Consiglio a	4	Di Alessandro Romano	7	O fiamma iniqua a	4	Di Vincenzo Galilei	17
Alcun non può saper a	4	Vincenzo Galilei	17	Per mi cambia a	4	Di Alessandro Romano	4
Baciami Vita mia a	4	Del Ferabosco	9	Quante volte di' a	5	Di Arcadelt	21
Chare fresche del. acq. a	5	Di Arcadelt	15	Quelle lagrime a	4	Di Vincenzo Galilei	31
Con bairu fin' a mor a	4	Di Vincenzio Ruffo	6	Segli e per mio desio a	4	Di Arcadelt	32
Cosi nel mio Cantar a	4	Di Vincenzo Galilei	38	Siguer mio Caro a	4	Di Vincenzo Galilei	41
Da bei Remi ferudo a	4	Di Arcadelt	21	Tate oltre del forte a	3	Di Arcadelt	19
Da poi che far' il Oci a	5	Di Vincenzio Galilei	32	Vu' piu godere Amor a	3	Di Vincenzo Galilei	11
Deh non fuggir a	4	Di Hippolito Cera	15	Edio torna a	4	Di Vincenzo Galilei	43
Doue tocca Costei a	4	Di Giouan Nafco	30	Tavola delle Ricercate Numero 6.			
Gl'occhi i uagbero all' hor a	4	Di Alessandro Romano	5	Ricercate prima			44
Giuro m' ba Amor a	4	Di Orlando di Lasso	39	Ricercate seconda			46
Io mi fea Gioiuetta a	4	Del Ferabosco	34	Ricercate Terza			47
Mordimi questa lingua a	4	Di Giouanni del Carotolo	12	Ricercate Quarta			48
Nafce la Gosa mia a	4	Di Giouan Nafco	28	Ricercate quinta			49
Nella pin Verde pioggia a	4	Di Hippolito Cera	40	Ricercate sesta			50

Plate 3: *Intavolature de Lauto di Vincenzo Galilei* (Rome, Valerio Dorico, 1563), table of contents

Bernadetto for various favors, which, for lack of money, he is repaying by dedicating this book to Alessandro, Galilei states that he has "added some ricercars by the insufficiently praised M. Francesco da Milano" in this volume, perhaps as a way of using Francesco's reputation to inflate the value of the print, or to give Alessandro certain pleasure. Vincenzo was certainly aware of Francesco's continuing influence and reputation, which in the 1560s reached a high point in terms of the amount of Francesco's music that was made available in new editions (see Table

1). Galilei then promises Alessandro that he will publish intabulations of Rore's first book of madrigals, a promise left unfulfilled.⁽²⁴⁾

Now, Galilei's claims and honesty were brought into question more than once in his life, and modern writers have been critical of the unnecessarily harsh tone he used in his arguments with Zarlino.⁽²⁵⁾ Many of his own estimates regarding his prodigious compositional output must be taken as exaggerations: in his *Fronimo* (1584 edition) for example, Galilei claimed to have intabulated 3000 vocal works arranged in 100 books, as well as written around 200 ricercars and fantasias, more than 500 romanescas, 300 passamezzi, 100 galliards, and many other things. Later in life he augmented this figure, claiming to have intabulated 14.000 works for his treatise on counterpoint. The folly of such statements becomes clear when one considers that Galilei could have produced this much only if he had managed to intabulate the equivalent of more than one work each day for thirty-eight years! Nor does such hyperbole lend credibility to Galilei's claim that the six ricercars in the 1563 *Intavolature* are really by Francesco. This is already suspect for the reasons that these works do not appear anywhere else, that Francesco's name is absent from the table of contents, and that the ricercars appear anonymously inside the book. An examination of the music itself makes the possibility of Francesco's authorship even more remote.

All of the Galilei ricercars presumably by Francesco appear without barlines, a format that, while not unusual for Italian lute tablatures, is infrequently encountered in sources of Francesco's music. This external characteristic is of secondary importance, however, to the stylistic incongruities presented by the works themselves. In overall form, Francesco's ricercars usually can be divided into distinct sections, each characterized by a new rhythmic treatment of a subject, or by a new subject. The 1563 ricercars, on the other hand, are more continuous and ceaseless, the motion unmarked by regular cadential points of rest and sectional division, and without the internal coherence one finds with Francesco. Like Josquin, Francesco approaches cadences with a 'drive' of increased rhythmic activity or stretto, culminating in a cadence incorporating an ornamental turn, but neither the cadential drive nor the turn is present in the Galilei ricercars, with the exception of Fantasia 73.⁽²⁶⁾ Four of the six ricercars open with chords – Fantasia 70 and 71 are particularly uninspired in this regard – rather than contrapuntally. For Francesco, who is particularly fond of beginning his fantasias with short subjects, often duets, in imitation, chordal openings are the exception rather than the rule. Short of detailing the lack of internal coherence in all of these pieces that is so essential to a Francesco ricercar, many other questionable passages could be mentioned: the empty, ill-advised two-

(24) "... 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..."

(25) See CANGUILHEM, p. 40.

(26) The numbers refer to the sequence of the pieces as they appear in *NESS*.

voice textures in Fantasia 70; the uncharacteristic passage-work present in the last part of Fantasia 68; and the restrained idiomatic play in Fantasia 69, along with the unusual six-fold repetition of a motive in a single voice (see Ex. 1, mm. 1-4), and the double-string trill in the final cadence. As Meadors has observed, “Galilei’s dense, somewhat rambling ricercars are very different from Francesco’s clear, precise work.”⁽²⁷⁾



Example 1 [att. to Francesco da Milano], Ricercar 69
(from Galilei, 1563,)

The most compelling evidence that these works are, at best, misattributed by Galilei or pastiches, lies in the presence of different chunks taken from Francesco’s fantasias that are embedded in these works. In Example 2, Ricercar 73 from Galilei’s book contains a long imitative passage that is lifted directly from Francesco’s Fantasia 51, mm. 103-115, that appeared in 1546. This is not the only instance of such literal quotation by Vincenzo from a work by Francesco. In one of Galilei’s ricercars from *Il Fronimo* (1584), several passages are clearly ‘inspired’ by Francesco’s trademark subjects, and in one instance there is a direct quote from Francesco’s Ricercar 40.⁽²⁸⁾ Another less literal though seemingly pre-determined appropriation of Francesco’s music is in Fantasia 68 (printed by Galilei), which evokes the general rhythmic motives and overall spirit of Francesco’s popular *Fantasia de mon triste* (Fantasia 36), a work that was reprinted many times after its first appearance in 1547, including by Scotto in 1563, the year of Galilei’s publication.

Even if these works are not by Francesco, Galilei’s print initiates a third phase of Francesco’s evolving reputation, one that is characterized by the appearance of manuscripts containing ‘new,’ falsely attributed, or corrupt works. Because the last print of Francesco’s music appeared in 1568 (no. 16), all authority of authorship virtually disappeared by the time of *Cavalcanti*, dated 1590. The manuscript tradition that took hold after the 1560s (Box 4) limited Francesco’s corpus to a small handful of pieces, many of which cannot be ascribed to Francesco with certainty. Since lute manuscripts reflect primarily the contributions, tastes, and abilities of their owners, they provide the clearest index of Francesco’s enshrinement by lutenists in the years after his death and of the variety of ways in which his music

⁽²⁷⁾ James McWhorter Meadors Jr., *Italian Lute Fantasias and Ricercars Printed in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1984, p. 157.

⁽²⁸⁾ Examples are given in MEADORS, pp. 158-160.



Example 2a: [att. to Francesco da Milano], Ricercar 73
(from Galilei, 1563₇)



Example 2b: Francesco da Milano, Fantasia 51

was used as the basis for new compositions. Almost all of these sources fall into the category of pedagogical books,⁽²⁹⁾ and with only a few exceptions, they were copied after 1550, the majority of them dating from the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁰⁾ These manuscripts, then, taken together with Galilei's print, show how during the years when Francesco's printed works were scarce, he became re-invented in the manuscript sources.

There are some close parallels between the Galilei ricercars and to the equally if not more unconvincing ricercars attributed to Francesco in *Cavalcanti*. Of the thirteen such pieces in the manuscript, at least seven appear for the first time. The table of contents lists them as being by Francesco, but the pieces do not always contain

⁽²⁹⁾ On manuscripts of this type, see Victor COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York, Garland, 1995), pp. 25-26.

⁽³⁰⁾ For a generally accurate list of manuscript sources of Francesco's music, see NESS, pp. 15-16, keeping in mind that many new sources have been discovered since the publication of Ness's edition. None of these new sources, however, alters the fact that the large majority of Francesco's manuscript sources date from the late sixteenth century.

an attribution on the page they appear. Table 2 shows where the thirteen ricercars appear in *Cavalcanti*, along with a listing of their origins and a brief summary of the problems in placing these fantasias within Francesco's authenticated corpus of works.

Table 2: Ricercars in *Cavalcanti* attributed to Francesco da Milano

Fol.	Title ⁽³¹⁾	Earliest source	Ness edition	Remarks
36	<i>Ricerca di F° Da milano</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 74, p. 192	Unbarred. This work follows the <i>Canono a due liuti di Fra.co Da M.lano</i> (f. 35v) for which <i>Cavalcanti</i> is also the only source. Following the ricercar on f. 36v appears the <i>Spagna Contrapunto Di F° Da milano</i> , which is concordant with three other sources, only one of which (<i>Florence 168</i>) – a very corrupt source of Francesco's music – attributes the work to Francesco.
37	<i>Ricerca Del medesimo</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 75, p. 193	Many mistakes in the copying of this piece. It pillages Francesco's Fantasia 3 for its motives.
38v	<i>Ricerca di Francesco</i>	1548 ₃	Fantasia 55, pp. 151-156	An authentic work, and a probable source for several pastiches in <i>Cavalcanti</i> ; see below.
40	<i>Ricerca Del medesimo</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 76, pp. 194-195	Many scribal mistakes. The piece employs a 7th course, unknown in Francesco's music. It is based on the same subject as the following ricercar, which is also an unknown strategy in the authorized ricercars of Francesco.
41	<i>Ricerca Del medesimo</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 77, pp. 195-199	Unbarred. A very long, dense work, cadencing in B, a final that is used in no other work by Francesco. The work employs the same subject, a fifth higher, as the previous ricercar; possibly a '2.da parte' to Fantasia 76.
43	<i>Ricerca Del medesimo</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 78, p. 200	Many mistakes, and much discontinuity between sections; probably a pastiche.
44v	<i>Ricerca Del medesimo</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 79, pp. 201-205	Unbarred. Voicing, density, mistakes, cadential prolongation, and internal repetition in the work exclude it from Francesco's workshop.

⁽³¹⁾ Boldface titles designate the title of the pieces as they appear in the table of contents on ff. 101-103v, if different from the title given with the pieces as they appear in the manuscript.

46v	<i>Ricerca Di F. Da milano</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 80, pp. 206-211	Similar characteristics as Fantasia 79, above.
70	<i>Ricerca-fantasia di francesco da Milano</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i> or <i>Siena</i>	Fantasia 34, pp. 108-110	This piece is contained in six sources all copied after 1580. It is attributed to Francesco only in <i>Cavalcanti</i> and <i>Kraków 40.032</i> . ⁽³²⁾
71v	<i>Ricerca di Fr. Da milano</i>	1547 ₂	Fantasia 33, pp. 105-107	Fantasia 34, above, possibly a parody, is based on this piece.
73	<i>Ricerca Di Francesco da Milano</i>	1548 ₄	Fantasia 45, pp. 130-131	An authentic work
73v	<i>Ricerca di Francesco da Milano</i>	1536 (Sultzbachius)	Fantasia 4, p. 40	An authentic work
74	<i>Fantasia di Franc° da Milano</i>	<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Fantasia 81, p. 212	A highly condensed version or parody of Fantasia 33 or Fantasia 34.

It is significant that seven of the eight 'new' ricercars appear in a particular section of the manuscript, between ff. 36-46 (see Table 2), while the ricercars that are concordant to Francesco's printed work are concentrated elsewhere, between ff. 70 and 74. Not one of these eight works can be attributed to Francesco with certainty, but this does not mean that they are devoid of Francesco's characteristic style. On the contrary, like the ricercars in Galilei's print, most of these works draw freely on formulas and subjects from Francesco's music, rearranging and grafting them onto new material. Many of these works can be considered within the category of pastiche, a genre that along with parody seems to be much more common in the compositional strategies of writing fantasias than previously suspected. Like the repertory of English *In Nomine* fantasias, based on the *Gloria Tibi Trinitas* antiphon, these pastiches or parodies provide more evidence of borrowed material in the Renaissance fantasia, and they suggest the need for serious attention to be paid to these works within the larger context of Renaissance compositional process.⁽³³⁾

Like Fantasia 73 from Galilei's book, two of the *Cavalcanti* fantasias attributed to Francesco employ motives taken from Francesco's earlier work. This is most clearly evident in Fantasia 79, in which the central section draws freely on Francesco's Fantasia 55, a work that, not coincidentally, also appears in *Cavalcanti*. In some instances the borrowings are quite literal: compare mm. 60- from Fantasia 79 to mm. 70- from Fantasia 55, for example, as well as the stretto sequence from the end of Fantasia 79, mm. 85-90, which is taken almost note-for-note from a sequential passage near the end of Fantasia 55, mm. 205-210 (see Examples 3a/b).

⁽³²⁾ For a list of concordances, see COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources*, p. 259, no. 47/55.

⁽³³⁾ On the use of borrowed material in fantasias, see *Une fantaisie de la Renaissance*, in particular the articles by Mengozzi, Vaccaro, Fabris, and Judd.

istent models, towards the creation of a *Fantasia sopra...*,⁽³⁴⁾ or 2) *parts of a model*, such as subjects, sequences, or motives, which are inserted along with original material along the lines of pastiche. Example 3, above, belongs in the second category, and during the late sixteenth century, short sections or motives of Francesco's fantasias are often found embedded in new works that appear in Florentine collections. This practice extended beyond Florence as well. In *Fantasia 4* (f. 4v) from Adriaenssen's *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerp, 1584),⁽³⁵⁾ a long canonic passage (mm. 31-44) is taken directly from Francesco's *Fantasia 65* (mm. 101-127), a work which, because of its multi-sectional form, allows for the extraction of entire sections or motives.

The work published in Ness's edition as *Fantasia 84* offers another ideal example of category 2. Found only in *Florence 168* and attributed to "franc° Milanese," the fantasia is nothing more than a pillaging of Francesco's *Fantasia 30*, originally published in 1547. Because it is a monothematic fantasia – the progressive genre of *fantasia/ricercar* that is the most direct precursor of the Baroque fugue – it became attractive to players of the late sixteenth century, and along with Francesco's other famous monothematic works, *Fantasia 33* and *Fantasia 34* (about which we will have more to say), was copied and circulated widely during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Florentine tradition of this work appears to have been strong, for it appears *twice* in *Siena*, in opposite sections of the book and in versions with and without barlines, strongly suggesting two separate sources available to the copyist. The relationship of this long, brilliantly crafted piece to the short *Fantasia 84* is a good example of how borrowed motives can be disguised and employed as material for a new creation (see Table 3).

Table 3: Borrowed motives between *Fantasia 30* and *Fantasia 84*⁽³⁶⁾

Fantasia 30 (originally published in Brown 1547 ₂)		Fantasia 84 (<i>Florence 168</i>)
mm. 1-14	=	mm. 13-30
mm. 8-11	=	mm. 25-30
	=	mm. 30-35
mm. 37-39	=	mm. 40-42

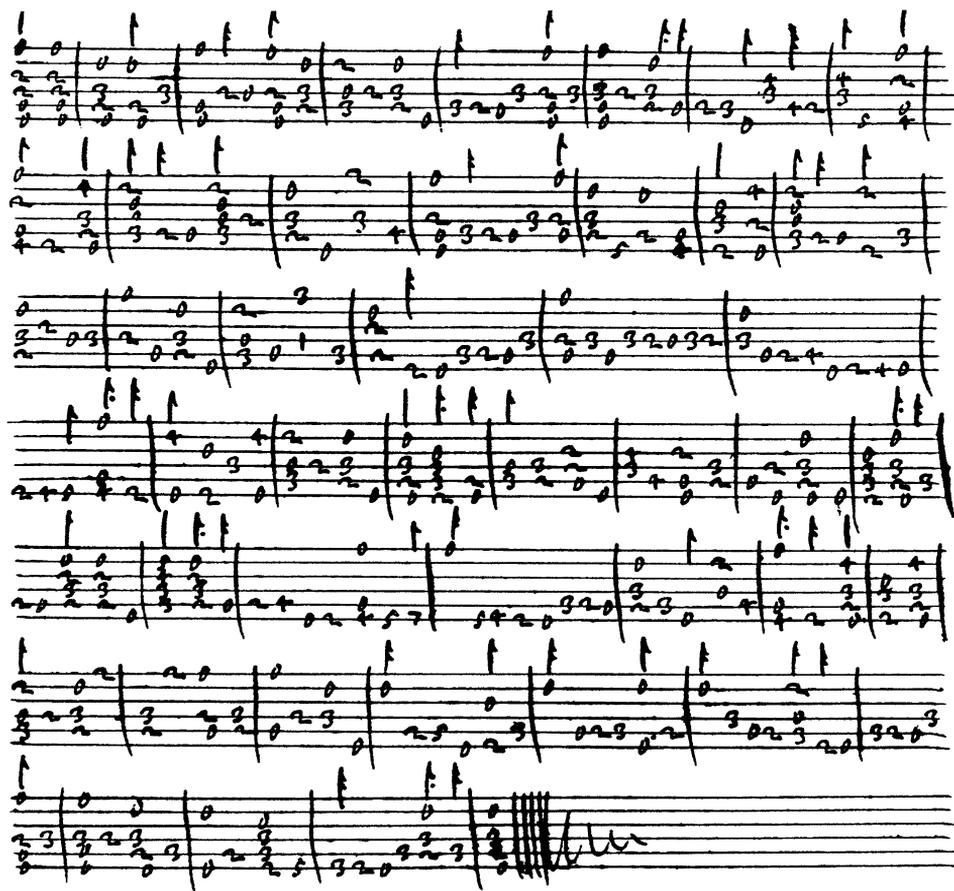
An example in *Cavalcanti* of the former procedure (described above as category 1) is the *Ricercar sopra una fuga di Claudio da Correggio*, f. 49v, a slightly ornamented and truncated arrangement of a keyboard work attributed to Claudio

⁽³⁴⁾ See Jean-Michel VACCARO, "The *Fantasia Sopra...* in the works of Jean-Paul Paladin," in *Une fantaisie de la Renaissance*, pp. 18-36. See also Paul MARTELL, "Parody versus Paraphrase in G.P. Paladino's *Fantasia* on 'Alcun non puo saper'," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, XIX (1986), pp. 1-12.

⁽³⁵⁾ For a facsimile of this book see, Emanuel ADRIAENSSEN, *Pratum musicum longe amoenissimum...*, ed. Kwee HIM YONG (Buren, Knuf, 1977).

⁽³⁶⁾ Measure numbers refer to the edition by NESS.

Merulo in several sources.⁽³⁷⁾ Admittedly, the version in *Cavalcanti* is less of a parody than an arrangement or transcription, since the 'transformation' is limited to a few ornaments, the suppression of bass notes, and the substitution of a prolonged cadence over a dominant pedal in place of the final section of the keyboard version (mm. 25-39). But given that the manuscript is of the pedagogical rather than professional variety, perhaps the *Cavalcanti* version represents a stage in the procedure of writing a fantasia that a student might learn from a teacher: a contrapuntal model is chosen (the *fuga*); an idiomatic version is made that presents the fundamental material in the manner of an intabulation (a *pseudo-fantasia*); and finally, an autonomous fantasia is created out of this version.



Example 4a: *Siena*, f. 31v, [Fantasia 80]

⁽³⁷⁾ The keyboard work is published in Claudio MERULO, *Canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo*, ed. Walker CUNNINGHAM and Charles MCDERMOTT (Madison Wisc., A-R Editions, 1992; "Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance," 90-91), pp. 176-177.

Example 4b: *Siena*, f. 34, [Fantasia 87]

These stages seem to be present in certain 'fantasia sopra' works in *Siena*, such as Fantasia 87, f. 34, which uses identical material to Fantasia 80, f. 31v of the same manuscript⁽³⁸⁾ (see Examples 4a and 4b). The work on f. 31v is an essentially chordal, harmonic creation, with slight figural releases before cadences. The fantasia concludes with an attractive two-voice sequence based on a I-IV-I-ii-V-I *petite reprise* of a dance-like rhythmic character similar to what one might find in the early Petrucci collection of Dalza (1507). A few folios later, and still within the section of the manuscript devoted to works on the seventh tone (with a final on C), this piece is used as the basis for Fantasia 87 (no. 86 in the Minkoff inventory), which takes the identical chordal succession of the previous work and broadens it through the use of distinct subjects in close imitation and rhythmic diminution. The opening G-chords of the 'model' that act as a dominant are suppressed, but the

⁽³⁸⁾ Unfortunately the inventory of *Siena* contained in the facsimile edition of the manuscript (*Tablature de luth italienne dit Siena Manuscrit* [ca 1560-1570], ed. A. NESS [Geneva, Minkoff, 1988]), omits the fantasia on f. 31v, so the enumeration of pieces after this point in the inventory is off by one.

dance-like final section remains along with the addition of a B-flat chord that varies the progression to I-IV-I-ii-VII-V-I, much like the *petites reprises* commonly found in dances and variation sets.

The most interesting and extensive application of parody technique to the 'Francesco' fantasias in *Cavalcanti* is found with Fantasia 34 (*Cavalcanti*, f. 70). This work, which has come to be considered as the *nec plus ultra* of Francesco, is a remarkable example of counterpoint, virtuosity, dramatic expression, and monothematicism. It also falls into the category of the derivative fantasia, since it is based on the subject of Francesco's Fantasia 33, and even entitled "La Compagna" in *Siena*. Both works appear together in *Siena* and *Cavalcanti*; in *Como*, however, they appear in different sections of the book.⁽³⁹⁾ That the piece is so firmly established in Francesco's canon should not dissuade us from raising concerns about its 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 copied into manuscripts from about 1580-1620 more frequently than any other work by (or attributed to) Francesco. Only *Cavalcanti* and *Kraków* attribute the work to Francesco; in *Como* it is entitled simply "fuga," in *Siena* "La Compagna," and in *Haslemere* and *Florence 109* it appears anonymously. In short, only two of the six sources that contain the work list Francesco as the composer, while *Siena* makes clear its derivation from Francesco's Fantasia 33.

Determining which of these sources is the earliest can be of considerable help in ascertaining the propriety of this piece. *Siena*, which contains many works from the 1540-1560s, probably dates from the late 1560s or '70s, making it at least twenty years older than *Cavalcanti*. But neither *Siena* nor its companion *Haslemere* lists Francesco as the author.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Therefore, 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 of the 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.

On the other hand, it is difficult to think of another composer who could have written this brilliant and structurally innovative piece. The *mi-fa-mi* subject taken from the beginning of Fantasia 33 is appended with a rising scale that is found later in the parent work, and together the two components make up a subject on which the entire Fantasia 34 is based. During the course of this monothematic, proto-fugal fantasia, the subject is expanded and embellished, treated in diminution (mm. 49-63), and there is one instance of the subject in augmentation (mm. 68-70, bass voice). The fantasia is idiomatic, and the cadential and contrapuntal structures are for the most appropriate to Francesco's period. But while this is a good, even brilliant parody, it still might not be by Francesco. Parody procedure is actually quite

⁽³⁹⁾ See COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources*, p. 71.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ On *Haslemere*, see COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources*, pp. 167-68.

rare in Francesco's music. Only the *Fantasia de mon triste* (Fantasia 36) is a cohesive and thoroughly worked out parody that is based on Richafort's chanson *De mon triste desplaisir*, with Francesco's separate intabulation of the chanson providing the middle ground (the *pseudo-fantasia*, as described above) between the model and the parody-fantasia.⁽⁴¹⁾ Other examples of the use of borrowed material in Francesco's fantasias can be cited, but these are usually along the lines of a single motive taken from a chanson, Mass, or motet, and rarely does the borrowing extend for very long. In short, while paraphrase technique seems to have been employed by Francesco with some frequency, parody procedure was rare, and is limited to only a few works. Francesco's music is more likely the *source* for parody technique rather than the *product* of it.

It is much easier to reject Fantasia 76 and Fantasia 77 (*Cavalcanti*, ff. 40-41) as genuine works by Francesco on pure stylistic grounds. They, too, are based on identical subjects, transposed a fourth apart. Neither work is constructed even remotely along the lines of a fantasia by Francesco. They are dense, awkward and unidiomatic, there is little to no textural diversity, and Fantasia 77 contains a long internal repetition, in which mm. 23-59 are identical to mm. 78-114, that is entirely uncharacteristic of Francesco. Finally, Fantasia 78 concludes with a six-note final chord, which is encountered not once in any other work by Francesco Canova.

Since *Cavalcanti* contains music that reappears in many seventeenth-century lute sources, particularly Florentine, it was at least partially responsible for the transmission of Francesco's works into the *seicento*. There is no doubt that the Francesco ricercars in *Cavalcanti* are reflective of a much larger Florentine interest in his music, evidence for which includes the six 'new' fantasias in Galilei's 1563 book, the appearance of almost thirty works by (or attributed to) Francesco that appear in *Siena*, works by Francesco that appear in two other Florentine manuscripts of the late sixteenth century, *Florence 168* and *Haslemere*,⁽⁴²⁾ and the effusive description of Francesco by the Florentine writer Cosimo Bartoli in 1543.⁽⁴³⁾

On a larger historical level, the musical profile of Francesco transmitted by *Cavalcanti* must be seen against the patterns of reception and transmission that shaped Francesco's reputation during his professional career. Although the majority of the *Cavalcanti* fantasias attributed to Francesco are probably not authentic, they were nevertheless accepted as real by Raffaello Cavalcanti. They reveal how Francesco's reputation in 1590, fifty years after his death, was evolving on the basis

⁽⁴¹⁾ For discussions of this piece see Stefano MENGOLZI, "'Is this Fantasy a Parody': Vocal Models in the Free Compositions of Francesco da Milano," in *Une fantaisie de la Renaissance*, pp. 9-12, and NESS, *The Lute Music*, pp. 4-8.

⁽⁴²⁾ *Florence 168*, ff. 11v-12 contains the unique "Ricercha franc^o. Milanese" (Fantasia 84 in Ness's edition) as well as the treble part to a duet on the Spagna tenor that is attributed to Francesco (ff. 8v-9; Ness, no. 94). The Tuscan manuscript *Haslemere*, copied in the same hand as *Siena*, contains four anonymous fantasias that can be attributed to Francesco through concordances; see COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources*, pp. 167-169, 650-653.

⁽⁴³⁾ See James HAAR, "Cosimo Bartoli on Music," *Early Music History*, VIII (1988), p. 62, and SLIM, p. 76.

of 'new' works, albeit ones whose authorship must be considered suspect. Because *Cavalcanti* is one of the very last Italian sources to contain Francesco's music, the image it reveals – or creates – of the composer represents the state of his reputation before his name fell into obscurity with the decline of the Italian lute tradition after the middle of the seventeenth century.⁽⁴⁴⁾ We can see that Francesco's authenticated corpus of music, that is, those works that had appeared between 1536-48, had become drastically reduced by 1590 to a few pieces, while many works attributed to the composer are substantially the work of others. Of the few pieces that were still played, the monothematic fantasias were the most widely cultivated, and this parallels the current taste in contrapuntal composition of the late sixteenth century, when Francesco's music began to be employed as a model for imitation and as rudimentary training in lute pedagogy.

More interesting is the way in which Francesco's corpus was expanded by lutenists through borrowing motives, phrases, and even large sections from his fantasias and placing them within new compositions. On the one hand, such pieces provide information about compositional process and the use of borrowed material in the Renaissance fantasia. On a more historiographical level, these works can be interpreted as hommages, along much the same lines as Josquin's use of an Ockeghem tenor. While strategies of quotation – quodlibets, pastiches, parodies and the like – create repertoires that are not accommodated cleanly within a composer's sanctioned corpus of works, these pieces proved to be absolutely essential in the sustaining and enrichment of Francesco's posthumous reputation – whether the work is a true *fantasia*, or, as in the case of *Cavalcanti*, just a fantasy.

Manuscript Abbreviations

<i>Cavalcanti</i>	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I ^{er} , Ms II 275
<i>Como</i>	Como, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms 1.1.20
<i>Florence 109</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms Magl. XIX 109
<i>Florence 168</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms Magl. XIX 168
<i>Florence 1584</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Anteriori a Galileo 6
<i>Haslemere</i>	Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library Ms II. C.23
<i>Kraków</i>	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Ms Mus 40.032
<i>Paris 429</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 429
<i>Siena</i>	The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, Ms 28 B 39

⁽⁴⁴⁾ For an account of Francesco's works in Italian manuscripts after 1590, see COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources*.