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Neapolitan Lute Music

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Abbreviations

Besard 1603	Jean Baptiste Besard. *Thesaurus harmonicus divini Laurencini romani, necnon praestantissmorum musicorum, qui hoc seculo in deversis orbis partibus excellunt, selectissima omnis generis cantus in testudine modulamina continens.* Cologne: Greuenbach, 1603.
Barbarino lutebook	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. ms. 40032 (*olim* Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek).
Hainhofer lutebook	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Ms Codex Guelf. 118.7 and Aug.2°; 18.8 Aug. 2°
Ramillete	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 6001: "Ramillete de flores".
Siena lutebook	The Hague, Gemeentemusuem, Ms. 20.860, *olim* 28. B. 39: the "Siena lutebook".

Introduction

The Lute and *Viola da mano* in Naples

The lute was a prominent instrument in musical life of renaissance Naples. It was regularly heard in indoor and outdoor entertainment, it was widely played among the upper echelons of Neapolitan society, and its symbolic connotations as the reincarnate lyre of Orpheus were embedded in the consciousness of educated Neapolitans. Compared, however, to the enormous amount of lute music preserved in Venetian prints or manuscripts from northern Italy, the remnants of Neapolitan lute music are relatively few. The 1536 Neapolitan edition of a volume of music by Francesco da Milano, the oldest source of the composer's music, reflects early sixteenth-century interest in the lute, and diverse evidence points to continued use of the instrument throughout the century.[1] Among later sources, perhaps the most significant is the Barbarino lutebook, a 400-page anthology compiled in the final decades of the sixteenth century and the opening years of the seventeenth, that contains a large international repertory as well as music by Neapolitan composers.[2] It also contains Barbarino's copy of an older manuscript by Luys Maymón entitled "Flores para tañer" and other Spanish works that not only underline the political position of Naples as a Spanish dominion, but also the role of the city as a center for musical exchange between Italy and Spain.[3]

A list of some fifteen renowned Neapolitan lutenists given by the theorist and lutenist Scipione Cerreto in his treatise *Della prattica musica vocale et strumentale* (1601) offers further testimony of the lute in Naples.[4] The present edition presents the collected works of four of the lutenists named by Cerreto, the only ones whose music survives: Fabrizio Dentice, Giulio Severino, Giovanni Antonio Severino, and Francesco Cardone.[5] It represents a starting point in the construction of a new image of Neapolitan lute music in the second half of the sixteenth century. Among these players, Fabrizio Dentice (ca. 1530–81) is undoubtedly the key figure. One the finest Italian lutenist-composers of his time, Dentice was also renowned as a composer of vocal polyphony, and a singer who played a significant role in the early development and success of the villanella. Even though much of his life was spent outside Naples, Dentice maintained contact with the city and left an indelible mark on his Neapolitan contemporaries, Giulio Severino in particular. Both these lutenists traveled to Spain, and their surviving music, principally fantasias and ricercars, reflects a Neapolitan taste for dense, intricate polyphony that shows considerable affinity with Spanish style as well as bearing many traces of the Italian instrumental tradition.

While we have referred to the works in this edition as being for the lute, it can be assumed that they were also played on the Italian *viola da mano*, if not also on the Spanish *vihuela de mano* from which the Italian instrument developed. Vihuelas were probably first imported into Naples during the period in which it was part of the Aragonese kingdom (1443–1503). Their use in Italy became even more widespread as a result of marriages between Aragonese royalty and members of several prominent ruling families in northern Italy, and the influence of the Spanish Borgia popes tastes in the last decade of the fifteenth century. The bowed *vihuela de arco* was rapidly transformed into the viola da gamba (an invention attributed to the Neapolitans by Tinctoris around 1483), while the plucked *viola da mano* coexisted alongside the lute in Naples throughout the sixteenth century.[6]

The *viola da mano* and lute shared the same tuning, notation and playing technique and

their music is fully interchangeable. This is explicit in the titles of Neapolitan publications, both Francesco da Milano's Neapolitan edition mentioned above *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto* (1536), and in Bartolomeo Lieto's *Dialogo quarto* (1559), a treatise on intabulation intended for players of the "viola a mano over liuto."[7] Even more pertinent to the present context is Cerreto's use of the epithet "della viola" in alluding to each of the Severino lutenists, Vicencello and his three sons Giulio, Pompeo, and Giovanni Antonio.[8] The rapport between Neapolitan and Spanish lutenists and vihuelists is confirmed further by documentary evidence of the Spanish sojourns of both Fabrizio Dentice and Giulio Severino, and further that Severino appears to have been in the employ of the Spanish court at time of his death. These Spanish documents record admiration of their playing, a fantasia by Dentice survives in a Spanish manuscript and is described as "excelente," and vocal compositions by both composers also survive in Spanish sources. In a reciprocal fashion, albeit some years earlier, the most renowned Spanish vihuelist of the early sixteenth century, Luis de Guzmán, lost his life aboard a Spanish ship fighting in the gulf of Naples in 1528.[9]

Further evidence confirms a well-established Neapolitan lute and *viola* tradition. Among the earliest surviving lute tablatures are some late fifteenth-century Neapolitan fragments, now in the university library in Bologna, but probably originating in the Aragonese court.[10] They are notated in a form of tablature unique to Naples, and suggest that Neapolitan lutenists were among the early innovators of lute tablature around the turn of the sixteenth century. So-called "Neapolitan tablature" differs from the customary Italian tablature in that the position of strings is inverted (the top line of the staff represents the highest string) and the tablature is ciphered without using the figure zero, open strings instead indicated with the figure 1. This system was used for the *Libro secondo della Fortuna*, the second book of the 1536 Neapolitan edition of Francesco da Milano, and the same system was still described by Cerreto in 1601.[11]

During the years of Aragonese rule, the use of plucked instruments including lutes, quinterns, or violas for solo performance increased notably, probably inspired by the Ferrarese virtuoso Pietrobono who was at the court in 1474. In the early Spanish period, lutenists continued to be active in Naples and are recorded in several public festivals.[12] The most important and sumptuous celebration was the magnificent entrance of the Emperor Charles V into Naples in late 1535 and subsequent festivities organized during the months of his sojourn in the city. Among the many references to instrumental music in the chronicles of 1536 is testimony of the first duo of lute players active in Naples.[13] It may also be speculated that Francesco da Milano's Neapolitan book may have been intended as homage to the Emperor, even though it did not appear in print until after Charles' departure in April 1536, and was instead dedicated to the viceroy Pedro de Toledo. It is unknown if Francesco came to Naples in person to supervise the printing, but his most important student, Perino Fiorentino, was active in Naples in 1534–35 and could well have been entrusted with the task.[14]

A reflection of the penetration of the lutes and *viola* in Neapolitan society is the earliest Italian treatise devoted to the art of intabulation and lute playing, Bartolomeo Lieto's *Dialogo Quarto* of 1559. Aimed at amateur players both instruments, this treatise affirms the extent to which plucked instruments were played in Neapolitan society at precisely the time when Dentice and his circle commenced their activity, and implies that the lutenists listed by Cerreto were but the most distinguished Neapolitan exponents. Although Neapolitan archives preserve relatively little documentation from the sixteenth century, a number of other names have emerged. In 1551, for example, the *maestro* Giovanni Geronimo de Andriolo agreed to teach Giovanni Alfonso Imparato the "*viola ad mano* from tablature . . . with judgement, all the works that might be suitable for his hands… with the promise of coming every day to his house."[15]

Similarly, in 1577, Nunzio Martinelli received payment from the Spanish nobleman Don Alvaro de Mendoza for having taught his children to "play the *viola* and sing,"[16] and Giovanni Antonio Severino is recorded in 1579 as lute teacher in the Neapolitan house of Don Carlo Ruffo.[17]

The first lute and *viola* makers documented in Naples were Orazio Albanese and Giovanni Tommaso Matino, "violari." The impressive inventory of their *bottega* is preserved in a notarial document of 1578 and includes, among other instruments: three *viole ad undici corde* (six courses), four *viole* (two "*vecchie*"), eight *liuti ad sette corde* (four courses), four *liuti ad undici corde*, seven *liuti napoletani*, one *liuto* and one *liutello ad sette corde de Napoli*.[18] To these we must also add several *chitarre ad sette corde* and *ad nove corde* (four- and five-course instruments, respectively) that probably were lute-shaped instruments and not in the figure of eight shape of the *viola da mano*.

The Composers

Fabrizio Dentice

Fabrizio Dentice (Naples, ca.1530–Parma, 1581) came from an aristocratic Neapolitan family of ancient lineage, the Dentice delle Stelle (today Dentice di Accadia, as the original branch is extinct) and shared with his father the *seggio di Capuana*, one of the five noble seats that governed the city of Naples. He bore the title of *cavaliere* and was the first eminent Neapolitan noble musician, a generation earlier than Carlo Gesualdo prince of Venosa, also an excellent lutenist.[19] His father Luigi Dentice (ca. 1510–66) was a reputed lutenist-singer and music theorist, and it is difficult to assess Fabrizio's life satisfactorily independent of his father.[20] Luigi Dentice served at the court of Prince Ferrante Sanseverino, a court that sought to recreate the former magnificence of the Aragonese rulers, and his prominent role there was to have a decisive impact on his son's development. From 1540 Luigi was in charge of the musical and theatrical activities at the palace, he was responsible for recruiting singers and buying lutes from abroad,[21] he had responsibility for paying gambling debts and provided other diplomatic services.[22] No doubt Luigi came into contact in Naples with the celebrated lutenist Perino who had been in the service of Sanseverino since 1533. In 1540 Luigi declined an offer to serve Henry VIII in London for 1000 crowns per year.

In 1545, Fabrizio made his debut as falsetto-singer in *Gli ingannati*, a *commedia* performed in the Sanseverino palace. The following year, Luigi was one of the founders of the Neapolitan *Accademia dei Sereni* that continued to perform *commedie* under Sanseverino patronage and in which both father and son participated as singers and instrumentalists. Fabrizio's musical training had obviously been nurtured from a young age, and he is recorded as having at least one young lute student and imitator in his service in Naples before 1561. Already in 1569 Luigi Contarino included Fabrizio's name among the renowned composers and instrumentalists active in the city.[23] In addition to being a virtuoso lutenist and singer, like his father, Fabrizio was known as a composer of vocal music and he was closely associated with the popularization of the *villanella alla napoletana* outside of Naples.

In 1547 the "divinissimo Signor Luigi Dentice" delivered a *discorso* in the church of San Lorenzo that incited the uprising of Neapolitan aristocrats against the Spanish viceroy Pedro de Toledo. In the aftermath of this failed coup, the family's property was confiscated and in 1552 Luigi and Fabrizio together with Sanseverino fled from Naples to avoid being sentenced to death. The publication in the same year of Luigi's treatise *Duo dialoghi di musica* appears to have been an unsuccessful attempt to ingratiate himself with the viceroy Toledo.[24] A second edition of the treatise was published the following year in Rome, where the Dentices had

established themselves in noble circles and the *accademie*. They also became prominent in promoting the *villanella alla napoletana*: Lasso's first book of *villanelle* printed in Rome, dedicated to Francesco Guidobono, includes anonymous works possibly by Luigi and Fabrizio Dentice. The few surviving vocal compositions by Luigi have, for the most part, conflicting attributions to Fabrizio. The only complete four-part aria by Luigi, published in 1562, reveals a style very close to the Spanish *romance* for solo voice and vihuela, with a chordal accompaniment.[25] No instrumental music by Luigi Dentice survives.[26]

After the death of Pedro de Toledo in 1553, those implicated in the 1547 rebellion were pardoned. It is probable that Fabrizio traveled to Spain in 1559 to perform for the royal court in Madrid as one of the "Neapolitan virtuosi who offered to perform new madrigals and *villanelle* before his majesty every day for a month."[27] This trip is likely to have consolidated the contact between Fabrizio and the Neapolitan Francesco Fernando d'Avalos, a Spanish grandee who had received the crown of Naples in 1554 in the name of Philip II. Fabrizio joined d'Avalos' service, probably accompanying him to Milan when he became governor of the city in 1559 although there is no documentary confirmation of this until 1562. In a later document he is recorded as receiving a salary package comprising 30 gold *scudi* per month, money to maintain two servants and a horse, and the right to dine at the governor's table. D'Avalos governed Milan until 1563, then moved to Rome for several years until being named viceroy of Sicily in 1569. As late as 1567, Dentice was one of the fifteen nobles who traveled in his entourage from Rome.[28] It is probable that Dentice accompanied d'Avalos on his frequent trips to Spain. An account of Dentice's lute playing survives in a letter written in Barcelona in 1564 by the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Chalenor, a letter that also recommends Fabrizio for a position at the London court although, like his father, he appears to have declined any offer to move to England.[29] The theorist Pierre Maillart, who visited Spain between 1565 and 1570, also wrote of having heard Fabrizio playing the lute with an unusual perfection.[30] During his second sojourn in Rome with d'Avalos, Fabrizio was praised in a four-part madrigal set to a Spanish text and published in Camillo Tudino's *Il primo libro delli soi madrigali* (Rome, 1564).[31] Prior to 1569, probably on the occasion of his father death, Fabrizio must have returned to Naples, as Contarino's book *La nobilità di Napoli* published in that year cites him in a list of the important composers working in Naples. At this time Fabrizio's *villanelle* were considered in Naples as the model of perfection in this genre.[32]

Early in 1569, Dentice moved definitively to Parma and the ducal court of Ottavio Farnese, persuaded by the musicians Paolo Animuccia and Giachet Bontemps.[33] During this period at Parma he frequently traveled to Pesaro as required by the Duke of Urbino. He was charged, for example, with organizing music for the wedding celebrations of Ottavio Farnese's relation Francesco Maria della Rovere in Pesaro in 1570–71 for which he was required to teach the children (*putti*), and he was also given the responsibility of supervising the music for the Duke's own wedding.[34] Notwithstanding, Dentice's name does not appear in the payrolls of the musicians or in the lists of the members of the court in Parma, but only in the household of the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.[35] It is thus likely that he spent a considerable portion of his last years in Rome. Francesco Patrizi's manuscript treatise *L'amorosa filosofia* (1577) describes a series of academic debates in Rome in which Fabrizio Dentice is the only musician to participate.[36] He also appears to have maintained his ties with Naples for also in 1577 he is recorded as having returned there, apparently to supervise another wedding celebration, on this occasion for the Sanseverino di Bisignano and della Rovere.[37]

Letters sent from Rome to Parma in 1573 and 1574, recently found by Laurie Stras,

confirm that Dentice was living in Rome and that he had passed into the service of the Countess of Sala, the renowned Neapolitan beauty Barbara Sanseverino. In this correspondence, Dentice appears to have provided musical instruction in Barbara's household and to have been involved in recruiting singers for the Parma court.[38] He shared these tasks with the other Farnese lutenist, Santino Garsi, who traveled frequently from Parma to Rome and among whose lute works is a galliard entitled "La Contessa di Sala." In the Roman *milieu* of Cardinal Farnese and Barbara Sanseverino, Dentice met some of the most important lutenists of the age, among them the famous "Cavalier del Liuto," an enigmatic individual possibly to be identified as Vincenzo Pinto or Pitto.[39]

The court chronicler Rolando Pico describes many aspects of Dentice's life at the Parma court, and offers some insight into his character in the following passage that makes evident Fabrizio's pride in his nobility and a seemingly arrogant reluctance to display his musical prowess in public. This is one likely reason why so few of his works survive:[40]

> Fabrizio Dentice, who formerly [prior to Santino Garsi] was in the service of Duke Ottavio, was also a most excellent player of the lute; but because he was a Neapolitan gentleman, he disdained the pursuit of this profession and the title of lute player. Duke Ottavio was barely able with his supplications to have him take the lute in hand since, as a Cavalier of very noble affiliations, he believed such profession would compromise his noble status. Thus one could say that he was the opposite of Santino; and while his excessive self-esteem rendered him grateful to no-one, his prodigious facility caused him to be loved by everyone.

Fabrizio Dentice died in Parma, probably in the house of the Countess of Sala, on 23 February 1581.

Dentice's circle

Evidence concerning Dentice's Neapolitan followers is far less abundant. Of the three of them, Giulio Severino, known both as a lutenist and a polyphonist, is the best documented and probably the most important of them. Numerous of his madrigals were published in Pietro Vinci's *Madrigali libro primo* (Venice, 1561) and two other anthologies.[41] As a lutenist he is referred to in the memoirs of Niccolò Tagliaferro (1608) as Dentice's "ape," an imitator to be sure, but without derogatory implications:

> I do not omit to name among those who [Fabrizio Dentice] has left behind, Giulio Severino, my very close friend, and one who deserves to be remembered more than many of today's players. He was very elegant, and most abundant in his invention, of delicate touch; he was called Signor Fabrizio Dentice's ape because of his fine ingenuity, and due to his respectable habits he was deserving of having held honorable positions in Italy. His end came in Spain where he was in the service of his highness the Prince of Spain, previously having resided with the Marchese di Steppa. And this is sufficient concerning his memory.[42]

Francisco Pacheco praised Severino in his *Libro de descripción de verdaderos Retratos de Illustres y Memorables varones* as a master of the eight-course lute (Pacheco calls it a "vihuela") and "the best known in those days."[43] His memory in Spain is also assured by the five-part vocal music by him copied in a collection of polychoral sacred music by composers active in Naples in the last decades of the sixteenth-century, today in Valladolid.[44] Further testimony to Severino's

posthumous reputation is the inclusion of the *Fantasia di Giulio Severino sopra Susane un jour* (no. 23) in the *Intavolatura di liuto, libro primo* (Venice, 1599) of the Genoese lutenist and composer Simone Molinaro. Severino's death in Spain is known only from the passage by Tagliaferro quoted above.

Giovanni Antonio Severino was apparently the youngest of the Severino lutenists. According to Cerreto, he was still alive in 1601, although his father Vincenello and brothers Giulio and Pompeo had all died earlier. Little more is known of Giovanni Antonio beyond his one surviving lute work and the reference to his activity as a *viola* teacher to the Neapolitan nobility in 1579 cited above.

Of Francesco Cardone nothing more is beyond the two surviving works included here and his inclusion in Cerreto's list of the prominent Neapolitan lutenists deceased by 1601. It is possible that his surname is an Italianate form of Cardona, and thus of Catalan origin. He might have been from one of the prominent families of the Aragonese nobility. Ramón de Cardona, Count of Albento, was viceroy in Naples from 1509 until 1522. According to Pietro Aron, Antonia d'Aragona Montalto, sister of Artal di Cardona Marchese di Padula, was a famous Neapolitan singer to the lute.[45] Her daughter-in-law, Maria di Cardona (d. 1563), was in turn a poet and musician associated with Jacques de Wert.[46] The pieces by Francesco Cardone included in the Barbarino lutebook are consistent with our understanding of Neapolitan lute or *viola* composition.

Authorship

Verifying the authorship of some of the works in this edition has not been straightforward and several remain with ambiguous and unresolved attributions. The surviving sources are not autograph scores, most are manuscripts compiled at the end of the sixteenth century and later —twenty years or more after Fabrizio Dentice's death—as collections for private use, and only the Barbarino lutebook can be directly connected with Naples. Jean Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Cologne, 1603), albeit a printed source, also poses considerable problems concerning the works it ascribes to Dentice. To some extent these problems stem from the fact that contemporary social codes made it undesirable for a nobleman of Dentice's stature to be perceived as a professional musician. Fabrizio's reluctance to be known as a mere lutenist is made clear in Pico's remarks about him, and it is thus not surprising that none of his music appeared in print during his lifetime, nor does it appear to have circulated freely in manuscript format until after his death.[47]

The majority of the works in this edition survive only in a single source and we have accepted these attributions without challenge in light of the stylistic consistency of the music. Some of the works display considerable similarities, for example, the two fantasias (nos. 2, 8), respectively found in the Siena and Barbarino lutebooks. They are built on the same initial theme and in each work it is treated in a similar way: introduced through imitative entries, extended by running passages towards a final cadence, and followed by a more succinct second theme (m. 21 in both transcriptions). This could also be evidence of the degree of improvisation in Dentice's fantasia practice: these are not the only two fantasias to share the same opening theme, and several of them conclude with related codas. Other works survive in multiple sources with conflicting attributions, and it has been impossible to establish definitive authorship using either stylistic criteria or evidence derived from the sources and their transmission.

Nos. 1–13 are works ascribed unequivocally to Fabrizio Dentice, most of them in the Siena and Barbarino lutebooks. Nos. 10–10a, however, are distinct works that share only the same initial section and thereafter develop independently. On the basis of their common

opening, we have ascribed the anonymous no. 10a (Siena) to Dentice in accordance with the attribution to him of the cognate version in the Barbarino lutebook (no. 10). The *Volta de Spagna*, no. 13, is attributed to Dentice in the Hainhofer lutebook, but appears twice without attribution in the Barbarino lutebook.

Among the works with conflicting attributions, no. 14 is ascribed to Dentice in the Barbarino lutebook while the copyist of the Siena lutebook attributes it to Giulio Severino. The work that follows it in the Siena lutebook (no. 15) is unique to that source and the indication "del Med[esim]o" (by the same author) would imply it to be by Severino. Given the conflicting attribution of the previous piece, however, the possibility cannot be excluded that it is also by Dentice. Similarly, the question of authorship remains open concerning the *Gallarda bella* (no. 16) attributed to Dentice in the Hainhofer lutebook and to Diomedes Cato in two other concordances. Source evidence is not compelling, and the presence of only one other dance piece among Fabrizio's surviving music is insufficient basis for a stylistic judgment although the design of the piece and the diminutions are certainly commensurate with Dentice's other music.

The edition includes five fantasias (nos. 27–31) attributed to Fabrizio Dentice in collections compiled after 1600, but which first appeared in three prints by the German lutenist Melchior Newsidler (Newsidler 1566_2, 1566_3 and 1574_5). While the style features of these works point more to Newsidler than to Dentice, the case is by no means certain. It is not beyond possibility that Newsidler published works by Fabrizio without acknowledgement in the same way that Adrian Denss apparently felt no obligation to acknowledge Miguel de Fuenllana and John Dowland as the authors of several fantasias included in his *Florilegium* (1594).[48] Conversely, it can be argued that the music is indeed by Newsidler but that musicians around 1600 perceived the works to be by Dentice, probably on the basis of the dense counterpoint that is the hallmark of his style. Of these works, no. 27 is the most widely disseminated and appears in seven different sources. Philipp Hainhofer's lutebook, compiled 1603–4, is the only one to attribute the work to Dentice. This manuscript, however, draws from such a wide variety of sources including the Newsidler books that it is impossible to establish the origins of the Dentice attribution: Hainhofer may have encountered the piece during his studies in Padua and Siena in 1594–96, or immediately thereafter in Cologne as a student of Jean Baptiste Besard.[49]

The four fantasias, nos. 28–31, attributed to Dentice in Besard 1603 are not identical to the Newsidler versions but are closely related. Notwithstanding Besard's translation of the music into French tablature, his versions differ from the earlier readings in their abbreviation of final cadential passages, modification of cadential decorations, occasional omission or recasting of individual measures, and alterations to the placement of barlines. Besard may have copied directly from the original Newsidler prints, consciously altering the music at will, or he may have copied from a related source as his versions also retain some of the typographical errors of the Newsidler edition.[50]

There are several plausible explanations to account for Besard's attributions to Dentice. He may have attributed them to Dentice born of a desire to link him with Lorenzino in a book that was initially conceived as a *thesaurus* of music by "the divine Lorenzino of Rome" for reasons connected with historical, stylistic, or even personal links between the two musicians. After all, their works also appear side by side in the Barbarino lutebook. Alternatively, and without means of verification, Besard may simply have believed these works to be by Dentice because they conformed to his posthumous reputation.[51] As another possibility, Besard may have received information suggesting that Newsidler had printed works by Dentice, with or

without the composer's blessing, and his intention may have been merely to set the record straight. From yet another angle, he may have copied them from a source that misattributed them to Dentice or, as in the case of two works by Jacob Reys, Besard may simply have been mistaken in his attributions.[52]

On stylistic grounds, there are several features that distinguish the fantasias attributed by Besard to Dentice from the other works in this edition. Overall, the Newsidler/Dentice fantasias show more rigorous and studied imitation, notable differences in the intervallic structure of themes, more frequent sequential writing, greater amounts of thematic and motivic reiteration, little free polyphonic discourse, less rhythmic variety, and a greater preference for 'major' tonalities. Additionally, and unlike any of the other Dentice works, two of the fantasias (nos. 30–31) are clearly conceived for a lute tuned in A rather than in G. This does not occur in any other Dentice work and may be a significant factor.

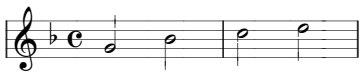
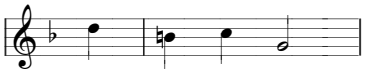
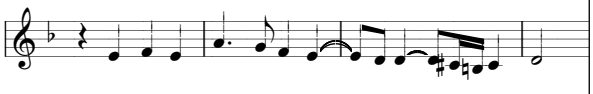
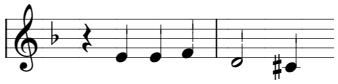
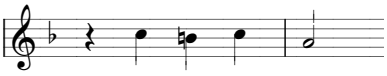
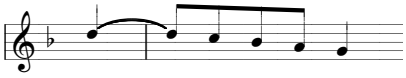
The Music

Abstract works

The majority of the works in this edition are abstract compositions various titled fantasia, recercata, canzon francese, and fuga. These compositions follow the general stylistic trends of the abstract compositions of Italian and Spanish instrumental composers in the mid- to late-sixteenth century. They are episodic polythematic works in which the new theme of each episode is most frequently initiated imitatively, some episodes developing with a substantial level of free polyphony. The fantasias are in duple meter throughout, other than a few that include one or two internal sections in triple time, reminiscent of the canzona. All the fantasias are in four voices although some of them contain passages that, at least momentarily, imply a fifth voice. The music is characterized by polyphonic density, it is technically demanding and often makes use of difficult chord formations in high positions on the lute's fingerboard. Several of Dentice's fantasias are among the longest works of their kind, with a performance duration of some seven or eight minutes (esp. nos. 9, 12). Fabrizio Dentice's ability, in particular, to sustain dense polyphonic rhetoric for extended periods without loss of narrative continuity or dramatic intensity is an indicator of his stature as a lute composer.

A further group of features can be identified as characteristic of Fabrizio Dentice's style. Although by no means unique to his music, the opening episodes of his fantasias are built from systematic imitation of his thematic material, woven into dense textures. The same treatment is often applied to principal internal episodes. The precadential passages of such sections often resort to idiomatic writing, *passaggi* in shorter note values, augmenting the dynamic momentum of the music towards final cadences. This trait is particularly indebted to the style of Francesco da Milano, although Dentice's textures are denser and less reliant on sequential devices. Other episodes use homophonic textures to set short motives and generate passages of a strongly declamatory character, perhaps influenced by the madrigal more than the motet. Modal change occurs within the course of a few individual works (esp. nos. 2, 12), moving from a mode *per b-moll* to *b-dur* and back. Dentice's use of dissonance also frequently displays boldness and he makes greater use of pedal points than other composers of lute fantasias.

The untitled fantasia (no. 2) is a shorter example of his music that shows considerable compositional polish and serves to exemplify these features. It divides into five main episodes and concludes with a short coda. The work can also be interpreted as two symmetrical blocks of almost identical length (episodes I–II + III–IV–V + Coda; = 32 + 32 + 4 measures), along similar lines to Francesco da Milano's fantasias, as revealed by Gombosi's groundbreaking analysis, as well as other Italian and Spanish abstract lute compositions.[53]

Episode	Measures	length	comments	theme
I	1-21	21	Theme introduced imitatively T-A-B-S. Texture starts to intensify by S entry in m. 13. Further statement in A in diminution (m. 15) commences faster pre-cadential passage.	
II	21-32	11	8 imitative entries of theme. Other voices have considerable melodic interest. "Major" mode predominates in this episode.	
III	32-41	11	Two statements of a voice complex with S/T imitation over a pedal A for first statement, D for second. Bold dissonances (m. 40).	
IV	41-46	5	Two statements of a declamatory motif set homophonically, plus a short extension.	
V	46-62	16	Imitative. Theme introduced as homophony, then in independent polyphonic voices.	
coda	62-66	4	Stretto imitations of descending motive towards final cadence.	

This fantasia is one of four (nos. 1–2, 8–9) that commences with a theme built from the same ascending pitch sequence (g–b*b*–c–d). This motive is also, perhaps not by mere coincidence, the opening theme of Orlando di Lasso's "Susanne un jour," a chanson commonly intabulated in sources such as those that include works by Dentice and his circle, and the model upon which Giulio Severino based his only surviving parody fantasia (no. 23). Another group of fantasias (nos. 7, 10–11, 15) also share related openings that makes use of an initial theme that ascends by step a fifth or sixth, and three (nos. 5–6, 12) begin with the characteristic opening long–short–short rhythm of the French chanson. Related material is also found in the closing passages of several fantasias: the final measures of Fantasias 2 and 10 are clearly built from the same stock. The use of pre-existing coda formulae in lute fantasias was evidently common, and the Barbarino lutebook is not the only one of the sources for Dentice's fantasias to contain brief, independent pieces entitled *final*, *clausola*, *dirata*, *passaggio*, or *passos*.[54]

For the highly skilled musician, performing fantasias was an act of creation rather than recreation. The ambition of many skilled lutenists was to develop the ability to extemporize imitative counterpoint using materials appropriated or assimilated from both instrumental and vocal models, if not newly invented. Many illustrious sixteenth-century lutenists achieved mastery of this performance practice, while others probably needed to compose their works

prior to performance, and many amateurs were no doubt content playing works composed by others. Dentice and his followers arguably belong among the composer-improvisers. The formulaic thematic types, coda formulae and brief, malleable themes in Dentice's music are the likely product of improvised performance practice. These features point towards fantasias extemporized through the elaboration of memorized materials—opening imitations, internal episodes and codas—assembled extempore into cogent and satisfying musical structures during performance. In conceiving these materials, Dentice and others like him would surely have incorporated ideas and processes derived from vocal music, directly or indirectly, and it is here that the boundary is blurred between original material and what we would identify as parody. The only identified parody in this collection, Giulio Severino's fantasia on Lasso's "Susanna un jour" opens by quoting directly from the beginning of its model, developing a long initial section from the transformed initial theme, but thereafter makes but passing reference to Lasso's chanson. There is reason to suspect that Dentice, too, may have quoted or drawn materials from unidentified vocal works. The untitled fantasia [no. 6] is one of the most conspicuous candidates and recalls strongly the polyphonic style of the chansons of Crecquillon or the madrigals of Arcadelt.

Improvised practice is suggested further by the two closely related fantasias (nos. 10–10a) that perhaps reflect the very nature of the improvised fantasia in the second half of the sixteenth century. Assuming both versions to be authentic, their considerable differences suggest something highly significant about the composer's notion of his own works. The Barbarino lutebook version ascribed to Dentice (no. 10) comprises 115 measures in transcription while the untitled and anonymous version in the Siena lutebook (no. 10a) is thirty-eight measures shorter. The first dozen measures of both are almost identical, but thereafter the two versions develop along completely different paths, each in a manner that conforms closely to Dentice's style. The common opening might thus represent a memorized beginning from which each work was freely developed freely using other materials from Dentice's musical stockpile including, in the case of the Barbarino lutebook version, the coda used also in no. 2. These two works are thus likely to be representative of the extemporized tradition. More than four hundred years later, it is impossible to establish whether these would have been considered by their creator to be the same work, related versions, or different compositions.

The process of composition is inextricably linked to notation and many of the issues pertaining to the sources that preserve the music of Dentice and his circle. The principal sources of this edition are anthologies compiled from diverse sources, at least ten to twenty years after the death of the composers represented, and predominantly if not solely intended for the use of their compilers. How exactly the music reached the compilers is unknown: transmission may have been either written or oral. There are few concordances with printed sources and so, other than music transmitted orally, the majority of the music is likely to have come from handwritten exemplars of varying provenance, quality and authority. Some works may have been learnt directly from other lutenists—teachers, colleagues or itinerant visitors—and notated after having been memorized. Oral transmission increases the likelihood of modification, even corruption, and it is therefore difficult to assert that the works edited here are exactly as their composers might have conceived them.[55] Unlike printed sources, the manuscript copies at our disposal have not been polished and corrected for publication and are of varying quality. Discounting the works possibly by Newsidler, only one of the fantasias here, Severino's parody of "Susanne un jour" (no. 23) is preserved in a printed source and it is the only work in the edition preserved in a completely error-free tablature.

Some of Dentice's fantasias transmitted in manuscript show a high level of organization

and compositional polish (nos. 2, 4, 9, 12), while others appear to have been handed down in a less than polished form, without the rhetorical cogency or polyphonic precision of the most accomplished works. Dentice's fantasias thus possibly reveal considerable detail on aspects of compositional process, rather than representing their author's fully realized oeuvre. In accounting for the qualitative differences of the works we must accept their unevenness, admit the possibility of corruption, argue that some of them might be musical experiments that were never fully developed, or regard some as something more akin to annotated performance materials. It is particularly works such as the fantasia from the Siena lutebook (no. 7) that raise such issues. The alternation of solo and polyphonic passages is unique in Dentice's output and without parallel in the entire sixteenth-century lute repertory. We have no way of knowing whether this work was an experiment or if it survives incomplete, or whether it might have been intended to emulate or accompany an ensemble of some kind. Another of Dentice's fantasias from the Barbarino lutebook (no. 11) contains a similarly atypical string of eight embellished cadences (mm. 28–31) that may well represent a harmonic experiment as it is used to provide precadential intensification at the conclusion of an episode. The imitative episode that follows it, from m. 35, is entirely consistent with his style, as is the pedal D in the preceding four measures.

Five fantasias and a "Canzon francese" constitute the abstract works of Giulio Severino preserved without conflicting attributions. The "Fantasia sopra Susane un jour" (no. 23) more than any other work projects Severino as a composer comparable to Fabrizio Dentice. It is an extended composition of 113 measures in transcription, initiated by a paraphrase of the opening Lasso's chanson and extended by a derived theme in combination with free writing until the central cadence at m. 67, the midpoint of the work. The second half of the fantasia commences with passing reference to the model (cf. mm. 58–59 with mm. 38–39 of the model), and comprises further imitative episodes commencing at measures 69 and 87, and a finely wrought coda that is stated twice (mm. 97, 105 ff.). None of the four fantasias from the Siena lutebook is of such extended proportion, nor appears to reflect the same musical mastery. Two fantasias (nos. 17–18) are polythematic imitative works; another two (nos. 19 –20) are essentially monothematic compositions and are closely related to the style of the "Canzon francese" (no. 21) from the Barbarino lutebook. These last five works all commence with imitation using themes that are slightly longer than the motivic themes of Dentice's fantasias. As they unfold, an increasing amount of free material is also used. After the initial imitative thematic exposition of the monothematic works, the theme is presented in augmentation and used in the manner of an ostinato. In no. 20, for example, the initial nineteen measures of imitation are followed by four varied statements of the augmented theme, given in the soprano (mm. 21–30), alto (mm. 38–46), and twice in the bass (mm. 50–56, 62–70) and thus underpin the vast majority of the work. Under the title of "Canzon francese" (no. 21) is another abstract work distinguishable from the fantasias only through its more prolific use of diminution and the density of its textures. Its initial theme is remarkably similar to those of the previous four fantasias, and concludes with two augmented statements of the theme in the highest voice (mm. 15–18, 19–23), as in the monothematic fantasias. A second theme is introduced and imitated (mm. 25–31) giving way to essentially free polyphony (mm. 32–51) amply impregnated with motives derived from the second theme. The name of this work may simply derive from the rhythm of its opening, although it could possibly be derived from an unidentified French chanson. The density of the work may also reflect the way that Severino's fantasias sounded in performance and it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that the fantasias in the Siena lutebook are more skeletal in their representation of the musical materials.

The two fantasias with conflicting attribution (nos. 14–15) are both polythematic imitative works that identify more closely with the style of Fabrizio Dentice, however, it would be precipitous to ascribe them to Dentice rather than Severino on this ground alone. It is by no means certain that the small number of surviving pieces by Severino in particular provides a sufficiently large sample to allow this conclusion.

The sole fantasia attributed to Giovanni Antonio Severino is again cast in a very similar language to the fantasias by his brother Giulio and Fabrizio Dentice, although the textures are marginally lighter. The fantasia is well crafted with points of imitation but a number of features, especially the cadential progressions of its second half, distinguish it from the work of the other composers. Unusual cadential suspensions give rise to some extravagant dissonances, and the work is unique in the present collection in that it begins with an introductory exordium prior to the introduction of the first imitative theme in m. 8.

The "Fuga" by Francesco Cardone (no. 25) is distinct in style from the other abstract pieces in this collection above all due to its formal structure. The work is built from two imitative sections beginning in measures 1 and 44, each of which is develops as free counterpoint after the initial exposition and culminates with a passage in triple meter. A virtuoso coda is added after the second triple passage to bring the work to its conclusion. Its chromatic inflections result in distinctively unusual melodic and harmonic progressions. Metrical irregularities are also found in the passage that extends the first thematic exposition (esp. mm. 15–22) where the phrases alternate between duple and triple groupings. The concluding passage of the first half of the piece (mm. 39–43, 69–74 in the tablature) are notated as part of the triple section although both measures 69 and 74 are actually duple measures, and the music of the intervening measures is duple rather than triple. This unusual notation appears to be an indication that the passage, irrespective of its meter, should be played at a faster speed used as in the preceding triple section, returning to the original tempo after the change of signature in measure 44 (= m. 75 in the tablature). The music of triple sections of this piece, in fact, both appear to be largely in duple meter, and the change of signature appears to be more related to tempo than to meter.

The questions of the authorship of the group of fantasias attributed to both Melchior Newsidler and Fabrizio Dentice (nos. 27–31) have been discussed above with only passing allusion to their musical style. They are all polythematic fantasias and show considerable stylistic cohesion as a group. Their polyphony is frequently more rigorous in the use of imitative themes than the Dentice fantasias from manuscript sources, and the passages of free extension make greater recourse to elements of the thematic material. Nos. 28–29 both have concluding passages (from m. 53 in no. 28 and m. 76 in no. 29) that are highly idiomatic in conception, with a reduced texture to accommodate the faster movement. There are no parallels to this writing in Dentice's other works. In sum, if they are works by Dentice, then they are remarkably different to the pieces preserved in manuscript and would need to be seen as representing another dimension of his output, perhaps more developed and polished because they were issued in a printed source. However, it is equally if not more likely on these grounds that they are works by Melchior Newsidler mistakenly attributed to Dentice by Besard and Hainhofer, probably because of their dense imitative style and their length.

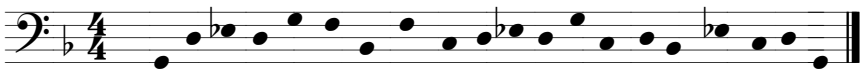
We have included the one ricercar (no. 32) expressly attributed to Dentice among a group of pieces copied around 1580 in the Bourdenay MS, an anthology in score notation originating in Parma.[56] It is vastly different to any other surviving music by Dentice, composed in dense continuous style devoid of the clear terminal cadences that divide his lute fantasias into smaller units. This work belongs to a different genre of instrumental music and is not the product of improvisation, but a studied exercise in structured and sophisticated

imitative composition. Four-part ricercars of this kind were conceived as complex abstract counterpoints that could be performed in a variety of ways by instrumental ensembles, as solo keyboard works, or perhaps even re-arranged for the lute. Our reconstruction of the work in lute tablature format, an editorial experiment, shows the idiomatic awkwardness of the music on the lute in its complete form.

Dances

Because he was not a professional lutenist, Dentice was under no obligation to compose dance music to satisfy practical needs, and it is not surprising, in comparison to many of his colleagues such as Santino Garsi in Parma, that only two dances are attributed to him. The *Volta di Spagna* (no. 13) is a simple but elegant binary dance, although its title is unusual given that no Spanish examples of the volta are otherwise known, although it may given this name in order only to provide an oblique reference to Dentice, given his travels in Spain. The questions of authorship of the *Gagliarda bella* (no. 16) have been discussed above. Whether by Dentice or Diomedes Cato the work is a more elaborate composition including hemiolas of the type characteristic of galliards of this period, and is preserved with composed variations of both its strains.

The *Canto llano* and its *Contrapunto* (no. 26) are built upon an unidentified cantus firmus of the type that was commonly used for dance tenors in the early sixteenth-century and that were still in use in Italy and Spain until at least the middle of the century.[57] This piece is copied in the Barbarino lutebook as two separate pieces, but it is clear that they form one continuous piece. The *Canto llano* (mm. 1–36 of the tablature; to the mid point of m. 19 of the transcription) finishes without a cadence and leads directly into the *Contrapunto*. The notes of the tenor, resembling the initial notes of the melody used in Francesco da Milano's setting of "La Spagna," are written in solfa syllables above the tablature (re la fa . . .) of the first system of the tablature. The cantus firmus is shown in example 1.The opening statement gives the cantus firmus in the bass, with the upper part moving in regular eighth notes. The *Contrapunto* is a variation closely derived from the upper melody of the first statement and set in continuous sixteenth notes. The Spanish title of the piece may be indicative of the Spanish provenance of the music or its tenor, although it could simply reflect the norms of language use in Spanish Naples. In this particular case, the work is one of those in the Barbarino lutebook copied from Luys Maymón's *Flores de tañer*.[58]



Intabulation

The only intabulation attributed to any of the Neapolitan lutenists is the setting of Palestrina's madrigal *Da poi che vidi vostra falsa fede*, attributed to Giulio Severino in the Barbarino lutebook. It is a literal transcription of Palestrina's compact setting of a Petrarchan text and first appeared in *Il terzo libro delle Muse* (Rome, 1562), an anthology with strong Neapolitan links.[59] This print contains the only surviving music by Luigi Dentice, as well as pieces by Lasso whose youth was spent in Naples, and others by the Neapolitans Giovanni Domenico da Nola and Stefano Lando. The dedicatee of the book is Don Indico Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, a prominent member of the group of exiled Neapolitans in Rome in the 1550s who were influential in the vogue of the *villanella alla napoletana*.[60]

Notes

1 Francesco da Milano, *Intavolatura de Viola o vero Lauto cioe Recercate, Canzone Francese, Mottete, Composto per lo Eccellente & Unico Musico Francesco Milanese, non mai piu stampata. Libro Primo della Fortuna*, idem, *Libro Secondo* (Naples, 1536; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1977).

2 P-Kj Mus. ms. 40032. An inventory of the contents is given in Dieter Kirsch and Lenz Meierott, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau* (Mainz: Schott, 1992). A complete edition of this MS by the editors of the present volume is in preparation.

3 Naples was a Spanish dominion governed by a viceroy during the period 1503–1707.

4 Scipione Cerreto, *Della prattica musicale vocale, et strumentale. Opera necessaria a coloro che di musica si dilettano* (Naples, 1601): 157–59.

5 Following the distinction made by Cerreto between living and deceased musicians, those still living in 1601 are Luca di Nola Bolino, Antonio Miscia [Messia], Giovan Domenico Montella, while those who had died prior to this date are Annibale Bolognese, Luise Caso, Camillo Lambardi, the brothers Garsia and Luise Maione, Vicencello and Pompeo Severino, and Giulio Cesare Stellatello. It is possible that Luise Maione is the same Luys Maymón whose works are included in the Barbarino lutebook, and that Garsia and Luise were from the same family as the renowned keyboard player Ascanio Maione. The manuscript GB-Lbl Add. 30491, a written out four-part score contains four pieces by Francesco, son of Camillo Lambardi, who was not primarily a lutenist but the reputed maestro di cappella of the Santa Casa dell'Annunziata in Naples from 1595 to 1634. These Neapolitan keyboard pieces are reproduced in *Neapolitan Keyboard Composers Circa 1600*, ed. Roland Jackson, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, vol. 24 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1967). The only other surviving source of Neapolitan keyboard music composed before 1600 is the manuscript I-Nc M.S. 48 (*olim* 61.4.11), in Italian keyboard tablature.

6 See Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris' *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950): 19–26.

7 Bartolomeo Lieto Panhormitano, *Dialogo quarto di musica dove si ragiona sotto un piacevole discorso delle cose pertinenti per intavolare le opere di musica et esercitarle con la viola a mano over liuto con sue tavole ordinate per diversi gradi alti e bassi* (Naples, 1559; reprint, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993). A descripition of this source is in Dinko Fabris, "Contributo alla storia della teoria musicale a Napoli nell'epoca vicereale: le fonti del Cinquecento," *Le fonti musicali in Italia. Studi e ricerche* 2 (1988): 78–79; and idem, "Lute Tablature Instructions in Italy: A Survey of the *Regole* from 1507 to 1759," in *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela*, ed. Victor Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 31–32.

8 The relationship of Giulio, Pompeo, and Giovanni Antonio is confirmed by Luigi Contarino, *La nobilità di Napoli in dialogo* (Naples, 1569), 166: "Giovan Antonio, Pompeo, e Giulio Severini fratelli Sonatori eccellenti di Viola."

9 See John Roberts, "The Death of Guzman," *Lute Society Journal* 10 (1968): 36–37.

10 See David Fallows, "15th-century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, A Revision, and A Suggestion," *Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977): 7–33.

11 For further details of Neapolitan tablature see Dinko Fabris, "The Origin of Italian Lute Tablature: Venice circa 1500 or Naples before Petrucci?" *Musik–Druck–Musikdruck. 500 Jahre Ottaviano Petrucci 1501–2001* (Symposium Basel 2001), in *Basler Jahrbuch für Historishe Musikpraxis*, forthcoming.

12 The anonymous novel *Questio de Amor* (Salamanca, 1515) describes the typical atmosphere of the festivities of the Neapolitan nobility in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and includes the full texts of several Spanish songs sung to the lute in this context.

13 In February 1536 prince Ferrante Sanseverino paid 50 ducats "a duj che sonano le gagliarde con dui liuttj." Quoted in Cesare Corsi, "Le carte Sanseverino. Nuovi documenti sul mecenatismo musicale a Napoli e in Italia meridionale nella prima metà del Cinquecento," in *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001), 36.

14 See Corsi, "Le carte Sanseverino," 26. In the second of Luigi Dentice's *Duo dialoghi di musica* (Rome, 1553), fol. 28, there is mention of a concert in Naples in the home of Giovanna d'Aragona, the mother of Vittoria Colonna, that included "Giavanlonardo dell'Harpa Napoletano" (Gianleonardo Mollica), "Perino da Firenze, Battista Siciliano" (the viola player Battista Sansone), "Giaches da Ferrara" and four singers. Corsi points out that, just as the other Neapolitan musicians, Perino's fate was also exile in France. According to Luca Gaurico, *Tractatus astrologicus* (Basel, 1575), II:1647: "Perinus [. . .] fuit discipulus, & alumnus domini Francisci Mediolanensis, & se contulit in Galliam ad Reginam Francorum inclytam." See also the introduction to Perino Fiorentino, *Opere per liuto*, ed. Mirko Caffagni and Franco Pavan (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 1996).

15 "viola ad mano sopra la intavolatura . . . con misura, tutte le opere che gli saranno poste per le mani . . . con promessa di andare ogni giorno in casa sua." See Gaetano Filangieri, *Documenti per la storia, le arti, le industrie delle provincie napoletane* (Naples, 1883–91), V:91. The same Andriolo was already recorded as teacher of *viola da mano* and music in the years 1549–50 (ibid.).

16 Naples, Archivio di Stato, Banchieri antiche, 1577, fol. [83].

17 Anon., "Napoli musicale alla fine del Cinquecento: gli stipendi dei maestri," *Napoli nobilissima*, nuova serie 3 (1922): 151.

18 See Francesco Nocerino, "La bottega dei 'violari' napoletani Albanese e Matino in un inventario inedito del 1578," in *Liuteria Musica e Cultura*, ed. Renato Meucci (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2001), 3–9.

19 On the life and work of Fabrizio and Luigi Dentice see: Dinko Fabris, "Vita e opera di Fabrizio Dentice, nobile Napolitano, compositore del secondo cinquecento," *Studi musicali* 21 (1992): 61–113; and idem, *Da Napoli a Parma: itinerari di un compositore aristocratico. Opere vocali di Fabrizio Dentice (c.1530–1581)* (Milan: Skira, 1999); and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., *Personenteil*, s,v, "Dentice, Fabrizio," "Dentice, Luigi."

20 In a curious miscellany entitled *Sette libri de cathaloghi dei musici, et sonatori dell'una e l'altra età* (Venice, 1552), Luigi is described as "Aluvigi Dentice Napolitano, & canta, & suona divinamente" (p. 509).

21 In April 1541, when prince Sanseverino was in Bruges, Pietro de Cologna received 6 ducats "per un liuto dato a S.or Luigi Dentice." Cited in Corsi, "Le carte Sanseverino," 39.

22 Luigi is described in 1563 as an "imbasciadore" of Sanseverino in correspondence from Vincentio Martelli cited in Corsi, "Le carte Sanseverino," 11–13; 37–39. On the Neapolitan background, see the introduction by Donna Cardamone to Giovanthomaso Cimello, *The Collected Secular Works*, ed. Donna Cardamone and James Haar, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 126, (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2001).

23 Luigi Contarino, *Della nobiltà di Napoli in dialogo* (Naples, 1569), 353. The Severinos and the nobleman of Spanish origin, Pietro d'Isis or de Yciz (1521–81), are the other lutenists cited.

24 The first edition of Dentice's treatise was published in Naples in 1552.

25 *Il terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci. Madrigali ariosi, da diversi eccell. Musici raccolti, et dati in luce* (Rome, 1562). This volume, reprinted in Venice by Rampazetto in 1563, includes the Petrarchan "aere" *I piango ed ella il volto* attributed to Luigi Dentice. The same chordal style is also evident in the exile-song *Come t'haggio lassata*, also called "Lamento del Principe of Salerno," that may have been composed, as Cardamone has suggested, by Luigi (or Fabrizio) Dentice at the request of the Prince Sanseverino. See Donna G. Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile," *Acta musicologica* 67 (1995): 77–108; and idem "The Prince and Princess of Salerno and the Spanish Viceroy: Popular Songs of Exile," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993): 2231–52.

26 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Dentice, Luigi," by Keith Larson, still refers to the manuscript copy of the *Duo dialoghi* in I-Fc B.3797 (including four instrumental canons added at the end) as an autograph by Luigi Dentice. This manuscript is, however, a handwritten copy of the second edition of the treatise, not an autograph, and the instrumental pieces could have been added by the owner of the manuscript (see Fabris, "Contributo alla storia della teoria musicale," 77).

27 Vincenzo Cervio, *Il trinciante* (Rome, 1593), 102: "Capitorno in quel tempo in Madrid una muta di virtuosi Napoletani, che si obbligorno far sentire a S. Maestà ogni giorno madrigali, & villanelle nove non più udite per un mese di lungo."

28 The earliest known letter by Fabrizio Dentice was written in Milan on 20 October 1562 to Guidubaldo II della Rovere, and it reveals that the duke of Urbino had unsuccessfully asked Dentice to enter his service that year. The letter is published with other documents on Dentice in Pesaro (1570 and 1574) in Franco Piperno, *L'immagine del Duca. Musica e spettacolo alla corte di Guidubaldo II duca d'Urbino* (Florence: Olschki, 2001), 280, 294–97. The other document on the presence of Dentice in the D'Avalos court in Rome 1567 is published in Franco Piperno, "The Lute at the Court of Guidubaldo II Della Rovere Duke of Urbino," *Die Laute: Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* 3 (1999): 1–27.

29 See John Ward, "A Dowland Miscellany," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 10 (1977): 97.

30 Pierre Maillart, *Les tons* (Tournai, 1610), 171: "jouer du luth avec une perfection qu'il ait jamais rassenties."

31 The text is reprinted in Fabris, *Da Napoli a Parma*, 43.

32 Tommaso Costo, *Le otto giornate del Fuggilotio* (Venice, 1602), 139, cited in Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 103.

33 The documents in Parma were first brought to light by Jessie Ann Owens and then published in Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice."

34 See Piperno, *L'immagine del Duca.*

35 The only reference to Dentice is in the payrolls of Cardinal Farnese for the year 1570: Parma, State Archive, *Mastri Farnesiani*, b.7 , cited in Laurie Stras, "*Onde havrà 'l mondo'esempio et vera historia.* Musical Echoes of Henri III's Progress Through Italy," *Acta Musicologica* 72 (2000): 27. See also Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 74.

36 Francesco Patrizi, *L'Amorosa filosofia* (reprint, ed. John Charles Nelson (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1963), 35–41. The most interesting passage is the description of the musician's nobility: "al Dentici . . . egli da prode cavaliere, si come egli era, in quello che affare a lui toccava si portasse." Cited in Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 103.

37 The pieces by Fabrizio Dentice published in the same year in Rocco Rodio's collection of *Aeri raccolti* (Naples, 1577) could be related with the music for this Neapolitan wedding.

38 In 1574 Dentice recruited a bass from Pesaro and a contralto from Rome (Cappella di San Pietro) for Ottavio Farnese (unpublished letter signed by Fabrizio Dentice "di Roma a 8 di novembre 1574" found by Laurie Stras: Parma, State Archive, *CFE*, b.373. Two further letters by Dentice and others that mention him are in the same collection, bb. 369–70, from the year 1573). Also in 1574, Fabrizio was in the house of Cardinal Farnese, and describes in his last known letter the excited atmosphere of expectation that anticipated the arrival in Parma of the king of France. See Stras, "*Onde havrà 'l mondo'esempio,*" 28. These letters bring to six the number of known autograph letters by Dentice from the period 1562–74.

39 Niccolò Tagliaferro, in *L'Esercitio* (Ms. dated 1608 in I-Nf, SM.XXVIII.166) refers to Dentice as "a Neapolitan knight of noble standing," unequalled even by the "Cavaglierino in the service of Cardinal Farnese in Rome." Recent research has demonstrated that the renowned lutenist Lorenzino and the "Cavaliere del liuto," for a long time considered to be one and the same person, were two distinct Roman virtuosi. Regarding the first mentioned of these, Lorenzino Trajetti who died in Rome in 1590 after serving Cardinal d'Este, see Marco Pesci, "Lorenzo Tracetti, alias Lorenzino, suonatore di liuto," *Recercare* 4 (1997): 233–42. The "Cavaliere," first mentioned in correspondence from Naples in 1586 by Jean de Macque, was in the service of Cardinal Montalto and died in 1608. In Traiano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, III (Venice, 1614) is a reference to "Vincenzo Pinti, per l'eccellenza con la quale suona quell'istrumento, nella corte di Roma "detto il cavalier del liuto" (*Ragguagli di Parnaso e scritti minori*, ed. Luigi Firpo (Bari: Laterza, 1948) 1:45). He could be the "Cavagliero Vicentio Pintto" (or Liutto?) mentioned in a letter dated 17 November 1573 by Barbara Sanseverino as the teacher of her daughter Leonora, later active as a virtuoso at the Ferrara court (information graciously communicated by Laurie Stras).

40 Rolando Pico, *Appendice di vari soggetti parmigiani. Aggiunte II al Appendice*, (Parma, 1642), [192]. Cited in Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 104–5.

41 RISM 1568^{12} and 1599^{18}.

42 N. Tagliaferro, *L'Esercizio*, cited in Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 104: "Non manco nome de questi hà lasciato Giulio Severino, mio molto amicissimo e il quale merita memoria quant'altri che del sonar oggi tiene. Fù molto vago, e molto copioso de Capricci, dilicato di mano, fù chiamato Scimia del Signor Fabritio Dentice per il suo bell'ingegno, e suoi honorati costumi fù meritevole havere honorati partiti per l'Italia, il suo fine fù in Spagna; dove à servigi del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna si trovava, che per l'inanti era intrattenuto dal Marchese di Steppa e questo basta per sua memoria."

43 Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos Retratos de Illustres y Memorables varones* (unpublished MS, 1599–; reprint, Seville: Previsión Española, 1983), 200–201.

44 E-V MS.14, containing masses and two-choir motets by Bartholomeo Le Roy, master in the Neapolitan Royal Chapel from 1583 to 1598. The cognate MS.11 in the same archive contains sacred polyphonic settings by Fabrizio Dentice (an entire Compline cycle of nine motets) and several other pieces by Hippolito Tartaglino, organist in the S. Casa dell'Annunziata in Naples from 1579 to his death in 1582. See Fabris, *Da Napoli a Parma*, 47. MS 17 also contains the tenor voice of settings of two sonnets by Garcilaso, "O más dura que marmol" and "Pasando el mar Leandro" attributed to Giulio Severino.

45 Pietro Aron, *Lucidario di musica* (Venice, 1545), 32.

46 See Keith A. Larson, "Condizione sociale dei musicisti e dei loro committenti nella Napoli del Cinque e Seicento," in *Musica e Cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 61–77, esp. 63, 72.

47 Dentice's madrigal *Poich'il mio largo pianto* was published as early as 1567, however, but it appeared anonymously in Giulio Bonagionta's anthology *Secondo Libro delle Fiamme* (Venice, 1567). See Fabris, *Da Napoli a Parma*, 48.

48 We are grateful to Joseph A. DiFrances for drawing our attention to the Fuenllana concordances.

49 See Joachim Lüdtke, *Die Lautenbücher Philipp Hainhofers (1578–1647)*, Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, vol. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

50 For example, in no. 31, in the last chord of m. 7, Besard gives II/d in agreement with Newsidler's II/3, but the cipher should be I/d. Similarly, Besard, in chord 3 of m. 64, gives III/h, following Newsidler's III/7, instead of III/f.

51 In playing that is "quick of hand," the "listener lets his mind run free and is pleased" while Fabrizio Dentice was noted for his "solid harmonies" and "well constructed melody [that] detains one with delight" according to Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Il Forastiero* (Naples, 1634), 4.

52 Besard also attributes two other Newsidler 1566 works to Jacob Reys (*Thesaurus Harmonicus*, fols, 19v, 20v). For further details and discussion of the Besard attributions, see Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 87.

53 Otto Gombosi, "A la recherche de la Forme dans la Musique de la Renaissance: Francesco da Milano," in *La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1955), 165–76. For subsequent studies, see particularly Jean-Michel Vaccaro's introduction to Albert da Rippe, *Fantaisies* (Paris: CNRS, 1972) and John Griffiths, "The Vihuela Fantasia: A Comparative Study of Forms and Styles," (Ph.D. diss., Monash University, 1983).

54 The Ramillete MS, fol. 287, includes a piece called "final de qualquier cosa o tiento de viguela" [ending for whatever you like or *tiento* for vihuela].

55 No. 8 (m. 31) and various passages of no. 10 provide examples of defective notation, whether copied from a written exemplar or notated from a memorized oral transmission.

56 The ricercars from this MS are edited by Anthony Newcomb in *The Ricercars of the Bourdenay Codex*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, vol. 89 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1991). Concerning the possible attribution to Fabrizio Dentice of other four-part ricercars from this source, see Dinko Fabris, "Il ruolo di Napoli nella tradizione del ricercare in partitura: una sconosciuta raccolta di Fabrizio Dentice del 1567?" *Revista de Musicologia* 16 (1993), 3293–367.

57 Cf. the "Spagna" for two lutes by Francesco da Milano (*Collected Lute Music*, ed. Arthur J. Ness, p. 244); the "Baxa de contrapunto" by Luis de Narváez in *Los seys libros de Delphín* (Valladolid, 1538) fol. 95v; and two works in *Silva de sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547) by Enríquez de Valderrábano, "Contrapunto sobre el tenor de la baxa" (fol. 58v) and "Fantasia sobre entrada de una baxa" (fol. 64).

58 Barbarino evidently copied the first seventy eight works of his lutebook from this no longer extant source. After copying the last of these works he wrote into the manuscript "Finis de Flores para tañer de Luys Maymón" (p. 105).

59 For a detailed comparison of the intabulation and its model, see John Griffiths, "The Lute and the Polyphonist," *Studi musicali* 31 (2002): 71–90.

60 See Donna G. Cardamone, "Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome," in *Orlandus Lassus and his Time: Colloquium Proceedings Antwerpen 24–26.08.1994*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al (Peer: Alamire, 1994), 23–47.

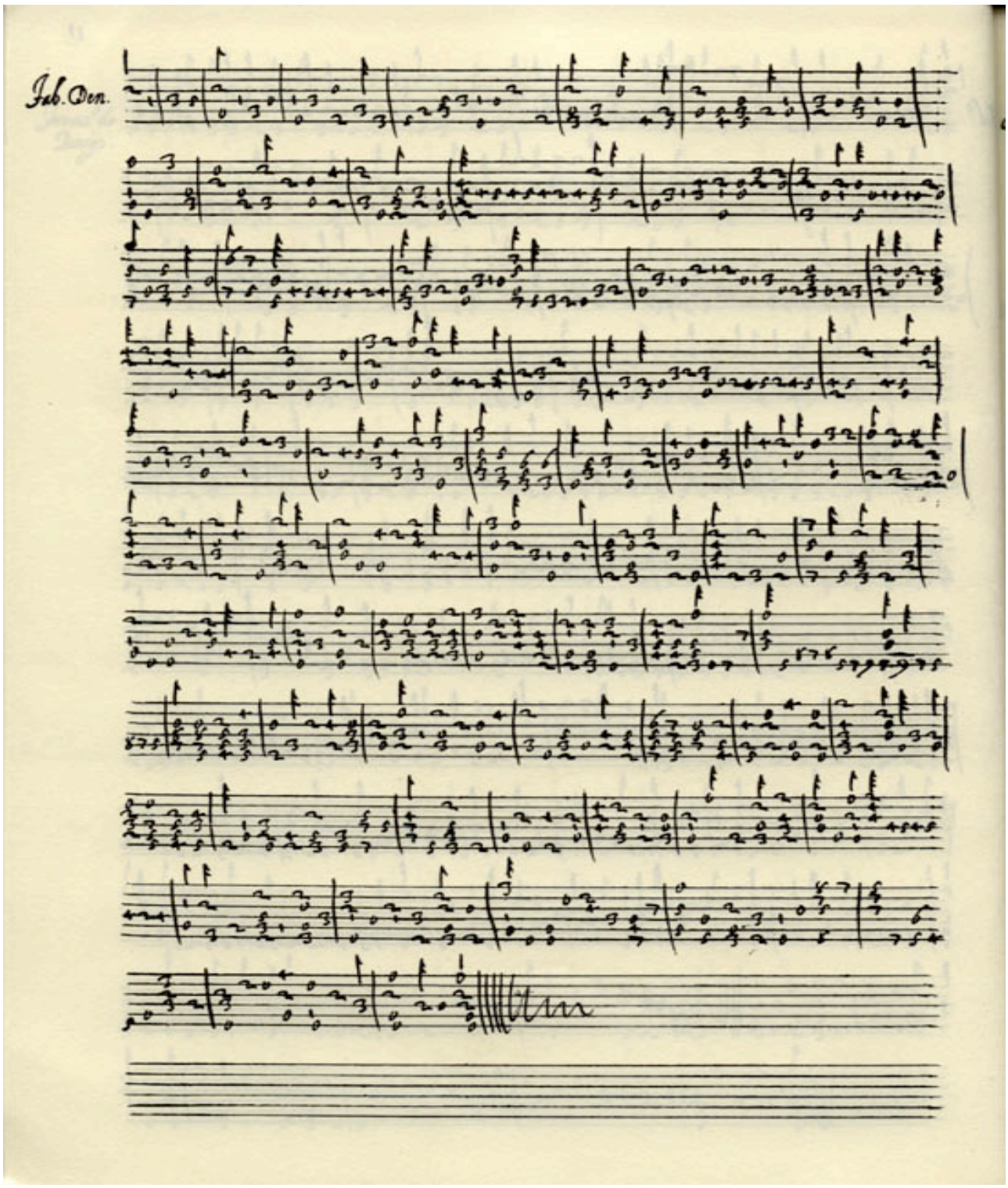


Plate 1. Siena Lutebook, fol. 11v: untitled fantasia by Fabrizio Dentice, No. 2 in this edition (Courtesy of the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague).

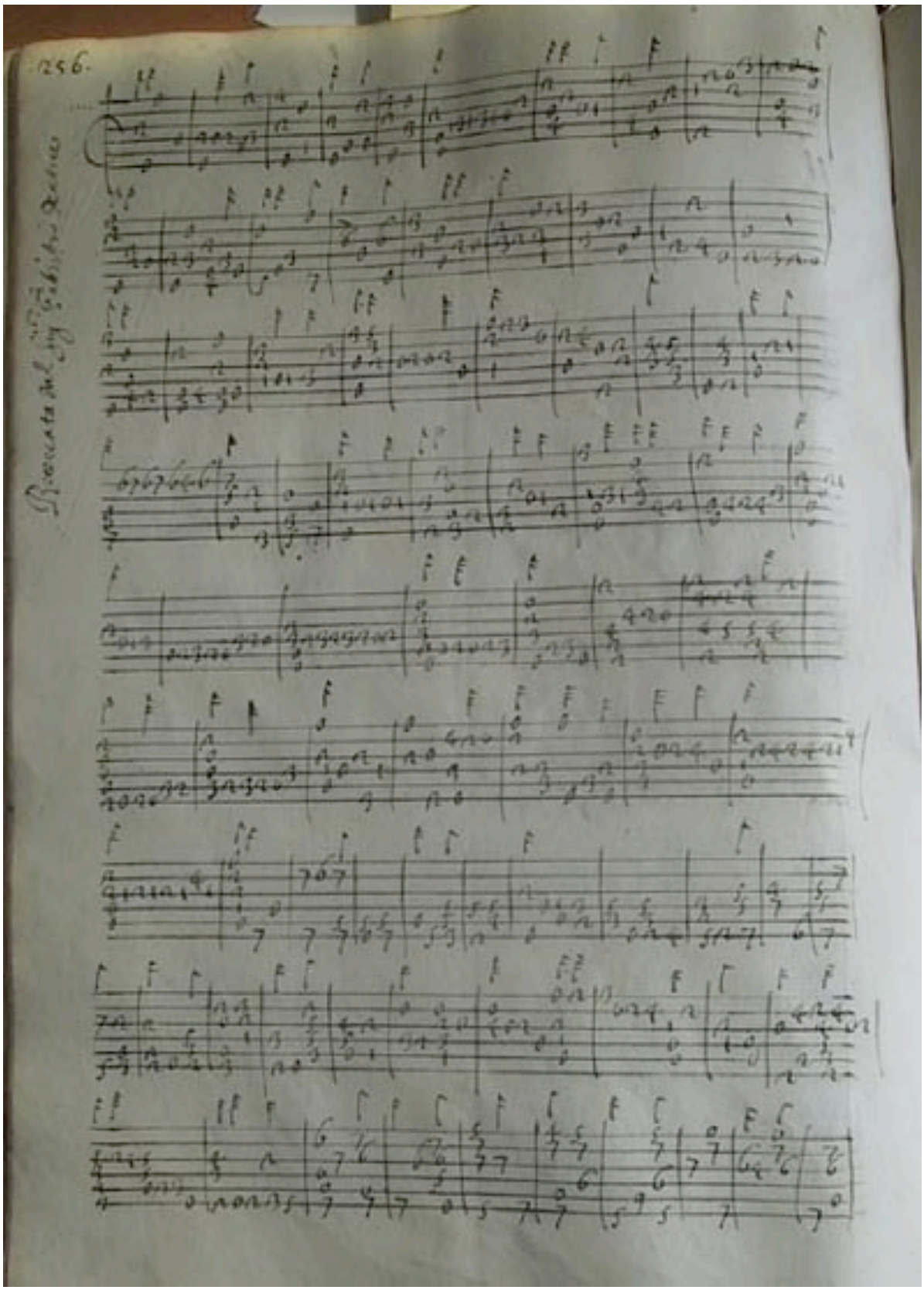


Plate 2. Barbarino Lutebook, p. 256: Fabrizio Dentice, *Recercata*, the opening page of No. 10 in this edition (Courtesy of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Kraków).

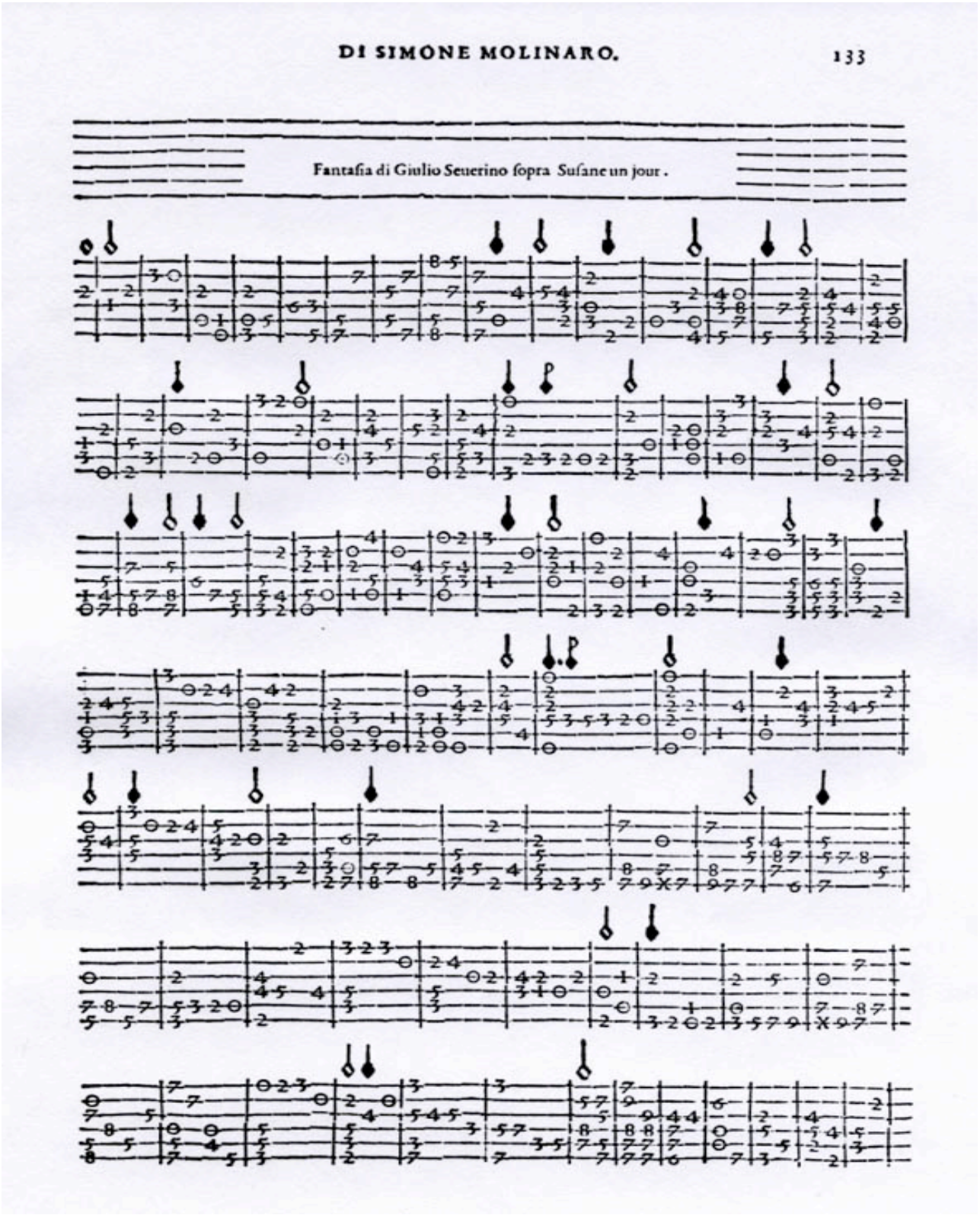


Plate 3. Simone Molinaro, *Intavolatura di liuto di Simone Molinaro genovese libro primo*, (Venice: Amadino,1599), p. 133: Giulio Severino, *Fantasia sopra Susane un jour*, the opening of No. 23 in this edition. (Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence).

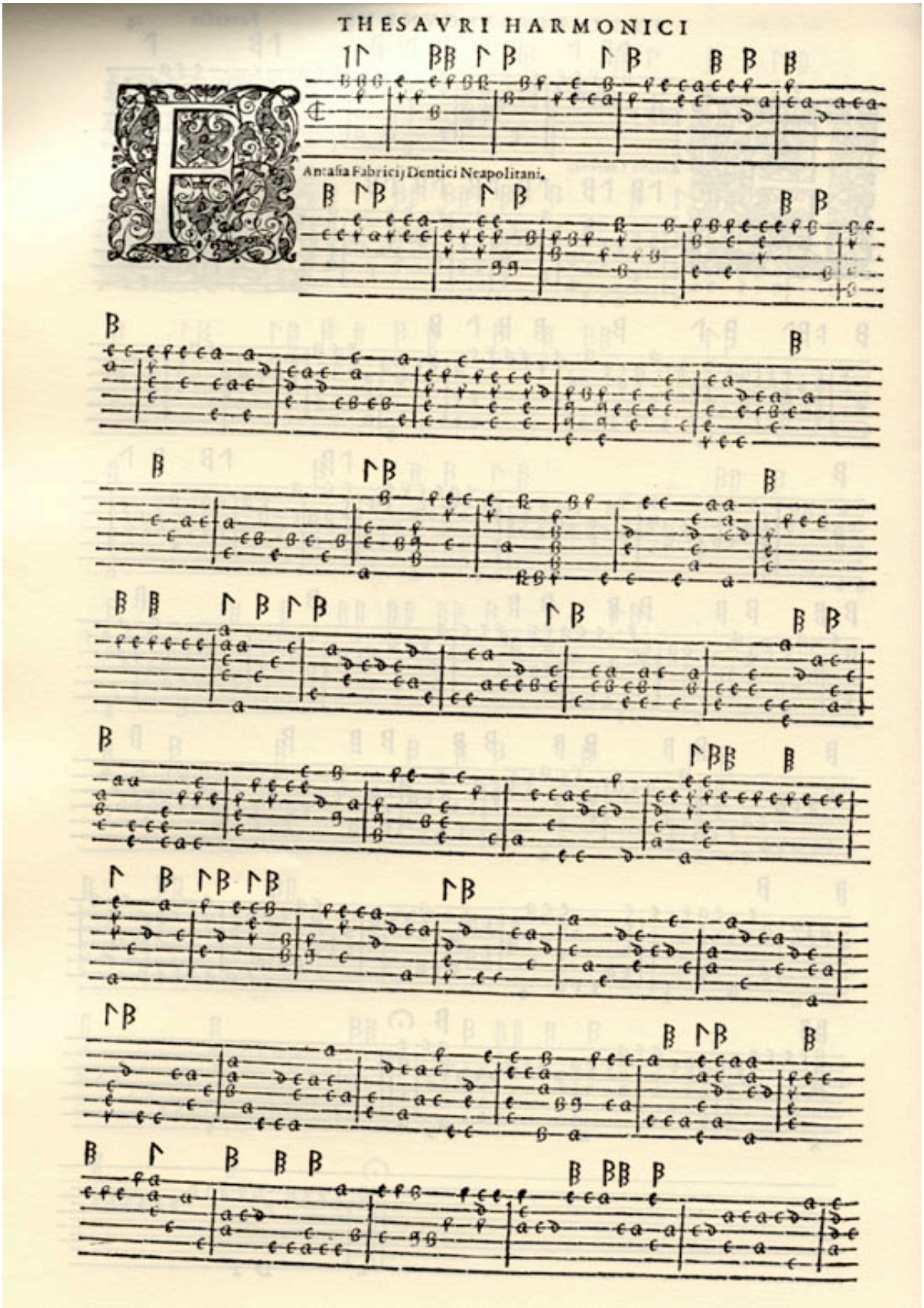


Plate 4. Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus*. (Cologne: Greuenbach, 1603), fol 14v: *Fantasia Fabricij Dentici Neapolitani*, the opening of No. 28 in this edition. (Courtesy Editions Minkoff, Geneva).