

A GENTLEMAN'S LUTE BOOK: THE TABLATURE OF GABRIELLO FALLAMERO

Joel Newman

AMONG THE MANY musical volumes "given into the light" in 1584 by Venetian printing presses were items prophetic as Monteverdi's *Canzonette a 3*, influential as Marenzio's fourth book of five-part madrigals or the second edition of Galilei's *Fronimo*, and as ordinary as the subject of this study. So apparently uneventful is this tablature that it has never been described in detail, though it has been cited on occasion (Chilesotti 1889; De La Laurencie 1928:35; Boetticher 1954; Reese 1954:523; R.I.S.M. 1:323). Einstein had not examined the volume and could not list its contents completely in his revision of Vogel's madrigal bibliography (1946:51). The present article, begun as a footnote to this invaluable reference tool, was expanded after examination of the tablature made clear that it had some modestly distinctive qualities as well as typical ones. After all, the most everyday musical source deserves attention; such ephemeral material—along with diaries, letters from one nobody to another, and cartoons—can play an essential role in our full understanding of a historical period or process. Material of this kind may be seen as the grout in which are embedded the more outstanding tesserae of history's mosaic.

Nothing is known about the "gentleman" author or his dedicatee, the Signora Livia Guasca Pozza, *damma nobilissima Alessandrina*. The references to their status are correct: the Fallameri were an aristocratic family of the Piedmontese city, Alessandria, though they were not as well-known as the Guasco family (A. Guasco 1605; Bossola 1903).

The tablature's title page reads as follows:

*Il primo libro de intavolatura/ da liuto, de
motetti ricercate madrigali,/ et canzonette
alla napolitana,/ a tre, et quattro voci, per
cantare, et/ sonare composte per Gabriel*

*Fallamero Gentilhuomo Alessandrino,/
Novamente posto in luce. / [device] / In
Vinegia. / Appresso l'herede di Girolamo
Scotto. / MDLXXXIII.*¹

This ambiguously worded title formula raises several interesting questions. Is *composte* a boast, and would *intavolate* have been more accurate? A scholar has indicated that the volume's contents are "only intabulations" (Ward 1952:88), but the present examination will suggest that Fallamero plays a more important role. Is the collection as comprehensive as the title promises? Is it as conservative as the presence of *motetti* and *ricercate* would suggest? Are all of the contents in tablature notation? The phrase *per cantare et sonare* is certainly an unusual one in the context of Italian lutebooks. Listing the complete contents and examining each category in turn will serve to answer these and other questions.

<i>Title and No. of Parts</i>	<i>Composer</i> ²
1. In me tanto l'ardore (4)	de Monte
2. Apariran per me le stelle (4)	Lasso
3. Là ver l'aurora (5)	"
4. Tirsi morir volea (5)	Marenzio
5. Madonna mia gentile (5)	"
6. Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi (4)	Ruffo
7. Sapi Signor che Lilia son io (5)	Vinci
8. Per pianto la mia carne (4)	Lasso
9. Quando la sera scaccia (5)	"
10. Liquide perle amor (5)	Marenzio
11. Partirò dunque (5)	"
12. Fera gentil (5)	Rore
13. Per che si stretto, <i>2da parte</i> (5)	"
14. Cantai hor piango (5)	Lasso
15. Tengan dunque ver me, <i>2da parte</i> (5)	"
16. Mentre la bella Dori (6)	A. Gabrieli
17. Non ti sdegnar (6)	"

¹ Copies are extant at the Austrian National Library, the University Library at Genoa, and the British Museum in London (which now owns the copy formerly in the Hirsch Collection). I am grateful to the Viennese authorities for a microfilm of their copy.

² Titles and names have been modernized. Only information provided by Fallamero has been given here.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 18. Io mi son giovinetta (4) | D. Ferabosco |
| 19. Livia gentil, voi sete tanto vaga | |
| 20. Poiche sei cosi sorte scropolusa | |
| 21. Preso son io nelle più belle braccia | |
| 22. Canzonette d'amore | |
| 23. S'all'aparir di voi, fulgente stella | |
| 24. Vorria madonna fare, fare, fareti a sapere | |
| 25. O faccia che rallegrì il paradiso | |
| 26. Siate avertiti, O voi cortesi amanti | |
| 27. Occhi leggiadri e cari | |
| 28. Amanti miei, poiche scontenti state | |
| 29. Io son bell'e delicata | |
| 30. Vorria saper da voi, belle citelle | |
| 31. Chi mira gl'occhi tuoi | |
| 32. Io son fenice & voi sete la fiamma | |
| 33. Nel vago lume de' bei vostri rai | |
| 34. Viver non posso senz'il mio bel sole | |
| 35. Gridate, gridate guerra | |
| 36. Amor se giusto sei | |
| 37. Io vo morir non sia alcun | |
| 38. Mentr'io campai contento | |
| 39. Standomi un giorno (5) | Lasso |
| 40. Indi per alto mar, <i>2da parte</i> (5) | " |
| 41. In un boschetto, <i>3za parte</i> (5) | " |
| 42. Chiara fontana, <i>4ta parte</i> (5) | " |
| 43. Una strana fenice, <i>5ta parte</i> (5) | " |
| 44. Alfin vid'io, <i>6ta parte</i> (5) | " |
| 45. Si dolce d'amar voi (5) | Striggio |
| 46. Dolce mio ben (6) | " |
| 47. Animam meam dilectam (5) | Lasso |
| 48. Congregamini, <i>2da parte</i> (5) | " |
| 49. Recercar del terzo tono | Padovano |
| 50. Recercar del ottavo tono | " |
| 51. I dolci colli (6) | Striggio |
| 52. Et qual cervo ferito, <i>2da parte</i> (6) | " |
| 53. Anchor ch'io possa (6) | " |
| 54. Nasce la pena mia (6) | " |
| 55. Anchor che col partir | |

Fallamero's anthology of forty-six numbers, exclusive of separate *partes*, comprises three distinct musical categories: lute arrangements of vocal favorites (Nos. 1-18, 39-48, 51-54), in-

tabulations of ensemble or keyboard *ricercari* (Nos. 49-50), and *canzonette* to the lute (Nos. 19-38 and 55). The first grouping is the rule in Italian lutebooks, though the second type is less characteristic, since other lutenists generally provided some of their own *ricercari* or *fantasie*, whereas Fallamero has merely intabulated works by another composer. As for the last category, it is unique to this tablature; these are the first *canzonette* to the lute found in print. Had Fallamero added the phrase *di diversi eccellentissimi musici* after his *motetti, ricercate, madrigali*, his title page would have been clearer; but then he has carefully indicated each composer's name for all the selections in these elevated categories. The lighter *canzonette alla napoletana*, on the other hand, are given without any attributions.

The presence of motets seems a rather conservative retention of a practice standard in tablatures of the 1540's. Boetticher's article (1954) on Fallamero indicates that his is the last book to follow this custom.³ However, the promised motets actually turn out to be but one composition in two *partes*, *Animam meam dilectam tradidi*, a work of Lasso's middle years.⁴ By listing "motets" before madrigals on his title page, Fallamero is only paying lip service to tradition. In fact, the heading on his Table of Contents is more accurate: *Tavola delli madrigali/motetti ricercate, et canzonette/ intavolate nel liuto da Gabriel Fallamero*.⁵

The two *ricercari* (Exs. 1 and 2) are polythematic specimens from Annibale Padovano's *Libro primo de ricercari a quattro voci*, printed in 1556.

Ex. 1 *Ricercar del ottavo tono* (No. 8)⁶



³His statement that this is the last tablature "das noch einem grösseren Bestand von Motetten der Spätrenaissance verpflichtet ist" is certainly an exaggeration (1954).

⁴First printed in Paris in 1565 by Le Roy (Boetticher 1958).

⁵The extensive manuscript tablature Upsala University Library VH87 includes only two motets as does Genoa University Library F VII 1, a manuscript source with a remarkably similar repertoire to Fallamero (Hambrecht 1961:46-53; Neri 1890).

⁶Cf. the modern edition in open score by N. Pierront and J.P. Hennebains, Paris, Editions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1934, p. 62.

Ex. 2 *Ricercar del terzo tono (No. 11)*⁷



Annibale, a predecessor of Andrea Gabrieli's at San Marco, was second organist there from 1552 to 1563 and composed keyboard (or ensemble) music, madrigals, and liturgical pieces. Fallamero intabulated these pieces from the original partbooks without adding so much as a single ornament; however, his D-tuning results in a transposition up a fifth.

By selecting instrumental compositions first published twenty-eight years earlier, Fallamero may seem behind the times; but there are several indications that Padovano's music was not considered old-fashioned in 1584. For one thing, his *Libro Primo de Ricercari* was to be reprinted four years later in 1588. Then too, no less a vanguard spirit than Vincenzo Galilei had the highest praise for Padovano in both the *Fronimo* (1568; 1584) and the *Dialogo* (1581).⁸ In the former Galilei included an intabulation of one of these *ricercari (del settimo tono)* that he writes is "the most beautiful perhaps of all that he has written" and "in truth, to my view, . . . marvelous." (Del Valle de Paz 1933:1ff.) Further on in the book he names four of his contemporaries who, in his opinion, compose as well as they perform. Padovano is cited first, then Merulo, Guami, and Luzzaschi.

There is a more important reason why it was not inconsistent for the century's chief spokesman against polyphony to espouse Padovano's strictly contrapuntal music. Instrumental music lagged behind the stylistic development undergone by 16th-century vocal music. The newly independent instrumental genre had only begun to make obeisance to the classic style of sys-

⁷*ibid.*, p. 84. The editors have transformed the first measures to



though their table of variants notes the composer's intention in both original editions. Needless to say, Fallamero does not bear them out.

⁸"I say then that in our times there have been many excellent players, both of the lute and of the keyboard instruments, among whom some have indeed known how to play well and how to write well, or let us say how to compose well, for their instruments, as for the keyboard instrument an Annibale Padovano . . ." (Excerpts from the *Dialogo* translated in Strunk 1950:320.)

tematic imitation during the post-Josquin period at the time of the madrigal's supremacy and of the turn to denser textures representative of the music by Willaert, Gombert, and Rore—in short, during the “mannerist” period. The novel treatment of textures and dissonances, the insistent pictorial urge were all developed at the suggestion of the poetic texts. Since the textless *ricercar* or *fantasia* had no need “to imitate nature,” it was not touched for a long time by the mannerist style. In fact, these genres maintained their classic serenity and polyphonic spirit through decades of production by masters like Cavazzoni, Willaert, Buus, Segni, Padovano, and Merulo. Since it was understood that these compositions did not share in the newer style, they were evaluated according to different criteria. Though Galilei outspokenly favored the vocal monody and simple “native song” style over Flemish counterpoint, he felt that the retention of the latter in instrumental music was appropriate (Palisca 1960:359ff.).

Thirty madrigal intabulations constitute the heart of this anthology. Besides individual compositions there are a few cyclic ones, three sonnets set in the usual two *partes* and an entire Petrarchan *canzona*, *Standomi un giorno solo*, in six. Lasso, whom Fallamero calls Rolando, predominates, along with Striggio and Marenzio. That great “hit” of the century, Ferabosco's *lo mi son giovinetta*, first printed in 1542, is the oldest selection. Chronologically next come the Lasso, Rore, and Striggio cullings, the latter's six-part pieces indicative of the new fashionableness of this texture in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Indeed, the first book of Striggio's six-part madrigals was re-issued no less than eight times; its most often intabulated item was *Nasce la pena mia*, perhaps the second most famous piece in this anthology. John Ward's axiom that “the repertoire offered by a tablature is normally that of the particular decade in which it was printed” (1952:88) is certainly valid for this mixed bag of madrigals, and all the more so because of the Marenzio and Andrea Gabrieli items which had just been published in 1580. All four Marenzio gems were to be “transalpinized” by Thomas Watson in his pioneering English madrigalian publications of 1588 and 1590 (Kerman 1962:53-55, 59).

A manuscript tablature in the Genoa University Library, F VII 1, described by Achille Neri (1890:73-81) has a similar repertoire of Lasso, Rore, Striggio, and Marenzio madrigals and shares Fallamero's Nos. 12, 18, 39-44, 46, 51, 53, and 54. Its

anonymous compiler informs us by means of an enormous title⁹ that the Marchese of San Sorlino (who is also the Duke of Nemours' brother) has been kind enough to allow him "to copy from all of his rarest tablatures." The Fallamero volume presently in the Genoa University Library may possibly have belonged to the Marchese's collection, which would explain the many correspondences noted above.

The *canzonette* in our tablature open up a chapter in the still largely unwritten history of Italian accompanied song. In spite of literary, pictorial, and archival evidence for the continued practice of solo song in Italy—singing to the lute, "viuola," viola da gamba, lira da braccio, harpsichord, and organ—there are relatively few printed musical documents of the practice extant.¹⁰ Early in the annals of music printing, Italian lute song appeared in the form of three books of *frottole* to the lute, but later with the flood of many-voiced madrigal publications that began in the 1530's, the solo genre dwindled to a thin trickle, re-emerging in the century's final quarter in the sphere of native part-song, i.e., the *canzonetta* and *balletto*. Fallamero's was the first printed collection to include *canzonette* with a lute part in tablature, and it was soon followed by Simone Verovio's series and by collections by Quagliati, Vecchi, Bellasio, Gastoldi, and A. Ferrari.

The *canzonetta* style had first appeared with the work of Ferretti, Conversi, and Caimo published in the 1560's, though the term itself was not to be used until the next decade. Stylistically, the *canzonetta* mediated between the *villanella* and the madrigal. "The more animated the villanella becomes motivically, the more its fifths disappear and the more it tends to take the form of the canzonetta," is Einstein's characterization of the process by which it originated (1949 2:582). The twenty examples that Fallamero grouped at the center of his book are typically brief and strophic, with the vocal *superius* printed in mensural notation over the tablature (Plate 1). For the four-part pieces, the latter simply reduces the lower three voice parts,

⁹*Giardino di Intavolatura per il leuto delle più rare madrigali et vilanelle et capriccio brandi volte et corante gagliarde pas et mezzo che il Principe Il Sigr Marchese di San Sorlino fratello del Sigr Duca di Nemours mi ha fatto favore di lasciarmeli copiare sopra tutte le sue più rare intavolature.*

¹⁰See the discussion in Newman 1962:186-193, 210-211.

but the *canzonette a 3* are completely intabulated so that they can be performed with or without the singer.

Of all the tablature's contents only these twenty pieces lack attributions. The five four-part *canzonette* are easily identifiable as Orazio Vecchi's, from his *Libro Primo* first published in 1581.¹¹ Vecchi complained about this practice in his dedication: "Since the greater part of these canzonets have been strewn around Italy under various composers' names, I have decided to make public by means of the printing press the fact that they are mine . . ." ¹² Of the fifteen three-part compositions remaining, I have only been able to identify four. It should be noted that identification from the music itself is mandatory with this light verse, so many different versions use the same *capoverso*. A list of the identified *canzonette* with their sources and a thematic listing of the unidentified remainder follow:

<i>Title and No. of Parts</i>	<i>Composer or source</i>
20. Poiche sei cosi sorte scropolusa(3)	Anon. ¹³
22. Canzonette d'amore(4)	Vecchi
24. Vorria madonna fare (3)	Anon. ¹⁴
25. O faccia che rallegrì il paradiso (3)	Anon. ¹⁴
27. Occhi leggiadri e cari (3)	De Antiquis ¹³
31. Chi mira gl'occhi tuoi (4)	Vecchi
32. Io son fenice (4)	Vecchi
33. Nel vago lume (4)	Vecchi
37. Io vo morir non sia alcun (3)	G. Fiorino ¹⁵
38. Mentr'io campai contento (4)	Vecchi

¹¹Einstein had identified *Io son fenice* in his Vogel revision (1946). Long before this, Oscar Chilesotti had reprinted Fallamero's No. 24, 26, and 38 (1889) and No. 32 and 35 (1891). He later published the part-song versions of No. 24, 26, 35, and 38 (1925).

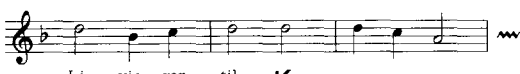
¹²I have taken this from the copy of the fifth impression, 1591, in the library of the Civico Museo Bibliographico Musicale, Bologna.

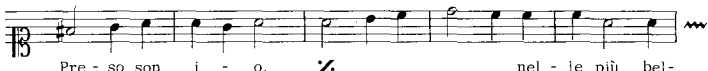
¹³*Il secondo libro delle villanelle alla napolitana a 3 voci, de diversi musici di Barri; Raccolte per Joanne de Antiquis con alcune delle sue . . .* 1574. Modern edition by S.A. Luciani, Rome, Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 1941.


¹⁴*Il terzo libro delle viollote alla napoletana de diversi con due moresche nuovamente stampata a 3 voci.* Venice, A. Gardano, 1567.


¹⁵Gaspar Fiorino, *La nobilita di Roma . . . et le vilanelle a 3 voci . . .* Venice, G. Scotto, 1571.


INCIPITS OF *CANTUS* PARTS OF UNIDENTIFIED *CANZONETTE*


19. 
 Li - via gen - til, %

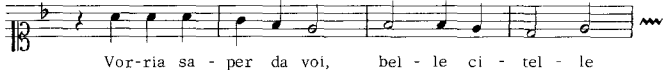
21.¹⁶ 
 Pre - so son i - o, % nel - le più bel -

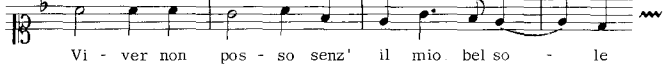
23. 
 S'al a - pa - rir di vo - i.

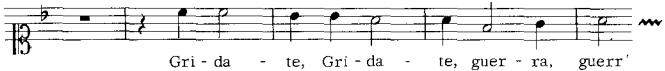
26. 
 Sia - te a - ver - ti - te, %

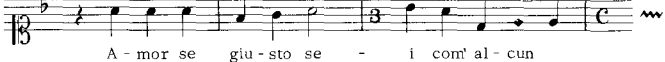
28. 
 A - man - ti mie - i, % poi - che scon -

29. 
 Io son bel - l'e de - li - ca - ta de la

30.¹⁷ 
 Vor - ria sa - per da voi, bel - le ci - tel - le

34. 
 Vi - ver non pos - so senz' il mio. bel so - le

35. 
 Gri - da - te, Gri - da - te, guer - ra, guerr'

36. 
 A - mor se giu - sto se - i com' al - cun

¹⁶Not identical with a composition with the same title in G. Zappasorgo's *Napolitane a 3, Libro Primo, 1571*. I am grateful to Luigi F. Tagliavini for checking the Zappasorgo volume for me.

¹⁷Not identical with the piece so entitled in the *Terzo libro delle Villotte* (see note 14).

If after continued checking, these ten compositions still resist identification, the possibility that some or most of them are by the intabulator himself should be considered. Certainly, the dedicatory piece, *Livia gentil*, a tribute to Livia Guasca Pozza, ought to be assigned to Fallamero. A transcription is given here (Ex. 3) for comparison with the facsimile (Plate 1) and to illustrate the simple homophonic style of these pieces.¹⁸

Ex. 3 *Livia gentil* (No. 19)

G, Fallamero (?)

Voice

Lute

Li - via gen - til, Li - via gen - til, voi se - te

tan - to va - ga, tan - to va - ga, Li - via gen - til, voi se - te

tan - to va - ga Ch'al ap - pa - rir del vo - stro chia - ro vi -

- - so ne re - st' il mon - do at - to - ni - to e con - qui - so. so.

1.

2.

*e in the original.

¹⁸Fallamero does not furnish transposition instructions of the kind found in the Petrucci frottola tablatures, the Verdelot-Willaert intabulations of 1536, and in some of the contents of the Bottrigari lute manuscript of 1574 (MacClintock 1956:179, 186-190).

28

Liua gentil Liua gentil voi fete' tanto vaga tanto vaga Liua gentil voi fete' tanto va-

ga ch'al apparir del uostro chiaro vi fo ne resta il mōdo attonito e conquiso

*Nel Ciel s'oscurangni lucent: Stella
 Quand'ese di su bocca il dolce riso
 Ne resta il mondo:*

*Quando sa bocca vide ouer fauella
 Sentome l'alma mia da me diuisa
 Ne resta il mondo:*

*Si che Liua gentil ogn'un vi chiama
 Ogn'un per uoi seruir si sforz'e bramma
 Tant'è di tua vaghezze estrema fama*

79

Anchor che col partir l'alma si mora pensando di tornar partir vorrei tanto son dolci tanto son dolci tanto son dolci gli ri-

orni mie l.

I L F I N E

A *canzonetta* version by Gaspar Fiorino of Rore's *Anchor che col partire* has been used to fill up two empty systems on the last page of the book (Plate 2). Perhaps it was originally planned as a twenty-first piece, closing off the canzonet group. It has lost its vocal line, though the text was retained. Based on two bits of music from this most famous madrigal (Ex. 4) and some snatches from its original verse, this inelegant reduction for popular consumption indicates the existence in the Renaissance of an interest in the "instant" and oversimplified; it is a kind of "heart of the madrigal" (Ex. 5). Fallamero has used this *partenza* most appropriately as his volume's envoi.¹⁹

Ex. 4

Cipriano de Rore

An - cor che col par - ti - re
tan - to son dol - ci gli ri - tor - ni' mei - i

Ex. 5 *Anchor che col partir*

Gaspar Fiorino

Canto of the original canzonetta

An - cor che col par - tir l'al - ma si mo - ra,
mo - ra, Pen - san - do di tor - nar par - tir vor - re - i,

Fallamero's intabulation, No. 55

¹⁹This adds one more to the more than fifty settings and parodied versions listed by Ferand (1962:150-53). The source is Fronimo's *La nobiltà di Roma*, 52. ff.

Tan - to son dol - ci, tan - to son dol - ci

gli ri - tor - ni mie - i i.

In summary, our gentleman amateur has labored hard to arrange a large quantity of music by fashionable Italian and *ultramontane* composers. His exertions and those of his fellow intabulators made it that much easier for contemporaries to familiarize themselves with vocal literature (in the absence of easily procurable scores) or to amuse themselves with the *morceaux choisis* of the day. If it appears an extreme demand on the lute's powers to give it six-part pieces to play, we would do well to remember our daily usage of the piano as a medium for study, rehearsal, and pleasure; we often turn to it for help in "hearing" a six- or eight-part complex. The lute intabulation served these needs and perhaps one other, that of a *segunte* part with which to accompany or fill out the performances of many-voiced vocal works.

Fallamero has taken care to provide arrangements of a variety (of types) of music. The only major genres he has slighted are the dances and *canzoni*. His tablature has the distinction of being the first collection in which the modest *canzonette* stand their ground with the complex creations of great madrigalists.

REFERENCES

BOETTICHER, WOLFGANG

1954 Fallamero. *In Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kassel und Basel, Vol. 3, col. 1757ff.

1958 O. di Lasso und seine Zeit. Kassel, Vol. 1, p. 206.

BOSSOLA, A.

- 1903 Donne illustri Alessandrine. *Rivista di Storia, Arte, Archeologica della Provincia di Alessandria* 12:25.

CHILESOTTI, OSCAR

- 1889 Saggio sulla melodia popolare del cinquecento, Milan.
1891 Lautenspieler des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig.
1925? Canzonette del secolo XVI. Milan.

DE LA LAURENCIE, LIONEL

- 1928 Les Luthistes. Paris.

DEL VALLE DE PAZ, GIACOMO

- 1933 Annibale Padovano nella storia della musica del cinquecento. Turin.

EINSTEIN, ALFRED

- 1946 Italian Secular Vocal Music, etc. Music Library Association Notes 4.
1949 The Italian Madrigal. Princeton.

FERAND, ERNEST T.

- 1962 Anchor che col partire; Die Schicksale eines berühmten Madrigals. Festschrift K.G. Fellerers. Regensburg, pp. 137-154.

GUASCO, ANNIBALE

- 1605 Tela cangiante . . . Opera morale (containing 3,110 madrigal poems). Milan.

HAMBRAEUS, BENGT

- 1961 Codex Carminum Gallicorum; une étude sur le ms. 87 de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Upsala. Upsala.

KERMAN, JOSEPH

- 1962 The Elizabethan Madrigal. N.Y.

MACCLINTOCK, CAROL

- 1956 A Court Musician's Songbook: Modena Ms. C311. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9:177-185.

NERI, ACHILLE

1890 Un codice musicale del secolo XVI. *In Studi Bibliografici e Letterari*. Genoa.

NEWMAN, JOEL

1962 The Madrigals of Salamon de' Rossi. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.

PALISCA, CLAUDE

1960 Vincenzo Galilei and some Links between "Pseudo-Monody" and Monody. *Musical Quarterly* 46:344-360.

REESE, GUSTAVE

1954 *Music in the Renaissance*. N.Y.

R.I.S.M.

1960 *Répertoire international des sources musicales*. Munich.

STRUNK, OLIVER

1950 *Source Readings in Music History*. N.Y.

WARD, JOHN

1952 The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5:88-98.