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## THE EARLIEST *VILLANELLE* BY GIACOMO GORZANIS: NOTES ON THE LUTE MUS.MS. 1511 A IN MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

**IZVLEČEK:** Gorzanis je bil v šestdesetih letih 16. stoletja uspešen skladatelj lutenjskih del. Njegov rokopis (1567) v knjižnici Bayerische Staatsbibliothek vsebuje sedem vilanel, od katerih štiri niso bile objavljene v dveh knjigah, ki ju je natisnil v letih 1570 in 1571. Rekonstrukcija ene od teh skladb iz tabulatur je predstavljena kot primer takrat razširjene izvajalske prakse.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Giacomo Gorzanis, villanella, lutenjska tabulatura, družina Herwart, Münchenski Mus.Ms. 1511 a

**ABSTRACT:** Gorzanis was a successful lute composer during the period 1560–1570. His manuscript (1567) in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek contains seven *villanelle*, four of which are not in the two books he had published in 1570 and 1571. A reconstruction from the tablature of one of these pieces is proposed as an example of a widespread performance practice.

**KEYWORDS:** Giacomo Gorzanis, *villanella*, lute tablature, Herwart family, Munich Mus. Ms. 1511 a

Giacomo Gorzanis was a very successful lute player and composer active in middle of the sixteenth century in the territories comprising north-east Italy (Trieste), Slovenia (Ljubljana), South Tyrol and Austria. Even though he was blind, Gorzanis published in Venice six books containing his output in addition to producing a manuscript collection. Only on the title page of his first book (1561) is there any mention of his disability,<sup>1</sup> while the self-description “cieco” (blind) disappears from the second book onwards. Gorzanis mentions his blindness again only in the dedication to Vito de Dornberg of Gorizia in his *Terzo libro* from 1564:<sup>2</sup>

Non senza **maraviglia** saran riguardate queste mie fatiche, considerando che, **io, privo di lume**, hora pressuma di **darle in luce**. Ma chi rivolgera nell'animo che molti per darsi alla contemplatione delle cose: habitarono le proffonde caverne, & le oscure grotte, & che quel gran Philosopho Democrito voluntariamente si **privò del lume de gli occhi**, giudicando che i pensieri dell'animo sarianno più disposti & piu accuti nel contemprar le ragioni della natura, **se gli liberasse dalla vaghezza del vedere, lasciaria in tutto di maravigliarsi**. Né ciò dico perché mi tenga tale, che i miei pensieri ascendano all'altezza di così grandi huomini, ma perché se pur è ponto de pensiero in me, si sappia che più unitamente & con più accutezza possedo **io cieco** questo poco che non farei per aventura quel molto, **che la natura vedendo mi concedesse**. Ma come si sia, tale finalmente è stato il mio basso pensiero (non sia per arroganza detto,

1 Gorzanis, *Intabolatura di Liuto*.

2 Gorzanis, *Terzo libro*: “Not without wonderment will these labours of mine be contemplated, seeing that, I, bereft of light, have presumed to place them in the light. But whoever will recall that many seeking to give themselves over to the contemplation of things have inhabited deep caverns and dim caves, and that the great philosopher Democritus voluntarily deprived himself of the light of his own eyes, judging that the thoughts of the mind would be more readied and sharpened for contemplating the ways of nature, if such a person can free himself from the vagueness of sight, his amazement will cease. Nor do I say this in order to claim that my thoughts could ever rise to the heights of such great men, but so that if there is a scintilla of thought in me, let it be known that I, a blind person, more resolutely and with more acuity possess this small gift that I would not perchance turn into that large one which nature, on seeing it, could have granted me. But be that as it may, such has finally been my humble thought (let this be said not from arrogance but with truth) that it has been able not only to persuade, but almost to spur on the elevated thought of the most proficient musicians to publish these works of mine. And thinking to myself at length under whose name [i.e., patronage] these works should be offered to the public gaze [...]”. Two copies survive of this third book by Gorzanis: in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Thibault collection). See also the facsimile edition of Gorzanis’s Books 1, 2 and 3 based on the example in Paris (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981). In the original wording transcribed in the main text I use bold type for terms relating to Gorzanis’s blindness.

ma per verutà) che ha potuto non solo indurre, ma quasi spronare l'alto pensiero de i valentissimi musici à dar fuori queste mie vigilie. Le quali fra me stesso lungamente ripensando sotto cui nome dovessero **comparire à gli occhi** delli huomini [...].

This autobiographical fragment written by Gorzanis can help us to appreciate how strange the growing success of a blind lutenist may have appeared to his contemporaries within the social group he was attending, at a time when he was making preparation, via a fitting action, for his promotion to the rank of a Citizen of, and official Lutenist to, the city of Trieste. The words “maraviglia” and “maravigliarsi” applied to works published by a sightless man (“privo di luce”) retain their validity today if one considers that this blind player was not only able to compose and to correct at least six books of varying types of music, but also to oversee personally the printing process in Venice, to travel from his native region of Puglia in southern Italy to Trieste and then move on from Trieste to Gorizia and the hinterland of Carniola on one hand, and also possibly visit Graz or Vienna in connection with the marriage of the Austrian Archduke.

Gorzanis had resided in Trieste since at least 1557, since on 4 May of that year his daughter Domenica Giacomina — from his marriage to Dorotea — was baptized there. Later came his son Maximilian, who edited his father's posthumous lute book *Opera nova*, published in 1579.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that first his wife and then his children helped the blind composer prepare his tablatures for printing, but it is also noteworthy that the relevant method of printing, which used symbols that could be placed in relief, allowed some form of direct control through tactile contact by blind musicians. Throughout his artistic career Gorzanis enjoyed a continuous relationship with the wealthy bourgeoisie and the aristocracy of his time, as evidenced by the dedications of his prints: in particular, the Khisl family in Carniola, the Dietrichsteins of Radovljica and the Dornbergs of Gorizia. Thanks to his high standing with the nobility of Ljubljana and Gorizia, Gorzanis entered into contact with the court of Archduke Charles II of Austria: in the dedication to the latter, dated 15 July 1571, from his second book of *napolitane* for three voices,<sup>4</sup> the composer addresses the archduke in terms that appear to show that he knew the latter personally (“the memory I have [...] as your most humble servant, and the real affection I have for you”) and nourished a hope of being taken into his service (“sustained, like a mighty column, by the desire of service [...] Fortune does not allow me to make any other sort of gift at present”), as also a hope of participating in the festivities for the wedding of Charles to Princess Maria of Bavaria, planned for that same summer of 1571. Gorzanis was evidently hoping to be engaged on a temporary basis for the occasion, but there is no

3 Gorzanis, *Opera nova*.

4 Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*.

certainty that this happened. At all events, Archduke Charles must have looked with favour on the gift, for in the following year, 1572, he sent money to Trieste to pay for the education of Gorzanis's son.

All these elements can help us understand better the origin of Gorzanis's sole surviving manuscript book, today preserved in Munich. Mus.Ms. 1511 a in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is an oblong volume very similar in size to one of Gorzanis's own lute prints published in Venice. It contains thirty-six folios laid out with four hexagrams per page to accommodate the lute tablature. The title page and dedication placed at the opening also reinforce the idea that this is a manuscript designed to be sent to a publisher for printing. The title page reads:

LIBRO DE INTABULATURA DI LIUTO.

Nel qualle si contengano vinti quatro passa mezi dodeci per bemolle et | dodeci per be quadro sopra dodeci chiave. Novamente composte con alcune | napollitane de Jacomo Gorzanis Lautanista citadino de la mag.<sup>ca</sup> | citta de Trieste scritta de trieste. etc. Del mille et cinque cento et sasanta sette. Annj.

The dedication, on the next folio, is a mere draft awaiting completion:

AL MOLTO MAGNIFICO SIGNOR ODORICO | Erbert patron suo sempre osservandissimo etc. | Della Signoria Vosstra. servitore. Jacomo Gorzanis | Lautanista de Trieste.

These two pages inform us that Gorzanis in 1567 had composed, and had the manuscript prepared, in Trieste, where, in that very year, he finally obtained the coveted title of "Citizen" (reserved for those who had resided in the city for at least ten years), which he immediately parades. The title page is in every way similar to those of his three previous lute books published in Venice respectively in 1561, 1563 and 1564. The volume was dedicated — and probably sent — to Udalricus Herwart, who a few years later would serve on Augsburg's Small Council (*Kleiner Rat*). In that same city the Herwart family was prominent during the whole of the sixteenth century as collectors and patrons of music. Not fortuitously, Udalricus was a cousin of the better-known Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), a merchant with business links to the Fuggers (another famous German family of music-lovers)<sup>5</sup> and so fond of music that he amassed a collection of about 500 music books, which included as

5 By a strange coincidence, the copy of the *Il secondo libro delle napolitane* (1571) by Gorzanis preserved in Vienna comes from the library of Philipp Eduard Fugger.

many as 200 Italian books of madrigals and *villanelle*. After his death the collection was purchased by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria and today constitutes a major part of the music collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Moreover, the Herwart family was particularly interested in musical instruments and lute music, as evidenced by the large number of lute tablature manuscripts from the Herwarts that have been identified in the same library.<sup>6</sup>

The Munich manuscript, as indicated on the flyleaf in an annotation by Julius Joseph Maier, a custodian of the music collection during the nineteenth century, was identified as “Autograph”, and its contents described as “24 Passemazzi e Saltarelli | 7 Villanellen | 1 Ricercar, Von fremder Hand sind eingeschrieben 3 Villanellen, 1 Ricercar”.<sup>7</sup>

The *villanelle* are as follows:

- (1) fol. 34, no. 49: “**Se io vegio o dormo sempre | penso atene: Napolitana.**” = *S’io veglio o dormo sempre pens’a tene* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 13);
- (2) [fol. 34v], no. 50: “**Ducha vevoio dir una novella napolitana d. Jacomo Gorzanis**” = *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 7);
- (3) [fol. 34v/2], no. 51: “**Tu ma inganato col tuo dolce viso. Napolitana**” = *Tu m’hai gabbato col tuo dolce viso* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 12);
- (4) fol. 35, no. 52: “**Tre giorni fa che mi dicesti vieni vieni Napolitana d. Jacopo Gorzanis**”;
- (5) [fol. 35v], no. 53: “**Damo fallano son gia stato morto**”;
- (6) fol. 36, no. 54: “**Bella che tieni li capelli doro**”;
- (7) [fol. 37v], no. 56: “**Donna io te amo nō mi fa morire Napolitana.**”

These seven pieces constitute the only known handwritten copies of Gorzanis’s *villanelle*, leaving aside a single piece copied in the so-called Dallis Lutebook:<sup>8</sup>

- 6 On the lute manuscripts from the Herwart collection, see Ness, “Herwart Lute Manuscripts”.
- 7 “Von fremder Hand sind eingeschrieben” means “in a different hand are inscribed”. A physical description of the manuscript is provided in Boettischer, *Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen*, 218ff. Although this is unlikely to be an autograph of the blind lutenist Giacomo Gorzanis, the main hand is definitely Italian, belonging to a person close to the composer. In the manuscript, however, the presence on fols. 34 and 36v–37v of a different hand, labelled “scribe C” by Taricani, has been recognized. See Taricani, “Renaissance Bibliophile”, 1369–1370.
- 8 Trinity College Library, Dublin (IRL-Dtc), Ms. 410/1, [p. 176]. The full manuscript is available in digital form on the Trinity College Dublin website: <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/z89or2728?locale=en>. This volume was earlier reported and studied in Ward, *Dublin Virginal Manuscript*; Goodwin, *English Lute Song*; Craig-McFeely, “English Lute Manuscripts”.

(8) “**Chi in Donna | giacomo Gorzanis**” = *Chi in donna bella loca lo suo core* (Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, no. 1).

The peculiarity of the last-mentioned manuscript piece is that it is a version for soprano solo voice and lute accompaniment in tablature, whereas the printed original provided three separate partbooks for the three voices indicated by the title (C, T, B). However, the version copied in this Irish manuscript (belonging to a lute pupil of the composer Thomas Dallis), where the piece was included along with a few other songs and many instrumental dances prior to 1590, is written in French tablature for six-course lute, with no text provided for the melodic part (Cantus).<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 1** | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Chi in donna*, from the Dallis Lutebook (IRL-Dtc, Ms. 410/1, [p. 176])

9 Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, originally printed in three partbooks, is edited together with the *Il primo libro di napolitane* by Alenka Bagarič in Gorzanis, *Il primo libro* (2007).



Of all the pieces copied in the Munich manuscript, only three have concordances in a known printed source by Gorzanis: namely, *Il primo libro di napolitane che si cantano et sonano in leuto* (Venice, 1570).<sup>10</sup> Once again, the manuscript version differs from the printed one, since the three *villanelle* are presented solely in lute tablature, lacking the melodic Cantus part. However, already in the original printed version the tablature encompassed all three “ideal” voices belonging to the vocal original, including the Cantus, thereby suggesting a possible purely instrumental performance (as the lack of any text underlaid to the tablature’s figures already implies). This editorial practice causes difficulties for a modern performance of this repertoire, which obviously cannot tolerate an unvarying doubling of the vocal part by the instrument. Since I will publish all seven *villanelle* of the Munich manuscript, together with the other twenty-five instrumental compositions from the same source, in a volume of the so-called Gorzanis *Opera Omnia* planned for the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*, I will limit myself in this article to highlighting some elements that bring out the importance of this source.

The Munich manuscript reveals to us that in 1567 Giacomo Gorzanis decided to compile a fourth book of lute tablature (after the three already printed in Venice in the previous six years) and sent it to Udalricus, a member of the Herwart family in Augsburg, probably hoping to elicit a financial contribution sufficient to cover the printing costs (the dedication left blank suggests that the composer was waiting for a reply). We do not know where Giacomo had met the German merchant and whether the volume was ever printed, but it is unlikely that it could have been used in that precise form as printer’s copy, since the final section housing the *villanelle* is very disparate, some pieces having apparently been added at the last moment as fillers to augment the vocal section. There is another problem, one presented by the *napolitane* in the volume: it was rather unusual to include in a collection of lute music intabulations of vocal pieces not previously printed. Gorzanis’s *villanelle* all turn out to be not yet published, and only three would later (1570) be accepted into *Il primo libro di napolitane*. However, it has already been mentioned by Alenka Bagarič that precisely in 1567 Gorzanis received ten florins from the Carniolan administration for his “Carmina”. These could conceivably be a collection of (villanesque) songs of which we have no knowledge, one containing the pieces copied in the Munich manuscript.

Only in one case are there other settings of a text attributed to Gorzanis in the Bavarian source: *Bella che tieni li capigli d’oro* was inserted without an author’s name in the collection *Secondo libro delle muse a 3 voci. Canzon villanesche alla napolitana nuovamente raccolte, et date in luce* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1557), no. 14, reprinted in *Li quattro libri delle villotte alla napolitana a 3 voci de diversi* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1562) and also in *Il Secondo libro delle villotte alla napoletana de diversi con due moresche*

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix A.

(Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1560, no. 29; repr. 1566 and 1571). In 1566 *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro* was likewise set in Antonio Scandello, *El primo libro de le canzoni napolitane a 4 voci* (Nürnberg: Ulrich Neuber and Theodoricus Gerlach, 1566).

After the Munich manuscript dated 1567 the same text was set also by Giovanni Zappasorgo, *Napolitane a tre voci. Libro primo* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1571). Thanks to the printed sources, it is possible to reconstruct the full text to be underlaid to the tablature in the manuscript version. From the manuscript tablature, conversely, it is easy to extrapolate the melodic line of the song contained therein. From the melody it appears that the required instrument is a lute in A, just as in two of the *villanelle* taken from Gorzanis's *Il primo libro di napolitane*. We have thus been able to reconstruct from the Munich manuscript a hitherto unpublished new *villanella* by Gorzanis.<sup>11</sup>

The role of Gorzanis's first book of *villanelle* printed in 1570 is remarkable.<sup>12</sup> Exactly around that year, in fact, a new notational format was established for this genre of music, which by then had become widespread throughout Europe, but previously had always been printed in separate parts, as in the second book of *napolitane* (1571) by Gorzanis.<sup>13</sup> A score format for solo voice and lute tablature had been adopted as early as 1509–1520 in prints by Franciscus Bossinensis, Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara. But this notational format was not repeated in Italy until 1570, when almost simultaneously three authors published *villanelle* with solo voice and tablature in score: Giacomo Gorzanis, Cornelio Antonelli and Gasparo Fiorino (the latter one year later, in 1571).<sup>14</sup> The Munich manuscript establishes that Gorzanis may be considered the earliest among *villanella* composers to produce an intabulated version of his own vocal pieces: “queste mie Napolitane, che si suonano, et si cantano”.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>12</sup> Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane* (1570).

<sup>13</sup> Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*.

<sup>14</sup> Leaving aside those of Gorzanis, the other two books are: *Il Turturino. Il primo libro delle napolitane ariose da cantare et sonare nel leuto composte da diversi eccellentissimi musici, et novamente per il Rev. P. F. Cornelio Antonelli de Rimino detto il Turturino, accomodate sul leuto* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1570); *La Nobiltà di Roma. Versi in lode di cento gentildonne romane, et le villanelle a tre voci di Gasparo Fiorino della città di Rossano [...] intavolate dal magnifico M. Francesco di Parise, Musico eccellentissimo in Roma* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1573). Not by accident, the sole surviving copy of Gorzanis's *Il primo libro di napolitane*, preserved today in Florence, is bound together with Antonelli's and Fiorino's books. In 2002 I suggested that the three books by Gorzanis, Antonelli and Fiorino were all part of an editorial project by Girolamo Scotto, who had already embarked on comparable sustained projects with lute books. See Fabris, “Role of Solo Singing”.



## APPENDIX A

Differences between the manuscript versions of *villanelle* and those in printed editions

1. *S'io veglio o dormo sempre pens'a tene* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 13)<sup>15</sup>  
The incorrect title in D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34, is as follows: *Se io vegio o dormo sempre penso atene*. The manuscript indicates bars (absent in the Venetian print) after each double tactus ( $2 \times \text{O}$ ). The rhythm is indicated by the signs in use in late sixteenth-century vocal mensural notation (see Figure 2) instead of those typical of Italian lute tablature (see Figure 3). At b. 4 the Munich manuscript indicates in the two first chords  $\text{c}\sharp$  instead of  $\text{c}\flat$ , as in the inlaid part of the print (see Figure 4).

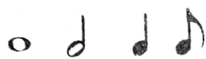


Figure 2 | Signs used for the vocal notation



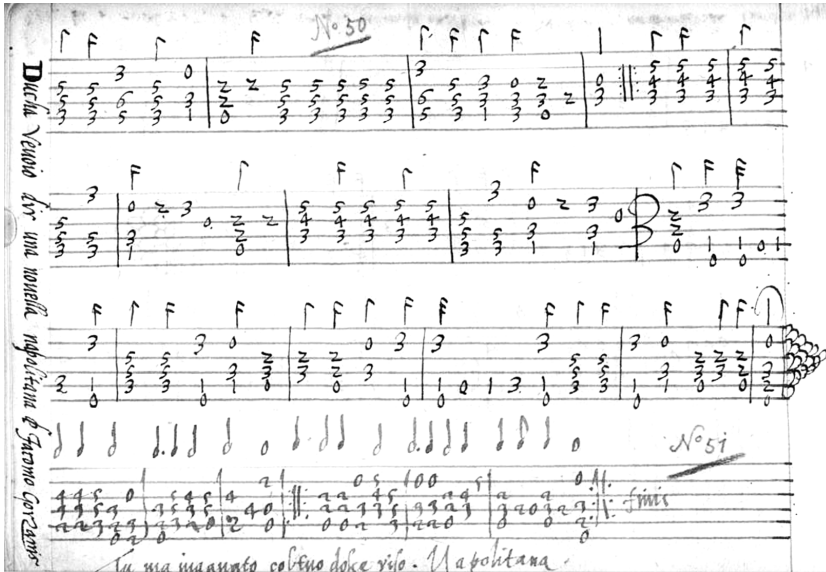
Figure 3 | Signs used for the Italian lute tablature

Figure 4 | Giacomo Gorzanis, *S'io veglio o dormo sempre pens'a tene* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34v)

<sup>15</sup> Modern edition in Gorzanis, *Il primo libro* (2007), 27.

At b. 5 the last chord repeats the triad c-e-g instead of a-c<sup>#</sup>-e; the repeat sign, which in the printed edition is inserted at the end of b. 6, appears in the Munich manuscript only at the end of b. 10; the last beat of b. 7 is a single semibreve chord instead of two minims with a repetition of the note c in the bass as in the printed edition; in b. 9 the second tactus repeats the two triads D-d-f, instead of inserting the diminution of the bass as four crotchets, D-E-F-G, as in the printed edition; in b. 11 the first tactus ends with a crotchet dyad B $\flat$ -d instead of the triad B $\flat$ -d-f found in the print; in b. 13 the two first triads include c<sup>#</sup> instead of c $\flat$ , as in b. 4; b. 14, the last minim adds a third note, D, to the bass instead of the dyad d-f found in the print.

2. *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 9)<sup>16</sup>  
The incorrect title in D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34v, is as follows: *Ducha vevoio dir una novella napolitana d. Jacomo Gorzanis*. The title is inserted vertically in the left margin of the composition instead of at the top. As in the previous piece, the Munich manuscript indicates bars (absent in the print) after each double tactus ( $2 \times \bullet$ ), but this time the typical signs of Italian lute tablature are used. In b. 1, the third chord uses the same notes as the print (F-f-a) but in a different position on the instrument, as indicated by the tablature; the last chord has a D in the bass instead of B $\flat$ :

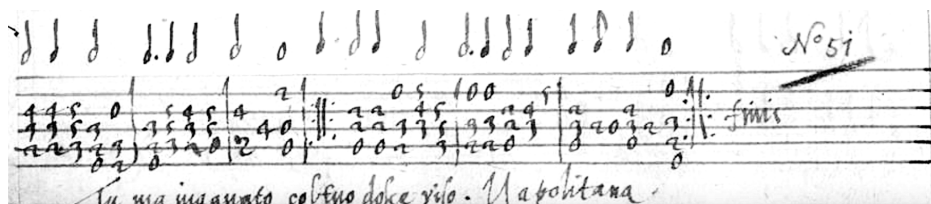


**Figure 5** | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Duca vi voglio dir una novella* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34)

<sup>16</sup> Modern edition *ibid.*, 15.

In b. 2 the manuscript adds a crotchet A to the bass, where the print has a rest; the second half of the same b. 2 repeats the triad C-e-g four times instead of varying the chords, as in the printed edition; in b. 3 the third chord uses the same notes of the print (F-f-a) — but in a different position on the instrument, as in b. 1; in b. 6 the first tactus uses only the bass motion of four crotchets instead of repeating on the third note the dyad d-f, as in the print; also in b. 6, similarly to b. 2; in triple time, b. 9 (and b. 12) differ from the print through the insertion of a diminution in the cantus part and a rhythmic shift. In b. 11 (and b. 13) the cadence resolves after the dissonance without repeating the bass note A, as the print does; the final chord adds the high notes f# and a, while the print has only a dyad D-d.

3. *Tu m'hai gabbato col tuo dolce riso* (Gorzanis, *Il primo libro di napolitane*, no. 14)<sup>17</sup> In the Munich manuscript, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, an incorrect title is inserted under the tablature at the bottom of the page: *Tu ma inganato col tuo dolce viso. Napolitana*. Once again, the rhythmic notation typical of mensural notation is used instead of the signs typical of Italian lute tablature. The division into bars follows the usage of the previous pieces.



**Figure 6** | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Tu m'hai gabbato col tuo dolce riso* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 34v<sup>2</sup>)

In b. 2 the manuscript adds in the last movement a third minim d to the dyad B $\flat$ -d, which aids the part-writing in the next cadence; in b. 5 the first two chords have C as the bass note instead of A, as in the print; in the final bar the chord is completed with the two high semibreves e-g added to the dyad C-c of the print.

4. *Chi in donna bella loca lo suo cuore* (Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro delle napolitane*, no. 1)<sup>18</sup> The title in the Dallis Lutebook, [p. 176] is: *Chi in Donna*, written in the top left-hand corner of the page before the piece commences. In the bottom right-hand corner the inscription: “Finis d. Canzone” (see Figure 1) appears. This is a “mixed”

17 Modern edition *ibid.*, 25.

18 Modern edition *ibid.*, 55.

score that presents the cantus part in mensural notation, written on the prepared hexagram in the soprano clef (and the indication on the left-hand side: “sup.[erius]”); underneath is the accompaniment in French lute tablature (using letters instead of the figures employed by Italian tablature) and the rhythmic signs in use in the English lute music of late sixteenth century. The barlines (absent in the polyphonic parts of the printed edition) are placed after every two tactus ( $2 \times \text{O}$ ). The text under the cantus part is omitted, as in the *villanelle* copied in the Munich manuscript. The tablature reveals that a lute in G is required. In b. 5, in the final cadence corresponding to the Tenor voice, the minim F# is missing before the resolution to G, and the last chord has the incorrect bass note G instead of D; in b. 8 the second chord has the incorrect bass note C instead of Bb; b. 15, the first chord has the incorrect bass note Bb instead of B; in b. 18, the last chord has a fourth note, G, added to the three voices to reinforce the sonority: this may denote a typical performance practice; in the last bar, after the cadenza, the bass is mistakenly given as F instead of C (the incorrect string of the instrument is indicated).

## APPENDIX B

### Reconstruction of Gorzanis's *napolitana* entitled *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro*<sup>19</sup>

Words by an anonymous author (reconstructed from the setting in Zappasorgo, *Napolitane a tre voci. Libro primo*)

Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro  
 Ch'el tuo bel nome dire non si può,  
 Meschino che farò?  
 Bisognerà morire,  
 Ch'el non vederti non si può soffrire.

Se veder né sentire non ti posso  
 Scontiento e disperato morirò,  
 Meschino che farò?  
 Mi converà morire,  
 Ch'el non vederti non si può soffrire.

<sup>19</sup> I wish to thank Gianluigi Bello for his kind assistance in editing the electronic version of the piece with the software Fronimo 3.0.

Se di tutto il mio ben io son son privato,  
 Dimmi crudel fortuna dove andrò?  
 Meschino che farò?  
 Dove potrò fuggire?  
 Se questo ha da durar voglio morire.

Starò mirando tanto a sse finestre,  
 Fin che mi veda, o senta lamentare,  
 Ma forte me ne par,  
 che mi possa sentire:  
 O fortuna crudel fammi morire.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on four staves. The notation is a form of lute tablature, using numbers 0 through 5 to represent fret positions. The score is written in a historical style, with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side. On the left margin, the title 'Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro' is written vertically. At the top right, there is a handwritten number '54'. The piece concludes with a decorative flourish and the word 'finis' written in a cursive hand.

**Figure 7** | Giacomo Gorzanis, *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro* (D-Mbs, Mus.Ms. 1511 a, fol. 36v)

**Music example 1** | Transcription of Giacomo Gorzanis's *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro* (D-Mbs, Mus. Ms. 1511 a, fol. 36v)

## Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro

Giacomo Gorzanis

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing three staves: Cantus (vocal), Lute in A, and a basso continuo line. The notation includes standard musical symbols (notes, rests, bar lines) and lute tablature (letters and numbers on a six-line staff). The lyrics are written below the Cantus staff.

**System 1 (Measures 1-4):**

- Cantus:** Bel- la che tie- ni li ca- pi- gli d'o- ro Ch'el tuo
- Lute in A:** Tablature with fret numbers (0-5) and a 3-measure rest.
- Basso Continuo:** Chordal accompaniment with a 3-measure rest.

**System 2 (Measures 5-7):**

- Cantus:** bel no- me di- re non si può. Me- schi- no
- Lute in A:** Tablature with fret numbers and a 3-measure rest.
- Basso Continuo:** Chordal accompaniment with a 3-measure rest.

**System 3 (Measures 8-11):**

- Cantus:** che fa- rò? me- schi- no che fa- rò? Bi- so- gne- rà mo- ri
- Lute in A:** Tablature with fret numbers and a 3-measure rest.
- Basso Continuo:** Chordal accompaniment with a 3-measure rest.

1) Tablature inserts a wrong sign 4 on 3 third course (d#)  
2) Rhythmic value not present in tablature



12

re ch'el non ve- der- ti non si può sof- fri- re, ch'el non ve- der- ti

17

non si - può sof- fri- re.

1) Rythmic value not present in tablature

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NAJZGODNEJŠE VILANELE GIACOMA GORZANISA:  
OPOMBE O LUTENJSKI TABULATURI MUS.MS. 1511 A  
V MÜNCHNU, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

Čeprav slep, je bil Giacomo Gorzanis v desetletju od 1560 do 1570 zelo uspešen lutnjist in skladatelj. Bil je tržaški meščan, ki je deloval na ozemljih severovzhodne Italije, Slovenije, južne Tirolske in Avstrije. Poleg šestih knjig, natisnjenih v Benetkah, je Gorzanis zapustil rokopisno zbirko iz leta 1567, danes hranjeno v Münchenski knjižnici Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Mus.Ms. 1511 a). Namenjena je bila članom družine Herwart v Augsburgu. Načrtovan je izid moderne edicije v zbirki Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae kot del t. i. zbranih del Giacoma Gorzanisa.

Vsebina rokopisa, na kratko opisana že v naslovu, je že od nekdaj vzbujala pozornost muzikologov in glasbenikov, saj vsebuje cikel 24 plesov v vseh tonalitetah. Nasprotno pa je bilo premalo pozornosti namenjene vokalnemu repertoarju tega rokopisa: ta obsega sedem vilanel *alla napoletana*, od katerih so bile le štiri že znane iz dveh Gorzanisovih zbirk, natisnjenih v Benetkah v letih 1570 in 1571, torej nekaj let po nastanku rokopisa. Kot primer je predstavljena rekonstrukcija ene od neobjavljenih Gorzanisovih vilanel, *Bella che tieni li capigli d'oro*, pri čemer sta bili melodija cantusa in instrumentalna spremljava izpeljani iz tabulature, besedilo pa je bilo prevzeto iz ene od drugih takratnih uglasbitev.