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THE FIRST PRINTED LUTE INSTRUCTIONS: PETRUCCI'S 'REGOLA'

HIROYUKI MINAMINO

The Venetian publisher Ottaviano Petrucci's petition of 1498, submitted to the Doge and the Signory of Venice, requesting the exclusive privilege to publish music books in the Venetian dominions for twenty years, states that Petrucci intended to publish books of 'canto figurato' (polyphonic vocal music notated in mensural notation) as well as books of 'intaboladure d'organo et liuto' (instrumental music for keyboard instruments and lute arranged and notated in tablature).¹ Petrucci subsequently published six books of lute music between 1507 and 1511: the first two were books of music by Francesco Spinacino, the third contained music by Giovan Maria Hebreo, the fourth was of music by Joan Ambrosio Dalza, and the fifth and sixth books were by Franciscus Bossinensis.² All except one of these lute books were published in Venice where Petrucci had his printing shop; the last of Petrucci's lute series, Bossinensis' *Libro Secondo*, was published in Fossombrone, where Petrucci had moved from Venice in 1511.³ Spinacino's two books and Dalza's contain mostly solo lute pieces, with a few lute duets. Giovan Maria's (now lost) lute book seems to have contained solo lute pieces and perhaps some lute duets too.⁴ Bossinensis' two lute books are devoted to frottola arrangements for voice and lute, each supplemented with solo lute recercare that could serve as preludes, interludes, or postludes to the frottole.

Each of Petrucci's six lute books contain what was the earliest printed instruction for lute.⁵ The *Libro primo* and the *Libro secondo* include instructions written in Latin and in Italian, headed 'Regula pro illis qui canere nasciunt' and 'Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare' (rules for those who cannot sing) respectively.⁶ According to the early sixteenth-century bibliophile, bibliographer and cataloguer Ferdinando Colón, Giovan Maria's *Libro tertio* included lute instructions both in Latin and Italian. Colón gives the first words of the Latin version as 'Intelligendum est' and those of the Italian version as 'prima deve', which are identical to those in the instructions in Spinacino's books.⁷ Petrucci included only the Italian 'Regola' in Dalza's *Libro quarto*,⁸ and this practice was carried on to his last two books of lute music by Bossinensis.⁹ The Latin 'Regula' is a shorter version of the Italian 'Regola', omitting information on tactus and tempo, *punctus additionis*, and right-hand technique.¹⁰ Petrucci's reasons for including the Latin version must have been to appeal to non-Italian speaking customers as well as to bow to the prejudice of the learned against the vernacular languages.¹¹

Several music and non-music treatises written before Petrucci's lute publications contain descriptions of the lute, though the amount of information provided in them varies from source to source.¹² For instance, an Italian scholar and theorist Giorgio Anselmi in his treatise 'De musica' of 1434 gives a little information on the 'cithara'—probably the lute, interestingly using the word 'tactus' to refer to frets.¹³ Henri Arnaut de Zwolle, a physician and astrologer to Philip the Good, compiled a manuscript in Dijon about

1440 that contains scientific and astronomical treatises as well as writings on music.¹⁴ The section on music includes several treatises by other theoreticians and detailed information on the design and construction of the lute, the harp and various keyboard instruments. Arnaut gives a description in Latin and the drawings for explaining the construction of a lute.¹⁵ Paulus Paulirinus' 'Liber viginti artium', written in Pilsen between 1459 and 1463, contains a section on music that deals with plainchant, mensural notation, church music, polyphonic music, and musical instruments. In the section on musical instruments, Paulirinus discusses the 'cithara', which again probably refers to the lute, since his words for harp and gittern—the instruments also called 'cithara' in other fifteenth-century sources—are 'arpa' and 'quinterna' respectively.¹⁶ Paulirinus describes the number of strings and frets, playing technique, and aspects of performance practice. The so-called Regensburg Diagram, originating in southern Germany and dating from between 1457 and 1476, offers early information on German lute tablature where five groups of five letters and musical note heads appear on a musical notation of four lines, with the C clef with b flat at the beginning. The inscription 'Nonachordus secundum boetium compositus' appearing above the music notation implies that the group of alphabets and symbols relate to the five-course lute (with nine strings). The Kassel 'Laut-enkragen', a page from a late-fifteenth century codex on the quadrivium is a diagram of the neck of a five-course lute with gamut note names written on successive frets of each string, and tables of mensural values of note heads.¹⁷ The famous treatise on music entitled *De inventione et usu musicae*, written by the Flemish theorist and composer Johannes Tinctoris shortly after the Battle of Otranto in 1480 and published in Naples around 1481–83, is one of the most important sources on musical instruments and performance practice of the fifteenth century. The section on the lute (which he calls 'lyra') describes the instrument, stringing and tuning, and performance practice, as well as referring to famous lutenists.¹⁸ Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja's *Musica practica*, published in Bologna in 1482, primarily discussing a new monochord fretting using meantone temperament and his own invention of the solmisation syllables based on the octave, contains discussion on the tuning scheme for several string instruments, including the 'lyra'.¹⁹ His explanation of two tunings for the five-string 'lyra' makes it seem likely that this instrument designates the five-course lute or vihuela. Elío Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario Español-Latino*, a Spanish-Latin dictionary published in Salamanca about 1495, mentions an instrument called 'laud' which is certainly the lute, for it equates *laud* with *testudo*, a typical Latin term for the lute in the fifteenth century.²⁰ He also includes the entry for 'cuerda' in which each of the lute's five strings is described with Latinised Greek words. An English commonplace book, compiled in the last decade of the fifteenth century (Cambridge University, Trinity College, MS 0.2.13, Cat. no. 1117), contains recipes and documents of various kinds as well as a tuning instruction for a five-course lute, headed 'To sette a lute'.²¹ These sources do not contain any music examples or anything specifically designated as lute music. We may wonder how and whence Petrucci could have copied the practice of including information on lute-playing in a collection of lute music, assuming he did not invent the idea.

Was Petrucci following the practice of some (now lost) lute manuscripts where some rudimentary instructions on reading tablature, tuning and/or playing techniques may have preceded a collection of lute pieces? There is too little evidence to say whether lute music manuscripts sometimes or often contained information on technical matters of lute playing or how to read tablature.²² The earliest known source of lute music, the so-called Königstein Songbook (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 719 fasc. 4), dating from between 1470 and 1473, which includes several pieces notated in German lute tablature, all of them intabulations of monophonic melodies, does not contain any instruction for lute; the manuscript is primarily a collection of poems and German *Lieder*.²³ Pesaro Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144, originating in Venice, whose first 'layer' was possibly compiled in the late fifteenth century, contains a tuning diagram and instructions for tuning a six-course lute, although it is highly likely that these instructions may be later additions from the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms 27, a manuscript of Venetian origin possibly compiled about 1505, is a collection of lute solos and song accompaniments.²⁵ One may merely speculate that some kind of instructions were included in the missing portion of the manuscript (ff. 1–11^v). Bologna University Library, MS. 596, HH 2–4, compiled in Naples in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, includes a tuning diagram with two pieces (probably for the viola da mano) written in Neapolitan viola da mano tablature; the tuning diagram may have been included in the spirit of a playing instruction.²⁶

The inclusion of instructions on the subjects of tuning, playing techniques and tablature notation appears to have been a new concept developed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries after the polyphonic manner of lute practice was developed and tablature notation for the lute was devised. In fact, almost all lute publications between 1507 and 1536 from Italy, Germany and France contain some kind of instructions, some very brief and others quite extensive.²⁷ Interestingly, the trend may also be seen in lute manuscripts from the same period, even where seemingly intended for a single student. For instance, Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS VM C.25: 'Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola, gentil homo bresano' compiled by Capirola's student Vidal about 1517 in Venice is an early example of its kind. The manuscript contains recercari, intabulations of sacred and secular vocal music, and settings of dance music by a Brescian lutenist Vincenzo Capirola.²⁸ Vidal included Capirola's instructions on notation, right- and left-hand techniques, tenuto playing, ornamentation, tuning, fretting, how to select strings, and how to place the nut.²⁹ Capirola's instructions appear at the beginning of the manuscript followed by the music, ordered to present gradually increasing technical and musical difficulties, so Vidal's organisation of the manuscript give it something of the appearance of a tutor.

A detailed analysis of the nature of Petrucci's instructions may shed some light on his purpose in including them. The following is a reproduction with my English translation of the 'Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare' as included in Spinacino's *Libro primo*.

Regula pro illis qui canere nesciunt.

Intelligendus est primo quod in presenti intabulatura sunt sex ordines cordarum prout in lauro. Suprema linea stat pro contra basso et sic per ordinem. Que debent tangi in suis tactis secundum numerum in ipsis signatum. Qui inuenis. o. tangitur corda illa vacua et qui inuenis. i. tangitur in primo tactu. et sic de singulis. Aduertere quod isti numeri sunt signati per unam litteram scilicet i. 10 11 12 sic X X X. Et quia ceteris ut habe scripta signa que sunt loco notarum | | | | | F F F F F. Quorum primus valet pro semibreui: secundus pro minima: et sic de singulis. Et sic secundus valet pro medietate primi: tertius pro medietate secundi: et sic per ordinem. Sunt et quedam signa que dicuntur signa 7 7 proportionum: et sunt ista. P Prima ex primo ponitur pro isto | et secundum | pro medietate primi. Sicut et alia huiusmodi | quorum secundum valet pro medietate primi: et quintus ex secundo pro tali | Item sciendum quod quando inuenis punctum sub littera illa corda debet moueri sursum omnes alie eorundem. Soli Deo Laus honor et gloria.

Regola per quelli che non fanno cantare.

Prima deue intendere che in la presente intabulatura sonno sei ordine de corde como in lo lauro. La linea de sopra e per el contrabasso: e cosi va seguitando per ordine. Le qual se hanno a tocchare in li lor tacti secundo sonno in essi signati li numeri. Quando sera signato. o. significa che se tocha quella corda doue e tal signo voda. Et quando e signato. i. se mette el dedo in to primo tacto: e cosi del resto de li numeri. Et per che a signar. 10. 11. 12. per esser doi lettere possa far confusione e fa messo per. 10. X per. 11. X. per. 12. X. Et anchora da sapere che le cose che e sonano per hauer la sua perfectione le botte no se danno equali per tanto sonno sta facti supra li dicti numeri li infra scripti signati: li quali sonno segni de note reducte in tal forma: accioche etiam quelli che non fanno cantar possino anchora loro participar de tal virtute: liquali si se acco | | | | | F F F F F modaranno a tegnir tal misura sonarano tutte le cose intabulare perfectissimamente. Questi sonno li segni | | | | | F F F F F El primo significa la misura che deue tegnir: la qual bisogna pigliarla si larga che in quel tempo tu possi dare le botte del numero diminuto: per che lo secondo segno vale per la mita del primo. El terzo per la mita del secondo. El quarto per la mita del terzo. El quinto per la mita del quarto. Et quando tu trouerai vno ponto apresso al primo ouer al secondo segno quel tal ponto vale per la mita de quel segno apresso P P al qual e messo. Sonno anchora certi | segni de misura che se dimodano segni de proportione che son 7 7 no isti P P Tre del primo vale tanto quanto questo | El secundo per la mita del primo. Sono et de altra sorte 7 7 de li quali el secondo vale per la mita del primo: e cinque del secundo vale per vno tal segno | Item nota che tutte le botte sonno senza ponto de sotto se danno in giu: e quelle dal ponto se danno in su: et ceppo quando sonno piu de vna che se pizzichano non essendo de sotto el ponto che bisogna darle tutte inu.

REGOLA PER QUELLI CHE NON SANNO CANTARE

Prima deve intendere che in la presente intabulatura sonno sei ordine de corde commo in lo lauto. La linea de sopra e per el controbasso: e cosi va seguitando per ordine. La qual se hanno a tochar in li lor tasti secondo sonno in essi signati li numeri. Quando sera signato .0. significa che se tocha quella corda dove e tal signo voda. Et quando e signato .1. se mette el deto in lo primo tasto: e cosi del resto de li numeri. E per che a signar .10.11.12. per esser doi lettere possea far confusione e sta messo per .10. X. per .11. X̄. per .12. X̄̄. E anchora da sapere che le cose che sonano per haver la sua perfectione le botte non se danno equali per tanto sonno sta facti supra li ditti numeri li infrascripti signali: li quali sonno segni de note reduete in tal forma: accioche etiam quelli che non sanno cantar possino anchora loro participar de tal virtu: li quali si se accomodaranno a tegnir tal misura sonaranno tutte le cose intabulate perfectissimamente. Questi sonno li segni: | ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ . El primo significa la misura che devi tegnir: la qual bisogna pigliarla si larga che in quel tempo tu possi dare le botte del numero diminuto: per che lo secondo segno vale per la mita del primo. El terso per la mita del secondo. El quarto per la mita del terso. El quinto per la mita del quarto. Et quando tu troverai uno ponto apresso al primo over al secondo segno quel tal ponto vale per la mita de quel segno apresso al qual e messo. Sonno anchora certi segni de misura che se dimandano segui de proportione che sonno questi. P̄ P̄³⁰ tre del primo vale tanto quanto questo | El secondo per la mita del primo.³¹ Sonno et de altra sorte ¶ ¶ de li quali el secondo vale per la mita del primo: e cinque del secondo vale per uno tal segno: ¶ Item nota che tutte le botte sonno senza ponto de sotto se danno in giu: e quelle dal ponto se danno in su: excepto quando sonno piu de una che se pizzichano non essendo de sotto el ponto che bisogna darle tutte in su.

(RULES FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT SING)

It must first be understood that in the present tablature there are six rows of strings as on the lute. The highest line stands for the contrabasso, and thus follow [the rest of the lines] in order. These [strings] have to be stopped on the respective frets according to the numerals indicated. When [the numeral] 0 is present, the string is plucked without being stopped [by the left hand]. And when [the numeral] 1 is present, place the [left-hand] finger on the first fret; and so on for the rest of the numerals. Since the numerals 10, 11, and 12 might be confused because of being double letters, they are substituted with [the signs] X for 10, X̄ for 11, and X̄̄ for 12. And it must be realised to have its perfection that the notes are not equal in length, [therefore] the following [rhythmic] signs are placed over the said numbers. These are signs for [the duration of] the notes accommodated in such form so that even those who cannot sing will still be able to recognize their meaning. If [the readers] will accustom themselves to observe such measure, all the pieces enciphered in tablature will sound most perfectly. These are signs: | ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ . The first [sign] signifies the tactus which must be held to; this tactus must be taken so slowly that within this tactus you will be able to have the plucking of the small notes, since the second sign is worth half of the first, the third [sign] half of the second, the fourth [sign] half of the third, and the fifth [sign] half of the fourth. And when you find a dot after the

first or second sign, the dot is worth half the value of the sign that it follows. There are also certain signs of measure which are called signs of proportion; these are $\text{P}\beta$. Three of the first are worth as much as I . The second is worth half the first. There are others of this kind, II , of which the second is worth half the first, and five of the second are equal to one f . Note that all the signs [literally, 'strokes'] without dots [written] beneath [the numerals] are played downwards [with the thumb], and those with a dot [written beneath the numerals] are to be played upwards [with the finger], except when there is more than one [note] that must be plucked, there being no dot underneath, one must play them all upwards.)

Petrucchi's instructions deal with tablature (strings, frets and rhythm signs) and with playing techniques (right-hand fingering and its sign). (Note that I have interpolated in square brackets references to thumb and finger, mentioned in other early sources but not here.) Rudimentary as it all seems, these topics were certainly appropriate at the time of the publications, and many lutenists must have benefited from the information. Lute tablature and the polyphonic manner of playing were devised only around the time finger-plucking technique began to be cultivated, in the late fifteenth century, and the notational system may have been in the process of refinement, and knowledge of it may still have been confined to a limited number of lutenists. The notation of rhythm is less than satisfactory in the lute manuscripts of the pre-Petrucchi era and indeed of his contemporaries. For instance, the first layer of Pesaro MS 1144 uses ambiguous rhythm signs, and Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27 does not have any rhythm flags at all. Petrucchi advertises that his 'Regola' is for those who have little knowledge of the rudiments of music theory (tellingly, synonymous with 'those who cannot sing'), in particular the understanding of rhythmic values. There are slight changes in the later versions of the 'Regola' in Dalza's and Bossinensis' lute books, notably an addition of a mensuration sign and an explanation of its value. These changes were made to comply with the rhythmic figures used in Dalza's compositions, although the added sign is not employed by Bossinensis. There is a notable absence of any instructions on technical matters of lute playing such as tuning or left-hand techniques. Even for the explanations of right-hand fingering, the focus is on the meaning of the special sign for it rather than a discussion of actual plucking techniques.

Petrucchi's instructions may also have been helpful to the lutenists who were accustomed to other kinds of tablature.³² Petrucchi's signs for triple proportion are unique to his prints, and the 'Regola' points to the concern of the publisher to explain the tablature signs employed in his own lute books, some of which may have been his own inventions and therefore unfamiliar to other lutenists. Yet the instructions are rudimentary: how far would they have assisted novice players to cope with the advanced compositions included in Petrucchi lute books? Or were they more helpful to more advanced players who nonetheless did not happen to know tablature? Petrucchi must have hoped that

either way the inclusion of instructions would contribute to sales, especially if the learner hoped to save time and money by doing without lessons.³³

Publishers rarely credit the authors of the instructions in the sixteenth-century lute anthologies, and often it is not clear whether the publishers wrote the instructions by themselves or paid a professional lutenist for them; by contrast composers of music are usually credited. Perhaps some anonymous instructions were even written by well-known lutenists.³⁴ Petrucci was probably not a professional lutenist, though he may have had the rudiments of lute playing, given that he produced such elegant prints without precedents to follow. Perhaps Francesco Spinacino, the composer-intabulator for Petrucci's first two lute books, had some part in the production of the *Regola*. Another candidate for the author of the 'Regola' is Dalza who may have taught lute playing, if 'musicò' means a musician with knowledge of music theory. Dalza's *Libro quarto* indeed shows some traits of an instruction book, with easy pieces at the beginning and harder pieces towards the end. The Dominican friar Petrus Castellanus, the editor of Petrucci's first music publication *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (1501), could have assisted Petrucci with the Latin version of the instructions, though it is not known if he was a lutenist.

When Petrucci published his lute books, as already mentioned the change from plectrum to fingertip technique was underway; a new way of playing which enabled polyphony to be performed on a solo lute.³⁵ In his *De inventione*, written in Naples and published there about 1481–3, Tinctoris recorded the finger-plucking technique explicitly in connection with the performance of polyphonic compositions in three or four voices on the solo lute.³⁶ I have discussed in a foregoing issue of this journal one 'Balthasar Germanus' and his apparent role in spreading this technique in Italy, and an apparent depiction in a woodcut of 1485.³⁷

Tablature is barely necessary when playing a single line with a plectrum, for which staff notation would suffice, and tablature, no doubt, spread *pari passu* with fingertip technique. The invention of a dot to show upstrokes with the first finger, alternating with (unmarked) downstrokes with the thumb recalls the the up-and-down strokes of plectrum technique, which may help to explain its early spread, and the fact that some early tablature sources (such as Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27) have no other rhythmic indications than this. The signs for the thumb-finger alternation are most frequently applied to scalar passages in single notes. The most widely used sign in the sixteenth century to indicate the use of fingers for plucking is the dot placed under the tablature cipher; the first layer of Pesaro MS 1144 is the earliest extant source to employ this sign. As already noted, the use of the first finger and thumb is not explicitly mentioned in Petrucci's 'Regola' but is merely implied, confirming that contemporaries thought primarily in terms of upstrokes and downstrokes.³⁸

The next extant printed lute book after Bossinensis' *Libro secondo* of 1511 is Andrea Antico's lute book published in Venice about 1520. It includes instructions for the lute, again headed 'Regula per quelli che non sano cantare'.³⁹ Antico's 'Regula' is modelled on Petrucci's 'Regola', probably lifted from the Bossinensis song prints;⁴⁰ some spellings

in Antico differ only slightly from Petrucci's but otherwise the two versions are almost identical, though Antico omits the description of high fret positions and proportion signs as these are not found in the following music. Petrucci included these signs because Spinacino and Dalza used them; Bossinensis does not use the proportion signs at all.

Petrucci's inclusion in his instruction of his special signs for the tenth, eleventh and twelfth frets seems to be unique in sixteenth-century lute instructions; he thus avoids possible confusion and typographical difficulties that might occur in Italian tablature from use of numbers 10, 11, and 12. By way of a little historical background, the addition of frets to the unfretted early mediaeval lute seems to have been an innovation made in the early fifteenth century. The lute in Taddeo di Bartolo's painting *The Assumption* of c.1401 is still fretless,⁴¹ but Andrea di Bartolo's *Madonna and Saints*, of c.1410–20 depicts a lute with seven frets on the fingerboard.⁴² Anselmi in his *De musica* of 1434 mentions the frets on the cithara with the term 'tactus'.⁴³ Paulirinus, between 1459 and 1463, wrote that the lute had nine frets on the fingerboard.⁴⁴ Body frets, glued onto the neck and soundboard above the gut frets came later still; Lorenzo Costa's painting *The Concert* depicts a lute with eight frets on the fingerboard and what look like three wooden frets on the soundboard, though in fact they are probably painted marks to guide the fingers.⁴⁵ Lute instructions and theorists of the sixteenth century commonly indicate eight frets on the fingerboard but many lutenists strayed above the tied-on frets, not least Francesco da Milano in some of his *ricercars*.

Antico (*Frottole*, f. 2). added the explanation that the sign of a dot is not generally present in his tablature unless there is enough space for the signs to be printed without obscuring the notation. This sounds like a practical printer's approach, but may also reflect thumb-finger alternation being more widely understood, so not needing to be indicated in every case. Yet the need for guidance—even clearer guidance in fact—was still felt in some quarters and notations other than the single-dot system were devised. The notation for the right-hand technique in the intabulation of Hayne van Ghizeghem's chanson 'De tous biens plaine' in Freiburg CH-Fcu, Cap. Rés. 527 (olim: Falk Z.105), a German manuscript of c.1510–20, notated in Italian lute tablature, for instance, uses a system in which a cipher with a dot placed above it should be played with the thumb and a cipher with a dot placed below it is to be played with a finger.⁴⁶

Elsewhere the right-hand technique of thumb-finger alternation is indicated by the use of additional symbols attached to the rhythm signs. In the pieces notated in Neapolitan tablature in Pesaro MS 1144, two kinds of symbol that look like a hook are attached to the rhythm signs: a downward diagonal line attached low down to the left-hand side of the stem f and an upward diagonal line attached to the top of the stem f . These signs generally alternate, and appear only in single line passages, suggesting that they indicate thumb-forefinger alternation, with the former sign usually occurring on the first or odd numbered notes in scale passages implying that it denotes the downward plucking motion with the thumb; it also appears for notes on the lower courses.⁴⁷

Such a notation system is not unique to this Italian source, for hooked tablature flags are also used in Hans Judenkünig's two lute books published in Vienna, one between

1515 and 1519 and the other in 1523.⁴⁸ Judenkünig refers to the sign thus: 'merkh ain yedliche fussell hat ain strichlein oben das bedewt ubersich all zeit' ('every *fusa* [two-tail note] that has a little stroke over it that means always an up-stroke').⁴⁹ In Judenkünig's tablature, the hook symbol is attached to the notes with the rhythm sign f or f .

It is unknown whether such 'hooked' tablature notation was standard usage in Italy and Germany or whether there were any connections between Pesaro MS 1144 and Judenkünig. The tablature systems used in Pesaro MS 1144 (Neapolitan viola da mano tablature, in part) and in Judenkünig (German lute tablature) had quite different origins and share few concepts and characteristics, except for the rhythm signs that are more or less uniform in all types of lute tablature. To judge from the extant printed books and manuscripts, Judenkünig's notational system was not followed either by his contemporaries or by the later German lutenists, even though some of them such as Hans Gerle and Hans Newsidler apparently had access to his lute books. Nor are hooked flags used in the first layer of Pesaro MS 1144 (which is in French lute tablature) where the dot system is used to indicate the right-hand technique.⁵⁰ It is hard to draw conclusions about who invented hooked tablature flags; whether they had already been developed in Italy (or Spain, given the association between Neapolitan viola da mano tablature and Valencian vihuela de mano tablature⁵¹) in the early sixteenth century. Judenkünig's notation may have been influenced by practicalities of printing, and the date for the pieces in Neapolitan viola da mano tablature in Pesaro MS 1144 has not accurately been determined.

There was a hiatus of about fifteen years in Italian lute music printing after Antico's lute book, until the *annus mirabilis* of 1536 when four lute books were published, by Francesco Marcolini in Venice, Giovanni Antonio Casteliono (of his own music) in Milan, and two by Johannes Sultzbach in Naples. Neither Marcolini nor Casteliono included any instructions for lute. A German publisher, Johannes Sultzbach, published two books of tablature composed by Francesco da Milano for the 'viola' or lute. Sultzbach uses Italian lute tablature to notate Francesco's compositions in his *Libro primo* and Neapolitan viola da mano tablature in the *Libro secondo*. He includes a brief instruction entitled 'Regula per quelli che non sanno cantare' in both books.⁵² Sultzbach's 'Regula' in the *Libro primo* is almost identical to Petrucci's but is more probably borrowed from Antico's, as, once again, signs for high fret positions and for rhythmic proportion are omitted. Sultzbach further omitted information on right-hand fingering and slightly altered the description of tablature lines and rhythm signs.

Sultzbach's *Libro secondo* also includes 'Regula per quelli che non sanno cantare', not surprisingly similar to the 'Regula' in *Libro primo*, but *mutatis mutandis* for Neapolitan instead of Italian tablature,⁵³ in respect of tablature lines and ciphers, while the second part that concerns rhythm signs and their duration is identical. The application of lute instructions to the music for the 'viola' (that is viola da mano in Italy and the vihuela de mano in Spain) reminds us that these two instruments shared notation, tuning, and playing techniques and that their repertoire was interchangeable.

The lasting influence, if that is the word, of Petrucci's 'Regola' almost forty years after their first appearance may be seen in the instructions included in a lute book published around the middle of the century. Girolamo Scotto's second book of tablature, published in Venice in 1546, included instructions that closely follow those of Petrucci, under the rubric 'Regola per quelli che non sanno la intavolatura', and the subjects, information on the names of the strings, the numbering of the frets, and rhythm signs, show similarities.⁵⁴ Whether this was based on Petrucci's, Antico's, or Sultzbach's 'Regola', Scotto or his editor made a more extensive and detailed version.⁵⁵ It was in that same year that Melchior de Barberis' lute prints, also published by Scotto, at last made a real break with Petrucci, and started to print far more detailed instructions for the lute player.⁵⁶

Finally we may consider signs in use in Petrucci's time which he does not explain. Though the ability to play chords was the whole point of polyphonic finger technique, and of the tablature systems to concisely notate them, Petrucci does not say much about right-hand technique for plucking chords in the 'Regola' except in respect of the absence of dots under chords, which are nonetheless to be played upwards. Some of the other earliest extant tablatures use some devices to indicate the alignment of ciphers in a chord where there are unused courses between them. The device of a vertical line helps the player see where two or more notes are to be played together—all the more useful where there are no tablature flags or barlines to help clarify the rhythmic structure. Vertical lines are very extensively used in sources such as Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27, but sometimes where there is only one unused course between two notes another sign is used: a letter *a* in Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27 and a letter *m* in Freiburg CH-Fcu, Cap. Rés. 527, the symbol occupying the unused course;⁵⁷ the use of letters does not confuse as these are Italian tablature sources, where the rest of the notation is in numbers.

In polyphonic lute music, the aim is to realise independent voices on a single lute, and to this end one generally wishes to sustain the sound of a note as long as possible after the string is plucked, leaving the left-hand fingers in position on the frets; some instructors demanded that the fingers must never be lifted until the harmony changes. Careful players would be concerned with the rhythmic independence of various voices and with the maintenance of the correct harmony. Thus tenuto playing gained an importance it cannot have had in single-line plectrum playing, and the notation invented for it helps us to appreciate contemporary ideas about contrapuntal intentions.

Amateurs of Petrucci's time may have found this a novelty: Capirola's student Vidal, in Venice in the second decade of the sixteenth century, described the technique, stating that not everybody understood how important it was.⁵⁸ The Capirola lute book employs signs that look like a letter *w* and a half-circle, sometimes combined with a diagonal line, to indicate a tenuto.⁵⁹ Vidal may not have known that other Italian lutenists tried to indicate the tenuto technique in tablature with other signs. The intabulation of Johannes Vincenet's chanson 'Fortune par te cruaulté' in Bologna MS 596 uses a letter *u* beside the tablature ciphers that are to be held, in order to produce the proper counterpoint

against the other parts.⁶⁰ Likewise a diagonally elongated S and a letter *a* together with a diagonal line in Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27 are likely to be tenuto signs, considering that they appear when the other voice or voices move in smaller rhythmic values.⁶¹ There are neither instructions nor tablature signs for this technique in Petrucci's lute books:⁶² Petrucci's 'Regola' are only meant to be rudimentary where technical matters of lute playing are concerned, while Petrucci might have had typographical difficulties with further special signs; so we cannot be sure whether Petrucci or his editor knew much about tenuto. The description of tenuto playing and a tablature sign, resembling a modern sharp sign, included in Scotto's instructions therefore may reflect the increasing awareness of the new manner of playing.⁶³

Polyphonic lute playing with fingertip technique was only a few decades old in Petrucci's time, and music printing was more novel still. The dissemination of information on lute playing and its notation depended in part on the way the instructions for lute were transmitted. Petrucci's 'Regola', the first of its kind, should not be dismissed as a primitive precursor of the later instructions that deal more extensively with various subject matters in lute playing. The early Italian and German manuscript tablatures sources, particularly in their unclear rhythmic notation, give the same impression of a small army of novices grappling with a newly fashionable instrument that we get from mid-Tudor sources in England, such as William Skypton's MS, British Library Royal Appendix 58, the Osborn Commonplace Book and the Ralph Bowles and Giles Lodge lute books. In such a context Petrucci was providing a real service.⁶⁴ The instructions in the lute books of Antico, Sultzbach, and Scotto were revised versions or based on the instructions first published by Petrucci. The publishers and/or their editors who used Petrucci's 'Regola' made conscientious efforts to update their instructions in order to accommodate the music they printed; Antico made only slight changes, Sultzbach changed little except to adapt the 'Regola' to different tablatures, and Scotto modelled his instructions on them. These remained the sole printed lute instructions in Italy until 1546 when Girolamo Scotto, Giovanni Maria da Crema (more probably Antonio Rotta)⁶⁵ and Melchiorre de Barberis published theirs.⁶⁶ Although it cannot be ascertained to what extent Petrucci's 'Regola' influenced the Italian lutenists of his time, the wide dissemination of his lute books in Italy makes his instructions a most important source of information for understanding the practice of the early sixteenth-century Italian lutenists.⁶⁷

Notes

I am grateful to Denys Stephens for reading and commenting on this paper; see his 'Italian Lute Music in German Sources 1500–50', *Lute Society of America Quarterly* xlvix (Fall and Winter 2014).

- 1 Petrucci's privilege is reprinted in Anton Schmid, *Ottaviano dei Petrucci da Fossombrone der erste Erfinder des Musiknoten-druckes mit beweglichen Metalltypen und seine Nachfolger im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1845), pp. 10–11, and translated in English in Gustave Reese, 'The First

- Printed Collection of Part-Music (The Odhecaton)', *The Musical Quarterly* 20 (1934), p. 40. On Petrucci's publications, see Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1948); and Augusto Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci da Fossombrone: inventore dei tipi mobili metallici fusi della musica nel secolo XV*, Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis, Sezione III, n. 35 (Bologna, 1971). On the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century music publishing, see Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992). On Petrucci's publications, see Stanley Boorman, *Studies in the Printing, Publishing, and Performance of Music in the 16th Century* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005). On the publication of Petrucci's lute books, see Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Production and Reception of Petrucci's Lute Books', *JLSA* 41 (2008), pp. 37–55.
- 2 Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1507; facsimile edition Geneva: Minkoff, 1978); Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro secondo* (Venice, 1507; facsimile edition, Geneva: Minkoff, 1978); Giovan Maria, *Intabulatura de lauto libro tertio* (Venice, 1508, now lost); Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto* (Venice, 1508, facsimile edition, Geneva: Minkoff, 1980); Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1509, facsimile edition, Geneva: Minkoff, 1977); and Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro secundo* (Fossombrone, 1511, facsimile edition, Geneva: Minkoff, 1982). These volumes are listed and described in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), as items 1507₁, 1507₂ [1508]₁, 1508₂, 1509₁, and 1511₁, respectively.
 - 3 Fossombrone was Petrucci's birthplace and his family's residence for some generations. A summary of Petrucci's biography may be found in Stanley Boorman, 'Petrucci, Ottaviano (dei)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 18 October 2014).
 - 4 Giovan Maria is known to have played with other lutenists in ensemble; see Hiroyuki Minamino, 'A Battle of Old and New: Giovan Maria Hebreo and Francesco da Milano at the Papal Court', *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2000), pp. 7–10. See also idem, 'Dream of a dream, Giovan Maria's extra-musical career', *The Lute* xxxvii (1997), pp. 9–16.
 - 5 On the sixteenth-century lute instructions, see Daniel Heartz, 'Les premières "instructions" pour le luth (jusque vers 1550)', *Le luth et sa musique*, edited by Jean Jacquot (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1957, 2nd edition 1978), pp. 89–90; and Dinko Fabris, 'Lute Tablature Instructions in Italy: A Survey of the Regole from 1507 to 1759', *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 16–46. H. Sommer, 'Lautentraktate des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Rahmen der deutschen und französischen Lautentabulaturen' (diss., Free University of Berlin, 1922) was unavailable for this study. The present study is based on Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation' (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1988).

- 6 Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo*, f. 2; and idem, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro secundo*, f. 2. See Henry Louis Schmidt III, 'The First Printed Lute Books: Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo* and *libro secundo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)', (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1969), vol. 2, pp. [i–iv], for a reprint and an English translation of the Latin and Italian versions.
- 7 For Giovan Maria's book, see Catherine Weeks Chapman, 'Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus', *JAMS* 21 (1968), p. 63, item 30. Colón's cataloguing technique is discussed in my study 'Ferdinando Colón: the First Cataloger of Lute Books' (in preparation).
- 8 Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro quarto*, f. 1^v. See Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 140, for a reprint; and Helmut Mönkemeyer, ed., *Joanambrosio Dalza, Die Tabulatur*, 6 (Hofheim am Taunus: F. Hofmeister, c.1967), p. 1, for a reproduction in facsimile and a German translation.
- 9 Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro primo*, f. 2; and idem., *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro secundo*, f. 2. See Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 148, for a reprint from the 1509 edition; and Claudio Sartori, 'A Little Known Petrucci Publication: The Second Book of Lute Tablatures by Francesco Bossinensis', *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948), pp. 238–39, for an English translation from the 1511 edition.
- 10 See Schmidt, 'The First Printed Lute Books', vol. 1, p. 3.
- 11 Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 388, n. 44, mentions that some collections of secular music contain a short elementary tract and argues that it was an attempt to justify the music as collections of examples.
- 12 There are a few fourteenth-century literary sources that provide a little information on the lute. The lute in the fourteenth-century Italy is discussed in my 'The Lute's Lament: an Introduction to the Trecento Lute' (in preparation).
- 13 See Giuseppe Massera, ed., *Georgii Anselmi Parmensis, De musica* (Florence, 1961), p. 126 for f. 23^v. Anselmi's *tactus* is discussed in Jacques Handschin, 'Anselmi's Treatise on Music Annotated by Gafori', *Musica disciplina* 2 (1948), p. 133. Howard Mayer Brown and Claus Bockmaier, 'Tactus', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L Macy (accessed 18 October 2014), interpret *cithara* as lute.
- 14 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 7295; facsimile edition in George Le Cerf and E.-R. Labande, eds., *Instruments de musique du XVe siècle: Les traités d'Henri Arnaut de Zwolle et de divers anonymes* (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1932). On the manuscript, see Cecil Clutton, 'Arnaut's MS', *The Galpin Society Journal* 5 (1952), pp. 3–8.
- 15 See Ian Harwood, 'A Fifteenth-Century Lute Design', *LSJ* ii (1960), pp. 3–8, for reproduction and English translation. These show both the construction of the mould and the proportions for establishing the shape of the body. On the construction of a lute based on Arnaut's design,

- see Edward L. Kottick, 'Building a 15th-Century Lute', *GSJ* 26 (1973), pp. 72–83. Various writers have noted that Arnault's drawing superimposes easily onto the printed oud design of Safi ad-din; see Christian Rault, *Instruments à Cordes du Moyen Age* (Créaphis, 1999) quoted in Davide Rebuffa, *Il Liuto* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2012) p. 70. David van Edwards suggested Arnaut's geometry contains a simple misunderstanding of the geometry actually visible in most 15th century lute iconography; see David van Edwards, 'Arnaut of Zwolle's lute design; a puzzle solved?', *Lute News* 69 (April 2004), pp. 7–10.
- 16 Paulus Paulirinus, *Liber viginti artium* (Cracow, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Codex 257). See Standley Howell, 'Paulus Paulirinus of Prague on Musical Instruments', *JAMS* 5–6 (1979–80), pp. 9–36, esp. pp. 16–17, for a reproduction with English translation of the entry 'cithara'; and Christopher Page, 'The 15th-Century Lute: New and Neglected Sources', *Early Music* 9 (1981), p. 11, for a reproduction with English translation. On Paulirinus, see also Milos M. Velimirovic, 'The Pre-English Use of the Term "Virginal"', in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), pp. 341–52.
- 17 See Crawford Young and Martin Kimbauer, eds., *Frühe Lautentablaturen im Faksimile/ Early Lute Tablatures in Facsimile*, *Practica musicae*, Band 6 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2003) for photographs and discussion of both the Regensburg diagram and the Kassel lute-neck diagram; the latter may relate to the Wölfenbüttel lute 'tablature'; see note 23 below.
- 18 For the section on the lute, see Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae'*, with an introduction by Wilhelm Fischer, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2nd edn. 1961), pp. 40–46, for a reproduction; and Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De inventione et usu musicae*', *GSJ* 3 (1950), pp. 19–26, for partial reproduction with English translation. For the date of the compilation of the treatise, see Ronald Woodley, 'The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris's Fragmentary Treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*', *Early Music History* 5 (1985), pp. 239–68, especially pp. 241–45. The text in Latin is now available online at www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/TININV4_TEXT.html.
- 19 Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, *Musica practica* (Bologna, 1482). For a facsimile edition see Giuseppe Vecchi, ed., *Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis*, series 2, no. 3 (Bologna, 1969); and a reproduction in Johannes Wolf, ed., *Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Beiheft no. 2, reprint edition (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968). See Standley Howell, 'Ramos de Pareja's "Brief Discussion of Various Instruments"', *JAMS* 11 (1985), pp. 14–37, especially pp. 17–21, for a reproduction and English translation of the section on instruments, and Page, 'The 15th-Century Lute', p. 16, for a reproduction with English translation of the section on the lyra.
- 20 Elio Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario Español-Latino* (Salamanca, c.1495). See Page, 'The 15th-Century Lute', p. 14, for facsimile. Page (ibid., pp. 14–16) argues that Nebrija describes a lute tuning. Howell, 'Ramos de Pareja's "Brief Discussion"', pp. 34–5, refutes the idea that the string names are Latinised Greek words for the strings, not the pitches.

- 21 Reproduced in J. Handschin, 'Aus der alten Musiktheorie, V, Zur Instrumentenkunde,' *Acta musicologica* 16–17 (1944–45), p. 2; and in facsimile in Page, 'The 15th-Century Lute', p. 13.
- 22 Tracts on practical matters of playing and notation are missing even where we might expect to find them. Conrad Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi*, written in the mid fifteenth century, for instance gives instruction in composing or improvising on given themes or formulae, but lacks any discussion on the technical matters of keyboard playing or reading German organ tablature. On the *Fundamentum*, see Christoph Wolff, 'Conrad Paumanns Fundamentum organisandi und seine verschiedenen Fassungen', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968), pp. 196–222. Arnold Schlick's *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Mainz, 1511, Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1511₂) is a treatise on organ construction and playing, but contains no musical compositions. Arnold Schlick's *Tabulaturen Etlicher lobgesang und Liedlein uff die orgeln und lauten* (Mainz, 1512, Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1512₁, facsimile edition, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Leipzig, 1977) is the earliest printed source in Germany to contain pieces requiring polyphonic lute technique. Aside from the organ pieces, Schlick included three intabulations of German *Lieder* for solo lute and twelve arrangements mostly of German *Lieder* for solo voice (or a melody instrument as an alternative) and lute accompaniment. No instructions for the lute or organ are included. Michel de Toulouze's *Sensuit l'art et instruction de bien dancer* (Brown, *Instrumental Music* 148?) includes instructions for dancing and choreography with monophonic melodies.
- 23 See Paul Sappler, ed., *Das Königsteiner Liederbuch*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 29 (Munich, 1970). On the earliest surviving sources in lute tablature, see Hans Tischler, 'The Earliest Lute Tablature,' *JAMS* 27 (1974), pp. 100–3; and David Fallows, '15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion', *LSJ* 19 (1977), pp. 8–10; see also Young and Kimbauer, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile*. One must also mention here the Wölfenbüttel lute 'tablature' of c.1460, presented and discussed by Marc Lewon at <http://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/02/022/wolfenbuettel-lute-tablature> which seems to be the kind of notation explained in the Kassel lute neck diagram. It is not, like other tablatures, a finger placement chart, but a modified form of staff notation, on an eight-line staff, with five 'clefs' marking the positions of various notes from G to g', but like tablature it shows only the initial impacts of notes and chords (with multiple note heads on one stem), and it includes two and three-note chords (the music consists of arrangements of polyphonic songs of the day). Most of the chords are voiced so that they can be played with plectrum on a five-course lute, but not all, so I do not share the view that this is definitely a source for plectrum lute, though it is certainly an early attempt to notate lute music.
- 24 See Vladimir Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentablatur*, *Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte*, vol. 45 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988). The entire manuscript is edited in idem., *Eine zentrale Quelle der frühen italienischen Lautenpraxis: Edition der Handschrift Pesaro*, *Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144*, *Münchener Editionen zur Musikgeschichte*, vol. 7 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988); colour photographs appear in Young and Kimbauer, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile*.

- 25 For the manuscript, see Genèviève Thibault, 'Un manuscrit italien pour luth des premières années du XVI^e siècle', in *Le luth et sa musique*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, reprinted edn. 1976), pp. 43–76; and Lewis Jones, 'The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction', *The Lute* 22 (1982), pp. 69–87, and *ibid.*, 23 (1983), pp. 21–26. For another recent discussion, see Hector Sequera, 'The Thibault manuscript', *Lute News* 111 (October 2014) pp. 15–18. The compiler of Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27 is unidentified. During the period the MS was in use, on 11 March 1505, the Venetian lutenist Marco dall'Aquila submitted a petition to the Signory of Venice seeking a ten-year privilege to print lute tablature. Although there is no evidence that Marco published his lute works after he obtained his privilege, his intended lute book was perhaps to contain intabulations of vocal music, for the petition specifically mentions Marco's skill in intabulating vocal music 'with the greatest ability and art'. Perhaps Marco had prepared a manuscript version of his intended lute book complete with instructional materials at the beginning. The privilege is reprinted in Schmidt, *Ottaviano dei Petrucci da Fossombrone*, pp. 12–13; Brown, *Instrumental Music*, pp. 11–12; and Arthur J. Ness, 'The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State Library, Munich: A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on the Works of Marco dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984), vol. 1, 350–1 (text), pp. 351–2 (translation).
- 26 Neapolitan tablature is the same way up as French tablature but with numbers instead of letters, and starting with 1 for an open string. For the manuscript, see Fallows, '15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments,' pp. 18–20. On the pieces notated in so-called Neapolitan tablature, see Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature', *LSAQ* 34, nos. 3 (1999), pp. 8–18.
- 27 Notable exceptions are Arnold Schlick's *Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Liedlein* (Mainz, 1512), Francesco Marcolini's lute book published in Venice in 1536, and Giovanni Antonio Casteliono's lute book published in Milan in 1536; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 140–96.
- 28 For a facsimile edition see Orlando Cristoforetti, ed., *Archivum musicum collana di testi rari*, 39 (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1981); another colour facsimile is now available from Tree Edition. The entire volume is edited in Otto Gombosi, ed., *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-book (circa 1517)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1955). The MS is viewable online at the website of the Newberry Library, <https://i-share.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&v1=1&BBRecID=279573>
- 29 Reproduced and translated in Gombosi, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*, pp. LXXXVIII–XCIII; and translated in Federico Marincola, 'The Instructions from Vincenzo Capirola's Lute Book—A New Translation', *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 23, Pt. 2 (1983), pp. 23–28.
- 30 The signs ꝑꝑ appear in Dalza's and Bossinensis' two lute books.
- 31 Bossinensis' *Libro primo* includes the passage 'el terzo ꝑ[er] mita del secondo' ('and the third half of the second').

- 32 When in 1505 Marco dall'Aquila submitted to the Signory of Venice a petition to print lute tablature in the Venetian dominions for ten years, Marco sought penalties for those who would have printed any kind of tablature ('far stampar alcuna tabullatura de lauto de alcuna sorte'). Marco's reference to 'any kind of tablature' might refer to French or Neapolitan tablature, although it is not known whether Marco had any knowledge of tablatures other than Italian.
- 33 This point is mentioned in the instructions included in Pierre Phalèse, *Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de luth ... livre premier* (Louvain, 1545), f. A2.
- 34 A case in point is Antonio Rotta's 'lost' lute instructions; see footnote 65.
- 35 The polyphonic manner of lute playing is made possible by the use of the fingers to pluck the non-adjacent strings of the lute to produce two or more voices simultaneously—notwithstanding early attempts to play chords on plectrum lute (note 23 above) limited to what could be played on adjacent strings. One early pictorial example of the finger-plucking technique on the lute can be found in a series of fourteenth-century Italian drawings that depict Lady Music tuning a lute by plucking the strings with her right-hand thumb and index finger. It may be significant that Lady Music is depicted in the act of tuning, symbolising cosmic harmony. The drawings are reproduced and discussed in Howard Mayer Brown, 'St. Augustin, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy,' *Musica disciplina* 38 (1984), pp. 25–65. This example may be an exception, for the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italian lutenists appear to have favoured the plectrum technique if the iconographical sources are to be believed. I have studied about 100 fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century paintings that depict the lute and lutenists, and found no indication of fingertip technique. Lute technique in Italy in the fourteenth century is discussed in my essay entitled 'The Lute's Lament: an Introduction to the Trecento Lute' (in preparation). The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian lutenists may have favoured the ensemble lute style with the plectrum-plucking technique even if they were aware of the finger-plucking technique that could produce polyphony on a single lute.
- 36 For Tinctoris' arrival in Naples, see Ronald Woodley, 'Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence,' *JAMS* 34 (1981), pp. 231–2.
- 37 See Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Solo Lute Practice in Italy before Petrucci,' *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 51 (2011), pp. 45–52, at p. 46, and footnotes 9–12.
- 38 Sixteenth-century lute instructions call for the use of the thumb when music is monophonic; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 113–14.
- 39 Andrea Antico, *Frottole de messer Bortolomeo [sic] Tromboncino & de Misser Marchetto Cara con tenori & bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto* (Venice, c.1520), f. 2; see Francesco Luisi, 'Le frottole per canto e liuto di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara nella edizione adespota di Andrea Antico,' *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 10 (1976), pp. 211–58; facsimile, idem., *Frottole di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara 'per cantar et sonar col lauto'*, Istituto di paleografia musicale (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987).

- 40 Antico's mockery of Bossinensis's lute books is discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino, 'A Monkey Business: Petrucci, Antico, and the Frottole Intabulation', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 26-27 (1993-1994), pp. 96-106.
- 41 Reproduced for instance in Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools* (London, 1968), vol. 2, pl. 473. The use of frets on the bowed stringed instruments of the fourteenth century is discussed in Mary Remnant, 'The Use of Frets on Rebecs and Mediaeval Fiddles', *The Galpin Society Journal* 21 (1969), pp. 146-51.
- 42 Reproduced in Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian School of Painting* (Hague, 1924), vol. 2, p. 577, figs. 362, 363, 578.
- 43 See Handschin, 'Anselmi's Treatise', p. 133; Brown and Bockmaier, 'Tactus', *New Grove Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 18 October 2014). The term recalls the Italian word *tasto*.
- 44 See Howell, 'Paulus Paulirinus', p. 16.
- 45 See Anthony Bailes "'A Concert", a painting by Lorenzo Costa, a riddle read, with the help of 16th century sources' *Luths et luthistes en Occident, actes du colloque 13-15 mai 1998*, (Paris: Cité de la Musique, 1999), pp. 271-4; he cites sources indicating that body frets were an invention of the late sixteenth century—credited by John Dowland in the *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610) to Matthias Māson—and were not common until the eighteenth century.
- 46 Freiburg CH-Fcu, Cap. Rés. 527 (olim: Falk Z.105), ff. [2-2']. For the manuscript, see Jürg Stenzl, 'Peter Falk und die Musik in Freiburg', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 121 (1981), pp. 289-96; reproduction on p. 293, or photographs and commentary in Young and Kimbauer, *Frühe Lautentabaturen im Faksimile*. The fragmentary piece is notated in Italian lute tablature, and may have had stemmatic connections with Italy.
- 47 Pesaro 1144, pp. 101-102, 'Recerchata de Antonio'. Concerning pieces notated in so-called Neapolitan tablature, see Minamino, 'Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature', pp. 8-18.
- 48 Hans Judenkünig, *Utilis et compendiaris introductio, qua ut fundamento iacto quam facillime musicum exercitium, instrumentorum et Lutine, et quod vulgō Geygen nominant* (Vienna, c. 1515-19), f. a4^r; and idem., *Ain schone kunstliche underweisung in disem büechlein, leychtlich zu begreyffen den rechten grund zu lernen auff der Lautten und Geygen* (Vienna, 1523), f. a2. These books are listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as items 151₁ and 1523₂, respectively. Gary Boye suggests that both were printed in 1523; see <http://applications.library.appstate.edu/music/lute/C16/1500.html>
- 49 Judenkünig, *Underweisung*, f. b2. For a translation see Martha Blackman, 'A Translation of Hans Judenkünig's Ain schone kunstliche underweisung . . . 1523', *The Lute Society Journal* 14 (1972), p. 35.

- 50 The rhythm signs in the pieces notated in Neapolitan tablature in Pesaro MS 1144 are more carefully notated than the ones in the pieces in French lute tablature in the first layer. They are individually applied; the 'gridiron' system came into wide use later in the century.
- 51 The system used by Luis Milan in his *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536; facsimile Madrid: Sociedad de Vihuela, 2008); the same way up as French tablature but with numbers, differing from 'Neapolitan' tablature in that an open string is denoted by 0 instead of 1.
- 52 Johannes Sultzbach, *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto . . . della fortuna libro primo* (Naples, 1536), f. 2; and idem., *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto . . . della fortuna libro secondo* (Naples, 1536), f. 2; revised facsimile edition with a preface by Arthur J. Ness and an inventory by Claude Chauvel (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1988). Concerning this volume, see Yves Giraud, 'Deux livres de tablature inconnus de Francesco da Milano', *Revue de musicologie* 55 (1969), pp. 217–19. Sultzbach was not primarily a publisher of music books. On Sultzbach, see Pietro Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach* (Napoli, 1529–1544–Capua, 1547), *Biblioteca di bibliographia italiana*, 58 (Florence: Leo S. Olshki, 1970). The illustration on the title page of Sultzbach's books is discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Where Has Fortune Gone?: Music-Iconographical Problems in Sultzbach's Viola da Mano Books', *International Repertory of Musical Iconography Newsletter* 22 (1997), pp. 31–35.
- 53 See idem., 'Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature', pp. 12–14, esp. p. 13, for a reproduction and an English translation of the passages concerning the description of Neapolitan tablature.
- 54 Girolamo Scotto, *Intabulatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano* (Venice, 1546), f. 1^v; the volume is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item 1546₈. See Bengt Hambraeus, *Codex carminum gallicorum: Une étude sur le volume musique vocale u manuscrit 87 de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Upsala* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961), pp. 66–67; for a reprint of the instruction.
- 55 Casteliono follows Scotto in the title of his 'Regola per quelli che non sanno la Intavolatura' on f. 2^v of his *Intavolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano* (Milan, 1548) whose contents are almost identical to Scotto's *Intavolatura di lauto dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano . . . libro ottavo* (Venice, 1548), but containing one more fantasia by Francesco da Milano; see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, items 1548₃ and 1548₂, respectively. One innovation in the former print is the description of backfalls, notated by two tablature ciphers in brackets; see Martin Shepherd, 'The interpretation of signs for graces in English lute music', *The Lute* xxxvi (1996), pp. 37–84, at p. 52; the earliest printed Italian description of an ornament.
- 56 Headed 'Per dichiarare a quelli che non hanno pratica nel sonar de Liuto io li mostrerò qui disorto per ragione e per pratica'; in Melchiorre de Barberiis, *Intabulatura di lauto, libro quarto* (Venice, 1546), *libro quinto* (Venice, 1546), and *libro sesto* (Venice, 1546) Brown *Instrumental Music* 1546_{2,4} noted in Dinko Fabris, 'Lute tablature instructions in Italy' at p. 23.

- 57 Paris, Rés. Vmd. Ms 27, f. 12^v 'Recercar'; and Freiburg CH-Fcu, Cap. Rés. 527, f. [2] 'De tous biens plaine.'
- 58 See Gombosi, *Composizione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola*, p. XCI, or Federico Marincola, 'The Instructions from Vincenzo Capirola's Lute Book', at pp. 24, 25.
- 59 See, for instance, Gombosi, *Composizione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola*, 'Recerchar secondo'.
- 60 Bologna MS 596, f. [1^v] 'Fortuna vincinecta'; on this piece, see Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Fortuna Vincinecta, a Song or a Duet?' *Lute News* 55 (2000), pp. 12–16.
- 61 Paris Rés. Vmd. Ms 27, f. 36 'Scopri lingua' and f. 14^v 'Mora'; the signs are discussed in Jones, 'The Thibault Lute Manuscript,' p. 73.
- 62 On this technique, see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 135–39.
- 63 Later lutenists used various signs to indicate tenuto. Hans Judenkünig, Hans Newsidler, and Vincenzo Galilei employed a small cross (+); Hans Gerle used a small star (*); Melchior de Barberiis and Giovanni Maria da Crema used the sign of two sharps (##); and Adrian le Roy marked it with a diagonal line; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 135–9.
- 64 For William Skypton's MS, BL MS Cotton Titus d.xi., see Christopher Goodwin, 'The earliest English lute manuscript?' *Lute News* 61 (April 2002) pp. 10–24; the other sources are the subject of John Ward's *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon/OUP, 1992), passim.
- 65 According to Canon Scardeonius of Padua in his *De antiquitate urbis patavii & claris civibus patavinis* (Basle, 1560), Antonio Rotta had published 'praecepta notabilia' for playing the lute. Hans Radke states that Rotta's instructions are identical with 'Regula alli lettori' in his *Intabolatura de lauto* published in Venice in 1546; see Hans Radke, 'Rotta, Antonio,' *New Grove Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 18 October 2014). Girolamo Scotto published Rotta's *Intabolatura de lauto di lo eccellentissimo musicho messer Antonio Rotta . . . libro primo* in Venice in 1546 and Antonio Gardano published Rotta's *Intabolatura de lauto de l'eccellentissimo musicho M. Antonio Rotta . . . libro primo* in Venice in the same year. These two volumes contain the same compositions, but neither of them contains any instructions for the lute. Giovanni Maria da Crema's *Intabolatura di lauto . . . per lo eccellente musicho & sonator di lautto messer Jo. Maria da Crema libro terzo*, published in Venice in 1546, on the other hand, contains instructions, headed 'Regola alli lettori' on f. 2, explaining the names of the strings and frets, their equivalents in Italian lute tablature, demonstration of tablature with the chords in one, two, three, and four voices, right-hand fingering and indications, and rhythm signs. The extensive discussion of lute playing conforms to Scardeonius's description of Rotta's 'praecepta notabilia'. The contents of Crema's *Libro terzo* are same as those in Giovanni Maria da Crema's *Intabolatura de lauto . . . libro primo* (Venice, 1546) published by Antonio Gardano where no instruction is included. Scotto's lute book of 1546 is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item 1546₁₅; facsimile edition by Minkoff Reprint (Geneva, 1982). Gardano's lute book of 1546 is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item

1546₁₆; see also Mary S. Lewis, Antonio Gardano, *Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study* (New York: Garland, 1988), item 95, pp. 535-37. Crema's *Libro terzo* is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item 1546₁₁; see also Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 337-9. Crema's *Libro primo* is listed in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1546₁₀; facsimile edition by Minkoff Reprint (Geneva, 1981). For Crema's 'Regula alli lettori' in his *Libro terzo*, see Hambraeus, *Codex carminum gallicorum*, pp. 67-69, for reprint of the instruction.

66 Melchior de Barberiis, see n. 59 above, see also Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 342-48.

67 The transmission of Petrucci's 'Regola' to Northern Europe in the early sixteenth century may be suggested by the re-publication of Dalza's pieces in Hans Judenkünig's lute book of 1523 and by the copying of Spinacino's pieces in a German manuscript of the same period. If Judenkünig had access to Petrucci's *Libro terzo*, he may have consulted Petrucci's 'Regola' as a model for his instructions included in his 'Introductio'. The subject matter in the instructions in Pierre Attaignant, *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (Paris, 1529, facsimile, Geneva: Minkoff, 1988) and Pierre Phalèse's *Des chansons reduictz en tablature de Lut* (Louvain, 1545) share much with those in Petrucci. Phalèse's first lute book is in part based on Attaignant's lute book; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 146-7. It is uncertain whether Attaignant drew on Petrucci.