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 'intabuladure d'organo et liuto' (instrumental music for keyboard instruments and lute arranged and notated in tablature). 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. 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. 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. 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 frottola.

Each of Petrucci's six lute books contain what was the earliest printed instruction for lute. 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. 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. Petrucci included only the Italian 'Regola' in Dalza's Libro quarto, and this practice was carried on to his last two books of lute music by Bossinensis. The Latin 'Regula' is a shorter version of the Italian 'Regola', omitting information on tactus and tempo, punctus additionis, and right-hand technique. 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.

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. For instance, an Italian scholar and theoretist 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. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{15} Paulus Paulirinus’ ‘Liber viginti artium’, written in Pilsen between 1459 and 1463, contains a section on music that deals with plainsong, 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.\textsuperscript{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 ‘Lauenkragen’, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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’.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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’.\textsuperscript{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 Perrucci 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. 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. 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. 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. One may merely speculate that some kind of instructions were included in the missing portion of the manuscript (ff. 1–11v). 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.

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. 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: 'Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capriola, gentil homo bresano' compiled by Capriola'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 Capriola. Vidal included Capriola's instructions on notation, right- and left-hand techniques, tenuto playing, ornamentation, tuning, fretting, how to select strings, and how to place the nut. Capriola'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.
Regola pro illis qui canere nesciunt.

Intelligérvis est primo quin presenti intabulatura sunt ser ordines códax prout in lauto. Suprema linea sit pro codra basi, etc. per ordine. Quo debent tangi in sua ratio quin numero in ipsa signata. Qua inuentis, recte cantu, trinque in primo cantu, etc. ut ve singultis. Adiutore si illi numeri sunt signata, etc. ut ve litteras in fi, etc. per ordine, etc.

Qua prima est primo ponitur pro uno, etc. pro mediate primo. Sunt 2 qua signa que ve singulta su pro prima di primo signatu. Escit pro secundo signatu. Etc. ve singulta, etc. ve mediate primo.

Regola per quelli che non hanno cantare.

Prima deve intetdere che in la presente intabulatura sono sei ordine de corte como in lo lauto. La linea de sopra e per et contra abante e cosi va segguitando per ordine. Lei che han a tocchare il loro cantu sono in eti signati li numeri. Quando fera signato, significa che se reçoqua quella corda dove et al signo voda. Et quando e signato, etc. mette et vero in lo primo canto e cosi il rezo del numero. E per che et signato, per et etc. per et lato et signa la per confusione et sia modo per lo X per lo XI, per lo XII. E anchora va sapere che le cose che fanono per hauer la sua perfeczione lie botte no se danno equati per tanti sonno sti facit supra il vanni numero li infrascripti signatii qui sono legni de note, reduce it tal forma acci che eti quelli che non hanno cantare possino anchora loro participar et al virto li quali si le acco modaran a regnir tal matura forandarono tutte le corte intabulare perfectissimamente. Quelli sono li segni.

El primo signica la matura che vei segnir: la qual bisogna pigliarla a larga che in quel tempo tu possi dare lie botte del numero diminisho; per che il secondo segno vale per la mita del primo. El terzo per la mita del secondo. El quarto per la mita del terzo. El quint per la mita del quarto. El qual de tu troperal uno punto apresso al primo ouer al leon-dro segno qual polto vale per la mita de quel segno apresso P al qual e mezzo. Sono anchora certi li segni de matura che ce consistano segni de partizone che tono no gia P pre del primo vale tantio quanto questo. Efece-do per la mita del primo. Sono et de altra forte li quali il secondo vale per la mita del primo e cincque del secondo vale per uno del segno. Item nota che entro le botte sonno senza punto de sotto se dannno in giuse quelli dal ponio se danno in huersepro quelli sonno pin de vna che sti piacciono non essendo de sotto el ponio che bisogna vdarle tutte nulli.

'Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare', Spinacino's Libro primo (1507) f. 2.
REGOLA PER QUELLI CHE NON SANO CANTARE

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, X for 11, and X 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: \[\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\]. 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 $\text{pp}$. Three of the first are worth as much as $\text{i}$. The second is worth half the first. There are others of this kind, $\text{f}$, of which the second is worth half the first, and five of the second are equal to one $\text{j}$. 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.

Petrucci'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-Petrucci era and indeed of his contemporaries. For instance, the first layer of Pesaro MS 1144 uses ambiguous rhythm signs, and Paris Res. Vmd. Ms 27 does not have any rhythm flags at all. Petrucci 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.

Petrucci's instructions may also have been helpful to the lutenists who were accustomed to other kinds of tablature. Petrucci'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 Petrucci lute books? Or were they more helpful to more advanced players who nonetheless did not happen to know tablature? Petrucci 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 'musico' 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 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, but Andrea di Bartolo's Madonna and Saints, of c.1410–20 depicts a lute with seven frets on the fingerboard. Anselmi in his De musica of 1434 mentions the frets on the cithara with the term 'tactus'. Paulirinus, between 1459 and 1463, wrote that the lute had nine frets on the fingerboard. 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. 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 (Frottola, 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 tablature 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. 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 noted 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 and an upward diagonal line attached to the top of the stem. 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. 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. Judenknig refers to the sign thus: ‘merkh ain yedliche fussel 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’). In Judenknig’s tablature, the hook symbol is attached to the notes with the rhythm sign $F$ or $\tilde{F}$.

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 Judenknig. The tablature systems used in Pesaro MS 1144 (Neapolitan viola da mano tablature, in part) and in Judenknig (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, Judenknig’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. 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 tablature) in the early sixteenth century. Judenknig’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 Sulzbach in Naples. Neither Marcolini nor Casteliono included any instructions for lute. A German publisher, Johannes Sulzbach, published two books of tablature composed by Francesco da Milano for the ‘viola’ or lute. Sulzbach 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. Sulzbach’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. Sulzbach further omitted information on right-hand fingering and slightly altered the description of tablature lines and rhythm signs.

Sulzbach’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, 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. Whether this was based on Petrucci’s, Antico’s, or Sultzbach’s ‘Regola’, Scotto or his editor made a more extensive and detailed version. It was in that same year that Melchiorre de Barberiis’ 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.

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; 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. The Capirola lute book employs signs that look like a letter u and a half-circle, sometimes combined with a diagonal line, to indicate a tenuto. 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 cruaulte’ in Bologna MS 596 uses a letter u beside the tablature ciphers that are to be held, in order to produce the proper counterpoint.

39
against the other parts. 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. There are neither instructions nor tablature signs for this technique in Petrucci’s lute books. 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.

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 Skypont’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. The instructions in the lute books of Antico, Sulzthe, 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, Sulzthe 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) and Melchiorre de Barberis published theirs. 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.

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 Musiknotendruckes mit beweglichen Metallstücken und seine Nachfolger im sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1845), pp. 10–11, and translated in English in Gustave Reese, ‘The First


3 Fosombo 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.


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).


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 Arnaud's design,


17 See Crawford Young and Martin Kimbauer, eds., Frühe Lautenstablaturen im Faksimile/Early Lute Tablatures in Facsimile, Practica musicale, 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.


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.

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 formulas, but lacks any discussion on the technical matters of keyboard playing or reading German organ tablature. On the Fundamentum, see Christoph Wolff, ‘Conrad Paumann’s 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 1511) is a treatise on organ construction and playing, but contains no musical compositions. Arnold Schlick’s Tabulaturen Ertlicher lobgesang und Liedlein uff die orgeln und lauten (Mainz, 1512, Brown, Instrumental Music, item 1512, 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 Toulouse’s Sensit 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 Lautensublaturen im Faksimile. One must also mention here the Wolfenbüttel lute ‘tablature’ of c.1460, presented and discussed by Marc Lewon at http://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/02/02/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 stave, 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.


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.


30 The signs $\bar{p}\bar{p}$ appear in Dalza’s and Bossinensis’ two lute books.

31 Bossinensis’ *Libro primo* includes the passage ‘el terzo $p[er]$ mita del secondo’ (‘and the third half of the second’).
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.

This point is mentioned in the instructions included in Pierre Phalese, Des chansons reduictz en tabularure de luth ... livre premier (Louvain, 1545), f. A2.

A case in point is Antonio Rotta's 'lost' lute instructions; see footnote 65.

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.


Sixteenth-century lute instructions call for the use of the thumb when music is monophonic; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 113–14.

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).


See Howell, 'Paulus Pauliirinus', p. 16.

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 Mason—and were not common until the eighteenth century.

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 Lautentablaturen im Faksimile*. The fragmentary piece is notated in Italian lute tablature, and may have had stenmatic connections with Italy.

Pesaro 1144, pp. 101–102, 'Recearchata de Antonio'. Concerning pieces notated in so-called Neapolitan tablature, see Minamino, 'Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature', pp. 8–18.

Hans Judenkünig, *Utilis et compendaria introductio, qua ut fundamento iacto quam facililime musicum exercitium, instrumentorum et Latine, et quod vulgo Geygen nominant* (Vienna, c.1515–19), f. a4; and idem., *Ain schöne kunstliche underweisung in disem büchlein, lechlich zu begreffen 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 151?, and 1523?, respectively. Gary Boye suggests that both were printed in 1523; see http://applications.library.appstate.edu/music/lute/C16/1500.html

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.

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.


Casteliono follows Scotto in the title of his ‘Regola per quelli che non sanno la Intavolatura’ on f. 2 of *his Intavolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell’eccelente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano* (Milan, 1548) whose contents are almost identical to Scotto’s *Intavolatura di lauto dell’eccelente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano . . . libro ottavo* (Venice, 1548), but containing one more fantasia by Francesco da Milano; see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, items 1548, and 15482 respectively. One innovation in the former print is the description of backfalls, noted 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.

Headed ‘Per de chiarare a quelli che non hanno pratica nel sonar de Liuto io li mostrerò qui disotto per ragione e per pratica’, in Melchiore de Barberis, *Intabulatura di lauto, libro quarto* (Venice, 1546), *libro quinto* (Venice, 1546), and *libro sesso* (Venice, 1546) Brown *Instrumental Music*1546-24, noted in Dinko Fabris, ‘Lute tablature instructions in Italy’ at p. 23.


59 See, for instance, Gombosi, *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capriola*, 'Recercar secondo'.

60 Bologna MS 596, f. [1'] '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 'Scoprilingua' and f. 14 '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 Barbessis 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.


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 'Regola alli lettori' in his *Intabolatura de larte* 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 larte di lo eccellentissimo musico messer Antonio Rotta... libro primo* in Venice in 1546 and Antonio Gardano published Rotta's *Intabolatura de larte di lo eccellentissimo musico 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 larte... per lo eccellente musico & sonator di larte 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 larte... 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 1546, 15; facsimile edition by Minkoff Reprint (Geneva, 1982). Gardano's lute book of 1546 is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item

66 Melchiore 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 Attaingnant, *Tres breve et familiere introduitio* (Paris, 1529, facsimile, Geneva: Minkoff, 1988) and Pierre Phalèse's *Des chansons reducs en tabulature de Lut* (Louvain, 1545) share much with those in Petrucci. Phalèse's first lute book is in part based on Attaingnant's lute book; see Minamino, 'Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises', pp. 146-7. It is uncertain whether Attaingnant drew on Petrucci.