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Production and Reception of Petrucci's Lute Books

BY HIROYUKI MINAMINO*

On 25 May 1498, Ottaviano Petrucci submitted to the Doge and the Signory of Venice a petition requesting the exclusive privilege to publish music books in the Venetian dominions for twenty years.¹ Petrucci intended to publish books of polyphonic vocal music in mensural notation ("canto figurato") as well as books of intabulations for organ and lute in tablature ("intaboladure d'organo et liuto"). The polyphonic manner of lute playing with the fingers and several types of tablature to notate music for stringed instruments were innovated during the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century.² Petrucci's six lute books, published between 1507 and 1511 in Venice and Fossombrone, were the first of their kind. The present study is a new synthesis of previous studies on the production and reception of his lute books during the sixteenth century.

In the petition Petrucci claimed to be the first inventor ("primo inventore") of the technical aspects of the printing process for mensural music.³ He mentions printing tablature for lute in the paragraph where he asks the Doge to enforce the penalty for those who violate the terms of

*Arthur Ness and I have something in common: love of baseball. We both played baseball when we were kids: Arthur in Los Alamitos, CA, and I in Japan. I had some fun teasing him about my favorite team the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim beating the Boston Red Sox in last year's ALDS. Luckily, we can remain friends, since Arthur now roots for the Triple-A team Sea Dogs of Portland, Maine.

¹ Petrucci's privilege is reprinted in Anton Schmid, *Ottaviano dei Petrucci da Fossombrone der erste Erfinder des Musiknotendruckes mit beweglichen Metalltypen und seine Nachfolger im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1845), 10-11; and translated into English in Gustave Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music (The Odhecaton)," *The Musical Quarterly* 20 (1934): 40. On Petrucci's publications, see Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1948); and Stanley Boorman, *Studies in the Printing, Publishing, and Performance of Music in the 16th Century* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

² On the evolution of solo lute practice and the invention of lute tablature, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Conrad Paumann and the Evolution of Solo Lute Practice in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986): 291-310.

³ For music printing before Petrucci, see Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

the privilege. This suggests that Petrucci was the first printer to apply the printing techniques for mensural music to the printing of lute tablature but was not the inventor of the Italian system of lute tablature. Indeed, Francesco Marcolini, in the preface to his lute book published in Venice in 1536, confirmed Petrucci as the inventor of printing lute tablature in book format.⁴ Petrucci's printing method for polyphonic music initially involved at least three stages of impression: once for the notes and other musical signs, once for the staves, and once for the text.⁵ After 1503, however, the printing process was reduced to two stages, since staves and text were printed at the same time.⁶ Petrucci might have used the same process for the printing of his six lute books.⁷ Printing lute tablature required several different musical and non-musical symbols: six-line staves, Arabic numerals, rhythm signs, decorative initials, titles of the pieces, and names of the composers; longer texts such as prefaces, dedications, tables of contents, and instructions (with some rhythm signs); as well as the *frottola* lyrics for the voice part in Bossinensis's *frottola* arrangements.

Although the Signory of Venice had granted Petrucci the privilege in 1498, there was a nine-year hiatus before he published his books in 1507. Petrucci's inactivity may have been the result of several factors. First, lute publications held a peripheral position in his music publishing business. Second, lute tablature was relatively new and solo lute practice was still a novelty in Italy, a situation that would have produced an undeveloped market and the possibility of financial loss.⁸ Third, Petrucci had to organize his shop to be able to handle the mass-production of his lute books. Fourth, he had to find appropriate lutenists

⁴ Francesco Marcolini, *Intabolatura di liuto . . . di M. Francesco da Milano* (Venice, 1536), f. 1v. An English translation of the preface may be found in Arthur J. Ness, "The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State University, 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, 346-47.

⁵ The quote is taken from Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci, Ottaviano (dei)," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy (accessed 3/4/2010) <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁶ On Petrucci's printing process, see Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music," 42; 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); and Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci, Ottaviano (dei)," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy (accessed 3/4/2010) <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁷ See Denys Stephens, "Ottaviano Petrucci and the Lute Music of Joanambrosia Dalza," *Lute News: The Lute Society Magazine* 73 (2005): 18-26, esp. 19-20. I wish to express my gratitude to Denys for pointing out to me his findings on Petrucci's printing process.

⁸ I am preparing a study on the cultivation of solo lute practice in Italy in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, entitled "The Solo Lute Practice in Italy before Petrucci."

as editor-composers for his lute series. Fifth, Francesco Spinacino, the composer-intabulator of Petrucci's first two lute books, needed some time to make intabulations of the vocal models Petrucci provided for him. And sixth, casting the type for lute tablature was labor-intensive and time-consuming; casting new type was also the cause for delay in producing his very first publication, *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*.⁹

In March 1505, Marco dall'Aquila, a lutenist living in Venice, submitted to the Signory a petition to print lute tablature in the Venetian dominions for ten years.¹⁰ There appears to have been no exchange of information between Petrucci and dall'Aquila regarding the method of printing tablature. It is doubtful that either of them would have disclosed his techniques to a business rival. In his petition, Marco explicitly stated that his knowledge of printing was self-taught. He gave the reasons for his petition as his concern for not wasting labor on a number of intabulations he had already made with the greatest ability and art ("cum summa industria et arte"). When he sought his privilege, Marco had certainly in his mind the privilege Petrucci acquired in 1498 that was effective for twenty years. Marco was well aware of the fact that he was seeking a special treatment ("special [sic] gratia") from the Signory. The terms of the penalties he specified in his petition are similar to those of Petrucci, but he may have intended to prohibit Petrucci from printing lute tablature and to nullify that part of his privilege. Marco sought penalties for those who would have printed any kind of tablature ("far stampar alcuna tabullatura de lauto de alcuna sorte") in the Venetian dominions.¹¹ Marco's work, if ever published, does not exist. We may speculate that his ambition was never realized. It appears that he abandoned his project after he encountered Petrucci's complaint to the Signory for their granting of a privilege to Marco. The Signory's suggestion that the two should work together appears to have met opposition from both Petrucci and Marco.¹²

⁹ Pointed out in Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music," 41.

¹⁰ The privilege is reprinted and translated in Ness, "The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts," vol. 1, 350-52.

¹¹ Marco's specification of "any kind of tablature" may mean not only the works in Italian lute tablature by other lutenists but also works in French or Neapolitan tablature. It is not known whether Marco had any knowledge of German or Valencian (so-called Spanish) tablature. On Neapolitan tablature, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1999): 8-18. On Valencian tablature, see Minamino, "Valencian Vihuela de Mano Tablature," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1998): 4-6. On the invention of German lute tablature, see Minamino, "An Invisible Notation: On the Invention of German Lute Tablature," *Discoveries: South-Central Renaissance Conference News and Notes* 17, no. 2 (2000): 3, 13.

¹² According to Otto Gombosi, ed., *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-book (circa 1517)* (Neully-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1955), xxix. I have not found the source for Gombosi's statement.

Consequently, Marco's privilege was later revoked.

The Signory's granting a privilege to Marco dall'Aquila in 1505 may have given Petrucci his impetus. Petrucci published six books of lute music from 1507 to 1511, the first two books by Francesco Spinacino, the third book by Giovan Maria Hebreo, the fourth book by Joan Ambrosio Dalza, and the fifth and sixth books by Franciscus Bossinensis.¹³ These lute books were all, except one, published in Venice, where Petrucci had established his printing shop in the late fifteenth century. The last of his lute series, Bossinensis's *libro secondo*, was published in Fossombrone, where Petrucci had moved from Venice in 1511.¹⁴

For his production of polyphonic music, Petrucci "issued both new editions and reprints . . . at the rate of one every few months until 1509, when his [publishing] in Venice ceased."¹⁵ In the case of his lute series, Petrucci published two books per year (about six months apart in some cases) during his residence in Venice: Spinacino's *libro primo* (dated 1 March) and *libro secondo* (dated 31 March) in 1507, Giovan Maria's *libro tertio* (dated 20 June) and Dalza's *libro quarto* (dated 31 December) in 1508. The pattern was broken after the publication of Bossinensis's *libro primo*, dated 27 March 1509. There is a hiatus of two years until the next and the last of Petrucci's lute books appeared: Bossinensis's *libro secondo* is dated 10 May 1511. It is likely that Petrucci prepared and planned Bossinensis's *libro secondo* to be published in Venice in 1509 (late April if we take into consideration the pattern Petrucci used for Spinacino's two lute books that were published almost a month apart), for Bossinensis's two books are in the same format and therefore likely to have been completed together as Spinacino's two books were. Moreover, Bossinensis's *libro secondo* was the first book to have been published after Petrucci moved to Fossombrone. The hiatus may be the result of the

¹³ Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1507) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978)]; Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro secondo* (Venice, 1507) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978)]; Giovan Maria, *Intabulatura de lauto libro tertio* (Venice, 1508), now lost; Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto* (Venice, 1508) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1980)]; Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1509) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 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 by Minkoff (Geneva, 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.

¹⁴ Fossombrone was Petrucci's birthplace and his family's residence for some generations. For a summary of Petrucci's biography, see Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci, Orraviano (dei)," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 3/4/2010) <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁵ The quotation is taken from Martin Picker, "Petrucci, Ottaviano," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London: Grove's Dictionary of Music, 1980), vol. 14, 595.

transfer of his printing shop to Fossombrone, a move prompted by the spread of the plague and the stagnation of the local economy because of the war between the Venetian Republic and the League of Cambrai. Moreover, he may have experienced some financial strains because of the move.

At the time Petrucci launched his series of lute publications, there was a number of lutenists working in Venice. The religious confraternities known as *scuole grandi*, for instance, regularly retained singers and instrumentalists to provide music for their ceremonies and processions.¹⁶ They employed several lutenists,¹⁷ some of whom were members of the *scuole*.¹⁸ Petrucci chose none of these lutenists: Spinacino, Giovan Maria, Dalza, and Bossinensis appear not to have had any association with the *scuole*. There is no documentary evidence to show how the process of negotiation between Petrucci and his lutenists took place, whether it was Petrucci who approached the lutenists or whether they contacted Petrucci with the intention of publishing their works. Biographical data on the authors are scarce, but even the little information we have may shed some light on their association with the publisher and the reasons Petrucci chose them.

Nothing is known about Francesco Spinacino's life. Even the laudatory poem by Cristoforo Pierio Gigante (Gigas) included in Spinacino's *libro primo* gives us an impression that Gigante had hardly any personal association with the lutenist.¹⁹ The poet's prime concern

¹⁶ See Denis Arnold, "Music at a Venetian Confraternity in the Renaissance," *Acta musicologica* 37 (1965): 62-72; and Jonathan Glixon, "Music at the Venetian Scuole Grandi, 1440-1540," *Music in Medieval and Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 193-208. The standard instrumental ensemble consisted of lute, harp, and *viola* (or *violette*). This instrumentation is depicted in Gentile Bellini's painting of a procession in the Piazza San Marco completed in 1496; see Howard Mayer Brown, "On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)," *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel, 1981), 649-56. The repertories for the singers and instrumentalists employed by the *scuole grandi* include the polyphonic settings of hymns and polyphonic laude.

¹⁷ For instance, Sebastian de Nichollo "da lauto" (1482-1497), Magnio Todesco "sonator da lauto" (1496), Martin Barbier of San Luca (1497, 1505-1517), Bartolomeo de Mafio "sonador de lauto," Zuan Andrea da Forli Barbier of Santa Marina (1507), Zanmaria da Riva "sonador de lauto" (1518), and Zerolino da Cumicher "sonador da lauto" (1518-1553); see Jonathan Glixon, "Lutenists in Renaissance Venice: Some Notes from the Archives," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 16 (1983): 15-26.

¹⁸ For instance, Alexandro Conzavari de Zuan "lauter," Andrea de Martin "dai lauti," Marco dall'Aquila, Domingo de Zuane "sonador de lauto" (1516), and Toma Cipriolo "da lauto"; see Glixon, "Lutenists in Renaissance Venice," 15-26.

¹⁹ The poem is reproduced and translated in Henry Louis Schmidt III, "The First Printed Lute Books: Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo* and *libro secondo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1969), vol. 1, vi. Petrucci may have chosen Gigante because he was a fellow native of Fossombrone.

appears to have been to make a pun on the word "spina," comparing the thorn's pricking and the lutenist's plucking the strings.²⁰

There is a lacuna in Giovan Maria Hebreo's whereabouts between his departure from Ferrara in 1507 and his employment at the court of Urbino by 1510.²¹ It is quite conceivable that he made a journey to Venice after his dismissal from Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este's service in July 1507.²² There was about a year between his departure from Ferrara and the publication of his lute book, a time span that may have been sufficient for him to compose and intabulate in preparation for it.

From the table of contents headed "Tavola de la p[re]sente opera co[m]posta per lo excele[n]te musico e sonatore de lauto" in Joan Ambrosio Dalza's book; we can infer that he lived in Milan or was from that city ("Ioanambrosio dalza milanese").²³ Dalza is one of the earliest lutenists known to have been designated as "musico," the term often reserved for composers of polyphonic vocal music.²⁴ The inclusion of easy pieces at the beginning of the book suggests that he may have been primarily a lute instructor.

As his name suggests, Francesco Bossinensis ("Francesco from Bosnia") may originally have come from Bosnia, a southern Slav province across the Adriatic Sea from Venice.²⁵ His two lute books were dedicated to Don Girolamo Barbadigo, "the Reverend Father, in Christ the Lord, Prothonotary Apostolic and chief dignitary of St. Mark's at Venice." Bossinensis's mention in the dedication in both his *libro primo* and *libro secondo* that Barbadigo's patronage of arts and music was the prime reason to choose him as dedicatee makes it likely that Barbadigo

²⁰ Discussed *ibid.*, vol. 1, 6-7.

²¹ For Giovan Maria's biography, see H. Colin Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy, c. 1500-1550 with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), vol. 1, 383-91; Gian Luigi Dardo, "Contributo alla storia del liuto in Italia: Johannes Maria Alamus e Giovanni Maria da Crema," *Quaderni della Rassegna musicale: la nuova musicologia italiana* 3 (1965): 143-57; H. Colin Slim, "Gian and Gian Maria, Some Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Namesakes," *The Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971): 563-68; Anthony M. Cummings, "Gian Maria Giudeo, Sonatore del Liuto, and the Medici," *Fontes artis musicae* 38 (1991): 312-18; and Hiroyuki Minamino, "Dream of a Dream: Giovan Maria's Extra-Musical Career," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 37 (1997): 9-16.

²² For Giovan Maria's Ferrarese service, see Lewis Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy 1515-21," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 111; and William F. Prizer, "The Frottole and the Unwritten Tradition," *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 17, n. 53.

²³ The table is reprinted in Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 141.

²⁴ For the term, see Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 40-66, esp. 54.

²⁵ See Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), 759; and Benvenuto Disertori, *Le frottole per canto e liuto intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis*, Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana, vol. 3 (Milan: Ricordi, 1964), 67-69.

was the employer or patron of Bossinensis, who perhaps was a member of his private music establishment, if we literally interpret the lutenist's reference to himself as Barbadigo's "servant."²⁶

The known biographical facts about Spinacino, Dalza, and Bossinensis do not indicate that they acquired international or national fame during their lifetimes or beyond. Nevertheless, Filippo Oriolo da Bassano's poem *Monte Parnaso*, written in imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, between ca. 1519 and 1522, probably in Milan, included Spinacino and Dalza (Giovan Maria Hebreo as well) in his list of famous lutenists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁷ It is uncertain whether Oriolo's inclusion of Spinacino and Dalza was based on his acquaintance with them, his assessment of widespread opinion, or simply Petrucci's lute books.²⁸ Giovan Maria's fame as a virtuoso lutenist at the time of the publication of his lute book, on the other hand, can be seen in the remark made by the papal secretary and humanist Paolo Cortesi, in which he noted a seemingly established opinion about Giovan Maria's preeminence in the new polyphonic style of lute playing.²⁹ Therefore, Petrucci's *libro tertio* may be the first of his lute books to contain the works of a renowned lutenist, and Petrucci no doubt had no objection to publishing a book with such high market value.

The creation of the first printed lute books was a collaborative effort between Petrucci and his lutenists with various degrees of participation by the lutenists. All of them appear to have provided some kind of prefatory matter. Spinacino may have been involved in some capacity in assisting with, if not actually writing, the instructions that are included in all of the books in Petrucci's series. In his catalogs of the books he purchased over the years, Ferdinando Columbus noted that the *libro tertio* contained a preface presumably written by Giovan Maria

²⁶ The dedication from the 1511 book is translated into English in Claudio Sartori, "A Little Known Petrucci Publication: The Second Book of Lute Tablature by Francesco Bossinensis," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948): 239-40.

²⁷ On the poem, see H. Colin Slim, "Musicians on Parnassus," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 134-63.

²⁸ The only Petrucci lutenist missing from Oriolo's list is Franciscus Bossinensis. Oriolo's list includes "Fra Gusino" and "Fra Daro," whose identification has been unsuccessful. Oriolo lists them in the early group of lutenists after Giovan Maria and before Dalza, which suggests that they were contemporaries of the Petrucci lutenists. The abbreviation "Fra" may stand for the first name "Francesco," and not "friar." If so, is Franciscus Bossinensis one of them? The biographies of the lutenists mentioned in Oriolo's poem are discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino, "Lutenists on Parnassus: Reputation of Renaissance Lutenists," *Lute Society of America Quarterly*, 44, no. 3 (2009): 8-14.

²⁹ Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu libri tres* (Castel Cortesiano, 1510), Book II, f. 73; the relevant passages are reproduced in facsimile and translated into English in Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 99-100, 103.

("Joannis marie alemanj cuius epistola").³⁰ In the "Tavola" in the *libro quarto*, Dalza mentions his decision to include both easy and difficult pieces; the notice does not appear in other Petrucci lute books, therefore making it likely that Dalza wrote the "Tavola." The dedication of his two lute books to Don Girolamo Barbadigo clearly shows Bossinensis as the author of the dedicatory matter in his books.

Since the success of lute books depended on their marketability, their contents must have been carefully chosen to meet the demands of both novice and experienced players. One certain way to accomplish this task was to include both easy and advanced compositions. Dalza took into account the taste of prospective buyers by pointing out his decision to please the players of different capacities and needs: "at the beginning I offered things easy and more desired. But I [also] decided to present things more masterly and difficult in order to satisfy those who are expert in this science."³¹

Many sixteenth-century lute books and manuscripts include a representative cross section of instrumental music: *fantasie* and *recercari*, intabulations of sacred and secular vocal music, settings of dance formulas, and arrangements for voice and lute.³² Petrucci certainly tried to organize each volume to make a wide variety of choices available to prospective buyers. Spinacino's two books contain, aside from the *recercari*, the intabulations of chansons, motets, and Mass movements based on compositions by the leading Franco-Flemish composers of the time. Giovan Maria's lute book may have contained a similar repertory: Columbus's description of the contents of the *libro tertio* records one *recercar* and an intabulation of a French chanson.³³ Dalza's book mainly consists of polyphonic settings of dances as well as several *recercari* and a few intabulations of *frottole*. Bossinensis's two books are devoted to arrangements of *frottole* for solo voice and lute accompaniment with the companion *recercari* for solo lute.

³⁰ See Catharine Weeks Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968): 63.

³¹ Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto*, f. 1v. A similar sentiment is expressed in Vidal's preface in his manuscript collection of his teacher Vincenzo Capirola's lute works. Vidal informs us that the technically easy pieces were given to him at the beginning of his lessons with Capirola. Vidal's instructions are reproduced and translated in Gombosi, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*, 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, part 2 (1983): 23-28.

³² See Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 496-559, "Index V: First Lines and Titles."

³³ In Nuremberg in 1506, Lorenzo Behaim sent a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer including two "bassadanzas" by Giovan Maria. These pieces may have been included in the *libro tertio*. For Behaim's letter, see Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 141-42.

Petrucchi did not seem to have published collections of lute compositions previously circulating in manuscripts and did not ask his lutenists to provide pieces they had already intabulated. Instead, he may have replenished the repertory by commissioning Spinacino, Giovan Maria, Dalza, and Bossinensis to make new intabulations based on the vocal models he had just published. Petrucci's comment on the subject in the preface to Spinacino's *libro primo* pointed out his eagerness to please buyers who, he believed, were "most avid for new things."³⁴

In fact, the "new things" were none other than vocal compositions Petrucci had published previously, which he no doubt supplied to his intabulators. For Spinacino's two lute books, the *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* of 1501 offers twenty-four models, the *Moteti C* of 1504 two models, and the *Canti B* of 1502 one model.³⁵ Giovan Maria's lost lute book seems to have included an intabulation of Alexander Agricola's chanson "Comme femme desconfortee," first printed in the *Canti C* of 1504.³⁶ The vocal models for the intabulations in Dalza's book can be found in Petrucci's *frottola* publications.³⁷ When Bossinensis arranged his pieces for solo voice and lute, most of the vocal models had already appeared in nine volumes of Petrucci's *frottola* publications (the remaining pieces may have been taken from the lost tenth book). Petrucci must have supplied Bossinensis with pieces still in preparation for publication, for the vocal models for two in Bossinensis's *libro secondo* of 1511 were not published until 1514 in Petrucci's eleventh book of *frottole*.³⁸

Petrucchi condemned the practice of false ascriptions found in many manuscripts and pledged to offer the correct ones.³⁹ In his lute books, the ascriptions mostly name the intabulators of the vocal models.⁴⁰ In Spinacino's *libro primo*, the initials "F.S." or the abbreviations "Fra. Spina." appear next to sixteen of twenty-one intabulations in the table of contents, and the first three *recercari* are ascribed to Spinacino in the body of the print. Petrucci may have intended to convey an idea to the reader that the rest of the anonymous pieces were also by the same

³⁴ See Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," vol. 1, 81

³⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 81.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 13.

³⁷ See Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola* (Aarhus and Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1968-1970), vol. 1, 123.

³⁸ Sartori, "A Little-Known Petrucci Publication," 241-45. On the compositional process and performance practice of the *frottole*, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Chicken or Egg: Frottola 'Arrangements' for Voice and Lute," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 38 (1998): 43-57.

³⁹ See Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," vol. 2, v-vi, for reproduction and translation of the preface.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 6-7. In Bossinensis's books, Petrucci offered the initials of the composers of the vocal models.

composer-intabulator since all the unascrbed pieces appear at the end of each section. In Spinacino's *libro secondo*, there are no ascriptions in the table of contents, but all the works are attributed to Spinacino in the body of the print.

Petrucci's six lute books contain the earliest printed instructions for lute. The *libro primo* and the *libro secondo* include instructions in Latin ("Regula pro illis qui canere nasciunt") and in Italian ("Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare").⁴¹ The *libro tertio* is recorded to have contained both the Latin "Regula" and the Italian "Regola."⁴² Petrucci included only the Italian "Regola" in the *libro quarto*,⁴³ a practice carried on to his last two books.⁴⁴ The Latin "Regula" is a shorter version of the Italian "Regola," omitting information on tactus and tempo, *punctus additionis*, and right-hand technique.⁴⁵ Petrucci's reason for including the Latin version was his marketing decision to attract non-Italian-speaking lutenists as well as to follow the learned prejudice against the vernacular.

Although the rudimentary nature of the instructions compels us to wonder to what extent they actually assisted novice players with advanced compositions or advanced players who already had a basic knowledge of notation and playing techniques, they were certainly helpful to lutenists who were accustomed to other types of tablature. The existing lute manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries suggest to us that the notation system for rhythm signs was neither sufficiently developed nor standardized.⁴⁶ Therefore Petrucci may have been compelled to explain some rhythm signs in his publications, such as the signs for triple proportion that are not found in the other

⁴¹ Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo*, f. 2; and Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro secondo*, f. 2. See Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," vol. 2, [i-iv], for a reprint and an English translation of the Latin and Italian versions.

⁴² According to Ferdinando Columbus, Giovan Maria's book included lute instructions both in Latin and Italian. Columbus gives the first words of the Latin version as "Intelligendum est" and those of the Italian version as "prima deve," which are identical with those in the instructions in Spinacino's books. For Giovan Maria's book, see Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music," 63, item 30.

⁴³ Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro quarto*, f. 1v. See Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 140, for a reprint; and Helmut Mönkemeyer, ed., *Joanambrosio Dalza, Die Tabulatur*, 6 (Hofheim am Taunus: F. Hofmeister, ca. 1967), 1, for a reproduction in facsimile and a German translation.

⁴⁴ Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro primo*, f. 2; and Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro secondo*, f. 2. See Sartori, *Bibliografia*, 148, for a reprint from the 1509 edition; and Sartori, "A Little Known Petrucci Publication," 238-39, for an English translation from the 1511 edition.

⁴⁵ See Schmidt, "The First Printed Lute Books," vol. 1, 3.

⁴⁶ See Vladimir Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentabulatur*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, vol. 45 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988).

surviving examples of early sixteenth-century Italian lute tablatures.⁴⁷

The author of the Italian "Regola" and the Latin "Regula" is not specified. Spinacino may be a logical candidate, since he was the composer and intabulator of the pieces in the first two lute books. Another candidate is Dalza, who appears to have been a lute instructor and a musician with knowledge of theoretical matters in music, according to the interpretation of the term "musico." In fact, Dalza's *libro quarto* shows one trait of an instruction book: easy pieces at the beginning and advanced pieces at the end. Because the instructions mostly explain the tablature symbols for the rhythm signs and right-hand fingering, but omit altogether the art of lute playing with finger-plucking technique, it is also reasonable to assume that Petrucci was the main force behind writing them rather than the lutenists. Petrucci was probably not a professional lutenist, but he might have been acquainted with the rudiments of lute playing, otherwise it is hard to imagine how he produced such elegant prints that had no precedents. Petrus Castellanus, a Dominican friar and Petrucci's editor for his first polyphonic music book *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*, may have assisted Petrucci, especially with the Latin "Regula."⁴⁸

How did Spinacino, Giovan Maria, Dalza, and Bossinensis present their finished products to Petrucci? Did they give him the individual pieces in loose sheets and let the publisher/printer organize them into a coherent order? Did they make a "lute book" in which the contents were organized to show the lutenist's intention of how the printed version should appear?⁴⁹ Lute pieces were often written down on a sheet or sheets of paper and circulated in this form.⁵⁰ Some collectors accumulated a substantial amount of individual pieces over the years, which were later bound together to make "manuscript books."

Two examples of this practice around the time of Petrucci's activities survive: the lute manuscript now preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (shelf mark Res. Ms. 27) and the so-called Vincenzo Capirola Lute Book. The Paris manuscript is likely to have been compiled in

⁴⁷ See Hiroyuki Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Lute Intabulation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1988), 146-47.

⁴⁸ We do not know whether Castellanus had any knowledge of lute playing.

⁴⁹ During his stay in Denmark in the employ of Christian IV, John Dowland prepared a collection of songs and sent the manuscript to his wife in England. The publisher George Eastland bought the manuscript and later published it as *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* in London in 1600. Presumably the manuscript contained the author's dedication to Lady Bedford, a canon on Psalm 150, and the songs with their order specified, while Eastland added a poem, "To the curteous Reader," and the table of contents. About the book, see Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 245-53.

⁵⁰ I am preparing a study on this subject.

the first decade of the sixteenth century by a Venetian musician.⁵¹ It is divided into two sections: the first consists of folios 1-26 (although folios 1-11v are missing) and the second of folios 36-55v. The missing folios at the very beginning may have contained some instructions on reading tablature and/or playing techniques, the kind of instructions found in Petrucci's "Regola." The pages between these two sections (folios 26v-35v) were left blank by the original scribe, perhaps to be filled later. Errors such as omissions of passages or notes suggest that the pieces were copied from earlier arrangements already notated in tablature. A manuscript consisting of the solo lute works of Capirola was compiled by his student Vidal in Venice about 1515-1520.⁵² It contains instructions at the beginning followed by solo lute works (*recercari*, intabulations, and dances) presented in graduated levels of difficulty. Capirola may have given them to Vidal piece by piece in the course of their lessons, the difficulty of the pieces increasing with Vidal's progress. Such a manuscript could have given a publisher appropriate material to produce a book because of the high quality of music, the variety of repertory, the variety in technical difficulty, the accuracy of notation, as well as the detailed instructions in reading tablature and playing techniques.

We do not know the print run of Petrucci's lute books. A few documented cases from the mid and late sixteenth century indicate that the normal run for an edition of lute music was around a thousand copies.⁵³ If the number is also applicable to Petrucci, his total output must have been about 6000 copies.⁵⁴

Petrucci had no comparative prices to consult for Spinacino's lute books, for they were the first ever published. He may have taken into consideration the prices of lute manuscripts of similar size. Or he may have assigned them a price comparable to his publications of vocal music,

⁵¹ 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, 1976), 43-76; Lewis Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 22 (1982): 69-67; and Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript," 23 (1983): 21-26.

⁵² Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS VM C.25: *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola, gentil homo bresano*. Facsimile edition in Orlando Cristoforetti, ed., *Archivum musicum collana di testi vari*, 39 (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1981); the entire volume is edited in Gombosi, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*.

⁵³ For print run size in the sixteenth century, see Richard J. Agee, "A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century," *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 59-65; and Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569* (New York: Garland, 1988), vol. 1, 84-91.

⁵⁴ According to Brown, *Instrumental Music*, there survive one copy each for Spinacino's two books, three copies for Dalza, four copies for Bossinensis' *libro primo*, and one copy for the *libro secondo*. Giovan Maria's book is lost. A copy each of Bossinensis' *libro primo* and *libro secondo* recently came to light; see Stephens, "Ottaviano Petrucci," 23.

although the size and the format (which affect the printing cost) are different. In any case, Petrucci was more or less in a position to determine the prices of his lute books.

Although capital gain was no doubt Petrucci's prime motive in venturing into the business of publishing, there must have been a need to control the price of books to make them affordable. Price tags are conspicuously absent, implying that there was no fixed price and that copies may have been sold at different prices. The price for each copy could have varied considerably, due to the availability of the copies, the name value of the authors, differences in currencies from region to region and country to country, inflation, additional transportation expense, the profit sought by middlemen such as booksellers or distributors, and the bargaining power of the buyer.⁵⁵ Thanks to the meticulous way Ferdinando Columbus cataloged the books he purchased in Rome in September of 1512, we have examples of the prices of Petrucci's six lute books outside of Venice. The following table shows those prices, the number of folios, and the number of works in each book.

| <i>Books</i> | <i>Prices</i> | <i>Folios</i> | <i>Number of Works</i> | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | [<i>quatrines</i>] | | [<i>Columbus</i>] ⁵⁶ | [<i>Brown</i>] ⁵⁷ |
| Spinacino I | 76 | 56 | 22 | 38 |
| Spinacino II | 74 | 56 | 34 | 43 |
| Giovan Maria | 110 | -- | 25 | -- |
| Dalza | 76 | 56 | 36 | 42 |
| Bossinensis I | 70 | 56 | -- | 96 |
| Bossinensis II | 96 | 64 | -- | 76 |

There are differences in prices even though the books are similar in size (except Bossinensis's *libro secondo*). Spinacino's two books, Dalza's, and Bossinensis's *libro primo* all consist of 56 folios, and Giovan Maria's lost lute book must also have been about the same size. Yet Columbus paid different prices for them, except for Spinacino's *libro primo* and Dalza's. Since all six were purchased in the same city at the same time, presumably from the same bookseller, some other factors besides the size

⁵⁵ If there were middlemen, the amount of copies a bookseller obtained from Petrucci or other distributors may have contributed to the determination of the price, although we do not know how many copies a distributor normally obtained.

⁵⁶ Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music," 61 (Spinacino's *libro primo*), 62 (Spinacino's *libro secondo*), 63 (Giovan Maria's *libro terzo*), and 64 (Dalza's *libro quarto*; Bossinensis's *libro primo* and *libro secondo*).

⁵⁷ Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1507₁, 1507₂, [1508]₁, 1508₂, 1509₁, and 1511, respectively.

must have contributed to determining prices.

Spinacino's two books, though identical in size and published in the same year, were sold with slightly different prices. The cheaper price for the *libro secondo* may be the result of the bookseller regarding it as a companion volume to the *libro primo* and intending to sell the two books as a set. The bookseller may have thought the sales for Spinacino's books would have improved if the price for the *libro secondo* was reduced, thus giving customers a discount.

Giovan Maria's *libro tertio* was the most expensive of all. If the fifty-six folio book was the standard for Petrucci's books for solo lute, the reason for such a high price must be sought in the supply-demand situation. By the time Columbus purchased the *liber tertio* in 1512, Giovan Maria's reputation had already been established. His fame may have been a factor contributing to the scarcity of his lute book after its publication, which may have become the reason for its higher price.

The process of printing no doubt contributed to the price of a book, but the format appears not to have been the most decisive factor. Bossinensis's *libro primo*, for instance, required the printing of mensural notation, text, and tablature. The book was, however, cheaper than the previous four books that did not involve the labor-intensive, time-consuming process of printing mensural notes and text. It is uncertain whether the declining popularity of the *frottola* in the second decade of the century affected the price. Bossinensis's *libro secondo* was more expensive than his *libro primo*, costing Columbus 26 quatrines more. The increase may have been a reflection of a price hike. It may have resulted because of Petrucci's move to Fossombrone (which must have caused the loss of some capital), or because the *libro secondo* was bigger than the *libro primo* (8 more folios), or because it was the most recent publication in the series.

Columbus's main method of purchasing Petrucci's lute books may have been direct acquisition from a book dealer or dealers during his travels. Nothing much is known about the business arrangements between Petrucci and his dealers in various locations in Italy. Another method of acquiring books was the use of an intermediary system in which ambassadors and emissaries of foreign governments became mediators, collecting and disseminating lute music that was otherwise unavailable because of geographical disadvantage or the lack of trading enterprises. A correspondence in 1517 between Niccolo Sagudino, a member of the Venetian embassy in London, and Alvise Foscari in Venice, for instance, tells us that Sagudino asked Foscari to send him some compositions by

Giovan Maria in exchange for some English music.⁵⁸ Sagudino and Foscarelli may have had in mind Petrucci's *libro tertio*, rather than individual pieces circulated in manuscripts. Since Columbus purchased a copy of the *libro tertio* in Rome five years earlier, there may still have been some copies left.

It is uncertain whether Petrucci's lute books were expensive and unaffordable, since there are no other prices from early sixteenth-century Italy with which to make a comparison.⁵⁹ His prices appear not to have affected the purchasing power of Columbus, who was an enthusiastic bibliophile, his wealth no doubt handed down to him by his father. Yet buyers must have been greatly limited to those who could afford the books; aristocrats and wealthy merchants had no financial constraints on their obtaining luxurious items for use by themselves or their musician servants.

The transmission of the lute instructions appearing in all of Petrucci's books implies that the music publishers immediately following Petrucci in Italy, such as Andrea Antico, Johannes Sultzbach, and Girolamo Scotto, were also purchasers of Petrucci's lute books.⁶⁰ They appropriated his "Regola" and made minor changes to accommodate the lute works they published.

Concordances of sixteenth-century lute music prove that the compositions in Petrucci's books were known to other professional and amateur lutenists both in and outside of Italy, although it is uncertain

⁵⁸ See Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, transl. Rowdon Brown (New York: AMS Press, 1970), vol. 1, 81. It is uncertain whether the lute music Sagudino offered was English.

⁵⁹ However, we can attain some insights into the publishing business in Elizabethan England from the lawsuit between the publisher George Eastland and the printer Thomas East over the publication of John Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, published in 1600. When he put the book on the market, Eastland asked 4 shillings 6 pence per copy. East originally regarded Eastland's asking price of 4 shillings 6 pence per copy exorbitant, although that may have been East's tactic to discredit Eastland's business practice. Unknown to Eastland, there had been some illegal activities conducted by East's apprentices, who made 34 illicit copies and sold 25 of them to the stationer William Cotton for 40 shillings (1 shilling 7 pence per copy) and the other 9 to another stationer Matthew Selman for 18 shillings (2 shillings per copy). Their engaging in illegal transactions may have affected their asking prices, for the prices appear to have been below the "market" price. When Cotton sold one of his copies to Selman, the price went up to 4 shillings per copy, thereby earning Cotton 1 shilling 5 pence in this transaction alone. Selman must have thought Cotton's price reasonable, even though it was twice as much as what Selman paid to East's apprentices. On the lawsuit, see Margaret Dowling, "The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*," *The Library*, fourth series, 12 (1932): 365-80.

⁶⁰ Hans Judenkünig may have consulted Petrucci's "Regola" as a model for the instructions in his *Utilis et compendiaris introduction* (Vienna, between 1515-1519). The instructions in Pierre Attaignant, *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (Paris, 1529) and Pierre Phalèse's *Des chansons reduictz en tablature de Lute* (Louvain, 1545) are much like those in Petrucci. Phalèse's first lute book is in part based on Attaignant's lute book. See Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises," 146-47.

whether they possessed Petrucci's lute books or had access only to the individual pieces circulated in manuscripts. Three *recercari* from Spinacino's *libro secondo* are included at the end of Antonio di Becchi's lute book published in Venice in 1568, side by side with a lute *recercare* by Francesco da Milano.⁶¹ The contents of Becchi's lute book — seventeen dance settings, eighteen intabulations, and nine "abstract" pieces — suggest that the pieces in the last category were intended to be paired with other genres and to serve as preludes, interludes, or postludes. Becchi made slight changes to Spinacino's originals, such as the final chord in the first *recercare* he borrowed.

When several pieces from Petrucci's lute books were copied in foreign sources, the scribes changed the original tablature system (Italian) to conform to the system more familiar to their countries, such as French or German tablature. Foreign publishers and lutenists took on the painstaking task of re-enciphering the foreign tablature characters into their own. Hans Judenkünig, for instance, included two dances from Dalza's *libro quarto* in his lute book published in Vienna in 1523 without specifying their authorship.⁶² Dalza's original pieces are re-enciphered in German tablature with some chords simplified. Stephan Crauss of Ebenfurt copied into his manuscript the *Bassadans* from Spinacino's *libro primo* with an ascription to Spinacino; the piece is re-enciphered in German tablature.⁶³ Dalza's *Recercar dietro* was included in Pierre Phalèse's lute anthology published in Louvain in 1545 with the title changed to *Fantasia* and re-enciphered in French tablature.⁶⁴ It is not certain whether Judenkünig, Crauss, and Phalèse (or his editor) re-enciphered the pieces or simply copied pieces that had already been re-enciphered and circulated in manuscript sources.

The continuing (though limited) transmission of pieces from Petrucci's lute books until the end of the sixteenth century may be seen in the inclusion of Spinacino's pieces in an English lute manuscript dated 1583. The so-called Dallis Lute Book includes a *recercare* and an intabulation of Josquin des Prez's chanson "Coment peult avoir joie"

⁶¹ Antonio di Becchi, *Libro primo d'intabulatura da leuto* (Venice, 1568), 82, 84, 87 (Spinacino), 85 (Francesco da Milano); see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1568, nos. 41, 42, 44, 43, respectively.

⁶² Hans Judenkünig, *Ain schöne kunstliche underweisung in disem büechlein, leychtlich zu begreyffen den rechten grund zu lernen auff der Lauten und Geygen* (Vienna, 1523), f. b3v "Pavana alla Veneciana"; f. i2 "Kalata alla spagnola." The book is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item 1523.

⁶³ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 18688; on the manuscript, see Arthur J. Ness (with C.A. Kolczynski), "Sources of lute music," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 3/4/2010) <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁶⁴ Dalza, *Intabulatura de leuto, libro quarto*, f. 4v; Phalèse's *Des chansons*, 12. See Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1508, no. 7, 1545, no. 11 respectively.

from Spinacino's *libro secondo*.⁶⁵ The pieces are re-enciphered into French tablature, and an ascription "per Francesca Spinakino [sic]" is attached.⁶⁶

There is no documentary evidence that either Petrucci or others published reprints of his lute books, and it is highly probable that they were not widely available in other countries. Moreover, Petrucci's lutenists (except Giovan Maria) were apparently not famed virtuosi in their homeland or in foreign countries.

Are there any other reasons why Petrucci's lute books became "unpopular" shortly after their publication? The sporadic reappearance of some of the pieces (mostly by Spinacino and Dalza) from Petrucci's books in later sources supports the widely held view that musical fashion and taste changed rapidly in the sixteenth century and that only a few compositions remained popular long after their first appearance. That there are no concordances for the pieces from Bossinensis's two books may be explained by the fact that the popularity of the *frotola* sharply declined after the madrigal became dominant in Italy after the third decade of the sixteenth century. Outside of Italy a foreign singer-lutenist may have found language a barrier.

Did later sixteenth-century lutenists regard the works of Spinacino, Giovan Maria, Dalza, and Bossinensis as old fashioned or inferior compared with their contemporary music? Francesco Marcolini, in the preface to his lute book of 1536, makes it quite clear that he thought the musical culture of his time was much more advanced than the previous generation's. Therefore, he regarded the lute pieces included in Petrucci's books, though still much praised, not worth his time. Marcolini's point is based on his aesthetic evaluation of the lute works of his contemporaries: he praises the celebrated lutenists Francesco da Milano, Alberto da Ripa, and Marco dall'Aquila. The dissemination of Francesco da Milano's lute works, on the other hand, suggests that we formulate an opposing theory: sixteenth-century lutenists and publishers accepted and sought compositions regardless of the difference in style, if they possessed great musical quality. Francesco's works are found in prints

⁶⁵ On the manuscript, see H. Macaulay FitzGibbon, "The Lute Books of Ballet and Dallis," *Music and Letters* 11 (1930): 71-77; John M. Ward, "The Lute Books of Trinity College, Dublin," *The Lute Society Journal* 9 (1967): 17-40; idem., "Additions to the Inventory of TCD MS. D.3.30/1," *The Lute Society Journal* 12 (1970): 43-44; and Ian Harwood, "A Possible Dallis Reference?" *The Lute Society Journal* 18 (1976): 46.

⁶⁶ The German keyboard manuscript entitled *Klavierbuch der Regina clara im Hoff*, dated 1629, contains a keyboard version of the dance type "Pavana alla Venetiana" that appears to have been known throughout the sixteenth century. Dalza includes five versions of "Pavana alla Venetiana," which are the earliest. On this dance type, see Gombosi, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*, lxx.

and manuscripts from most western European countries after their initial publication in 1536, continuing to the beginning of the next century. His case is perhaps an exception, and we should be cautious in using it as a criterion to investigate the reception practices of sixteenth-century lute music and to evaluate the musical quality of the pieces in Petrucci's lute books.

There is no printed lute book that contains solo works between Petrucci's last book in 1511 and the four books published by Francesco Marcolini in Venice, Giovanni Antonio Casteliono in Milan, and Johannes Sultzbach in Naples in 1536 (two books).⁶⁷ No other lute books by Petrucci are documented to have been published after 1511, although he continued to publish other music books until 1520 or 1521. Legally, Petrucci could have published lute books until 1518, since his privilege of 1498 was effective for the next twenty years in the Venetian dominions.

There may have been some lute books that were planned but never published. Petrucci had a monopoly in the Venetian dominions and indeed may have barred others from printing lute music during those years, as indicated by Marco dall'Aquila's petition of 1505. Petrucci's petition in October of 1513 submitted to Pope Leo X sought a fifteen-year privilege for printing mensural music and tablature for organ in the Papal States. This suggests that the printing of tablature for lute was excluded from Petrucci's business plan at least in the Papal States. Andrea Antico's publication of a collection of *frottole* arranged for solo voice and lute accompaniment (in a format that replicates that of Petrucci's last two lute books) in Rome about 1520 was a direct challenge to Petrucci, who had been operating in Venice and Fossombrone.⁶⁸ However, Antico did not further pursue this line of publishing.

⁶⁷ Andrea Antico's lute book of ca. 1520 contains the arrangements of *frottole* by Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara for solo voice and lute accompaniment, and Adrian Willaert's arrangements of Philippe Verdelot's madrigals are also for solo voice and lute accompaniment. For Antico's book, see Andrea Antico, *Frottole de messer Bartolomeo [sic] Tromboncino & de Misser Marchetto Cara con tenori & bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto* (Venice, ca. 1520). For the volume, 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): 211-58; for facsimile, see idem., *Frottole di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara 'per cantar et sonar col lauto'*, Istituto di paleografia musicale (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987). For Willaert's book, see *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto de cantare et sonare nel lauto* (Venice, 1536); an edition by London Pro Musica Edition ([London], 1980). See also Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1536.

⁶⁸ Antico's mockery of Bossinensis's lute books is discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino, "A Monkey Business: Petrucci, Antico, and the Frottola Intabulation," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 26-27 (1993-1994): 96-106.

Why did Petrucci stop publishing lute books after 1511? Was the single-line improvisatory style of lute playing still dominant for both professional and amateur lutenists during and after the time Petrucci published his books? Both Giovan Maria and Francesco da Milano are known to have cultivated the linear ensemble style even in the third decade of the sixteenth century. Was there little market for lute books in polyphonic style? The manuscript consisting of the solo lute works of Vincenzo Capirola shows the high quality of his pieces and attests to the cultivation of solo lute music by amateurs. Did Petrucci lack the capital to continue publishing lute music? The decline in his total output after he moved to Fossombrone tells us that his production of lute books suffered a similar fate, although we lack any information about his financial status. In any case, during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century Marco dall'Aquila pursued his career as a lutenist in Venice, and Francesco da Milano was maturing in Rome. The scarcity of lute books from this period hampers our understanding of the development of sixteenth-century solo lute style, especially the stylistic change in the *recercar*.

Petrucci set a standard in formatting printed lute books with regard to the choice of contents: brief and rudimentary instructions on how to read lute tablature and on playing techniques, abstract pieces, intabulations of vocal compositions, settings of dance music, and arrangements of secular vocal music for solo voice and lute accompaniment. He also set a standard with regard to the business side of publishing: the printing process, edition size, price, and distribution system. We should not rule out the possibility that Petrucci was also the follower of a development in producing lute manuscripts during the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. But his achievement rests on the production of extraordinarily beautiful prints of lute tablature, which later printers and publishers could not produce, or perhaps did not even try to imitate. Therefore, Marcolini's opinion of Petrucci as the first inventor of printing lute tablature expresses not only the place Petrucci occupies in the development of printing and publishing lute books, but also his artistry in producing such exquisite books at a time when there were not yet any exemplars.