Plate 1: Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi libro primo* (Rome, 1517), frontispiece

A Monkey Business: Petrucci, Antico, and the Frottola Intabulation*

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THE FRONTISPIECE OF Andrea Antico's *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi libro primo*, published in Rome in 1517, depicts a man playing a harpsichord decorated with the arms of Leo X, while a female singer in the background holding a music book points to an ape with a lute crouching on top of the harpsichord (Plate 1).[1] The depiction of a harpsichordist conforms with the instrumentation intended for Antico's *Frottole intabulate*, a collection of twenty-six keyboard arrangements of pieces drawn mostly from his frottola publications. The woodcut, however, is not merely a depiction of actual performance practice but a symbolic mockery by Antico of Venetian publisher and rival, Ottaviano Petrucci.

Antico's hostility towards Petrucci was acute from the beginning of Antico's career as publisher, which began in 1510 when Antico published a collection of frottole, entitled *Canzoni nove con alcune scelte de varii libri di canto.* The collection was in direct competition with Petrucci but also, somewhat paradoxically, indebted to Petrucci since about half of its contents were drawn from his books.[2] Antico's

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1 Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi libro primo* (Rome, 1517). See Knud Jeppesen, *Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: W. Hansen, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 3*-25*, vol. 1, p. 6 (reproduction of the frontispiece); and Dragan Plamenac, "The Recently Discovered Complete Copy of A. Antico's *Frottole Intabulate* (1517)," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue et al., reprint ed. (New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), pp. 683-92, esp. pp. 686-87. I am indebted to Professor H. Colin Slim for letting me use his microfilm copy of the *Frottole intabulate*.

2 For Antico's publications, see Martin Picker, ed., *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 1-4.

challenge to Petrucci reached a climax in December 1516 when Petrucci's exclusive right to print keyboard tablature for fifteen years, given to him in October 1513, was revoked. Leo X transferred the privilege to Antico, the main reason for the transfer being Petrucci's failure to print such music. Leo X may have suspected that Petrucci's method of printing was ill-suited for organ tablature, for Petrucci did not produce any keyboard publications even after he obtained from the Signory of Venice in 1498 a privilege that guaranteed an exclusive right to print organ tablature for twenty years.[3] Political considerations on the part of Leo X may also have played an important role in the decision, for Petrucci's main business interests had been in the Venetian dominions (he moved to Fossombrone in 1511), while Antico had been active in the Papal states since 1510. No doubt, favoritism was also a factor, for a papal privilege of 1516 addressed Antico as "our beloved son Andreas Antiquus de Montona, cleric of the diocese of Parenzo now living in Rome."[4] The negotiation between Antico and Leo X for the transfer of Petrucci's privilege was pressed to proceed because the *Frottole intabulate* had already been prepared for publication. A passage in the 1517 privilege confirms this: "You [Antico], by your method, have first executed and will soon publish organ tablatures, a work both useful and necessary for all who delight in this kind of art,

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For the frottola, see Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 3 vols., *Acta Jutlandica*, XL/2, XLI/1, and XLII/1 (Aarhus and Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1968-1970); and Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. by Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[3] The 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; Reprint, Amsterdam: B. R. Gruner, 1968), pp. 10-11; and translated into English in Gustave Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music (The Odhecaton)," *The Musical Quarterly* 20 (1934), p. 40.

[4] See Picker, *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, p. 3, for the translation. For Antico's biography, see idem., "Antico, Andrea," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol. 1, p. 467.

which is new and never before printed."[5] Less than a month after the expiration of Petrucci's privilege, Antico issued the *Frottole intabulate,* which became the first publication of Italian keyboard music notated in keyboard tablature.[6]

The woodcut in the *Frottole intabulate* is Antico's advertisement of his success in publishing keyboard music, which Petrucci had failed to do. Antico expresses his superiority over Petrucci and symbolically mocks him with the illustration that utilizes some well-known allegorical allusions. Indeed, Renaissance readers would have easily understood Antico's unsubtle and mocking intention in depicting the lutenist as an ape.[7] Moreover, the keyboard player's poised and dignified appearance is contrasted with the bestial look of the lutenist, evidence, perhaps of the suggestion that the harpsichordist is a resemblance of Antico

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5 For the translation see idem., *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, p. 3.

6 Three individual "keyboard" pieces survive from early fifteenth-century Italy. See Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 91, for the bibliography. Codex Faenza 117 contains the keyboard compositions that were possibly compiled in Ferrara in the early fifteenth century; see Dragan Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4 (1951), pp. 179-201, esp. see p. 186, n. 14, for the notation used in Faenza 117. The manuscript preserved in the Bologna University Library (MS 596 HH. 2/4) is a unique source for the use of old German organ tablature in Italy; see David Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977), pp. 7-33. An Italian keyboard manuscript of c. 1530-40 uses the "keyboard score notation"; for the Castell'Arquato manuscript see H. Colin Slim, "Keyboard Music at Castell'Arquato by an Early Madrigalist," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962), pp. 35-47. For the keyboard notation and the sources see Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, reprint ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 3-35 and Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1910).

7 The depiction of an ape in the title page of a music publication to insult the rival publisher became a known practice in the sixteenth century. In the motet collection of 1539, for instance, Buglhat mocks Antonio Gardano's motet collection of 1538. Gardano responded by issuing a motet collection whose title page contains a woodcut depicting a lion (Gardano's new printer's mark—the lion stood for St. Mark and was thus a personification of Venice) attacking an ape. See Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study* (New York: Garland, 1988), p. 31.

and that the ape-lutenist is meant to be a portrait of Petrucci.[8]

The symbolism of the ape was always negative, though its connotation had changed through the centuries.[9] In the early Middle Ages the ape was a personification of the devil and a signifier of heresy and paganism. Later in the Gothic era an ape with an apple in its mouth came to signify the Fall. In Christian art of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the ape symbolized sin, malice, cunning, and lust. The animal also epitomized the slothful soul of man as well as a distorted, degraded image of humanity. The ape denoted a sycophant, a trickster, a person of grotesque ugliness or excessively low morality. Furthermore, the ape betokened the attempt to imitate a noble ideal in vulgar and unworthy fashion. Therefore, the ape became a symbol of the art of painting and its executant, the artist. The artist's skill was regarded as essentially (and epigonically) imitative, for the Creator was the only one who could create authentically. The ape's symbolic linkage with the artist was summed up in a popular jingle "Ars simia Naturae" ("Art is the ape of nature"). Artists often portrayed themselves as apes in the act of painting, playing cards or musical instruments thus satirizing their own pretentiousness, folly, and vanity.

The female singer depicted in the frontispiece of Antico's *Frottole intabulate* is not a mere mortal performer but a personification of Lady Music. Through antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, the seven liberal arts provided the cornerstone for education[10] since they were a means of promoting human values. The seven liberal arts were divided into two disciplines, the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. While the *trivium* comprised the linguistic arts of grammar, logic (or dialectic) and rhetoric, the *quadrivium*

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8 Picker, *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, p. 3.

9 See Horst W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952).

10 For music, see David L. Wagner, ed., *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 169-95.

consisted of the mathematical disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Music dealt primarily with the harmonic proportions, and the mathematical proportions governing the numerical ratios of the musical notes, or as Cassiodorus comments: "Music is the discipline which treats of numbers in their relation to those things which are found in sounds."[11]

In the illustrations and paintings of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the seven liberal arts were often personified, according to their attributes. As early as the fifth century, Martianus Capella in his allegory, *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, figures Music in female form.[12] The allegory represents the union of learning and eloquence through a symbolic wedding attended by gods and the ladies representing the seven liberal arts. Capella describes Music as having brought several musical instruments to the event, part of a traditional iconographic practice in the Renaissance. One of the fourteenth-century manuscripts that illustrates the seven liberal arts, for instance, depicts Lady Music in the act of tuning the lute and holding a gittern on her lap.[13] She tunes the lute by singing the six solmization syllables of the hexachord—ut, re, mi, fa, sol, and la. Lady Music is accompanied by the Biblical figure Tubal who hammers on an anvil. This iconographical scheme alludes to the three-fold division of

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11 The translation is taken from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950), p. 88.

12 For the relevant passages, see Martianus Cappela, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, trans. by William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 352-3. On Cappela, see William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E. L. Burge, *Martianus Cappela and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971-77).

13 Discussed in Howard Mayer Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), pp. 25-65, esp. pp. 25-6. See also Tilman Seebass, "Lady Music and Her Protégés from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," *Musica Disciplina* 42 (1988), pp. 23-61.

musical sound: *musica harmonica, musica organica,* and *musica rhythmica.*[14]

In the Renaissance, the lute was the most favored domestic musical instrument played by both professional musicians and amateur *dillettanti.* The dominant position the lute held during the early sixteenth century is documented from various aspects of secular life: the literary sources that praise the lute and its virtuosi, the court account books recording the salary of professional lutenists, the references to lute lessons taken by amateur *dillettanti,* and a number of extant printed and manuscript sources. Painters favored depicting the lute in the hands of saints and angels, princes and courtiers, clergy and merchants, courtesans and beggars, as well as professional musicians. The instrument was sometimes chosen to convey the symbolism associated with both cosmic harmony and earthly pleasures. Indeed, the lute became Lady Music's chosen instrument in Renaissance iconography. In an illustration in Martin Agricola's treatise on musical instruments, *Musica instrumentalis deutsch,* published in Wittenberg in 1529, for instance, a female figure is depicted playing a lute, surrounded by a viol, a harp, flutes, and a string keyboard instrument.[15] The inscription "fraw musica" attached above the illustration reveals her identity.

Given the cultural context I have briefly mapped here, the ape holding a lute in the Antico frontispiece symbolizes

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[14] Boethius, a near contemporary of Cassiodorus, made the threefold division of his musical universe: *musica mundana* ("the harmony of the world"); *musica humana* ("the harmony of the body"); and *musica instrumentalis* ("the harmony of instruments"). St. Augustine's threefold division of music in his *De ordine* was taken over by Isidore of Seville in his *Sententiae de musica*; see Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern," p. 27.

[15] Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deutsch* (Wittenberg, 1529/enlarged ed., 1545); see Robert Eitner's edition in *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke,* p. 20 (Leipzig, 1896; reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1966). The treatise is translated in William Wood Hollaway, "Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deutsch:* A Translation" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1972); and in William E. Hettrick, ed., *'Musica instrumentalis deutsch': A Treatise on Musical Instruments, 1529 and 1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

an imitation of a noble subject in a vulgar and unworthy fashion. This is why Lady Music points her finger at or almost pokes the ape-lutenist's head with an accusatory gesture, while the animal's facial expression appears to be that of anger, annoyance, or dismay. She is accusing the animal of incompetency in music, both because it lacks practical skills in lute-playing and because of its illiteracy in theoretical matters. Antico's fellow musicians and customers were well aware of the concept of the social hierarchy thought to exist among several types of musicians. Musical theorists considered themselves to be located at the top of the hierarchical ladder because of their self-acclaimed superior knowledge of the theory of music, the subject they regarded as foundational. Practitioners of the art were regarded as inferior, instrumentalists being the lowest in rank. Guido d'Arezzo's prosaic poems made popular among Renaissance theorists the hierarchy of musicians: "Musicorum et cantorum magna est distantia, isti dicunt, illi sciunt, quae componit Musica" ("There is a great difference between musicians and singers. These merely perform; those know what music is.")[16] The theorists' understanding of (and attitude towards) the intelligence of practical musicians may have been based not only on their snobbery over them but also on their observation of instrumentalists' dependency on practical rather than theoretical knowledge. .

Hence, it was not a mistake or a mere fancy on the part of the engraver to depict the ape with a lute, but rather a calculated decision on the part of Antico to mock another of Petrucci's publications, particularly the last two books of his

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16 See Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989-), vol. 2, pp. 25-35. See also Hans Peter Gysin, *Studien zum Vokabular der Musiktheorie im Mittelalter* (Zurich: A. Kohler, 1959), pp. 67-8; Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 88; Christopher Page, "A Treatise on Musicians from c. 1400: The *Tractatulus de differentiis et gradibus cantorum* by Arnulf de St Ghislain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1992), pp. 1-21; and idem., "Musicus and Cantor," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music,* edited by Tess Knighton and David Fallows (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), pp. 74-8.

lute series, the frottola arrangements for voice and lute. Petrucci published Franciscus Bossinensis's two volumes of lute books, entitled *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro primo*, in Venice in 1509 and the *libro secondo* in Fossombrone in 1511.[17] The title may roughly be rendered thus: "The Tenor and the Bassus parts of the frottole are intabulated to be played on the lute, while the Superius part, notated in mensural notation, is to be sung." Bossinensis proudly announced in the dedication in the *libro primo* that his publication was "rare and new."[18] The claim that these books were novel innovations is legitimate. There is no extant printed source for instrumental arrangements of frottole *until* Antico published his *Frottole intabulate* in 1517.[19] Antico's knowledge of this is the reason Bossinensis's lute books became the target of his mockery.

The putative inferiority of Bossinensis's lute books, symbolically expressed by Antico, refers not only to the medium of performance (solo keyboard versus ensemble of

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17 Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1509); and idem., *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro secondo* (Fossombrone, 1511); facsimile edition of both volumes by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978 and 1983). For the modern transcriptions of the entire works, see Benvenuto Disertori, *Le Frottole per canto e liuto intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis* (Milan: Ricordi, 1964).

18 Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati ... libro primo*, f. 2v; and idem., *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati ... libro secondo*, f. 2v. The dedication is reproduced in Disertori, *Le Frottole*, pp. 116-17; and translated in Claudio Sartori, "A Little Known Petrucci Publication: The Second Book of Lute Tablatures by Francesco Bossinensis," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948), pp. 239-40.

19 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Ms. 27, a lute manuscript of Venetian origin compiled in the first decade of the sixteenth century, may challenge Bossinensis's claim; the subject is discussed in my study "Performance Practices in the Frottola Arrangements for Voice and Lute" (in preparation). For the Paris manuscript, see Genèvieve Thibault, "Un manuscrit italien pour luth des premières années du XVIe siècle," in *Le luth et sa musique*, edited by Jean Jacquot, reprint ed. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), pp. 43-76, esp. pp. 52-6; and Lewis Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction," *The Journal of the Lute Society* 22 (1982), pp. 69-87; and ibid., p. 23 (1983), pp. 21-6.

voice and lute) but also to the skill in arranging vocal music, especially the intabulation techniques used in the lute accompaniment. Antico's keyboard arrangements are four-voiced versions with idiomatic instrumental features including the abundant use of ornaments and figurations. Antico treats the Superius of the vocal model much more freely than does Bossinensis—some of his Superius ornaments are not simple, fill-in ornaments but significant vehicles for changing the original melodic contour while adhering to the counterpoint of the lower three voices.[20] On the other hand, although Bossinensis's arrangement retains the Superius intact (the part supposed to be sung by Lady Music), the accompaniment (the part intended for the simian) is a quasi-literal intabulation of the Tenor and Bassus with no elaborate ornaments, omitting the Altus altogether.[21]

If Antico mocked Bossinensis's lute-song arrangements of the frottole published by Petrucci, there was a curious development a few years later. Antico published a collection of arrangements of frottole for voice and lute, *Frottole de messer Bortolomeo* [sic] *Tromboncino & de messer Marchetto Cara con Tenori & Bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto*, in Venice in about 1520.[22] Not only does the format replicate Bossinensis's

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[20] Seven pieces are transcribed in Disertori, *Le Frottole*, pp. 271-302. Three of Antico's keyboard versions are compared with the vocal originals and Bossinensis's intabulations; see ibid., pp. 271-89.

[21] For Bossinensis's intabulation techniques, see ibid., pp. 89-99; and idem., "Contradiction tonale dans la transcription d'un 'strambotto' célèbre: 'Amando e Desiando' de Benedetto Cariteo, transcrit par Franciscus Bossinensis," in *Le luth et sa musique*, edited by Jean Jacquot, reprint ed. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), pp. 37-42. The intabulation of *O mia ciecha e dura sorte* in Bossinensis's first book (ff. 19-20) is in three voices up to the middle of the arrangement and then reduced to two voices for the rest.

[22] Andrea Antico, *Frottole de messer Bortolomeo [sic] Tromboncino & de messer Marchetto Cara con Tenori & Bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto* (Venice, c. 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), pp. 211-58. For facsimiles and transcriptions of several pieces, see idem., *Frottole di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara 'per cantar et sonar col lauto'* (Rome: Edizioni Torre

books but also the title is similar. Even the instructions for the lute headed "Regula per quelli che non sanno cantare" included in the volume are a revision of Petrucci's "Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare" found in all of his lute books.[23] Some of the spelling in Antico's book differs only slightly from Petrucci's but otherwise the two versions are almost identical. Considering that there were only several years between Bossinensis's *libro secondo* and Antico's *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati*, Bossinensis is the most likely source for Antico. Thus, Antico was in another competition with Petrucci, who ceased his publication of lute music after Bossinensis's *libro secondo*, by using, somewhat ironically, the exact format he had earlier denigrated through his portrayal of Petrucci as an ape.

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d'Orfeo, 1987). Ferdinand Colon purchased both of Bossinensis's lute books in Rome in 1512; see Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), p. 51.

23 Luisi, "Le frottole per canto e liuto," p. 215 (facsimile), p. 220 (reproduction). On the transmission of Petrucci's instructions, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on the Process and Techniques of Intabulation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1988), pp. 20-24.