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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8816m9vk>

Journal

International Repertory of Musical Iconography Newsletter, 22

ISSN

0360-8727

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Publication Date

1997

Peer reviewed

WHERE HAS FORTUNE GONE: MUSIC-ICONOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS IN SULTZBACH'S VIOLA DA MANO BOOKS

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Most of the vihuela de mano books, published in Spain in the sixteenth century, made direct references to the gods and legends of Greek and Roman mythologies. For example, Luis de Narvaez named his vihuela book *Delphin de musica* (Music of the Dolphin), after the dolphin who saved the Greek poet Arion, and included an illustration of Arion playing the vihuela de mano while riding on the back of a dolphin. Enriques de Valderrabano's vihuela book is entitled *Silva de Sirenas* (A Sylvan Wood of Sirens), indicating the bewitching sweetness of music and perhaps alluding to the sirens in Greek mythology that lured mariners to destruction by their singing. Even more direct is Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orhenica lyra* (Orpheus's Lyra), which volume posits an association with the legendary musician Orpheus who charmed the animals with his lyra. Esteban Daza drew upon another famous legendary musician by entitling his vihuela book *El Parnaso* (Mount Parnassus), where Apollo resided and played his lyra surrounded by the Muses. Even Luis de Milán's vihuela book, which is entitled *El maestro* (The Teacher) to emphasize its pedagogical purpose, includes an illustration of Orpheus playing the vihuela de mano.¹

The title pages of lute books published by Italian publishers, on the other hand, do not have such humanistic references. A standard title consists of a description of the method of notation, the recommended instrumentation, the repertory for the compositions, the composer of the works, and the series number in the publisher's opus. A notable exception (and the earliest example of its kind) is a series of books of tablature to be played on the viola da mano (the Italian name for the vihuela de mano) or the lute which the German publisher, Johannes Sultzbach, published in Naples in 1536. The titles of Sultzbach's books read: *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto cioe recercare, canzone francese, mottete, composto par lo eccellente & unico musico Francesco Milanese, non mai piu stampata, libro primo della fortuna* [fig.

1] and *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto composto per lo eccellente & unico musico Francesco Milanese non mai stampata, libro secondo della fortuna*.² These titles conform to the convention of other Italian publications of lute music of the period. A unique feature, however, is the addition of the motto *della fortuna*.

In medieval and Renaissance literature and iconographical tradition, *fortuna* often referred to the goddess Fortuna.³ Fortune is the symbol of instability, one aspect of Fortune being constant mutation. Medieval and Renaissance engravings depict the goddess Fortuna turning her wheel, itself an indication of change. The application of instability to the human world is expressed in some images by four human figures who cling to the goddess' wheel: one at the top wears a crown with the motto *Regno* (I reign), another in rags tumbles off with the motto *Regnavi* (I have reigned), the third stays at the bottom or lies on the ground with the motto *Sum sine regno* (I am without any kingdom), and the fourth is carried up with the motto *Regnabo* (I shall reign).

In several Fortune cults, the goddess is in charge of the sea. Fortune guides the ships, and therefore controls the affairs of the sea. The turmoil of the sea is equated with man's life, which in turn is stirred by Fortune. Fortune randomly bestows her favors, indicated by the goddess who is blind or blindfolded. She has a rudder and a billowing sail and stands on a shell, a dolphin, or a globe. Such an iconographical manifestation of Fortune may be found in Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*, published by Plantin in Antwerp in 1564 [fig. 2].⁴ The naked goddess is blindfolded, holding a billowing sail, standing on a globe, and facing Mercury. The illustration on the title page of Sultzbach's *libro primo* and *libro secondo* also depicts a figure in the sea, holding a billowing sail and standing with one foot on a shell while the other touches the water. Yet, here it is not the goddess Fortuna who is depicted, but an old man.

INTAVOLATVRA

DE VIOLA O VERO LA VTO CIOE
 Recercate, Canzone Franceſe, Mottete, Compoſto per
 lo Eccellenre & Vnico Muſico Franceſco Milane
 ſe, non mai piu ſtampata. Libro Primo della
 FORTVNA.



1. Johannes Sultzbach, *Intavolatura de viola overo lauta ... libro primo della fortuna* (Naples, 1536), title page.

Is the old man another transformation of Fortuna who can change her appearance at will? The cult of Fortuna's changeability is often symbolized by depicting her with contradictory physical features; for instance, she may have two faces, one beautiful, the other ugly, or have two eyes, one laughing, the other crying. Who could be a substitute for the goddess Fortuna? In the Renaissance, classical literature provided several legends which were associated with the sea. Five examples come to mind: Jason took a voyage to capture the Golden Fleece, Arion escaped on the back of a dolphin that had been attracted by the sound of his lyra, Ulysses journeyed on the sea for many years, Nereus the "old man of the sea" was the father of sea nymphs, and Neptune was the God of the Sea. Some Renaissance artists portrayed Neptune as an old man with copious locks and beard, a haggard expression and his hair streaming in the wind. These are, in fact, the exact features of the old man in Sultzbach's illustration.⁵ Yet any identification of this old man with Neptune becomes less convincing if we consider that the illustration lacks a trident, an invariable attribute of Neptune.

The old man wearing a ragged cloth is a clue which helps

us understand Sultzbach's motive in dedicating his only music books to the goddess Fortuna and to identify the old man in this illustration which has no apparent association with music.⁶ In Renaissance iconography, a god or a goddess dressed as a peasant sometimes symbolized his or her participation in a pastoral masquerade. On the other hand, a human wearing a ragged cloth is an obvious indication to suggest the wearer's low social status and/or his financial destitution. Does the old man represent the men in rags whose stations are not at the top of Fortuna's wheel, but who lost their fortunes and are trying again to retrieve them? Fortune turns the wheel, and men revolve with it, and so their stations change. Or, is the old man a manifestation of Poverty who is an adversary of Fortune? Fortuna has two functions, Good Fortune and Bad Fortune. She gives and takes away again. Therefore, adverse Fortune, when in an unfavorable mood, creates Poverty. Yet Poverty sometimes refuses to submit to the goddess. Poverty's triumph over Fortuna is the former's struggle against the goddess' power. This notion might explain why the old man is not blind or blindfolded whereas the goddess Fortuna is blindfolded to symbolize her random bestowment of her favor. The old man is neither a giver nor a god, so there is

no question of his bestowing any favor. He is determined to recognize his unworthy situation and to confront his destiny with his eyes wide open.

That Sultzbach advocated struggling against Fortune's power is supported by the addition of an inscription "non semper sic" (not always thus) framed in two circles in the illustration. Indeed, the illustration is his own typographical mark. In one instance, an almost identical typographical mark has three additional inscriptions [fig. 3].⁷ The first of these is a motto "Terris iactatus et alto naufragus ipse trabor" (Tossed about in the world and shipwrecked I am dragged into the deep); its first half is taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book I, line 3. The second motto is "Grata sed eveniet qua non sperabitur hora" (But agreeable times will come unexpectedly), based on a passage from Horace's *Epistolae*, book I, epistle XI, lines 22-23. The third motto is "Invia virtuti nulla est via" (There is no path that virtue cannot tread), taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book XIV, line 113. These words challenge Fortuna's power, and thus the old man in Sultzbach's illustration becomes an adversary of the goddess. He refuses to be victimized by Fortune's cruelty and tries to free himself from the endless turn of Fortune's wheel. He advocates controlling one's own destiny and fate.

Virtú is one's only resource in dealing with Fortuna. Virtue as a guide and Fortune as servant was well-recognized in the Renaissance; indeed, the motto "Duce Virtú fortuna ancilla" (When virtue leads, fortune serves) was very popular. Fortune yields to power, and it is only the power of one's virtue that can bridle Fortuna's whims. Alciati's engraving mentioned earlier appears under the motto "Ars naturam adiuvans" (Art assisting nature) and with Latin distiches that pronounce the virtue of the liberal arts, "the only reliable insurance against Fortuna's evil power".⁸ Perhaps then the old man is Sultzbach himself. The illustration and the mottoes represent his desire to rise from "rags to riches" by his virtue and manifest Sultzbach's virtue or his skill in his various academic publications.

If Sultzbach considered himself an adversary of goddess Fortuna, why did he dedicate his two books of tablature of 1536 to her? Did he need the goddess's help when he published his first music books? As a result of the destruction by the French, Spanish and Italian armies and the political instability under the Spanish rule, printing did not flourish in Naples in the first few decades of the sixteenth century.⁹ Naples experienced a momentary upsurge in the printing business by 1529 because of the granting of generous privileges by Charles V to the city's printers. Sultzbach, after being apprenticed in Hagenau (a printing center north of Strasbourg), came to Naples at about this time and was granted a ten-year printing privilege from Charles V.¹⁰ Sultzbach collaborated with the printer Mattia Cancer who came to Naples from Brescia about the same time. Their first

publication appeared in 1529, and subsequently they published books in various academic disciplines. In 1536 Sultzbach published nine books, including two books of tablature. Although publishing music books was not his primary business practice, Sultzbach's two volumes of tablature became not only the first books of instrumental music but also the first music books published in Naples after the few prints of vocal music by Antonio De Frisis and Giovanni De Caneto in 1519. Sultzbach's activity was undoubtedly inspired by the enthusiastic preparations by Neapolitan society for the visit of Charles V in November of 1535. Indeed, that November, Sultzbach published Giovanni Domenico Lega's book, describing Charles V's entry into Naples. He included in the frontispiece an illustration of the emperor riding on a horse led by a soldier.¹¹ Charles V remained in Naples for several months when there was a constant round of festivities, including comedies and musical entertainments.¹² The kind of musical climate in Naples about 1536 may be glimpsed from the testimony of a Neapolitan poet and academican Benedetto Di Farco. He commented on the vigor of musical life in Naples and accredited its citizens' natural love of music as the prime agent for the phenomenon.¹³

Sultzbach's venture of publishing two books devoted to music for the viola da mano was unique in comparison with other parts of Italy, where publication of lute music dominated. Indeed, Sultzbach's two books are pirate editions, mostly taken from anonymous (Francesco Marcolini?) *Intabolutura da leuto del divino Francesco da Milano*, possibly published in 1535.¹⁴ Francesco da Milano's intabulations and *ricercari* in this book are originally composed for the lute. Sultzbach's choice of instrumentation can be explained by the political and cultural environments in which he worked.

The viola da mano was invented in Valencia in the mid-fifteenth century and imported to Italy in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ It had a momentary upsurge of popularity at several major Italian courts such as Naples, Rome, Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino from about 1490 to 1530. Two political powers played a vital role in the importation and dissemination of the viola da mano: the Borgias in papal Rome and the Aragonese rulers in the Kingdom of Naples. This vogue for the viola da mano suddenly ceased, coinciding with the time of the diminishing political power of the Borgias and the Aragonese rulers in Italy, in the late 1520s with Naples the only major center for its cultivation.

Another peculiar editorial practice in Sultzbach's viola da mano book is his re-enciphering of Francesco da Milano's *ricercari* from the original Italian lute tablature to the so-called Neapolitan tablature in the *libro secondo*. Naples witnessed the earliest extant polyphonic music specifically composed for the viola da mano. The manner of playing technique which enabled the polyphony to be realized on a single viola da mano appeared



2. Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1564).



3. Sultzbach's typographical sign.

almost simultaneously. Naples also saw special tablature notation to accommodate this kind of arrangement. My theory is that "Neapolitan tablature" was invented in Naples for the viola da mano when the instrument was imported from Spain in the late fifteenth century and when the polyphonic arrangements began to be played on the solo viola da mano; therefore, I name it "Neapolitan viola da mano tablature".

The key to understanding Sultzbach's editorial peculiarities (the choice of instrumentation and notation) is the dedication to Pietro de Toledo. As viceroy of Naples between 1532 and 1553 Pietro de Toledo strongly influenced political and cultural life in the Kingdom of Naples. Not just a politician and soldier who contributed to the restoration of peace and economic growth in Naples, he was also a writer versed in philosophy, astronomy, and medicine; indeed, Sultzbach published Pietro de Toledo's discourse on the earthquake of 1539.¹⁶ This strong Neapolitan connection was surely why Sultzbach specified then less popular viola da mano and using an obscure notation like Neapolitan viola da mano tablature to replace the more widely known Italian lute tablature.

In conclusion, the mysterious move to replace the goddess Fortuna with an old man and the puzzling editorial practices that drastically differ from other Italian publication of music for plucked instruments are not so mysterious after all. They tell us that Sultzbach certainly considered musical phenomena and the political climate in Naples when venturing into his new business

of publishing music books. This business decision was to take him into a world of prosperity.

Notes

- * An earlier version was presented at the South-Central Renaissance Conference, St. Louis (March 1996) and at the Fall meeting of the Pacific Southwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society, Los Angeles (November 1996). I am indebted to Professor H. Colin Slim, *emeritus*, University of California, Irvine, for his valuable suggestions on music emblems and for providing useful critiques of my prose; to Dr. Blair Sullivan, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, and Professor Yo Akioka, Ferris University, Yokohama, Japan, for identifying and translating Sultzbach's mottoes; and to Dr. Arthur J. Ness for his valuable suggestions on Sultzbach's viola da mano books. I am also grateful to Mr. Frederick Noad, Miss April Perkins, and Professor Liana DeGirolami Cheney, for their kind assistance. Needless to add, none of those named above is responsible for any of the errors which may found herein.

¹ For the complete titles of these books, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967) items 1536/5

- Milán), 1538/1 (Narvaez), 1547/5 (Valderrabano), 1554/3 (Fuellana), 1576/1 (Daza). For the titles of Alonso Mudarra's vihuela book and Diego Pisador's vihuela book, see H.M. Brown, *op. cit.*, items 1546/14, 1552/7, respectively. The titles of the vihuela de mano books are discussed in Jack W. Sage, "A New Look at Humanism in 16th-Century Lute and Vihuela Books", *Early Music* XX/4 (November 1992) 633-41.
- 2 See facsimile edition with a preface by Arthur J. Ness and an inventory by Claude Chauvel (Geneva: Minkoff, 1988). On the volumes, see Yves Giraud, "Deux livres de tablature inconnus de Francesco da Milano", *Revue de musicologie*, LV (1969) 217-19.
 - 3 See Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927). See also, Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), "Matthaeus Greiter's *Fortuna*: An Experiment in Chromaticism and in Musical Iconography", I:240-61; and "The Goddess Fortuna in Music, with a Special Study of Josquin's *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*", I:221-39.
 - 4 Reproduced in Konrad Hoffmann, "Alciato and the Historical Situation of Emblematics", in *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan*, edited by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, 1989) figure 14.
 - 5 There are similarities between the functions and cults of Fortune and Neptune. Neptune originally symbolized the cosmic power which fertilized the sea and later he could rule the sea and its inhabitants. Did Sultzbach invoke Neptune, who could cause storms and shipwrecks when roused to anger, to ensure a safe voyage of his first independent commercial venture of publishing music books in a foreign country? Did Sultzbach invoke Neptune, believed responsible for earthquakes, in order to protect his newly adopted city from the threat of Mount Vesuvius?
 - 6 A hint for the symbolism of music in Sultzbach's illustration is the shell-like object on which the old man's right foot rests. If it is a tortoise shell, it might recall the story of Mercury inventing the lyra from an empty tortoise shell. Johannes Tinctoris in his treatise, *De inventione et usu musicae* (written in Naples circa 1480 and published there circa 1481-83), described the lyra as made of wood in the shape of a tortoise shell. Tinctoris used the term "lyra" in the generic sense to denote various string instruments with a fingerboard such as the lute, viola, rebec, gittern, cittern and tambura. Sultzbach may have known Tinctoris' treatise, written and published in Naples about a half century earlier. Even if he did not, the association between the tortoise shell and the lute was well established in the Renaissance, for the lute was often rendered in Latin as "testudo". There is, however, no indication that Sultzbach's illustration is based on this iconographical and organological tradition. On Tinctoris' treatise, see Ronald Woodley, "The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris's Fragmentary Treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*", *Early Music History* V (1985) 239-68. The chapters from the printed version are edited in Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae'* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961) 27-46; and the sections on instruments are partially translated in English in Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De inventione et usu musicae*", *The Galpin Society Journal* III (1950) 20-25.
 - 7 Reproduced in Pietro Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach (Napoli, 1529-1544-Capua, 1547)*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana LVIII (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1970) fig. 32. The inclusion of illustrations depicting legends from Antiquity was not the standard practice in Italian lute books of the first half of the sixteenth century. When publishers added any illustration, it was often the portrait of a lutenist such as the one in Giovanni Antonio Castellio's *Intabolatura de leuto* (Milan, 1536), or a concert scene where a lutenist (Francesco da Milano?) plays for an audience in Francesco Marcolini's *Intabolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1536); reproduced in Arthur J. Ness, ed., *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970) xxiii, xxi, respectively.
 - 8 Discussed in, Lowinsky, *op. cit.*, I:249-52, 257-58, n. 63; the quotations are taken from p. 252 and n. 30.
 - 9 The state of music printing in Naples is discussed in Donna G. Cardamone, "The Debut of the *Canzone villanesca alla napolitana*", *Studi musicali* IV (1975) 65-85; and *idem.*, *The Canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms, 1537-1570* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981) 5-31.
 - 10 On Sultzbach's biography, see Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach*, 1-19. In the dedication in the *libro secondo*, Sultzbach styled himself "Ioannes Sultzbachius Hagenouensis Germanus".
 - 11 Giovanni Domenico Lega, *Il glorioso triumpho et bellissimo apparato ne la felicissima entrata di la maestà Cesarea in la nobilissima città Parthenope fatto con lo particolare ingresso di essa maesta ordinatissimamente descritto* (Naples, 1535); see Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach*, 64. The frontispiece is reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 6. In September of 1536, Sultzbach published Giovanni Battista Pino's *Il triumpho di Carlo quinto a cavallieri et alle donne napolitane*, see *ibid.*, 67-68.
 - 12 See Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, transl. by Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 106-12.
 - 13 Quoted in Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca...*, 105.
 - 14 For the volume, see H.M. Brown, *op. cit.*, item 154?/4. I am preparing a study on the cultivation of the viola da mano in Italy in the sixteenth century.
 - 15 On the invention of the vihuela, see Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 38-60.
 - 16 Pietro Giacomo de Toledo, *Ragionamento del terremoto del nuovo monte del aprimento di terra in Pozzolo nel anno 1538 e dela significazione d'essi per Piero Giacomo da Toledo* (Naples, 1539); see Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach*, 83-84. A seventeenth-century guide book on Naples, *Descrittione del regno di Napoli*, written by Enrico Bacco, Cesare D'Engenio Caracciolo, and others, lists Pietro de Toledo under the entry "The Rulers of Naples"; see, *Naples: An Early Guide*, ed. and transl. by Eileen Gardiner (New York: Italica Press, 1991) 108.