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Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature

by Hiroyuki Minamino

The invention of tablature was a by-product of the development of the polyphonic manner of playing. The change of musical style and performance practice on the *vihuela* made it necessary for composers and players of this instrument to develop a special notation for this kind of music (solo arrangements of polyphonic compositions). The development of the polyphonic manner of playing on the *vihuela* took place in the late fifteenth century in Spain, attested by the depiction of the finger-plucking technique. So-called Spanish lute tablature (I prefer to call it Valencian *vihuela de mano* tablature) was possibly invented around that time in Valencia.¹

The *vihuela de mano* was exported to Italy shortly after its invention in Valencia in the mid-fifteenth century. During the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, there were abundant references to the *viola da mano* (an Italian name for the *vihuela de mano*) from several major Italian courts such as Naples, Rome, Mantua, Venice, Ferrara, and Urbino. Two political powers seem to have played a vital role in the importation and dissemination of the *viola da mano* to Italy: the Borgias in papal Rome and the Aragons in the Kingdom of Naples.² The cultivation of the polyphonic manner of playing on the *viola da mano* by the turn of the century leads us to assume that some kind of notation for this new instrument was developed in Italy. My assumption is that so-called Neapolitan tablature was innovated in Naples for the music of the *viola da mano* in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century.³

Despite the seemingly wide cultivation of the *viola da mano* in Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, music for the *viola da mano* from this period appears to be non-existent. This is partially due to the fact that the manuscript sources for plucked string instruments usually lack any specification for the medium of performance. (The printed tablature books, on the other hand, leave no room for ambiguity about the intended instrumentation by stating it on their title pages, for the publishers had to consider their prospective buyers.) "Lute tablature" (so-called because of the close association between the lute and the invention of this type of tablature) was the chosen notation for string instrumentalists such as players of the lute, *vihuela de mano*/ *viola da mano*, bowed viol, "Renaissance" guitar, and "Renaissance" cittern. Therefore, the manuscripts without any specification for instrumentation can be interpreted as having been compiled for one of those instruments.

Two major characteristics in construction and performance practice may be used as guidance when deciding which

instrument may have been intended for the music: the number of lines in tablature and the intervallic relationship between the strings. In tablature notation, the number of lines is often determined by the number of strings on the instrument, for to draw extra lines was wasteful both in time and paper. For instance, music for the lute or the *vihuela de mano*, commonly carrying six courses of strings, is notated in the tablature with six-line staves, while music for the four-course Renaissance guitar is notated in tablature with four-line staves.⁴ The intervallic relationship between the strings is another way to find out which string instrument is intended, for a composition would not make any musical sense if the tuning of an instrument and the tuning used for a composition do not agree.⁵

Considering the similarities in tuning, the number of strings, the playing techniques, and the notation, it is conceivable

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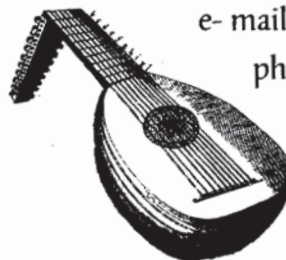
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that the manuscripts considered to be for the lute may actually have been for (or at least playable on) the *viola da mano*.

Bologna 596

A fragment of three paper leaves now preserved in the Bologna University Library (with the shelf number, MS. 596 HH2/4) may be the earliest extant source for the *viola da mano*. This manuscript contains a tuning diagram (headed "La mano a la viola"), a short untitled piece, a piece entitled "Fortuna vincinecta" (an arrangement of Johannes Vincenet's rondeau "Fortune par ta cruaulté"), a blank page, an example of so-called old German organ tablature (headed "Tabula et intavolature del canto de organo"), two intabulations in that notation of the opening of Juan de Leon's villancico "Ay, que non se remediarme," and a prayer entitled "Oratio de vermibus." The dates of the vocal models for the intabulations and the activities of their composers indicate the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth century for the date of its compilation and Naples as its provenance. Johannes Vincenet, for instance, had a long association with the Aragonese court of Naples; his Neapolitan service may have begun in the mid-1460s and he was registered as a singer for Ferdinand Ferrante I in 1479. Vincenet's rondeau "Fortune par ta cruaulte" was copied in the so-called Mellon Chansonnier that was compiled in Naples around 1475. The chanson's title, "Fortuna vincinecta," given in Bologna 596, also appears in a Neapolitan manuscript compiled in the 1480s.⁶

Judging from the internal evidence of the surviving portion, Bologna 596 was not a manuscript used by a professional instrumentalist as *aide memoire* for his performance, but a private notebook of an amateur dilettante. The state of the compositions—containing many uncorrected mistakes such as the omission of notes that creates a corrupt counterpoint and the haphazard notation of rhythmic signs that results in an irregular rhythm—does not meet a standard useful for performance. The musical fragments were gathered together as the pieces came into the possession of the compiler. The compiler may have used the fragments of music for study purposes, learning the rudiments of the art of intabulation both on a plucked string instrument and on keyboard instruments. This is indicated by the inclusions of a tuning chart for a seven-course "viola," a simple exercise-like piece for this instrument, a table of characters for the lower voices in German organ tablature, and two attempts at enciphering a villancico for a keyboard instrument using different rhythmic values. It is therefore conceivable that Bologna 596 is a remnant of a commonplace book that once belonged to a courtier, an intellectual or a wealthy merchant who noted his or her events of life and interests.

The tuning diagram, the short untitled piece, and the piece entitled "Fortuna vincinecta" in Bologna 596 are most likely composed for a plucked instrument to be played in the polyphonic manner, for the voices are enciphered on non-adjacent courses. In the untitled piece, for instance, one scale passage begins on one voice and ends on another. That a plucked *viola* was the intended instrumentation is also suggested by the rubric "La mano a la viola" attached to the tuning diagram.

These three pieces are notated in Neapolitan tablature. This

system utilizes horizontal lines to designate the strings of the instrument and Arabic numerals to denote the frets. The highest line in the tablature represents the highest sounding course of the instrument, and the Arabic numeral 1 denotes an open course. This tablature system shares with Valencian *vihuela de mano* tablature the notational characteristics of the order of the lines to indicate the pitches, but differs from it in the way that the Arabic numerals specify the frets (the numeral 0 indicates an open course in Valencian *vihuela de mano* tablature).

The tuning diagram in Bologna 596 uses seven lines with the letter names and their corresponding places in tablature indicated by the placement of the Arabic numerals on the lines (see ex. 1). The diatonic scale begins on *E* below *Gamma ut* and ends on *e* three octaves above. A dash or two dashes above the letter names indicates the register change. The nominal tuning is, from the highest sounding course to the lowest, *a, e, b, g, d, A, E*. The rubric "La mano a la viola" attached at the bottom may mean that it is a substitute for and an instrumental version of the *Gamut* system ("The Guidonian hand for the viola"). It is uncertain whether the tuning chart is the theoretical application of a tuning system extended to include notes on the lower register, or if it is based on the actual practices of *viola da mano* players.

Ex. 1. Bologna University Library, Ms 596 HH. 2/4. f. [1];
"La mano alla viola"

A) Diplomatic transcription

La Mano ala viola

B) Transcription

The two pieces immediately following the tuning chart utilize only upper six courses. In the untitled piece, the first two staves have seven lines, perhaps a habitual continuation of drawing seven lines for the tuning chart. The tenth note on the lower voice (*g*) is enciphered on the fourth course (see ex. 2). This contradicts the logical consequence of the parallel descending figure in both voices that dictates the note to be an octave lower. It can be enciphered on the third fret of the seventh course. The only plausible reason for the transposition of the note is that the piece

was composed for a six-course instrument.

Ex. 2. Bologna University Library, Ms 596 HH. 2/4. f. [1];
untitled

The tuning diagram, on the other hand, no doubt helped the player to learn the theoretical application of the *Gamut* system to the fingerboard of the *viola*. In "Fortuna vincinecta" the Superius is transposed up a tone from the vocal original (see ex. 3). The transposition was to comply with the intabulator's intention of enciphering the chanson so that it could be enciphered on the instrument nominally tuned in A. The transposition results in a change of key signature from twice-transposed authentic protus mode with two flats in the key signature to non-transposed authentic protus mode with no key signature. If the intabulator uses A-tuning to encipher the lower two voices in twice-transposed mode, it results not only in the creation of some difficult fingerings but also in the enciphering of many accidentals. The process of arrangement becomes much easier by transposing the chanson up a tone. The intabulator can eliminate B-flats and E-flats in the key signature as well as A-flats produced as *musica ficta*; otherwise their presence would make the matching of notes and ciphers more complicated. Moreover, this transposition helps the player to acquire less troublesome fingerings, for many notes can be enciphered on the open courses and in first position.

Ex 3. Bologna University Library, Ms 596 HH. 2/4/ff. {1v-2};
"fortuna vinvinecta" (excerpt)

References to the seven-course *vihuela de mano* indicate that the instrument was not widely cultivated during most of the sixteenth century.⁷ The sole documentation on the seemingly wide use of the seven-course *vihuela* and its various tunings come from Juan Bermudo. In his *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales*, published in Osuna in 1555, Bermudo wrote that the music for the seven-course *vihuela* could be found in "some of the tablatures of the famous Guzman."⁸ This musician must have been Luis de Guzman. Guzman, perhaps originally from Granada, was in Naples in 1528 when the disastrous sea-battle off the shore of Naples took place. Some historians of the mid-or late sixteenth century testified to Guzman's death on that occasion.⁹ The length of Guzman's presence in Naples is unknown. It is therefore premature to conclude that Guzman had a hand in the compilation of Bologna 596. But it may not merely be a coincidence that a unique source for the tuning instruction for seven-course "viola" and the presence of a virtuoso *vihuela* player who mastered the seven-course "*vihuela*" can both be connected to Naples at the time the *viola da mano* was cultivated there.

Bologna 596 is an important source for the practice of the plucked stringed instrumentalists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, for it is the earliest source which establishes the connection between the *viola da mano*, Neapolitan tablature and Naples.

Pesaro 1144

If it was the standard practice in Italy in the early sixteenth century to notate *viola da mano* music in Neapolitan tablature, two pieces notated in this tablature system in the "lute" manuscript (Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro, MS 1144) may be another rare occurrence of the *viola da mano* music from this period. The pieces entitled "Ricerchata de Antonio" and "Tanto me desti" are notated in the same tablature system as the pieces in Bologna 596. The origin of Pesaro 1144 has been thought to be Venetian, but there are several indications connecting it to Naples.¹⁰

Pesaro 1144 is a manuscript of various contents, utilizing several different tablature notations depending on the instrumentation: the majority of compositions in French lute tablature, two compositions in Neapolitan tablature, *lira da braccio* music in *lira da braccio* tablature, tables for tuning the lute in Italian lute tablature, tables for tuning the *lira da braccio* in *lira da braccio* tablature, and tables for chords in Italian lute tablature and in *lira da braccio* tablature.¹¹ Pesaro 1144 was originally intended to contain ten gatherings of six-line tablature staves for a six-course instrument, followed by ten of seven-line staves for a seven-course instrument.¹² The first twelve leaves (pp. 1-24) at the beginning of the manuscript are now missing. The first layer of the manuscript (the section that contains compositions notated in French lute tablature) appears to have been compiled in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. The music for the *lira da braccio* and the tunings charts in Italian lute tablature were most likely copied in the later part of the sixteenth century.

Pesaro 1144 is the earliest surviving example of French lute tablature and a unique example of this tablature system in Italy. It has been suggested that the compositions in the first section were originally notated in Italian lute tablature, for there are two pieces that have the concordances with an Italian lute manuscript of the first decade of the sixteenth century by a Venetian musician (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Res. Vmd. Ms 27), in which all the pieces are notated in Italian lute tablature.¹³ The scribe for the pieces notated in Neapolitan tablature is not the same scribe who copied the pieces notated in French lute tablature.

Besides the use of Neapolitan tablature, there is another factor that connects Pesaro 1144 to Bologna 596. The internal structure of "Ricerchata de Antonio" shows stylistic characteristics similar to the untitled piece in Bologna 596 (see ex. 4).¹⁵ "Ricerchata de Antonio" consists of seven segments (A, B, C, D, E, F, and G). These segments alternate between the homophonic texture in two voices and the monophonic scale passages, while the final section (coda) combines both features. The piece cadences on the "tonic" most of the time and the "dominant" at mid-point. The middle homophonic segments (Segments D and E) consist of an ascending followed by a descending chord progression, creating an arch figure, rising from *E* to *d* (Segment D) and descending from *d* to *D* (Segment E) in the lowest voice. Monotony is avoided by an

Three staves of musical notation, labeled (E), (F), and (G). Each staff shows two voices (treble and bass clefs) in a 4/4 time signature. Segment (E) shows a homophonic texture with a rising and then falling chord progression. Segment (F) shows a monophonic scale passage in the upper voice. Segment (G) shows a homophonic texture with a rising and then falling chord progression, similar to (E).

alternation of rhythm, syncopated and regular. The segments in scale passages show some advanced features such as register change in three octaves (Segment B), motivic and sequence writing in different registers but employing the same left-hand fingering (Segment C), and motivic writing with a repeated note figure (Segment F).

Like "Ricerchata de Antonio," the untitled piece in Bologna 596 can roughly be divided into five segments (A, B, C, D, and E), although its length cannot precisely be calculated because of the absence of rhythmic signs.¹⁵ The segments alternate between the homophonic passages in two voices and the monophonic scale passages. The modal character of the piece is similar to that in "Ricerchata de Antonio." It begins on *A*, cadences on *A* at mid-point (with a cadential ornament figure), and ends on *D*. There is a parallel tenth progression with falling thirds in the first homophonic segment.¹⁶

The change of the musical style in the early *ricercari* has been a topic of much scholarly attention.¹⁷ The compositions with the designation "arecercare" in Pesaro 1144 are thought to be the earliest style in lute *ricercari* because of the fusion between the monophonic plectrum technique and the polyphonic finger technique. Many of them consist of the alternation of single line melodies and chords, and the chords are enciphered on the adjacent courses of the instrument, playable either with the plectrum or a finger. The lute *ricercari* from the lute books of Francesco Spinacino, Joan Ambrosio Dalza, and Franciscus Bossinensis, published between 1507 and 1511, are clearly composed with the idea of the finger-plucking technique. The voices have their independence, and the counterpoint often requires the notes to be enciphered on the non-adjacent courses. Many of them are short, non-imitative improvisatory pieces often without any clear-cut formal structure. The short motives play an important role in contributing to the musical coherence in each segment. Vincenzo Capirola's lute *recercari*, compiled ca. 1517, contain virtuosic passage work and refined formal structures, though still non-imitative. Although "Ricerchata de Antonio" in Pesaro 1144 appears to be more advanced in structure than the untitled piece in

Ex. 4. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms. 1144, pp. 101-102; "Ricerchata de Antonio"

Four staves of musical notation, labeled (A), (B), (C), and (D). Each staff shows two voices (treble and bass clefs) in a 4/4 time signature. Segment (A) shows a homophonic texture with a rising and then falling chord progression. Segment (B) shows a monophonic scale passage in the upper voice. Segment (C) shows a monophonic scale passage in the upper voice. Segment (D) shows a homophonic texture with a rising and then falling chord progression, similar to (A).

Bologna 596, they share similar characteristics, particularly a fusion between the monophonic style and the polyphonic style.¹⁸

There are indications that some of the *ricercari* of the early sixteenth century served as either prelude, interlude, and/or postlude to intabulations or dances, and there are often modal correspondence between the pairings. “Ricerchata de Antonio” can function as a prelude or postlude to “Tanto me desti,” the latter possibly an intabulation of an Italian song (see ex. 5). Indeed, there is a modal correspondence (“subdominant-tonic” progression) between the final chord of “Ricerchata de Antonio” (*D*) and the first chord of “Tanto me desti” (*A*); there is a “tonic-tonic” progression if the order is reversed (*A-A*). Likewise, in Bologna 596 there is a modal correspondence between the final chord of the untitled piece and the first chord of “Fortuna vincinecta”; there is a “subdominant-tonic” progression if the order is reversed. If the accompanist’s instrument is tuned to the pitch *A*, the upper note of the final chord of the untitled piece (*d*) facilitates the singer to take his first note of the *Superius* (*d'*).¹⁹

Ex. 5. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oilviana, Ms. 1144, p. 103
“Tanto me desti” (excerpt)



One noticeable notational feature that distinguishes between the pieces in French lute tablature and the pieces in Neapolitan tablature in Pesaro 1144 is the degree of notational clarity. While the rhythmic signs employed in French lute tablature show an experimental stage of notation, being rather crude and haphazard, the rhythmic signs in Neapolitan tablature are more carefully notated.²⁰

Another notational feature peculiar to the pieces in Neapolitan tablature is the use of unique tablature symbols attached to rhythmic signs. Two symbols resembling hooks are attached to rhythmic signs. One has a descending diagonal line attached to the left hand side of the stem such as this \uparrow . The other has an ascending diagonal line attached to the beam such as this \uparrow . These signs are usually attached to rhythmic signs that appear in succession, suggesting that they indicate a right-hand technique. Since they are attached only to the rhythmic signs for single notes, they are probably played with thumb and finger alternations. The former sign usually occurs on the first or odd numbered notes in scale passages, implying that it denotes a downward plucking motion with the thumb. This is confirmed by the fact that this sign also appears for the notes on the lower courses of the instrument. The latter sign, on the other hand, usually occurs on the second or even numbered notes in scale passages, implying that it denotes an upward motion by a finger.

In the first layer of Pesaro 1144, the right-hand technique is indicated by dots. This was the system most commonly used to

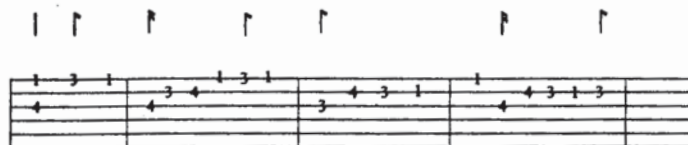
indicate right-hand fingering during the sixteenth century. Ottaviano Petrucci’s instructions included in his six lute books published between 1507 and 1511 are the earliest datable sources for the technique.²¹ The symbol of the hook as found in Pesaro 1144, on the other hand, appears not to have acquired a universal acceptance. The only other source to use this sign is Hans Judenkünig in his two lute books, *Utilis et compendiaria introductio* (Vienna, ca. 1515-1519) and *Ain schone kunstliche Underweisung* (Vienna, 1523). Judenkünig described the sign thus: “merkh ain yedliche fusell hat ain strichlein oben das bedewt ubersich all zeit” (“every two-tail note (*fusae*) that has a little line or hook over it must always be an up-stroke with the forefinger”).²²

Although the tablature system used in Judenkünig (German lute tablature) and that in Pesaro 1144 (Neapolitan tablature) are derived from two quite different systems and do not share the same concepts or characteristics, the rhythmic signs are more or less uniform with other types of lute tablature. That the notation for the thumb-finger alternation in Pesaro 1144 is more specific than the one in Judenkünig’s two lute books suggests that the symbol of the hook had already been well developed in Italy by the early sixteenth century. We should, however, consider the possibility that the printer for Judenkünig’s two lute books simplified the notation, since the thumb-finger technique may be assumed by the presence of the sign for the upward motion. There is no other known association between Pesaro 1144 and Judenkünig.

Sultzbach’s Libro Secondo

The association between the *viola da mano*, Neapolitan tablature, and Naples can be strengthened by the unique print of this tablature system in Johannes Sultzbach’s *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto composto per lo eccellente & unico musico Francesco Milanese non mai stampata, libro secondo della fortuna*, published in Naples in 1536.²³ As the title of the book indicates, the compositions (thirty-three *ricercari* by Francesco da Milano) may be played either on the lute or the *viola*. The polyphonic nature of the compositions demands the use of the polyphonic manner of playing and the instrument capable of producing several notes simultaneously (see ex. 6). Therefore, it is more than likely that Sultzbach meant the *viola da mano*, not a bowed *viola*.

Ex. 6. Johannes Sultzbach, *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto*
(Naples, 1536), f. 3;
“Recercata di Francesco Milanese” (excerpt)



While Francesco’s compositions are notated in Italian lute tablature in the *libro primo*, they are notated in Neapolitan tablature in the *libro secondo*. Sultzbach appended instructions, headed “Regula per quelli che non sanno cantare,” in his two

books. Sultzbach's "Regula" is not his original creation but a revision of the only printed instructions for lute in Italy before 1536. The original version, headed "Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare," appeared in Ottaviano Petrucci's lute books of 1507-1511: Francesco Spinacino's *libro primo* and *libro secondo*; Giovan Maria's *libro tertio*, Joan Ambrosio Dalza's *libro quarto* and Franciscus Bossinensis' *libro primo* and *libro secondo*. The later versions have few variants such as the omission of the explanation on some rhythmic signs and the signs for the higher frets. The instructions entitled "Regola per quelli che non sanno cantare" in Andrea Antico's frottola arrangements for voice and lute published in Rome about 1520 are also modeled on Petrucci's. They are possibly taken from the instructions in Bossinensis' two lute books, considering the similar format used in Antico and Bossinensis. It is highly probable that Sultzbach's source for his instructions is not Petrucci but Antico, for the description of high frets and the signs of proportion are omitted both in Antico and Sultzbach. The omission does not decrease the usefulness of the instructions because these signs are not used in these volumes. Sultzbach further deleted the information on right-hand fingering. He slightly altered the description of tablature lines and introduced a mistake on the duration of the dot when added after the rhythmic signs. The "Regula" in Sultzbach's *libro secondo* is modeled on the "Regula" in his *libro primo*; the instructions are re-phrased, and the explanation on Neapolitan tablature is added. Sultzbach appropriated the "Regula" because of its long-standing availability in Italy, of its concise manner of description to aid the novice players how to read tablature, and of its aptness to explain the tablature systems employed in his lute/viola books.²⁴

The following is a reproduction and an English translation of the first part of the "Regula" in the *libro secondo* that concerns the order of tablature lines and the method of choosing the Arabic numerals to indicate the frets. (The second part concerns the rhythmic signs and their duration, and here the instructions are identical with the ones in the *libro primo*.)

TEXT:

Prima deve intendere che in la presente Intavolatura, sonno sei ordine di corde, come in lo lauto. La linia de sopra, è per el canto, & cosi va seguitando per ordine al contrario de li antichi, li quali tenevano la prima corda de sopra per contrabasso, & noi la tenemo per lo canto. Le quale corde se hanno a tocchare in li lor tasti, secondo sono in essi segnati li numeri. Li antichi mettevano un zero, o vero .0. che significava vacante, & pero, quando sera signato .1. significa che se toccha quella corda, dove è tal segno vacante. Et quando è signato .2. se mette el deto in lo primo tasto, & cosi del resto de li numeri.

TRANSLATION:

One must first understand that in the present tablature there are six lines of strings as on the lute. The top line stands for the *canto* string, thus proceeding the order contrary to the

practice of the ancients, who take the top line for the *contrabass* string while we take it for the *canto* string. These strings must be touched on the respective frets according to the numbers indicated. The ancients place the sign zero (or 0) to signify the open string. But when the sign 1 is present, the string is plucked without being stopped. When the sign 2 is present, place the finger on the first fret, and thus for the rest of the numerals.

There is a puzzling statement in Sultzbach's "Regula" about the tablature system used by the ancients ("li antichi"). This system is no other than Italian lute tablature. Did Sultzbach regard Italian lute tablature as an outdated system of notation and Neapolitan tablature a new invention? Sultzbach must certainly have known that Italian lute tablature was in current use when he published his two *viola* lute books. In Italy lute books and manuscripts (except the use of French lute tablature for the first layer of Pesaro 1144) prior to Sultzbach's publications all employed Italian lute tablature. The practice continued in five out of six printed lute books published in 1536 (Sultzbach's *libro secondo* was the exception).²⁵

Moreover, Sultzbach's two books of tablature are pirate editions. He appropriated Francesco da Milano's compositions originally notated in Italian lute tablature from a published lute book and from manuscripts already in circulation and transcribed them into Neapolitan tablature. It is likely that Sultzbach's *libro primo* is a pirate edition of the anonymous *Intavolatura da leuto* (date and place of publication unknown). Sultzbach's *libro secondo* is a compound volume, drawn from at least four sources: ten *ricercari* were transcribed from the anonymous *Intavolatura da leuto*, eight *ricercari* were transcribed from Sultzbach's *libro primo*, nine *ricercari* appeared for the first time, and six *ricercari* are different versions of their respective counterparts.²⁶

Sultzbach's attitude may have arisen from an idea that Italian lute tablature had been developed long before his time and was first used by lutenists of older generations; the word "antichi" was often used to denote a previous generation, sometimes with a hint of denouncement. We do not know exactly when Italian lute tablature was invented. However, it is likely to have been developed no later than the last quarter of the fifteenth century, given that the polyphonic playing style was widely cultivated in Italy by that time. Therefore, it is conceivable that it was an accepted opinion in Naples that the invention of Neapolitan tablature had taken place more recently.

Sultzbach's venture of publishing two books of tablature was unique in comparison with other parts of Italy, where publication of lute music dominated. His choice of instrumentation can be explained by the fact that Naples was the only place where the *viola da mano* was continuously cultivated after the vogue for this instrument faded at several major Italian courts. If the musicians of Naples favored Neapolitan tablature to notate *viola da mano* music, there arises a question regarding Sultzbach's choice of tablature; the *libro primo* uses Italian lute tablature while the *libro secondo* uses Neapolitan tablature. The key to understanding Sultzbach's editorial practices is Pietro de Toledo, the dedicatee of the *libro secondo*. As viceroy of Naples between 1532 and 1553 Pietro de Toledo strongly influenced political and cultural life in

the Kingdom of Naples. This strong Neapolitan connection was surely why Sultzbach specified the less popular *viola da mano* and used an obscure notation like Neapolitan tablature while the *libro primo*, on the other hand was intended for a wider audience outside Naples.

Michele Carrara's Neapolitan Tablature

The uncertainty surrounding the origin and development of Neapolitan tablature is further complicated by the existence of yet another form of Neapolitan tablature found in Michele Carrara's untitled single folio treatise on lute intabulation, which was published in Rome in 1585.²⁷ The section entitled "Regola Universale" contains six tuning charts, four of which are in Italian lute tablature ("Modo de intavolare all'Italiana"), one in French lute tablature ("Mode de Intavolare alla francese"), and one in Neapolitan tablature ("Mode de Intavolare alla Napolitana"). These charts not only exhibit three different systems of tablature but also demonstrate the system of lute transposition. Each chart starts from a different nominal pitch; its place is indicated by the diagram of the *Gamut* system in mensural notation, and aligned each time with the corresponding frets on the lute fingerboard. In the "Mode de Intavolare alla Napolitana," the chart begins on the note *D*, and the implied nominal tuning for the seven-course instrument is "G" (see ex. 7).

Carrara is, as far as it is known, the only sixteenth-century author to have offered the names of three tablature systems. Yet his Neapolitan tablature does not conform with the tablature system found in Bologna 586, Pesaro 1144 and Sultzbach's *libro secondo*. In Carrara's Neapolitan tablature, the Arabic numeral 1 indicates the open course (as in the other example of Neapolitan tablature) but the highest tablature line denotes the lowest sounding course of the instrument (as in Italian lute tablature). Are we to believe that the tablature form Carrara presented as Neapolitan tablature is indeed the authentic Neapolitan tablature known in the sixteenth century?

That Carrara's description of Italian lute tablature and French lute tablature conforms to the existing examples in these tablature systems supports the idea that he had an accurate knowledge of various tablature systems.²⁸ He points out that the difference between the first two tablature systems and his Neapolitan tablature is the use of either the Arabic numerals (in Italian and Neapolitan tablatures) or letters of alphabet (in French tablature) to denote the frets. He does not, however, mention the order of lines in these three tablature systems. According to him, the only difference between Italian lute tablature and his Neapolitan tablature is the use of the Arabic numeral (either 0 or 1) to designate the open course. Carrara wrote that "[I]a regola mia d'intavolare a modo novo all'italiana che riuscirà nella Napolitana della littera: 1. in vece delo" ("my rule to intabulate in the new manner in Italian [tablature] which succeeds [the method] in Neapolitan [tablature] with the letter 1 instead of [the letter] 0").²⁹

How trustworthy is Carrara? There is not much information about his music education. Carrara's theoretical knowledge in music and his practical skill in lute playing are mainly supplied by his own description of his musical qualifications. He stated in the treatise that he was an excellent lutenist and musician who had studied various branches of music for many years.³⁰ No composition for lute by Carrara is found in the extant lute prints and manuscripts, and his treatise contains only simple intabulations.³¹

In fact, there are some doubts about Carrara's skill in intabulation and the level of his understanding his Neapolitan tablature. The treatise includes his intabulations of Psalm 150 *Laudate eum* for two voices, one in Italian lute tablature and another in his Neapolitan tablature. While the intabulation in Italian lute tablature is an accurate transcription of the vocal model, the penultimate measure of the intabulation in his Neapolitan tablature contains two crucial mistakes (see ex. 8). The note *e* in the lower voice is enciphered three times on the open fourth course (therefore, it designates the note *f*). The correct cipher should be the numeral 5 (that is, the fourth fret) on the fifth course. The other

Ex. 7. Michele Carrara, Untitled treatise (Rome, 1584),
"Modo de intavolature alla Napolitana"

The image displays a musical score for a lute piece. The top part consists of two staves of music. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The melody is written in a style characteristic of the late 16th century, with a mix of quarter and eighth notes, and various accidentals. Below the musical notation is a lute tablature system consisting of seven horizontal lines. Each line is numbered with Arabic numerals from 1 to 10, representing fret positions on the seven courses of the lute. The numbers are placed on the lines to indicate the fretting for each note in the piece.

Ex. 8. Michele Carrara, Untitled treatise (Rome 1584),
 "Pslam 150 Laudate eum"

A) "A due voci"

B) "Intavolarura italiana"

C) "Intavolarura napoletana"

D) Correction

mistake is the note *c*-sharp in the upper voice which is enciphered on the open second course (it denotes the note *d'*). The correct cipher should be the numeral 5 (that is, the fourth fret) on the third course.

These errors stem from a common mistake when ciphers are transferred from one tablature system to another. In Italian lute tablature, the note on the fifth fret of the third course (represented by the numeral 5) is identical with the note on the open second course (represented by the numeral 0). Also, the fifth fret of the fifth course (represented by the numeral 5) produces the same note as the open fourth course (represented by the numeral 0). Sixteenth-century lutenists usually transferred to the lower number when the note was enciphered in a higher position (mainly with technical reasons), provided that there was no obstacle to do so. The numeral 5 on the fifth course, for instance, can be transferred to the numeral 0 on the fourth course. Carrara may have followed this transposition convention. He changed the numeral 5 on the fifth course to the numeral 1 on the fourth course. His choice of the numeral 1 was made by the fact that he was enciphering in his Neapolitan tablature in which there are no numeral 0 and the numeral 1 signifying the open course. Carrara's mistake was that

in his Neapolitan tablature the numeral 5 on the fifth course is located on the fourth fret, not the fifth fret (as in Italian tablature). Although we should not over-emphasize Carrara's mistakes since the rest of the intabulation is correctly enciphered and they may be printing errors, the nature of the mistakes and the possible reason for their occurrence raise questions about how well Carrara himself understood his Neapolitan tablature.

Is Carrara's Neapolitan tablature the original "Neapolitan" tablature? Is Carrara's Neapolitan tablature a long-lost tablature system (for instance, in Rome where the *viola da mano* was once enthusiastically cultivated and where Carrara published his treatise)? Is Carrara's Neapolitan tablature a hybrid form, made either by him or by somebody else, which adapted the peculiar feature of denoting the open courses of the instrument with the Arabic numeral 1 from "Neapolitan" tablature and the order of tablature lines from the widely-cultivated Italian lute tablature? The tablature system Carrara presented as Neapolitan tablature was his (and some of his contemporaries') understanding of this tablature system. It is certain that Carrara did not know the tablature system used in Bologna 596, Pesaro 1144 and Sultzbach's *libro secondo*. It appears to have long been forgotten.

Conclusion

There was constant popularity of the plucked *viola* in Naples from the time Johannes Tinctoris wrote about it in his *De inventione et usu musicae* of ca. 1480. There is evidence of the polyphonic manner of playing in iconographical sources, literary documents, and the music itself from the late fifteenth century. Both Bologna 596 and Sultzbach's *libro secondo* show strong connections with the *viola da mano* and Naples. These points make us assume that Neapolitan instrumentalists devised a tablature system for the *viola da mano* in Naples in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. They may have called it "Neapolitan tablature" or "Neapolitan *viola da mano* tablature."³²

¹ See Hiroyuki Minamino, "The Valencian Vihuela de Mano Tablature," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1998): 4-6. On the invention of the polyphonic manner of lute playing, see *idem.*, "Conrad Paumann and the Evolution of Solo Lute Practice in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986): 291-310.

² On the invention of the *vihuela*, see Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 38-60. On the cultivation of the *viola da mano* in Italy, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "The Viola da Mano in Renaissance Italy: A Synopsis," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1999): 6-9.

³ The tablature systems are discussed in Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1919; Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 2, 35-157; Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 54-81; Thurston Dart and John Morehen, "Tablature," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 18: 506-15; Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music* (New York, 1982), 153-63; and Arthur J. Ness, "Tablature," *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, edited by Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 829-33. None of these authors, except Ness, mentions Neapolitan tablature.

⁴ We must, however, keep in mind that this criterion is not hard and fast, for there are exceptions. For instance, there are no tablature lines in German lute tablature. Some examples of French lute tablature use only five lines for the six-course lute; the notes on the sixth course are notated on the bottom of the fifth line.

⁵ We must remember that it was universal practice for string instrumentalists to employ various tunings and that in most cases the change from the standard tuning was not specifically indicated, especially in manuscript sources.

⁶ For the date and origin of Bologna 596, see David Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977): 18-20. For Vincenet's career, see Tom R. Ward, "Vincenet, Johannes," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 19:781-82; and Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge, 1985), 69-71. For the Mellon Chansonnier, see Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven, 1979). For Perugia 431, see Allan W. Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance of the Manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 431 (G20)," *Musica*

disciplina 31 (1977): 45-105. For Juan de Leon, see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, 2nd ed. (Westport, Connecticut, 1979), 237-40. For the Spanish songs in Naples, see Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa, eds., *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1978), 86-99.

⁷ For instance, Herdinando de Cabezon in the preface to his father Antonio de Cabezon's *Obras de musica para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (Madrid, 1578); and Francisco Pacheco in his *Declaracion de Verdaderos Retratos* (Seville, 1599). See Antonio Corona-Alcalde, "The Viola da Mano and the Vihuela, Evidence and Suggestions about Their Construction," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 24 (1984): 18-19.

⁸ Juan Bermudo, *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555), f. 95v. The translation is taken from Dawn Astrid Espinosa, "Juan Bermudo 'On Playing the Vihuela' ('De taner vihuela') from *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555)," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 28-29 (1995-1996): 31. There is, however, a discrepancy between Bermudo's description of the tuning of the seven-course *vihuela* and the tuning for the seven-course *viola* in Bologna 596.

⁹ The biographical information on Guzman is taken from John Milton Ward, "The *Vihuela de Mano* and its Music (1536-1576)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953), 369; and John Roberts, "The Death of Guzman," *The Lute Society Journal* 10 (1968): 36-37.

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¹⁰ For Pesaro 1144, see Ernest Paolone, "Codici musicali della Bibl. Oliveriana e della Bibl. del R. Conservatorio di Musica di Pesaro," *Rivista musicale italiana* 46 (1942): 189-95; Walter H.ubsamen, "The Earliest French Lute Tablature," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968):286-99; Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures," 10-18; and Vladimir Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: Ein Beitrag zur Fruhgeschichte der Lautentabulatur* (Tutzing, 1988). The entire manuscript is edited *idem.*, *Eine zentrale Quelle der fruhen italienischen Lautenpraxis: Edition der Handschrift Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144* (Tutzing, 1988). Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, 124, proposes Naples as the place the first layer of the Pesaro manuscript was compiled.

¹¹ For the *lira da braccio* music in Pesaro 1144, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: The Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (N.p., 1973), 41-45, 223-25; and Sterling Scott Jones, *The Lira da Braccio* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995), 108-14.

¹² The first section (pp. 25-87) contains twenty-three pieces in French lute tablature. The second section (pp. 89-100) consists of eleven pieces (of which the last two have only the initial measure or "chord"), the first of which is by a "Gasp[ar]o." The third section (pp. 101-103) contains two pieces in Neapolitan tablature. The fourth section (p. 104) consists of the initial chord of a piece in French lute tablature. The fifth section (pp. 197-204) contains a piece for a seven-course instrument and one incomplete piece (only six courses are used) in French lute tablature.

¹³ See Ivanoff, *Eine zentrale Quelle*, 152-74. On the Paris manuscript, see Genevieve Thibault, "Un manuscrit italien pour luth des premieres annees du XVIIe siecle," in *Le luth et sa musique*, edited by Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1976), 43-76; Lewis Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 22 (1982):69-87; and *ibid.*, 23 (1983): 21-26.

¹⁴ Also transcribed in Ivanoff, *Eine zentrale Quelle*, 178-80.

¹⁵ Also transcribed in Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures," 23.

¹⁶ The motive of rising third and falling fourth appears in Francesco Spinacino's "Recercar a Juli amours" in his *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1507) and in the third prelude printed in Pierre Attaignant's *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (Paris, 1529); pointed out in Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures," 23-24. Attaignant's third prelude is discussed and transcribed in Daniel Heartz, ed., *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute by Pierre Attaignant* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1964), XIII-XIV, 6-7, respectively.

¹⁷ For the early sixteenth-century lute *ricercari*, see Otto Gombosi, ed., *Compositione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola Lute-Book (circa 1517)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955), XXXI-XXXV; Richard M. Murphy, "Fantasie et Recercare dans les premieres tablatures de luth du XVIe siecle," in *Le luth et sa musique*, edited by Jean Jacquot (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1957), 127-42; 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), 1:216-300; Heartz, *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute*, IX-XVII; 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., The University of North Carolina, 1968), 1:60-81; and Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript*.

Because of the limited space allotted here, my analysis of the early sixteenth-century lute *ricercar* is necessarily a simplification.

¹⁸ Ivanoff, *Edition der Handschrift Pesaro*, XVIII, suggests that "Antonio" was an uncle of Tempesta Blondi, a sixteenth-century owner and compiler of Pesaro 1144. Among instrumentalists of the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, there were several musicians called "Antonio." "Antonio del liuto" drew up a legal document to establish a music school in Florence in 1461; see Keith Polk, "Civic Patronage and Instrumental Ensembles in Renaissance Florence," *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1986): 55, n. 9. Antonio da Pavia was a lutenist at Milan and Ferrara in 1461; see Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 102. Antonio "cantore e sonatore di viola" was at Ferrara in 1471; *ibid.*, 97. Antonio Squarcialupi was a famous organist at Florence in the third quarter of fifteenth century; see Kurt von Fischer, "Squarcialupi, Antonio," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 18:28-29. Antonio de Lagona is listed under "Musichi" at the Neapolitan court in 1499; see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, 104. Antonio da Lucca "musico e sonator di liuto eccellentissimo" was Alessandro de' Medici's employ in 1535; see Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals 1512-1537* (Princeton, 1992), 157, n. 32. Antonio Rotta is the author of *Intabulatura de lauto* of 1546; see Hans Radke, "Rotta, Antonio," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 16:260. Antonio di Becchi is the author of *Libro primo d'intabulatura de leuto* of 1568; see Janette B. Holland, "Becchi, Antonio di," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 2:329-30. Antonio Siciliano was a viol maker flourishing in the mid sixteenth century; see Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 127. Antonio de Cabeson was famous a Spanish keyboard player; see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1959), 627-28.

¹⁹ We should, however, be cautious that the modal correspondence between the untitled piece and "Fortuna vincinecta" indicates the pairing of these pieces in performance. There are some questions on the compiler's intention of actually playing the compositions in Bologna 596 and the intended instrumentation for the Superius part of "Fortuna vincinecta." These points are discussed in my study "The Earliest Viola da Mano Song?" (in preparation). Also see Piotr Pozniak, "Problem of Tonality in the Ricercars of Spinacino and Bossinensis," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 23 (1990): 63-79.

²⁰ The section for the compositions in Neapolitan tablature in Pesaro 1144 may have been copied later than the first layer. This theory is suggested by the fact that the pieces in Neapolitan tablature use more refined notation system for rhythmic signs while the compositions in the first section notated in French lute tablature employs an ambiguous system of rhythmic signs. This observation does not, however, offer a concrete evidence for the relative dating for the two sections. The clarity in notation may be the result of the difference in the availability of the sources for the copyist(s) of Pesaro 1144, but not as an evidence for the chronological development of tablature notation. The crudity of rhythmic signs employed in French lute tablature may be interpreted in several ways; 1) the tablature shows an experimental, transitional stage of the development of French lute tablature; 2) it is a corrupt form of the system; 3) the compiler was unfamiliar with it; or 4) it

is a short-hand notation in which its notational characteristics were quite familiar to the initiated.

²¹ See Hiroyuki Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1988), 113-28.

²² Hans Judenkünig, *Ain schone kunstliche Underweisung* (Vienna, 1523), f. b2. The translation is taken from Martha Blackman, "A Translation of Hans Judenkünig's *Ain schone kunstliche Underweisung* . . . 1523," *The Lute Society Journal* 14 (1972): 35. Judenkünig's books are listed and described in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), as items 1517/1, 1523/2.

²³ See a facsimile edition with a preface by Arthur J. Ness and an inventory by Claude Cauvel from Minkoff Reprint (Geneva, 1988). On the volumes, see Yves Giraud, "Deux livres de tablature inconnus de Francesco da Milano," *Revue de musicologie* 55 (1969): 217-19.

²⁴ Discussed in Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises," 20-24.

²⁵ The extant lute manuscripts of Italian origin before Sultzbach's publications are 1) Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144; 2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms. 27; 3) Chicago, Newberry Library, Case, MS VM. C.25 "Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola, gentil homo bresano"; 4) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1511b; and 5) Freiburg, Couvent des Capucins, Ms. Falk Z 105. For the printed lute books, see Brown, *Instrumental Music*.

²⁶ For anonymous' volume, see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, item 1547/4. Anonymous' *Intabolatura da leuto* was most likely printed before 1536. For Francesco Marcolini's possible involvement with the printing of anonymous' *Intabolatura da leuto*, see Arthur J. Ness, ed., *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 12, n. 26. Sultzbach's editorial practices are discussed in my study "The Book of Fortune: Johannes Sultzbach's Marketing Strategy" (in preparation). For the symbolism of the illustration on the title page, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Where Has Fortune Gone: Music-Iconographical Problems in Sultzbach's Viola da Mano Books," *RIDIM Newsletter* 22 (1997): 31-35.

²⁷ Facsimile edition in Benvenuto Disertori, ed., *L'Intavolatura di liuto di Michele Carrara Roma, 1585* (Florence, 1957). Its second edition was published in Rome in 1594. An earlier example of broadside treatise for lute (the Royal Library, Stockholm, Musikalier, Shap. 6c, Hylla 23), printed by Matteo Pagano about 1540-1560, provides a music example, an intabulation of an Italian secular song arranged for voice (in mensural notation) and lute (in Italian lute tablature). See Kenneth Sparr, "An Unknown and Unique Broadside Lute Treatise," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 27 (1987): 30-34.

²⁸ The absence of German lute tablature, however, may diminish Carrara's credibility. Would it not have been logical to include an example of German lute tablature if Carrara had some knowledge of the system, since one of the main concerns in his treatise was to describe how to intabulate vocal music in various forms of tablature? Even if he had intended to include examples of all the tablature systems for the lute in use or known to him, his printer may not have possessed the fonts for the special characters employed in German lute tablature. It is more likely that Carrara had no knowledge of German lute tablature or, if he had encountered

it, dismissed its importance. That there is no extant lute music in German lute tablature from the Italian archives suggests its unpopularity in Italy during the sixteenth century. A unique example may be Othmar Luscinius' *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (Strassburg: Johann Scott, 1536; reprint 1542), which is based on Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getuscht* (Basel, 1511) and contains an example of German lute tablature. Luscinius' *Musurgia* is written in Latin to seek a wider accessibility and is dedicated to the Milanese publisher and bookseller, Andreas Calvo. The treatise may have had acquired some readers among the professional theorists and the cultivated dilettanti in Italy. For the relation between these two treatises, see Beth Bullard, trans. and ed., *Musica getuscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511)* by Sebastian Virdung (Cambridge, 1993), 61-72.

²⁹ On the left-hand side of the tuning chart entitled "Regola ferma e vera." Carrara regarded the six-course lute with the nominal tuning in "G" as standard.

³⁰ In the dedication to Vincenzo Tuffavilla, the Count of Sarno, on the top right-hand side of the folio: ("... perito sonatore di liuto et musico eccellente . . . mi diedi molt'anni sono à gli studij della musica, essercitandomi in diverse sorti dessa.")

³¹ One madrigal and two *canzoni* attributed to Carrara survive; see Gian Luigi Dardo, "Carrara, Michele," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 3:823-24.

³² The relationship between "Valencian vihuela de mano tablature" and "Neapolitan viola da mano tablature" is discussed in my study "On the Origin of Tablature for Plucked Instruments" (in preparation).

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