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Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday

Part I

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Essays in Celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th Birthday

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Editor's Introduction

Volume 41 of the *Journal of the Lute Society of America* begins a series of issues in celebration of Arthur J. Ness's 75th anniversary. These will embody what is frequently called a *Festschrift*, a collection of essays dedicated to a prominent scholar and authored by professional colleagues, former students and others who have had some connection with the honoree. Usually *Festschriften* are printed under one cover, but sometimes they appear in scholarly journals. Thus, we celebrate Professor Ness's birthday here in several issues of our *Journal* due to the number of contributions from here and abroad in these issues.

Certainly Arthur needs no introduction to the lute community, so I'll add just a few words. The day of his birth, January 27, was also Mozart's. This may or may not be significant, but we should note that his master's thesis dealt with the basset clarinet and Mozart's Concerto in A, K. 622, and is often still cited in scholarly writings and histories of the instrument. The year of his birth, 1936, was exactly 400 years after the year of Francesco da Milano's earliest dated publications in 1536. That was a significant year for the lute, when composers led by Francesco and Marco dall'Aquila exposed a new lutenistic (and idiomatically instrumental) idiom.

From his days as a doctoral student and fledgling professor of musicology, he emerged upon the international lute scene in 1970—a time when there barely was a lute scene in America—with his edition, *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1541)*, published by Harvard University Press. An outgrowth of a Harvard seminar led by his mentor John M. Ward, his edition grew to be a unique and significant contribution to musical scholarship, early music, and lute performance. The success of the book has become legendary, selling 2,100 copies and going through an extended period of print-on-demand publication, to become the best seller in the Harvard music series. A reprint edition, with a supplement of new materials and a French tablature edition, will be announced imminently.

Other *Cinquecento* lute music has not escaped Arthur's notice. Over the years he has retained a spirited interest in the subjects in his NYU doctoral dissertation, "The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts in the Bavarian State Library, Munich," which included a complete edition of the lute works of Marco dall'Aquila (now on the Internet at http://mysite.verizon .net/vzepq31c/marcodallaquila), the discovery of autograph manuscripts by the Italianate Bavarian master lutenist Melchior Newsidler, and pieces

possibly copied from a lost Casteliono anthology from around 1540.

Arthur is undoubtedly one of the most knowledgeable lute scholars, as demonstrated in his many dictionary articles. For *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980, rev. 2001) he authored 14 biographical articles on Italian lutenists of the 16th century (Capirola, D. Bianchini, Testagrossa, da Crema, et al.), as well as the substantial article "Sources of Lute Music" (37 columns), which covers lute manuscripts and prints from around 1490 up to 1800. For the revised edition of the "Sources" article, he was assisted by his spouse of 27 years, Charlotte Kolczynski, a music reference librarian in the venerable Music Research Department of the Boston Public Library. Less well known perhaps are his articles on musical forms in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Randel (1986): Canzona, Capriccio, Fantasia, Inganno, Prelude, Ricercar, Tiento, Toccata, Tuck, Tusch, Tocatin, etc.

He has been the editor of two major facsimile publications: *Tablature de luth italienne: dit Siena Manuscript (ca. 1560-1570): facsimilé du Ms. 28 B 39 (ancienne Bibliothèque Scheurleer), La Haye, Gemeentemuseum* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1988); and *The Königsberg Manuscript: A Facsimile of Manuscript 285-MF-LXXIX . . . Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Vilnius* (with John M. Ward) (Columbus, Oh.: Editions Orphée, 1989).

In addition, Arthur has served on the Editorial Board of this Journal, and he has been extremely generous with advice, guidance, and mentoring to other scholars and editors. Just one example was his guidance in the preparation of *Oscar Chilesotti's Da un Codice Lauten-buch in Lute Tablature*, ed. Dick Hoban (Fort Worth: Lyre Music Publication, 1994).

It is with deepest admiration and fondest collegiality that we dedicate this series in the JLSA to Arthur J. Ness, his life and most fruitful career.

—Michael Fink

Thomas J. Mathiesen taught alongside Professor Ness at the University of Southern California in the early 1970s. An appointment at Brigham Young University followed, and then his present position at Indiana University, where is Distinguished Professor in Music and holds the David H. Jacobs Chair in Music. Besides receiving several other honors, he was elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2001. Professor Mathiesen is the author of several books in the field of Greek music, notably *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (University of Nebraska Press,

1999), which earned the Deems Taylor Book Award from ASCAP, the Otto Kinkeldey Award from the American Musicological Society, and the Wallace Berry Award from the Society for Music Theory. In the fields of Greek and medieval music and music theory, he has contributed articles to several references, notably *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed. and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. ed.

Hiroyki Minamino received a B.A. in economics from St. Andrew's University, Osaka, Japan, B.A.; M.F.A. in music from University of California, Irvine; and Ph.D. in musicology from The University of Chicago. His doctoral dissertation is "Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation." Dr. Minamino is widely published in the field of the Renaissance lute and its music, including articles in *The Lute*, *Early Music*, *Music in Art*, *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, and *Lute Society of America Quarterly*, where his most recent article was "Lutenists on Parsassus: Reputation of Renaissance Lutenists," vol. 44, no. 3 (2009).

Hungarian born and German trained, **Otto Gombosi** (1902-1955) came to the United States in 1939, here to occupy several teaching positions, culminating in a professorship at Harvard University (1951-5). Devoted almost exclusively to the Renaissance, Gombosi made lute music one of his major fields of interest. His monograph on Bakfark (1935) and his edition of the *Capirola Lute Book* (1955) are major contributions to the field. Gombosi developed theories of metrical organization and of overall structure, seen especially in Italian lute music. These come into play in the present article, here printed for the first time in the author's own English version.

Music by **Robert Xavier Rodríguez** has received over 2,000 operatic and orchestral performances in recent seasons by such organizations as the New York City Opera, Vienna *Schauspielhaus*, Israel Philharmonic, Mexico City Philharmonic, and major American symphony orchestras. He has received a Guggenheim Fellowship, the Goddard Lieberson Award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the *Prix Lili Boulanger* and the *Prix de Composition Prince Pierre de Monaco*. Rodríguez has served as Composer-in-Residence with the San Antonio Symphony and the Dallas Symphony. Thirteen CDs featuring his music have been recorded (one garnering a 1999 Grammy nomination), and his more than 100 works are published by G. Schirmer. He holds the Endowed Chair of University Professor of Music at the University of Texas at Dallas, where he is Director of the *Musica Nova Ensemble*. Rodriguez's *Omaggio al Divino* (see p. 67) is scheduled to be premiered in April 2011 by Duo Madriguera at the University of Texas at Dallas.

Skindapsos, Pandoura, and *Trichordon*: Hellenistic Lutes?

BY THOMAS J. MATHIESEN[1]

Musical instruments were central to ancient Greek culture. In literary and iconographic sources, they are found in the hands of the gods, the heroes, the poets, and the common folk. All types of instruments are regularly depicted in vase paintings, reliefs, and sculpture; celebrated in poetry and satirized in comedy; employed in practice in the great festivals; adopted to serve as symbols of ethnic identity or cosmic order; praised and condemned by philosophers; described in technical terms by early music theorists and lexicographers; and so on.

Chief among the instruments were the strings. Representations of Greek string instruments in iconographic sources and the terms applied to them in literary sources are variable, but the instruments themselves can be separated into two major classes, lyres and *psaltēria*, each named for the instrument that embodies the most typical characteristics. Instruments of the first class have freely resonating strings strummed with a plectrum. As strummed instruments, they were probably not used (at least not primarily) to play melodies but rather to accompany a singer

[1] It was my great privilege to come to know Arthur Ness when I was a graduate student at the University of Southern California from 1968 to 1971. He, more than any other person, first attracted me to the field of musicology through the model of his scholarship, his personal interest in my own development, and his generosity in relinquishing one of his classes—the second semester of an undergraduate survey of the history of western music from 1700 to the present—so that I could teach it. I went on to teach this class more or less continuously (sometimes even three times in a single year) for the next thirty years, and every time I taught it, I always recalled our many stimulating conversations about matters musicological, often over lunches at the Faculty Club, dinners at Julie's (a convenient and popular restaurant just across the street from the School of Music), and at various parties. Arthur encouraged me to present my very first scholarly paper at a meeting of the Southern California chapter of the American Musicological Society, held at the Clark Library in Los Angeles on 12 February 1972; a year or so later in revised form, it was the first paper I presented at an annual meeting of the AMS, this time in Chicago in 1973. I had left Los Angeles by then, but Arthur was on that program, too, in a Study Session titled "Lute Transcription," enabling the first of many reunions over the years. Although our paths have not crossed much in recent years, my fond and grateful memories of Arthur Ness remain undimmed, and I take great pleasure in offering this article to him on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, ever mindful of the motto: *noli irritare leones.*

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with certain stable pitches that provided a framework for the song. In Homer and literature written in Homeric style, *phorminx* and *kitharis* are the common terms associated with instruments of this class. After the sixth century B.C.E., these terms are joined with increasing frequency by lyre, *chelys, barbitos*, and, finally, *kithara*.[2]

Instruments of the second class, named for the *psaltērion*, were plucked by the fingers and may very well have been used to play melodies. The *psaltēria* include the *psaltērion* itself; the *epigoneion* and *simikion*, each with perhaps as many as forty strings, rather like the modern zither; the *magadis*, *pēktis*, and *phoenix*, each with strings tuned in pairs, not unlike the modern dulcimer; and the *sambukē* and the *trigōnon*, held upright like the modern Irish harp and—especially in the case of the *trigōnon*—played primarily by women in the home.[3]

In addition to the instruments of the two major classes, iconographic sources occasionally represent lute-like instruments, distinct from all the others in having strings stretched over a neck, and there are numerous references in Greek literature to several instruments that may correspond to these representations: the *skindapsos, trichordon*, and *pandoura* or *pandourion*. In order to determine the nature of these instruments and the extent to which individual names can be assigned to them, it is necessary first to identify and closely examine the representations, then to study the archeological and textual evidence, and finally to consider the possible application of the terms to the instruments themselves.

There are at least three (perhaps four) basic types of lute-like instruments, each appearing in several representations. All of the

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[2] On the terminology, see Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 26–27, 30–31, 34–36, 39–40, 54–55, and 79–81.

[3] A similar list is provided in Pollux *Onomasticon* 4.58–61 (*Iulii Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. Immanuel Bekker [Berlin: Nicolaus, 1846]). For a full discussion of all these instruments, see Maas and Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece, passim*; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), chapter 3; Annie Bélis, "À propos de la construction de la lyre," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 109 (1985): 201–20; J[ohann] W[olfgang] Schottländer, "Griechische Leiern" (Ph.D. dissertation, Berlin, 1936); and Jean René Jannot, "La lyre et la cithare: Les instruments à cordes de la musique Etrusque," *L'Antiquité classique* 48 (1979): 469–507. For iconographic studies, see Daniel Paquette, *L'Instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique: Études d'organologie* (Paris: Boccard, 1984); Anna di Giglio, *Strumenti delle Muse: Lineamenti di organologia greca*, Femio, vol. 6 (Bari: Levante, 2000); and Sheramy D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

representations are figurines or reliefs, extending from the period around 330 B.C.E. (that is, the time of Alexander the Great's Persian campaigns) until the second or third century C.E. The period, provenance, and character of many of the objects suggest that the instruments were absorbed into Greek culture as a direct result of Alexander's campaigns, although at least one type may have been known in Greek lands prior to Alexander's conquests.[4] The representations are as follows:

	Material	Location	Period and Provenance
1	Gilt terracotta appliqué, ca. 15 cm long	Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen (formerly Museum antiker Kleinkunst), Inv. 8702,3[5]	Fourth century B.C.E., second half, Tarentum (in the southeastern "heel" of the "boot" of modern Italy)
2	Terracotta, 17 cm high	London, British Museum 1919,0620.7[6]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Cyprus
3	Terracotta, 24 cm high	Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, Inv. 9033[7]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Ibrahimieh Necropolis, Alexandria

[4] To date, the fullest studies of lute-like instruments in ancient Greece are Karl von Jan, *Die griechischen Saiteninstrumente. Mit 6 Abbildungen in Zinkätzung*, Programm des Gymnasiums Saargemünd (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1882); Théodore Reinach, "La guitare dans l'art grec," *Revue des études grecques* 8 (1895): 371–78; Friedrich Behn, "Die Laute im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918): 89–107; and R. A. Higgins and R. P. Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players in Greek Art," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 85 (1965): 62–71. A summary appears in Maas and Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*, 185–86. I relied on the article by Higgins and Winnington-Ingram as a beginning point for the identification of iconographic sources, but the present treatment is based on my own examination of each of their thirteen objects (only five of which are illustrated in their article), as well as seven additional objects and many other sources.

[5] Reinhard Lullies, "Neuerwerbungen des Antikensammlungen in München," *Archäologischer Anzeiger: Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 69 (1954): 260–88 (esp. fig. 19 and 285–88).

[6] Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players," 62, n. 7. For the British Museum's description and additional bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=463847&partid=1&IdNum=1919%2c0620.7&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fmuseum_no__provenance_search.aspx

[7] Evaristo Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, 2 vols., Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine, vol. 2 (Bergamo: Officine dell'Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1930–34), 1:34, no. 83, pl. F2.

4	Terracotta, 10 cm high	Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, Inv. 9646[8]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Hadra Necropolis, Alexandria
5	Terracotta, 18 cm high	Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, Inv. 18902[9]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Sciatbi Necropolis, Alexandria
6	Terracotta, 13.8 cm high	London, British Museum 1968,1129.1[10]	Ca. 250 B.C.E.
7	Terracotta, 22 cm high	Paris, Louvre CA 574[11]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Tanagra (in Boeotia [north of the eastern part of the Gulf of Corinth in modern Greece])
8	Terracotta, 12 cm high	London, British Museum C192 (1894,1031.2)[12]	Third century B.C.E., Eretria (on the western coast of Euboea in modern Greece)
9	Terracotta, 9.5 cm high	Paris, Louvre MYRINA 686[13]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Myrina (on the western coast of Mysia [now Turkey])
10	Terracotta, 12 cm high	Paris, Louvre[14]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Cyprus

[8] Ibid., 1:72, no. 466, pl. XX.1.

[9] Ibid., 1:41, no. 151, pl. XVIII.6.

[10] Maas and Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*, 244, n. 124. For the British Museum's description and additional bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=464121&partid=1

[11] Reinach, "La guitare," *post* 374, fig. 2; also illustrated in Albrecht Riethmüller and Frieder Zaminer, *Die Musik des Altertums*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, vol. 1 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1989), 211.

[12] Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players," 63, n. 10. For the British Museum's description and additional bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=465113&partid=1&IdNum=1894%2c1031.2&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fmuseum_no__provenance_search.aspx

[13] Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, 4 vols. in 6 (Paris: Editions des Musées nationaux, 1954–92), 1:57; 2:pl. 71d; see also Reinach, "La guitare," 376, fig. 3.

[14] Franz Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Die antiken Terrakotten, im Auftrag des Archäologischen Instituts des Deutschen Reichs, ed. Reinhard Kekule von Stradonitz, III/2 (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1903), 293, fig. 7 (a drawing). I have been unable to obtain a photograph of this object or confirm an inventory number at the Louvre; it is possible this object is in fact the same as object 9.

11	Terracotta, 7.5 cm high	Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg (Stuttgart), Inv. 2.823[15]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., from Kom-es-Shufaka in Alexandria
12	Terracotta, 8.7 cm high	Cairo, Collection Fouquet, 241[16]	Late fourth–third century B.C.E., Alexandria
13	Terracotta, 10 cm high	Cairo, Collection Fouquet, 454[17]	First century C.E. (?), Memphis
14	Terracotta, 11 cm high	Musée National du Bardo (Tunisia), I,330[18]	Second-first century B.C.E., Tunisia

[15] *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, 2 vols. in 5 (Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient, 1908–27), 2/2:pl. 42:2; see also Georg Kinsky, *Geschichte der Musik in Bildern* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1929), 14; and Friedrich Behn, *Musikleben im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), fig. 52.

[16] Paul Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, 2 vols. (Nancy-Paris: Berger–Levrault, 1921), no. 241 and pl. XXXVII (2). Fouquet (1850–1914 [the date of 1922 given in some sources is erroneous]), a French doctor who collaborated with Gaston Maspero in examining the royal mummies, formed an important collection of antiquities (for a fuller biography, see Jean-Gabriel Leturcq, "Fouquet, Daniel," in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon [Paris: Karthala, 2008], 399–400). Following his death, Fouquet's widow took the collection back to France, where some but apparently not all of it was dispersed at a series of auctions held at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris on 12–14 and 19–20 June 1922, the catalogues for which are titled: *Art égyptien et égypto-arabe, art grec et romain, très belles sculptures égyptiennes en Pierre de XIe, XVIIIe et XXIe dynasties, modèles de sculpteur de l'époque saite, trouvaille de Tell-el-Moqdam (Léontopolis), bronzes grecs archaïques, incomparable série de bronzes hellénistiques trouvés en Égypte, remarquable série de faiences coptes et égypto-arabes composant la première vente de la Collection du Docteur Fouquet, du Caire* ...; and *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes, series coptes et arabes, IVe siècle–XIV siècle, terres émaillées, verrerie, tapisseries, tissus, peintures sur bois, bronzes–ivoires–bois sculptés, formant la deuxième partie de la Collection du Docteur Fouquet, du Caire* ... (Paris: Georges Petit, [1922]). Some of the objects were purchased by the British Museum, some by the Louvre, some by the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, some by private collectors, but there seems to be no available record of every purchase. In any case, neither of the objects in this paper (12 and 13) was included in the two catalogues, and their present location is unknown.

[17] Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques*, no. 454 and pl. LXIII (6).

[18] *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui (Supplément)*, ed. P. Gauckler, L. Poinssot, A. Merlin, L. Drappier, and L. Hautecoeur (Paris: Leroux, 1910), 172 and pl. XC; see also H. J. W. Tillyard, "Instrumental Music in the Roman Age," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 27 (1907): 165, fig. 5. An additional object at the Bardo Museum is reported in the *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, année 1925 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1926), CLXIX–CLXX: "... une statuette de terre cuite représentant une femme debout sur un petit socle rectangulaire et jouant de la pandore. Terre blanchâtre; traces de peinture rouge sur la poitrine. Brisée en plusieurs morceaux qui se raccordent. Revers bombé avec trou d'évent circulaire. Hauteur avec le socle, 0 m. 175. *Thysdrus* (El-Djem) (?)." The object is further described as holding the neck high against the breast with her left hand while the right is placed crosswise to a rounded soundbox resting at the level of her hip. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate this additional object, but the arrangement described seems somewhat like the position represented in object 17 (see below), although the figure in that object is seated. Otherwise, this additional object seems quite unlike any other example, except perhaps an object in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (see fn. 27 below).

15	Terracotta, 13 cm high	Musée Archéologique de Sousse (Tunisia)[19]	Second-first century B.C.E., Sousse (on the eastern coast of modern-day Tunisia)
16	Sculpted relief on marble, 97 cm high	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 216[20]	Mid-fourth century B.C.E., Mantinea (in the central Peloponnese in modern Greece)
17	Sculpted relief on a marble sarcophagus, 39.3 cm high; 134 cm long; 44 cm wide	London, British Museum, 1805,0703.132[21]	Third century C.E., S. Cesareo
18	Sculpted relief on marble sarcophagus	Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale 6598[22]	Second-third century C.E.
19	Enameled terracotta; 5.2 cm high	Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 38733[23]	Second-first century B.C.E. (?)
20	Relief on red-figure squat lekythos, ca. 23 cm high	London, British Museum G21 (1873,0820.336)[24]	Ca. 320 B.C.E., Campania (in southwestern Italy)

[19] Tillyard, "Instrumental Music," 165, fig. 4, shows this figurine but identifies it only as "Terracotta Figure at Susa." Although there is a museum at Susa (in modern-day Iran), Tillyard makes it clear in fn. 1 of his article that the figurine belonged to the "Museum at Susa (Sousse)," that is, Hadrumetum on the eastern coast of Tunisia. I have been unable to determine whether this object is still preserved in the Musée Archéologique de Sousse.

[20] Gustave Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 78 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1898), pl. 3; Kinsky, *Geschichte*, 14; Max Wegner, *Griechenland*. Musikgeschichte in Bildern, II/4 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.), fig. 67.

[21] Noted but not pictured in Tillyard, "Instrumental Music," 164, with reference to "*Ancient Marbles in B.M.* Pl. IX, Fig. 3, and p. 35," i.e., *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, 11 vols. in 7 (London: Bulmer, 1812–61). For the British Museum's description and additional bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=459993&partid=1&IdNum=1805%2c0703.132&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fmuseum_no__provenance_search.aspx

[22] Noted but not pictured in Tillyard, "Instrumental Music," 164.

[23] Service des antiquités de l'Egypte, *Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, vol. 28, *Nos. 38001–39384: Statues de divinités*, by Georges Daressy, 2 vols. (Cairo: Institut Français, 1905–6), 1:186 and 2:pl. 41; also in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, ed. Hans Christoph Ackermann, Jean-Robert Gisler, et al. (Zurich: Artemis, 1981–99), 3/1:103 and 3/2:81. Daressy (*Statues de divinités*, 1:185 and 2:pl. 40) includes two additional figures of Bes (CG 38725 and 38726), in bronze, holding other sorts of musical instruments.

[24] A. D. Trendall, *South Italian Vase Painting*, 2d ed. (London: Trustees of the British Museum,

The first of these objects shows two partially reclining figures, a youth on the left holding an *omphalos* bowl (a bowl with an indentation at the bottom) in his right hand and a woman on the right holding upright in her lap an instrument with a rectangular soundbox with the sides sloping at the top into the neck. Her left hand would seem to be holding the neck of the instrument (the left arm and hand are obscured by the instrument), while the right hand rests in front of the instrument. Behind and to the left of the youth is a tall amphora with volute handles; behind and to the right of the woman is a small palm tree. Traces of green, red, and gold coloring still appear, as well as small nail holes, indicating that the figures, typical of the types of appliqués made in Tarentum (Taranto) in the second half of the fourth century, were originally attached to a wooden coffin (figure 1).

Figure 1 - Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. 8702,3 (photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

The second object (figure 2), possibly made in Cyprus, is a terracotta statuette of a woman wearing either a girdled *chitōn* with an overfall or a *chitōn* and *epiblēma*, holding almost horizontally an instrument with a narrow rounded soundbox tapering smoothly into a

1976), 26 and pl. 16c; see also Henry B. Walters, Cecil Harcourt Smith, and Edgar John Forsdyke, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, 5 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1893–96), 4:240, no. G21. For the British Museum's description and additional bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=463442&partid=1

neck—a soundbox markedly different from the soundbox in figure 1. Her left hand is pressing on the strings, represented by four lines incised in the clay, while her right arm curves under the soundbox with the right hand apparently plucking or strumming the strings just above a soundhole. The back of the soundbox, which extends slightly past the woman's upper right arm, is rounded like a bowl; thus, the entire soundbox would seem to be shaped somewhat like an elongated pear.[25]

Figure 2 - London, British Museum 1919,0620.7
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 3 - Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 9033
(Breccia, pl. F2)

A statuette (figure 3) from the Ibrahimieh Necropolis in Alexandria is very similar to the second object but in somewhat better condition. The artist has carefully represented the figure's weight supported

[25] Reinach ("La guitare," 376) applies this description to the soundbox of the seventh object.

by the right leg with the left resting slightly bent. The figure's hands and face are colored with subtle flesh tones, and her *chitōn* and *epiblēma* are light blue, highlighted in the front with a somewhat brighter color similar to the flesh tones. In front of her breast, she holds an instrument very much like the instrument of the second object, with almost identical arm and hand positions. In this case, however, the instrument is colored light brown and there are no indications of a soundhole or incisions to represent the strings. It does, however, show a knob at the bottom of the soundbox, perhaps the piece to which the strings would be attached on an actual instrument.

Figure 4 - Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 9646 (Breccia, pl. XX, no. 1)

Figure 5 - Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 18902 (Breccia, pl. XVIII, no. 6)

The fragmentary object (figure 4) from the Hadra Necropolis in Alexandria is poorly preserved, missing the head, lower legs, and base, although it still shows remains of red and turquoise colors, indicating that it, like the statuette in figure 3, was carefully colored. The pudgy figure, dressed in a *chitōn*, holds the same sort of instrument and in the same position represented by the previous object. Beyond this, however,

specific details of the instrument are no longer visible or may not have been represented in the first place.

A statuette from the Sciatbi Necropolis in Alexandria (figure 5) shows a young man (or perhaps a soldier?) in a Phrygian cap and the characteristic costume of a short belted *chitōn* and trousers. In this instance, the back of the Phrygian cap has an unusually large cloth or piece of leather surrounding the back of the man's head and neck, and he is also wearing a cloak (*chlamys*). He holds the same sort of instrument found in figures 2–4 but in a lower position.

Figure 6 - London, British Museum 1968,1129.1 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 7 - Paris, Louvre CA 574 (Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)

The object in figure 6 is a composite: the head does not belong to the figurine nor does the base with attached feet. Like several of the other objects, this one has traces of paint: blue on the *chitōn* and legs (and between the legs), yellow on the *chlamys*, and red on the instrument, which has the same shape as those in figures 2–5 but in this case is held

quite low, as in figure 5. The right hand reaches over the end rather than under the instrument, which shows very little detail.

Figure 7, originating from Tanagra (in Boeotia, north of the eastern part of the Gulf of Corinth in modern Greece), represents a graceful and elegant woman (probably a muse) dressed in a *chitōn* and *peplos*, sitting on a rock with her torso and head turning to her left. She holds the same type of instrument represented in figures 2–6, but in this case the back of the instrument is visible, confirming the shape suggested by the statuette in figure 2. Here, the instrument rests on her breast rather than being supported by the curved right arm, the right arm reaches in front of the instrument over the end (as in figure 6) but from below, and the fingers of the right hand are delicately extended as if plucking the strings, just to the right of the bridge, which is carefully represented. The neck of the instrument has broken and is missing, but it was supported by the upturned left hand, the fingers of which are positioned as if stopping one or more of the strings against the neck.

The next five objects illustrate the close association of the instrument with Eros, the god of love and fertility. Eros was also associated with Thanatos (death), and by the Hellenistic period, Eros had become a symbol of life after death. The Eros in figure 8, made in Eretria (on the western coast of Euboea), is wearing a Phrygian cap, once again, and the characteristic costume of a short belted *chitōn* and trousers, with traces of blue on the cap and wings. The neck of the instrument is gone, but a very marked bridge is visible at the bottom of the rectangular soundbox with shoulders sloping towards the neck, similar to the soundbox in the first object. The Eros holds the instrument quite high, at the top of his chest, and here again, the right arm reaches over the instrument (as in figures 6–7) with the fingers of the right hand extended as if preparing to pluck the strings, while the upturned left hand provides support for the instrument.[26]

[26] An almost identical figurine is preserved in the British Museum (1895,0511.4), wearing the same costume but unfortunately missing the instrument as well as the wings, right arm, lower left leg, and left hand. Nevertheless, the position of the left arm, body, and head clearly indicates that the Eros was originally holding something, most probably an instrument of the same type found in figure 8.

Figure 8 - London, British Museum C192, 1894,1031.2
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 9 - Paris, Louvre MYRINA 686
(Réunion des Musées Nationaux /

The ninth and tenth objects (figures 9 and 10, respectively from Myrina [on the western coast of Mysia in modern-day Turkey] and Cyprus) show Erotes holding the same sort of instrument found in figures 2–7 and in the same manner (although up by his shoulders and at a slight angle with the neck pointing downwards) as in figures 2–5. The condition of the first of these two Erotes is rather poor (the face is obliterated, and the lower right leg and left wing are gone), but the instrument distinctly shows a bridge near the bottom of the soundbox and the knob at the bottom.

Figure 10 - Paris, Louvre
(Winter, *Typen*, 293, fig. 7)

Figure 11 - Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg, inv. 2.823
(Foto: P. Frankenstein, H. Zwietasch; Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart)

The Eros from Kom-es-Shufaka in Alexandria (figure 11) holds the instrument horizontally in the same manner as in figures 2–6 but up by his shoulders as in figures 4 and 7–10. Both legs below the knees and the right wing are missing, but the instrument is clearly represented with three incisions representing the strings and four small holes, one near the bottom of the soundbox and three holes arranged in a triangle (pointing towards the right hand of the Eros) approximately halfway along the instrument at the point where the soundbox tapers into the neck. There are also clear indications of three frets.

Figure 12 - Cairo, Collection Fouquet 241
(Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques*, pl. XXXVII)

A final Eros (figure 12), of unknown provenance (but somewhere in Egypt), bears a remarkable resemblance to the previous Eros, almost as if they were cast or pressed from the same mold. This Eros, however, shows traces of whitewash, and the overall detail and condition of the surface are not as good as the Eros of figure 11. The fact that both of these figurines are broken in nearly identical ways suggests that figurines of this type may have been ritually broken, perhaps in connection with a funeral or other ceremony.[27]

[27] See John M. Fossey, "The Ritual Breaking of Objects in Greek Funerary Contexts: A Note," *Folklore* 96 (1985): 21–23; and L. V. Grinsell, "The Breaking of Objects as a Funerary Rite," *Folklore* 72 (1961): 475–91; 84 (1973): 111–14. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte*, notes a relationship between this object and the object in figure 10, as well as one pictured in Robert Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon: Die bisherigen Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), 276, fig. 223. Koldewey's figure 223 does indeed show a fairly crude terracotta figurine with the head and lower legs missing, holding the same type of instrument and

Figure 13 - Cairo, Collection Fouquet 454
(Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques*, pl. LXIII)

The thirteenth figurine (figure 13), probably originating in Memphis, represents a dwarf dressed in a short *chitôn*, wearing a conical hat (a *pilos*) and once again holding the same sort of instrument found in figures 2–7 and 9–12 and in the same manner found in figures 4 and 7. The dwarf's vestments have been painted white, but his hands

in the same characteristic manner. Koldewey includes an additional figurine (p. 276, fig. 224), once again with the head and legs missing, holding an instrument rather like the one represented in figure 14 below. Koldewey assigns (vaguely) the figurines to the "Greek-Parthian" period, i.e., around the third century B.C.E. and therefore more or less contemporary with the other objects discussed in this paper. Unfortunately, Koldewey provides no indication of the location of these figurines (or any of the other objects depicted in his book). Since the excavations were sponsored by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, it is probable that many of the objects were taken to Germany, but it has not been possible to determine their present location. Finally, Perdrizet remarks that an additional statuette identified by Valdemar Schmidt (*Choix de monuments égyptiens, deuxième série* [Brussels: Vromant, (1910?)], 73 [item E654 (Inv. no. 333RR)] and pl. LVII, fig. 148; also in *De græsk-ægyptiske terrakotter i Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* [Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søns, 1911], 75 and pl. XXXI) as playing the lute is actually carrying a torch. In fact, Schmidt merely makes the suggestion ("jouer de luth (?)") in *Choix* and then strengthens it ("Musicerende, paa Luth spillende Mand") in *Terrakotter*. If this is a lute, it has an unusually long neck and a soundbox unlike any other example, with the possible exception of the object described in fn. 18 above.

and face are red.[28] He may be holding a plectrum between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand. The instrument shows very little detail, although the knob at the bottom of the soundbox is apparent and there may be traces of a soundhole.

The next two objects (figures 14–15), both from Tunisia, represent an instrument (or instruments) that differs somewhat from those found in the previous figures. The first is a lamp in the form of a figure—missing the head, shoulders, and feet—standing next to a wicker basket and playing an instrument held horizontally like the instrument in figures 2–13 but with a soundbox that is neither pear-shaped tapering into the neck nor rectangular with sloping shoulders. The soundbox is basically rectangular but with a rounded bottom and a flat top. Strings (perhaps three) are shown by incisions, and the right arm reaches over the top of the instrument (rather than over the end, as in figures 6–8) with the fingers of the right hand extended as if preparing to pluck or strum the strings, while the upturned left hand provides support for the instrument (the wick was placed at the end of the neck). This representation shows a ridge at the top of the soundbox, perhaps to indicate that the front of the soundbox is on a lower plane than the surface of the neck and the strings.

The second object from Tunisia shows a standing figure holding an instrument (perhaps) in her right hand, the back of the instrument facing forward. In this representation, if it is an instrument, the back of the soundbox is shown as rounded, while the back of the neck appears to be flat. The soundbox is quite small and does not accord with either the pear-shaped soundbox, the rectangular soundbox with sloping shoulders, or the soundbox in figure 14.

The famous pedestal sculpted perhaps as early as the mid-fourth century B.C.E. for a Mantinean temple in honor of Leto and her children (figure 16) includes representations of the six Muses, each holding a characteristic device. One of the Muses, dressed in a *chitōn*, *peplos*, and *chlamys*, holds an instrument with a rectangular soundbox and a long neck against which she stops the strings with her left hand, while her right hand strums the instrument over the soundbox. The soundbox, like those in figures 1 and 8, has sloping shoulders, and its base exhibits the same triangular shape seen in some relief representations of the *kithara*'s

[28] Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte*, notes a relationship between this object and Inv. 9646 in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (object 4 above), but apart from the shape of the instrument and the manner in which it is held, the similarity seems very slight.

Figure 14 - Musée National du Bardo (Tunisia), I,330
(*Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, pl. XC)

Figure 15 - Musée Archéologique de Sousse (Tunisia) (Tillyard, "Instrumental Music," 165, fig. 4)

Figure 16 - Athens, National Archaeological Museum 216
(Alinari / Art Resource, NY)

soundbox. This suggests that the soundbox has some sort of spine along its back and may be rather deep, especially towards the top before it tapers inward to join the sloping shoulders. The neck, which is almost twice as long as the soundbox and distinct from it, shows indications of tuning pegs at the top. It is noteworthy that of the twenty objects under examination here, the two that seem to be the earliest (figures 1 and 16) illustrate this particular form of the instrument.

A striking child's marble sarcophagus (figure 17) shows in medium relief the marriage feast of Cupid (or Eros) and Psyche, with six attending figures, four Cupids and two Psyches. The woman, dressed very much like the muse in figure 16 and sitting in a wicker chair to the left of the central characters, is playing the same sort of instrument represented in figure 14 and perhaps 15 but in the position represented in figures 1 and 16, i.e., with the soundbox resting in the lap and the neck held upright. In all these figures, the soundbox is considerably smaller in proportion to the neck, which is also quite broad. The four strings of the instrument are represented by incised lines, and the upper end of the neck shows four distinct tuning pegs, as well as a decorative top. The artist has distinctly shown the forefinger of the right hand plucking an individual string just above the top of the soundbox, with the thumb apparently bracing the hand against the neck; the bridge is clearly indicated towards the bottom of the soundbox. All the fingers of the left hand wrap around the neck, just below the tuning pegs, as if the thumb itself might be used to stop one of the strings, but no frets have been indicated.[29]

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[29] Ludolf Stephani (*Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique pour l'année 1881* [St. Pétersbourg: Académie des sciences, 1882], 54–57) identifies ten Roman sarcophagi, dating from the third or late-second century C.E., that illustrate a lute-like instrument, one of which (item 2 in his list) is this sarcophagus. Tillyard ("Instrumental Music," 164) considers that "some of his [Stephani's] examples are doubtful," especially the sarcophagus in the cathedral at Girgenti (item 6 in Stephani's list), which Tillyard judges to be an elongated lyre, and one of those in the Louvre. Neither Stephani nor Tillyard provides inventory numbers, but the instrument on the Girgenti (Agrigento) sarcophagus, which somewhat resembles the instruments in objects 14–15 and 17, is illustrated in Carl Engel, *Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family* (London: Novello, 1883), 112. The fragment in the Louvre can be identified as item 7 in Stephani's list, which is Louvre MA 592 (an image may be seen on the Art Resource web site at http://www.artres.com/c/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=5&FP=10033174&E=22SIJMBJXPQXR&SID=JMGEJNDLLLMM0&Pic=3&SubE=29B7A2HTGAN; it is also illustrated in Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* [New York: Norton, 1940], pl. VIIIb). This fragment illustrates an instrument like the one on the Girgenti sarcophagus but held by two figures, both of whom have their hands resting on the strings (if they are strings). Since the same instrument is illustrated in both fragments, Tillyard's contention that it is an elongated lyre should also apply to the Louvre instrument, which he says "is also hardly a Pandura." Sachs (*History of Musical Instruments*, 137) considers these instruments to be

Figure 17 - London, British Museum, 1805,0703.132

(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

Another sarcophagus (figure 18) of approximately the same period but in somewhat lower relief exhibits in the central medallion an unfinished portrait of the deceased, holding an instrument that is very similar to the ones in figures 15 and 17. The medallion is supported by a male figure and two sea centaurs, under the legs of which sit two Erotes holding a turtle on the left and a sea snail on the right. The centaurs are flanked by three Nereids on each side, with the central Nereid of each group holding a musical instrument: on the left, a stylized lyre and plectrum; on the right, an instrument of the same type represented in the central medallion, but with an even longer neck. In both cases, the neck exhibits the strings in relief. The figure in the medallion holds the neck with both hands, and the clarity of the relief varies in the three visible parts of the neck; nevertheless, it appears that the instrument has four strings. No frets are indicated. The small soundbox seems to show a covered bridge, below which appear possible indications of string fasteners. The upper end of the neck is surmounted with a crescent, somewhat reminiscent of the decorative top in figure 17. The Nereid on the right holds the very long neck of the instrument with her right hand, while the fingers of the left hand touch the strings over the soundbox. This is the only instance in which the ostensibly normal function of the hands has been reversed; the artist may simply have done this for the sake of symmetry. In any case, the fingers of the left hand are very carefully rendered, with the thumb, index, and middle fingers extended and apparently pressing down on the soundbox, and the smaller fingers curled inward, just above the bridge. Here again, the instrument has four strings, the upper end of the neck is surmounted with a crescent, and no frets are indicated.

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zithers and conjectures that they might be associated with the multi-stringed *psaltêria*, such as the *epigoneion* and *simikion*.

Tillyard ("Instrumental Music," 164) and Stephani (items 4 and 5 in his list) draw attention to two sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum, both of which are described in detail in Otto Benndorf and Richard Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1867), 79 (item 126) and 337–41 (item 481). Item 126 illustrates Odysseus and the Sirens, one of which is holding "ein mandolinenartiges Saiteninstrument und ein Plektron." A drawing appears in Benndorf's table XVIII, fig. 1; although the drawing is rather crude, the instrument resembles a lyre rather than any of the lute-like instruments presented here, the instrument is held upright by the left hand, and the Siren's right hand holds the characteristic plectrum of the lyre. This object can confidently be excluded from the list of possible representations of lute-like instruments. On the other hand, item 481 illustrates a woman sitting in a wicker chair to the left of a group of figures on, under, and surrounding a central couch playing a "viersaitigen, mandolinenartigen Instrument, dass Schalllöcher zu haben scheint" (p. 340), and this is clearly reminiscent of the musician in figure 17. Within the constraints of this paper, it has unfortunately been impossible to pursue the remaining fragments in Stephani's list.

Figure 18 - Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale 6598
(photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)

One statuette (figure 19) represents the Egyptian god Bes in enameled terracotta of a greenish-red color, with his elaborate hairdo[30] and lower legs missing. He is holding an instrument very much like those found in figures 2–7 and 9–13, but the position of the hands is like that of figures 4, 6–8, and 13. Ridges would seem to represent two or three strings.

Figure 19 - Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 38733
(Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 2:pl. XLI)

The final object (figure 20), a red-figure squat lekythos from Canosa di Puglia in Campania, represents a female figure standing on an Ionic column between Nike and Athena. R. A. Higgins includes this object in his article "Lute-Players in Greek Art," stating that the figure is "apparently playing a musical instrument, which can only be a lute."[31] Martha Maas and Jane M. Snyder, however, reject this assertion in their

[30] The hairdo stands upright in braids, as can be seen in the two other statues of Bes holding musical instruments (see fn. 23 above).

[31] Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players," 63; Higgins acknowledges A. D. Trendall for having communicated to him the attribution (the Branicki Painter) and dating of the vase; Trendall

Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece, suggesting that the figure may simply be holding a fillet or tablet, and the British Museum itself describes the figure in the center as "holding up some object in both hands; she stands on an Ionic capital, which is painted."[32] If this object were one of the lute-like instruments, it would appear to have only the tiniest soundbox;

Figure 20 - London, British Museum G21, 1873,0820.336
(© The Trustees of the British Museum)

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was perhaps also responsible for identifying the object as a lute. The first edition of Trendall's *South Italian Vase Painting* was not published until the year following the appearance of Higgins's article, but in it (p. 26), he describes the vase as depicting "a woman in low relief holding a lute and standing upon an Ionic capital (as if the artist intended to portray a statue) between Nike and Athena."

[32] Maas and Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*, 244, n. 124. For the British Museum, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=463442&partid=1

the right hand would be reaching over the top of the soundbox to touch the strings, an unusual position found only in figures 14, 16, and 17 (but in the first of these, with the instrument held horizontally rather than vertically, and in the latter two, with the musicians seated rather than standing); and the figure would be holding the instrument in a manner completely at odds with all the other representations.[33] Higgins's statement notwithstanding, there seems to be no basis for continuing to include this object among those representing some sort of Hellenistic lute.

In addition to this iconographic evidence, a small amount of archeological evidence for early Egyptian and Roman/Coptic lutes exists, from which Ricardo Eichmann has drawn a number of conclusions in a series of articles.[34] It is not possible to review all of them here, but a few that are particularly relevant to the present study may be summarized. First of all, the shape of soundbox in the object illustrated in figure 14 is very similar to the shape in several surviving Coptic lutes, which had three strings attached to tuning pegs at the top of the neck and a knob or peg at the bottom of the soundbox, a neck with a curved back, and generally but not always two different series of frets, the number differing from instrument to instrument. Two of the three strings could be arranged as a single course (with the two strings perhaps tuned in unison) or they could be spaced so that each of the three could be played separately. From the position of the frets, Eichmann calculated that one set would produce intervals of "a third, a full whole tone and a semitone," while the other would result in two tetrachords, each comprised of a minor tone and two three-quarter tones, "reminiscent" of the pattern of the Equal Diatonic genus described by Claudius Ptolemy in his *Harmonics*.[35]

Eichmann does not explain Ptolemy's scale, but it was constructed in the following manner. By tripling the ratio 4:3 and inserting the intervening numbers to create the proportion 12:11:10:9, Ptolemy

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[33] But see fn. 18 above.

[34] Especially Ricardo Eichmann, "Strings and Frets," in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie I: Saiteninstrumente im archäologischen Kontext: Vorträge des 8. Symposiums der Study Group on Music Archaeology (ICTM), Limassol, 26.–30. August 1996 und andere Beiträge* (Rahden: Leidorf, 2000); and idem, "The Design of Ancient Egyptian Spike Lutes," in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie IV: Musikarchäologische Quellengruppen: Bodenurkunden, mündliche Überlieferung, Aufzeichnung: Vorträge des 3. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Kloster Michaelstein, 9.–16. Juni 2002* (Rahden: Leidorf, 2004). Both of these contain additional references to Eichmann's other articles.

[35] Ricardo Eichmann, "Strings and Frets," 38.

created a genus composed of the pattern 10:9, 11:10, and 12:11. He then expanded this genus to a full octave by adding a Pythagorean whole-tone (9:8), the characteristic "tone of disjunction," between the two tetrachords, resulting in a sequence of intervals that can be demonstrated with the following integers:

18		20		22		24		27		30		33		36
	9:10		10:11		11:12		8:9		9:10		10:11		11:12	

Ptolemy recognizes that this scale may have a "rather foreign and boorish character, but otherwise it is gentle, and especially when practiced by the ear."[36] This characterization may be more easily envisioned if the scale were arbitrarily set between *e'* and *e* (for example) and compared to an equally tempered octave, in which case the pitches would be *e'*, $d'^{+17.6¢}$, $c'^{+52.6¢}$, $b^{+1.96¢}$, $a^{-1.96¢}$, $g^{+15.64¢}$, $f^{+50.64¢}$, *e* (in cycles per second at *a*=440 Hz, the scale would be 660, 594, 540, 495, 440, 396, 360, 330).[37]

Eichmann observes that the scale he has calculated, with its "neutral" thirds of 350 cents, is still typical of traditional and modern Arabic music. Such "neutral" thirds, however, appear only in a scale with an equal-tempered whole-tone of 200 cents (not the minor tone of 182.4 cents) and two three-quarter tones of 150 cents each. In Ptolemy's Equal Diatonic genus, there are only four possible "thirds": 10:9 + 11:10, 11:10 + 12:11, 12:11 + 9:8, and 9:8 + 10:9, which equal respectively 347.40, 315.64, 354.55, and 386.31 cents. The first and third are close to Eichmann's idealized "neutral" third, but the second is slightly less than one-and-a-half Pythagorean commas (23.5 cents + 11.75 cents [i.e., a schisma]) smaller and the fourth a little more than one-and-a-half Pythagorean commas larger.[38]

Whether or not Eichmann's description of the Coptic lute's tuning is accurate in every detail, it is perfectly reasonable to assume that the Hellenistic lutes could have been and probably were often tuned in a way that permitted them to play a scale of the sort well known in the

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[36] Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 450.

[37] It should be noted, though, that the positions of the frets in Eichmann's diagrams would produce a sequence with the order of the intervals reversed, i.e., with the larger interval at the bottom, followed by the two smaller intervals in ascent and so on. If that is truly the case, it is unlikely the scale would have been "reminiscent" of Ptolemy's scale to any listener of his time.

[38] Eichmann, "Strings and Frets," 38, cites three "neutral" thirds (351.4, 350.6, and 369.7 cents), but it is not clear how these are produced. In any case, they would still vary from Ptolemy's scale.

music theory of the time, that is, with tetrachords of the form semitone, tone, tone (ascending), either linked together or separated by a tone of disjunction. If the instrument had three strings with the strings tuned in fourths[39] and a single set of frets arranged to produce an ascending pattern of semitone, tone, tone, tone, it would have been possible to play various combinations of conjunct and disjunct tetrachords regularly described in ancient Greek music theory, such as (with, again, a hypothetical tuning on *e*, *a*, and *d'*) *e-f-g-a-b* (first string) *c'-d'-e'* (second string) *f-g'-a'* (third string), equivalent to the meson, diezeugmenon, and hyperbolaion tetrachords; or *e-f-g-a* (first string) $b^{\flat}$*-c'-d'-e'* (second string) *f'-g'-a'* (third string), equivalent to the meson and synemmenon tetrachords, then shifting to the hyperbolaion tetrachord, or equivalent to the hypaton and meson tetrachords, continuing into the diezeugmenon. Conjunct and disjunct tetrachords could also be played on *a* (with $b^{\flat}$ and *e'* on the second string and $e^{\flat}$ on the third), thereby allowing for a modulation within a *tonos* between a hypo- and natural form or between a natural and hyper- form (the hypo- and hyper- forms are a fourth below and above the natural form), depending on the overall tuning and the way in which a piece of music was distributed on the instrument.[40] All this could be done by the fingers alone, with the left hand maintaining a single position and thus the stability of the instrument.

All such hypothetical projections are, of course, contingent on the presence or absence (as on the modern *'ūd*) of frets and a fourth string, not to mention the overall tuning of the instrument, which almost certainly varied from place to place, as is still the case with the *'ūd*. For example, if a fourth string a fifth lower were added to the hypothetical projection of the previous paragraph (resulting in an instrument—with frets—tuned to *A*, *e*, *a*, and *d'*), it would be possible to play all the notes of the Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems, as well as modulating between hypo-, natural, and hyper- forms of a *tonos*. On the other hand, if the frets were removed, there would be even greater flexibility in shifting among the various *tonoi*, depending on the aural sensitivity of the performer.

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[39] Tuning by fourths is still employed on the *'ūd*, sometimes with the addition of other intervals such as the fifth, sixth, or octave. See Christian Poché, "*'Ūd*," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 26:25–31.

[40] For a basic description of the workings of the tetrachords and *tonoi* in ancient Greek theory, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Greece, §1, 6(iii): Ancient: Aristoxenian music theory," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 10:337–41.

The iconographic and archeological evidence does not allow for any sweeping conclusions, but a few may be drawn at this point:

1. Lute-like instruments were certainly well known throughout Greek lands from the fourth century B.C.E. forward.

2. At least three and perhaps four different types are found: (a) one with a rectangular and fairly deep soundbox, flat in front, narrower in back at the bottom and bulging at the top (probably approximating the shape of the soundbox of the *kithara*), with sloping shoulders leading into the neck (objects 1, 8, and 16); this is perhaps the earliest of the types; (b) another with a narrow rounded and relatively shallow soundbox, flat in front, shaped in the back somewhat like half of an elongated pear tapering smoothly and without any break into the neck, which is rounded in back and flat in front (objects 2–7, 9–13, and 19); (c) a third with a rectangular relatively shallow soundbox, rounded in back and at the bottom, and flat at the top (objects 14 and perhaps 17); and (d) one with a very small soundbox, probably rounded in back, and with either a flat or pointed base (objects 15 and 18).

3. The length of the neck varies in proportion to the length of the soundbox, although in the case of type 2b, there is no clear distinction between the soundbox and the neck.

4. The instrument had no more than four strings and usually had two or three. These were attached to a knob, knobs, or a bar at or near the bottom of the soundbox and to tuning pegs at the top of the neck.

5. The strings normally passed over a bridge, which was positioned towards the bottom of the soundbox; the soundbox may have had one or more soundholes.

6. The instrument of type 2b was normally played in a horizontal position, supported by the crook of the right arm with the left hand stopping the strings against frets (or the neck itself) and the right hand reaching up from below or sometimes out and over the end to strum or pluck the strings (it is not clear whether a

plectrum is sometimes used); the instruments of types 2a and c (and perhaps also d) were sometimes played with the soundbox resting in the performer's lap and the neck angling upwards past the left shoulder, in which case, the right hand reached out and over the soundbox.

7. The instrument was probably tuned in a variety of different ways, at least some of which may have followed tunings described in theoretical sources of the period. The tuning did not, however, make use of sequential intervals of the same size.

There is no question, of course, that these instruments are derived from the earlier lute-like instruments of Egypt and Asia and related to the later Arabic *ʿūd*, but that subject has been addressed elsewhere and need not be reviewed here.[41] The preponderance of evidence suggests that the instruments represented in the various statuettes were introduced to Greece as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great between 334 and 325 B.C.E., and the objects exhibiting Phrygian garb reinforce the Asian associations of this instrument. Nevertheless, the Mantinean pedestal (object 16) might be earlier than 330 B.C.E., prior to which there are perhaps also a few literary references to an instrument that might be thought to correspond to one or another of the instruments represented in our other objects. This evidence could certainly indicate that the instruments were already known in Greek lands before Alexander's conquests, which does not seem unlikely, even if they had not yet become as widespread as the number of later iconographic representations indicates. In order to consider this evidence, it is necessary first to see whether it is possible to associate specific Greek names with the instruments represented in the objects.

To Aristoxenus of Tarentum (fl. 350–310 B.C.E.), the most important music theorist contemporary with the time of Alexander, are attributed some 453 books on music, philosophy, and many other subjects, but apart from the long independent fragment generally known as the *Elementa harmonica* and the shorter fragment on rhythm, most

[41] For an overview and bibliography, see James McKinnon and Richard Anderson, "Lute, §2: Ancient Lutes," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 15:330–31 and 359; James McKinnon, "Pandoura," in ibid., 19:30; and Behn, "Die Laute."

of these survive only as brief quotations in the work of later authors such as Athenaeus and Plutarch (both fl. 2d century C.E.).[42] In one such passage, Alcides, Athenaeus's imaginary (?) speaker at this point in the *Deipnosophistae* (4.80 [182f]) and apparently an Alexandrian, says that Aristoxenus called a number of instruments "alien" (*ekphula*), including the *phoenix, pēktis, magadis, sambukē, trigōnon, klepsiambos, skindapsos,* and the so-called (*kaloumenon*) *enneachordon* (presumably an instrument with nine strings).[43] Inasmuch as the *phoenix, pēktis, magadis, sambukē,* and *trigōnon* are recognizable instruments of the *psaltērion* family with twenty or more strings,[44] it is reasonable to assume that the *klepsiambos, skindapsos,* and *enneachordon* are *psaltēria* as well. Alcides then proceeds to describe several of these instruments. The *skindapsos,* he says, is a four-stringed instrument, quoting as authority passages from the parodist Matron (fr. 5), who wrote: "they did not suspend it from the peg where the four-stringed *skindapsos* (*skindapsos tetrachordos*) of the woman without a distaff was stretched out"; and from Theopompus, who mentions it in his poem *Little Chariot* (*Harmation*): "plucking with his hands the large lyre-like *skindapsos,* fitly made with the beechwood of a thriving willow."[45]

A few lines later in a quotation from Anaxilas's comedy *The Lyre Maker* (*Luropoios*),[46] the *skindapsos* is mentioned once again, this time in association with the *pēktis, trichordon, barbitos, kithara,* and *lyra.* The last three of these are well-known instruments of the lyre family, whereas the *pēktis* and *skindapsos* are recognizable as *psaltēria.* The *trichordon* must surely be an instrument with three strings, and it is possible that *skindapsos* and *trichordon* are intended to distinguish between three- and four-stringed varieties of *psaltēria,* as have been exhibited in the objects above (three-stringed in figures 11, 14, and perhaps 19; four-stringed in figures 2, 17, and 18).

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[42] For a fuller treatment of Aristoxenus, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre,* 294–344.

[43] The same list is attributed to Phillis of Delos later in the *Deipnosophistae* 14.38 (636b–c).

[44] Nevertheless, Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 4.81 [183b]; *Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum libri XV,* 3 vols., ed. Georg Kaibel [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1887]) quotes at least one writer, Sopater the parodist, who describes the *pēktis* as having only two strings. It is possible, however, that this is a reference to the strings of the *pēktis* being tuned in pairs. On this, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre,* 273 (and n. 256); on the *psaltēria* in general, see ibid., 270–80.

[45] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.81 (183a–b). Matron and Theopompus fl. 4th or 3d century B.C.E. The text of Theopompus is uncertain. Kaibel emends *oxuinon* (beech) to *oisuinon* (osier), but it seems unlikely that an instrument could be constructed of wicker-work. On the other hand, Willow Beechwood (*Faurea saligna*), which is native to Africa, might seem a reasonable material from which to construct an instrument.

[46] Fourth century B.C.E.

Athenaeus is by no means the only author to refer to the *skindapsos*. In fact, the term also regularly appears in logical, grammatical, and medical books, often in association with the terms *blituri* and *tragelaphos* as examples of terms that are meaningless (*asēmos*). Although Galen (129–199/216 C.E.) does use them in this way, he was aware that they can also mean something in a musical context: "for it is evident that *blituri* is a stroke on the strings and *skindapsos* is the name not only for a servant but also an instrument."[47] Galen may have derived this from Juba II, King of Mauretania (fl. first century B.C.E.), whose many works on all sorts of subjects survive today only in fragmentary paraphrases or quotations. In one of these, "Juba says that the *skindapsos* is a musical instrument, *blituri* an imitation of the [sound of the (?)] string."[48] Sextus Empiricus (fl. 2d century C.E.), skeptic philosopher and also—like Galen—a doctor, uses *blituri* and *skindapsos* in asserting that truth does not reside in speech: "if it is in speech, it is either in signifying or non-signifying speech. But in any non-signifying speech, for example *blituri* or *skindapsos*, there would not be anything, for how can we accept as truth a non-signifying thing?"[49] John of Damascus (fl. 8th century C.E.) enlarges the point somewhat: "A meaningless sound is either inarticulate or articulate. Inarticulate sound cannot be written; articulate sound can be written. Meaningless and inarticulate sound is the noise or crash that, for example, comes perhaps from stone or wood, for this is neither written nor means anything; meaningless and articulate sound is, for example, *tragelaphos* and *skindapsos*, for these are written but mean nothing because there never was nor is *tragelaphos* or *skindapsos*."[50]

Skindapsos eventually finds its way into the lexicon of Hesychius (fl. fifth century C.E.) and the *Suda*, a historical and literary encyclopedia compiled sometime in the late tenth century C.E. Hesychius, for some reason or other, does not define it as a musical instrument in the entry for *skindapsos*[51] but rather in the entry for *blituri*, which repeats the definition

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[47] Galen *De differentia pulsuum* 4.8 (662.5).

[48] *Appendix Proverbiorum* I, 56.10. E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2 vols. + supplement (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1839–1851; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1958), 1:387.

[49] Sextus Empiricus *Adversus mathematicos* 8.133.

[50] Joannes Damascenus *Fragmenta philosophica* 1.7–14; a slightly different version, omitting *tragelaphos*, appears in *Dialectica sive capita philosophica* 5.8–14. *Tragelaphos* is used by other writers as well, where it refers to the goat-stag, an imaginary animal represented on Eastern carpets and as a shape for drinking cups. Later, the term comes to be applied to the antelope.

[51] Where it is defined as a nocturnal erection for sexual pleasure.

offered by Juba. The *Suda*, on the other hand, defines it as a musical instrument on the basis of a passage derived and altered (but without attribution) from Diogenes Laertius's life of Zeno of Citium[52] (335–263 B.C.E.), the founder of Stoicism: "... but his wicker-basket (*gurgathos*) has perished, small as it is; he had a mind smaller than a *skindapsos*."[53] Although Diogenes Laertius (fl. early third century C.E.) himself is a late writer, he attributes the passage to the *Silli* of Timon of Phlius (320–230 B.C.E.), which once again places the *skindapsos* as a musical instrument in a period contemporary with the sources quoted by Athenaeus.

Since the earlier usages consistently refer to the *skindapsos* as a musical instrument, it seems reasonable to assume that the term was originally the name of a musical instrument with decidedly foreign—that is, non-Greek—associations. Later, the terms *skindapsos* and *blituri* were borrowed for other purposes, perhaps because they had an onomatopoetic quality and their musical meaning would be known only to specialists, especially if the instrument had fallen out of use and faded from memory.

Although Aristoxenus does not include the *pandoura* or *trichordon* in his list of "alien" instruments, Athenaeus's speaker Alcides follows his discussion of the *skindapsos* in the *Deipnosophistae* with a brief discussion of the *psaltērion* and the *epigoneion*, after which he turns his attention to the *pandoura*. This instrument, he says, was mentioned by Euphorion and Protagorides, and "the Pythagoras [fl. 275–65 B.C.E.] who wrote about the Red Sea said that the Troglodytes construct the *pandoura* out of the bay tree [*daphne*] that grows in the sea."[54] The *pandoura* and *trichordon* are included in two lists of instruments that appear elsewhere in the *Deipnosophistae*, but neither of these provides further technical detail and the terms do not appear in immediate proximity.[55]

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[52] A city on the southeast coast of Cyprus, the provenance, as will be recalled, for several of the iconographic objects discussed above.

[53] Diogenes Laertius 7.15, where the quotation pertains to a senile old Phoenician woman (Zeno was of Phoenician stock). *Gurgathos* can also refer to a net or a cage for the insane.

[54] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.82 (183f–184a). Euphorion and Protagorides were active in the third and second centuries B.C.E.; this particular Pythagoras is neither the famous Pythagoras of Samos nor the Pythagoras of Zacynthos associated with the tripod kithara. The lasting influence of Athenaeus's treatment can be seen in the commentary on Homer's *Iliad* (233.21–234.2) by Eustathius, a professor of rhetoric and deacon at the Hagia Sophia in the twelfth century, who cites Athenaeus in repeating this bit of detail about the *pandoura*, as well as the characterization of the *pēktis, magadis, skindapsos,* and *pandoura* as "alien to Athens" (*ekphula kata ton Athēnaion*).

[55] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.78 (176b), 4.80 (182e), and 4.81 (183b; see the quotation from Anaxilas above).

Here again, Athenaeus is not the only author to refer to these instruments. Nicomachus of Gerasa (fl. late first–early second century C.E.), best known as the author of important treatises on Pythagorean mathematics and music, refers in passing to various musical instruments in chapter 4 of his *Manuale harmonices*.[56] These instruments include the "monochords, which many people call *phandouros* [*sic*] but which the Pythagoreans call *canons*." Although this statement at first seems rather confusing because of its combination of three terms not normally associated with one another, it may provide textual evidence to support the iconographic evidence that the neck of the *pandoura* was marked out by frets, suggesting the bridges employed in measuring intervals on the "monochord" (which in Pythagorean treatises is normally called a *canōn*), as well as the hypothesis that the frets were arranged so that lute-like instruments could play one or another of the characteristic scales described in theoretical sources of the period—scales frequently defined by canonic (or monochord) measurements. If this were the case, the *pandoura* itself could have been used to demonstrate both the proportional relationships among the various notes of the scale and the sounds themselves. Inasmuch as the *pandoura* might therefore function as a substitute for the "monochord" or the *canōn*, the three terms may very well have become largely synonymous by the time of Nicomachus without meaning that the *pandoura* had only a single string. This possibility is further supported by the fact that an instrument very much like the one represented in figures 2–7, 9–13, and 19 regularly appears as a drawing in the manuscript sources for the second book of Claudius Ptolemy's *Harmonics* just prior to the tables representing the various tunings, where it is sometimes accompanied by the caption: "This is called the *tampouras* by the Turks."[57]

Additional brief references to the *pandoura* appear in the *Onomasticon* of Pollux (fl. second century C.E.) and *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, the famous allegory of Martianus Capella (fl. fifth century C.E.) on the seven liberal arts. In the *Onomasticon*, an invaluable collection of material derived from earlier sources—now lost—arranged by broad topics, Pollux associates the *pandoura* with the *trichordon* in the section (4.58–62) listing the names and inventors of many of the

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[56] For a full discussion of Nicomachus and his treatises, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 391–411.

[57] As in Bernensis gr. 116 (639). See Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Ancient Greek Music Theory: A Catalogue raisonné of Manuscripts*, RISM BXI (Munich: Henle, 1988), 23–24.

stringed instruments: the *trichordon* is identified as an invention of the Assyrians, who called it the *pandoura.*[58] Martianus Capella makes two passing references to a *pandura* in the ninth book ("Harmonia") of *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*: "the goat-footed one [i.e., Pan] [playing] the *pandura*"; and "I permitted the Egyptians to try their skill with the *pandura.*"[59] It is not clear, however, whether these are references to a stringed instrument or to the instrument commonly associated with Pan, the *syrinx.*

This confusion is apparent in the definitions of the *pandoura* that appear in the lexical works of Hesychius and Photius as well as in the *Suda*, not to mention Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, both of which regard *pandura* and *panduria* as wind instruments.[60] Hesychius defines *pandoura* (for which he gives *pandouris* as an alternate) simply as a musical instrument and *pandouros* as one who plays the instrument. He also uses the term, however, as a definition for *pēktis*, which is further defined as *psaltērion*, *syrinx*, and simply "instrument." A slightly different version of the term is used to define *syringes* (i.e., the plural of *syrinx*), which are "*pandouria* of reeds, or holes meeting each other."[61] For Hesychius, *pandoura* and *pēktis* may refer to string or wind instruments, while the diminutive form *pandourion* is associated only with the *syrinx*. *Trichordon*, on the other hand, is simply defined as "instrument." Photius (ca. 810–893 C.E.) does not define *pandoura* or *trichordon*, but he does define *pēktis* as a "*pandourion*, a Lydian instrument, played without a plectrum."[62] To these, the *Suda* adds a number of remarkable definitions. Both the *pandoura* and the *pēktis* are defined as a butcher knife (*machaira kreōkopos*),[63] as well as being defined by each other. The *pēktis* is defined in addition as a type of indecent

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[58] Pollux *Onomasticon* 4.60 (Bekker 156–57); *Onomasticon* 4.59 includes the *skindapsos* in the list but says nothing about it.

[59] Martianus Capella *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 9.906, 924.

[60] Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.5.6) simply includes *panduria* (some manuscripts have *pandoria* or *pandyria*) in a list of wind instruments, all of which are given in the plural. Isidore (*Etymologiae* 21) includes *pandura* in a list of several wind instruments, all in the plural, explaining it as an eponym from Pan, supported by a quotation from Virgil (*Ecloga* 2.32–33): "Pan first taught us to join together reeds with wax | Pan guards the sheep and the shepherds."

[61] The meaning of this latter definition is unclear, but it may refer to the rings found on later *auloi* that can be turned to close or open holes on the instrument (rather like the keys on later instruments), thus modifying the notes that can be played.

[62] Photius *Lexicon* Pi (*Phōtiou tou Patriarchou Lexeōn Synagogē*, 2 vols., ed. Richard Porson [Cambridge: Trinity College, 1822], 427).

[63] The lexicon of Ps.-Zonaras (*Lexicon* Pi) has a similar definition: the *pandourion* (n.b., not *pandoura* in this instance) is a sacrificial knife (*machaira sphaktikē*), a type of musical instrument, and a type of

gesture and as a kitharodic instrument on the basis of quotations from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* and an epigram of Meleager: "Sweet is the melody, by Arcadian Pan, that you sing to the *pēktis*."[64]

No absolutely firm conclusions can be drawn from the literary evidence, except to say that from the abundance of names applied to instruments of foreign or "alien" origins, the ones most reasonably associated with the lute-like objects depicted in the various statuettes and reliefs are *skindapsos, pandoura, trichordon,* and perhaps *pēktis.* Inasmuch as the *skindapsos* is described (once) as having four strings while the *trichordon*, which is regularly associated with the *pandoura*, must have had only three, and these numbers of strings are represented on objects exhibiting two distinct shapes (three-stringed in figures 11, 14, and perhaps 19; four-stringed in figures 2, 17, and 18), the terms may have had more to do with the stringing than the shape of the instrument. On the other hand, the characterization of the *skindapsos* as "large," its direct or indirect association with wicker-work (depending respectively on the quotation from Timon of Phlius and the possible alternate reading of the passage from Theopompus), and the representation of the instrument in figures 14 and 17 as relatively large and in close proximity to wicker (the basket in figure 14 and the chair in figure 17) may support associating this name primarily with the instrument of this particular shape. The instrument represented in figures 1, 8, and 16 has approximately the same relative proportion to the figures holding it but lacks the other defining features. Still, if *skindapsos* is the name generally applied to these larger instruments, *pandoura* might then be primarily associated with the smaller instrument with the pear-shaped body. *Trichordon* is never specifically associated with *skindapsos*, but it is used to define a particular type of *kithara* even more often than in conjunction with *pandoura.* Thus, rather than being a distinct instrument in its own right, it may be a generic term used to refer to any instrument with three strings, whether lyres or *psaltēria. Pēktis* is a problematic name because it is unquestionably used to refer to both a wind and a string instrument. It, too, may be a

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kithara. Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players," 65, n. 22, refer readers to B. A. Sparkes, "The Greek Kitchen," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 82 (1963): 121–37. The example of the cleaver shown in Sparkes's plate VIII, no. 6 does indeed look very much like the pear-shaped instrument would look in profile: that is, it is narrow on one end and straight along the top, while the bottom curves gradually downward towards the end and then back upwards to join the top (—◡—).

[64] "Do you mean the old woman who was carrying the *pēktides*?" *Thesmophoriazusae* 1217; Meleager in *Anthologia Palatina* 5.139 (= G.–P. 29). It is unclear whether Meleager has a wind or string instrument in mind.

generic term applied to any instrument exhibiting certain characteristics, such as the ability to play simultaneous octaves or the tuning of strings or pipes in octaves.[65]

In considering these terms, it is important to keep in mind that absolute generic purity is a modern aesthetic concept, and it has always been common for a variety of local or ethnic names to be applied to the same basic musical instrument. Many of the names applied by Greek writers to various musical instruments reflect their regional or ethnic origin, and the writers themselves may not have been entirely sure what to call each instrument. For modern parallels, it is only necessary to think of names such as klavier, clavichord, clavecin, clavicembalo, spinet, virginal, harpsichord, and so on as terms applied to instruments quite similar in mechanism and appearance as well as to those quite different in appearance and mechanism.

Although it may at first seem odd that these lute-like instruments had so few strings when all the other lyres and *psaltēria* had more, the very simplicity in construction may have helped to insure their appeal and survival. An instrument with a neck (whether fretted or not) against which the strings could be stopped by the fingers of the left hand while those of the right hand strummed or plucked individual strings (with or without a plectrum) could easily produce—and with greater potential facility and accuracy—far more pitches on three or four strings than any of the lyres and most if not all of the *psaltēria.* Moreover, because the instruments had only three or four strings, they were easier to tune, and the overall tuning was more stable. Whether they were called *skindapsos, pandoura, trichordon,* or even *pēktis,* these lute-like instruments clearly enjoyed a vogue that began in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. and extended through the period of late antiquity, from which they, together with other treasures of the ancient world, were bequeathed to the Eastern, Western, and Islamic empires.

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[65] On this matter, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre,* 272–75.

Production and Reception of Petrucci's Lute Books

BY HIROYUKI MINAMINO*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[4] Francesco Marcolini, *Intabolatura di liuto . . . di M. Francesco da Milano* (Venice, 1536), f. 1v. An English translation of the preface may be found in Arthur J. Ness, "The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State University, Munich: A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on the Works of Marco dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984), vol.1, 346-47.

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

[6] On Petrucci's printing process, see Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music," 42; Augusto Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci da Fossombrone: inventore dei tipi mobili metallici fusi della musica nel secolo XV*, Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis, Sezione III, n. 35 (Bologna, 1971); and Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci, Ottaviano (dei)," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy (accessed 3/4/2010) http://www.grovemusic.com .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consequently, Marco's privilege was later revoked.

The Signory's granting a privilege to Marco dall'Aquila in 1505 may have given Petrucci his impetus. Petrucci published six books of lute music from 1507 to 1511, the first two books by Francesco Spinacino, the third book by Giovan Maria Hebreo, the fourth book by Joan Ambrosio Dalza, and the fifth and sixth books by Franciscus Bossinensis.[13] These lute books were all, except one, published in Venice, where Petrucci had established his printing shop in the late fifteenth century. The last of his lute series, Bossinensis's *libro secondo*, was published in Fossombrone, where Petrucci had moved from Venice in 1511.[14]

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

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[13] Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1507) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978)]; Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro secondo* (Venice, 1507) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978)]; Giovan Maria, *Intabulatura de lauto libro tertio* (Venice, 1508), now lost; Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto* (Venice, 1508) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1980)]; Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1509) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1977)]; and Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto libro secundo* (Fossombrone, 1511) [facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1982)]. These volumes are listed and described in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), as items 1507_1, 1507_2, $[1508]_1$, 1508_2, 1509_1, and 1511_1, respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is a lacuna in Giovan Maria Hebreo's whereabouts between his departure from Ferrara in 1507 and his employment at the court of Urbino by 1510.[21] It is quite conceivable that he made a journey to Venice after his dismissal from Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este's service in July 1507.[22] There was about a year between his departure from Ferrara and the publication of his lute book, a time span that may have been sufficient for him to compose and intabulate in preparation for it.

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

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

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[20] Discussed ibid., vol. 1, 6-7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[31] Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto*, f. 1v. A similar sentiment is expressed in Vidal's preface in his manuscript collection of his teacher Vincenzo Capirola's lute works. Vidal informs us that the technically easy pieces were given to him at the beginning of his lessons with Capirola. Vidal's instructions are reproduced and translated in Gombosi, *Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*, lxxxviii-xciii; and translated in Federico Marincola, "The Instructions from Vincenzo Capirola's Lute Book—A New Translation," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 23, part 2 (1983): 23-28.

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

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

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

In fact, the "new things" were none other than vocal compositions Petrucci had published previously, which he no doubt supplied to his intabulators. For Spinacino's two lute books, the *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* of 1501 offers twenty-four models, the *Moteti C* of 1504 two models, and the *Canti B* of 1502 one model.[35] Giovan Maria's lost lute book seems to have included an intabulation of Alexander Agricola's chanson "Comme femme desconfortee," first printed in the *Canti C* of 1504.[36] The vocal models for the intabulations in Dalza's book can be found in Petrucci's *frottola* publications.[37] When Bossinensis arranged his pieces for solo voice and lute, most of the vocal models had already appeared in nine volumes of Petrucci's *frottola* publications (the remaining pieces may have been taken from the lost tenth book). Petrucci must have supplied Bossinensis with pieces still in preparation for publication, for the vocal models for two in Bossinensis's *libro secondo* of 1511 were not published until 1514 in Petrucci's eleventh book of *frottole*.[38]

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

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

[35] See ibid., vol. 1, 81.

[36] See ibid., vol. 1, 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[50] I am preparing a study on this subject.

the first decade of the sixteenth century by a Venetian musician.[51] It is divided into two sections: the first consists of folios 1-26 (although folios 1-11v are missing) and the second of folios 36-55v. The missing folios at the very beginning may have contained some instructions on reading tablature and/or playing techniques, the kind of instructions found in Petrucci's "Regola." The pages between these two sections (folios 26v-35v) were left blank by the original scribe, perhaps to be filled later. Errors such as omissions of passages or notes suggest that the pieces were copied from earlier arrangements already notated in tablature. A manuscript consisting of the solo lute works of Capirola was compiled by his student Vidal in Venice about 1515-1520.[52] It contains instructions at the beginning followed by solo lute works (*recercari*, intabulations, and dances) presented in graduated levels of difficulty. Capirola may have given them to Vidal piece by piece in the course of their lessons, the difficulty of the pieces increasing with Vidal's progress. Such a manuscript could have given a publisher appropriate material to produce a book because of the high quality of music, the variety of repertory, the variety in technical difficulty, the accuracy of notation, as well as the detailed instructions in reading tablature and playing techniques.

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

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

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[51] For the manuscript, see Genèvieve Thibault, "Un manuscript italien pour luth des premières années du XVIe siècle," in *Le luth et sa musique*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1976), 43-76; Lewis Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 22 (1982): 69-67; and Jones, "The Thibault Lute Manuscript," 23 (1983): 21-26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[57] Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1507_1, 1507_2, $[1508]_1$, 1508_2, 1509_1, and 1511, respectively.

must have contributed to determining prices.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[62] Hans Judenkünig, *Ain schone kunstliche underweisung in disem büechlein, leychtlich zu begreyffen den rechten grund zu lernen auff der Lautten und Geygen* (Vienna, 1523), f. b3v "Pavana alla Veneciana"; f. i2 "Kalata alla spagnola." The book is listed and described in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, as item 1523_2.

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

[64] Dalza, *Intabulatura de lauto, libro quarto*, f. 4v ; Phalèse's *Des chansons*, 12. See Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1508_1, no. 7, 1545_3, no. 11 respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[67] Andrea Antico's lute book of ca. 1520 contains the arrangements of *frottole* by Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara for solo voice and lute accompaniment, and Adrian Willaert's arrangements of Philippe Verdelot's madrigals are also for solo voice and lute accompaniment. For Antico's book, see Andrea Antico, *Frottole de messer Bortolomeo [sic] Tromboncino & de Misser Marchetto Cara con tenori & bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto* (Venice, ca. 1520). For the volume, see Francesco Luisi, "Le frottole per canto e liuto di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara nella edizione adespota di Andrea Antico," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 10 (1976): 211-58; for facsimile, see idem., *Frottole di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara 'per cantar et sonar col lauto', Istituto di paleografia musicale* (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987). For Willaert's book, see *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto de cantare et sonare nel lauto* (Venice, 1536); an edition by London Pro Musica Edition ([London], 1980). See also Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1536_8.

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

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

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

In Search of Renaissance Form: Francesco da Milano

BY OTTO GOMBOSI (1902-1955)[1]

For many years now, all self-respecting keepers of wild animals have been making an effort at presenting their captives in a reasonable facsimile of their natural habitat. The dark and narrow cages gave way to spacious landscaping; the formidable bars of yore are replaced by an invisible moat that alone separates the exhibit from the spectator.

Yet in the zoological garden of old music there is a moat—yea, a chasm—between the exhibit and the listener, but there are also the solid and formidable bars behind which, under the disguise of historical truth, the wild roaring goes on. The bars hardly allow us to study the tiger as it breathes and moves; we are inclined to disregard the natural stripes of the animal and to study it in equidistant segments formed on its skin by the bars of the cage—segments that are organically, anatomically, and physiologically meaningless.

We shall not, at this time, argue the pros and cons. The degradation of *tactus* to *Takt* and the shift in the meaning and significance of *signa extrinsica* from mensuration and tempo signs to time signatures have been exposed and there is no space here for a much needed detailed

[1] *Editor's note:* This article is Otto Gombosi's own 1954 unpublished English translation of his "A la recherche de la forme dans la musique de la Renaissance: Francesco da Milano," in *La musique instrumentale de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1955). Copyright 1955 by Éditions du CNRS. We wish to acknowledge the kindness of Philippe Vendrix, Doyen du Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, for granting permission to include the late Professor Gombosi's article in this publication.

When Arthur Ness began work on the Francesco edition, a carbon copy of the Gombosi article was among some miscellaneous biographical notes he received from his mentor John M. Ward, who had been a Gombosi student at the University of Washington at Seattle. Professor Ness has often mentioned how the article set in motion his intense fascination with the intricate metrical underpinnings in *Cinquecento* music of lutenists such as Francesco da Milano and Marco dall'Aquila (also see Ness's recent Marco edition, esp. No. 60, the fantasia that concludes with an intriguing metrical accelerando [*con misure di restringimento*]). Gombosi's article, worthy of the attention of a new generation of lute scholars, demonstrates his lifelong fascination with things rhythmic—no doubt a consequence of his interest in the music of Béla Bartók—and metrical analysis, his most important contribution to musical scholarship. Ness was so taken by the work that he used that ricercar (No. 3 in his edition) as a model for a string quartet movement for Walter Piston's composition seminar at Harvard. The Francesco edition was a logical sequel.

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investigation. Let us assume instead that the music, if listened to and examined skillfully and without prejudice, will reveal itself in its true nature. Let us also recognize that there are certain objective features that will help us see this true nature. Cadences (especially of the undisputed masculine variety), repetitions, echo effects, true sequences, and similar devices of phrase building, but also certain standard rhythmic-metric features such as the hemiola, will lead us to a more musical barring and phrasing of a composition. This is not merely a matter of editorial niceties, and it is not "interpretation" of an irresponsible kind, but a precondition for any intelligent dealing with questions of musical syntax and form—questions about which we know, at present, much too little.

Efforts at more musical "interpretive" barring have been numerous and mostly unsuccessful. The roots of the trouble are 1) selection of complicated musical textures which do admit ambiguity, 2) the continued observance of "time signatures," and 3) the fatal mix-up of phrasing and metric grouping. "Interpretation," in spite of these unsuccessful efforts, is an elementary editorial duty rather than a mortal sin, and our problem is to work out high standards and to live up to them to the best of our ability.

I myself started, some twenty years ago, re-barring dance music, which, for obvious reasons offers the greatest advantages for the tyro. While today I would use reduced note values and a graded variety of different barlines in some cases, I do believe my interpretations of the German Hoftanz and the French basse-danse to be basically unassailable. Since then, I have looked into all kinds of music from Machaut to Buxtehude, and I have the feeling that the new approach reveals some unsuspected qualities worthy of our attention.

Thus, in order to demonstrate 1) the procedure I have in mind and 2) the unsuspected features of the music that are brought to light by applying this procedure, I have chosen a ricercar or fantasia by Francesco da Milano, No. 3 of Marcolini's collection of 1536 (No. 7 of the second book printed by Gardane in 1546).

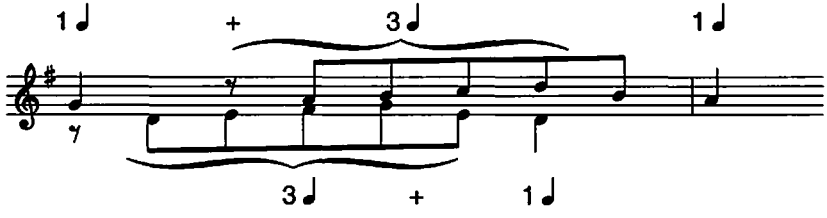
A transcription along traditional lines, which follows the binary divisions of the original tablature, even if using reduced note values, will reveal at first glance its ugliest features. The first phrase will take 4½ measures, whereby three of the four barlines will have to be bridged by ties. The verbatim repetition of this phrase in the lower octave shifts the relative position of the music within the barlines by half a measure. Again three ties, but different places will disfigure the appearance of the music.

It is obvious that the barlines, the ties, and the 2/4 divisions are musically perfectly meaningless. If we write down the music phrase by phrase and omit, for the time being, all barlines but the ones before the cadences, the music starts speaking for itself: we have (using 𝅗𝅥 = ♪) a repeated phrase, twice nine quarter notes in length.

The trochæic rhythm of the upper parts pleads for 3 x 3 quarter notes. Such metric division agrees with the lower parts inasmuch as ties and false syncopations are entirely avoided. Within the 3 ♩ measures, the upper parts will move in 3/4, the lower ones in 6/8 in measures 1-2 and 4-5, and the opposite way in measures 3 and 6. The Janus-faced 6/8-3/4, the repeated *à tre battute*, and the register change (split-choir technique) are distinctive features of this opening phrase, which we will

mark as A. The trochaic motive now moves to the bass and is opposed by a 3/4 plus 6/8 tenor. This 2 x 3, which we shall call x (measures 7-8), is a shortened quasi-repetition of part of the substance of A and forms a link to the next musical phrase B. This, again, is cast in triple time, and its contrapuntally constructed motive occupies one measure. Again, sequence is the technique applied. The sequence is rising, from a position leading to the tonic, to higher pitch levels leading to the subdominant and the dominant, respectively, then sinks back to the original level, now using only two parts, and is repeated, with a cadential expansion, in the higher octave. Whether the best grouping be 2 x 3 x 3 or 3 x 2 x 3 is hard to decide. At any rate, the substance of the last two measures is now used for another two measures which reinforce the cadence and form a bridging link y, whereby the soprano of measures 13-14 becomes the middle part of measures 15-16 and the alto of the former appears, in modified form, as the soprano of the latter, now supported by a new bass.

Up to now we have, in strict triple time, two equally long sections, Ax and By, whereby x and y are formed out of the substance of A and B, respectively, as modified, reassuring repetitions. Now, however, the time changes to 4/4. The change is brought about by narrow imitation which extends the metrical frame into which the 3 ♩ motive is placed:



and the measure unit is affirmed by repetition in the lower octave. A third measure uses a two-part cadence formula (that will come up again) under the sequentially shifted imitation motive and thus rounds out this phrase C, consisting of 3 x 4 ♩ .

Let me anticipate here: the end of phrase C is the middle point of the Ricercar. This first half (AxByC) consists of:

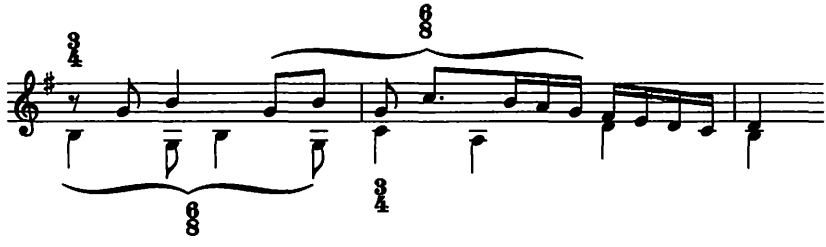
2x3x3 plus 2x3 ♩	18 plus 6 ♩	
2x3x3 plus 2x3 ♩	18 plus 6 ♩	
3x4 ♩	12 ♩	a total of 60 ♩s

The second half of the composition shows a strikingly similar metric construction. In order to emphasize the correspondence we shall use indexed letter symbols. Thus A' changes back to triple meter. Characteristically, the change is effected by the sequence construction rather than by alteration of the motivic substance. As in C, the motives are imitated at 1 ♩ distance and are, at first, of the same length as those of C. But the (here sequential) repetition begins one quarter beat earlier:

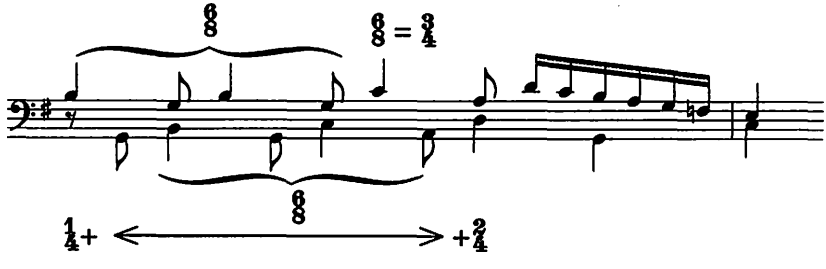
The 2 x 3 sequential complex is repeated, then taken up again in the lower register and extended by a cadential measure that shows close motivic affinity with the last measure of C. The metric construction is 3 x 2 x 3 = 18 ♩. The 2 x 3 of A is balanced here by 3 x 6.

The same metric construction is used for B'. While B has an ascending sequence, B' begins with an imitative chain of descending sequences. The second double measure, in low register, is repeated an octave higher. The motivic substance of these double measures shows close ties with the closing measures of B and its variant y:

Contrary to the first half of the composition, there is no link-like expansion to A' or B'. Instead, x and y are balanced by a freely repeated (lower octave) 2 x 3 phrase between A' and B', which we shall designate for convenience as x' plus y', although this does not do justice to their motivic independence. Again, 6/8 and 3/4 compete—



—in a rather finely wrought rhythmic pattern that becomes even more fascinating when it is freely repeated:



Such "gothic" rhythmic design, inherent in linear polyphonic thinking, is kept within the larger blocks of the double-measure phrase of 6 ♩.

As in the first part, a change to 4/4 characterizes the last phrase, C'. The 2 ♩ upward-running scale motive is used in high-low, high-low sequence, to be brought to a deceptive cadence by a measure in which tenor and bass of the corresponding measure of C are used as discant and tenor, with a new functional bass added:

The deceptive cadence provokes the short coda, which proceeds as usual through the subdominant to the tonic in a plagal turn. The motives of both the middle part and the bass are fashioned from motives used before.

Let us look at the whole composition. The high degree of motivic integration, the utmost skill in utilizing imitation, sequence, repetition, and register contrast in the shaping of metric units, phrases, and formal balance have been shown in great detail. No doubt, the composition is highly organized and has a living, effective, unique form. The scheme—

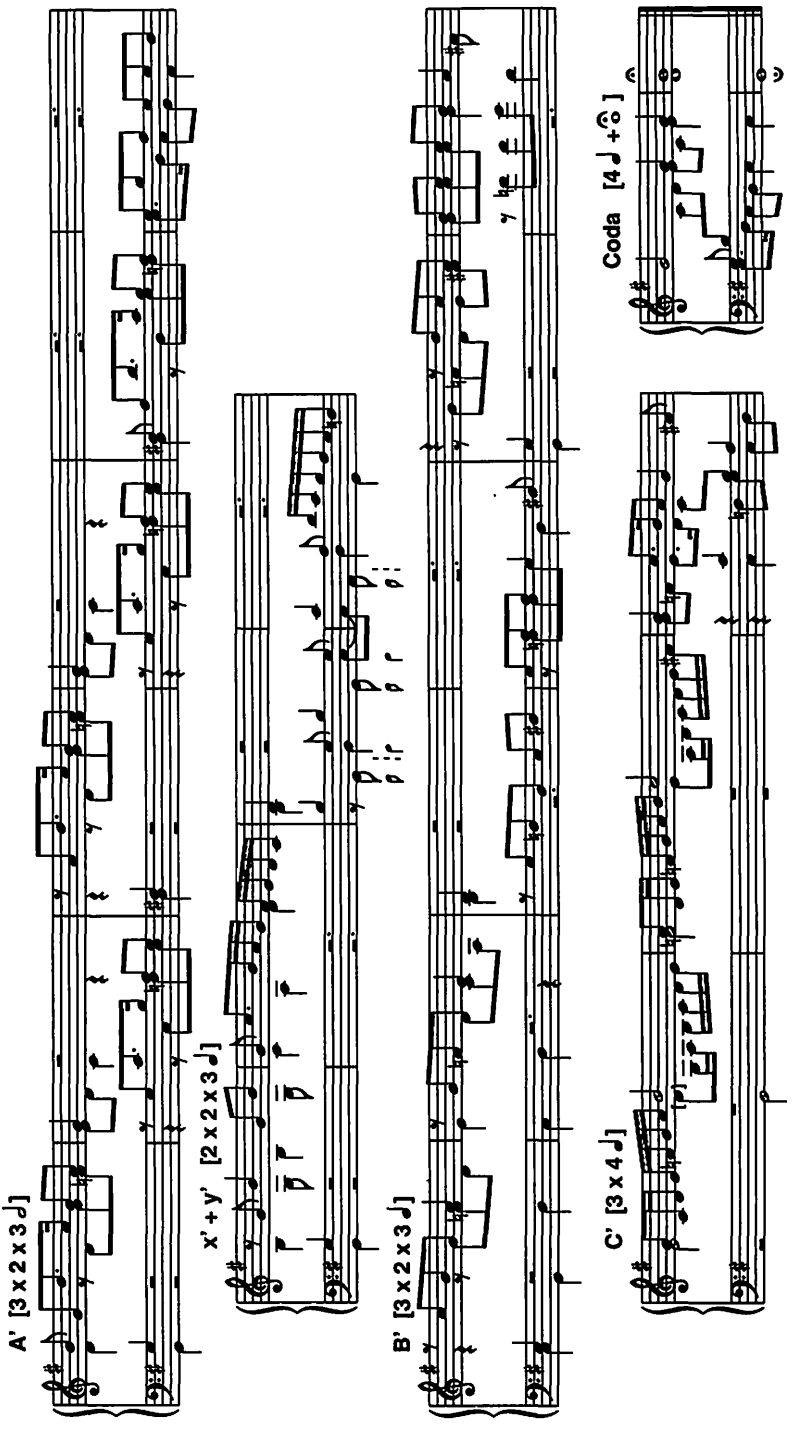
A	2x9	18		A'	3x6	18	Coda	/4 𝅗𝅥
x		6	24	x'+y'	2x6	12		
B	2x9	18		B'	3x6	18		
y		6	24					
C	3x4	12	12	C'	3x4	12		
			60	+		60	+	/4 𝅗𝅥

—sums up, in a rather rigid way, the anatomy of the piece. The form is autonomous: it is not derivative; it does not depend on poetic forms and concepts (secular or liturgical); it does not imitate vocal paragons. It is an abstract music form and, as such, of purely instrumental design.

I firmly believe that the formal structure of this composition is brought out into the open by the kind of transcription offered here. I do not believe that any other kind of transcription, traditional or fancy, would do the same job. And I sincerely doubt that any real appreciation of this composition is feasible without giving full consideration to the structural peculiarities now disclosed. This, I think, is true regardless of whether the form and structure are unique or not. If I may generalize in a prophetic way: An analogous treatment accorded to any composition of the 14th–17th centuries will place it in a new light.

For many years now, musicologists have spoken and written about rhythm and meter, about texture and form—in a word: about style. I think most of this speaking and writing has been based on insufficient evidence, on warped views, on prejudice and ignorance. This is, I confess, a rather summary indictment, and my only excuse is the fact that I myself have been as guilty as the next fellow. If we aspire ever to reach worthy standards of style criticism, we will have to broaden the horizon, straighten out the perspective, and amass a wealth of incontestable evidence. May the present attempt be considered a modest contribution toward this aim.

A [2 x 3 x 3 𝅗𝅥]
x [2 x 3 𝅗𝅥]
Francesco da Milano:
Recercare 3 (Marcolini, 1536)
Fantasia 7 (Gardane, Lib. II, 1546)
Transcribed by Otto Gombosi (1949)
B [2 x 3 x 6 𝅗𝅥]
y [2 x 3 𝅗𝅥]
C [3 x 4 𝅗𝅥]


A' [3 x 2 x 3 ♩]
x' + y' [2 x 2 x 3 ♩]
B' [3 x 2 x 3 ♩]
C' [3 x 4 ♩]
Coda [4 ♩ + 𝅗𝅥]

Robert Xavier Rodríguez

Omaggio al Divino

(2009)

for Two Guitars

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Composer's Note

Omaggio al Divino (2009) for two guitars was written in commemoration of the 75th birthday of musicologist Arthur Ness, who was an important mentor to me during my doctoral studies at the University of Southern California. The three movements celebrate the music of the Renaissance lute composer Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543), who, along with Michelangelo, was known as "Il Divino."

I. *Fantasia Antica* is my transcription for solo guitar of Francesco's *Fantasia-Ricercar No. 3* for solo lute, adapted, down a minor third, from Ness' 1970 edition of Francesco's complete lute music. I have used modern notation and added dynamics, plus fermatas at what I consider natural cadence or "breathing" points to create a freer, more lyrical performance. The piece is to be performed with lute tuning (EADF#BE).

II. *Fantasia Nuova*, another guitar solo, is my own work, inspired by the previous fantasia. My fantasia has the same formal proportions and phrase structure as Francesco's fantasia, using a pandiatonic extension of Francesco's harmonic outlines. My work does not mirror Francesco's imitative, often-canonic texture, but it does employ his concentrated motivic technique, which Ness described in his notes to me on No. 3 as "two ideas by variation."

III. *Le Due Fantasie Insieme* for two guitars presents Francesco's fantasia and my fantasia played simultaneously. This duet is in the tradition of a series of parts for second lute written by the Flemish composer Johannes Matelart (1538-1607) to accompany some of Francesco's works. As Ness has pointed out, these added parts "anticipate by several centuries Grieg's second piano parts for Mozart sonatas." In this case, however, my own "Fantasia Nuova" is intended to stand on its own as a separate piece and, when played with the Francesco, to be, not an accompaniment, but a dramatic opposition, hence the constant use of contrasting meters to create cross accents.

III. Le Due Fantasie Insieme

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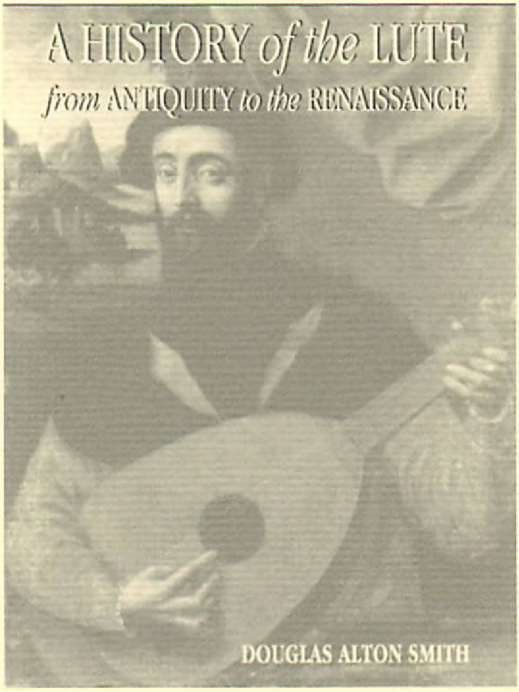

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