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The Spanish plucked *viola* in Renaissance Italy, 1480–1530

While some play every sort of composition most delightfully on the lute, in Italy and Spain the *viola* without a bow is more often used.

THIS testimony to the popularity of this mysterious instrument in Italy is taken from Johannes Tinctoris's music treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*, written in Naples about 1480 and published there between 1481 and 1483.¹ The 'viola without a bow' ('*viola sine arculo*') is probably a terminology adapted by Tinctoris to denote the instrument more commonly known by some other names.² It may well be an instrument called *viola* or small lute ('*dimidium leutum*') of which Tinctoris described its origin and physiognomy in the same treatise:

Indeed the invention of the Spaniards, the instrument which they and the Italians call *viola* and the French *demi-luth* is descended from the lute. However, it differs from the lute in that the lute is larger and shaped like a tortoise-shell whereas it is flat and in most cases curved inwards on each side.³

Iconographical evidence indicates that this instrument was invented in Valencia in the mid-15th century. At first it had a thin body, a flat back, a long fingerboard, a lute-like reverse peg-box, and a deeply incurving waist. But by the end of the 15th century a new type 'invented' from the earlier model abandoned the sharply cornered waist, and featured instead a gently incurving waist.⁴ This constructional change was probably the result of changes in musical tastes. Players' desire to perform polyphonic compositions on a single instrument was aided by using the fingers for plucking, a technique that enabled the simultaneous production of notes on non-adjacent strings. This stylistic change in turn prompted the invention of a tablature notation for solo players in

the late 15th century. These events led to the increasing popularity of the instrument later called the *vihuela de mano* in Spain and the *viola da mano* in Italy.

During the last two decades of the 15th century and the first three decades of the 16th century there were abundant references to the Spanish plucked *viola*, referred to by various names, from several major Italian courts, such as Naples, Rome, Mantua, Ferrara and Urbino. There is also iconographical evidence for the instrument, one with a sharply cornered waist and the other with a gently incurving waist. Two political powers seem to have played a vital role in the importation and dissemination of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Italy: the Borgias in papal Rome and the Aragonese Trastámeras in the Kingdom of Naples. It was the Aragonese heritage that promoted political and cultural ties between Spain and Italy. Many of the courts in which the Spanish plucked *viola* was popular appear to have had close family or political connections either with the Borgias or the Aragonese dynasty in Naples.

Naples

Tinctoris did not specify which Italian cities cultivated the Spanish plucked *viola*; he used a collective term '*italia*'.⁵ The Aragonese court at Naples must have been one of them, for he had been in the service of the Neapolitan court for several years by the time he wrote the *De inventione* in the late 1470s. However, it is unclear whether the references to the players of the *viola* from this period denote the Spanish instrument. For instance, a list of musicians working at the court of Naples, dating between 1480 and 1490,

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includes a 'Giovanni Rois' who was a 'musico e sonatore de viola' to Ferrandino, Prince of Capua.⁶ There are references in 1492 to 'una violetta ad arco' and to singing with the *viola* ('con la viola che sonava'); the former no doubt refers to the bowed *viola*, while the latter is probably the plucked *viola*.⁷ In fact, a contemporary Neapolitan painting offers evidence for the presence of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Naples at this time. Cristoforo Scacco's *The coronation of the Virgin* of c.1500 (illus.1) depicts a small instrument with an elliptical body, a sharply cornered waist, a flat side, a medium-length finger-board, and a lute-like peg-box.⁸ The angel-musician (the second player in the highest row right) plucks the strings, although it is not clear whether they are plucked with the fingers or a plectrum.

One of the major routes for the distribution of the new Spanish plucked *viola* was the Mediterranean Sea. There is a depiction of a plucked *viola* in the *Madonna and child with angel musicians* by an artist of the Sardinian school of c.1500 (illus.2).⁹ The instrument is small and has a thin, elliptical body with a gently incurving waist, a flat side, a sound-hole, a long fingerboard, strings tied to a flat bridge, a sickle-shape peg-box with about nine pegs, and

several tied frets. The player plucks the strings with bare fingers.

At this time, the earliest extant polyphonic music specifically composed for the plucked *viola*, the invention of a special tablature notation to accommodate this kind of arrangement, and the manner of playing technique which enabled the polyphony to be realized on a single *viola*, all appeared almost simultaneously. The manuscript preserved in the Bologna University Library (call-number Ms.596 нн.2/4) may be the earliest extant source for the newly imported Spanish plucked *viola*. The dates of the vocal models for the intabulations and the activities of their composers in Bologna 596 indicate the late 15th or early 16th century for the date of its compilation and Naples as its provenance.¹⁰

Bologna 596 is a fragment, now consisting of three paper leaves, containing, among others, a tuning diagram, a short untitled piece (a *recercar*?) in tablature, and a piece entitled *Fortuna vincinecta* (an arrangement of Johannes Vincenet's rondeau *Fortune par ta cruaulté*) in mensural notation and tablature. These pieces are probably composed for a plucked instrument with the polyphonic manner of playing with the fingers, for the voices are



1 Cristoforo Scacco, *The coronation of the Virgin*, c.1500 (detail) (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte)

enciphered on non-adjacent courses. In the untitled piece, for instance, one scale passage begins on one voice and ends on another (ex.1). The plucked *viola* as the intended instrumentation is also suggested by the rubric 'La mano a la viola' attached to the tuning diagram. These pieces are written in so-called Neapolitan tablature.¹¹

The invention of tablature was a by-product of the development of the polyphonic manner of playing. The change of musical style and performance practice on the plucked *viola* made it necessary for composers and players to develop a special notation for solo arrangements of polyphonic compositions. The development of the polyphonic manner of playing on the Spanish plucked *viola* took place in the late 15th century in Spain, attested to by the depiction of the finger-plucking technique on the plucked *viola* in those paintings. So-called Spanish lute tablature was possibly invented around that time in Valencia. The exportation of the Spanish plucked *viola* to Italy and the cultivation of the polyphonic manner of playing on this instrument lead us to assume that some kind of notation for the Spanish plucked *viola* was also developed in Italy. Neapolitan tablature was developed in Naples specifically to notate the music for the Spanish plucked *viola*.¹²

The successive control over the Kingdom of Naples by Alfonso the Magnanimous and Ferrante I made the inter-cultural relationship between the Mediterranean side of the Iberian Peninsula and the south-western portion of the Italian peninsula close and fertile during the second half of the 15th century.¹³ There can be little doubt that this strong political connection between the two branches of the



2 Anonymous (Sardinian school), *Madonna and child with angel musicians*, c.1500 (detail) (Castelsardo)

Ex.1 Anonymous piece from Bologna 596, f.[3]





3 Bernardino Pinturicchio, fresco, c.1492 (Rome, Vatican, Borgia Apartments)

house of Aragon assisted the importation of the Spanish plucked *viola* from Valencia to Naples.

Rome

The close relationship between the east coast of Spain and Rome was formed when a Spanish cardinal, Alfonso Borgia, became Pope Calixtus III. He promoted his relatives to important positions at the papal court and surrounded himself with his countrymen. His short reign (1455–8) may not, however, have provided enough opportunities for the constant flow of music and musicians from Spain. He spent the last 25 years of his life in Italy, although he regularly maintained contacts with his relatives in Spain. The pope's nepotism brought his nephew Rodrigo Borgia to Rome, part of his early education having been conducted in Valencia, and he returned to Valencia as a papal envoy between 1471 and 1473.¹⁴

The importation of the new Spanish plucked *viola* to Rome probably increased when Rodrigo became Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503). Shortly after his election to the papacy, he commanded the

painter Bernardino Pinturicchio to decorate the Borgia Apartments at the Vatican. A fresco treating the subject of music (illus.3) includes a depiction of a musician playing a plucked string instrument that has an elliptical body with a distinctive incurving waist, a flat side, a long fingerboard capable of carrying a dozen frets, a sickle-shape peg-box, several strings, and about a dozen pegs that imply six-double courses.¹⁵ The player plucks the strings with his thumb and index finger while anchoring the rest of the fingers on the soundboard; this finger-plucking technique with two bare fingers can allow the simultaneous production of at least two polyphonic voices.

Pinturicchio's workshop was also responsible for depicting personifications of the Liberal Arts on the frescoes in the Sala delle Arti Liberali in the Borgia Apartments. Pinturicchio asked the humanist Paolo Cortesi to be his adviser for the selection of the antique figures. The Roman orator Cicero had been traditionally chosen as the personification of Rhetoric, and Cortesi undoubtedly advised

Pinturicchio to follow that tradition. But Pinturicchio chose Cortesi instead, as a humanist well versed in the discipline of rhetoric, and in an act of gratitude for his help.¹⁶ This personal association at the time that the Spanish plucked *viola* began to appear in Rome strongly suggests that Cortesi was familiar with the instrument depicted at the Borgia Apartments. Indeed, Cortesi, who became a papal scribe, an apostolic secretary, and an apostolic protonotary in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, was in a position to observe the change of musical taste at the papal court imposed by the Borgias, who were undoubtedly inclined to maintain their Spanish heritage in Rome.

Cortesi's last work, *De cardinalatu*, published posthumously in 1510, is a treatise on the rules of behaviour fitting to cardinals, both established and aspiring prelates, investigating their needs and problems in an encyclopaedic manner.¹⁷ The second book of the treatise devotes some sections to music and includes information on instruments such as organ, clavichord, lute and *lyra hispana*. The *lyra hispana* is likely to be a plucked string instrument similar to the lute, for these two instruments appear in the same classification (the description of the *lyra hispana* follows the section on the lute) and, according to Cortesi, they share the same playing techniques and performance style.¹⁸

Cortesi's attitude towards the nomenclature of the instruments which he describes in the *De cardinalatu* (that is, the avoidance of the vernacular terms and the use of circumlocutions), is not strictly observed for the *lyra hispana*. The term appears to have been taken from the name commonly known but rendered into Latin by Cortesi, or it may simply reflect Cortesi's understanding of the origin and categorization of the instrument. Tinctoris's statements that the 'lyra' was commonly known as the lute and that the new *viola* invented by the Spanish was a subspecies of the lute may have influenced Cortesi's choice of nomenclature (therefore the 'Spanish lute'). Because of the newness of the instrument, the terminology for the Spanish plucked *viola* seems not to have been firmly standardized at the end of the 15th century, and it was common practice simply to apply the name of the most popular plucked string instrument of the time.

In spite of the seemingly great similarity between the lute and the *lyra hispana*, Cortesi's attitude towards these instruments significantly differed. After praising the recent innovation in lute playing that enabled the simultaneous production of polyphonic voices on a single lute (which Cortesi considered to be a revival of the lost and highest art of instrumental playing), Cortesi lamented the imperfection of the *lyra hispana* because of its sound. In comparing it to the sound of the lute, he criticized that the 'equal and soft sweetness' of the *lyra hispana* satiates one's ear and its 'uniformity' forces one's sense of hearing to an intolerable limit.

Although Cortesi deals 'last in each category with what is first in his esteem', the *lyra hispana* comes after the lute, the instrument to which he offers such praise.¹⁹ Cortesi treats the *lyra hispana* with some reluctance. He may have felt compelled to include a description of this instrument as an appendix, towards which he showed such a negative attitude because of its comparatively recent appearance in Italy. Its introduction must have caused some sensation, and it subsequently acquired some popularity among the courtiers and musicians at the papal court.²⁰

Orvieto

The knowledge of the new Spanish *viola*, both bowed and plucked, travelled to other parts of the Papal States. The town of Orvieto belonged to the Papal States and had strong political connections with the Borgias, particularly Alexander VI's 'son' Cesare Borgia. Fra Angelico was invited to fulfil the task of decorating the walls of Orvieto Cathedral (Cappella Nuova), and he, together with Benozzo Gozzoli, worked briefly on this project between 1447 and 1449. In 1499 Luca Signorelli was commissioned to complete what Fra Angelico and Gozzoli did not finish. Until 1504 Signorelli worked on the murals such as the *End of the world*, *Rules of Antichrist*, *Crowning of the elect*, *Elect entering heaven in the earthly paradise*, *Damned led into Hell*, among others.

The *Coronation of the elect in the earthly paradise* on the east wall depicts a group of angel-musicians welcoming the elect to Heaven; Signorelli closely follows Dante's description of the scene. The angel-



4 Luca Signorelli, *Coronation of the elect in the earthly paradise*, c.1500 (detail) (Orvieto Cathedral)

musicians are depicted with string instruments. Among them is the Spanish plucked *viola* with a gently incurving waist (illus.4).²¹ The instrument has a long fingerboard, a sound-hole in the middle of the sound-board, a flat bridge, about 11 strings (five double strung courses and a single strung course?), and a sickle-shape peg-box with several pegs. The musician is depicted in the act of plucking the strings with bare fingers; the player may also be singing.

The musical angels appear in a pyramid shape, and the angel who plays the Spanish plucked *viola* is situated at the top.²² The music-making by the angels and the presence of musical instruments symbolize the celestial harmony. The hierarchy of instruments may be based on another symbolism. Signorelli's depiction of musical instruments may have been motivated by a desire to antagonize Girolamo Savonarola, who had commanded the destruction of all such objects, which he felt to be earthly

vanities.²³ Signorelli may have wished to restore musical instruments to their honorary place, as a means of praising God. By including the newly imported Spanish instrument, Signorelli may also have paid tribute to the Borgias, in whose native land the instrument was invented.

Milan

The woodcut in the border of Franchinus Gaffurius's music treatise *Practica musicae*, published in Milan in 1496, illustrates Apollo holding in his left hand an instrument (illus.5).²⁴ This has a figure-eight-shape body, a flat side, a flat bridge, a horizontal figure-three-shape sound-hole, a medium-length fingerboard, seven strings and a reverse lute-like peg-box. The frontispiece is a manifestation of 'the harmonious union of the Muses, strings, modes and planets', based on his humanistic learning.²⁵ We should be cautious in understanding Apollo's instrument as a faithful depiction of an actual instrument, for the presence of seven strings (four double courses and a single course?) may be symbolic. Gaffurius was aware of the contradictory opinions on the number of strings, either seven or ten, on Apollo's (or Orpheus's) 'cithara' or 'lyra'.²⁶

The Renaissance iconography and literature often considered the *lira da braccio* to be equivalent with Apollo's 'lyra', because painters and writers recognized the similarity in nomenclature.²⁷ Likewise, the choice of the lute as Apollo's instrument was made because the lute was among the most popular of the string instruments of the Renaissance. Therefore, it has been suggested that Apollo's instrument in the *Practica musicae* may be either a *lira da braccio* or 'a cross between a *lira da braccio* and a lute', while the enormous serpent beneath Apollo, identified as Cerberus of Hades, is either a 'World-Bow' or the string of a monochord.²⁸ The absence of a leaf-shape peg-box, the absence of a tail-piece, the absence of an elevated fingerboard, the absence of a drone string, and the absence of a bow (if we disregard the serpent as a bow), however, diminish the likelihood that Apollo's instrument is a *lira da braccio*. The presence of an incurving waist and a flat back eliminates the possibility that Apollo's instrument is a lute.

The structural characteristics of this instrument, on the other hand, accord well with those in the

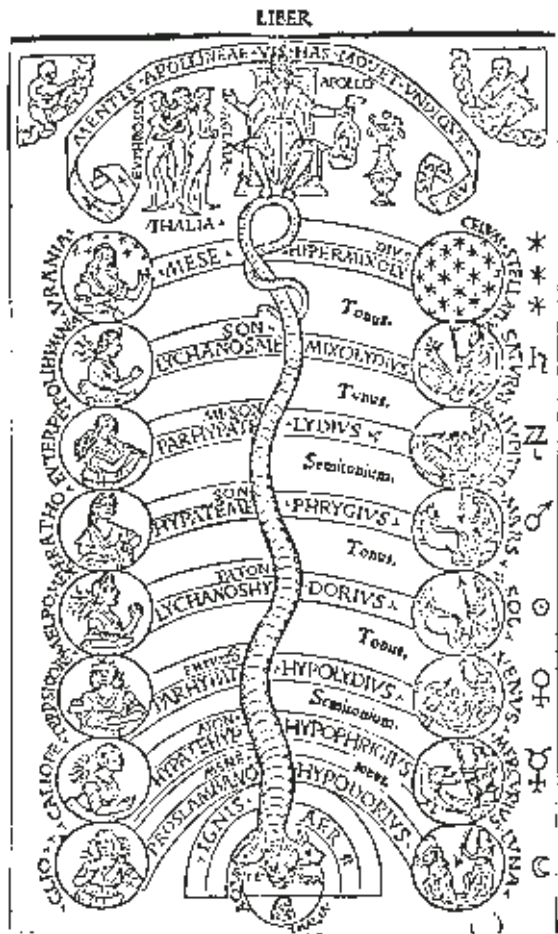
Spanish plucked *viola*. The Spanish plucked *viola* could be classified as one of the contemporary 'lyras', since humanistic writers often equated their contemporary string instruments with the string instruments of Antiquity. Tinctoris mentioned that the Spanish plucked *viola* was a subspecies of the lute, which was in turn derived from the classical 'lyra', and Cortesi referred to the Spanish plucked *viola* as the *lyra hispana*.

It is highly probable that Gaffurius was involved in the design of the frontispiece, and that he was acquainted with the instruments depicted in it. His knowledge of the Spanish plucked *viola* may have been acquired while he resided in Naples from 1478 to 1480, at the time Tinctoris was completing the *De inventione*. According to the poet Tomaso Cimello, Gaffurius and Tinctoris formed a friendship at the Neapolitan court.²⁹ Gaffurius began to write the *Practica musicae* in Lodi after his return from Naples in 1480 and later completed it in Milan.³⁰

Admittedly the crude drawing of Apollo's instrument in the *Practica musicae* gives little justice to regard it as a concrete evidence for the cultivation of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Milan. On the other hand, the overall similarity in structure to other examples of this instrument suggests that it is an approximate, not a detailed, depiction of a real instrument. If Apollo's instrument is indeed a Spanish plucked *viola*, Gaffurius's choice is unique.

Mantua

The eagerness to acquire the latest fashion in music was strong at the court of Mantua, particularly under the cultural inclinations of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga. Her cultivation of music included the patronage of professional musicians, commissioning and buying music books and instruments, and encouraging and participating in amateur music-making.³¹ Isabella acquired knowledge of the new Spanish instrument early on through the Ferrarese chancellor Bernardino de' Prosperi, who wrote to her in 1493 about the large *violas* played by the Spanish musicians in Milan.³² A reference to the *viola* associated with Naples came to Isabella's notice from an unexpected place a few years later. The Mantuan ambassador Francesco Comparini in his letter of May 1497 to Isabella, written at Esztergom in



5 Franchinus Gaffurius, *practica musicae* (Milan, 1496), frontispiece

Hungary, mentions that the two 'viole' made in Hungarian fashion ('a l'o[n]garesca') could be altered to the Neapolitan style ('ala napoletana').³³ Comparini's use of the description 'napoletana' may come from his understanding of the Neapolitan origin of the instrument, though it is unclear what its distinctive constructional feature was. (Nor is it certain what the Hungarian *viola* was.) That the Mantuan ambassador in Hungary could specify the feature of a relatively obscure instrument indicates that the cultivation of the Spanish *viola* at the Mantuan court had started earlier, and that the new instrument was already known as far as Eastern Europe. The connection between Mantua, Hungary and Naples could have been Isabella's aunt,

Beatrice of Aragon, who became Queen of Hungary in 1476.

Although Isabella was well informed about the fashion of musical instruments, neither of the above-mentioned documents specify that the *viola* she knew at that point was the plucked one, nor that she had possessed an actual instrument. By the very end of the 15th century Isabella was eager to acquire the Spanish plucked *viola*. In a letter of 4 July 1497 to Lorenzo da Pavia, she asked the instrument maker to construct a lute of ebony ('uno liutto ... de ebono').³⁴ She had been told about the existence of this instrument by Serafino dall'Aquila, who had seen one in Venice. From Lorenzo's reply on 23 July of the same year, it appears that the instrument was not an ordinary lute, but different both in the construction method and in the materials used.³⁵ Lorenzo emphasized that the ebony lute was particularly difficult to make in Venice because Italian instrument makers only knew how to make lutes in the Italian fashion ('liuti ala italiana'). Lorenzo may have made his remark that the lutes made in Spain ('liuti fatti in Spagna') sounded different from the normal Italian lutes because the construction of the 'Spanish-style lutes' differed from that of standard lutes. Lorenzo wrote: "The Spanish give them a certain sound in one way or another to make them sing."³⁶ Therefore, Isabella in her letter of 16 December 1499 reminded Lorenzo to make the lute's body completely in the Spanish manner (possibly a thin, fiddle-like body) without giving it anything of the Italian fashion (a corpulent body with ribs).³⁷

The instrument Lorenzo finally sent to Isabella in March 1500 was a large 'lute' in Spanish fashion ('uno liuto grande ala spagnola').³⁸ This contradicts, however, not only Tinctoris's remark that the Spanish *viola* was smaller than the lute but also Isabella's specification that the new ebony lute should be constructed in a medium size because its pitch must be two steps ('voce') higher than the *viola* (possibly a bowed *viola*) Lorenzo had made for her previously.³⁹ It is likely that what Lorenzo made was a trial instrument. This practice is documented as a standard procedure in the early 16th-century Spain for the would-be-master of instruments who was required to take an examination that consisted of making several instruments, including a large *vihuela*.⁴⁰

Although Lorenzo had already established his status as a master instrument-maker by then, he may have needed to experiment with the construction techniques that were completely new to him; Lorenzo wrote to Isabella that he was sending this instrument first because he had started constructing it 'so long ago'. As William Prizer rightly suggests, the 'large lute in Spanish fashion' Lorenzo sent to Isabella may be a normal lute modified in some way to make the sound or shape similar to the Spanish plucked *viola*.⁴¹ In fact, in the same letter Lorenzo promised Isabella that he would make another lute in 'authentic Spanish fashion, both in form and in sound' ('naturale ala spagnola si de forma como de voce'). In September of the same year Lorenzo informed Isabella that this 'lute' and another instrument were completed, except for the strings and cases.⁴² Apparently, Lorenzo finally succeeded in making the Spanish plucked *viola*.

The instruments that Lorenzo made for Isabella were played by Mantuan musicians, a courtly practice that became the cause for an act of theft. Federico Gonzaga of Bozzolo's letter of 1503 to Isabella describes Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa's joining his service and bringing with him three 'vyoloni de archetto' and two 'spagnolj' that had belonged to the court of Mantua.⁴³ While the former instruments are certainly bowed *violas*, the latter are probably the Spanish plucked *violas*. The court painters may have used as their models the instruments belonging to the court. There are depictions of the two instruments by Paolo and Antonio Mola in an intarsia at Isabella's *grotta* in her Mantuan palace created between 1506 and 1508 (illus.6).⁴⁴ One is a *lira da braccio*, and the other appears to be a Spanish plucked *viola*. This instrument has a gently incurving waist with slight corners, a flat side, a sound-hole, a flat string-holder, a long fingerboard with ten tied frets, two pairs of strings, a sickle-shape peg-box with a curved animal head, and 11 peg holes with six pegs.

The correspondence between Isabella and Lorenzo makes it clear that the body structure of the Spanish plucked *viola* differs from that of the standard Italian lute and conforms with the characteristic differences between the lute and the *viola* mentioned by Tinctoris. Also, the Spanish plucked *viola*

produces a sound different from that of the normal lute. This characteristic, emphatically pointed out by Cortesi and Lorenzo, is presumably the result of the differences in body structure.

Venice

During the 16th century Venice prospered as one of the major musical centres in Europe, not only for the commerce of music books and musical instruments, but also for the production of lutes, lute strings, printed lute books and lute manuscripts. Ottaviano Petrucci had his printing shop in Venice when he published the earliest printed lute books from 1507.⁴⁵ Most of the earliest extant lute manuscripts may be of Venetian origin.⁴⁶ The religious confraternities in Venice known as *Scuole Grandi* regularly maintained singers and instrumentalists in order to provide music for ceremonies and processions.⁴⁷ Their standard instrumental ensemble consisted of lute, harp and *viola* (or 'violete').⁴⁸

The commercial network that Venice established during the 15th and 16th centuries was a major source in the growing awareness of the new Spanish instrument. It was from Venice that Serafino dall'Aquila informed Isabella d'Este about the details of this unusual instrument's construction, and it was also where Lorenzo da Pavia had his workshop. Lorenzo's clients included, besides Isabella of Mantua, the Sforzas in Milan, the Estes in Ferrara, and Pope Leo X in Rome. Lorenzo also made the Spanish *viola* for Isabella's daughter Leonora Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino.

Although Venice appears to have been an important place for the dissemination of the Spanish plucked *viola*, evidence of the cultivation of this instrument in Venetian dominions is scarce. One other shred of evidence for the knowledge (if not the cultivation) of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Venice is a 'lute' manuscript (Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms.1144), suggested to be Venetian and its first layer considered to have been compiled in the last years of the 15th century. Pesaro 1144 contains two pieces notated in Neapolitan tablature: one entitled 'Recerchata de Antonio' and another an intabulation of a song 'Tanto me desti'. The former piece shows stylistic characteristics similar to the untitled piece in Bologna 596, particularly a



6 Paolo and Antonio Mola, intarsia door, c.1507 (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Grotta Nuova)

fusion between the monophonic and polyphonic styles.⁴⁹

Ferrara

The relationship between the Este court at Ferrara and southern Italy was a fertile and continuous one during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Ercole I was educated at the Aragonese court at Naples, and married Ferrante I's daughter. Pope Alexander VI's 'daughter' Lucrezia Borgia became the consort of the Ferrarese heir Alfonso d'Este. And Ercole's son Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este's presence at the papal Rome was a vital source of information for the court of Ferrara.⁵⁰ Moreover, the d'Estes had strong ties in many fields with the court of Gonzagas at Mantua during this period because of the geographical



7 Anonymous fresco, c.1503 (Ferrara, Santa Maia della Consolazione)

closeness, political alliances and family relations. Cultural exchanges between these two courts increased after Isabella d'Este became the consort of Francesco Gonzaga. Naples, Rome and Mantua were the three main sources from which the house of d'Este acquired knowledge of the new Spanish instrument.

The earliest iconographical evidence of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Ferrara appears in the fresco in Santa Maria della Consolazione, probably painted between 1502 and 1505, depicting the coronation of the Virgin and 16 angel musicians (illus.7).⁵¹ In the lower right row of five angel musicians who play the *bas* instruments (among them two large bowed viols, a fiddle and a rebec), there is an instrument with an elliptical sound-board, a thin body with a flat side, a gently incurving waist, a sound-hole, a long finger-board with about 11 strings (five double strung courses and a single strung course?), 11 tied frets, and a sickle-shape peg-box with about 11 pegs. That the player plucks the strings with the fingers confirms the cultivation of the polyphonic manner of playing before c.1500. The original type of Spanish plucked *viola* with a sharply cornered waist was still to be found at the court of Ferrara about 1512, when Nicolo Pisano depicted an angel-musician playing such an instrument. It has an elliptical sound-board with a deeply cornered waist, two S-shaped holes on the sound-board, a medium-length fingerboard

with five frets, a sickle-shape peg-box with five pegs, and seven strings plucked with the fingers (illus.8).⁵²

The instruments depicted by Lorenzo Costa, Francesco Francia and Nicolo Pisano may have been modelled on real instruments in the possession of the court.⁵³ A Ferrarese inventory of Cardinal Ippolito I made in 1511 includes an entry for 'quattro violonj alla napolitana' that is classified under the column 'lauti' but not that of 'viole'.⁵⁴ A clear reference to the plucked *viola* comes from the same cardinal's inventory of 1520 that includes an entry for a *viola da mano* in a small square case ('una viola de mano, in usu casetta quadra').⁵⁵

The cultivation of the polyphonic manner of playing on the Spanish plucked *viola* in the first decade of the 16th century becomes a significant piece of evidence for the understanding of the musical style of solo players of plucked instruments. This was the time the celebrated lutenist Giovan Maria Hebreo was working for Cardinal Ippolito I: 1503 and 1506–7. Giovan Maria's ability to play various string instruments is implied by the Ferrarese pay register that described him variously as 'che sa sona de liuto' and 'che sona de lira', and by one pay register that connects Giovan Maria with the 'viola' ('A Zoan Maria Judio, sonadore, per una casa per mete dentro le viole').⁵⁶ The transfer of the solo lute style to the plucked *viola* during this period is quite conceivable if we take into consideration that Giovan Maria's

lute book was published just one year after his final stay in Ferrara.⁵⁷

Urbino

The musical instruments depicted in the marquetry panels of the *studioli* of Federico da Montefeltro (1422–82) in Urbino and Gubbio include lutes, organs, recorders, a clavichord, a *lira da braccio*, a fiddle, a harp, drums, a jingle ring, a cittern (?), and a pair of unidentified wind instruments.⁵⁸ The absence of the new Spanish plucked *viola* may be a significant piece of evidence that it was still unknown at the court before the last quarter of the 15th century. The Spanish plucked *viola* appears to have been introduced shortly after Timoteo Viti painted a bowed *viola* in a painting of about 1505.⁵⁹ Isabella d'Este was one of the main sources of supply. Lorenzo da Pavia made a Spanish plucked *viola* in Venice in 1509 for Isabella's daughter Leonora Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino. Lorenzo claimed that the instrument was 'the most beautiful Spanish *viola*' ('una bellissima viola ala spagnola') he had ever made.⁶⁰ In 1522 the Mantuan composer Marchetto Cara informed Leonora that he was bringing her 'the most beautiful viola da mano' ('una bellissima viola de man') that Isabella had had Lorenzo make.⁶¹

Considering the time span for the preparation of *Il libro del cortegiano* and his connections with the rulers of Urbino, Baldassare Castiglione must have had first-hand knowledge of the latest fashions in musical instruments at the court of Urbino. Indeed, his *Cortegiano*, written mostly in Rome between 1508 and 1516 and published in Venice in 1528, was modelled on the intellectual atmosphere and the cultural tendencies at the court of Urbino; it professes to be an account of discussions held on four evenings in March 1507. In the *Cortegiano* Castiglione made clear that musical skills were an absolute essential for the ideal courtier, without which he would not be considered perfect. According to his view of the musical education of the courtier, music lessons consisted of three main areas: general appreciation, skill in sight singing, and proficiency in playing various musical instruments.⁶²

Discussing the kind of music appropriate for the courtier, Castiglione advocated vocal music, of



8 Nicolo Pisano, *Madonna and child with saints*, c.1512 (detail) (Milan, Pinoteca di Brera)

which the most artistic was the solo singing of poetry accompanied by the *viola* ('il cantare alla viola per recitare'), for the instrument's character does not distract, but helps to project the words.⁶³ There are indications that strongly suggest this *viola* to be one of the plucked varieties; Castiglione himself distinguished this *viola* from a quartet of bowed *violas* ('quattro viole da arco'). The relevant passage is rendered in Juan Boscan's Spanish translation of 1534 as 'cantar con una vihuela'.⁶⁴ One mid-16th-century English translator regarded the *viola* as a plucked instrument; Sir Thomas Hoby translated the phrase 'il cantare alla viola' as 'to sing to the lute' and the term 'quattro viole da arco' as 'a set of viols'.⁶⁵

The performance practice of singing with string instrument accompaniment was a well-cultivated



9 Marcantonio Raimondi, engraving after a lost painting by Francesco Francia of Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, c.1510

practice in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the Spanish plucked *viola* may have become one of the chosen instruments.⁶⁶ In the *Cortegiano* Castiglione singled out a ‘Iacomo Sansecondo’ and praised his skill in singing with the *viola* (‘cantar alla viola’). This musician is identical with Giacomo di Tessonida San Secondo, who was active as a player of the ‘viola’ in Ferrara, Milan, Mantua, Urbino and Parma between 1493 and 1525.⁶⁷ San Secondo may have been the model for the Apollo who plays the *lira da braccio* in Raphael’s *Parnassus*.⁶⁸ Castiglione heard

San Secondo perform in Urbino in 1506.⁶⁹ An iconographical manifestation of San Secondo’s style of singing may have been found in an engraving of a renowned *improvvisatori*, Giovanni Filoteo Achillini (1466–1538), made about 1510 by Marcantonio Raimondi (illus.9).⁷⁰ It shows Achillini playing an instrument of an elliptical sound-board with a flat side, a long fingerboard, a sickle-shape peg-box, a sound-hole, a flat bridge, about a dozen strings, and about ten pegs. He sits by a tree, resting his right foot on the instrument’s flat case on the ground. The shape of his mouth showing movement of his lips suggests singing, and the plucking of the strings with his bare fingers indicates the polyphonic manner of playing. From these examples, it is quite conceivable that the Spanish plucked *viola* was one of the prime instruments for polyphonic accompaniment to solo singing.

THE vogue for the Spanish plucked *viola* in Italy suddenly ceased in the late 1520s, at most of the courts where the instrument had once been enthusiastically sought. Perhaps this was because of the decline of the Borgias and the Aragonese Trastámaras. For the rest of the 16th century Naples was the only major centre for the cultivation of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Italy, made possible by the continuous governing of the Kingdom of Naples by the viceroyalty of the Holy Roman Empire. The attitude of Neapolitan instrumentalists was similar to that of their Spanish counterparts who overwhelmingly accepted the *vihuela de mano* instead of gravitating towards the lute, the dominant plucked string instrument in other countries.⁷¹

1 For the text, see K. Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat ‘De inventione et usu musicae’* (Tutzing, 2/1961), p.45. The translation is taken from A. Baines, ‘Fifteenth-century instruments in Tinctoris’s *De inventione et usu musicae*’, *Galpin Society journal*, iii (1950), p.24. For the publication date of the *De inventione*, see R. Woodley, ‘The printing and scope of Tinctoris’s fragmentary treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*’, *Early music history*, v (1985), pp.239–68.

2. In the *De inventione* Tinctoris mentions two kinds of *viola*, one invented by the Spanish and another by the Greeks. In the section on the performance practice of the Spanish *viola* he introduces two new terms, ‘viola cum arculo’ and ‘viola sine arculo’. He principally used the term ‘viola’ in the generic sense, while he made efforts to classify this instrument by its origin and by its playing techniques. The term had been in use in Italy long before Tinctoris recorded it in his *De inventione*. References to the ‘viola’ first

began to appear from the late 13th century onwards. References in the 1460s and 1470s from several Italian courts lack further specifications regarding the structure of the instrument and the manner of playing techniques, making it difficult for us to identify the new Spanish plucked *viola*. There are some (though isolated) iconographical examples of a medieval-fiddle-like instrument played with a plectrum. On these points, see H. Minamino, ‘Johannes Tinctoris on the invention of the Spanish plucked viola’, *Music*

observed: studies in memory of William C. Holmes (forthcoming).

3 The translation is taken from L. Wright, 'The medieval gittern and citole: a case of mistaken identity', *Galpin Society journal*, xxx (1977), p.21.

4 These two types of instruments are discussed and several iconographical examples are reproduced in I. Woodfield, *The early history of the viol* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.38–60.

5 On the concept of Europe, see J. Hale, *The civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York, 1994), pp.3–184.

6 For the list, see *The musical manuscript Montecassino 871: a Neapolitan Repertory of sacred and secular music of the late fifteenth century*, ed. I. Pope and M. Kanazawa (Oxford, 1978), p.69, n.3.

7 See A. W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese court of Naples* (Cambridge, 1985), p.104.

8 Reproduced in Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.93, pl.58.

9 Reproduced in Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.47, pl.26.

10 On the manuscript, see D. Fallows, '15th-century tablatures for plucked instruments: a summary, a revision and a suggestion', *Lute Society journal* xix (1977), pp.18–28.

11 According to Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555), music for the seven-course *vihuela* could be found in 'some of the tablatures of the famous Guzman'. For the legendary Spanish instrumentalist Luis Guzman who died in Naples in 1528, see J. Roberts, 'The death of Guzman', *Lute Society journal*, x (1968), pp.36–7.

12 On the invention of Spanish lute tablature, see H. Minamino, 'Valencian *vihuela de mano* tablature', *Lute Society of America quarterly*, xxxiii/3 (1998), pp.4–6. For Neapolitan tablature, see H. Minamino, 'Neapolitan (*viola da mano*) tablature', *Lute Society of America quarterly*, xxxiv/3 (1999), pp.8–18. On the invention of the polyphonic manner of playing, see H. Minamino, 'Conrad Paumann and the evolution of solo lute practice in the fifteenth century', *Journal of musicological research*, vi (1986), pp.291–310.

13 See J. H. Bentley, *Politics and culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987).

14 For the reigns of Calixtus III and Alexander VI, see L. Pastor, *The history of the popes, from the close of the Middle Ages* (London, 1949), ii, pp.317–480; v (1950), pp.375–523; vi (1950), pp.3–184, respectively. For the Spanish musicians at the papal court, see R. Sherr, 'The 'Spanish Nation' in the papal chapel, 1492–1521', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.601–9, and C. A. Reynolds, *Papal patronage and the music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley, 1995), pp.56–8.

15 Reproduced, among others, in L. Lockwood, 'Renaissance', *New Grove I*.

16 For the identification of Cortesi as Rhetoric, see S. Poeschel, 'A hitherto unknown portrait of a well-known Roman humanist', *Renaissance quarterly*, xliii (1990), pp.146–54, esp. figs.1 and 2 (detail). For the decoration of the Borgia Apartments, see Pastor, *The history of the popes*, vi, pp.171–6.

17 For the biography of Cortesi and his works, see J. F. D'Amico, *Renaissance humanism in papal Rome: humanists and churchmen on the eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1983), esp. pp.77–80. For Cortesi's theory on designing a palace, see K. Weil-Garris and J. F. D'Amico, 'The Renaissance cardinal's ideal palace: a chapter from Cortesi's *De cardinalatu*', *Studies in Italian art and architecture, 15th through 18th centuries*, ed. H. A. Millon (Cambridge, MA, 1980), pp.45–123. The Sala delle Arti Liberali may have been used as a music room; see H. Minamino, 'Designing a Renaissance concert hall', *Discoveries: South-Central Renaissance Conference news and notes*, xvii/1 (1999), p.7.

18 See N. Pirrotta, *Music and culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), pp.100 (text), 103 (translation). Cortesi may have obtained a copy of Tinctoris's *De inventione* from Tinctoris himself, who was possibly present in Rome in 1502. Cortesi resigned from the papal court in 1503 and moved to Castrum Cortesium, although he kept close contacts with Rome. For Tinctoris in Rome, see R. Sherr, 'Notes on some papal documents in Paris', *Studi*

musicali, xii (1983), p.9. See also F. Brancacci, 'Una fonte Aristotelica della sezione "De musica" del "De cardinalu" di Paolo Cortese', *Studi musicali*, xx (1991), pp.69–84.

19 The quotation is taken from Pirrotta, *Music and culture in Italy*, p.107.

20 Cortesi in his *De cardinalatu* praised the lutenist Giovan Maria Hebreo's musicianship and regarded him as one of the two virtuosos (the other being Balthasar Germanus) who 'perfected' the art of solo lute playing. Cortesi must have known Giovan Maria who was in the service of Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici in Rome. If so, the depiction of the finger-plucking technique in 1492 may be the earliest piece of evidence connecting Giovan Maria with the newly devised polyphonic manner of lute playing. Giovan Maria's lute style is discussed in H. Minamino, 'A battle of old and new: Giovan Maria Hebreo and Francesco da Milano at the papal court', *Lute Society of America quarterly*, xxxv/4 (2000), pp.7–9.

21 Reproduced in J. B. Riess, *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli's Orvieto frescoes* (Princeton, 1995), fig.11. For the music at Orvieto Cathedral, see B. Brumana and G. Ciliberti, *Orvieto: una cattedrale e la sua musica (1450–1610)* (Florence, 1990), esp. pp.1–39.

22 There are a bowed *viola* player and another *viola* player in the bottom row. The last mentioned angel-musician is not playing, but appears to be putting on or adjusting a string. This instrument may be either a bowed *viola* or a plucked *viola*; its lower side is flat.

23 Although Savonarola was burnt on a cross in 1498, it has been argued that he was the Orvieto Antichrist, see A. Chastel, 'L'Apocalypse de 1500: la fresque de l'antéchrist à la Chapelle de Saint Brice Orvieto', *Bibliothèque de l'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xiv (1952), pp.122–40. The theory is rebutted in Riess, *The Renaissance Antichrist*, pp.136–7.

24 Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Milan, 1496; r/Farnborough, 1967), trans. (1) C. A. Miller (American Institute of Musicology, 1968),

(2) I. Young (Madison, WI, 1969).

25 The frontispiece is discussed in J. Haar, 'The frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae* (1496)', *Renaissance quarterly*, xxvii (1974), pp.7–22; C. V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance musical thought* (New Haven, 1985), pp.171–8; J. Sez nec, *The survival of the pagan gods: the mythological tradition and its place in Renaissance humanism and art* (Princeton, 1995), pp.140–43; E. Wind, *Pagan mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York, rev. edn 1968), pp.265–9; and J. Campbell, *The masks of God*, iv: *Creative mythology* (New York, 1968), pp.99–110.

26 In *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518) Gaffurius included the same woodcut that had appeared in the *Practica musicae*. According to Gaffurius, the advocates for the seven-string cithara can find several supporting factors, for instance, Virgil's comment on the seven essential strings, the 'long-robed Thracian priest's' seven-string lyra, the seven intervals between the strings, and an arrangement of the number seven in mathematical proportion. The relevant passages are translated in *Franchinus Gaffurius, De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, ed. C. A. Miller (American Institute of Musicology, 1977), pp.197–8.

27 For the *lira da braccio*, see E. Winternitz, *Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western art: studies in musical iconology* (New Haven, 1967), pp.86–98; E. Winternitz, *Leonardo da Vinci as a musician* (New Haven, 1982), pp.25–38; and S. S. Jones, *The lira da braccio* (Bloomington, 1995). Apollo is depicted with the *lira da braccio* in the woodcuts in *Ovidio metamorphoseos volgare* of 1501 and in Raphael's *Parnassus*.

28 Haar, 'The frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae*', p.15; and Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance musical thought*, p.173, respectively. For Cerberus, see E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts* (Chicago, R/1982), pp.151–8. The frontispiece also depicts a lute and a small instrument with a lute-like peg-box and played with a bow (a Spanish bowed *viola*?).

29 For the biography of Gaffurius, see C. A. Miller, 'Gaffurius, Franchinus', *New Grove I*.

30 There is a record of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Rome sending an ensemble of Spanish *viola* players to Milan in 1493. The nationality of the musicians suggests that the *viola* in this case was the new Spanish instrument, and possibly the bowed *viola*, since bowed instruments were usually played in ensemble. These instruments are described as 'large' as a grown-up man ('violo grande quasi come me'), so they may have been bass or contrabass *violas*. See E. E. Lowinsky, *Music in the culture of the Renaissance and other essays* (Chicago, 1989), p.549; and Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.81.

31 For the musical patronage of Isabella, see W. F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as patrons of music: the frottola at Mantua and Ferrara', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxviii (1985), pp.1–33.

32 See W. F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, "master instrument-maker"', *Early music history*, ii (1982), pp.100–101. These Spanish musicians were the same ones sent by Ascanio Sforza from Rome. At this time Isabella was commissioning some string instruments; she sent one of her agents and a lutenist Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa to Brescia in 1495 to purchase the *violas* (most likely bowed instruments such as the medieval fiddle or the *lira da braccio*) that she was having made there. For the letter concerning the purchase, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', pp.103–4 (translation), 125 (text).

33 For the quotation, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.111, n.94.

34 For the document, see W. F. Prizer, 'Lutenists at the court of Mantua in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, xiii (1980), pp.18 (translation), 33 (text).

35 For the document, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.111 (translation), 126 (text).

36 For the translation, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.111.

37 For the document, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.111 (translation), n.97 (text).

38 For the document, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', pp.111–12 (translation), 121 (text).

39 Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.39, points out that in Spanish paintings of the late 15th century the *vihuela* is often larger than the lute.

40 For the examination, see J. M. Ward, *The vihuela de mano and its music (1536–1576)* (PhD diss., New York U., 1953), pp.3–4. A large *vihuela* from c.1500, now preserved in the Musée Jacquemart-André of the Institute de France, Paris, may be an example of this practice. On the instrument, see M. Prynne, 'A surviving vihuela de mano', *Galpin Society journal*, xxvi (1963), pp.22–7; and P. Abondance, 'La vihuela du Musée Jacquemart-André: restauration d'un document unique', *Revue de musicologie*, lxvi (1980), pp.57–69. For the construction of the *vihuela*, see A. Corona-Alcalde, 'The viola da mano and the vihuela, evidence and suggestions about their construction', *The lute*, xxiv (1984), pp.3–32.

41 Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.112.

42 For the document, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.112.

43 For the document, see Prizer, 'Lutenists at the court of Mantua', pp.20–21 (translation), 32 (text). Woodfield (*The early history of the viol*, p.95) mentions that one of the 'spagnolj' may have been the one Francesco Gonzaga bought in Naples.

44 Reproduced, among others, in M. Remnant, *Musical instruments: an illustrated history from antiquity to the present* (London, 1989), pl.29.

45 Petrucci's lute books are listed and described in H. M. Brown, *Instrumental music printed before 1600: a bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), as items 1507/1, 1507/2, [1508]/1, 1508/2, 1509/1, and 1511/1.

46 They are (1) Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms.1144; (2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms 27; (3) Chicago, Newberry Library, Case, Ms.vM.c25; (4) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.1511b; and (5) Freiburg, Couvent des Capucins, Ms. Falk z 105. On Pesaro 1144, see V. Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentabulatur* (Tutzing, 1988); and *Ein zentrale Quelle der frühen italienischen Lautenpraxis: Edition der Handschrift Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144*, ed. V. Ivanoff (Tutzing, 1988). Naples is proposed as the place where the first layer of the Pesaro manuscript was compiled in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, p.124. On Paris 27, see G. Thibault, 'Un manuscrit italien pour luth des premières années du XVIe siècle', *Le luth et sa musique*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, R/1976), pp.43–76; L. Jones, 'The Thibault Lute Manuscript: an introduction', *The lute*, xxii (1982), pp.69–87; xxiii (1983), pp.21–26. On Newberry c25, see *Composizione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-book (circa 1517)* ed. O. Gombosi (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955). On Munich 1511b, see A. J. Ness, 'Sources of lute music', *New Grove I*. On Freiburg 105, see J. Stenzl, 'Peter Falk und die Musik in Freiburg', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, cxxi (1981), pp.289–96.

47 See J. E. Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian scuole grandi, 1440–1540', *Music in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp.193–208; and J. E. Glixon, 'Lutenists in Renaissance Venice: some notes from the archives', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, xvi (1983), pp.15–26.

48 As Gentile Bellini's painting of a procession in the Piazza San Marco completed in 1496 shows, the *viola* in this case may have denoted the bowed fiddle. See H. M. Brown, 'On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco (1496)*', *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977*, ed. D. Heartz and B. Wade (Kassel, 1981), pp.649–58.

49 On this point, see Minamino, 'Neapolitan (*viola da mano*) tablature', pp.11–12.

50 For Ercole's musical patronage,

see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp.121–210. For Ippolito's musical patronage, see L. Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: new light on Willaert's early career in Italy, 1515–21', *Early music history*, v (1985), pp.85–112.

51 See I. Godt, 'Ercole's angel concert', *Journal of musicology*, vii (1989), pp.327–42, esp. p.335, fig.6 for a reproduction.

52 Reproduced in Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.90, pl.55.

53 The bowed version of the Spanish *viola* was depicted by two painters working for the d'Estes in Ferrara: Lorenzo Costa in 1497 and Francesco Francia in 1500; these are reproduced in Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, pl.53, 54, respectively.

54 The instruments listed in the column of 'lauti' are two lutes, one with its case and another without a case, while the instruments listed in the column 'viole' are a bass viol ('una viola, zoè un basso'), a tenor viol ('una viola, zoè un tenore'), and six *violas da gamba* with six bows ('viole da gamba, numero sei, con sei archetti'). For the list, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.110.

55 This may be one of the four 'violonj alla napolitana' listed in the 1511 inventory. For the list, see Corona-Alcalde, 'The viola da mano and the vihuela', p.6.

56 For the document, see W. F. Prizer, 'The frottola and the unwritten tradition', *Studi musicali*, xv (1986), p.7, n.53. For Giovan Maria's presence in Ferrara, see Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este', pp.97, 111.

57 Giovan Maria's lute book is now lost. Ferdinand Columbus purchased a copy in Rome in 1512; see C. W. Chapman, 'Printed collections of polyphonic music owned by Ferdinand Columbus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxi (1968), p.63, [item] 30.

58 For the *studiolo* in Urbino, see L. Cheles, *The studiolo of Urbino: an iconographic investigation* (University Park, 1986). For the *studiolo* in Gubbio, see O. Raggio and A. M. Wilmering, *The liberal arts studiolo from the ducal*

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b] `Wb] RcQ`
] c` `ZbSab`Z`bSa`
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palace at Gubbio (New York, 1996). On Federico's musical patronage, see N. Guidobaldi, *La musica di Federico: immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino* (Florence, 1995). I am indebted to Professor Tim Carter for drawing this study to my attention.

59 Reproduced in Woodfield, *The early history of the viol*, p.86, pl.52.

60 For the document, see Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', p.111, n.93.

61 For the document, see W. F. Prizer, *Courtly pastimes: the frottole of Marchetto Cara* (Ann Arbor, 2/1980), pp.312–13. Giovan Maria, who is recorded as the player of the lute and the *viola* at the court of d'Este in Ferrara in 1507, was in the employ of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, in 1510. Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa, who stole two 'spagnoli' belonging to the court of Mantua in 1503, attempted to procure the position held by Giovan Maria at the court of Urbino in the same year. On this episode, see H. Minamino, 'Dream of a dream: Giovan Maria's extra-musical career', *The lute*, xxxvii (1997), pp.9–16.

62 Castiglione's views on music are discussed in B. Becherini, 'Il "Cortegiano" e la musica', *La bibliofilia*, xlv (1943), pp.84–96; M. F. Bukofzer, 'The Book of the Courtier on music', *Proceedings of the Music Teachers National Association*, xxxviii (1944), pp.230–35; W. H. Kemp, 'Some notes on music in Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano*', *Cultural aspects of the Italian Renaissance: essays in honour of Paul Osker Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), pp.354–69; and J. Haar, 'The courtier as musician: Castiglione's view of the science and art of music', *Castiglione: the ideal and the real in Renaissance culture*, ed. R. W. Hanning and D. Rosand (New Haven, 1983), pp.165–89. For the dissemination of the *Cortegiano*, see P. Burke, *The fortunes of the courtier: the European reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park, 1995).

63 For a discussion of the passage, see Kemp, 'Some notes on music', pp.358–9.

64 Kemp, 'Some notes on music', p.67, n.39.

65 For an English translation of the relevant passages, see O. Strunk, *Source readings in music history: the Renaissance* (New York, 2/1965), p.94.

66 Benvenuto Cellini's father is known to have sung to the 'viola'; see Ward, 'The *vihuela de mano* and its music', p.61. The Marchese di Bitonto wrote to Isabella d'Este about her desire to hear Isabella sing Sannazzaro's *capitolo* to the accompaniment of the 'viola'; see W. H. Rubsamen, *Literary sources of secular music in Italy (ca. 1500)* (Berkeley, 1943), pp.29–30. The 'Fortuna vincinecta' in Bologna 596 may be the earliest song with the plucked *viola* accompaniment; see H. Minamino, 'Fortuna Vincinecta, a song or a duet?' *Lute news*, lv (2000), pp.12–16.

67 For San Secondo's biography, see Prizer, 'Lutenists at the court of Mantua', pp.13–14.

68 Suggested in Winternitz, *Musical instruments*, p.47, see also pp.200–201.

69 See Prizer, 'Lutenists at the court of Mantua', p.14.70 Reproduced, among others, in G. Kinsky, *Album musical* (Paris, 1930), p.97, pl.5.

71 A unique publication of Francesco da Milano's compositions for the Spanish plucked *viola* (or lute) by Johannes Sultzbach in Naples in 1536 is discussed in H. Minamino, 'Where has fortune gone: music-iconographical problems in Sultzbach's *viola da mano* books', *Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale newsletter*, xxii (1997), pp.31–5. For Francesco's alleged reputation as a player of the Spanish plucked *viola*, see H. Minamino, 'Was Francesco da Milano a *viola da mano* player?' *The lute*, xxxviii (1998), pp.58–64. Bartolomeo Lieto Panhormitano's *Dialogo quarto di muscia*, published in Naples in 1559, is an intabulation treatise devoting its instructions to discuss the art of intabulation for the lute or *viola da mano*; the treatise is briefly described in H. Minamino, *Sixteenth-century lute treatises with emphasis on process and techniques of intabulation* (PhD diss., U. of Chicago, 1988), p.176.

For a summary of the cultivation of the Spanish plucked *viola* in Italy, see H. Minamino, 'The *viola da mano* in Renaissance Italy: a synopsis', *Lute*

Society of America quarterly, xxxiv/1 (1999), pp.6–9. There is a depiction of the Spanish plucked *viola* with a sharply cornered waist in the altarpiece *Madonna and child with saints* by Girolamo dai Libri, painted for Verona, c.1520 (illus.10, with detail shown on the cover of this issue). I am indebted to Professor Liana Cheney for drawing my attention to this painting. The Spanish plucked *viola* with a sharply cornered waist depicted in late 16th-century Japanese paintings is discussed in H. Minamino, 'European musical instruments in sixteenth-century Japanese paintings', *Music in art*, xxiv/1–2 (1999), pp.41–50.



10 Girolamo di Libri, *Madonna and child with saints* (c.1520) (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1920; photograph © 1982 The Metropolitan Museum of Art). See the cover of this issue for a detail of the angel musicians.