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Pier Francesco Valentini’s
Il leuto anatomizzato (c.1650): A Translation and Commentary—Investigating Transposition, Intabulation, and Other Aspects of Roman Lute Practice

A translation of Il leuto anatomizzato

—and—

A contextualising essay

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Performing Arts)

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Abstract
This research presents a translation and commentary of *Il leuto anatomizzato* (c.1650) by musical polymath Pier Francesco Valentini (c.1570-1654). Housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Barb. Lat. 4433) yet available in modern facsimile, the manuscript has arguably been ignored by many due to its sheer complexity. Grappling with these interpretative difficulties, this essay explicates Valentini’s virtuosic account of the fretboard mechanics of transposition by *any* interval, relating closely (if imperfectly) to his speculative writings on equal temperament. With aesculapian rigour, Valentini also considers embellishment, basso continuo, intabulation, chord voicing, and counterpoint, illuminating the arcane musical practices of the early seventeenth-century Roman lute.
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I. Introduction

Why have Pier Francesco Valentini’s theoretical manuscripts and published music been neglected by all but a few scholars and nearly all performers? Composers like Carissimi, Allegri, Nanino, Cavallieri and even Kapsberger have staked a claim in the late twentieth-century resurgence of the performances of music of the early Roman Baroque. By contrast, Valentini’s writings dwell in the shadows cast by his contemporaries, and Il leuto anatomizzato\(^1\) – the subject of the present study—is no exception. Nevertheless, the content and contribution of Il leuto anatomizzato has largely been ignored by modern scholars – including its first draft Ordine (Barb. Lat. 4395, c.1636). The dense and detailed nature of Valentini’s prose are a contributing factor, as well as the obvious lack of modern English translations. Il leuto anatomizzato is a particular case in point due to its complex and crammed visual effect. Housed in the Barberini collection at the Vatican library (BAV), the manuscript has also been published in a facsimile edition with a critical essay by Orlando Cristoforetti.\(^2\) This research is based on the manuscript housed at the Vatican Library and not from the modern facsimile.\(^3\) For the modern reader, it is not even immediately apparent what Valentini is attempting to communicate, or what need it fulfills. As such, this treatise is not for the faint-hearted. It presents multiple terminological and theoretical challenges to the modern musician, which originate in some of the fundamentally different conceptualisations of music practice existent in the early seventeenth century.

This dissertation attempts a thorough investigation of Il leuto anatomizzato, both through a modern English translation, and an accompanying exegesis which provides a critical commentary and attempts to unpack its purpose and relevance. Primarily, the manuscript constitutes a comprehensive system for intabulating and playing transposed on the lute (including at sight). This being said, Il leuto anatomizzato also contains an enormous amount of other material relevant to lute playing. Indeed, it stands apart from most other lute treatises by its sheer scope and ambition. It contains much specialised material of a practical nature pertinent to lute playing in the early seventeenth century, and is full of carefully laid out, although at times densely packed, hand drawn images which help to

\(^1\) The full title is; The Anatomised Lute, a work of Pier Francesco Valentini Romano, in which are demonstrated twelve different ordini to be played transcribed on the lute, on the twelve semitones which make up the octave; allowing one, in any of the said ordini, to play and intabulate transcribed in four ways, namely, in two natural, and two flat, hence on this instrument, regarding the foundations of playing and intabulating transposed, nothing more could be desired (Il leuto anatomizzato, Nella quale si dimostrano dodici diversi Ordini di sonare et intavolare trasportato nel Leuto nelli dodici semitoni che abbraccia in se l’ottava; con potersi in ciascuno di detti Ordini sonare, et intavolare trasportato in quattro maniere, ciò è in due maniere per bquadro et in due altre per bmolle: Onde in detto istrumento, circa il fondamento di sonare, et intavolare trasportato, niente più si può desiderare).


\(^3\) The facsimile, although not the best reproduction, provides a useful scholarly addition, especially the introductory essay by the editor.
illustrate Valentini’s points. The subtle and varied lessons taught by Valentini will become more apparent once the entire treatise is understood. After a thorough probing into Valentini’s method of transmission of information, including his anagogical compositions, it is revealed that he was a remarkably compelling thinker, meticulous investigator, and dedicated teacher and composer. I hope this translation will make its contents accessible to a greater audience, and that its teachings become a staple in the lute teacher’s syllabus – if only as an acknowledgement.

As already mentioned, *Il leuto anatomizzato* appeared around 1650 as a revamped and expanded version of another manuscript sketched out some 14 years earlier, *Ordine, il quale serve a sonare et intavolare nel lauto*. During the years between the first draft and the appearance of *Il leuto anatomizzato*, Valentini was to produce at least a dozen other theoretical treatises, the majority now housed in the Vatican Library in the Barberini Latini collection, ranging on a number of subjects such as: temperament, the beating of time, a rethinking of the modal system, transposing at sight for singers as well as performers, composition, improvising counterpoint, and a number of commentaries on the musical environment in Rome during the previous half century. *Ordine* and *Il leuto anatomizzato* are unique in that are the only two manuscripts dedicated to a single instrument. The lute, however, is mentioned sporadically throughout a number of manuscripts. Alongside these ardently thorough treatises Valentini also composed a substantial amount of music, almost exclusively vocal. He was in fact regarded in his own lifetime, and posthumously, as an outstanding canonist. His complete opus reflects both a traditional as well as progressive approach to musicianship.

Original and erudite, *Il leuto anatomizzato* seems designed for both the amateur and professional player, while extensively mapping out the procedure for aspiring beginners. Its closest parallel can be drawn with *Fronimo* by Vincenzo Galilei, first printed in 1568. Like Galilei, Valentini covers more than just the rudiments found in other didactic sources such as reading tablature and tuning. Galilei and Valentini’s treatises advance, but are not limited to, the craft of transcribing polyphonic vocal music on the lute— and must be said, an art form that by Valentini’s day was in fact quite old fashioned. Although Valentini consciously borrowed from *Fronimo* (in the section on intabulating), he did not present *Il leuto anatomizzato*, nor any other treatise, in the same Socratic dialogue format as *Fronimo*.

Valentini’s claim that “nothing more could be desired” informs us that he has encompassed in one attempt all the practical skills that a lute player in seventeenth-century Rome should acquire. The subjects covered in *Il leuto anatomizzato* are the following:

- Transposing at any of the 12 intervals in an octave in both ascending and descending
- Reading, realising and transposing a figured bass line, cadential formulae, most common chord voicings, number of voices per chord

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*Ordine*, which serves to play and intabulate on the lute.
• Theory of voice movements within cadences with attention paid to the idiomatic qualities of the lute
• Intabulating polyphonic music on the lute
• Re-intabulating lute music at any interval found in the octave
• The different types of lutes and their tunings: 8-course, archlute, theorboed lute, Italian and French tuning
• Reading different types of tablature
• Music theory: consonances, dissonances, clef reading
• Composition and improvising counterpoint over a cantus firmus

A comparison of the breadth of tasks covered by Il leuto anatomizzato in comparison to other Roman lute sources is outlined subsequently in the chapter The Lute in Rome. It suffices to note that this manuscript is the last to deal systematically with intabulation, and that the dominant pedagogical purpose concerns a method for transposing by any interval, focussing not on key signatures or accidentals but rather patterns and positions on the fret board. Il leuto anatomizzato thus contributes to a sector of contemporaneous treatises that cover transposition practice, including Zarlino (1558)5, Degli Antonii (1712)6, Gasparini (1722)7 (who talks about transpositions at sight), Galilei (1568)8, Ganassi (1542)9, and Virgiliano (c.1600).10 A similar concept of “ordine” (explicated on page 44) is used by Ganassi, Virgiliano, and Penna (1672)11, while Galilei uses the term ‘poste’ in a similar way (see discussion on page 39). Valentini is notable, however, for his advocacy of transposing by any interval (as noted above). Bianciardi (1607)12 also deals with transposition, along with Amat (c.1596)13, Penna, and Werkmeister (1681)14, although as noted by Barnett15, this can be associated with irregular temperaments that have more equal but not necessarily fully equal semitones.

5 Gioseffo Zarlino, Le istitutioni harmoniche (Venice, 1558).
6 Pietro degli Antonii, Sonate e versetti per tutti li tuoni (opera nona) (Bologna: Silvani, 1712).
7 Francesco Gasparini, L’armonico pratico al cimbalo (Bologna: Silvani, 1722).
8 Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo (Venice: Sotto, 1568 and 1584).
9 Sylvestro Ganassi, Regola rubentina (Venice, 1542).
10 Aurelio Virgiliano, Il Dolcimelo, 1600, manuscript, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna.
11 Lorenzo Penna, Li primi albori musicali: Per li principianti della Musica Figurati (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1672).
12 Francesco Bianciardi, Breve regola per imparar’ sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d’istumento (Siena, 1607).
13 Juan Carlos Amat, Guitarra española (Spain, c.1596). See also Monica Hall, “The ‘Guitarra Española’ of Joan Carlos Amat.” Early Music 6, no. 3 (1978): 362-73.
14 Andreas Werckmeister, Orgel-Probe (Quedlinburg: Calvisi, 1681).
Regarding the vocabulary, grammar and style of the original Italian, Valentini uses what is called *italiano aulico* or a scholarly or academic Italian. I have tried where possible to retain this rather repetitive and at times verbose text, as I think Valentini’s own voice is a crucial element. His target audience must have been quite well educated and it is posited by Cristoforetti\textsuperscript{16}, Cortesi\textsuperscript{17} et al. that he was connected with the singing school at the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. This would have put him into direct contact with singing teachers, composers, and instrumentalists, and most importantly, professional lute players. Valentini seems to have been afforded a privileged social caste. We have evidence that Valentini was witness to the practice of singers and instrumentalists playing transposed when he discusses the pitfalls of this exercise in *Trattato musica* (Barb. Lat 4492). He notices that singers are all too often confused by having to rethink the music in terms of accidentals in order to perform a transposition— to which he provides an elegant solution. In a similar way, *Il leuto anatomizzato* offers the lute player a way of transposing on their instrument without having to think of the transposition in terms of sharps of flats, but instead by focusing on positions on the fret board of the instrument in increments of frets/semitones.

Valentini occupies a unique niche in music history, and the oversight of such a figure is being rectified thanks the excellent research by Patrizio Barbieri\textsuperscript{18}, Dinko Fabris\textsuperscript{19}, Victor Coelho\textsuperscript{20}, Margaret Murata,\textsuperscript{21} and Robert Spencer\textsuperscript{22} (to name but a few), who have enriched our knowledge and appreciation of the subject matter. The number of scholarly sources on Valentini has increased considerably in recent years.


\textsuperscript{17} Mariella Casini Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 3 (1983). Cortesi’s valuable biography of Valentini is the most detailed account of the composer’s life and music. The available information on Valentini is not extensive, unlike that of some his more noted contemporaries.


Valentini himself, I think, sums up quite well the motives which ‘urged’ [read motivated him] to explain the practice of transposition in such detail. In his writings, he expresses that he did not show his work to anyone underserving, or who is ‘uneducated’ in such matters. This, for us in this century, is a great shame. For we can only speculate for whom Il leuto anatomizzato was intended, and what, if any, was the public’s reaction to this regrettably overlooked tour de force:

I, Pier Francesco Valentini, after seeing the great confusion caused, to both singers and performers, by the many sharps and flats that today are in the clefs of some compositions [...] have decided, urged by zeal, to assist and make the present recommendation, that the above-said sharps and flats for the above-said effect [transposition], placed at the beginning of the works on all the lines, are superfluous things, or to say it better, they are a hindrance and do nothing other than confuse and alarm, and very often humiliate the poor singers and players, who suddenly find themselves bamboozled when singing and playing from this clutter. As such, those things that hinder must be excised and removed (not speaking of those transpositions that are done in the works with modes containing a flat at the fourth above, and at the fifth below, with the normal clefs which are in common use and understood and don’t cause confusion). I arrive with my recommendation in order to give the easiest of remedies for the compositions, so that they are easily sung by singers, and [played] by players, whether or not experts, in the transpositions desired by the authors of those works.23

Nothing is known of Valentini’s own lute playing abilities judging simply from the content of Il leuto anatomizzato and Ordine. In the inventory made of his possessions after his death, among other instruments, two lutes were documented as being in his possession. What can be deduced, however, is that he regarded the lute as an instrument more akin to an arcane way of mentally organising music and music theory. For Valentini the lute harks back to previous epochs. Il leuto anatomizzato is the result of his speculative labours, and should be fully understood as an examination taken to its utmost completion.

Chapter one will explore Valentini’s life and contributions as a teacher, composer, and theorist. Chapter two will outline the state of current knowledge regarding the lute in Rome from didactic sources of the period. Chapter three makes a systematic critical commentary on the manuscript, section by section, and also makes extensive reference to other primary sources, in order gain a fuller contextualised understanding of Valentini’s intent and purposes. Chapter four attempts to

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23 Trattato musica (Barb. Lat. 4429), 58. Vedendo Io Pier Francesco Valentini la gran confusione che apportano tanto alli Cantori, quanto alli Compositori li molti semitoni #, et bmolli che hoggi di dalli compositori [undecipherable] chiavi in alcune opere loro [...] mi sono risoluto, mosso da zelo di giovare, di fare il presente Avvertimento, con dire che li sopradetti semitoni, et bmolli per il sopradetto effetto, postisi nel principio dell’opera, come ancor in tutti li capi versi delle line sono cose superflue, o per dir meglio impicciative che servono ad altro, come ho detto che a confondere, spaventare et spesse volte a svergognare li poveri cantori et sonatori che all’improvoso si trovano intrigati in cantare et sonare tali imbrogli; però come cose impicciative, devendo esser resecate, et levate via (non parlando però della trasportamenti che si fanno delle opere de Toni per bmolle all Quarta sopra, et anco alla Quinta sotto, con le chiavi ordinarie per bmolle, che per essere in continuo uso, et cognite non rendono confusione) vengo con questo mio Avvertimento a dare il remedio facillissima di riuscirli con rimediare insieme che dette opere secondo la mente de’ compositori sieno da Cantori facilmente cantare, et dalli sonatori, pur che esperti sieno, venghino sonate nelli trasportamenti che desiderano gli’autori di esse opere.
illustrate selected aspects of the manuscript’s contents – a live demonstration would ultimately be the best medium for this. It is recommended that the reader work through this commentary section by section in parallel with the translation itself.
II. The Life and Significance of Pier Francesco Valentini (c.1570-1654)

A. On the Significance of Valentini

Once thought significant enough for one of his canons to be engraved on the title page of Athanasius Kircher’s Musurgia Universalis—the most significant theoretical treatise of its day, and a work praised and studied by JS Bach and Beethoven—Valentini’s place in the history of music has not fared well. Both his music and his voluminous manuscript theoretical works, with few exceptions, remain largely unstudied and unknown. Whilst Hawkins (1776) mentions Valentini in relation to his Nodus Salmonis canon (with its 2000 resolutions), Burney, when he finally published the fourth volume of his history in 1789, failed to mention Valentini at all.24 Sainsbury’s dictionary (1824) mentions Valentini only in passing, and even this entry is taken from Hawkins, but by the time of the first edition of Grove’s dictionary—the volume containing entries beginning with V was published in 1890—Valentini slips completely from the historical record.25

Lucas Kunz’s 1937 book on Valentini’s theoretical works, amounting to just over a hundred pages, positions Valentini as an important theorist, but is too brief to adequately deal with the subject matter at hand.26 More recently Giuseppe Gerbino has dealt with Valentini’s canons and canonic writings (1995) and Laurence Wuidar (2008) has placed these same works amongst the scientific and philosophical traditions prevalent in early-modern Rome (a topic also explored in a 1987 study by Sergio Durante, and more recently in Denis Collins’ work on Paolo Agostini (2018).27 Margaret Murata’s article on tactus and proportion draws on a number of Valentini’s treatises and here she shows him to be no mere historian of outmoded practices, but a contemporary writer who sought to “change or correct performance practice, whether to advocate equal-tempered tuning or to teach how

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26 Lucas Kunz, Die Tonartenlehre des römischen Theoretikers und Komponisten P.F. Valentini (Bärenreiter, 1937).

Consequently Murata sees Valentini’s treatises as different from the more speculative writings of Doni, Kircher and Mersenne. The lute manuscripts—*Ordine* (1636) and *Il leuto anatomizzato* (1650)—were the subject of a facsimile edition from the Studio per Edizioni Scelte (1989), and Orlando Cristoforetti’s introduction is the most sustained writing on Valentini’s lute treatises until today. Cortesi’s 1983 study of Valentini’s life draws heavily on Roman archival sources, as does Patrizio Barbieri’s observations on Valentini’s printing ventures with Antonio Gioiosi.

In this chapter I give a brief overview of Valentini’s life with some insight into his early training. We will explore some of his musical compositions, and unpack a number of his abstruse but fascinating theoretical manuscripts.

**B. A Biographical Note**

Valentini was born around 1570 and baptised in the parish of S. Eustachio in Rome on the first of November 1586. His formative years seem to have centred around the church of *San Luigi dei Francesi*. This church, which stood in close proximity to Valentini’s house, had for some time been one of the most prestigious institutions where *pueri* could receive a professional music education. The school was set up by Palestrina and Giovanni Maria Nanino, then continued by Nanino and Francesco Soriano in order to disseminate the new trends in polyphonic composition. Antimo Liberati, in his *lettere* of 1684, reveals Valentini to be a student at San Luigi dei Francesi under Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (*maestro di cappella* from 1591 to 1608).

From the 1570s the school enrolled a modest number—a maximum of four at one time, not including adults—of young singers (*pueri chori*) who were ‘enrolled in the school by their parents between the ages of 8 and 11. They were legally bound to the school and in turn came under the direct supervision of the maestro in whose house they also received board and lodgings. In addition, the church provided training in singing, composition, Latin and Italian grammar. At this time boys’ voices broke around the age 15-17. For some boys this meant the end of their training, but for others, especially if they showed special aptitude in composition, a natural progression would have been to continue on as a tenor or a bass, and to begin an apprenticeship on an instrument. Cristoforetti posits that the first choice of instrument would have been organ (keyboard), then lute, and finally (due to physical limitations) the theorbo. *Il leuto anatomizzato* might have been an indispensable asset in this scholastic cycle especially, for acquiring the general all-round skills of a professional musician:

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clef reading, transposition, reading from a figured bass, counterpoint (both written and improvised) and intabulation.

Valentini learned the compositional style of Palestrina most probably from Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, and quite possibly took up the lute under Nanino’s successor Giovanni Francesco Brissio (Giovanni del Leuto) upon his succession to the role of maestro di cappella in 1608.\textsuperscript{32} Valentini recalls having utilised the manuscript library at San Luigi dei Francesi, as he himself says in Trattato musica (Barb. Lat. 4429), searching for musical examples in order to justify his recent revision of the modal system. For an example of his second mode in harmonic division he came upon a:

Kyrie from the mass Fors seulement, entitled “pipelare,” from an ancient manuscript book in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, the entire mass is in the same mode, finishing in consonance on D sol re.\textsuperscript{33}

In his manuscript Due discorsi et una epistola (Barb. Lat. 4418), Valentini recollects that he was a putto (boy singer) when he copied out the canons in Simone Verovio’s Diletto Spirituale, and no doubt the seeds of Valentini’s virtuoso abilities as a contrapuntist were planted here at San Luigi dei Francesi.\textsuperscript{34}

The church was located a short distance from Valentini’s paternal home which stayed in the family’s possession until Valentini’s death in March, 1654. This house had great importance to the Valentinis, it was used as collateral by the father to secure loans: it was an object of litigation with neighbours (and even quarrelled over in court by Valentini’s siblings) until finally coming into the possession of Pier Francesco himself. It contained two workshops with attached annexes, an apartment on the top floor, and one on the main floor. The remaining rooms were let out, which supplied him with an income, and provided him with the time and space for his experiments.

The inventory notarised at his death gives a glimpse of his immediate surroundings. Amongst his possessions were: 250 paintings, nearly all of a religious or devotional nature, shelves full of printed books, six drawings on paper with music, books on music, and a number of musical instruments—a spruce harpsichord without strings, a violin, a Spanish guitar, two lutes, and four long square wooden instruments, undoubtedly the monochords upon which he carried out his experiments on temperament.

\textsuperscript{32} Cristoforetti, Il Leuto Anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 5.

\textsuperscript{33} Pier Francesco Valentini, Trattato musica dimostrazione et inventione, c.1642, (Barb. Lat. 4429) 34. “Kyrie della messa Fors Seulement, intitolata Pipelare, stà in un libro antico manoscritto nella chiesa di San Luigi di Roma del qual Tono è tutta messa, terminando in consonanza in D sol re gravissimo”. This mass by Mattheus Pipelare (c.1450-c.1515) seems to be the second of 2 versions which was widely circulated. Cross, Ronald, and Honey Meconi. “Pipelare, Mattheus.” Grove Music Online, 2001.

\textsuperscript{34} Simone Verovio, Diletto Spirituale: Canzonette a tre et a quattro voci composte da diversi ecc.mi Musici (Rome: Verovio, 1586).
Despite his intimate involvement with music, Valentini makes it clear in his writings that he was not a professional musician. Writing in *La musica inalzata* (Barb. Lat. 4418) he states:

> I delight myself in music as recreation from my other duties, I don’t subsist on it, neither have I ever lived off it. I have never earned nor made profit from it nor sought to, rather, I have spent hundreds of scudi [on it].

By the time Hawkins came to write about Valentini in his *History* this fact somehow became distorted:

> Notwithstanding the nobility of his birth, [Valentini] was necessitated to make music his profession, and even to play for hire.

In comparison with Kapsberger—who took every opportunity to display his noble status—Valentini wore his nobility lightly. **Figure II-1** is a mock-up of a title page (one assumes for intended publication?) showing the Valentini coat of arms. The text of the canon reads; *Radii solis et luna insignia sunt domus Valentinorum Romanorum* (Rays of the sun and moon are the insignia of the Roman house of Valentini).

![Canone in Cinque Voci All'Unisono](image)

**Figure II-1. The Valentini coat of arms.**

In *La mortificata presontione* (Barb. Lat. 4418) Valentini writes of his work as a teacher:

> … in order to prepare the next generation, I have taught not only counterpoint, both on chalk and slate, but also of the mind (polyphony performed extemporaneously), and to compose and

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to sing with such progress that some [students] make a living and profession from it, not only do they compose music, but also teach it, and others are masters.\textsuperscript{37}

Unfortunately, very little is known of Valentini’s pupils. Cortesi however cites a German organist by the name of Gaspare Kul, who was remembered as arriving in Rome as a “student and imitator of two Italians: Valentini and Carissimi”.\textsuperscript{38}

C. Valentini as Composer

Pier Francesco Valentini, along with Romano Micheli (c. 1575-after 1659), Paolo Agostini (1583-1629) and Francesco Soriano (1549-1621), was one of the leading practitioners of canon according to \textit{oblighi} (pre-compositional restrictions)\textsuperscript{39} which was associated with seventeenth-century Rome in particular, and this is indeed the very music that he is largely remembered for. However, amidst this conservative and learned counterpoint—which is the very antithesis of the brilliance and naturalness of his contemporary, Frescobaldi, for example—Valentini was also capable of composing in other, more directly approachable styles. Before we look at any of Valentini’s music it is useful to note that he did little to promote and publish his music during his lifetime. Cortesi quotes Valentini in relation to his canonic works:

> Only by scholars and virtuous men do I amicably, and privately allow my scores to be seen or heard. I send my crafted artifice (my canons) to be printed, to be admired only by learned people, and not be allowed to be seen nor heard by commoners or the unscholarly (for whom they were not intended).\textsuperscript{40}

Cortesi’s 1983 study unearthed documents showing an agreement Valentini had with the beneficiaries of his estate, the archconfraternity \textit{Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini}, whereby Valentini’s unpublished music was to be printed after his death. Consequently, amongst the surviving posthumous publications are two books of madrigals and two books of canzonas, and from these publications one can see Valentini effortlessly pastiching the lighter forms of the day. Unfortunately, this is all that survives of his once voluminous cache of posthumously published secular music. The works list in New Grove not only lists as missing his early dramas for the Barberinis—\textit{La Mira} and \textit{La trasformazione di Dafne}, but also twelve books of various canzonette. Similar fate applies to the sacred music where six books of motets are also lost.

\textsuperscript{37} “... non solo di Contrapunto, tanato in cartella, quanto a mente; ma ancho di comporre, e di cantare con progresso tale, che alcuni di loro campandivi, e facendone professione, non solo fanno musica; ma anco insegnando ad altri fanno il maestro”. Cortesi, “Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco,” 543.

\textsuperscript{38} Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco," 544.

\textsuperscript{39} Gerbino, \textit{Canoni ed enigma. Pier Francesco Valentini e l’artificio canonico nella prima metà del Seicento}, 58.

\textsuperscript{40} Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco," 560.
Umberto Manferrari posits that Valentini’s first public venture onto the Roman music scene with two favole performed at the palazzo Barberini.\textsuperscript{41} The first, La metra, (1628) is described by Valentini as being in the ‘scenic recitative style’.\textsuperscript{42} The second, La trasformazione di Dafne, favola morale con due intermedi. Il primo contiene il ratto di Prosperina, e la sua coronatione nell’inferno. Il secondo rappresenta la cattività nella rete di Venere, e Marte: Il riso degli Dei, e la liberation di essi— as Manferrari notes, was performed in the palazzo Barberini, in 1623\textsuperscript{43}, the year of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini’s election to the pontificate as Urban VIII.

\textbf{Figure II-2} shows the opening bars of \textit{Nel tuo core è il mio core}, a madrigal from the posthumous \textit{Libro primo} 1654 (a complete transcription is included in the appendix). Here Valentini effortlessly writes in the five-part continuo madrigal style of the best of his contemporaries (the music is of the same high standard as that of Landi and Quagliati, for example). Valentini—who is also the author of the text—melds well the musical phrases with the poetry. The phrase \textit{Sta ne la vita tua}, with its extra movement, provides just the right contrast to the more declamatory homophony of the opening. The phrase, \textit{la vita mia}, especially with its textural pervasiveness, perhaps betrays Valentini’s love of canon obblighi.

![](image_url)

\textbf{Figure II-2.} Example of Valentini’s secular madrigals.

\textsuperscript{41} Cortesi, ”Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco,” 534.
\textsuperscript{42} Cortesi, ”Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco,” 534.
\textsuperscript{43} Cortesi, ”Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco,” 534.
Qual maggior pregi (see Figure II-3) a canzonetta from Canzonette et arie a una, e due voci, musica e parole del Signor Pier Francesco Valentini, libro primo (1657) is typical of the best examples of this genre. The tripartite structure, with its increasing rhythmical/ornamental complexity, and the sensitive text-music handling is similar to much of the music emanating at this time from the court of Cardinal Montalto. Valentini, no doubt inspired by the many virtuoso singers in Rome at this time—Giovanni Domenico Puliaschi being one amongst many—also wrote well in the brilliant style.

The example below, for example (Figure II-4), is taken from the same above source. The complete work is in the appendix.

Figure II-3. Example of Valentini’s canzonetta.

Figure II-4. Example of Valentini’s florid compositional style.

44 See John Walter Hills, Roman Monody, Cantata and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto (Clarendon Press, 1997).

45 Giovanni Domenico Puliaschi, Musiche varie a una voce con il suo Basso continuo per sonare (Rome, 1618); Giovanni Luca Conforti, Psalms passeggiati (Rome, 1603).
The canons mentioned above, represent an age in which Neo-Platonism, hermetics, cabalism, alchemy, astrology, and magic were recognised pursuits. As interest in these metaphysical endeavours waned, the canon was relegated to a phlegmatic exercise in counterpoint. Sergio Durante explains why the enigmatic canon was exiled to a niche position in the contrapuntal repertory: “This classification incorporates a certain gradation: the more a composer concentrated exclusively on the study of artifice, the less his works were connected with any practical function”. This might seem an over simplification, however, these musical puzzles were regarded highly and the Roman school cultivated excelled in there production and Valentini, Romano Micheli and Ludovico Zacconi were their outstanding practitioners

Valentini describes his 1629 canon—above the words of the Salva Regina, *Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte*—as a “laborious Musical work, of no small speculation”. And, as noted previously, it was this canon, and its companion *Nel nodo di Salomone*, that brought Valentini to the attention of other composers and writers on music. *Illos tuos misericordes*, when solved, offers up a staggering 2000 resolutions.

Giovanni Briccio’s (Giovanni del leuto who was maestro di capella at San luigi dei Francesi during the first decades of the 17th century) 1632 collection of enigmatic canons is also testament to Valentini’s esteem amongst his peers. Briccio’s canons come with little four-line Italian poems, which are themselves guides to their resolution. The title page of Briccio’s collection reproduces the Valentini family’s coat of arms (see above), followed by a rather flattering dedication to Valentini by Masotti, the publisher.

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47 “... opera Musicale, &di non poca speculation.” *Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Canone di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano con le sue resolutioni in più di duemila modi a due, a tre, a quattro, et a cinque voci*, Roma, Masotti, 1629, pages 155.

48 . It is difficult to know who underwrote this publication: perhaps it was Valentini himself? In honoration Briccio acknowledges Valentini’s contribution to the art form “...those of little intelligence who judge your [Valentini’s] works to be done in vain labour and without merit ... but the memory and fame of your other virtues, among which; prudence, affability and kindness shine on us, and as are blazoned on your crest, these three beams of sunlight illuminate the candid moon “...contro quelli poco aveduti, che giudicano queste fatiche vani, & senza merito, ma la memoria, & fama delle altre sue virtù tra le quali risplendono la Prudenza, Affabilità, & Gentilezza tra noi sorti più di quello, che mostra la sua Arme risplendere li tre raggi solari nella candida Luna”; Giovanni Briccio, Canoni enigmatici musicali (Rome: Masotti, 1632), 3.

Valentini cut and pasted this titlepage into his Canoni di diversi studi (Barb. Lat. 4428) as the image for the enigmatic canon (page 25) incorporating his family’s name and emblem. This compilation of musical enigmas is a laudable work of Valentini’s. On the face of it, they seem mystical and arcane, but the invenzioni artificiosi imply the elaboration of constructive schemes of the long-established rules of counterpoint. Laurence Wuidar suggest that “For Valentini they serve as a cautious hark back to the dictates of the Council of Trent: the canon is the solution to avoiding lascivious music.” “Pour Valentini, s’ajoute un souci de revenir aux préceptes du Concile de Trente: le canon est la solution pour éviter la musique lascive”, Canons Énigmes Et Hiéroglyphes Musicaux Dans L’italie Du 17e Siècle,p. 17.
The enigmatic canon’s symbolic and theological meaning is clearly seen in Valentini’s collection called *Canoni di diversi studi* (Barb. Lat. 4428), an example from which is shown in Figure II-5. Compiled around 1650, the manuscript consists of fifty-five enigmatic canons, all of which are accompanied by an engraved image followed by their resolutions. Valentini adds sometimes a few and sometimes a considerable amount of performance notes on each canon. The consistently religious images are cut out from an unknown printed source, or sources, and pasted into the manuscript, and then the handwritten material, including the canon, is fashioned around the pasted image. Perhaps Valentini commissioned the engraved images? It is difficult to ascertain. Already printed canons in the form of *fogli volanti* (broadside sheets) are included in the manuscript.

Gerbino’s detailed inspection of the manuscript has revealed that: 47% of the works are dedicated to the Virgin, 8% to the Trinity, 13% to the Saints, 13% to Christ, and 19% to other topics. One of the latter examples, on f.65, Valentini dedicated a canon to the newly elected pope Innocent X, and then attempted to have the canon printed – no doubt as a *foglio volante* – by seeking permission from Pope Innocent X himself. Upon inquiring about publishing the dedication through canon, Valentini informs us that the person in charge of the funding for works dedicated to the pontiff was less than enthusiastic:

It [Sanctissimo Domino nostro Innocentio Decimo pont. opt. max] was seen by the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo in order to be printed. Then by Carlo Gualtieri, who sees to things that are to be dedicated to the Pope, he forbade it to be printed, saying that the Pope had no need of praise, nor other such things.

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50 “Nella forma che qui si veda dal Maestro del Sacro Palazzo mi fù passato ad essere stampato. Poi da Carlo Gualtieri deputato a vedere le cose che si dedicano al Papa ma fu vietato lo stamparlo, con dire che il Papa non ha bisogno di essere lodato et altri simili parole”, from *Canoni di diversi studi* (Barb. Lat. 4428), 65. Cited by Wuidar (112), and Gerbino (55).
Valentini’s complete catalogue of musical compositions (as well as his written publications) is shown below in **Table II-1**.

**Table II-1. Complete works (musical compositions and writings)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher and Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte</em></td>
<td>Masotti, 1629</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Gioco dell’Astrologo indovino</em></td>
<td>Masotti, 1629</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Canone nel Nodo di Salamone a novantasei voci con le sue resolutioni di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano</em></td>
<td>Masotti, 1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Resolutione seconda Del Canone nel Nodo di Salomone</em></td>
<td>Masotti, 1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Petri Francisco Valentini Romani In Animas Purgatorij, Propriae, et Novae Inventionis Canon Quartour compositus Subiectis</em></td>
<td>Masotti, 1645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Dichiaratione del Giuoco delle stelle</em></td>
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Posthumously published works:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Op. I, Madrigali a cinque voci con il Basso continuo se piace.</em></td>
<td>Mascardi, 1654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Op. II, Madrigali a cinque voci con il Basso continuo se piace.</em></td>
<td>Mascardi, 1654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Musical compositions in manuscripts
1. Mascherata, Dialoghi, due Madrigali et due arie con sinfonie una sopra l’aria di Fiorenza e l’altra sopra la Romanesca
2. Musiche spiritual e profane a 3, a 4, et a 5 voci
3. Psalni, Magnificat, Mocleta, et Hymnus Sanctorum
4. Canoni di diversi studi di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano
5. The three canons form the manuscript Duplitonio
6. Canons Quatuor sunt virtutes cardinales
7. Aria di Ruggiero (in Il Leuto Anatomizzato) c.1650

Manuscript works of music theory
1. Trattato della Battuta Musicale 1643
2. Discorso secondo
3. Trattato del tempo del modo e della prolatione
4. Musica dimostrazione et dilucidatione
5. Trattato Musica dimostrazione et inventione
6. Duplitionio. Musica dimostrazione et dilucidatione After 1650
7. Musica dimostrazione
8. Musica dimostrazione
9. Ordine... c.1636
10. Il Leuto Anatomizzato C.1650
11. Arte di raffinato contrapunto (in Il Leuto Anatomizzato) C.1650
12. Tavola Pittagorica
13. Prima dimostrazione armonica
14. Come l’autore si sia mosso a ritrovare nel presente monochordo la costituzione c.1642
15. Come l’Autore si sia mosso a ritrovare e formare il presente Monochordo
16. Monochordo, et nova costituzione di Musica
17. Due Discorsi et una Epistola c.1645

D. Valentini as Theorist

Amongst the 10,000 or so manuscripts and 20,000 printed books in the Barberini collection at the Vatican Library are the seventeen manuscript works of Valentini. In many ways, this collection is extraordinary. At the outset, perhaps the most striking feature is that none of these detailed and lengthy works appear to have been disseminated in any way. There is little evidence of any additional
copies being made, other than the copies he made himself, *Monochordo* for example, nor were any of these works printed.\(^{52}\)

We do, however, have evidence that Valentini may well have intended to print and publish his own works. Documents survive in the Archivio di Stato di Roma from 1652 detailing the terms and conditions of a partnership between Valentini and Antonio Maria Gioiosi (1608-1691) which, regrettably, was aborted upon Valentini’s sudden death in March of 1654. An inventory drawn up by the notaio details both specialist music type and Greek type, both of which would have been useful in publishing music theory treatises.

Documents show that Antonio Maria Gioiosi had put down a payment of 502 scudi in December of 1652 with plans to pay off the other half in quarterly instalments using the income from rented apartments.\(^{53}\) The second-hand printing press was to be set up above the *Convento della Minerva in Collegio*. Here Valentini and Gioiosi were to start work, one would imagine, printing music books and most probably Valentini’s theoretical treatises.

The engravings of Valentini’s music that are now found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma might have gone unpublished had he not stipulated in his last will and testament that, with the selling off of his house and contents, the executor of his estate was to have “printed and published 22 of the 23 works that I have done and that are found at my home”.

*Figure II-9* reproduces the tag found in all of Valentini’s posthumous publications. “The present work by Pier Francesco Valentini is the second of twenty-two that were given to the printers in accordance with that which was stipulated in his last will and testament”. Mascardi and Balmonti carried out these final wishes of Valentini, and though nothing came to light regarding his theoretical manuscripts, we can be grateful for his surviving music, and can only hope that in the future one will be able to hear these works in performance.

![Figure II-6. Tag found in posthumous publications.](image)

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\(^{52}\) Internal evidence points to certain works being prepared for publishing – mock-up of title pages – *Il leuto anatomizzato* condensed from *Ordine* for publication? *Canoni di deversi studi* similarly seems ready to be set up for publication.

\(^{53}\) Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: Profilo di un musicista barocco," 545.
Table II-1, taken almost at random from the treatise, shows the level of computational detail Valentini enters into:

Figure II-7. Mathematical proportions from Monochordo.

Calculations such as these were often invoked in making sense of Greek musical theory, which even in the early Baroque, was still viewed as something of locus classicus. The opening lines of Nicolo
Vicentino’s 1555 treatise *L'Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (a work Valentini cites on more than one occasion in his treatises), explains the situation facing musicians and theorists alike.

Concerning the origins and goals of music theory, Vicentino writes:

> It is known that many philosophers discovered many things. However, by searching, calculating, disputing, and likewise opposing each other’s opinions, they have bequeathed uncertainty instead of theory and practice to mankind.⁵⁴

Notwithstanding Vicentino’s substantial thesis on the polemics of temperament, by the time Valentini broaches the subject, nearly a century later, much detail still remained unresolved.⁵⁵ Valentini was interested in all of these speculations, but only in so far as they could answer practical questions. Issues like the use of the Greek genera (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic) in contemporary musical practices. Or more specifically regarding the enharmonic genus, with its microtones, and its practicality on instruments with fretted and keyed fingerboards.

In relation to tuning and temperament on the lute, *Monochordo* also helps clarify *Il leuto anatomizzato* and *Ordine*. Valentini writes:

> I consider that the Lute, for the sweet harmony that it makes, allowed for by the diatonic genus added to by the chromatic, to play transposed on all its frets (notwithstanding that on all its frets it can’t have the consonances of the same size) was considered the King of the instruments. And realizing that in the way it is used, it does not have equal tones nor semitones (as by me is proven in the following chapter) and seeing that, regarding this, not only the commonplace, but also the most serious authors have erred, by writing, that the said instrument has in itself the equality of tones, and of semitones. And knowing that the harpsichord, harp, organ, and other similar instruments (leaving aside those that have split keys, which when tuning them is no more than hard work, and playing them bothersome for the player) until the present, in their tunings have been more imperfect than the Lute. For not allowing one, on account of the dissonances that are heard, to play transposed on all its strings and frets.⁵⁶

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⁵⁵ The exploration into Ancient Greek music was seriously undertaken for the first time by the Florentine Humanist, Girolamo Mei, in his manuscript *De modis musicis antiquorum* (1567-73), with the latest and most insistent being Giambattista Doni’s *De praestantia musicae veteris libri tres* (Florence, 1647).

⁵⁶ Considerando Io Pier Francesco Valentini, che il Leuto, si per la soave armonia, che rende, come anco per potersi nel Genere Diatonico inspessato col cromatico, sonare traspinto in tutti i suoi tasti (se bene in tutti i tasti non riescono le consonanze di una medesima misura) era stimato il Re degli istrumenti: et accorgendomi, che nella maniera, che si usa, non è in tutto con toni, e semitoni eguali (come da me si prova nel seguente capitolo) et vedendo, che in tal cosa, non solo il Volgo: ma anco gravissimi Autori hanno errato, con scrivere, che detto istrumento ha in se l’egualgianza de toni, e de’ semitoni; et conoscendo, che il Cimbalo, l’Arpa, l’Organo, e simili istrumenti (tralasciati da parte quelli che hanno i tasti spezzati, che nell’accordarli altro non sono che travaglio, et nel sonarli fastidio de’ sonatori) sino al presente di sono stati ne’gli accordi loro più imperfetti del Leuto; per non potersi in essi, per le dissonanze, che vi si sentono, sonare trasportato in tutte le corde, e tasti. From *Monochordo*, et nova costitutione di Musica et accordatura di cimbalo, d’Arpa, d’Organo, e di simili istrumento, con toni, semitoni, e con tutti gli altri intervalli eguali. Opera, et inventione di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano. *Monochordo* (Barb. Lat. 4430), 1.
Valentini’s treatment of modal theory, was set down in Duplitonio. Musica dimostrazione e dilucidatione in which he advanced a system of 24 modes.\textsuperscript{57} Kunz describes these as comprising the 12 harmonic modes and a further 12 arithmetic modes.\textsuperscript{58} Valentini demonstrates the application of these modes with citations of around 130 references to existing works.\textsuperscript{59}

With these new modes Valentini recommends composers adhere to certain formulae at internal, and final cadences. A detailed explanation and application of Valentini’s modes in compositional practice is, however, beyond the scope of this present discussion.

Valentini’s other theoretical works dwell upon tactus and proportion, mensuration, rhythm, beating time, and the study of canon, where Canoni di diversi studi (c.1650) is one of the most important, and visually beautiful, contributions to the genre. In addition to the theoretical treatises in the Barberini collection are five further manuscripts at the Archivio di Stato in Rome: three of these are on improvised vocal polyphony one is a copy of Duplitonio and another is a treatise upon the ways in which ancient texts were sung. All of these works remain unstudied.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{FigureII8.png}
\caption{Diagram illustrating a division of the octave from Musica Dimonstratione.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{57} Duplitonio. Musica dimostrazione e dilucidatione di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano. Per la quale appare, li Modi Musicali, volgarmente chiamati Toni, ascendere, Diatonicamente considerati, al numero di Ventiquattro (Barb. Lat. 4416). This subject is also discussed in Trattato musica (Barb. Lat. 4429), which comes from the period (1642-1645) in which these the experiments in temperament were carried out.

\textsuperscript{58} Kuntz, Die Tonartenlehre des römischen Theoretikers und Komposisten P.F. Valentini (Bärenreiter, 1937). 93-97.

\textsuperscript{59} Frans Wiering, The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality (New York: Routledge, 2001), 188.

\textsuperscript{60} See complete works in Cortesi, Profilo di un musicista barocco.
**Figure II-8** is taken from *Musica Dimonstratione* and is representative of many complicated (and beautiful) accompanying diagrams in Valentini’s work. These figures, and other outsized items—for example the 1.5 metre fold-out in *Monochordo*—would certainly have presented challenges to these works appearing in print.61

The lists reproduced below in Table II-1, Table II-2, Table II-3, Table II-4, and Table II-5 (on the pages that follow) are taken from *Due discorsi et una epistola* and *Trattato della Battuta* (Barb. Lat. 4417), and are supplied to demonstrate the width and breadth of Valentini’s knowledge and personal library, and the books and manuscripts exchanged between a tight guild of composers of the *artificioso* genre of composition. Sergio Durante expresses that “… the need remains to investigate the intellectual and personal relationships among Athanasius Kircher, Pier Francesco Valentini, Romano Micheli, and others who gravitated toward that sphere of interest”.62 But he continues that “… one should resist the temptation to make fanciful hypothesis when examining the way in which Hermetic culture was applied to music”. 63

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61 See Jane Bernstein, *Print Culture and music in sixteenth-century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 65. Complicated figures such as these were only really suitable for reproduction via engraving, the older system of woodblock printing having gone out of fashion towards the end of the sixteenth century. Engravers were certainly prevalent in Baroque Rome. Two of particular note are the stylish engravings – cited by Valentini – by Simone Verovio containing music for voice, tablature transcriptions for lute and transcriptions for harpsichord, and Kapsberger’s engraved editions of tablature for lute and theorbo.


63 Ibid, 203.
Table II-2. Authors cited in *Trattato della Battuta (Barb. Lat. 4417)*

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<tr>
<td><strong>Democritus</strong> [Greek philosopher]</td>
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<td><strong>Diogene</strong> [Greek philosopher]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Diogene</strong> [Greek philosopher]</td>
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<td><strong>Dioméde Grammatico</strong> [Latin grammariam]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Diosino Areopigta</strong> [Greek theologian]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dione Crisostomo</strong> [Greek orator and philosopher]</td>
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<td><strong>Donato</strong> [Greek god]</td>
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<td><strong>Dorazio</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Eliano</strong> [Roman author and teacher]</td>
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<td><strong>Egesidemo</strong> [Italian writer]</td>
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<td><strong>Emelio Probo</strong> [Italian historian]</td>
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<td><strong>Ennio</strong> [Roman writer]</td>
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<td><strong>Erasthene</strong> [Greek mathematician and philosopher]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Esaia Profeta</strong> [Prophet]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Esopo</strong> [Greek storyteller]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Euclide</strong> [Greek mathematician]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Exodo</strong> [Second book of the Torah]</td>
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<td><strong>Fabio Vittorino</strong> [Roman rhetorician]</td>
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<td><strong>Festo</strong> [Roman grammariam]</td>
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<td><strong>Fiore Angelico, Angelo da Picitono</strong> [Italian music theorist]</td>
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<td><strong>Fortunatiano</strong> [Roman grammarian]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Francesco Petrarca</strong> [Italian poet]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Francesco Toledo</strong> [Spanish Jesuit]</td>
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<td><strong>Francesco Thamar</strong> [Spanish writer]</td>
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<td><strong>Francesco Patrizio</strong> [Italian scientist]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Franchino Gaffè</strong> [Italian theorist and composer]</td>
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<td><strong>Gellio</strong> [Roman grammarian]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gioseffo Hebreo</strong> [Italian historian]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gaio Cecilio</strong> (Plinio Secondo) [Roman author]</td>
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<td><strong>Gioseffo Albertatio</strong> [Italian writer]</td>
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<td><strong>Gioseffo Zarlino</strong> [Theorist and composer]</td>
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<td><strong>Gioachino Abbate</strong> [Italian writer]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gabriele Faerno</strong> [Italian scholar]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Giovanni Evangelista</strong> [Evangelist]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Giovanni Boccaccio</strong> [Italian poet]</td>
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<td><strong>Giovanni Guidetto</strong> [Italian theorist and composer]</td>
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<td><strong>Giovanni Despauterio</strong> [Italian grammariam]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Giovan Battista Egnatio</strong> [Italian philologist]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gio. Battista Marino</strong> [Italian poet]</td>
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<td><strong>Gio. Andrea dall’Anguillara</strong> [Italian writer]</td>
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<td><strong>Gio. Francesco Quentiano Stoa</strong> [Italian writer]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gio. Maria Lanfranco</strong> [Italian music theorist]</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Title/Role</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giustino</td>
<td>Early Christian writer</td>
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<td>Giustiniano Imperatore</td>
<td>Giustiniano Civile [Roman Emperor]</td>
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<td>Guido Ivenvale</td>
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<td>Herofilo</td>
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<td>S. Hieronimo [Saint]</td>
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<td>Hippocrate</td>
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<td>Historia Tripartita</td>
<td>(Theodorus Lector) [Turkish lector]</td>
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<td>Homero</td>
<td>Greek poet</td>
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<td>Horatio Flacco</td>
<td>Roman poet</td>
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<td>Horo Apolline</td>
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<td>Jacopo Sannazzaro</td>
<td>Italian humanist poet</td>
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<td>Jano Comario [Saxon historian]</td>
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<td>Jano Parrasio</td>
<td>Italian humanist scholar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job</td>
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<td>Jodoco Badio Ascensio</td>
<td>Belgian pedagogue and scholar</td>
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<td>Josue [Biblical figure]</td>
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<td>Isidoro</td>
<td>Italian Bible scholar</td>
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<td>Istrio</td>
<td>Greek poet</td>
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<td>Jurisconsulti [legge]</td>
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<td>Jus Canonico [Canon of law]</td>
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<td>S. Luca Evangelista</td>
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<td>Roman provincial</td>
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<td>Italian printer</td>
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<td>Spanish writer</td>
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<td>Witch’s Hammer</td>
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<td>Margarita Filosofica</td>
<td>Text by Gregor Reisch on the trivium and quadrivium</td>
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<td>Marsilio Ficino</td>
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<td>Massimo Tiririo</td>
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<td>Martiale</td>
<td>Roman poet</td>
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<td>Martiano Capella</td>
<td>Carthaginian poet</td>
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<td>Matteo Evangelista</td>
<td>Evangelist</td>
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<td>Michele Verino</td>
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<td>Mettallo</td>
<td>Italian composer</td>
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<td>Moise [Prophet]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nevio Poeta</td>
<td>Roman epic poet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicola Vecentino</td>
<td>Italian theorist and composer[24]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicola Burtio</td>
<td>Italian writer on music[25]</td>
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<td>Nicola Cardinale de Cusa</td>
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<td>Nicola Erithreo</td>
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<td>Nicola Leonico</td>
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<td>Nicolo Peroto</td>
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<td>Oliverio Artigianense</td>
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<td>Ovidio</td>
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<td>Palestrina</td>
<td>Italian composer</td>
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<td>Paolo Apostolo</td>
<td>Apostle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paolo Marso</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pausania</td>
<td>Greek geographer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persio</td>
<td>Roman poet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pietro Aron</td>
<td>Italian music theorist[26]</td>
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<td>Italian humanist scholar</td>
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<td>Pietro Commostore</td>
<td>French theologian</td>
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<td>Pitero Gregorio Tolosano</td>
<td>Italian writer on law</td>
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<td>Paolo Lancellotto</td>
<td>Italian canonist</td>
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<td>Pietro Bembo</td>
<td>Italian poet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pindaro</td>
<td>Greek lyric poet</td>
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<td>Paralipomenon [Book of Chronicles]</td>
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<td>Italian humanist</td>
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<td>Platone</td>
<td>Greek philospher</td>
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<td>Plinio</td>
<td>Roman author</td>
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<td>Plutarco</td>
<td>Italian poet</td>
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<td>Pithagora</td>
<td>Greek philosopher and mathematician</td>
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<td>Polid. Vir.</td>
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<td>Polibio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pomponio Mella</td>
<td>Roman geographer</td>
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<td>Porfiriio</td>
<td>Tyre, philosopher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porfirione [Latin grammarians]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proclo</td>
<td>Greek philosopher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Propieto [Latin poet]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psello</td>
<td>Byzantine monk and philosopher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinto Curtio</td>
<td>Roman historian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintilian [Roman rhetorician]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rondoletio</td>
<td>Italian writer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recaneto (Stefano Vanneo)</td>
<td>Italian writer on music[27]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabba Castiglione</td>
<td>Italian humanist writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarra Scrittura</td>
<td>Sacred texts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selva Poetica</td>
<td>Book of sonnets by Gio. Leone</td>
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<td>Sempronio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seneca</td>
<td>Roman philosopher and statesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scipione Cerreto</td>
<td>Italian composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servio</td>
<td>Roman orator and jurist</td>
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</table>

[23] Logicians
[24] Latin grammarians
[25] Roman epic poet
[26] Greek lyric poet
[27] Italian writer on music
[28] Roman orator and jurist
Table II-4. Most noted composers and writers on music cited in *Trattato della Battuta* (as shown in Table II-2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Composer/Author</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Adriano Banchieri</td>
<td><em>Cartella, overo Regole utilissime à quelli che desiderano imparare il canto figurato</em> (Venice, 1601)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Boetio</td>
<td><em>De institutione musica</em> (reprinted Venice, 1492)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Franchino</td>
<td><em>Practica musicae</em> (Milan, 1496)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Angelico da Picitono</td>
<td><em>Fiore Angelico di Musica</em> (Venice, 1547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gio. Maria Lanfranco</td>
<td><em>Scintille di Musica</em> (Brescia, 1533)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gironimo Diruta</td>
<td><em>Il Transilvano</em> (Venice, 1597, 1622, 1625)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Luigi Dentice</td>
<td><em>Due dialoghi della musica</em> (Rome, 1553)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lodovico Zaccone</td>
<td><em>Pratica di Musica</em> (Venice, 1592)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nicoletto Vicentino</td>
<td><em>L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica</em> (Rome, 1555)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pietro Aron</td>
<td><em>Toscanello in musica</em> (Venice, 1523, 1525, 1562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Stefano Vaneo</td>
<td><em>Recanetum de musica aurea</em> (Rome, 1533)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Sebaldo Heyden</td>
<td><em>Musicae id est artis canendi</em> (Nuremberg, 1537)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vincenzo Lusitano</td>
<td><em>Introdutione facilissima, &amp; novissima, di Canto Fermo, Figurato, Contraponto</em> (Rome, 1553)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vincentio Galilei</td>
<td><em>Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna</em> (Florence, 1581)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table II-5. Most noted composers and writers on music cited in *Due Discorsi* (as shown in Table II-3)

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<td>Giovanni Artusi</td>
<td><em>L'Artusi, overo Delle imperfettioni della moderna musica</em> (Venice, 1600)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Boetio</td>
<td><em>De institutione musica</em> (reprinted Venice, 1492)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Carlo Valgrailo</td>
<td><em>Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhinum</em> (first translation Of the Plutarchean <em>De musica</em>, Brescia, 1507)</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Angelico da Picitono</td>
<td><em>Fiore Angelico di Musica</em> (Venice, 1547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Franchino</td>
<td><em>Practica musicae</em> (Milan, 1496)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gioseffo Zarlini</td>
<td><em>Le istitutioni harmoniche</em> (Venice, 1558)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Giovanni Guidetto</td>
<td><em>Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae basilicae vaticanea et aliarum cathedralium</em> (Rome, 1582)</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Gio. Maria Lanfranco</td>
<td><em>Scintille di Musica</em> (Brescia, 1533)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Guido Monaco Aretino</td>
<td><em>Micrologus</em> (1025)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Nicoletto Vicentino</td>
<td><em>L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica</em> (Rome, 1555)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Nicolo Burtio</td>
<td><em>Musices opusculum</em> (Bologna,1487)</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Pietro Aron</td>
<td><em>Toscanello in musica</em> (Venice, 1523, 1525, 1562)</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Stefano Vaneo</td>
<td><em>Recanetum de musica aurea</em> (Rome, 1533)</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Scipione Cereto</td>
<td><em>Della pratctica musica vocale et strumentale</em> (Napoli, 1601, 1611,1608)</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Vincentio Galilei</td>
<td><em>Della musica antica et della moderna,</em> (Florence, 1581)</td>
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III. The Lute in Rome

A. Sources, Instruments, and the Lute in Ensemble

Dinko Fabris, in his 1997 chronological study of didactic Italian sources, places *Il leuto anatomizzato* (1650) towards the end of a long tradition of lute treatises. But in comparison to other parts of the Italian peninsula, where the lute enjoyed its zenith much earlier, the situation in Rome is rather different. *Il leuto anatomizzato* was in fact no twilight-years documentation of an outmoded instrument and an outmoded tradition, rather—from the viewpoint of music making in Rome—it was a current and imminently practical guide to playing, intabulating and improvising on the lute, transposing, and much more besides. This chapter places *Il leuto anatomizzato* in its Roman orbit and in so doing we discover a surprisingly rich tradition of plucked string playing in the eternal city. We see lutes, theorboes and guitars existing side by side. Moreover, we see the lute as a solo instrument, as a chamber-music partner to singers, as a continuo instrument in early opera, as a participant in instrumental canzonas and as a vehicle for improvisation. In addition, we also see the lute as a didactic tool in aiding the development of the musical mind. For in much the same way that the chalk and slate (*cartella*) was used to teach and envision music theory, the lute was so used in the teaching of composition and counterpoint. In building a picture of the lute in Rome this chapter interrogates the relevant secondary literature and the surviving musical manuscripts and prints. It also draws upon archival evidence in the form of inventories, payment records for players etc, and in so doing illuminates the activities of players, instrument makers, printers and publishers and composers. The period in question coincides with the papacies of Paul V, Urban VII and Innocent X, all of whom were major players in the arts and culture of early-Baroque Rome. The opulence of Bernini and Borromini, the depth of Caravaggio, the intellectual brilliance of Athanasius Kircher, the musical theorising of Doni and the practical brilliance of Frescobaldi, all contextualise a vibrant musical culture, moreover a culture where the lute is still centre stage.

The eternal city attracted some of the most accomplished luthiers in Europe, and Rome was witness to a flourishing culture of leading-edge, and experimental developments in organology. Vera Vita Spagnuolo’s systematic examination of the Roman notary archives from a single year (1590) for evidence of musical activity unearths twenty-three documents relating to *liutai* and string instrument

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65 Valentini states that he was a teacher of counterpoint "both on chalk and slate, but also of extemporaneous counterpoint (alla mente). Contrapunto alla mente was a valued skill, and one whose use of multiple improvisors, produced and amazing effect. In *Cartella musicale* (1614) Banchieri says that even if all the parts are improvised separately with reference only to the bass, hundreds of singers, without knowing what the other part is doing, can result in a pleasing effect."
makers in Rome (including lute builders). Documents show that German, mostly Bavarian, instrument makers flocked to Rome in the sixteenth century, and by the middle of the century the leutari were concentrated in the street bearing the same name via dei Liutari (today, between the via di Pasquino and the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II). From the middle of the seventeenth century the gain in popularity of the baroque guitar, meant that the name ‘liutaro’ was eventually substituted with that of ‘chitarraro’. The rise of the guitar coincided with the increased use of instruments more suited to continuo playing, namely the archlute and the theorbo. Although a liutaio might construct all string instruments such as lutes, theorboes, violins etc., a chitarraro built and repaired mostly guitars. Patrizio Barbieri, in his survey of Roman parish registers, found both terms in use around the 1620s, but by the 1680s only the chitarraro is found. From these records emerge a variety of makers, most of whom have disappeared without a trace: Giovanni Antonio Lauro, Bartolomeo Lauro, Orazio Stafani, Pietro Alberto (liutaio Tedesco), Francesco Blondo and Fermo Pace.

Spagnuolo’s study also finds lutanists mentioned in a collection of notary documents relating to string makers (twenty-one in total) and in a collection of miscellaneous documents. Amongst these are several inventories containing lutes (sometimes un liuto vecchio or a liuto rotto). In the inventory of goods drawn up for a certain Francesco do Toffia is a lute, which so happens to be pledged to the pawn shop for the price of a giulio. Lutes are often listed in inventories, for example the Venetian, Viena De Gratiosis, lists two lutes and eight chitarre da sonar. Similarly, Giulio Cesare De Grandis, the maestro di camera of Cardinal Mattei, was in possession of two lutes, one with a case and one without. In terms of monetary value, Anibale Troncadini’s lute was valued at 40 baiocchi but a consignment of lute strings—as evidenced through a transaction between Giulio De Matteo and his brother—was valued at 35 scudi. A certain Violante from Macerata, possessed something of a plucked string continuo section as the inventory of her goods lists two lutes, a guitar and a harp.68

Valentini, while preserving the foundation of traditional knowledge, was also up-to-date with the latest advancements in instrument building, which is evidenced in Il leuto anatomizzato in the section on the varying types of lutes and their tunings. The state of play with regards to available plucked string instruments around mid-century can be gleaned from an engraved plate in Athanasius Kircher’s Musurgia Universalis (Rome, 1650), as shown in Figure III-1. Though not without its organological flaws, these images provide an important addendum to Valentini’s Il leuto anatomizzato.

66 Vera Vita Spagnuolo, “La costruzione di strumenti musicali a Roma tra XVII e XIX secolo, con notizie inedite sulla famiglia Biglioni”, Musica a Roma attraverso le Fonti d’Archivio (La). Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 giugno 1992, pp.16-65


68 Archival information in the paragraph is taken from the documentary appendix, pp. 31-65, in Spagnuolo’s study.
Musurgia Universalis is particularly interesting and indeed relevant, not only for the fact that Volume I opens with a canon by Valentini, but that it contains a discussion on almost all aspects of music, including an expanded section on musical instruments, and beginning on p.476 are ten pages devoted to plucked string instruments, as the above image shows.
stringed instruments”. Of interest is Kircher’s comment regarding the placement of the frets of the theorbo. He says that “… since no other instrument [theorbo] has a greater musical variety, and indeed it is the only one suited to display the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic systems”. Frederick Baron Crane believes that Kircher is suggesting that the theorbo is the only instrument capable of producing quarter tones. Crane goes on to say that “by suitably placing the frets, of course, any instrument of the lute family could reproduce the Greek scales”. The instrument on the top left corner is a standard 10-course lute, the type advocated by Kapsberger. Kircher refers to the instrument in the top centre as a tiorba, however, this instrument, with its double courses, would appear to be either a theorboed lute, or an archlute, both common at the time. The instrument at the bottom left is an orpharion and the onet nest to it is a cittern. Kircher refers to the three instruments from the bottom left of the plate using the generic term ‘cythara’. The first cithara is referred to as communis, or common cithara, and is a double-strung instrument. The second instrument is referred to as a German or Italian cythara. This instrument has five courses and would have been strung in steel. The next instrument is the common-place Spanish guitar, again double-strung. The final instrument on the bottom row is the four-string mandora. The long-necked three-stringed instrument on the top right is a colascione.70

At the beginning of the seventeenth century evidence of the lute as fondamento, or foundation for basso continuo, is found in Agostino Agazzari’s insightful treatise Del sonar sopra l’basso con tutti li strumenti e dell’uso loro nel conserto (1607).71 A Siennese by birth, his insights however were born from his experiences in Rome at the Roman College. Describing a practice that was already in use, he comments on the lute’s place in the continuo ensemble:

The instruments that serve as a foundation, which guide and support the body of said ensemble of voices are the: organ, gravicembalo etc. and similarly in situations of less voices the lute, theorbo, and harp etc. As for the ornamentation… which by whit and counterpoint, make the sound of the harmony more agreeable are: the lute, theorbo, harp, lirone, cetera, spinett, guitar, violin, pandora and others similar... And he who plays the lute, which is the noblest instrument among many others, should play with inventiveness and diversity.72

Additional clarification is gleaned from Adriano Banchieri’s Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo (1609), where, in a letter in the appendix Agazzari affirms:

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70 Frederick Baron Crane, "Athanasius Kircher, Musurgia Universalis (Rome 1650): the section on musical instruments" (State University of Iowa, 1956), 47.
71 Agostino Agazzari, Del sonare sopra l’basso con tutti li strumenti e dell’uso loro nel conserto (Siena: Falcini, 1607), 6.
72 “Come fondamento sono quei, che guidano, e sostengono tutto il corpo delle voci, e strumenti di detto Concerto: quali sono, organo, gravicembalo etc. e similmente in occasione di poche e soli voci, leuto, tiorba, arpa etc. Come ornamento sono quelli, che scherzando, contrapontegiando, rendono più aggradevole, e sonora l’armonia: cioe leuto, tiorba, arpa, lirone, cetera, spinetto, chitarrina, violino, pandora et altri simili” Agazzari, Del sonare sopra l’basso con tutti li strumenti e dell’uso loro nel conserto, 3.
The lute in the ensemble should play with pleasant inventiveness and diversity, now with chords and sweet strumming, now with long and now short passaggi. Then with gracious bass runs, repeating fugues in several places with slurs and trills and accents for the sake of decorum.73

A modern-day practical expression of Agazzari’s precepts can be found in the playing of the plucked-string continuo group, Tragicomedia, in their 1996 recording of Stefano Landi’s La Morte d’Orfeo (1619).74 Here lutes, theorbos, harps, harpsichords and organs spin music of sumptuous brilliance and invention and give us a very real glimpse into the contribution plucked strings gave to the soundscape of early Roman opera.

Lutes were also used in the church. Noel O’Regan in his dissertation on polychoral music in Rome, observes that the payment records for feast-day concerted music performances often included amounts for a lutenist and a theorbo player and from this surmised that a “standard [instrumental] combination seems to have been violin and lute with one choir, cornetto and theorbo with the other.” This combination of instruments is found, for example, in Paulo Tarditi’s eight-part Psalms, Magnificat con 4 antiphonis ad vesperas…liber II (Rome, 1620).75 The lute as a continuo instrument is also found in Paolo Agostini’s motet Preperate corde vestra (see below in Figure III-2).76 Here the vocal parts are supported by the organ and the entry of the violin is joined by the lute (as a basso continuo instrument).

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73 “Il leuto in conserto deve suonarsi con vaga inventione, & diversità, hora con botte, & ripercosse dolci, hor con passaggi larghi, & quando stretti, poi con qualche gratiosa abordonata, repetendo fughe in diversi luoghi, e con groppi trilli, & accenti farsi, che rendi vaghezza”. Adriano Banchieri, “Copia di una lettera scritta dal sig. Agostino Agazzari,” in Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo (Bologna: Rossi, 1608), 68-69.
74 Stefano Landi, La Morte d’Orfeo (1619), Tragicomedia (Stephen Stubbs), Accent ACC 30046.
Whilst other examples of this scoring exist—a manuscript Magnificat by Nanino and a work in Anerio’s 1619 print, *Teatro armónico*—it is also common to see *ad libitum* additions of instruments to vocal music. In these instances, the lute and theorbo would double the bass and the cornetto and violin would take, or double, the soprano parts in adjacent choirs. Graham Dixon convincingly shows that the use of instruments in Roman church music was much more widely practiced than would appear from the available parts. He quotes Agazzari, in his preface to his 1609 collection of Psalms when he describes the ‘*uso di Roma*’:

I have wished by means of the publication to communicate some matters to all; namely that these psalms must be sung with organ, or with the accompaniment of other instruments such as lute, theorbo, etc., because otherwise the harmony will be too poor…”

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78 Dixon, "Roman church music: the place of instruments after 1600," 53, “…hò voluto per mezzo dello stampa comunicarle a tutti; dichiarandomi che detti Salmi si debbono cantare con l’organo, overo con accompagnatura d’altri strumenti come Leuto, Tiorba, &c. perche altrimenti l’armonia sarebbe troppo povero…”.
A vivid account of the use of instruments in the Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso is provided via André Maugars *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique en Italie, escrite à Rome, le 1er octobre 1639*.

Frederick Hammond notes that Maugars description of musical *sinfonie* correspond closely to anonymous Roman-based instrumental music now located in the library of Uppsala university. Hammond quotes Maugars, saying that the instrumental ensemble at the Crocifisso:

…was composed of organ, a large harpsichord, a lira, two or three violins, and two or three archlutes. Sometimes one violin played alone with the organ and then another answered; another time all three played different parts together, then all the instruments took up together. Sometimes one archlute made a thousand variations on ten or twelve notes each note of five or six measures *[mesures]*; then the other played the same things, though differently. But above all the great Frescobaldi made appear a thousand sorts of inventions *[inventiones]* on his harpsichord, the Organ always holding firm.79

The instrumental parts at Uppsala University illustrate plucked instruments in ensemble with strings, and organ. As shown in Figure III-3 below, they are labelled as: violino 1, violino 2, leuto, tiorba, spinetta and organo. The opening six bars (probably and adagio) show the close relationship between the continuo. Subtle differences—for example the movement of the theorbo in the first bar and the movement of the spinetta in the fourth bar—add just the right amount of rhythmic activation to the already continuo-rich texture. The allegro at bar 7 is similarly telling and particularly effective is how the (anonymous) composer gives the impression of three entries coming from essentially one line (b. 7).

The section of music shown below in Figure III-4 shows how improvisation over a ground bass was divided up amongst the lute, theorbo and spinetta, where each instrument took turns to play divisions, all over a bass supplied by a second lute. A similar section (below in Figure III-5) shows how the two violinists shared the improvisation between them, this time with the organ providing the fundamental bass.
In Lynda Sayce and Ivo Magherini’s survey of the archlute in Rome, one notes the Roman archlute emerging from a deep-seated acceptance of the lute fulfilling an essential role in ensemble music, as continuo instrument or reading written-out *obligato* parts in a lute or mixed ensemble. The lute is also found in two toccatas by Frescobaldi: one for spinet or lute and the other for spinet and violin or lute and violin (see Figure III-6 below).

The foregoing instrumental works give a reasonable picture of some of the ways the lute was being used in Rome up to about 1630.

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The situation around the mid-century is best encapsulated through two publications: the *Conserto Vago* of 1645 and Athanasius Kircher’s *Musurgia Universalis* (1650). Both of these publications point to a flourishing tradition of plucked instrument playing in Rome. Moreover, a tradition that sees the lute, theorbo and guitar and harp existing side by side. *Conserto Vago* (see Figure III-7 and Figure III-8) is a tablature collection of dances—balletti, volte, corrente etc—scored for lute, theorbo and guitar. A short, but informative, guide to performance precedes a collection of dances.

Figure III-8. Avvertimenti from *Conserto Vago*.

Figure III-9. Lute part from *Conserto Vago*.
Athanasius Kircher, in his famed *Musurgia Universalis* (1650)\(^\text{81}\) published a set of six works by Lelio Colista (1629-1680) to demonstrate the so-called *stylus symphonicus*. Colista, a noted Roman exponent of the lute, guitar and theorbo, was referred to by Kircher as ‘Vere Romanae Urbis Orpheus’ truly the Orpheus of the city of Rome. Colista’s choice of instruments leaves us in no doubt as to the level of esteem that the plucked-string ensemble achieved at this time. Colista’s scoring is as follows:

1. a) *symphonia testudinum*, b) *Sub proportione sesquioctava* c) *Sub proportione sesquialtera*  
   (four lutes, see appendix)

2. à 6 - *symponia cytharis, thiorbis, harpis, & testudinus appropriate* (guitar, two lutes, two theorbos and harp)

3. à 5 – *symphonia* (guitar, lute, two theorbos and harp)

4. à 4 – *symphonia* (guitar, lute, theorbo and harp)

5. à 3 – *symphonia* (guitar, lute, theorbo)

6. à 2 – *symphonia* (lute and theorbo)

In the first symphonia an ensemble of four lutes is used to convey sober prima-practica-style polyphony. The same instrumental grouping is used for the next two works in the sequence, this time under time signatures 9/8 and 12/8 and with more modern, and idiomatically instrumental polyphony. The sinfonias in five and six parts (numbers 3 and 2 respectively), represent a now lost sound world where multiple plucked instruments play in consort. The grandeur of the second sinfonia in particular—with its roots in the slow-moving harmonies of the so called Roman colossal Baroque and also in contrapunto alla mente style—would have surely made a vivid impression. Kircher informs his readers that one of the primary purposes of including Colista’s musical examples (as per Figure III-9) was as exemplars for players to create their own music in a similar style.

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\(^{81}\) Crane, "Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome 1650): the section on musical instruments."
B. Lute Pedagogy and Practice

The craft of learning a musical instrument, like other crafts in the seventeenth century, was largely undertaken through the master/apprentice model, where the ‘secrets’ of the craft were passed on via the oral tradition.\(^{82}\) Whilst the deliberate veiling of such information from the written record suited the guilds in early modern Italy, today this fact causes no little frustration. Nevertheless, some records do remain and through the list of printed and manuscript sources below we can build something of a general picture of teaching and learning the lute in Rome. The sources below—instructional broadsheets, commonplace books, and later, treatises—all emanate from Rome, and between them we can see how \textit{Il leuto anatomizzato} fits into the pedagogical picture. This table (Table III-I) is based partly on Howard Mayer Brown’s \textit{Instrumental music printed before 1600: A bibliography},\(^{83}\) Dinko Fabris’s handlist of lute tablature books and also sources brought to our knowledge by Victor Coelho in his 1989 PhD dissertation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title/name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. before 1540?</td>
<td>Strambi</td>
<td>Broadsheet ‘Regole’ &lt;br&gt;This broadsheet was the prototype for numbers 4,5,6 and 8 below. Contained rules for tuning, the principles of solfège and instruction on the Guidonian hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. after 1546 but before 1603?</td>
<td>[Cavaliere del Liuto?]</td>
<td>Domenico Bianchini/ Intabolatura de leuto/ di Domenico Bianchini Ms. addition to RISM 1546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 1582</td>
<td>Brambilla, M.</td>
<td>Broadsheet ‘Regole’&lt;br&gt;Anleitung die Zither zu spielen, nebst Noten eines Psalmes. Ambrosius Brambilla fecit 1582, gr. qu fol. RISM 1582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{82}\) Victor Coelho, “The manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Italian lute music: a catalogue raissoné” (University of California, 1989).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. 1594</td>
<td>M. Carrara</td>
<td>Broadsheet ‘Regole’</td>
<td>In questa carta si insegna il vero et si / curo dodo per potere presto scompartire ogni musica / et ridurla facilmente in qual si voglia sorte d’Intavolatura di / liuto commodissima per sonare. RISM 1594.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. before 1603</td>
<td>Lorenzini</td>
<td>Broadsheet ‘Regole’</td>
<td>Thesaurus Harmonicus Divini Laurencini Romani… by Jean-Baptise Besard (Cologne, 1603; rpt Geneva, 1975), and the Varietie of Lute-Lessons by Robert Dowland of 1610 (rpt London, 1958). In an appendix to the Thesaurus, Besard printed a short treatise of seven pages, entitled ‘De Modo in Testudine Studendi Libellus’ that claims to have been taken from Laurencini when Besard had studied with him in Rome. (Tuning systems; General indications on performance practices; Ornaments and other signs; Intabulation methods; Organological indications)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 1615</td>
<td>M. Carrara</td>
<td>Broadsheet ‘Regole’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 1627-49</td>
<td>Rome, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4145</td>
<td>“Originates from the Barberini musical establishment of the early seventeenth century, and thus-if not the most interesting source strictly on musical terms- a revealing manuscript that illustrates the domestic music making of the Barberini musical household. Contains pedagogical exercises and technical studies.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 1636</td>
<td>Valentini</td>
<td>Rome, Barb. Lat. 4395</td>
<td>Ordine (Rules for reading tablature in Italian; Tuning systems; General indications on performance practices; Intabulation methods; Organological indications; Correspondence between mensural notation and tablature or between different tablatures)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 1640</td>
<td>Kapsberger</td>
<td>Kapsberger (Libro IV di chitarrone, 1640)</td>
<td>Music for 14-course theorbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 1650</td>
<td>Kircher</td>
<td>Athanasius Kircher (Musurgia Universalis, 1650)</td>
<td>Engraved plate showing plucked string instruments; General indications on performance practices; tuning systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ca. 1650</td>
<td>Valentini</td>
<td>Rome, Barb. Lat. 4433</td>
<td>Il leuto anatomizzato (Rules for reading tablature in Italian; Tuning systems; General indications on performance practices; Ornaments and other signs; Intabulation methods; Organological indications; Correspondence between mensural notation and tablature or between different tablatures)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources 1,4,5,6 and 8 are all broadsheets, that is their contents are printed on a single, large sheet of paper. The Italians referred to this size as *carta volante*, and in Rome, where papal edicts were regularly posted on notice boards around the city, reading information from such sources would have been commonplace.  

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various European centres and goes on to list ten or so examples, ranging from the rudiments of music to the acquisition of the basic rules of counterpoint and to the playing of the lute.\textsuperscript{85}

Owens suggests that these broadsheets could have been pinned to the wall in order that they could be regularly consulted. The image below (\textbf{Figure III-10}) represents the essential feature of the five lute-related broadsheets in \textit{Table III-1} (it has been impossible to obtain images of any of the Roman sources). There are instructions for tuning, instructions for the fundamentals of solfeggio and deciphering the Guidonian hand, instructions for reading notes and where to find them on the fretboard, and instructions for the reading of rhythmic symbols. As already mentioned, in his treatise \textit{Monochordo}, Valentini mentions a \textit{foglio volante} printed in Rome in 1641 (now lost) on the topic of tuning the harpsichord and organ by way of a lute.\textsuperscript{86} Valentini himself had a number of his own canons printed in this format.

\textbf{Figure III-11. Broadsheet containing lute instructions.}

Whilst instructions on reading tablature were indispensable for a basic understanding of the lute, topics such as intabulation, or making transcriptions of vocal works for the lute, were the provenance of more advanced players. This subject, of course, is fully explored in Valentini’s \textit{Ordine}


\textsuperscript{86} Valentini mentions this in \textit{Come l’autore si sia mossa a ritrovare nel presente monochordo la costituzione con toni e semitoni eguali, et qual ordine abbia tenuti} (Barb. Lat. 4338), f9 r.
and in *Il leuto anatomizzato*, and Cristoforetti is correct to note the indebtedness Valentini is to Galilei’s *Fronimo*. Intabulation techniques are also discussed in source 2 (of the above table), via manuscript additions to Domenico Bianchini’s 1546 print *Intabolatura de leuto*.

In addition to housing the two manuscript lute treatises of Valentini the Barberini Collection in the Vatican library also holds two fascinating commonplace books.⁸⁷ Rome, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4145, partly in the hand of Kapsberger, is a collection of short works for a 14-course theorbo. Victor Coelho is surely correct in seeing this as a teaching book: for example, a sample schedule of lessons, with dates, is given, there are short instructions in relation to music theory and similar instructions as to reading figured bass. Rome, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4180 is something of an anomaly, being a collection of French music, in an obviously French hand (Coelho notes the French style orthography) but written in Italian tablature on paper of clearly Roman origin. The strong French presence at the court of Urban the VIII’s—witness Gabriel Naudé and Cardinal Jules Mazarin—was no doubt the genesis of this volume, and one would imagine much else. For Valentini’s treatment of the French tuning see sections 11 and 12 in *Il leuto anatomizzato*.

In addition to the lute being used in the various ways described above, the lute was also used in various other ‘private’ environments, and especially as a didactic tool in aiding the development of the musical mind. John Griffiths, in a ground-breaking article from 2002 titled *The Lute and the Polyphonist*, explains how “… the lute was a fundamental part of the sixteenth-century domestic and urban soundscape … it was the lute that brought the polyphonic vocal repertory into the domestic environment and into the consciousness of many people who otherwise would have little opportunity to partake in it”⁸⁸ Griffiths says that the lute was used as a didactic tool, and that lute players who also wanted to compose for their instrument utilised the lute to help facilitate their craft.

As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter and will be discussed in depth in the following, Valentini professes to the instruction of counterpoint created both extemporaneously (*alla mente*) and on chalk and slate (paper). With this in mind, it makes sense for Valentini to include a final section containing the rudiments of composition and counterpoint.

The aim of this chapter was to place *Il leuto anatomizzato* in its Roman orbit. Thanks to the above outstanding scholars, for having brought so much to this field of research, we see the dissemination of knowledge surrounding the centrality and function of the lute. One can see Valentini using *Il leuto anatomizzato* to instruct his students, with the lute as a tool. These lessons would teach the most important and fundamental aspects of playing, and instil the practical know-how to embark

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on a career as a performer in any of the many musical institutions in Rome – private chamber music making, extravagant theatrical spectacles, or grand solemn religious celebrations.
IV. A Critical Commentary

A. Origin and Scope of the Manuscript

Ordine (1636) and Il leuto anatomizzato (1650) were the second to last attempts at providing didactic lute rules, the last being contained in Filippo della Dasa’s Suonate di celebri autori per l’arcileuto francese of 1759.89

Ordine is first mentioned in around 1642 in what would be the final draft of Monochordo (Barb. Lat. 4338), when Valentini is experimenting with his monochord and mentions having written Ordine six years prior. Patrizio Barbieri deduces that these experiments, and the compiling of the theoretical manuscripts were from the period between 1642 and 1645.90 This manuscript is housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and begins:

It is been six years since I wrote a work, not yet given to the printer’s, in which I demonstrate, and teach the way to intabulate on the Lute and to play transposed on all its frets.91

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the lute’s role was significantly amplified across all spheres of music making, and therefore required to do more transposing – as was that of the theorbo and guitar. This would necessitate a consistent temperament which allows transpositions to any tonal centre, or any fret. An equal tempered instrument would be ideal for the trask. Despite approaching equal temperament, the lute had not yet strictly reached it. For this reason universal transpositions aren’t possible. David Dolata, in his excellent treatment of temperaments on lutes and viols92, also affirms that Valentini’s contemporaries, be they the “common folk” or even “serious authors”, have gravely erred in asserting the equality of tones and semitones on the lute. Nevertheless, in Monochordo Valentini becomes an advocate for equal temperament, and the overall effect of Il leuto is to add further reasons why temperaments able to accommodate every key are practically necessary.

89 Fabris, "Lute tablature instructions in Italy: A survey of the regole from 1507 to 1759," 41.
91 “Gia sono sei anni che Io composi un opera, non data ancora alla stampa, nella quale dimostra, et insegni il modo di intavolare nel Leuto et di sonare trasportato in tutti it tasti di esso”, Monochordo (Barb. Lat. 4338), pg 24.
92 David Dolata, Meantone temperaments on lutes and viols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 20.
In relation, Patrizio Barbieri hypothesizes that Valentini was “triggered” into conducting his experiments on temperaments by the outcome a certain public experiment conducted in 1641 in which a harpsichord was tuned in an equal temperament and in unison with a lute. The manuscript containing these refutations is now found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma. However, these events were left out of the final version of Monochordo. Valentini protested the procedure and outcome of the experiment. He also mentions that the person who tabled the results published a foglio volante (1641) listing the names of the musicians who vouched for the “perfect success” of the outcome. As the foglio volante is lost we’ll never know the names of the instigators in this altercation nor the object of Valentini’s rebuttals.

In Gregory Barnett’s essay Tonal organization in seventeenth-century music theory, apart from citing a number of sources in which a methodical system of learning to transpose modes at any pitch is discussed and reasons why a transposition might take place – “either for the convenience of the singers or to play in consort with other instruments”, Barnett raises the crucial point of the use of a closed circular progression of harmonies being possible in equal and almost equal temperaments when discussing Werckmeister.

All this said, Ordine and Il leuto anatomizzato present a working system for intabulating and playing transposed in any position regardless of the tuning – this includes transposing figured basslines for accompanying. Sometime before Ordine was condensed, spruced up and repackaged with a rather aesculapian title (indeed, the word “anatomizzato” makes comparison to medical texts in its pedantic and systematic exposition of information) Valentini must have witnessed local lutenists trying to deal with transposing during performance – as can be deduced from the quote on page 5 of this thesis taken from Trattato musica dealing with modes and their transpositions. We can’t be sure if Valentini witnessed lute players of archlute players – he doesn’t specify. It is also clear that

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93 “Valentini himself gave notice of a public experiment, during which a harpsichord had been tuned in unison with a lute. In this regard, Valentini claims to be the only one to have created a truly equal temperament on the harpsichord; he criticizes the procedure followed in the experiment, arguing that - contrary to common belief - luthiers do not position the frets at all using the rules of this division. In the same manuscript he adds that the presenter of this demonstration, in a paper he printed in Rome in 1641, had published a series of statements by musicians attesting to the perfect success of the experiment”, “...egli stesso dà notizia di un pubblico esperimento, nel corso del quale un cembalo era stato accordato all’unisono con un liuto. A tale riguardo, Valentini rivendica però di essere il solo ad aver realizzato sul cembalo un temperamento veramente equabile: egli critica infatti la procedura seguita nell’esperimento, sostenendo che – contrariamente alla commune credenza – i liutai non posizionano affatto i tasti avvalendosi delle regole di tale divisione. Nello stesso manoscritto aggiunge poi che l’autore di tale dimostrazione, in un foglio fatto da lui stampare a Roma nel 1641, aveva pubblicato una serie di dichiarazione di musicisti attestanti la perfetta riuscita dell’esperimento.” Barbieri, "Il temperamento equabile nel periodo frescobaldiano," 398.

94 Come l’autore si sia mosso a ritrovare nel presente monochordo la costitutione con Toni e semitonii eguali et qual ordine habbia tenuto. Archivio di Stato di Roma, MS 368.


instrument choice became more important as the seventeenth century progressed with the use of the 8-course lute seeing a steady decline by the middle of the century. Especially in Rome the 8- or even 10-course lute was being superseded by the archlute, the theorbo and guitar—the latter two being employed more and more often in a continuo role. Valentini seems to be preserving the antiquated practice of intabulating vocal music, and at the same time documenting the current practice of transposing a figured bassline. Nearly 70 years prior, Vincenzo Galilei gave the motivations for composing *Fronimo*, the benchmark treatise on intabulation and transposition. This undoubtedly shows Galieli documenting, and furthering, a current practice:

> I myself am sometimes amazed at how there has never been anybody (of all those, in the profession of the lute, having succeeded in becoming almost divine) who has taught us the art and the rules of intabulating vocal music for the lute, which, however, the lute is the least imperfect instrument we have. Nor do I see any reason for this, except that maybe they [great players] thought it too lowly to teach certain small technicalities, necessary to be observed in this art, as for them it was sufficient to know perfectly how to do them. I have been ardently desirous of providing the world some betterment concerning music, and seeing it to be more deprived everyday of the art of intabulation.\(^7\)

Following is an examination of the thirteen sections of the manuscript, its meanings and implications, going through section by section elucidating on the main arguments covered and relative historical contextualisation.

Below are some of the terms used by Valentini throughout the manuscript that necessitated clarification:

- *ordine* (singular) *ordini* (plural)\(^8\)
- *botte* (chord)
- *chiave* (sonority)
- *bquadro* (no flat in the key signature)
- *bmolle* (one flat in the key signature)
- *scale musicale* (chromatic scale showing the entire range of each *ordine*)
- *andamento* (diatonic and simple progression, the gamut of each *ordine* without chromatic alterations)
- *corda*\(^9\) (string, single or double)

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7. "Mi son tal’hora da me medesimo meraviglio come non vi sia stato alcuno, (di tanti che in questa professione sono riusciti quasi divini) che ci habbi insegnato l’arte, e le regole di Intavolare su’l Liuto, il quale pure di musica, di suoni, è il più perfetto instrumento c’habbiamo. Ne ci so vedere altra ragioni, se non che forse gli paresse cosa troppo bassa ad insegnare certe minute così fatte, ch’intorno à questa arte sono necessarie da osservarsi, e bastasse loro sapere perfettamente farlo... sono tuttavia stato d’ardentissimo desiderio accesso di fare al mondo alcuno giovamento intorno alla musica, e vedendo ogni giorno piu depravarsi dett’arte de l’intavolare", *Fronimo*, 1568, Scotto, 5.

8. The Italian dictionary *Treccani* defines *ordine* as; a regular arrangement of several things placed one in relation to the other, according to an organic and reasoned criterion, responsive to practicality, opportunity, harmony etc.

9. The standard modern practice is to use “course” when discussing the strings of the members of the lute family, whether they are single or double strings. The modern Italian usage of “*corda*” is analogous to Valentini’s usage. When discussing the classification of lutes according the number of courses, the English
casella (when intabulating, the division of each stave of music into bars of 2, 3, 4 beats with the notes and intabulation aligned directly beneath)

The manuscript sections are divided into the following:

1. To the virtuous reader, f1 r.- f1 v.
2. The Ordini, f2 r.- f15 v.
3. Recommendations pertaining to the cadences described in the present work, f15 r.- f17 r.
4. Considerations concerning the chords or sonorities described in the present work; in order to play above a part, namely, above the Bass, f17 r.- f18r.
5. Advice regarding the note D sol re with squadro as well as b moll, and regarding the note A la mi re with squadro, and regarding that of G sol re ut with b moll, f18 r.- f18 v.
6. Advice regarding the Aria di Ruggiero, f18 v.
7. Rules and manner of intabulating on the lute, f19 r.- f23 v.
8. Considerations on the principal chords or sonorities of the lute, f23 v.- f24 r.
9. Rule for re-intabulating, f24 v.- f25 r.
10. On the difference that is found between the lute of eight courses of strings, and the theorboed and archlute, and others, and of their tuning, f24 v.- f25 r.
11. On the three sorts of lute tablature, namely, the Italian, Neapolitan, and the French, f26 v.- f26 r.
12. About a certain French tuning of the lute called B flat, f28 r.- f29 v.
13. The art of refined counterpoint, f30 r.- f33 v.

B. Section One (f1 r.- f1 v.): “To the virtuous reader” (Transl. p.2)

Music was practised by the Ancients in three genera of melody. They were diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic… On the lute which is commonly used… the enharmonic genus has no place, it not being used in our century in the manner that it was used in antiquity, by reason for its awkwardness, it would be necessary to divide the frets of a semitone in two, in order to distinguish the intervals of a minor diesis100

Valentini’s opening remarks on the Ancient Greek genera, particularly the use of the enharmonic genus on the lute and shows him doubling down on his position which he had been postulating since the inception of his ordini (1636).

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100 “Fù dagli Antichi esercitata la Musica in tre Generi di Cantilene, che sono Diatonico, Cromatico et Enharmonico… Nel Leuto che ordinariamente si usanov havendo luogo il Genere Enharmonico, si per non usarsi in questo nostro secolo in quella maniere, che si usava nell’antica età, come anco per la difficoltà sua, essendo che sarebbe necessario dividere in due tasti; i tasti de semitoni per distinguere et haverne gl’intervalli et i tasti dell’ miniors Diesis proprië di esso Genere Enharmonico”, Il leuto anatomizzato, f
This subject caused considerable discussion amongst musicians and academics in post-tridentine Rome. These genera: diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic, are illustrated in Figure IV-1 below which are show on the first folio of Il leuto [and in caption]. Note the interval between the first and second note of each tetrachord in the enharmonic genus. Valentini says this interval is not possible, as one or more frets of the lute would need to be split in order to create the interval.101

Figure IV-1. Three genus used by ancients Il leuto anatomizzato, f. 1r.

I. What is an Ordine?

A caveat is warranted here at the outset, and that is that pitch in relation to note names on the lute is relative. An ordine can best be understood as one of twelve “displacements” between note name and the pitch of the lute. It is not analogous to a mode or scale, but instead a changeable conceptualization between the notes on the stave and where they would normally be found on the lute. The name of a particular ordine comes from its position in an order of intervals according to an alternating chromatic schema (Figure IV-2).

Figure IV-2. Alternating chromatic schema of transpositions.

The example that Valentini supplies for each transposition is demonstrated in the realisation of an *Aria di Ruggiero*. He shows the bass starting on G for each example, or not transposed. For consistency, I too will use G as a reference. The pitch of each note in the above schema represents the pitch of the lute in relation to the untransposed G or *I ordine*. *II ordine* is a semitone above the G, *III ordine* is a semitone below the G etc. The size or pitch of the lute is also of significant importance, and may ultimately determine which *ordine* to use so that the performance is “rendered” comfortable for both lutenist and those who are being accompanied.

Knowing how and when to transpose has a number of contributing factors, they are: style, vocal register, dimension and tuning of the lute, and technique and experience of the player. From *Ordine* (Barb. Lat. 4395) Valentini provides a case in point as to why one would transpose, and how his *ordini* are to function:

… we will now give some advice if it were to happen that when playing above a bass line, the notes of which were to go to the [upper] extreme, in a way that playing such chords for the novice would be uncomfortable, for reason of not having the skills of an expert player, he could play these at the octave lower, as long as these notes were the lowest of the composition […], therefore this would become easier and would not displease the ear. We say that with the first *ordine*, as with the following eleven Ordini, one can intabulate, and play any work with any part in any clef, such as a piece composed of bass, tenor, alto and soprano; or with tenor, alto and soprano; or with tenor and alto; or with just tenor […] For example, if a composition with bquadro was composed with the bass in an F-fa-ut clef on the third line, the tenor with a C-sol-fa-ut clef on the third line the alto with a C-sol-fa-ut clef on the second line, and the soprano with a G-sol-re-ut clef on the second line, this composition can be played and intabulated in this our first Ordine in its natural tone with bquadro, but on a lute larger than normal might result more comfortable to sing in the *tono corista*, but if it is too high for the human voice and uncomfortable for the player, as the notes are on the highest frets of the lute, for ease he can play and intabulate transposed using any of the following *ordini*, in any way that is comfortable…

As I have pointed out on page 5 (note 22), Valentini says that a transposition at the fourth above or at the fifth below was standard when there is flat in the key signature, and the piece is in “*chiavi*

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103 “… daremo alcune avvertenze con dire che se accadesse nel sonar sopra un basso, che le note d’esso andassero nell’estremo di maniera che a qualche principiante fusse comodo il sonarle con le loro botte proprie per non havere quella pratica che conviene ad esperto sonatore, le potrà sonare con botte all’ottava bassa, mentre però esse note sieno le più gravi della compositione […] onde in tal modo gli tornerà commodo e punto non dispiacerà all’udito. Diremo anco che tanto con questo primo Ordine, quanto con li Undici Ordini seguenti, si può intavolare, e sonare qualsivoglia opera con qualsivoglia parte et chiave, come le opere composte con Basso, Tenore, Alto et Canti o vero con Tenore, Alto e Basso, o con Tenori et Alti, o veramente con Tenori soli […] per esempio, se una composizione per bquadro fusse composta nel Basso con la chiave di F-fa-ut in terza riga, nel Tenore con la chiave di C-sol-fa-ut in riga terza, nell’Alto con la chiave di C-sol-fa-ut in seconda riga, et nel soprano con la chiave di G-sol-re-ut medesimamente in seconda riga, essa composizione si potrebbe ancora sonare et intavolare in questo primo Ordine nel suo tono naturale per bquadro, et in un Lauto grande oltre l’ordinario qual tornerebbe commodo a cantarsi al Tono Corista, et tornando forse troppo alto per le voce humana et scommodo per il sonatore venendo le voci alte negli ultimi tasti di esso Lauto per commodità si potrà sonare et intavolare trasportato nell’altri ordini seguenti […] in qualsivoglia maniera comodo […]”, from Ordine, il quale serve a sonare, et intavolare nel Lauto, (Barb. Lat 4395), 10.
"ordinarie" or standard clefs. This practice seems consistent also in *Il leuto anatomizzato* as we will see below.  

Thanks to the research done by Barbieri et al., we can safely affirm that transposition was an expected practice, and might well have to be done on the whim of the singer or director of the performance. On page 64 of *Trattato musica* (Barb. Lat. 4429) Valentini offers some advice for the inexperienced plucked string and keyboard players in relation to transposing. After giving an extensive lesson to singers on how transpose the modes, states:

But for the inexperienced player who doesn’t have the wherewithal to play the transpositions which are said above, it would be of much usefulness to play the bassline with all the sharps and flats in the key signature, and for the singers, in order to not confuse them, we give them the part with the ordinary clefs that are used, and with there ear they sing according to the pitch of the instrument, thus they will sing at the transposition required.  

This seems to be one of the reasons to conceive such a foreboding treatise for lute players. If a lute player is commanded to “…play at the interval required… with all the sharps and flats in the key signature”, then a how-to systematic tutor would surely be of use. *Ordine* and *Il leuto* (as well as *Trattato musica* for singers) supplied the pragmatic instructions in order to carry out such transposing operations.

I think it is important to mention two examples: Sylvestro Ganassi’s *Regola rubertina* and Aurelio Virgiliano’s *Il dolcimelo*. The former, in reference to tuning and transposition is treated in *The Music for Viola Bastarda* by Jason Paras, and demonstrates to the solo performer, or indeed the entire consort, how and when to transpose – at sight– and also how to perform diminutions in the *bastarda* style. Interestingly, Paras posits that “… most viola da gamba players were also lutenists”, and that “Viola da gamba technique was usually modelled on lute technique, and the connection between the two instruments was close enough that the viola da gamba was originally considered to be a bowed lute”. Ganassi lays out the most common tunings between instruments of the standard

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106 “… ma per il sonatore non tanto esparto, che non gli bastasse l’animo di sonarle [transpositions] negl’intervalli che gli sono detti, et gli fusse di maggior facilita il sonare li bassi continui co’gli accidenti dei semitoni et bmolli… et alli cantante, per non metterli in confusione gli daremo le parti scritte nelle chiavi, che ordinariamente si usano, quali col orecchio secondando il suono dell’instrumento le verranno a cantare trasportato nell’intervallo da noi desiderato. Trattatu musica* (Barb. Lat. 4429), 64.


viola consort: *basso, tenore/alto, soprano* (see Paras for details on the tunings used by Ganassi).

Depending on the tuning, Ganassi instructs his reader how to transpose written music first up one tone, and then another. Ganassi incorporates the word *ordine* to nominate a transposition. For example “*Ordine secondo in proprieta de be molle*” for a transposition up of one tone, due to the presence of a b-flat in the notation. The transposition of a second he calls “*Terzo ordine de la proprieta de musica finta*” as his notation now incorporates a b-flat and an e-flat, the latter note extending beyond the range “*musicha recta*” into that of “*musicha finta*”.  

Aurelio Virgiliano also utilises the term *ordine* when referring to a set or order of transpositions. In his unfinished manuscript, he provides tables for viol ensembles and wind ensembles which demonstrate transpositions within the range of an octave. In these charts, Virgiliano calls the following transpositions *Ordini primi*: a tone up, at pitch, a tone down, and a third down. These are associated with the low clefs. His *Ordini secondi*, which are associated with high clefs, denote these transpositions: a fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh down.  

Unfortunately, we are to remain bereft of Virgiliano’s explanation of how to tune and make transpositions on the theorbo, guitar and lute. Gregory Barnett cites another interesting example of systematic transpositions, found in Lorenzo Penna’s *Li primi albori musicali* (1672). In relation to organ playing, Penna helps the *scholare* navigate around the circle of fifths using his *quattro Ordini di cadenze* (four orders of cadences). These cadences are divided into *ordini* based on whether they: rise or fall a fourth or a fifth, fall a major or minor second, contain major or minor sixths, contain a major or minor third and the type of cadential embellishment used in the upper parts. To note, is that Penna explains his terminology like this:

> It is called circular, or wheel, because as you go through all the cadences, and without realising, you return to the first cadence.

As mentioned in the introduction, Vincenzo Galilei’s *Fronimo* seems to be the most analogous to *Il leuto* in terms of the subject matter and breadth of didactic material covered. In relation to transposition, Galilei uses a series of what he calls *poste*. Each of these 12 *poste* presents a transposition—or a rethinking of the note names in relation to courses and frets of the lute (see Table IV-1). If we start with Galilei’s first *posta* (represented as 20 notes G₂-E₄), it is analogous (apart from range) to Valentini’s first *ordine* – a true representation of the notes as they sound on the fret board.
i.e. in the natural tone without transposition. Galilei’s second *posta* is the same as the first but containing b-flats. It is important to remember that like Galilei’s *poste*, the first and last note of the *ordini* are not thought of as principals or finals, like in the modes. This ‘gamut’ simply contains all the notes of that particular transposition available on a standard lute. For example, a movable diatonic scale of a certain number of notes – a greater range simply affords more notes.

**Table IV-1. Galilei’s 12 *poste* and Valentini’s 12 *ordini*.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12 Poste</th>
<th>Transposition (lute sounds)</th>
<th>Ordine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posta Prima</td>
<td>Natural tone, no transposition (bquadro)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Seconda</td>
<td>Natural tone, no transposition (bmolle)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Terza</td>
<td>↓M2 with bquadro, lowest note C (6\textsuperscript{th} course, 3\textsuperscript{rd} fret)</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Quarta</td>
<td>↓M2 with bmolle, lowest note B\textsuperscript{b} (6\textsuperscript{th} course, 1\textsuperscript{st} fret)</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Quinta</td>
<td>↓P4 with bquadro, lowest note C (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Sesta</td>
<td>↓P4 with bmolle, lowest note C (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Septima</td>
<td>↓P5 with bquadro, lowest note D (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Oitava</td>
<td>↓P5 with bmolle, lowest note D (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Nonna</td>
<td>↑M3 with bquadro, lowest note E (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Decima</td>
<td>↑M2 with bmolle, lowest note F (6\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Undecima</td>
<td>↑M3 with quadro, lowest note C (6\textsuperscript{th} course 1\textsuperscript{st} fret)</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posta Duodecima</td>
<td>↑P5 with bmolle, lowest note F (5\textsuperscript{th} course open)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The true value of Valentini’s *ordini* can be best understood when performing transposed with other musicians. When performing a lute transcription as a solo, the pitch is arbitrary, however, Galilei warns the novice that “…when you intabulate music according to these positions, see that their ranges are graceful and not inconvenient and without beauty”.\(^{115}\) Similarly, for a capella singing, when no other instrument is present, pitch is equally arbitrary. For lute players, Galilei alludes to further transposition options, other than his twelve, but insists “… I could indeed give you others, different from these; but since intelligent people consider them superfluous rather than useful, I will be silent about them”.\(^{116}\) So, as can be seen Galilei’s 12 *poste* do not account for transpositions on the twelve semitones that make up the octave (as do Valentini’s), but represent the more common transpositions of his own era.

To clarify Valentini’s thought process, we will take G (6\textsuperscript{th} course open) as our point of departure. Standard modern clefs will also be used. Valentini’s range here however, is not representative of the true range of the lute. Valentini’s instrument spans a theoretical four octaves!

To find the notes of each *ordine* a transposition is made according to the schema above on page 49. In the case of the first *ordine* with *bquadro*, the lute plays off the page as is. To find its *bmolle*, from the new interval a downward transposition of a 4\textsuperscript{th} is made. Given the first *ordine* is

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\(^{115}\) Galilei, *Il Fronimo* (1584), 41. “... nel intavolar le musiche, secondo questi modi, fare, che gli estremi loro, venghio commodi, & con gratia, & non incommodi, & senza alcuna vaghezza”. Fronimo, 11

without transposition, the lute, as would instinctively do, play down a fourth. So, if one is undertaking a transposition of a major third down with b\textit{molle}, where the starting note (tonal centre) will be E-flat, one would use the notes found in the \textit{andamento} of the second \textit{ordine} to play/intabulate single lines, sounding at the desired interval. Note, the interval between the natural tone and the transposition with b\textit{quadro} is the interval found in the index of transpositions. These complexities are laid out in \textbf{Table IV-2} and \textbf{Table IV-3} below.

\textbf{Table IV-2. Illustrated table of transpositions.}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{I Ordine} & \textbf{II Ordine} \\
\hline
\text{No transposition with b\textit{quadro}, ↓P4 with b\textit{molle};} & \text{↑m2 with b\textit{quadro}, ↓M3 with b\textit{molle}.} \\
\hline
\textbf{III Ordine} & \textbf{IV Ordine} \\
\hline
↓m2 with b\textit{quadro}, ↑tritone with b\textit{molle}; & ↑M2 with b\textit{quadro}, ↑M6 with b\textit{molle}. \\
\hline
\textbf{V Ordine} & \textbf{VI Ordine} \\
\hline
↓M2 with b\textit{quadro}, ↑P4 with b\textit{molle}; & ↑m3 with b\textit{quadro}, ↓M2 with b\textit{molle}. \\
\hline
\textbf{VII Ordine} & \textbf{VIII Ordine} \\
\hline
↓m3 with b\textit{quadro}, ↑M3 with b\textit{molle}; & ↑m2 with b\textit{quadro}, ↓M2 with b\textit{molle}. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
IX Ordine ↑m3 with bquadro, ↓M3 with bmolle; X Ordine ↑m2 with bquadro, ↓M2 with bmolle.

XI Ordine ↓P4 with bquadro, ↑M2 with bmolle; XII Ordine ↑ tritone with bquadro, ↑m2 with bmolle.

Table IV-3. Valentini’s table of transpositions f1 v.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To play in the natural tone</th>
<th>with ♮ see first ordine</th>
<th>with ♪ see tenth ordine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At a semitone above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the second ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a semitone below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the twelfth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a tone above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the third ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a tone below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the eighth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a minor third above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the fourth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a minor third below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the eleventh ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a major third above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the fifth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a major third below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the sixth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a fourth above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the eighth ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a fourth below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the seventh ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a tritone above</td>
<td>with ♮ see the second ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a tritone below</td>
<td>with ♪ see the third ordine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index of the Transpositions both with b quadro and with b molle contained in the following twelve ordini, with which (including the playing of the natural tone) one can play on the Lute transposed in fifty ways.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transposition</th>
<th>Clefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At a fifth above</td>
<td>♮ see the eleventh ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the first ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a fifth below</td>
<td>♮ see the tenth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the fifth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a minor sixth above</td>
<td>♮ see the ninth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the second ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a major sixth below</td>
<td>♮ see the sixth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the ninth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a minor seventh above</td>
<td>♮ see the fifth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the sixth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a minor seventh below</td>
<td>♮ see the fourth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the eleventh ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a major seventh above</td>
<td>♮ see the third ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the eighth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a major seventh below</td>
<td>♮ see the second ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the twelfth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At an octave below</td>
<td>♮ see the first ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ see the tenth ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At an octave above</td>
<td>♮ see the statement in first ordine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♭ one can use the tenth ordine with same explanation of the first ordine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this reasoning Valentini writes his ‘index of transpositions’. This index can be used to find the frets of the lute for each transposition within each ordine. Using the schema, we arrive at XII ordine at a tritone below. To get the remaining transpositions, we travel in the opposite direction from the first interval. For example, ↑P5 = XI ordine, ↓P5 = X ordine etc. Thus, we arrive at fifty transpositions, as per Table IV-3 above.

C. Section 2 (f2 r.– f15 v.): “The ordini” (Transl. p.6)

1. Clefs

For singers as well as instrumentalists, practicality would dictate that not all transpositions are possible all the time. A transposition is only practical when the range and ambitus permit it. For example, an octave transposition downward works when there are high clefs (voices), and conversely, an upward one when the clefs are low.

Composers between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries composed using a number of cleffing systems: not only in the usual “natural clefs” or “chiavi madri” (F1, C2, C3, C1), but also in the so-called “transposed clefs”, known since the nineteenth century as “chiavette”,117 plus mixed clefs (G2, C4, F3, F5, F6, F7). Falling into disuse at the end of the sixteenth century and only being observed by Roman composers and singers of the Papal choir until nineteenth century, enduring in part due to formality in the face of the “stile diatonico osservato alla Palestrina”, but also to show

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117 Barbieri, ““Chiavette” and modal transposition in Italian practice (c.1500-1837),” 5.
their deep dedication to the contrapuntist tradition. The use of the *chiavette* in *Il leuto* might be a testament to Valentini’s dedication to the Roman school of composition. These *chiavette* were designed as a notational device, and there was the expectancy that the music would be performed lower.

Adriano Banchieri, in his 1601 publication *Cartella*, informs his readers that with high clefs without a flat for instruments, the music was to transposed down a fifth and a flat added; conversely, in high clefs with a flat, the music is to be transposed down a fourth and the flat removed. As already mentioned however, Valentini requires the lute to transpose down a fourth in the presence of a flat.

It is true that singers do not essentially need to use the pitch names of the notes they are singing, knowing where the semitones are placed is enough. However, their comfort must first and foremost be considered when instruments and voices are combined. As Jeffery Kurtzman points out “One of the primary justifications for transposition is to accommodate the ranges of the singers, and these ranges, in terms of notes are directly dependent on the pitch standard in use at any given time”. This must be considered judiciously when considering that the *corista* or ‘set pitch’ in Rome (at least the organs in St. Peter’s) were tuned to around $a’=384$. Elsewhere Kurtzman tackles the question of *chiavette* and transposition:

Thus, *chiavette* came to mean transposition in the modern sense, although in the 16th century they would have probably have been thought of only as a convenient manner of maintaining consistency between chant and polyphonic notation; the lower sounding pitch was simply the natural consequence of composing polyphonic settings in the seventh and eighth modes. It was only in the 17th century, with the advent of the organ continuo and other accompanying instruments that the practice of performing compositions in high clefs at a lower sounding pitch actually came to be described in terms of transposition in theoretical treatises. The reason is obvious; the addition of notated instrumental parts introduced the problem of repositioning the notated pitches in relation to a tuned keyboard or fretted instrument with relatively fixed pitch, i.e., instruments led to ‘transposition’ in the modern sense. Before the introduction of notated instrumental parts, whether published or written out from vocal parts by the organist or other instrumentalist, singers merely sang at whatever level was comfortable, without having to think in terms of ‘transposition’.

Kurtzman’s useful observation can be applied to Valentini’s *ordini*. Instead of bamboozling the lute player with sharps or flats (Valentini seems to be suggesting that accidentals were added to

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118 Barbieri, ““Chiavette” and modal transposition in Italian practice (c.1500-1837),” 15.
the key signature to aid in the performing the transpositions as shown in *Trattato musica*), let him just rethink the music in terms of ‘repositioning the notated pitch’. In addition, the tablature system makes the representing of the repositioned notes easier.

As can be seen in Table IV-4 a total of 10 different clefs are used. Here we see the ‘quattro modi’ or four ways of transposing. From high clefs we transpose down, and from low clefs we transpose up.

Note that Valentini uses an unusual clef, an F7, found in the third and fifth ordine when transposing upward a major and minor 7th. The F7 clef is used to demonstrate the upward transposition of the *arie di Ruggiero* of the third, fifth and sixth ordine. He helps to orientate the reader by indicating where the G-ut is located. The F6 is also used, and is found also in Michael Praetorius’s *Syntagma musicum* when he is discussing the ranges of trombones and oboes. Here too, Praetorius helps to orientate the reader through these clefs by pointing out where the G-ut is found.124

Table IV-4. Clef combinations and the possible transpositions for each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural Tone</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑8</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓8</td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑m2</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image8" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓M7</td>
<td><img src="image9" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image10" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td><img src="image11" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image12" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑M7</td>
<td><img src="image13" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image14" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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123 Transposition is covered extensively Valentini’s manuscript *Trattato musica* (Barb. Lat. 4429). A translation and thorough examination of this work will provide important details on the discussion and treatment of transposing. I hope to carry this out in the near future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑M2</td>
<td>↓m3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓m7</td>
<td>↑M6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>↓P5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑m7</td>
<td>↑P4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VI Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑m3</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓M6</td>
<td>↑m7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓m3</td>
<td>↑M3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑M6</td>
<td>↓m6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIII Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑M3</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓m6</td>
<td>↑M7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IX Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓M3</td>
<td>↑m3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑m6</td>
<td>↓M6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X Ordine</th>
<th>bquadro</th>
<th>bmolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↑P4</td>
<td>Natural Tone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑P5</td>
<td>↓8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Scale Musicale

After the treatment of clef combinations, the next image in each ordine is a scale musicale. The transposition represents only the first two ‘ways’. Valentini explains why he only shows two transpositions, in all the ordini, by stating “… leaving out, for brevity, describing the musical scales with bquadro at the octave above, and with bmolle and the fifth above. These scales which we have left out can easily, with the knowledge of the two mentioned above, be extended upon by the diligent and studious player, if needed”. This means finding their equivalent by going the opposite direction to find their octave, higher or lower. The scale musicale is a chromatic scale covering just over four octaves (52 semitones), as illustrated in Figure IV-3. Below are its characteristics:

- Two staves with lute tablature in the centre: the first with bquadro, the second with bmolle, use of chiavette
- Names given to notes as to their position on the stave in the natural tone
- The lute required is an 8-course lute in G, the interval between the 8th and the 7th course is a major second, then standard lute tuning
- The interval of the transposition is shown between the note name on the stave and the sounding note of the lute
- Tablature shows same pitched notes of different strings
- Tablature always represents the difference in pitch regarding the transposition
- Difference between bquadro and bmolle is always a ↓P4
- The range of each scale is 52-53 semitones

125 “…tralasciando per causa di brevità di descrivere le scali musicali per b quadro all’ottava sotto e sopra, et per bmolle alla Quinta sopra. Quali scale da noi tralasciate per se stesso con la cognizione della due sopradette facilmente le potrà estendere il diligente studioso sonatore, caso gli bisognasero”. Il leuto anatomizzato, f.2 r.
Figure IV-3. *Scale Musicale* from the first *ordine*, f. 2r.
3. Andamento

The andamento represents a diatonic scalic progression, and the player uses it to improvise a single part. The transposition is expressed through the difference between the notes on the stave and the tablature. This is used, presumably, to not confuse the lute player “with a deluge of sharps and flats”. The scale is analogous to Valentini’s first mode\(^{126}\) in the natural tone (untransposed) starting on G, the II ordine’s andamento is analogous to his first mode transposed at a semitone up (starting on G sharp), etc.

Again, the lute is intabulated at the pitch of the transposition. Below (Figure IV-4) is a transcription of the lute tablature in notation, or the pitch of the lute once the transposition has been made. In order to more clearly show each transposition, the note G has been shown with an arrow, and can be followed through each ordine. The starting note of each andamento does not represent the ‘starting note’ of each a scale, it simply shows the lower range of the instrument.

\(^{126}\) Mode in this case refers to those outlined in his treatise Trattato musica (Barb. Lat. 4429)
*V Ordine* ↓ M2 bquadro/↓ P5 bmolle (26 notes)

*VI Ordine* ↑ m3 bquadro↑ M2 bmolle (26 notes)

*VII Ordine* ↓ m3 bquadro↓ M3 bmolle (28 notes)

*VIII Ordine* ↑ M3 bquadro↑ m2 bmolle (28 notes)

*IX Ordine* ↓ M3 bquadro/↑ m3 bmolle (28 notes)

*X Ordine* ↑ P4 bquadro/Natural Tone bmolle (27 notes)

*XI Ordine* ↓ P4 bquadro/↑ M2 bmolle (28 notes)

*XII Ordine* ↓ tritone bquadro/↑ m2 bmolle (28 notes)

Figure IV-4. Illustration of the transpositions of the *andamenti* of the twelve *ordini*. 
4. **Botte o chiave**

The next discipline Valentini focuses on are the most common chord shapes and sonorities that are played when realising a figured bass line. The progression used is the *andamento* of the its *ordine*. I have interpreted the phrase ‘botte o chiave’ as ‘chord or sonority’. Elsewhere, especially in guitar treatises of the era, the term ‘botta’ is used to indicate a hit, or strike of a chord and represented by a short vertical line.\(^{127}\) When all or some, preferably adjacent, courses are to be strummed, then this technique is valid. However, when certain courses are not to be played in a chord, this technique proves impractical, as the resulting sound of muted courses (more than one) when strumming a chord is less than acceptable. We will deal with other comparisons between the notation for chords on the guitar and lute further in the section *Considerations on the principal chords of sonorities of the lute*.

The maximum number of voicings is six for any one chord, while the smallest number is two, played on the two highest courses. The tablature doesn’t go higher than the eleventh fret on the 3rd course and the 1st course on the ninth fret. This range coincides with that of the *andamento*, whereas the *scale musicale* extends another eleven frets on the 1st course to the theoretical twentieth fret.

Valentini tells the reader that the 8th course is tuned to C, and the 7th course is tuned to D. Lutes in Rome at the time seemed to have up to 10 courses, before being altered and renamed *liuto attiorbato* (11 to 13 courses) or the appearance of the archlute (up to 14 courses). Here again, only ways 1 and 2 are demonstrated, as their opposite equivalents can be worked out.

Below (Figure IV-5) is a transcription of one of the *botte o chiavi* to demonstrate the most common chord voicings.

![Figure IV-5. Botte o chiavi. Common chords and voicings above a bass, f. 2r.](image-url)

As can be seen, Valentini shows the bass note altered on degrees. This might be in order to show the *musica ficta* notes of the scale, showing the harmony when the bass notes ascend or descend by a semitone. The sharpened bass notes are in first inversion, however, Valentini has not assigned a 6 to show this. He does, however, explain this rule in section 4, on the chords and sonorities of the cadences (f17 v.)

5. **Aria di Ruggiero**

Valentini demonstrates the chords in a practical example: an *aria di Ruggiero* (see Figure IV-6 below). According to Gerbino and Silbiger\(^{128}\), the *aria di Ruggiero* was used as a harmonic scheme throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a formula for singing poetry and performing dances and instrumental variations on a *viol da braccio* or lute. They cite A. Einstein for the origin of its name when he suggests that it likely derived from the first line of a noted stanza from Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* (‘Ruggier, qual sempre fui, ta lesser voglio’, xlv.61).

Figure IV-6. And excerpt from the The *aria di Ruggiero*, f. 2v, (the full piece is included in the manuscript)

> Regarding the form of the *Ruggiero* that we find in *Il leuto*, Palisca’s article on Galilei and monody says that “…one must not confuse the bass, which is often represented as the *aria di Ruggiero*, with the aria itself. A standard bass is found under many *Ruggiero* melodies, but it is not an aria. The true *aria di Ruggiero* is a discant tune, which because of the many variations that have been made on it, cannot be isolated in its pristine state”. He goes on: “to suffer its original tune to disappear while the bass and harmonic scheme persevere has always been the fate of a song that submits itself to constant variation, even in the jazz of our day”.\(^{129}\) Thus, we have an exemplar of a harmonic scheme for the *aria di Ruggiero* prevalent in Rome during Valentini’s lifetime.

6. **“The Most Practicable Cadences”**

The next important lesson Valentini covers are two sorts of cadences, that is: when the bass falls a fourth or rises a fifth, and when the bass falls a major or minor second. This is by far one of the most

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useful insights into historical lute practices regarding bass continuo of the seventeenth century. Below are the first 28 cadences of the first ordine. This provides an excellent example of the types of cadences used in continuo performance during the epoch. The ‘⁺’ symbol shows the most common types of cadences – as was used by Valentini himself. For each ordine, when demonstrating the cadences, Valentini advises the reader that the 7th course of the lute is tuned to an F, an octave lower than the open fourth course. This part of the manuscript was copied from Ordine (Barb. Lat. 4395) with some modifications.

The following table (Table IV-5 below) shows the cadences from the first ordine: the type, starting and finishing note, and the number of examples which contain a variant of voices numbers and embellishments (as shown in Figure IV-7).

Table IV-5. Cadences from the first Ordine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>STARTING NOTE</th>
<th>FINISHING NOTE</th>
<th>NO. OF EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4-3 (plain)</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7-6 (plain)</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>#3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>#6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>#3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>6-5</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>5-6-5</td>
<td>#3-4-3</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>B♭/E♭</td>
<td>A minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>A♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>A♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♯</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chord</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Pitch</td>
<td>Key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>5-6-5 3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>7-6 b3</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>3-4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>G (error = A)</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>#3-4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>5-6-5 #3-4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>5-6-5 #3-4-#3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>7-#6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>5 #4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>5 #4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>#3-5-#3 4</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓m2</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>↓P5, ↑P4</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Number missing from MS.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>7-6 b3</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>7-6</td>
<td>↓M2</td>
<td>F♭</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure IV-7. A selection of the many “most common cadences” and their embellishments included with the first ordine, f. 3r.

For the remaining eleven ordini, for cadences that have been transposed and are of a similar shape and pattern, an interesting referencing strategy was used by Valentini – no doubt to avoid repetition and save of ink and manuscript paper (see following example, Figure IV-8).

Figure IV-8. Referencing similar cadences in different ordini, f. 3r.

D. Section 3 (f 15 r.-f17 r.): “Recommendations pertaining to the cadences described in the present work” (Transl. p.62),

In section 2 of Il leuto anatomizzato, Valentini goes into great theoretical detail in describing the most common types of cadences when realising a figured bass line (see Figure IV-9 to Figure IV-12),
which he had illustrated in the previous section on the *ordini*. In his description of these cadences he states that:

One of these cadences is when the lowest part, namely the bass, descends by tone, and in playing this cadence, a part above will tie the seventh, resolving it with the major sixth, then going to the octave.\(^{130}\)

![Figure IV-9. Cadences that descend by major or minor second, f. 16r.](image)

This can also be done with just the major sixth, without the seventh, and with smaller note values.

![Figure IV-10. Descending cadences with just the 6\(^\#\) going to the octave, f. 16r.](image)

The other:

… is when the lowest part, namely the bass note, falls a fifth or ascends a fourth, which in effect results as the same thing, namely, on the same note at the octave above, and in that cadence one of the upper parts ties the fourth, resolving it with the major third.\(^{131}\)

![Figure IV-11. Example of 4-3 cadences with bass movement of ↑P4 or ↓P5, f. 16r.](image)

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\(^{130}\) “L’una delle quali cadenze è quando la parte grave, ciò è, la più bassa scende di grado e nel fare cadenza di seconda in giù qualche parte di aopra lega la settima salvandola con la sesta maggiore con andarsene poi all’ottava”. *Il leuto anatomizzato*, f.16 r.

\(^{131}\) “...è quando la parte più grave, ciò è la più bassa cala di quinta in giù o vero ascende di quarta in su, che in effetto riesce nell’istessa cosa, ciò è, nell’istessa corda all’ottava sopra et in tal cadenza una delle parti di sopra lega a quarta e poi salvandola con la terza maggior...”. *Il leuto anatomizzato*, f.16 r.
Again, Valentini provides examples of the same bass movement without the suspended fourth above the bass note of the cadence.

![Figure IV-12. Example of 3# cadence with bass movement of ↑P4 or ↓P5, f. 16r.](image)

A very useful observation is shared regarding the suspended notes of these two types of cadences (as shown in Figure IV-13). He writes:

That observation and rule is this: the player must be advised that in playing above the note, for example C-fa-ut, the cadence of a descending second with the suspended seventh which is resolved to the major sixth, the suspension is played with the same two notes which are in the chord of C-fa-ut in the cadence of a descending fifth or an ascending fourth, with the upper parts playing fa mi fa, as can be seen here in music and the tablature of the lute.

![Figure IV-13. Cadences with same resolution notes, f. 16r.](image)

Valentini continues to give further examples, on different notes, in which the suspended notes for 4-3 and 7-6 cadences are the same. He then, by way of Latin idiom—Omnis regula partiture exceptione [every rule allows exception]—gives some examples where two suspended notes are not

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132 “Tale osservatione e regola è questa. Il sonatore deve avvertire che facendosi in una cora come per esempio nella di C fa ut, la cadenza di seconda in giù con la settima legate et salvata con la sesta maggiore della cadenza in quanto all legatura si fà con le medesime due note con le quali in detta corda di C fa ut, si fà la cadenza di quinta in giù, o di quarta in su con cantare la parte di aopra fa mi fa come qui si vede in musica et intavolato nel Leuto”. Il leuto anatomizzato, f.16 r.
the same (see Figure IV-14). This is due to one of the upper parts having the interval of a major seventh, thus, one must descend a major second and not a minor second to find its resolution.

![Figure IV-14. Example of the exceptions of the above method, f. 16v.](image)

Apart from describing similar cadences in which the suspensions are of shorter note value, Valentini supplies an example of what the lute should play when there is bmolle (flat sign) on the last chord of the cadence i.e. a minor triad (see Figure IV-15). He informs his readers that:

> It must be advised that in the cadences, if above the bass part, namely, above the last note of the cadence there is placed a bmolle, this bmolle denotes that in exchange for having in the chord or sonority the major third, as is ordinarily done, there the minor third must be played.133

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133 “Si deve avvertire che nelle cadenze se sopra la parte del Basso, ciò è sopra l’ultima nota della cadenza vi sarà posto il ♭moll, esso ♭moll denota che in cambio di fare nella botta o chiave la terza maggiore conforme ordinariamente si fà, vi si deve fare la terza minore”, Il leuto, f.16 v.
If one encounters a cadence of an ascending fourth or descending fifth that finishes with $b\text{quadro}$ on
the note E-la-mi, and with $b\text{molle}$ on the note A-la-mi-re, a false [diminished] fifth will naturally
occur. In this instance, the false fifth must be converted to a perfect fifth. This is done by placing a 5,
as well as a 4 and a 3. Examples for this rule are also given for the cadences of F# to B and with E flat
to A.

E. Section 4 (f17 r.-f18 r.): “Considerations concerning the chords
or sonorities described in the present work; in order to play above a
part, namely, above a bass (Transl. p.66)

The next section is an explanation of the figures which are placed above the lowest, or the bass part.
These rules can be summarised as follows:

- If there is no sharp or flat, nor any number, the chord is played as is without any alteration
- If above the bass there is the a minor 3rd, major 3rd, perfect 5th, these intervals must be played
- If there is a false fifth (above B with $b\text{quadro}$, and above E with $b\text{molle}$) then the sixth must
  be played (normally)
- If there is a sharp, or a flat, then a major 3rd or minor 3rd is played, respectively
- If there is a 5, this would indicate that a false 5th is changed to a perfect one
- Where there is a 6, in place of a 5 a sixth must be played
- When a 7-6 is above the bass, these are to be played without alteration
- If there is a 6#, then in place of the minor 6th, a major 6th is to be played
- If there is a 6♭, then in place of the major 6th, a minor 6th is to played
- The same is said for the 3#, or the 3♭
• If there is b or a # in front of the bass note, then the appropriate alteration must be made
• When the player sees the numbers 7-6-5, he must find the 7th in the first chord, then play the 6th, then find the 5th in the second chord – these must be done one after the other
• In place of these simple intervals, the player could also play intervals of a similar nature: 14-13-12, or 21-20-19
• A full perfect chord is made up of three consonances: 3rd (or 10th), 5th (or 12th) and octave (or 15th); plus, further composites of each
• The 5th and 6th should not be struck together, nor the major 3rd and the 4th
• In the basso continuo when there is a 6-5: first the 6 is played, then the 5, the same for the 5-6
• In the cadences when the bass descends a tone, in order to go to the octave, the 6 must be raised
• In cadences (6-5) must stay minor
• When there is 9-8, the 9th is played, then the 8
• Accompany the 9th with the 3rd and the 5th, also the 6th (when the 5th is not signed)
• If above the note B natural, and the note E flat there is 6-5, a false fifth will occur, after, the false fifth goes to the major 3rd
• On the lute, the semitone is always found on the next fret up or down
• If the notes of a chord above the bass go too high, or are uncomfortable of the novice player, he can play them down the octave
• If the player plays the notes down the octave, they should not go below the bass line

Next, Valentini instructs the reader how to find the chords and suspensions on the fretboard of the lute (see Figure IV-16). The best fingerings are always considered, so that they are:

…struck and held within the frets, because one mustn’t move or vary with the finger or hand, so the sound is not muffled, or to say it better, in the sonority or the resonance of said chord, the chord and the harmony endures for the space of a beat.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ “...che venga toccata perchè mentre dalli tasti non si move o varia con altro dito la mano, e non si smorza il tono, o per di meglio il rimbombo, o risonare di detta botta, dura il suono è l’harmonia di essa per spatio di una battuta in circa”, Il leuto, f. 17r.
Figure IV-16. 7-6 suspensions.

An excellent insight into how the lute player can embellish and make the same chords and cadences more interesting is by arpeggiating them, as follows (see Figure IV-17):

Figure IV-17. Arpeggiated and embellished cadences, f. 18r.
F. Section 5 (f18 r.-f18 v.): “Advice regarding the note D-sol-re with bquadro as well as bmolle, and regarding the note A-la-mi-re with bquadro, and regarding that of G-sol-re-ut with bmolle” (Transl. p. 70)

In this section Valentini explains why he has not altered, by semitone, the notes D, A, nor G with an accidental in the *scale musicale* (see Figure IV-18).

![Figure IV-18. How the notes D, A, and G are not altered with a semitone, f. 18r.](image)

The reason for this is that they result as enharmonic equivalents. D flat is the same as C sharp, and D sharp is the same as E flat. Likewise, A flat is the same as G sharp, and A sharp is the same as B flat. Lastly, G flat is the same as F sharp, and G sharp is the same as A flat. These, as Valentini points out, are the *same note* on the lute (see Figure IV-19).

![Figure IV-19. Enharmonic equivalents on the fretboard, f. 18v.](image)

On closing this section, Valentini instructs the student that if he were to encounter any of the above-mentioned notes (D, A or G) altered by a semitone in either direction – rare as it might be – he is to regard this note as its relative enharmonic equivalent.

G. Section 6 (f18 r.): “Advice regarding the Aria di Ruggiero” (Transl. p. 72)

He starts by affirming that the reason for supplying the *aria di Ruggiero* in all the *ordini* is to “…demonstrate the quality of the mode [ordine], and the harmony that is drawn from each…”.

Valentini suggests that not only on a single lute can one play the *aria di Ruggiero* on the twelve semitones of the octave, but also in an ensemble of twelve lutes of varying sizes, by tuning them in unison by finding on these lutes the G-sol-re-ut from each *ordine* “even though it will be on different frets”. The method for doing so is the following:
Firstly, to play the Ruggiero in the natural tone [non-transposed] one takes a lute of normal size, in the *tono chorista*. Then, to play transposed at a semitone above, one takes a slightly larger lute, and bit by bit until a fourth above, one employs lutes of increasing sizes. Then, for the contrary, to play transposed at a semitone below, one takes a slightly smaller lute than one used in the natural tone, and bit by bit until the tritone below, one must use lutes of increasing diminutiveness, and with the largeness and smallness of the instrument in each of the aforesaid twelve lutes, the notes and frets of G-sol-re-ut will be easily tuned in unison… and with this tuning one can play the said aria di Ruggiero with twelve frets.  

I think Valentini has incorrectly inverted the logic behind the idea of smaller instrument higher pitch, and larger instrument lower pitch. A forgivable oversight. If, on the other hand he is speculating that the smaller lute can still play the lower part, and the larger lute play the higher part, then this is an example Valentini’s ultra-progressive mentality in the face of tradition!

Next Valentini provides more advice on performing:

Where it is to be noted, that even though at the beginning of each of our above-mentioned twelve ordini, we have shown the musical clefs of the compositions that are suitable, and are comfortable to be played and intabulated in each of these ordini, this is done according to the size of the lute which is used in the *tono chorista*. Allowing one, nonetheless, to play and intabulate transposed in each of these ordini and play with any lute any compositions in any clef, also those that are not in the *tono chorista*. Also, in playing and intabulating, above any other thing, one must take care that the notes of the instrument do not result too high nor too low, but are in a convenient posture, comfortable to be played and fretted.

H. Section 7 (f 19 r.-f 23 v.): “Rules and manner to intabulate on the lute” (Transl. p. 74)

Perhaps a detailed and comprehensive comparison between Vincenzo Galilei’s *Fronimo* and Valentini’s rules on intabulating is warranted, although that is outside the scope of this study, the Valentini’s borrowings from Galilei will be addressed in this section. Valentini begins this section by defining what exactly is meant by the term ‘intabulate’. He starts with:

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135 “…principalmente per sonare detta Aria nel tono naturale si deverà pigliare un Leuto di ordinaria grandezza quale sia nel tono chorista; Poi per sonare trasportato ad un semitono sopra si deverà prendere un Leuto un poco più grande et di mano in mano sino alla quarta sopra si deveranno adoprar Leuti di mano in mano di maggior grandezza. Per il contrario per sonare trasportato ad un semitono sotto si deverà prendere un Leuto un poco più picciolo di quelle quello che serve a sonare nel tono naturale, et di mano in mano sino ad un tritono sotto si deverano prendere Leuti di mano in mano di minor picciolezza; et con tal picciolezza et grandezza di strumenti in ciascuno de’ predetti dodici Leuti, conforme si ritrova in ciascuno de’ sopradetti dodici Ordini; le corde e tasti di G sol re ut verranno facilmente ad accordarsi in unisono”, Il leuto, f. 18v.

136 Dove è da notare che se bene nel principio di ciascuno de’ nostri sopracritti dodici Ordini da noi si sono mostrate le chiavi musicali delle composizioni che sono atte, e tornano commode ad essere sonate et intavolate in ciascuno di essi Ordini; questo da noi si è fatta seconda la grandezza del Leuto, che serve (?) a sonare il Tono chorista; Potendosi non dimeno le composizioni composte in qual si voglia chiaie, sonare, et intavolare trasportato in qual si voglia Ordine e con qual si voglia Leuto, ancor che non riusciscero (?) nel Tono chorista. Pure in sonare et intavolare sopra ogni altra cosa si deve haver riguardo, che le voci nell’istrumento non rieschino troppo alte nè meno troppo profonde, mà in tono vago e commodo ad esser sonate, e tasteggiate”, Il leuto, f. 18.v.
Intabulating on the lute is nothing other than a transcription to demonstrate the notes, the consonances and other intervals of a musical composition with numbers, or appropriate figures befitting the fretboard of said instrument. Within these numbers, the tempo and the value of the notes that they represent are demonstrated by certain signs and figures positioned above them. 137

Below I will give as summary of the rules Valentini proposes (for brevity only some examples of each argument are supplied as consultation of the full translation is suggested). To show the notes that are to be intabulated it is important to firstly notate them on a stave of five lines. Underneath these five lines is placed the six lines of the tablature. This is done by aligning the bars of the stave with the bars of the tablature. For example, if the composition is in duple time, and is divided into four crotchets, the four beats in the bar should line up with the four beats represented by the tablature. To show these beats in the tablature, under each beat is placed a dot (see Figure IV-20). Here Valentini calls a bar in duple time ‘equal’ and a bar in triple time ‘unequal’. 138

![Figure IV-20. First steps of intabulating – divide the equal beats, f. 19r.](image)

If, however, the composition contains three beats per bar, then similarly under each of the three beats of the tablature there is to be written a dot (Figure IV-21).

![Figure IV-21. Divide the unequal beats, f. 19r.](image)

137 “L’intavolare nel Leuto non è altro che un trascrivere, e di mostrare le note, le consonanze e gli altri intervalli delle musicali compositioni con numeri, o cifre appropriate alla tastatura del detto istrumento; ne’ quali numeri, il tempo, et il valore delle note che essi rappresentano vien dimostrata da alcuni segni o figure a loro sopraposte”, Il leuto, f. 19v. Cristoforetti makes an interesting point regarding the term : “Of note is the use if the verb ‘transcribe’ (trascrivere) rare if not unfindable in the history of the lute”, Cristoforetti, Il Leuto Anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 7.

138 For a comprehensive study on Valentini and tactus and proportion see Murata, ”P. F. Valentini on Tactus and Proportion.”
When the beat is divided into smaller values, quavers or semiquavers, the dot is placed under the first note of each group of quavers and under the first note of each group of semiquavers (Figure IV-22).

![Figure IV-22. Divide the beat into multiple divisions, f. 19r.][1]

An example for when the composition is written with three beats per bar is also provided by Valentini, and follows the same rationale [not shown here].

If the composition contains notes which are to be held over a beat, in duple or triple time, the number of the beats per bar is still represented by a dot (Figure IV-23).

![Figure IV-23. Divide the beat of longer notes values, f. 19r.][2]

After the fundamentals of intabulating, Valentini instructs the reader on how to intabulate a duo (Figure IV-24) in the natural tone with bquadro (untransposed). For this we are directed to the notes of the first ordine.

We are to proceed bar by bar, or ‘casella’. With this term Valentini intends that a bar of the notation and its corresponding bar in the tablature are to be considered one ‘casella’. Regarding which voice to intabulate first, he says to go from the highest to the lowest “… or any part that serves as the bass”. Valentini also concedes that this is completely arbitrary, and that one can start from any voice. After this, above the tablature, he now writes the rhythmic values. Two examples of all the above-mentioned rules are laid out, but not shown here.

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[1] One other example of the use of this term with the same purpose of lining up the notes of a score with those of the tablature is found in; Bartolomeo Lieto Panhorritano, *Dialogo quarto di musica* (Naples, 1559), 6-9.

[2] “… o qualsivoglia altra parte che serva per parte grave”, f. 19r.
Next are the examples for three and four voices in duple and triple time. Again, Valentini says the order in which the voices are to be intabulated is ‘*ad libitum*’. Although the parts must be comfortable to play and the entries of the voices need to be clearly visible. He mentions that it is customary to intabulate the lowest voice first, and gives a reason why this might be:

...if it happens that while intabulating, that on the same string of the lute there were to land two parts, for example on the fifth string, you land on the open string together with the third fret, a minor 3rd, as here is seen; to the intabulator it becomes more comfortable to transpose at the unison to the string below, that is, on the sixth string at the fifth fret, the lower part that is found on the fifth open string, as for example here appears [see Figure IV-25]. But, as mentioned above, it is *ad libitum* for the intabulator to intabulate first or after any part that will work out comfortable.141

![Figure IV-24. Example for two voices, f. 19v.](image)

![Figure IV-25. How to intabulate two notes that fall on the same course, f. 20r.](image)

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141 “...se occorresse mentre s’intavola che in una medesima corda del Leuto vi cadessero due parti come per esempio nella quinta corda vi cadesse a voto et insieme al terzo tasto la terza minore come qui si vede, all’intavolatore torni commodo trasportare all’unisono nella corda di sotto cio è nella sesta corda al quinto tasto la parte grave che si ritrova nella quinta corda a voto (?) come per esempio qui appare. Mà, come sopra si è detto è libito dell’intavolatore intavolare prima o doppo qualunque parte conforme gli tornerà commodo, Il leuto, f. 20r.
To provide examples of the rules covered thus far, Valentini supplies excerpts of two original compositions: first a *Gaudeamus* (not shown here) for four voices, then a *Stabat mater* for five voices (Figure IV-26).

Next, Valentini explains the dots under duple and triple time when the beats are minims i.e. as with crotchet beats the bars in which minims are the beat, dots must also be placed so as to clearly see where each beat lands.

It must be stated that in attempting to accurately, and faithfully reproduce the counterpoint of a polyphonic work on the lute, some concessions must be addressed, lest the chords become physically impossible to play, on account of the distance between frets and the number of voices. This unavoidable issue is dealt with by referencing some difficult chords found in the tablature of his own *Stabat mater*. He says that he wanted to show the notes in their correct voices, resulting that a note on a lower sounding courses is fretted so that it actually sounds higher than the note played on a higher sounding course. Figure IV-27 illustrates the exception made when a chord’s voicings become too difficult to play, and a course that would normally play the highest note of a chord plays the second to highest course, and the second to highest course plays the highest note of the chord.
We are cautioned that this must be done judiciously, and to make sure that ‘one note does not occupy the space of another’. Especially when there is a tied note. If there is a tied note, it is important to let that note sound for the correct duration without restriking it when it is not prudent to do so. As did Galilei, Valentini places and X under the note of the tablature that is to be held for a specific duration. This could be a note which is tied over a bar, or a dotted note which is to be held while, above or below it, other voices are moving.

This significant element of intabulating is further spelt out with a number of borrowings from Vincenzo Galilei’s 1584 edition of Fromino, exchanging however ‘…ancient rhythm signs, with modern ones’ – as Valentini was reading from a printed version. As already mentioned, Valentini incorporates the method of placing a dot under the beats of the bar in order to help orientate the intabulator.142 Figure IV-28 below shows Galilei’s use of the cross to show where the note is to be held in the tablature (A), Fromino p. 12, and Valentini’s use of the same example (B):

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142 Cristoforetti points out that this method was already used by M. Carrara in his broadside sheet (Rome, 1585 and 1594), Cristoforetti, Il Leuto Anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 7. For more details on this broadsheet see; Fabris, "Lute tablature instructions in Italy: A survey of the regole from 1507 to 1759.," 42.
These are the rules when not to re-strike a note. Next are some rules on when it is necessary to re-strike a note. As the sound of the lute dissipates almost immediately after it is plucked, in some cases it is useful to re-strike the note in order for the harmony to function. Valentini gives the example of what to do when one encounters a breve in duple time. A manicule (small graphical hand used to indicate in the diagram the topic being discussed) is used here to show the notes concerned. The following quote is taken from Fromino (1584)

Because the breve has been the origin and the beginning of every other note, as I said earlier, it seems to me most suitable to speak of it before others. So, I say it is a reasonable thing to repeat [re-strike], but not in the same way do we strike every time, rather with some thought given to it, in general we strike it again at the beginning [of the bar]; and this, in addition to the infinite number of examples that exist, is shown by the excellent Francesco da Milano in numerous places ... But as I say, indeed, that to repeat the note without reason and when it is not necessary would cause the refined ear no little annoyance; besides, it would conceal the imitations in the places where they exist and deprive many passages of lightness...143

143 “Per esser adunque stata la breve origine & principio di ciascun’altra nota come di sopra vi dissi, mi par molto conveniente il ragionar prima di lei che delle altre. La onde dico essere cosa ragionevole il ribatterla; ma non così semplicemente ogni volta, ma pensamente, la ribatteremo generalmente ne’ principij, & questo oltre a gli infiniti esempi che ci sono, ce lo manifesto l’eccelente Francesco da Milano in piu luoghi... Ma dico bene, che il ribatterla poi senza proposito & quando non si conviene, generebbe alle pugate orecchie non piccolo fastidio, oltre all’occultare ch’ella farebbe delle fughe ne’ luoghi ov’esesse fussereo, & il tor la leggiadria a molti passaggi delle cose.” Galilei, Il Fronimo (1584), 24.
The skill of knowing when and when not to re-strike a chord or a single note was an issue for both lute players and harpsichord players. The topic is covered in Tagliavini’s article L’arte di “non lasciar vuoto lo strumento”. Tagliavini cites one the seventeenth century’s most distinguished lute players, Alessandro Piccinini, when Piccinini advises the lute player to play as they do in Naples when they “re-strike the dissonances, now soft, now strong”, and “the more the dissonances, the more they are re-struck”.144

Valentini takes most of his examples from two intabulated works found in Fronimo: In exitus by Galilei himself, for four voices, and Craite & sospir by P. Guerrero, also for four voices. He never utilises a complete piece as an example, rather he simply borrows from Fronimo the points he wishes to illustrate. Such examples are when and when not to re-strike a tied or held note. Below is summary of these rules:

- When there is a breve, it can be struck twice. Resulting as two semibreves
- This technique is sensitive to exception
- This has a beautiful effect on the notes at the end of a piece as it re-excites the final chord
- When there is a dotted whole note in duple time or one and a half beats, or three minimis, re-striking the last minim has a pleasing effect
- The third minim is not re-struck if it were to interfere with other voices
- In the case of dotted minimis, it is good to re-strike just the dot or third crotchet (Figure IV-30), not the second and third (Figure IV-29), as it just creates confusion
- If a player has multiple parts in unison on the same course, then this can substitute one of the parts, the one that doesn’t move (Figure IV-31)
- If a player has two notes in unison to play on different courses and frets, they can use one of the twelve ordini to find the same note on two different courses and play them together (Figure IV-32)
- If there are unisons in different parts, that enter one after the other, the same course/note is played as many times as the unison enters (Figure IV-33)
- If a high part goes below a less high part, or vice versa, then those parts are still represented on the course and frets on which they fall (Figure IV-34)
- Enharmonic equivalents may be used when two parts fall on one course at the same time
- If the composer has put a pause or a rest at the beginning of the piece, it must be represented in the tablature by placing the rhythmic value of that pause or rest above the beginning of the tablature

• If there are two parts above the bass: one an octave and the other a minor seventh, and they were to be intabulated on the same course, but that neither could be placed on a different course comfortably, then the consonant is intabulated

• When a composition changes from duple to ternary time, it is good practice to place a 3 at the bar in which the tempo changes

Figure IV-29. Re-striking a dotted minim – bad, f. 22r.

Figure IV-30. Re-striking a dotted minim – good, f. 22r.
Figure IV-31. Substitute a unison on one course, f. 22r.

Figure IV-32. Unisons on different courses, f. 22r.

Figure IV-33. Re-striking unisons, f. 22r.
I. Section 8 (f23 v.-f24 r.): “Considerations on the principal chords or sonorities of the lute” (Transl. p. 92)

In this section Valentini introduces an innovative concept of chord labelling for the most commonly used chord shapes that are played on the lute. It is significant to make a fair comparison between the technique needed for playing a figured bass line – supplying mostly strummed and arpeggiated chords with some passage work, and playing a fully intabulated vocal work as a lute solo – which can stretch the skills of even the most accomplished player.

Within these chords, Valentini says that there are ‘hidden’ chords that are ‘derived’ from principal chords. He employs an original vocabulary to describe these derivations.

Some new chord names are: botte o chiavi maggiori, chiavi minori, chiavette, and ponticelli minori. This innovation in naming common chords, shapes and fingerings is undeniably analogous to the treatment of moveable chords in guitar music of the period. Valentini borrows from the guitar tradition of the term botta (botte plural) to indicate a chord that is to be struck using a rasgueado, or the striking of some or all the courses of the instrument in one movement up or down. However, as already mentioned, some of the voicings of the chords which Valentini assigns the term botte are not conducive to this type of attack as certain (adjacent) courses are not part of the harmony and need to be muted, thus not producing the most sonorous sound. In the inventory taken after his death, it is revealed that Valentini did in fact own a Spanish guitar – not surprising due to the guitar’s increasing

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145 This is not the first time a new system for naming chords has been discussed. In Joan Carles Amat’s 1626 edition of Guitarra Española ordines he asserts that “These chords are referred to in many ways, such as cruzado mayor, cruzado menor, vacas altas, vacas baxas, puente, and in innumerable other ways as musicians, one and another have given them different names”, Lèrida: Audreu Llorens, 1626.
popularity during the seventeenth century. The first proponent to champion the alfabeto system of guitar notation was Girolamo Montesardo. In Montesardo’s influential 1606 publication, chord shapes and sonorities are designated a letter of the alphabet depending on the harmonic quality of the chord and the fret on which they are found – sometimes combined with notation. This system, plus certain variations, became the standard mode to notate guitar music throughout the seventeenth century. Further in-depth analysis of the correlation between Valentini’s chordal system and those used by seventeenth-century guitar composers is indeed warranted, but surpasses the scope of this research. A cursory glance however will find that alfabeto is a system which names chords for notating and performance, Valentini’s botte or chiavi system identifies characteristics and patterns and assigns an original terminology, but fails to show how this terminology can be replicated in terms of notation for performance.

Below is discussed how each type of chord is defined based on: shape, number of notes (courses), whether the courses are open or fretted, tonality (major or minor). I have borrowed Cristoforetti’s analysis of this section of the manuscript from his introduction (Table IV-6). Unless specified, Valentini’s procedure is to ascend chromatically. The chords are defined based on: A) harmony, B) structure of the chord shapes and tablature, and C) whether they are ‘principal’ or ‘derived or transposed’. The last two are only referring to the first chord, all the others are derivatives. Only the first few transpositions are shown in figures IV-40 to 45, the ascending chromatic movement is identical in all of Valentini’s examples. See Figure IV-35–Figure IV-50.

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146 Richard d’Arcambal Jensen, ”The Development of Technique and Performance Practice as Reflected in Seventeenth-Century Italian Guitar Notation” (California State University, 1980), 32.

147 Cristoforetti, Il Leuto Anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 9-10.
Table IV-6. Valentini’s original vocabulary to describe chords and sonorities

**A Harmony**

| I. | perfect; contains three consonances of different nature; 3-5-8, 3-6-8, doubled notes variably |
| II. | imperfect or incomplete; which contain only one or two (3-6), even doubled |

**B Chord shapes according to tablature**

| I. | principal chords or sonorities |
| a) | principal chords made up of just open courses, are imperfect harmony |
| b) | principal chords made up of open and fretted courses, are perfect harmony |
| II. | derived or transposed chords or sonorities |
| a) | derived chords are always fretted chords, they ascend chromatically fret by fret, and can be perfect or imperfect harmony |

**C Techno-harmonic structure: principal, derivative or transposed, or, of perfect or imperfect harmony**

| a. | “prime botte minori”: first minor chords, principal G (fourth and sixth courses, 4, 5, 6 voices, root position, doubling of the bass, of the fifth and the bass; of the fifth the bass and the third |
| b. | “prime botte maggiori”: first major chords, principal G; the same as above |
| c. | “chiavi minori”: minor sonorities, principal on C (fifth course); 4 to 5 voices, root position; doubling of the bass; of the bass and the fifth |
| d. | “chiavi maggiori”: major clefs, principal on C (fifth course), the rest as above |
| e. | “chiavette minori”: small minor sonorities, principal on F (fourth course), four voices, doubling of the bass |
| f. | “chiavette maggiori”: small major chords, principal on F (fourth course), four voices, the rest as above |
| g. | “chiavi grandi”: large sonorities, principal on Bb (sixth course, first position), for 4 and 6 voices, root position; in the position for 4 voices there isn’t the fifth, they are therefore of incomplete harmony; only the chord with 6 voices is of perfect harmony, but is not transportable, as he says. |
| h. | “ponticelli minori”: minor barre (only when transposed), principal on D (fifth course, second fret), 5 voices, root position, doubling of the bass and the fifth |
| i. | “ponticelli maggiori”: major barre (only when transposed), principal on D (fifth course, second fret), 5 voices, root position, doubling of the bass and the fifth |
| j. | “archetti”: smaller barre, simple when there are two voices, major or minor depending on the third. They can also be “full of other consonance”, usually the sixth, but also the fifth (see the third line of archetti; the chord is d minor derived or transposed). |

![Figure IV-35. Principal chords of imperfect harmony and their derivations, f. 23v.](image-url)
Figure IV-36. Other principal chords of imperfect harmony and their derivations, f. 23v.

Figure IV-37. Other principal chords of imperfect harmony and their derivations f. 23v.

Figure IV-38. First minor and major chords, and ‘in another way’; the flat and natural third is added to the top voice respectively f. 23v.

Figure IV-39. Minor and major ‘sonorities’, f. 23v.
Figure IV-40. First major and minor chords, and their derivatives, f. 23v.

Figure IV-41. First major and minor chords, and their derivatives, in ‘another way’, f. 23v.

Figure IV-42. First Major Chord (bar 1), and its derivatives (with the ‘sonority in the middle’), f. 23v.
Figure IV-43. First Major Chord, and in ‘another way’ and its derivatives, f. 23v.

Figure IV-44. Minor sonorities, and their derivatives, f. 23v.

Figure IV-45. Major sonorities, and their derivatives, f. 23v.

Figure IV-46. Small minor sonority with its derivatives, f. 24r.
Figure IV-47. Small major clef, with its derivatives, f. 24r.

Figure IV-48. Minor barre with its derivatives, f. 24r.

Figure IV-49. Major barre with its derivatives, f. 24r.

Figure IV-50. Large sonorities and their derivatives, f. 24r.
Valentini leaves out examples of some chords or sonorities ‘for reason of the difficulty of their derived chords’. Here Valentini uses his major or minor ‘archetti’ or smaller barres. Because they contain just two notes, they can be major or minor, or contain other consonances like a fifth or a sixth – therefore, they are perfect harmony – and also ‘prime botte’ or first chords. I think here Valentini hints that this chord can be both a principal, as it contains open courses, and also a ‘prima botta’ or first chord, as it contains perfect harmony and allows for derivations. See Figure IV-51–Figure IV-57

Figure IV-51. Derived or transposed chords, f. 24r.

Figure IV-52. Smaller minor barre, plus its derived chords, is made up of a third plus another consonant, f. 24r.

Figure IV-53. Chords or sonorities transposed, f. 24r.
Figure IV-54. Chords or sonorities transposed or derived with minor barres, f. 24r.

Figure IV-55. Chords derived or transposed with major barres, f. 24r.

Figure IV-56. Derived or transposed chords or sonorities with major barres, f. 24r.

Figure IV-57. Derived or transposed chords with major barres, f. 24r.
Valentini considers the following chord (Figure IV-58) to be a principal chord (with *perfect harmony*) as it contains an open *cantino* (first string).

![Figure IV-58. Principal chord with its derivations, f. 24r.](image)

After describing the principal chords and sonorities that are found on the lute, plus their derivations or transpositions, which are achieved by extending the index finger of the left hand over all or some of the courses of the lute, Valentini illustrates how to use this technique to add embellishments to these *principal* and *derived* chords (see Figure IV-59 to Figure IV-61). He writes:

...from this extension, the player can draw from it the greatest usefulness. Which is, that the passages that he plays above the principal chords (as long as they are done with ease) can be done transposed the derived chord. Making use (as was said) of the index finger in place of the nut of the lute. Of this, the diligent reader will become fully capable, while considering the passages done on the principal chords, and then redone above their derived or transposed chords.\(^{148}\)

148 *"...da tale spianatura il sonatore ne può cavare grandissima utilità. Quale è che li passagi che farà sopra le botte principali (pur che siano fatti con facilità) li potrà anco fare trasportati nelle botte derivate da esse botte principali con far servire (come si è detto) il dito spianato in luogo dal capo tasto del Leuto. Della qual cosa il diligente Lettore a pieno nè resterà capace, mentre considerare li passagi prima fatti nelle sottoscritti botte principali e poi per esempio rifatti, et trasportati nelle loro botte derivate o trasportate”, Il leuto, f. 24r.*
Figure IV-59. Principal chords with passages, derived or transposed chords at a semitone above with the same passages, f. 24r.

Figure IV-60. Principal chords with passages transposed, f. 24r.

Figure IV-61. Principal chords with passages transposed, f. 24r.
J. Section 9 (f24 v.-f25 r.): “Rules to re-intabulate” (Transl. 96)

The next section is dedicated to re-intabulating a composition at any interval. One must first know the number of semitones that comprise any interval. Having already discussed semitonotes on the lute, Valentini continues with a detailed method of transcribing transposed already existing scores after establishing the number of semitones contained in the interval that one wishes to transpose to.

In this section, to show the semitones and where their unisons are found on different courses, Valentini uses the same extended chromatic scale used in each of the twelve ordini. Below is a summary of the procedure to re-intabulate a composition:

- Know the number of semitones contained in the interval of the transposition
- For comfort of the hand, when necessary, transpose to the unison on another course
- Do not remove or alter the rhythm signs from the piece to be transposed
- The number of semitones corresponds to the number of frets, open courses considered
- Transposing an open course downward goes to the next lower course

Next, Valentini supplies 11 re-intabulations of an aria della Follia (with one example given in Figure IV-62). Valentini specifies an 8-course lute, even though he uses only the 7th course (see eighth transposition at the major 3rd below and the tenth transposition at the 4th below)
Section 10 (f25 v): “Of the difference that is found between the lute of eight courses of strings, and the theorboed [lute] and archlute, and others, and of their tuning” (Transl. p. 100)

It is intriguing to note that the tiorba or chitarrone aren’t mentioned at all in Il leuto. In fact, Cristoforetti duly noted that:

…it is natural to ask oneself for what reason, in the fourth decade of the century, in Rome, reigned over by Kapsberger, Valentini would have written a method for transcribing and playing basso continuo excluding the theorbo – and its influence on musical activity– and only taking the lute and archlute into consideration…

Although I’m quite sure that Cristoforetti is just being provocative, Sayce and Mangherini have ample evidence for an in-demand community of Roman lute and theorbo players. Interestingly, the need for working lute players, in Rome, was indeed on par with any other instrument called upon for public celebrations and feast days during the period between 1620 and 1650, and that “… this acceptance of the lute on equal footing with a keyboard instrument is rare outside Rome”, and that

149 “… è naturale chiedersi per quale ragioni, nel quarto decenio del secolo, a Roma, regnante Kapsberger, Valentini abbia scritte un “metodo” per il trasporto e per il basso continuo escludendo la tiorba e prendendo in considerazione soltanto il liuto-arciliuto, e come esso sia da porre in relazione con l’attività musicale.” Cristoforetti ed., Il leuto anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 2.
"Roman music from the first half of the seventeenth century already made far greater use of the lute (as opposed to the theorbo) than the rest of Italy".\textsuperscript{150}

Valentini could have known a number of freelance and professionally tenured lutenists attached to any church or institution around greater Rome, or more conceivably, to his local parish of San Luigi dei Francesi. Arcangelo Lori, active lute player and composer, was organist there until 1633, before Luigi Rossi. Lionett shows that from 1601 to at least 1682 the church employed a varying number and combination of: lute, archlute, and theorbo. In fact, on a certain feast day in 1630, the church records payment for three lutes (one associated with choir), and archlute and a theorbo player. And in 1633 the celebrations called for extra musicians: a guitar (\textit{chitarrino}), a lute and three theorboes. From 1608 to 1615 a lutenist was maestro di capella, Giovanni Francesco Brissio (\textit{Giovani del leuto}).\textsuperscript{151}

While it is somewhat expected for modern lute players to be multi-instrumentalists, Sayce and Mangherini point out that a number of lute players were also theorbo players. Of these Piccinini, Kapsberger and Castaldi are the most noted.

Regarding this section of the manuscript, a correction was made by Valentini who had forgotten, but latter added, the archlute in his comparison between instruments. Roughly around the time of this manuscript, the archlute was taking responsibility for more and more aspects and roles during performances, so much so that within ten years, the request for the ‘pairing’ of archlute and theorbo is superseded with just the word ‘leuto’.\textsuperscript{152} The capstone for the archlute was unquestionably the publication of Corelli’s \textit{Sonate da Camera} published in Rome in 1681.

The instruments being used in Rome, and those that are compatible with Valentini’s system, are the: 11-, 8- and 7-course lute, the archlute and the theorboed lute – or indeed any sort “… as long as it is not in the French tuning,” which he dedicates a section to. By theorboed lute, Valentini intended an ordinary lute, presumably 6- to 8-course, in standard tuning, retrofitted to accommodate a number of extra bass courses (totalling to 14). On the etymology of the word ‘attiorbato’, it would seem that it is the past participle of the verb \textit{attiorbare} or ‘to theorbo’ one’s lute.

To make sure that the courses are in tune, Valentini supplies a diagram showing how to tune the courses in unisons on the fifth and fourth frets, in octaves and in fifths (see \textbf{Figure IV-63} and \textbf{Figure IV-64}):\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{150} Sayce and Magherini, "The Archlute in 17th and 18th Century Rome," 1.

\textsuperscript{151} Jean Lionnet, "Quelques aspects de la vie musicale à Saint-Louis-des-Français. De Giovanni Bernardino Nanino à Alessandro Melani (1591-1698) " 52 (1978): 337. I am curious to know if Brissio is the same Briccio, composer of the enigmatic canons mentioned here on page 10.

\textsuperscript{152} Sayce and Margherini, "The Archlute in 17th and 18th Century Rome," 3.
Valentini makes a curious statement regarding the theorboed lute: that it is usually played at a tone below the natural tone. Therefore, G-sol-re-ut is found on the open fourth course, instead of F. No examples of the tablature nor its notation are provided, so this curiosity for now, will remain just that.

The bass courses of a theorboed lute or an archlute can be tuned in octaves, twelfths, or fifths, as the following diagram illustrates (Figure IV-65):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuned in Octaves</th>
<th>Tuned in Twelfths</th>
<th>Tuned in Fifteenths</th>
<th>Tuned in Octaves</th>
<th>Tuned in Twelfths</th>
<th>Tuned in Fifteenths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 9 X XI</td>
<td>8 9 X XI</td>
<td>8 9 X XI</td>
<td>12 13 14</td>
<td>12 13 14</td>
<td>12 13 14</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 2 0</td>
<td>3 1 0</td>
<td>4 2 0</td>
<td>0 2 0</td>
<td>3 1 0</td>
<td>4 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuning of the five bass courses of the Theorboed Lute</td>
<td>Tuning of the eight bass courses of the Archlute, or Theorboed Lute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure IV-65. Tuning the bass courses of archlute and liuto attiorbato from Il leuto, f. 25v.
L. Section 11 (f26 r.-f26 v.): “Of the three sorts of lute tablature, namely, of Italian, of Neapolitan, and of the French” (Transl. p. 102)

A demonstration of the three types of lute tablature: Italian, Neapolitan and French is the next topic to be discussed Il leuto. Valentini talks the reader through the fundamentals of how to read and intabulate in said systems. Interesting is the mention of Neapolitan tablature. That Valentini possessed a large collection of tablature sources is undisputed – based on the inventory after his death. For the prevalence and circulation of lute tablature sources in the 17th century see Coelho153 and Fabris154.

During the reign of Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini), French culture was never far from the Papal Court, and by proxy, his papacy abetted a predilection for high French culture – for modish Romans at any rate. Urban’s secretary da camera, Jules Mazarin was responsible for both introducing Italian opera into France and for bringing the Italian guitarist Francesco Corbetta to the court of Luis XI. Dinko Fabris identifies that on more than one occasion Italians wishing to sell their compositions written for lute, theorbo or guitar in France, needed to do one of two things: 1) supply a guide on how to read Italian tablature, or copy the Italian tablature into French tablature. For example, Alberto Carbonchi published his book of guitar music (1640) into French tablature in order to sell it in that country. In the same book, Carbonchi supplied an explanation of French tablature for his Italian readers.

Below is Valentini’s example and comparison of the three lute tablatures in common use in European centres. (Figure IV-66).155

![Figure IV-66. Intabulation of a barriera in Italian, Neapolitan and French tablature, f. 26r.](image)

Here the manuscript ends at verso 26. The next two sections are additions. The foliation continues on verso 28.

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153 Coelho, "The manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Italian lute music: a catalogue raisonné." And
154 Fabris, "Influenze stilistiche e circolazione manuscritta della musica per liuto in Italia e in Francia nella prima metà del Seicento”.
155 Fabris, "Influenze stilistiche e circolazione manuscritta della musica per liuto in Italia e in Francia nella prima metà del Seicento," 317.
During the first half of the seventeenth century, a French ‘trend’ had been impacting on Rome not only in music but also in other aspects of social life. In a short time, the attribute ‘alla francese’, was vernacularised when differentiating social practice along international lines. Regarding lute music, this is seen especially in the denomination of dances then in fashion, in particular, the corrente. But even in this we recognise a certain ambiguity, seeing that there are manuscripts containing pieces called corrente francese, dances which are absolutely identical to the Italian corrente of the late 16th century. This, as we will see below, is evidence of Italians adopting selected qualities of the French lute tradition – even if only in spirit. In fact, Cristoforetti discovers, judging from the sources in our grasp, it was the Italians, composing Italian music, like Pietro Paulo Melli and Bernardino Gianoncelli with their scordatura, and as much Valentini, to register and propagate the use of the accords nouveaux in the first half of the century – and not the French. It is important to place the 1638 Roman publication of Pierre Gautier’s book of lute music: Œuvres. Gautier’s experimental tuning, attempted to render the lute more sonorous and draw more resonance from the instrument. Valentini mentions the ‘sound’ of the lute when tuned this particular way, he finds that “… with this tuning the tono chorista is not achievable neither does it have a beautiful effect when accompanying a singer”. It is difficult to pinpoint Valentini’s sources for the French tuning, however, it is tempting to put a copy of Gautier’s Œuvres in Valentini’s possession. However, Rollin says that the edition was “composed in the shadows” during the Thirty Years War, Gautier himself keeping close to the entourage of Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg, for whose pompous entry into Rome in June 1638, Gautier anticipated his opus.

Valentini uses the nouvel accord ordinaire (today known as D minor tuning) which Gautier adopted for only seven of the 103 compositions in his Œuvres. Other than Œuvres, Coelho mentions another contemporary Roman source with French ties, MS Barb. Lat. 4180 (Rome 4180). In Coelho’s description of Rome 4180, he notes that “the copyist of the manuscript used the number 7
to indicate the seventh course, which is a French tradition, whereas the Italian used simply a zero slashed by a ledger line”.¹⁶³ Valentini uses the same indication in his manuscript. Another similarity in *Rome 4180* is the stipulation of a lute without a “*gran jeu*”, or extended neck, here too Valentini calls for a lute “… of ordinary size, not theorboed, but with eleven courses of strings”.¹⁶⁴ *Rome 4180* is written for a 10-course lute with the seventh chromatically altered.¹⁶⁵

Valentini shows that his system of *ordini* can be ‘comfortably’ adopted for the French tuning. To show the adaptability of this system he returns to a chromatic *scale musicale*, an *andamento*, figured bass and the chords derived thereof, there is an *aria di Ruggiero* and 51 cadential formulae. Unprecedented by most standards, especially in the light of what Valentini has to say about its role and effect – as continuo instrument.

Valentini’s definition of the *accordatura francese* opens this section of the manuscript – choosing not to use the French tablature and continues with the Italian. He suggests that the French used an ordinary sized lute with the courses strung over a standard bridge and nut. He compliments the effect as “… most beautiful when playing corrente and similar airs”.¹⁶⁶

Next Valentini shows us how to tune a lute using the *bmolle* tuning (Figure IV-67). First, Valentini gives the intervals between the courses:

![Figure IV-67. Intervals between the courses of a lute in French tuning, f. 28r.](image)

He then illustrates how the player can know if the lute is in tune after alter the courses (Figure IV-68):

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¹⁶³ Coelho, "The manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Italian lute music: a catalogue raisonné," 98.

¹⁶⁴ “*In un Leuto di ordinaria grandezza, non Teorbato; mà si bene di undici ordini di corde* ”, f28 r.


¹⁶⁶ “…e fa bellisimo effetto in sonarvi le correnti, e simili arie”. f28 r.
From a modern (fixed pitch) perspective, and taking for granted that we are using a lute in G, the method with which ones arrives at this tuning is to firstly tune the sixth to the fifth course, which one does normally for those courses. Then the fifth course to the fourth by dropping the fourth course so it is in tune with the third fret of the of the fifth course, continuing to tune the open courses to the fretted note, as shows the first bar in the above diagram. In this way, the overall pitch of the instrument is rather low, and in turn means a departure from the tono chorista or the tono romano, which paradoxically was at least a tone below A=440. This could be certainly one of the reasons that Valentini stated that this tuning is not suitable to continuo playing outside a limited domestic setting. However, this didn’t stop him from anatomising even this!

The 11-course instrument suggested was without the use of an extended neck, meaning that the lowest courses can be fretted – even the 11th and 10th. The range is from C₁ to C₆ (20th fret). In order to represent the fretted notes on the bottom two courses, Valentini again shows his procedure. He has not used the French tablature, in which the lower courses would be shown with the letters a, b, c etc… with ledger lines underneath to show which bass string and fret is to be played (Figure IV-69). In order to show if a bass string is played open, a Roman numeral (XI, X) or cardinal number is used, and to show which fret is to be played a smaller cardinal number is placed above it.

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In the final two sections of *Il leuto*, Valentini speaks directly to the student of counterpoint – both of written and counterpoint ‘alla mente’ (polyphony performed extemporaneously). Valentini was best-known in his own lifetime, and after his death in 1654, as a master of counterpoint. He was acutely aware of the practices of Italian composers and singers, having on a number occasions commented on the practices he encountered throughout the dioceses of Rome. His manuscript *Due discorsi et una epistola* (as was seen earlier) places him as an astute observer of the ecclesiastical milieu. He adjudicates composers, singers, instrumentalists and other theorists throughout the parishes and musical institutions of Rome. Keeping in mind that he was a teacher and theorist for most of his life, it is not at all surprising to find the addition on the ‘good rules of counterpoint’ as the last section in *Il leuto anatomizzato*.

In *Due discorsi*, Valentini sharply admonishes the inability of singers to perform rudimentary counterpoint over chant melodies. On counterpoint: “… one must have knowledge, especially sopranos, altos and tenors, in order to make counterpoint over a cantus firmus, not by ear, as many usually asininely do, but regulated as it should be done”.\(^\text{168}\) In fact, the examples used in this section to illustrate his lessons are expanded upon over a cantus firmus in just semibreves and breves.

Even the titles that singers and instrumentalists afford themselves seems to irk him. On the level of competence of musicians and singers he quips: “… regarding the title of ‘musician’... if

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\(^{168}\) “Et anchorche in lei vi sieno alcuni, che non sanno comporre, e solamente cantano, havendo di quel che cantano qualche intelligenza, e forse ancora qualche cognizion di contrapunto del qual specialmente li soprani, li contralti, e li tenori bisogna necessariamente che n’abbiano notizia per farlo sopra i cantifermi, nonad orecchio, come molti asinescamente sogliono fare; ma si bene regolarmente come va fatto”, *Due discorsi et una epistola*, 16, par. 41.
players don’t have knowledge, they are at the level of and are numbered amongst simple singers, and not numbered among true musicians”.

Throughout *Il leuto* Valentini references only three other people: Gasparo Visconti, the harpsichordist and harp player who adopted Valentini’s equal temperament; another is “... *un valentissimo sonatore antico*”, Francesco da Milano; and most frequently Vincenzo Galilei. A direct link to the sources Valentini uses in the last section of *Il leuto* is outside the range of the present study. One must concede, however, that the terms “compositori antichi” and “moderni pratici” which he uses to describe historical figures and practices are somewhat arbitrary – without sufficient evidence.

Valentini commences this section listing what are considered, by modern standards, consonances (perfect and imperfect) and dissonances (Table II-1). The illustrations he uses are not too dissimilar to those used by Zarlino and others.

### Table IV-7. Names and description of the simple intervals, f. 30r-f. 31v.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interval</th>
<th>Valentini’s description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unison</td>
<td>Same tone, no difference in sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor 2nd</td>
<td>Semitone, naturally Mi-Fa, accidentally (#) Fa-Sol*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major 2nd</td>
<td>Tone, consists of two semitones, naturally Ut-Re, Re-Mi, Fa-Sol, accidentally Mi-Fa(#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor 3rd</td>
<td>Semiditone, consists of a tone and two semitones, naturally Re-Fa, Mi-Sol, accidentally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major 3rd</td>
<td>Ditone, consists of two tones (four semitones), naturally Ut-Mi, Fa-La, accidentally Re-Fa(#), Mi-Sol(#), Mi(b)-Sol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect 4th</td>
<td><em>(Bona)</em> Good fourth, Diatesseron, minor 4th, tetrachord, <em>tetrafonia</em> consists of five semitones, three species; naturally Re-Sol, Mi-La, Ut-Fa, accidentally Fa-Mi(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented 4th</td>
<td>Superflua fourth, tritone, consists of six semitones, naturally Fa-Mi, accidentally Ut-Fa(#), (b)Mi-La</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect 4th</td>
<td>Consists of four semitones, same as major 3rd in practice on the lute, accidentally (#)Ut-La</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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169 “...del nome di Musico devono essere meritevoli anco i cantori, et i sonatori..., se non hanno intelligenza sono nel grado, e numero de' semplici cantori, e trà musici non sono connumerati”. Due discorsi et una epistola, 16, par. 42.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interval</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect 5th</td>
<td>Diapente, good fifth, <em>pentachord</em>, <em>pentafonia</em>, perfect diapente, consists of seven semitones, of four species; naturally Re-La, Mi-mi, Fa-fa, Ut-Sol, accidentally (b)Mi-Fa</td>
<td>The perfect fifth, which is the diapente, is by the experts deemed a perfect consonance, and is grave, harmonious and full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminished 5th</td>
<td>False fifth, imperfect diapente, semidiapente, composed of six semitones, naturally Mi-Fa, accidentally (♯)Ut-Sol,(♯)Fa-fa, (♯)Re-La, Mi-mi(b)</td>
<td>The false fifth, which is semidiapente is dissonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented 5th</td>
<td>Superabundant fifth, <em>superflua</em> diapente, consists of eight semitones, accidentally Ut-(♯)Sol, Fa-(♯)fa, in practice the same as minor 6th</td>
<td>The minor sixth being close to the fifth, namely, the diapente, is a sweet consonance and has some languidness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor 6th</td>
<td>Diapente with a semitone, minor hexachord, minor <em>hexafonia</em>, consists of eight semitones, naturally Re-Fa, Mi-Sol, Mi-Fa, accidentally (♯)Ut-la, Re- mi(b)</td>
<td>The major sixth, nearing the seventh, is a consonance which is somewhat cruel and bitter, note that the sixths used well have very fine effect, on the contrary used badly produces badness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major 6th</td>
<td>Diapente with a tone, major hexachord, major <em>hexafonia</em>, formed of nine semitones, naturally Ut-La, Re-mi, Fa-Sol, accidentally Re-(♯)fa, mi-(♯)sol, mi-(♯)fa</td>
<td>The minor seventh is dissonant but not as much as the major seventh, being that the minor seventh is closer to the sixth than the major seventh, which is the most dissonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor 7th</td>
<td>Diapente with a semiditone, minor <em>heptachord</em>, minor <em>heptafonia</em>, formed of 10 semitones, naturally Re-Fa, Re-Sol, Ut-Fa, Mi-sol, accidentally (♯)Ut-mi, (♯)Fa-la, Ut- mi(b)</td>
<td>The Diapason is the most perfect and good, and being of the same nature as the unison it has the same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major 7th</td>
<td>Diapente with a ditone, major <em>heptachord</em>, major <em>heptafonia</em>, formed of eleven semitones, naturally Ut-mi, Fa-la, accidentally Ut-(♯)fa, Re-(♯)sol, Re-(♯)fa, mi-(♯)sol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>Queen of consonances, diapason, diapente with diatesseron, composed of twelve semitones, of seven species; A-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect octave</td>
<td>Imperfect diapason, consists of eleven semitones, place the semitone (♯) on the lower note of the octave or a flat (b) on the top note of the octave, in practice it is the same as the major seventh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There is also shown a minor 3rd going from G-B♭ but it is not described

Valentini continues by describing each interval based on the number of major and minor seconds it contains. Examples are given for how the interval is altered ‘naturally’ and ‘accidentally’, or when an interval is created by adding a sharp or flat sign.

Valentini points out that adding the septenary number 7 (and its multiples) to any simple interval, we arrive at its composite interval. This seems to be held in somewhat ‘special’ consideration. In *Due discorsi et una epistola* on page 187, paragraph 451, Valentini discusses the number 7. He aligns this number ‘settenario’ as it is found in musical intervals, both simple and compound, to the human life span being divided into spans of seven years. From ages 0-7, then 8-14, then 15-21 etc. he divides and describes the human life into periods of seven years. He notes that the
age 84 (the 12th stage, 7x12) is the most dangerous year of our lives. If his birth year is correct, 1570, then Valentini died at the age of 84.170

The image below (Figure IV-70) is titled *Scale, or extended hand of music which serves to find the distance between any note or voice*. This is a useful, and relatively common, device to help the singer recognise the intervals of notes between the different clefs: F, C and G. The subsequent figure (Figure IV-71) is an illustration that the ‘extended hand’ once inverted produces its b mollé equivalent.

![Figure IV-70](image)

*Figure IV-70. ‘Extended hand’, the distance between clefs, f. 31v.*

![Figure IV-71](image)

*Figure IV-71. Inverted ‘extended hand’, f. 31v.*

The next point to be discussed regards the mutation of the hexachords and their intervallic relationships. We are instructed to note that the difference between a note found on the same line or space will always be a 4th or 5th from one clef to the next—as per Figure IV-72.

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Figure IV-72. Shows the mutation, by 4th and by 5th, of the hexachord in a number of clef combinations, f. 31v.

The next image (Figure IV-73) teaches the singer how to find the unisons, octaves, fifteenths and twenty-seconds, based on whether they are found on a line or on a space. Valentini says that this has a practical use for the ‘putti’ or boy singers.

Figure IV-73. Composite octaves and unisons, f. 31v.

In explaining the diagram, Valentini notes that:

If we take two notes of A, namely, the note A-la-mi-re, the same letters are found on the same line, or both the are found on the space, there will be between them the unison, or the fifteenth. If these two letters are found one on the line and the other on a space, there will be between them an octave or a twenty-second.171

171 "...se pigliaranno in due parti la lettere A, ciò è la corda di A lami re) se esse due istesse, et medesime lettere staranno ambedue in riga, o vero ambedue si ritrovaranno in spatio, vi sarà trà di loro l’unison, o vero la
The next image (Figure IV-74) is a very useful tool for the student of counterpoint, both practical and theoretical, in that it shows clearly the intervallic distance between clefs – *chiavi madre* (standard clefs) and *chiavette* (high clefs).

After having discussed intervals, clef recognition and the distance between them, Valentini now gives a concise lesson on composing and singing counterpoint over a *cantus firmus*.

### 1. Rules of Counterpoint (f32 r.- f34 v.) (Transl. p. 122)

One can begin with any consonance except the sixth. Two similar intervals like fifths and octaves are not to ascend or descend together. One can move in thirds or sixths (see Figure IV-75).

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*quintadecima se una di ese due e medesime lettere si ritroverà in riga e l’altra in spazio, vi sarà, e risonarà trà di esse l’ottava o vero la vigesima seconda”, Il leuto, f. 32v.*

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When composing with black notes [crotchets or quavers], one must be good and the other bad. The good lands on the beat, and the bad on the offbeat. When these black notes move by jump or leap, they must land on a good note. This is seen in the following example, the ‘b’ means good [bono], and ‘t’ means bad [triste- sad/bad] (Figure IV-76).

Figure IV-76. Intervals of black notes, f. 32r.

A black note doesn’t save two octaves, nor two fifths when it is the first or third beat (Figure IV-77).

Figure IV-77. Movement of 5ths and 8ves with black notes, on bad beats, f. 32r.

On the contrary, one black [quarter] note saves two 8ves or 5ths when it is in the place of a note. When the second 8ve or second 5th is in place of the bad note, namely, on the second or fourth beat (Figure IV-78).

Figure IV-78. Movement of 5ths and 8ves with black notes, on good beats, f. 32r.

If the cantus firmus line stays still, 8ves and 5ths are permitted when between them there is a crotchet or quaver. However, 8ves and 5ths can also be done if there is no note between them (Figure IV-79).

Figure IV-79. Movement over a cantus firmus, f. 32v.

The octave at the start of the beat must be done in contrary motion, namely, the bass falls a tone the counterpoint raises a tone (Figure IV-80).
Figure IV-80. Contrary motion of octaves, f. 32v.

When the counterpoint has begun with two 8ves, something must wait (Figure IV-81).

Figure IV-81. Movement in octaves, f. 32v.

Of the imperfect consonances, these can be done as much as one wants (Figure IV-82 and Figure IV-83).

Figure IV-82. Movement in thirds, f. 32v.

Figure IV-83. Descending sixths, f. 32v.
The 6th descends to the 5th in the same bar (Figure IV-84).

When ascending on the elevation of the hand, it must go to the 8ve (Figure IV-85).

For general rule, the minor 6th falls to the fifth or to the third. The major 6th goes to the octave (Figure IV-86).

It is not good for two voices to go from a perfect consonance to an imperfect consonance, nor vice versa, rising or falling by a leap. One mustn’t go from the 10th to the 8ve (Figure IV-87).
It is not good for two voices to go from one perfect consonance to another, like an 8ve to a 5th, and vice versa (Figure IV-88).

![Figure IV-88. From perfect consonance to perfect consonance, f. 32v.](image1)

It ‘makes a fine effect’ to go from a perfect consonance to an imperfect one with contrary movement, and vice versa (Figure IV-89).

![Figure IV-89. From a perfect consonance to an imperfect consonance, f. 32v.](image2)

Dissonances are ordinarily tied with a good note. So, the first note is good and the dissonant note follows downwards (Figure IV-90 to Figure IV-92). The 9th falls to the 8ve, the 7th falls to the 6th, and the 4th falls to the 3rd and the 2nd to the unison. Two 9ths cannot be tied.

![Figure IV-90. Tied dissonances, f. 33r.](image3)

![Figure IV-91. Tied 9ths and 2nds, f. 33r.](image4)
The false fifth can be done in counterpoint when it is on the elevation of the beat and goes to the major 3rd (Figure IV-93).

Two black notes, namely, two crotchets, can be done on the rising of the beat after a minim. The first is bad and the second good falling by tone (Figure IV-94).

In order to not incur consecutive 8ves and 5ths, when the counterpoint ascends the cantus firmus descends, and vice versa (Figure IV-95).
The tied fourth in the lower part can go to a 5th. The false fifth goes to the 3rd by step (Figure IV-96).

![Figure IV-96. Going from 4th to 5th, and false 5th to a 3rd, f. 33r.](image)

When the cantus firmus leaps, from one beat to another, they are to be good black notes [crotchets and quavers] (Figure IV-97).

![Figure IV-97. Leaps with black notes, f. 33r.](image)

When the cantus firmus falls by a tone or descends [or ascends] by a fifth the counterpoint goes from the 6th to the 3rd, or the 13th to the 10th. Jumping by a 4th [or 5th] in the counterpoint (from a 3rd to a 6th, or a 13th to a 10th) when the cantus firmus stays still (Figure IV-98).

![Figure IV-98. Leaping by 4ths and 5ths, f. 33r.](image)

When moving with quavers, one must be good and the other bad. Of the eight quavers in a bar the first, third, fifth and seventh must be good. The second, fourth, sixth and eighth are bad (Figure IV-99).

![Figure IV-99. Movement of quavers, f. 33r.](image)
After the good crotchet (consonant) on the first beat or on the elevation, one must descend and not ascend (Figure IV-100).

![Figure IV-100](image1)

**Figure IV-100.** Descend after the elevation of the beat, f. 33v.

It is not praiseworthy to ascend by crotchets from the 6th to the 7th, go to the 8ve. It is praiseworthy to descend from the 6th to the 5th or 3rd (Figure IV-101).

![Figure IV-101](image2)

**Figure IV-101.** Ascending and descending from the 6th, f. 33v.

Use the # (sharp) when the part ascends, and the ♭ (flat) when the part descends (Figure IV-102).

![Figure IV-102](image3)

**Figure IV-102.** Use of accidentals, f. 33v.
We have said that when the counterpoint begins in 8ves, a part should wait, this is true also for unisons (Figure IV-103).

![Figure IV-103. Starting in unisons, a part must wait, f. 33v.](image)

The unison can be on any beat of the bar, except on the falling of the beat (battuta). In similar places the octave can be done (Figure IV-104).

![Figure IV-104. Use of unisons, f. 33v.](image)

If the octave is at the beginning of the bar, one must move in contrary motion. However, if the octave is the same as its antecedent then it is very good (Figure IV-105 and Figure IV-106).

![Figure IV-105. Use of octaves, f. 33v.](image)
Figure IV-106. Dividing a ternary bar into smaller note values, f. 33v.
V. Practical Applications and Concluding Thoughts

A. On the Mindset of the Seventeenth-Century Musician

This research presented a translation and commentary of *Il leuto anatomizzato* by the polymath Pier Francesco Valentini. This task was fraught with difficulties due to the intricate layout and at times perplexing content. Valentini’s complex system of *ordine*, for instance, can appear to be a convoluted solution to apparently simple musical dilemmas. We must keep in mind that the modus operandi of the seventeenth-century musician was very different, as were their theoretical understandings, and the musical contexts in which they operated. I hope that this essay has helped unravel some of these conundrums, illuminating how these concepts might have been relevant and practical within the context of the day.

By placing the author and the manuscript in close proximity to the output of other contemporaneous composers and theorists of the likes of Doni and Galilei, one must concede that Valentini’s own output, including *Il leuto anatomizzato*, stands apart for its sheer scope and ambition. Owing to his comfortable social position, he was able to dedicate his life to an intellectual pursuit that bore valid, substantial, and at times esoteric, works of art and science.

After consulting the translation, the modern reader will notice immediately that Valentini’s intricate system of transpositions, predicated not on key signatures or accidentals but instead focusing on patterns and positions on the fret board, is illustrated in extensive detail. We as modern readers have been made privy to an unknown level of musicianship, one which enjoyed very refined and advanced skills—including, arguably, the ability to effect transpositions by any interval at sight. Such skills may seem less relevant today, and beyond the reach of most modern musicians. Transposing at sight by any of twelve intervals, in time real, is the stuff of nightmares—a point which does not go unnoticed by Valentini.

So, what lessons from *Il leuto anatomizzato* can be found that are useful to the modern player and teacher? His extensive examples of cadences provide a particularly useful reference source. For instance, there is the systematic approach to scales that are ‘used to play single lines above a part’ and the encyclopaedic series of chords and chord shapes, illustrated with explanations of how they move around a fretboard as transposed chord shapes—a level of conceptual understanding that (as has been argued) reflects the influence of seventeenth-century guitar practice in its use of simplified alfabeto, where some shapes are notated as transpositions (by fret number) of others. Apart from the section dedicated to the written exercise of intabulating, the remainder of the manuscript is devoted to practical playing and singing proficiency.
B. Practical Considerations

With the goal of explicating a breadth of practical and technical skills to the lute player in considerable detail, naturally some instructions can be deemed more useful than others. For instance, Valentini has unquestionably delivered regarding the necessary skills for performing solo polyphonic vocal music on the one hand, and contributing thoughtful and stylish continuo playing in an ensemble on the other. The following is a closer inspection of the section of the manuscript dealing with ordini, what they are, and how they may have been practicably used.

1. The Instrument

The lute which Valentini uses for the first section of Il leuto anatomizzato is an 8-course renaissance lute in G. However, as Valentini points out in section 10 on the different types of lute, his twelve ordini can still be used with a lute of up to 14 courses. The first course (cantino) is naturally single, and the remainder are doubles. For this section, it is not stated which courses have a string at the octave higher. Only in the section on French tuning regarding the 11-course instrument does Valentini mention the five “bass strings which are usually strung with a thinner string at the octave”. We can say with certainty that there was not an exact pitch in Rome during Valentini’s time. In fact, from one church to the next the difference in pitch of the organs could vary up to a semitone, making the tono chorista or tono romano an inexact reference point. This is an issue that the modern player doesn’t need to worry about as much, but still needs to kept in mind when considering the purpose of instructions on transposition like those Valentini provides.

2. Clefs

The clef combinations that begin each ordine help to determine the interval of the transposition of the work that is to be transcribed or that requires a figured bass realisation. What seems a general rule, is that high clefs require a downward transposition and low clefs an upward transposition. The size of the interval of transposition is also linked to the clef. Take for example the first ordine with bquadro when no transposition is necessary using standard clefs or chiavi madre, or down an octave when the lowest two voices are alto and soprano, and up an octave when the work is in the lowest registers (in contrabasso). With bmolle, the corresponding clefs are chiavette, and require a downward transposition of a fourth. Note that with standard clefs, the transposition is never greater than a major second in either direction. This may add to or help resolve the contentious issue of whether a transposition was standard practice when the work was composed in chiavette or with bmolle. The conceptualisation of the music down a fourth when there is a flat in the key signature seems to be evidenced in the 10th ordine when with bmolle no transposition is required, with its corresponding bquadro an upward transposition of a fourth is made using contrabasso clefs, maintaining the plagal relationship between bquadro and bmolle.
The alternating chromatic schema Figure V-1 expresses transpositions going only to the tritone above and below. Why stop at the tritone? Because it is the mathematical centre of the octave, and Valentini makes it clear in this section that the student can find the remaining transpositions (perfect fifth to a major seventh upwards and downwards) based on the intervals from the unison to the tritone. Simply put, it means that if we wish, for example, to make a transposition upwards of a major 6th and the work contains b mollé, we will expect to find low or contrabasso clefs, we know that in the same ordine, preceding the upward transposition of a major 6th, there will be the transposition downward of a minor 3rd (which works out as the same thing), and the clefs will be high clefs or chiavette. This means that each transposition is expressed in four ways – as is mentioned in the title of the manuscript – two with b quadro (high to low/low to high); and two with b mollé (high to low/low to high).

Figure V-1. Alternating chromatic schema

With regards to a practical application of this cleffing system, it would be safe to say that modern standards have all but alleviated the need to read, by now, redundant clefs—save for when intabulating polyphony from primary sources.

3. Musical Scale

It is tempting to see this extended chromatic scale as a memory aid, used by the student to help ‘reconceptualise’ the notes and pitches of the fingerboard. Valentini supplies the note names of the scale in b quadro and in b mollé (a fourth apart) using letter names. This exercise seems to insist that the student disassociate the name or letter of a note with its pitch. For use in a practical application, the student could start with a chosen ‘reference’ note, open G on the first course for example, accumulatively ascend and descend—mentally keeping the untransposed letter—by a semitone until the tritone, and learn by rote its new note name and the ordine in which it is found.
The process might be expressed as:

First *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *open first course* – notation says G  
First *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *open first course* – notation says C

Second *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *first fret of first course* – notation says G  
Second *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *first fret of first course* – notation says C

Third *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *fourth fret of second course* – notation says G  
Third *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *fourth fret of second course* – notation says C

Fourth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *second fret of first course* – notation says G  
Fourth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *second fret of first course* – notation says C

Fifth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *third fret of second course* – notation says G  
Fifth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *third fret of second course* – notation says C

Sixth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *third fret of first course* – notation says G  
Sixth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *third fret of first course* – notation says C

Seventh *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *second fret second course* – notation says G  
Seventh *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *second fret second course* – notation says C

Eighth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *fourth fret first course* – notation says G  
Eighth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *fourth fret first course* – notation says C

Ninth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *first fret of second course* – notation says G  
Ninth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *first fret of second string* – notation says C

Tenth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *fifth fret of first course* – notation says G  
Tenth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *fifth fret of first course* – notation says C

Eleventh *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *open second course* – notation says G  
Eleventh *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *open second course says* – notation says C

Twelfth *Ordine* with *bquadro*; plays *fourth fret of third course* – notation says G  
Twelfth *Ordine* with *bmolle*; plays *fourth fret of third course* – notation says C

One can start on G at any octave, providing that the range of that octave allows for the downward or upward movement. This is extremely useful for locating the starting note and subsequent scalic pattern of the *andamento*.

### 4. Andamento

The *andamento* is a diatonic pattern of intervals and is used to perform single-line passages. The *andamento* is labelled as ‘simple’, this might imply that its illustrated without embellishments or *musica ficta* (for accidentals see the musical scale). It seems that it might be used to play a written part or even improvise a single-line solo, or both. The *andamento* is clearly not a mode, but instead a kind of ambitus or moveable template (like a *gamut*) imposed within the range of the lute. The
diatonic scale can shift ascending or descending, the functionary notes; starting note, final and reciting tone, shifting together as one unit. For the practical application of the *andamento*, the pattern/shape of the scale can be easily memorised and shifted around the fretboard, and utilised for, as Agazzari suggests ‘long and short *passaggi*, gracious bass runs, repeating fugues, slurs and trills.’ This ‘scale’ (Valentini’s first mode) can be found transposed in much the same way in another of Valentini’s manuscripts *Trattato musica* (Barb. Lat. 4429). The author provides examples of a *scale naturale* (untransposed first mode), then transposed in twenty-five ways using sharp (*semitonata*) keys and flat (*bemollata*, and *ficta*) keys following the above alternating chromatic schema (see above) The transpositions in this manuscript are shown in notation and represent the pitch of the transposition, whereas in *Il leuto anatomizzato* the same transpositions are shown in tablature, therefore removing any need for the player to consider the transpositions in terms of *scale semitonate* or *scale finte* or *bemollate*, but as already mentioned, rather in terms of patterns on the fret board.

5. **Chords or Sonorities**

The chords demonstrated here give the student an extremely valuable resource that can be drawn upon when considering voicings and positions. Valentini takes the *andamento* and harmonises each note with the most sonorous and convenient chord patterns using both major and minor sonorities and first inversions. This scale differs to the *andamento* in that Valentini has supplied accidentals, above which the 3rd and 6th are played, though the ‘6’ is not always used to show the inversion. Valentini does not use accidentals on the notes D and A (although he concedes that it does happen), and is inconsistent with the use of the sharp sign on the note G. He discusses this in section 5 of the manuscript. Based on the layout of the scale and the uniformity of the progressions, this too might have been intended as a memory aid—the student learning the chord patterns by rote and applying the letters or note names and the *ordine* in which they are assigned. This type of exercise provides the student with a solid knowledge of chord shapes, either moveable or not, from the lowest to the highest position, and would be considered a useful exercise in a modern lute syllabus.

6. **Aria di Ruggiero**

All the *arie di Ruggiero* in *Il leuto anatomizzato* are notated in the key of G (bquadro) and C (bmolle), with the transpositions reflected in the lute tablature. Valentini has shown both (bquadro and bmolle) upward transpositions on the top line and then both downward transpositions (bquadro and bmolle) on the bottom line. The use of two clefs on the one line is again, a visual aid to transposing by clef substitution. The realisation provides a very useful insight into a typical chordal accompaniment.
7. Cadences

Cristoforetti emphatically recognises Valentini’s cadential examples as “… a veritable lesson in lute anatomy!”172 and Valentini himself prefaces them with the intention that “…with them the player will be well instructed”. In fact, the applicability of this astonishing resource cannot be underestimated. Valentini supplies cadential formulae for stronger final cadences, and those that are weaker, which can be found within a work. Regardless of what the function of the cadence may be, and whatever cadence is chosen, we are warned by the author that practise and attention must be afforded to the execution of them, in order to not take away the rhetorical weight of the cadences. Though Valentini on a number of occasions cautions the reader on how to place the left hand on the courses and fret board in order to not muffle the vibrating string, right-hand technique is never mentioned. However, in the section on cadences, the implication that the player has already a sound approach to producing a rapid succession of quavers, semiquavers and demisemiquavers is evident. For these the ‘thumb-under technique’ can be used for greater speed and accuracy. These examples, in conjunction with section 3 of the manuscript offers theoretical procedures and practical solutions for the modern lute player. Whether they are beginners or seasoned players, they can benefit greatly from a thorough examination of these cadences, and will find that they, along with all the lessons dealt with in the section on the ordini, are indeed applicable to modern performances of any genre of music from the first half of the seventeenth century.

C. Some Brief Examples

The task of illustrating all the practical application of the sophisticated musicianship tasks outlined in the manuscript remains outside the scope of this research project. However, a few short examples are offered here in order to clarify and illustrate the application of Valentini’s transposition theory, and other instructions relating to voicing, counterpoint, embellishment, and figured bass within the context of written intabulations. Intabulation was one of the important practical outcomes that Valentini had in mind, albeit becoming an archaic practice even in his time, and indeed it is a task that is somewhat less daunting to the modern musician.

The first example is an intabulation of one of Valentini’s canons for two voices, intabulated for a lute in G. The canon is Noe Psallite Gaude Hierusalem173, found in Canoni di diversi studi (Barb. Lat. 4428) page 28. For this and nearly all the canons in this manuscript, Valentini supplies the solutions written out in score format, and this is a transcription of its solution that applies selected rules of intabulation outlined in Il leuto anatomizzato. The procedure for this intabulation included the following:

- One can commence with the upper or lower voice (I have started with the upper voice);

172 Cristoforetti, Il Leuto Anatomizzato and Ordine (facsimile introduction), 14.
173 The performance of this canon requires the second voice to enter in contrary motion in the third bar.
• Intabulate the duo in the Natural Tone with bmolle; consult the index of transpositions, find 10th Ordine, there find the frets and notes;
• Intabulate the duo with bmolle at a minor 3rd above; consult the index of transpositions find 9th Ordine, there find the frets corresponding to the notes of that transposition;
• Intabulate using French tablature; consult the section on reading different tablatures and find the section on the French system to find the corresponding frets.

Below are only some of the points covered in Valentini’s instructions within Il leuto anatomizzato on intabulating.

1. Notes of the value of a minim or larger which need to be held in order for the harmony to function or notes which are tied over the bar are to held in place by the finger for the complete duration of that note, and not restruck, therefore an X is placed on that fret
2. It is acceptable for a note (usually a breve) to be restruck, especially at the end of the piece as it “re-excites the final chord”;
3. When one finds two voices that fall on the one string, the lower note’s enharmonic equivalent is found on the lower adjacent string; in this case the G is played on the seventh fret of the sixth string in order to be able to hold it for two beats;
4. If one has multiple parts on the same string, he substitutes the part that doesn’t move;
5. If a higher or lower part goes below or above the other respectively, then the parts are still shown, notwithstanding the cross over.

These points are illustrated in the intabulation of the canon by Valentini illustrated in Figure V-2 below.
Figure V-2. Canon from page 28 of Canoni di diversi studi intabulated for lute.
The following example (Figure V-3) is part of a figured bass realisation of the madrigal *Nel tuo core è il mio core*, from the posthumously published 1654 edition of *Madrigali a cinque voci, con basso continuo se piace, musica e parole del signor Pier Francesco Valentini, libro primo*. Some of the chords are labelled using my translation of the terms Valentini assigns to certain chord shapes and sonorities which are illustrated above in chapter 3 under the section *Considerations on the principal chords or sonorities of the lute* (page 76), as per the list below:

1. small major sonority (*chiavette maggiore*)
2. imperfect derived chord
3. first minor chord (*prima botta maggiore*)
4. small minor barre (*archetto minore*)
5. derived first minor chord (*prima botta minore derivata*)
6. single line passages with notes from the 10th Ordine with bmolle
7. large sonority (*botta con chiave grande*)
8. derived major chord (*botta minore derivata*)
9. principal chord of imperfect harmony (*botta principale di armonia imperfetta*)
10. derived sonority with minor barre (*chiave derivata con archetto minore*)
11. one of the most practiced cadences from the 1st Ordine with bmolle (N# 3)
12. transposed first major chord (*prima botta trasportata*)
13. two small lines to indicate the bass note can be played at the higher or the lower octave
Figure V-3. Realised figured bass line of *Nel tuo core e il mio core*.

The above examples by no means demonstrate the entirety of the lessons and skills covered in *Il leuto anatomizzato*. The range of skills discussed by the manuscript is very broad, and providing examples of all the skills illustrated is beyond the scope of this present project.
D. Final Thoughts

Although this research has successfully unravelled several of the apparent issues that the manuscript first presents, and which the researcher grappled with over many years over the course of a PhD study, there are several questions that remain somewhat unresolved. For instance, there is the ‘cognitive dissonance’ with regard to Valentini’s explicit advocacy of equal temperament in other sources, the implicit need for a more equal or near equal temperament in order to transpose by any interval, and certain comments by Valentini suggesting that fret placements on the lute do not necessarily create equal semitones. Questions also remain with regard to Valentini’s adoption of concepts from guitar practice (such as transposed chord shapes), and yet his complete lack of mention of both the theorbo and guitar in the treatise—right at the time when these instruments were hitting their zenith in terms of popularity and function in an ensemble setting. Valentini’s 8-course lute acts as an exclusive medium (apart from the mention of other members of the lute family) for the explications of the ordini, despite the fact that it was a somewhat outdated instrument by this time. The reader is left to content themselves with the ‘addendum-like’ mention of the archlute and theorboed lute, and some small coverage of other ‘French’ tunings.

Another conceptual tension appears between Valentini as an exemplar of the post-tridentine Roman School of composition (prima prattica) and in particular a master of the esoteric canonic art, while simultaneously an exponent of the burgeoning ‘stile recitativo’, a characteristic of the more modern seconda prattica. Composers and writers like Girolamo Diruta and Marco Scacchi recognised these two diverse approaches to composition. In 1649 the latter, also Roman, observes that composers of musica antica had at their disposal only one practice and style, whereas modern composers were able to choose between the two. Scacchi’s classification also recognises three styles; the ecclesiasticus (church), cubicularis (chamber), and the scenicus or theatralis (scenic or theatrical)174. We are able to catalogue Valentini’s compositions in all three of Scacchi’s styles, showing his adaptability to numerous genres.

I hope that this translation, with the primary and secondary sources presented together as a unit, will contribute to bringing Valentini and Il leuto anatomizzato out of the shadows. Approaching the manuscript can seem like untangling Solomon’s Knot. However, in light of the research here carried out on Valentini’s life, his contemporaries and the environment in which he lived and worked, we see that Il leuto anatomizzato was composed by a someone with knowledge of the lute, for lute players. The skills which were required to perform the lessons in the manuscript, especially concerning transposition, seem quite alien to our modern conception of music theory. The modern lute player, or any other performer of historic music for that matter, will use the standardised

major/minor key system for any transpositions, or even use purpose-built software for transcribing. This again begs an important question that was broached in this essay; was Valentini documenting a practice or trying to preserve an antiquated exercise? The next generation of composers following Valentini; Legrenzi and Corelli for example, were the harbingers of the progressive new approach to organising tonality—foreshadowing the demise of the modal system. Could it be that from *Il leuto antomizzato*’s conception as *Ordine* in 1636, to its reediting around 1650, the shifting trend was too obvious for Valentini to ignore? The diversity of the nature of its content demonstrates that Valentini was indeed observing the new trends in music theory and performance, but at the same time was unable to let go of ancient practices which needed to stand aside and allow for the transition from the speculation of Renaissance to the reasoning of the Baroque.
VI. Appendix

The following are full versions of musical examples that occur throughout this dissertation.

A. Example for lute ensemble by Lelio Colista, in Musurgia Universale, in Kircher.

*Symphonia Testudinum, seu Liutorum*

*Musurgia Universale, Book VI, pp. 480*

Athanasius Kircher

(1601-1680, Rome)

Lelio Colista

(Rome, 1629-1680)
B. Madrigal from Libro primo of madrigals, Nel tuo core e il mio core

Nel tuo core e il mio core

Maurizio a cinque voci - 1654
Pier Francesco Valentini (Rome 1570-1654)
Cant. viv e mai non sia e mai non non ch'io moia

Cant. sia e mai non si a ch'io moia Ch'eterno viv e mai non

A. Ch'eterno viv e mia non sia ch'io moia

T. Ch'eterno viv e mai non sia ch'io moia

B. viv e mai non sia ch'io moia Ch'eterno

B.

57

Cant. Ch'eterno viv e mai non sia ch'io moia Ch'eterno viv e mia non

Cant. sia a ch'io moia Ch'eterno viv e mai non

A. Ch'eterno viv e mai non sia Ch'eterno

T. Ch'eterno viv e mai non sia ch'io moia Ch'eterno

B. viv e mai non sia Ch'eterno

B.
sia ch'io moia a Ch'è-te-reno viv e mai non sia ch'io moia

sia ch'io moia e mai non sia ch'io moia

viv e mai non sia ch'io moia e mai non sia ch'io moia

viv e mai non sia ch'io moia Ch'è-te-reno viv e mai non sia ch'io moia

viv e mai non sia ch'io moia e mai non sia ch'io moia

viv e mai non sia ch'io moia e mai non sia ch'io moia
C. Canzonetta, Qual Maggiore

Canzonette a due Voci

Prima Parte

Pier Francesco Valentini

Qual magg'giorg pre-gio si puol dare un cor-re

Che per la sua pie-ta vi-vava un ama-

nte Che per-la sua pie-ta vi-vava
Seconda Parte

vi-vava un amante
Qual si puol pen-

sar biasmo maggio-
re
puol pen-sar biasmo maggio-
re Ch'e

Ch'e-sse-re ingrato a un ama-
to-
cos-
ssere ingrato a un ama-to-
costa-

85
Ch'esser in granto a un amator
Ch'esser in granto Ch'esser in granto

Terza Parte

Ma tu ma tu
Ma tu ma tu

Donna crude del glorioso e honore
Donna crude del glorioso e honore
Quarta, & Ultima parte

55

Che si spie-ta-ta fusti alle mi-e pe-ne

Che si spie-ta-ta fusti al-le mie pe-ne Che

61

Che sol o-dio Che sol od-io e ver-go-gna

sol o-dio Che sol od-io e ver-go-gna ti con-

65

ti con-vien Che sol o-dio o-vie-ne Che sol o-dio -
D. Canzonetta per solo voice

PROLOGO PER COMMEDIE
Amore che porta una facella dorata in mano Senza Arco, e senza Strale
Rome 1654

Pier Francesco Valentini

Canto Solo, Prima Parte

Voice

Bass

Unica prole de'la Dea più bel-la
Qua volgo i passi dal materno Regno

E' com' a' scoten-do avrea facel-la
Asfavi llar d'Amore i
cori in segno
Ogn' al-ma di mirar mi ho-gi s'appa-

ghi
Po-ve-ro d'Ar-co e ve-de-vo di Dar-di ch'as-sai piu del-et

90
to - si assai piu va-ghi Ar-chi in me son le ci - glia e stra - li i

sguar - di. Chi de' gli' ardo ri suoi gra - ve so-spir -

ra E teme d'as- pri_ da-nni pe - ri - glio mo-stri-al sembiante mio ch'invido

spi-ra stu-pi-do lab-bro in-a-ca - - - to il ci -

-glio ch'ove il Sol piu' re - mo - ti ra - ggi ste - nde
Del pensiero piu' veloci I vanni inviati Inflamato ogni cor per me si

a cee-nde Espar-tti col So- il Regno mi-o.

Quan't'ha la mob- la so nanti Quant-e ha'l Mar tempestoso humide a-

re-ne Quante ha'l Nottu-rno Ciel fiamme stellan-ti Tan te son le mie prove e

l'altrui pe-ne Non ha l'iri si vario il suo bel lume_ O di-
versi il Pa-von mos-tra co-lo-ri O la col-om-ba Sol var-ia le piu-me Co-me var ie'n me

Quarta, & ultima Parte

son l'o-pre gl'a-do-ri. Fo che la gioia al-trui ste-bil si miei

El ge-li-do ti-mor d'ar-di-n'a-va-mp-i Fo che'l to-rme-nto al-trui dol-ce-zza spi-ri E mo-va la pie

ta sde-gno si la-
mpi Tra que-steSce-ne asco-nder mi in ta-n-to per tent-ar quan-to

va-glia il pot-er mio E va-go sol d'in-sa-per ra-bil va-to Fa-ro di me-

-l'u-ti-me pro-ve a di-o.
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