

The Earliest French Lute Tablature

By WALTER H. RUBSAMEN

IN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "Di un codice musicale del secolo xvi"¹ Alfredo Saviotti describes a manuscript of the Biblioteca Oliveriana in Pesaro, No. 1144 (*olim* 1193), labelled on the fly-leaf *Miscelanea di Tempesta Blondi. Poesie del 1500*. It was Saviotti who mistakenly identified Blondi as the "transcriber and initial possessor of the codex."² According to notes on pp. 80 and 104 of the manuscript, Tempesta was married in 1574 and lost his father in 1592. He undoubtedly copied many poems into the codex during the latter decades of the 16th century—on pp. 367-385 he inscribed "La tavola di tutte le stantie e sonetti e capitoli e canzone . . . de diversi autori raccolte per me tempesta blondi de sanlorenzo in campo" (a village near Pesaro)—but he could not possibly have been its original scribe and first owner, because it begins with a repertory of late 15th-century music in French lute tablature. Ettore Viterbo, who analyzes the poetical contents of the manuscript in vol. XLV of *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*,³ gives a more accurate estimate of Blondi's role by identifying him as "possessor and, at one time, transcriber of the manuscript," but makes no attempt to delineate or date its original contents. Although Tempesta included an "intavolatura de lira," "note de la lira," and "botte del leuto" in his table of the poetry, he significantly did not list the lute compositions at the beginning of the codex because they must already have been present in the manuscript when he acquired it, and also because their fragmentary titles could have meant little or nothing to him.

Saviotti's identification of the codex with an owner of the late 16th century is one reason why musicologists have ignored it when tracing the beginnings of lute tablature in Italy and France. In an article about an early manuscript containing frottole, Nanie Bridgman⁴ quotes Saviotti in support of her contention that a few frottole survived in the repertory until the end of the Cinquecento: "l'élégant petit manuscript taillé en forme de coeur de la Biblioteca Oliveriana de Pesaro, N° 1193, qui . . . fut copié à la fin du siècle renferme encore parmi les transcriptions deux textes de Vm⁷ 676: *Ocultamente et Contenta in foco*." The curiosity of those who have read Mme. Bridgman's statement should have been

¹ *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* XIV (1889), 234-253.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

³ Ed. A. Sorbelli and G. Mazzatinti (Florence, 1930), pp. 62-80.

⁴ "Un Ms. italien du début du xvi^e siècle à la Bibl. nationale (Dépt. de la musique, Rés. Vm⁷ 676)," *Annales Musicologiques* I (1953), p. 190.

aroused, for most secular repertories of the Renaissance, especially that of the frottola, were remarkably short-lived, usually maintaining their currency for little more than a decade.

A distinguished literary historian, Saviotti was primarily interested in Blondi's collection of poems, some frankly erotic, others folk-like, burlesque, or of a political nature. He subsequently published a small selection from Tempesta's poetical anthology⁵ but failed to do anything with the music. In his initial article Saviotti had printed a table of the lute compositions, but effectively concealed the identity of at least two incipits by misreading them, as follows: p. 61—*Io preg'amore* (actually *ja prexamore* in the manuscript) [*Jay pris amours*]; and p. 65—*De tue biefte* (actually *de tus biense*) [*De tous biens plaine*]. Confessing that he was unable to provide definite information about these and other compositions, or to supply their verses, "lost in the vast ocean of antique popular poetry," Saviotti nevertheless recognized the incipit, "Fortuna," as one probably corresponding to popular songs current during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, *Fortuna disperata* or *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*. He also identified the text of "Contenta in foco sto come fenice" as no. 44 of Poliziano's *Rispetti spicciolati*.⁶ An amorous compliment, the poem is also attributed to Serafino Aquilano in Giunta's edition of his rhymes.⁷ Both Poliziano (d. 1494) and Serafino (d. 1500) flourished during the last decades of the Quattrocento; this provides a further clue to the date of the Pesaro MS.

The lute tablature in question forms part of a leather-bound manuscript which, when opened, takes the shape of a heart. It now consists of 170 paper leaves, numbered as pages 25-386, but twelve leaves at the beginning as well as pp. 1077-1096 (177-196) are missing. The lacunae at the beginning must have contained French lute tablature similar to that on pp. 25-87, the oldest part of the codex. Six-line staves are inscribed on pp. 25-1076 (176); seven-line staves on pp. 1097 (197) to the end. After a thorough examination of the sources, both printed and manuscript, I must conclude that concordances for the compositions listed in the following table of contents have not been preserved.

Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144 (*olim* 1193)

CONTENTS

p. 25-27.....	Fortuna
27-29.....	arecercar
29-30.....	areecrar [sic]
31-35.....	(Fortuna disperata)
35-43.....	bassadanza

⁵ "Di un codice musicale del secolo xvi. Aggiunte e correzioni," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* XIX (1892), pp. 446-453.

⁶ *Le Stanze, l'Orfeo e le Rime*, ed. G. Carducci (Florence, 1865ff.), p. 250.

⁷ Florence, 1516, no. 406.

- 43-44..... e Ladre
 44-45..... seconda parte (of the same)
 45-46..... untitled
 46-48, 49-52, 52-54,
 54-56, 56-58, 58-60. Six compositions labelled *arecercar*
 (Poetry written into blank space of page 60)
 61-65..... ja prexamore
 65-68..... de tus biense
 68-69..... ocultamente
 69-70..... arecercar
 70-71..... contenta in foco sto come fen(ice)
 71-74, 74-78, 78-82,
 82-84..... four works labelled *arecercar*
 85-87..... Terana (on page 86, text in a different hand, "Felice e chi
 misura. . .")
 88..... poem entitled, "Prologo"
 89-98..... Recerchate de Gasp(aro) (French notation, but in a new
 hand, with different times values)
 99..... Recerchate de Gasparo (Initial fragment of the same piece, in
 still another hand, and list of women's names)
 100..... Recerchate de Gasparo (Title only, no music, and a sonnet,
 "Il doi il fante")
 101-2..... Recerchate de antonio (Italian lute tablature)
 103..... Tanto me desti (Italian lute tablature)
 104..... Recerchate (initial chord only)
 104-1072 (172)..... poetry
 1073 (173)..... (in musical notation) Note de la lira; Botte del leuto; Le
 medesme botte de la lira
 1074 (174)..... Romanesca (for lira)
 1075 (175)..... pasamezo de lira; aria romana
 1076 (176)..... Tutte i tone de la lira; simitone fora dei tasti; poetry
 1077-1096
 (177-196)..... missing
 1097 (197)-203..... arecercar (French notation in the initial hand, but with
 different time values, for a lute of seven courses)
 204..... untitled fragment of French lute notation
 204-330..... poetry
 331 and 333..... sonnets entitled, "Acordatura del leuto" and "Modo d'acor-
 dare il leuto"
 332 and 334..... "tavole per sonare il liuto"
 335-366..... poetry
 367-385..... *tavola* of the poetry
 386..... *sestina*, "Fugge si sai fogir" (text only)

In 1942 Ernesto Paolone published an article⁸ in which he describes the musical contents of the Pesaro MS somewhat more accurately than had Saviotti, and identifies the G and A tunings of the lute as defined in the sonnets on pp. 331 and 333 of the MS. Unfortunately, he followed in Saviotti's footsteps by naming Tempesta Blondi as "the collector and

⁸ "Codici musicali della Bibl. Oliveriana e della Bibl. del R. Conservatorio di Musica di Pesaro," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* XLVI, 186-200.

first owner of the codex," thus perpetuating the myth of its pertinence to the late 16th century. The late Otto Gombosi must have been taken in by the same misleading evidence when he mentions our MS only briefly and disparagingly in the introduction to his edition of the Capirola lute book:⁹ "From the early part of the second half of the 16th century is to be dated a rather provincial Italian lute composition, preserved anonymously under the title '*Bassadanza*,' in Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, Ms 1144, 35^{ff}. The notation is, especially as far as the rhythm is concerned, extremely sketchy and inaccurate. But the piece is built on the old '*Spagna*' tune." It apparently did not occur to Gombosi that the indefinite rhythmic values might be characteristic of French lute tablature at an early stage, one in which the smaller note values were not yet clearly defined.

Vital to the dating of the Pesaro MS is the watermark (Fig. 1b), which may be seen throughout. The lower portion appears in pp. 31-32, 53-54, 84-85, 86-87, 88-89, etc.; the upper in pp. 33-34, 35-36, 43-44, 47-48, etc. According to Zonghi's *Watermarks*,¹⁰ this paper was made in Fabriano, an inland city about equidistant from Pesaro and Ancona. Nos. 1074 through 1081 of Aurelio Zonghi's illustrations are datable between 1471 and 1494, the closest to that in the Pesaro MS being Nos. 1078 of 1487 and 1081 of 1494 (Fig. 1a). Zonghi writes in the same volume that "As regards the trade in paper made at Fabriano . . . not only were all the cities of Umbria and of the Marches supplied with paper from here, but large quantities were even sent to the Romagna, to Rome, [and] to Venice."¹¹

Another means of establishing the approximate date of the Pesaro MS is to identify the vocal models of its arrangements for lute. *De tus biense*, on pp. 65-68, is founded upon the discant and bass of Hayne van Ghizeghem's three-voice chanson *De tous biens plaine*, which was written between 1470 and 1480.¹² *Ja prexamore*, on pp. 61-65, takes its outermost lines from the discant and bass of the anonymous chanson *Jay pris amours*, originally for three parts in the Dijon and other MSS of the 15th century.¹³ The three-voice Italian part-song, *Fortuna desperata*, ascribed to Busnois (d. 1492) in a MS of the Cathedral Archive in Segovia, fol. 167,¹⁴

⁹ *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola. Lute Book (circa 1517)* (Paris, 1955), p. liv.

¹⁰ *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, vol. III, ed. E. J. Labarre (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1953), Pl. 79 and p. 47.

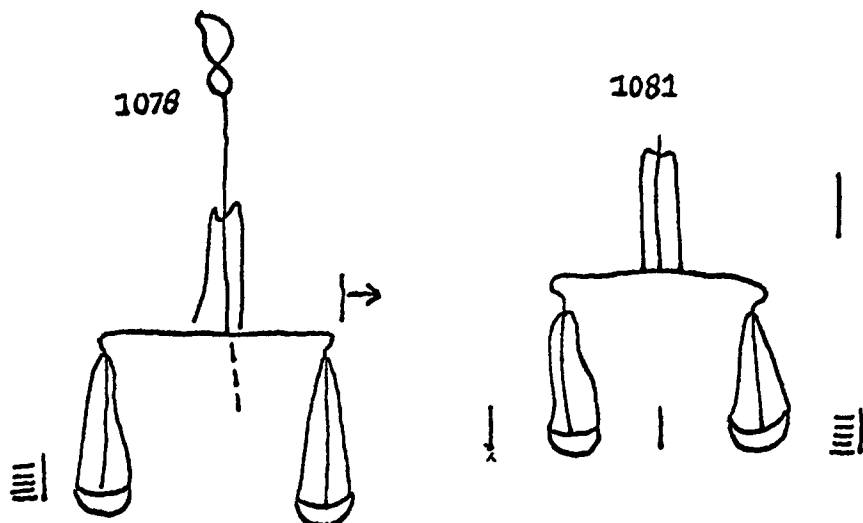
¹¹ "The Principal Watermarks in the Papers of Fabriano from 1293 to 1599," *ibid.*, p. 12.

¹² The many MS and printed sources of this chanson are listed in Bridgman, *op. cit.*, p. 215, and in E. Kottick, "The Chansonnier Cordiforme," this JOURNAL XX (1967), pp. 23-24. An additional modern reprint is in Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham (eds.), *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*. The New Oxford History of Music, vol. III (London, 1960), p. 247.

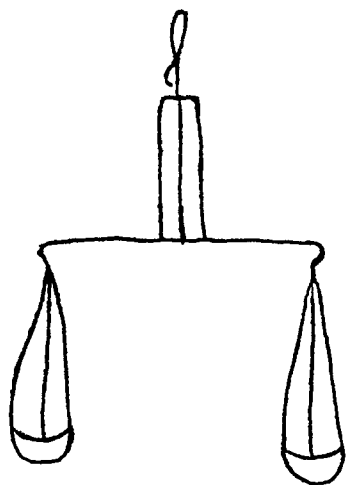
¹³ For the sources of this piece see H. Hewitt, ed., *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 139.

¹⁴ For further sources see Bridgman, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Fig. 1

a) From Zonghi's *Watermarks*, Pl. 79

b) Watermark in the Pesaro MS



serves as point of departure for the outer voices of the lute setting in Pesaro, pp. 31-35. Except for two or three letters its text incipit is illegible, but these were sufficient to provide a clue. The other *Fortuna* in our lute tablature, pp. 25-27, appears to be a free fantasia on the popular melody *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*, which was treated polyphonically by Johannes Martini, Josquin (?), and Japart,¹⁵ among others.

Among the other Italian pieces, *Terana*, on pp. 85-87, apparently stems from the missing frottola *Tirana mia*, once part of Modena, Bibl. Estense,

¹⁵ See Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

MS $\alpha.F.9.9.$, original folio L.¹⁶ The vocal settings of *Ocultamente me sentia puncto*, on pp. 68-69, and *Contenta* (or *Contento*) *in foco sto come fenice*, on pp. 70-71, may be found in the frottola MS mentioned previously, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Rés. Vm⁷ 676, nos. 13 and 24, respectively.¹⁷ These must have been composed during the 1490's or earlier, as they are both for three voices, whereas the standard number of parts in the frottola had been increased to four when Petrucci's first book of the genre appeared in 1504. The scribe of the Paris MS dated his work carefully, marking what he had completed on various days during October of 1502. The three-voice setting of *Contenta in foco* occurs also in Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana, MS 55, fols. 56^v-57, which is datable at *ca.* 1500.¹⁸ A version for four voices, with a different contratenor, is contained in the MS Panciatichi 27 of the Bibl. Nazionale in Florence, fol. 21^v.

The vocal model of *E Ladre* (see Ex. 1) appears in a hitherto unknown

Ex. 1

A. Ladri, perchè robbate, Perugia, Bibl. Com., MS G 20, fol. 87^v; Foligno, Bibl. Com., MS Mus. (frag.), fol. 7^r

[Discantus]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

5

A, la - dri, per - ché

10

rob - ba - te le fa - ti - ge chéno

¹⁶ See Claudio Gallico, "Poesie musicali di Isabella d'Este," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* III (Florence, 1962), p. 117.

¹⁷ See Bridgman, "Un Ms. italien," pp. 202, 208-209, 179.

¹⁸ Published in R. Giazotto's *Musurgia Nova* (Milan, 1959), p. 95.

15 *[Fine]*

sten - - ta - - - - - te?

20

“Fin che vi - vòe po’ la mor - te t’a - ma rà lu
Io la fia de mi - a sor - te; ad al - trui ve -

25

tri - sto co - - - - - re;”
do l’ho - no - - - - - re. Ju - sti - tia,

30 35

gu - ber-na - to - - re, A - de - man - - - do per

40

fin — che vi - - vo? A chi fie - ra quel — ché

45 [D.C.]

scri - vo? È ra - scion che me, la fa - - - te?

MS of the Biblioteca Comunale in Foligno (no signature),¹⁹ and in Perugia, Bibl. Comunale, MS G 20. Both codices originated during the last decades of the 15th century, judging from their repertories and the musical styles represented in them. Most of the frottole in the Foligno MS, for example, are three-voice pieces, without the characteristic beginnings and the feminine endings on repeated notes that are such a stereotype in Petrucci's collections. The arrangement for lute of this composition in the Pesaro MS (see Pl. I-II, and Ex. 2) closely follows the original, leaving

Ex. 2

E Ladre, Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, MS 1144, pp. 43-45

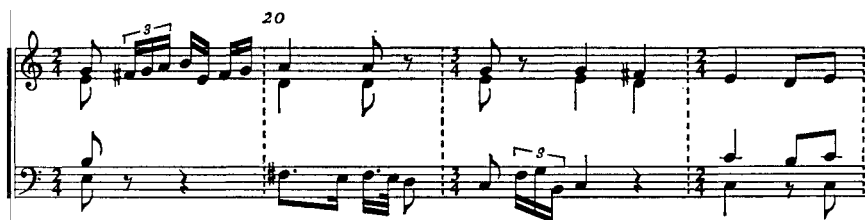


¹⁹ I am grateful to Herrn *can. phil.* Reinhard Strohm (Munich), who kindly drew my attention to this manuscript and provided me with a preliminary table of its contents. Stemming from the Archivio Notarile, the MS consists of 8 parchment leaves, *ca.* 15 × 20.5 cm. The first five contain a didactic poem about the modes in Latin, followed by various examples of plainchant in the eight modes, *Dixit dominus domino meo*, *Gloria patri*, and *De intonatione introitus Gloria patri*. The polyphonic contents begin on fol. 5^v, as follows:

fols. 5^v-6 *Piangete occhi mei et non fissate*, 3 v. (the poem, ascribed to Luigi Pulci, was edited by A. Zenatti, in *Strambotti di Luigi Pulci Fiorentino* [Florence, 1887], p. 32).

6 textless, polyphonic composition, 2 v.

6^v-7 *Io ardo in foco*, 3 v. (strambotto, with a concordance in Modena, Bibl. Estense, MS α F. 9. 9., fols. 65^v-66).



1) Tenor is B in MS. 2) Discant is B, bass is G in MS.



Seconda Parte



7 Poi che nel tuo cor m'ai abandonato, 3 v. (very short, ternary meter).

7*-8 A ladri perche robate, 4 v. (concordance, *A latre...*, lacking all text except the first line, Perugia, Bibl. Comunale, MS G 20, fol. 97 old, 87*-88 new).



3) Bass is A in MS.

only some doubts as to whether the *piedi* section, mm. 17-26 of the tablature, is to be repeated. The second stanza of the poem, a barzelletta voicing a bitter complaint about injustice done to its author, ends with the mysterious statement: "Ah, enemies of the cross, what you distort, you assassinate!"²⁰

By comparing the lute transcription with its vocal model one can solve the riddle of its rhythmic values, only three in number, written above the uppermost letters in each staff:

- T = a semibrevis, or rarely a brevis (if at the end of a major section). In my transcription this equals a semiminima, the values having been quartered.
- l = a minima, which becomes an eighth note in my reduction.
- 1 = a semiminima, or one of several note values smaller than a minima, not clearly differentiated. In my reduction it stands for a triplet eighth, a sixteenth, a triplet sixteenth, or a thirty-second note. A longer value may be reduced by subsequent shorter notes, as in mm. 4, 5, 8, 11, etc.

This notation lacks the refinement of smaller note values used by Attaignant, who distinguished between the semiminima, crochure, and fredon, i.e., the quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, in what hitherto has been

²⁰ "Non ve stanca la vergogna?/Non temete conscientia?/Non vedete quel bisogno/che faciate risistentia?/Contra de voi piata et benegna/gridarono ad alta voce:/ 'A, nimici de la croce,/che contorte, asasinate!'" / [A, ladri...]

considered the earliest example of French lute tablature, the *Très brève et familière introduction* of 1529.²¹

Benvenuto Disertori²² shows that lutes used in Italy at the end of the 15th century had six courses, the highest (*canto*) consisting of a single string, the lower five of two strings each, tuned either in unison or in octaves. The six-line staff in the Pesaro MS represents a lute of six courses, the lowest line indicating the *contrabasso*, the highest the *canto*. Letters are written immediately above or touching the lines, 'a' standing for the open string, 'b' to 'L' (omitting 'j' and 'k') for the first nine frets, a half step apart. This system, the so-called French lute tablature, contrasts with the Italian, in which the open strings and first nine frets are represented by the Arabic numbers 0 and 1-9, the lowest line of the staff usually marking the highest course, and vice-versa.

The sole indication of a pause in *E Ladre* is the sign *n* at the first bar line within the *segonda parte*, denoting a semibrevis rest. Possibly the curious sign toward the start of the second system on p. 44 of the tablature (see Pl. II) indicates repetition of the portion set off by double bars (mm. 17-26), for this corresponds to the *piedi* of the vocal model. The dots under certain letters may refer to upward strokes, or to the use of the pointer instead of the thumb. Various forms of the letters 'b' and 'd' occur, but I cannot explain their meaning, except to venture a guess that they indicate some kind of ornament. As was generally the case, the lute employed here was tuned in a series of perfect fourths, except for a major third between the third and fourth courses. If a performer wished to follow the vocal models exactly, he would have had to choose the G tuning (G c f a d' g') for *De tous biens plaine*, the A tuning (A d g b e' a') for *Jay pris amours*, *Contenta in foco*, *Fortuna disperata*, and *Ocultamente*, and the B tuning for *E Ladre*.

Apparently the examples of tablature for lira da braccio in the Pesaro MS, the only ones known to date, are unique. Emanuel Winternitz writes that "Geschriebene Musik für die Lira da braccio ist nicht bekannt und hat es, wie bei einem Improvisationsinstr. kaum anders zu erwarten, wahrscheinlich nicht gegeben."²³ The *Romanesca* in lira tablature on p. 1074 is a complete composition, but the *pasamezo de lira* on the following page breaks off after only a few measures.

Only two of the pertinent MSS or prints can compete with the Pesaro codex for the title, "earliest known document of lute tablature." That it antedates the Attaignant prints by about three decades and thus becomes the first known French lute tablature may now be taken for granted. Previously the manuscript in Italian notation owned by G.

²¹ See Daniel Heartz, ed. *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1964).

²² In *Le Luth et sa Musique*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1958), p. 20.

²³ "Lira da braccio," *MGG*, vol. viii, col. 948.

Thibault has been considered the oldest handwritten lute tablature. She has described her treasured possession as "le plus ancien des manuscrits pour luth que nous soit parvenu."²⁴ The vocal models of its transcriptions may be found in codices of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and especially in the collections of frottole published by Petrucci between 1504 and 1509. It is no wonder, therefore, that Mme. Thibault dates it as no later than 1510. Nevertheless, the Pesaro MS must be earlier by approximately a decade, judging from the watermarks and also from the repertoire, which contains *none* of the arrangements of four-voice frottole by Tromboncino, Cara, Philipus de Lurano, Don Michele, etc., that comprise the major part of the Thibault MS and date it fairly accurately around 1509-10. Merely in respect to titles, Pesaro and the Thibault MS have in common the latter's no. 6, *Bassa danza*; no. 12, *Spagna*; and no. 103, *Fortuna desperata*.

Among Petrucci's publications for lute only the volumes by Francesco Spinacino (1507) possess a repertoire related to that in Pesaro. Although some titles are identical in both sources, the settings differ radically. Spinacino's first book contains: (no. 5) *Fortuna dun gran tempo*; (no. 9) *De tous biens*, for two lutes; (no. 12) *Jay pris amours*, for two lutes, and (no. 16) *Bassadans*. His second collection, also published in 1507, includes (no. 8) *Jay pris amours*; (no. 24) *Bassadanza*; and (no. 29) *Fortuna desperata*.²⁵

Vincenzo Capirola's manuscript, which Gombosi dates between 1515 and 1520, contains a later repertory, including many lute arrangements in Italian notation of frottole and proto-villotte by Cara, Tromboncino, and Pesenti. A clue to the epoch of the codex is Don Michele's *Che farala, che dirala*, first published in vocal form by Antico in 1513, and by Petrucci in *Lib. XI* a year later. Other than the *ricercari*, the only compositions in the Capirola MS with titles similar to those in Pesaro are (no. 13) *De tous biens plaine* and (no. 37) *Bassadanza*. The actual settings are quite different. In 1952 Gombosi did not have access to Mme. Thibault's MS, except for the piece entitled *Spagna*, which he published, for he states unequivocally that the Capirola MS is "the earliest known specimen of manuscript lute music."²⁶

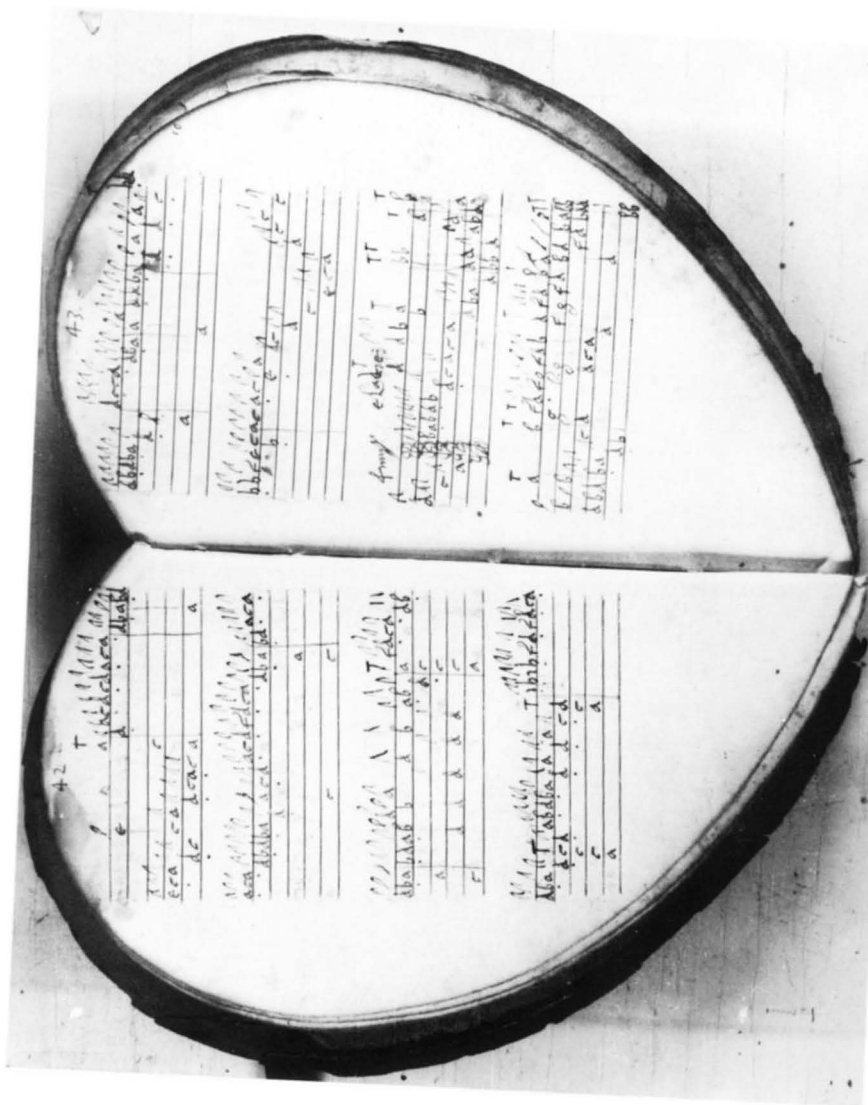
Some of the judgments by other well-known authorities in the field will now bear revision. Wolfgang Boetticher²⁷ gives 1507 to 1515 as the dates of the earliest MS and printed sources of any type of lute tablature,

²⁴ *Le Luth et sa Musique*, p. 44.

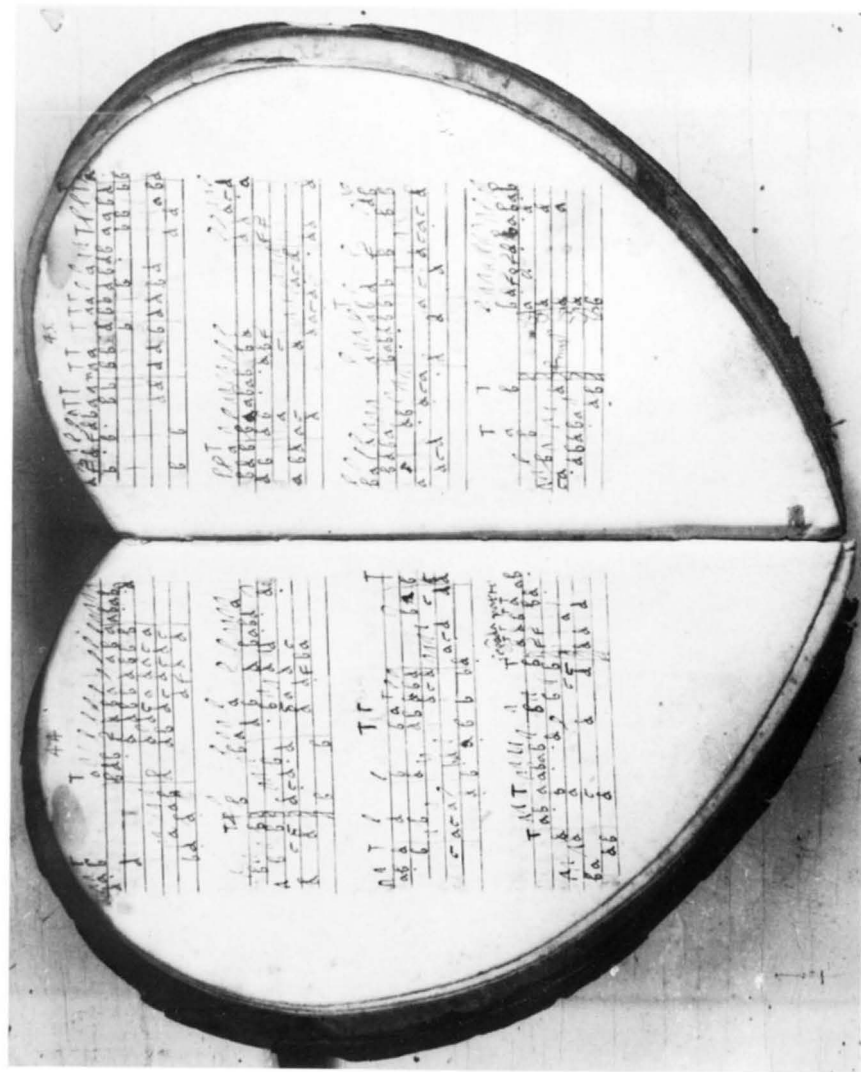
²⁵ See Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 12-14. The first three of Spinacino's compositions from Book I were published by B. Disertori in *Le Frottole per Canto e Liuto Intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis*. Ist. e Monumenti dell'Arte Musicale Italiana, N.S. vol. III (Milan, 1964), pp. 176-179, 210-218.

²⁶ *Compositiione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola*, p. xxviii.

²⁷ "Laute," *MGG*, vol. viii, cols. 356, 364.



Pl. I Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, MS 1144, pp. 42-43.



Pl. II Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, MS 1144, pp. 44-45.

by which he means the Petrucci prints and the Capirola MS. He calls the latter "das alteste hs. Objekt in Lt.-Tabulatur." Willi Apel²⁸ states that "the earliest known documents of French lute tablature are two books published by Attaignant in 1529." My conclusion is that the Pesaro MS is the earliest known French lute tablature; the earliest known *manuscript* lute tablature of any nationality, and probably the oldest available document of lute notation, whether manuscript or printed.²⁹

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²⁸ *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 64.

²⁹ The fragmentary manuscript discovered by Hans David in Bologna, Civ. Mus. Bibl. Mus., and described by him in an unpublished paper entitled "An Italian Tablature Lesson of the Renaissance," read at the Annual Meeting of the A.M.S. in Boston, Dec. 27, 1958, contains on p. 1 an explanation of a viola tablature, headed "La mano ala viola," an untitled piece in viola tablature without rhythmic signs, and on pp. 2-3 a setting with rhythmic indications of *Fortuna vincinecta* that corresponds to Vincinet's *Fortuna per ta crudelte* in the *Odhecaton*, no. 60. I am grateful to H. Colin Slim for this information (see his unpublished Harvard Univ. diss. of 1960, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy c. 1500-1550 with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period," pp. 68-70). The notation in the Bologna fragment employs Arabic numbers from 1 to 4, or, in one case, 1 to 8 on each line of a seven-line staff. This resembles Italian lute tablature, except that here the lowest line stands for the lowest course, and 1 instead of 0 signifies the open string. The top voice of *Fortuna vincinecta* is in mensural notation. In his unpublished New York Univ. diss. of 1953, "The Vihuela da Mano and its Music (1536-1576)," Appendix to Chapter I, pp. 59-62, John Ward points out that "viola da mano" could also indicate a plucked stringed instrument like the vihuela or lute. If the Bologna fragment really was intended for lute, it would be a strong contender for the title, "earliest known document of lute tablature." In addition to the aforementioned notational differences, however, the texture of the tablature never calls for more than two notes at once and is insufficiently chordal to be considered lute music. The accompanying voices in tablature, essentially those of the vocal model, must have been designed for one or two violas, as the heading would indicate.