

Lute Solos ascribed to
Elias Mertel

edited by
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TREE EDITION
Albert Reyerman

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Introduction

Elias Mertel was a famous lutenist and collector of lute music.¹ He was born around 1561 in Wangen, near Molsheim, Lower Alsace. Molsheim is about 20 km west of Strasbourg, at the time an Imperial free city on the cultural boundary between the French and German speaking peoples of Europe and only incorporated into France in 1681 and then Germany in 1871. Mertel is known today principally because in his mid fifties he published a volume of lute music devoted entirely to preludes, fugas and fantasias entitled *Hortus Musicalis Novus* (New Garden of Music).² A dedicatory poem in *Hortus* by John Louis Hawenreuter claims Elias's father was his teacher in Strasbourg sixty years earlier (c1555),³ so it seems likely the family were established in the Strasbourg area before Elias was born. His father was Johan Mertel, a minister at the Protestant court of Friedrich IV (Elector Palatine 1583-1610) in Heidelberg 150 km or so down the Rhine, and he presumably helped his son Elias gain the post of court lutenist which he held until

1595. Elias must have remained in contact with the court at Heidelberg because after he left he was frequently summoned back to perform at court celebrations, records surviving for November 1600, October 1601, August 1605 and May 1606, and in 1615 he dedicated *Hortus* to Friedrich IV's son Friedrich V, Elector Palatine 1610-32 who married Elizabeth daughter of James I of England.⁴ Johannes Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg (1582-1628) was a second dedicatee of *Hortus*. Mertel must have been a virtuoso lutenist, his notoriety confirmed during his lifetime when he was named amongst the best known lutenists in Germany by Gumpelzhaimer in 1621,⁵ and praised in dedicatory poems in *Hortus* as 'the prince of lutenists' for whom 'must flattering Orpheus step aside'⁶ and in the final poem he was compared favourably with four of the most celebrated lutenists of the early seventeenth century, namely John Dowland, Lorenzino, Charles Bocquet, and Gregory Howet.⁷ Mertel spent the rest of his life in Strasbourg, marrying

¹ Fetis, p. 102; Eitner, p. 444; Radke, pp. 470-471; Meyer, p. 43.

² *Hortus Musicalis Novus*, *Fragrantissimis Lectissimisqve Flosculis, Tum Patriis, Tum Exoticis, Testudine Carpendis Atque Delibandis, Consitus: In cuius hac Parte Prima continentur Prælvdia, Variis Ex Tonis, Plusquam Ducent: Phantasie item & Fugæ complures. In Gratiam Studiosorum, Omniumque eorum, qui pulcherrimo huius artis exercitio sese oblectare solent, ex optimis quibusq; authoribus Germanicis, Italicis, Gallicis, Anglicis, constructus, Opera & industria Eliæ Mertelii, Argentoratensis, Academiae Quæstoris. Cum gratia & privilegio Sacræ Cæs. Majestatis. Argentorati, Sumptibus ac Typis Authoris, per Antonium Bertramum, ejusdem Academiae Typographum. M.DC.XV (Strasbourg, 1615). RISM A/1 M2337. Facsimile: Genève, Éditions Minkoff, 1983. Copies in London, British Library [shelf mark K.7.f.13]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale et du Conservatoire; Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka.*

³ I am grateful to Mathias Rösel of Bremen for kindly translating much of the Latin text in *Hortus*. His complete translation of the foreword can be found at http://www.lautengesellschaft.de/DLG/Buecher/Online_Publikationen/Index.htm. John Louis Hawen-reuter, Doctor of medicine and philosophy and professor of physics at the University of Strasbourg, the author of poem II, dedicates it to 'his [Hawenreuter's] private teacher's (of some 60 years ago) right honourable son, Mr. Elias Mertel, most faithful and industrious secretary of headmasters there [Strasbourg University], for the sake of love' [JOANNES LUDOVICUS HAWENREUTERUS, Medicinae & Philosophiae Doctor: Physicae Argentoratensi in Academia Professor: Privati sui ante sexaginta ferè annos, Praeceptoris spectatissimo filio, Domino ELIAE MERTELIO, Dominorum Scholarcharum ibidem Quæstoris fidelissimo & diligentissimo, amoris ergo scribebat.]

⁴ The wedding celebrations in London included the performance of three masques, Campion's *The Lord's Masque* on 14 February Chapman's *Masque of Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* on 15 February and Beaumont's *Masque of Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*

on 20 February 1613.

⁵ G. Gumpelzhaimer, *Gymnasma: de exercitiis academicorum* (Strasbourg, 1621).

⁶ From Poem I by Sebastianus Hornmolt: 'His fame is convincing, his art and industry bespeak Mertel, because in him reigns the prince of lutenists. Author and inventor, as well as selector, this assiduous Mertel is named because of his astonishing industry. Like the assiduous bee that licks moist honey from flowers and carries it into the repository of its comb. So does Mertel, collecting songs made up for the lute, and printing them. Mertel, who is held in esteem like the prince of the Graces, in him also flourishes the full grace of the Muses' [Fáma fidém facit, ác ars áut indústriá pródit MÉRTELIÚM, quod in hóc árchichelísta regát. Áuctor & ínvéntór, simul ét coeléctor hic ácer MÉRTELIÚS mirá sédulitáte cluét. 'Sédula sicut apís lingit de flóre mel údum, ínque suáe celláe fért tabuláta favúm: Síc quoque MÉRTELIÚS facit, ét dum cólligit Odas ád chelin áptatás, súbjicit hásce typís. MÉRTELIÚS, qui Músarúm quasí práeses habétur, ác in quó Charitúm grátia pléna vigét]. From poem IV by Just Meier, Doctor of Law at the University of Strasbourg 'Particularly when with pointy fingers Mertel's hand, striving for Apollonian things, drives you. To him, Linus and Thamyras, to him must flattering Orpheus step aside, to him, Calliope wants to be all ears' [Práecipuè cum té digitís impéllit acútis áemula Phóebeáe MÉRTELIÁNA manús: Cúi Linus ét Thamyrás, cui blándus céssarit órpheus: Cúi praebére aurés Cálliopeá velít].

⁷ From poem XI by John-Philipp Mendel 'That's how things are: by nature does each area take pains so as to elate its artists by what they are celebrated for music bears witness in this way: for England looks up to Dowland's art to the highest degree, adorns and loves him, Italy sings Laurencini's praise very much Bocquet to the French is synonymous with the first rank. But who is praiseworthy to the Germans? Gregorius to them is after all, and rightly so, to be named and Morna (?). To these two, dear Mertel, you must be counted,

Suzanna, daughter of Adam Kirn a goldsmith, in Strasbourg on 27 January 1596 gaining him citizenship on 23 December the same year. They had three sons one named Elias and two daughters. By 1608 he was secretary of Strasbourg University,⁸ and he died in Strasbourg on the 21 July 1626.

In the foreword to *Hortus* Mertel relates that it is a first volume to include only preludes, fugas and fantasias to suit students of the lute,⁹ and he promises a second book of 'courants, volts, branles, ballets, galliards, passemazzi and the like',¹⁰ a volume that is presumed never to have been published as no copies are known or recorded. Mertel explains that he chose to omit the names of the composers of all two hundred and thirty five preludes and one hundred and twenty fantasias and fugas because he 'didn't want to preoccupy your opinion by prejudice if it be so, as there is often wisdom to be found even under a dirty philosopher's cloak, that it has oftentimes happened that from less artfully obscure or bright works came something famous and prominent' and because he 'didn't want pieces to be ascribed to authors who are not the creators for it is not in each case certain to me by whom a piece was written'.¹¹ However, quite a

few have been identified from concordant versions in other sources (see appendix A), including Francisque's *Le Tresor D'Orphée*, Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* and Fuhrmann's *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*, but not Adriansen's [*Novum*] *Pratum Musicum*, all mentioned by Mertel in his foreword. Half a dozen or so close concordances are found in Johann Daniel Mylius' *Thesaurus Gratiarum* published seven years after Mertel's *Hortus*. Many close concordances are also found in a wide variety of manuscript sources, several in D-LEm Ms. II.6.15 and the lute books of Lord Herbert of Cherbury [GB-Cfm Mus.689], Ernst Schele [D-Hs ND VI 3238] and Emanuel Wirstisen [CH-Bu F.IX.70]. The composers identified from the concordances include John Dowland and Anthony Holborne from England, the Italians Giovanni Maria da Crema, Lorenzino, Francesco da Milano, Hortensio Perla and Raphael de Viola, as well as Jacob Reis, Diomedes Cato and Adalbert Dlugoraj from Poland and Julien Perrichon and du Gast from France, and although mainly early seventeenth-century, the music spans much of sixteenth too and altogether reflects the vast extent of Mertel's collection of music.

as Germans, Italians, and rightly so the French, love them' [Ést ita: náturá regió quaecúnq[ue] labórat ártificés celebrí tollere láude suós. música téstatúm facit hóc : namq[ue] ánglia súmmè ártem Dóulandí súspicit, órnat, amát. Fért LAURÉNCINÍ laudés nimium ítala téllus BÓCQUETÚS Gallís glória príma cluét. Séd qui Gérmanis celebrés? GREGÓRIUS ípsis ánte aliós merito ét MÓRNA vehéndus erit. Hís te, MÉRTELI, plácet ánnueráre duóbus Quém Germáni, Itali, júreque Gállus amént].

⁸ Mertel ends the dedication 'Your serenity's and Majesty's most subject fosterling Elias Mertel of Strasbourg, secretary at the university' [Vestrae Serenitati ac Celsitudini Subjectissimus cliens, Elias Mertelius, Argentoratensis, Academiae patriae Quaestor].

⁹ Foreword: 'Furthermore, you should be clear about the fact that I deviated from the common use of the authors to be seen here in not taking only very few pieces of singular kinds into my work, as others do, but the way learners are usually presented almost only preludes, fancies and fugues in the beginning. I shall in the present first part of this work give you nothing but merely preludes, fancies and fugues, and this not tightfistedly but from a full hand, as the saying has it. I offer you as many as I could find in my books and have judged worth it but in such a way that you must yourself make your easy or rather difficult choice from such a multitude and variety' [Deinde nec illud te nescire velim, à communi omnium, quos quidem in hoc genere videre datum est, autorum consuetudine in eo me recessisse, quòd non, ut alii, è singulis cantionum generibus pauciores aliquot in hoc meum Opus retuli : sed, quemadmodum instrumenta musica discentibus initiò ferè Praeludia tantùm, Phantasiae, Fugae proponi consueverunt, sic ego in hac prima operis harminici parte non nisi mera Praeludia, Phantasias, Fugas, nec eas sanè parca vel avara manu, sed toto, quod ajunt, horreo tibi admetior, quotquot fecilicet ex omnibus meis libris luce dignas eruere potui, ita quidem ut tanta multitudo

varietasque facilem, vel potiùs difficilem electionem tibi factura videatur].

¹⁰ The title of *Hortus* includes *Parte Prima* and in the foreword Mertel writes 'For the second part, if the first will have pleased, I have saved the most selected pieces which amuse by their sweetness and their novelty alike as there are (the following non-latin names be allowed:) courants, volts, branles, ballets, galliards, passemazzi and the like that I possess in a great number' [In alteram verò partem, & ipsam, ubi prima non displicuerit, propediem edendam, reservo selectissimas quasque, ac tum suavitate, tum novitate gratissimas cantiones, putà (sit venia verbis minùs latinis,) Courantas, Voltas, Branslas, Balletas, Galliardas, Passamezas, & id genus alias, quas copìà non sperendà collectas habeo].

¹¹ Foreword: 'Nevertheless I didn't want to give the names of the authors with each single piece nor to let a list precede the work (which both has been done with the works of Besard and Fuhrmann, as I've noticed). On the one hand, I didn't want to preoccupy your opinion by prejudice if it be so, as there is often wisdom to be found even under a dirty philosopher's cloak, that it has oftentimes happened that from less artfully obscure or bright works came something famous and prominent. On the other hand, I didn't want pieces to be ascribed to authors who are not the creators. For it is not in each case certain to me by whom a piece was written' [Neque tamen autorum illorum nomina vel singulis adscribere cantionibus, vel eorum catalogum operis intio praefigere, (quorum utrumque & in Besardi, & Fuhrmanni factitatum operibus observavi,) fuit animus, tum ne praecudio tuum animum occuparem, siquidem, ut sub sordido palliolo latet haud rarò sapientia, sic ab obscuro vel claro minùs artifice praeclarum & eximium aliquid saepenumero proficisci solet : tum etiam ne fortè non-suis autoribus aliquae tribuerentur non enim de omnibus usque adeò certò mihi constat, à quo confectae fuerint].

That Mertel was a lutenist, collector, and probably teacher¹² is clear from both the foreword and the dedicatory poems in *Hortus*, but he is never referred to as a composer. And in his foreword to *Hortus* he admits 'that nothing here comes from me' and 'to those who think I didn't add of my own work I don't even contradict',¹³ making it quite clear that he composed none of the music himself. However, it has been suggested that he may have improvised on the compositions of others,¹⁴ although he only admits to correcting errors in the music that he collected.¹⁵ It is less well known that two dozen or so lute solos ascribed to Mertel are found in contemporary prints and manuscript sources and it is likely they are his own compositions. He surely would have based the programmes for his performances on at least a few of his own compositions as well as the music he collected. However, most of the lute solos that survive are more likely to have been

didactic exercises as only a few seem worthy of performance by a virtuoso of his repute.

The music ascribed to Mertel comprises in all two preludes, seventeen dance forms (an allemande, five ballets/ballettos, three passamezzos, six galliards, two chorea), and seven vocal and other arrangements, found in four prints between 1598 and 1622, as well as eleven manuscripts copied between 1590 and 1620. The allemande is a German dance whereas balletto refers to an Italian dance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the equivalent of the French ballet, and the term chorea was used exclusively for group dances in line or circle patterns during the medieval period, but remained popular in the 16th century. The passamezo ('pass' e mezo' meaning a step and a half) and galliard (Italian 'gagliardo' meaning vigorous or robust) originated in Italy, the bass patterns or grounds of the former more popular as the basis for sets

¹² His role as secretary at the University of Strasbourg suggests he was a teacher, but there is no direct reference to him teaching the lute. From poem II by John Louis Hawenreuter, Doctor of medicine and philosophy, professor of physics at the University of Strasbourg 'Who would not, dear Mertel, recommend your writings with which you teach the youth, so that they artfully string their lutes; for to who so speaks, you will be of benefit in teaching by the lute lest he misses out or gets lazy, playing badly. But in keeping harmony well, following the instructions, they shall please others, shall make merry by sound. Keep laying bricks with mortar under happy omen, with which you shall blend many a comfortable thing on your pleasurable lyre' [Quis non, MÉRTELÍ, commendarét tua scripta, Quis Juvenem instituis, tēdat ut arte fidēs Nām sic dicentī prodēs TESTUDINE dóctu, Né vagus exiliát, néc malē lúdat inērs: Séd benē cóncentūm servāns, praecēpta secūtus Délectét mentēs, éxhilarétque sonó. Pérgē bonis avibūs caeméntum cóndere cālce, Quá jungás suaví cómmoda múlta lyrá]. However, the foreword also explains that 'Initially, you must know that you shouldn't expect a tutor with rules how to study the lute or how to transpose vocal music unto the lute. If you are looking for something like that you'd better turn to Emmanuel Adriansen's *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerp, 1592) or Antoine Francisque's work (Paris 1600) in its popular French version, the doctrine of which G. L. Fuhrmann added in German to his *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* (Nuremberg 1615), or to J. B. Besard's printed edition *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Köln 1603) for I didn't intend to do again what's already done' [Iniciò non est, quod hic expectes modum in testudine studendi, vel musicas notas ad scalam testudinis transponendi, certisregalis comprachensum: qualem, si quis requirat, vel ex Emanuelis Hadriani prato Musico, Antve, pie Anno 1592 edito, vel ex Antonii Francisci hoc genus opere, Parisus Anno 1600 gallicè vulgato, ex quo doctrinam illam germanicè redditam Georgius Leopoldus Fuhrmannus ad calcem suae Testudinis Galli-germanicae, Anno 1615 editae Noribergae, adjecit: vel etiam ex Joannis Baptistae Besardi Vesontini Thesauro harmonico, Coloniae Anno 1603 typis expresso, petat licet. Nam mihi qidem, actum agere, consilium haud fuit].

¹³ Foreword: 'But indeed I feel like hearing the voices of those who will gossip, partly that nothing here comes from me, partly that these pieces should never have been spread and so been

profaned but should have been kept safe since, as the saying has it, even the Eleusine mysteries save (for the insiders) what they show, and commonly accessible things lose in value' [Verum enimverò mihi videor illorum audire vocem, qui partim nihil hic meum esse, partim haec talia non vulganda & quasi profananda, sed in reconditis asservanda suis dicant, cum, ut est in proverbio, etiam Eleusina servet, quod ostendat; & communia vilesceant], and again a little further on 'To those who think I didn't add of my own work I don't even contradict very much but, meanwhile, I feel like challenging them to prove equal industry in acquiring and judgment in selecting and labour in disposing and a serene and benevolent heart in uniting the most prominent artists into this medicine cabinet [Prioribus autem istis, quibus nihil de meo video adserre, non ego quidem repugno magnoperè, interim tamen, ut & industriam in acquirendo, & iudicium in seligendo, & in disponendo laborem, & candidum atque benevolum in communicando praestantissimorum artificum hoc myrothecio probent animum, id verò quodam jure meo postulare videor].

¹⁴ Robison, pp. 26-39.

¹⁵ Foreword: 'Misprints that at least couldn't escape the trooping eyes on the course, I did delete myself by hand. If despite of that some have remained, please don't ascribe it to my lack of experience or my negligence but to my business and judge my work good and, as for the little sum, spend it willingly to acquire this work. For this I dare assure you: If you travel through Italy or roam through France or creep on every corner of England and Germany you will hardly or not even hardly find such a lot of selected music as I present here' [Errata typographica, quae quidem aciem oculorum in desultoria relectione non fugerunt, omnia manu corrigendo, isthoc te labore sublevavi. Si quae tamen alicubi remanserunt, non tam imperitiae vel negligentiae, quam occupationibus meis aliis, oro, tribuas, & hunc laborem nostrum aequi bonique consulas, nec quicquid est pecuniolae in comparandum hoc opus aegrè impendas. Hoc enim tibi confirmare ausim si vel Italiam lustraveris, aut peragraveris Galliam, aut omnes Angliae Germaniaeve perreptaveris angulos, vix tamen av ne vix quidem selectissimarum cantionum tantam, quantam hic damus, copiam acquisiturum].

of elaborate variations than as music for dancing, and the latter becoming a popular court dance all over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Thirteen items in all are found in Fuhrmann's *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* published in 1615 in Nürnberg, nearly 500 kilometres from Strasbourg. The works by Mertel that Fuhrmann collected are reproduced accurately and represent the most accomplished of all those that survive. It is tantalising to wonder how Fuhrmann came by them and whether Mertel and Fuhrmann were acquainted. The title of one galliard in Fuhrmann (no. 12 here) explains that it was adapted from an earlier work, and it is a version of a galliard in *Noctes Musicae* published in Leipzig in 1598 by the Polish-born lute composer Matthias Reyman. Two galliards are ascribed to Mertel in Jean-Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* published in Köln in 1603 and a ballet and a balletto were included without ascription in Johan Mylius's *Thesaurus Gratiarum*, published in Frankfurt in 1622 some years after *Hortus*. The remaining music is scattered in eleven manuscript sources originating in Germany and from elsewhere in Europe, most with only one or two items by Mertel, but three in D LEm Ms. II.6.15 originating in Leipzig and four in D BAU Druck 13.4°85 of unknown provenance. The dances are all appealing and particularly accessible to players of intermediate ability, but the two variations sets on the passamezo antico ground and one on the passamezo moderno rank amongst the most virtuosic of the genre in surviving late renaissance sources. Mertel's choice of models for his intabulations and arrangements reveal his wide knowledge of contemporary European music. He chose two English models, making a masterly arrangement of 'Orlando sleepeth' adhering to the harmony of the version ascribed to John Dowland, but in this author's opinion excelling the latter in inventiveness. The second English tune for which he wrote variations is variously known in English sources as 'The Ghost', 'The Voice of the Earth' and 'The Sprites Tune', which is titled *Spectri cuiusdam sonus nocturnus* in Fuhrmann's print, the Latin roughly translating as 'night music of an apparition' conveying the spirit of the English model. Interestingly, another continental version found in the lute book of Princess Elisabeth of Hessen

[D Kl 4° Mus.108/I] is titled 'Beszardis Dantz', which could indicate an arrangement by none other than Jean-Baptiste Besard. Mertel also left us with an untitled arrangement of the tune first used in 1568 to accompany a satirical song beginning 'O la folle enterprise du prince de Condé' following the unsuccessful siege of Chartres by the protestant prince fighting for the Huegenots, then set to the text of Wilhelmus van Nassouwe as a rallying song for the Dutch rebels against the Spanish occupancy of the Netherlands, referring to their leader William of Orange who was assassinated in 1584.¹⁶ The tune was adopted as the Dutch national anthem only in the twentieth century. The remaining intabulations are of two secular German Lied and two Lutheran psalms, which he turns into the finest examples of lute solos of this less than popular genre today.

All twenty-six lute solos ascribed to Mertel by name or initials are included in this edition. He most likely composed rather than merely collected them, a conjecture supported by an overall stylistic unity. The majority are found in a single source each, only nine items surviving in more than one version and then ascribed in only one of the sources except for nos. 4 and 5 ascribed 'Mertelij' in two different sources and no. 14 ascribed to 'Eliae Mertelij' in one source and 'E.M.' in another. So it is possible that in some cases the ascriptions could be in error. The most likely example is the galliard (no. 17) to which 'Elias Mertelius' has been added in a different hand to the title 'Gagliarda bella' raising some doubt about the authenticity of the ascription. However, it is assumed that he was the composer of all the music here, apart from the three passamezzos, four German Lied, the Dutch National anthem and two English works on pre-existing tunes for which he made his own quite unique arrangements. Ten items are ascribed to him by name in the forms Martel, Mertelij, Eliae Mertelij, Elias Mertelius or Eliae Martelij. Another ten are found in Fuhrmann's print with the ascription E.M.A which is expanded in the list of 'Nomina authorum' in the preface to 'Elias Mertelius, Argentinensis', matching the name 'Eliae Mertelii, Argentoratensis' (the latter Latin for 'from Strasbourg') on the title page of *Hortus* of the same year. That leaves six items ascribed simply 'E.M.' two of which are

¹⁶ Griffioen, pp. 351-356.

in Fuhrmann, and another three in a manuscript in Bautzen (D BAU Druck 13.4°85) that includes two additional items ascribed to him by name so it seems likely Elias Mertel is intended by E.M. That leaves a prelude ascribed E.M. in the manuscript lute book of Emanuel Wirstisen containing no other music ascribed to Mertel, but it is here assumed to be by him despite the lack of corroboration, as no other composer with these initials is known from this period.¹⁷

In his article in *New Grove*, Hans Radke is disparaging about Mertel's compositional ability.¹⁸ It is difficult to sympathise with this opinion because the lute music reproduced in tablature here is inventive and the variations, such as in the passamezos, German vocal arrangements, English tunes and some of the divisions to the strains of the dance forms, are close to virtuosic and certainly very attractive revealing the familiarity with lute technique that you would expect from a professional lutenist of Mertel's acclaimed stature.

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Newcastle University - April 2007

Postscript:

Richard Charteris 'Wolfgang [Hoffmann] von Grünbüchel's Lute Book: A new source from the early seventeenth century' *The Lute* xlv (2006) pp. 8-9: 'As Wolfgang Hoffman's inscription on the front pastedown of [D-B] N. Mus. ms 479 indicates, he wrote it in Strasburg in 1619, probably while he was studying ther. It is likely that he encountered, and may even have received lessons from, the Strasburg lutenist Elias Mertel (c.1561-1626), who was then one of the instrument's best known practitioners in central Europe, as well as being a composer and intabulator; Mertel became a citizen of Strasburg in 1596 and died there some thirty years later. Hofmann was probably pleased that his lute book included one of Mertel's compositions (see no. 14b in this edition), if only because it reflected on his days in Strasburg. It is tempting to wonder whether one of the hands in the manuscript might have belonged to Mertel. Unfortunately, no autographs of his are available that would allow the matter to be determined one way or the other.'

¹⁷ The initials in the ascription to a dance *Ein güter neuer Ten. Tantz E.M.O./ nachtantz* in Paix 1583, sigs. Cciir-Cciiv, is expanded to 'E. Mertel Organista' in Brown, p. 319. This keyboard dance is not the same as any of the lute solos in this edition and there is no surviving reference to Elias Mertel the lutenist playing keyboard, but it is possible that he composed keyboard music or that his music was arranged for keyboard. However it seems more likely that the initials E.M.O. refer to a different composer. In addition to 'Besard [1603], Fuhrmann [1615], Mylius [1622], Mss. Bautzen [D-BAU Druck 13.4°85] and Leipzig [D-LEm] II.6.15', Ernst Pohlmann (Pohlmann, p. 93) includes 'Nürnberg (271+272)' for the sources of music by Elias Mertel. Ms. M 271/I is the alternative shelf mark for the lute manuscript D-Ngm 33748/I, which is a source for nos. 8, 13 and 16 in this edition. However, Ms. M 272 (Ms. 14976)

refers to a tablature manuscript for viola de braccio/violin inscribed Johann Wolff Gerhard, Nürnberg 1613, which includes nothing ascribed to Mertel or E.M., suggesting Pohlmann was mistaken in thinking it was a source of music ascribed to Mertel. The author would like to thank Arthur Ness for providing information on the identity of Nürnberg 272 and to Mark Wheeler, a member of the renaissance group Pantagruel [www.pantagruel.de], for obtaining a microfiche.

¹⁸ Radke, pp. 470-471: 'Of Mertel's few surviving original compositions, most are dances. These are usually rambling movements in variation form, only occasionally enlivened by imitations and sequences; the textures are thin, though, where possible, chords are spread in various ways and the bass notes are played before the beat so that there is some movement in all parts.'

Editorial Method

All the music in this edition is for solo lute in renaissance *vieil ton* tuning (6 courses tuned G c f a d' g', assuming a lute in G) and appears in French tablature in original sources, unless otherwise stated in the critical commentary. The music is transcribed here into French tablature in gridiron rhythm notation and typeset using Wayne Cripps TAB programme version 4.3.39 on an Apple iMac running system OS X 10.3.9. Editorial alterations are recorded as what appears in the original source followed by what it has been changed to as well as the differences between concordant versions when more than one version is known. Alternatively, when the differences are too numerous two or more alternative versions are included. The location of changes in the music is indicated by the bar number and position of the note or chord in the bar, followed by the fret and course on the lute. For example, 1/3 refers to the third note or chord in the first bar, and c5 indicates the second fret on the fifth course. Chords are indicated by juxtaposed notes (for example a1b2d3c4a5 for a C minor chord) and melodic sequences are separated by hyphens (for example a1-c1-e1-f1 for a rising melody on the first course). In the commentary 'rhythm sign'

has been abbreviated to 'r-s' and the type of r-s in the sources has been noted, either the renaissance system consisting of vertical lines with no (semibreve), one (minim), two (crotchet), three (quaver), four (semiquaver) or five (demisemiquaver) horizontal or sloping hatches, or as mensural signs (as the modern minim, crotchet, quaver, semiquaver, or demisemiquaver) and whether r-s are shown for all notes (gridiron system) or only when the rhythm changes (flag system). All repeat signs are omitted editorially but their presence in the original sources is noted in the critical commentary. Double bar lines are included when present in original sources and are occasionally added editorially to impose structure on works that seem to require it. Vertical ties and dots under tablature letters indicating right hand fingering have been included where they appear in the original and it is assumed that one dot indicates the index finger and two dots the middle finger. Curiously none of the music bears any ornament signs in the original sources. Comments or requests for further information concerning this edition can be directed to the author by email (j.h.robinson@ncl.ac.uk).

Acknowledgements

The original tablature for all versions of the music was consulted in the form of a surprisingly large number of published facsimile editions (details in the bibliography), or as microfilms from the libraries that hold the sources or in the possession of the Lute Society or the Lute Society of America. The author gratefully acknowledges Wayne Cripps' for permission to use his tablature setting programme TAB. Especial thanks are due to Mathias Rösel for translation of the extensive Latin text of the foreword and dedicatory poems of Mertel's *Hortus* from which the introduction has benefited greatly. Thank you

to Rainer aus dem Spring for translations of the German text of some of the titles to the music and Arthur Ness for constructive comments on the introduction. In addition, thanks are due to (in alphabetical order) Richard Charteris, Tim Crawford, Ian Harwood, Stewart McCoy and Robert Spencer for access to copies of sources. I am also grateful to Albert Reyerman for the chance to publish this edition revised and expanded from the selection edited for a music supplement to the Lute Society newsletter *Lute News* no. 46 (June 1998).

Inventory of Music with Commentary

1. Prelude

p. 1

Praeludium E.M.

CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 15

An 8 bar prelude in F major in German tablature with flag r-s for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].
 4-5 bar line absent 5/4 minim changed to crochet

2. Prelude

p. 1

Praeludium

D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 6

P [header: *Praeludium 5. Eliae Mertelij*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 5

A 27 bar prelude in D minor with flag r-s (mensural r-s in Fuhrmann) for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a] in D Hs, and only an 8th in D [/a] in Fuhrmann.

<i>bar/pos:</i>	<i>D Hs</i>	<i>Fuhrmann</i>
1/1 & 3/1	a8 absent	-
6/5	-	c4 instead of e4
7/1	c6 added	c6 added
9/4	k1 instead of h1	quavers begin 1 note earlier
18/3	semiquavers begin 1 note earlier	semiquavers begin 1 note earlier
22/3	-	c3 instead of b3
25/2	-	e8 instead of b7
between 26-27	-	extra bar of minim c1a2a3b4c5 - minim a8
27/1	-	fermata r-s, and a8 omitted

3. Allemande

p. 2

ALamanda E.M.A. 2. [header: *Alamanda 2.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 145

Two strains of 8 bars in D minor with mensural r-s and without repeat signs or divisions for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a].

1/5	a7 under d6 1 note earlier	11/6	c5 changed to f3
8	double bar line editorial	12/2	f4 changed to e4

4. Balletto

p. 3

Balletto Eliae Mertelij

D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 300-301

Balletto Mertelij

Mylius 1622, p. 92 i

Three strains of 6, 8 and 8 bars without divisions in D minor (notated in German tablature in D LEm) with mensural r-s (flag r-s in Mylius) for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a] in both sources. Repeat signs after bars 6 and 14 in D LEm only.

	<i>D LEm</i>	<i>Mylius</i>
1/2	-	a2b3 absent
2	-	crotchet e2f3e4c5 - crotchet /a - minim e2f3e4 instead
3/1	-	c4 instead of a6
6/3	-	b4 instead of c5
8/4	-	a2 absent
13/4	-	a2 absent
18/2-7	crotchets changed to quavers	-
20/1	quaver changed to crotchet	-
21/3	-	e3 absent
21/5	-	e4 added
22	-	crotchet e2f3e4c5 - crotchet /a - minim e2f3e4 instead

5. Ballet**p. 4***Balletto Ejusdem* [Mertelij]

Mylius 1622, p. 92 ii

Ballet Mertelij

D-LEm II.6.15, p. 303

Two strains of 8 bars in D minor with flag r-s (both sources) without divisions (notated in German tablature in D LEm) for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a] in both sources. Repeat sign after bar 8 in D LEm II.6.15 only and bar lines displaced 1 crotchet to the left in bars 2-8 in both sources changed editorially. The two versions are nearly identical and share errors, suggesting the two sources are related.

	<i>Mylius</i>	<i>D LEm</i>
1/1	-	a7 changed to a8
2/3	minim changed to crotchet	minim changed to crotchet
8/2	a7 changed to a8	-
10/5	a8 changed to a7	a7 absent
12/2	a7 beneath d2d3a4 1 note earlier	a7 absent
12-13	double bar line	-
16/2	//a changed to /a [a8]	a7 changed to a8

6. Ballet**p. 5***Ballet.14.* [header: *Ballet. E.M.A. 14.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 155

Two strains of 8 and 10 bars in F major with flag r-s without repeats or divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

anacrusis before bar 1	2 crotchets changed to quavers
11	5 crotchets 2 quavers changed to 6 quavers 1 crotchet
12/4	quaver changed to crotchet

7. Ballet**7a. Ballet****p. 6***Ballet*

D-Lr Mus.ant.pract.2000, p. 23

Ballet E.M.

D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, p. 63

Two strains of 12 and 9 bars in F major with flag r-s, without divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] in both sources. Repeat signs and occasional vertical ties and right hand fingering dots present in D BAU only.

	<i>D-Lr</i>	<i>D-BAU</i>		<i>D-Lr</i>	<i>D-BAU</i>
2/3	quavers begin 1 note earlier	-	11	-	crotchets c2a5 - d2c5 - quavers b3 - a3a5 - d2 - c4
2/3-4	-	f4 - e4 instead of b3 - a3	12/1	-	- c2 instead d3 absent
4/1	-	quaver a4a7 – quaver d3 instead	12/4	-	f1h3 instead of l1
6/1	-	d3 absent	15/2	-	e1 instead of d1
7/1	-	d2 added	15/4-6	-	r-s absent
7/4	-	f2 added	18/3	-	a2 added
8/5-6	-	c2 - d2 instead of a2 - c2	18/4	-	d3 added
9/1	-	c2 instead of d2	19/5	-	quavers b3d6-a3 instead of crotchet a2d6
9/7	-	c2 instead	20/1	-	c4 instead of c2
10/4-6	-	crotchet 2 quavers instead	20/2	-	d3 instead of d2
			21/1	-	d3 absent

7b. Allemande**p. 7***xxxxix. Allemande nouvelle Pucelle*

CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 286

A cognate for the first strain of 7a only. Two strains of 12 and 8 bars (double bar line editorial) in F major with mensural r-s, without divisions in German tablature for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a]. The significance of 'x' below notes at 6/6 11/2,6,8 12/2 16/2 and 18/2,6,8 not clear as holding notes does not seem relevant so omitted editorially.

anacrusis before bar 1	crotchets changed to quavers	7/1	minim changed to crotchet
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8. Ballet

Mertel may be the arranger rather than composer of the ascribed version. The first strain of the related work by Robert Johnson is concordant with bars 1-4 of the first strain and the second strain with bars 5-8 of 8a-c and so could be the origin of the continental versions. Otherwise Johnson may have arranged a ballet by Mertel.

8a. Ballet

p. 8

*Ballet Mertelij*D-Ngm 33748 I, f. 67^v

Two strains of 8 and 10 bars in C minor with mensural r-s and repeat signs for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

6/2 /a changed to a [a7]
7/4 c5 added

16/1 quaver changed to crotchet
16/4 c4 added

8b. Ballet

p. 8

*Ballet*CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, f. 75^v

Two strains of 8 and 10 bars in C minor with mensural r-s and repeat signs for 9-course lute using a 9th course tuned to C [///a].

2/3 //a instead of ///a
4-5 bar line absent
8/3 //a instead of ///a
8-9 bar line absent

12/2 a4 changed to c4
14-15 bar line absent
17/5 quaver changed to crotchet

8c. Ballet

p. 9

*Ballet*GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff. 38^v-39^r

Two strains of 8 bars (double bar line editorial) each in C minor with mensural r-s and divisions for 10-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a], 8th to E^b [/a] and 10th to C [///a].

10/7 c2 changed to c3
27/5-8 a1-e2-c5-d3 changed to c5-a1-e2-d3

30/8 d6 changed to d5

cf. Moy 1631, ff. 1v-2r *Ballet par Ballard* [arranged by Robert Ballard?].

8d. Almaine/ Ballet by Robert Johnson

p. 10

*An Almayne mr Johnsonne*GB-Lam 603, f. 30^r

untitled

GB-Lam 603, ff. 40^r-40^v*Ballet Variatio prioris*GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, f. 30^r*Ball[et]*PL-Kj Mus.40641, f. 1^r*Ballet A.9*

Vallet 1616, p. 1

Cognate for lute quartet: Vallet 1616, pp. 30-31 *Ballet A 4 Luts, Sup / Contra / Tenor / Bass* = GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, f. 130^v *Ballet* [superius]. For keyboard: F-Pn Rés.1185, p. 341 *Almaine*. For recorder: Eyck 1649, f. 18^r *Frans Ballet*. For violin and bass: Vallet 1642, section 2, no. 35 *Suite de Balletz, nr.1*.

Two strains of 4 bars each in C minor with mensural r-s and divisions for 10-course lute using an 8th course tuned to E^b [/a] and 10th to C [///a]. A critical comparison of the lute versions of this cognate is not included here.

8/3 minim changed to crotchet
12/2 //a changed to ///a

16/1 minim changed to crotchet
16/3 dotted minim changed to fermata

9. Passamezo antico

pp. 11-15

E.M.A. Variatio 1.2.3.4.5.6. [header: *Passomezo praecedentis toni. G sol re ut. b mol.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 90-93

Six variations of 16 bars on the passamezo antico ground [chords I-VII-I-V-III-VII-I(V)-I or GFGDB^bFG(D)G] in G minor with flag r-s for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a].

4-5 bar line absent
15/8 b5 changed to b4
16/3-4 quavers changed to crotchets
16/5 fermata changed to minim
20/1 a4 absent
23/10-11 quavers changed to crotchets

24/1 a7 changed to a8
31/1 a7 changed to a6
32/5 fermata changed to minim
33/10 d4 changed to d3
34/11 c5 changed to a5
43/11 crotchets begin 2 notes earlier

45/6-7	a2-d2 changed to d3-a2	66/10	a5 absent
48/5	fermata changed to minim	66/14	a6 changed to a5
50/17	semiquaver changed to quaver	67/2	a7 absent
52/1-8	quavers changed to semiquavers	70/15-17	crotchets changed to quavers
52-3	bar line absent	71/2	a7 changed to a8
53/7	e2 changed to c2	75/16	quavers begin a note later
56/2-11	crotchets changed to quavers	78/11	r-s change from mensural to flag
60/12-13	r-s change from flag to mensural		after a page break
	after a page break	80/18	fermata changed to minim
64/5	fermata changed to minim		

10. Passamezo antico

pp. 16-17

[Variatio] .2. *E.M.A.* .4. *E.M.A.* [header: *Passomezo in D.sol re ut b mol.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 102-104

Two variations of 16 bars on the passamezo antico ground [chords I-VII-I-V-III-VII-I(V)-I or DCDAFCD(A)D] in D minor for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a]. Variations 1 and 3 in the same set are anonymous and so not included here.

1/12	e6 changed to c6	10/1	minim changed to crotchet
4/1	crotchet changed to quaver	11/15	a6 below next note instead
5/8	//a changed to /a	12/1	d2 changed to d3
7/2	c4 changed to e4	16/5	fermata changed to semibreve
7	5 minims in the bar	17/11	d2 absent
9/1	a3 changed to a4	21/1	a5 changed to c5
9/btw 6-7	e4 omitted	29/9	a4 beneath previous note instead

11. Passamezo moderno

pp. 18-19

Passomezo ex E la mj per B moll. Martel. [Variatio] 2.

D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, pp. 43-4

The title implies the passamezo antico ground by per B molle, but these two variations of 16 bars in E^b major for 6-course lute are based on the passamezo moderno ground [chords I-IV-I-V-I-IV-I(V)-I or E^bA^bE^bB^bE^bA^bE^b (B^b)E^b].

3/1-4	crotchets changed to quavers	14/2-31	quavers changed to semiquavers
8/1	crotchet changed to dotted crotchet	16/6	quaver changed to crotchet
9/1	a5 changed to d5	16/7	chord a1b2b3d5 absent
10/9-10	crotchets changed to quavers		

12. Galliarda

12a. Galliarda

pp. 20-21

Galliarda 13. Ex modo tristi & antiquo in elegantem redacta [header: *Galliarda. E. M. 13.*]

[Adapted from the sad and old-fashioned to the elegant mode] Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 123-124

Three strains of 10, 10 and 13 (12 in division) bars in C major with flag r-s and divisions for 6-course lute.

2/7-8	crotchets changed to quavers	55/5-8	quavers changed to crotchets
5/6-7	quavers changed to crotchets	57/2-8	a3-c3-e3-a2-c2-e2-a1 changed to
9/1-6	quavers changed to crotchets		c3-d3-a2-c2-e2-a1-c1
15/8	e1 changed e2		

12b. Galliarda

p. 22

Galliarda I.

Reymann 1598, sig. O5^r

Three strains of 11, 10 and 13 bars in C major with flag r-s and repeat signs but not divisions for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned D [a] and 8th C [/a].

17/3	e5 changed to c5	29-30	bar line absent
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12c. Galliarda**p. 23***Galliarda Reinmanni*

D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 228-229

Three strains of 11, 10 and 13 bars in C major with mensural r-s and repeat signs in German tablature for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned F [a] once.

5-6	bar line one note earlier	19/5	quaver changed to crotchet
5/7	f1 absent	19/6	h6 changed to h5
6/1	quaver changed to crotchet	20/6	f1 changed to e1 and crotchet changed to minim
6/8	crotchet changed to minim	22-29	crotchet 4 quavers 2 crotchets changed to crotchet 2 quavers 4 crotchets in each of the 8 bars
11/2	minim changed to semibreve	28/1	c5 changed to c4
12/3-4	crotchets changed to quavers	30/2	e3 changed to c3
12-15	first note of each bar crotchet changed to dotted crotchet	30/4	c2 changed to e2
15/3	e5 changed to e4	32/4	a6 changed to d3
18/1	crotchet changed to dotted crotchet	32/5	c2 changed to a2 and a5 to a6
18/5	quaver changed to crotchet		

13. Galliarda**13a. Galliarda****p. 24***Galliarda 14.* [header: *Galliarda E.M. 14.*]

Fuhrmann, 1615 p. 125

Three strains of 8, 8 and 15 bars in D minor with mensural r-s and divisions for the first strain only but not for the remaining two strains, for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [a].

3/7	e4 changed to c4	25/6	a7 a note earlier
6/3	a6 changed to a7	29/10	c3 changed to c4
17/2	h4 changed to k4	34/8	a6 changed to a7
20/5	c3 changed to e3	36/2-3	quavers changed to semiquavers
21/3	quaver changed to crotchet	39/2	d4 changed to e4
24-25	double bar line editorial		

13b. Galliarda**p. 25***Galliarda NB*D-Ngm 33748 I, f. 10^v

A cognate in a different key for the first two strains of 13a only. Three strains of 8 bars each in C minor with mensural r-s and repeat signs for 6-course lute.

20/9	quaver changed to crotchet	24/1-3	crotchet, quaver, crotchet added but crossed out
21/1	a4 added		

14. Galliarda**14a. Galliarda****p. 26***Galliarda Eliae Martelij*
*gaillarde*Besard 1603, f. 120^r i
PL-Kj Mus.40143, f. 33^r

Two strains of 10 and 8 bars (double bar line absent in Besard, repeat sign only for second strain in PL Kj) in C major with mensural r-s (both sources), without divisions for 6-course lute. Bar length doubled in Besard and only intermittently present in PL Kj but regularised editorially.

	<i>Besard</i>	<i>PL Kj</i>		<i>Besard</i>	<i>PL Kj</i>
1/2	-	a3 instead of d3	10-11	no bar line	-
3/4-5	-	minim e2e4 instead	10/2	-	c4 instead of c2
4/1-2	-	minim a1a2c3a6 instead	12/5	-	f4d5 added
5/1	-	b3 absent	13/1	-	a2 absent
6/1-2	-	minim f2g3f4d5 instead	14/2	-	f5 instead of a4
6/5	-	f4d5 added	17/5	-	a2d3 absent
			18/1-2	-	minim c2d3c4a5 instead
			18/3	-	d3 instead of c4

14b. Galliarda**p. 27***Galliarda E. M.*D-B N Mus.479, ff. 34^v-35^r

Two strains of 10 and 8 bars in C major with mensural r-s, without repeat signs or divisions for 6-course lute. Three vertical dashes are placed over chords at 1/1,2 and 3/4 and under notes at 11/1 13/1 and 16/1 probably indicating right hand middle finger, but have been omitted here. Small circles above notes at 1/3 3/1 14/1 and 15/1, the significance of which is not known, omitted editorially.

No changes to the tablature.

15. Galliarda**p. 28***Galliarda eiusdem* [Eliae Martelij]Besard 1603, f. 120^r ii*Gaillarde*GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff. 75^v-76^r

Two strains of 8 and 12 bars (bar length doubled in Besard) in C minor with flag r-s, without repeat signs or divisions for 6-course lute in both sources.

	<i>Besard</i>	<i>GB HAdolmetsch</i>		<i>Besard</i>	<i>GB HAdolmetsch</i>
2/1	-	b3 absent	20/1-11	-	crotchet and quavers
3/1	-	d3 absent			instead
10/1	-	b2b3 absent	20/9	-	e1 absent

16. Galliarda**p. 29***Gagliard Eliae Mertelij*D-Ngm 33748 I, f. 70^v

Three strains of 10, 9 and 5 bars in C minor with mensural r-s and repeat signs for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] (once).

1/2	minim changed to crotchet	9/3-4	crotchets changed to minims
1/4	h4 changed to g4		
3/1	f3 changed to g3	12/1	crotchet changed to minim
4/2 - 5/2	quavers changed to crotchets	13/3-14/1	crotchets changed to minims
		19/4-7	quavers changed to crotchets
4/4	d5 instead of d4		

17. Galliarda bella**pp. 30-31***Gagliarda bella Elias Mertelius*D-W Guelf. 18.8, ff. 177^r-177^v

Ascription added in different hand to title. Three strains of 8, 10 and 8 bars (9 bars in repeat of second and third strains and double bar lines editorial) in C minor with mensural r-s and divisions in Italian tablature for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

4/1 & 3	d4 changed to d5	30/3-4	a4-c4-a4 changed to d4-c4
11/2-11	crotchets changed to quavers	41/1	minim changed to dotted minim
12/1 & 3	d4 changed to d5		

18. Chorea**p. 32***Chorea E.M.*

D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, p. 78

Two strains of 8 and 10 bars in D minor with mensural r-s, without repeat signs or divisions for 8-course lute using a 7th course to F [a] and 8th to D [/a].

4/1	c6 changed to c5
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19. Chorea**p. 33***Chorea Mertelij*

D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, pp. 82-83

Three strains of 4 bars each in B^b major with mensural r-s and divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

21/1	d1c4 absent
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20. Ein gar sehr trauriges liedlein [A very very sad little song]**p. 34***Ein gar sehr trauriges Liedlein E.M.*

D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, p. 76

Three strains of 8 bars each (double bar lines editorial) in G minor with mensural r-s, without divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

5/1 c3 changed to b3

15/3-4 c5-a5 changed to a3-c4

21. Ich danck dir lieber Herr [I thank you dear Lord – A morning prayer]**p. 35***Cantio matutina.* [header: *Ich danck dir lieber HERRE. E.M.A.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 45

Cognates for lute: A-LIa hs.475, f. 92^v *Ich danck dir herr auß A5 D Job: Brentius*; D-LEm II.6.15, p. 534 *Ich dank d[i]r lieber Herre*; D-Lr Mus.ant.pract.2000, p. 81 *Ich danke dir lieber herr*; D-W Guelf. 18.7, ff. 64^r-64^v *Ich danckb dir lieber herre. Conr. Neusidler*; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o, f. 147^r *Ich dank dir lieber Herr*; GB-Cfm Mus.688, p. 61 *Eine Morgenlied: Ich danck dir lieber herre hither Twiste ouer*; S-B PB fl.172, ff. 35^r-35^v *Ich danche dir Lïber herre e Motgeteg; Zahn, n° 7562.*

Two strains of 6 and 12 bars each in G major with flag r-s and divisions for 8-course lute using a 8th course tuned to D [a] (once). A critical comparison of the cognate versions is not included here.

9/5 c5 changed to c4

35/2-3 quavers changed to semiquavers

11/7 quaver changed to crotchet

35/4 a4 changed to a5

18/8 c2 absent

35/6 c4 changed to c5

22/2 crotchet changed to dotted crotchet

35/8 quaver changed to crotchet

30/4 c2 absent

36/8 c4 absent and fermata r-s over

31/1 dotted quaver changed to quaver

previous note

22. So wünsch ich ihr ein gute nacht [I wish her good night] Melchior Finck? **pp. 36-37***So wünsch ich ihr ein gute Nacht. E.M.A. Cantio Germanica.*

Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 46-47

Cognates for lute: CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 267 LXXXVI *So wünsch Ich Irren ein gutte nacht*; D-B Mus.40141, f. 85^r *So wunsch ich jr ein gute nacht*; D-B Mus.40141, f. 100^r *So wunsch ick ihr ein gute Nacht*; D-LEm II.6.15, p. 416 *So wünsch ich ihr eine gute nacht*; D-W Guelf. 18.7, f. 107^v *So wünsch ich ihr ain*; D-W Guelf. 18.7, 107^v-108^r *Alio modo*; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o, f. 50^v *So wunsch ich ihr ein gute Nacht*; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o f. 67^v *So wunsch ich ihr ein gute nacht* [melody in mensural notation]; NL-At 208.A.27, f. 20^r LXXX *So Wündsch Ich / Ihr eyn gutte nacht. etc.*; PL-Kj ant.pract.W510, f. 4^r *Ich wunsch ihr ein gute nacht*; PL-Kj ant.pract.W510, f. 17^v *So wunsch ich dir ein gute nacht*. For cittern: CH-D Berchter, p. 441 *So wunsch Ich Ihr ein gute nacht*; Kargel 1578, sig. G2^v *So wunsch ich dir ain gute Nacht*; Phalèse and Bellère 1582, f. 30^r *So wunsch ich dir gute nacht*.

Different to the setting by Thomas Stoltzer: CH-SAM 2, f. 2^r *So wunsch jch jr ain guette Nacht*; Neusidler 1536, sig. m4^r-m4^v *So wunsch ich ir ein gute nacht* [index: *Stück mit dreyen stimen sampt der applicatz*] = S-Sk S 226, ff. 56^v-57^r *So wunsch Ich Ir ain gute nacht*; Drusina 1556, sig. b4^v-c1^r *So wunsch ich ihr*; Ochsenkun 1558, f. 79^v-80^r *So wünsch ich ir ein gute nacht. Thomas Stoltzer* [with 3 stanzas]. For keyboard: Ammerbach 1571, f. 45^v *So wünsch ich ir ein gute nacht*; Ammerbach 1583, p. 81 *So wündsche ich ir eine gute nacht*.

Variations on two strains of 7 and 6 bars in G major with mensural r-s in the pattern AABBAABB (double bar lines after bars 40 and 46 editorial) for 6-course lute. A critical comparison of the cognate versions is not included here.

2-3 bar line absent

43/2 c5 absent

9-10 bar line absent

43/6 c1 above f2 of next note

18/3 quavers begin a note later

44/2 d2 changed to e2

32/1 e2 changed to c2

49/9 crotchet changed to quaver

33/2 a5 changed to a6

50/1-2 crotchets changed to quavers

33-34 bar line absent

51/5 semiquaver changed to quaver

36/1 quaver changed to semiquaver

52/8-9 semiquavers changed to quavers

23. Wie ein hirsch schreit [As the heart panteth]**p. 38***W]Je ein Hirsch schreyet.* [header: *Psalmus R. Davidis 42. E.M.A.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 48

NL-Lu 1666, ff. 298^v-299^r *Psal. 42 Claud[us] Le Jeune*. a3 [3 settings]; NL-Lu 1666, f. 213^v *Ainsi* [qu'on oit le cerf bruire]; cf. GB-Cfm Mus.688, p. 82 *Wie nach einer Wasser quellen*; LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f. 73^v *Psalm 42. Wie nach Einer wasserquelle*; Zahn, n° 6543.

Two strains of 12 and 22 bars in F major with mensural r-s and divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a]. Most bar lines are missing in strains and have been added editorially to match the divisions. A critical comparison of the cognate versions is not included here.

2/1	dotted minim changed to minim	21/3	minim one note earlier
16/5-6	quavers changed to crotchets	24/8	dotted semibreve changed to minim
18/1	semibreve changed to dotted semibreve	56/7	dotted semibreve changed to minim
		65/2	crotchet changed to minim

24. Wilhelmus van Nassouwe

24a. Wilhelmus van Nassouwe

p. 39

Subplementum folii. E.M.A.

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 40

Cognates for lute: D B Hove 1, f. 47^v *Wilhelmus*; IRL-Dtc 410/I, p. 217 untitled [first 3 bars]; IRL-Dtc 410/I, p. 220 *Almande Prince*; IRL-Dtc 410/I, pp. 220-221 untitled; NL Lu 1666, ff. 351^v-352^v *Wilhelmus van Nassouwen* [6 settings]; Adriansen 1584, f. 84^v *Almande Prince*; Adriansen 1584, f. 85^r *Almand Slaepen gaen*; Vallet 1616, pp. 26-7; *Stemme: Alst begint Wilhelmus van Nassouwe* [separate versions for lute, cittern and voice]; Valerius 1626, pp. 46-47 *Battaille* [bars 51-67]. For instrumental ensemble: Praetorius 1612, p. 106 *Wilhelm von Nass. Incerti*. For recorder: Eyck 1649, ff. 49^r-50^r *Wilhelmus van Nassouwen*; Eyck 1649, ff. 51^r-51^v *Batali* [bars 77-90]. The origins of the tune and textual and vocal cognates can be found in Griffioen, p. 351-356.

Two strains of 8 and 6 bars with flag r-s, without repeats or divisions for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a]. A critical comparison of the cognate versions is not included here.

11/1 f2 instead of f1

24b. Wilhelmus van Nassouwe

p. 39

Stemme: Alst begint. Wilhelmus van Nassouwe

Valerius 1626, pp. 46-47

Two strains of 3 and 10 bars in F major with flag r-s and repeat signs for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a]. No changes to the tablature.

25. Spectri eiusdem sonus nocturnus

25a. Spectri eiusdem sonus nocturnus [night music of an apparition?]

pp. 40-41

Subplementum. Variatio .1. .2. [header: Spectri ejusdam sonus nocturnus. E.M.A.]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 101

Three strains of 4 bars each in F major - D minor - C major with flag r-s in the pattern AABBC*C/ACBC/B* for 8-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a] and 8th to D [/a].

21	* refers to an alternative 4 bars at the end marked 'Alia variatio repetitioni, hoc signo notata*'
25/1	a5 changed to a7
36/2-4	2 quavers dotted crotchet changed to dotted quaver semiquaver crotchet
36-37	double bar line editorial
46/1	c3 added

25b. The voice of the earth

p. 41

The Voice of the Earthe

IRL-Dtc 408/II, p. 113

Beszaridis Dantz [arranged by Jean-Baptiste Besard?]

D-Kl 4^o Mus.108/I, f. 24^r

The Angells voyce

US-NHub fb7, 81^v

the voice

US-Ws V.b.280, ff. 7^v-8^r

Cognates, for cittern: Holborne 1597, sig. C1^r *The voyce*. For keyboard: GB-Cfm Mus.168, pp. 280-281 *The Ghost William Byrd*; GB-En 9448, ff. 20^v-24^r *The Ghoste: The Ghoste: Mr Byrde. August 20 1612*. For mixed consort: GB-Cu Dd.5.20, f. 3^r *The Sprytes tune* [bass viol]; GB-Cu Dd.5.21, f. 3^r *The Sprytes songe* [treble viol] and *Sprytes songe* [recorder]; GB-Cu Dd.14.24, f. 9^v *Sprite/ The Sprites Tune* [cittern]; GB-Hu DD HO 20/1-3, no. 27 *The Voyce* [treble viol and flute], *The Voyce Set by R[ichard].A[llison]*. [bass viol]; US-OAm Parton, f. 10^v .27. *The Voyce* [cittern].

Three strains of 4 bars each in C major - D minor - C major with gridiron r-s, without repeats or divisions for 6-course lute. A critical comparison of the lute versions of this cognate is not included here.

3/1	crotchet changed to minim	8-9	double bar line editorial
5/5-6	dotted minim crotchet changed to dotted crotchet quaver	9-10	bar line absent
5/5 & 7	a4 changed to e4	11/3	crotchet changed to minim

26. *Orlandus furiosus*

26a. *Orlandus furiosus*

p. 42

Orlandus furiosus. [header: *Subplementum folii. E.M.A.*]

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 47

Four strains of 8, 7, 8 and 4 bars, the last two in triple time, without repeat signs or divisions in G major with flag r-s for 7-course lute using a 7th course tuned to F [a].

11/1	dotted crotchet changed to dotted quaver	15/1	dotted crotchet changed to crotchet
11-12	bar line absent	21/1	dotted crotchet changed to crotchet
13-14	bar line absent	23/1	dotted crotchet changed to crotchet
		24/1	a3 changed to a4

26b. *Orlando sleepeth* by John Dowland

p. 42

Orlando sleepeth J:D. [Poulton & Lam 61]

GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 55^v

Cognates: CZ-Pnm XIII.B.237, f. 35^v *Orlandi*; CZ-Pu XXIII.F.174, f. 22^v *Orlando*; D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, p. 50 *Pavana Orlandi*; D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, p. 50 *Orlandus*; D-KA Mus.Bd.A.678, f. 22^r *Englisch auffzug*; D-Kl 4° Mus.108/I, f. 23^v *Orlando Furioso*; D-KNh R.242, f. 104^r *Pavana anglica*; D-Lr Mus.ant.pract.2000, p. 21 *Ballet*; D-W Guelf. 18.8, f. 35^v *Engeldantz - Nachdantz*; DK-Kk Thott 841,4°, f. 115^r *Padoana Anglica*; GB-Lam 601, f. 5^v *orlando furiosoe 1597*; GB-Lam 603, f. 1^r *Orlando*; IRL-Dtc 408/II, p. 111 *Orlando*; NL-Lu 1666, f. 399^r *Orlando Anglesa* - untitled; Hove 1601, f. 106^r *Orlando chanson Englesae*. Cittern solo: GB-Cu Dd.14.24, f. 16^v *Orlando sleepeth*; US-CA Mus.182, f. 79^v *Orlando*. Mixed consort: LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f. 1^r *Orlando Treble Consort* [consort lute]; LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f. 1^r *Orlando. Pandora* [consort bandora].

Four strains of 2 bars, the last two in triple time, in F major with gridiron r-s and repeat signs for 6-course lute. A critical comparison of the many lute versions of this cognate is not included here.

7/6 a5 crossed out.

Appendix A

Music in *Hortus* identified from other sources – based on a handwritten list of Robert Spencer and additional concordances from a variety of sources too numerous to acknowledge personally but representing a collective effort.

Praeludia					
<i>no.</i>	<i>page(s)</i>	<i>concordance/cognate</i> [cf.]			
4	2	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 61 ^r i <i>Prelude Perrichon</i>	159	79	Bars 1-3: Phalèse 1545, p. 2 <i>Praeludium</i> ; Phalèse 1547, sig. B1 ^r <i>Praeludium</i> ; Phalèse 1549, sig. B1 ^r <i>Fantasia</i> ; cf. Kargel & Lais 1575, sig. A1 ^r <i>Fantasia</i> - cittern
11	5	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 61 ^r ii <i>Prelude Perrichon</i>			
19	8-9	Bars 1-7: D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 77 <i>Toccata J v d H 1614</i>	166	84	Mylius 1622, p. 7 ii <i>Praeludium</i> . From bar 12: Molinaro 1599, pp. 68-69 <i>Fantasia Qvinta</i> [last 9 bars]
21	9-10	Galilei 1620, p. 38 <i>Toccata</i> ; Mylius 1622, p. 24 <i>Toccata</i> ; bars 1-2: Phantasia et Fuga 1	168	86	D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 1 i <i>Passaggio</i> ; PL-Kj Mus.40032, p. 132 i <i>P</i>
28	13	cf. CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, ff. 78 ^v -79 ^r <i>Canzon prae/Ludium</i> ; Besard 1603, f. 36 ^r <i>Finale Alberti Dlugoraj</i> ; cf. D-LEm II.6.15, p. 467 untitled	177	92	D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 1 iii <i>Passaggio</i>
36	16	<i>Praeludium</i> 53 [bars 1-10]	194	104	<i>Praeludium</i> 200
53	23	Francisque 1600, f. 6 ^r <i>Prelude</i> cf. <i>Praeludium</i> 36 [bars 1-10]	198	107	Bars 1-3: D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 3 <i>Praeludium Johan Rude Franckf: Aos 1615 5.xmb</i>
54	23	Bars 1-7: Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 12-13 <i>Fantasia 2</i>			Fuhrmann 1615, p. 5 ii <i>Subplementum folii</i>
58	25	D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 6 <i>Prelude a Napoli</i>	200	108	<i>Praeludium</i> 194
71	31	<i>Praeludium</i> 125 [major 2nd lower]	205	111-2	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 2 ^r <i>Prelude Jacob</i>
73	31-2	D-Kl 4 ^o Mus.108/I, ff. 67 ^v -68 ^r <i>prelude</i> ; Besard 1603, f. 9 ^r <i>Prael Laurenc</i> [from bar 3]	212	116	Bars 1-13: Mylius 1622, p. 11 <i>Praeludium</i>
78	35	GB-Cu Add.3056, f. 32 ^r untitled (second section); PL-Kj 40143, ff. 37 ^v -38 ^v <i>Prelude</i> (second section); Besard 1603, f. 6 ^r <i>Prael. Bocq.</i> (second section); cf. Mathew <i>The Lutes Apology</i> 1652, pp. 42-43 <i>A Praeludium</i> (edeff)	214	117	<i>Praeludium</i> 232
80	36	cf. Robinson 1603, sig. F1 ^v -F2 ^r <i>Fantasia for two Lutes. All in Vnisons</i>	218	119	<i>Praeludium</i> 231
82	37-8	Bars 1-12: CH-Bu F.IX.53, ff. 27 ^v -28 ^r <i>Prelude</i>	222	121-2	Mylius 1622, p. 15 <i>Praeludium aliud</i>
89	40-2	D B N.Mus.479, ff. 31 ^r -32 ^r <i>Praeludium</i>	231	127	<i>Praeludium</i> 218
91	42-3	From bar 18: D-Dl M 297, p. 119 <i>Praelud</i> ; D-LEm II.6.23, f. 35 ^r <i>Supplementum folii</i> ; Fuhrmann 1615, p. 10 <i>Subplementum folii</i>	232	127-8	<i>Praeludium</i> 214
93	43-4	Bars 1-3: D-Kl 4 ^o Mus.108/I, ff. 38 ^v -39 ^r <i>prelude</i> ; GB-Cu Add.3056, ff. 28 ^v -29 ^r <i>Praeludium</i> ; Besard 1603, f. 7 ^v <i>Preamb Laur</i>	234	129	Mylius 1622, p. 12 <i>Praeludium</i> [24 extra bars inserted between bars 1 & 2]
97	46	from bar 6 = bars 1-7 of: D-KNu K 16a 6745, p. 7 <i>Praeludium</i> ; GB-Cu Add.3056, f. 32 ^r untitled (first section); PL-Kj 40143, ff. 37 ^v -38 ^v <i>Prelude</i> (first section); Besard 1603, f. 6 ^r <i>Prael. Bocq.</i> (first section)	Phantasiae et Fugae		
99	46-7	D-Kl 4 ^o Mus.108/I, ff. 19 ^v -20 ^r <i>praeludium</i> ; GB-Cu Add.3056, f. 31 ^v <i>A Fancye</i> ; Besard 1603, f. 8 ^r <i>Prael Laurenc</i>	1	131	Bars 1-2: <i>Praeludium</i> 21
101	48	Bars 1-14: Fuhrmann 1615, p. 184 <i>Praeludium Auff die Schlacht von Pavia Mercurii</i> . Bars 1-7: Besard 1603, ff. 167 ^v -168 ^r <i>Bataille de Pavia</i>	9	140	CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 41 <i>II Fantasia</i> ; CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 56 <i>XV/III Fantasia</i> ; I-Fn Magl.XIX.168, ff. 11 ^v -12 ^r <i>Ricercha franco Milanese</i> [Ness 84]; Da Crema 1546a, sig. B4 ^v <i>11 Recercar undecimo</i> ; Da Crema 1546b, ff. 9 ^r -9 ^v <i>Recercar Vndecimo</i> ; Phalèse 1549, sig. B2 ^r <i>Fantasia</i> ; Gerle 1552, sigs. C1 ^r -C1 ^v <i>Das 6. Preambel</i>
104	50	Bars 1-5: <i>Praeludium</i> 132	17	146-7	D-Hbusch, ff. 13 ^v -14 ^r <i>Fantasia</i> ; GB-Lbl M.1353, f. 13 ^r untitled; PL-Kj Mus.40032, p. 205 <i>Fantasia Fantastria d'Inghilterra ma piena d'ogni soanità</i> ; cf. Hove 1601, f. 3 ^v <i>Fantasia tertia</i> ; GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 37 ^v untitled - bandora
110	53	Besard 1603, f. 10 ^r <i>Prael Jac Reys</i> ; cf. CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 52 <i>Fantasia XIII</i>	19	148-9	CDN-Mc w.s., f. 47 ^v <i>Fantasia</i>
125	59	<i>Praeludium</i> 71 [major 2nd higher]	23	152-2	Bars 1-3: GB-Lbl M.1353, f. 67 ^v untitled
130	61-2	Mylius 1622, p. 16 ii <i>Praeludium</i>	24	153	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 31 ^v <i>Prelude Perrichon</i> I-COc 1.1.20, ff. 15 ^v -16 ^r <i>Fuga</i>
132	62	Bars 1-3: <i>Praeludium</i> 104	27	156-7	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 30 ^r <i>Prelude Perrichon</i> ; GB-Cu Nn.6.36, f. 33 ^r <i>A fancy</i> ; I-COc 1.1.20, ff. 22 ^v -23 ^r <i>Corrente Francese</i>
139	65-6	Bars 1-3: <i>Praeludium</i> 140	36	168-70	GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 34 ^v <i>Fantasia de du Gast</i> cf. GB-Cu Dd.2.11, ff. 26 ^v -27 ^r <i>fantazia Anth Holb</i> - bandora [HolborneS 4]
140	67	Bars 1-3: <i>Praeludium</i> 139	38	171	Bars 1-19: D-Kl 4 ^o Mus.108/I, f. 22 ^r <i>Preludam</i> . Bars 1-4: CH-Bu F.IX.70, pp. 55-56 <i>Jud. Wormaciensis Fantasia G.L.</i> ; D-B Mus.40141, ff. 204 ^v -205 ^r <i>Fantasia</i> ; D-KA Mus.Bd.A.678, f. 20 ^v <i>Fuga</i> ; D-KNh R.242, ff. 28 ^r -29 ^r <i>Fantasia Emmanuelis Adriani</i> ; D-Lr Mus.ant.pract.2000, pp. 41-42 <i>Phantasia</i> ;
141	68	Bars 1-5: GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff. 208 ^v -209 ^r <i>Capricio</i> . Bars 1-8: I-Gu 3.M.VIII.24, f. 17 ^r untitled			
145	71-1	Bars 1-4: Mylius 1622, p. 6 <i>Praeludium</i>			
150	74	cf. D-B N.Mus.479, f. 30 ^v <i>Praeludium</i>			
152	75	D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 1 ii untitled			

- D-Mbs 2° Mus.pr.93, ff. 86^r/85^v/86^v/87^r untitled; D-Ngm 33748 I, ff. 78^v/80^r-81^r *fantasia*; NL-Lu 1666, ff. 156^r-156^v *fantasia*; Adriansen 1584, f. 4^r *Fantasia* 3; Bars 1-4: D-Mbs Mus.266, f. 89^r *Fandasia*
- 39 172-3 cf. Maschera 1584, p. 7 *Canzon settima* [Al S Pompeo Coradello] [à 4]; D-Sl G.I.4 I, f. 46^v *Canzon 7. francesa di Florentio Maschera/ Phantasia*
- 49 183 Bars 1-11: D-Hbusch, ff. 10^v-13^r *Fantasia*
- 51 185-7 GB-Cu Add.3056, ff. 39^r-40^r *A Fancy CK*
- 52 187-8 CH-Bu F.IX.70, pp. 44-46 *VIII Fantasia M[elchior] N[eusidler]*
- 55 190 D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 58-59 *Fantasia A. D[lugoraj]. 11*
- 56 191 GB-Cu Add.8844, f. 1^r untitled; GB-Lbl M.1353, f. 65^r untitled; cf. GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 28^r *fantazia Anth Holburn* - bandora [HolborneS 3]
- 59 195-6 Bars 1-6: PL-Kj Mus.40032, pp. 208-209 *Fantasia*; Besard 1603, f. 13^v *Fantasia Laurencini* [major 2nd higher]
- 61 197-8 GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 84^r *Fantasia Jacob*
- 63 199-200 D-BAU Druck 13.4°85, f. 5^r *Phantasia Polonois*
- 64 200-1 Bars 1-3: GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 39^r *Fantasia de du Gast*
- 68 206-8 Ness 33: B-Br II.275, ff. 71^v-72^v *Ricercha Di F^r* [index: *R fantasia Di F^o De milano*]; D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 52-53 *Fantasia Gregorij* 8; D-W Guel. 18.7, ff. 204^v-205^v *Phantasia Diomedes*; GB-Cu Add.3056, ff. 37^v-38^v *A Fancie* [Ness App.4]; [central section of 26 extra bars inserted]; GB-Eu Dc.5.125, ff. 26^v-28^v.f.; GB-HAdolmetsch II.C.23, pp. 12-13 *Ricercha*; GB-Och Mus.1280, f. 1^r untitled fragments; I-CFVd w.s., ff. 48^v-49^r *recercata di franc^o da milano*; I-COc 1.1.20, ff. 80^v-82^r & 74^r *Fuga*; NL-DHnmi Kluis A.20, ff. 58^v-59^r *Ricercha di Francesco M.*; PL-Kj Mus.40032, pp. 218-219 *Fantasia di Francesco Milanese*; cf. D-Hs ND VI 3238, pp. 100-101 *Tyrada*; Milano & Perino 1546, sigs. A3^v-A4^v *Fantasia di M. Francesco Milanese*; Milano & Perino 1547, sigs. B1^r-B2^v *Fantasia di F. Milanese*; Milano & Perino 1562, sigs. B1^r-B2^v *Fantasia di F. da Milano*; Milano & Perino 1563, pp. 9-12 *Fantasia di F. da M.*; Phalèse & Bellère 1571, ff. 7^v-8^r *Fantasia Francisco de Milan*; Kargel 1586, sigs. A3^v-A4^v *Fantasia IIII*; Mertel 1615, pp. 206-208 [Phantasiae et Fugae] 68; Mylius 1622, pp. 35-36 *Fantasia*
- 69 208-10 Poulton & Lam 6: GB-Cu Add.3056, ff. 7^v-8^r *A Fancy by Mr Dowlande*; GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 43^v-44^r untitled; GB-Cu Nn.6.36, ff. 32^v-33^r untitled; UKR-LVu 1400/I, ff. 39^v-41^r *Fantasi*; Mylius 1622, pp. 30-31 *Fantasia 1*
- 70 210-1 Poulton & Lam 2: GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 16^v-17^r *forlorne Hope fancye Mr Dowland Bach of Musicke*; UKR-LVu 1400/I, ff. 54^v-56^r *fantasia*; Mylius 1622, pp. 37-38 *Fantasia*
- 71 211-2 Triple time ending reminiscent of John Dowland [i.e. end of Poulton & Lam 9] and follows two items in Mertel known to be by Dowland [nos. 69 and 70]. The style throughout is also consistent with John Dowland as composer
- 72 213-4 Based on Gombert's 'Assiste Parata', the second part of the motet 'O beata Maria' [GombertS 7, xvi, 16]; cf. lute duets: Valderravano 1547, ff. 45^v-47^r *Assiste parata*; Phalèse 1552, pp. 82-83 *Assiste parata*
- 77 219-20 GB-Cu Dd.5.78.3, ff. 58^v-59^r untitled; GB-Lam 603, f. 29^v *A phantazie*; Mylius 1622, pp. 38-39 *Fantasia*; cf. GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 28^v *Fantaz Ri Ali* - bandora; GB-Lbl Add.31392, ff. 40^v-41^r *Alfonso his Fantasie* - bandora [FerraboscoN 2; FerraboscoC ix, 2; AllisonR 17]. Based on theme of Clemens Non Papa's *Erravi sicut ovis*; cf. NL At 208.A.27, ff. 12^v-13^r *ERRAVI SICUT Ovis. 4. Vo 1.Pars Val Bac LXIII*; Bakfark 1565, ff. 5^v-6^v *Erravi sicut Ovis quae perit. 4 Voc. i pars. Cle non Papa*; Bakfark 1569, pp. 24-30 *Erravi sicut Ovis quae perit. 4 Voc. i pars. Cle non Papa*; Phalèse & Bellère 1571, ff. 80^v-81^v *ERavi sicut ovis a 4*. For vocal model see ClemensBK xii, p. 8 and xxi, p. 13
- 79 222-3 Ness 83: GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 18^r ii *fantazia*; GB-Lbl M.1353, f. 65^v untitled; cf. GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 16^r i *fantasia fran: de melan* [major 2nd higher]
- 80 223-4 GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 84^v-85^r *ffantazia*; GB-Lbl M.1353, f. 64^r *fantazia An holborne*; cf. GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 65^r untitled - bandora [HolborneS 2]
- 81 224-5 D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 42-43 *Fantasia 2 Raphael de Viola*
- 82 225-6 cf. Maschera 1584, p. 12 *Canzon duodecima* [à 4] [L'Uggiera]
- 83 226-8 Same theme as *Vola pensier*: Besard 1603, f. 41^v *Vola pensier transpositio Diomedis*; bars 11-13 of Besard 1603, ff. 24^v-25^r *Fantasia Diomedis*; and John Dowland's *fantasia*, Poulton & Lam 1/1a: B-Br Lit.26.369, no. 29 untitled [from bar 67]; GB-Cu Add.3056, ff. 8^v-9^r *John Dowlande BM*; GB-Gu Euing 25, ff. 16^v-17^r untitled; GB-Lbl Add.31392, ff. 13^v-14^v *A fantasie. Maister Dowland*; GB-Lbl Add.38539, ff. 14^v-15^r untitled; GB-Lbl Eg.2046, ff. 24^v-25^r *A Fantasia*; S-B PB fil.172, ff. 27^v-31^r *Fuga*; Besard 1603, ff. 170^v-171^v *Fantasia Ioannis Doolandi*; Dowland 1610, sigs. H1^r-H2^r *Fantasia. 7. Composed by Iohn Douland, Bachelor of Musicke*; and Poulton & Lam 74: GB Lbl Add.31392, f. 24^r untitled
- 84 228-9 Mylius 1622, p. 40 *Fantasia*
- 85 229-30 Mylius 1622, p. 41 *Fantasia*
- 90 237-9 cf. Maschera 1584, p. 4 *Canzon Quarta* [à 4]; Terzi 1593, pp. 61-62 *Canzona Terza* [4th higher]; Virchi 1574, p. 23 *Canzone di Florentio Maschera a 4* - cittern
- 91 239-40 CH-Bu F.IX.70, pp. 59-60 *Fantasia bellissima*
- 96 246-7 D-Hs ND VI 3238, pp. 36-37 *Fantasia Ortenzio* [PerlaPomponioR 2]
- 101 250-1 PL-LZu M 6983, ff. 65^v-66^r *Fuga Diomedi*
- 102 251-2 PL-LZu M 6983, ff. 66^v-67^r *Fuga Diomedi*;

	cf. PL-Tap Kat.II XIV 13a, no. 111 <i>Fuga</i>	113 268	cf. GB-Cfm Mus.689, f. 13 ^v <i>Fantasia</i>
	<i>Diomedes</i> - keyboard		<i>Diomedes</i>
104 253-4	D-LEm II.6.15, p. 37 <i>Fuga 7 A D</i> [lugoraj]	115 270-1	Fuhrmann 1615, pp. 15-16 <i>Fantasia de</i>
112 266-8	Six-note theme: Besard 1603, ff. 23 ^v -24 ^r <i>Fantasia</i>		<i>Pollac. 4</i>
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