

## AUTHORSHIP AND ATTRIBUTION IN THE WURSTISEN LUTE BOOK

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**Izvleček:** Tako imenovana Wurstisenova knjiga lutenjskih tabulatur (CH-Bu, Ms. F.IX.70) je izjemna antologija, ki vsebuje obsežen repertoar, zapisan v nemški lutenjski tabulaturi ob koncu 16. stoletja. Najbrž gre za zasebno glasbeno zbirko, zato le redkokatera skladba v knjigi vsebuje ime ali oznako avtorja. Pričujoča razprava obravnava in interpretira nekatere pripise oziroma navedke avtorjev. Raziskava navaja tudi vire, ki jih je utegnil imeti na razpolago Emanuel Wurstisen, in poznejše tiske, ki bi bili lahko povezani z njegovo knjigo.

**Ključne besede:** rokopisna lutenjska glasba, avtorstvo, atribucije, renesansa

**Abstract:** The so called Wurstisen Lute Book (CH-Bu, Ms. F.IX.70) is a remarkable anthology containing a huge repertory that was written down in German lute tablature at the end of the sixteenth century. Serving most likely as a private music collection, it relatively infrequently contains names or indications of authors. The present article deals with what the scribe has left in the way of indications, shedding more light on, and interpreting, some of them. Additionally, the research suggests some sources that may have been at the disposal of the compiler, Emanuel Wurstisen, or were possibly related to his book when they came to be printed years later.

**Keywords:** manuscript lute music, authorship, attribution, Renaissance

It is generally assumed that Emanuel Wurstisen compiled his remarkable lute manuscript between 1591 and 1594 while a student of medicine at Basel University.<sup>1</sup> The volume contains several hundred pieces of music distributed among eight sections (called “books” by the scribe) on the basis of genre. A disproportionately small number of them bear an attribution to an author, while the majority are left anonymous. One possible reason is that sources of this kind often served as private musical collections for their scribes and therefore had no need to mark the composers’ names, which the owner probably knew. When some were explicitly mentioned, however, this most probably signalled a special motivation. The full names of composers were written down relatively seldom. More often, Wurstisen placed initials next to the titles, although these may not necessarily have indicated authors’ names. This last idea is supported by examples to be discussed later in more detail.

The Wurstisen Lute Book remained unnoticed for a long time until, relatively recently, it at last gained a scholar’s interest. In 1988 John Kmetz published a repertory index of the manuscript where certain identifications were made and concordances identified.

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<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested, however, that he possibly continued to add pieces subsequently. See Leszczyńska, “Emanuel Wurstisen”, 6.

A few other scholars then studied the source and likewise deduced some of the personalities behind individual pieces, but our picture of the authors involved still remains far from complete. The identifications of authorship are rather limited and not always firm. In this paper I summarize the state of knowledge to date, to which I add my own observations and findings, in an attempt to clarify the musical paths, personalities, sources and tendencies leading to this particular monument of the late Renaissance period and its scribe.

The most frequently appearing composer's name, explicitly mentioned throughout the manuscript, is that of Orlando di Lasso. It is carefully written down by Wurstisen in literal form beside each of his compositions except for the German lied *Im Mayen*, which is left unattributed.<sup>2</sup> Most of the other Lasso compositions copied by Wurstisen, however, have a rather homogeneous origin. Thus the shortest section of the manuscript, the one containing Latin motets, includes as three of its four pieces (the first motet being in two parts) ones taken from the *Sacrae cantiones* published by the master at Nürnberg in 1562. Five of the secular titles – the villanesca *La cortesia*, *Madonna mia pietà* and *Sto core mio* plus the chansons *Aveques vous* and *Vray Dieu* – belong to the composer's earliest print (1555), published in Antwerp by Susato. The last three French chansons copied by Wurstisen – *Susanne ung jour*, *Bon jour mon coeur* and *Petit folle* – come from various of his prints dating from the 1560s onwards. All the included Lasso pieces and especially the secular ones figure prominently in the lute repertory of the second half of the sixteenth century, as witnessed by a number of anthologies, both manuscript and printed. Against this background Wurstisen's selection does not deviate from the main preferences and favourites of contemporary lutenists. Moreover, the supposition that these pieces were much liked by the scribe is reinforced by the multiple versions generally existing for some of them.

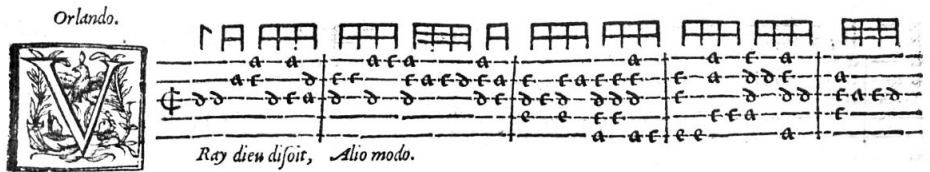
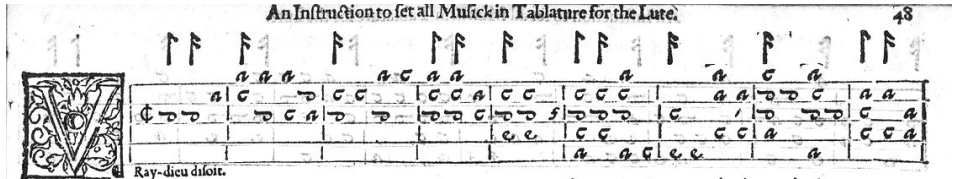
If the wide diffusion of those pieces and the fame and authority of Lasso leave no ambiguity or doubt about their origin, the question of the intabulators arranging them for lute requires more attention. In his inventory Kmetz identified two main sources from which the intabulations were copied: the two-volume print (1566) of Melchior Neusidler (1566<sub>2-3</sub>; this form of numbering refers to Brown's catalogue) and the *Theatrum Musicum Longe Amplissimum* printed by Pierre Phalèse in 1571 (1571<sub>6</sub>).<sup>3</sup> A close examination of the intabulations leads to the conclusion that the remarks of this scholar are in part correct. Similarly for the tracing of the Lasso motets back to the Italian intabulations of Neusidler, from which such pieces as *Aveques vous* and *Susanne ung jour* were likewise taken. More problematic is the case of the chanson *Vray Dieu*. Kmetz cites the same two prints mentioned above, but whereas Wurstisen's version is concordant with that of Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>), the other reference – to Neusidler (1566<sub>2</sub>) – is not equally plausible, since the latter contains a different version pitched a fourth higher. In contrast, a concordance for the Wurstisen version is encountered in another, earlier print of Phalèse – *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum* (1568<sub>7</sub>) – a fact already noted by Howard Mayer Brown in his bibliography.<sup>4</sup> Very similar and notated at the same pitch is Adrian Leroy's version in

<sup>2</sup> It was originally printed in *Neue teütsche Liedlein* (Munich, 1567).

<sup>3</sup> Kmetz, *Die Handschriften*, 212.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 235.

his manual *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction* (1574<sub>2</sub>), but with diminutions omitted. It may well be possible, therefore, that the original version for lute was made by him, this being published later with added ornaments by Phalèse, from whom Wurstisen copied the piece.



**Figures 1a–1d (from top to bottom)**

*Vray Dieu*, opening in Wurstisen (1a); Leroy, 1574<sub>2</sub> (1b); Phalèse, 1571<sub>6</sub> (1c); Melchior Neusidler, 1566<sub>2</sub> (1d).

In this connection, particular attention needs to be paid to two *villanesche*: *Madonna mia pietà* and *La Cortesia*. The first piece is copied twice by Wurstisen, with minor differences between the two versions. The second version features highly elaborate diminutions, whereas the first is rather simple. The latter finds a concordance in Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>), as mentioned by Kmetz. According to the bibliography of Howard Mayer Brown, this villanesca appeared in books for plucked instruments from the 1570s onwards, mostly in prints from Sixtus Kargel or Pierre Phalèse (for both lute and cittern). Although this is not mentioned in the studies consulted, the simpler version of Wurstisen bears considerable resemblance to the intabulation for lute in Kargel (1574<sub>1</sub>). The latter is somewhat more ornate at certain points, but if one ignores the ornamental figures, the basic texture is rather similar. Since Kargel's name appears on the title page of Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>), identifying him as one of the intabulators of the volume alongside Neusidler and Barbetta, this might

lend additional support to the idea that the version of *Madonna mia pietà* found there could have been made by him earlier as a simpler intabulation perhaps intended, like the whole book, for amateurs, and the source of Wurstisen's copy. Kargel's more elaborate version would therefore be a later revision published in his own print. This hypothesis, however, cannot be validated with certainty but is well supported by the pieces of music under discussion. Moreover, this would not be the only early Lasso piece intabulated by Kargel and later copied by the Basel student. The version of *La Cortesia* in the Wurstisen Lute Book, as Kmetz pointed out, is concordant with Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>), which in turn is concordant with Kargel (1574<sub>1</sub>), as noted by Brown. This last-mentioned example is absolutely clear, exhibiting the same version in all the cited copies. Moreover, some further Lasso pieces may have been arranged for lute by Kargel: these include *Sto core mio*, the version of which in Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>) is concordant with that in the Wurstisen Lute Book. At present, however, this is merely an unprovable assumption.

The hand of Melchior Neusidler, the great Bavarian lute virtuoso and exact contemporary of Lasso, is clearly indicated in the Wurstisen Lute Book. Apart from the already discussed arrangements of vocal music by Lasso, the Basel student copied Neusidler's arrangement of the madrigal *O s'io potessi donna* by Jacob van Berhem (printed in 1566<sub>2</sub> and again in Phalèse 1571<sub>6</sub>). Additionally, three fantasias are marked with Neusidler's monogram, as well as *Ein lieblicher gutter dantz* with its *Hupfauff*. While the latter composition comes unquestionably from the *Teutsch lautenbuch* (1574<sub>5</sub>), some of the fantasias raise further questions. Wurstisen's *Fantasia XV* is published in the same German print of Neusidler (1574<sub>5</sub>), and Neusidler's authorship of it is mentioned in a few further manuscript copies.<sup>5</sup> However, Phillip Hainhoffer, a pupil of Jean Baptist Besard, included the piece in his manuscript collection with an attribution to Fabrizio Dentice (fols. 10v–11v).<sup>6</sup> John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris discuss this *Fantasia* in their anthology *Neapolitan Lute Music*, writing: "While the stylistic features of these works point more to Newsidler than to Dentice, the case is by no means certain".<sup>7</sup> I do not wish to evaluate here all the published arguments regarding the piece's attribution, but considering that the piece appears only once attributed to Dentice, as against numerous direct or indirect pointers to Neusidler, I tend to believe that Wurstisen is correct in this matter.

*Fantasia X* is another piece with uncertain authorship. Ascribed to Neusidler by Wurstisen, it appeared in the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (1603) by Jean Baptiste Besard under the name of Laurencino Tracetii, also known as "Lorenzino del Liuto".<sup>8</sup> Leaving aside the fact that the *Fantasia* appears twice attributed to Lorenzino but only once to Neusidler, John H. Robinson remarks that "stylistically it fits better into the canon of music by Lorenzino and so was probably composed by him".<sup>9</sup> In previous research I have shown how this particular piece is constructed around a single thematic motif that is subjected

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Fantasias and Recercars*, XVI–XVII.

<sup>6</sup> The year of 1604 is stamped on the front-cover of the manuscript. Its first volume is accessible via the following link: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/18-7-aug-2f/start.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> Griffiths and Fabris, *Neapolitan Lute Music*, XIII.

<sup>8</sup> The same attribution is given in Cambridge University Library (GB-Cu), Add. 3056, fol. 21v.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson, *Fantasias and Recercars*, IX.

to various imitative treatments. In general terms, monothematic fantasias first emerge in the later part of the sixteenth-century lute repertory, and this fact supports Robinson's conclusion. But the question certainly needs further examination. What is certain about these two fantasias is, first, that they are ascribed to two authors important for Jean Baptiste Besard – Lorenzino and Fabrizio – and, second, that, being a pupil of Besard, Hainhoffer could easily have exchanged with his teacher certain attributions that were subsequently taken for granted and disseminated with no further questions asked.

*Fantasia VIII* is the third such piece attributed by Wurstisen to Neusidler. Little can be said about its origin: unlike the two previously discussed ones, this fantasia has only a single concordance, printed by Elias Mertel in *Hortus Musicalis* (1615) without an author's name. The fact that it requires a seven-course lute, however, suggests a connection to a later body of repertory.

Among the groups of pieces bearing a sign of attribution are seventeen compositions to which the initials "A. F." are attached. Those pieces were transcribed and discussed by John H. Robinson in 2001.<sup>9</sup> Robinson writes, "It is tempting to think that the initials stand for Alfonso Ferrabosco I of Bologna (1543–1588)", while recognizing that "the composer of these pieces is unknown".<sup>10</sup> Despite its ready association with Ferrabosco's name, the music itself provides no such certainty. On one hand, the artistic level of many of the compositions does not reach that of the firmly attributable music by him. Moreover, most of them (thirteen out of seventeen pieces) are intended for seven-course and even eight-course lute, whereas Ferrabosco's authenticated lute pieces generally call for the older six-course instrument. This composer enjoyed an international career across Italy, England and France, but the presence of two Polish dances bearing the "A. F." annotation in the Wurstisen Lute Book places additional doubt over his authorship. This hesitancy is reinforced by the subtitle in Polish of the one of the dances, which led Agnieszka Leszczyńska to conclude that "an Italian musician could hardly have composed a piece bearing such a title".<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the so-called *Passomezzo Laurenz A.F.* (Wurstisen Lute Book, fol. 232; here forth WLB, 232) "suggests someone other than Alfonso Ferrabosco as the composer".<sup>12</sup> This title, in my opinion, is enough to raise a suspicion that the initials did not refer to the composer of the music at all. Behind them could stand instead the maker of the lute intabulation, the source or person from which or whom the pieces were copied or something different that at present eludes us.

Especially interesting are the observations on the Polish connections of the Wurstisen Lute Book published in Agnieszka Leszczyńska's article. Leszczyńska mentions two pieces linked to the Polish lutenist Albert Dlugoraj that were both printed by Jean Baptiste Besard in 1603: *Fantasia I* and *Volte Alberti* (WLB, 295). Moreover, Leszczyńska pointed out that if the copy of his *Fantasia* belonged to the first stage of compiling the book, the Wurstisen Lute Book would emerge as the earliest source of Dlugoraj's music.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Robinson, "Music Ascribed to A. F.", 1.

<sup>11</sup> Leszczyńska, "Emanuel Wurstisen", 15.

<sup>12</sup> Robinson, "Music Ascribed to A. F.", 1.

<sup>13</sup> Leszczyńska, "Emanuel Wurstisen", 11.

The initials “C. S.” as Leszczyńska mentions, have been identified by Piotr Poźniak as belonging to another Polish lutenist, Kaspar Sielicki. Three pieces in the Wurstisen Lute Book bear these initials: *Passomezzo* (WLB, 120), *Ach hertziges herz so schmerz* (WLB, 238) and *XXIII Galliarda* (WLB, 303).

An interesting example of the full form of a name written next to a piece of music (the latter copied twice by the scribe) is the chorale *Was mein Gott will, das gschech allzeit*, attributed to a certain Amandus Polanus a Polansdorf. Agnieszka Leszczyńska’s detailed investigation into this person needs no exposition here. I would, however, point to the prominent role of Amandus, a Moravian, as a Calvinist theologian and professor at Basel’s university, a position that makes a relationship with Wurstisen less surprising.

A relationship between the Wurstisen Lute Book and the print of Jean Baptiste Besard (1603) is supported by several further concordances (some belonging to the Polish repertory). Two such examples are the *Chorea Polonica Diomedis Poloni* (WLB, 293), likewise attributed to Diomedes Cato by Besard,<sup>14</sup> and *Fantasia XIV*, later printed as a *Preal*, by Jacobus Reys.<sup>15</sup>

Agnieszka Leszczyńska has made an important suggestion about the initials “F. D. D.” and “F. D. D. D.”, respectively entered next to a *Passomezzo-Saltarello* (WLB, 169) and an *Exercitium* (WLB, 12). She believes that the Gdańsk-born lutenist Fridericus de Drusina Dantiscanus, son of Benedict de Drusina, stands behind both the initials and the music.

Such a relationship between Wurstisen and North-German lutenists is not isolated. The father, Benedict de Drusina, is the person who (to my knowledge) was the first to publish, in his print of 1556<sub>2</sub>, the Basel source’s *Fantasia XIII*. This piece appeared in several more sources around the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next century, including Mattheus Waissel (1592<sub>1,2</sub>) and once again Besard’s print of 1603, along with a few others.<sup>16</sup> The mentioned print by Waissel also contains a concordance of the second of Wurstisen’s *recercari*.

We have already encountered Jean Baptiste Besard several times, his important print of 1603 having numerous concordances with the Wurstisen Lute Book. I would like to draw attention here to two pieces attributed to him personally. The first, entitled *Chorea Austriaca* (WLB, 293), clearly bears the name of Besard, who published it anonymously in his anthology (WLB, 133r) as an *Allemande*. The second piece is a *Volte d. Be.*, which has not hitherto been identified as a piece by Besard. I have found, however, a concordance at the end of his print (WLB, 160r) that in my opinion establishes the reliability of Wurstisen’s attribution.

<sup>14</sup> There are certain divergences between the two copies that are discussed in more detail by Leszczyńska. See Leszczyńska, “Emanuel Wurstisen”, 12.

<sup>15</sup> In her research into the Polish connections of the Wurstisen Lute Book Leszczyńska has not mentioned this particular *Fantasia*, which appeared later as a *Preludio* by Reys and was reprinted with no composer’s name by Mertel (1615). This connection was, however, noted by John H. Robinson. See Robinson, *Fantasias and Recercars*, xvi.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*



Figures 2a–2b (from top to bottom)

Volte d. Be. in the Wurstisen Lute Book (2a) and in Besard, 1603 (2b).

I would like to focus now on a few pieces belonging to the free genres, which on one hand bear some author's names, but on the other do not reveal much about their origin. I have in mind *Praeambulum I* and *Praeambulum III*, to which the name of Julius Bischoff is attached. Bischoff is not associated with any another piece by Wurstisen, and up till now I have no information about any lutenist or composer so named.

Concerning Mattheus Weissel, it is necessary to discuss the attribution of *Praeludium IV* and *Praeambulum V* to him – not by the scribe but, quite puzzlingly, by John Kmetz. The latter suggests a concordance with the first two pieces in Weissel's earlier print (1573<sub>3</sub>). A closer look at the music, however, reveals no similarity between the pieces in the two sources and leaves open what Kmetz had in mind by referring to Weissel.

The first part of the Wurstisen Lute Book contains two more preludios providing certain clues to their origin. *Praeludium XXIII* has the initials "E. M.", suggesting an association with Elias Mertel. Since no concordance or other clue leading to Mertel is known, the authorship of this piece must remain in doubt. Different is the case with the next piece, a *Praeambulum XXIV Equitis. Rom.* It is well known that the sobriquet "Eques Romanus" refers to the lutenist Lorenzino, whose music (or music attributed to him) emerges as a principal element in Besard's *Thesaurus* of 1603. The piece is transcribed and published by John H. Robinson but not discussed individually, forming part of a wider collection of preludios by Lorenzino.<sup>17</sup> The lute database of Peter Steuer and Markus Lutz, however, identifies six concordances for this particular composition under various titles.<sup>18</sup> A closer look at the sources reveals that these are not exact concordances but different versions of the same piece. While the harmonic structure is more or less common to them, the characteristic elaborated figures occurring between the chords vary widely. That said, at least half of them refer explicitly to "Eques Romanus" and/or Lorenzino (for instance, Besard's *Thesaurus*, the *Hainhoffer Lute Book* and the *Cozens Lute Book*).

<sup>17</sup> It is published in Robinson, "Lorenzino's Preludes and Toccatas", 1.

<sup>18</sup> Music for Lute Instruments, accessed 20 November 2020, <https://mss.slweiss.de/index.php?id=1&type=ms&ms=CH-BuF.IX.70&mssABC=C&lang=eng&instr=all&st=20>.

Concerning the Italian part of Wurstisen's repertory, I must mention here one of his last fantasias, which is also among the final pieces copied into his manuscript: one by Pomponio da Bologna. There are no known concordances of the composition, and nothing certain is known about that name, but the Basel book emerges as one of the few sources to contain music by this composer.

Emanuel Wurstisen left several inscriptions of initials or names about which little or nothing can be really said. "Mons. de Varennes" is one example. Two pieces in the manuscript claimed to be compositions by him are the only known music ascribed to such a person. No leads to his identity have been found, to my knowledge. Similar is the situation with "Hyer[onim?]. Vully", who is associated with a *Tantz* (WLB, 289) and *Galliarda* (WLB, 317), and with "Gio. Maria Romana", author of a single *Galliarda* (WLB, 314).

At the end of his manuscript Wurstisen copied another galliard, this time ascribed to Victoris de Montbuison, who, unlike the persons just mentioned, is very familiar. This French lutenist belongs to the generation of Wurstisen himself, and several sources from the end of sixteenth century contain a few pieces by him. The *Galliarda* in the Wurstisen Lute Book bears a very considerable similarity to one of the three galliards printed by Besard in 1603. However, this is a case of a related piece rather than a concordance in the full sense.

Some of the initials adjoining certain pieces have already been discussed in this article. I would like to pay attention at this point to one particular case: specifically, the *Galliarda V. B.* (WLB, 299). Agnieszka Leszczyńska speculates in the direction of the prominent Hungarian lutenist Valentin Bakfark, which I think is not a plausible attribution in terms of style and repertory. True, she discusses the situation with due caution, writing that "the initials V. B. found in the tablature CH-Bu, F IX 70 may designate another musician, or the piece may have been wrongly attributed to Bakfark under the influence of that artist's legendary status".<sup>19</sup> However, Leszczyńska does not mention the discussion of the Bolognese composer Vincenzo Bernia and his solo lute pieces published by John H. Robinson, where the author convincingly attributes the galliard copied by Wurstisen to that composer.<sup>20</sup>

There are three further initials that at the present time remain unclear. These are "C. P. R." for a *Passomezzo-Saltarello* (WLB, 198–199), "F. P." for *Wan ich für das Hauss spatzieren* (WLB, 260) and "L. B." for a *Passamezzo* (WLB, 145).

These initials, juxtaposed to various pieces of music, do not necessarily refer to the actual authors of those pieces. This situation is frequently encountered among sources from this period, where the letters in question sometimes appear side by side with some fully written-out name (of the presumed composer). An example of this procedure is provided by *Fantasia XVIII*, which supplements the title with "Jud. Wormaciensis G. L.". The piece itself is widely disseminated in lute literature and can be found in prints of Emanuel Adriansen of Antwerp (1584<sub>6</sub>, 1600). John H. Robinson compares the first part of the inscription with the name "Juden von Mainz", the author of two lute fantasias

<sup>19</sup> Leszczyńska, "Emanuel Wurstisen", 12.

<sup>20</sup> See Robinson, "Vincenzo Bernia of Bologna", 1. Let me remind that among the not too many sources of Bernia's music is the 1617 edition of Besard's *Novus Partus*.



in other manuscripts, having in mind the closeness of the two German towns – Mainz and Worms. He writes that “could be the initials of the person who made the lute arrangement from music for other instruments composed by Juden Wormaciensis, although G. L. could also refer to something other than a name”.<sup>21</sup> Although not impossible, I think nothing certain proves the existence of one lutenist moving between Mainz and Worms. Moreover, the full word ‘Juden’ behind the abbreviation “Jud.” should be read as ‘Jew’ or ‘Jews’, keeping in mind that Mainz and Worms were important centres of Jewish settlement. Thus the initials G. L. could belong to a person, probably a Jew from Worms, from whom the piece was heard and/or copied. These scattered hints make the idea of the origin of the piece obscurer rather than clearer. It is obvious, however, that the fantasia is intended, at least by Wurstisen and Adriansen, for a seven-course lute, and this fact unquestionably points to a period after the mid-1570s – that is, one closer to the lifetime of Wurstisen himself.

The case with three other fantasias is different. *Fantasia II* has multiple concordances going back to 1546, when it appeared as Joan Maria da Crema’s “recercar undecimo”. It was reprinted many times – by Gerle, Phalèse, Heckel and Mertel – and is listed by Arthur Ness as a piece by Francesco da Milano (under the number 84 in Ness’s book).<sup>22</sup> It is important to add that Wurstisen’s *Fantasia XIX* is an elaborated version of the same piece and that a very close variant of it was published by Elias Mertel in 1615. Leaving aside the contested authorship of this *Fantasia*, what is definite is that it belongs to an earlier repertory, preceding the Wurstisen copy by almost half a century. In other words, it may well have been regarded as a “classical” piece by the end of the century.

Another fantasia copied by Wurstisen is included in Ness’s list of music by Francesco da Milano (1497–1543). This is *Fantasia IV* in the Basel manuscript, which is not a literal concordance but rather an elaborated version of a “ricercha” (Ness 75). What makes those two pieces dubious as part of da Milano’s legacy is the fact that they appear in only two sources: respectively, the Wurstisen Lute Book and the *Cavalcanti Manuscript*, which, coincidentally or not, both originate from the start of the 1590s. So there are no known traces of the music from a period closer to the life of the great master. Moreover, the scholar Victor Coelho inclines to the view that “the majority of the *Cavalcanti* fantasias attributed to Francesco are probably not authentic [...]”: one should rather view them as music composed “in the style of”, thus probably imitating to some extent the manner of Francesco.<sup>23</sup>

Wurstisen wrote out several chansons composed during the first part or the middle of the century, probably as a part of the “classical” repertory in the lute anthologies. These are three chansons by Claudin de Sermisy – *Il es[t] jour, Orcum bien [O combien]* and *Languir me fait [fais]*, the very famous chanson *Doulce memoire* by Pierre Sandrin and *Je prens en gre* by Clemens non Papa. At the other end of the chronological frame are two famous *canzonette* by Orazio Vecchi: *Mentrogo compai contento [Mentre io compai]* and *Il col che mi rubosti [rubasti]*. Vecchi’s two pieces are exactly contemporary with the

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<sup>21</sup> Robinson, *Fantasias and Recercars*, ix.

<sup>22</sup> Ness, *Lute Music*, 216.

<sup>23</sup> Coelho, “Reputation of Francesco da Milano”, 71.

manuscript of Wurstisen, perhaps being copied at some later stage of the book's compilation. This hypothesis receives support from the positioning of the intabulations at the end of the part dedicated to arrangements of secular vocal music.

All that has been said so far leads to the following conclusions: (1) The music in Wurstisen's collection had a predominantly continental, in particular a central European, origin. (2) The works it contains have a wide chronological span stretching approximately from the 1540s to the very end of the century or the beginning of the next one. This particular early repertory can be often traced out in sources from the last decades of the century. The contemporary pieces often belong to persons little-known or even completely unknown today. Music originating from the 1560s and 1570s predominates with regard to both authority and quantity. (3) The highest degree of authority in the Wurstisen Lute Book belongs to Orlando di Lasso. This is not surprising, bearing in mind the high regard and glittering career Lasso enjoyed in his lifetime. Lute arrangements of his music, both sacred and secular, form a significant part of the repertory from the second half of the century. In this respect Wurstisen shared the common tastes and preferences of his milieu. Melchior Neusidler emerges as a second celebrity respected and copied by Wurstisen. The exact contemporary of Lasso, this great lutenist belonged to the most prominent virtuosos of his time and was especially influential in central Europe. (4) The concordances clearly reveal some of the sources on which Wurstisen drew and the sources that might have been copied from, or influenced by Wurstisen. As a result of the research presented here, the print by Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>) and probably Neusidler (1574<sub>5</sub>) emerge as very possible sources accessible to the scribe. All the pieces originating from Melchior Neusidler's print (1566<sub>2-3</sub>) find themselves copied in Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>). That notwithstanding, certain pieces in Wurstisen are clearly concordant with the latter, whereas in the former a different version of the same piece is published (*Vray dieu* is such an example). This leads to a conclusion that Wurstisen probably had access to Phalèse (1571<sub>6</sub>), but not to Neusidler (1566<sub>2</sub>).

The Wurstisen Lute Book demonstrates an indisputable relationship with Jean Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus*. If, as is assumed, the former precedes the latter by about a decade, how was it possible that the student in Basel had in his hands music printed only much later, if he had not earlier been in contact with Besard and his circle? Moreover, the manner of distribution of the Wurstisen source among its eight "books" according to genre offers another clear parallel with Besard's print (and with the *Hainhoffer Lute Book* as well), while the same is not evident in earlier lute collections.

These conclusions naturally need additional proofs, but they already suggest possible interrelationships between personalities and sources in the very late sixteenth century. The investigation also evidences the uncertain and flexible meaning of marks and inscriptions, which we are often tempted to interpret too readily as the initials of composers (rather than of arrangers, owners or places of origin).

## Appendix

### Table

Concordances and cognates of *Wurtisen lute book*. The sign \* will be used for cognates. All call numbers of the concordances listed here are reproduced exactly as named in the database of Peter Steuer and Markus Lutz, cited above in footnote 18.

Number in source	Title	Concordances <sup>†</sup> and/or cognates
24	Praeambulium Equitis. Rom.*	D-LEm, II.6.15, untitled, 62; CZ-Pnm, IV.G.8, <i>Tocata</i> , fol. 43v; Besard (1603), <i>Praelud. Equitis Romani</i> , fol. 10v; GB-Cu, Add.3056, <i>Exercitiu(m) Equitis Romani</i> , fol. 29v; PL-Kj, 40143, <i>Fuga equitis Romani</i> , fol. 33v; D-Dl, 1-V-8 (Loss), <i>Praeambulium del Cavaglier del liuto</i> , fol. 75v; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, III., <i>Praeambulium</i> , fol. 7v
25 (1)	Orland. Benedicam Dominum. Prima Pars	M. Neusidler (1566 <sub>3</sub> ), 10; D-Mbs, 1627, fol. 3v; Phalèse, 1571 <sub>6</sub> , fol. 89v; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), G4r; Kargel (1586 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 28v
	In Domino laudabitur. Secunda Pars.	M. Neusidler (1566 <sub>3</sub> ), 12; D-Mbs, 1627, fol. 4v; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 90v; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), G4r; Kargel (1586 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 29v
26 (3)	Omnia quae fecisti. Orland.	Neusidler (1566 <sub>3</sub> ), 2; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 84v; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), F4r; Kargel (1586 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 18v; D-B, 40632, fol. 43v
27 (4)	In me transierunt. Orland.	Neusidler (1566 <sub>3</sub> ), 6; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 85v; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), G1v
29 (1)	Fantasia	Besard (1603), <i>Fantasia Alberti Dlugorai Poloni</i> , fol. 27r
30 (2)	Fantasia	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 56; I-Fn, Magl.XIX.168, fol. 11v [Ness, <i>Lute Music</i> , no. 84]; Mertel (1615), 140; Crema (1546 <sub>10</sub> ), B4v [Ness App. 14]; Phalèse (1549 <sub>8</sub> ), B2r; Gerle (1552 <sub>1</sub> ), C1r
32 (4)	Fantasia*	B-Br, II.275, fol. 37r [Ness, <i>Lute Music</i> , no. 75]
35 (7)	Fantasia (on “Vestiva i colli”)	Adriaenssen (1584 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 35r; Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 21v; Adriaenssen (1600), fol. 18v; B-Br, 16.663, fol. 9v; Besard (1603), fol. 43v; CDN-Mc, fol. 56r; D-Dl, 1-V-8, fol. 3v; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.38v; Galilei (1568 <sub>2</sub> ), 15; Galilei (1584), 26; GB-H, AC23, 22; GB-Lbl, Add29247, fol. 43r; I-COc, 1-1-20, fol. 82v; I-Moe, C311, fol. 41r; I-PE, Salb2-33, fol. 29v; I-PE, Salb2-34, fol. 85v; I-PE, Salb2-34, fol. 94v; Melii(III) (1616), 25; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 182r; PL-Kj, 40032, 10, 12; Rude (1600), B4v; Terzi (1593 <sub>1</sub> ), 19
36 (8)	Fantasia M. N.	Mertel (1615), 52

**Table**  
(continued)

Number in source	Title	Concordances <sup>1</sup> and/or cognates
38 (10)	Fantasia M. N.	GB-Cu, Add.3056, <i>Fantasia Laurentini</i> , fol. 21v; Besard (1603), <i>Fantasia Laurenc.</i> , fol. 14r
41 (13)	Fantasia <sup>‡</sup>	Drusina (1556 <sub>2</sub> ), A4r; Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), G3r; Besard (1603), fol. 35r; UA-LVu, 1400, fol. 44r
42 (14)	Fantasia	Besard (1603), <i>Preal. Iac. Reys</i> , fol. 10r; Mertel (1615), 53 [Praeludia]
43 (15)	Fantasia M. N.	B-Br, 275, fol. 97v; D-LEm, 6-15, III.10v; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, <i>Phantasia Fabritius Dentici</i> , III.10v; D-Mbs, 266, fol. 93v; PL-Kj, 40598, fol. 31v; A-Wn, S.M.8967, fol. 4r; Neusidler (1574 <sub>5</sub> ), N2v
46 (18)	Fantasia Jud. Wormaciensis G. L.	Adriaenssen (1584 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 4r; Adriaenssen (1600), fol. 4r; D-KNh, R 242, <i>Fantasia Emanuelis Adriani</i> , fol. 28r; D-Lr, 2000, 41; D-Ngm, 33748-1, fol. 80v; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 156r; D-KA, Mus.Bd.A.678, fol. 20v
47 (19)	Fantasia Commune D. M.	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 41; I-Fn, Magl.XIX.168, fol. 11v [Ness, <i>Lute Music</i> , no. 84]; Mertel (1615), 140; Crema (1546 <sub>10</sub> ), B4v [Ness App. 14]; Phalèse (1549 <sub>8</sub> ), B2r; Gerle (1552 <sub>1</sub> ), C1r
48	Fantasia di Napoli	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Ricercar</i> , 77
51	Fantasia Belissima	Mertel (1615), 239
53 (3)	Si purdi guardo*	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Allein nach dir Herr</i> , 96, 320; D-W, Guelf. 18.7 I., <i>Allein nach dir Herr</i> , fols. 25v, 26v; Gorzani (1563 <sub>8</sub> ), fol. 60r; IRL-Dtc, 410-1, <i>Si pur ti guardo</i> , 30, 76, 105; Jobin (1572), B1v; NL-Lt, 1666, <i>Si pur ti guardo</i> , fols. 167r, 168r; Phalèse (1552 <sub>11</sub> ), 34; Phalèse (1563 <sub>12</sub> ), fol. 37r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 26r; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), <i>Si pur ti guardo</i> , fol. 58r; PL-Kj, 40032, <i>Se pur ti guardo</i> , 72; Rotta (1546 <sub>15</sub> ), <i>Se pur ti</i> , fol. 35r; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), <i>Se pour ti</i> , C4r
54 (4)	Je prens en gre	Drusina (1556 <sub>2</sub> ), 28; Heckel (1556 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 137r*; Jobin (1572 <sub>1</sub> ), D2r*; Phalèse (1545 <sub>2</sub> ), 62*; Phalèse (1547 <sub>9</sub> ), A2r*; Phalèse (1549 <sub>8</sub> ), E1v*; Phalèse (1552 <sub>11</sub> ), 23*; Phalèse (1563 <sub>12</sub> ), fol. 13v*; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 19v*; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 27v*; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), D2r*

55 (5)	Dulce memorie	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 83; D-B, 40632, fol. 18v*; D-Mbs, 266, fols. 52r, 90v*; D-DEI, BB 12150, fol. 74v; D-Mbs, 2987, fol. 10v; Drusina (1556 <sub>2</sub> ), 59*; Heckel (1556 <sub>3</sub> ), 152*; IRL-Dtc, 410-1, 110*; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 173r; Phalèse (1547 <sub>9</sub> ), C3r*; Phalèse (1549 <sub>8</sub> ), F2v*; Phalèse (1552 <sub>11</sub> ), 50*; Phalèse (1563 <sub>12</sub> ), fol. 15r*; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 13v*; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 23v*; Phalèse (1574 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 22r*; PL-Kj, 40032, 86*; PL-Kj, 40598, fol. 57v*; Rippe (1562 <sub>9</sub> ), fol. 8v*; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), C2v
56 (6)	Gott is mein Liecht*	A-Wn, 19259, fol. 10v; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 155v; Phalèse (1563 <sub>12</sub> ), fol. 36r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 26v; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 32r; PL-Kj, 40598, fol. 58v; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), B2v
57 (7)	Orcum bien (= O combien est)*	Phalèse (1546 <sub>18</sub> ), fol. 12v; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 21v
58 (8)	La cortesia	Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 52v; Kargel (1574 <sub>1</sub> ), D4v
59 (9)	In Meyenn	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 74*; D-LEM, 6-15, XI.17v*
62 (12)	Recercar	Waissel (1592 <sub>11</sub> ), <i>Fantasia 4</i> , G4r
63 (13)	Recercar	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Fantasia di Napoli</i> , 57
66 (16)	Susanne ung jour. A cinq. Orland.	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 17r*; Besard (1603), fol. 57v*; D-Mbs, 266, fol. 13v; Neusidler (1566 <sub>3</sub> ), 18; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), H4r; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 71v; PL-Kj, 40032, 46*
68 (18)	Proficiat. alio modo.	Jobin (1573 <sub>2</sub> ), <i>Dantz Proficiat</i> , fol. 22r
70 (20)	Bon jour mon coeur. Orland.	Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 50v
71 (21)	Bon jour mon coeur. Orlando Lassus. M.N.	Neusidler (1574 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 53r
72 (22)	Bon jour mon coeur. Orland.	Kargel (1574 <sub>1</sub> ), B3v
73 (23)	Madonna mia pieta. Orland.	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 100*; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 52r; Kargel (1574 <sub>1</sub> ), D4; D-SI, G.I.4(2), fol. 57r
74 (24)	Sto core mio. Orland.	Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 52v
76 (26)	Avecques vous. Orland.	Neusidler (1566 <sub>2</sub> ), 12; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), C3r; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 46r; Adriaenssen (1584 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 15v*
81 (31)	Languir me fait	Gerle (1546 <sub>9</sub> ), V2r; D-Mbs, 266, fol. 128v; D-Mbs, 272, fol. 11r*; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), C2r*
83 (33)	Vray Dieu disoit. Orlando.	A-Wn, 19259, fol. 6r; D-DI, 1-V-8, fols. 91v, 92r; Denss (1594 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 93v*; LeRoy (1574 <sub>2</sub> ), fol. 48r; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 197v; Phalèse (1563 <sub>12</sub> ), fol. 30r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 37r; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), 44; PL-Kj, 40032, 90
85 (35)	O s'io potessi donna	Neusidler (1566 <sub>2</sub> ), 2; Neusidler (1573 <sub>1</sub> ), B2r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 31v; Phalèse (1571 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 55v

**Table**  
(continued)

Number in source	Title	Concordances <sup>1</sup> and/or cognates
96 (45)	Mentrogò compai	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 105*; Besard (1603), fol. 42r*; D-Sl, G.I.4(2), fol. 49r*; D-KNh, R 242, fol. 253v*; Denss (1594 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 24r; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.13v; Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), G1v*
97 (46)	Il cor che mi rubasti	D-Dl, 1-V-8, fol. 73r; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.14v; Denss (1594 <sub>5</sub> ), fol. 25r
105	J'aij trouve	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Branle J'ai trouve</i> , 318*; Besard (1603), fol. 81v
107a (1)	Passomezò (p. 114)	Wecker (1552 <sub>10</sub> ), e1v
107b	Il sua Saltarello (p. 115)	Wecker (1552 <sub>10</sub> ), e2v
110	Passomezò Laurentii (p. 118)	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Passomezò Laurentz. A.F.</i> , 232
111	Passomezò dela Galliarde (p. 120)	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Gagliarda</i> , 304
113a (3)	Passomezò (p. 122)	I-BDG, Chilesotti, 22
113b	Saltarello (p. 123)	I-BDG, Chilesotti, 23
126 (6)	Passomezò*	D-Lem, ms.II.6.15., <i>Dlugorai Lute Book</i> , 34
130a	Passomezò in G#	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>2</sub> ), fol. 75v
130b	Galliarde	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 76v; D-Bhove 1, fol. 171r
130	Passomezò in G# (p. 148) <i>Tertia Parte</i>	D-KNh, R242, fol. 18r
142 (1)	Passomezò	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 162; CH-Bu, F. X.11, fol. 14r
143a (2)	Passomezò	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 122v
154b (13)	Saltarello	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fols. 133r, 134r
156 (15)	Passomezò	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 160r
174a	Passomezò	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 77r
174b	Galliarde	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 78r
180 (4)	Saltarello	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 12r*
185 (1)	Passomezò	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 202
186 (2)	Passomezò	D-LEm, 6-6 IV, fol. 12v
193 (9)	Passomezò	Waissel (1591 <sub>13</sub> ), H3v*
194 (10)	Passomezò	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 225
219 (3)	Ein polischer Tantz*	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Potorae Königin Inn Polen Tantz</i> , 288

225 (9)	Ich bin zu lange gewesenn*	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fols. 56v, 57r; Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), G1r
226 (10)	Tantz*	CH-Bu, F.IX.11, <i>Salve puella</i> , fol. 5v
227 (11)	Les bouffons*	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 240; CH-Bu, F.IX.11, fol. 19v
231 (15)	Buss beyss mich nicht*	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 257; CH-Bu, F.X.11, fol. 12r; D-W, Guelf. 18.8, IV.38v; Dalza (1508 <sub>2</sub> ), <i>Pavana alla venetiana</i> , fol. 11v; Gardano (1611), <i>Bassa imperial</i> , 25; Negri (1604), <i>Bassa imperial</i> , 206
238 (23)	Was wöllen wir uff*	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 15r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 57r
239 a, b (24)	Was wöllen wir uff	CH-Bu, F.X.11, fol. 17v; D-W, Guelf. 18.8, IV.32v*
242 (27)	Dantz	Hecke (1556 <sub>3</sub> ), 121
244 (29)	Jungfrauw Christina dantz	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 255
245 (30)	Studiosorum chorea	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, <i>Studenten tantz</i> , fol. 8v*; CH-Bu, F.X.11, fol. 8r; CH-Bu, F.X.11, <i>Helena tantz</i> ; D-KNh, R 242, fol. 217v; D-W, Guelf. 18.8, IV.39v*; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 76r*
247 (32)	Studiosorum chorea. Alio modo	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 76r*
249 (34)	Man ladt uns*	Adriaenssen (1584 <sub>6</sub> ), <i>Almande de don Federico</i> , fol. 86v; CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 248, 249; D-B, 40141, fol. 94r; D-DI, M297, 74; D-Hvonbusch, Herhold, fol. 16v; D-KI, Montbuysson, fol. 26v; D-KNh, R 242, fol. 228v; Hove (1601), fol. 100v
250 (35)	Man ladt uns. Alio modo*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8, IV.3, fols. 20v, 3r; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), M1v
253 (38)	Schwartzknab der Hoffdantz*	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 13v; D-B, 40588, 63, 72; D-KA, Au1, fols. 2r, 5r; D-Mbs, 1512, fol. 44v; D-Rou, Med3, fol. 148r; D-USch, 131b, fol. 4v; Heckel (1556 <sub>3</sub> ), 153
254 (39)	Der Bettler dantz*	A-Wn, 41950, fol. 12v; D-B, 40588, 71; D-Mbs, 1512, fol. 49v; Heckel (1556 <sub>3</sub> ), 151; Newsidler (1547 <sub>4</sub> ), C3v; PL-Kj, W510, fol. 45r; PL-Wrk, 352, fol. 65v
256 (41)	Jungfrauw Gretta dantz	Waissel (1591 <sub>13</sub> ), E3v
258 (43)	Mit lieb bin ich umbfangenn*	CH-Bu, F.X.11, fol. 16r; D-DEI, BB 12150, fol. 46v; PL-Kj, 40143, fol. 93v
262 (46)	Ich weiss mir ein stoltze Müllerin	Jobin (1573 <sub>2</sub> ), <i>Dantz</i> , fol. 27v; Newsidler (1540 <sub>1</sub> ), B1v*; Newsidler (1544 <sub>3</sub> ), C2v*; Newsidler (1547 <sub>4</sub> ), B4v*
264 (49)	Chorea*	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 217v
267 (52)	Dantz	Jobin (1573 <sub>2</sub> ), fol. 26v
271 (56)	Heckherlin*	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 76v

**Table**  
(continued)

Number in source	Title	Concordances <sup>1</sup> and/or cognates
283 (68)	Ein lieblicher guther dantz. M.N.	Neusidler (1574 <sub>5</sub> ), K2r
284 (69)	Wo geht die Bamberger*	Newsidler (1544 <sub>3</sub> ), B2v; Newsidler (1547 <sub>4</sub> ), B2v
301 (77)	Der Marüscheat dantz*	D-Mbs, 1512, fol. 46v; Heckel (1556 <sub>5</sub> ), 147
304 (80)	Venus du und dein kind*	Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), G1
305 (81)	Venus du. Alio modo*	D-B, 40141, fol. 85r; D-SI, G.I.4(1), fol. 39v
313 (89)	Ganz lustig*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8 IV.20v, fol. 33r
314 (90)	Ich gieng einmal spazieren*	D-SI, G.I.4(1), fol. 40r
321 (97)	Wolauß gut gesell*	D-B, 40141, fol. 78r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 52v
325 (101)	Dein bin ich einmal frei	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 58v*; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.36v*; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 50r
331 (107)	Ach meidlin fahr	CH-Bu, F.X.11, fol. 10v; D-USch, 131b, fol. 3v*
332 (108)	Wie möcht ich frölich	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 244; Newsidler (1574 <sub>5</sub> ), K4r*; PL-Kj, 40598, fol. 128v*
341 (117)	Hennen dantz*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8., fol. 43r
342 (118)	Dantz*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8 / IV.19r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 63v; Terzi (1599 <sub>11</sub> ), 22
346 (122)	Es ist ein bawr*	DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 77r
348 (124)	Ach hertziges hertz*	D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.18r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 21r; CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 264, 290
349 (125)	Ach wehe mir ist	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 65v
353 (129)	Ich gieng einmal*	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Allemande</i> , 283; CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Dantz</i> , 285; CZ-Pnm, XIII B 237, fol. 3v; D-LEm, 6–15 / XIII., fols. 2v, 8v; D-SI, G.I.4(1), fol. 40v, <i>Ball Alemanno</i> ; D-W, Guelf. 18.8 IV., fol. 23v, <i>Deutscher Dantz</i> ; F-Pn, 29, <i>Principio della Monicha</i> , fol. 4r; F-Pn, 941, <i>Allemande</i> , fol. 9r; I-Fn, XIX30, fol. 5v; I-Nc, 7664, fol. 70v; I-PE, Salb, Ms. 2–34, fol. 84r; I-PE, Salb, Ms. 2–34, fol. 86v; I-PES, Ms. C–b14, fol. 2v; LT-Vs, Ms. 285-MF-LXXIX, fol. 2v
374	Bransle d'Angleterre	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 204r
375	Courante	CZ-Pnm, IV G 18, fol. 32v; D-B, 4022, fol. 43v
378	Chorea Austriaca à Besardo composta	Besard (1603), <i>Allemande</i> , fol. 133r



379	Courante de Mons: Bocquet tres excellente	Besard (1603), <i>Courante de seur Jacob Reys</i> , fol. 159r
381	Chorea Polonica Diomedis Poloni	Besard (1603), fol. 138v
382	Ballet de Mons. de Varenes	Besard (1603), fol. 149r; PL-Kj, 40143, fol. 60v
383	Branle de Poictou	Besard (1603), fol. 141v
385	Ach liebste	Besard (1603), <i>Galliarda Ioannis Dooland</i> , fol. 120v; D-Dl, 1-V-8, fol. 14v*; D-Ngm, 33748-1, fol. 16r*; GB-Cu, Dd 2.11, fol. 99v*; GB-Cu, Dd 4.22, fol. 6v*; GB-Cu, Dd 9.33, fol. 4r*; GB-Ge, 25, fol. 21r*; GB-H, AB1, fol. 95v*; GB-Lam, 603, fol. 16r*; GB-Lbl, Add38539, fol. 15v*; GB-Lcm, Loan 2029-01, fol. 7v*; IRL-Dtc, 408-1, 17*
387	Volte d. Be	Besard (1603), fol. 160r
388	Volte Alberti	Besard (1603), <i>Villanellae Alberti Dlugorai</i> , fol. 48r; D-KNu, 6745, <i>Villanella Polo</i> , 10
391 (2)	Galliarde	D-Lem, 6-15, VI, fol. 16v
395 (6)	Galliarde Noricirum	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 311
401 (12)	Galliarde* (Cara Cosa)	D-Mbs, 266, fol. 31v; D-Mbs, 272, fol. 7v; D-Z, 115-3, 7; Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), E3v
401 (14)	Alio modo (Cara Cosa)	A-Wn, 18688, fol. 25r*; Abondante (1546 <sub>1</sub> ), C1v*; Bianchini (1546 <sub>3</sub> ), C1v*; CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 16r; D-Mbs, 1511b, fols. 12v*, 22r*; D-Mbs, 266, fol. 30r*; D-Mbs, 270, fol. 3v*; D-Mbs, 270, fol. 3v*; Gerle (1552 <sub>1</sub> ), N1r*; IRL-Dtc, 410-1, 175
401 (15)	Alio modo (Cara Cosa)	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 6r; D-Mbs, 266, fols. 30v*, 31r*; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, II.49r; D-Z, 115_3, 6; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 4v*; PL-WRk, 352, fol. 75v
402 (16)	Galliarde (Val Cercha)	D-B, 40141, fol. 93v*; F-LYm, 6244, fol. 12v*; LeRoy (1568 <sub>3</sub> ), <i>Gaillard Milanoise</i> , fol. 36v; NL-Lt, 1666, fol. 24r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), fol. 82r; Waissel (1573 <sub>3</sub> ), L4v; DK-Kk, Thott 841, 51av; Morlaye (1558 <sub>3</sub> ), <i>Gaillarde piemontoise</i> , fol. 22r
404 (18)	Galliarde	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 136v*; I-Fgalileo, Ms.Gal. 6, 254*; Morlaye (1558 <sub>3</sub> ), fol. 22v*; Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), F3r*
406 (20)	Galliarde*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8, VI.6v; Besard (1603), fol. 108v
407 (21)	Galliarde*	Waissel (1592 <sub>12</sub> ), F2v
414 (27)	Bella Gagliarda*	D-W, Guelf. 18.8, VI., fol. 12r
422 (29)	Galliarda	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, 309, <i>Galliarda XXX</i>
425 (31)	Galliarda	Barbetta (1585 <sub>1</sub> ), <i>Saitarello O val cerca</i> , 44; Jobin (1573 <sub>2</sub> ), fol. 14r; Phalèse (1568 <sub>7</sub> ), <i>Gailliarda la Roynne d'escosse</i> , fol. 82r*

**Table**  
(continued)

Number in source	Title	Concordances <sup>†</sup> and/or cognates
pp. 312–313 <sup>§</sup>	Courente	D-KNh, R 242, fol. 186r
450	Galliarda Anglicana	Barbetta (1585 <sub>1</sub> ), <i>Saltarello O che doni</i> , 48
456 (4)	Danckhet dem Herren	D-B, 4022, 19v; D-B, 40141, 17r; D-LEm, 11-26, 5; D-W, Guelf. 18.7, I.68r
457 (5)	Auss dieffer noth schrei	D-B, 40141, fol. 101v; D-B, 40588, 6
456 (6)	O Mensch beweine dein Sünde gross*	D-W, Guelf. 18.7, I.21r
457 (7)	Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn*	A-LIa, 475, fol. 91v; D-B, 40141, fol. 101r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 147r; LT-Vs, Ms.285–MF-LXXIX, fol. 73r
461 (9)	Ein veste Burckh*	A-LIa, 475, fol. 90r
462 (10)	Ach Gott von Himel sieh darin*	D-B, 40588, 37
466 (14)	Der Tag der ist so fröudenn reich	CH-Bu, F.IX.23, fol. 17v
468	Mon Dieu	IRL-Dtc, 410–1, 156
471	Chorea Anglicana A.F.	CH-Bu, F.IX.70, <i>Galliarda Anglicana</i> , 319; D-LEm, 6–15, X.13r
474	Galliarda A.F.	D-LEm, 6–15, VI.2v
476	Der Englisch Roland*	Besard (1603), <i>Allemande</i> , fol. 134v; CZ-Pnm, XIIIIB237, <i>Onactbas Voulandt</i> , fol. 3r; D-LEm, 6–15, X.4v; D-W, Guelf. 18.8, IV.36r; DK-Kk, Thott 841, fol. 12v; GB-Cu, Dd211, <i>My Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home</i> , fol. 14v; GB-Lam, 602, fol. 11v; GB-Lbl, Eg2046, fol. 33v; GB-Ob, Top90, fol. 99v; Hove (1601), fol. 107v; Robinson (1603), 39; US-Ws, Vb280, fol. 9v
477	Galliarda	Adriaenssen (1592 <sub>6</sub> ), fol. 57v
478	Galliarda	D-LEm, 6-15 X, fol. 21r
480	Volte*	A-Lia, 475, fol. 68v; Waissel (1591 <sub>13</sub> ), E3r

<sup>†</sup> Quotations of printed instrumental sources follow the bibliography of Howard Mayer Brown *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (1979), or else indicate the year of publication.

<sup>‡</sup> Wurstisen's fantasia no. 9 shares the same first four bars, but its further development differs.

<sup>§</sup> Page numbers are given in the first column in the single instance (*Courente*) where a piece is unnumbered.

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## UGOTAVLJANJE AVTORSTVA V WURSTISENOVI KNJIGI LUTENJSKIH TABULATUR

### Povzetek

Emanuel Wurstisen je sijajni rokopis z lutenjsko glasbo domnevno sestavil v letih med 1591 in 1594, ko je študiral medicino na univerzi v Baslu. Knjiga vsebuje več sto skladb, ki so po zvrsteh razdeljene v osem sklopov oziroma knjig. Avtorji so navedeni na sorazmerno majhnemu številu skladb in ostajajo večinoma neznani. Tovrstne zbirke so bile navadno ustvarjene za osebno rabo kompilatorjev, ki se jim ni zdelo potrebno posebej zabeležiti imen skladateljev. Kadar pa je ime izrecno omenjeno, ima to poseben pomen.

Pričujoča raziskava se posveča predvsem tistim skladbam, pri katerih je avtor zabeležen z začetnicami ali pa s celim imenom, in skuša ugotoviti oziroma pojasniti njihov pomen. Predstavljene so glasbene poti, ki vodijo do rokopisa ali iz njega. Članek pozornost namenja nekaterim začetnicam in virom, ki jih skuša kontekstualno osvetliti: prvič glede poti glasbe in repertoarja, priljubljenega v srednji Evropi v času pozne renesanse, drugič v luči analize prepisovalčevih oznak, ki jih lahko razumemo kot navedbe avtorja ali pa tudi česa drugega, tretjič v primerjavi različnih virov iste skladbe, ki so včasih pripisane različnim avtorjem; vprašanje je, če smemo Wurstisenove oznake razumeti kot zanesljive namige, ki navajajo prave avtorje skladb, saj so med njimi tudi take, ki se pojavljajo samo v njegovi zbirki. In četrtič se je treba vprašati tudi to, do katerih virov je Wurstisen lahko dostopal, ko je pripravljal svojo knjigo, in kako si lahko razlagamo povezavo z viri, ki so bili natisnjeni več let po nastanku te knjige tabulatur.

Raziskava dodatno osvetljuje tudi vprašanje vloge avtorstva v prenosu inštrumentalnega repertoarja poznega 16. stoletja, in kako nezanesljivo in prilagodljivo je lahko ugotavljanje avtorstva.