JOHN JOHNSON

Collected Lute Music

transcribed and edited
by
Jan W.J. Burgers

Volume I

TREE EDITION

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VOLUME I

Introduction Commentary Transcriptions

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TREE EDITION
LÜBECK

PREFACE

It has taken a long time to make this book. Already in the early 1980's I started to collect the lute music of John Johnson, who is, I think, the single most important lutenist of Elizabethan England after John Dowland. Some ten years later, I finished collecting and transcribing the music. I had also made a first (Dutch) version of the text of the Introduction and the Commentary when, in 1992, Albert Reyerman of Tree Edition agreed to publish the work. It proved an extremely protracted affair to transform my work into a publishable book, not only because it all had to be done in my own spare time, but also because it was not easy persuading the computer to transform the complicated manuscript version with its tablature, staff-notation and texts into an acceptable, publishable, computer version. All of this resulted in delays, and the work was further jeopardized when John Ward published his Johnson edition in 1994. However, in consultation with Tree Edition it was decided to go ahead with the publication.

Now the work is finally finished, the task remains of expressing my gratitude to all those who contributed to it in one way or another. I am indebted to Julia Craig-McFeely, Gusta Goldschmidt, Louis-Peter Grijp, Ian Harwood, Susan Pond, John Robinson, Charles Stroom and especially the late Robert Spencer for their valuable remarks and their aid in gathering the necessary information, as well as other help. In the last phase of the production I used the TAB software by Wayne Cripps. Much work on the transcriptions was done by Anthony Fiumara, who also designed the layout of the book. Last but not least, I must thank René Genis, who not only contributed a great deal to the making of the book, but also stimulated me to finish it, with his never-failing enthusiasm for Johnson's music.

Amsterdam, 6 January 2000 JWJB

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INTRODUCTION

Johnson's life

As is the case with so many Elizabethan composers, little is known about the life of John Johnson.[1] Until recently all we knew was that he took up a position as a lutenist at the court of Elizabeth I in 1579, that he almost certainly died in midsummer 1594, that he had a wife called Alice and that his son Robert, who later became a famous luteplayer in his own right, was born about 1583. Recent discoveries by Robert Spencer possibly provide us with more information about Johnson's life.[2]

Spencer found the not unusual name John Johnson several times in the registers of the London churches in the second half of the sixteenth century. These occurrences concern different men, and it is hard to decide which of them, if any, is our lutenist. It is very tempting, however, to identify the composer with the John Johnson who was the father of eight children that were baptized in the church of Saint Augustine's, Watling Street, London, between 1576 and 1592. On 27 December John was baptized, possibly named after his father (or grandfather), and therefore probably the oldest son. Afterwards here were baptized Elizabeth on 21 March 1578/9, Jane on 7 July 1580 and Richard on 26 February 1581/2. Then on 6 October 1583 a son Robert was baptized, which conveniently corresponds to the year the lutenist Robert Johnson was born. After him were baptized Tymothy on 24 April 1589, Peter on 5 July 1590, and the youngest daughter, Alice, on 18 June 1592. The particulars of this John Johnson thus coincide well with what we already knew of the lute player. Moreover, in the same church on 28 February 1559/60 a John Johnson married Alice Dorryn; he could be our lutenist and the father of these eight children, although it seems strange that this couple, so prolific from 1576 onward, had their first child only after fifteen years of marriage. Maybe the father of this eight children was the same as the John Johnson who married Alice Skelton at Saint Margaret Westminster on 3 February 1575/6, or else he could be identical with the John Johnson who married Alyce Kirton at Saint Giles Cripplegate on 26 January 1569/70.

The John Johnson who married in 1559/60 probably was born between 1530 and 1540.[3] Alice Dorryn, if she really had another child in 1592, cannot have seen daylight before the beginning of the 1540's. Thus the John Johnson's who married in 1569/70 and 1575/6 probably were born in the 1540's or early 1550's, as were their wives.

Apart from these rather conjectural data, nothing is known about the first decades of John Johnson's life. He probably learned to play the lute during a seven-year apprenticeship in one of the noble houses, where he was instructed in music by a lutenist in his master's service; this was the way professional instrumentalists were trained in sixteenth-century England.[4] After that Johnson

1 For the previously known material repeated in this chapter, see the entry 'John Johnson' by Diana Poulton in the *New Grove*, as well as in Roche, *Dictionary*.

2 The following material was kindly provided by Robert Spencer in a letter of 26 November 1991. He found this information in the Mormon International Genealogical Index.

3 In sixteenth-century England, the lower and middle classes tended to marry at a relatively old age. This was probably due to economical reasons. On average men married at an age of around 26, women around 24. Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 50-54.

4 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 66.

Ill. 1 Signature of Edward Johnson. London, Public Record Office, Req. 2/203/4, p. 6.

would have remained a servant in a nobleman's household, possibly in that of the Earl of Leicester; we will come to that later. It has been stated that he was employed at Hengrave Hall in Bury Saint Edmunds, Suffolk, residence of Sir Thomas Kitson; Woodfill noticed that a musician called Johnson was mentioned in the domestic accounts of the Kitson's in the autumn of 1572 and spring 1574.[5] However, it was already pointed out by Fellowes and later by Harwood, that not John but the composer Edward Johnson is mentioned in the accounts.[6] Edward Johnson, incidentally, was born in 1548/9.[7] One is tempted to speculate that he was a relative of John Johnson, possibly a brother. If, however, the children that have been mentioned before really are John's, a relationship between them is less probable, because it would be strange then that none of the five boys was named after Edward.

Whoever was Johnson's patron, it were probably that person's court connections that secured our lutenist a place in the *Queen's Musick*.[8] On 20 December 1580 John Johnson was appointed as lutenist at the court of Queen Elizabeth, at an annual salary of 20 pounds; he succeeded Anthony de Conti (County) in this position.[9] The latter was mentioned for the last time on 29 September 1579, and on 29 September 1581 Johnson was paid for two years service, so it is possible that already at the end of 1579 Johnson was active as a royal lutenist, and that the official appointment took some time to come off.[10] From 1563 onward Anthony de Conti had been the only lutenist at court[11], but things changed after his death, for

5 Woodfill, *Musicians*, p. 59 and p. 263-264, with the following quotations: after October 1, 1572 'In reward to Johnson the musician at Hengrave, 10s.', and in April-June 1575 'In reward to Johnson the musician, for his charge in awaiting on my Lord of Leycester at Kennelworth, 10s.'

6 Fellowes, *English Madrigal Composers*, p. 247; Harwood, *Cambridge Lute Manuscripts*, p. 36, and, more explicitly, in a letter dating from February 1992: the accounts indicate that Edward was employed by the Kitson's from the end of 1572. In his article, Harwood also points out that the family relationship between the Kitson's and the Johnson's, as supposed by Beck, *Morley Consort lessons*, p. 21, footnote 68, is based on an error. In view of all the above, Beck's theory, *ibidem*, p. 16, footnote 50, that John Johnson could have demonstrated his skills to the Queen, at the festivities the Earl of Leicester organised at Kenilworth on 9-27 July 1575, does not hold ground.

7 See the documents relating to the printing of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, 1600 (London, Public Record Office, Req. 2/203/4, p. 6), where Edward signed his name to the statement: 'Edward Johnson of Clerken Well in the Countye of Midx batchler of musicque of the Age of Fyftye twoe yeares or there abouts'. I am grateful to Robert Spencer, who gave me this reference and a copy of Edward's signature, which is printed here as ill. 1. More information on Edward Johnson in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 98-99, footnote 289.

8 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 67.

9 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 124: payments over the year from 29 September 1580 until the same date in 1581, amongst others to 'John Johnson, in the room of Anthony de Counte, deceased, one of the musicians for the three lutes, at £20. a year, by warrant dormant dated 20 December 23 Elizabeth [1580], due for 2 whole years ending Michelmas 23 Elizabeth [29 September 1581]: £40. 0s. 0d.'. A literal transcription of the entry in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 67, footnote 178, with the wrong year 1579.

10 Anthony the Conti is last mentioned in the account covering the year from 29 September 1578 until the same date in 1579: Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 120. On 20 December 1580, the same date as Johnson's appointment, the Queen issued a warrant in Westminster, granting a yearly pension of £15 each to Conti's wife Lucretia and to Elizabeth de Conti (his daughter?): *ibidem*, p. 123. Ashbee, *ibidem*, p. viii, states that Conti died in 1580, but if that were the case, he would have been mentioned in the accounts of that year.

11 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 11, 83.

Johnson at his appointment was called 'one of the musicians for the three lutes'. Together with Johnson a second lutenist was appointed, Mathias (or Mathathias) Mason, like Johnson at an annual salary of 20 pounds.[12] On July 3 1583 they were joined by Robert Hales, who received 40 pounds per annum, and on 3 July 1589 a fourth lutenist appeared, Walter Pierce, at again 20 pounds a year; Mason had his salary doubled, at 40 pounds a year, on 30 September1589.[13] So now there were four lute players at the court, as was stated explicitly in a document of 32 November 1590; on 27 June 1593 Thomas Cardell and Alfonso Ferrabosco II also are mentioned as such.[14] Three times, in 1582/3, 1588/9 and 1591/2 riding charges were paid to Johnson, which indicates that he was called to perform as a solo luteplayer.[15]

In the autumn of 1585 Geoffrey Whitney dedicated a collection of emblems, entitled *A Choise of Emblemes and other devices*, to the Earl of Leicester.[16] This collection contains panegyric poems about the Earl, his family, friends and followers; the book was probably intended to strengthen Leicester's political position.[17] One of the poems praises the qualities of a lutenist at the royal court called Johnson, with whom only John Johnson can be meant. The inclusion of this poem in the collection shows that there was some sort of relationship between Leicester and Johnson. Perhaps the latter followed the Earl in his retinue to the Northern Netherlands. On 20 December 1585 Leicester landed in Flushing (Vlissingen), accompanied by his army and by a host of friends and servants.[18] He then made a tour to a number of cities in the provinces of Zeeland and Holland, where he was welcomed with lavish festivities. The rebellious provinces of Holland saw in him the man who would lead them in the battle against their overlord, the Spanish king. A list of Leicester's retinue, from the first half of January 1586, mentions a John Johnson. This name, however, does not appear together with the names of the 'Trumpeters, Drums and Musiconers' on the same list.[19] Could this have been our Johnson? In 1585–1586 Johnson could not have been in the service of the Earl, because during this time he was paid his allowance as usual at the royal court. It is possible that the Earl was his patron before before 1579, although Johnson is not mentioned in the documents from 1572 and 1574, which contain the names of Leicester's company of actors, who – as is stated explicitly – also played musical instruments.[20] Maybe Leicester employed musicians as well as actors, as was the case in 1582–1583.[21]

Johnson's allowance as a musician at the royal

12 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 124.

13 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 136, 147.

14 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 54, 59; see also p. viii.

15 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. viii and p. 137, 146, 150; Johnson received at these times £4. 10s. 0d., £19. 0s. 0d. and £16. 13s. 4d.

16 Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors*, p. 123-125, 132-133. A first version of this collection, in manuscript, was dedicated to Leicester 28 November 1585. Geoffrey Whitney published a second, revised version in May 1586 in Leiden, where he had been staying since 12 January 1586 (*ibidem*, p. 124, footnote 6); the poem about Johnson only appears in the manuscript version (see below).

17 Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters*, p. 307-309.

18 Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, p. 31-53.

19 Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, p. 122, App. III. The 'Musiconers' mentioned are: Thomas Cole, Wm Baniton, James Wharton, Wm Edgley, Wm Black, Jo the Harper and Walter the boye, as well as four anonymous trumpet players and two drum players. Apart from the trumpet players, a 'speelman' (instrumentalist) and five singers with a 'boy' are presented on 24 January, during the reception in Leiden (*ibidem*, p. 83-87, App. I); could these be the same musicians?

20 Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, p. 86, 87. We do find a William Johnson among Leicester's actors.

21 Baldwin, *The Shakespearean Company*, p. 76; the names of these musicians are not mentioned. By the way, the title of Johnson's most famous piece, the *Delight Pavan*, could also indicate that there was a relationship between Johnson and Leicester (see the commentary to piece no. 5 below).

court was discontinued on 24 June 1594; he almost certainly died shortly before this date.[22] Johnson may have been a victim of the plague epidemic, which ravaged England, and especially London, in 1592–1594. In the capital, up to two thousand people died of the plague each week during the summer, when the epidemic reached its peak. Johnson's wife, Alice, survived him. She was given a royal allowance: in 1595 she was granted the lease of lands in Dorset, Lincolnshire, Cornwall, Staffordshire, Wiltshire and Flint for a period of fifty years, 'in consideration of her husband's services'.[23] Johnson's son Robert became, like his father, a successful musician. In 1604 he was given a position at the royal court. A considerable number of his compositions remain, consisting of lute solos, songs and instrumental pieces for courtly occasions, the so-called *Masques*.[24]

There is every reason to believe that John Johnson was a celebrated lute player during his life. His appointment to the coveted position of royal lutenist in 1579 or 1580 shows that he by then was already considered a prominent player. Also, the generous allowance his widow received from Elizabeth, cannot be explained otherwise than as a posthumous token of appreciation from the Queen. His status as a leading musician and composer is confirmed by his inclusion in John Case's book, *Apologia Musices*, from 1588, which lists the most important musicians of those days.[25] The dispersion of his music in the English manuscripts is wide, and includes such later collections as the ones by Jane Pickeringe and Margaret Board, which were compiled some twenty or thirty years after his death. His *Delight Pavan* was one of the most popular pieces of its age. His music was used or arranged for keyboard, bandora, cittern and consort by several composers, including John Dowland, Thomas Morley, William Byrd, John Bull, Giles Farnaby and Anthony Holborne.[26] Johnson's qualities must also have been recognized abroad, as eleven of his compositions are recorded in Dutch and German manuscripts and printed collections of lute music.[27]

Johnson's proficiency as a lutenist was praised lyrically in the already mentioned collection *A Choise of Emblemes and other devices* by Geoffrey Whitney. The earlier manuscript version of this book, which was presented the Earl of Leicester, includes a number of poems that were omitted in the final printed version. Among those is a poem, headed by the title *Musicae modernae, laus* (In praise of Modern Music), and by an emblem which depicts a lute and a music book, both lying on a cushion and under a canopy. Then follows the poem:

> When than Apollo harde the musique of theise daies,
> And knewe howe manie, for theire skill, deserued iustlie praise,
> He left his chaire of state, & laide his lute away,
> As one abash'd in English courte, his auncient stuffe to plaie.
> And hyed vnto the skyes somme fyner pointes to frame:
> And in the meane, for cunning stoppes, gaue Johnsonne all the fame.[28]

Thus, according to Whitney, even Apollo, the God who symbolizes music, had to admit Johnson's superiority as to virtuosity on the lute. These lines

22 Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 153, payments over the year 29 September 1593 to the same date in 1594, amongst others to 'John Johnson, due for 3/4 year ending Midsummer 1594', £15. 0s. 0d. (the quotation from Stokes, *List of the King's musicians*, II, p. 115). Afterwards, there is no more mention of him. Roche, *Dictionary*, names London as the place of death, and, apparently incorrectly, gives the date 1595. Roche also gives the wrong date, 1581, for Johnson's employment at the royal court.

23 See Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 77.

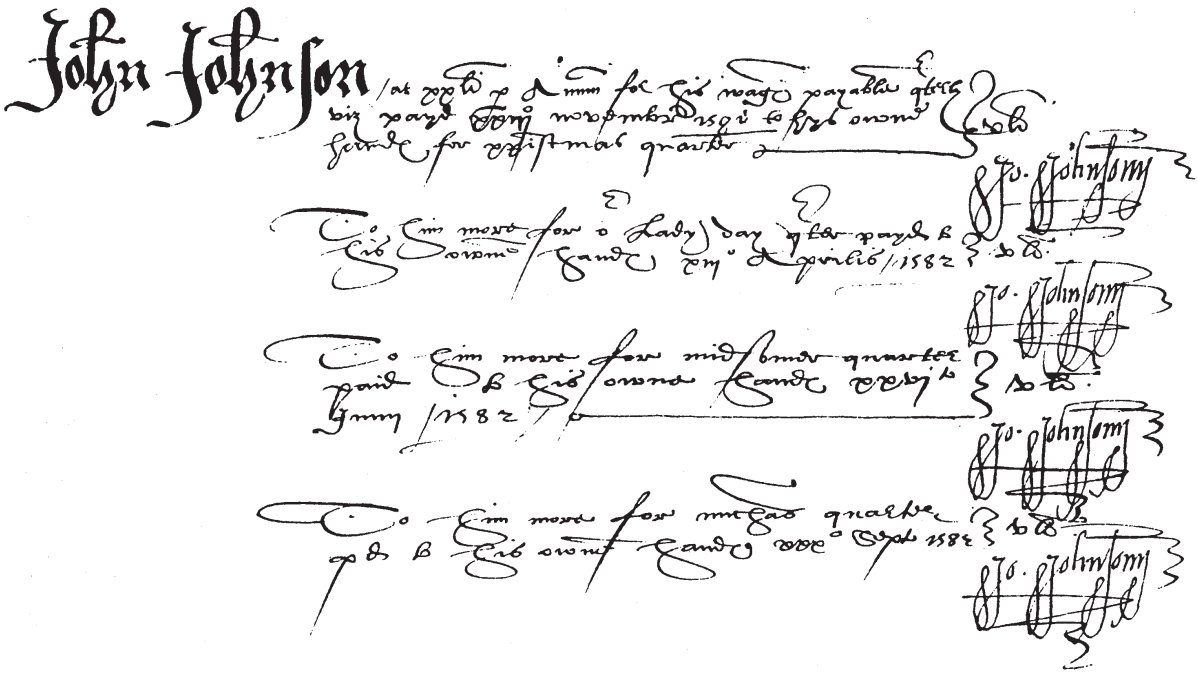
24 For the instrumental music by Robert Johnson, see Sunderman, *Robert Johnson*, Holman, *New Sources*, and Ward, *Dowland Miscellany*, p. 112; his songs have been published by Spink, *Robert Johnson*.

25 Case, *Apologia Musices*, p. 44; quoted in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 67.

26 See nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 22, 26 and 36.

27 See nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 22, 26, 31, 36, 49, 60 and 61; of these nos. 5, 6, 9, 26, 36 and 60 can be found in more than one continental source.

28 See Brett, *Musicae modernae laus*, p. 42-44, with a facsimile of the poem and its emblem.



Ill. 2 Signatures of John Johnson, from 22-12-1581, 27-3-1582, 5-7-1582 and 4-10-1582. London, British Library, Harleian MS 1644, f. 21v.

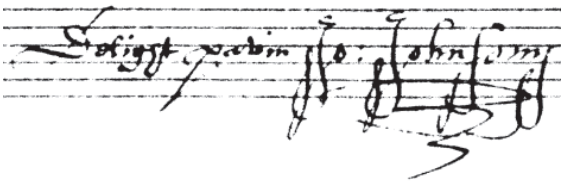
Transcription:
John Johnson, at xx li*vres* p*er* Annu*m* for his wag*es*, payable q*uar*terly, viz. payd xxiij^{o} novembr*is* 1581 to his owne hande, for xpistmas quarter: v li*vres*.
To him more for o*ur* Lady day quarter payd to his owne hande xiij^{o} Aprilis 1582: v li*vres*.
To him more for midsomer quarter paid to his owne hande xxvj^{to} Junij 1582: v li*vres*.
To him more for mich*ealm*as quarter p*ai*d to his owne hande xxx^{o} Sept*embris* 1582: v li*vres*.
All entries signed: Jo. Johnsonn.

also imply that Johnson, unlike musicians such as Apollo who were still producing 'auncient stuffe', was considered an exponent of a new musical style at the court.

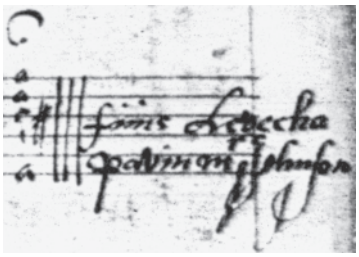
Apart from Johnson's music, which will be discussed later, a few of his autographs have survived the ages. We find his signature in in the accounts, over the last quarter of 1581 and the first three quarters of 1582, of the wages of the lute players at the royal court in an acquittance book in the British Library. Johnson received five pounds per quarter, which indeed adds up to 20 pounds annual wages. His signature, which appears under each settlement of account, is both powerful and graceful (see ill. 2).[29]

Johnson also added his signature to his *Delight Pavan* on f. 15r in the Folger Dowland Lute manuscript (see ill. 3). This signature is virtually identical to the ones from 1581–1582, even though the latter must have been written some ten years earlier. The only differences are the two initial *J*'s which have become higher, while the flourishes on the left above the name have disappeared. On f. 12r of the same manuscript, the name and title to Johnson's *La Vecchia Pavan* were added by a single hand: 'Leveche pavin mr Johnson' (see

29 London, British Library, Harleian MS 1644, f. 21^{v} (see Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VI, p. 134). Robert Spencer kindly provided me with a copy of these signatures. A facsimile of this signatures also in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, vol. 1, pls. 20-21.



Ill. 3 Signature of John Johnson, at his Delight Pavan, in the Folger Dowland Lute Book. Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.280, f. 15r.



Ill. 4 Possible signature of John Johnson, at his La Vecchia Pavan, in the Folger Dowland Lute Book. Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.280, f. 12r.

ill. 4); this too seems to have been written by Johnson himself.[30] A third possible signature by Johnson is found in the Wickhambrook Manuscript on f. 17v, with Johnson's *Long Pavan*. This appears to be a plainer version of the same signature: compare the flourishes on the descenders of the two capital *J*'s.

Johnson's compositions

Among Johnson's compositions are works for lute solo, lute duets, pieces for mixed consort and solos for bandora and cittern. It is uncertain whether Johnson himself is solely responsible for the latter three categories; all of these works are settings of known pieces of him for solo lute, which may have been trancribed by others (in one case the transcriber is probably Anthony Holborne).[31] Some of the music for mixed consort has been published by Edwards and Beck, and the remainder is too incomplete even to attempt making reconstructions.[32]

John Johnson played an important role in the development of the lute duet, which, for some time, enjoyed a considerable popularity in England. Four of his so-called 'equal duets', where both lutes have equivalent parts, have survived. These concern settings of his *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* and *Flat Pavan and Galliard*, of which versions for lute solo also remain.[33] More important are the 'trebles'; pieces in which one lute plays a number of often virtuosic variations over a repeated 'ground' (a bass with chordal ac-

30 See Ward, Dowland *Lute-Book*, p. 6, footnote 3. Ward rightly remarks that the title of the *Delight Pavan* was in another hand (which he calls H) than the one of the scribe of the music (his hand D). A third hand – Johnson himself – added the name of the composer. Ward also suggests that D again wrote the music of *La Vecchia Pavan*, while H added the title and a 'crude copy of Johnson's signature'. I also think the whole caption was executed by a single scribe (on my photographs of the manuscript I have not been able to detect any differences in the width of the pen, the movement of the hand or the colour of the ink between title and name), but the scribe of this caption certainly was not H: note how in the word *pavin* the *p* and *v* differ from those by H. Also, the name was written with considerable speed and ease, and is certainly not a crude copy: the securely drawn *J* shows the same flourish and movement as the signature accompanying the *Delight Pavan*; as in the latter the first *o* is attached to the preceding *J* while the second *o* is detached, and the *h* and the long *s* lean slightly to the right. It was probably Johnson himself who wrote this caption; he crammed it in at the end of the page, which resulted in a slightly different version from the one with the *Delight Pavan*. It does seem strange though, that he calls himself 'Mr. Johnson'.

31 See nos. 26 and 36 (cittern solo) and nos. 3 and 31 (bandora solo).

32 Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*, nos. 9 and 14, and Beck, *Morley Consort Lessons*, no. 1 (see in this edition nos. 5, 13 and 40). The settings for mixed consort of no. 3 (of which only the flute, cittern and bass parts remain), and of nos. 11 (bandora part only), 27 and 46 (cittern parts only) have not been published.

33 Nos. 11-14.

companiment), played by the second lute. Johnson was the first to develop this genre in England, and its peak was reached immediately in his works. Lyle Nordstrom catalogued Johnson's duets, and came to a total of twenty-seven trebles. Fifteen of these are anonymous, but could – with more or less certainty – be ascribed to Johnson on the basis of their stylistic characteristics and musical quality.[34] In the present edition Johnson's four equal duets have been included, as well as his twelve certain trebles and eight anonymous trebles ascribed to him by Nordstrom.[35] In many cases Nordstrom's arguments in favor of these ascriptions could be supplemented by new arguments, based on the analysis of Johnson's musical style.

More numerous than Johnson's duets are his works for lute solo. In the present edition fifty compositions are included, of which, however, only twenty-two are ascribed to John Johnson in the various sources.[36] For a second group of nine pieces the sources mention only 'Johnson' as composer; for the authorship of these we should theoretically also consider John's son Robert, and possibly even the composer Edward Johnson.[37] In practice, ascribing these pieces to Johnson does not cause too many problems: Edward can be discarded as a possible composer, as he did not, as far as we know, write for the lute,[38] while Robert only became an active lute player after his father's death; his compositions are in a later style, and usually occur in later sources than the ones in which John's works are found. Pieces ascribed to 'Johnson' will be accounted for on stylistic grounds (see below), as well as on the basis of their provenance. A final group of nineteen pieces consists of anonymous works (or, in the case of *Quadro Pavan* no. 40, a piece probably wrongly ascribed to Richard Allison).[39] These pieces are included in this edition on the basis of stylistic resemblances to authentic works by John Johnson, and often also of external indications, which suggest that Johnson is, or might be their composer. Most of these latter pieces have been compiled in an appendix. However, some galliards have been joined to a corresponding pavan that has been definitely attributed to Johnson, either because they occur next to the pavan in the original source,[40] or on the basis of musical agreement between pavan and galliard.[41] In the present edition, each piece is accompanied by the fullest ascription given in its sources: either to John Johnson, the ambivalent 'Johnson', or to an anonymous composer. In doing so the editor hopes to avoid any confusion about the definitive authorship of these works. Conflicting ascriptions, however, which also occur occasionally in the sources, have only been included in the notes.[42]

The above mentioned external evidence which, together with stylistic considerations, forms part of the basis on which ascriptions to Johnson have been made, is of a divers nature. Anonymous galliards have been joined with pavans of certain ascription.[43] The *New Medley* has been included on the basis of its title; the *Old Medley* is certainly by Johnson.[44] Sometimes a piece was included because of its proximity to authentic works by Johnson in the same manuscript.[45] Finally, five

34 Nordstrom, *Lute Duets of John Johnson*.

35 See nos. 51-54 (equal duets), 55-66 (trebles) and 67-74 (trebles of uncertain ascription).

36 Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36.

37 Nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 22, 26, 27, 28, 32.

38 In FWVB we find a *Delight Pavan and Galliard* and an *Old Medley* that are ascribed to Edward (see nos. 5, 6, 36). Whether or not he composed for the lute is uncertain; a galliard in Barley, *A new Book of Tabliture*, signed 'Ed. I.', might be his.

39 Nos. 9, 12, 14, 16, 20, 37-50.

40 Nos. 14, 16, 20.

41 Nos. 9, 12.

42 See nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 26, 36.

43 See, apart from the cases just mentioned, also no. 41.

44 Nos. 36, 47.

45 Nos. 39, 41, 43, 45.

pieces have been included in the appendix, because they appear together in one single source, the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript.[46] This manuscript needs to be discussed in more detail.

The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript, which is presently kept in the John Herrick Jackson Music Library at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (USA), is of great importance to our knowledge of the lute music by John Johnson. In the past, the collection was known as the 'John Johnson Lute Manuscript' because it includes a remarkable number of pieces by this composer.[47] In 1963 Daphne Stephens published an edition of this book.[48] In her 'editorial remarks' she notes the large number of pieces by Johnson: of the total amount of twenty-five pieces, ten are by Johnson, four by Dowland, one by Peter Phillips and one by Holborne, while nine remain anonymous.[49] Stephens suggests therefore that Johnson might have been an earlier owner of the manuscript. She also notes that two different scribes, whom she calls A and B, had written the book, and that the way in which their different handwriting is divided over the pages of the manuscript provides insight into its compilation.[50] A few notes should be made concerning Stephens' observations. For a better understanding, we will first give a list of all the works found in Wickhambrook, with, in this order, their consecutive numbers, the scribe – named A or B after Stephens' example –, the folionumbers and the manuscript title of the piece in italics. Any further information will be given in square brackets.

1	A	f. 10r	*Jhonsons delighte* [John Johnson; the last bars of this piece only; the page with the first part of the piece is missing]
2	A	f. 10r	*the galiard*[*e*] *to delighte* [John Johnson]
3	B	f. 10r	*my Lo: strange his galiarde* [anonymous]
4	A	f. 10v-11r	*the Quadrone pauene Jo: Jhonsone*
5	B	f. 11r	*a galiarde of clarkes* [Anthony Holborne or Richard Clarke]
6	B	f. 11r	*tarletones riserrectione Jo Dowlande*
7	A	f. 11v	[Pavan, anonymous]
8	B	f. 12r	*a pauyne by Mr Phillips* [Peter Phillips]
9	B	f. 12r	*my lo. willobeys tune Jhone Doulande*
10	A	f. 12v	[Ma Pauvre Bourse, anonymous]
11	A	f. 13r	*Si vow voules* [anonymous]
12	A	f. 13v-14r	[Susanne un Jour, anonymous]
13	A	f. 14r	[La Vecchia Pavan, John Johnson; the first half of the work only, although there was space for the whole piece to be copied]
14	A	f. 14v-15r	*the oulde spannyshe pauen* [anonymous]
15	B	f. 15r	*Mistris whittes thinge* Jhone Dowlande
16	A	f. 15v	[La Vecchia Pavan, John Johnson; both parts of a lute duet]
17	A	f. 16r	[La Vecchia Galliard, John Johnson; both parts of a lute duet]
18	A	f. 16v-17r	[Passamezzo Pavan, John Johnson]
19	B	f. 17r	*monsers alman*[*e*] [Monsieur's Almain, anonymous]
20	B	f. 17r	*ane alman*[*e*] [John Dowland]

46 Nos. 37, 42, 48, 49, 50.

47 This is at any rate the name found on the microfilm, made by Yale in 1953. Its present name was derived from its last owner, Miss Dulcie Lawrence-Smith of Wickhambrook (Suffolk), who sold the manuscript in 1947. Five years later it was acquired by Yale.

48 Stephens, *The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript*.

49 Stephens, *The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript*, p. 113-116. One of the anonymous pieces, *As I went to Walsingham* (f. 17r) might also be ascribed to John Dowland, as a longer version of the same piece included in the Konigsberg Lute Book (f. 24r) is there attributed to him.

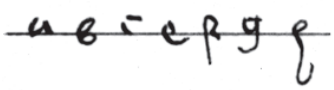
50 Stephens, *The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript*, p. 115.

21	B	f. 17r	*As J wente to walsinghame* [anonymous; possibly a setting by Dowland]
22	B	f. 17r	*knowles his galiarde* [anonymous]
23	B	f. 17v	*Pavane Jo: Johnson* [Long Pavan]
24	B[51]	f. 17v	*Johnson galiarde* [John Johnson]
25	B	f. 17v	*A grounde Jo: Jhonson*

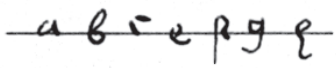
At first glance Stephens' conclusion that two scribes were involved in compiling the manuscript seems to be correct. The first of these, scribe A, used a broad quill, and wrote a neat but powerful hand. He can be recognized by the obliquely drawn continuous strokes on the rhythm signs, the three or four parallel strokes at the end of a piece (often accompanied by a fermata sign), as well as a number of characteristic tablature letters: the *f, g* and *h* each have a long tail, which with the *h* curls up to the right, as well as the short broad *b*. There does not seem to be any development in the handwriting of scribe A; apparently he wrote down these pieces shortly after one another.

The second scribe, B, used a finer pen than A, and wrote a smaller, less powerful hand. He can be recognized by the flags on the rhythm signs, which start at the top of the stem, while the continuous cross strokes are more or less horizontal. He finishes his pieces in a more elaborate way than A, usually employing four vertical lines with cross strokes at the top and bottom, and the resulting gaps filled in with little dots. Unlike A, B does not indicate right hand fingering. Apparently the pieces in hand B were not copied at the same time, and a considerable amount of time may have elapsed between them. This can clearly be seen in the writing of the pieces nos. 19-22, which B wrote down on f. 17r: judging from the differences in style, the thickness of the pen and the shapes of the letters, 20 and 21 seem to have been copied some time after 19, but some time before 22.

However, a closer look at both the hands will reveal that maybe the first impression was not right. There seems to be a striking resemblance between most of the actual letter shapes employed by A and B: note the *a* and the *c*, both not fully closed at the top; the *f, g* and *h* (only the *h* is different with B: it has a shorter tail, but still shows the characteristic loop at the ascender, which lies on the line); the *e* with the boldly drawn arch which descends under the line, as does the bowl of the *b*.



A



B

Judging from the shapes of the letters it is possible that A and B represent a single scribe in different stages of his development. The most significant differences are A's broader quill, B's less powerful style, and the different shapes of the rhythm signs. The first two of these account for the big difference in the general appearance of A and B, but they are less important when it comes to identifying the scribe. A single scribe may well have changed the size of the quill, while a less firm hand may be the result of ill health or old age. As far as the third point is concerned, some of the pieces copied by B (nos. 19, 23, 24) show rhythm signs as used by A, with the flags starting below the top of the stem, and the continuous strokes going upwards. Moreover, no. 19 is written with a broad quill like the one employed by A. It seems that both hands belong to a single scribe, who in a short space of time copied the pieces ascribed to A, and then, a considerable time later, resumed his labour to copy, with intervals, the pieces assigned to B. The copying of pieces 19, 23 and 24 occurred somewhere in between.

A further scribe was involved in the compilation of this book. This scribe, whom we will call C, calligraphed most titles accompanying the pieces. These titles also seem to have been executed in one go. Stephens suggests that C and B

51 Stephens wrongly ascribed this piece to scribe A.

are one and the same scribe.[52] However, the total lack of resemblance between the two as well as the origin of the book (see below) seem to suggest otherwise. A large amount of pieces remained untitled; C was apparently not aware of any data. This would suggest that C did not have any contact with scribe AB. Only two pieces, the *Long Pavan* and a *Galliard* by Johnson (nos. 23 and 24) have titles in an other hand than C's. This matter will be dealt with below.

A survey of the dispersion of the various hands over the manuscript clearly shows that it arose in three stages. In the first stage, the pieces on f. 10r-17r were written out by scribe A, during a short time span. In order to avoid page turns, he started each piece on the verso side of a leave. The pieces often continue onto the opposite recto side of the next leave. He sometimes used the remaining space on a recto side for writing another piece. The pieces concerned are long and of a professional standard, and are copied out virtually flawlessly. The collection was later expanded in a hand called B, which probably belonged to the same scribe, who filled the empty spaces left by A on the recto sides of the leaves. He there copied out shorter works, some of which are of a lower standard than the ones written down by A (there are for instance often no repeats with divisions), and which are usually in a later musical style. Scribe B worked on the manuscript at intervals over a longer period of time. Finally, C added titles and composers' names to a number of pieces. Because these titles were written out all at once, they must have been added after all the pieces had been copied, hence, after B finished his work on the collection. All the above would suggest that the collection, in its sober execution lacking titles and composers' names, was first compiled for private use, and that later it was made more attractive by adding the calligraphed titles, possibly in order to sell it to a third party.

Afterwards, the finished manuscript may have been in contact with Johnson and his environment up to two times. It was mentioned earlier that the captions with the *Long Pavan* and the *Galliard* on f. 17v are written in a hand other than C's. It is likely that the word *Pavane* accompanying the first piece was written by C. However, the following name, *Jo: Johnson*, was perhaps added by the composer itself.[53] Originally there was no caption to the *Galliard*; this too is a later addition, this time written in a fifth hand, which belongs to John's son Robert, whose signature we know from a contract dating from 1596. The name 'Johnson' of this signature is exactly identical to the one in the manuscript: characteristic are the shapes of the *J, h, e* and the long *s*, which is joined by a high curve to the following *o*.[54] All of the above indicate that the collection must have been finished before Johnson's death in 1594.

Now let us return to the twelve pieces in hand A, which form the oldest layer of the manuscript. The inventory shows that scribe C, who added some titles at a later stage, was only aware of a limited amount of information about these pieces. He could only add the name *Jo: Johnson* and the titles to the set of *Delight Pavan and Galliard* (which were commonly known pieces) and to the *Quadro Pavan*. He seems to have been unaware of the name of the composer of the *Old Spanish Pavan* and *Si Vous Voulez*, to which he only added the titles. The authorship of a further four of the remaining nine pieces can be established by concordances; they are all by Johnson.[55] Hence, the supposition arises that the remaining five pieces may also be by John. This presumption seems all the more likely when we remember that, as far as A's contribution is concerned, we are dealing with a collection of long and complicated compositions, which, while lacking titles and composer's names, were copied flawlessly; it must have been a practical book, intended for personal use, that

52 Stephens, *The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript*, p. 115.

53 See p. 6.

54 Ward, *Dowland Miscellany*, p. 88, gives a facsimile of this contract, between Sir George Carey and Robert Johnson.

55 It is curious that both John and Robert, if they did indeed add the captions to the manuscript, refrained from also adding John's name to these four pieces that we know were composed by him. However, John Dowland did likewise by leaving some of his compositions anonymous in the Folger Dowland Lute Manuscript.

was most likely compiled by, or under the supervision of a professional musician. As far as we know, all A's pieces are by Johnson, hence he might well have been the musician in question. This presumed immediate connection between him and the oldest layer of the manuscript in any case justifies the inclusion in the appendix of the above mentioned five anonymous pieces in hand A.

Stephens also noted that almost all the works written by A concern pieces by Johnson, while B copied pieces by other composers as well. She therefore suggested that the first hand belonged to Johnson or to one of his pupils. However, if we now accept that hands A and B probably belonged to one and the same scribe, it will be clear that this must have been a pupil or someone else from Johnson's immediate surroundings, as Johnson himself is probably not responsible for copying works by other composers, nor some rather poor versions of his own compositions (like the *Long Pavan* and the *Galliard* on f. 17v). All the above would suggest that the scribe and his manuscript disappeared from Johnson's circle after the compilation of the first series of pieces. The later, on-off additions of John's and Robert's signatures point in the same direction.[56]

The anonymous pieces referred to above, which are part of the oldest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Book, are: a *Pavan* in *c*, variations on the *Spanish Pavan* and three settings of polyphonic chansons by Philip van Wilder and Orlandus Lassus (present edition nos. 37, 42 and 48-50). The dissemination of these pieces was never considerable: the *Pavan* and *Ma Pauvre Bourse* are unique, while the *Spanish Pavan* and the remaining chansons appear only once or twice in other sources; versions with very minor textual differences are found in Dd.2.11 and Trumbull.[57]

Before we can safely assess the likelihood of Johnson's authorship of these pieces, we will need to establish stylistic similarities with pieces of certain ascription. In order to do so, we will continue with a closer analysis of the composer's style. The remaining anonymous works can also be attributed to John Johnson on the basis of this analysis, as can the anonymous trebles, which Nordstrom ascribed to him.

Johnson's style

It would seem that lute music developed later in England than on the European continent. The first Italian publications of lute music appear at the beginning of the sixteenth century, those of Germany and France follow a little later. In England, the first native lute manuscripts appear around the middle of the century. These are usually filled with amateurish and clumsily notated music. Only in the last decennium of the century does the amount of manuscripts increase and the quality of the compositions improve. The first printed book of English lute music emerges only in 1596.

English lute music developed separately also from the musical point of view. The earlier manuscripts display a style sometimes referred to as 'linear'. This music usually consists of only two voices: a melody that is often rendered with divisions, and a bass with a clear harmonic function, above which chords are sometimes filled out. This homophonic style probably had its roots in the improvised, instrumental approach of popular musicians. It was certainly not derived from vocal polyphonic 'art-music'. There are hardly any independent inner voices, nor is there much use of the typically polyphonic technique of imitation. Genres commonly found in this early music also point to this humble origin. Dances like pavans

56 Stephens' assumption (*The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript*, p. 115) that scribe A worked on the collection during Johnson's stay at Hengrave Hall in suffolk, while B added to it after Johnson had assumed his position at the royal court, where he would indeed have had contact with music of other composers, cannot be substantiated, apart from the fact that Johnson was never employed at Hengrave Hall (see p. 2).

57 The variant reading of the closing bars of *Si Vous Voulez* (see the notes to no. 48) leads us to the conclusion that none of the versions of these pieces in Dd.2.11 and Trumbull were copied from Wickhambrook. It should also be noted that none of the pieces in hand A – with the exception of the well known *Delight Pavan* and *Galliard* – are found often in other sources, and that other versions that are extant, show few textual differences.

and galliards are common, as are variations on popular songs and free improvisations on harmonic basses such as *Passamezzo antico* and *Passamezzo moderno* (called in England *Passemeasures* and *Quadro*). 'Scholarly' genres like fantasias and settings of vocal polyphony are rare. This music in the 'linear' style differs considerably from that of later lute composers such as Dowland, Holborne and Cutting, who were active in what can be termed the 'classic' period of English lute music. Their music has a clear polyphonic structure, with a frequent use of inner voices as well as imitation. Their broader musical background is also expressed in their repertoire: apart from the ever popular pavans and galliards, which by now are so highly stylised that they have lost much of their dance quality, these lutenists write more polyphonic fantasias, while the practice of writing variations dwindles (*Passamezzo* settings disappear altogether). The transition from the early 'linear' to the 'classical' style would have occurred around 1590, if one adheres to the accepted dating of the various manuscripts.[58]

John Johnson's career was thus more or less contemporary with the early period of English lute music. He did indeed show a preference for writing variations on the *Passamezzo* and *Quadro* basses and for such dances as pavans and galliards, which, unlike those of the 'classical' period, are often found paired, and in which the number of measures often differs from the later norm of eight bars per strain.[59] His music is also almost completely in the 'linear' style: essentially two-voiced and practically without independent inner voices and polyphonic imitation.[60] It is clear that Johnson underwent the influence of Italian music – there were many Italian musicians at the court – but that influence only came in his choosing of Italian ground-basses, like the *Passamezzo*, the *Ruggiero* and the *Bergamasca*, as the basis of many of his compositions.[61] Otherwise his style is definitely English, in its taste for cross-relations, its harmonies and especially its predilection for the variation form.[62] In comparison with other, usually anonymous examples of the early English lute style, the qualities of Johnson's compositions are immediately apparent. Many pieces in the early manuscripts, such as the lute book of Francis Willoughby or the Marsh lute book, often have their own rather naive charm, but Johnson's music is definitely of a higher, professional level. The unmistakable quality of his work is manifested in his pronounced melodies, often with their own individual character, his developed feeling for harmony as an expressive and directive element, the coherent structure of his compositions and his attention to variety of texture.

We will now go on to examine Johnson's style in some detail, using as an illustration the first strain of his most famous composition, the *Delight Pavan* (no. 5b), in which several of his stylistic hallmarks are present. In order to clarify the difference between Johnson's music and the other pieces in the 'linear' style, we also give the first strain of one of the better and more attractive compositions in this style, *Weston's Pavan*. This work is found in the early manuscripts Lodge (f. 20v-21) and Marsh (p. 188), and is therefore from around 1570 or before, as is the *Delight Pavan* (see below).[63] As a matter of fact both compositions show remarkable similarities in the progression of the voices: compare bars 2-3 of Johnson's piece with bars 3-4 of *Weston's Pavan*, and especially bars 5 and 6 of the first with bars 6 and 5 of the latter.

58 This early English style is extensively described in Newcomb, *Englischen Lautenpraxis*, p. 26-46, as well as in the final part of this study, p. 52-127 (more in particular p. 106-107, dealing with homophony).

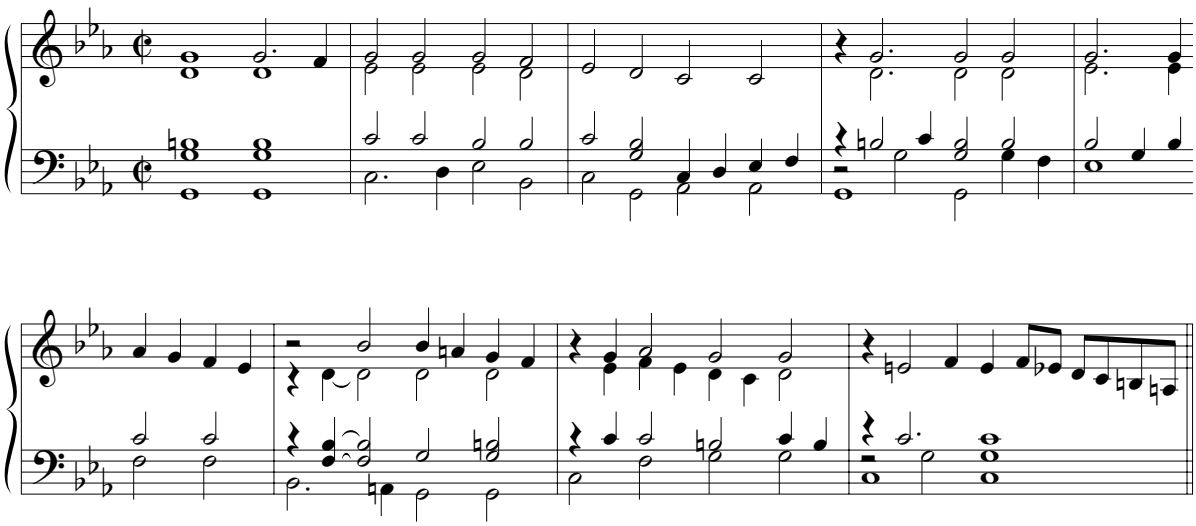
59 The pavans vary from having 6-6-4 bars (no. 4) to 8-10-8 (nos. 3 and 6), the galliards from 4-4-4 (nos. 25 and 27) to 8-12-12 (no. 29) and 8-8-16 (no. 23).

60 As to the rare occasions where the latter two stylistic elements do occur in Johnson's works, see p. 19, footnote 78.

61 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 76-77.

62 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 74-75.

63 The section of Lodge in which *Weston's Pavan* was copied, was possibly written between 1572 and 1576: see Newcomb, *Englischen Lautenpraxis*, p. 31. Weston is possibly the composer of the pavan, and of a *Passamezzo*-setting (Marsh, p. 50-54); he could be the same Weston who was paid in 1558 to instruct the page of the Count of Rutland on the lute (Ward, *Fourth Dublin Lute Book*, p. 34).



Weston's Pavan — Lodge, f. 20v-21r (in bar 5 the final note e' flat corrected from f')

Johnson's feeling for a clear and self-evident melody is of great importance. There is some truth in Ward's remark that Johnson was no melodist, who invented no catchy tunes that invite whistling,[64] yet his melodies often have a distinct individual character, ranging from melancholic, as in the *Delight Pavan*, to lively, as in many of his galliards. They often excel through their careful and symmetrical construction. This strain of the pavan consists of two parts of four bars each; a similar structure is often found in Johnson's dances. Within such a symmetrical framework, the melodic line of the pavans often ascends stepwise, with few leaps; after reaching the top the melody eases back down again. Larger intervals are introduced at the relevant moments for diversity. Thus, in the first part of the *Delight Pavan*, in bars 1-2 the melody begins on *c'*, climbing slowly and hesitantly, with frequent reversions, to *g'*, and thereafter in bars 3-4 eases back down. It also happens regularly that a phrase begins on the highest note; for example, in the same pavan, in the second part of the first strain, where the melody in bar 5 descends gradually from *b' flat* to eventually *c'*. In the galliards, the melodies are more often constructed with leaps, especially at the beginning of B- or C-strains (see, for example, no. 24 *Galliard*, bars 17-20), and they often have the punctuated rhythm characteristic of this dance. When we compare the melody of *Weston's Pavan* with that of the *Delight Pavan*, the limited inventiveness of the melodic line in the anonymous piece, consisting principally of a few fifths descending stepwise, and especially the rhythmic uniformity of bars 1-4, contrast strikingly with Johnson's treatment of the melody.

Johnson is distinguished from his English contemporaries by his feeling for harmony as a device to control the progress of his music and clarify its structure.[65] He knows how to support the course of the musical phrasing with self-evident harmonies which lead compulsory toward the cadence. To illustrate his advanced use of harmony, in relation to other lute music in the 'linear' style, we will look again at the beginning of the *Delight Pavan*, bars 1-3: after the opening bar in *c* and the dominant *g*, a surprising long pedal point on *a flat* follows in the second bar, which naturally resolves in the *g* in the third bar, after which this first conclusion on *g* is strengthened by its subdominant *c* with its harmonically raised lead tone *b*.[66] These harmonics effectively sup-

64 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 68-69.

65 On the harmonist Johnson, see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 69.

66 Terms like tonic, dominant, subdominant and lead tone are used here to clarify the harmonic structure of Johnson's music, although they are rather anachronistic in this context.

port the first hesitantly rising and then naturally descending melody. Johnson often prepares the dominant in a cadence with an embellishment of lower and upper lead tones, so that its harmonic function is securely anchored: see, for instance, the galliards in *c* (nos. 6, 24-27) where in the cadences the dominant *g* is almost always marked with the notes *f* and *a flat*. Every now and then pedal points on the tonic or dominant provide the necessary clarity and a certain degree of tension; see for instance no. 3 *Long Pavan*, bars 42-43 and no. 4 *Pavan*, bars 15-16. In its careful harmonic treatment Johnson's music shows distinctive contrast with the far less developed sense of harmonic progression in *Weston's Pavan*.

Johnson often writes chords in inversion. He uses them frequently for the harmonic preparation of the cadence; usually before a cadence a chord with a sixth is written, as for instance in no. 5 *Delight Pavan*, bars 3 and 7, no. 6 *Delight Galliard*, bars 6 and 39, and no. 36 *Old Medley*, bar 39. Also, in a cadence with a stepwise falling or rising bass, sometimes a second inversion chord is written; see for instance no. 22 *Galliard*, bar 7. Prepared inverted chords are a common occurrence in Johnson's works, also aside from cadences; see no. 6b *Delight Galliard*, bar 22, and no. 10 *Pavan*, bar 2. Besides he also writes unprepared first and second inversion chords, not only on unaccented notes, but also on the beat, and even regularly to open a strain or a composition; see for example no. 1 *Pavan*, bars 2, 18 and 19, no. 3 *Long Pavan*, bar 37, no. 22 *Galliard*, bars 1 and 17, and no. 23 *Galliard*, bars 1 and 33 (in the pavans these chords sometimes coincide with a pedal point). We also often find the unprepared sixth in the melody, by way of an expressive suspension of the fifth; see the *Delight Pavan*, bar 6, on the third beat. A seventh also often acts as a suspension in first inversion chords; see the cadence *f-e flat* in the *Delight Pavan*, bar 5, fourth beat. Some harmonic refinement is also shown through the use of complete or incomplete inverted chords with a fifth, as in the *Delight Pavan* bar 7, fourth beat. All these ways of using inverted chords to bring out the structure of a piece or to introduce expressive tension are very common in the 'classical' English lute music, but are not found in the 'linear' style, or only in a very embryonic form. Take again the fragment from *Weston's Pavan*, with its harmonics which are little developed, compared to Johnson's; with the exception of one IV-III cadence (in bar 7) all the chords are in root position.[67]

Johnson keeps his music interesting by introducing now and then some harmonic surprises. On of these is the cross-relation, as seen in the notes *b flat-b* in the first bar of the *Delight Pavan*. Other instances of this typically English device we find in no. 8 *Marigold Pavan* bar 31(3), no. 11 *La Vecchia Pavan* bar 23(2), no. 15b *Quadro Pavan* bar 42(4) and no. 27b *Omnino Galliard* bar 22(1). Also Johnson frequently uses a juxtaposition of chords a step or a half-step apart. See again the *Delight Pavan*, bars 1-2 (chords on *g* and *a flat*) and bars 4-5 (chords on *c* and *b flat).* For other examples see no. 10 *Pavan* bars 3-4 and no. 13a *Flat Pavan* bars 8-9, 9-10. See also no. 4 *Pavan*, where in bars 24-25 an *f*-chord is followed by a major chord on *d*, with an *f sharp*.

The most important structural element in Johnson's music is the rhythm. Both the melody and the bass lines are often carefully constructed in this respect, with a driving rhythm. The first strain of the *Delight Pavan* can again serve as illustration: one notes how the rhythm of the bass gradually speeds up, from semi-breves and minims in the beginning to crotchets in the final cadence, and how in the melody the hesitation of the ascending line and the relaxation of the descending line are strengthened by their rhythmic movement, with in bars 1-2 an acceleration which keeps halting, and in bar 3 repeated dotted notes. In the varied repeats, a dotted rhythm is often introduced in the bass line, to give an extra accentuation to the figuration in the upper voice; see no. 1 *Pavan*, bars 2 and 10.

Johnson's pavans, galliards and almains are much closer to their origins as dance music than the much more stylized compositions of lutenists of the following generation. In his works, the rhythm of the original dance steps is often preserved; in the pavans the rhythm 𝅝 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 , especially in the openings (see nos. 1 and 7), and in

67 In the B strain of *Weston's Pavan* a sixth appears twice, both times caused by counter-movement between the upper voice and the bass.

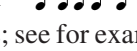
the galliards the 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 rhythm. Johnson shows a marked preference for beginning his pieces, pavans as well as galliards, with a dotted note; see nos. 5, 8, 11, 13b, 14, 15b, 16, 21 and 27 (sometimes preceded by an upbeat). Moreover, in his galliards, especially at the beginning of the B- or C-strains, he often writes two-bar phrases, in which in each pair the movement in the second bar is arrested, usually with a chord which is struck twice: the figure | 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅝 | we see twice in those cases; see no. 6 *Delight Galliard*, bars 33-36, and also, with related rhythms in the first bar, the galliards no. 22, bars 33-36 and no. 24, bars 17-20.

This brings us to a very important hallmark of Johnson's music; the repetition of musical material, both of small (rhythmical) motifs and of longer passages. We will discuss the first at a later stage; concerning the second, one sees in the *Delight Pavan* the closing of the first strain (bars 6-8), which returns almost literally at the end of the work. Johnson uses this device in other pieces as well: we find a strong example of repetition in no. 10 *Pavan*, where in bars 27 and 40 the same motif is written in a differing musical context. Ward points out that in *Pavan* no. 1 in the A- and B-strains parts of the melody (but not of the harmonies) are repeated: compare bars 2-4 with bars 5-7 and bars 18-20 with bars 22-24.[68] Repetitions like these ensure that Johnson's compositions form a coherent well rounded-off whole. For the same reason, musical material from Johnson's pavans is also re-used in their companion galliards. This re-using ranges from the citation of the first bar in each strain, as in nos. 1 and 2, to the repetition in the galliard, in a triple measure, of whole passages or even complete strains of the pavan; see the *Delight* and *Flat* pairs, nos. 5-6 and 13-14. Johnson's eye for the overall line of his compositions is also manifest in the balanced architecture of his long variation works. Thus, in the *Quadro Pavans* nos. 15 and 18, in the A- and A'-sections, the movement in the divisions after a relaxed opening becomes faster and faster, to be brought to a complete standstill at the beginning of the B-section, after which the tension is built up again to reach its climax at the virtuoso finish.

As is already stated, a very important agent of style in Johnson's music is the repetition of rhythmical motifs. Especially in the diverse repeats of the dances and in the variation works, such as the *Quadro* and *Passamezzo* settings, this device is applied as the principal means of structuring the numerous divisions. These repeated motifs can be melodically identical (see no. 1 *Pavan*, bars 25-26), but it is just as often that one rhythmical pattern is repeated with divergent melodic material (see no. 1 *Pavan*, bars 42-43). It even occurs that a particular rhythmical motif is divided over two voices; see no. 15 *Quadro Pavan*, bar 46. Repetition of the rhythmical motif of a whole bar, as in the examples given, appears often, but we also frequently see repeats of smaller rhythmical elements; see for instance no. 3 *Long Pavan*, bars 33 and 35. This style-agent is absent from almost no single work of Johnson's, and is prominently present in many of his compositions (see for example no. 7 *Pavan*). It is one of the most important characteristics of his music.

Johnson is also set apart from his English contemporaries by the clear structuring of his divisions: many pieces in the 'linear' style are characterized by endless and aimless divisions, which often consist of unstructured sequences of semiquavers. Johnson, however, often uses his divisions to bring out the melodic or rhythmical structure of the embellished passage. To that end he usually breaks a long figuration into parts, by using melodic lines and scalar runs, sometimes in the form of ascending or descending thirds, as in no. 17 *Quadro Pavan*, bar 10. He also knows how to arouse a suggestion of polyphony by writing large intervals (see no. 21 *Passamezzo Pavan*, bars 27-30). The most important structural element in his divisions is however the already mentioned repetition of rhythmical motifs. For this he shows a preference for using certain rhythmical patterns. We very often see a quaver followed by six or more semi-quavers ♪ 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 , for that matter an extremely common pattern in English lute music. More characteristic of Johnson, because less often used by other composers, is the pattern which he uses fairly frequently, 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 in pavans, 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 ♩ ♩ in galliards: see no. 10 *Pavan*, bars 50-51, and the C'-strain in no. 6b *De-*

68 Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 69.

light Galliard. The reverse pattern also appears regularly; see for example no. 1 *Pavan*, bars 42-43, and no. 2 *Galliard*, passim. The pattern most often used by Johnson, and likewise an important hallmark of his style, is the lively pattern  in galliards, in pavans; see for example no. 7 *Pavan*, bars 12, 13, 14, 24, 26 and 38, where this pattern appears a total of seven times. This rhythmical pattern is, of course, also used by other composers, but not nearly as frequent as by Johnson. Sometimes he also writes it in note values of double length, especially in the pavans; see for instance no. 7 *Pavan*, bars 4, 7, 18 and 20.

Furthermore, Johnson has at his fingertips a whole range of devices which he regularly applies, in order to enliven his compositions and especially to create diversity, thus avoiding monotony. In the divisions he does this by greatly extending the range, both virtuoso upward in the highest reach of the lute (see no. 19 *Passamezzo Pavan*, bar 47) and downwards to the bass register, where occasionally he adds embellishments also to the middle or bass voice (see no. 18 *Quadro Pavan*, bars 31 and 48). Now and then, a line of successive chords will be rhythmically broken up (see for instance no. 21 *Passamezzo Pavan*, bars 22-23, and no. 34 *Walsingham*, bars 45-46). Another device is the alternation of scalar runs with homophonic passages. Furthermore, he frequently uses homophonic passages, in which the melody and bass plus chords move together, as a contrast with the more polyphonically-tinted parts of his music, thereby ensuring that the melody remains interesting: see for example no. 36 *Old Medley*, bars 33-40. We find a rather different approach to homophony in no. 5 *Delight Pavan*, bars 37 and 39: here there is no question of a melodic line; the piece progresses only by means of the chord changes. Sometimes Johnson goes even further: he writes homophonic passages in which the same chord is repeated in a particular rhythmic pattern, whereby accordingly both the melody and harmony become subordinate to the rhythm. We see these block chords in a few galliards, but also elsewhere: see for example the galliards nos. 6, 24 and 29, and no. 36 *Old Medley*, bars 17-24.

There are a few more devices which Johnson uses to ensure the necessary diversity. He regularly shifts the position of a composition upwards, using thereby only the three upper courses of the lute. We see this especially at the beginning of the galliards, for instance of nos. 6 and 23. To the same end, he occasionally omits the bass line, especially in cadenzas to *g*, where the tenor drops stepwise in crotchets; the upper voice then often moves parallel to the tenor (see no. 4 *Pavan*, bar 17). Other passages without bass line run into a two-voiced texture in the form of a short duet between soprano and alto: for example in no. 24 *Galliard*, bars 9 and 11, and in no. 34 *Walsingham*, bar 55. We hardly ever see a complete shift of position downwards, whereby the upper courses are not used; this would be a less obvious choice for the lute.

There remain a few characteristics of Johnson's style still to be mentioned, which are of less structural importance for his music, but which return often throughout his works. In a cadence to *c*, the root position chord on *c* is quite often followed by a small embellishment on the first string, beginning with the rising notes *a'-b'-c"*, and after that descending again (see for example no. 13a *Flat Pavan*, bar 24).[69] Another recurring touch is the repetition, usually on the *f*-course, of a note that was present in a chord played immediately beforehand (as in no. 1 *Pavan*, bar 39, and no. 18 *Quadro Pavan*, bar 23).

Johnson composes highly idiomatically for the lute: he is very aware of the restrictions and possibilities of the instrument, and his compositions are made to measure. He often uses the possibility of playing the same note in two different positions together (see no. 6 *Delight Galliard*, bar 19). Sometimes, in scalar runs at the end of a piece, he plays notes on the beat that can be held on the lute, thus creating a polyphonic impression in a linear passage (see no. 21 bars 29-30 and no. 29 bar 63). Johnson's idiomatic approach does cause similar passages to crop up in pieces that, other

69 Other composers can also be recognized from their particular closing flourish; Cutting for instance writes his own flourish in several works (identified by Stephen Carpenter; see *Lute News, The Lute Society newsletter* 38, p. 3), and also in Holborne's lute works and Byrd's keyboard music can individual closing formulas easily be discerned.

than key and genre, have nothing in common. Some of the most characteristic features have already been mentioned: the cadence *g-c* is often realised in an identical fashion, and the same goes for the cadences *a-g* and *f-e flat*, as well as the figuration in a final chord on *c*, and in pavans in *f* the cadence *c-f* and the sequence *f-d flat*^{6}*-c* (see no. 7 *Pavan*, bars 3-4, 17-18 and 31-32). It may be that because of the peculiarities of the lute, Johnson does not avoid the otherwise forbidden parallel fifths and octaves; a particularly striking example can be found in no. 2 *Galliard*, bars 3 and 21.[70]

Treble and ground duets form an important part of Johnson's output. These are often long and virtuoso play pieces. A number of the stylistic peculiarities of these duets have been pointed out by Lyle Nordstrom.[71] To a large extent they concur with the characteristics which in the preceding pages have been pointed out with respect to Johnson's solo pieces for the lute. This concerns in particular his variation works like the *Quadro* and *Passamezzo* settings, as well as the divisions of his dance pieces.

In the trebles likewise the most important aspect is the repetition of lively rhythmical patterns (often combined with catchy melodic lines), that endow these pieces with a solid structure as well as speed; melodic elements are often treated sequentially by repeating hem one note higher or lower. A number of treble variations are built upon a single rhythmical motif, that is sometimes extended or varied: see for instance variations 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 in no. 59 *First Dump*. By repeating the rhythmical pattern of certain variations later on in a piece a composition is given it's stylistic unity: thus the rhythm of variations 2 and 3 in the *First Dump* is repeated in variations 4 and 5, while a similar relationship exists between variations 7 (the conclusion of the first part of the piece) and 13 (which concludes the piece as a whole). In the same piece can be noted that the build-up of the rhythm from a slow to a fast movement in variations 1-7 and 11-13, enhances the internal construction and at the same time leads to a logical conclusion. Every now and than rhythmic and melodic motifs are repeated an octave higher or lower (compare no. 57 *Short Almain 1* bars 44 and 46, and no. 66 *Trenchmore* bars 15-16, 33, 51). Similar 'echo'-effects can be found in Johnson's solo pieces: compare no. 17 *Quadro Pavan* bars 23 and 26, no. 18 *Quadro Pavan* bars 13 and 34 and no. 19 *Passamezzo Pavan* bars 47-48. Quite regularly Johnson alternates fast moving passages with slower ones, sometimes by braking chords in a lyrical way: see for example no. 58 *Short Almain 2* variation 4 and no. 60 *Second Dump* variation 12. The same procedure is followed in some of Johnson's solos: see no. 11 *La Vecchia Pavan* bar 22 and no. 34 *Walsingham* bars 45-47. Similarly longer passages with uninterrupted quaver or semi-quaver movement are frequently structured and enlivened by the repetition of scalar runs or, mostly at the beginning of an ascending figure, by the repetition of a single note: see for instance no. 57 *Short Almain 1* bars 18-19 and no. 58 *Short Almain 2* bars 43, 45-46.[72] At the end of trebles, Johnson often writes one or more variations in triple rhythm: see no. 61 *Rogero*. Compared to other composers, such as Alfonso Ferrabosco I and Richard Allison, Johnson distinguishes himself in a positive sense through the use of all these stylistic features: compare for instance the trebles of these two other composers in Pickeringe, f. 10v-11r and 11v-12r respectively, with their square and monotonous rhythm.

Often Johnson's trebles too show the use of fixed rhythmical patterns such as , or , which above have been mentioned as being among the most characteristic elements in his solo works; see for example no. 59 *First Dump* bars 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 45, 46 and no. 60 *Second Dump* bars 37-40. To this we can add the regularly encountered feature of a turn around one note, : see for instance no. 56 *Flat*

70 Although these parallel fifths and octaves are found less in pieces by Johnson than in the lute works of the accomplished composer of 'art-music' Alfonso Ferrabosco; see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 76.

71 Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 31-35; see also Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 69-73.

72 Similar repetitions can sometimes be found in solo works: compare no. 7 *Pavan* bars 38-39 and no. 21 *Passamezzo Pavan* bars 27-28.

Galliard bars 41-43 and no. 66 *Trenchmore* bars 27-30.[73] However, these characteristic rhythmical patterns are less frequent in the trebles than in the solos; perhaps in the trebles more rhythmical variation is needed to avoid monotony. Because of the same reason such rhythmical motifs are often varied in the trebles: compare in no. 59 *First Dump* bars 11, 23 and 48, where we find a variation on the first of the earlier mentioned rhythmical patterns: ♩♫♩♫♩♩ .

A number of other stylistic characteristics of Johnson's treble and ground duets remain to be mentioned. Cross-relations are more frequently encountered in the trebles than in the solos; see for example no. 59 *First Dump* variations 7, 12 and 13, where in the treble we find an *e* against an *e-flat* in the ground. In particular in fast moving final cadences descending thirds occur frequently; see for example no. 65 *Wakefield on a Green* bar 40.[74] In ascending scalar runs in semiquavers Johnson often raises the lead note to the dominant: see for instance *Wakefield on a Green* bar 46.[75] In the trebles Johnson utilizes the sonority of the lute more clearly than in the solo pieces, by exploring the various registers alternately. The full range of the instrument is used (see no. 64 *Goodnight* bars 57-58 and no. 65 *Wakefield on a Green* bars 34-38, 42-43), there is a frequent occurrence of high position play (as in no. 66 *Goodnight* bars 23-24, 47-49, 58-60, 73-80), and sometimes complete passages remain restricted to the three highest or, more typical, to the three lowest courses of the lute (see no. 64 *Goodnight* bars 31-40, 65-71 and no. 66 *Trenchmore* bars 10, 32).

It goes without saying that none of Johnson's pieces display all of the mentioned characteristics together. Here, we have simply made an inventory of the musical material from which the composer has drawn frequently during his creative labour. Constantly present in his music are his expressive melodies, that are often strengthened by the self-evident harmonics, the rhythmic vitality and the deliberate and firm architecture of his works. These notions are of course somewhat vague, and usually depend on ones own insight: they are difficult to locate directly in the notated music. It is obvious however that Johnson's relatively advanced harmonics, such as the logical and expressive use of inverted chords, distinguish him from the other composers in the early 'linear' style. That also goes for some more specific characteristics like the techniques used to enliven his divisions, such as the important repeats of rhythmical motifs and the use of particular rhythmical patterns.

We have already seen that Johnson was born around 1550 or possibly slightly earlier. Therefore his first compositions must date from around 1570, or perhaps already from around 1565. It is very difficult to establish a chronology of his works, because most of them are found exclusively in manuscripts; only a few of his pieces occur in printed lute books, which usually originate from the continent, and date from after his death.[76] The exact dating of the relevant English lute manuscripts is difficult to establish, but according to the watermarks and the stylistic characteristics of most of the music found in them, most manuscripts date from 1595 onward. From the years 1570–1594, when Johnson was active as a musician, only a small number of manuscripts has survived, so the majority of Johnson's works was probably already quite old by the time they got to be notated in these lute books. In any case, his works were still being copied more than 20 years after his death; see the lute manuscripts of Margaret Board and Jane Pickeringe.

Nordstrom already mentions a thing or two about the dating of Johnson's treble and ground duets.[77] These pieces are mainly found in two manuscripts: Marsh and the early part of Dd.3.18. Marsh is now dated in the 1580's, while Nordstrom seems to imply that the early part of Dd.3.18 must have been written before 1588. It seems safe

73 This figure is also found in solo pieces, as in no. 17 *Quadro Pavan* bar 45.

74 This particular figure can also be found in a number of solos, as in no. 17 *Quadro Pavan* bar 10 (already mentioned) and no. 21 *Passamezzo Pavan* bar 24.

75 This also occurs occasionally in solos: see no. 4 *Pavan* bar 24.

76 Nos. 4, 9, 10 and 36 were printed in tablature, and nos. 5, 6, 26, 31 and 36 in keyboard adaptations.

77 Nordstrom, *Cambridge Consort Books*, p. 73-75.

to assume that Johnson wrote his treble and ground duets in the 1570's and 1580's, in a relatively short space of time, as there are hardly any traces of a stylistic development in them, as it is the case with the solo pieces. The four equal duets are probably of later date, from the latter part of the composer's life, as they are adaptations either of solos or of trebles (see the commentary to nos. 51-54).

As to Johnson's solo pieces, there are none of them in the three earliest English lute manuscripts, Royal App. 58, Bowle and Lodge (the first two are from the 1550's, the latter is from the 1570's), or at least Johnson's name is not mentioned in them. Works by Johnson are copied though in the early Willoughby lute book, dating from around 1575: therein we find the *Delight Pavan and Galliard* and the galliards in *G* (nos. 5, 6, 22 and 43); therefore these must be early pieces. This can also be said of the pieces in the Dallis lute book (circa 1583), which includes the *Delight Pavan*, the *Flat Pavan* (the *Flat Galliard* is lacking here, but must have been composed together with the pavan, on account of its stylistic characteristics), the first *Quadro Pavan* in *C*, the *Omnino Galliard*, the *French Galliard* and the *Old Medley* (nos. 13, 14, 17, 27, 28 and 36). The *Old Medley* certainly antedates 1584, probably quite considerably, as a botched version is included in the Adriaensen print *Pratum Musicum* of that year, while the piece is also mentioned in Munday's *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts*, that was published in 1588 but registered in 1584, as 'Iohnsons Medley'. The titles *Flat Pavan* and *La Vecchia Pavan* are also mentioned by Munday, but these titles do not necessarily refer to compositions by Johnson (nos. 11-14), as other composers also wrote pieces using the same basic material. *Packington's Galliard* (no. 44) must date from before 1587, as John Packington was knighted in that year, and the then expected title Sir is lacking. The setting for mixed consort of the *Quadro Pavan* attributed to Richard Allison (no. 40) occurs in the Walsingham consort book, that was written in 1588; if this setting is indeed derived from a solo by Johnson, this solo has to date from before that year. The pieces in Marsh and the pieces notated by hand A in the Wickhambrook manuscript must also have been copied in the 1580's.

The pieces handed down in other than the above mentioned manuscripts are not necessarily later works. In this respect we must mention *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* (nos. 11 and 12), the *Quadro Pavans* in *G* and *C* and their galliards (nos. 15, 16, 17 and 39), *Rogero* (no. 33), the *Pavan* in *c* (no. 37) and the *Almain* (no. 43). On stylistic grounds all of these could be attributed to the earlier period of Johnson's life, as they display all of the characteristics of the 'linear' style. On the other hand, pieces like the *Pavan and Galliard* (nos. 1 and 2), the *Long Pavan* (no. 3) and the *Pavans* in *f* (nos. 7 and 10), both versions of *Carman's Whistle* (no. 32) and the *Ground* (no. 35) seem to have been subjected to a further musical development: these display a more complex structure, fuller chords (usually four or more notes to predominantly three in earlier works), more attention for the middle voices – that now form real melodic lines (see the B section of *Pavan* no. 1) but nevertheless still lack imitation[78] –, and less extended passagework that is structured more clearly through repeated rhythmical patterns, as for example in the repeated sections of the dances. Johnson's style also develops harmonically: the early pieces have less inverted chords, especially on the beat, than the later works (see for instance the *Flat Pavan and Galliard* and the *Omnino* and *French Galliards*), but on the other hand the early pieces have more instances of awkward clashes of bass and upper voices on the main beat in divisions, a feature typical of the 'linear' style (see the *French Galliard* bar 14). Probably very early is the oldest version of the *Omnino Galliard*; it has hardly any divisions in the varied repeats. It is possible that the other short *Galliard* no. 25, which has also only four bars per section, belongs to the same period. A further characteristic of Johnson's earliest style could be the extended dotted rhythm ♩. ♫. ♫. ♪ , as seen in the earlier version of the *Omnino Galliard*, and which can also be found in pieces like the *Delight Pavan* (bar 3) and *Galliard* (bar 26) and the *Galliard* no. 22 (bars 9, 41, 43, 45).

The development of Johnson's style can also be determined from the differences that exist between earlier and later versions that are extant of

78 Two instances of imitation can be noticed: in the *Delight Pavan* bars 5-6 and in *Galliard* no. 24 bars 3-4. In both cases the bass is repeated up an octave in the upper voice.

some of his pieces. We may assume that the copyists of lute manuscripts have generally been faithful to the original; this is suggested by the almost identical versions that have been independently handed down of complicated works like Johnson's *Quadro Pavan* (no. 18) and the *Old Spanish Pavan* (no. 42). As variant readings are not, or only in small part, the result of alterations by a copyist, it follows that composers revised their pieces constantly; in fact this was a practise very common to renaissance artists who rarely considered a piece as 'finished'. Instrumental music in particular was rooted deeply in a tradition of improvising by virtuoso musicians such as Johnson himself. Thus there was no definitive version of a given piece, and the various readings therefore represent different stages in its development.[79] This phenomenon is also seen with other lute composers: Dowland's *Can she excuse* is undoubtedly an early version of the revised piece published in 1610 with the new title *Earl of Essex his Galliard*.[80] There are many variant forms of Johnson's pieces in the sources. Versions showing important harmonic or melodic deviations are given in full in our edition, as they might represent Johnson's own revisions.[81]

When we study the differences in the various versions of Johnson's pieces, it becomes clear that his sense of harmony increases as time passes. In the second version of the *Omnino Galliard* (no. 27) we can see how he prepares the dominant *g* at the close of section C. In similar manner bar 3 of the second version of the *Delight Pavan* (no. 5) displays a more harmonically raised note *B* as a support below the subdominant *c* where before we had a *B-flat*, while bar 7 sees the introduction of a third inversion dominant seventh chord. An unprepared first inversion is added on the first beat of the C-section of the revised version of *Lord Burgh's Galliard* (no. 26). Johnson's division technique seems to have developed as well. Identical passages are no longer repeated quite so mechanically as before: see for example the early setting of the *Delight Pavan*, where the same scalar run appears in bars 7, 12 and 15. Likewise, the figurations have been extended in the second version of the *Omnino Galliard*. Divisions are structured more clearly through the use of repeated rhythmic patterns (see the *Delight, Flat* and *Quadro Pavans*, nos. 5, 13 and 15). Finally, it can be noticed that revised dances have a tendency to become more stylised; the *Delight Pavan* and *Lord Burgh's Galliard* have in the later versions clearly lost some of their rhythmic dance quality. These altered compositions also show us the ways in which Johnson changed his pieces. Sometimes he replaced sections with completely new material, as is the case in the *Flat Pavan* and the *Quadro Pavan*. On other occasions he moves certain passages to other positions in the piece: section B' of the first version of the *Omnino Galliard* becomes section B after the revision, and certain scalar runs in *La Vecchia Pavan* are moved up a few bars.

Finally, we may reflect on the importance of the compositions of John Johnson on the early development of English music for lute. It is very well possible that foreigners initiated an English lute tradition. At the royal court a large number of musicians from the continent were employed, and some of these were lute players. Vincenzo Capirola visited England for some time in 1515, and in the second quarter of the sixteenth century Philip van Wilder from Flanders is mentioned. A little later, in the 1560's and 1570's, the royal court employs some Italian musicians, including the lutenist Alfonso Ferrabosco.[82] However, we must be careful not to overestimate their influence on English lute music. Pieces by these foreigners are found only sporadically in English sources, and the music by Ferrabosco only appears in manuscripts and printed sources that are from a much later date, when in fact his music is already quite old-fashioned. Musically, it would seem that the foreigners adopted the English style, while the English were not, at least at this time, very prone

79 See also Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 68.

80 Dowland, *Lute music*, nos. 42 and 42a.

81 See nos. 5, 6, 13, 15, 26, 27, 32, 36, 38, 39, 44 and 68.

82 Lute music which possibly was composed by Italian musicians at the English court was collected by John H. Robinson in a supplement of the *Lute News. The Lute Society Magazine* 50.

to influences from the continent. Ferrabosco's pavans, for example, were written in the English way, while his polyphonically written fantasias in the continental style acquired no followers in England. As for Johnson, he only appeared at the royal court at the time when Ferrabosco had already gone.[83]

The sources clearly show how English lute music went its own way, in many aspects independent from continental developments as regards style, technique and repertoire. It is very probable that Johnson played a crucial part in the progress of this music. In comparison with the amateurish, mostly anonymous compositions of the 1560's–1580's, his pieces present a remarkable step forwards both musically as well as as technically. His is a very idiomatic musical style, with a secure sense of harmony, a large amount of virtuosity, and a full range of expressions, from bright and jolly to melancholy. All in all it would appear that Johnson played as important a role for the lute as in the same years did William Byrd for the keyboard. It is in any case certain that Johnson strongly influenced the next generation of English lute players. That goes for composers like Richard Allison, Anthony Holborne (compare his *Cradle of Conceites* with Johnson's *Pavan* no. 1) and Francis Cutting (whose *Walsingham* variations start virtually identically to Johnson's setting), but also John Dowland was affected by Johnson's works, as can be noticed in his early compositions like *Solus cum sola*, the *Melancholy Galliard* as well as the famous *Lachrimae Pavan*. John Johnson laid the foundation for the short but rich flowering of English lute music.

About the present edition

This edition of John Johnson's music for lute solo and lute duet has been made according to the following principles (the reasons for which have been outlined above). Of each piece we give the tablature, a transcription in staff notation and a commentary. The transcription into keyboard notation has been made without changing the note values: according to contemporary suggestions, the tablature rhythm sign without flag was transcribed as a semibreve ( ), the sign , with one flag, as a minim ( ), etcetera. For the duet trebles the transcription was made on one line, in the treble clef transposed an octave. Numbers and titles are given with each piece, as well as the manuscript from which each was taken. Attributions are given as in the manuscripts; usually 'John Johnson', 'Johnson' or 'Anonymous'.

The versions chosen for this publication are of course the ones the editor considered the best: they have the best musical text and show the least mistakes. Versions of pieces that are included in the first layer of the Wickhambrook lute MS are printed here as they appear in the manuscript. Where there are two clearly different versions of the same piece, both have been given here in full. This is the case with the *Delight Pavan and Galliard* (nos. 5 and 6), the *Flat Pavan* (no. 13), the *Quadro Pavan* in *G* (no. 15), *Lord Burgh's Galliard* (no. 26), *Omnino Galliard* (no. 27), *Carman's Whistle* (no. 32), the *Old Medley* (no. 36), *Packington's Galliard* (no. 44) and the *Dump* (no. 68). Three different versions are included of the *Quadro Pavan and Galliard* (nos. 38 and 39). The edited texts follow those of the manuscript sources. Corrections have only been made sparingly, where there is a clear case of a copying error: erroneous rhythm signs, tablature letters that are placed one the line too high or too low, or notes that were mistakenly left out altogether (mostly on the bass line). Very occasionally pieces were corrected more drastically, like certain instances in the *Long Pavan* (no. 3). All corrections made are mentioned in the commentary, and were

83 About the Fleming Philip van Wilder, see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 1-6. He was court lutenist at the time of Henry VIII; of his hand remain a number of chansons and possibly a few lute compositions. Alfonso Ferrabosco I came from Bologna and was active in England around 1562–1578. Of the many musicians who came to the English court from Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century, he was the most prolific lute player. As a composer he had had a solid polyphonic education; his great example was Orlandus Lassus. Spencer, *Alfonso Ferrabosco*, probably overestimates his importance for the development of English lute music. According to Ward, *o.c.*, p. 76, Johnson was not influenced by Ferrabosco's lute music, which lacks the variety and surprises of Johnson's pieces.

as far as possible based on other existing versions of the same piece. Only the irregularly placed bar lines, occurring frequently in many manuscripts, have been normalized silently.

Apart from this, the commentary includes a description of the differences between the various versions that exist, and the version included in this edition. In most cases it would be going too far to mention all the differences, and a choice of the most striking and important ones has been made. In practice this means that more could be said about a piece with but a few variants, or with very similar variants, whereas pieces found in many sources were treated more globally. Mentioned variants are: variations in melody lines, variations in basses and considerable harmonic variations. Clear or probable copyist's errors, less important harmonic deviations, and the sometimes vast array of different divisions in the varied repeats were considered less important, and are often omitted in the commentary. Everyone who wishes seriously to work on a given piece should endeavour to get to know as many versions as possible, in order to be able to make his or her own decisions and choices, and not to depend on the choices made by the editor.

TRANSCRIPTIONS

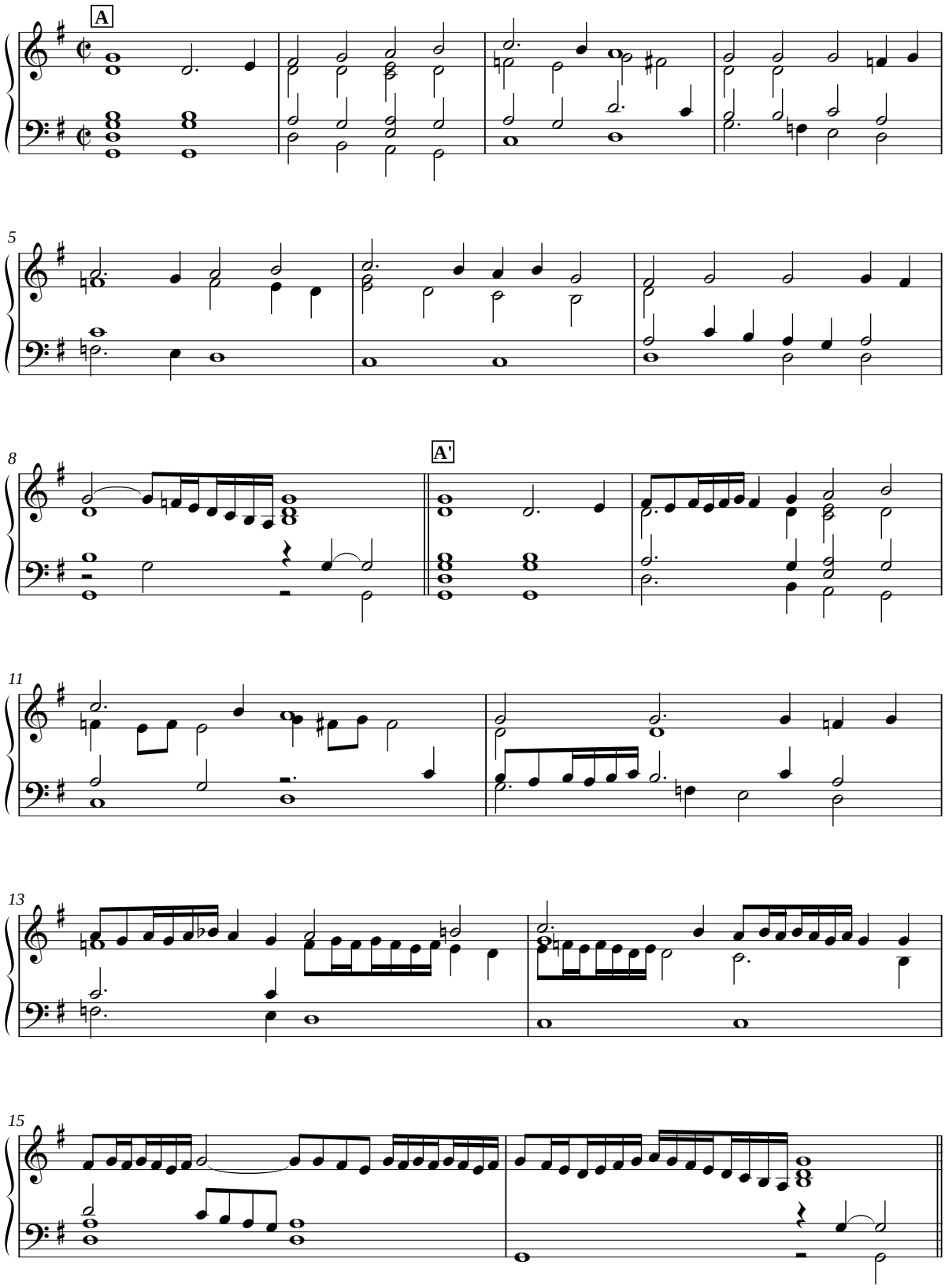
PART I

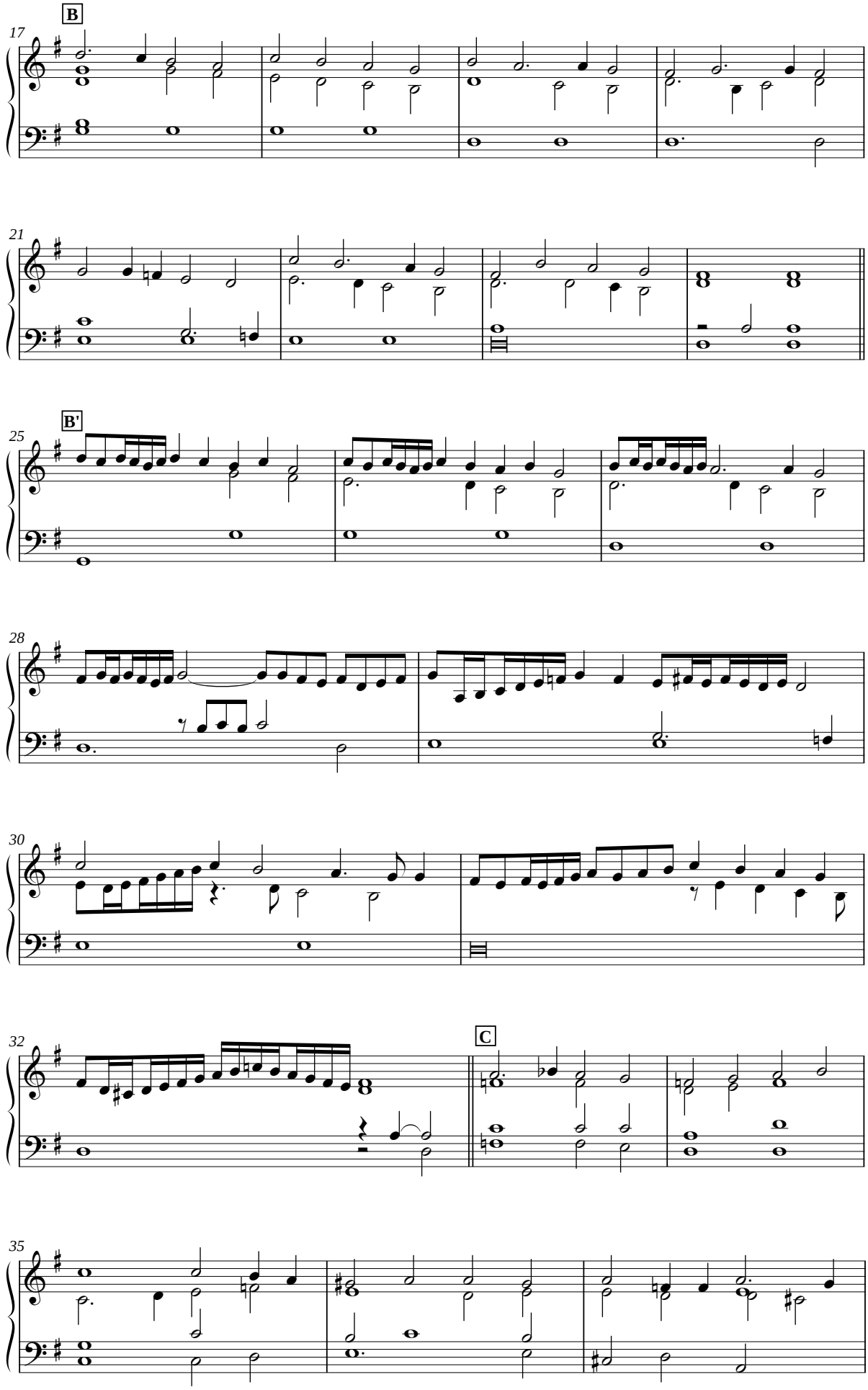
Pieces for lute solo

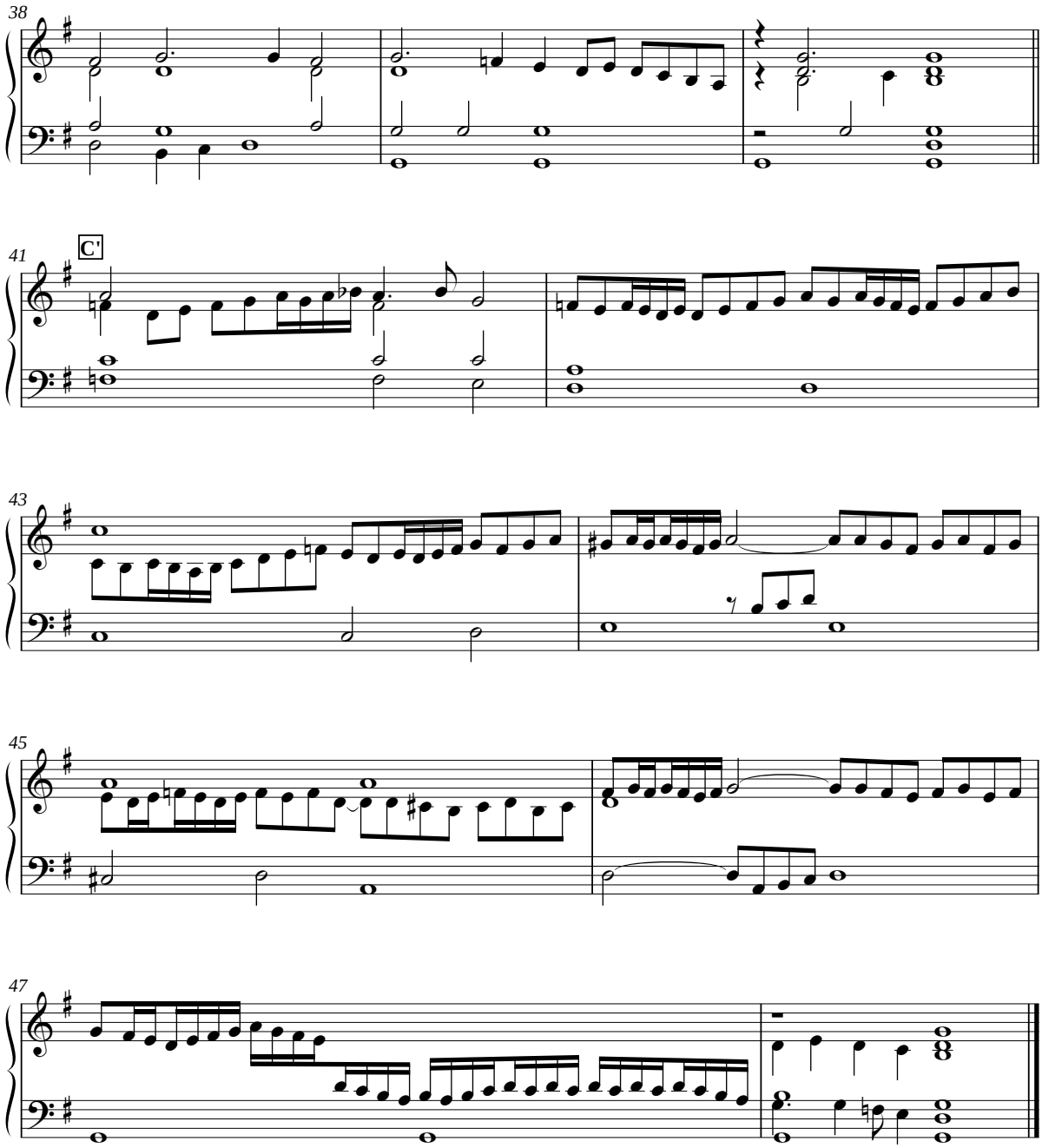
1. Pavan

Dd.2.11, f. 46r

John Johnson



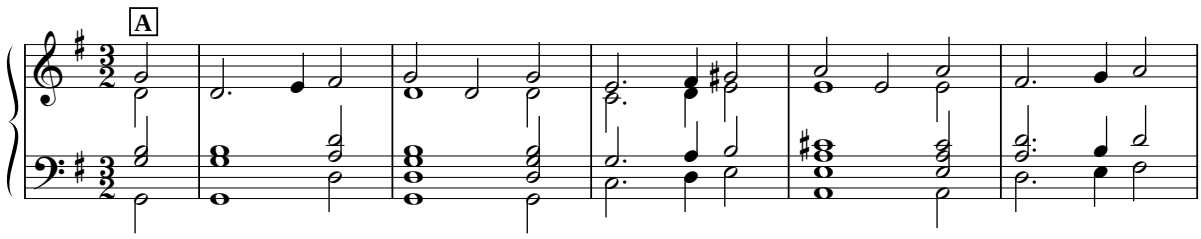

B
17
21
B'
25
28
30
32
C
35

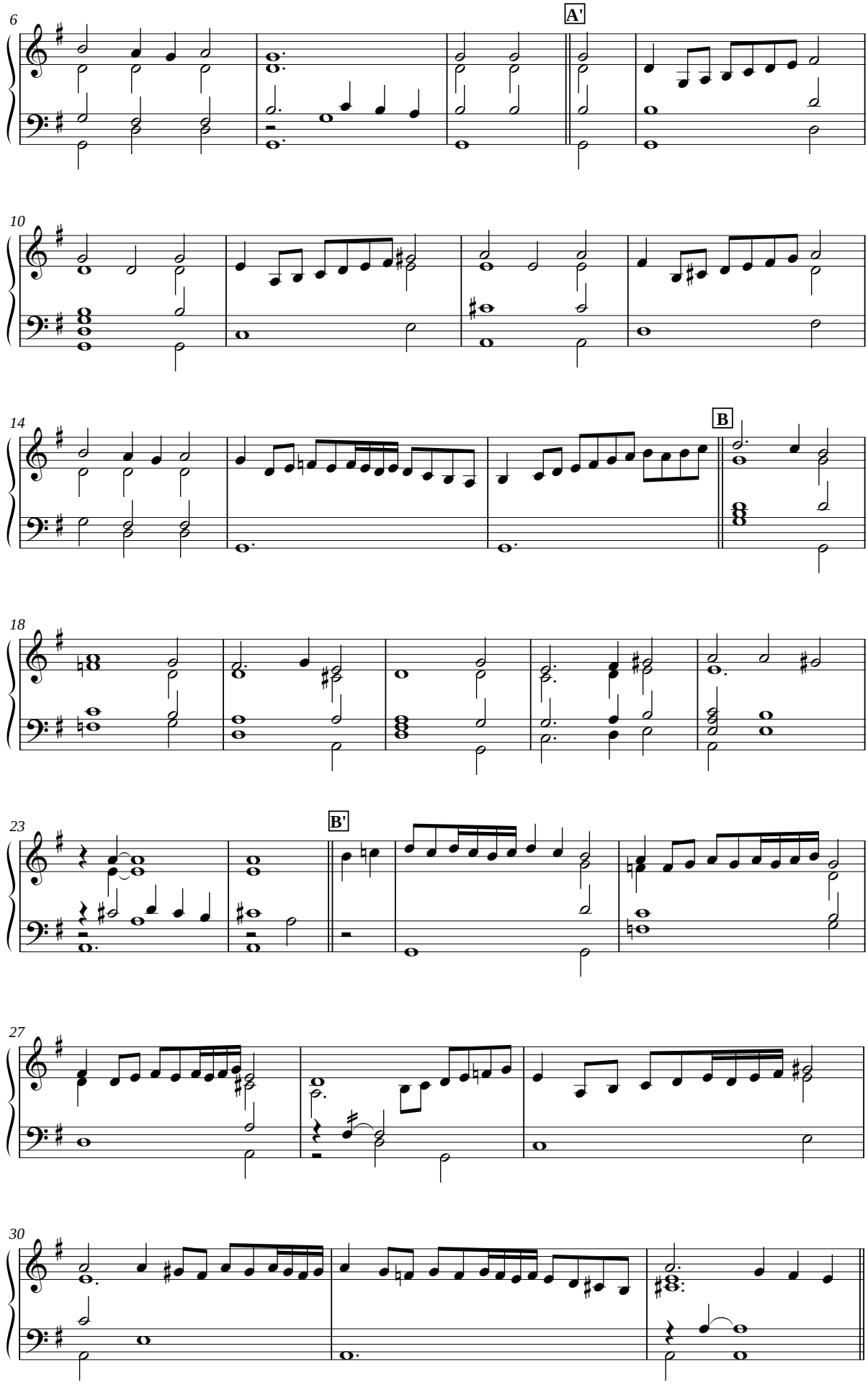


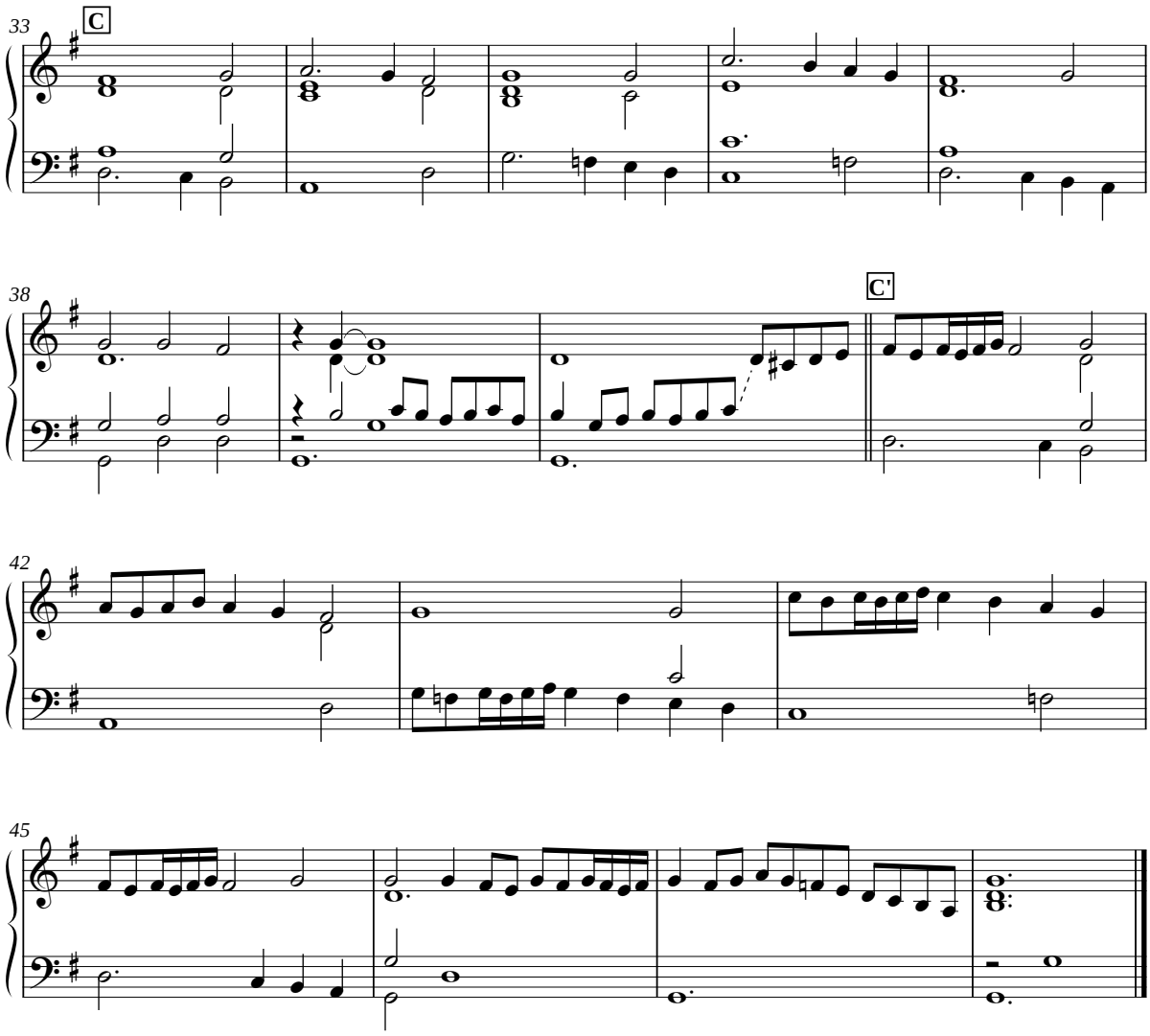
2. Galliard

Dd.2.11, f. 46v

John Johnson



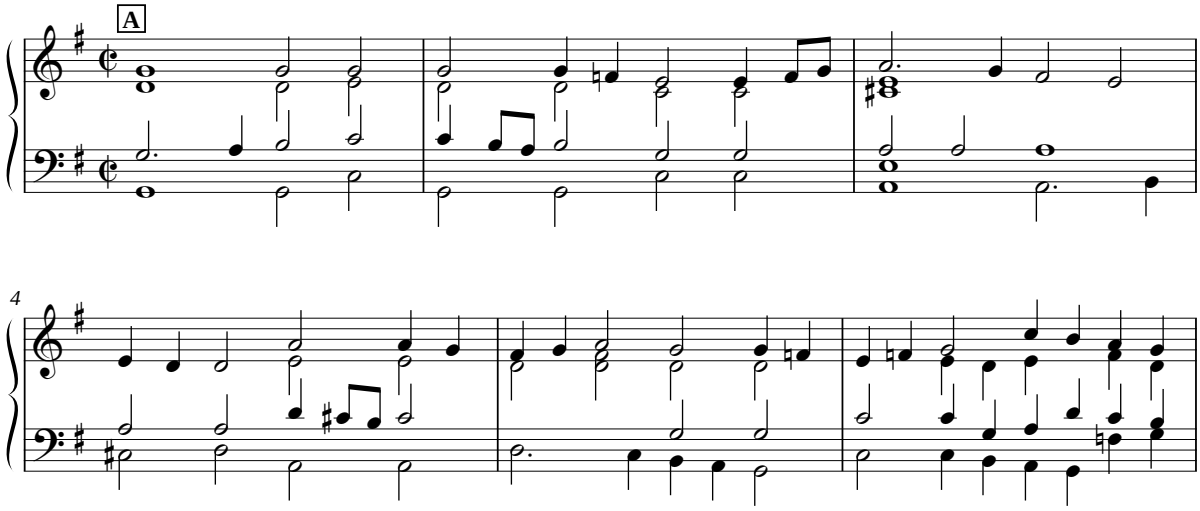

6
A'
10
14
B
18
23
B'
27
30

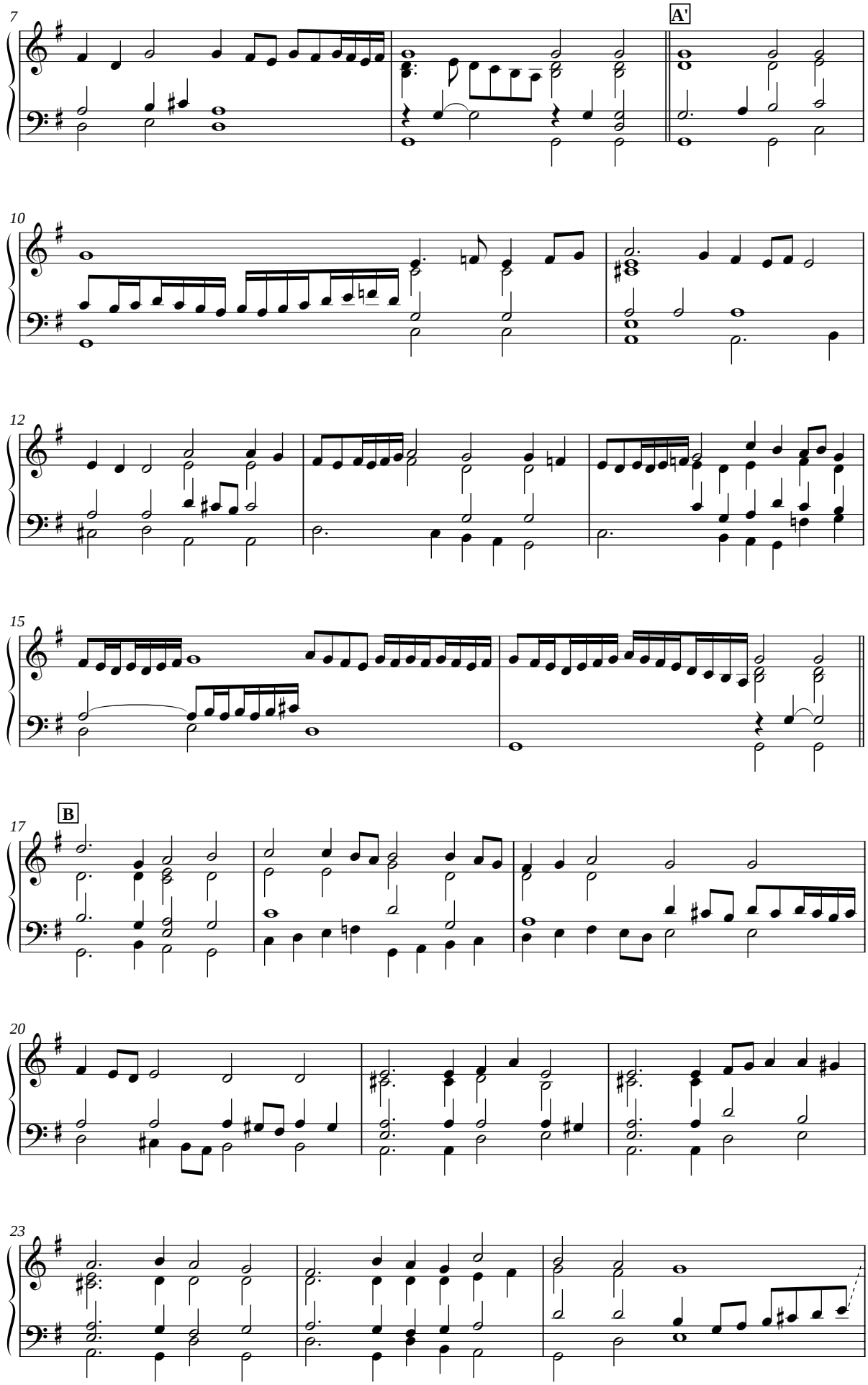


3. Long Pavan

Dd.2.11, f. 47v-48r

John Johnson




7
A'
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12
15
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B
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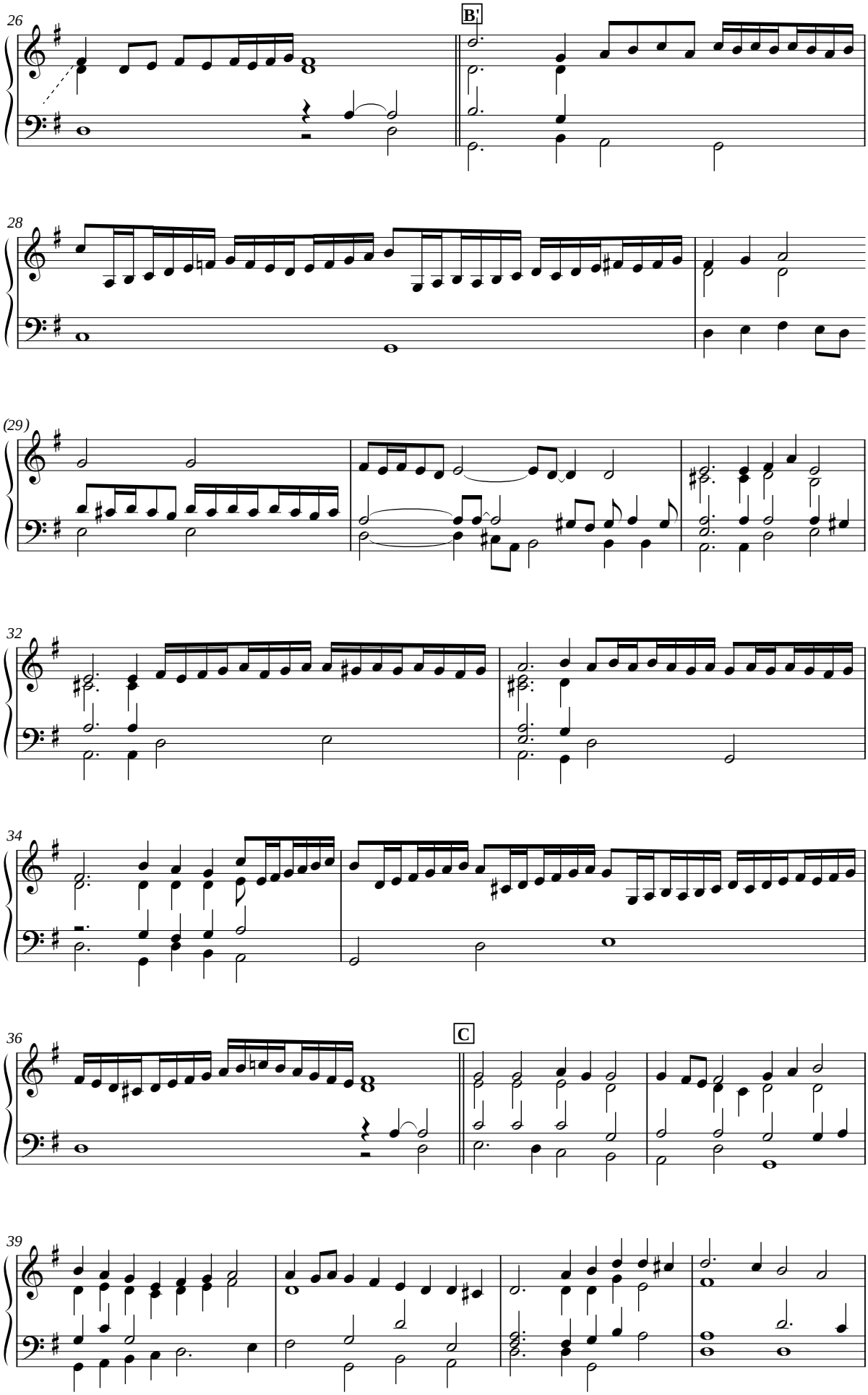
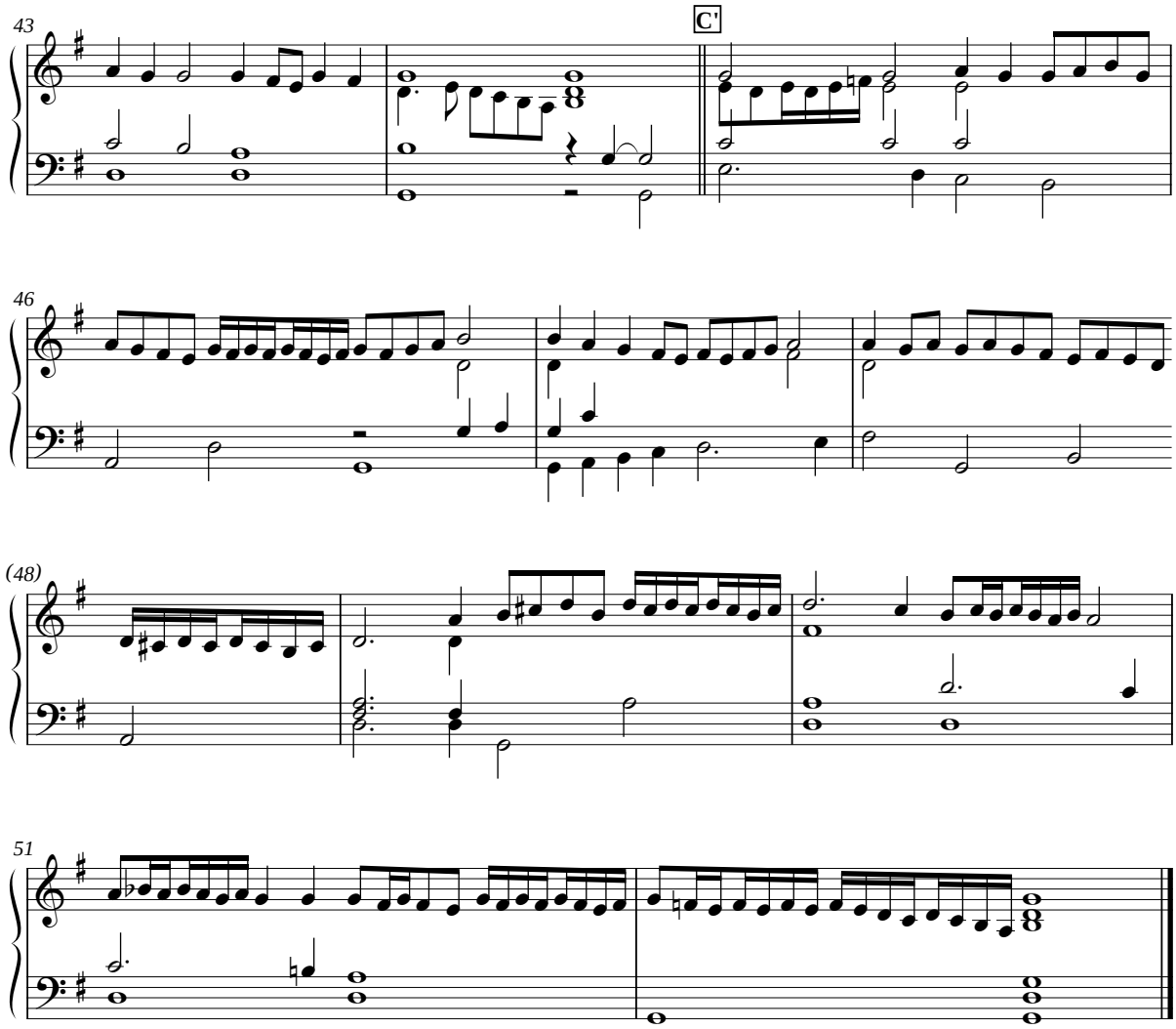
23

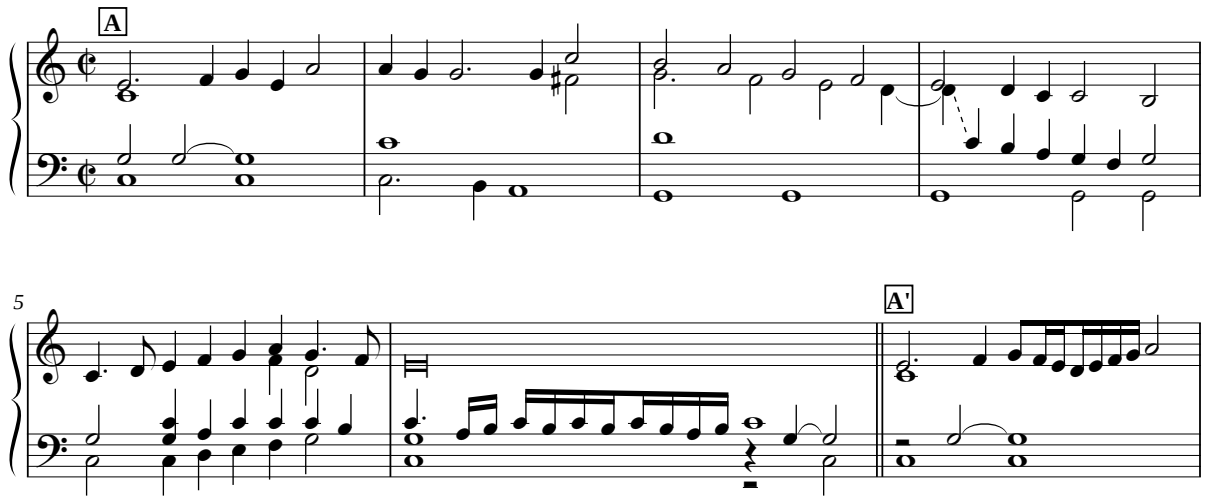

26
B'
28
(29)
32
34
36
C
39

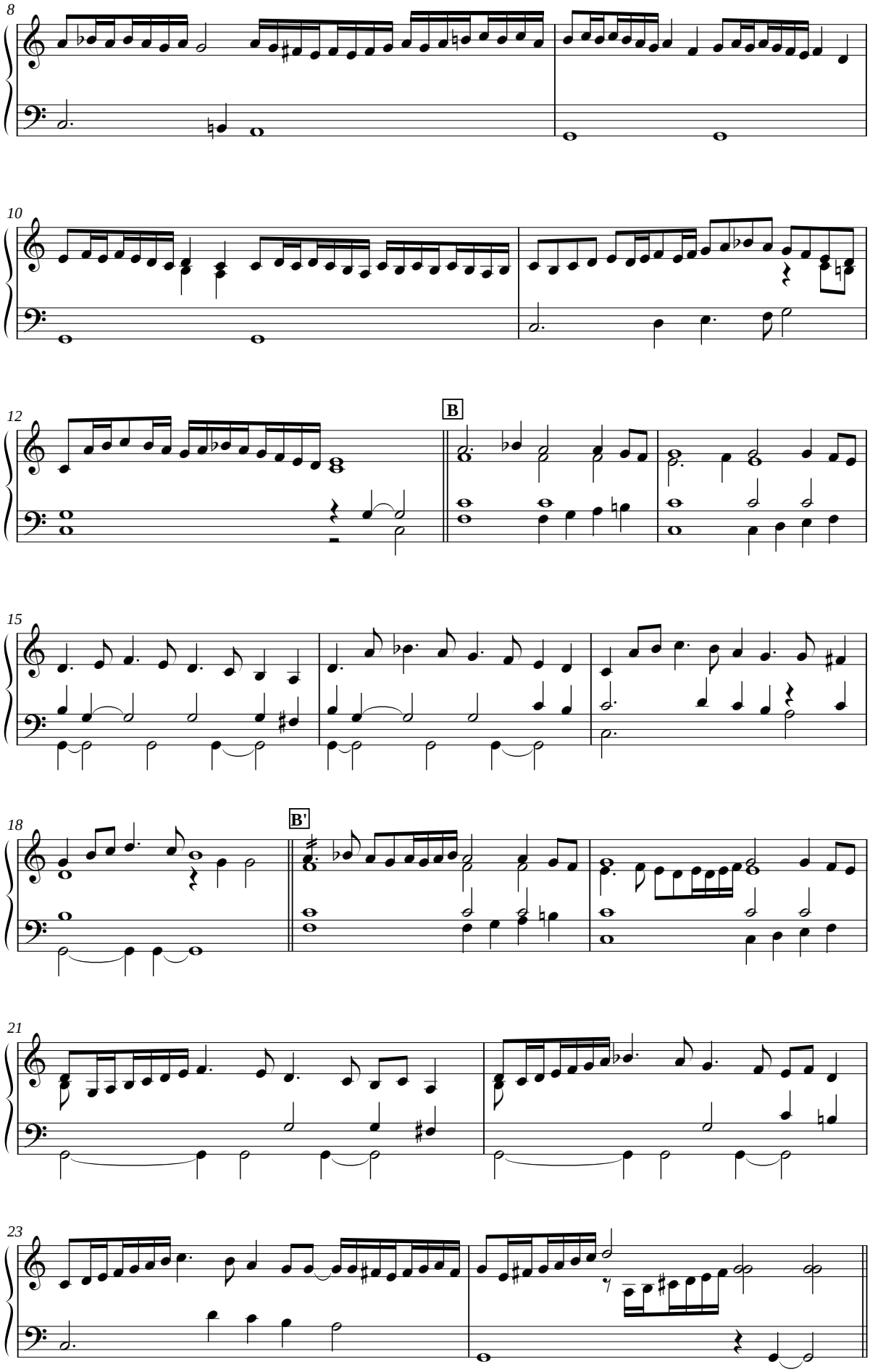


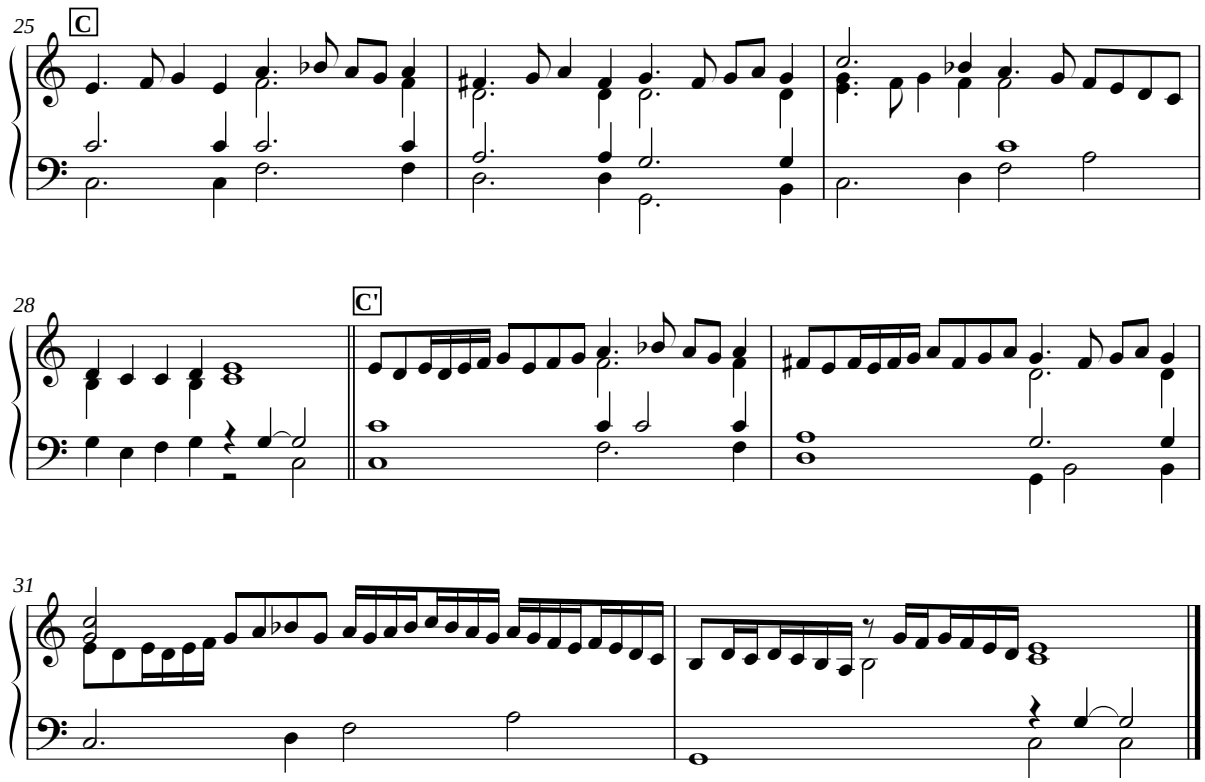
4. Pavan

Trumbull, f. 5v-6r

John Johnson



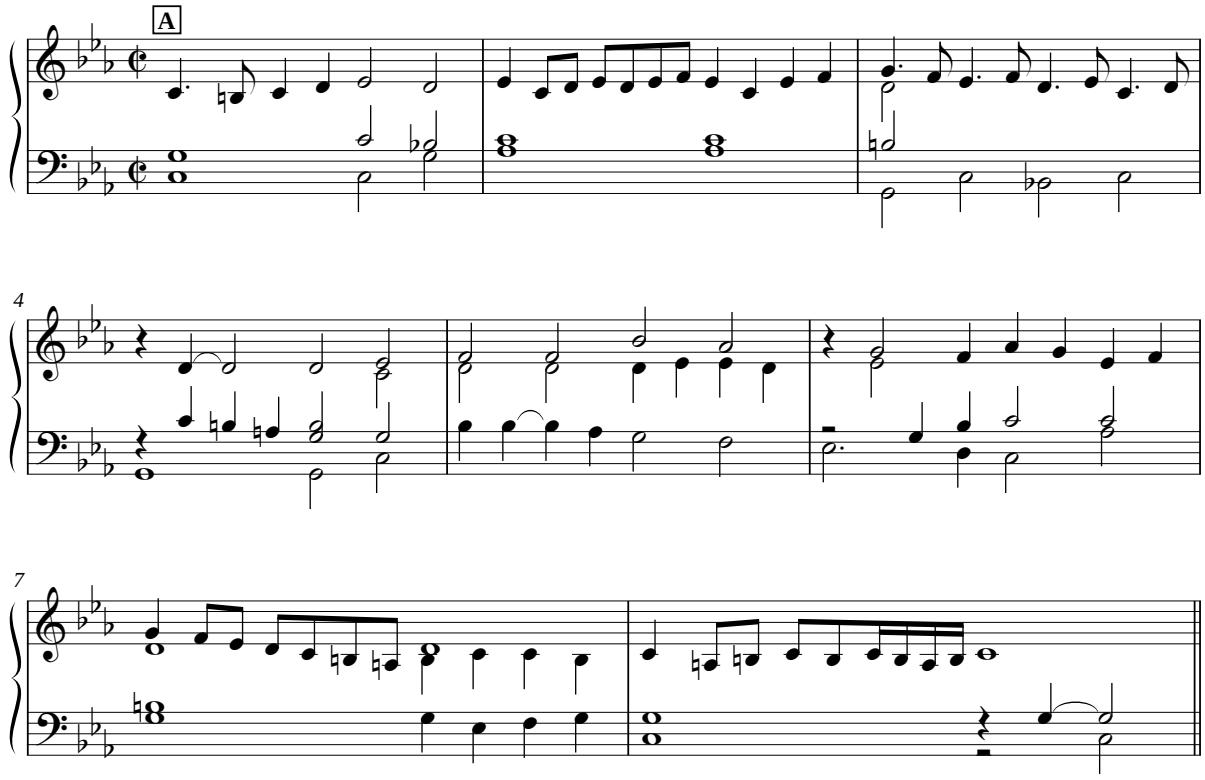

8
10
12
B
15
18
B'
21
23

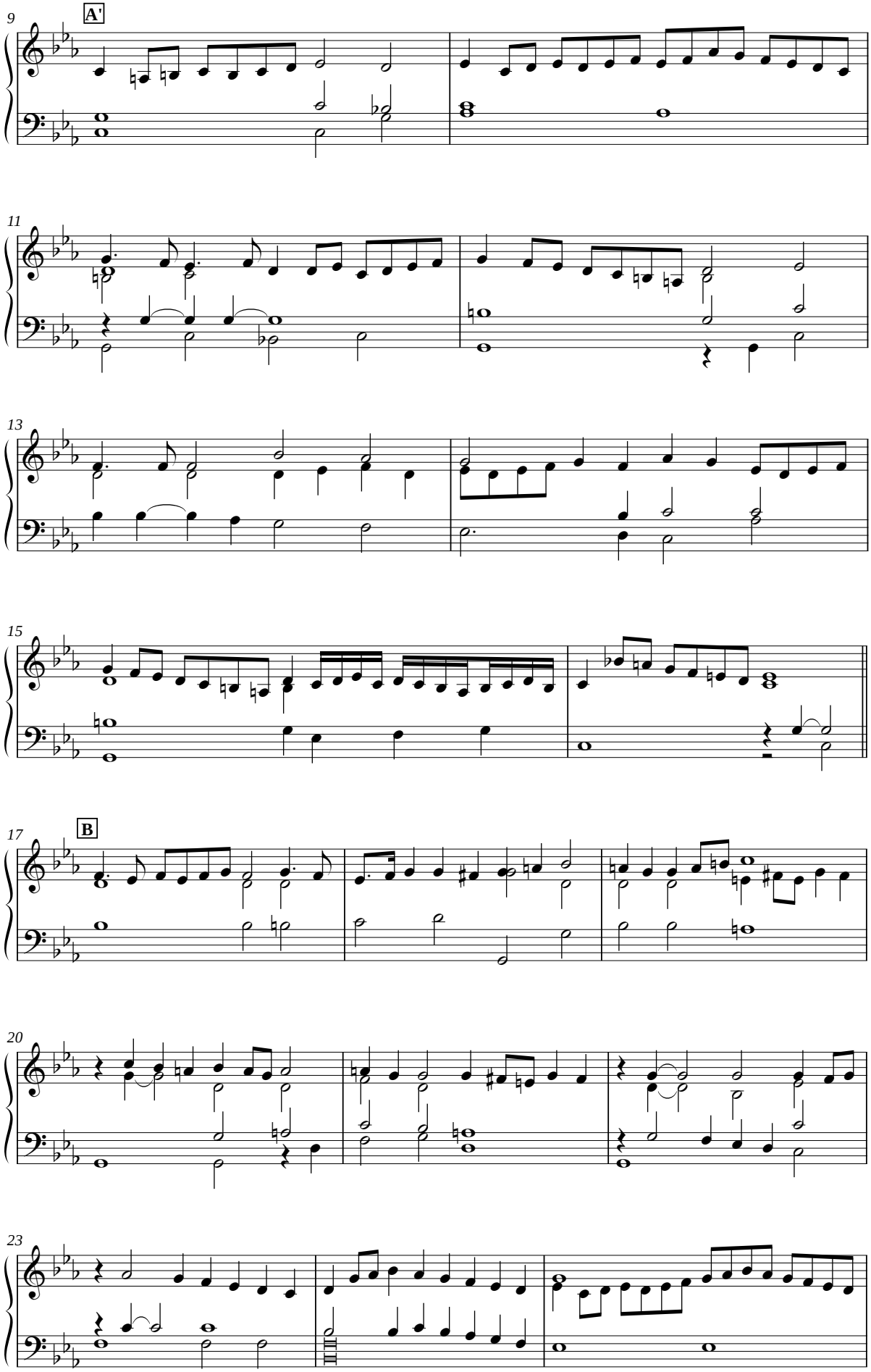


5a. Pavan to Delight

Willoughby, f. 25v-27v

John Johnson




9
A'
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B
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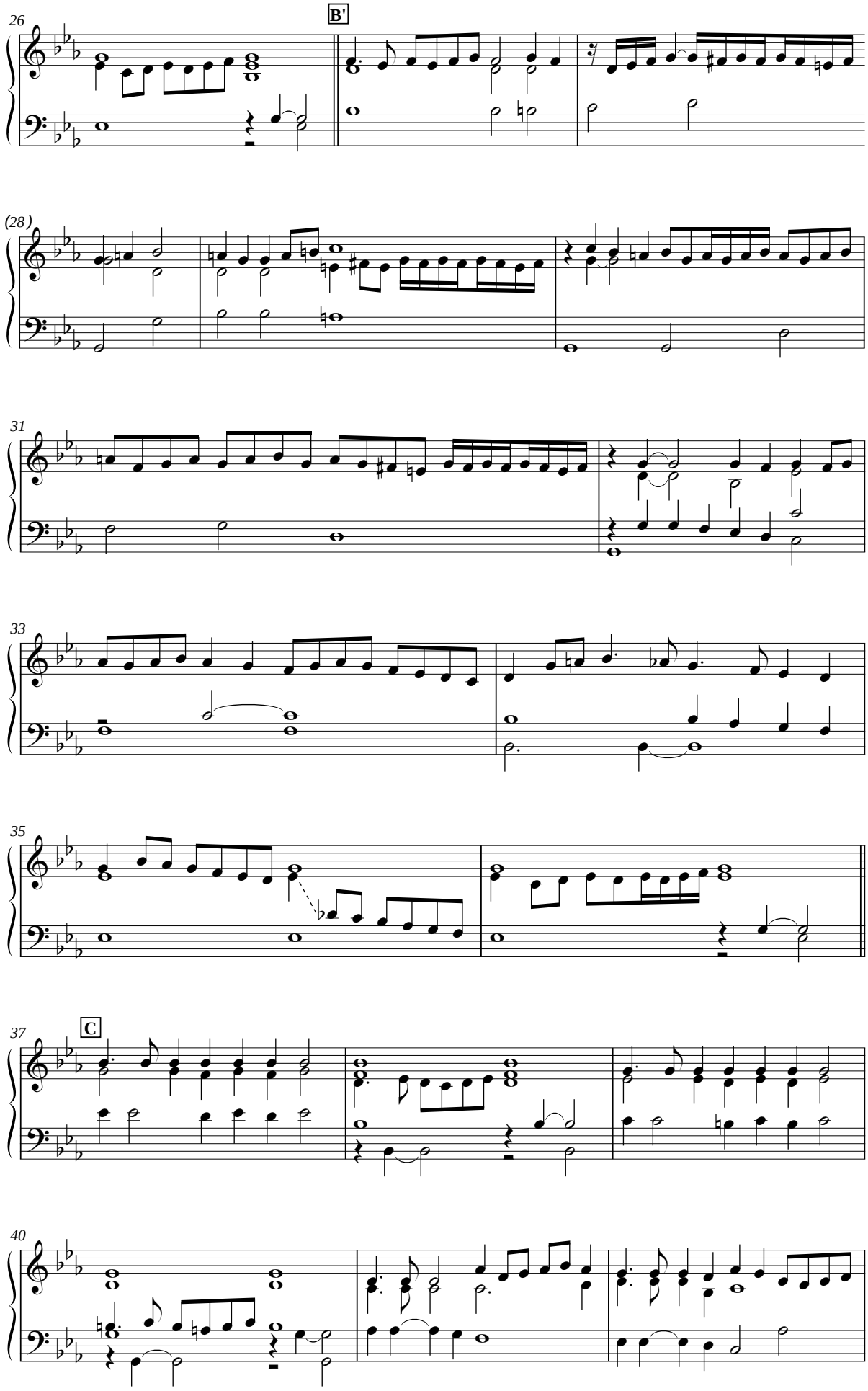
26
B'
(28)
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33
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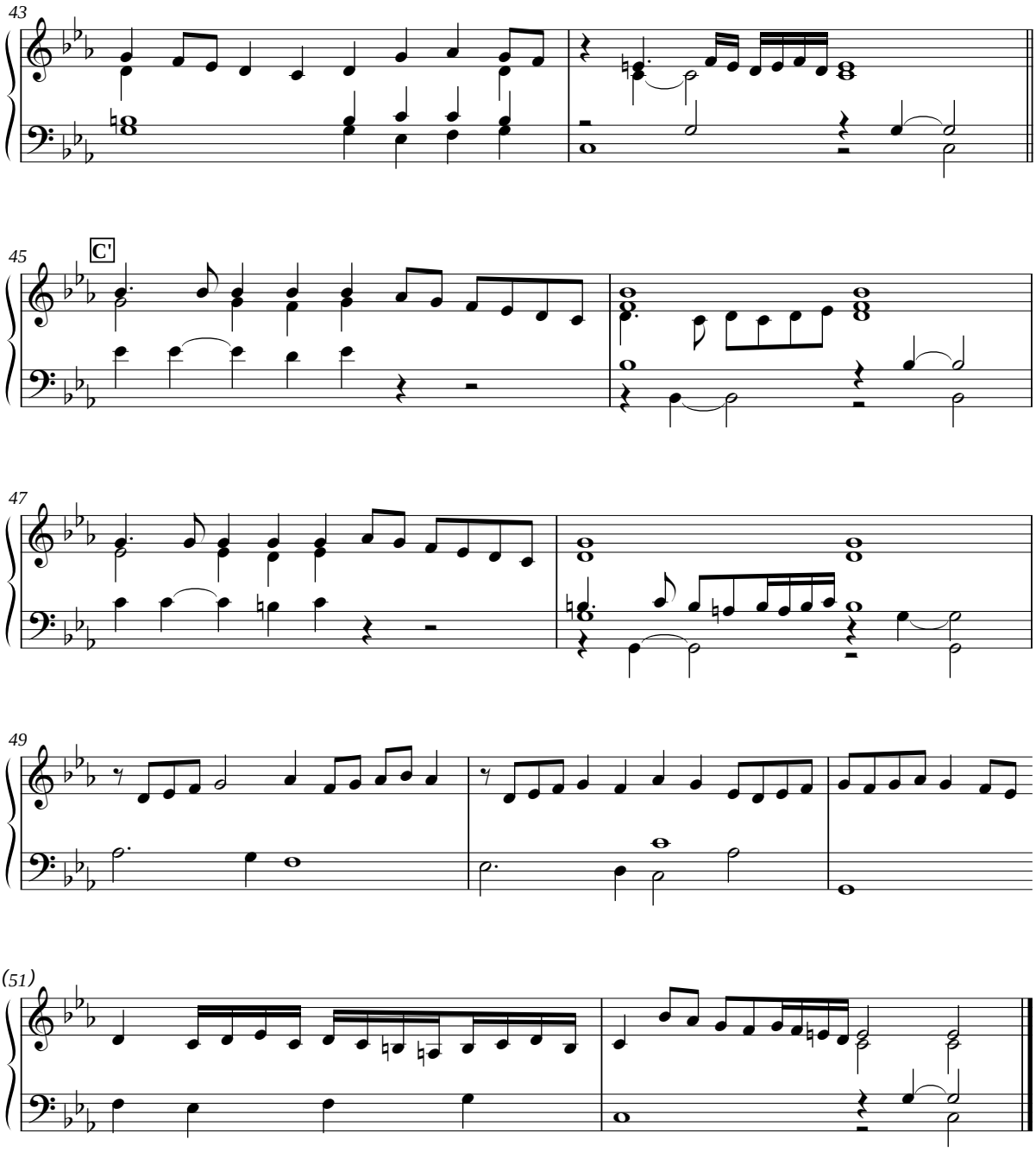
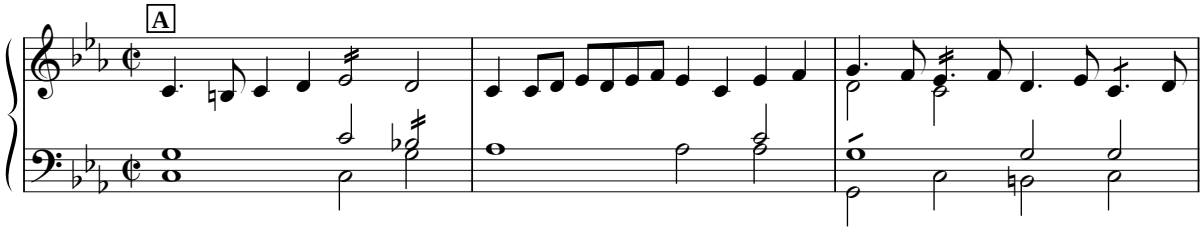
37
C
40

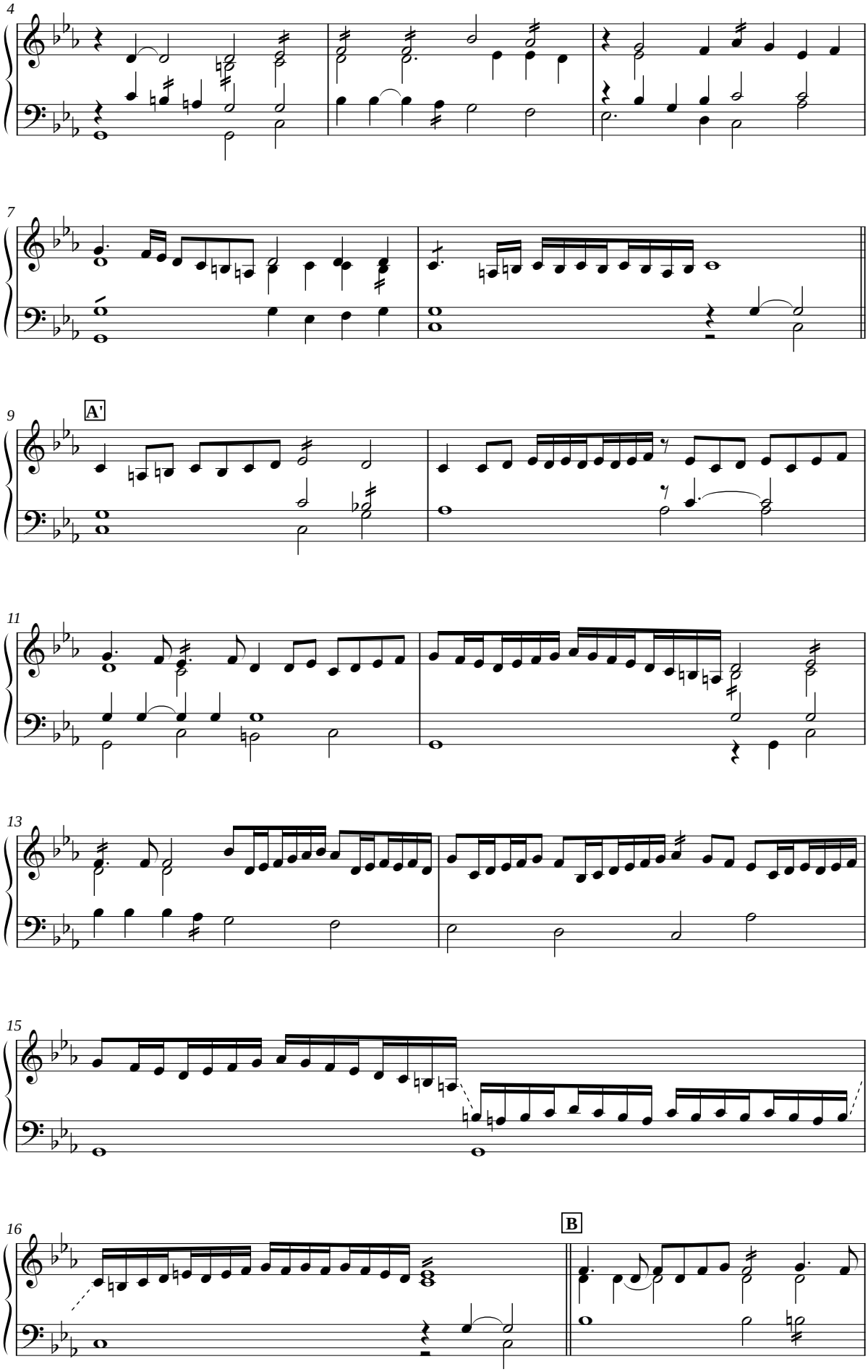


5b. Delight Pavan

Folger, f. 14v-15r

John Johnson

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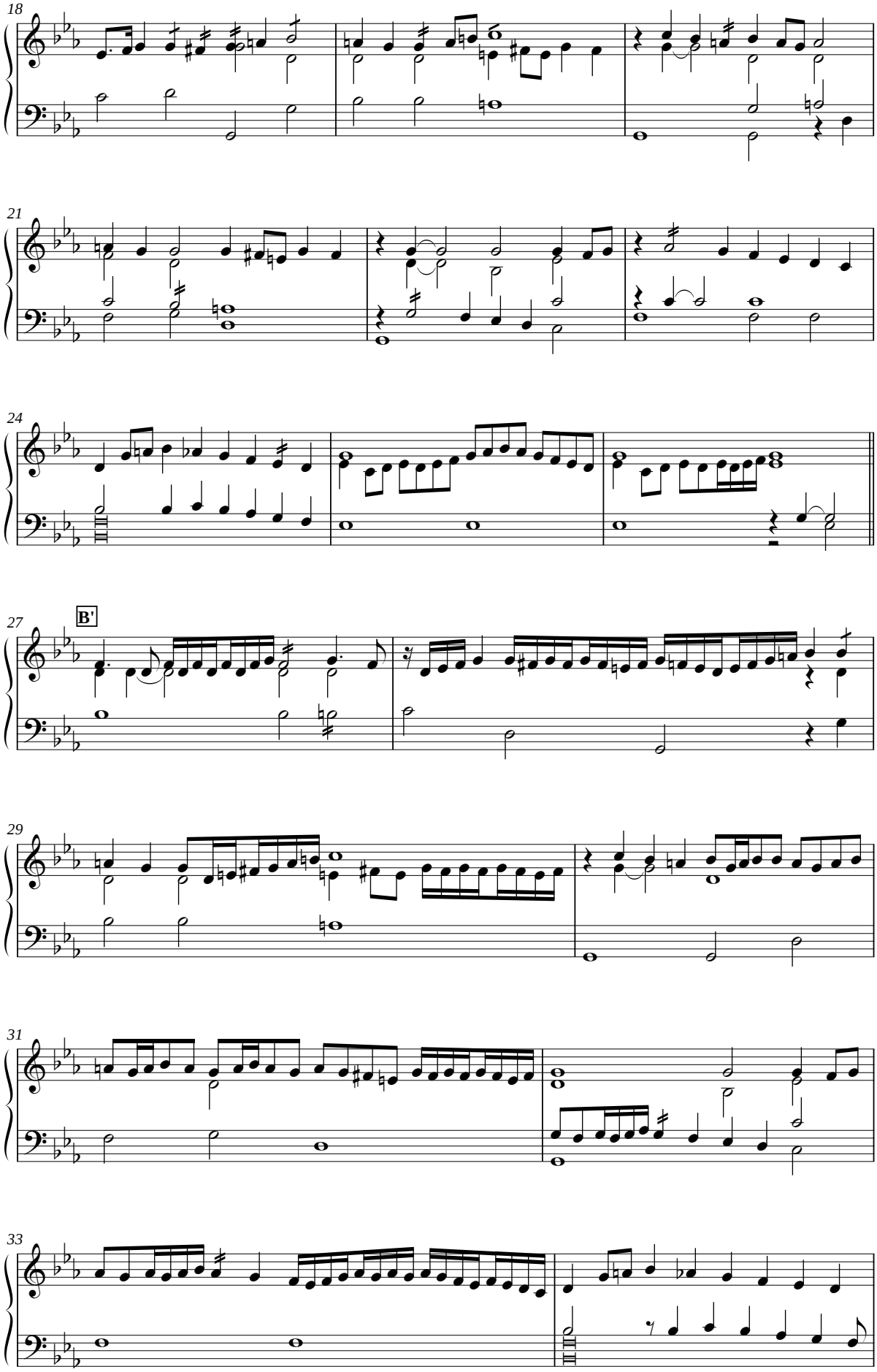
B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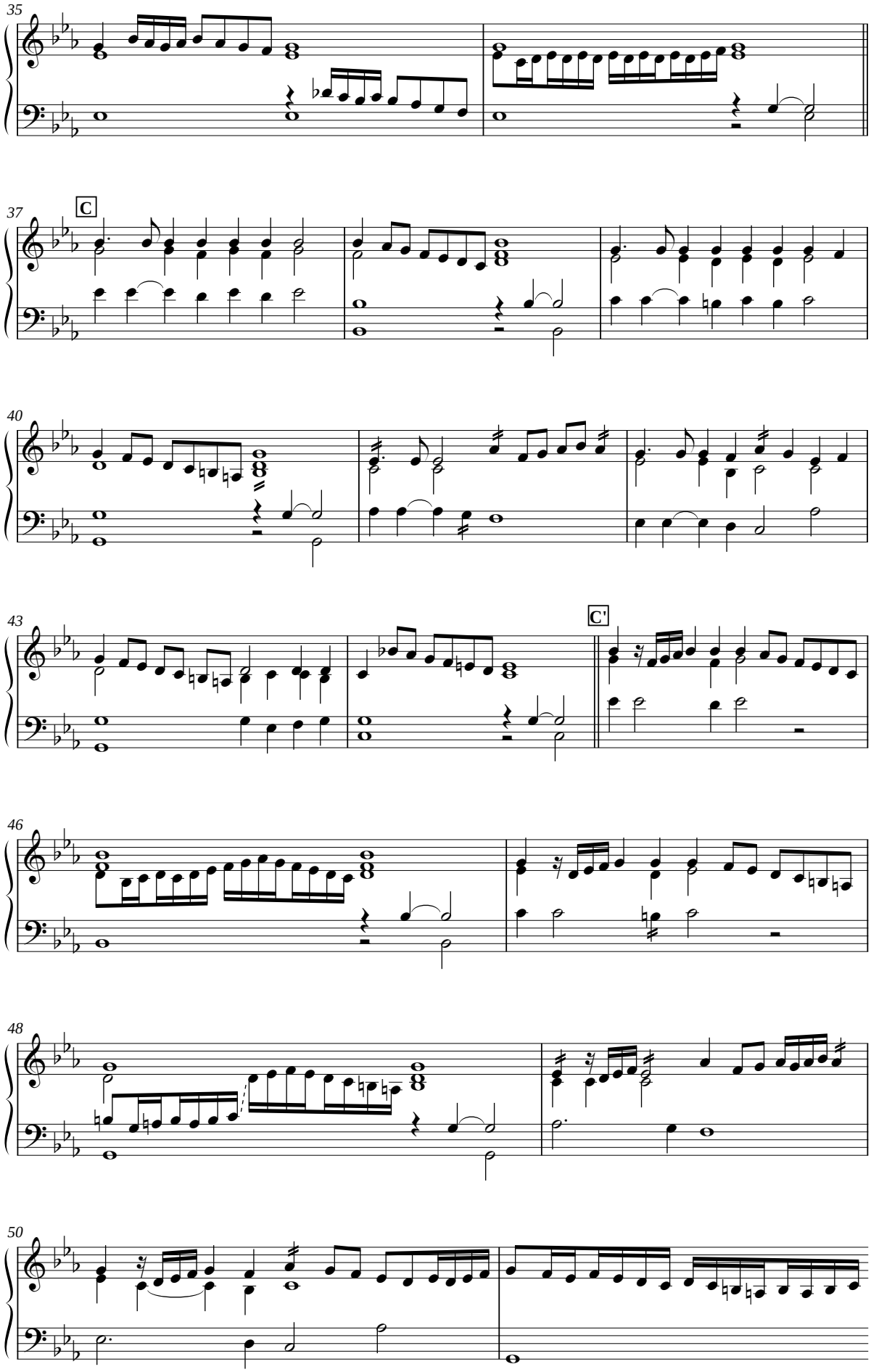
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C
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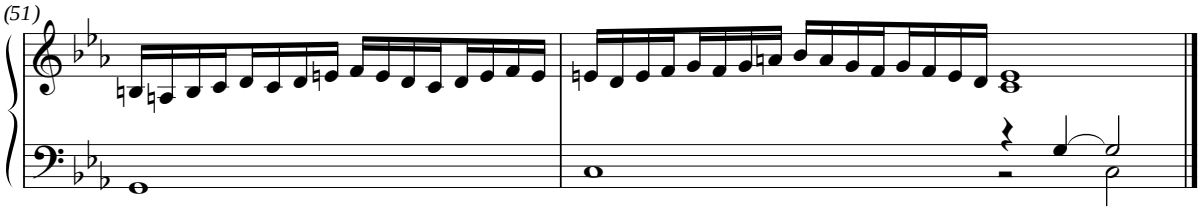
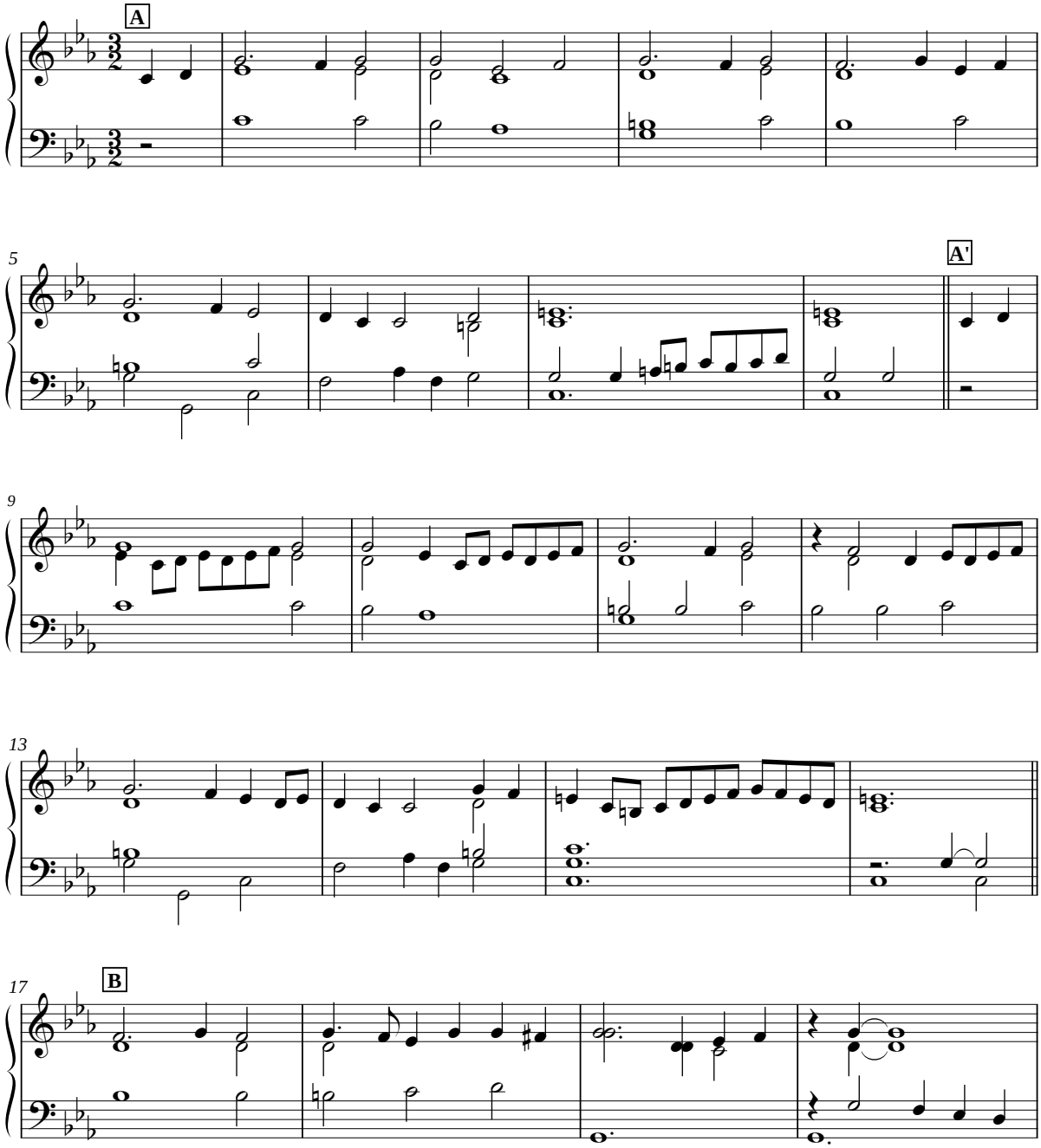
43
C'
46
48
50

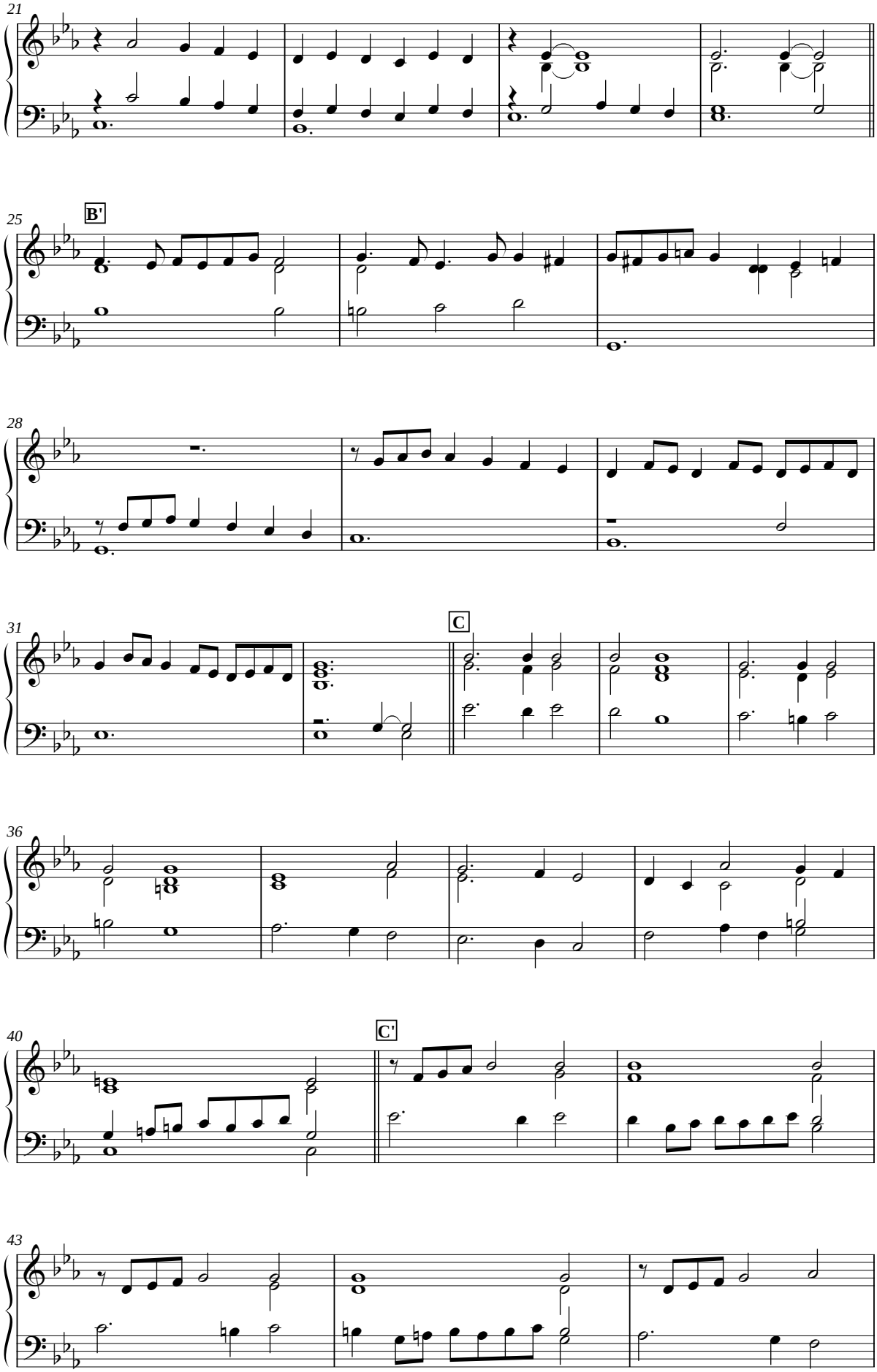


6a. Galliard to Delight

Willoughby, f. 28r-29r

Johnson




21
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B'
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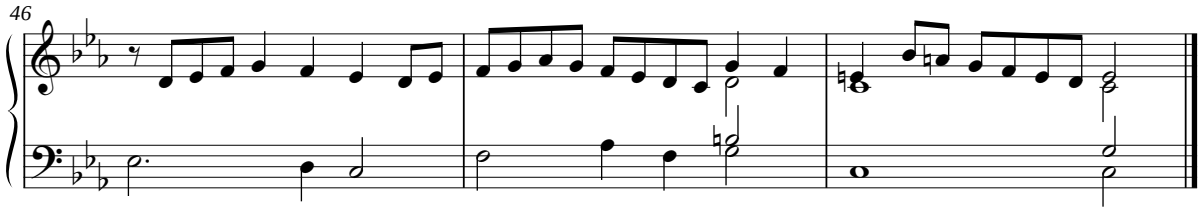
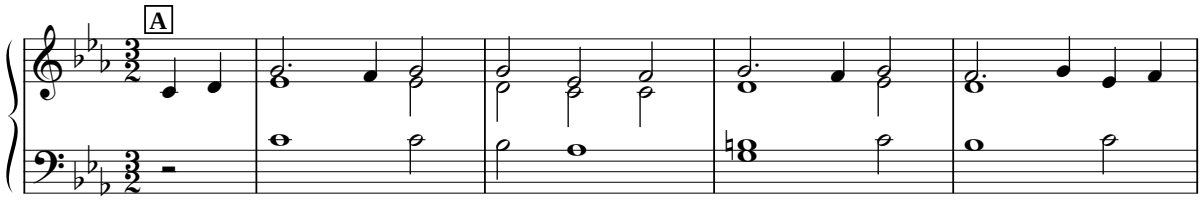
31
C
36
40
C'
43

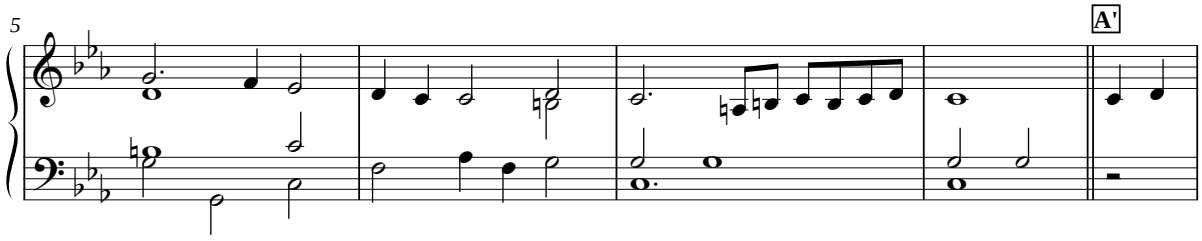


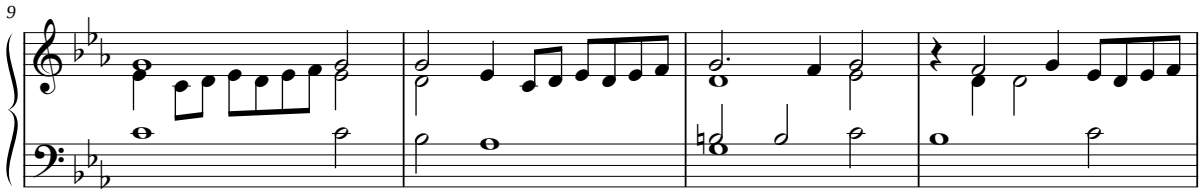
6b. Delight Galliard

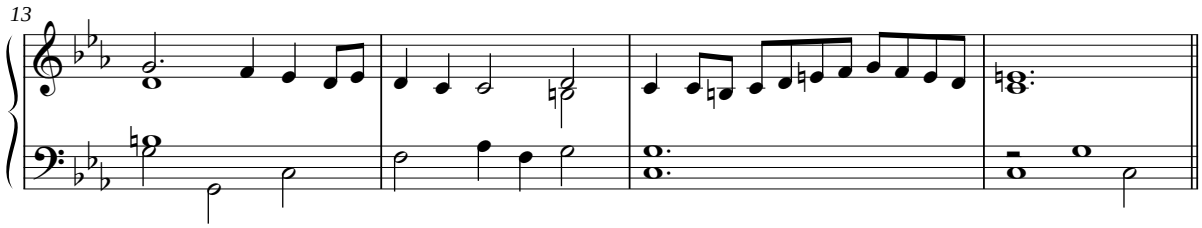
Wickhambrook, f. 10r

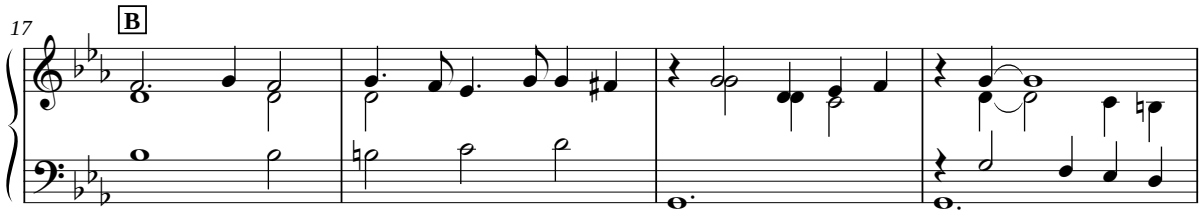
Johnson

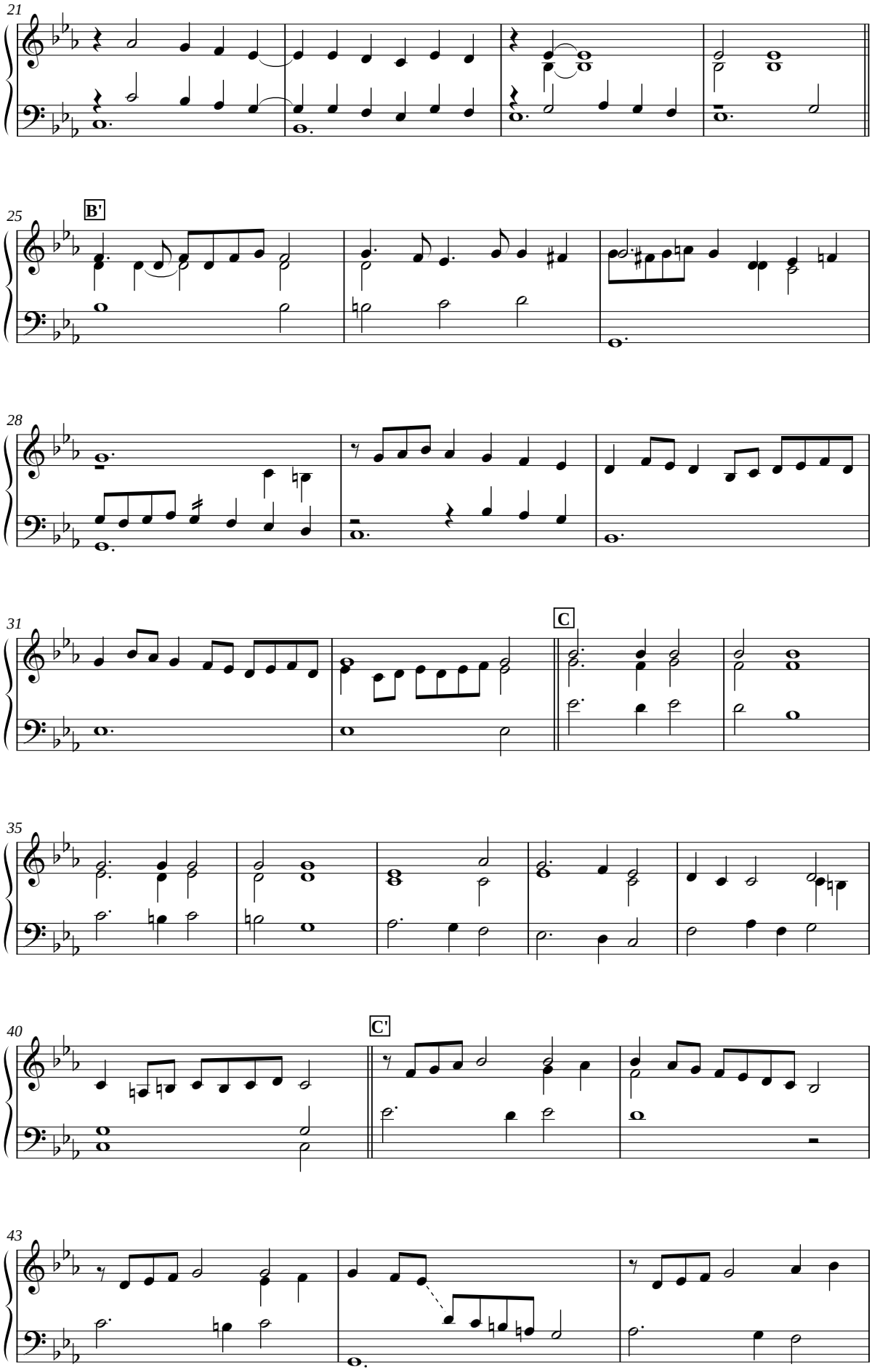











21
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B'
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C
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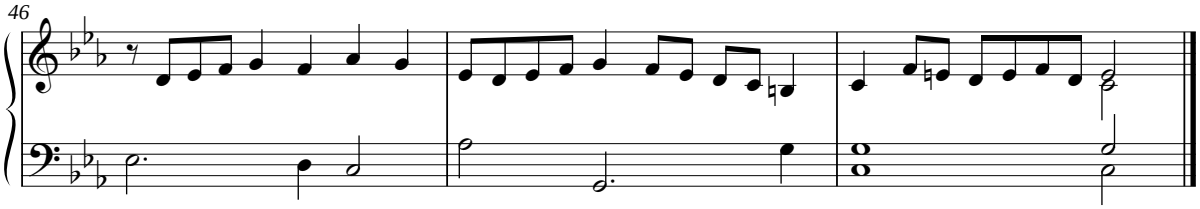
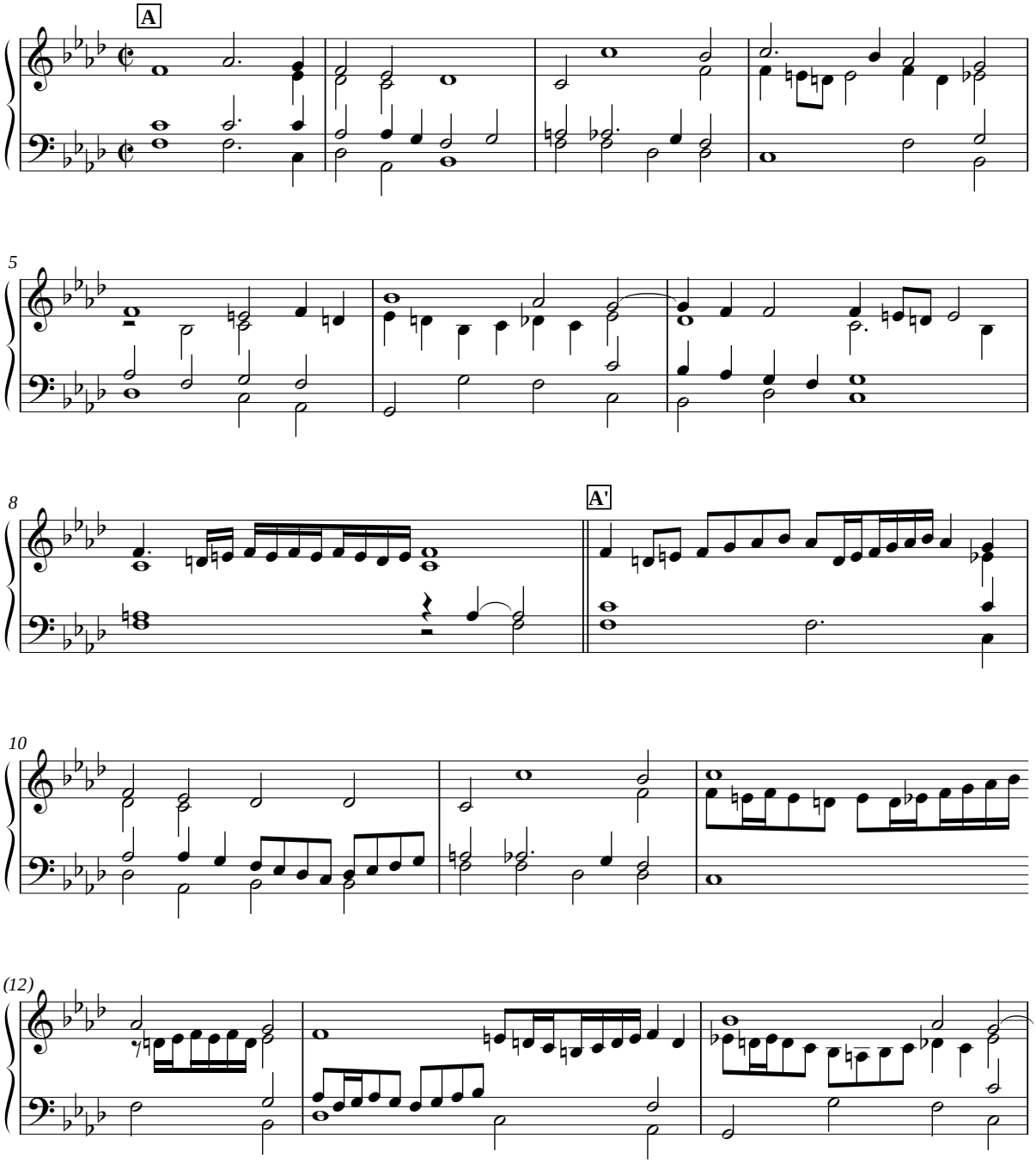
C'
43

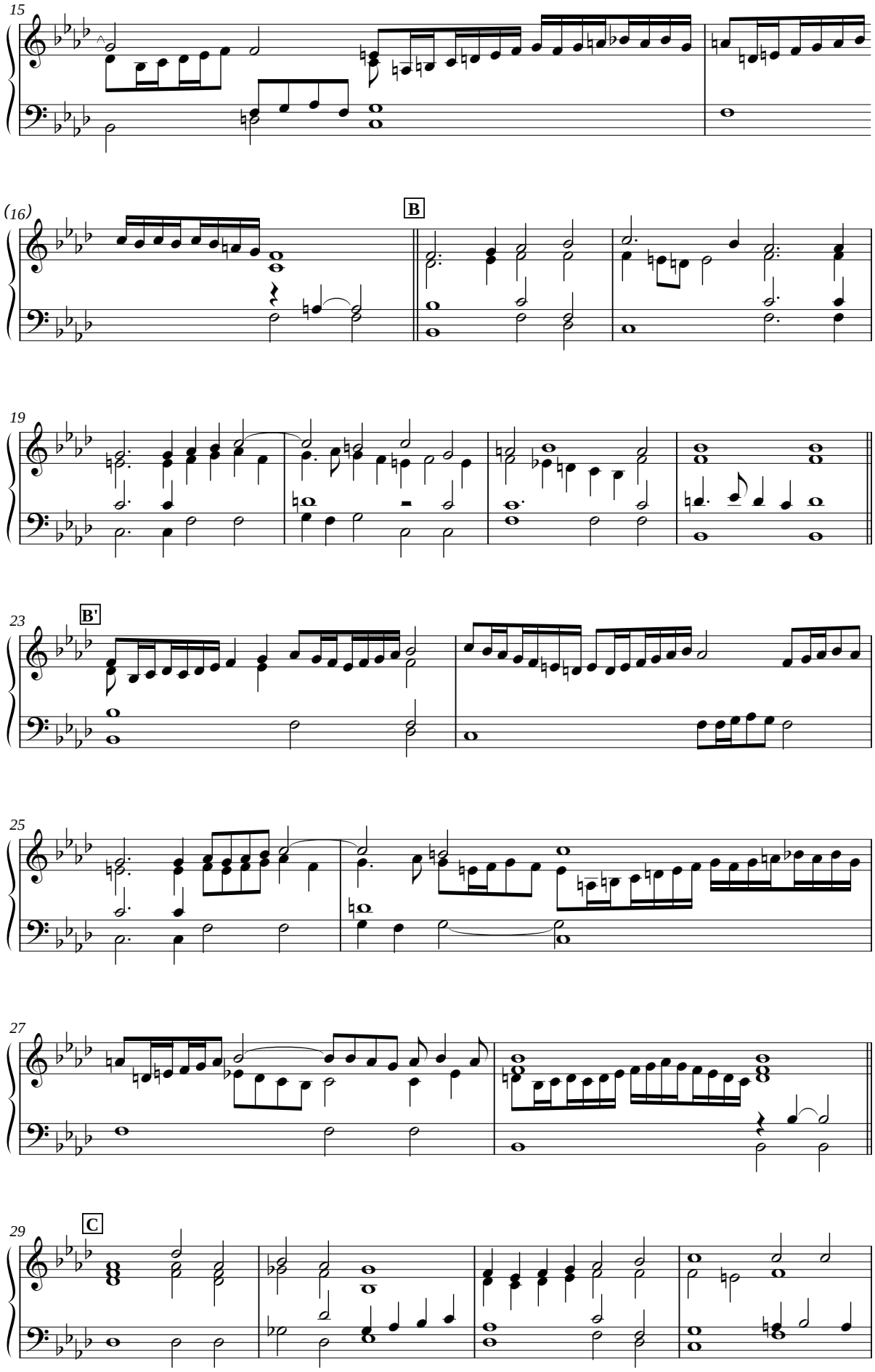


7. Pavan

Dd.2.11, f. 44v

John Johnson




15
(16)
B
19
23
B'
25
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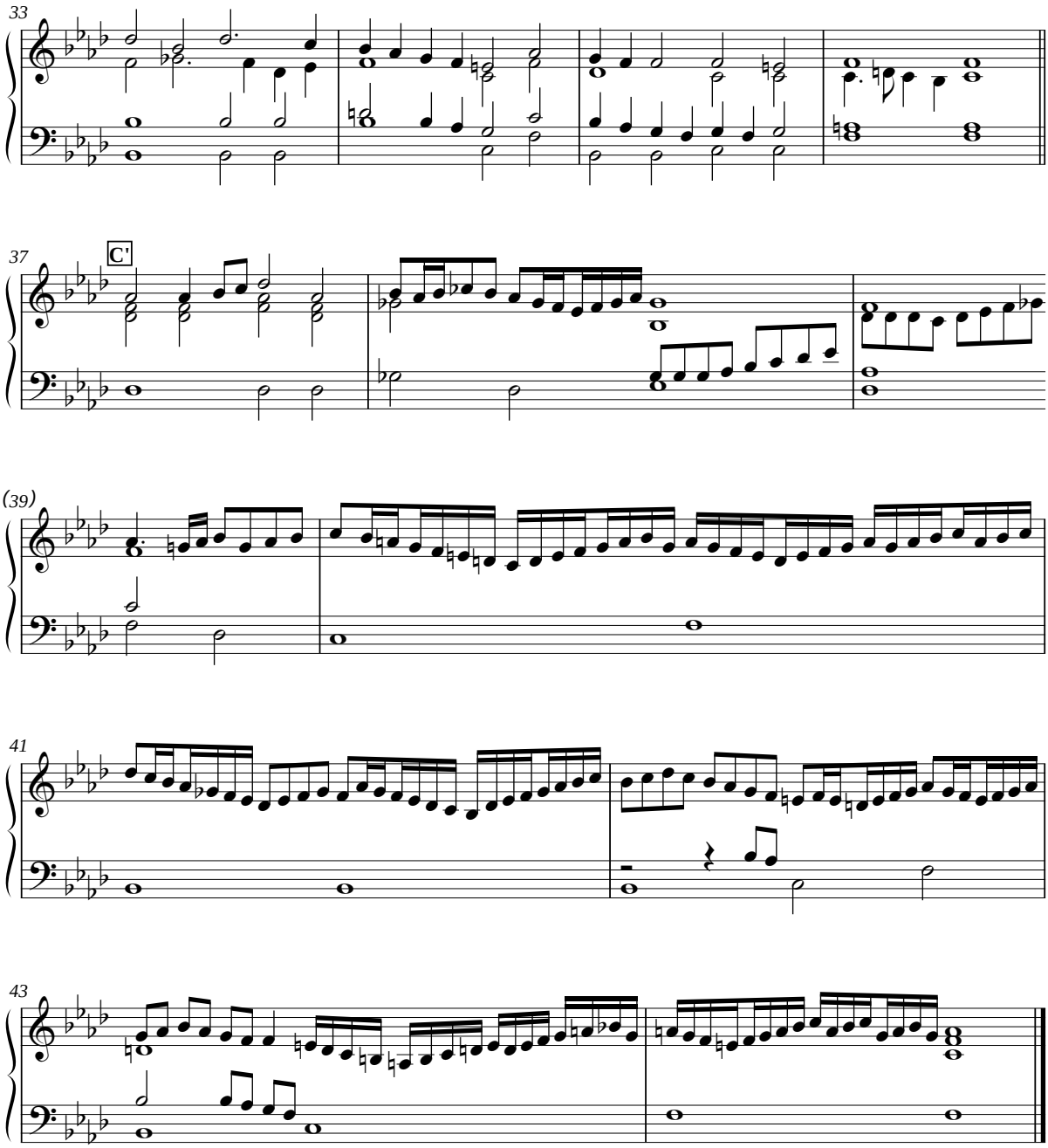
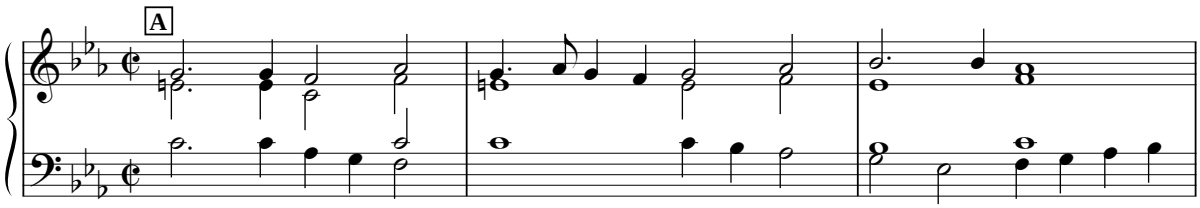
29
C

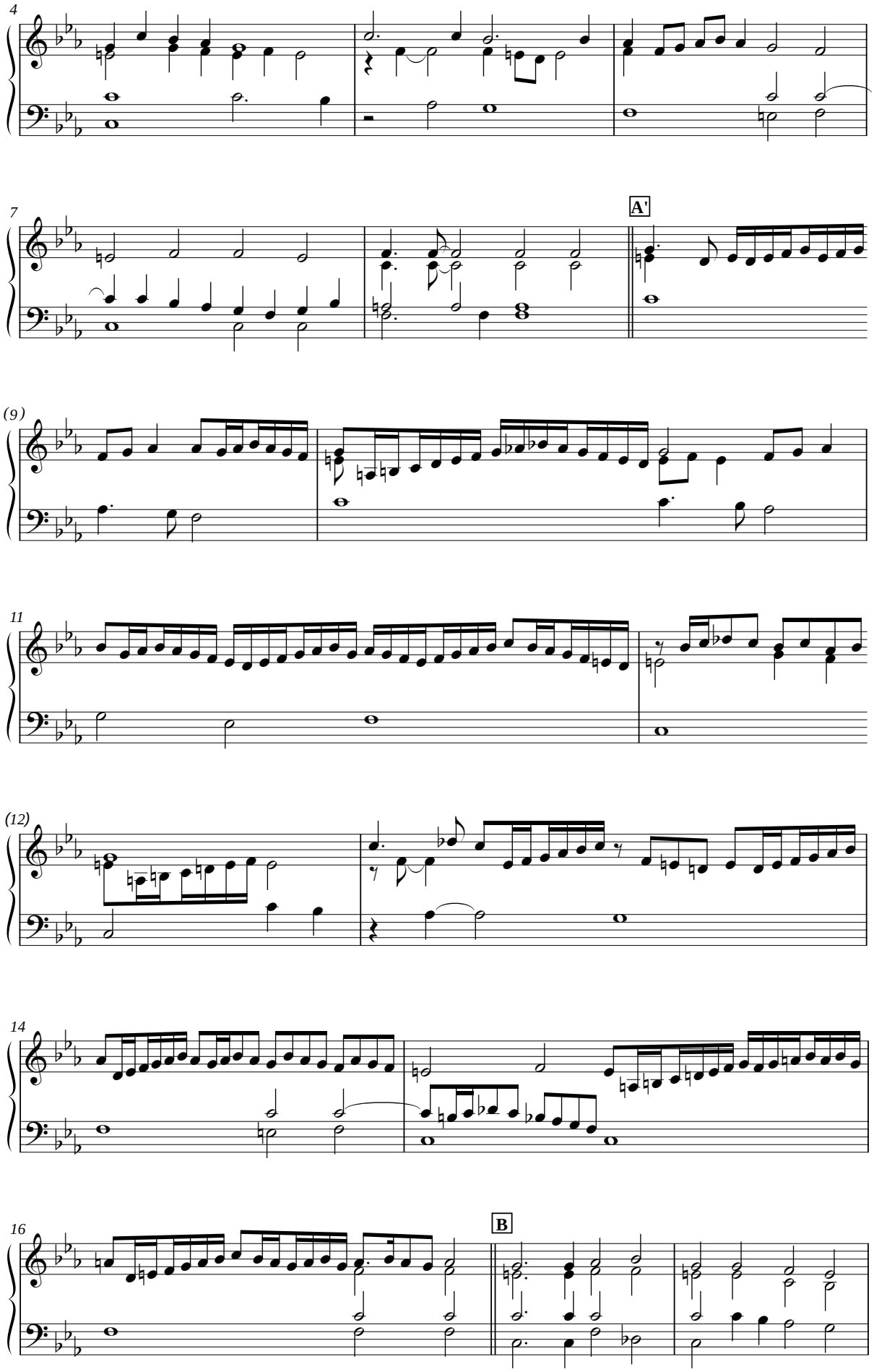


8. Marigold Pavan

Königsberg, f. 63v-64v

Johnson




4
7
A'
(9)
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(12)
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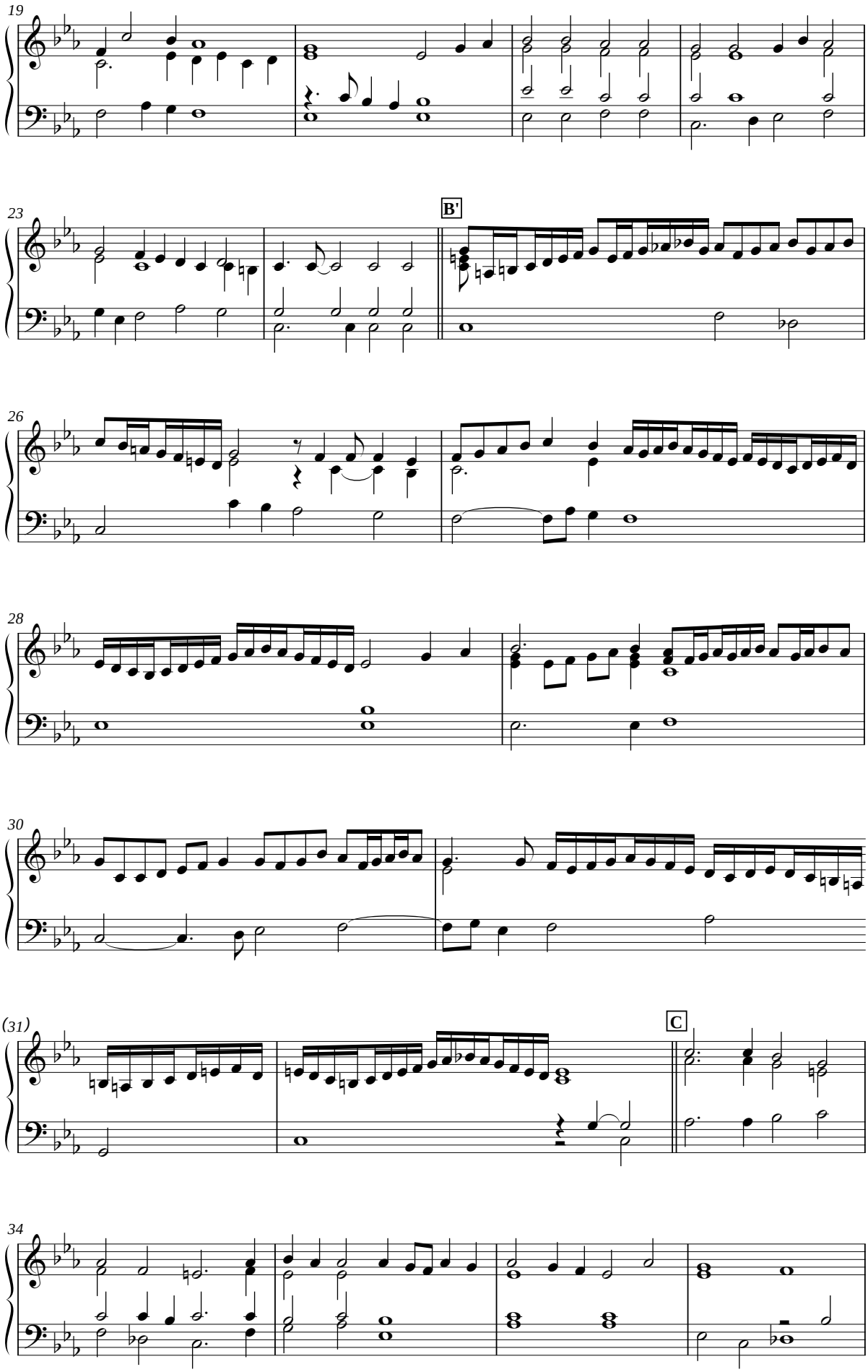
B


19
23
B'
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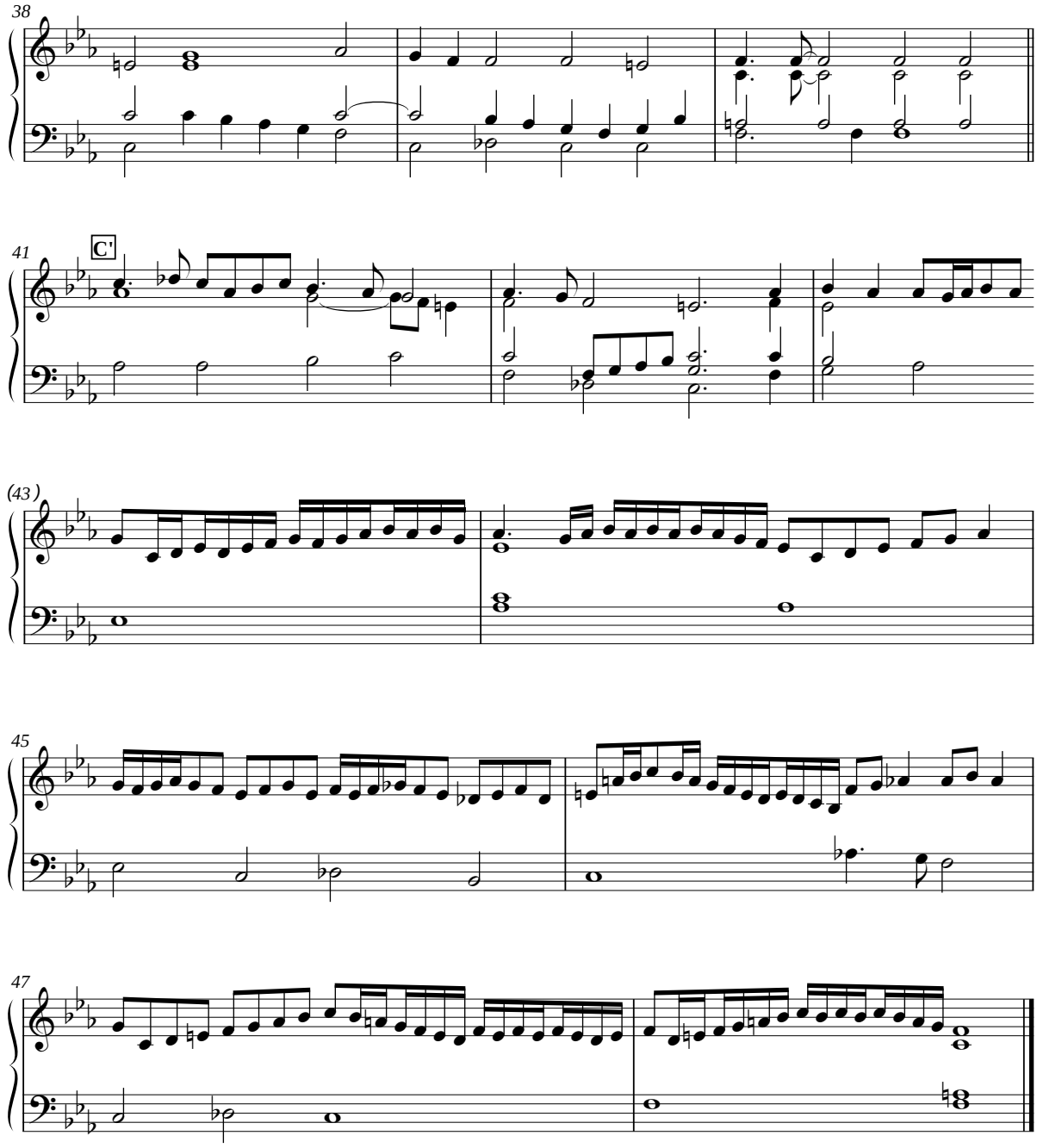
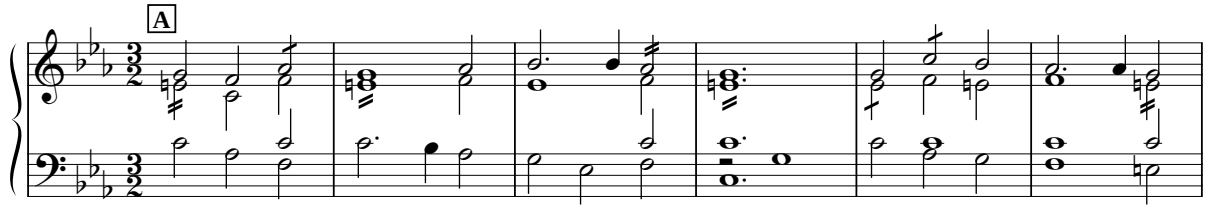
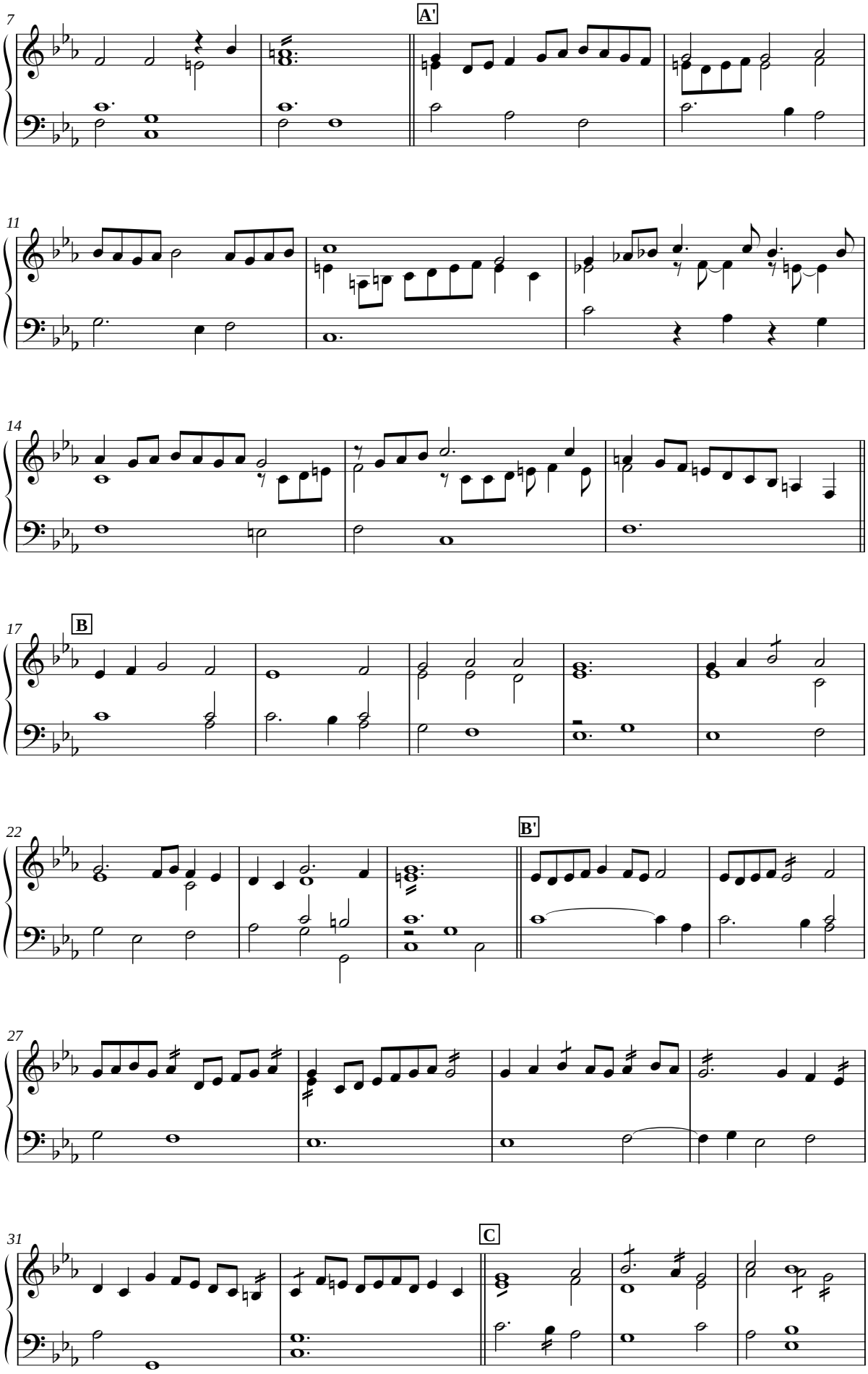
(31)
C
34



9. Marigold Galliard

Board, f. 26v [Anonymous]




7
A'
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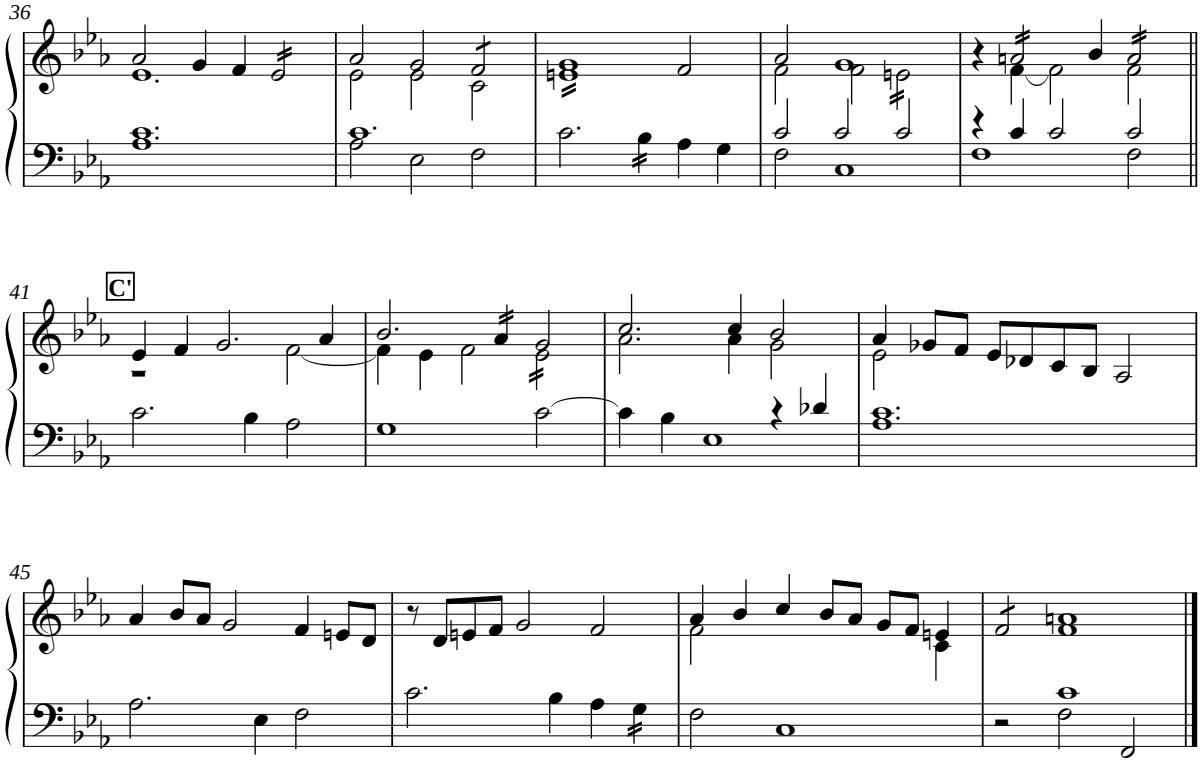
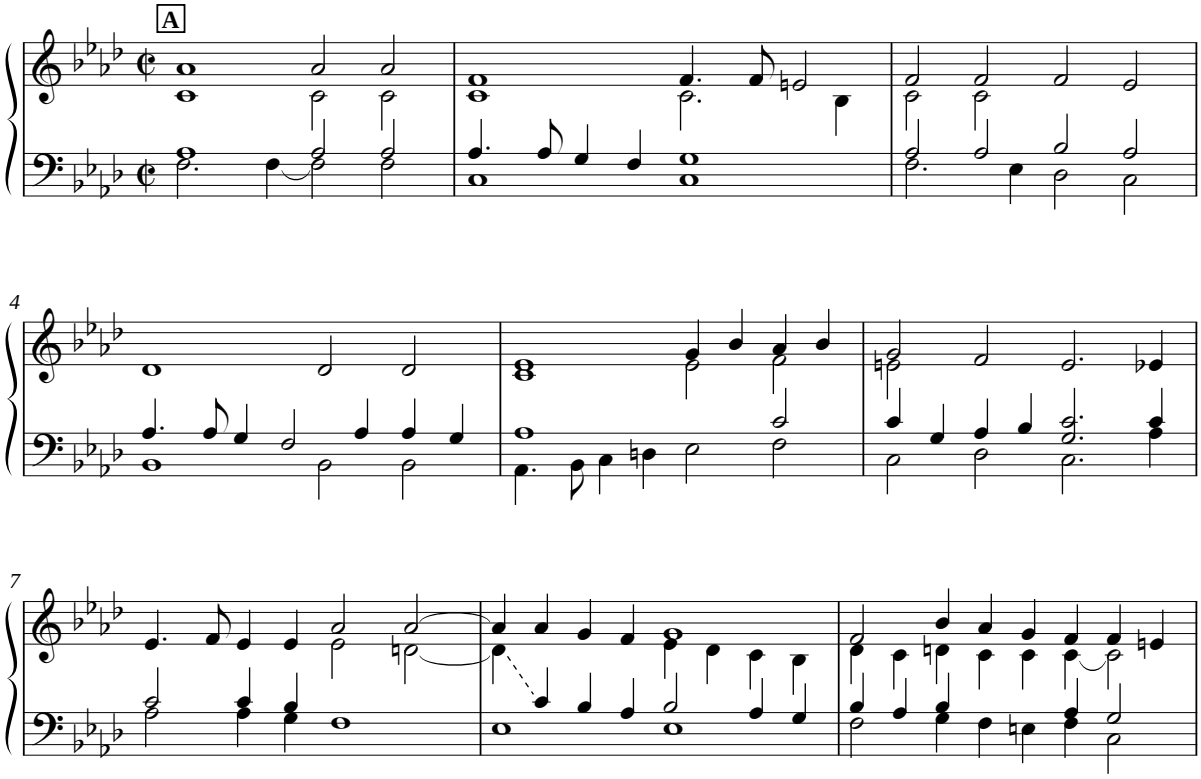
17
B
22
B'
27
31
C

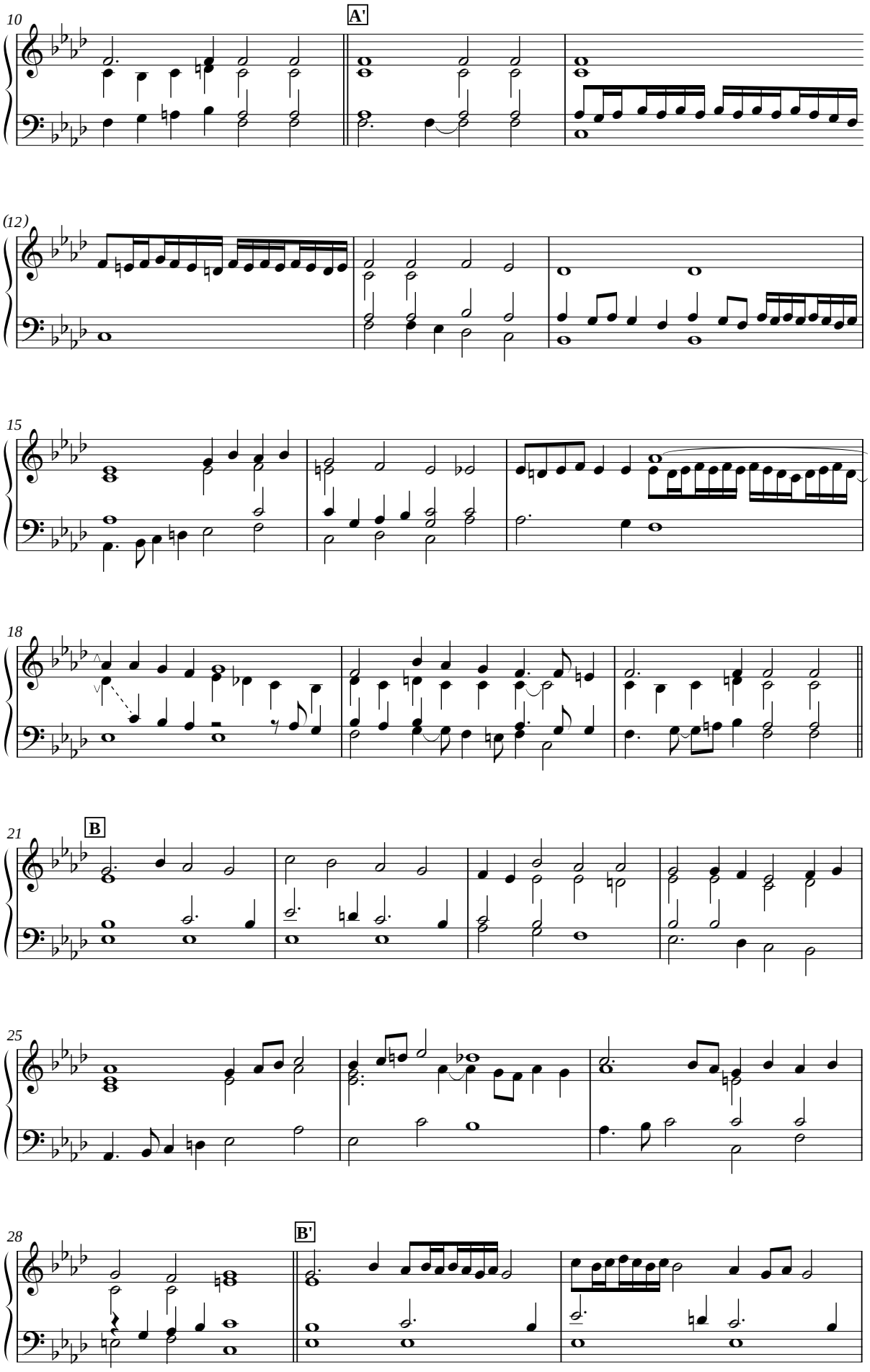


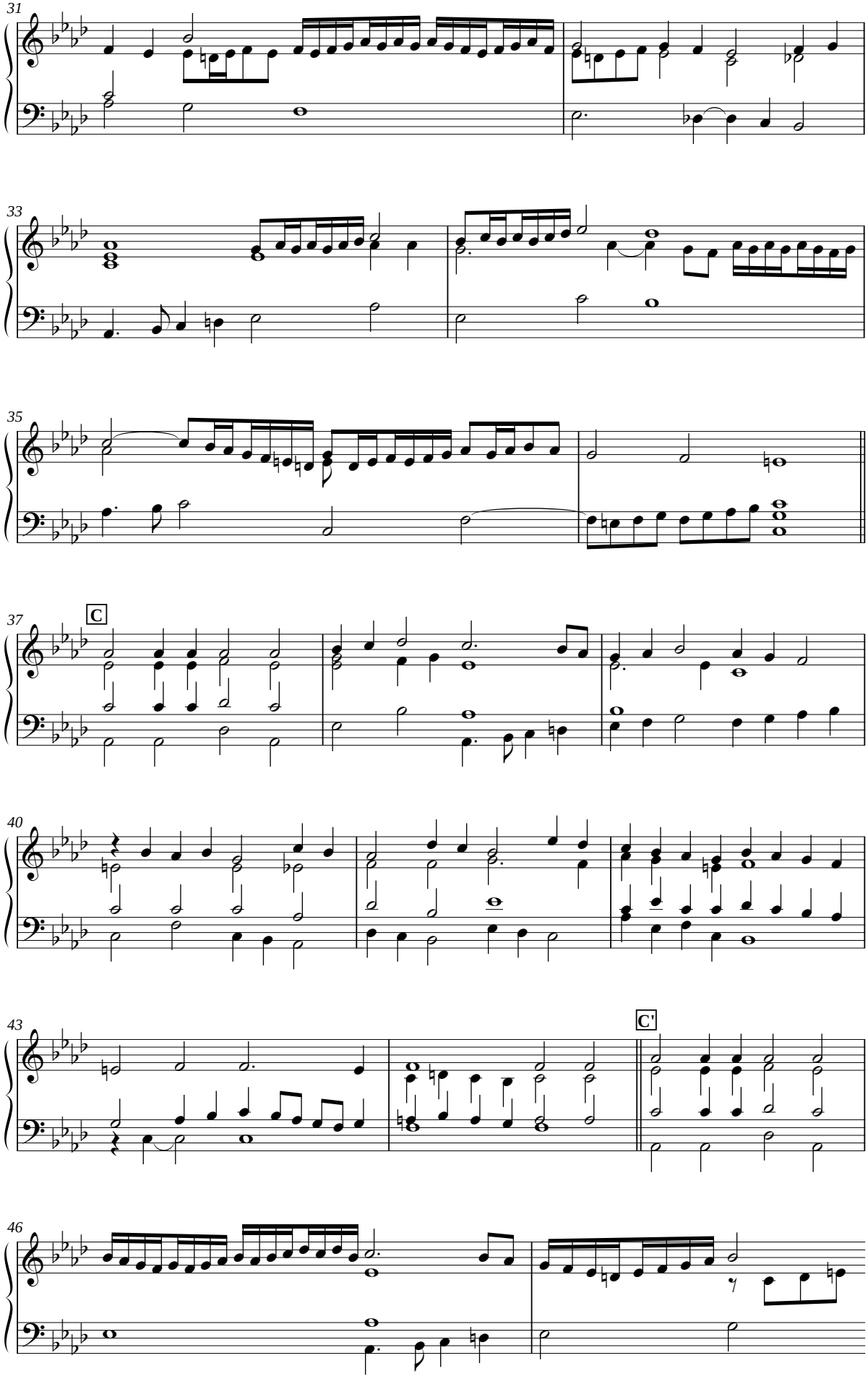
10. Pavan

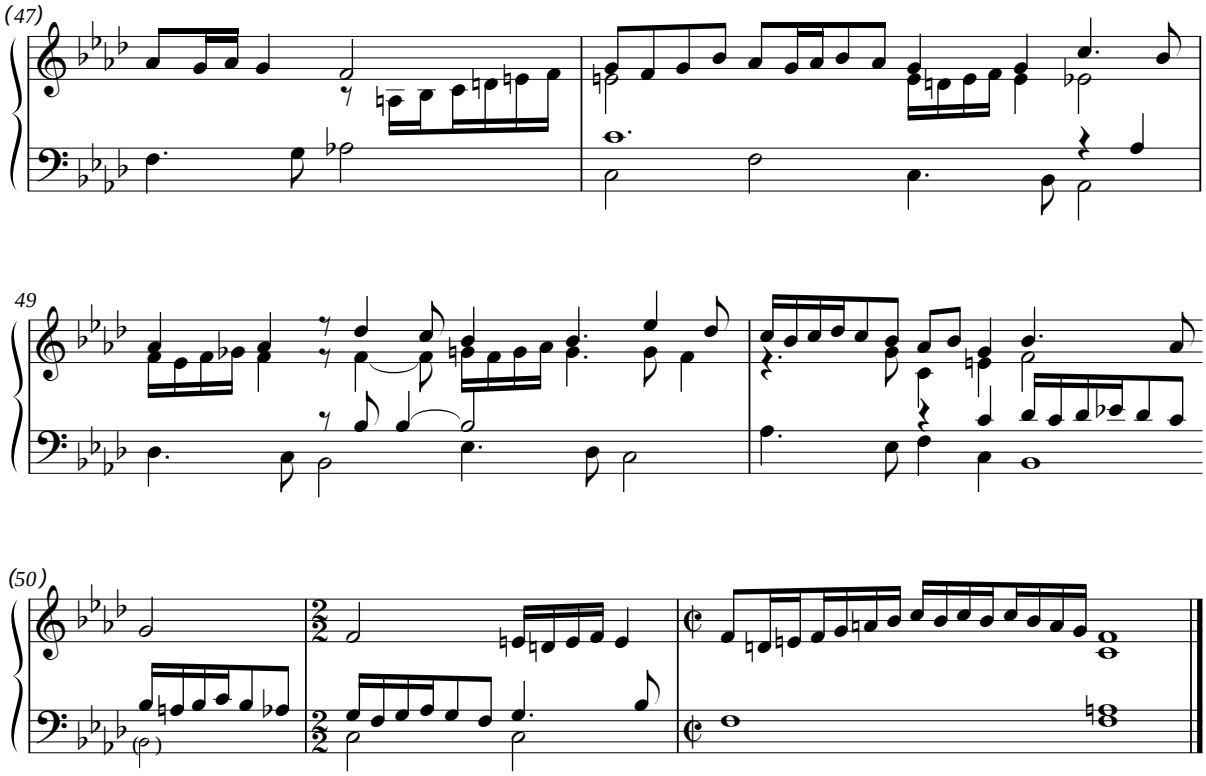
Pickeringe, f. 23r

Johnson




10
A'
(12)
15
18
21
B
25
28
B'

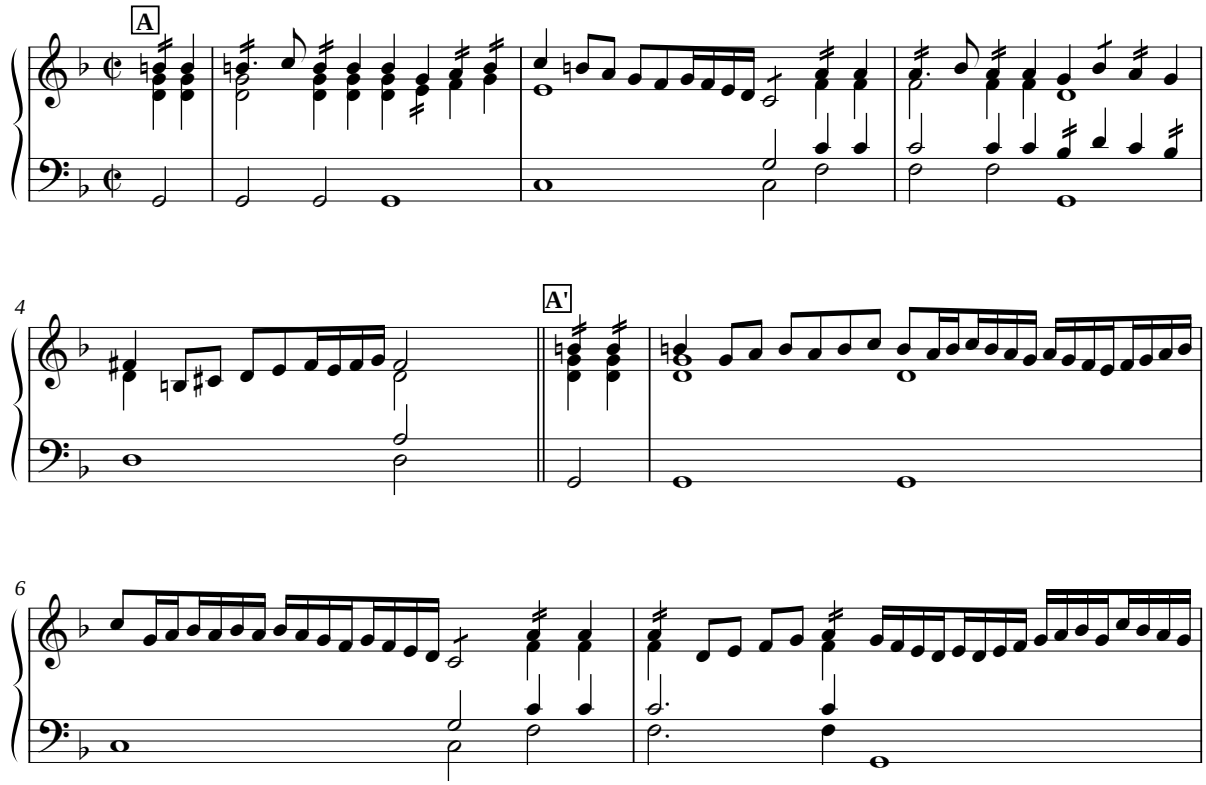

31
33
35
37
C
40
43
C'
46

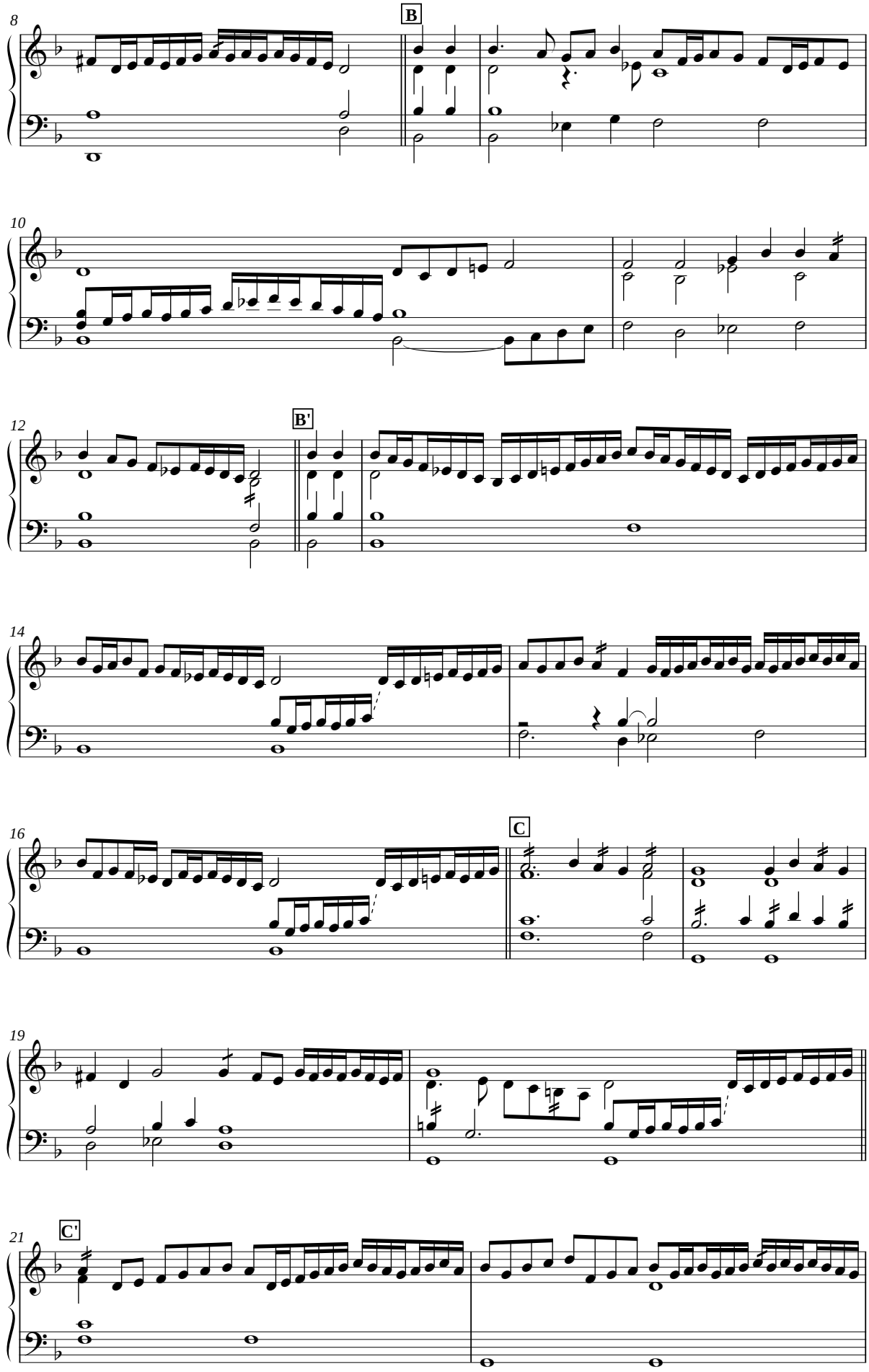


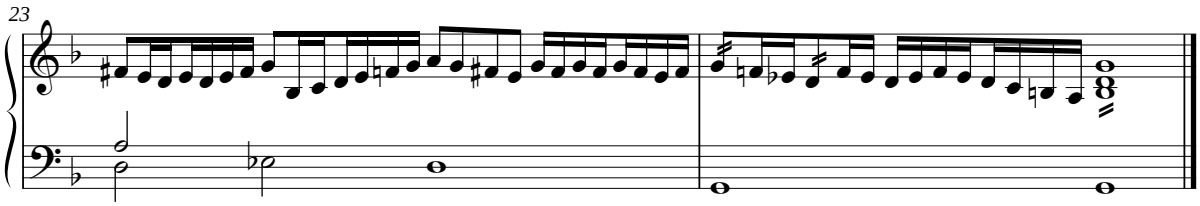
11. La Vecchia Pavan

Folger, f. 12r

Johnson

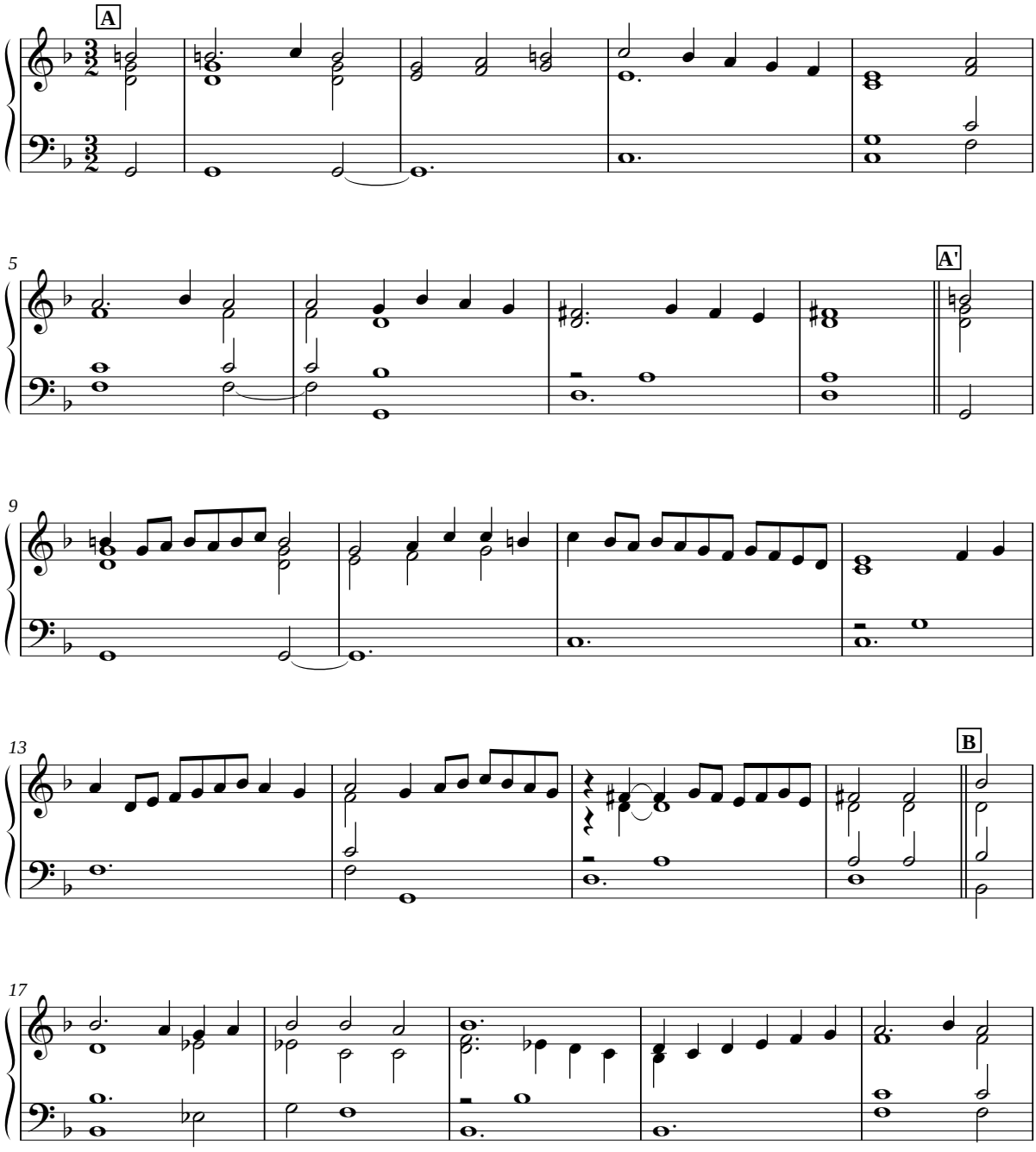


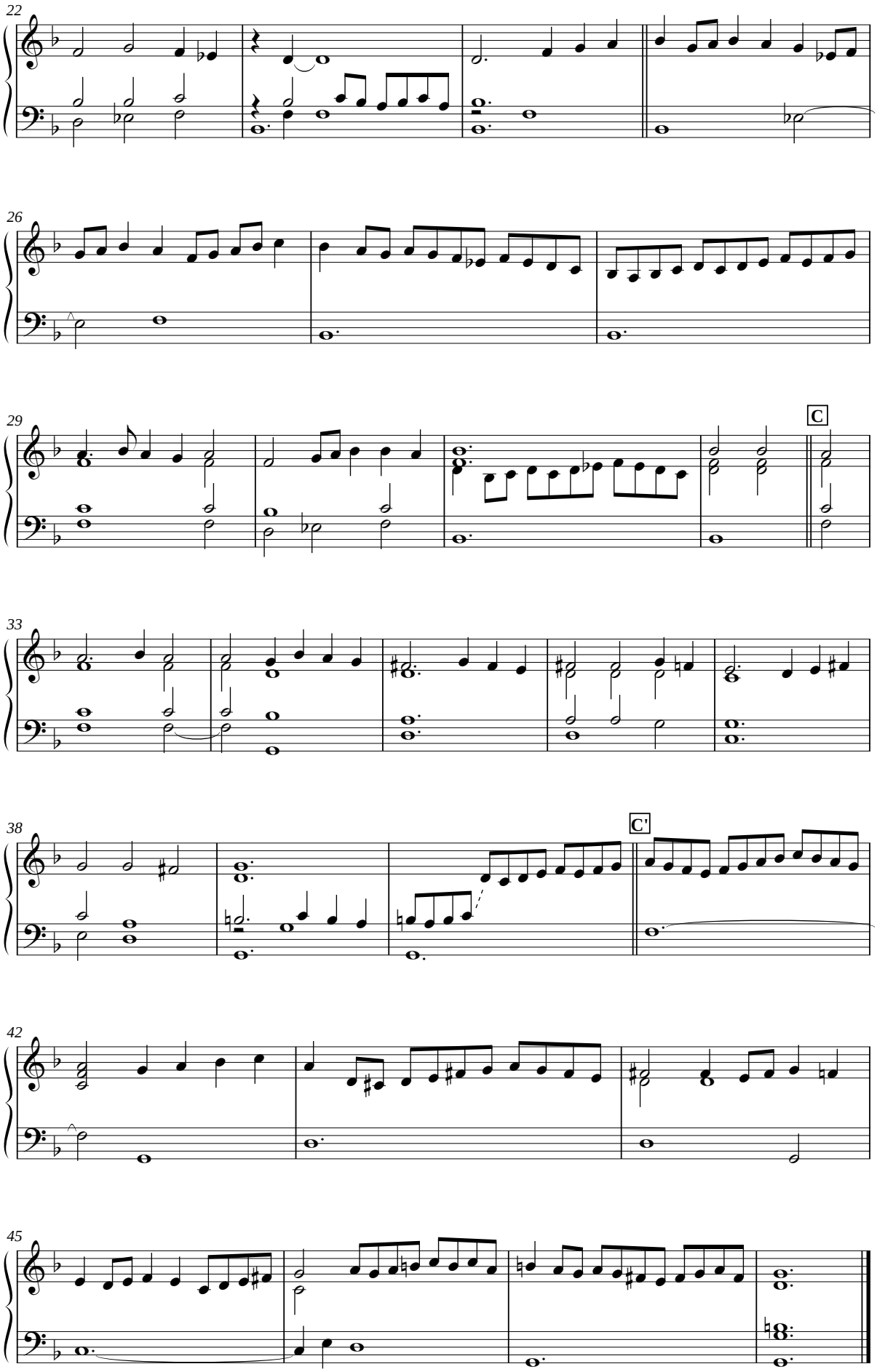

8
B
10
12
B'
14
16
C
19
21
C'



12. [La Vecchia Galliard]

Marsh, p. 264 [Anonymous]

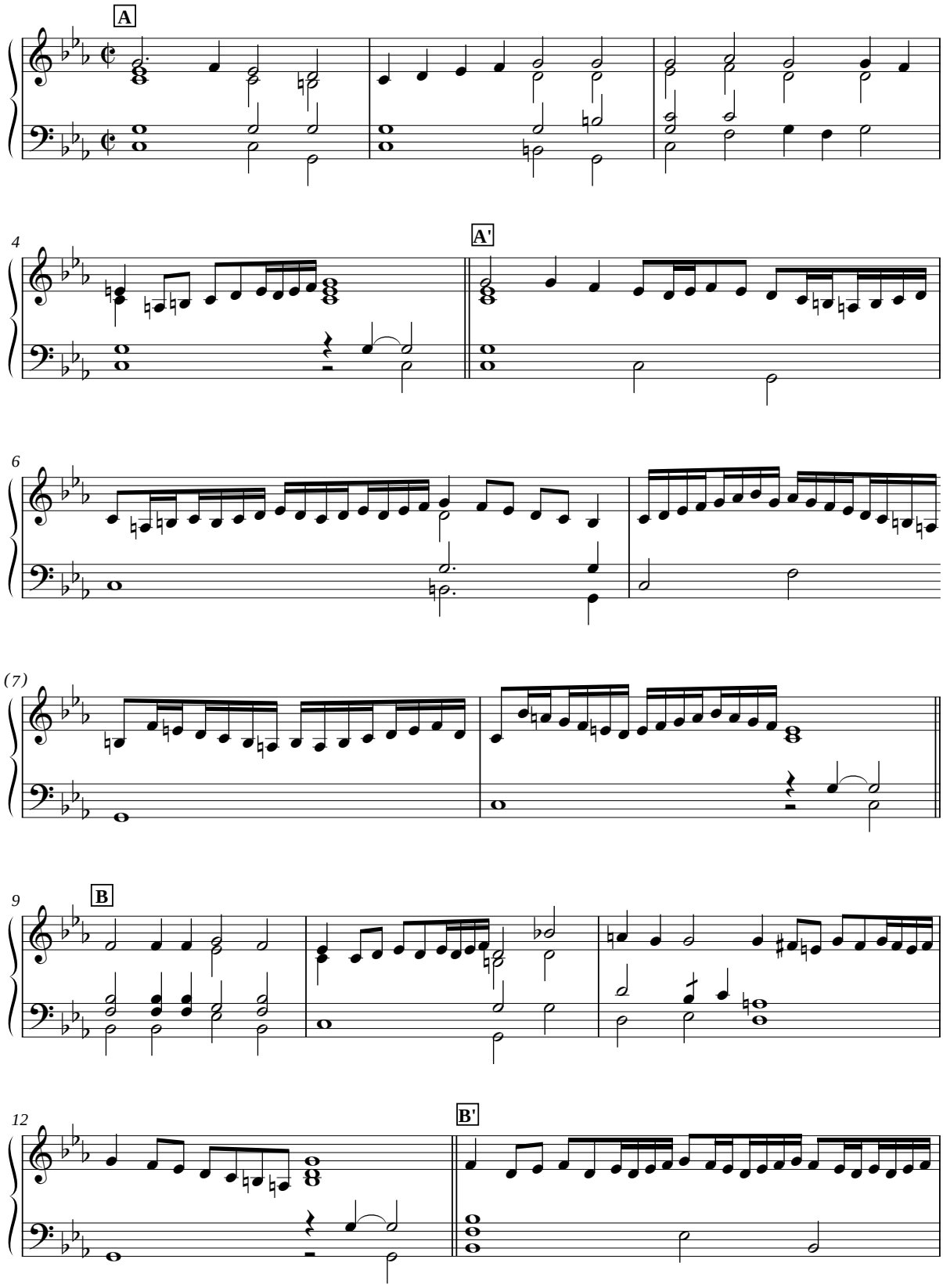


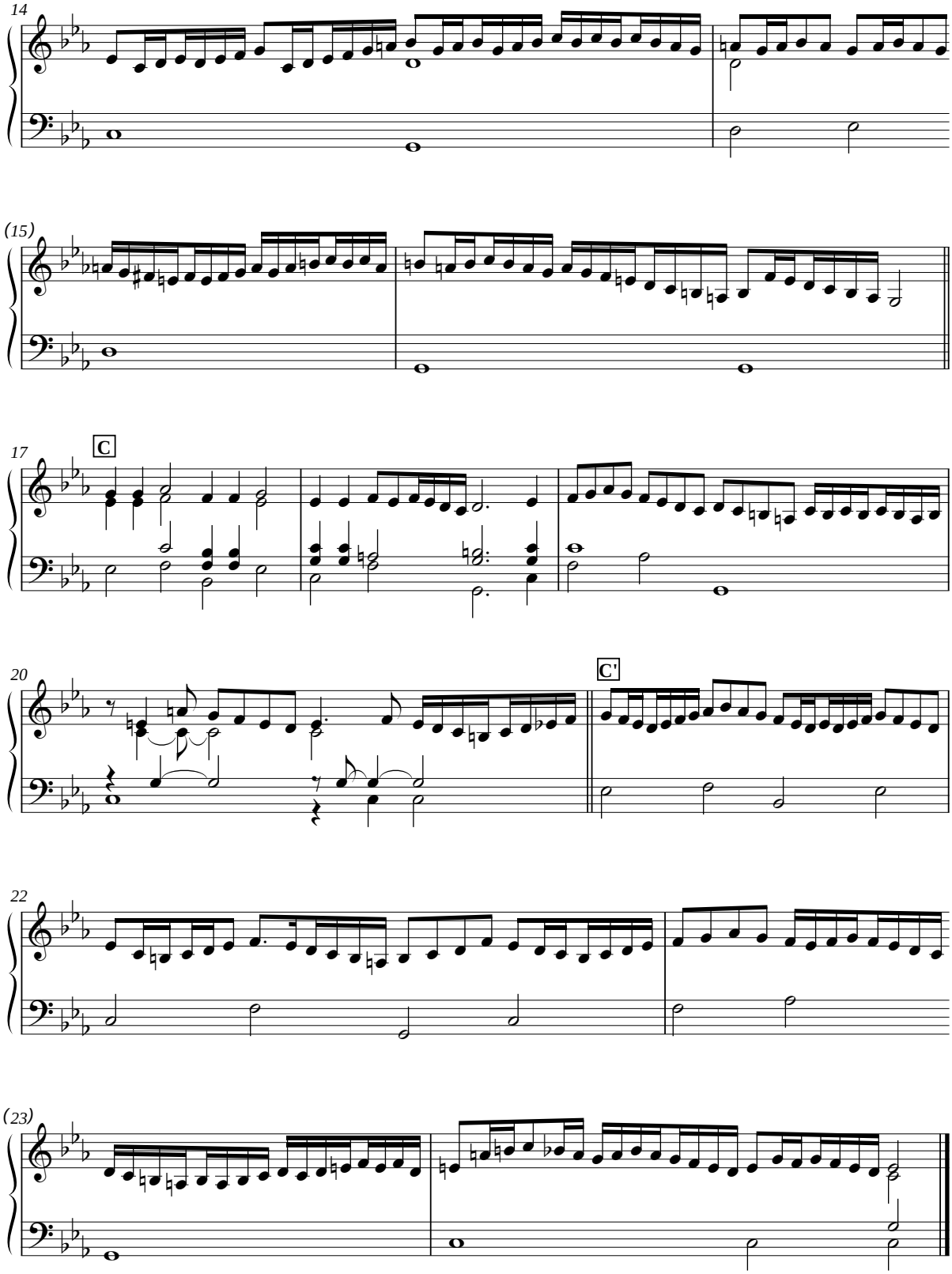

22
26
29
C
33
38
C'
42
45

13a. Flat Pavan

Ballet, p. 18

John Johnson

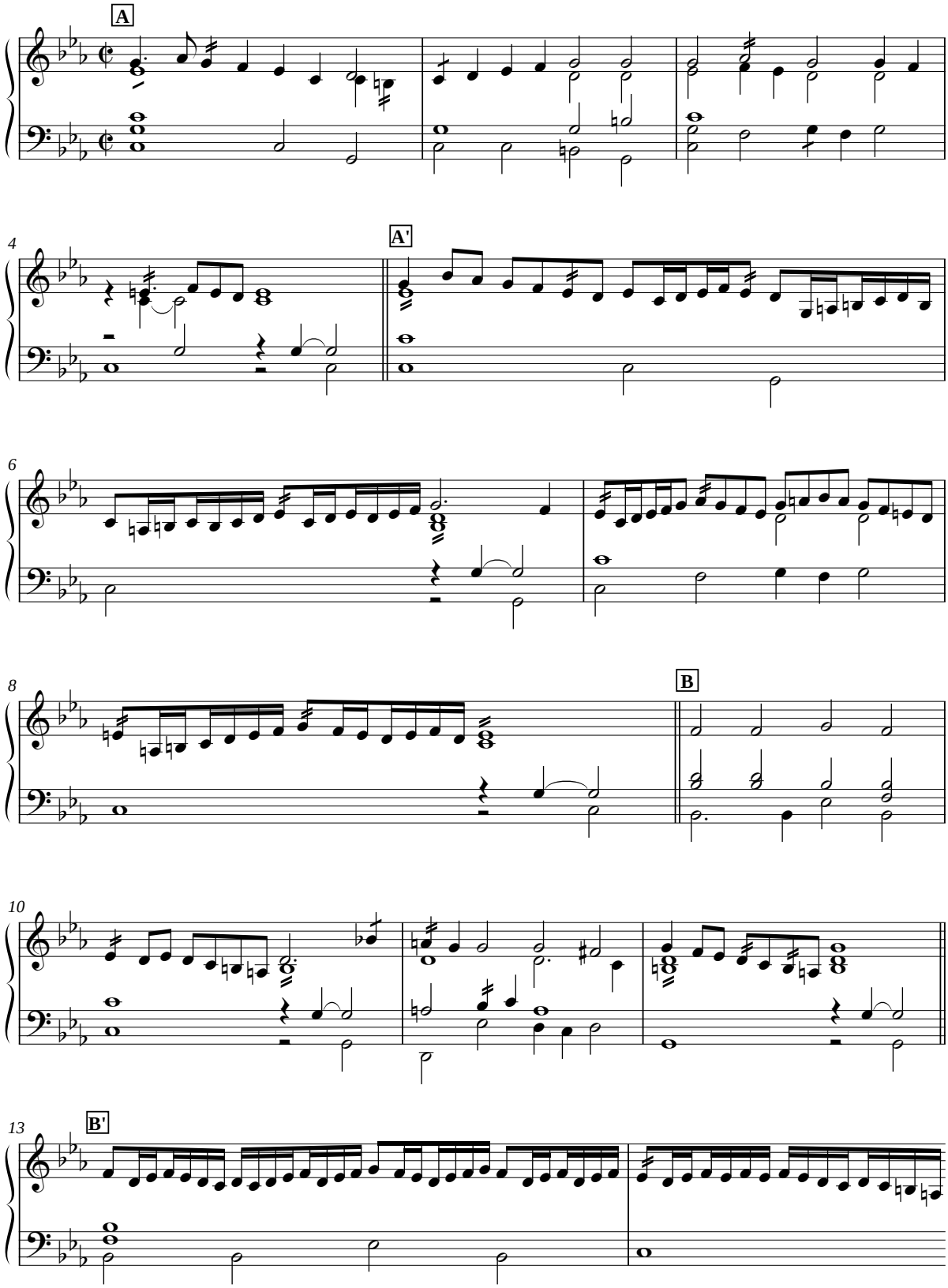


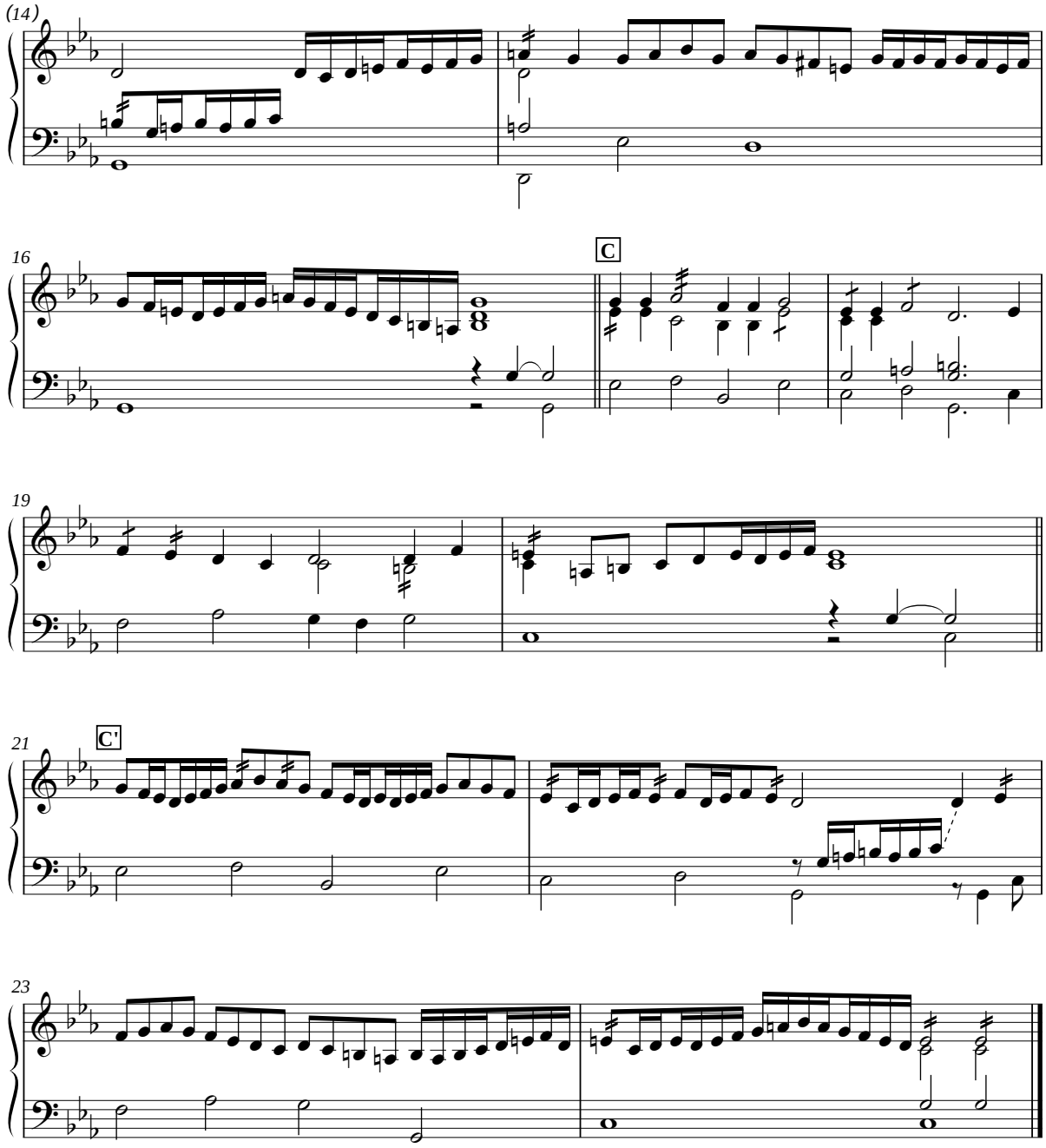

14
(15)
17
C
20
C'
22
(23)

13b. Flat Pavan

Board, f. 2v

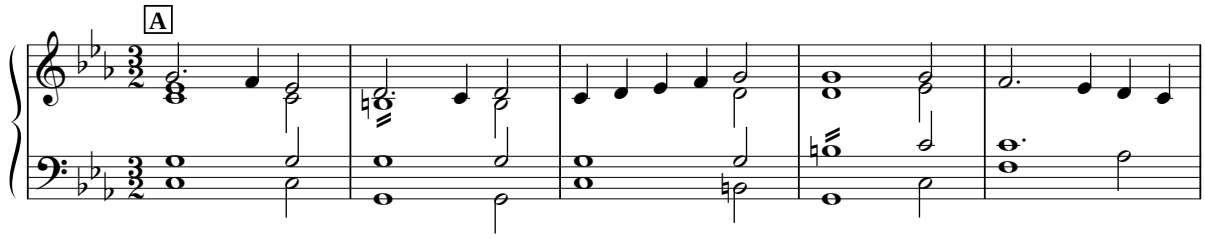
John Johnson

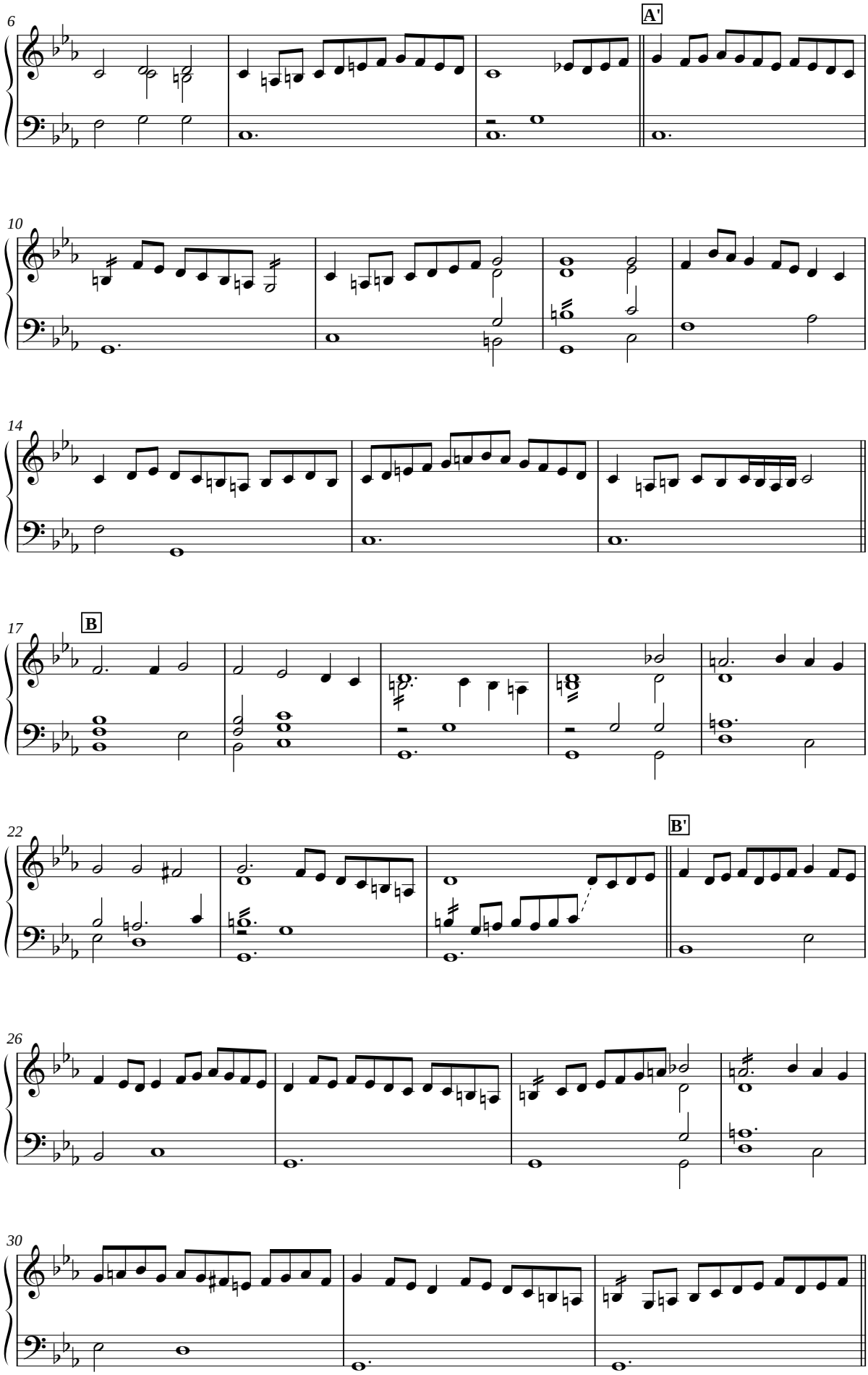


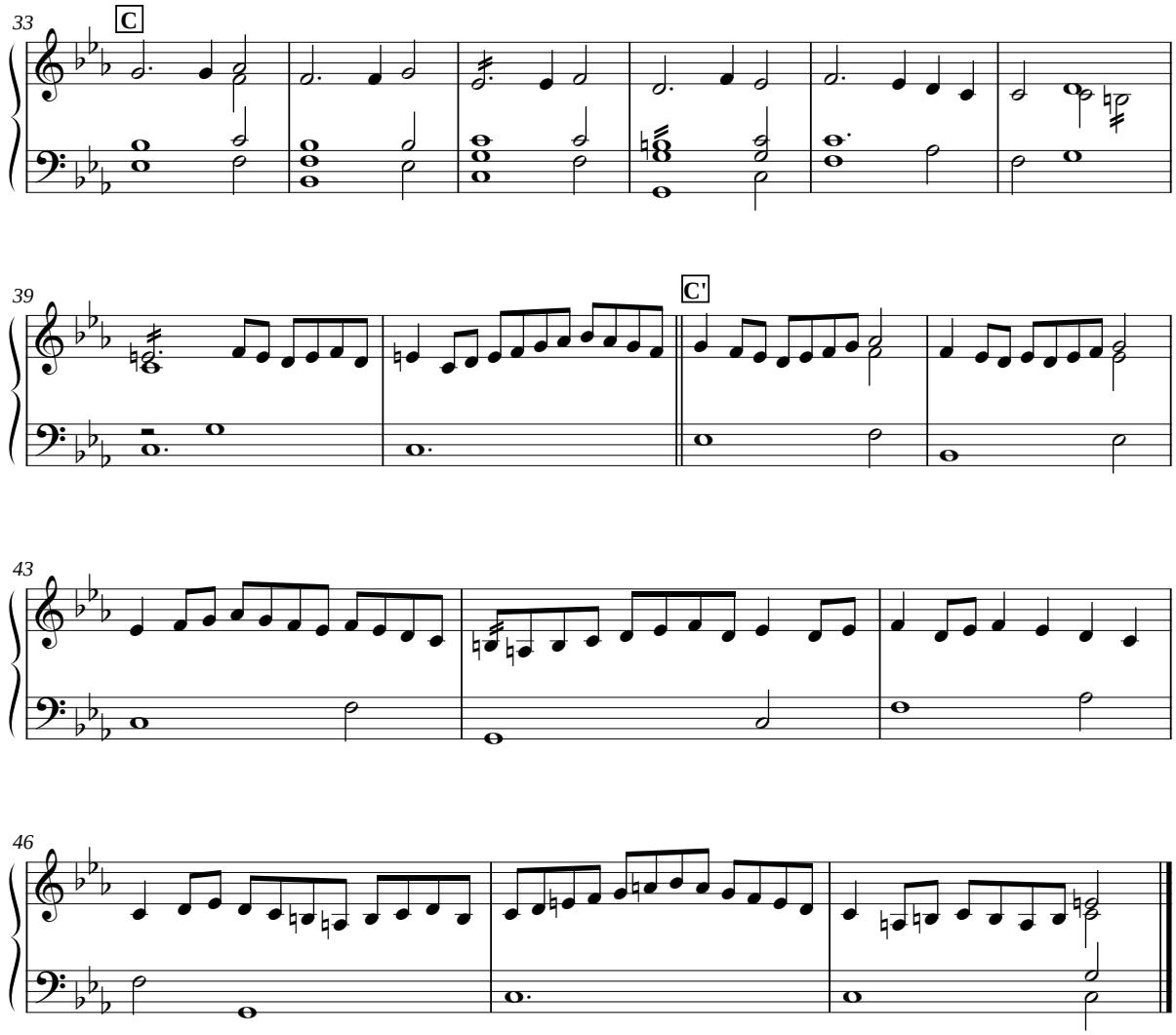


14. Flat Galliard

Ballet, p. 19 [Anonymous]




6
A'
10
14
17
B
22
B'
26
30

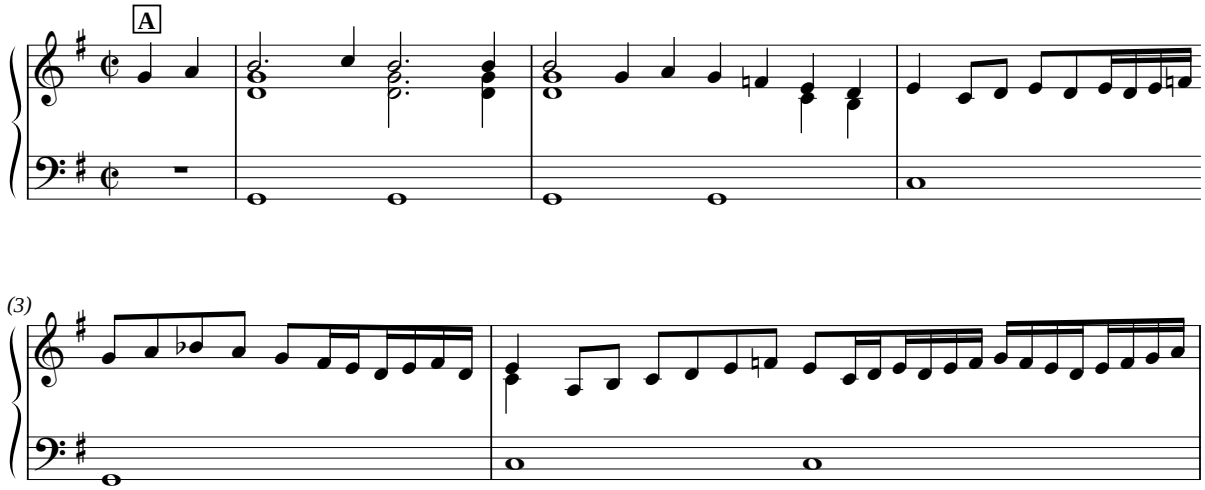


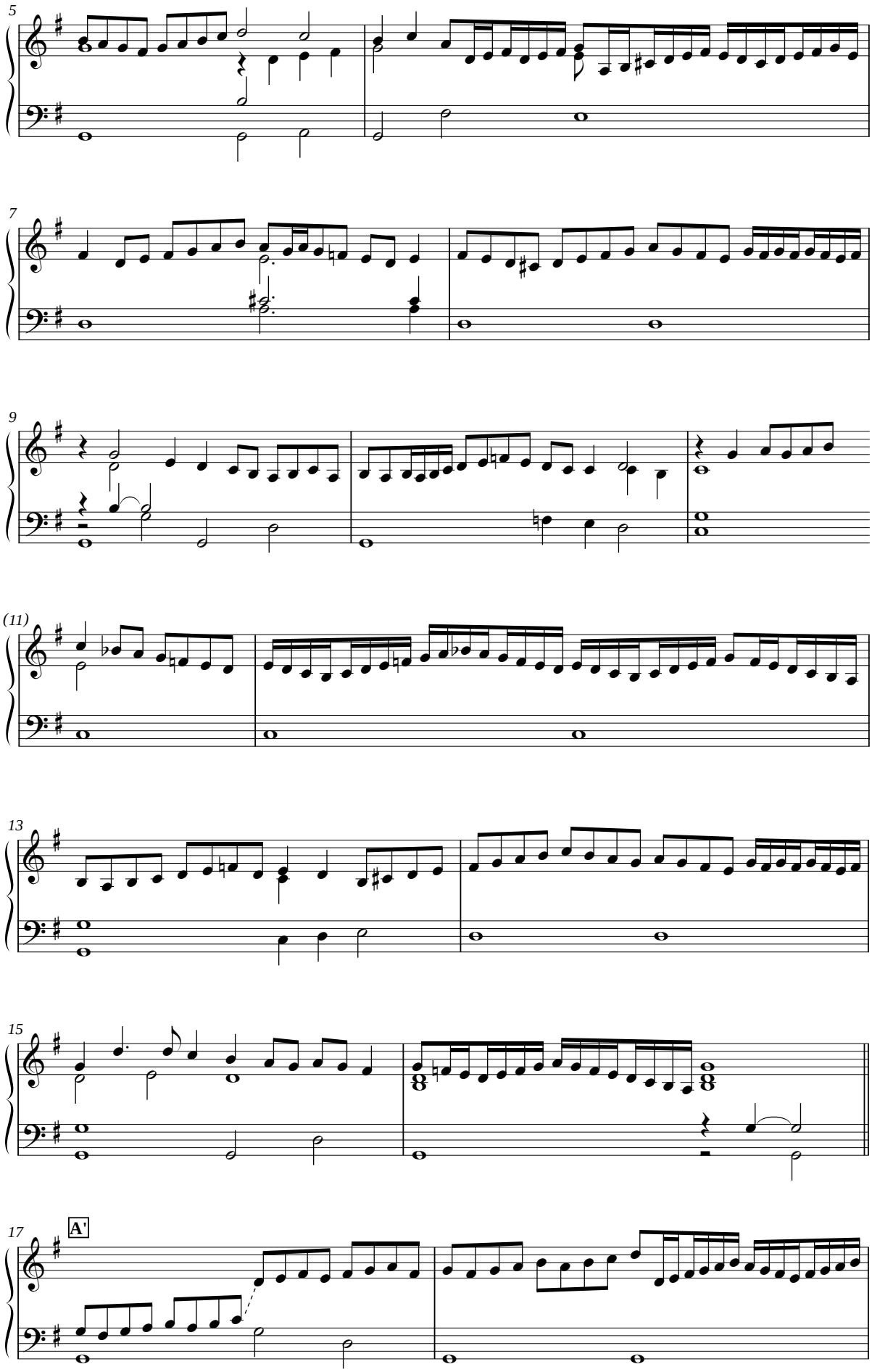
[2]

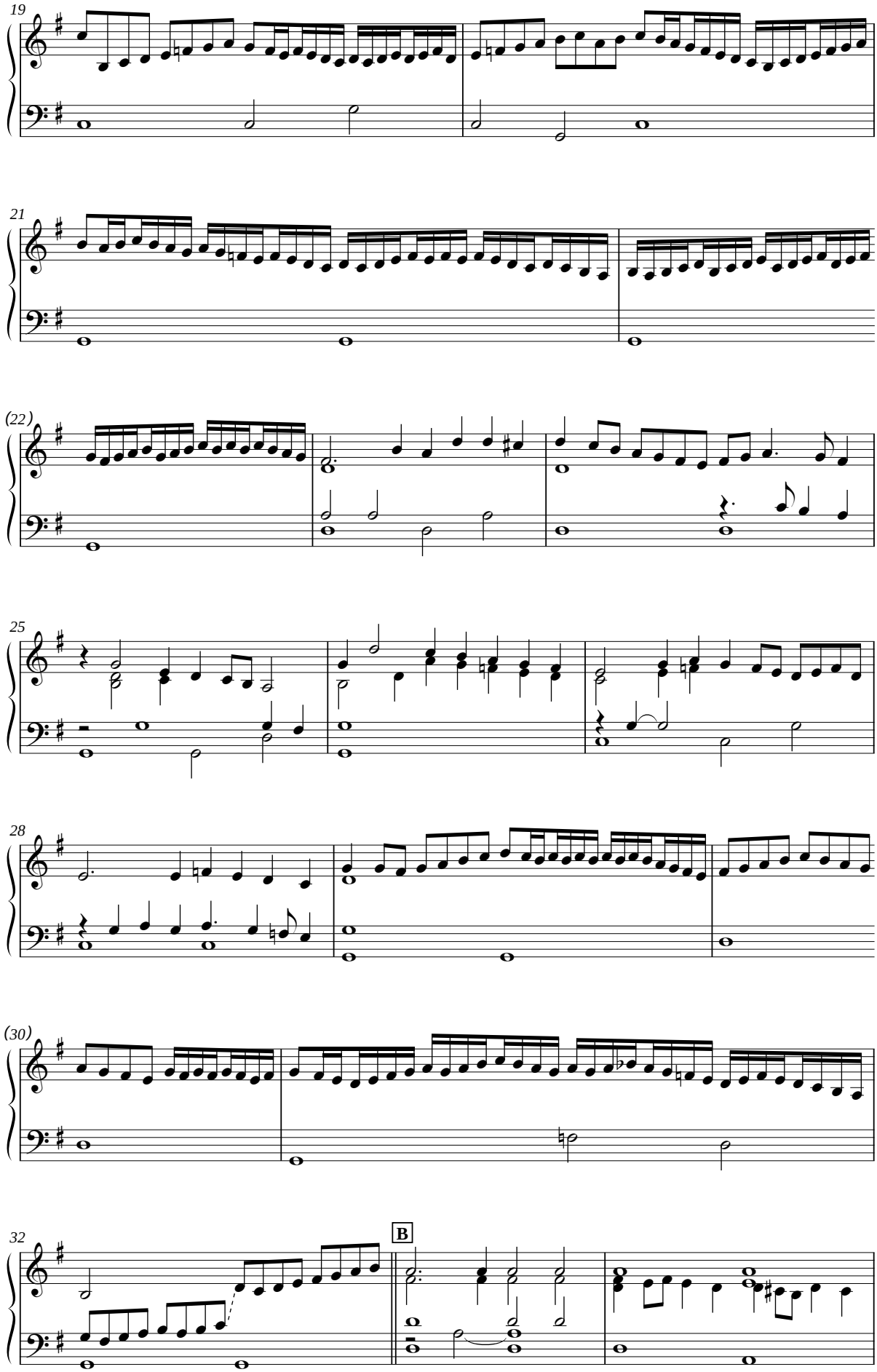
15a. Quadro Pavan

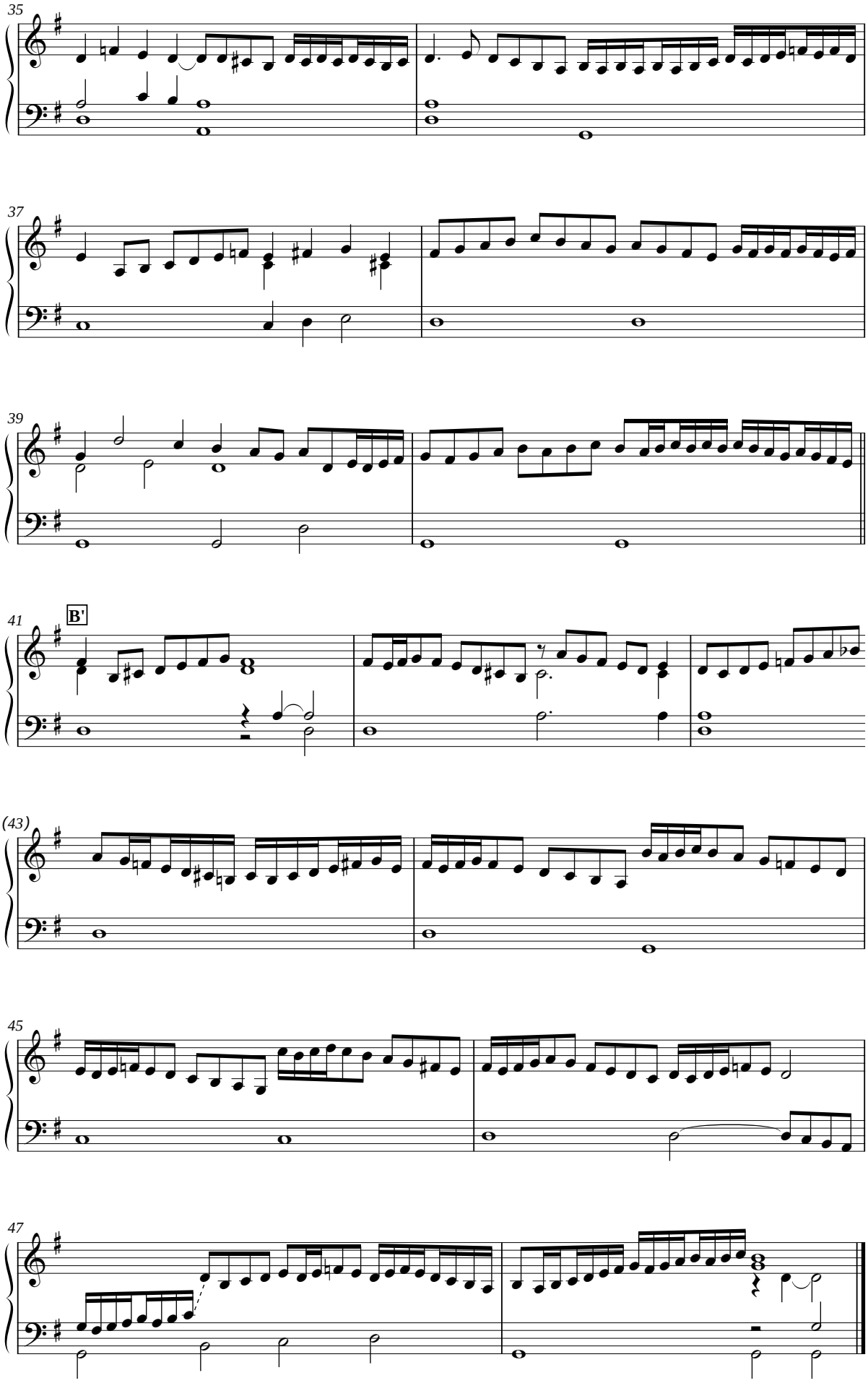
Add.31392, f. 20v-21v

John Johnson




5
7
9
(11)
13
15
17
A'

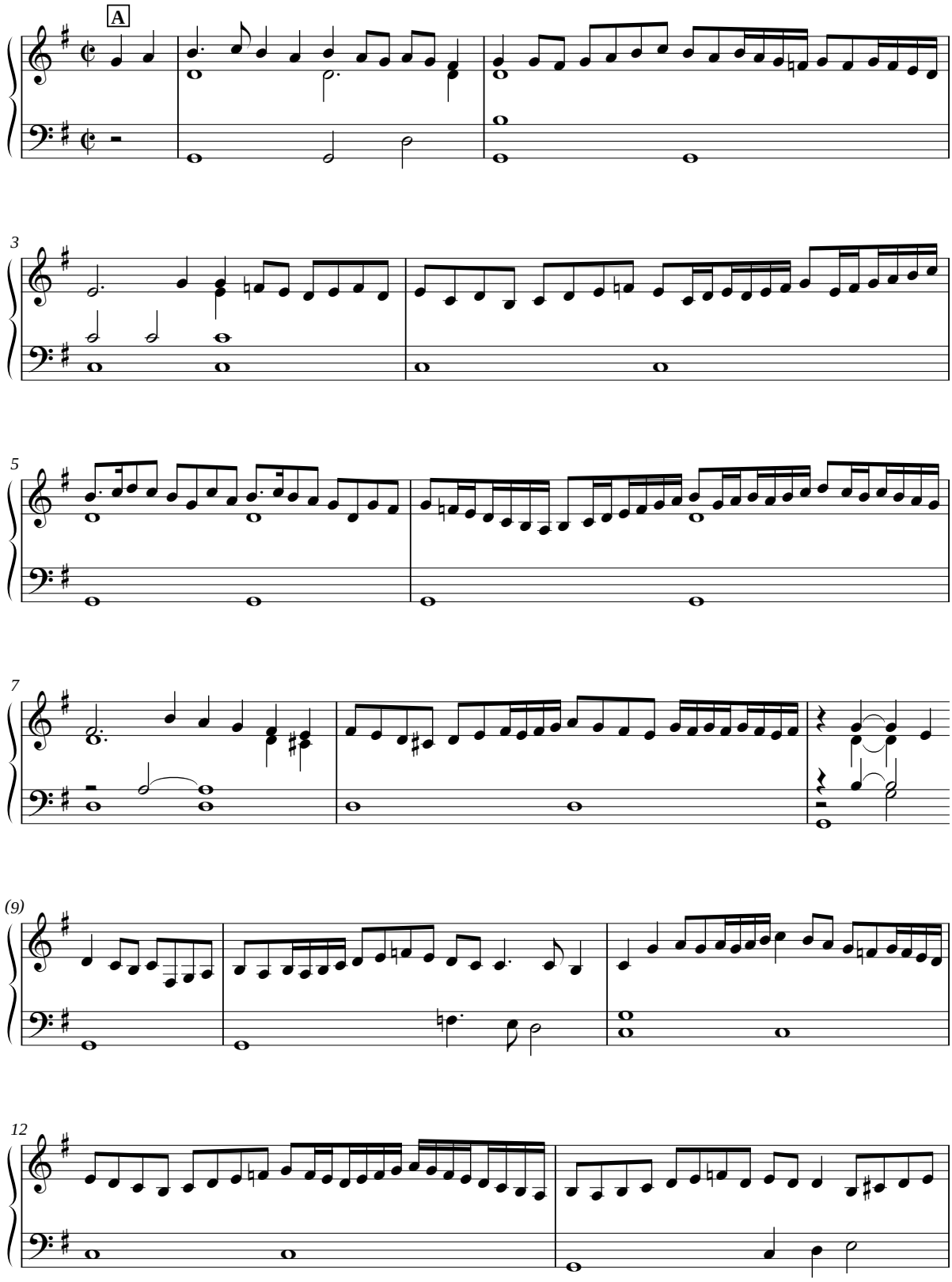

19
21
(22)
25
28
(30)
32
B

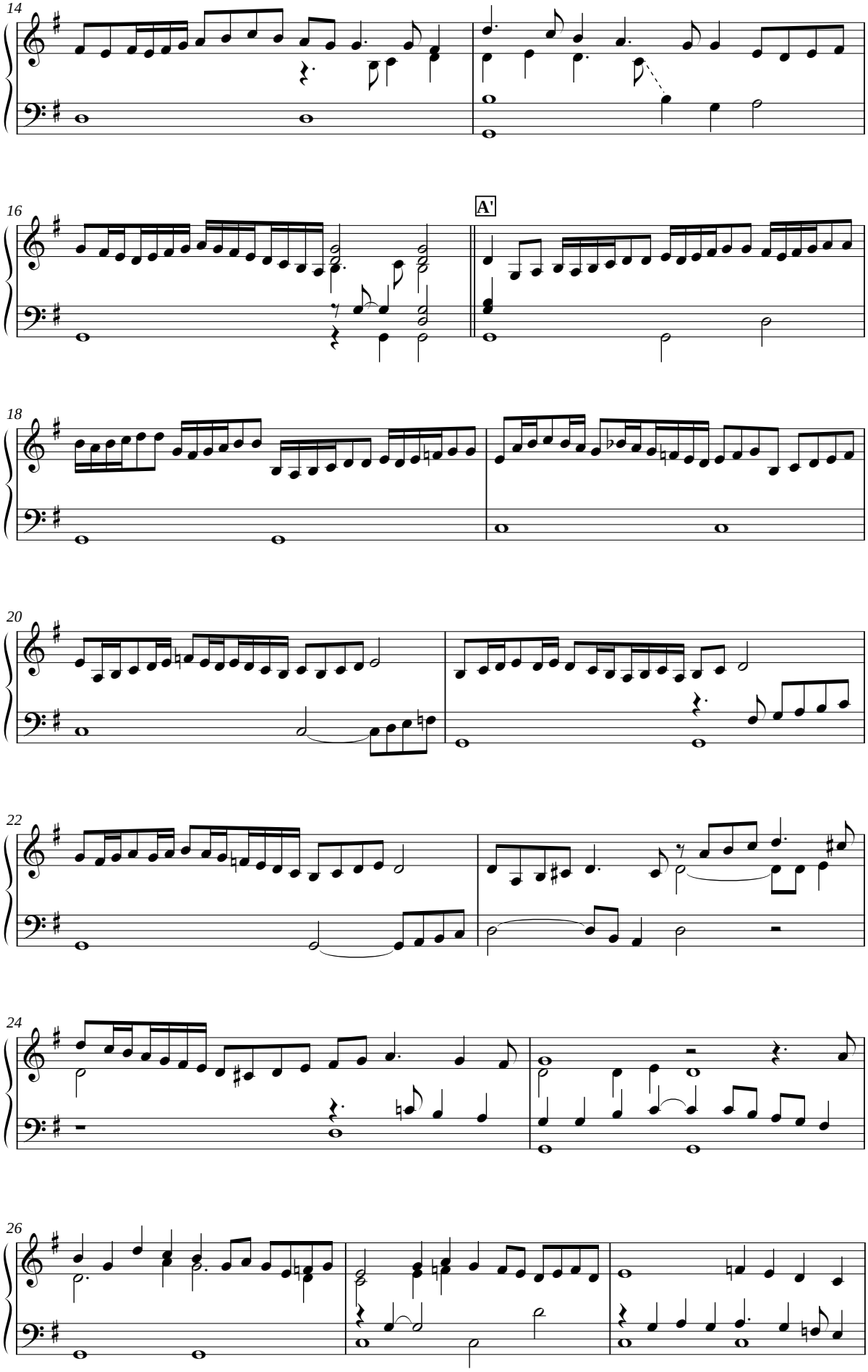

35
37
39
41
B'
(43)
45
47

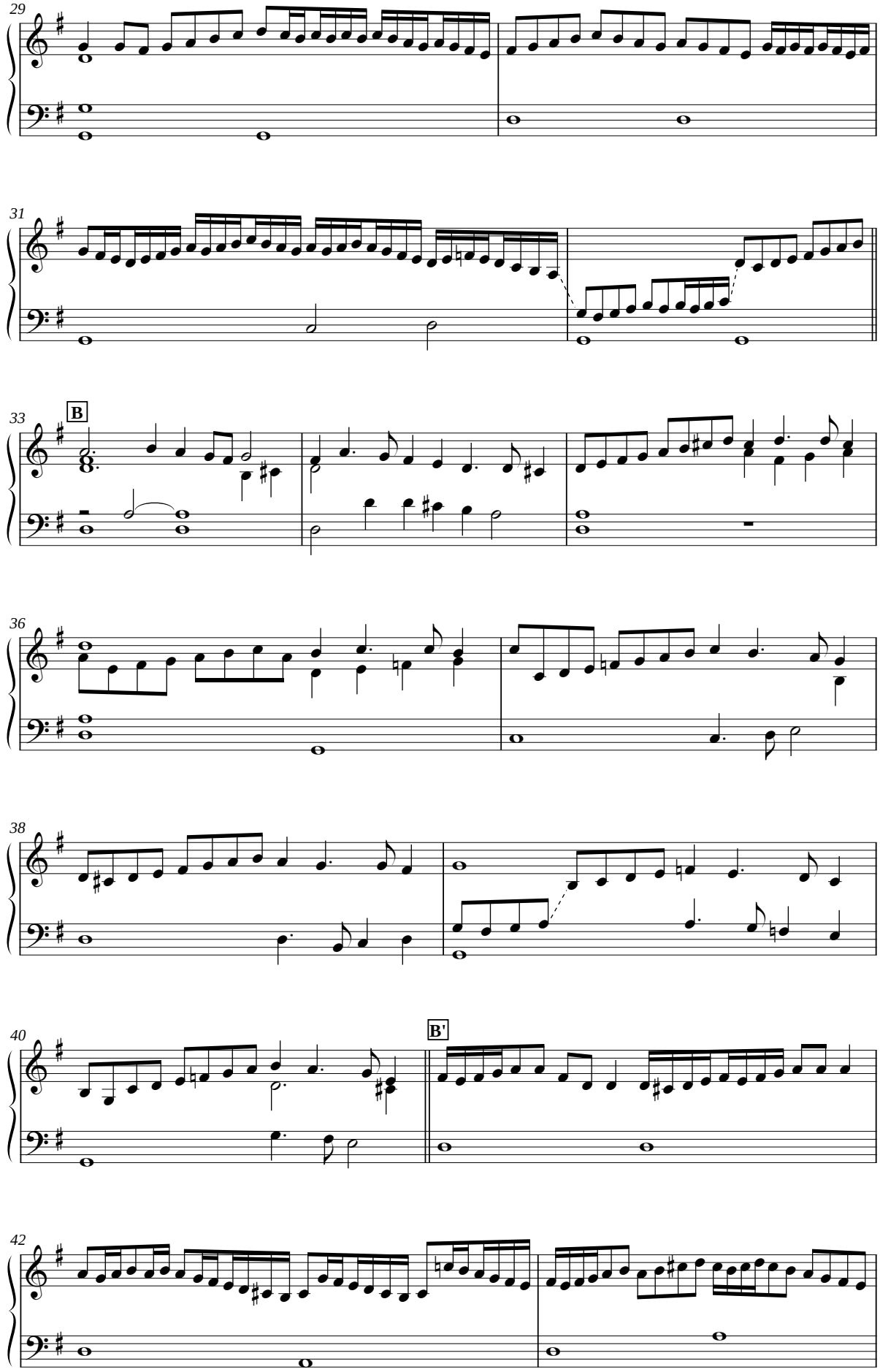
15b. Quadro Pavan

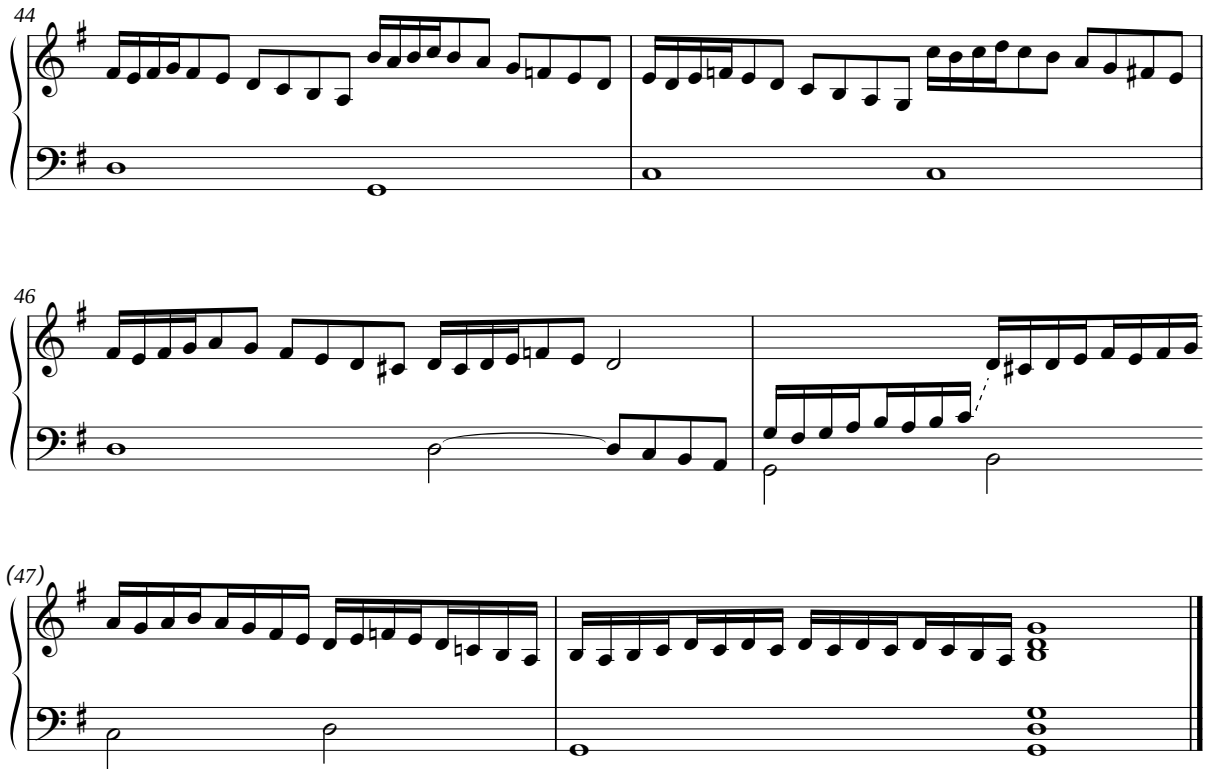
Dd.3.18, f. 26v-27r

John Johnson



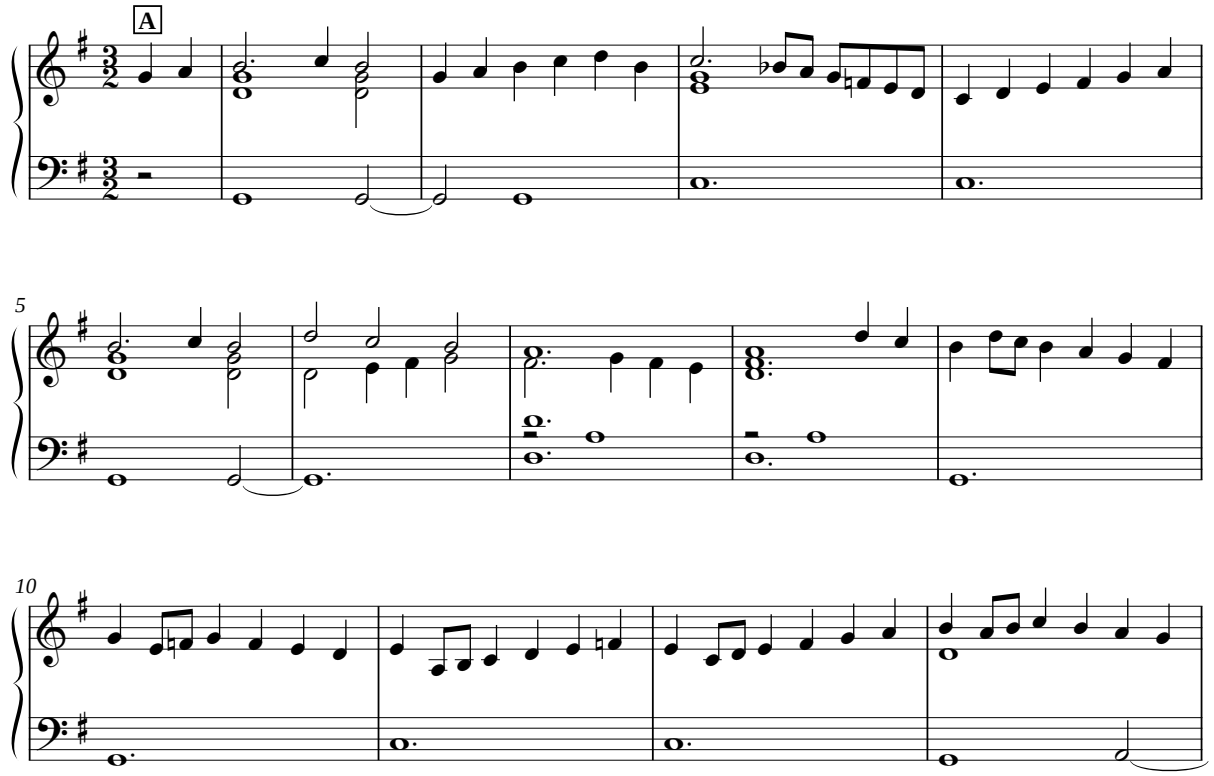

14
16
A'
18
20
22
24
26

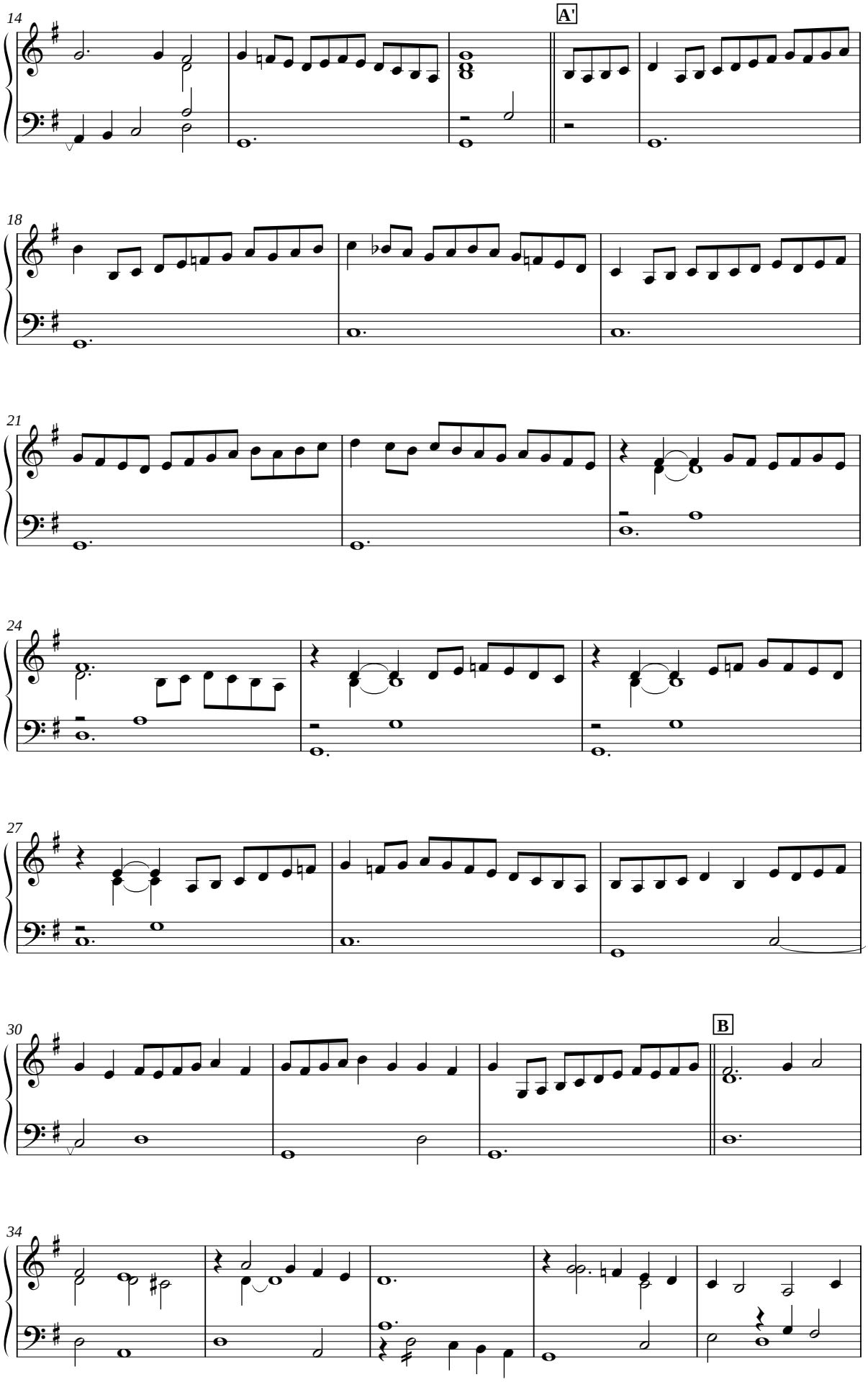

29
31
33
B
36
38
40
B'
42

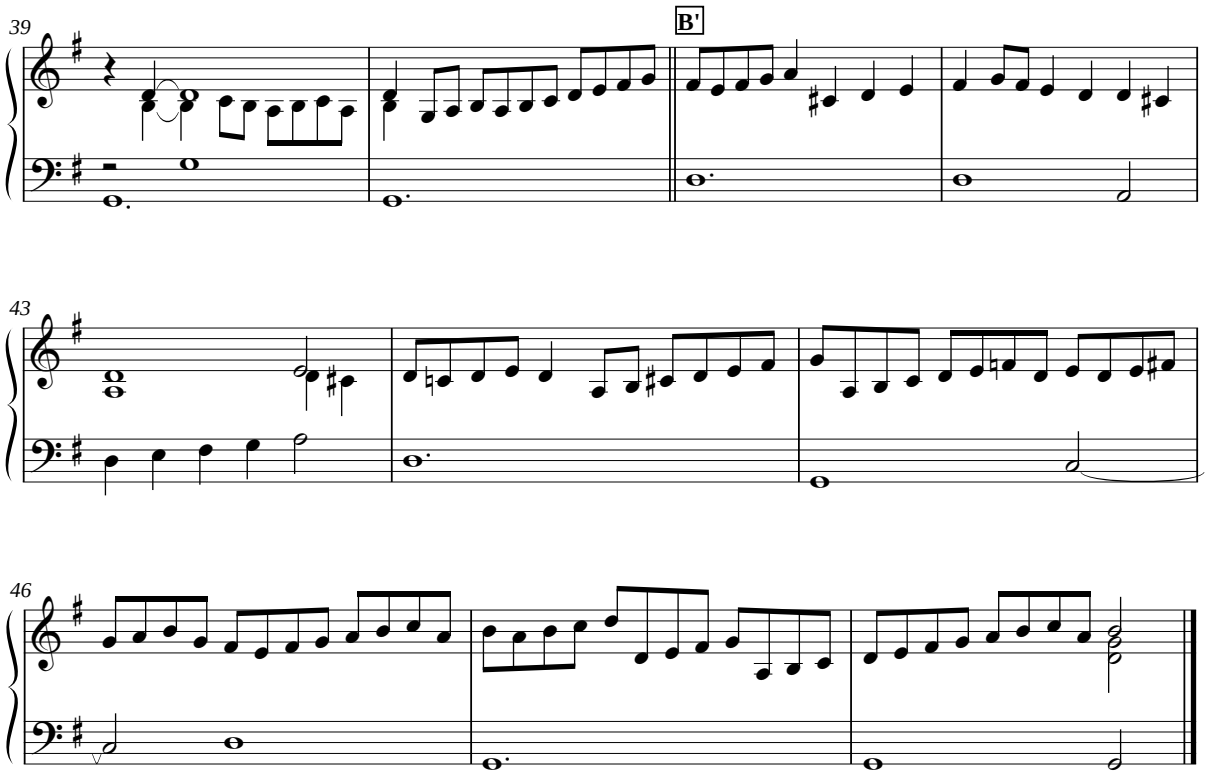


16. Quadro Galliard

Dd.3.18, f. 26r [Anonymous]



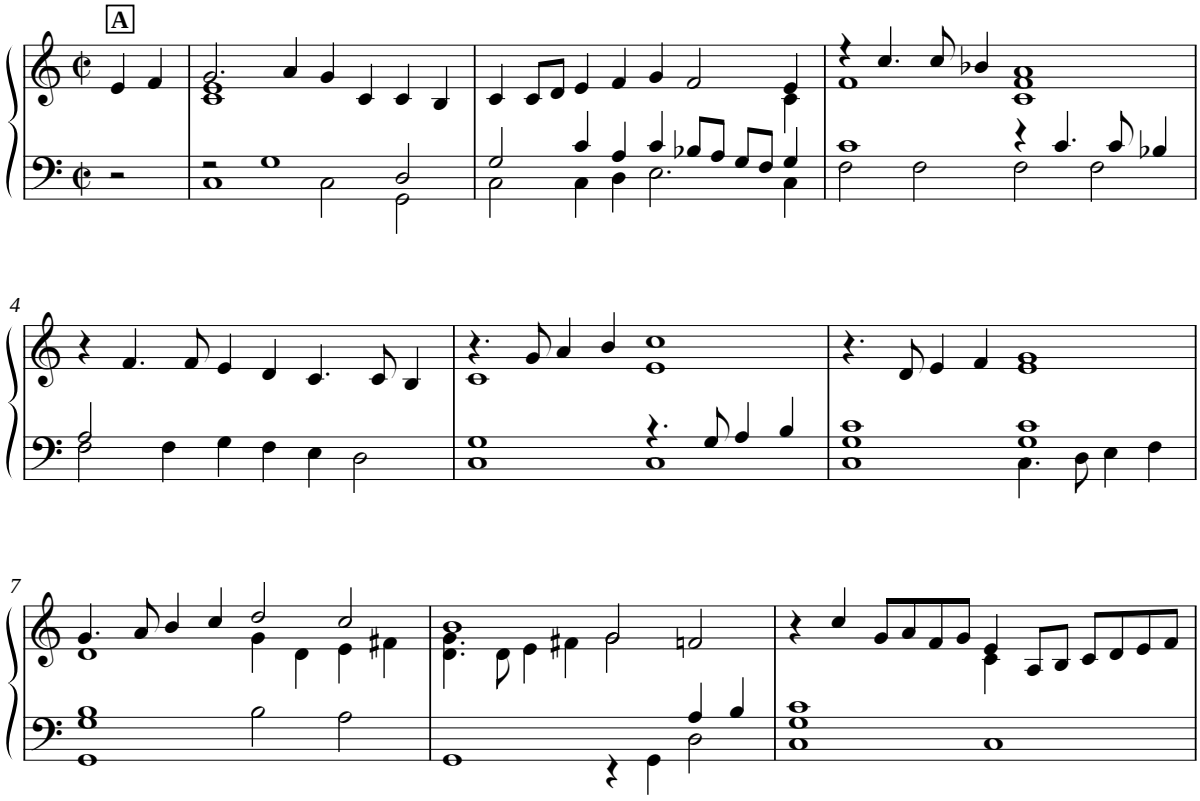

14
A'
18
21
24
27
30
B
34

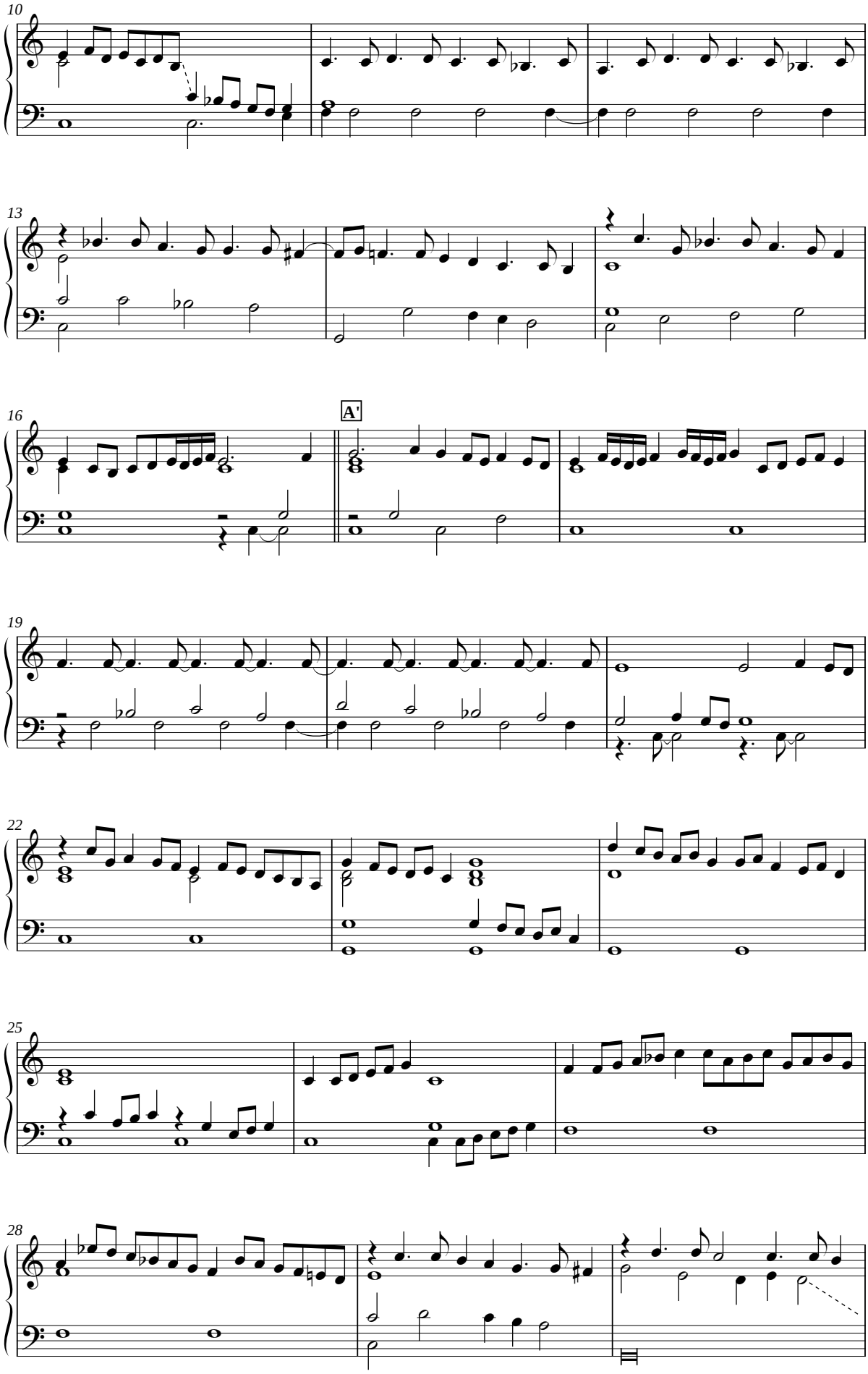


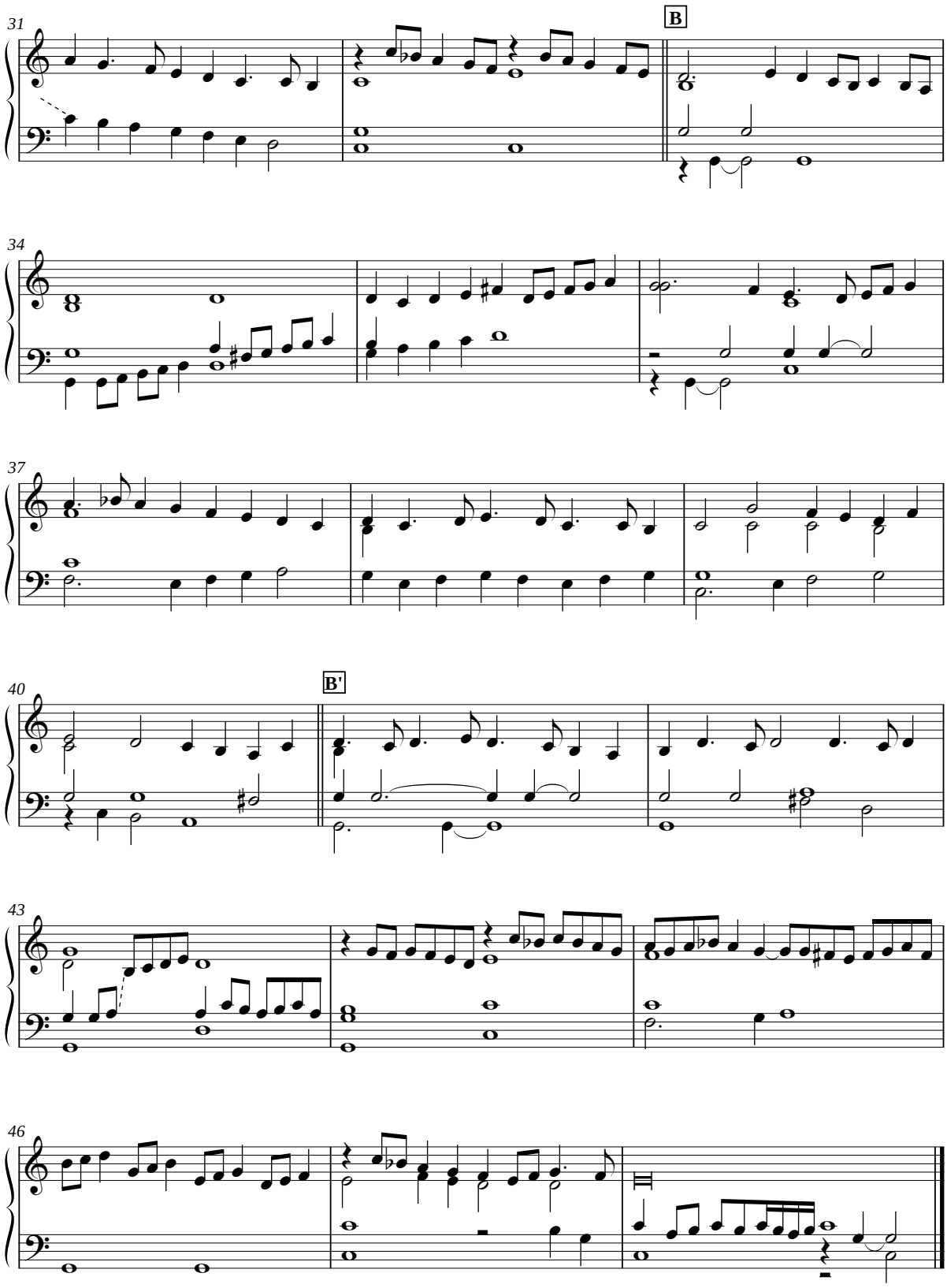
17. Quadro Pavan

Dallis, p. 86-88

John Johnson



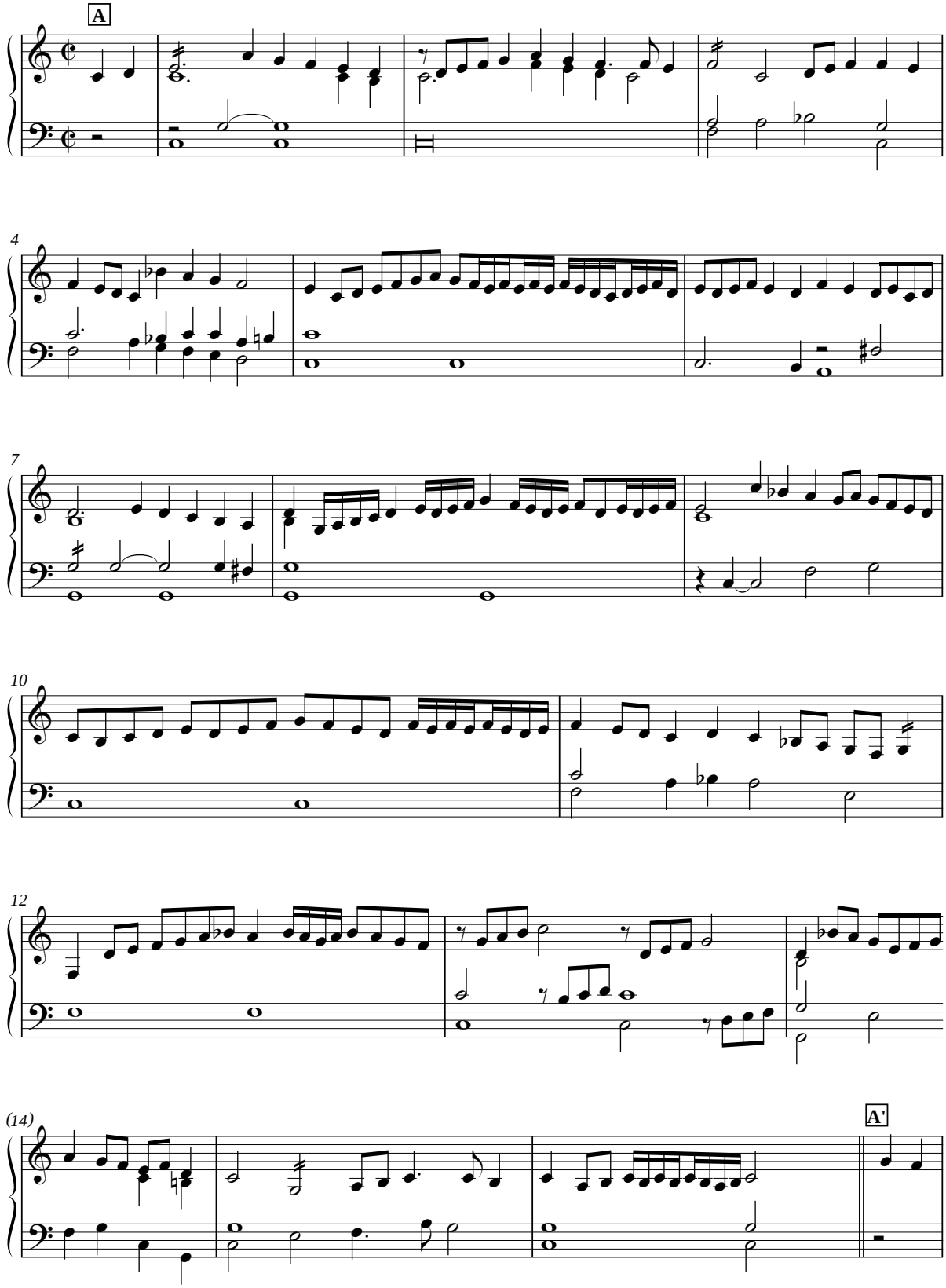

10
13
16
A'
19
22
25
28

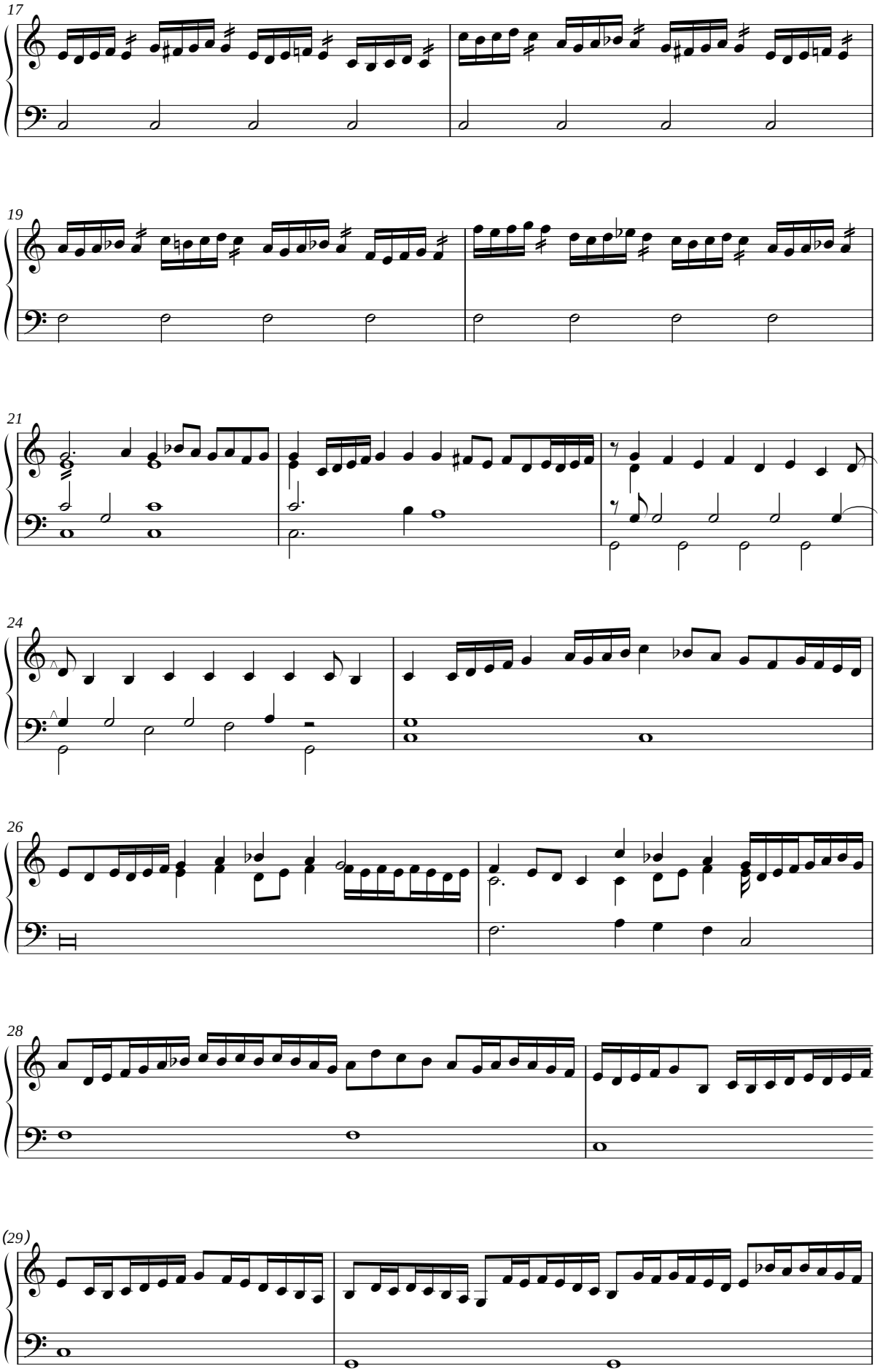

31
B
34
37
40
B'
43
46

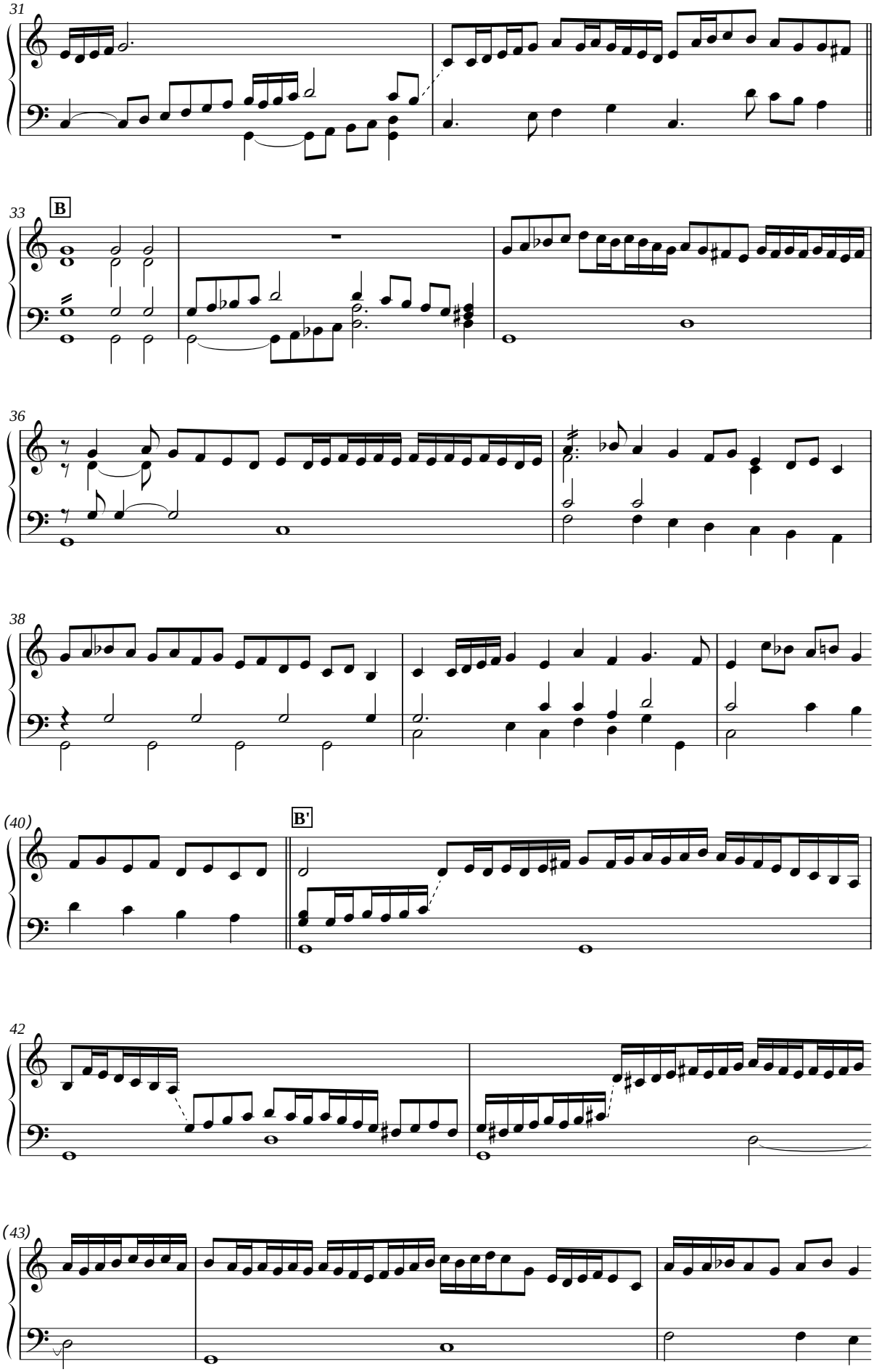
18. Quadro Pavan

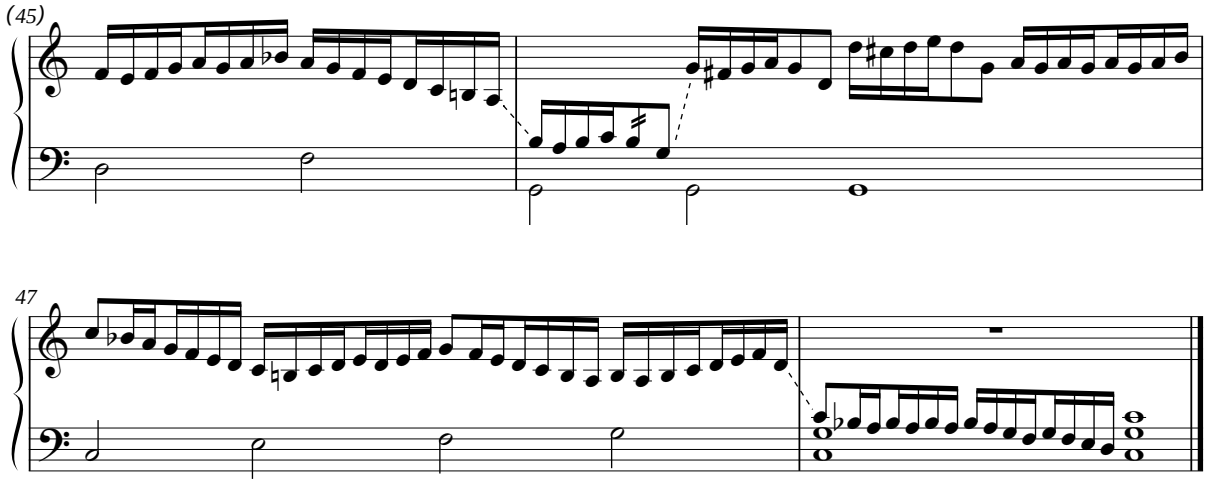
Wickhambrook, f. 10v-11r

John Johnson




17
19
21
24
26
28
(29)

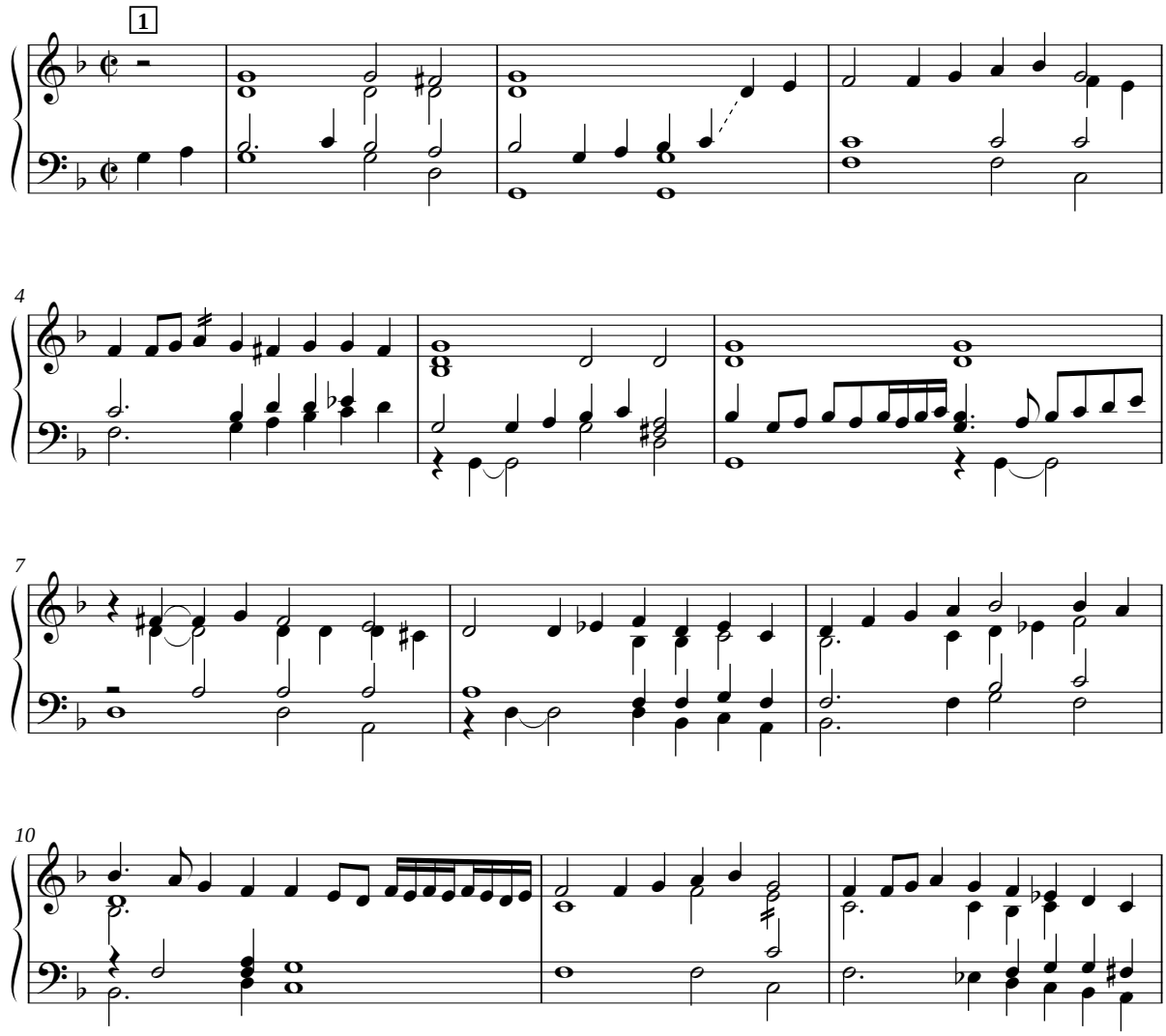

31
33
B
36
38
(40)
B'
42
(43)

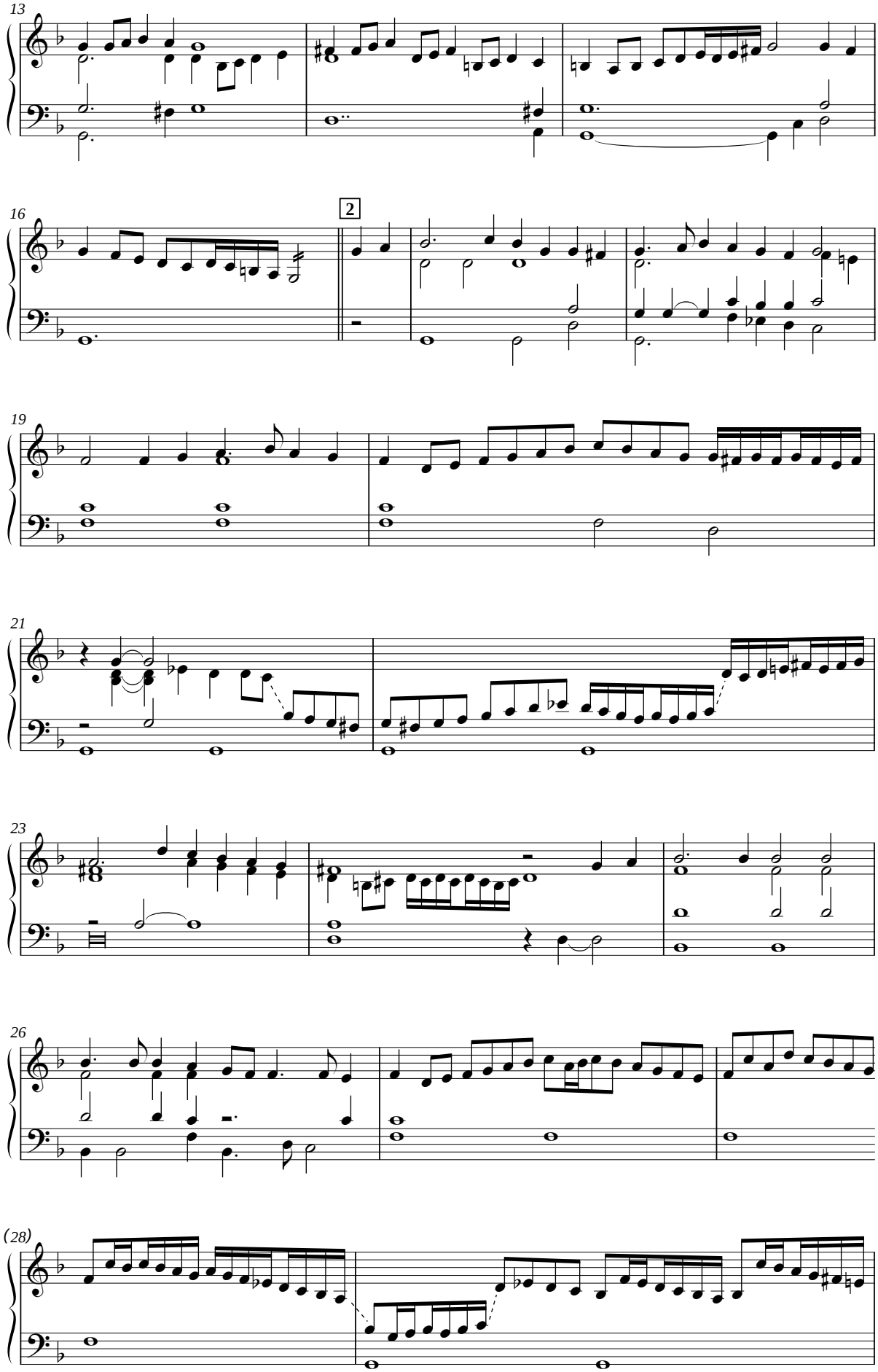


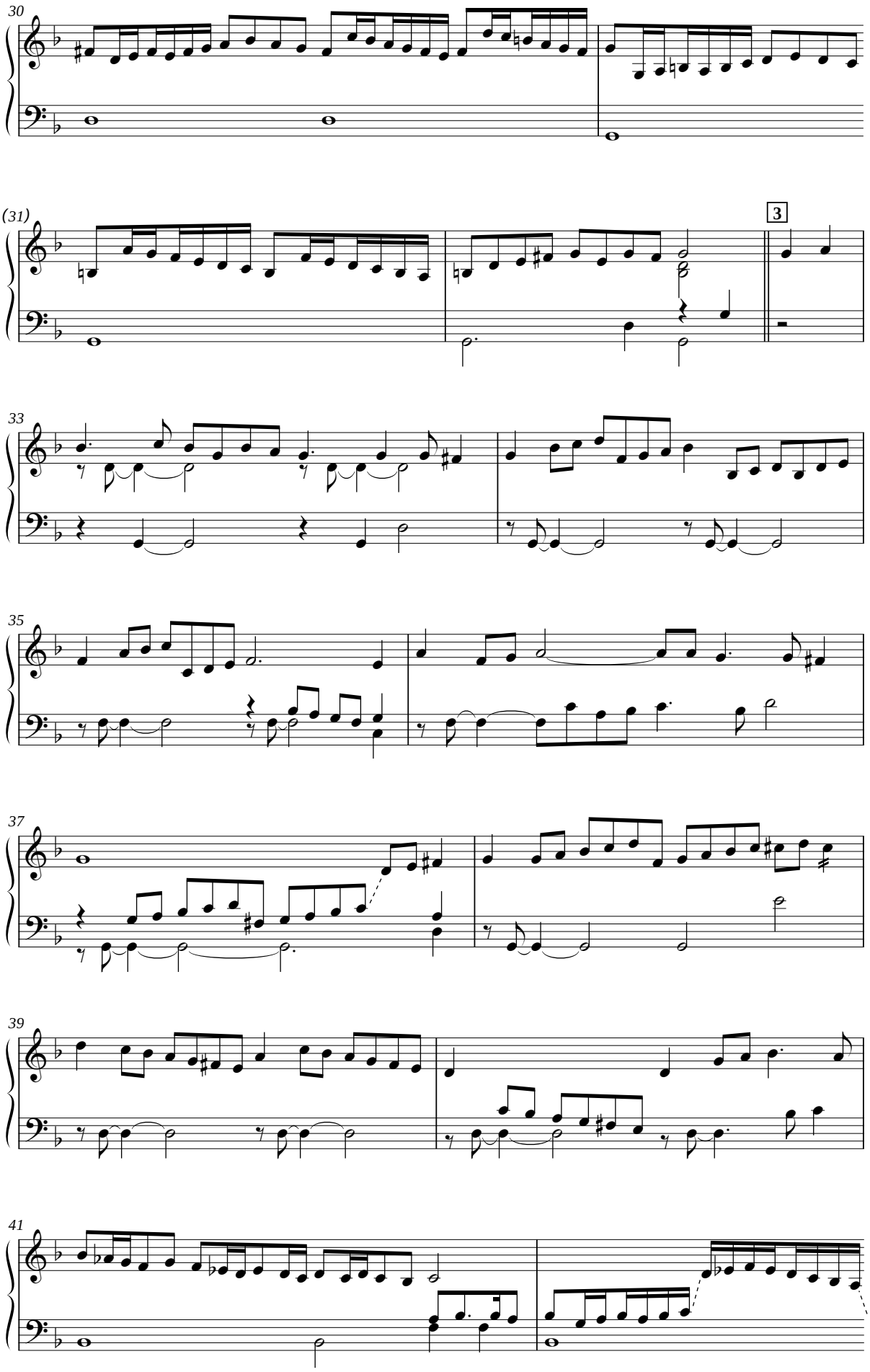
19. Passamezzo Pavan

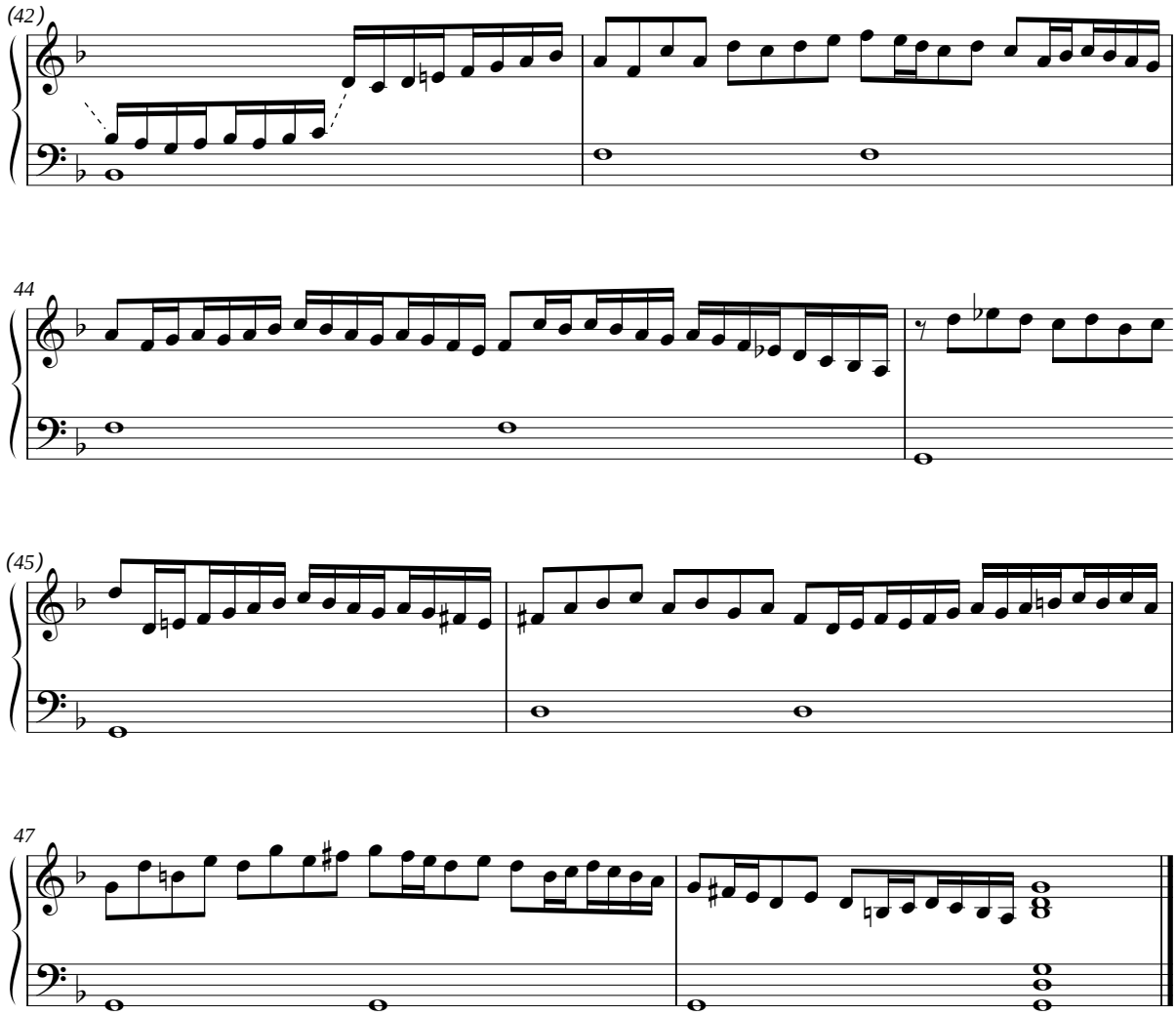
Wickhambrook, f. 16v-17r

John Johnson



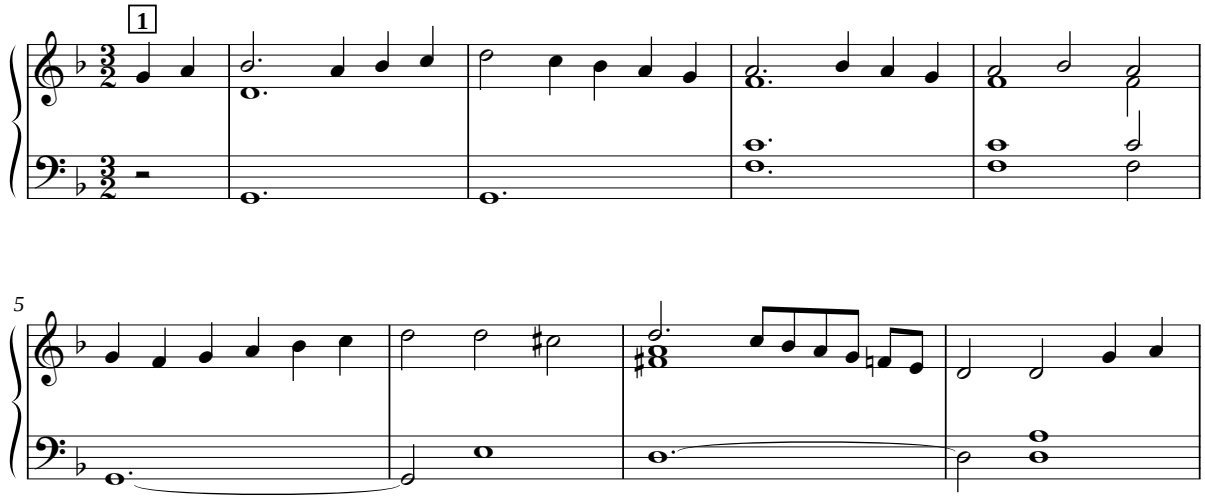

13
16
2
19
21
23
26
(28)

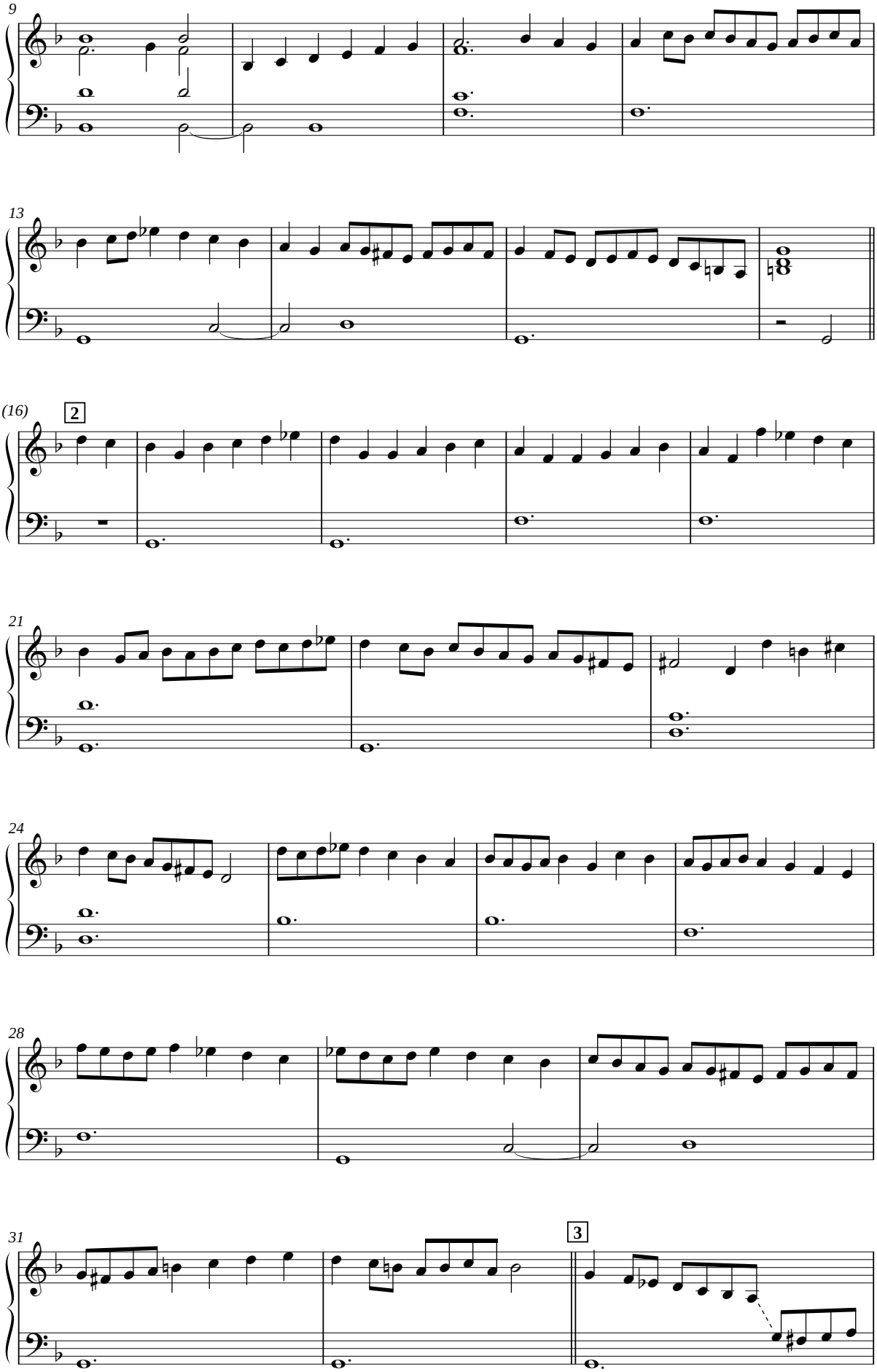

30
(31)
3
33
35
37
39
41

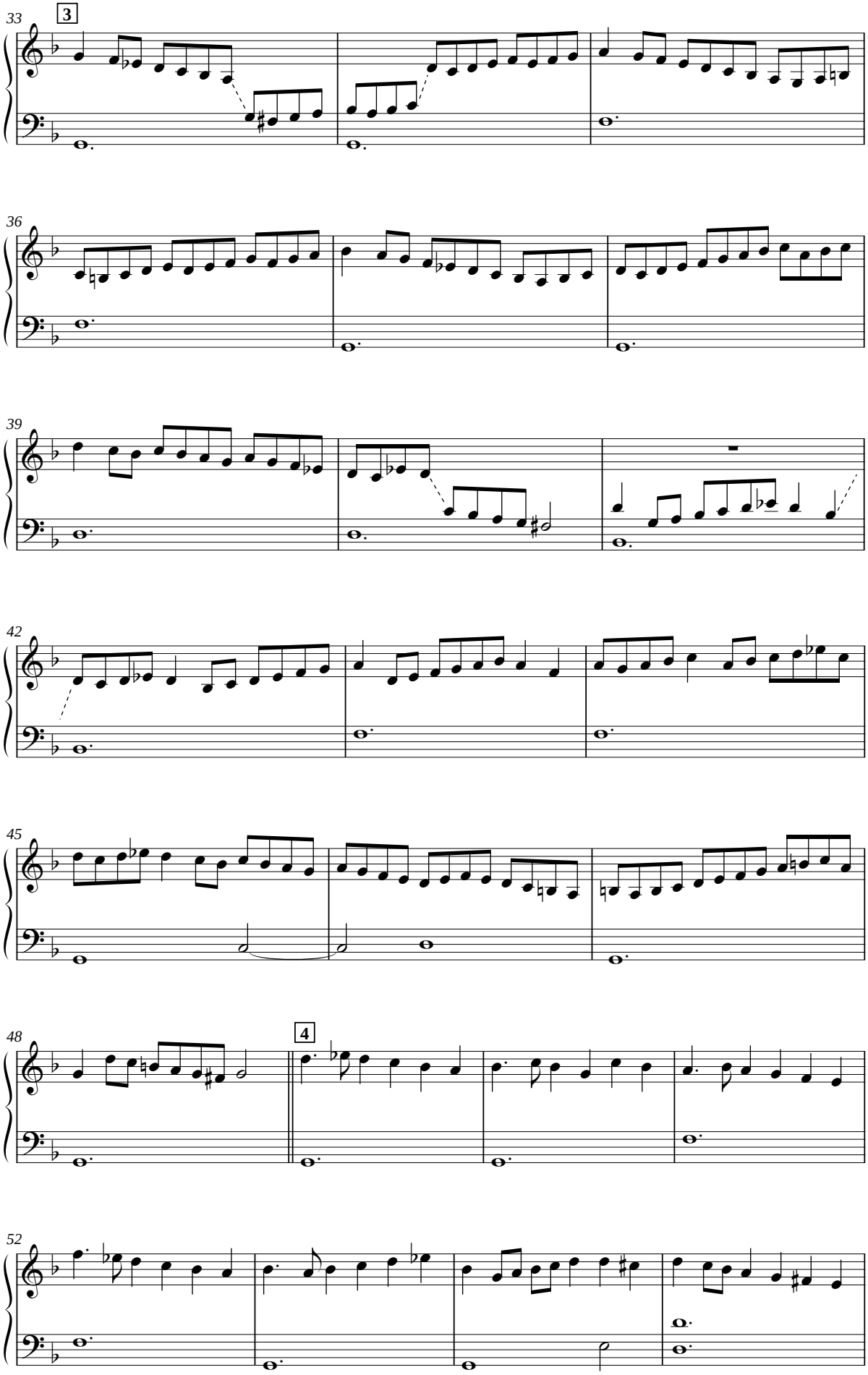


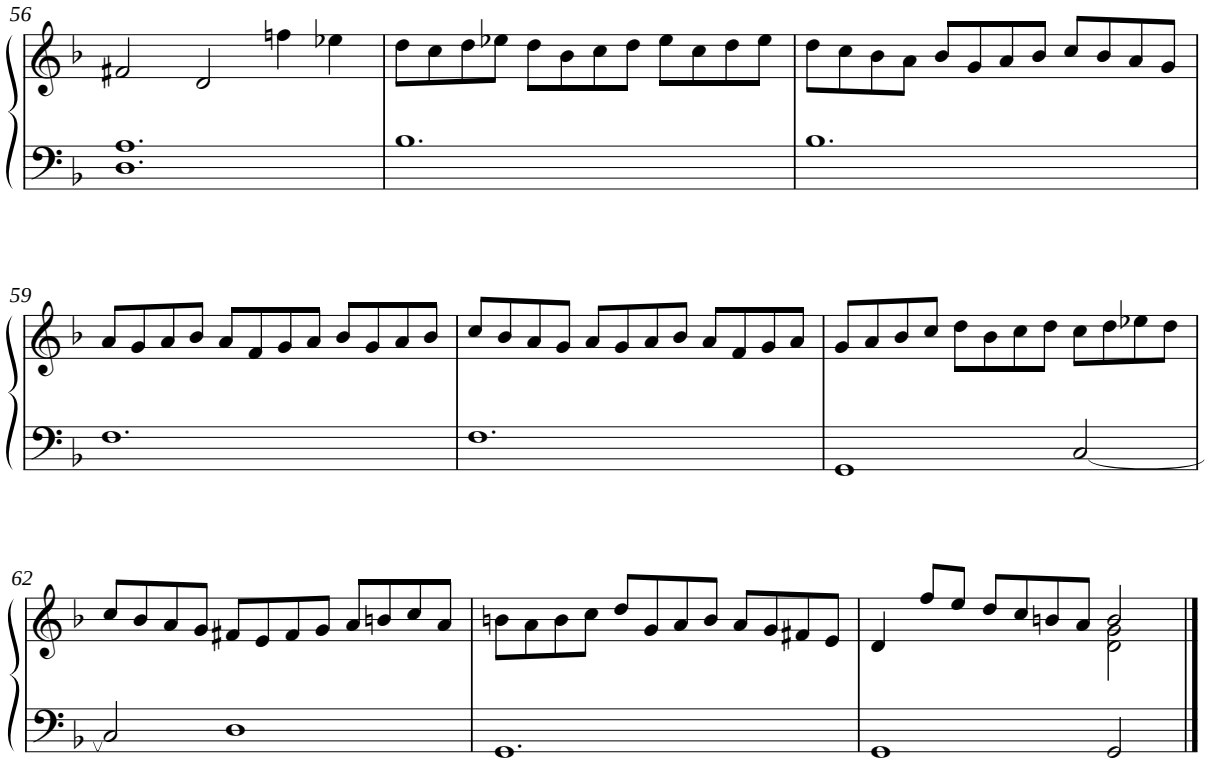
20. Passamezzo Galliard

Dd.3.18, f. 25v-26r [Anonymous]




9
13
(16)
2
21
24
28
31
3

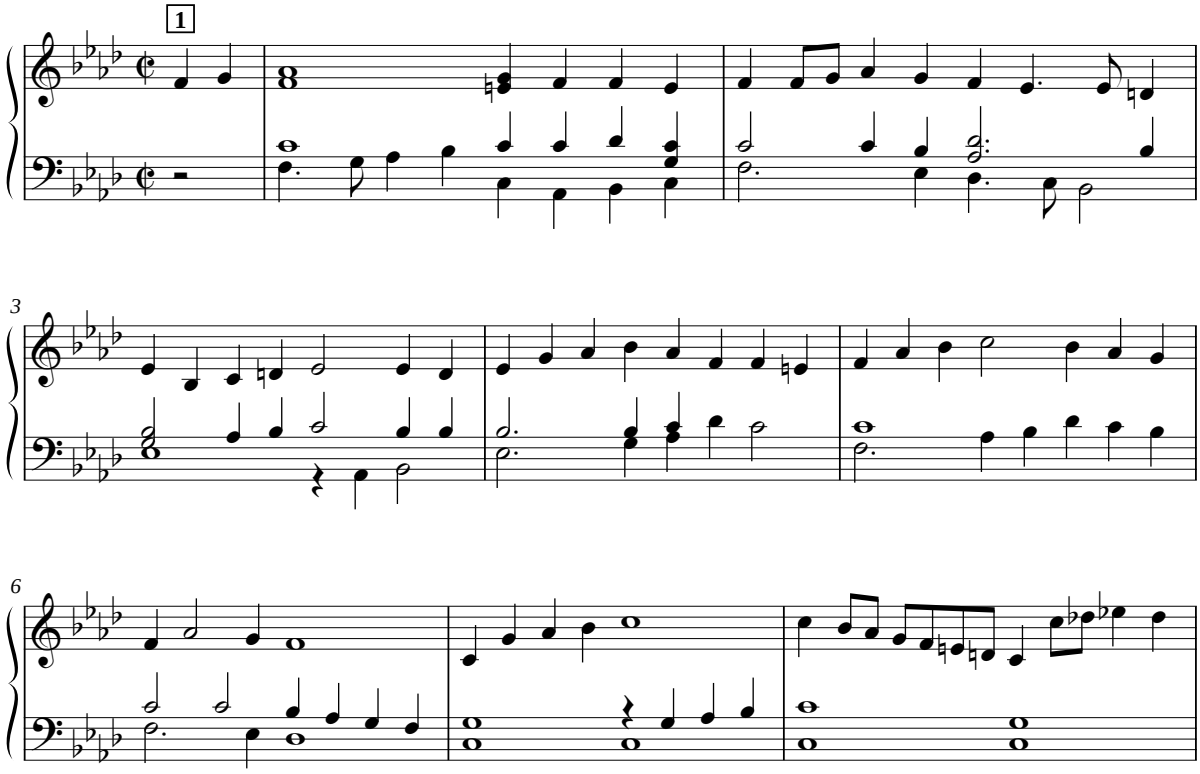

33
3
36
39
42
45
48
4
52

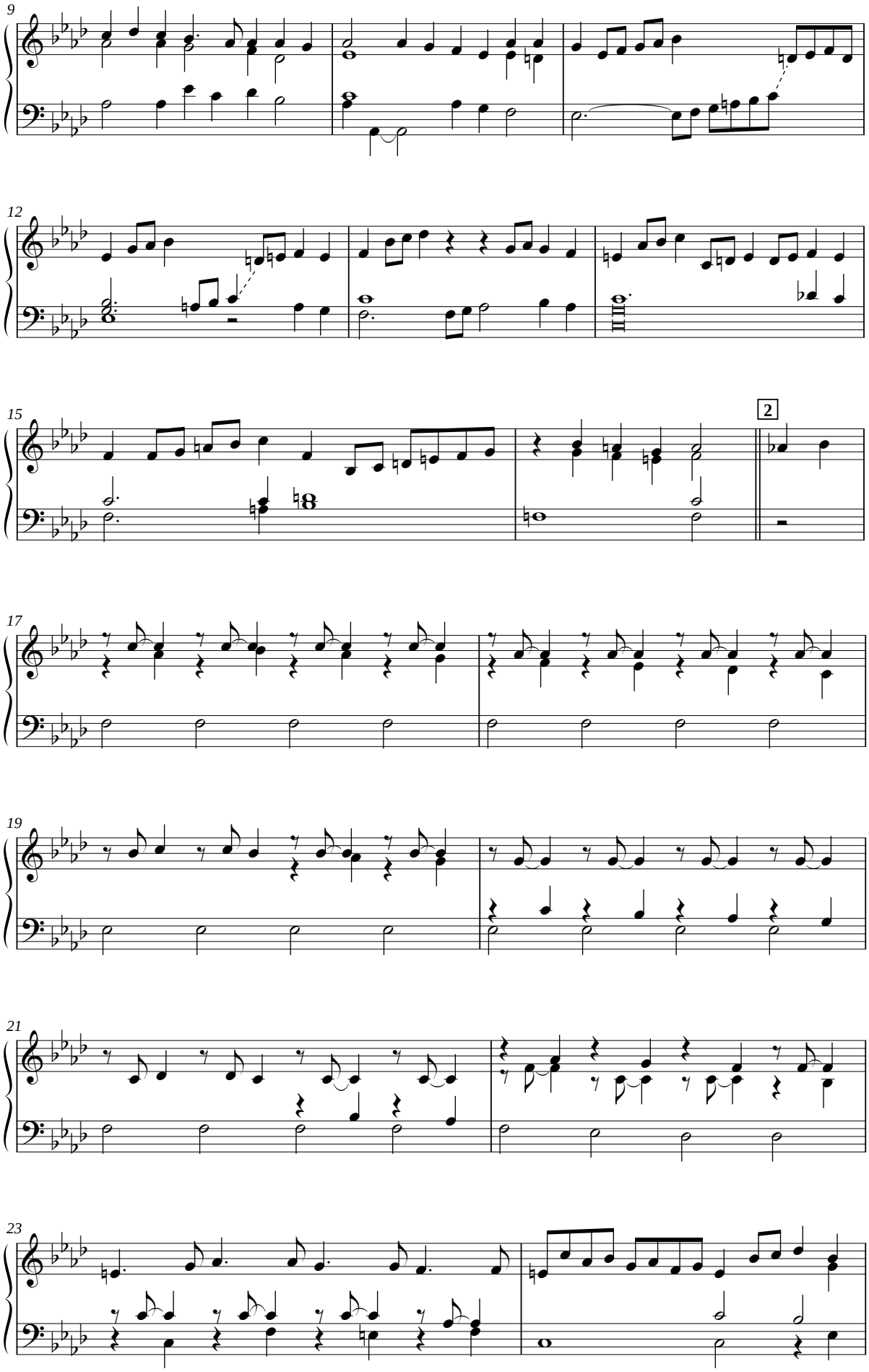


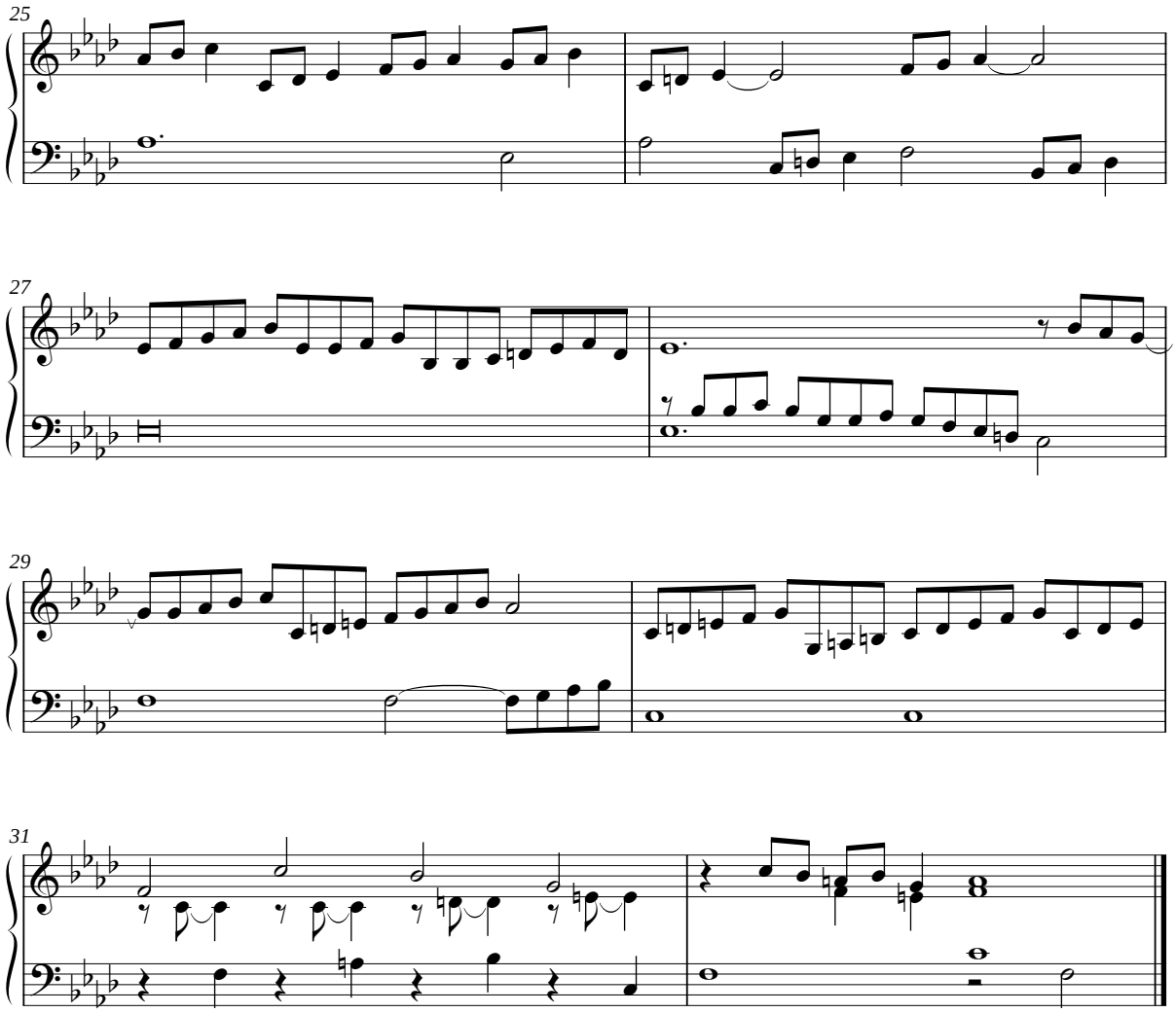
21. [Passamezzo Pavan]

Dd.2.11, f. 74v

John Johnson

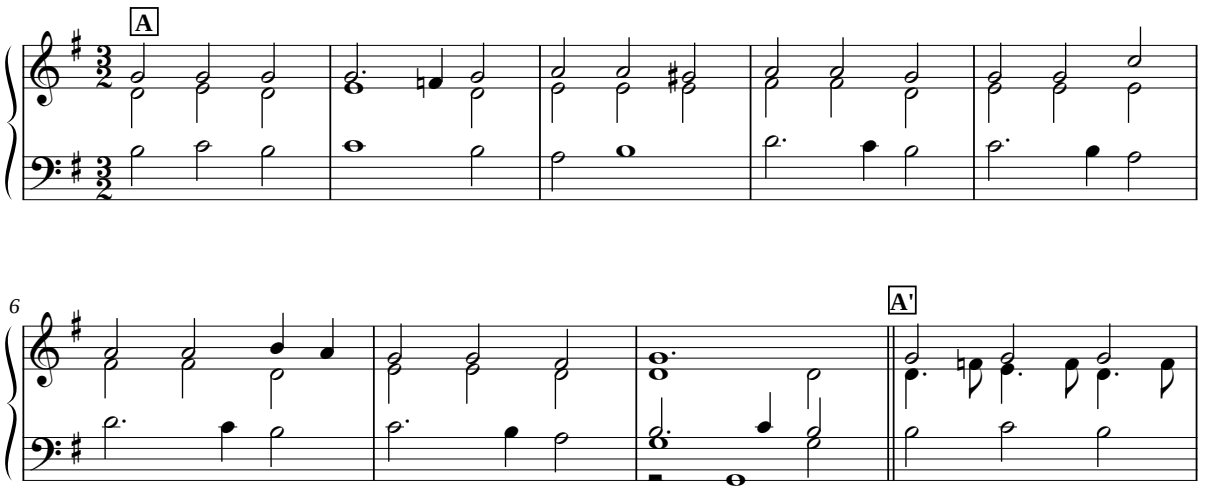


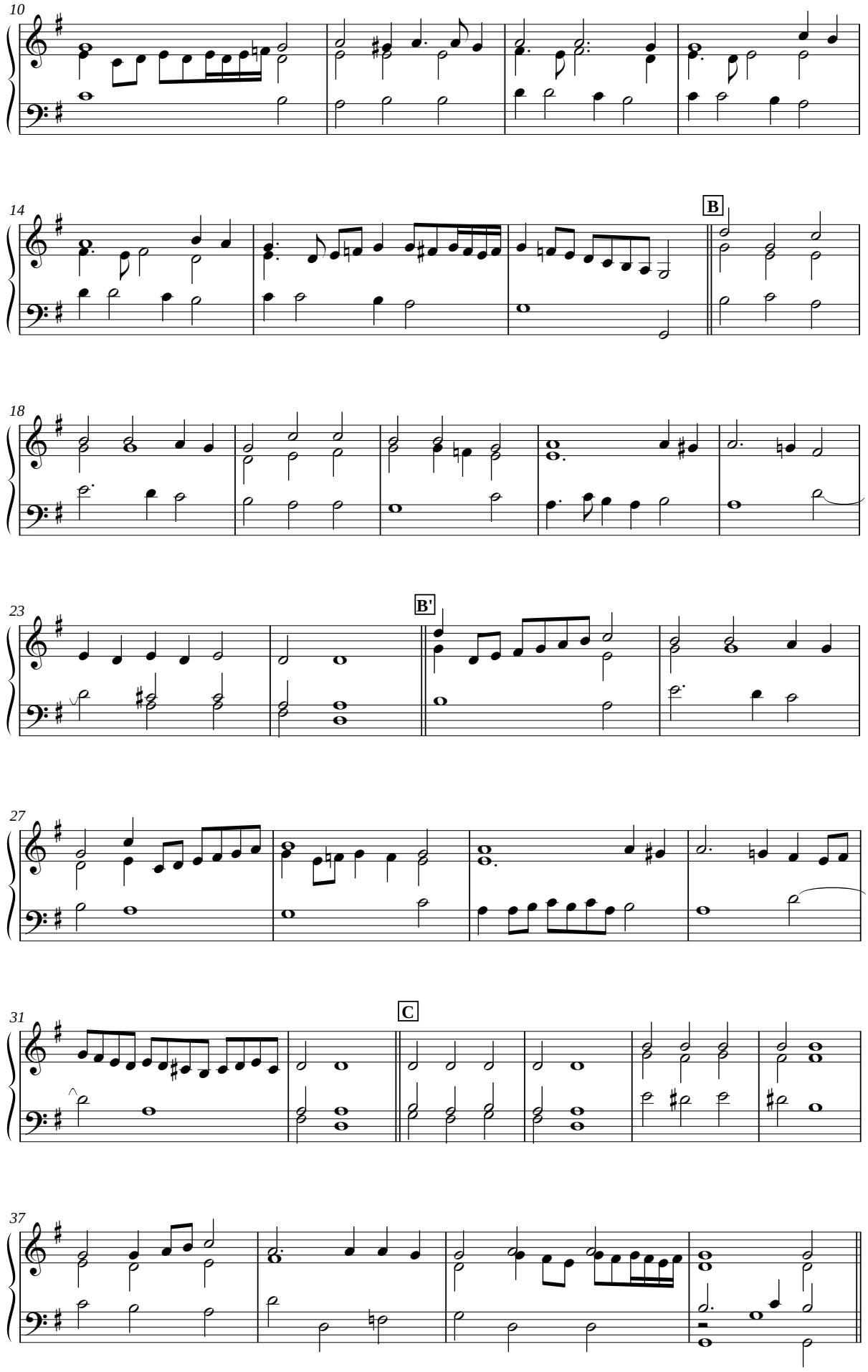

9
12
15
2
17
19
21
23

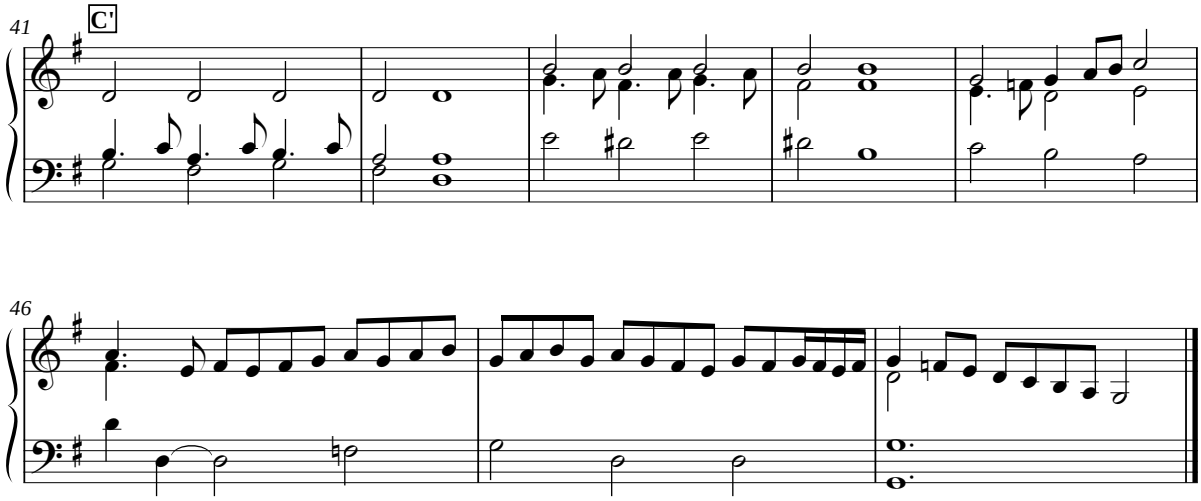


22. Galliard

Marsh, p. 90 Johnson



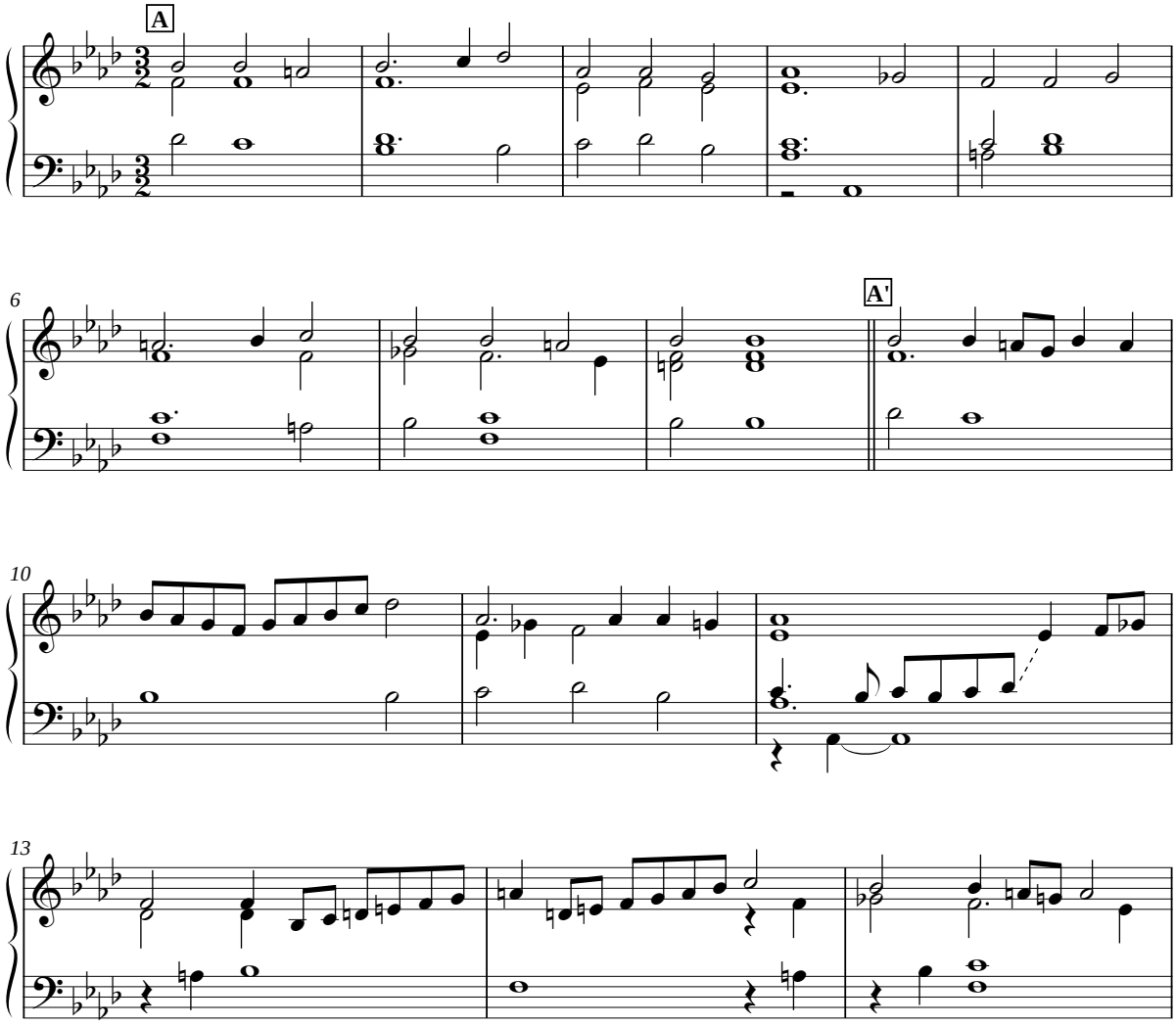

10
14
B
18
23
B'
27
31
C
37

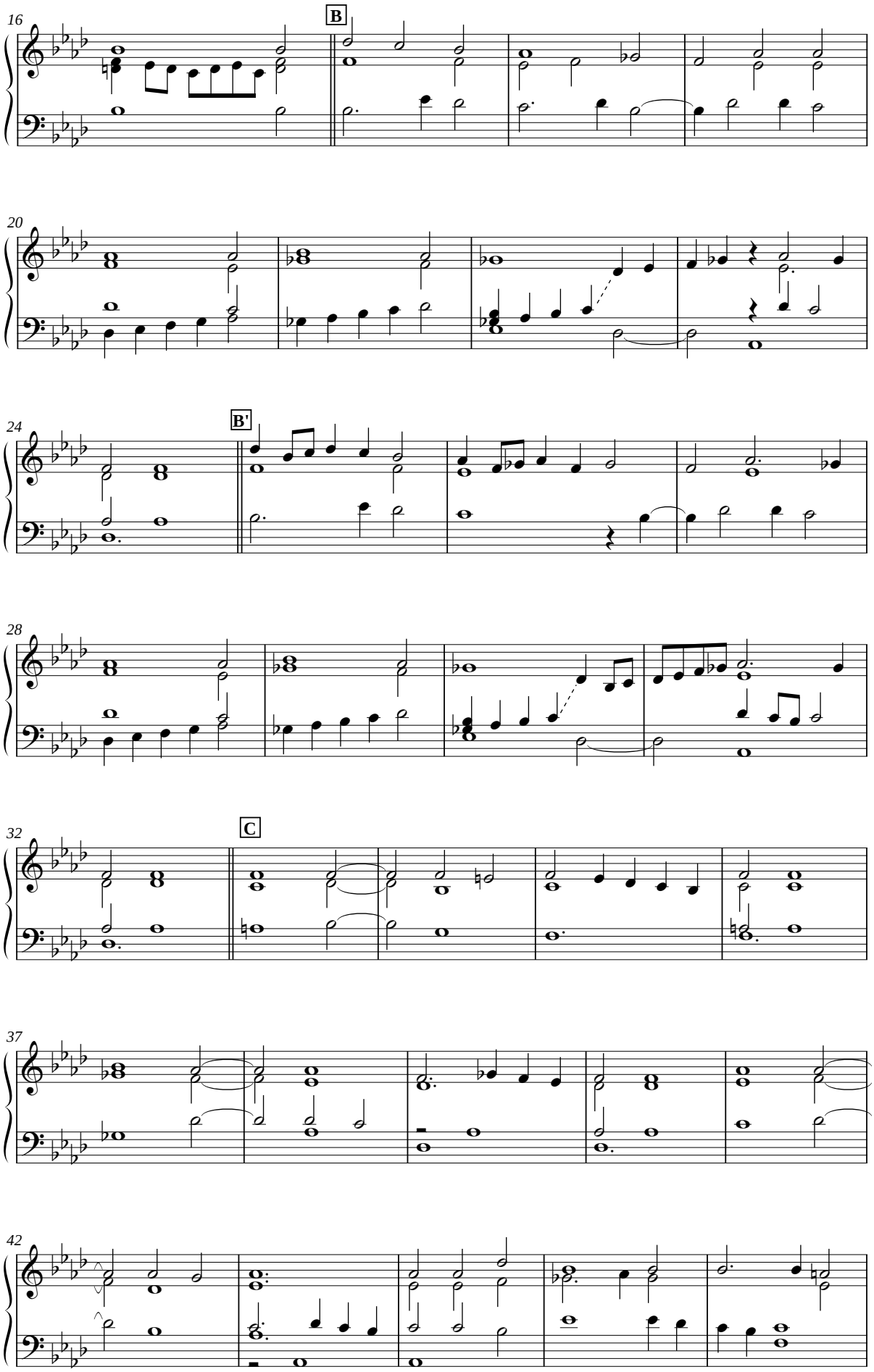


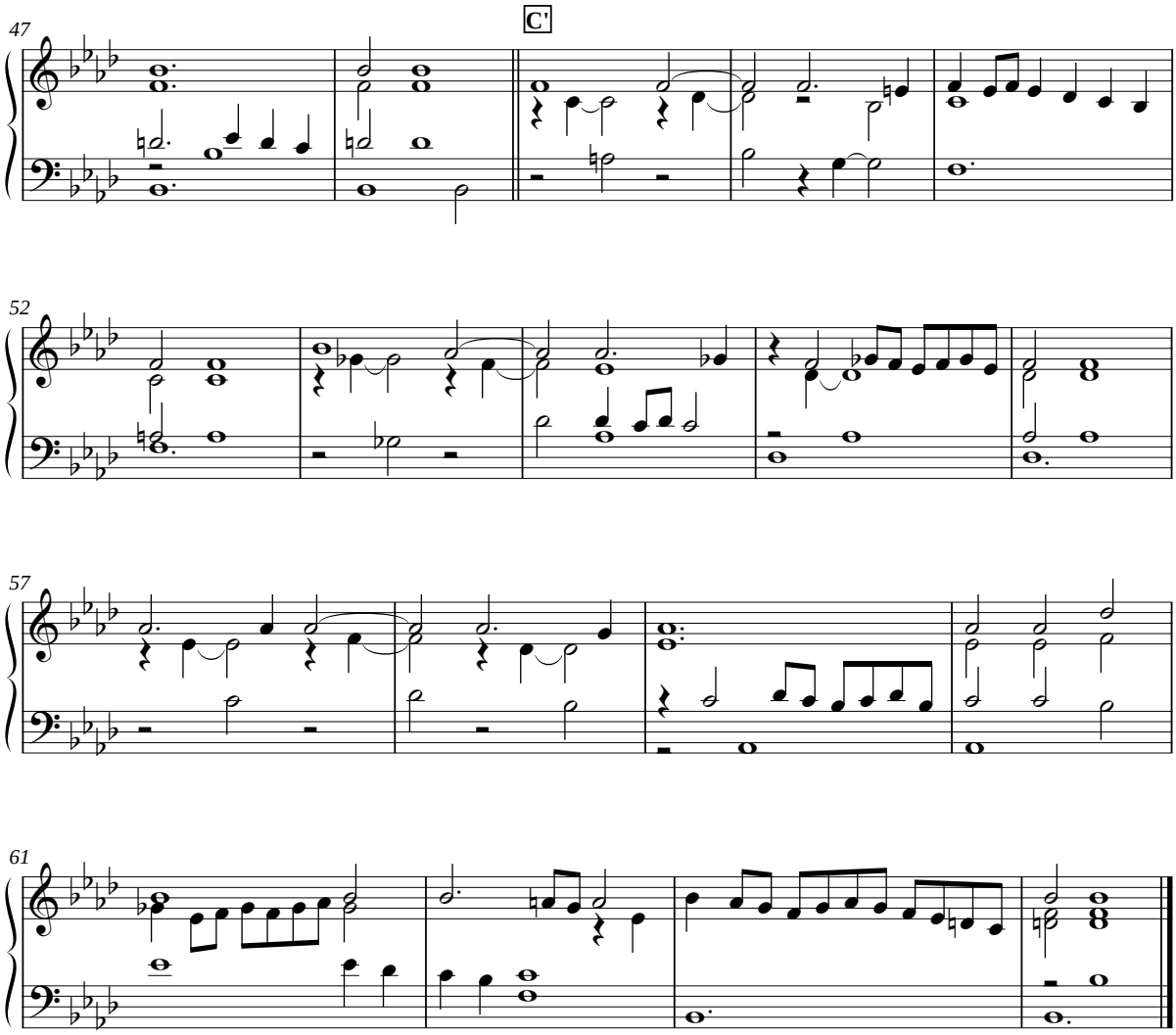
23. Galliard

Dd.2.11, f. 45r

John Johnson



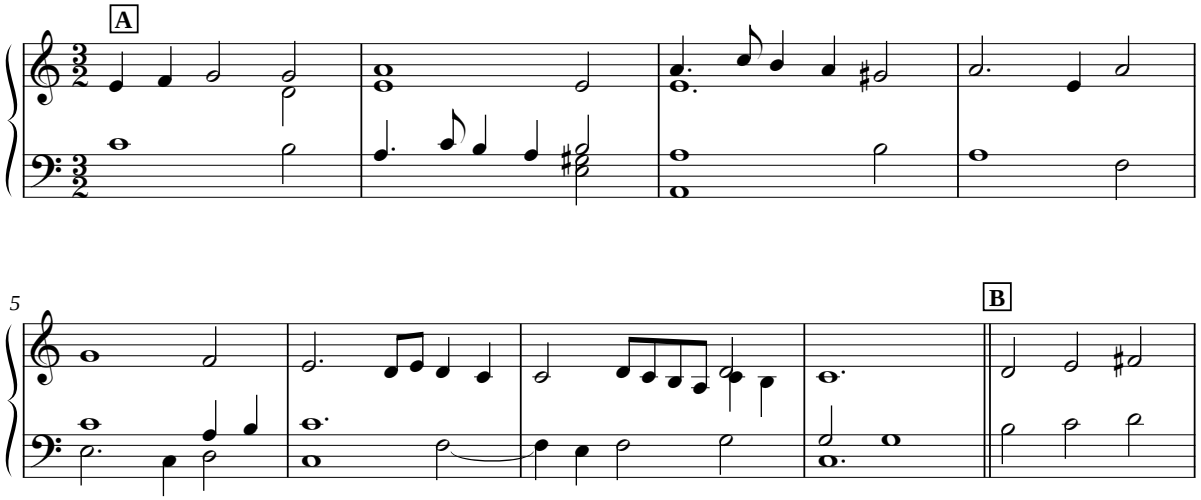

16
B
20
24
B'
28
32
C
37
42

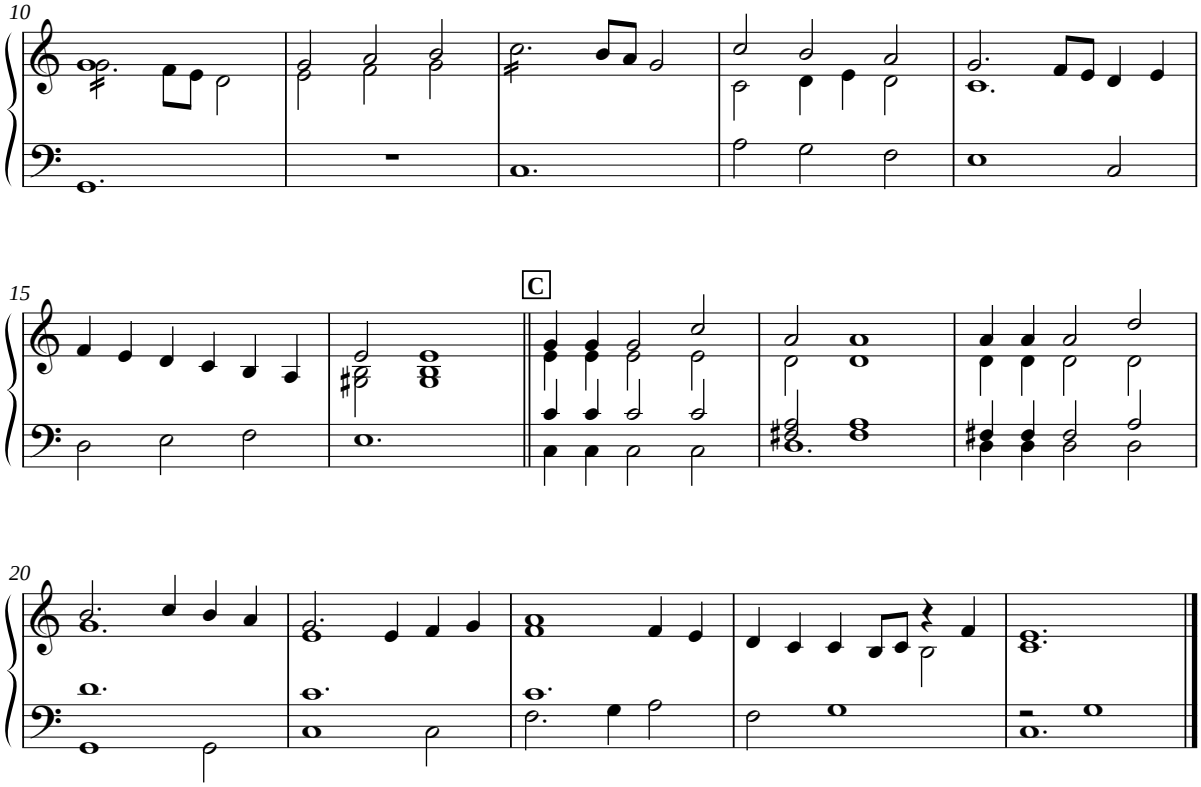


24. Galliard

Dd.5.78.3, f. 43r

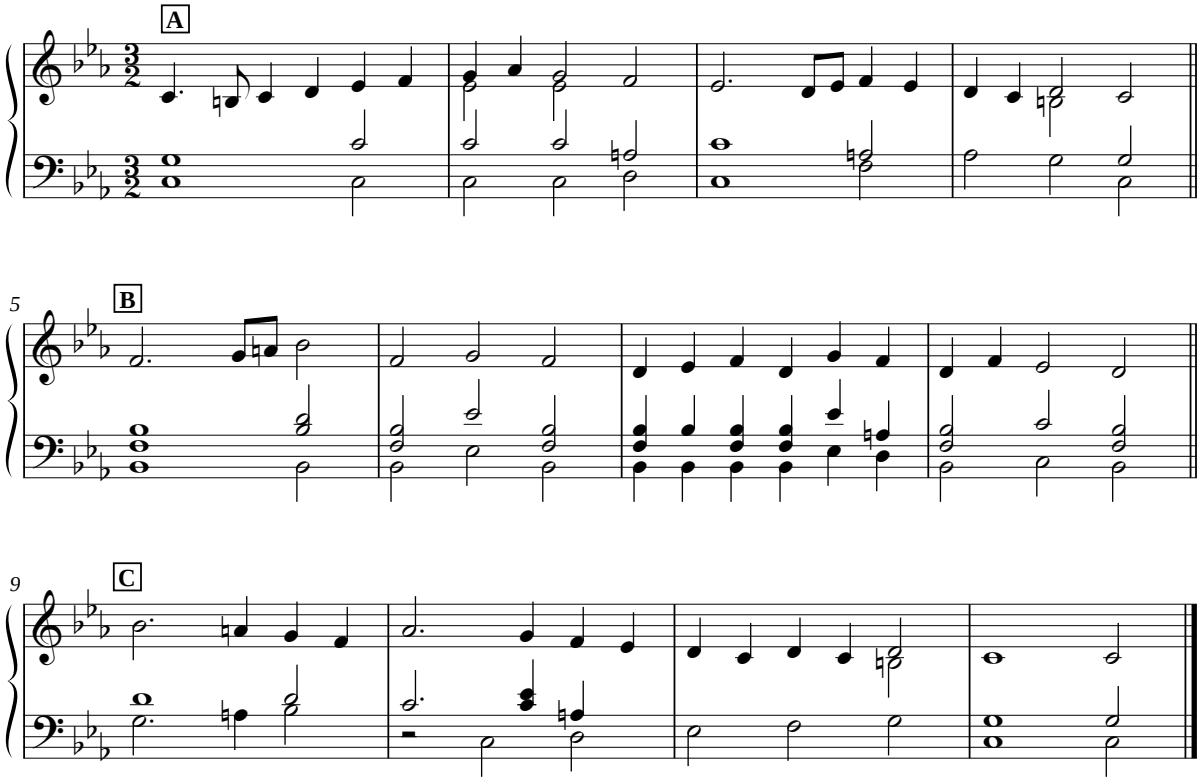
John Johnson





25. Galliard

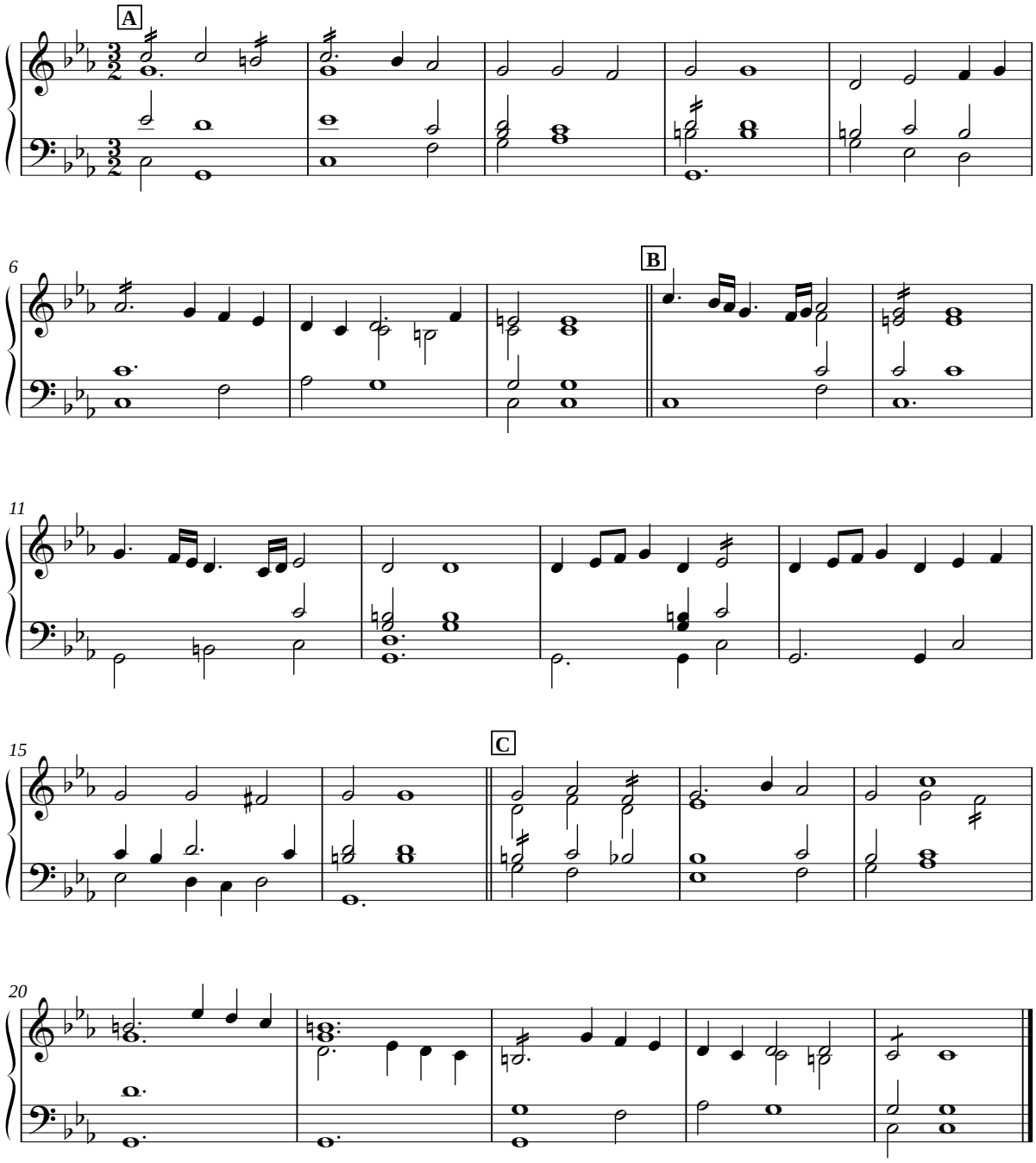
Brogyntyn, p. 17 (5) John Johnson



26a. Lord Burgh's Galliard

Welde, f. 14r

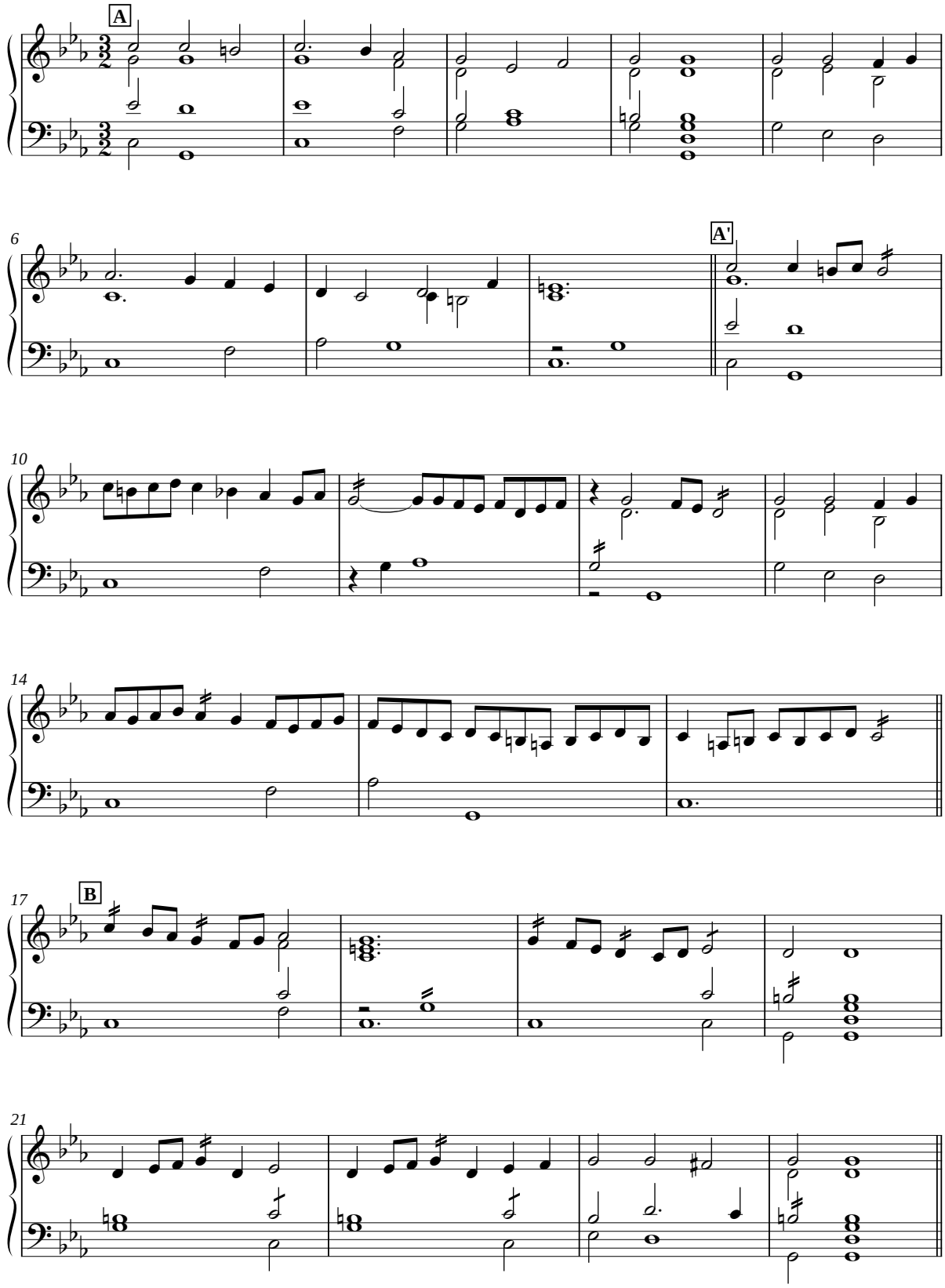
Johnson

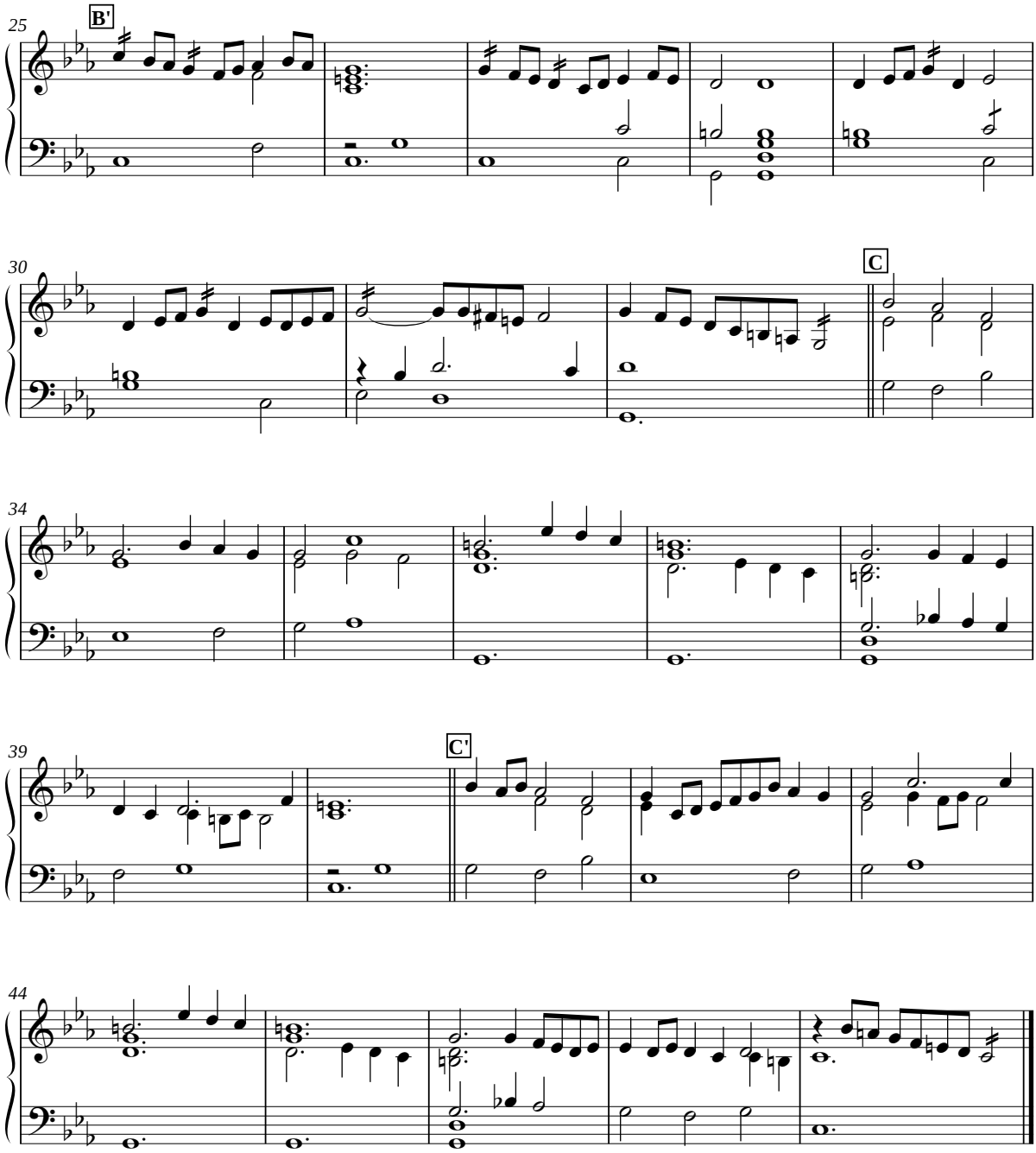


26b. Johnson's Jewel

Dd.2.11, f. 99r

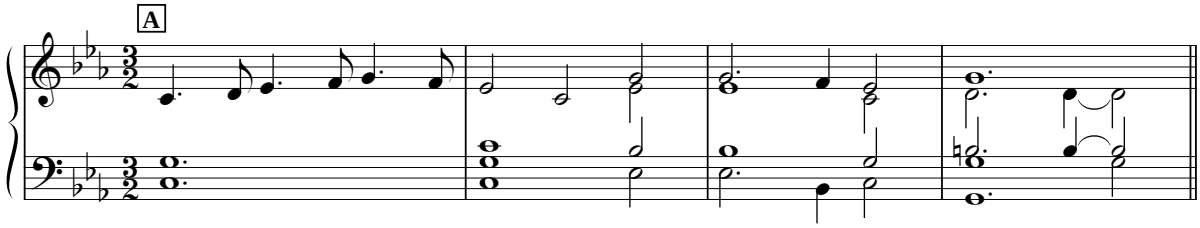
Johnson

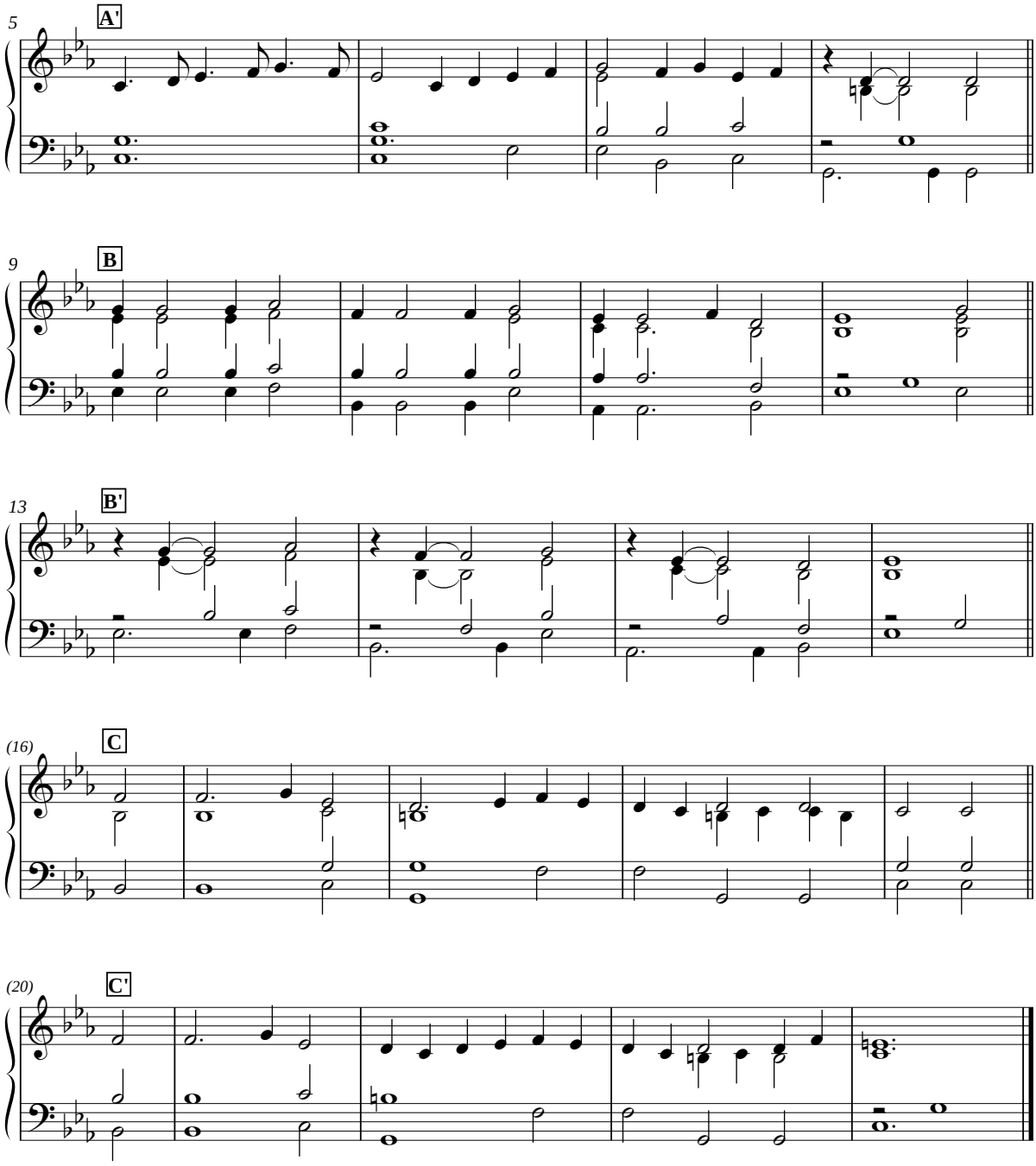




27a. Omnino Galliard

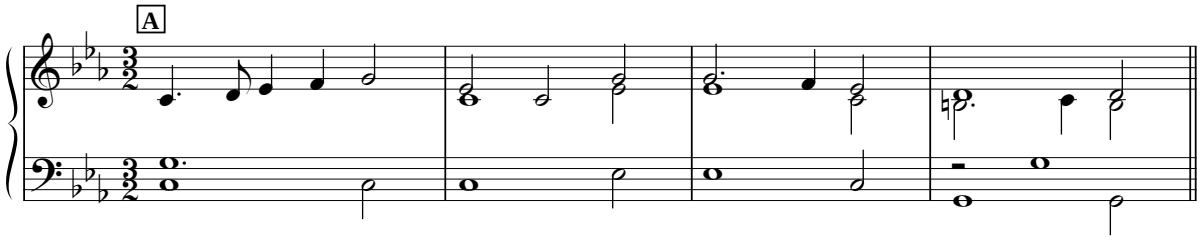
Dallis, p. 31 Johnson

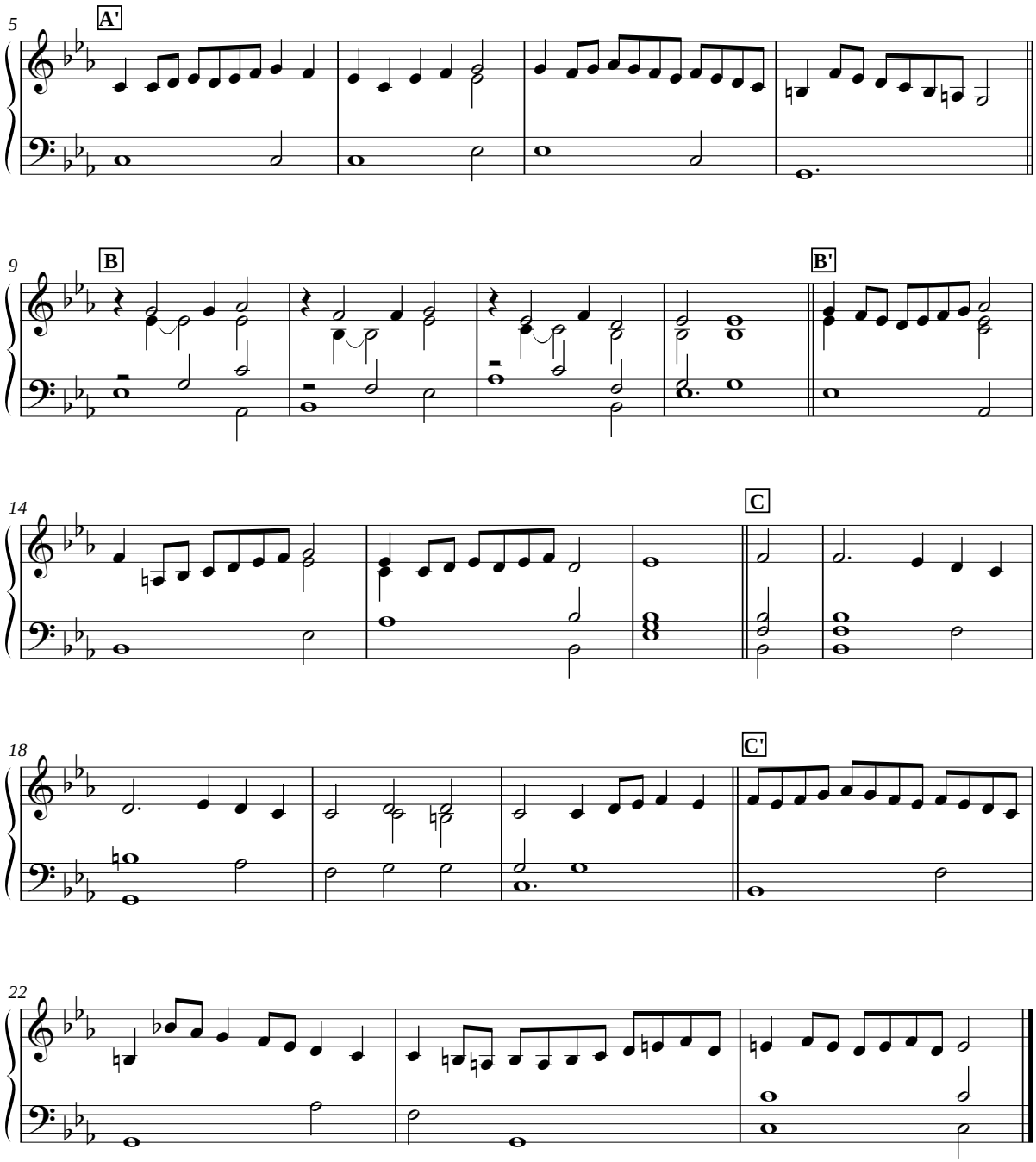




27b. Omnino Galliard

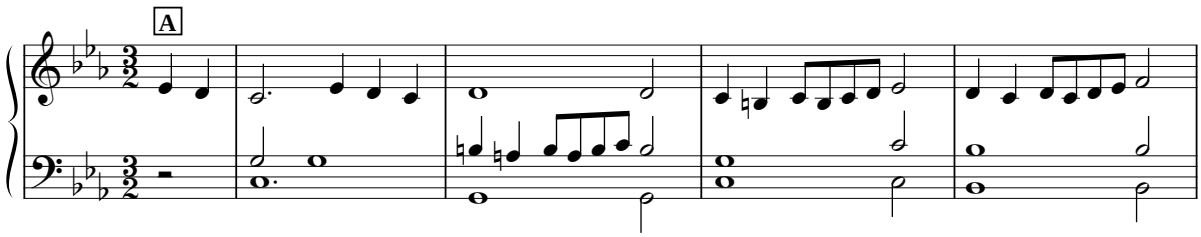
Dallis, p. 95 Johnson

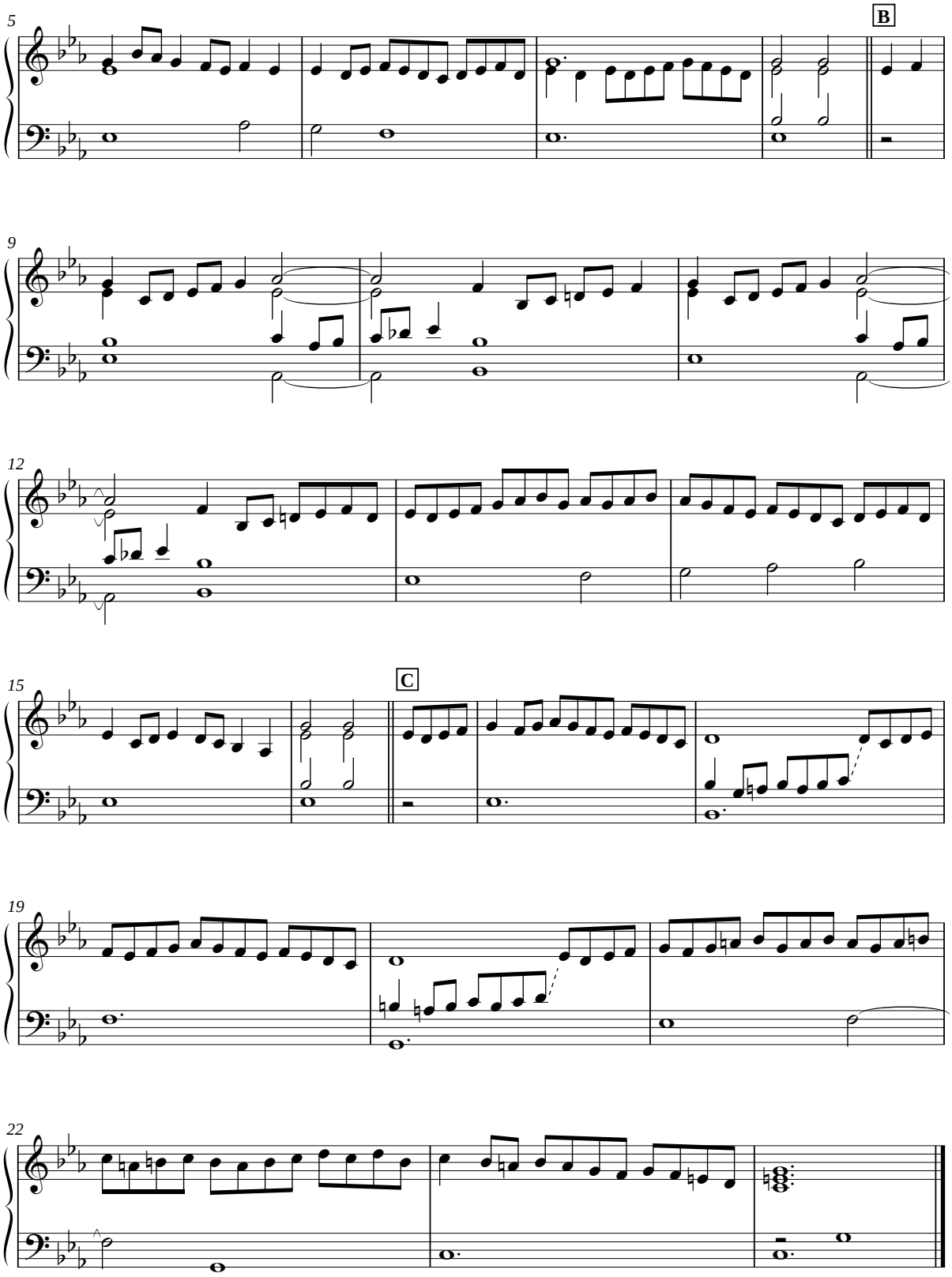




28. French Galliard

Dallis, p. 40-41 Johnson

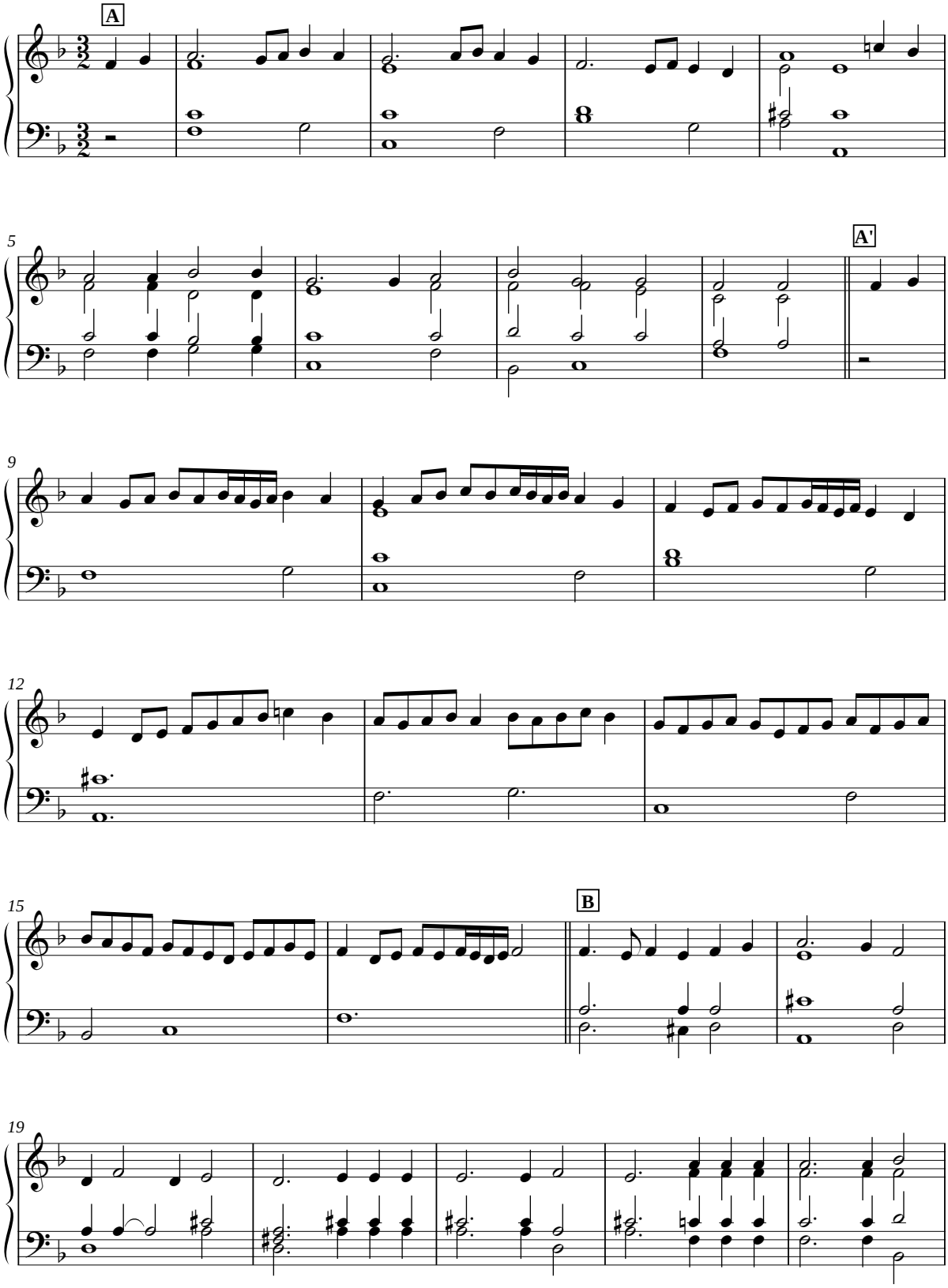


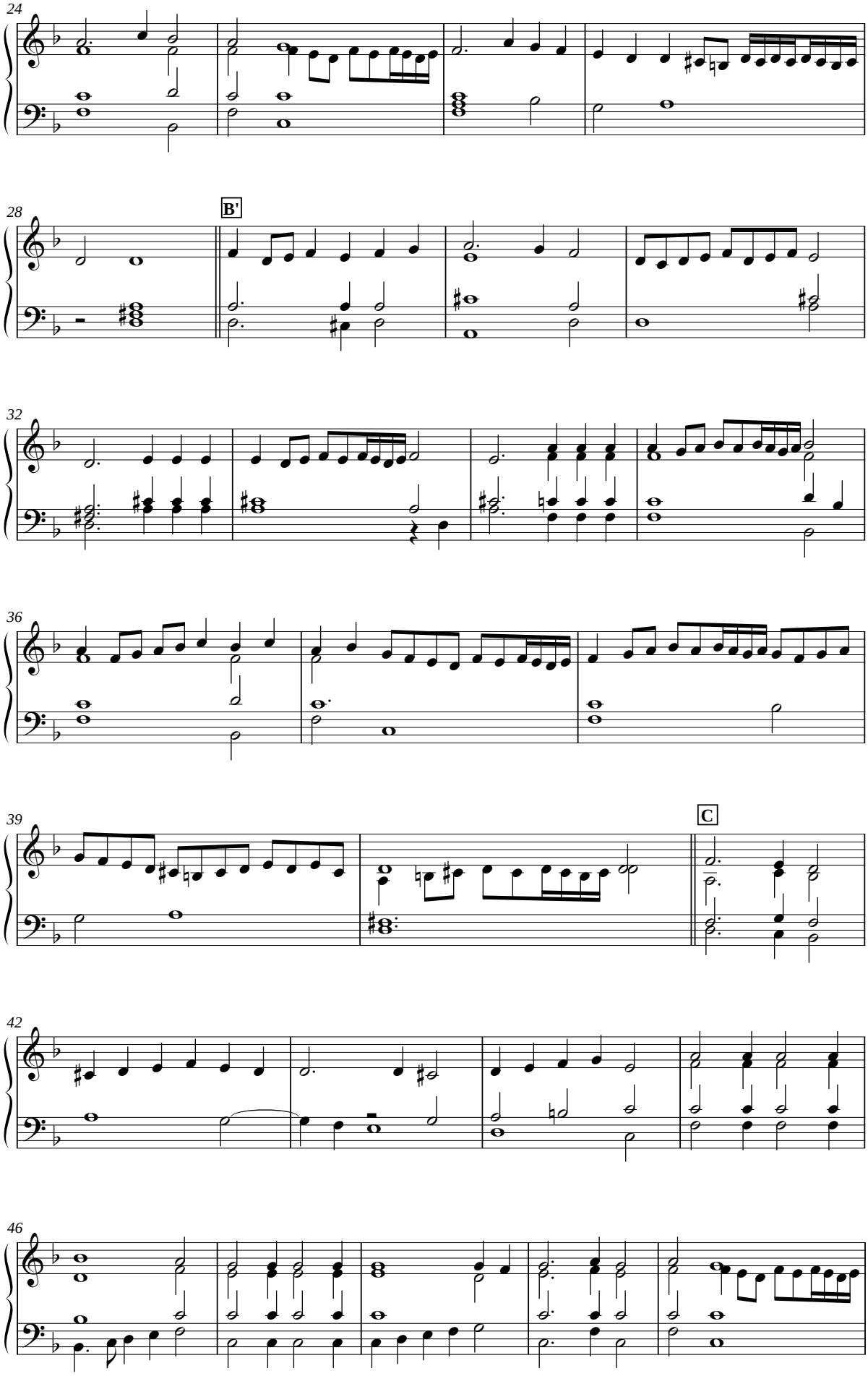

5
B
9
12
15
C
19
22

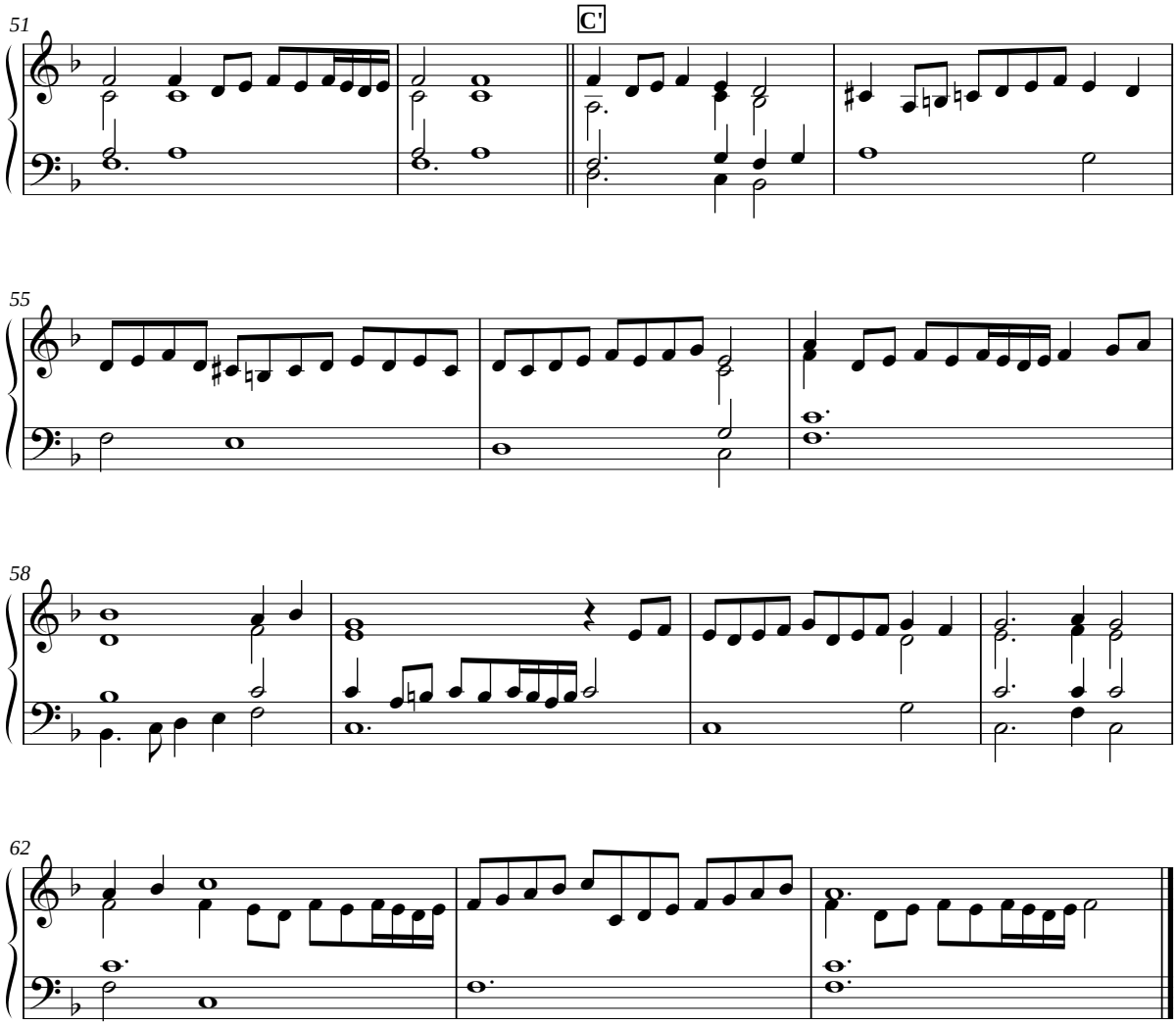
29. Galliard

Dd.2.11, f. 33r

John Johnson



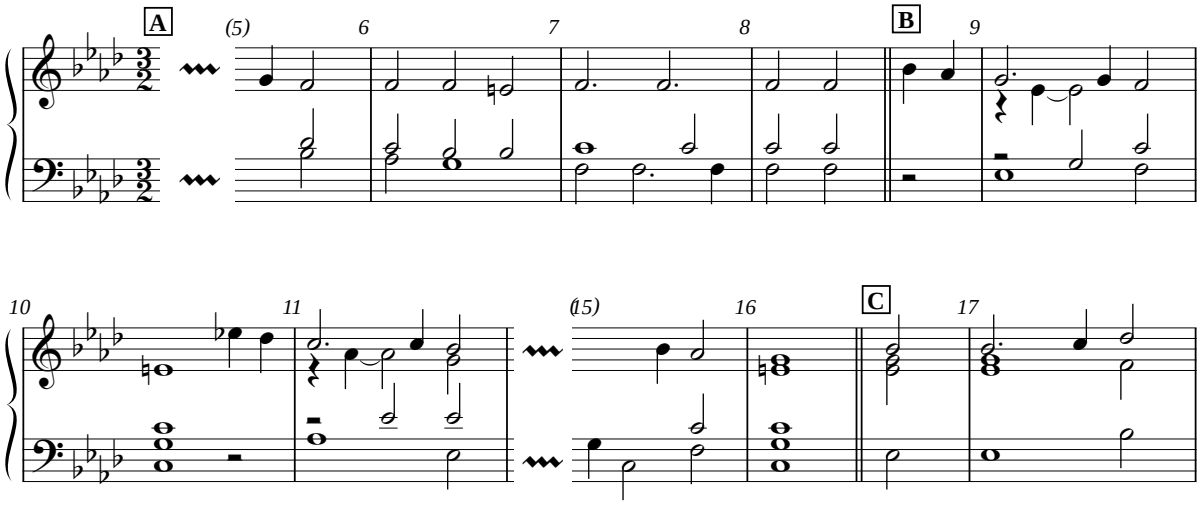

24
28
B'
32
36
39
C
42
46

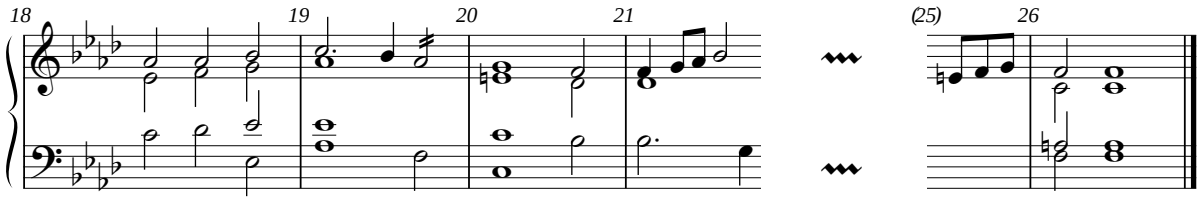


30. Galliard [fragment]

Oxford 1280, f. [2]v

John Johnson

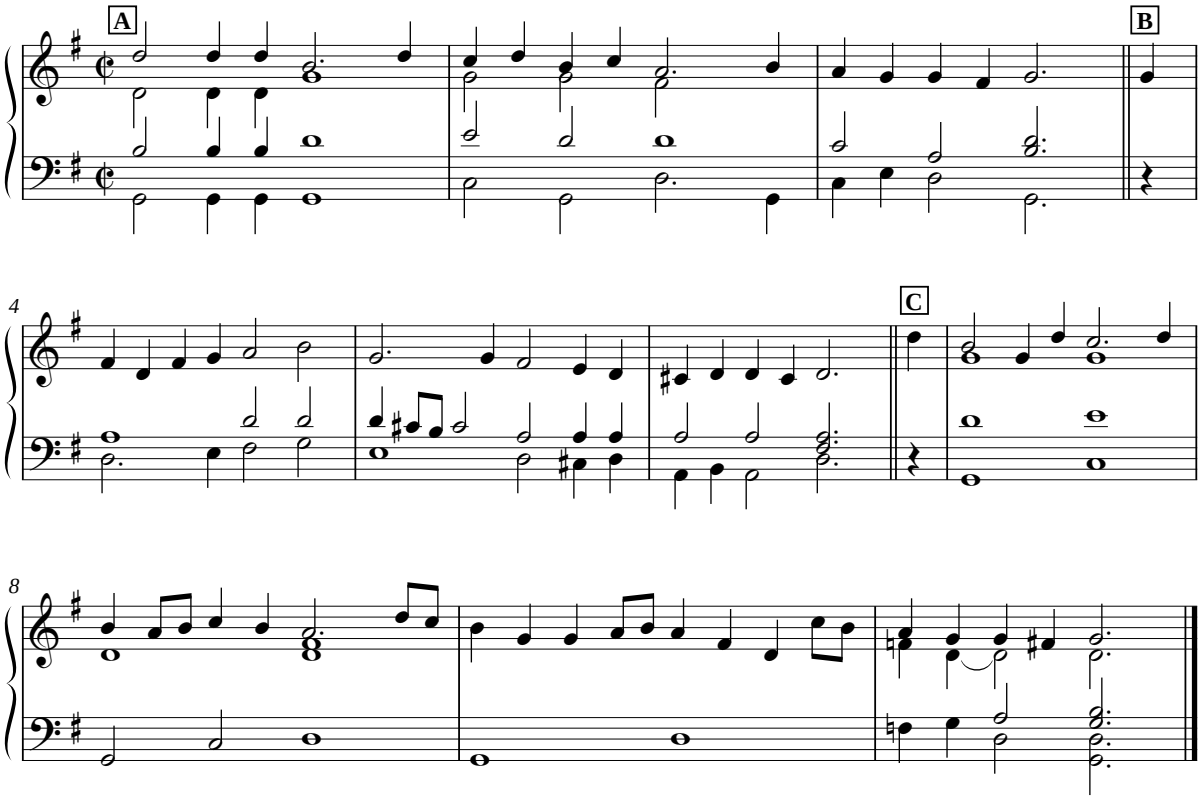




31. Almain (Toy)
The Gathering of Peasecods (Allin's Jigg)

Dd.2.11, f. 56r

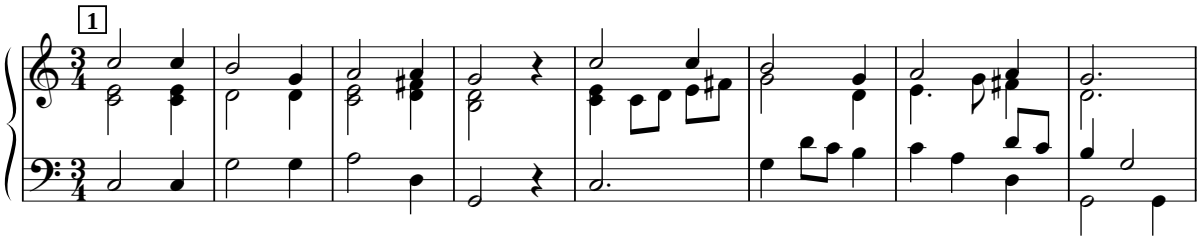
John Johnson

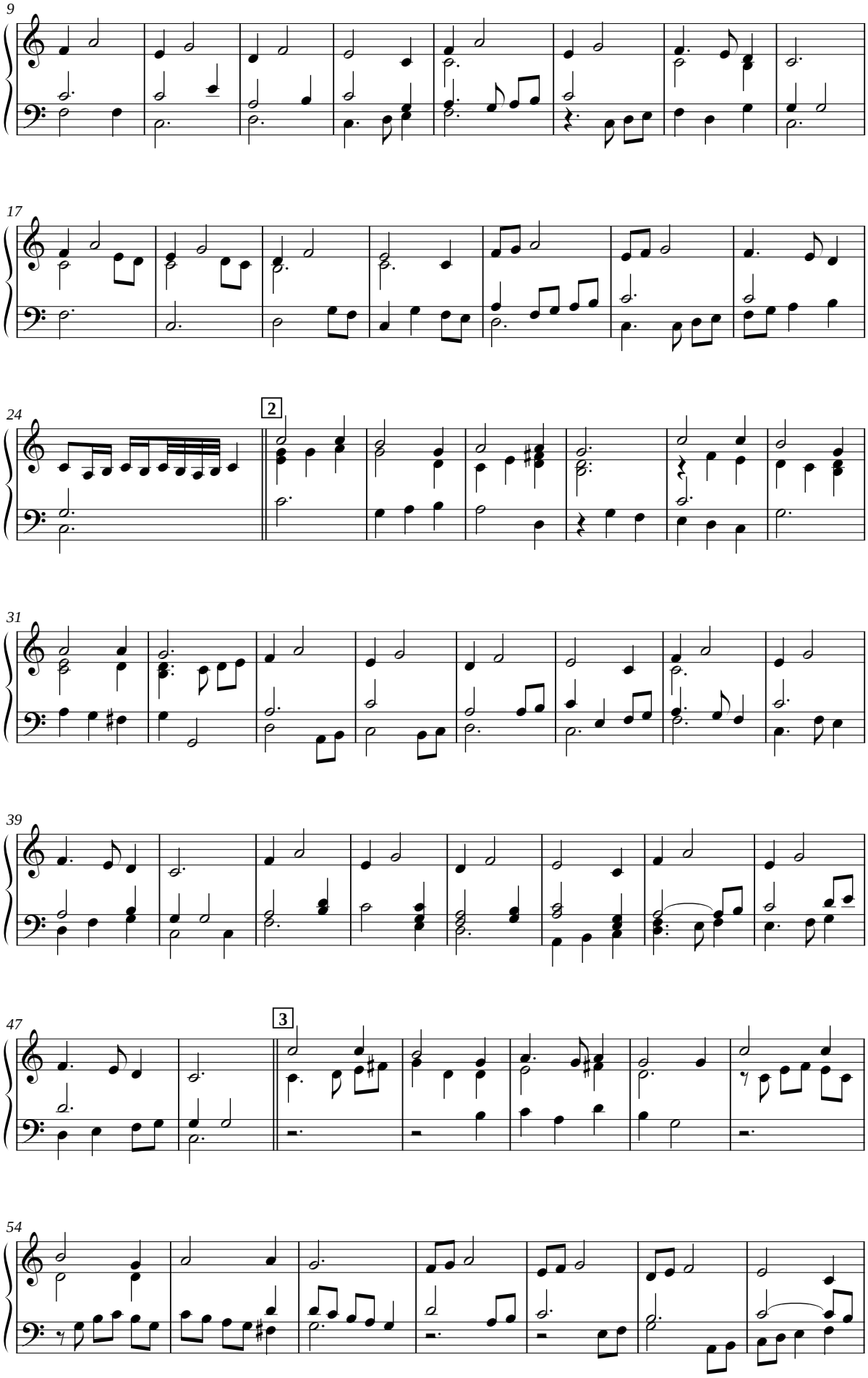


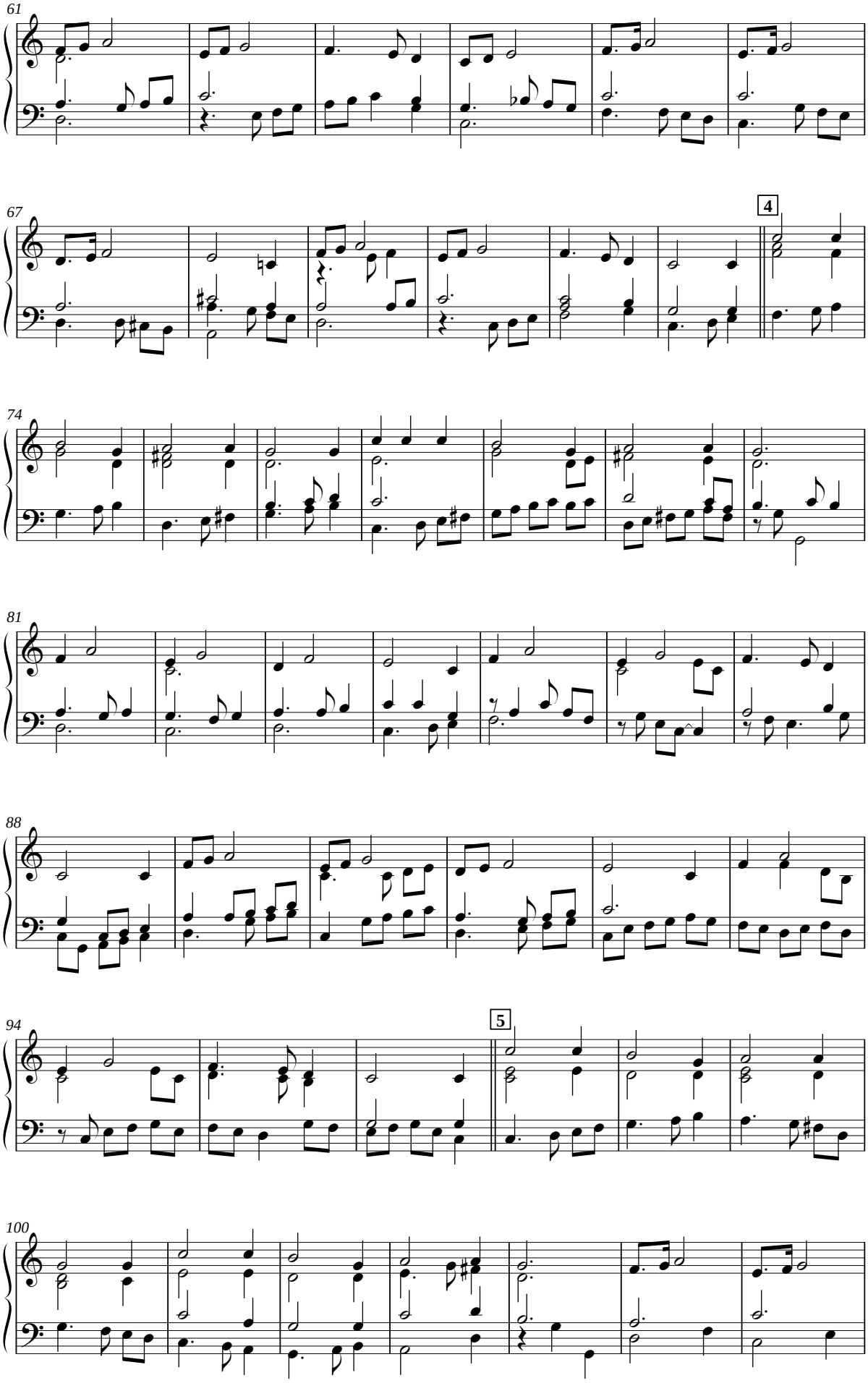
32a. Carman's Whistle

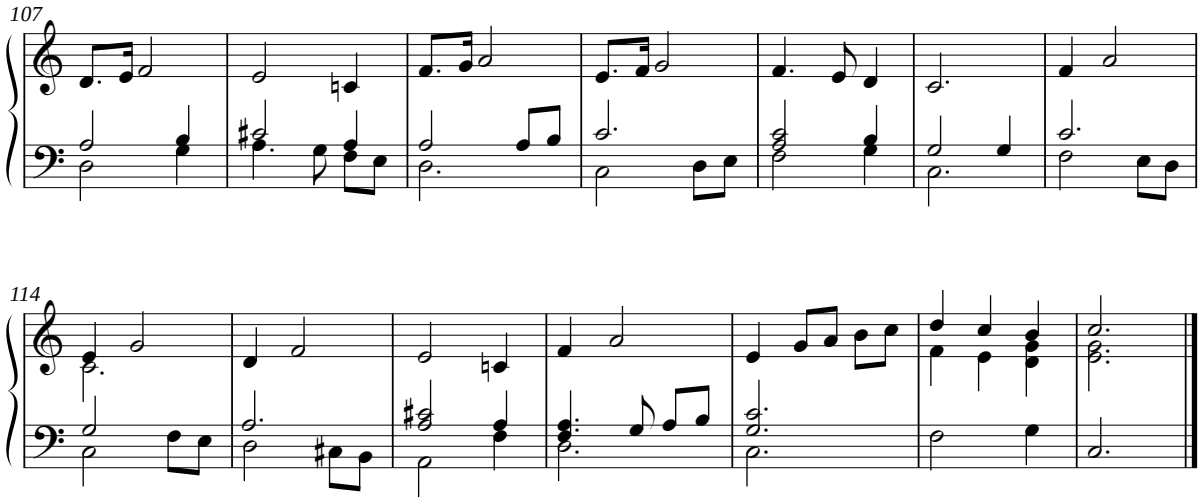
Pickeringe, f. 32v-33r

Johnson




9
17
24
2
31
39
47
3
54

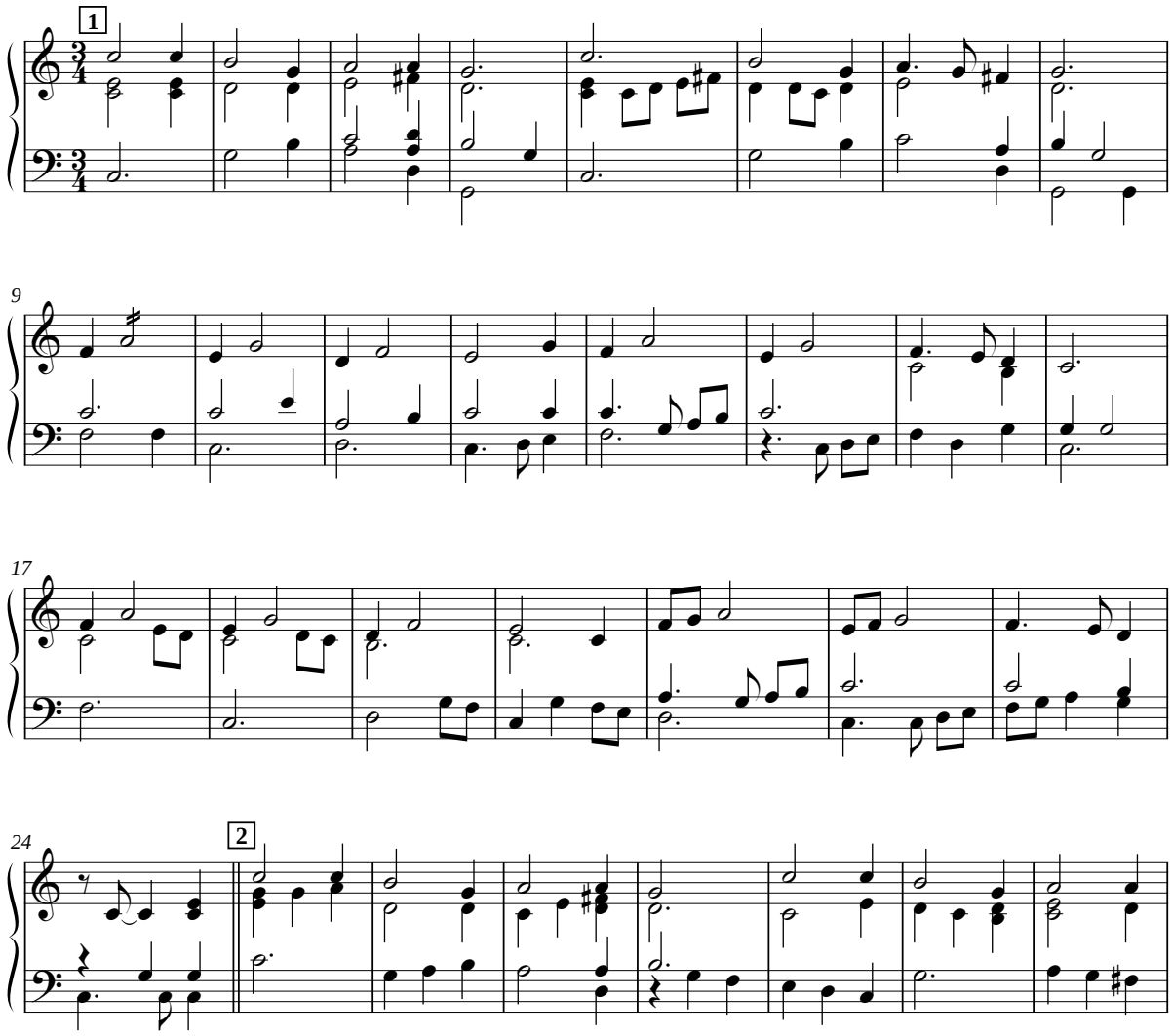

61
67
4
74
81
88
94
5
100

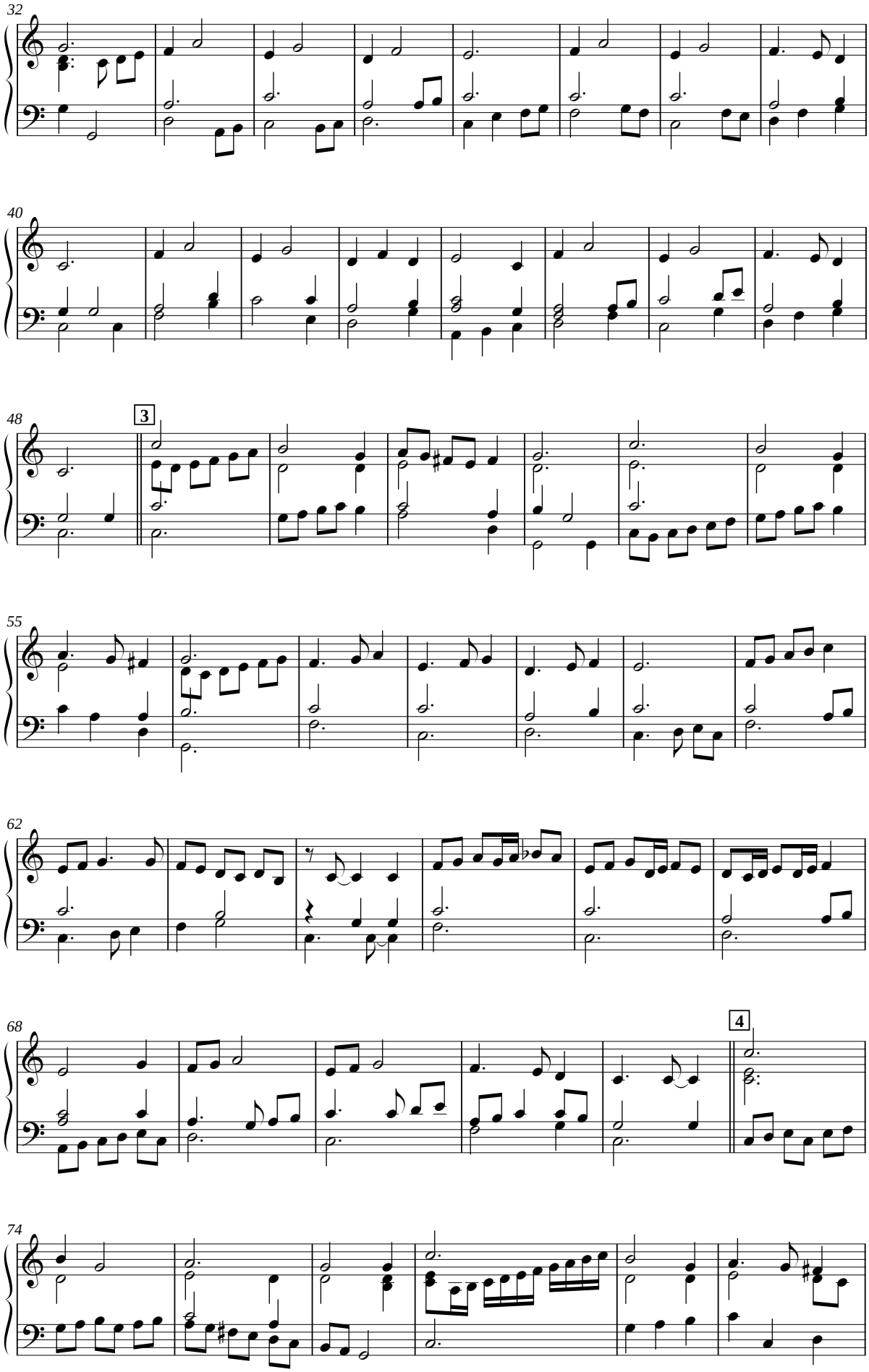


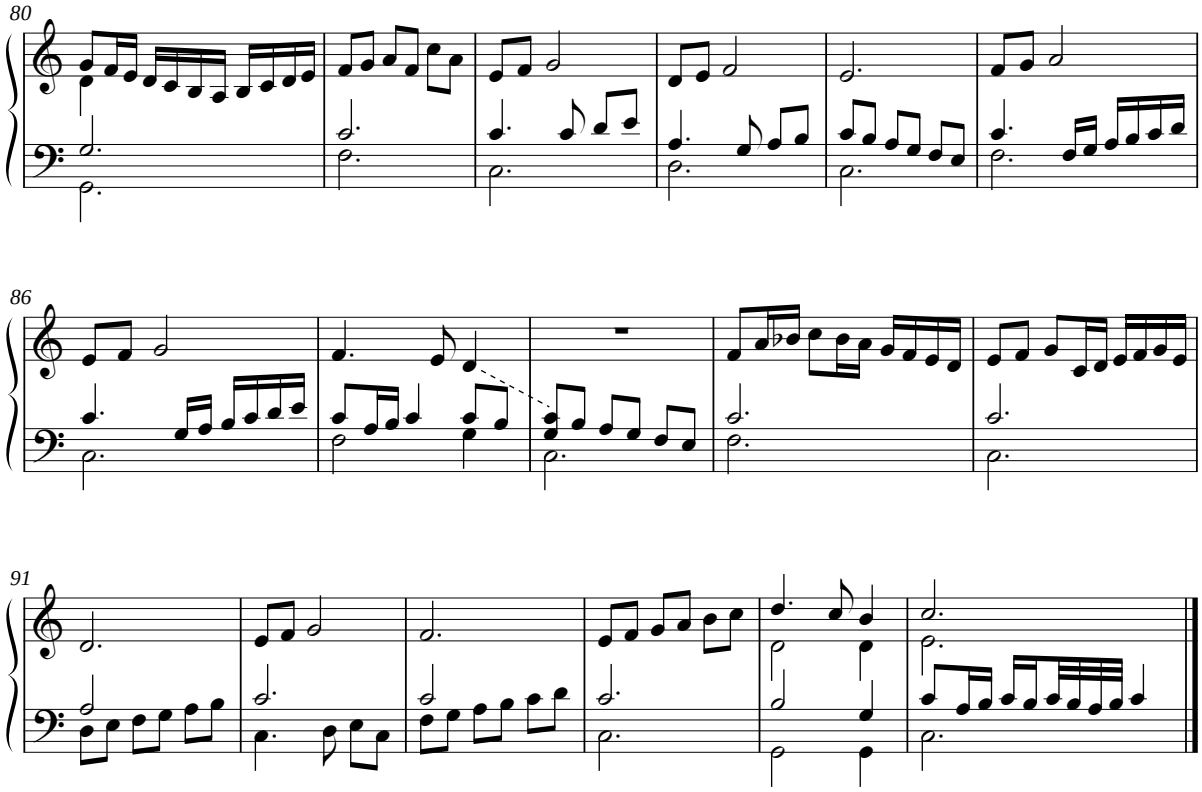
32b. Carman's Whistle

Dd.5.78.3, f. 48v-49r

Johnson

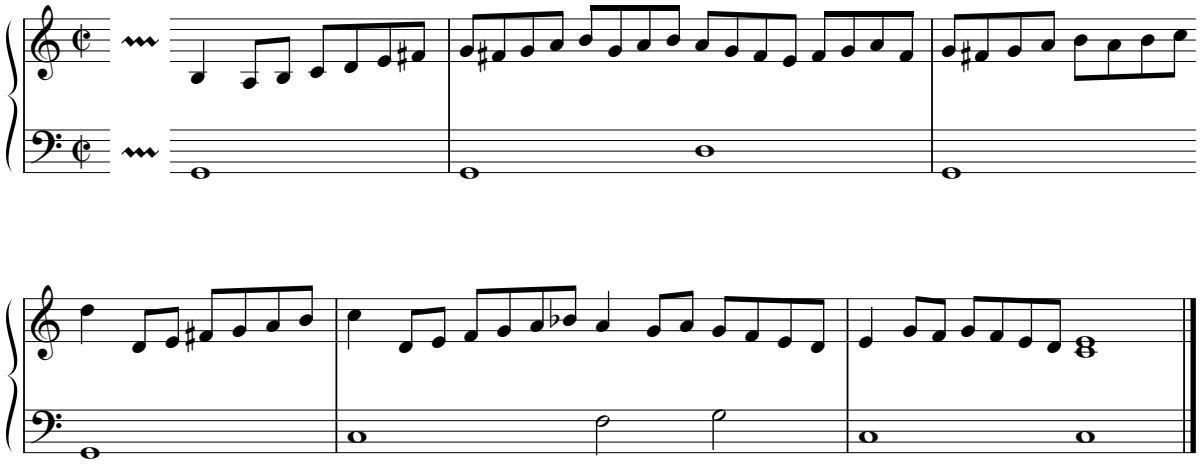



32
40
48
3
55
62
68
4
74



33. Rogero [fragment]

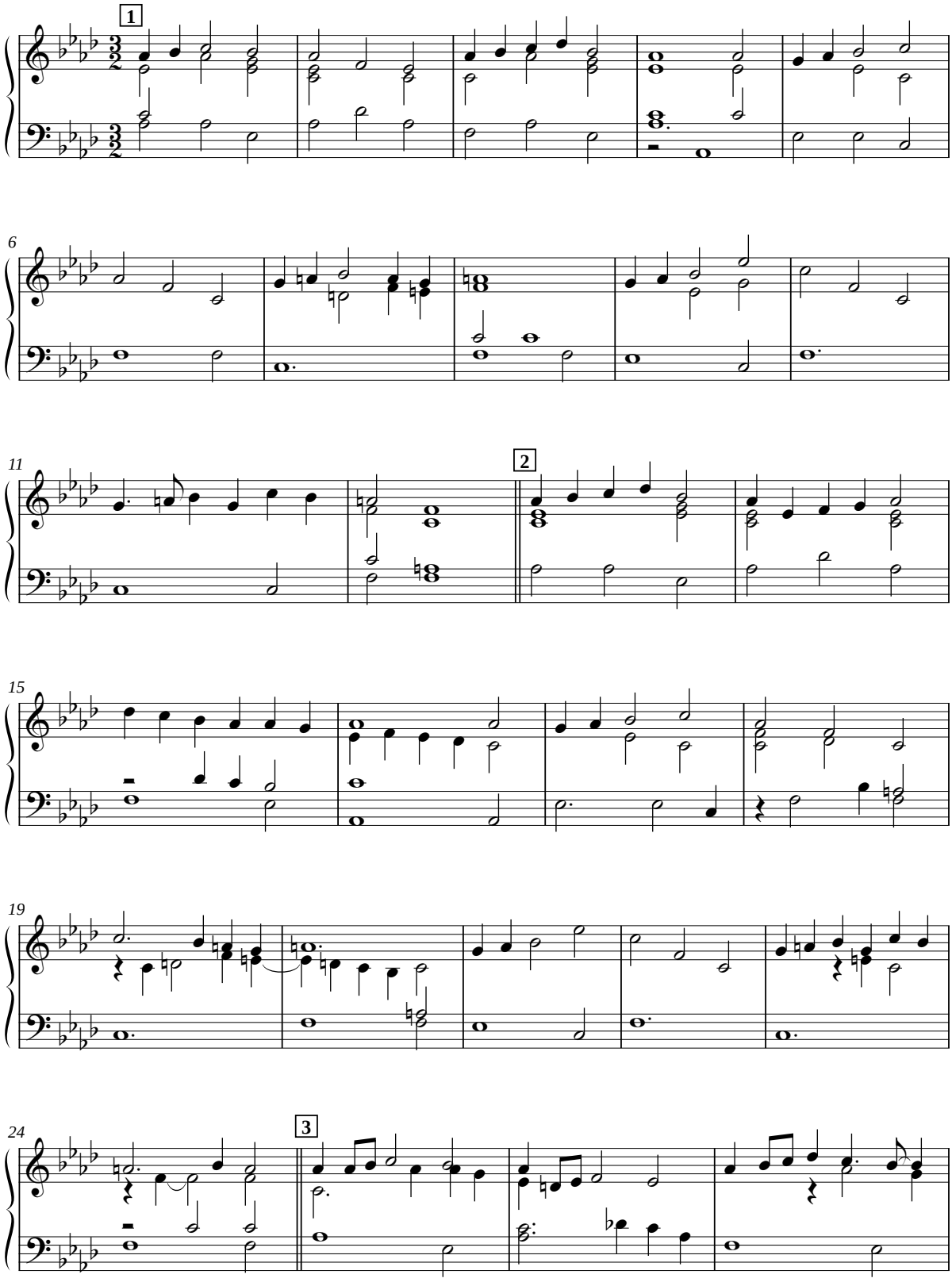
Ballet, p. 91 John Johnson

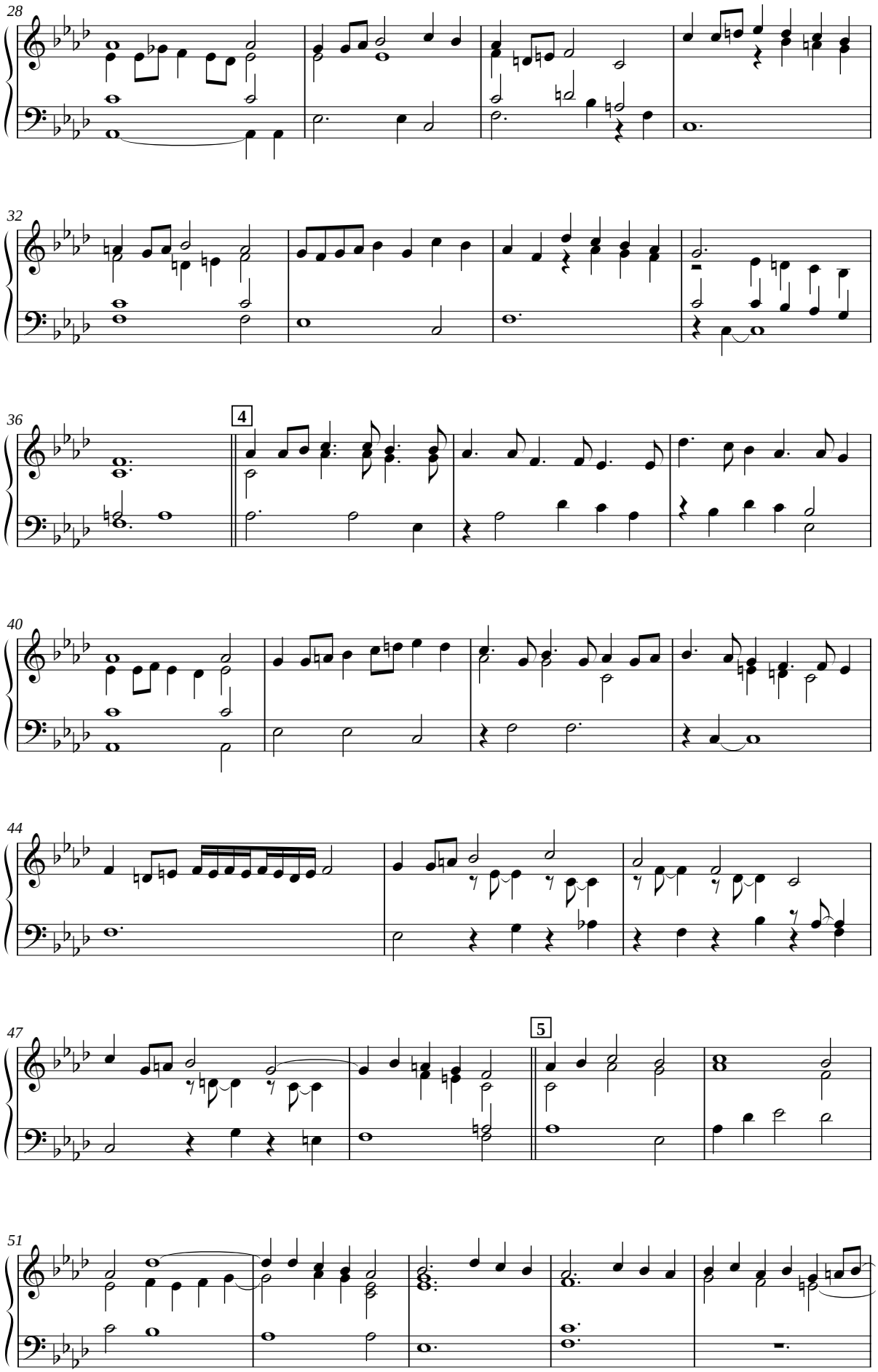


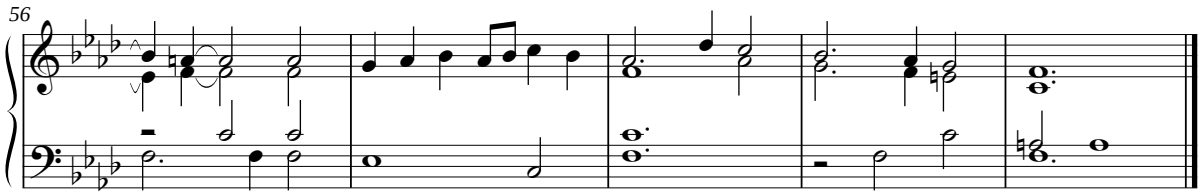
34. [Walsingham]

Dd.2.11, f. 98r

John Johnson



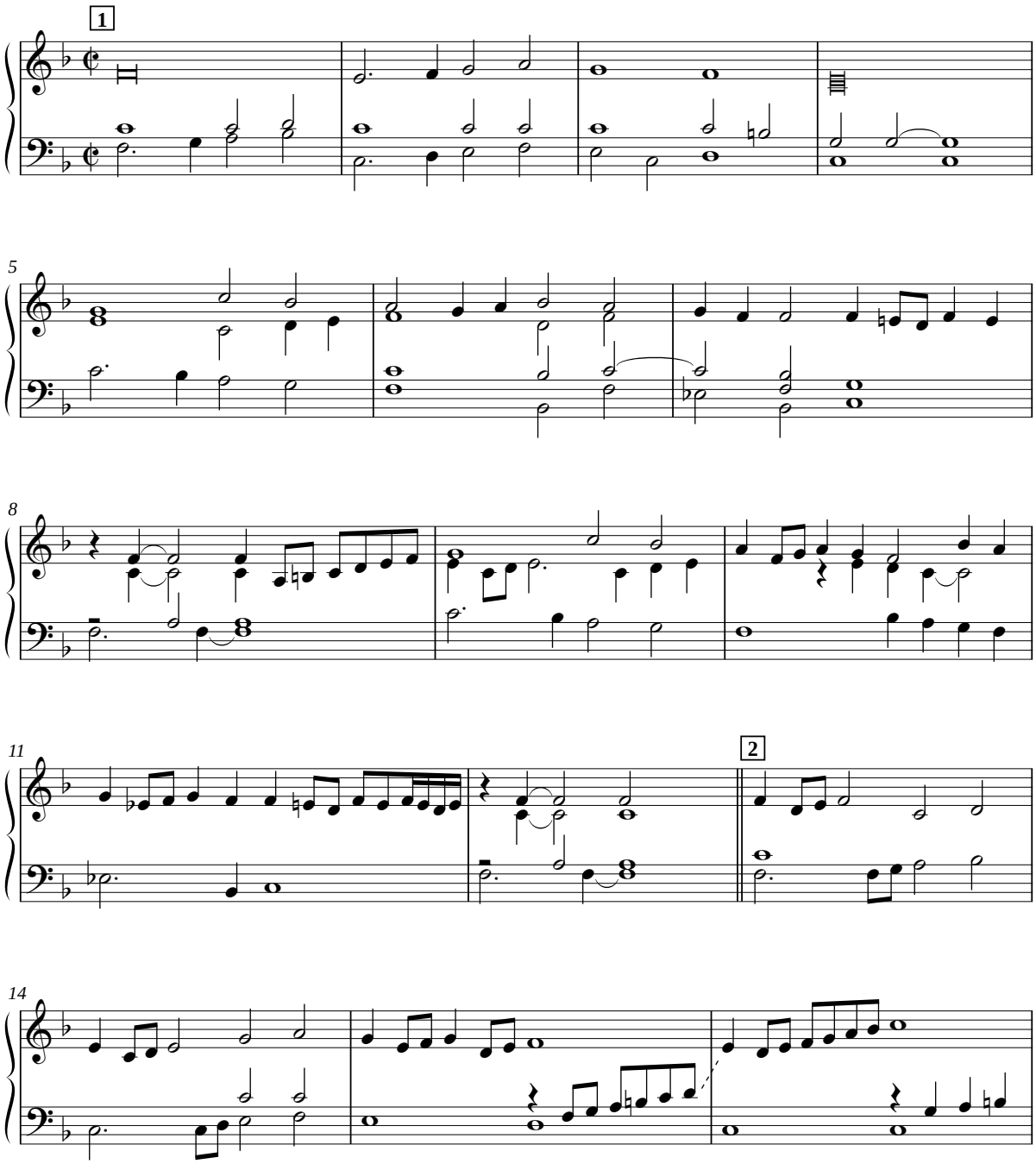

28
32
36
4
40
44
47
5
51

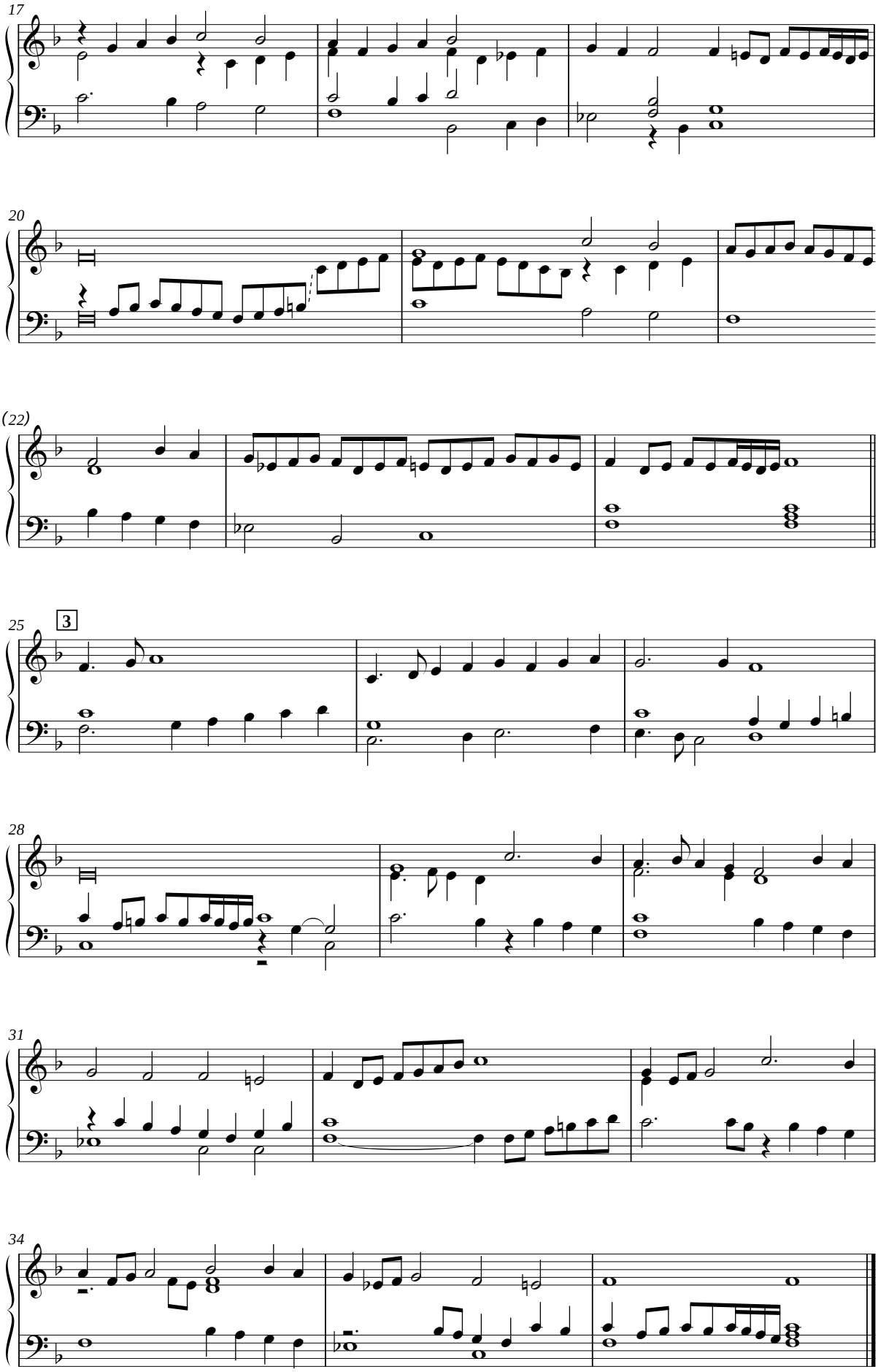


35. Ground

Wickhambrook, f. 17v

John Johnson

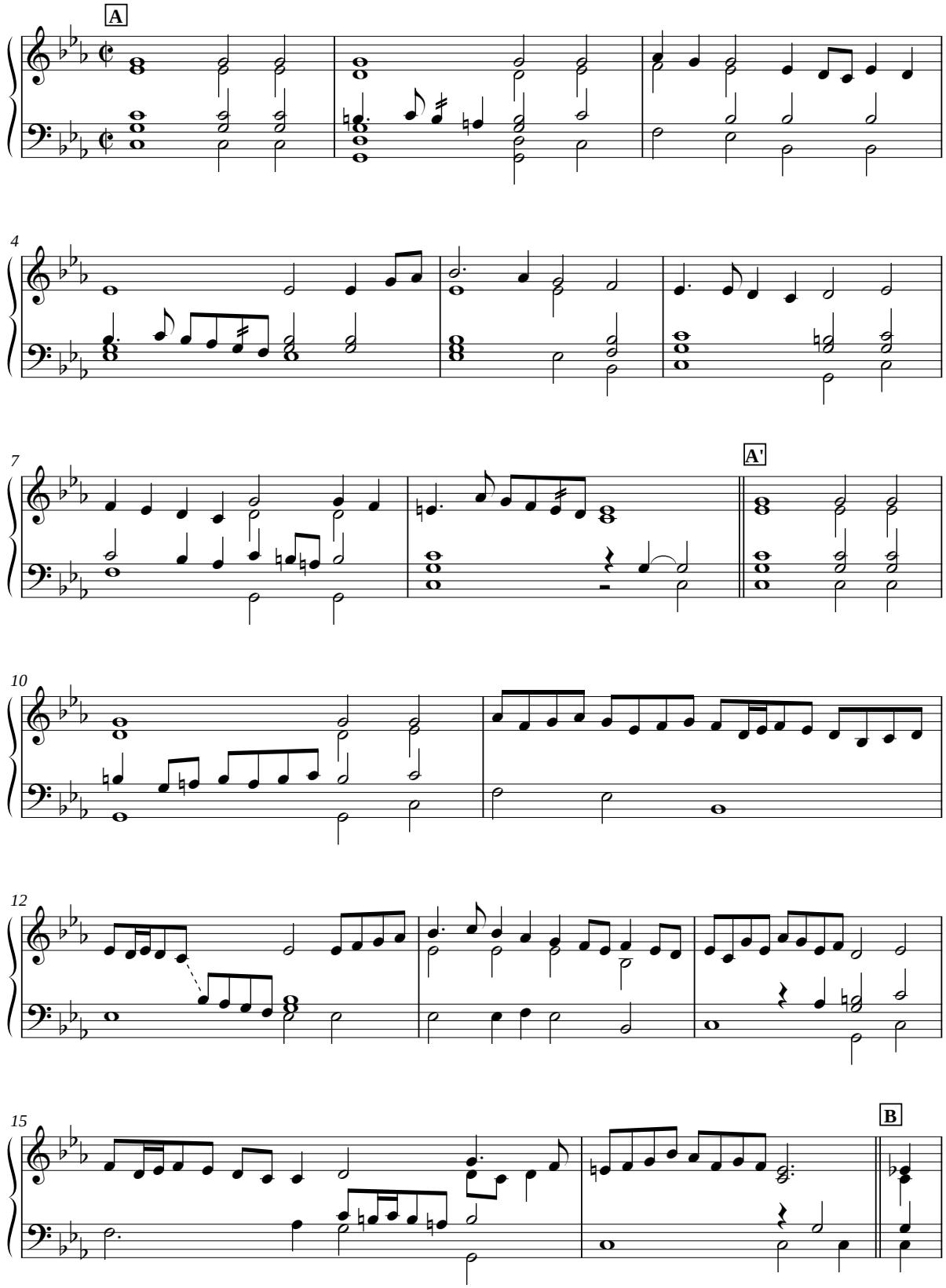


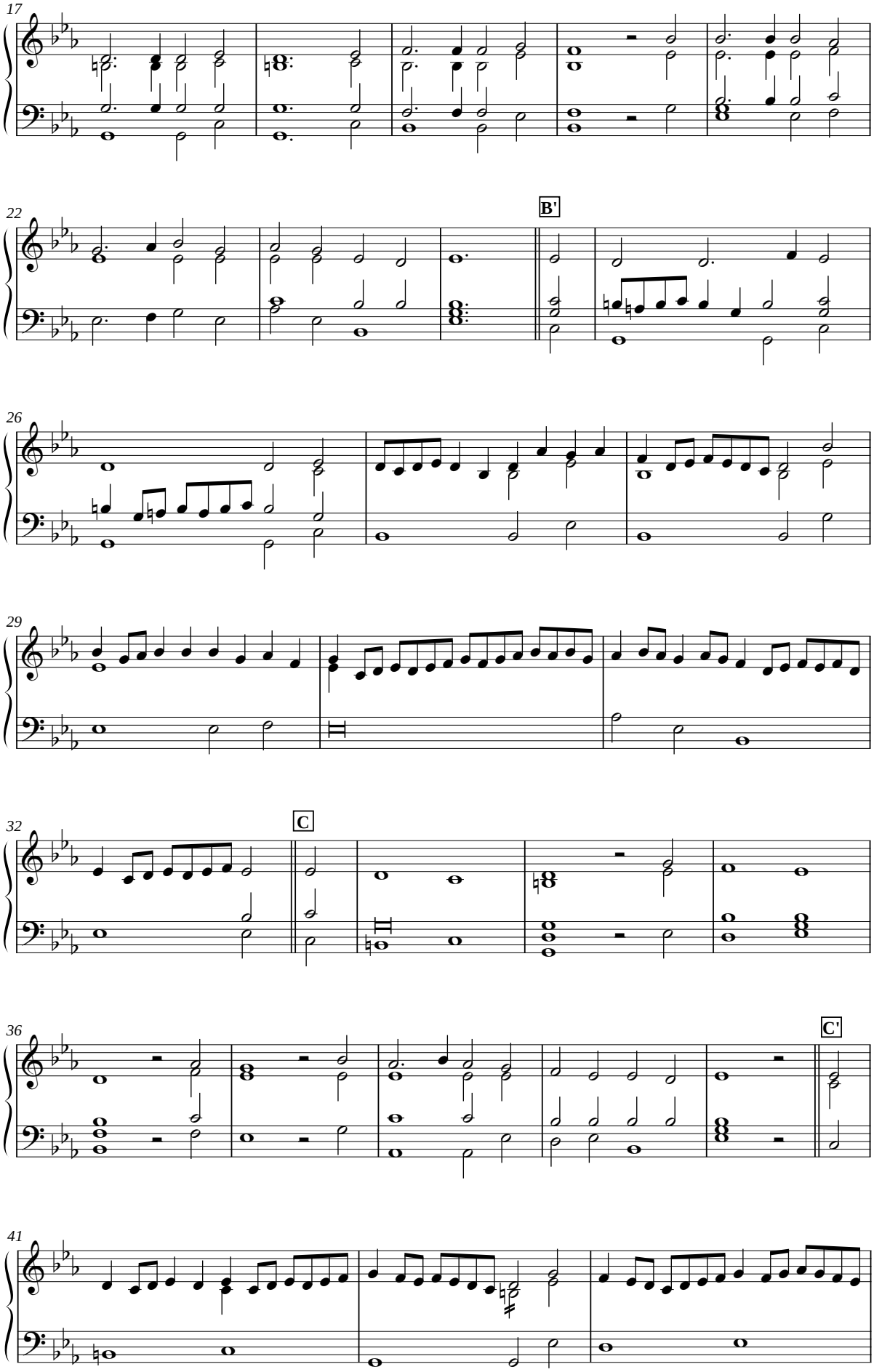

17
20
(22)
25
3
28
31
34

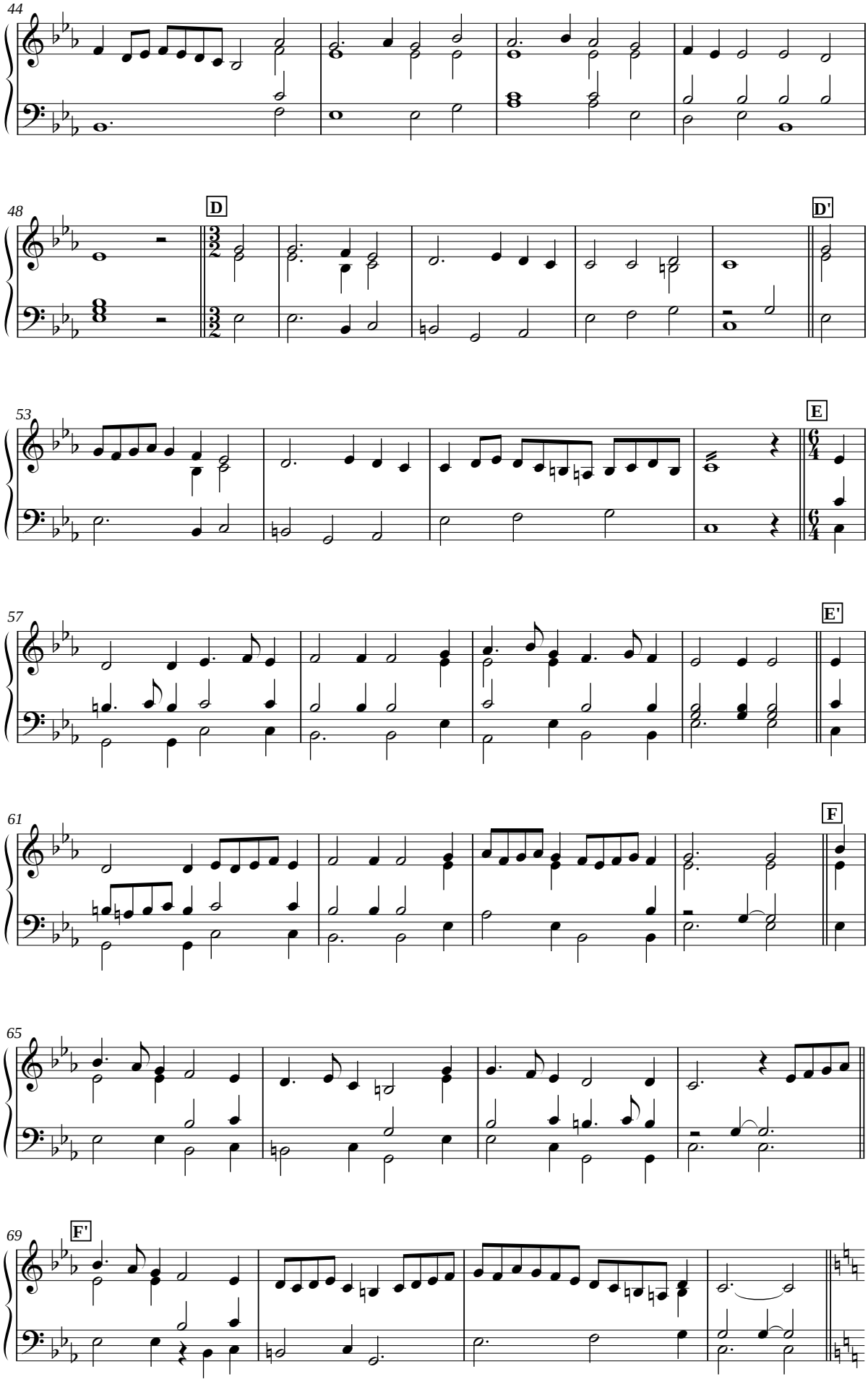
36a. Old Medley

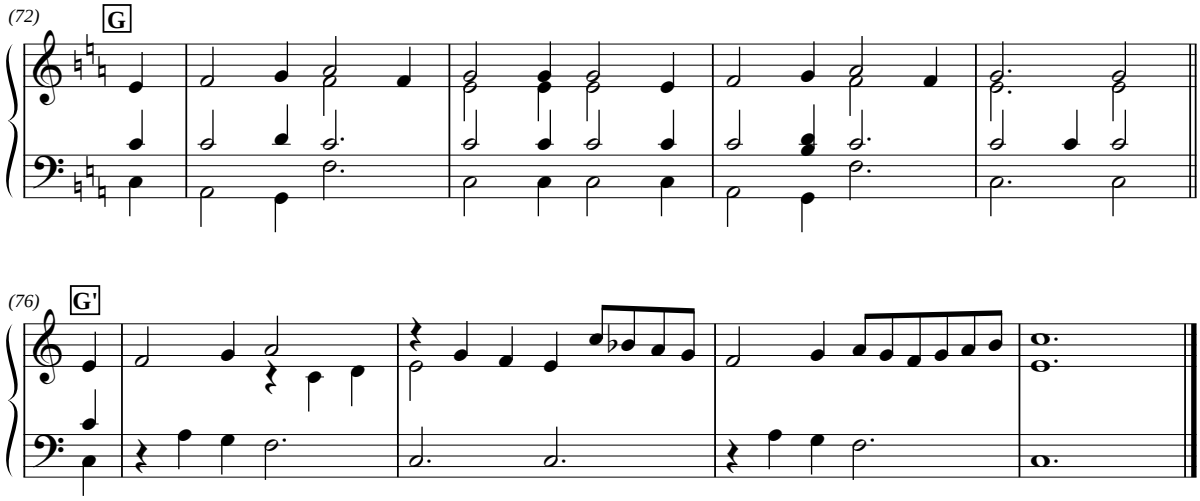
Dd.2.11, f. 88v-89r

John Johnson




17
22
B'
26
29
32
C
36
C'
41

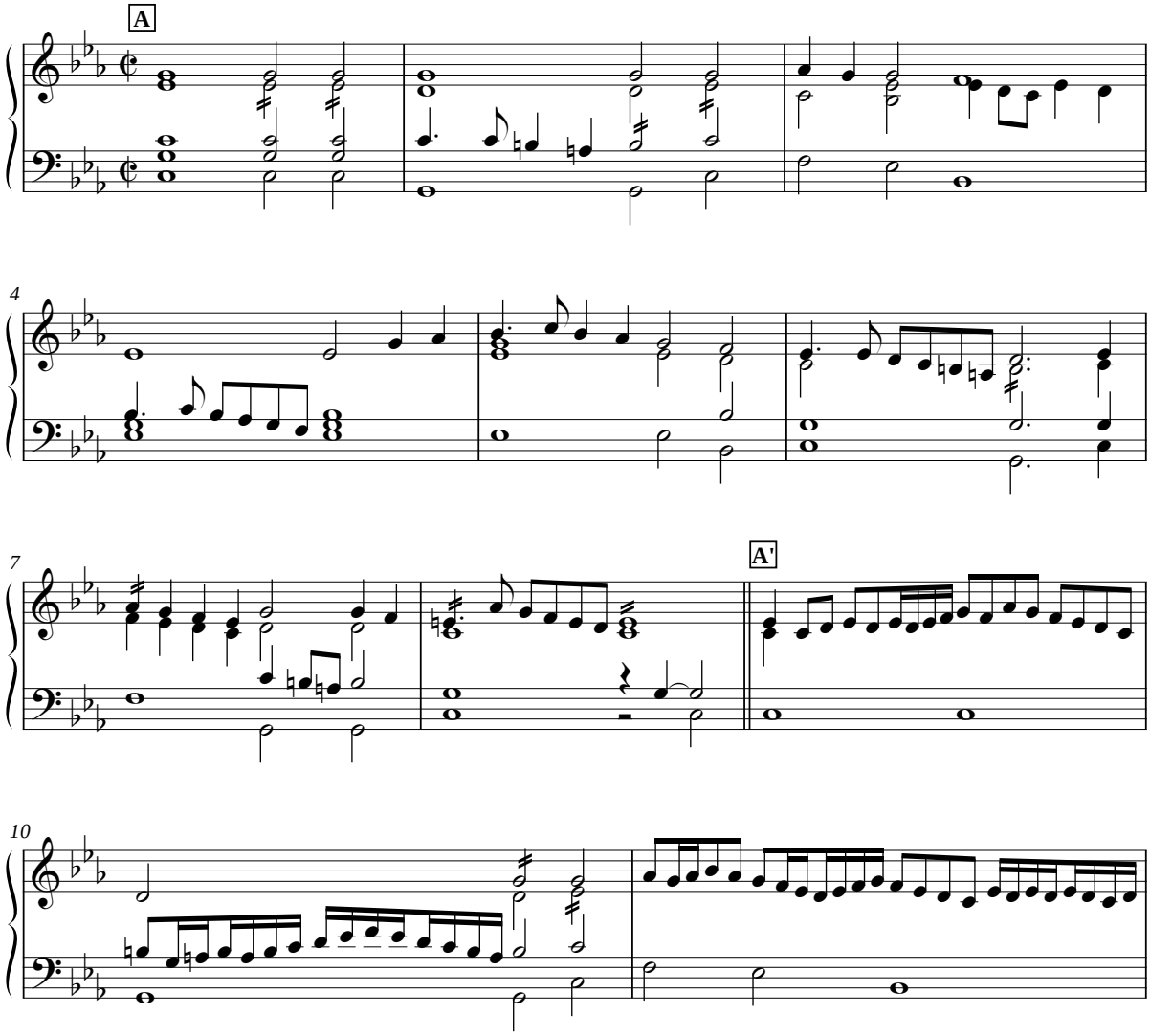

44
48
D
D'
53
E
57
E'
61
F
65
69
F'

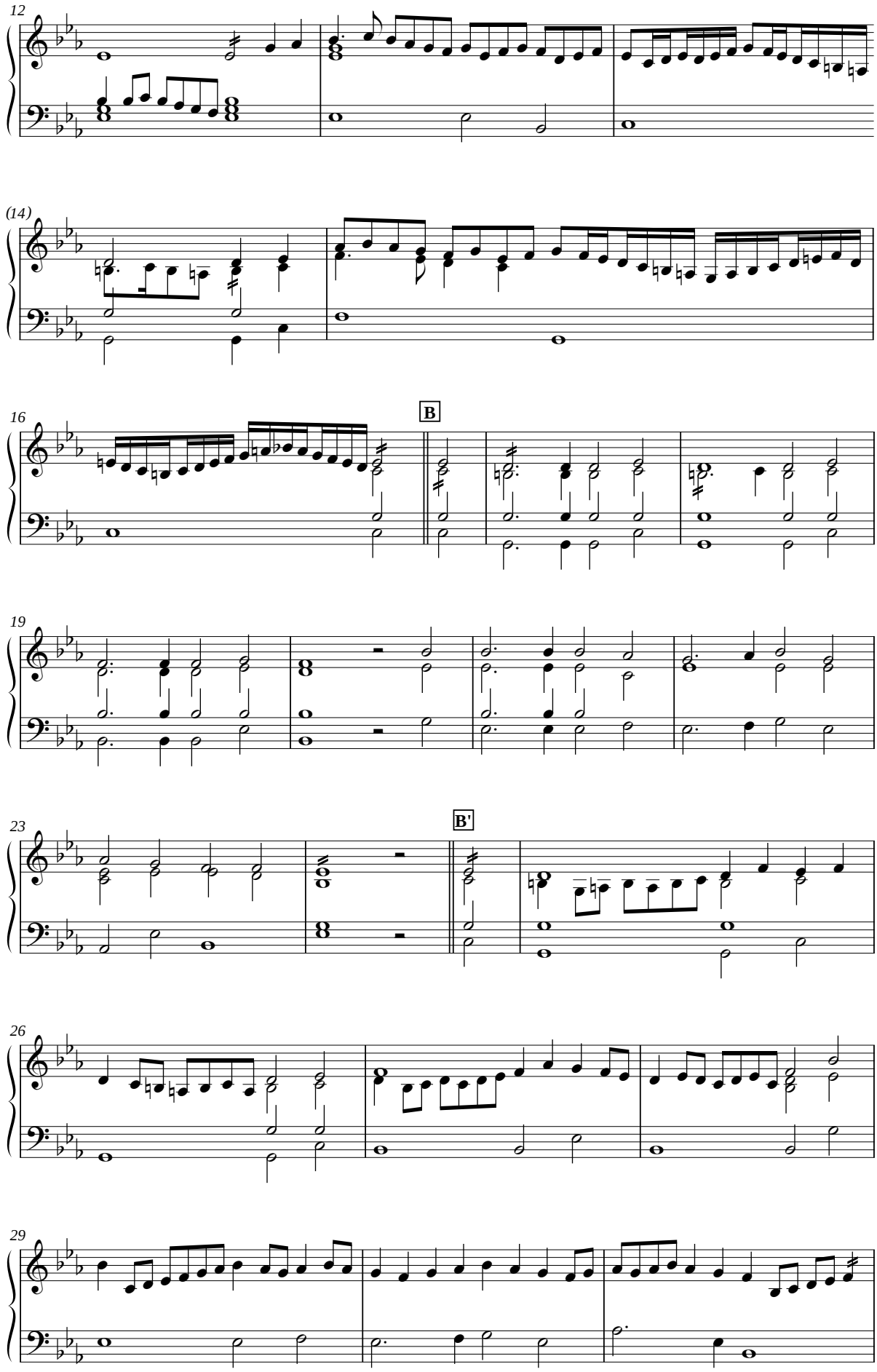


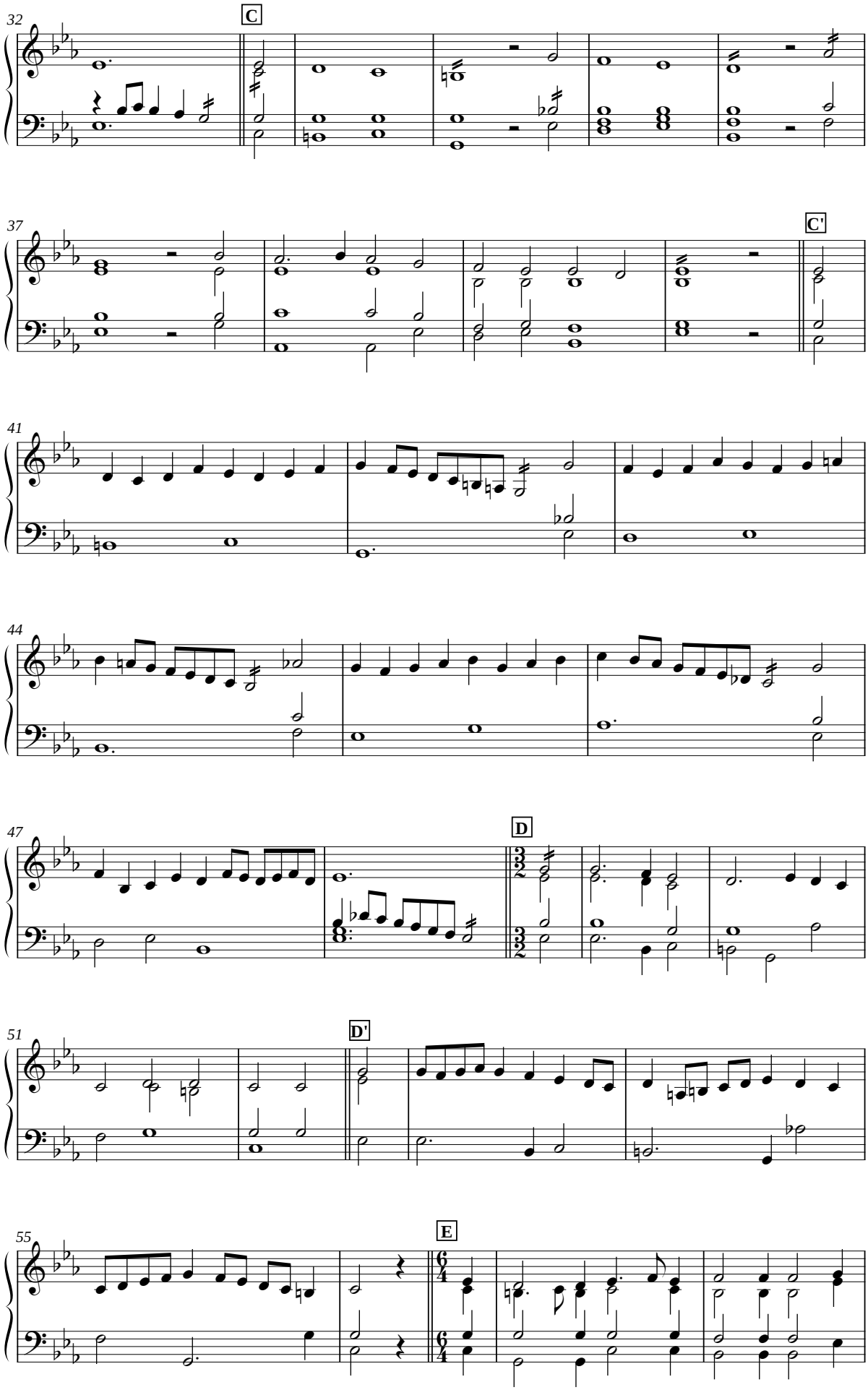
36b. Old Medley

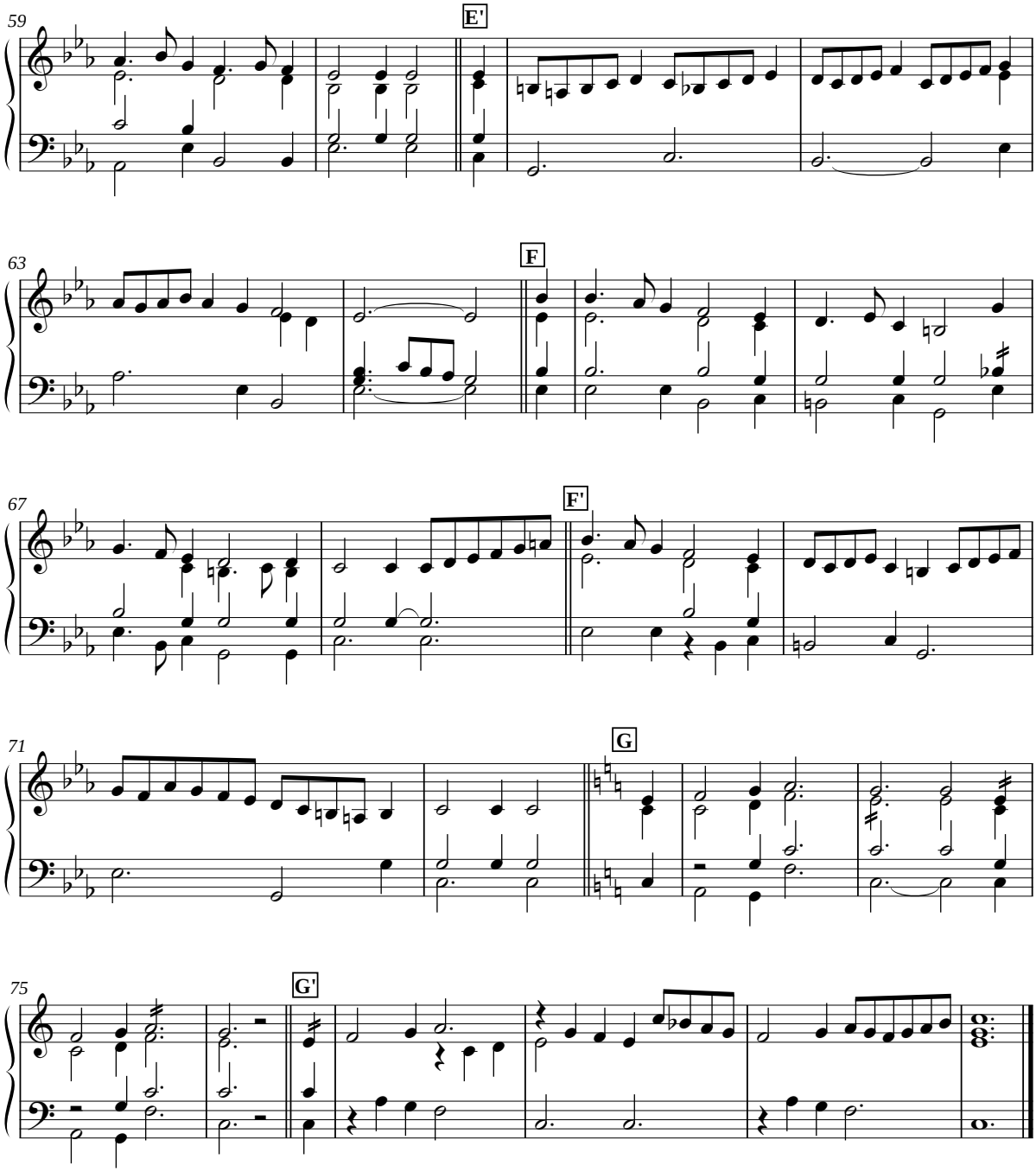
Welde, f. 8v-9r

John Johnson




12
(14)
16
B
19
23
B'
26
29


32
C
37
C'
41
44
47
D
51
D'
55
E

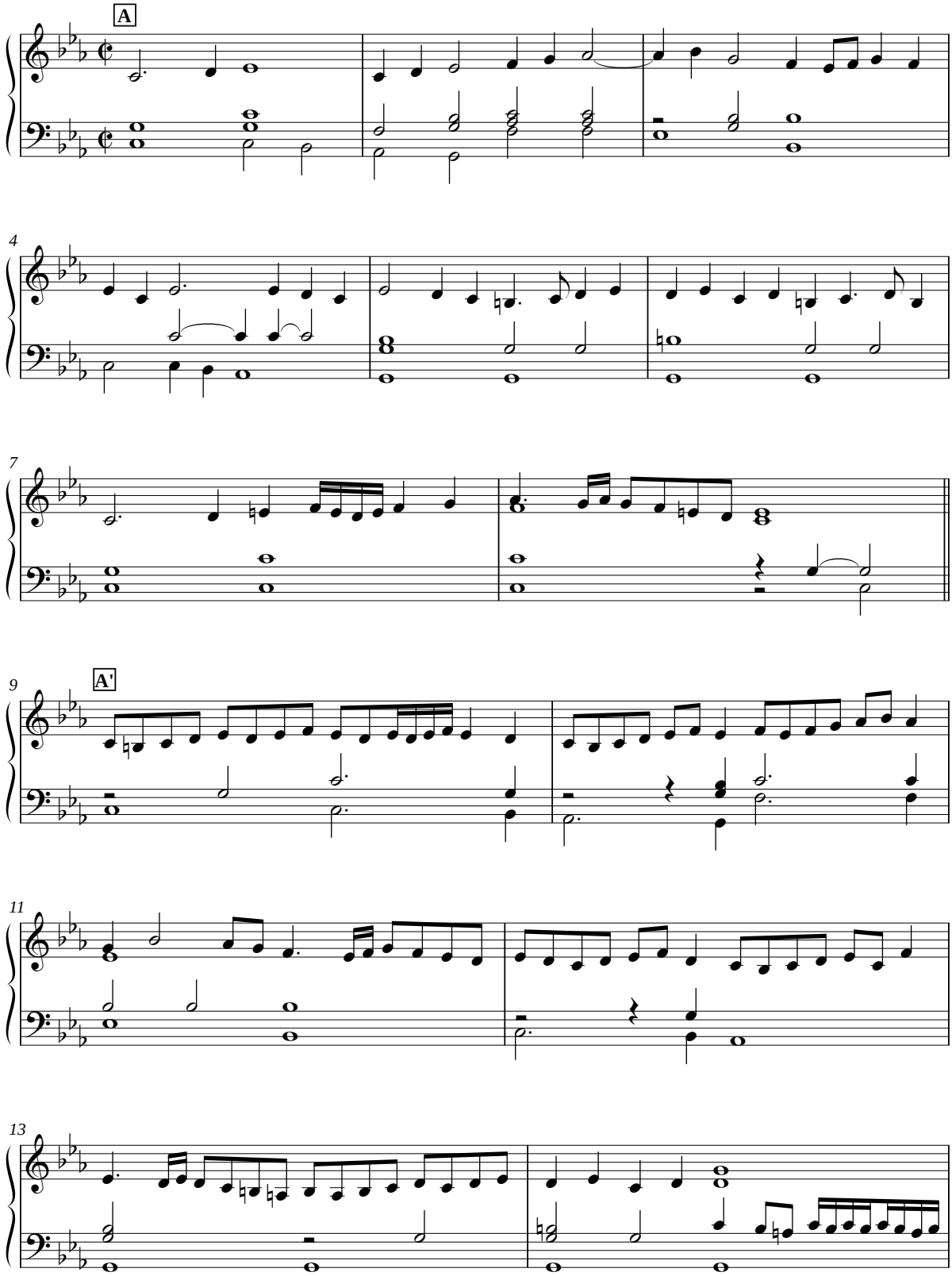

59
E'
63
F
67
F'
71
G
75
G'

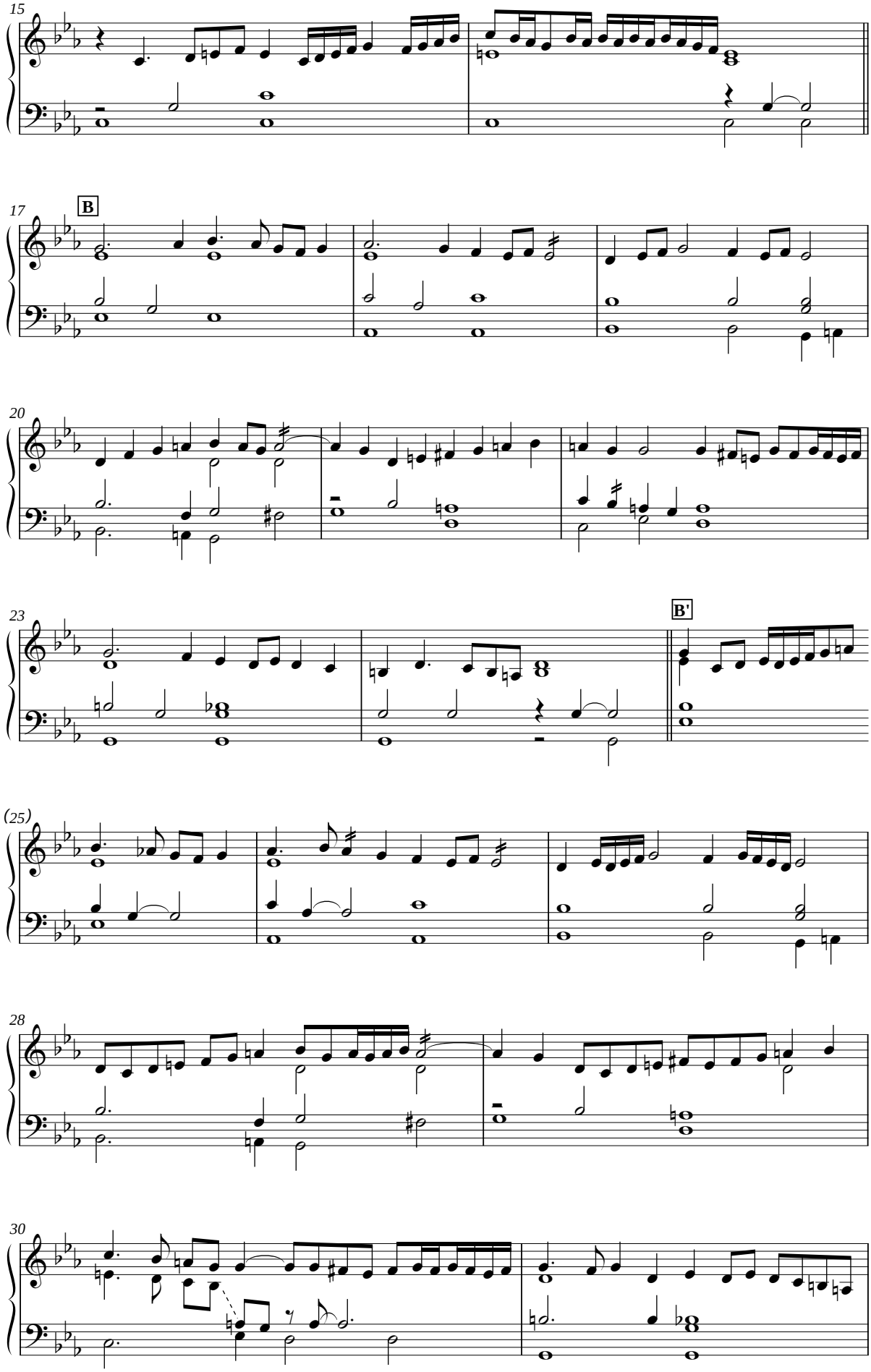
APPENDIX A

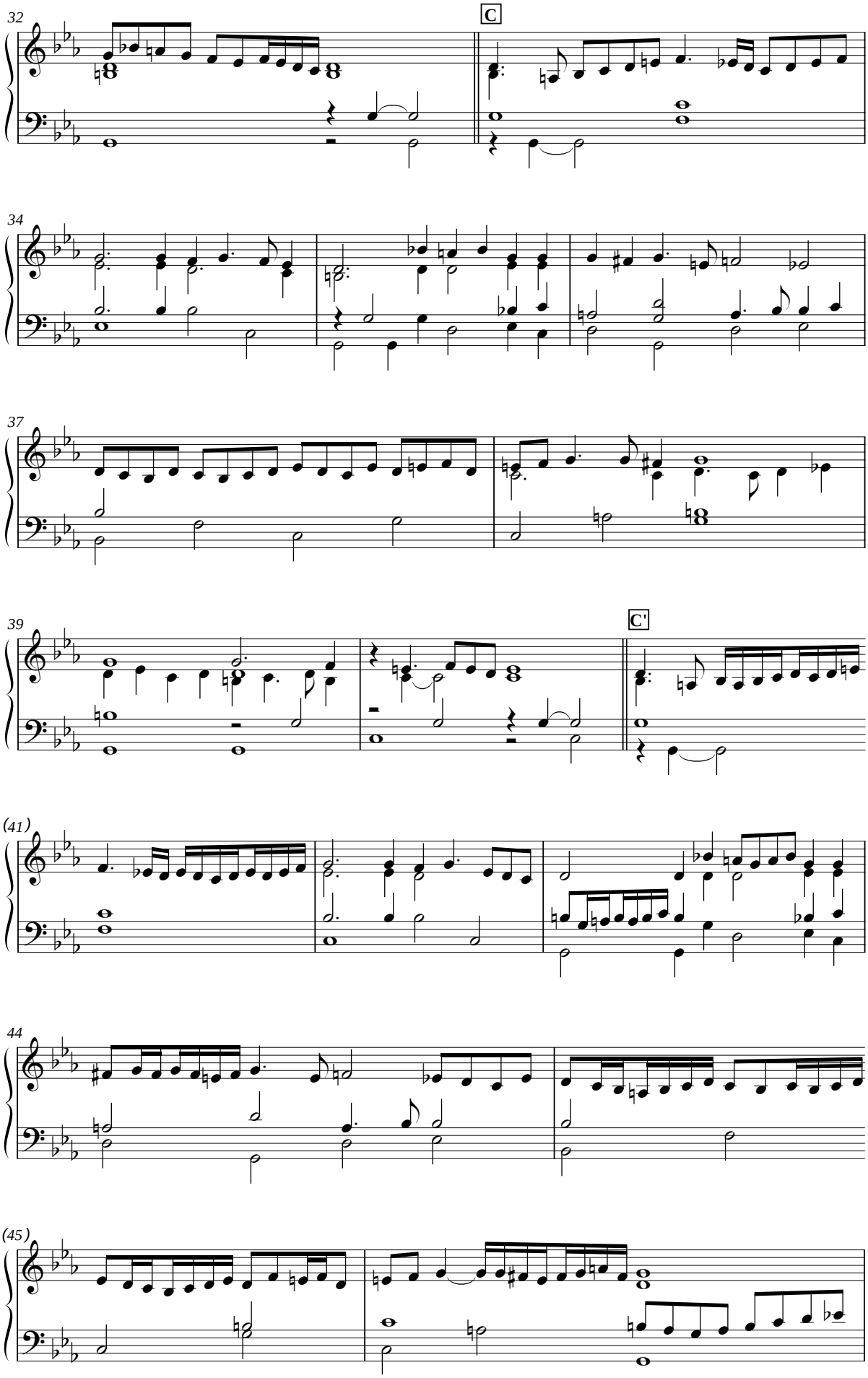
Pieces for lute solo of uncertain ascription

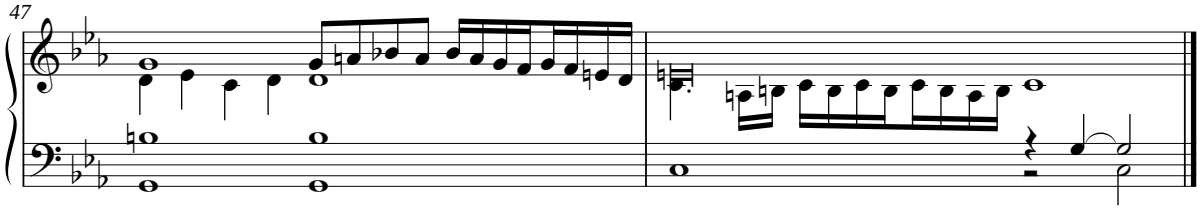
37. [Pavan]

Wickhambrook, f. 11v [Anonymous]



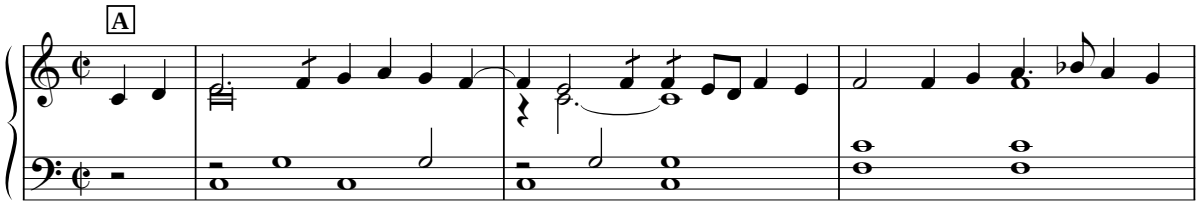

15
17
B
20
23
B'
(25)
28
30

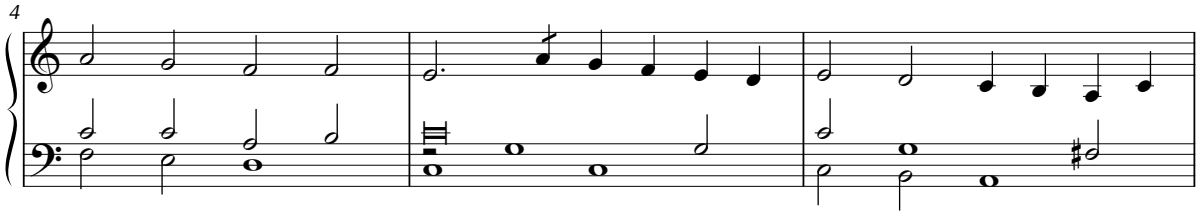

32
C
34
37
39
C'
(41)
44
(45)

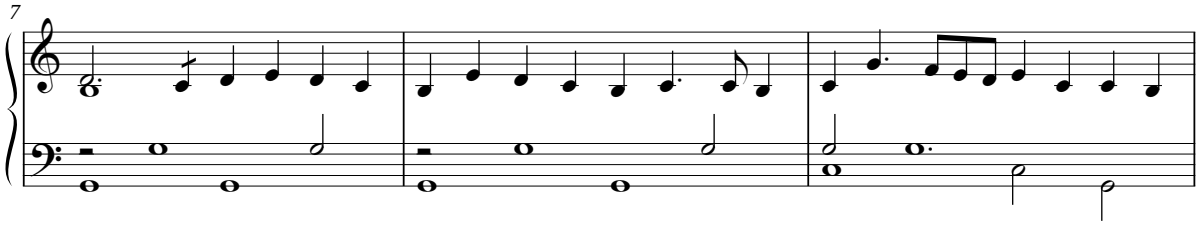


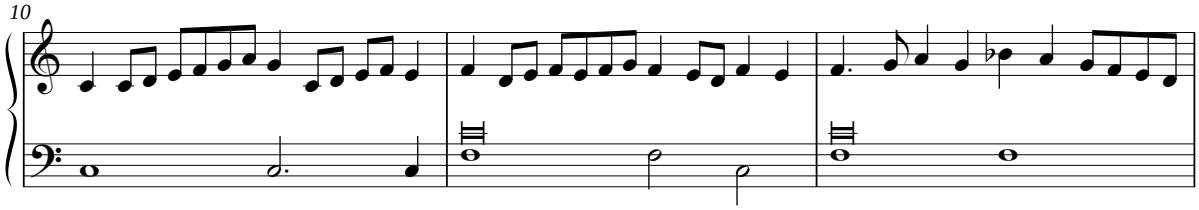
38a. Quadro Pavan

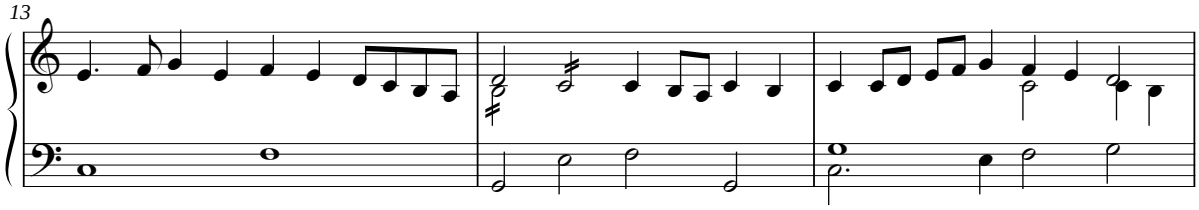
Ballet, p. 88 [Anonymous]

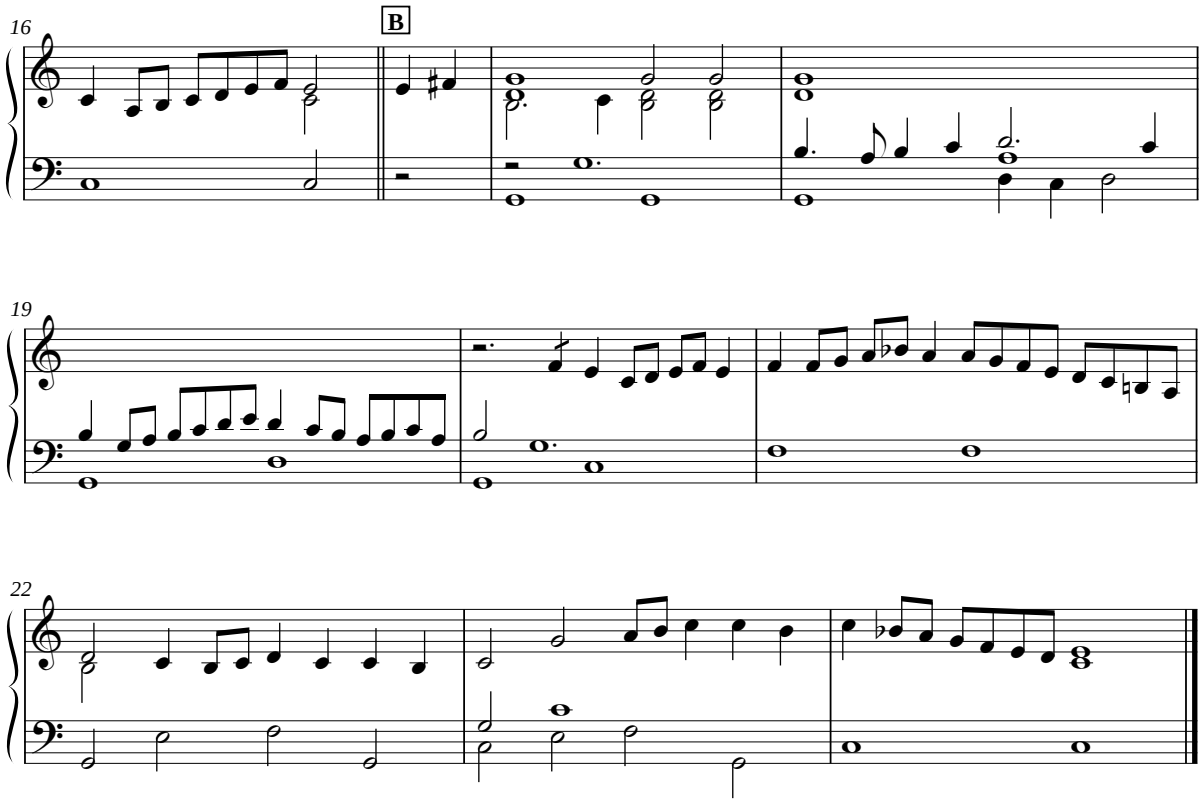






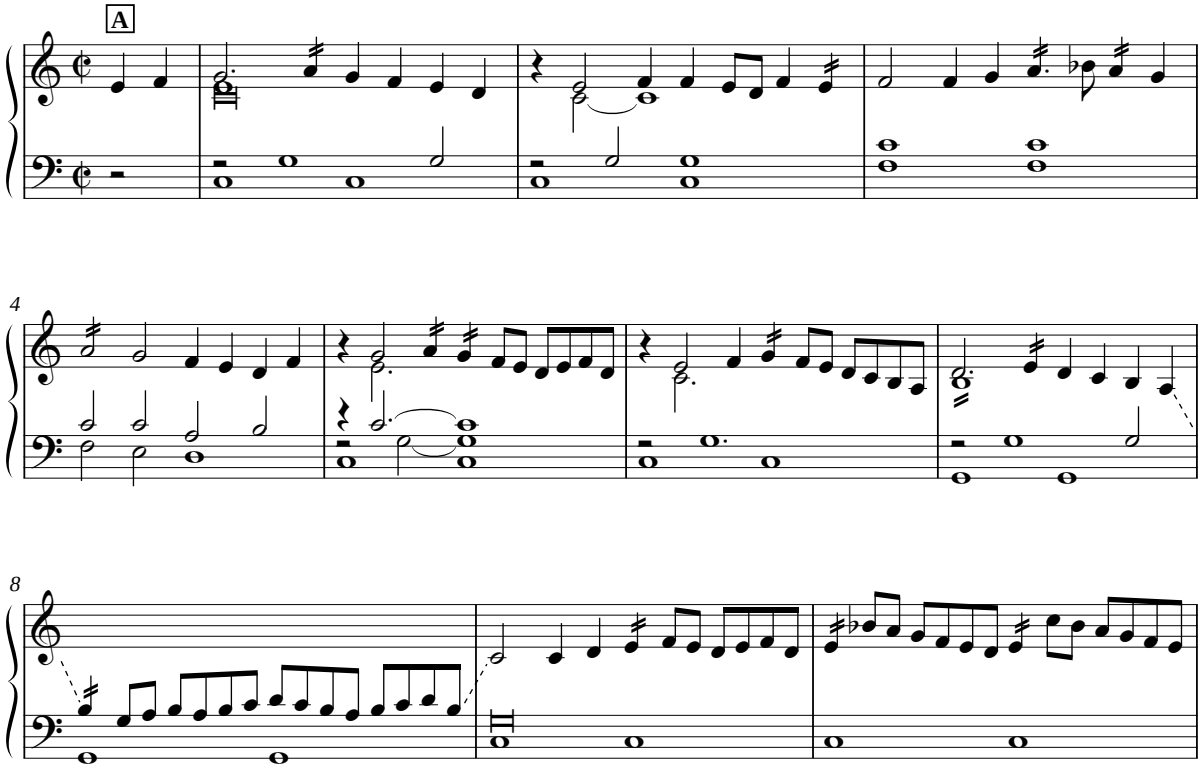


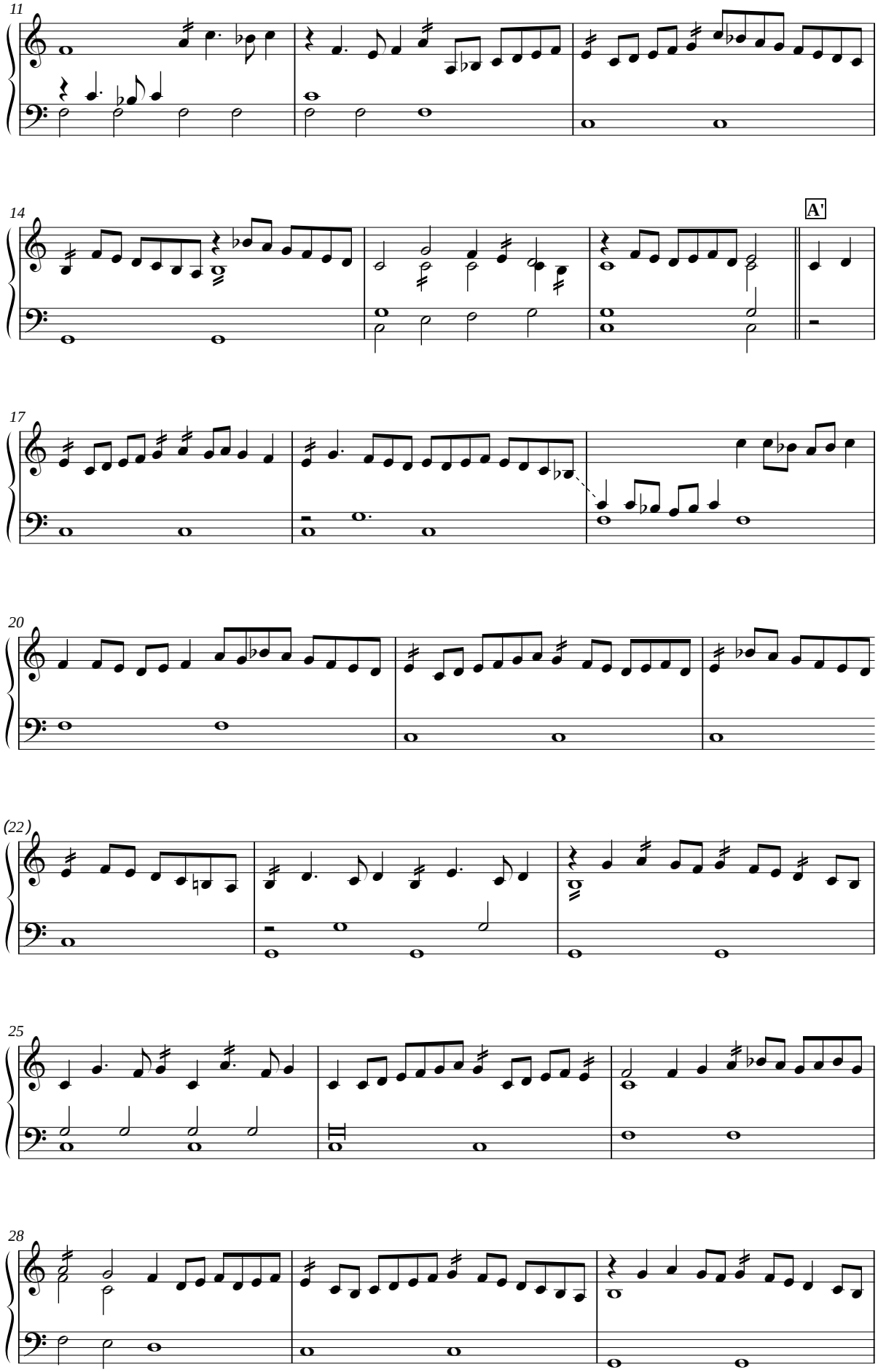


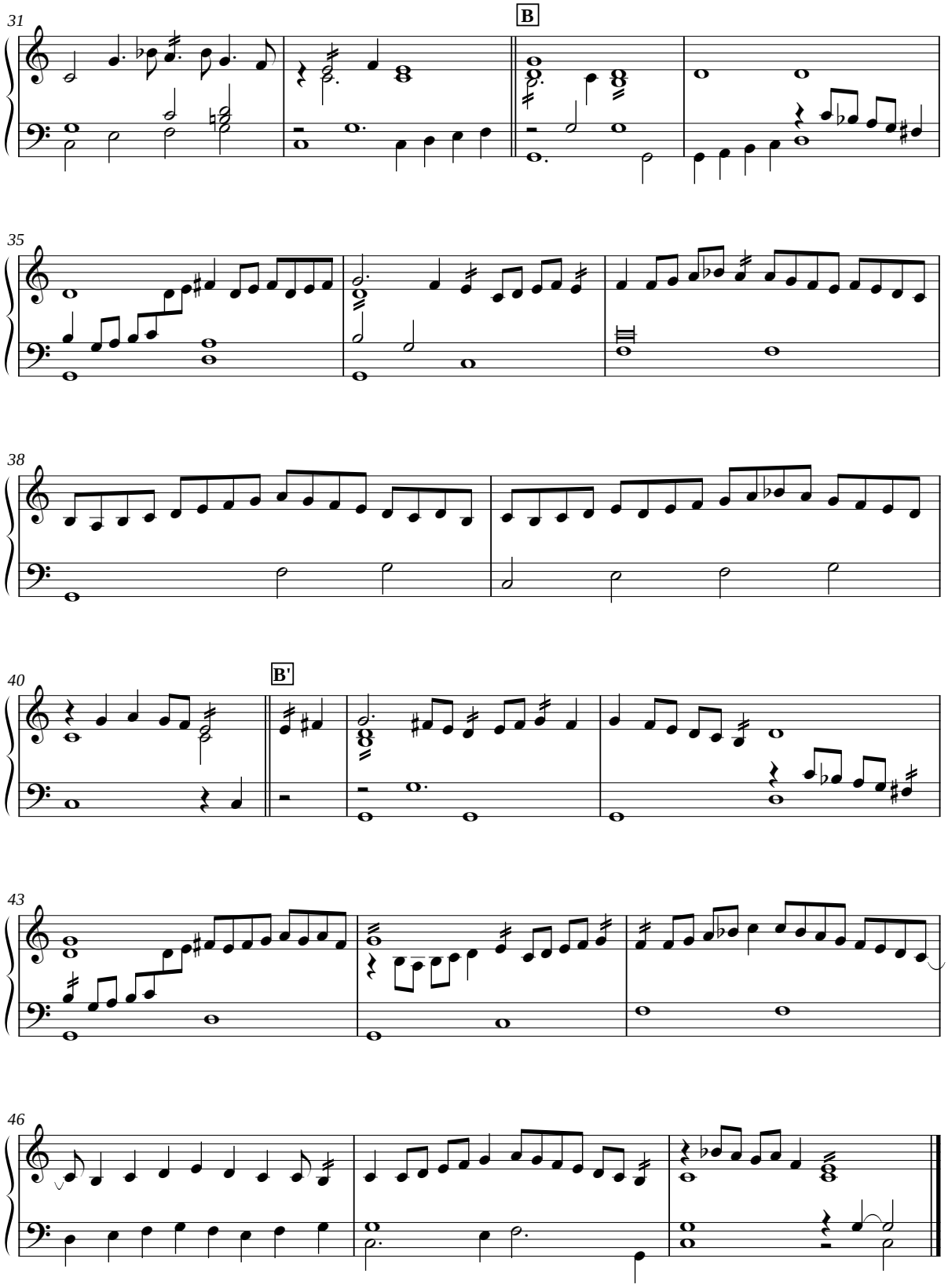


38b. Quadro Pavan

Ballet, p. 8-9 [Anonymous]

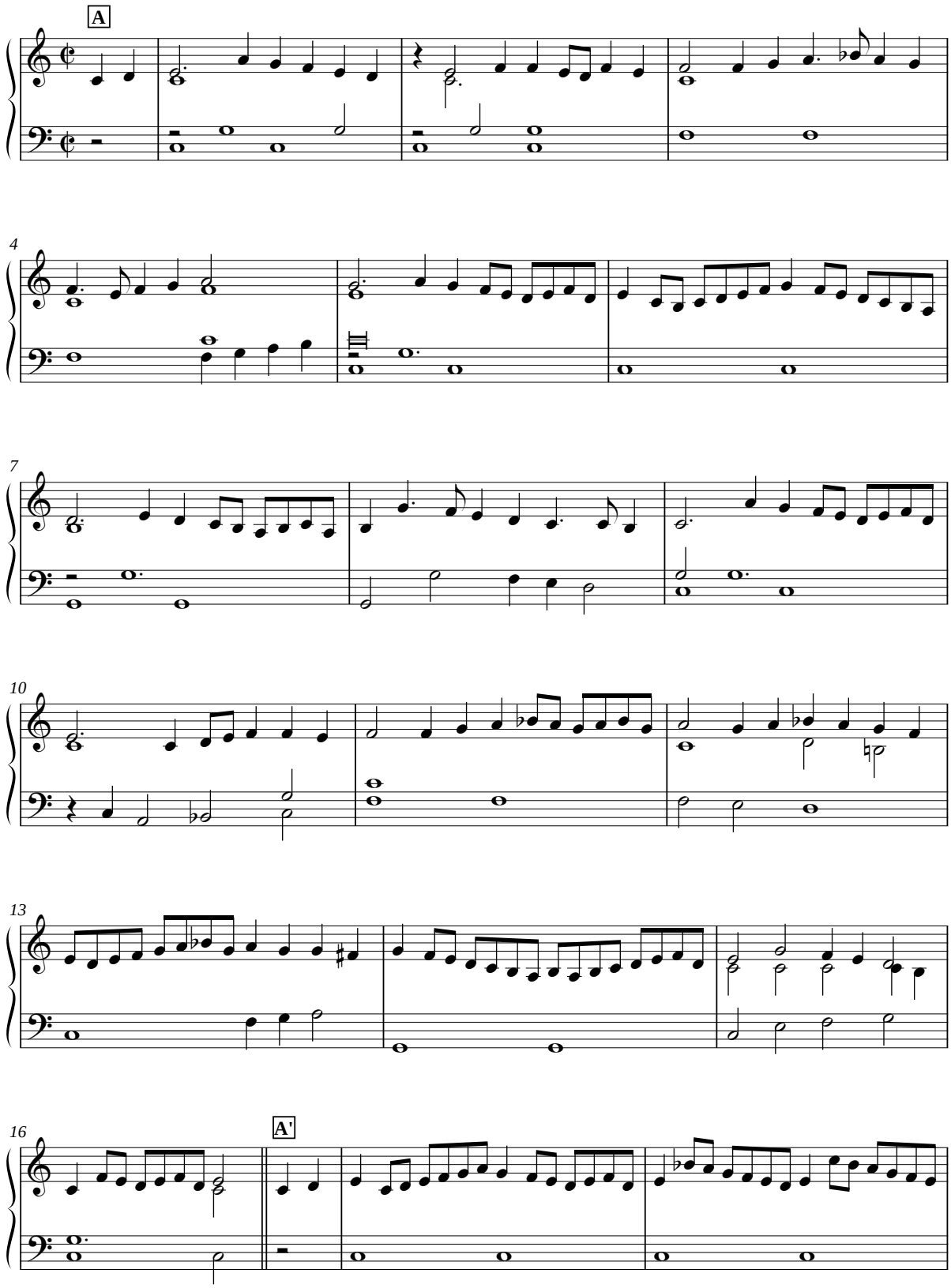


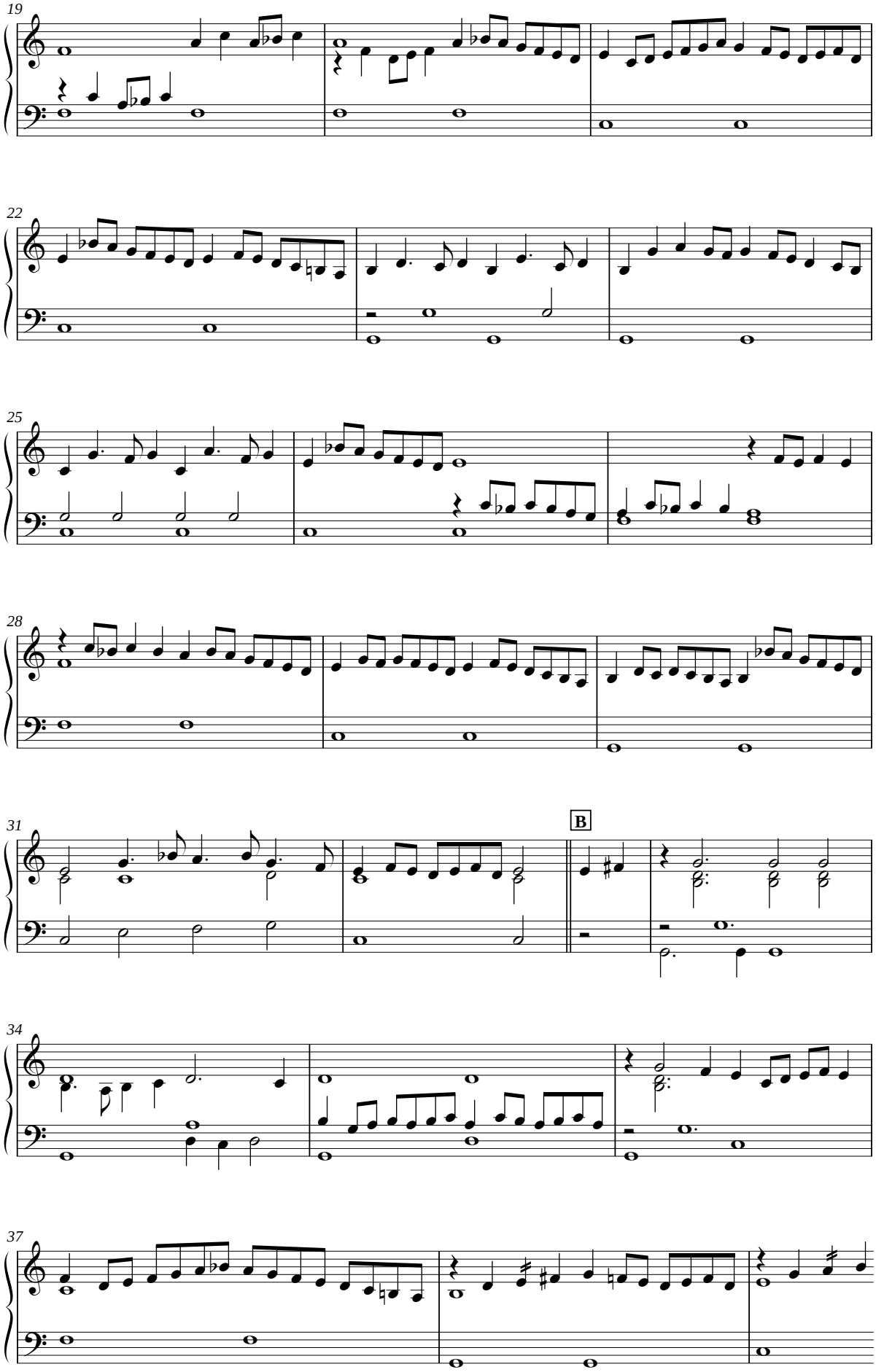

11
14
A'
17
20
(22)
25
28

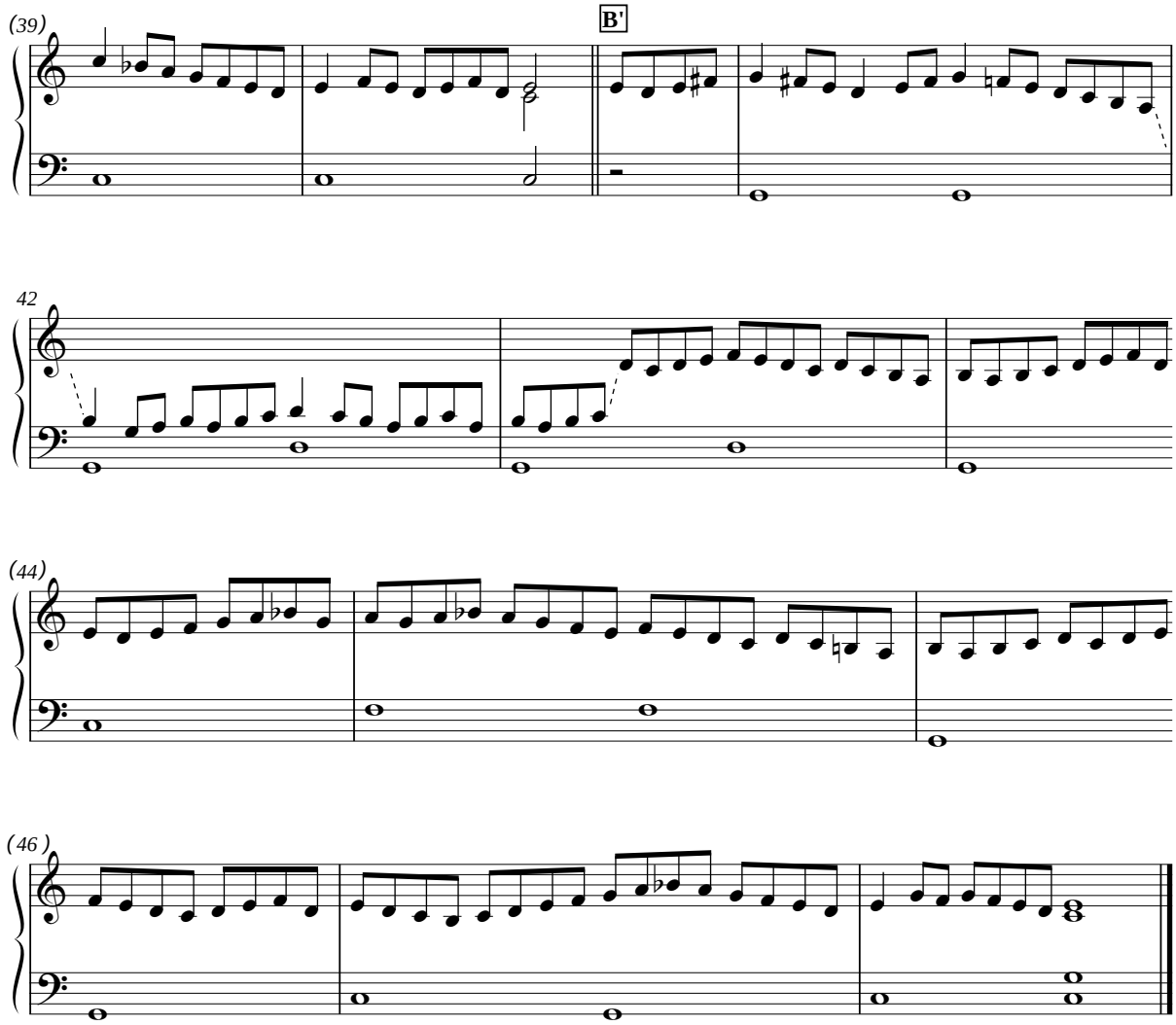

31
B
35
38
40
B'
43
46

38c. Quadro Pavan

Sampson, f. 8r [Anonymous]

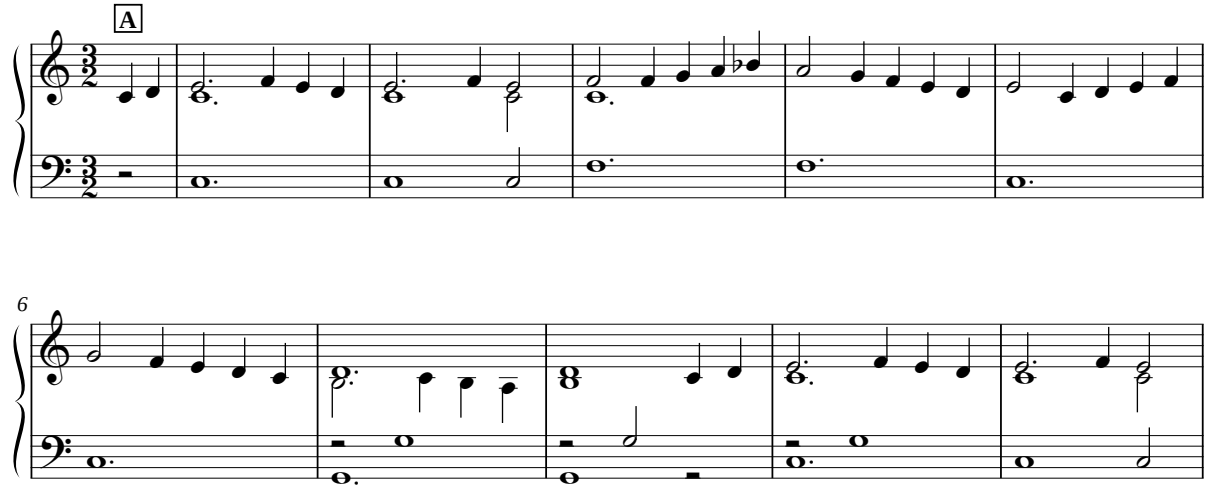


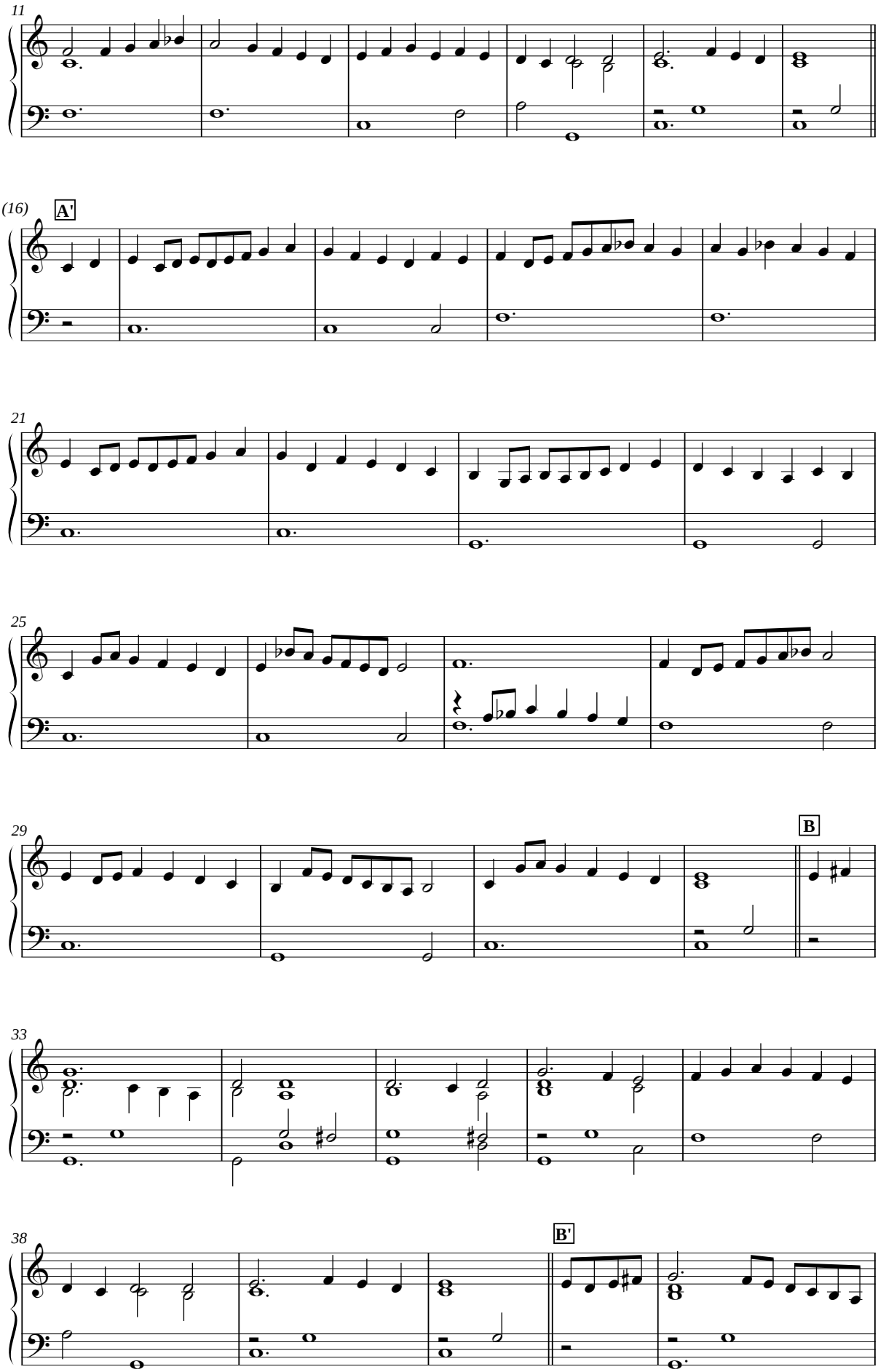

19
22
25
28
31
B
34
37

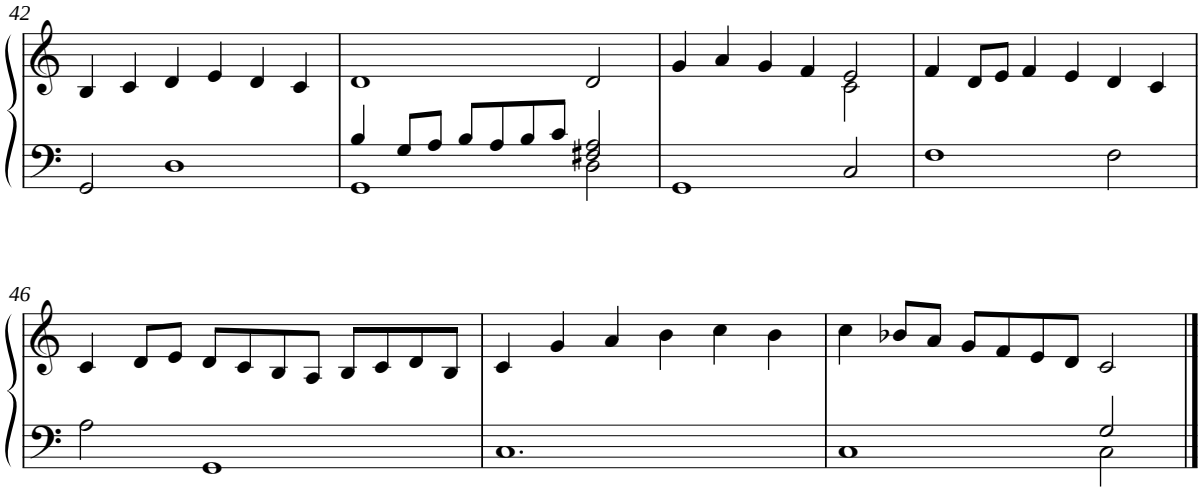


39a. Quadro Galliard

Ballet, p. 89 [Anonymous]

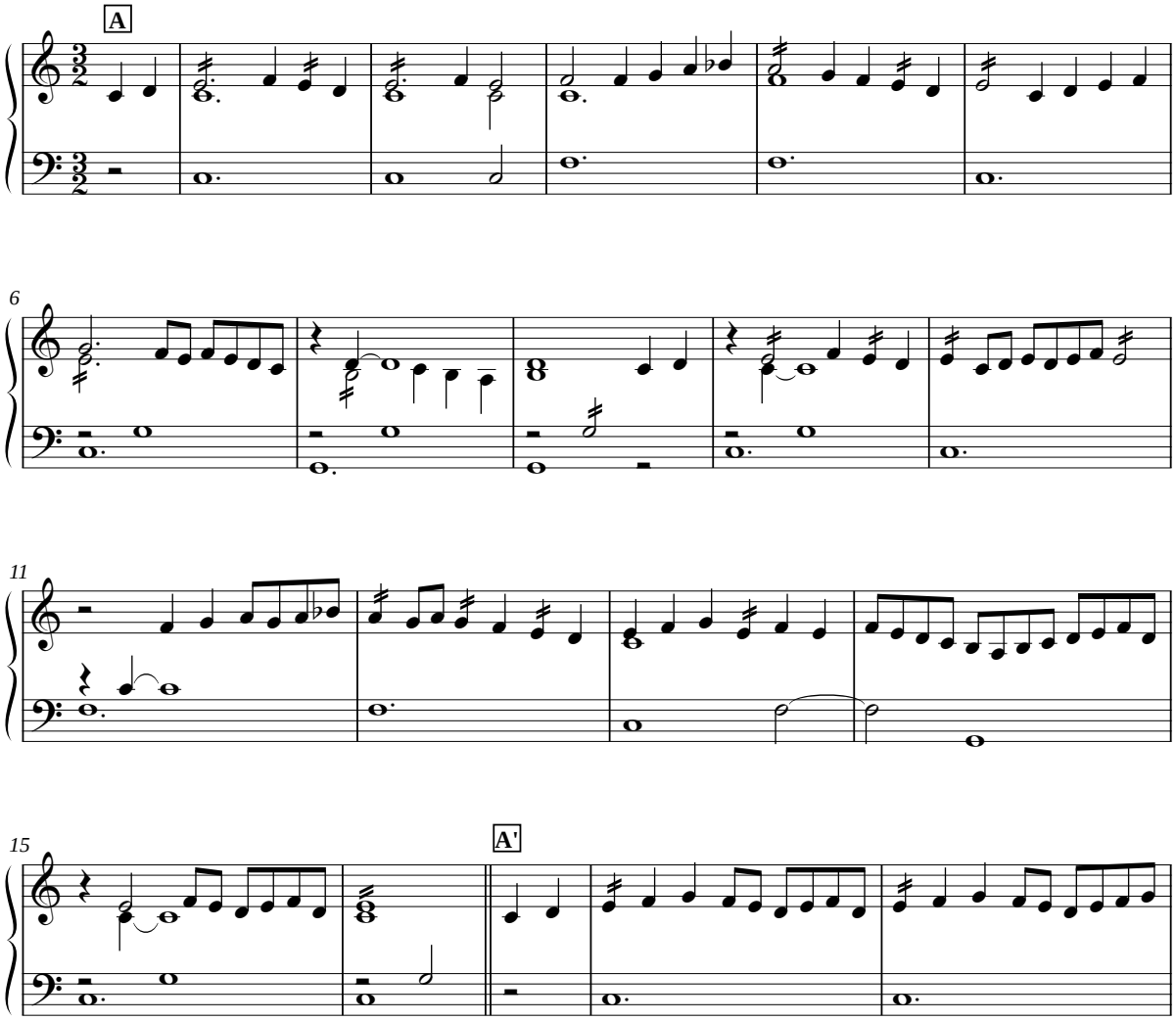


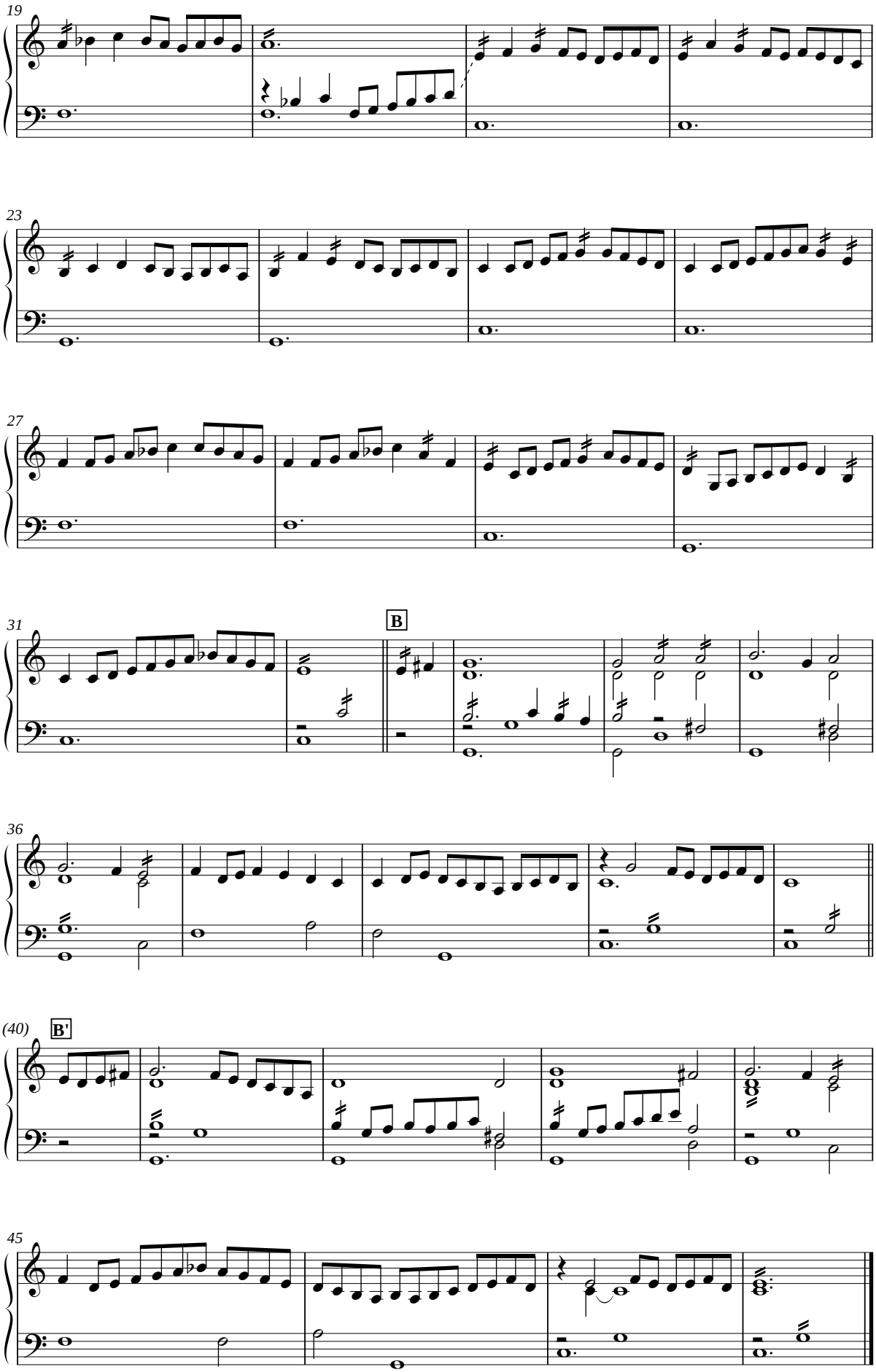

11
(16)
A'
21
25
29
B
33
38
B'



39b. Quadro Galliard

Ballet, p. 10-11 [Anonymous]

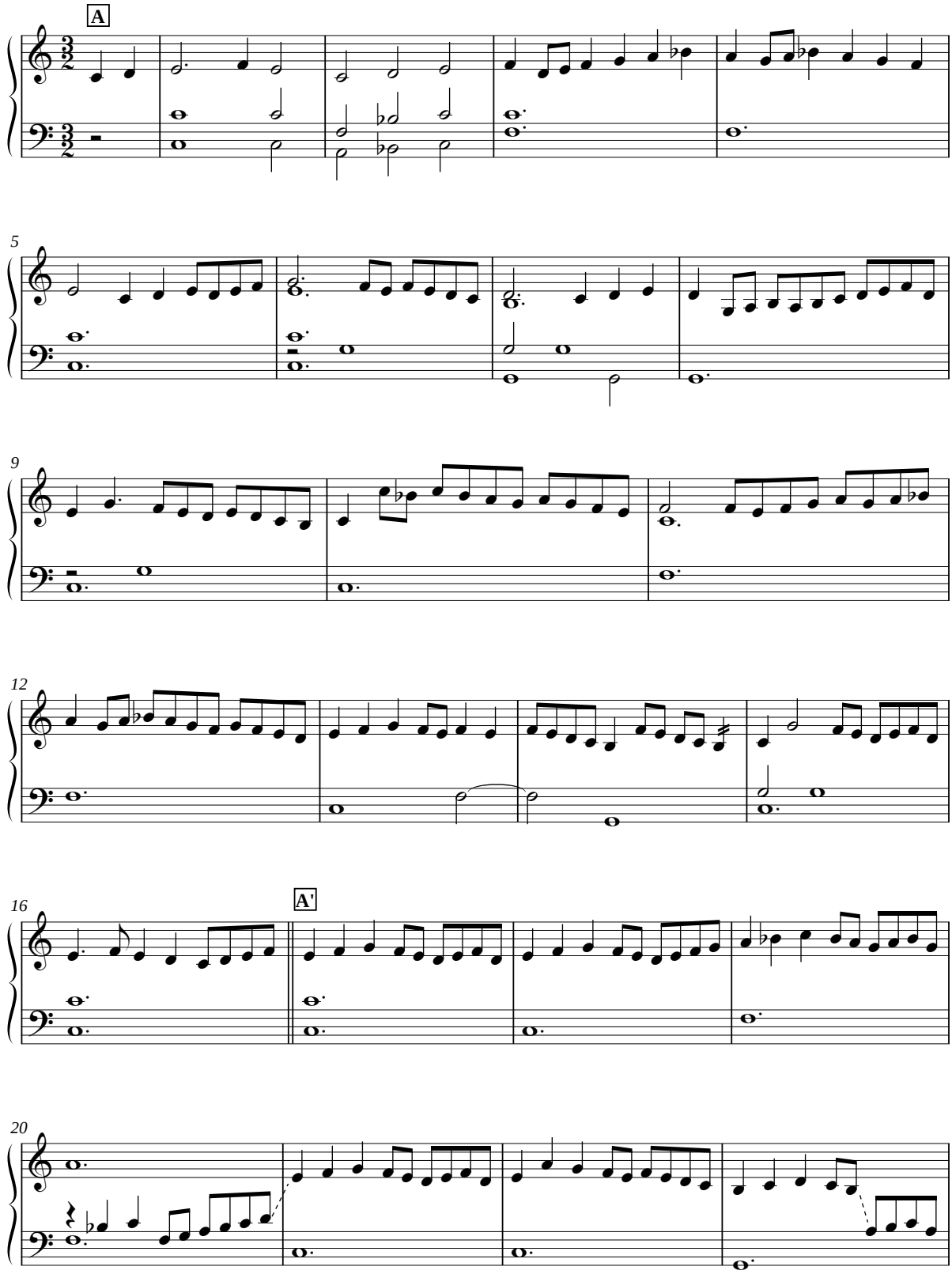


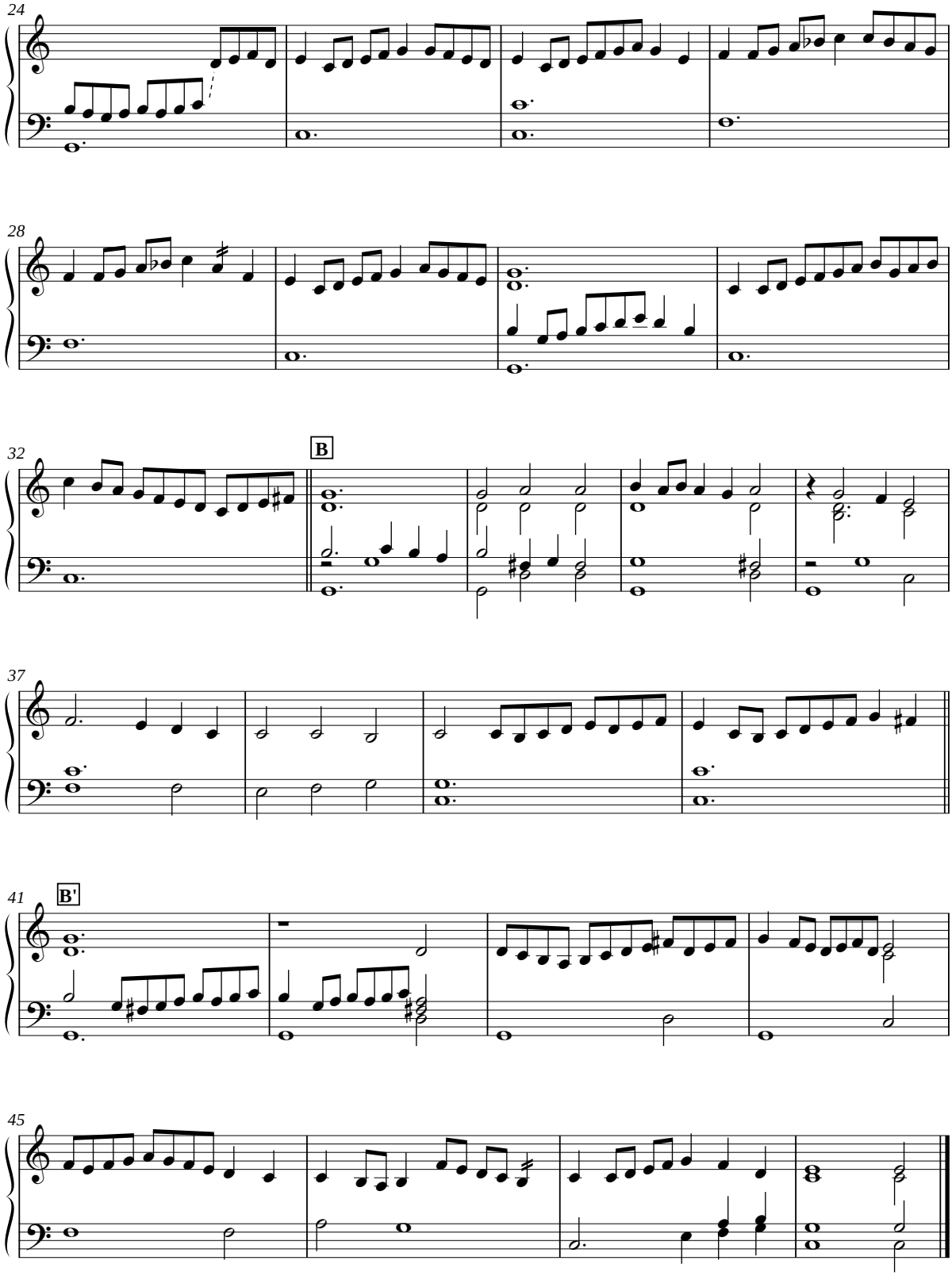

19
23
27
31
B
36
(40)
B'
45

39c. Quadro Galliard

Sampson, f. 8v

[Anonymous]

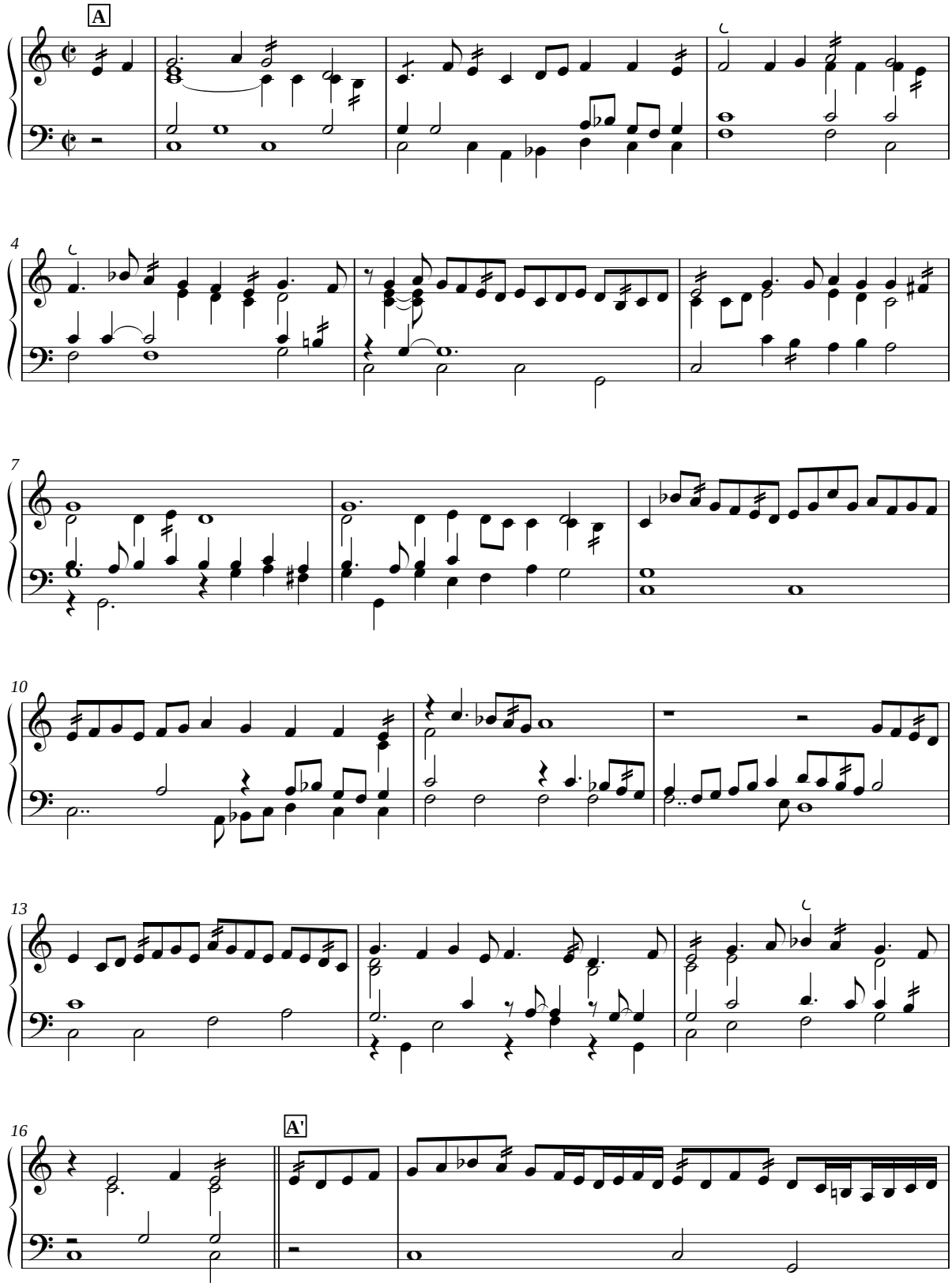


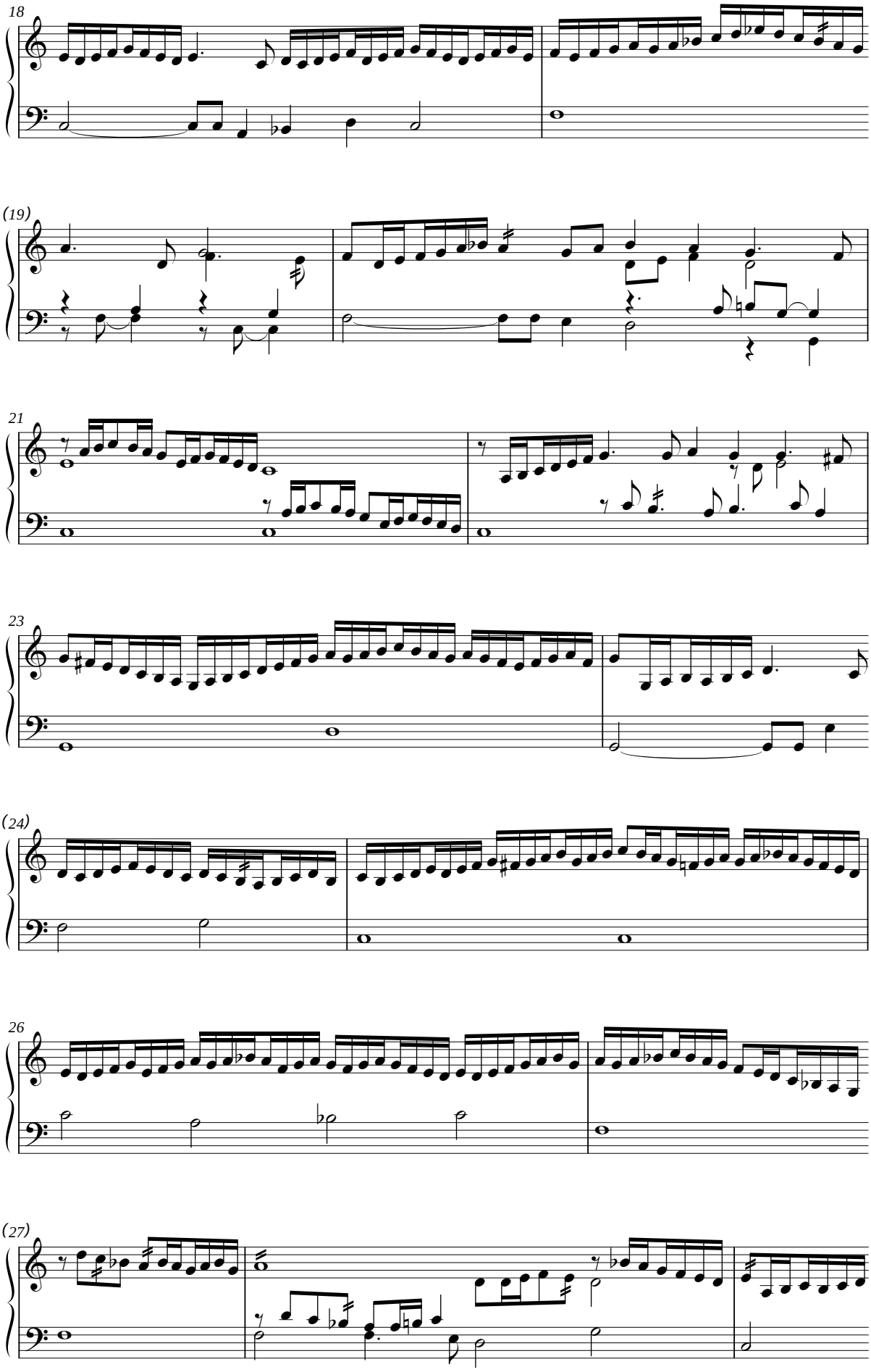

24
28
32
B
37
41
B'
45

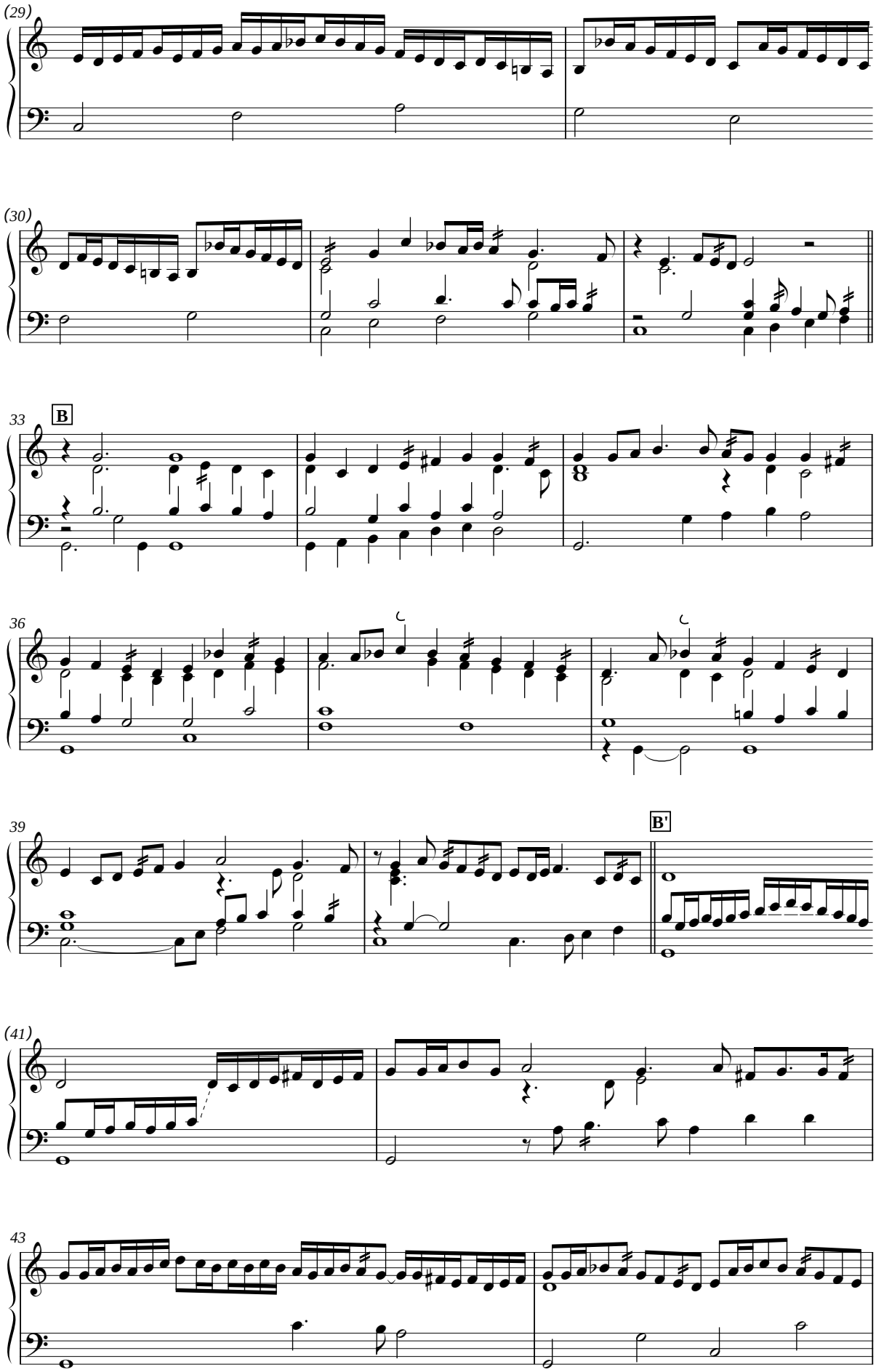
40. Quadro Pavan

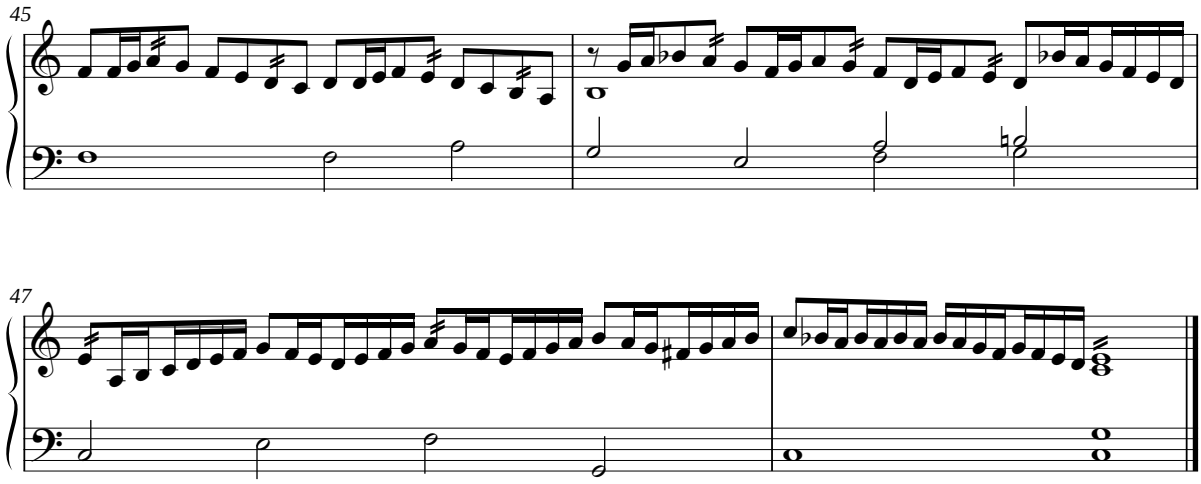
Dd.4.22, f. 4v-5v

Richard Allison



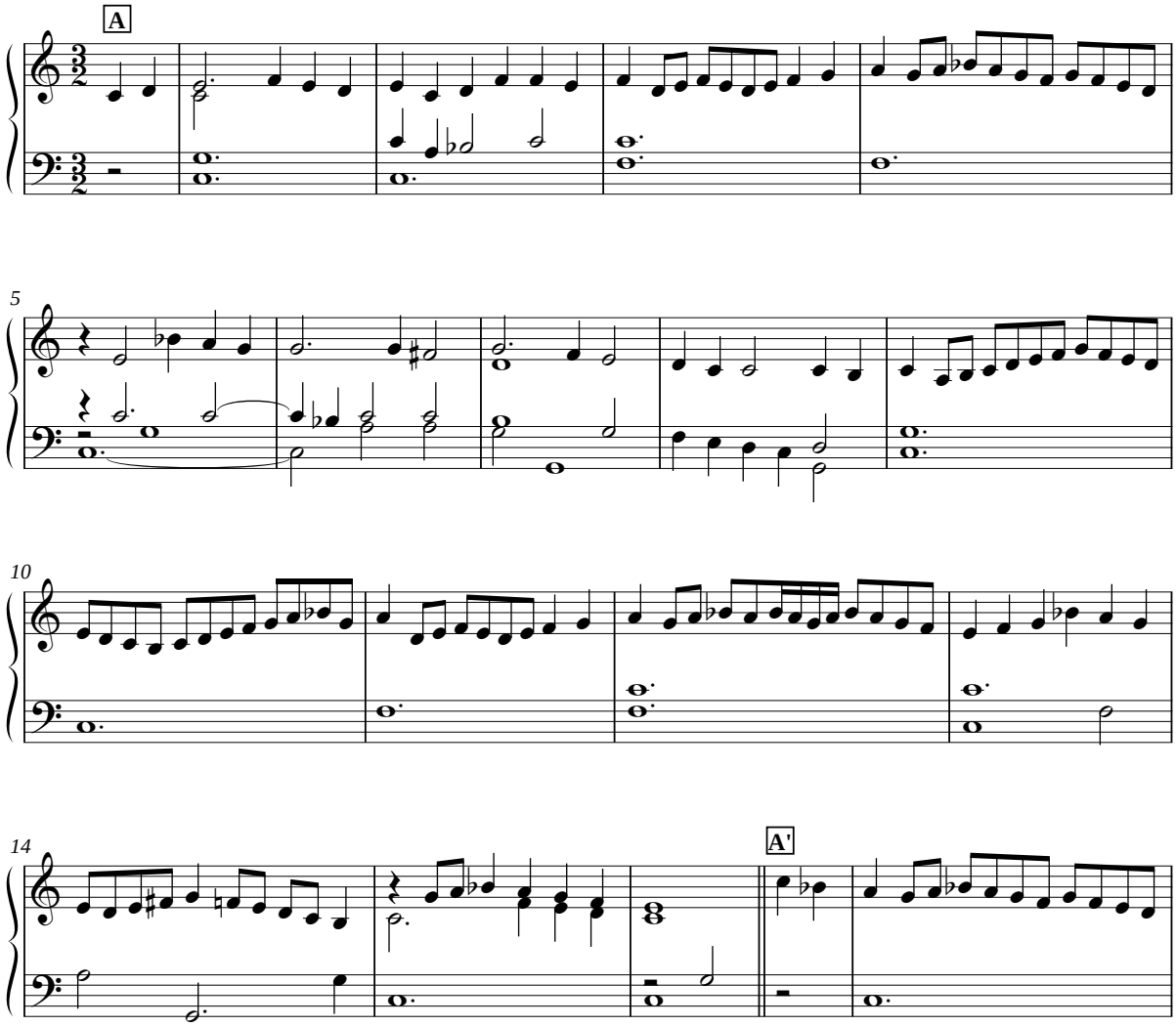

18
(19)
21
23
(24)
26
(27)

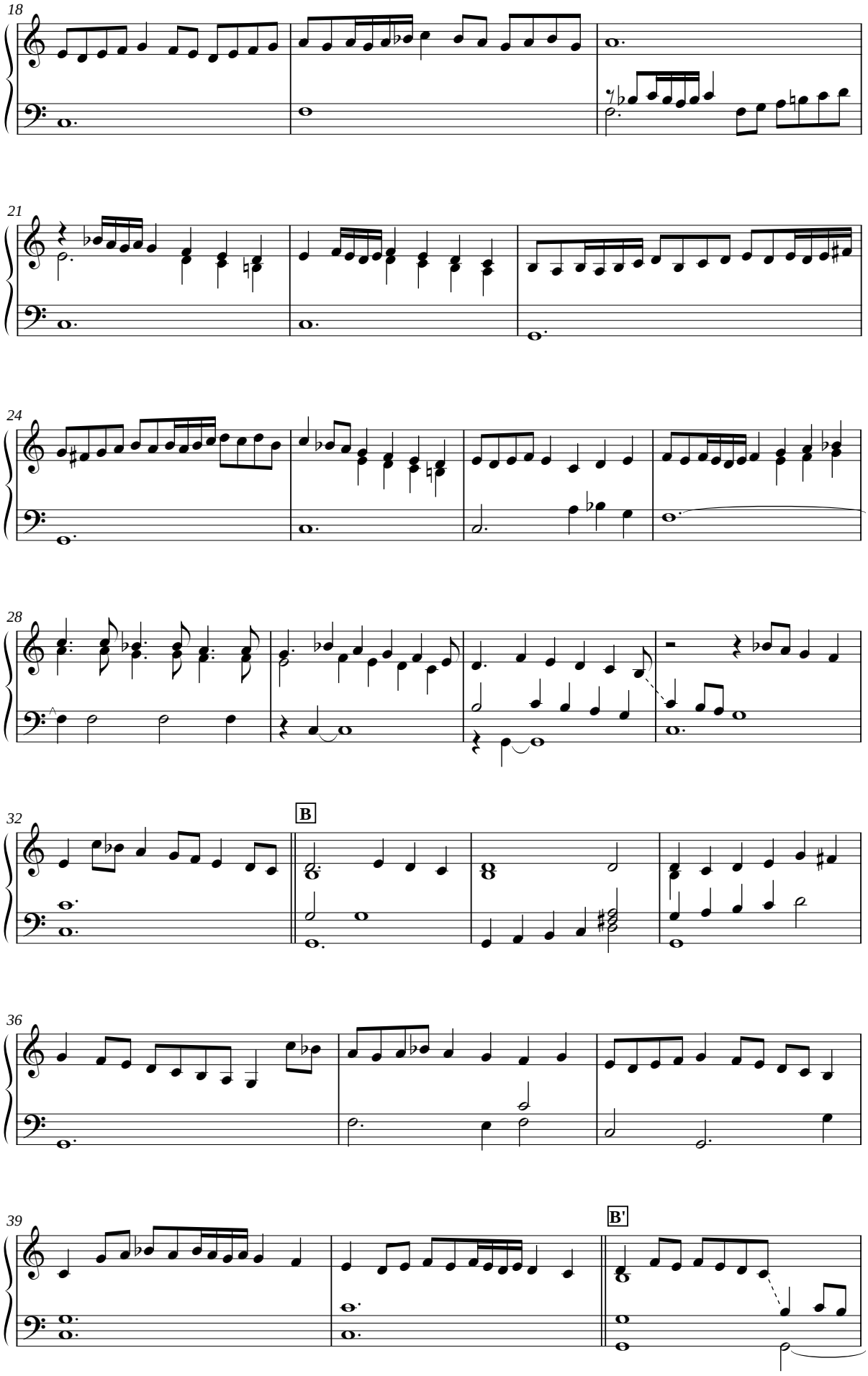

(29)
(30)
33
B
36
39
B'
(41)
43

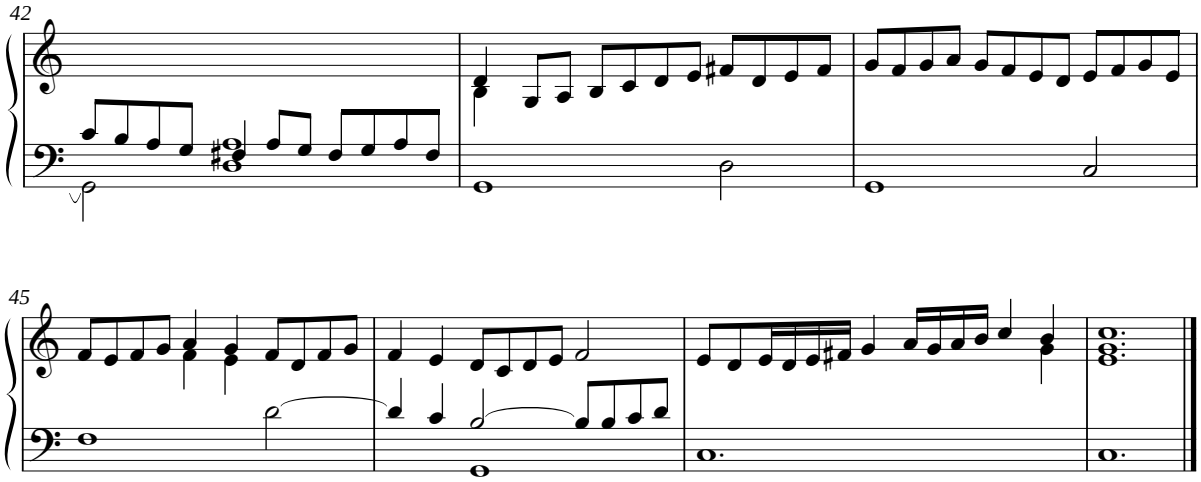


41. [Quadro Galliard]

Dd.2.11, f. 32v [Anonymous]

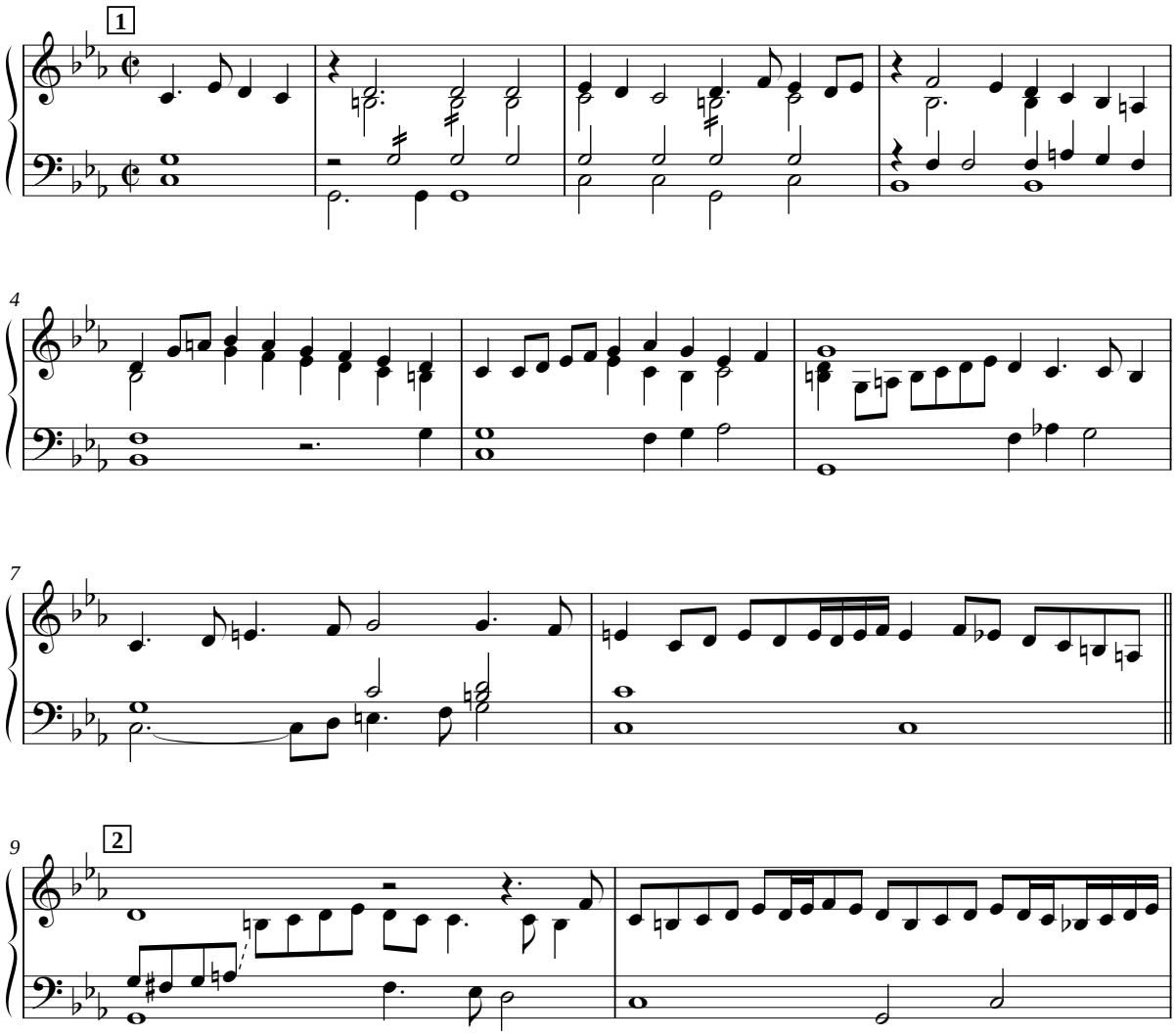


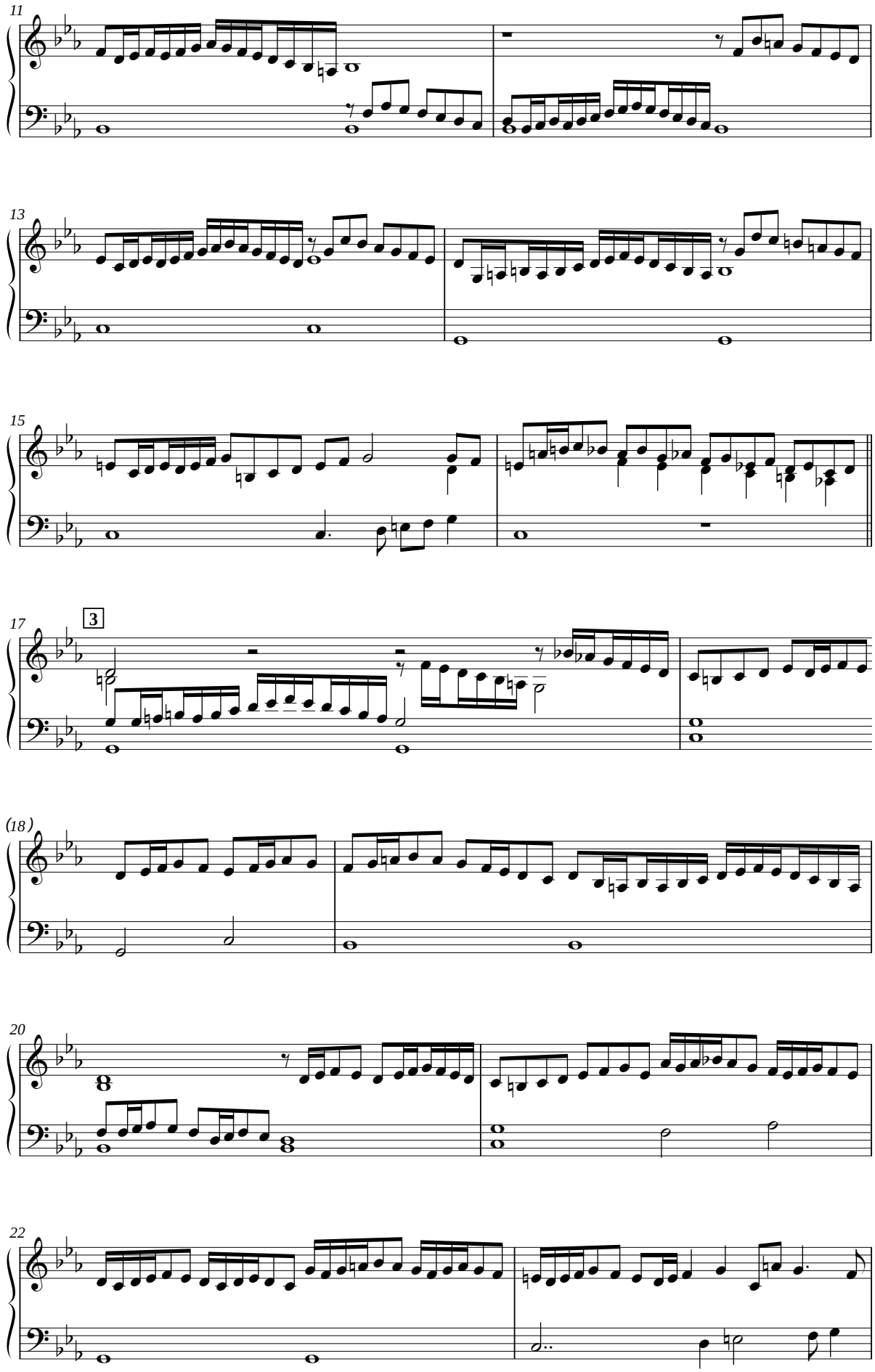

18
21
24
28
32
B
36
39
B'

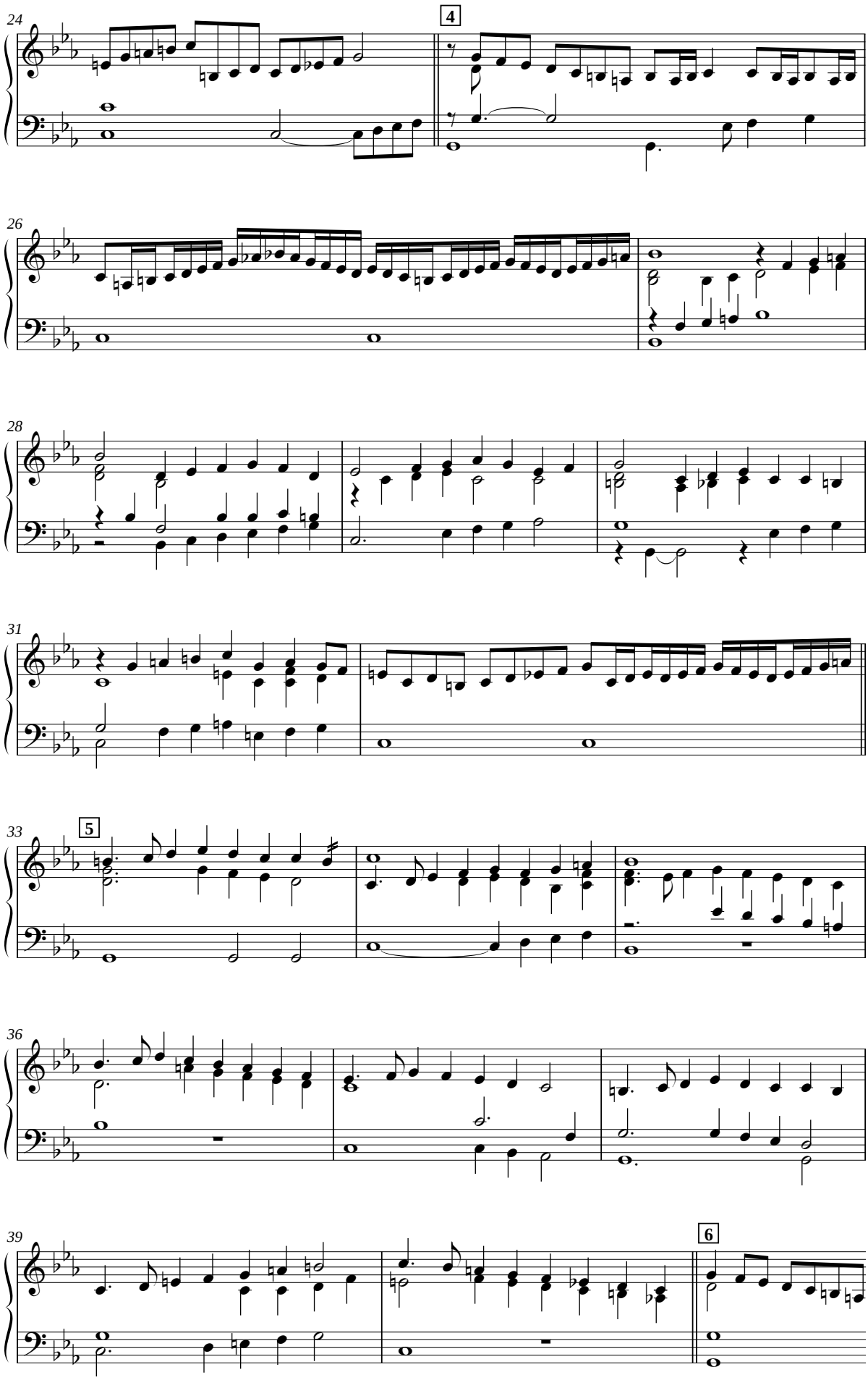


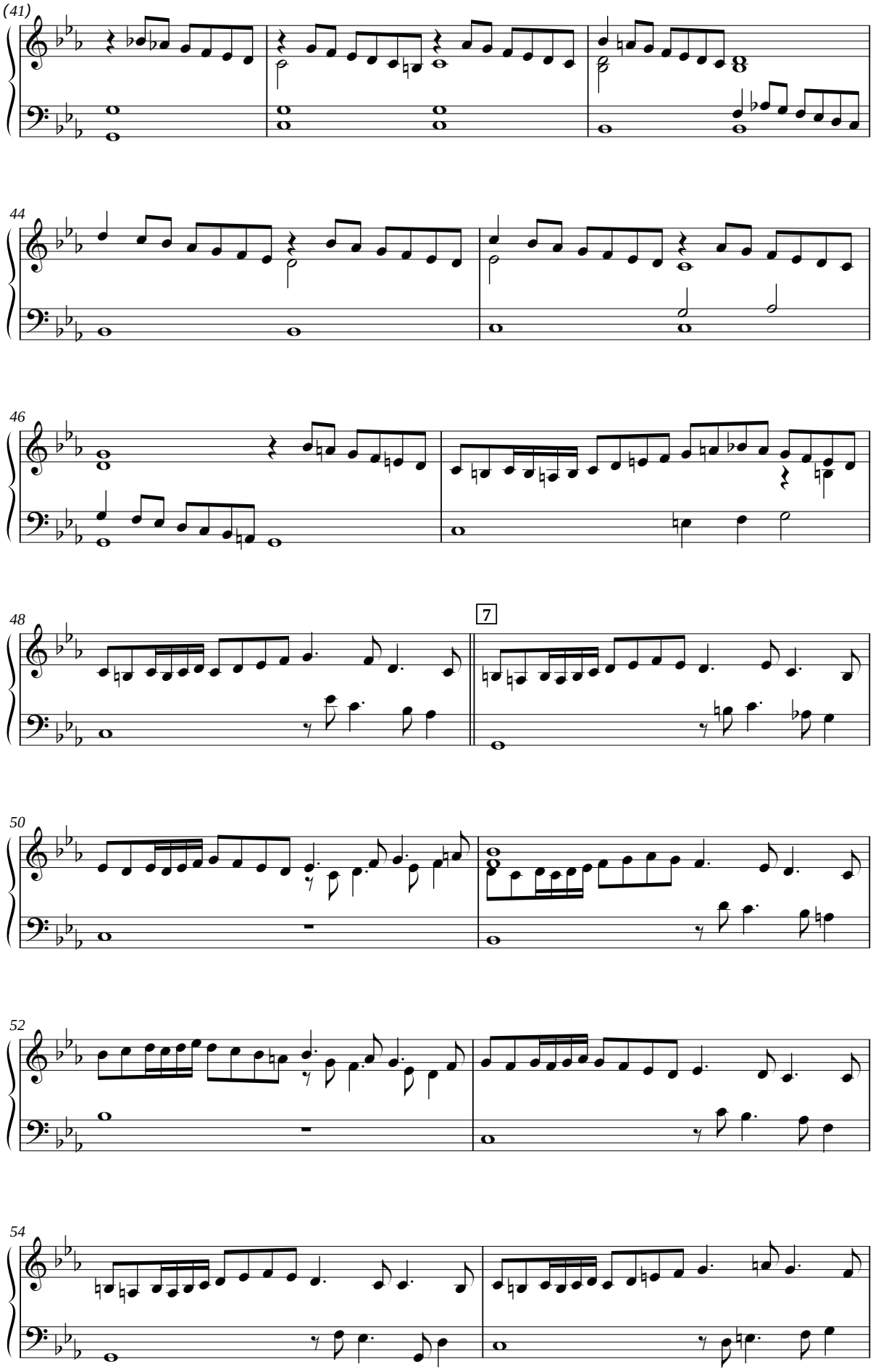
42. Old Spanish Pavan

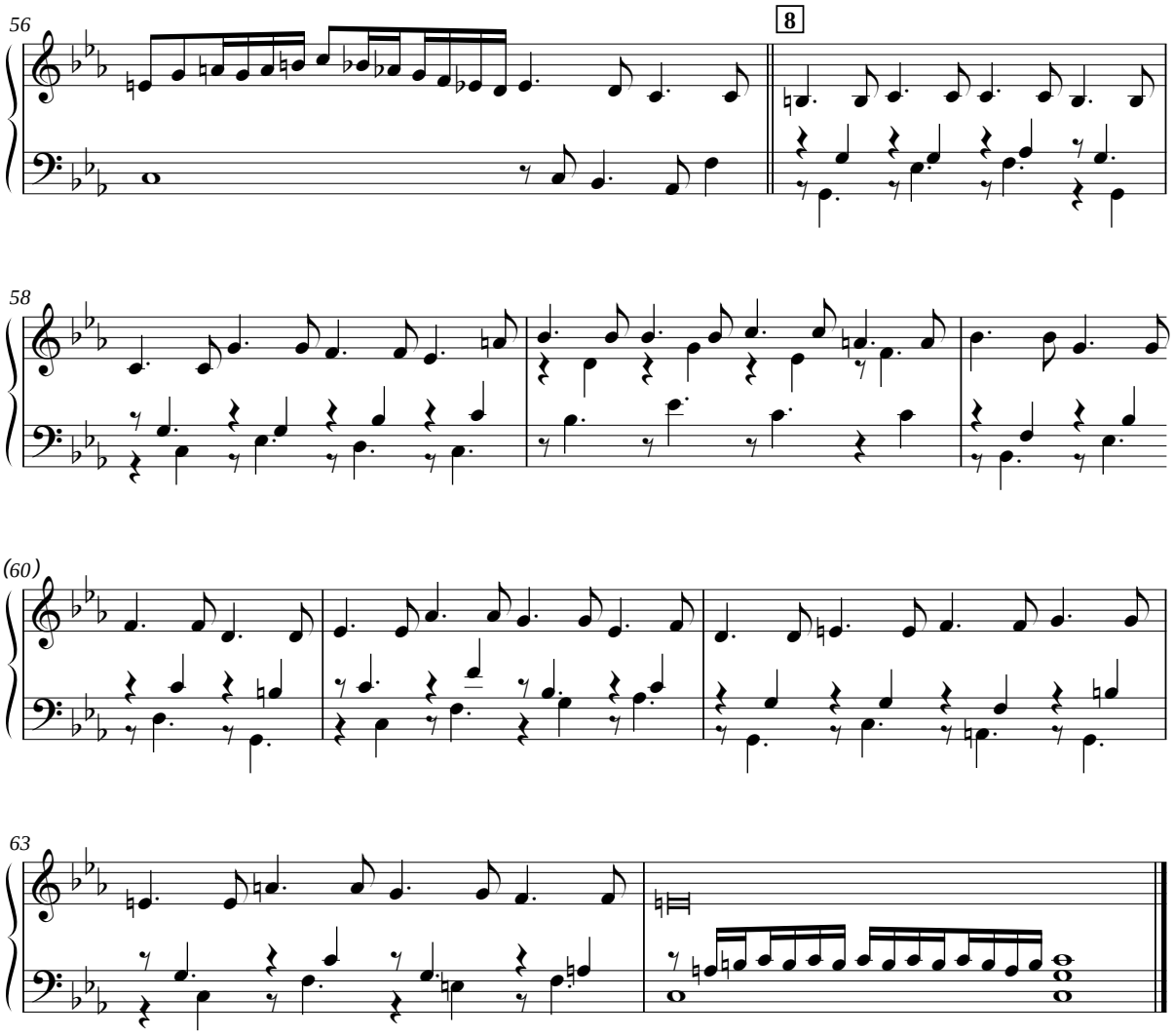
Wickhambrook, f. 14v-15r [Anonymous]




11
13
15
17
3
(18)
20
22

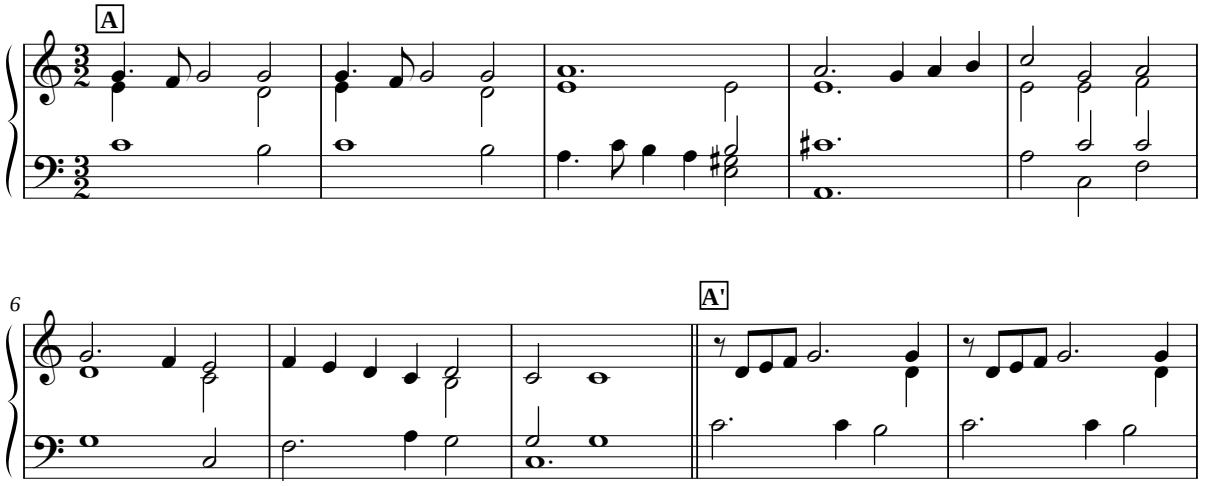

24
4
26
28
31
33
5
36
39
6

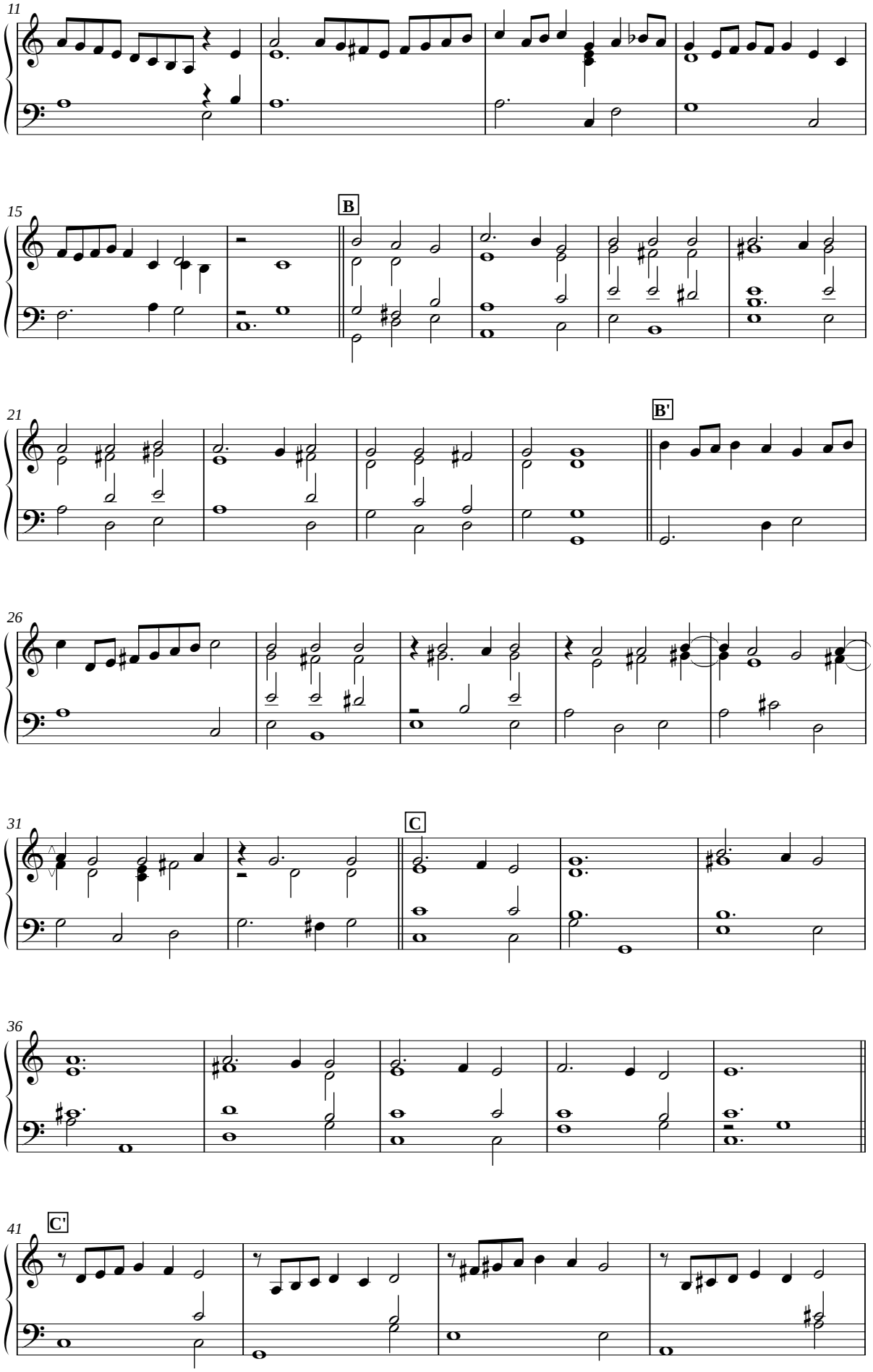

(41)
44
46
48
7
50
52
54

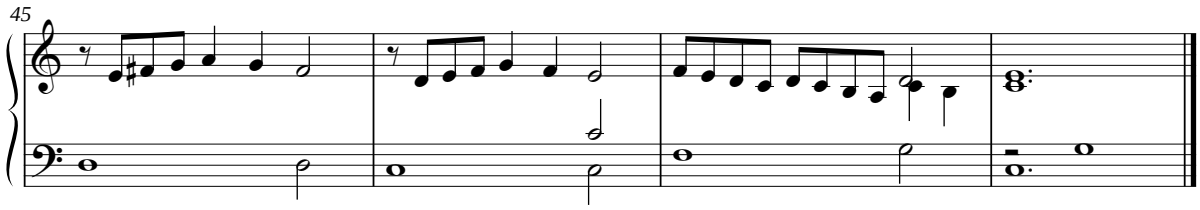


43. Galliard

Willoughby, f. 32r-32v [Anonymous]

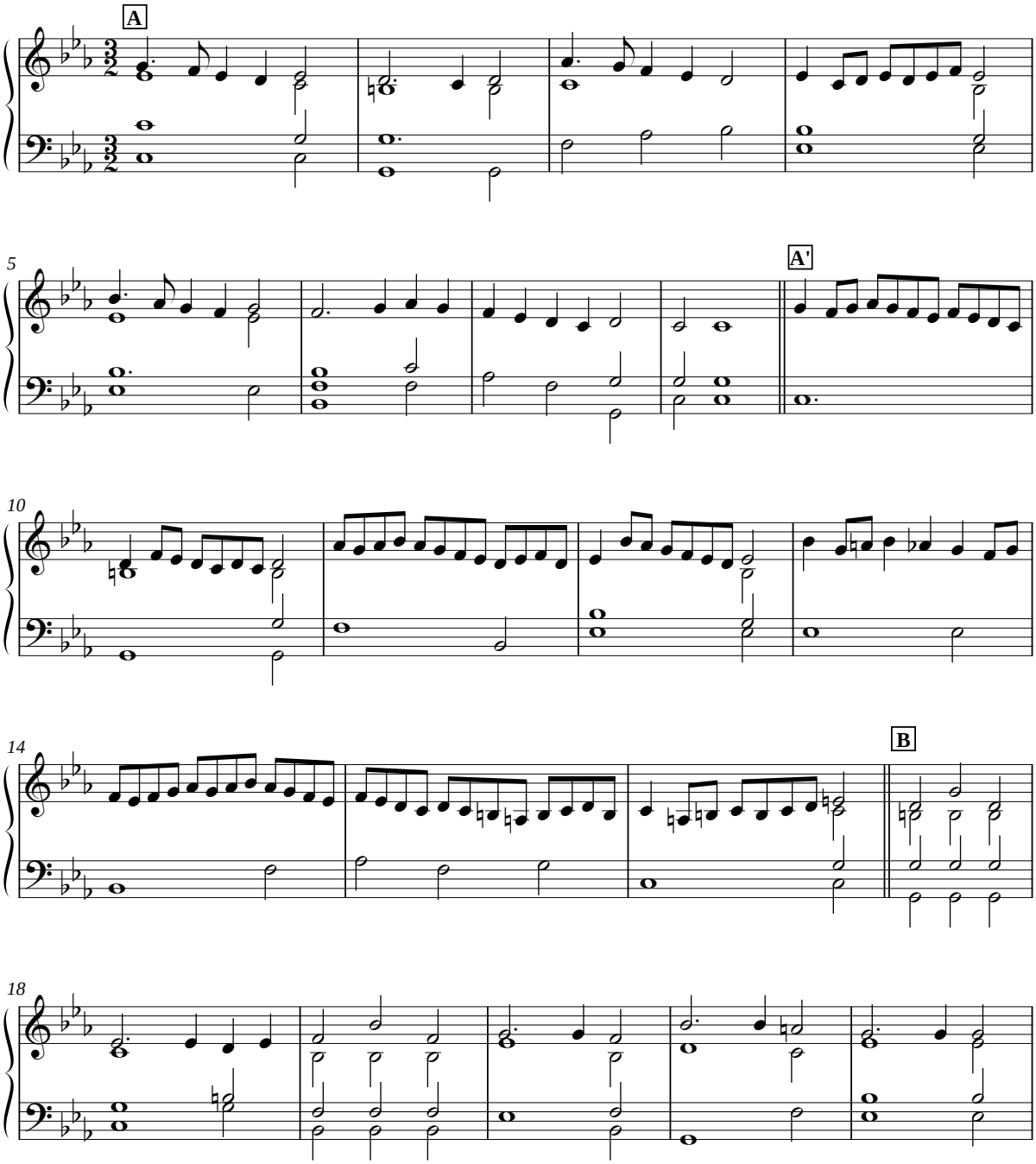


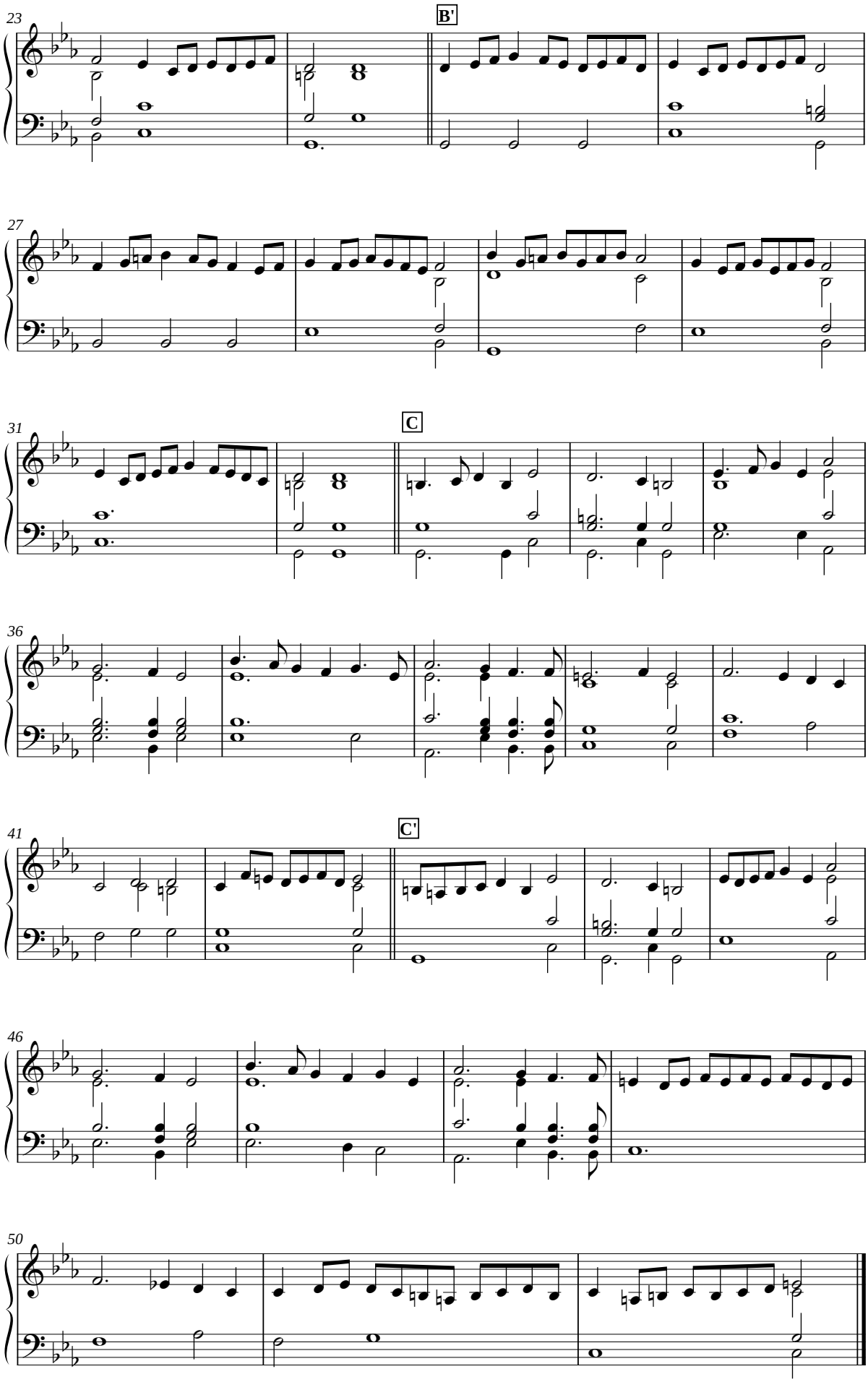

11
15
B
21
B'
26
31
C
36
41
C'



44a. Packington's Galliard

Mynshall, f. 9r [Anonymous]

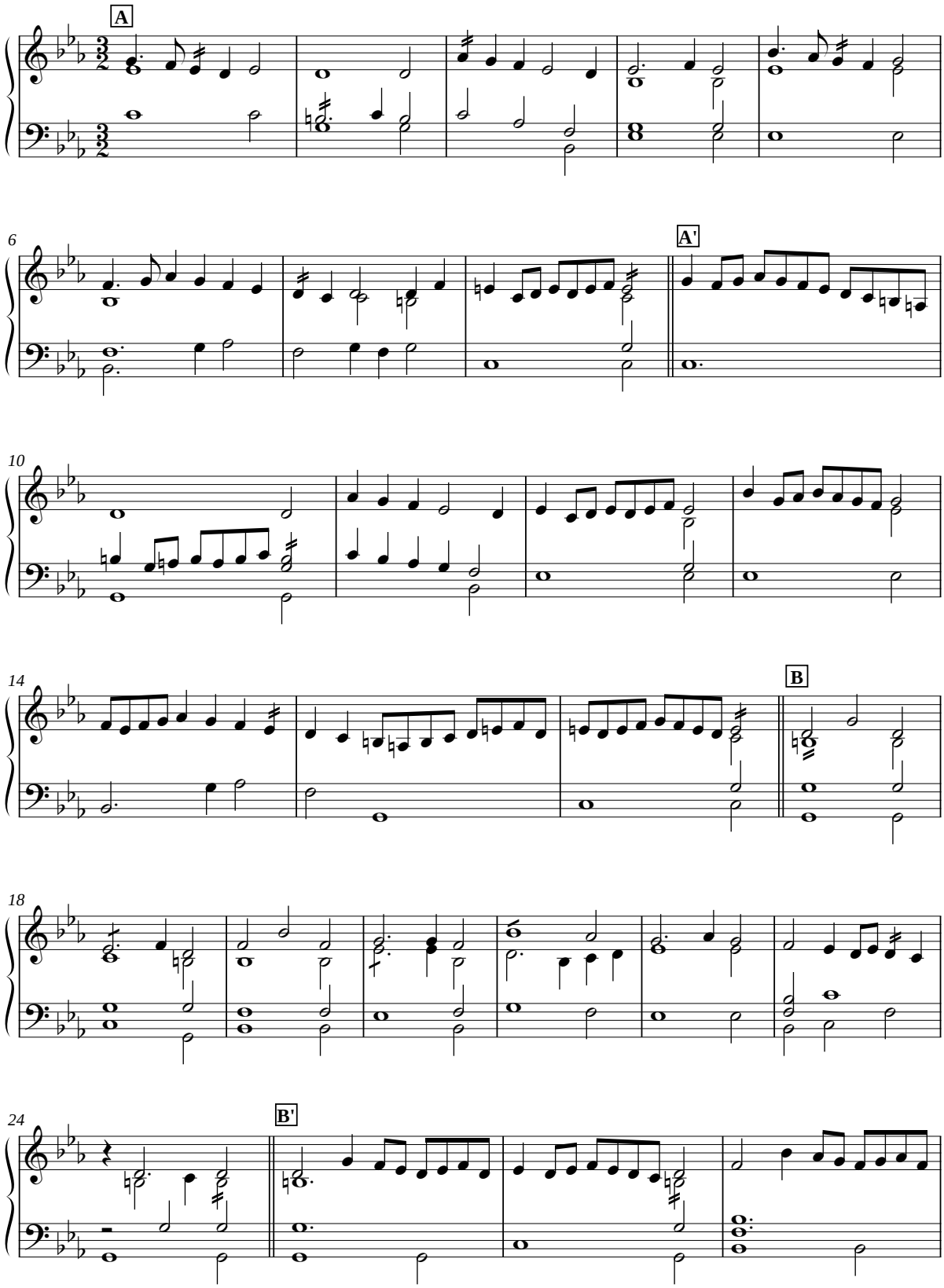


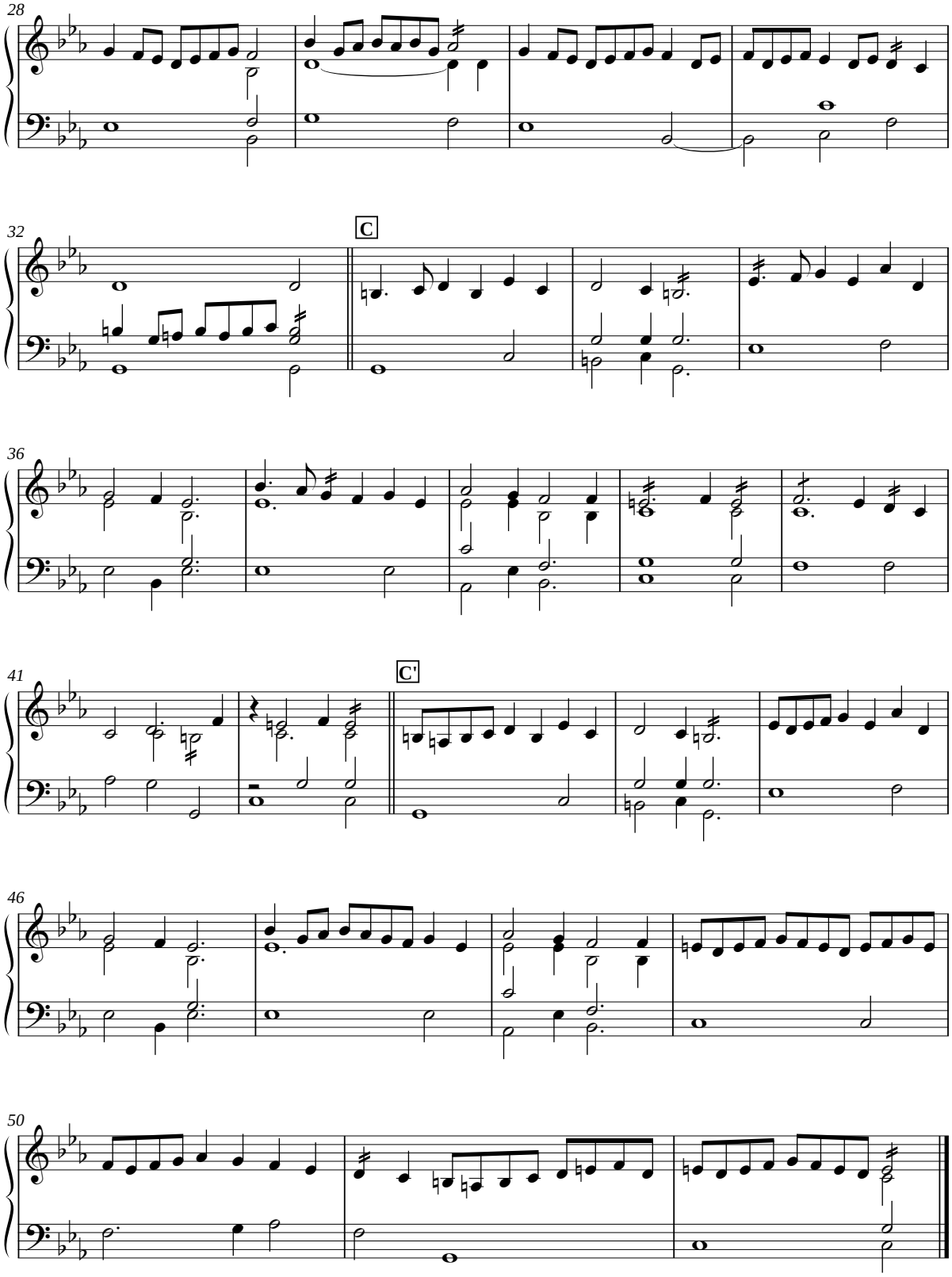

23
B'
27
31
C
36
41
C'
46
50

44b. Packington's Galliard

Sampson, f. 9r

[Anonymous]

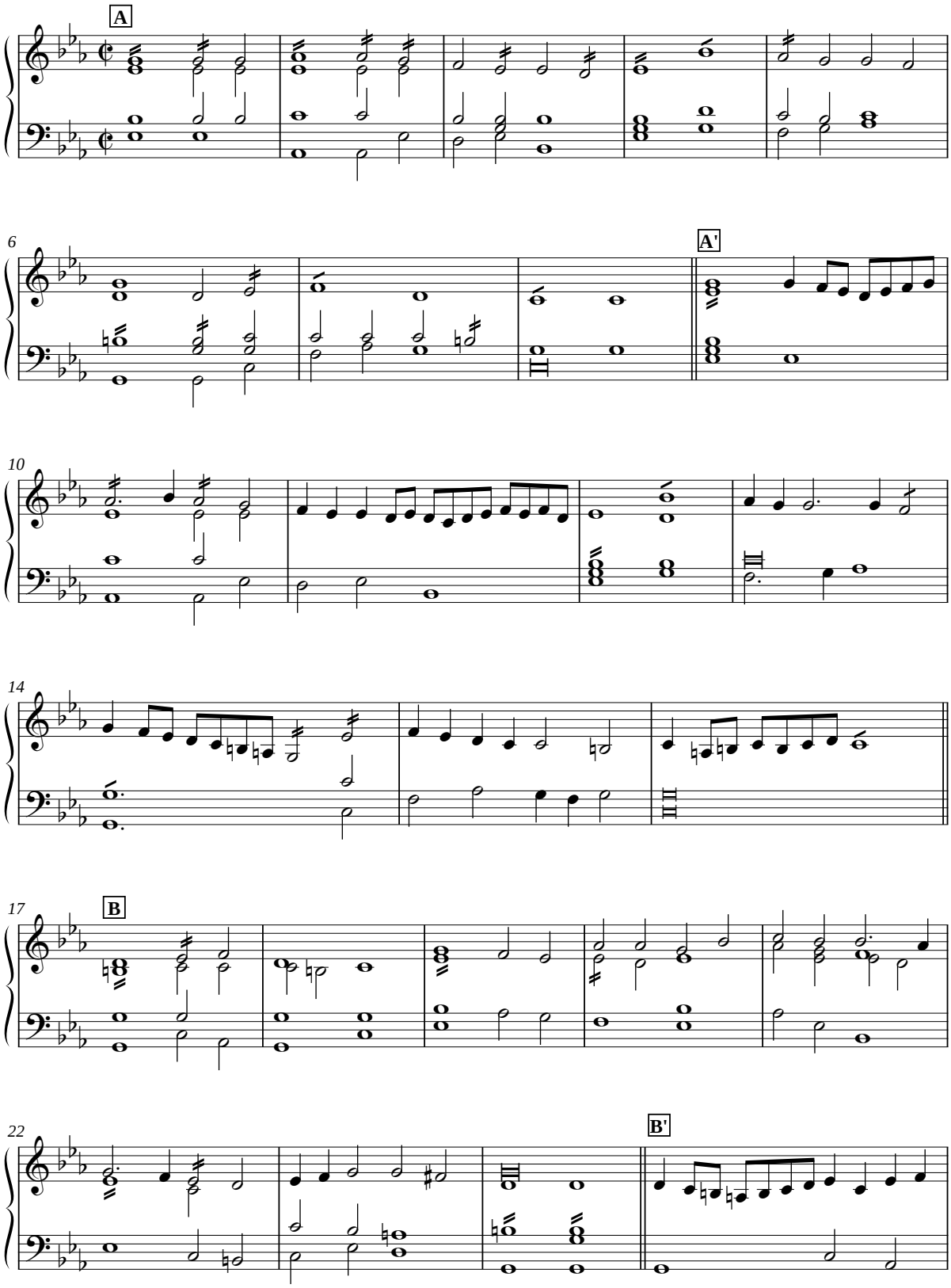


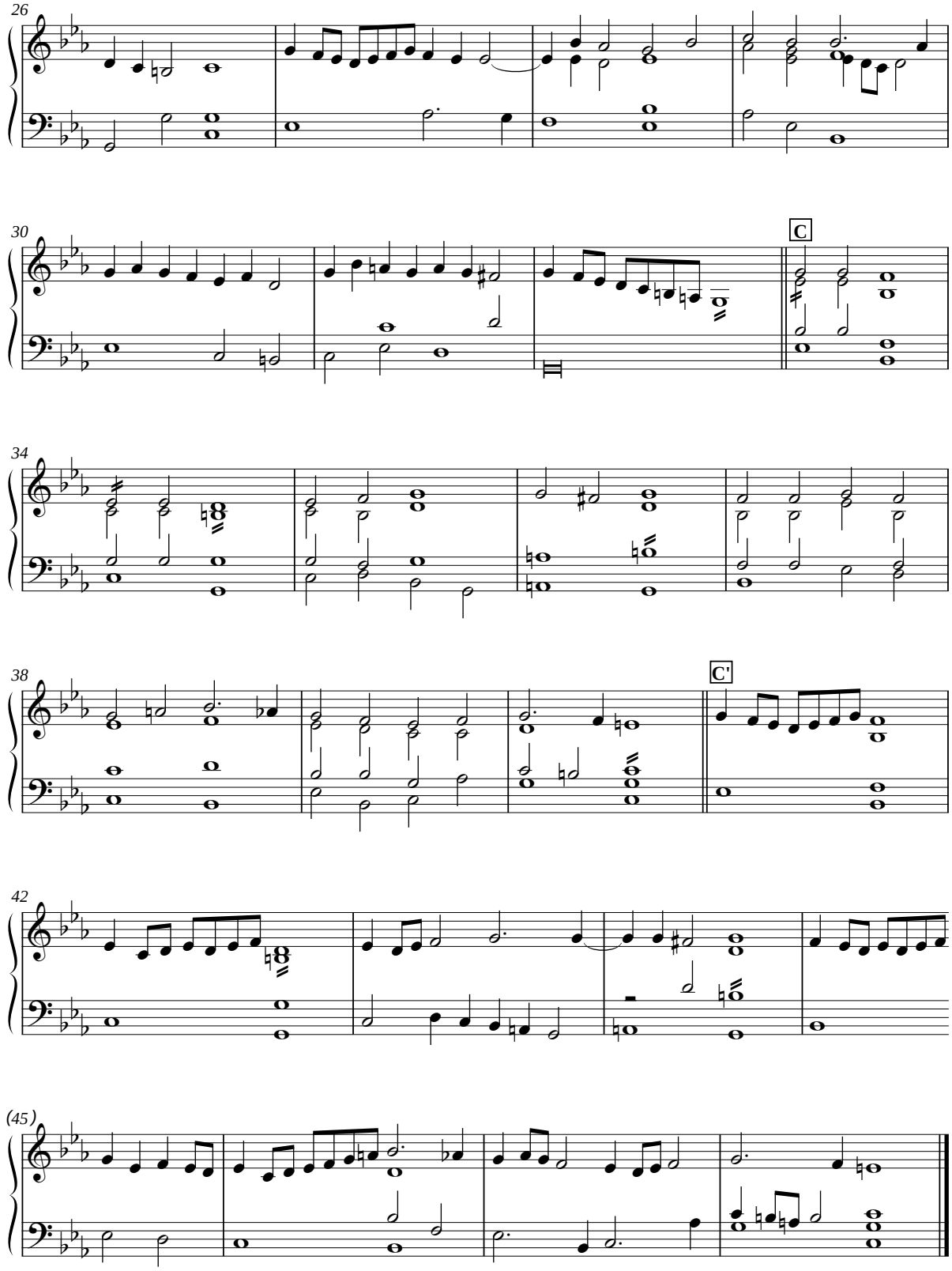

28
32
C
36
41
C'
46
50

45. [Almain]

Euing, f. 16r

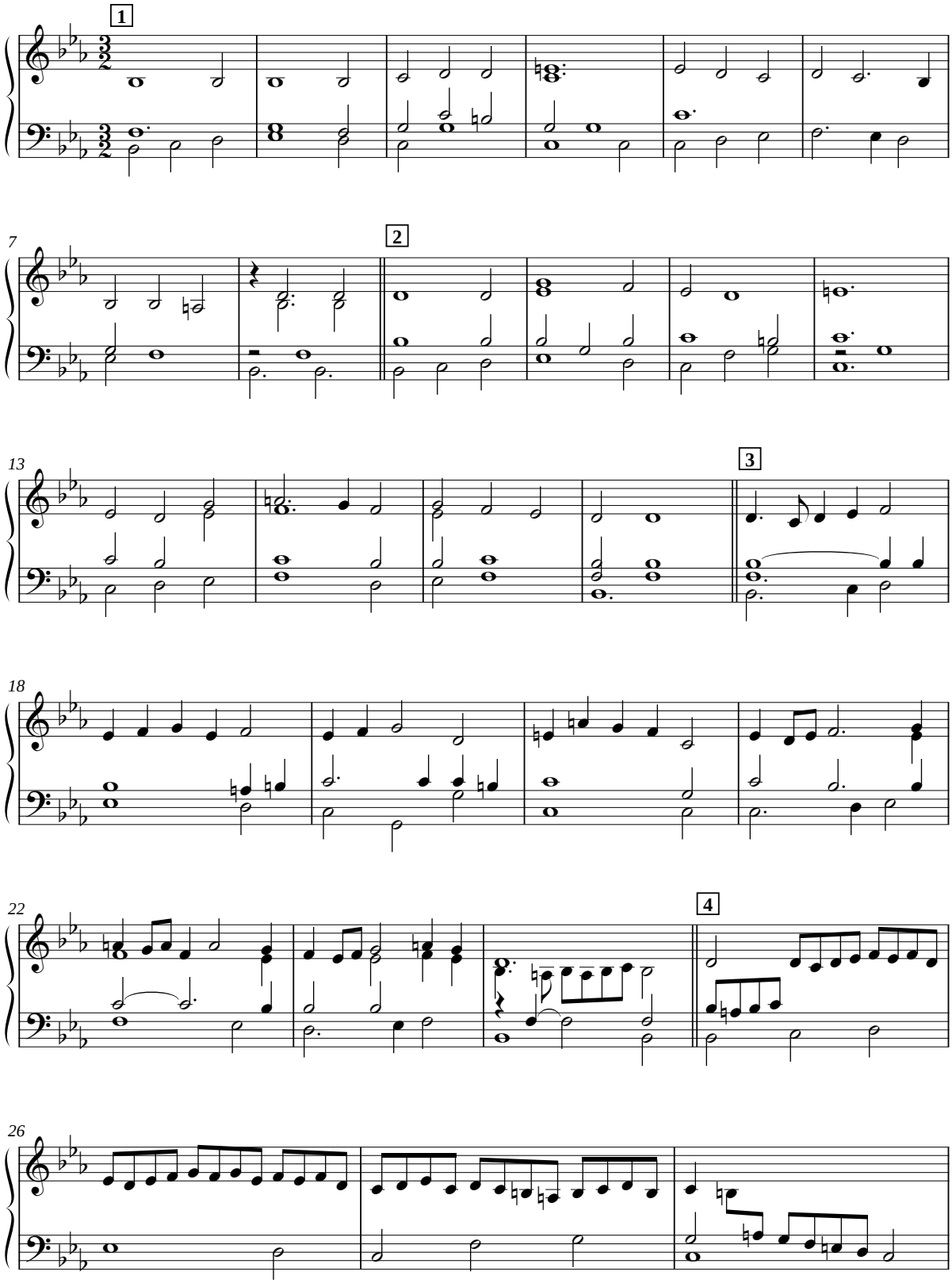
[Anonymous]

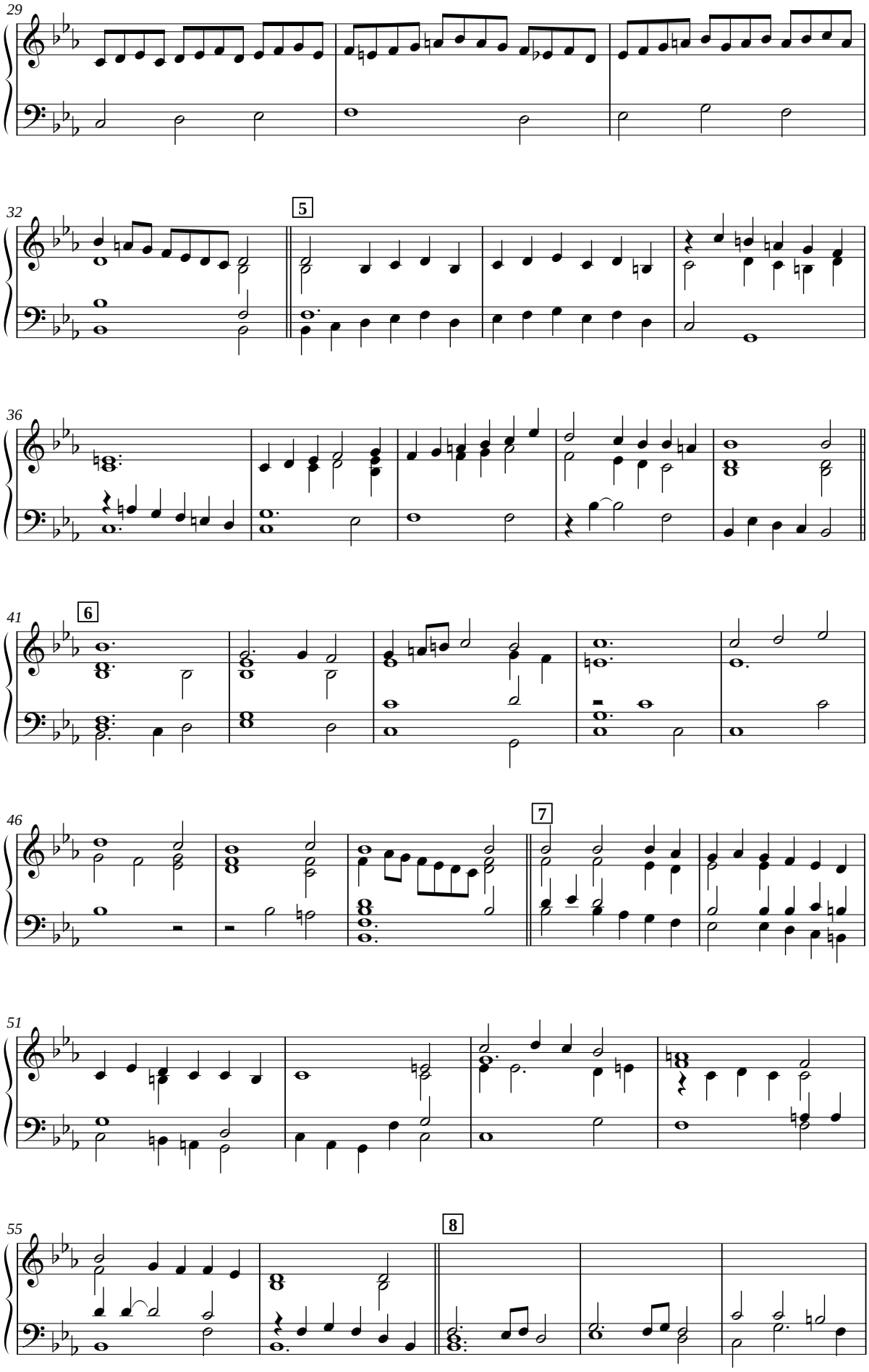


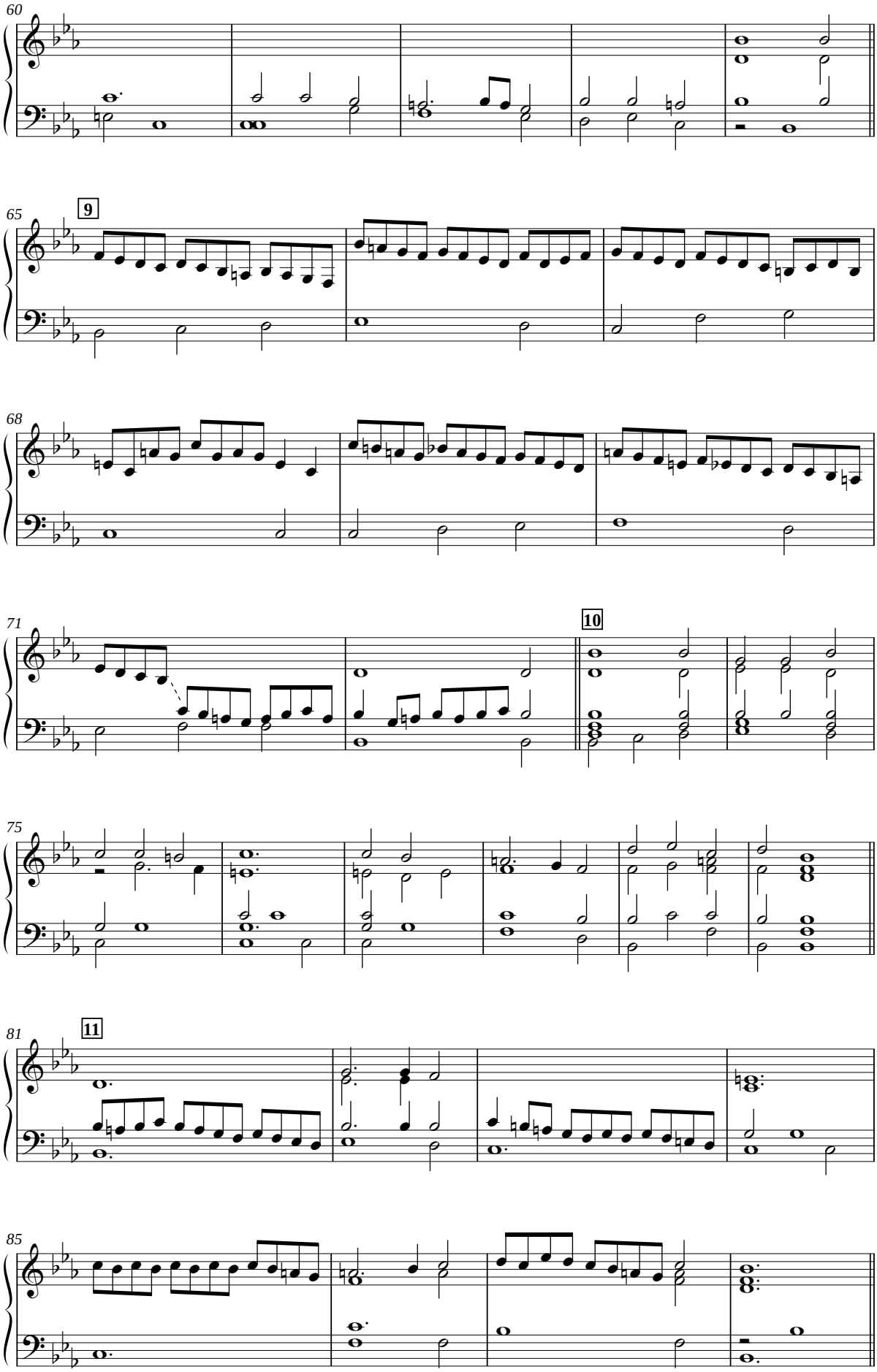

26
30
C
34
38
C'
42
(45)

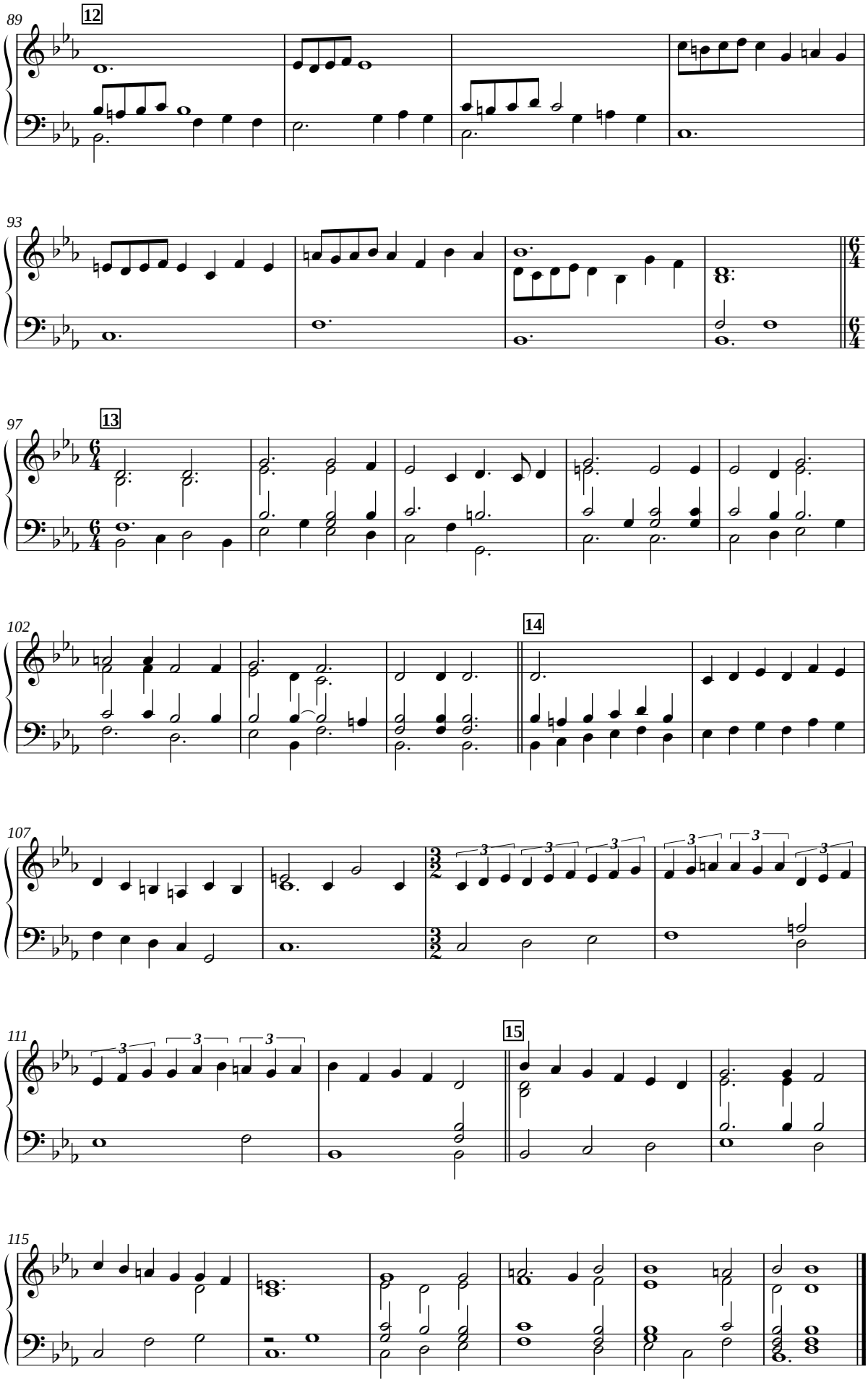
46. [Goodnight]

Dd.2.11, f. 8v-9r [Anonymous]



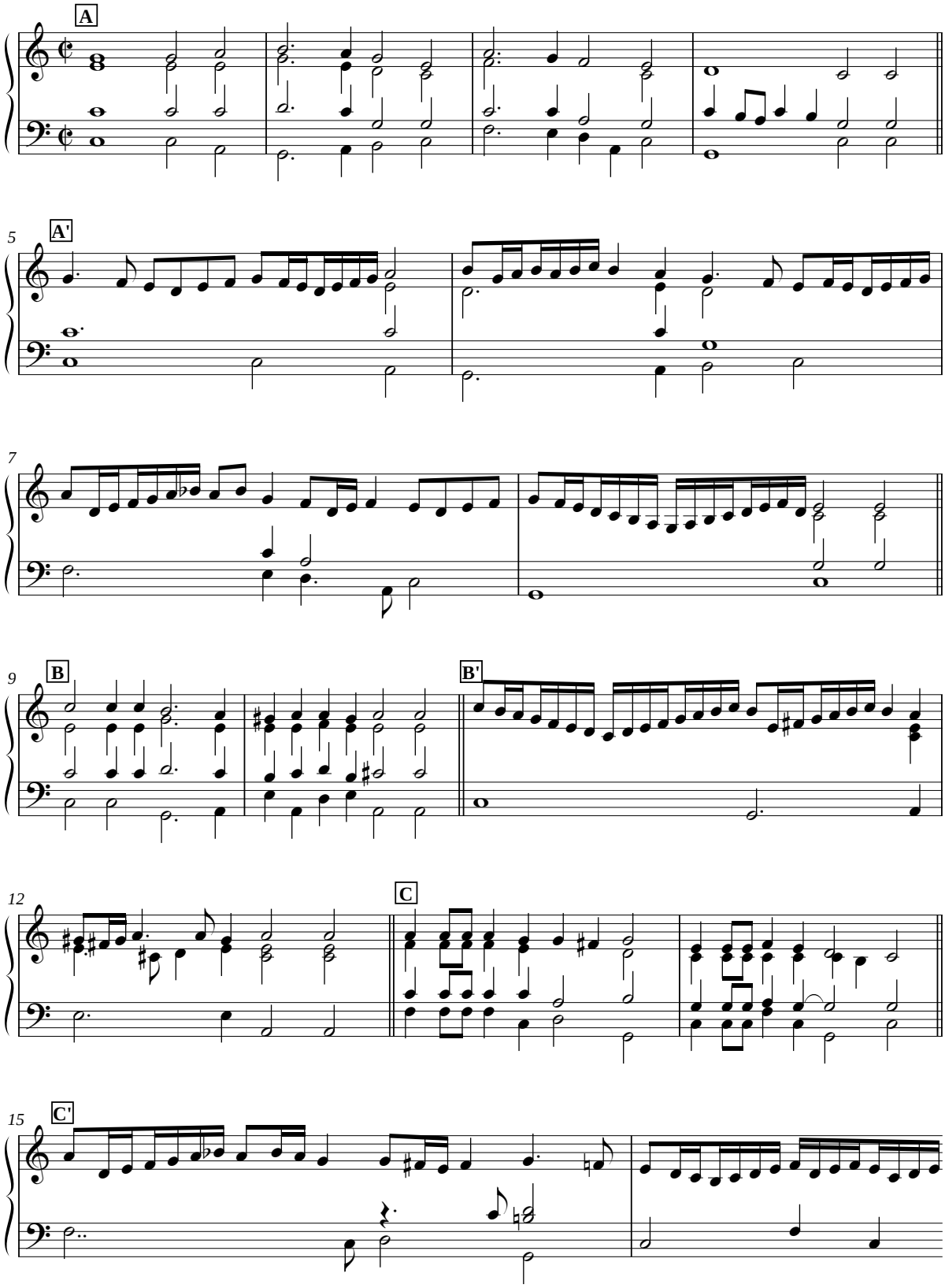

29
32
5
36
41
6
46
7
51
55
8

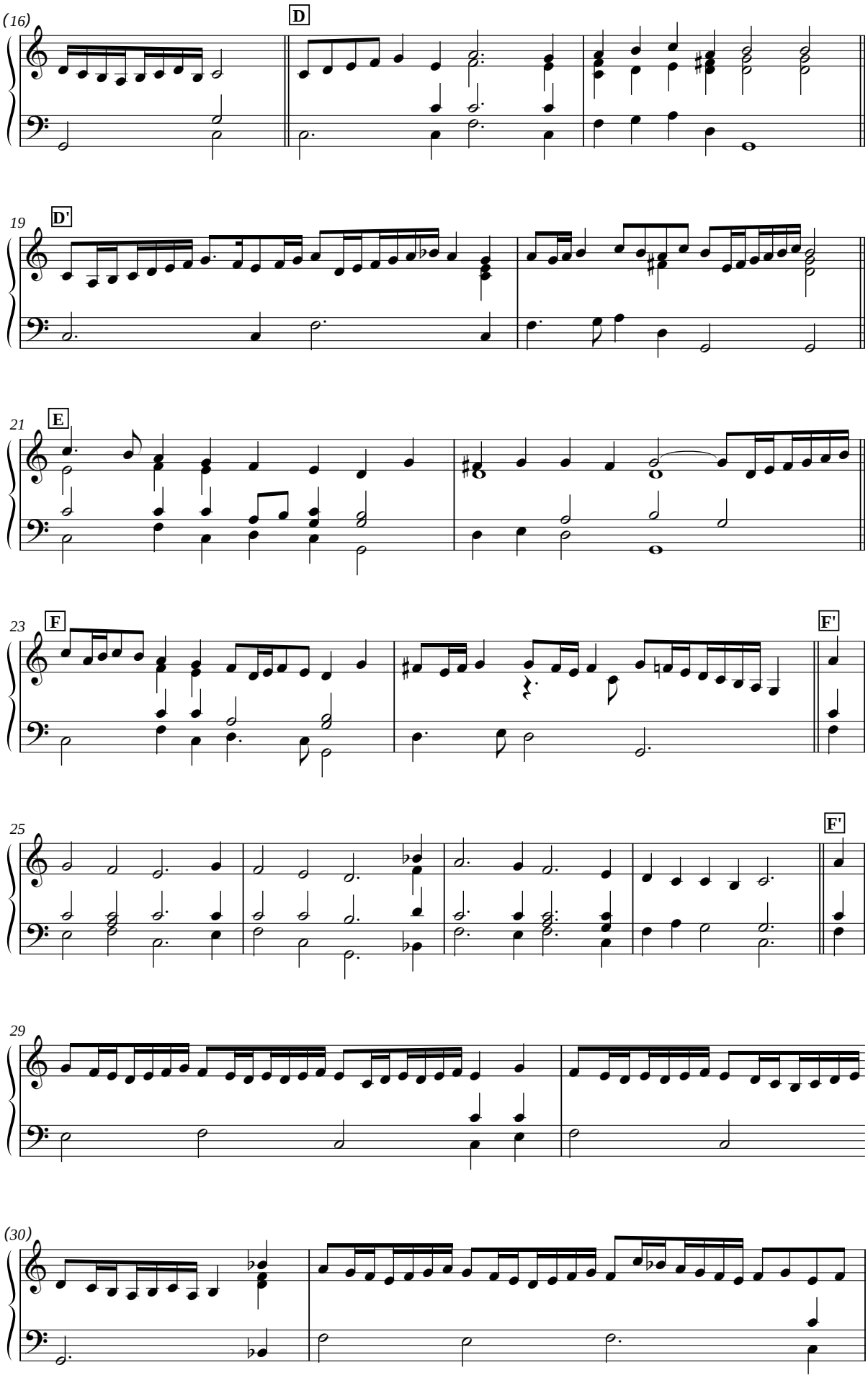

60
65
9
68
71
10
75
81
11
85

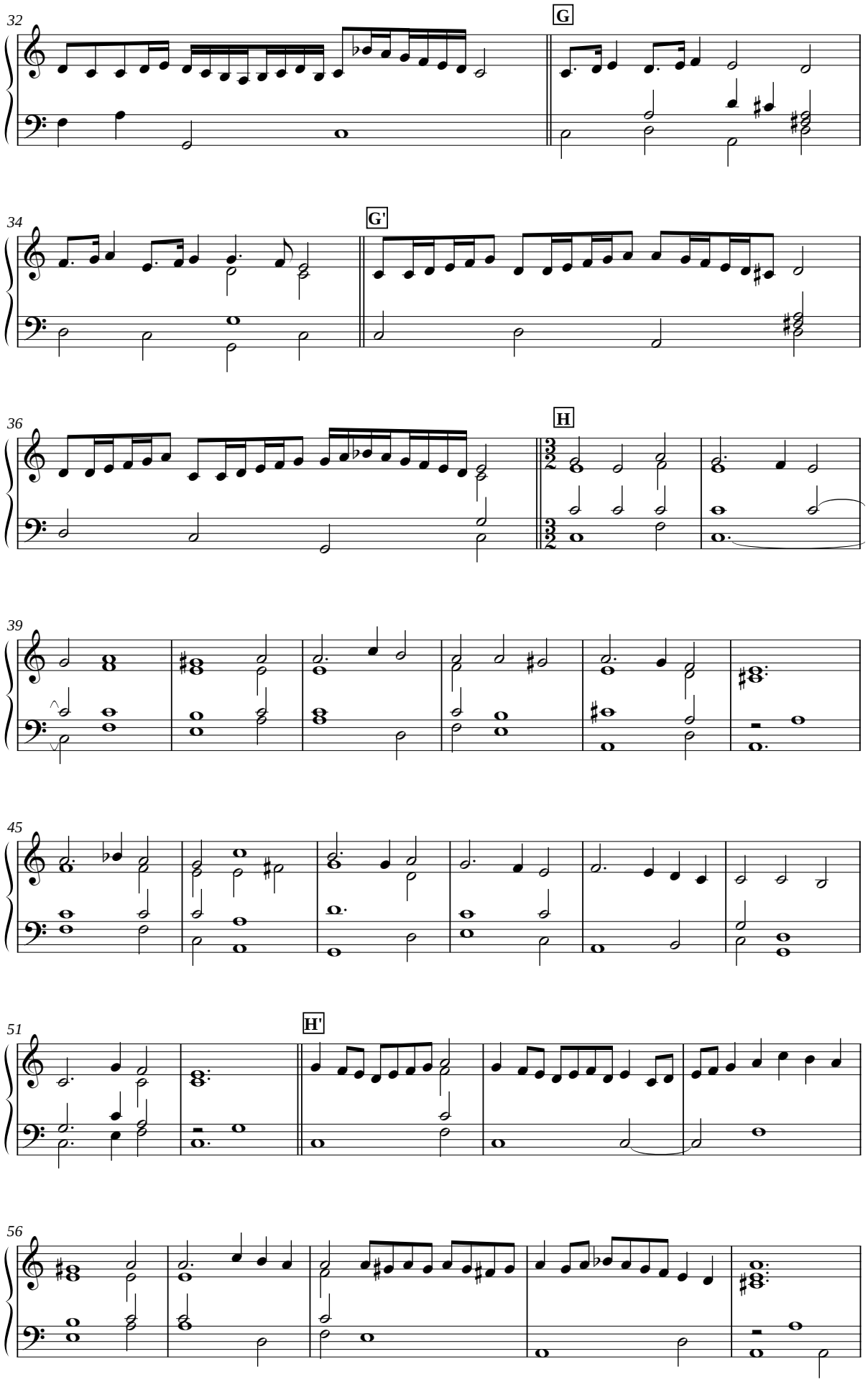

89
12
93
97
13
102
14
107
111
15
115

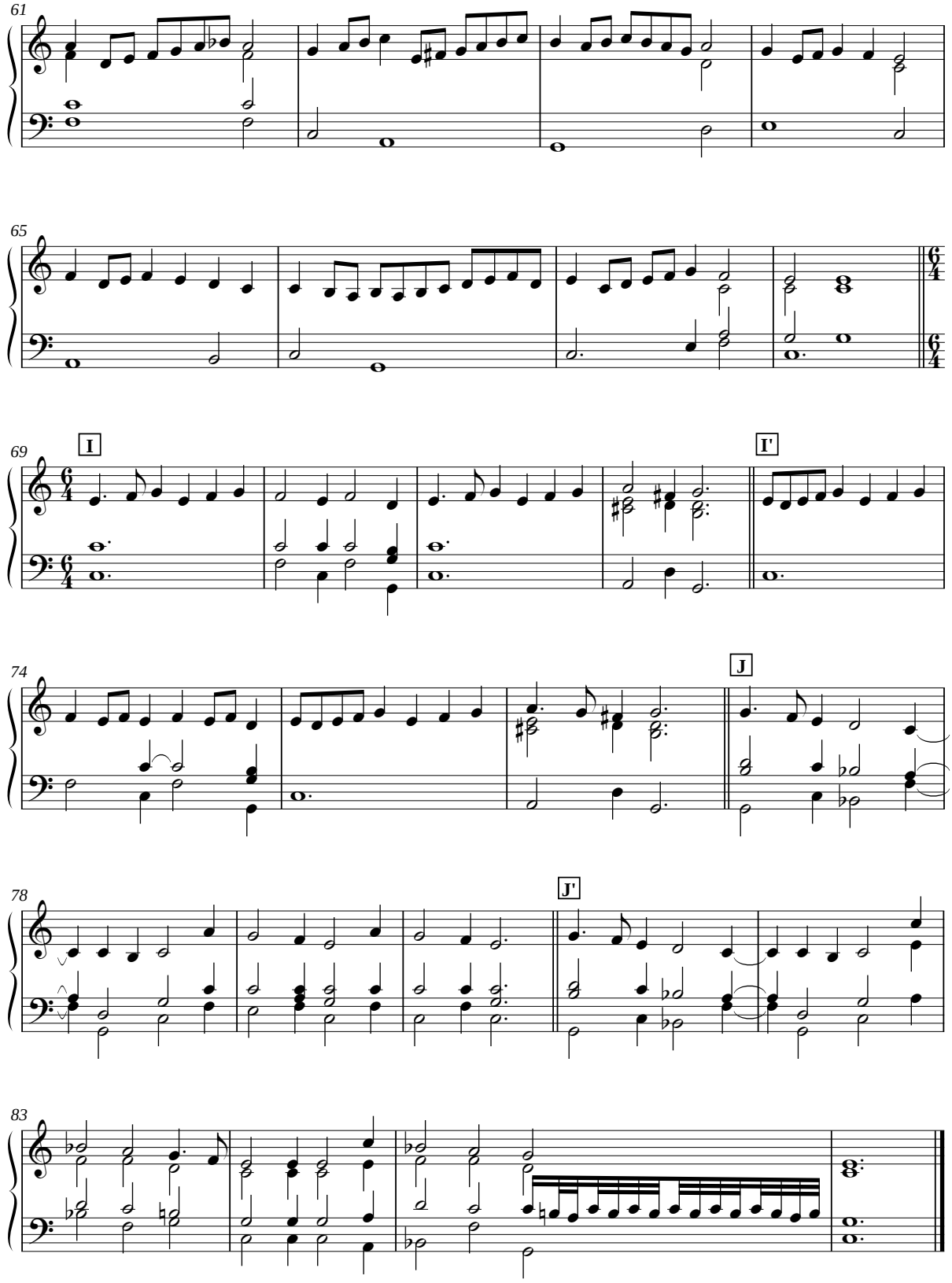
47. New Medley

Pickeringe, f. 34v-35r [Anonymous]



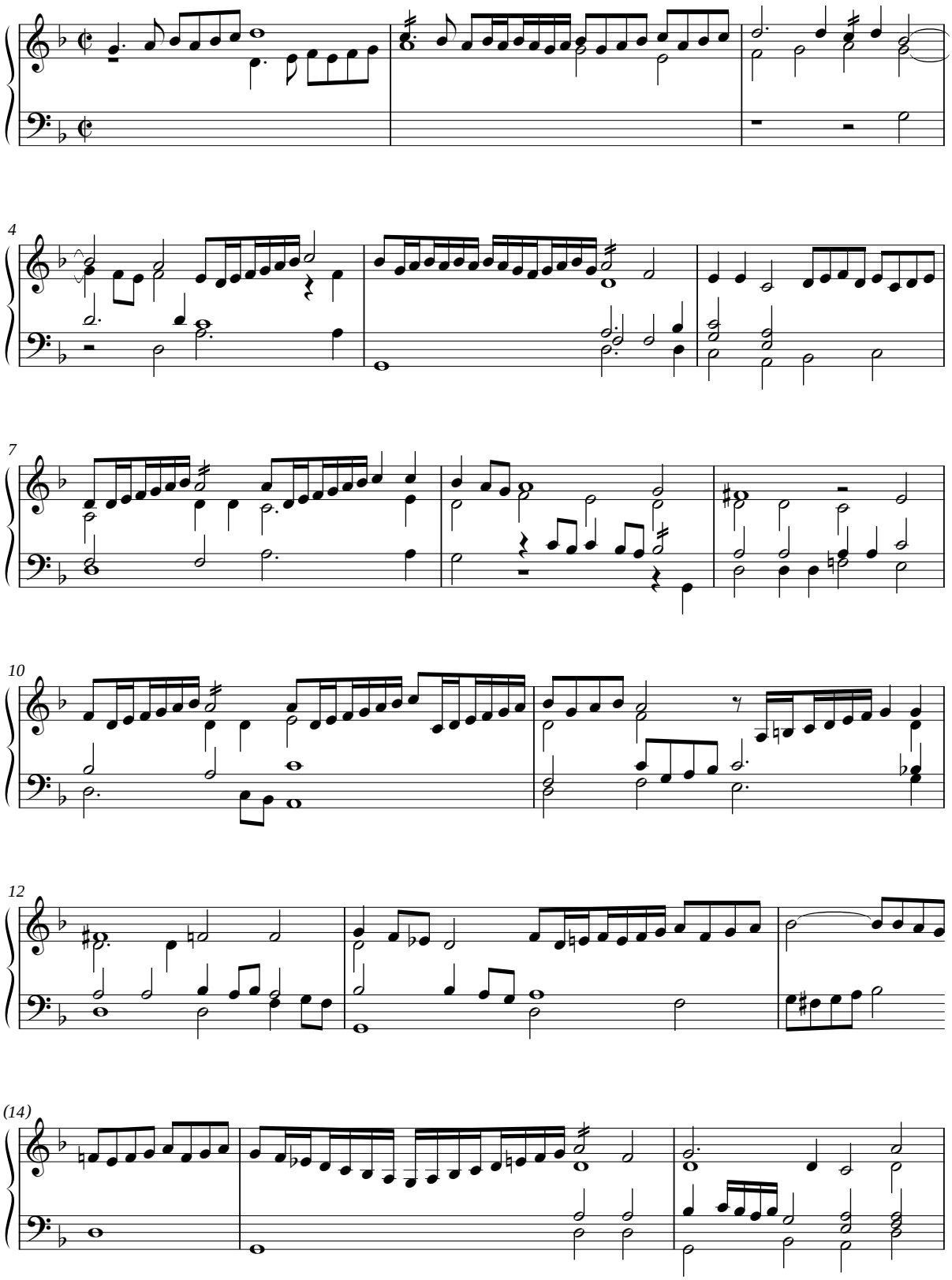

(16)
D
19
D'
21
E
23
F
F'
25
F'
29
(30)

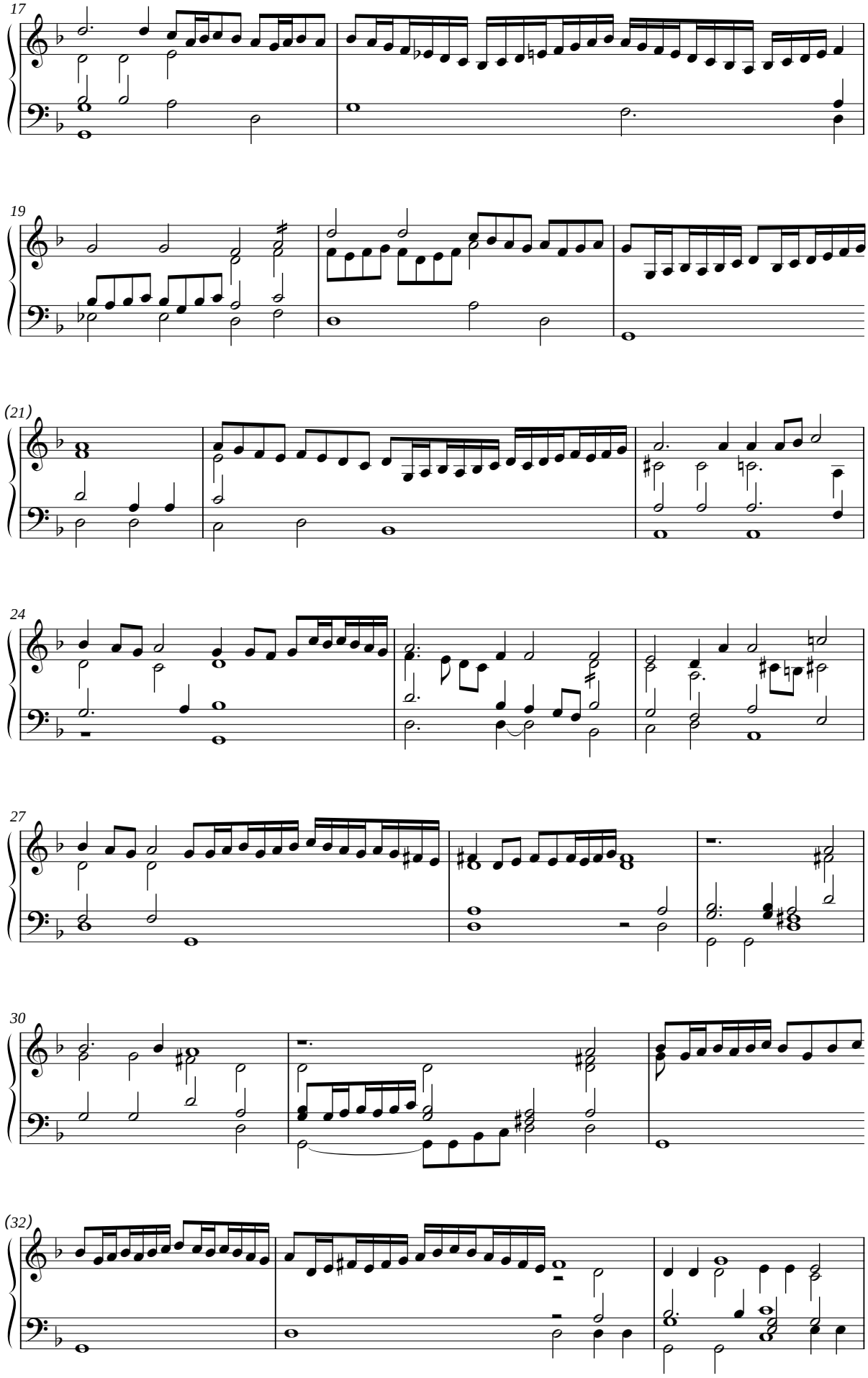

32
G
34
G'
36
H
39
45
51
H'
56

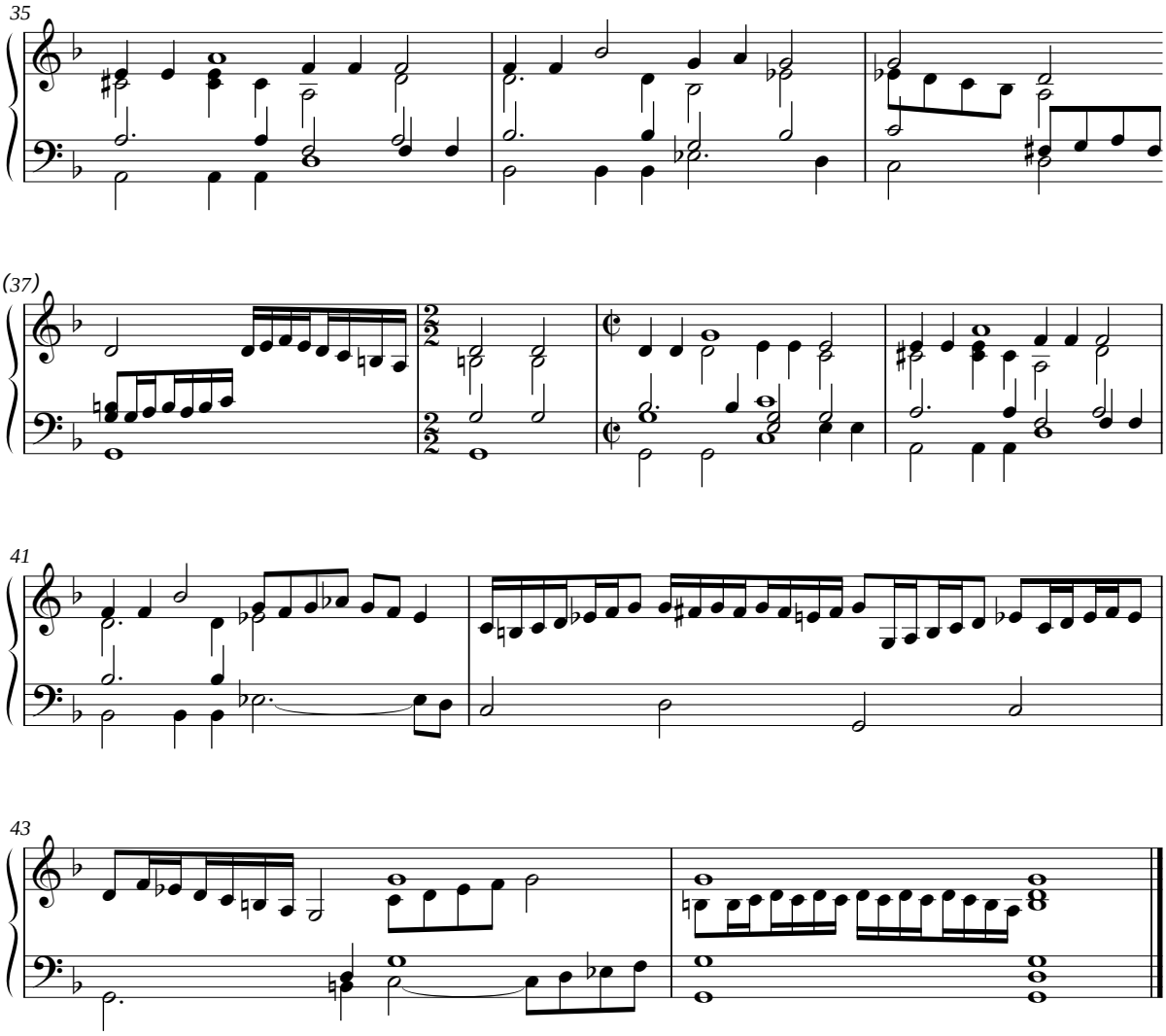

61
65
69
I
I'
74
J
78
J'
83

48. Si Vous Voules [– Philip van Wilder?]

Wickhambrook, f. 13r [Anonymous]

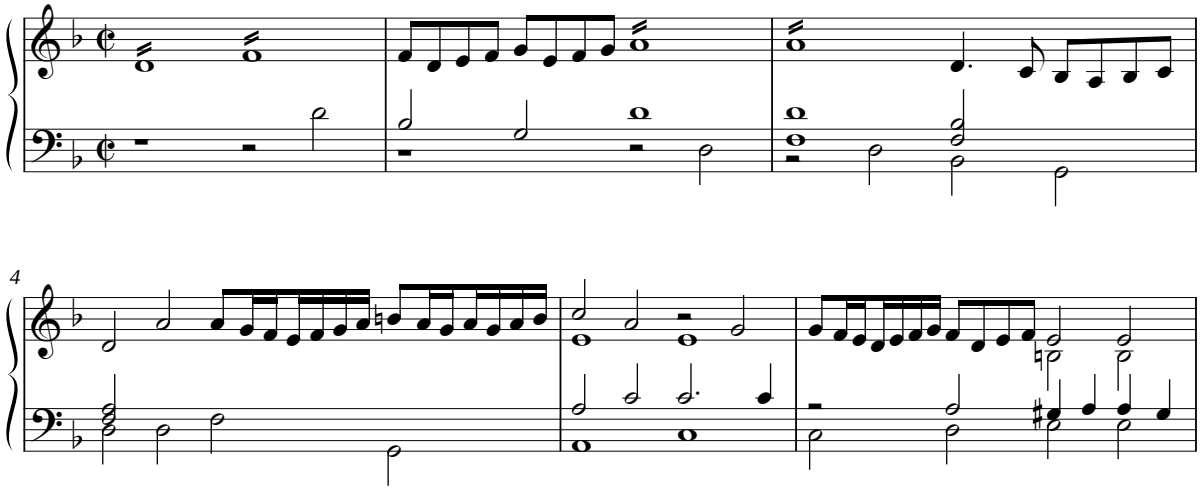


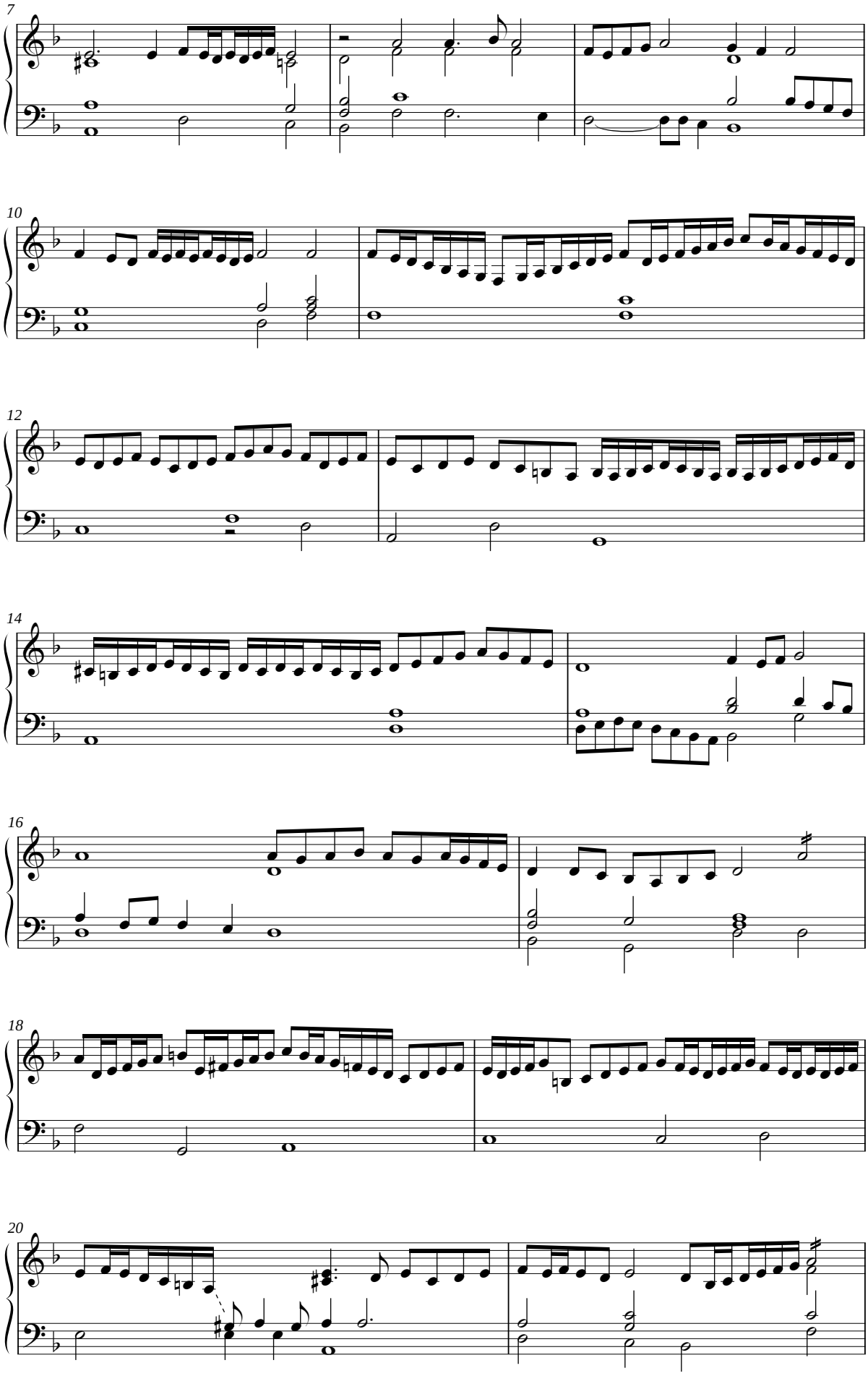

17
19
(21)
24
27
30
(32)

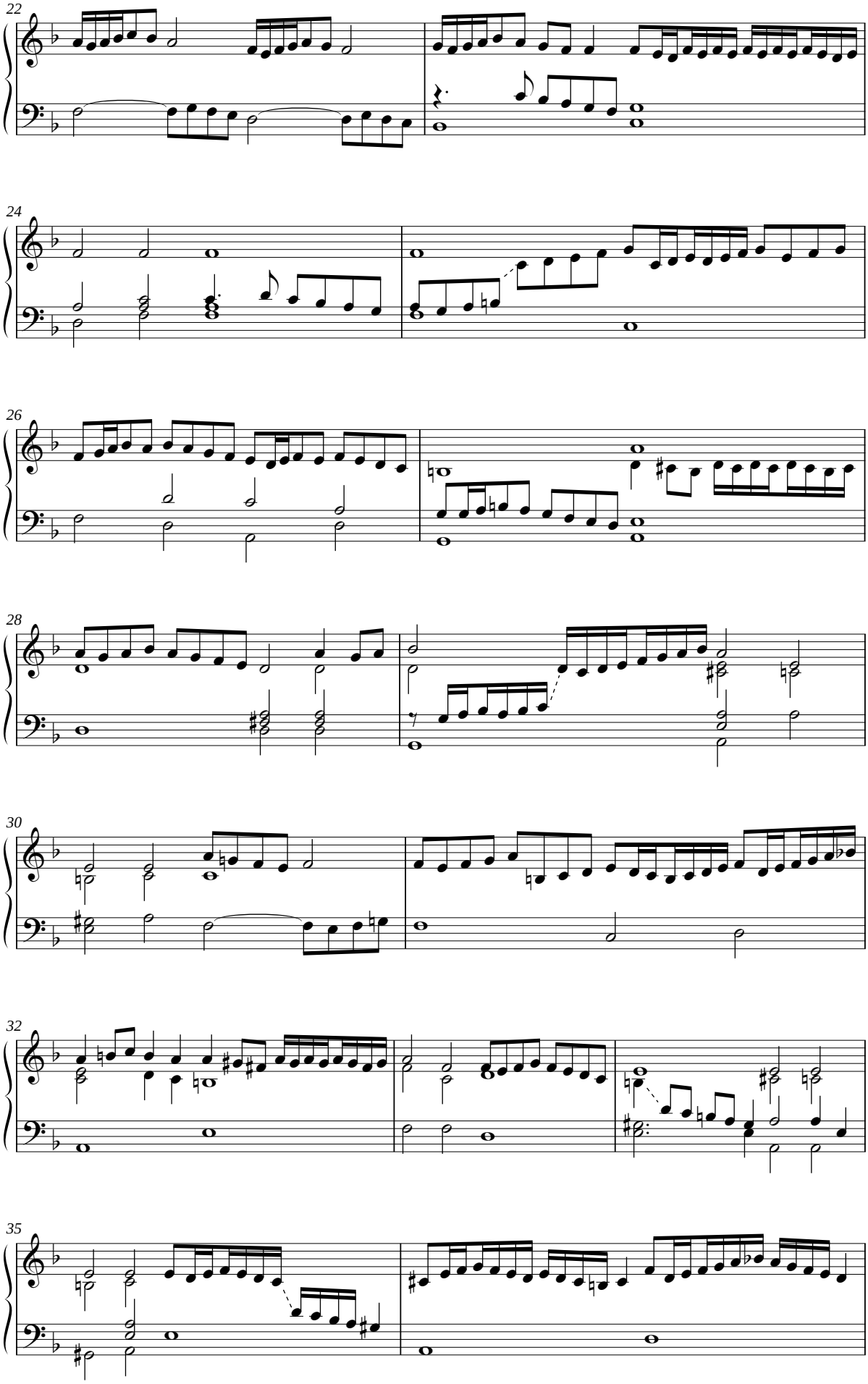


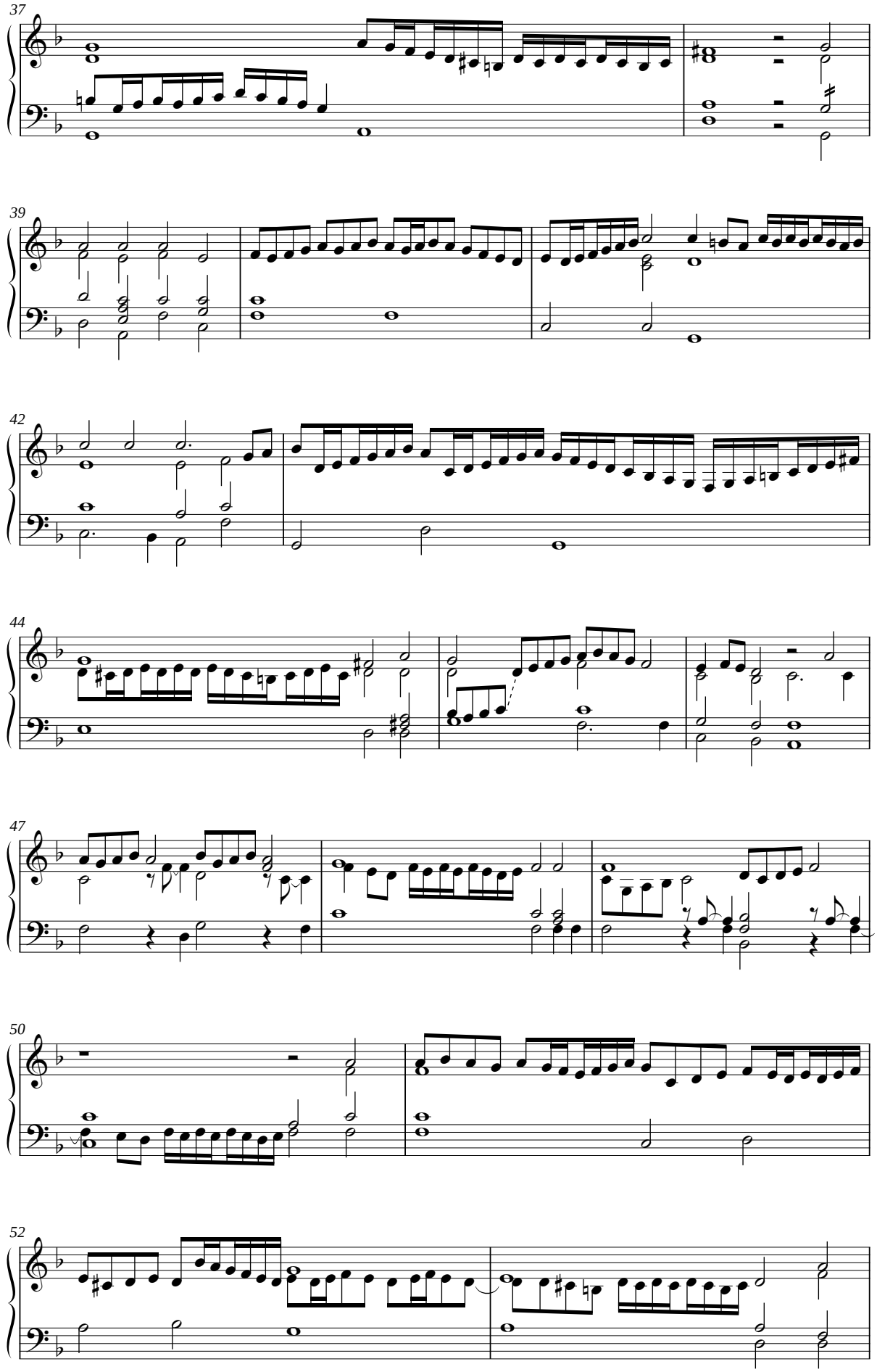
49. Susanne un Jour [– Orlandus Lassus]

Wickhambrook, f. 14v-14r [Anonymous]




7
10
12
14
16
18
20


22
24
26
28
30
32
35


37
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42
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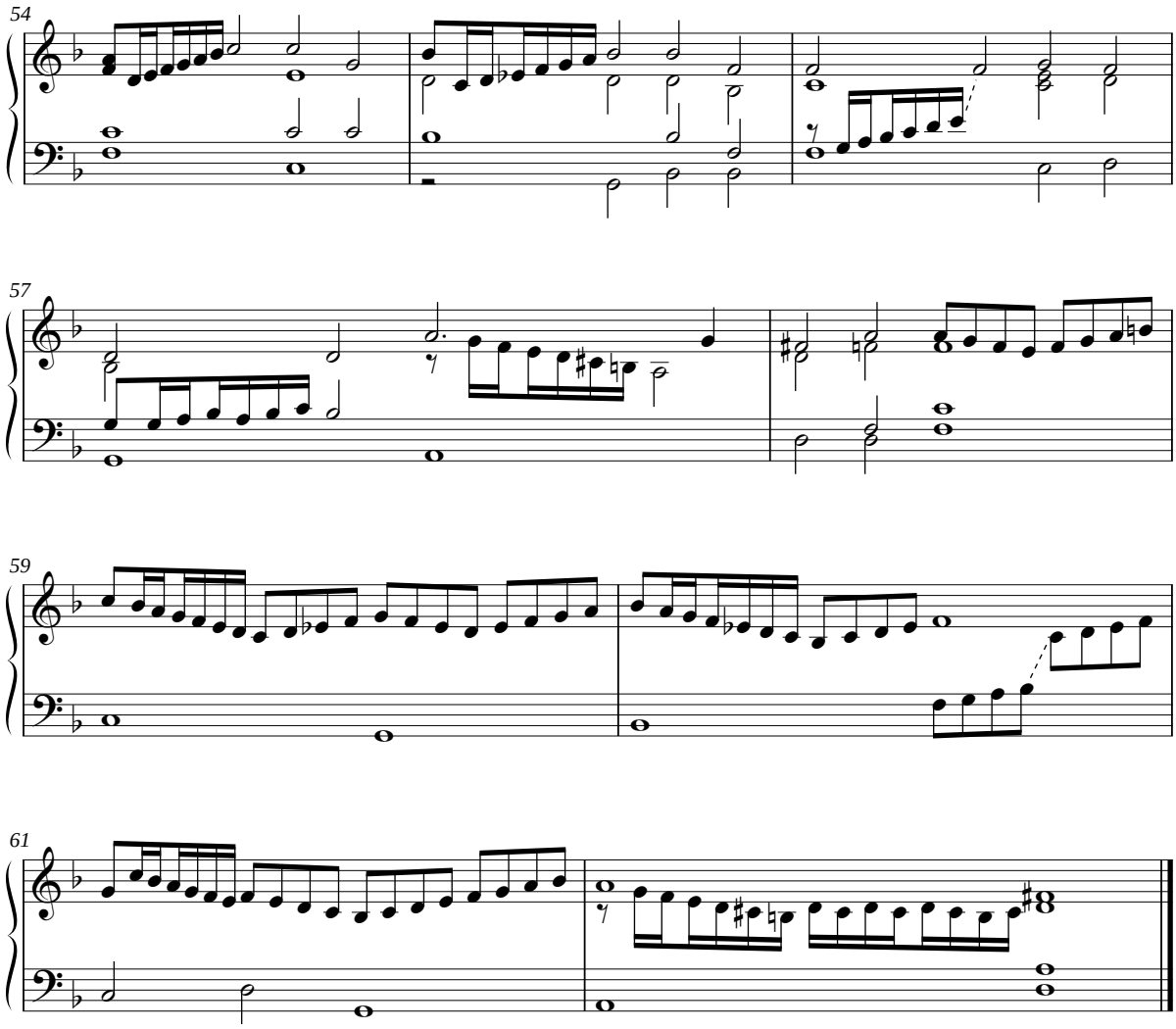
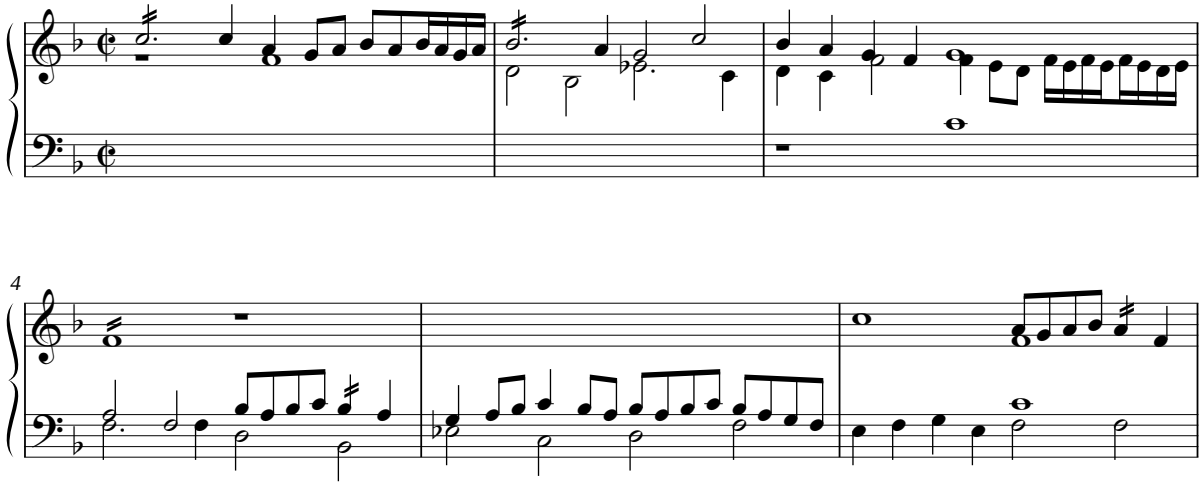
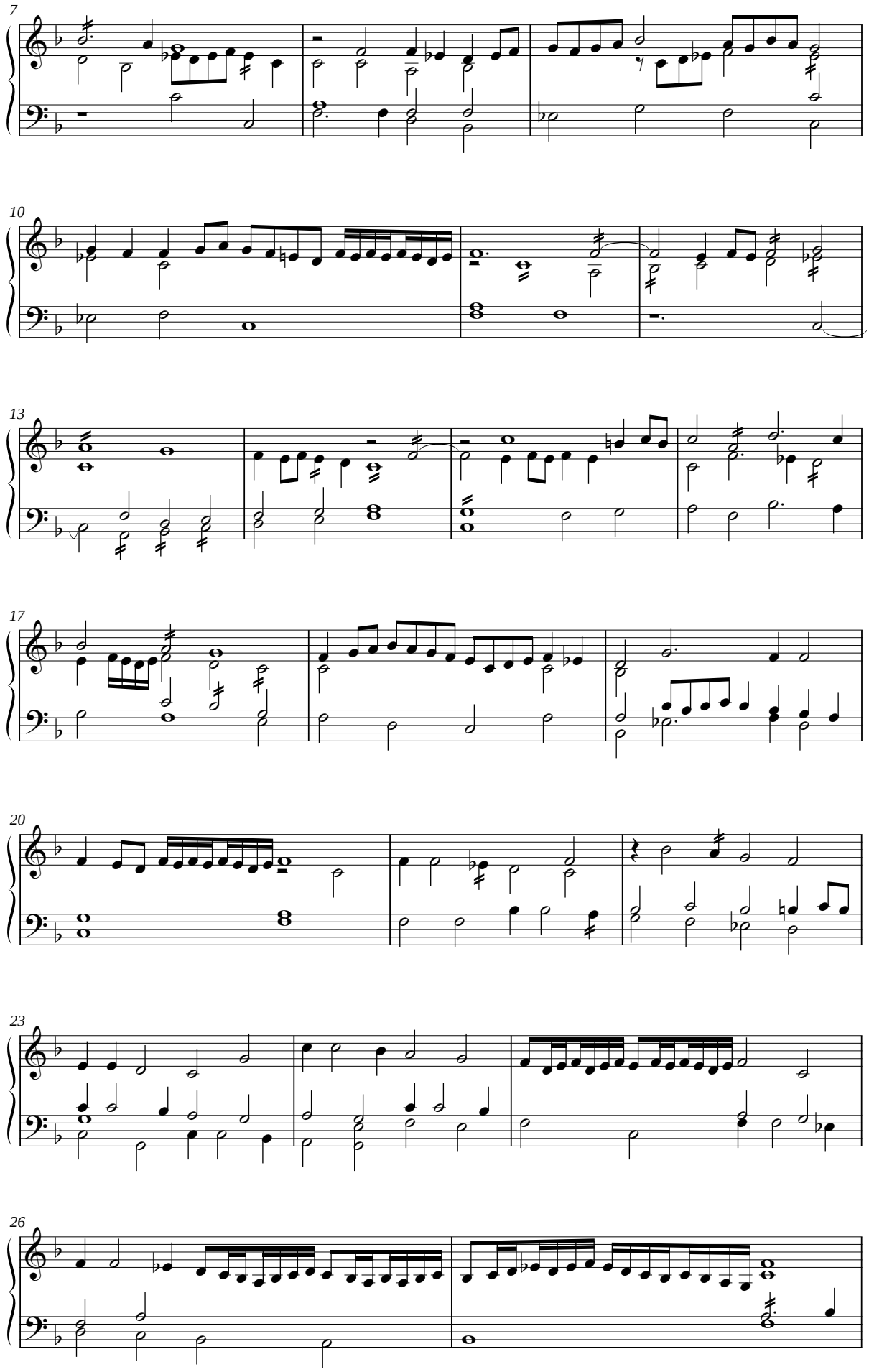
52



50. Ma Pauvre Bourse [– Philip van Wilder?]

Wickhambrook, f. 12v [Anonymous]

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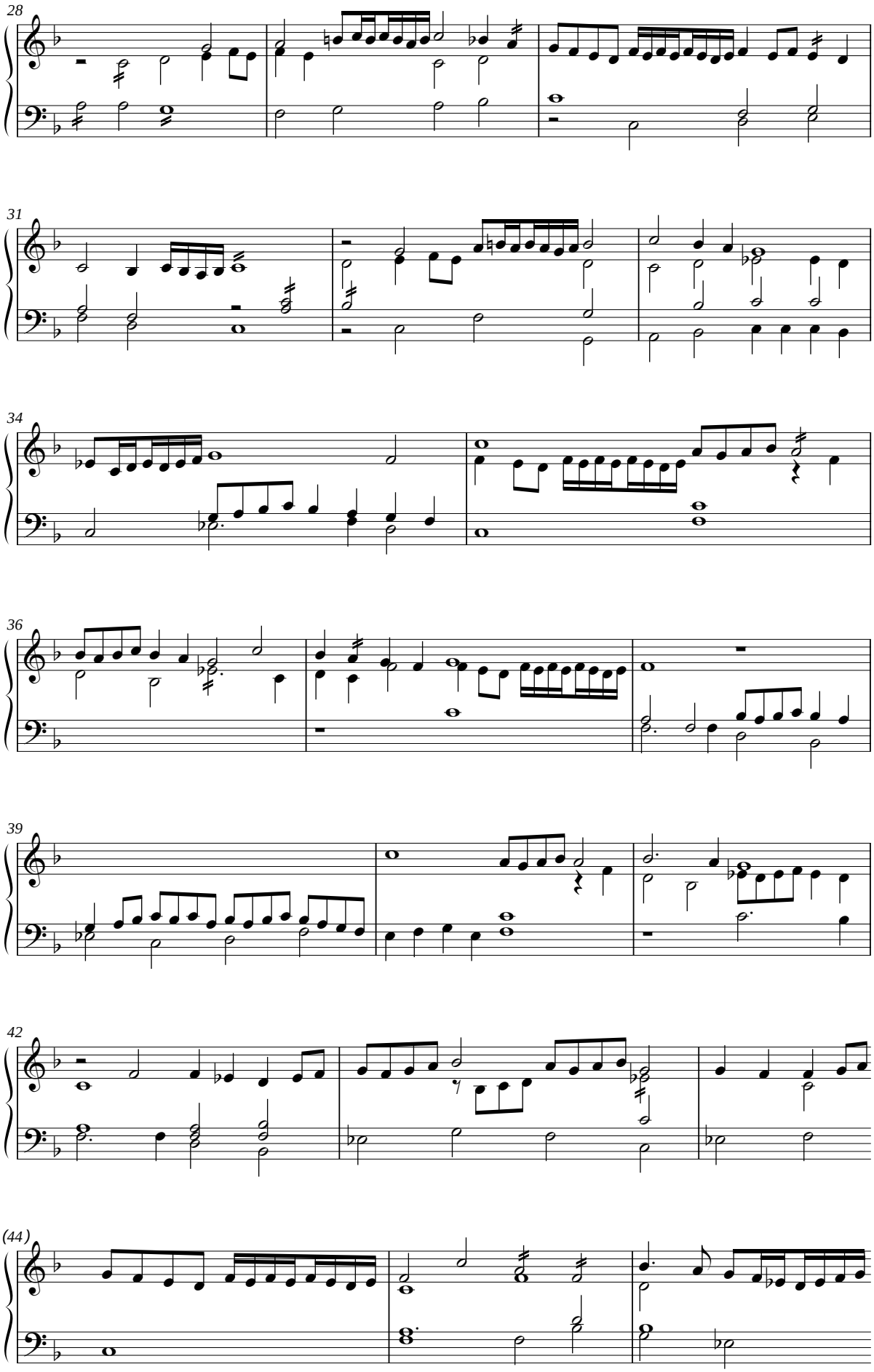
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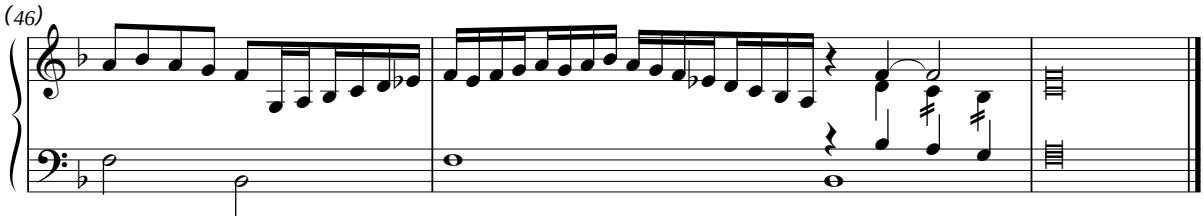

(46)

PART II

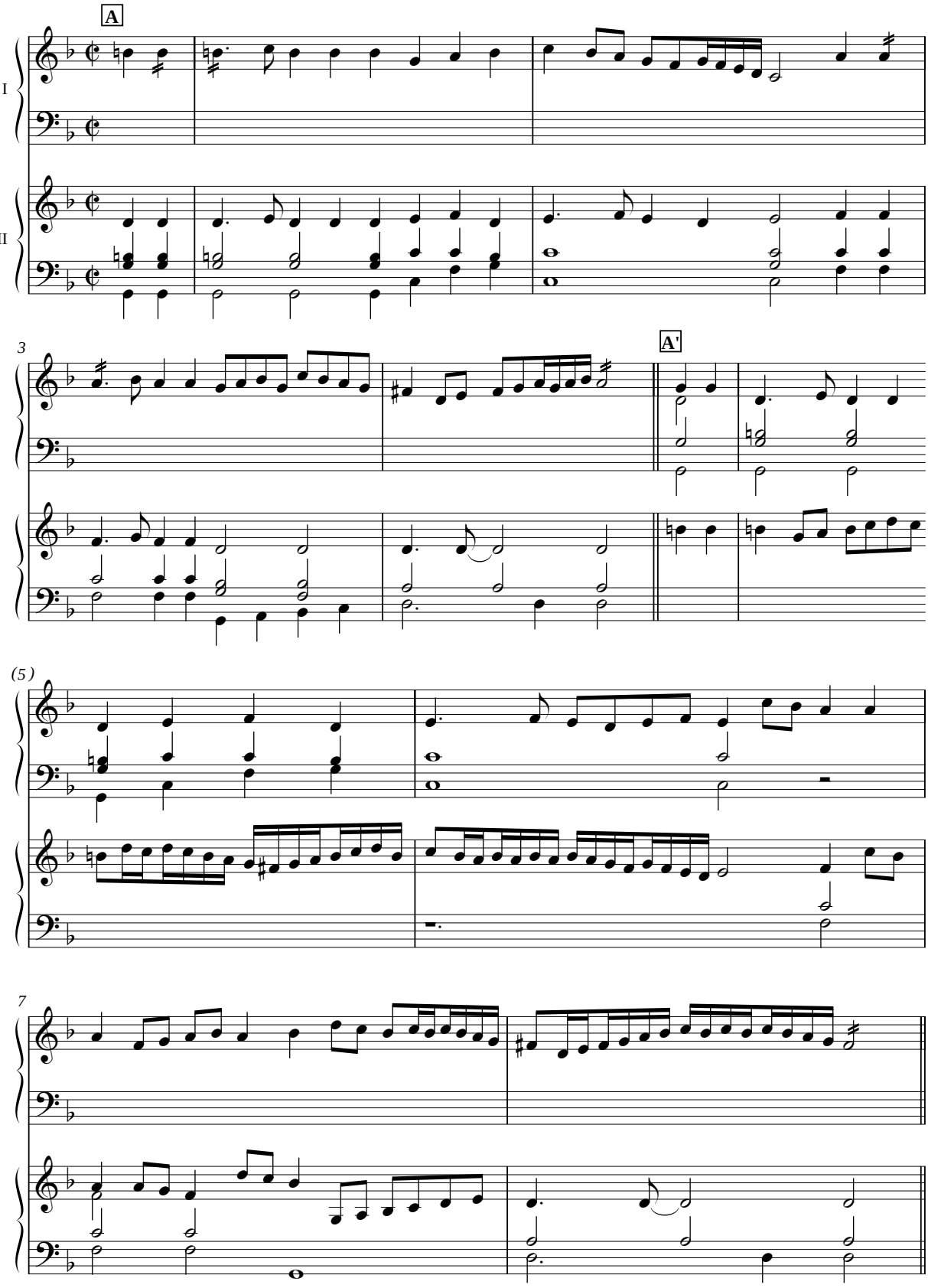
Pieces for two lutes

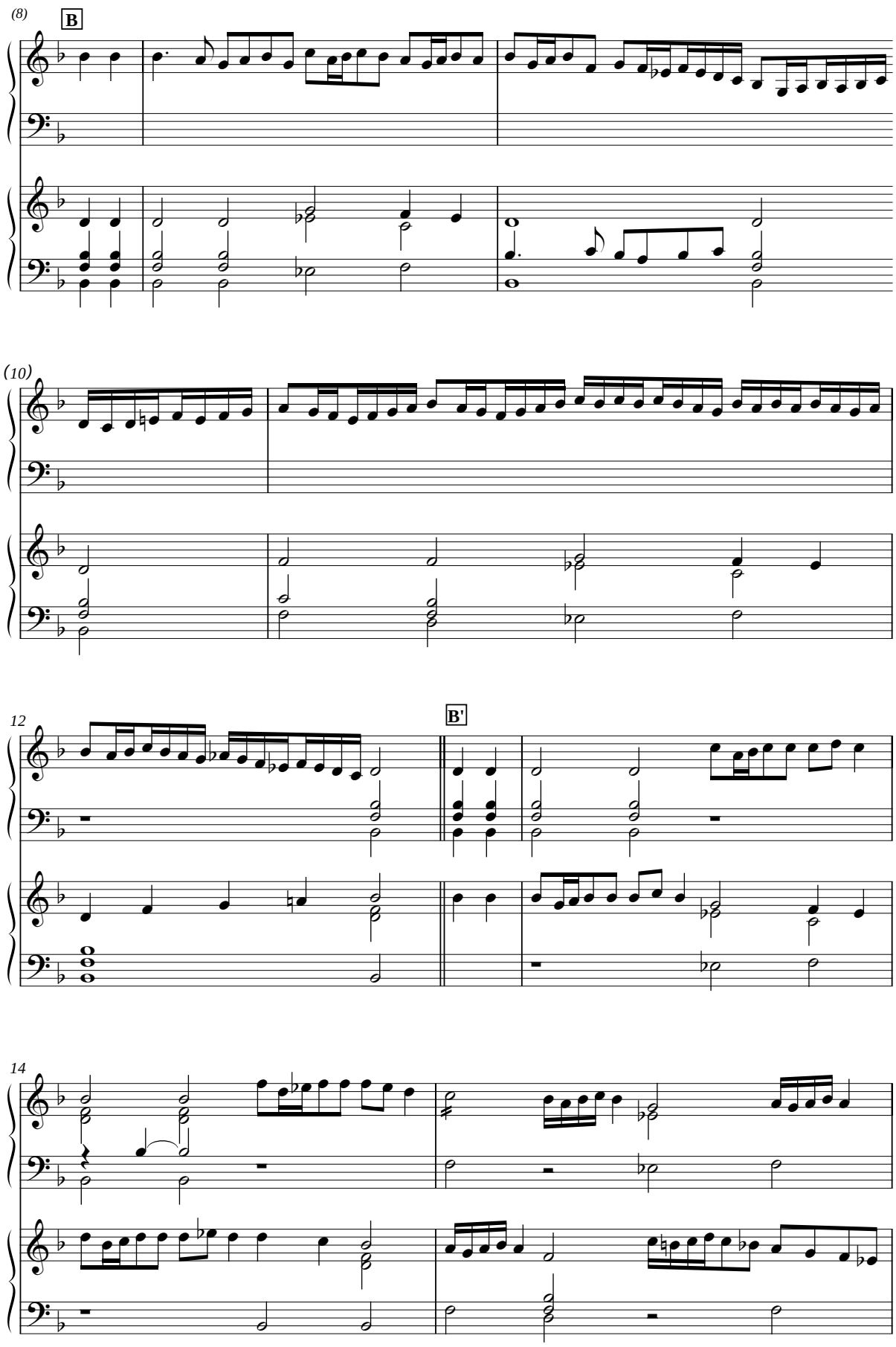
1. Equal duets

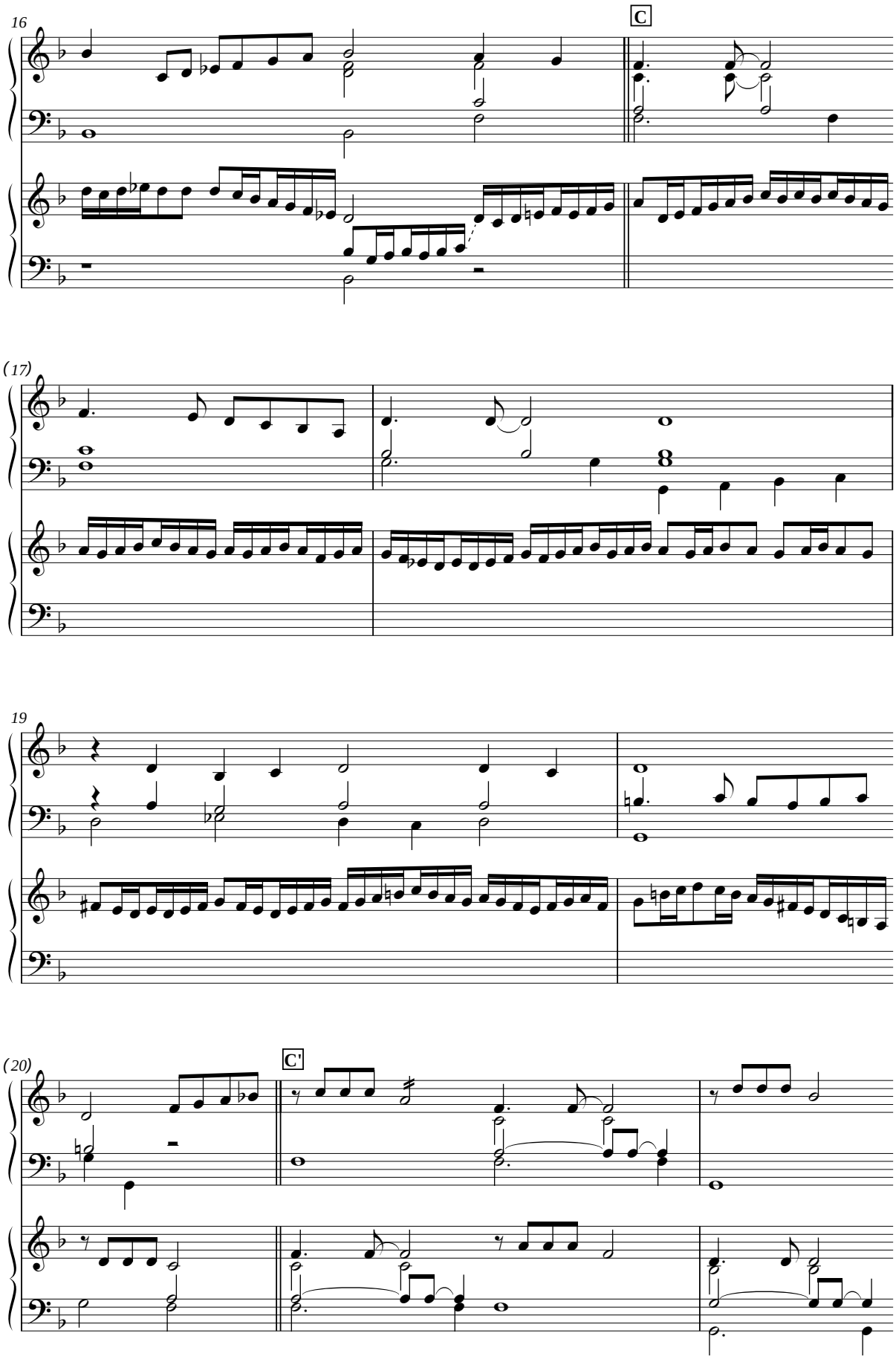
51. La Vecchia Pavan

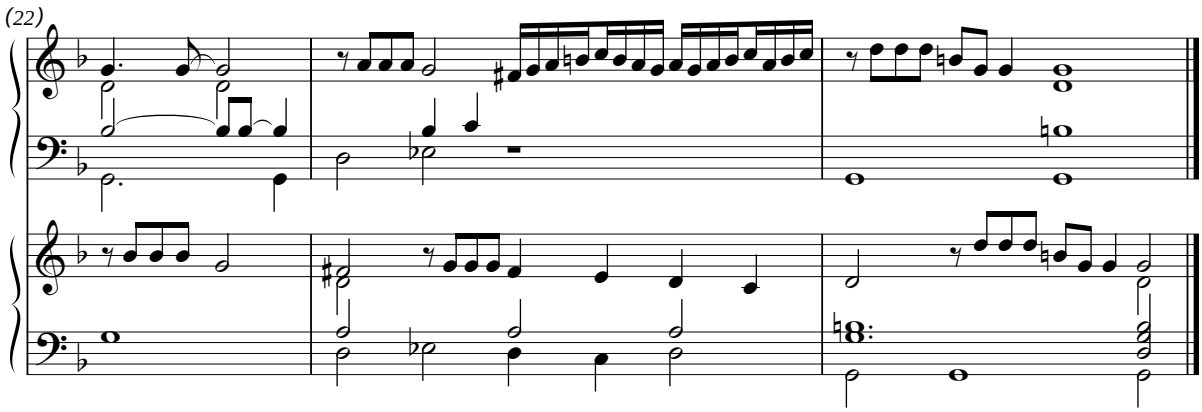
Wickhambrook, f. 15v

Johnson




(8)
B
(10)
12
B'
14

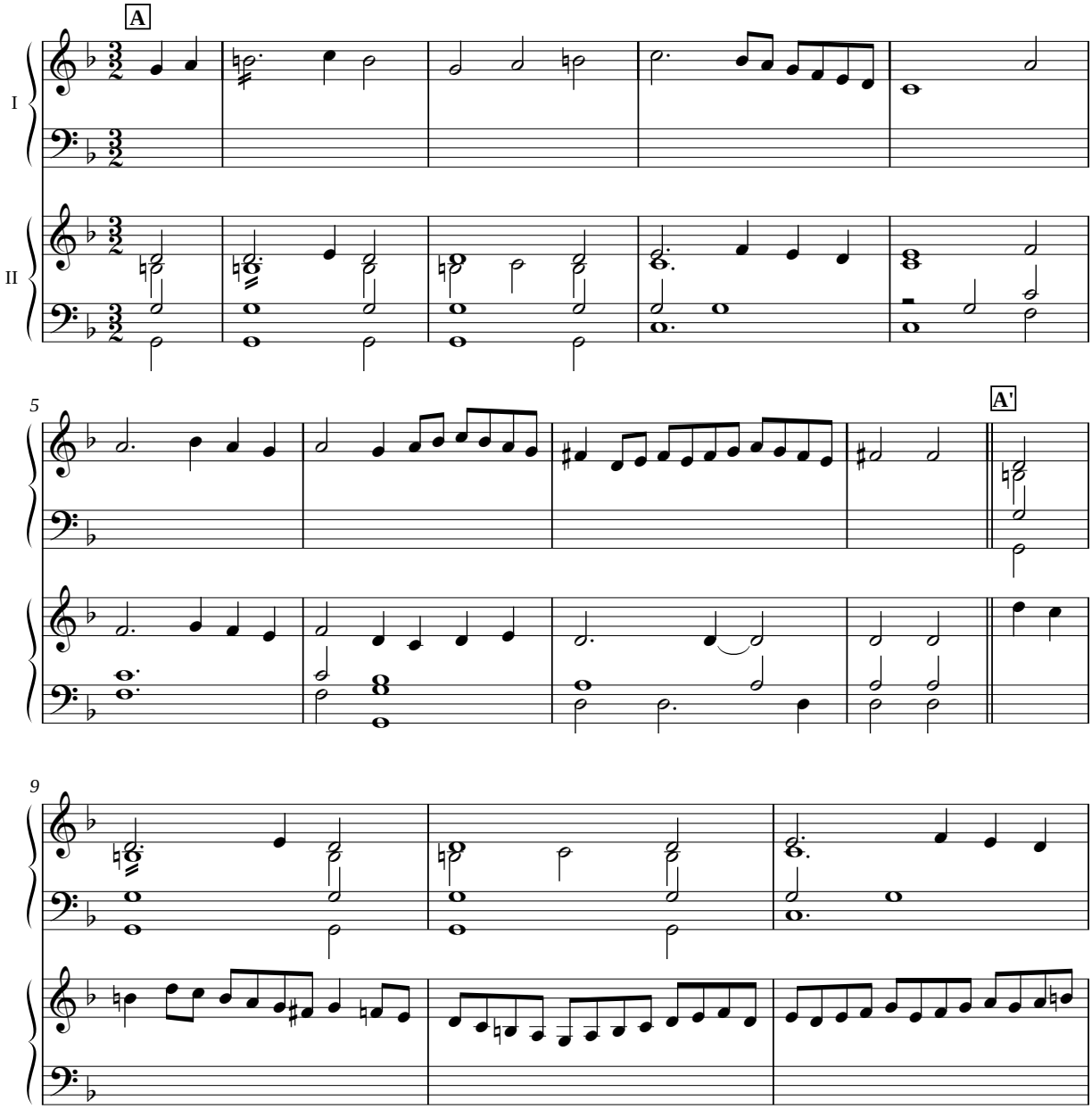

16
C
(17)
19
(20)
C'

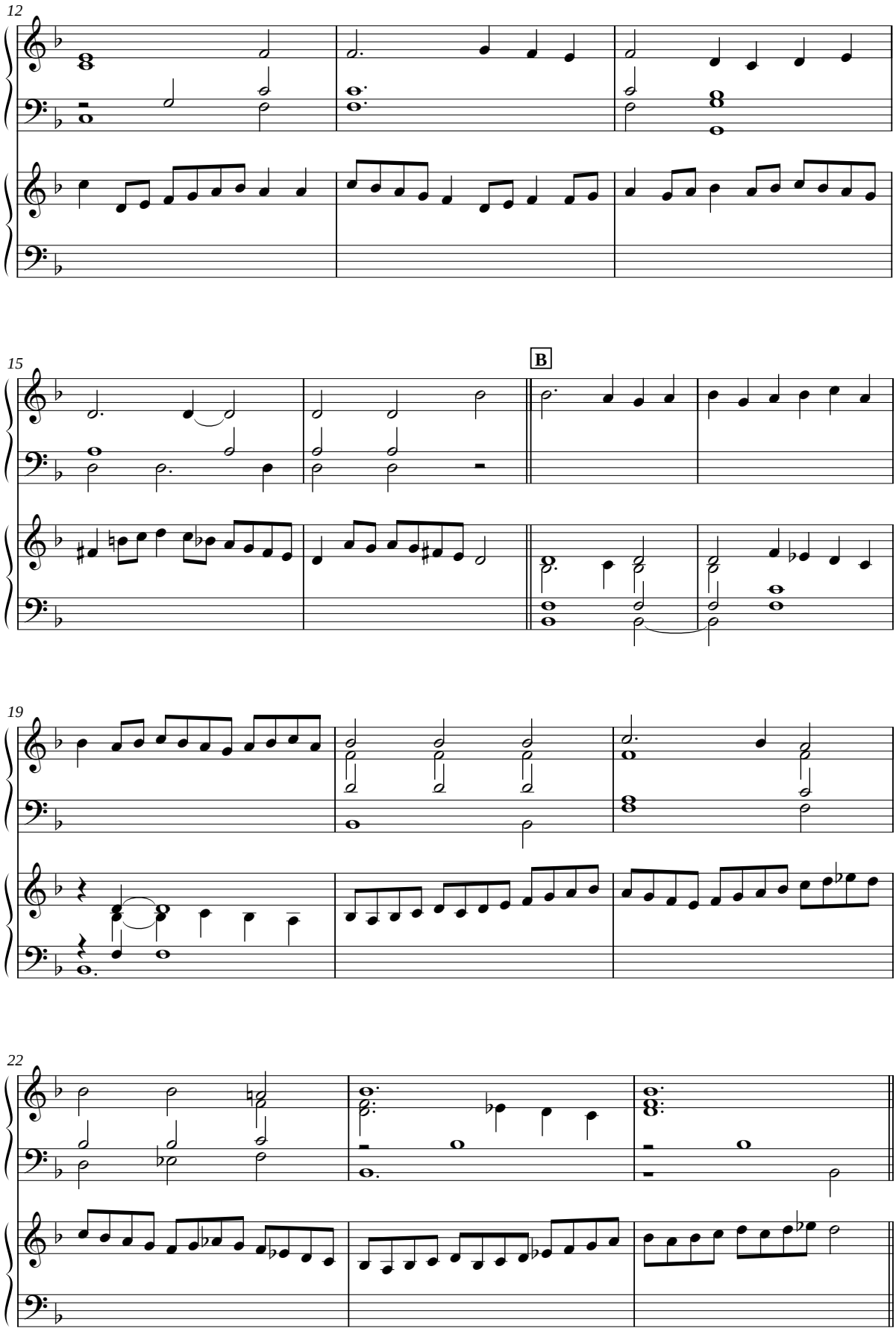


52. La Vecchia Galliard

Wickhambrook, f. 16r

Johnson

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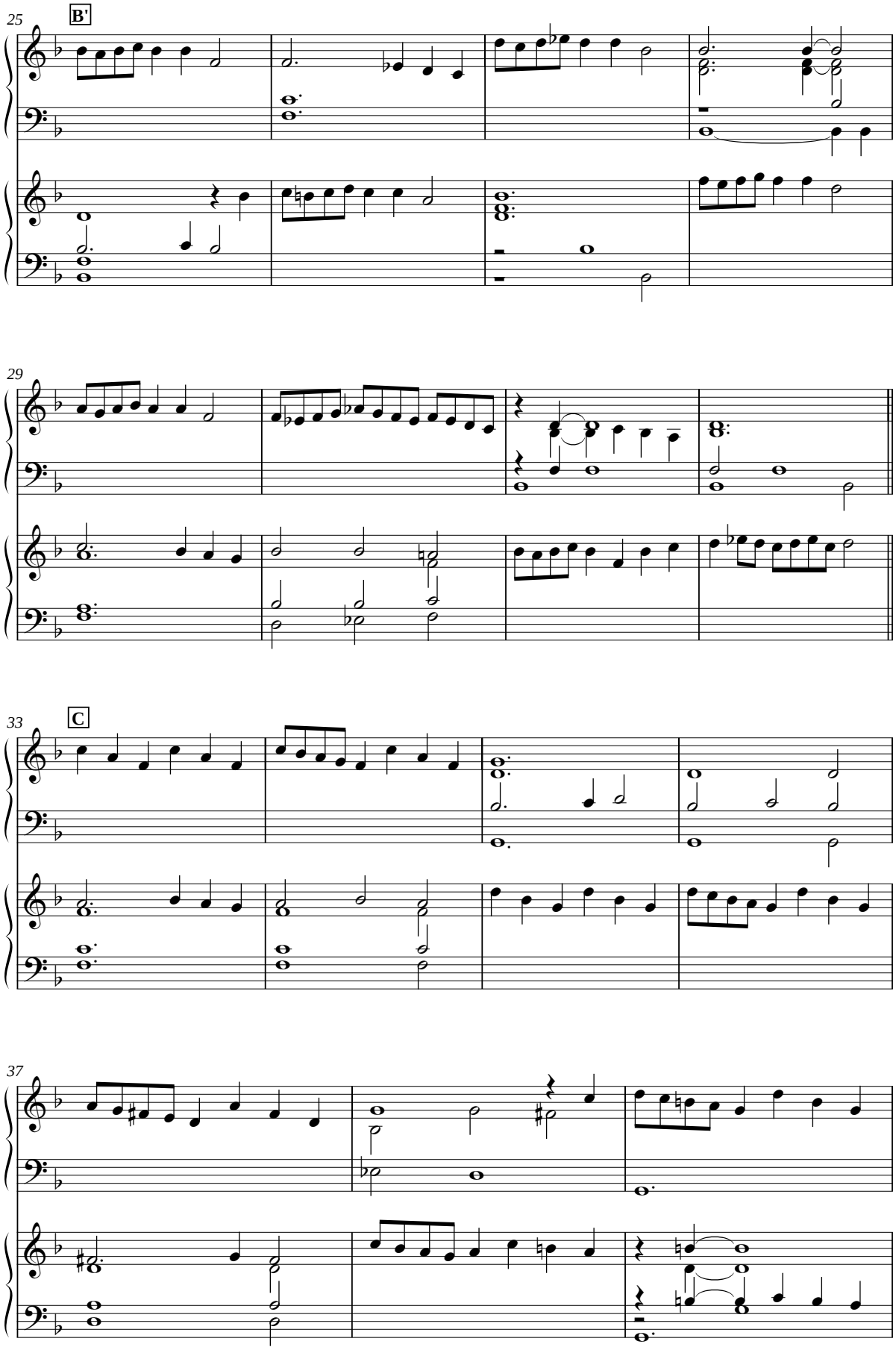
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B'
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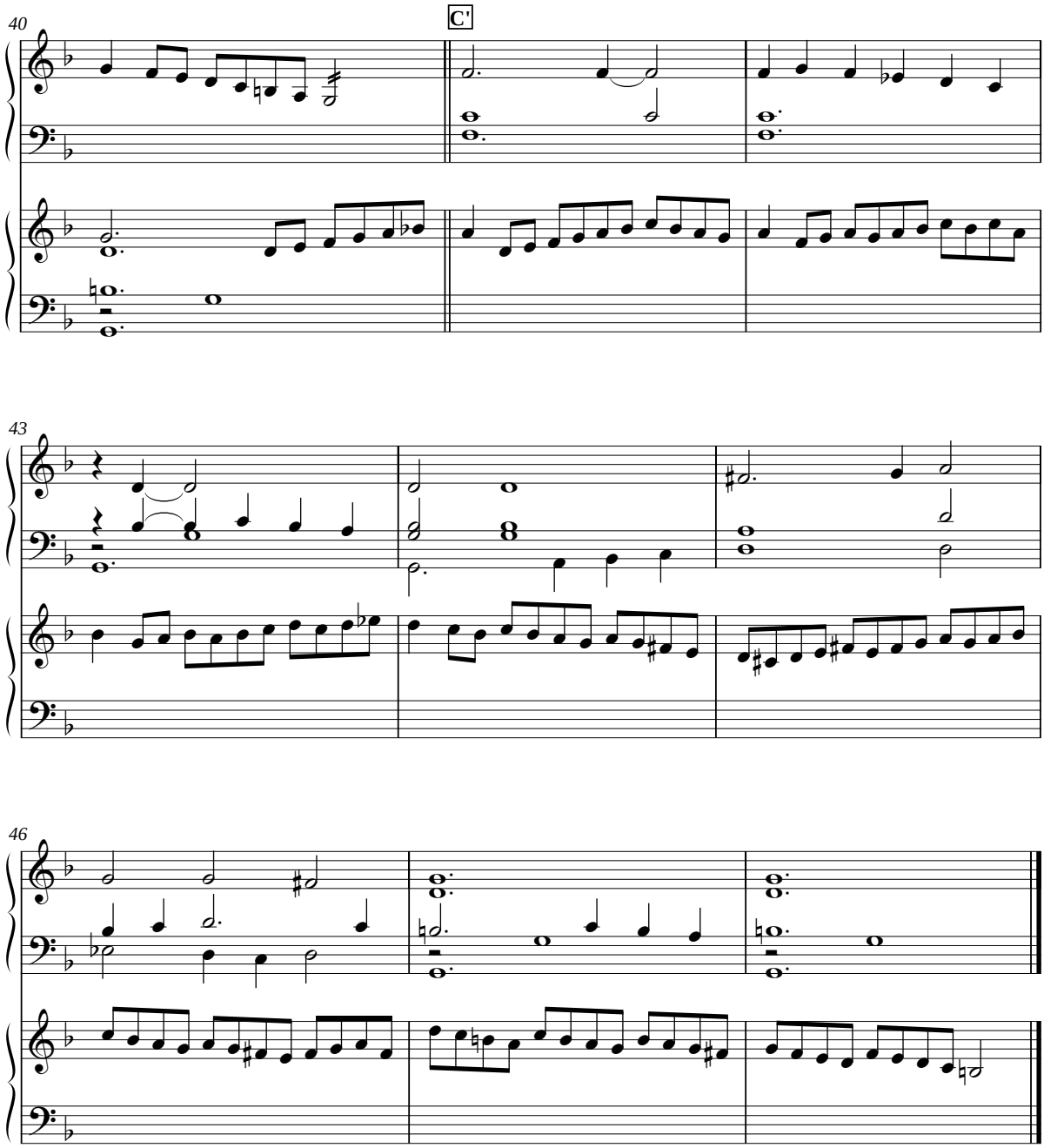
33
C
37


40
C'
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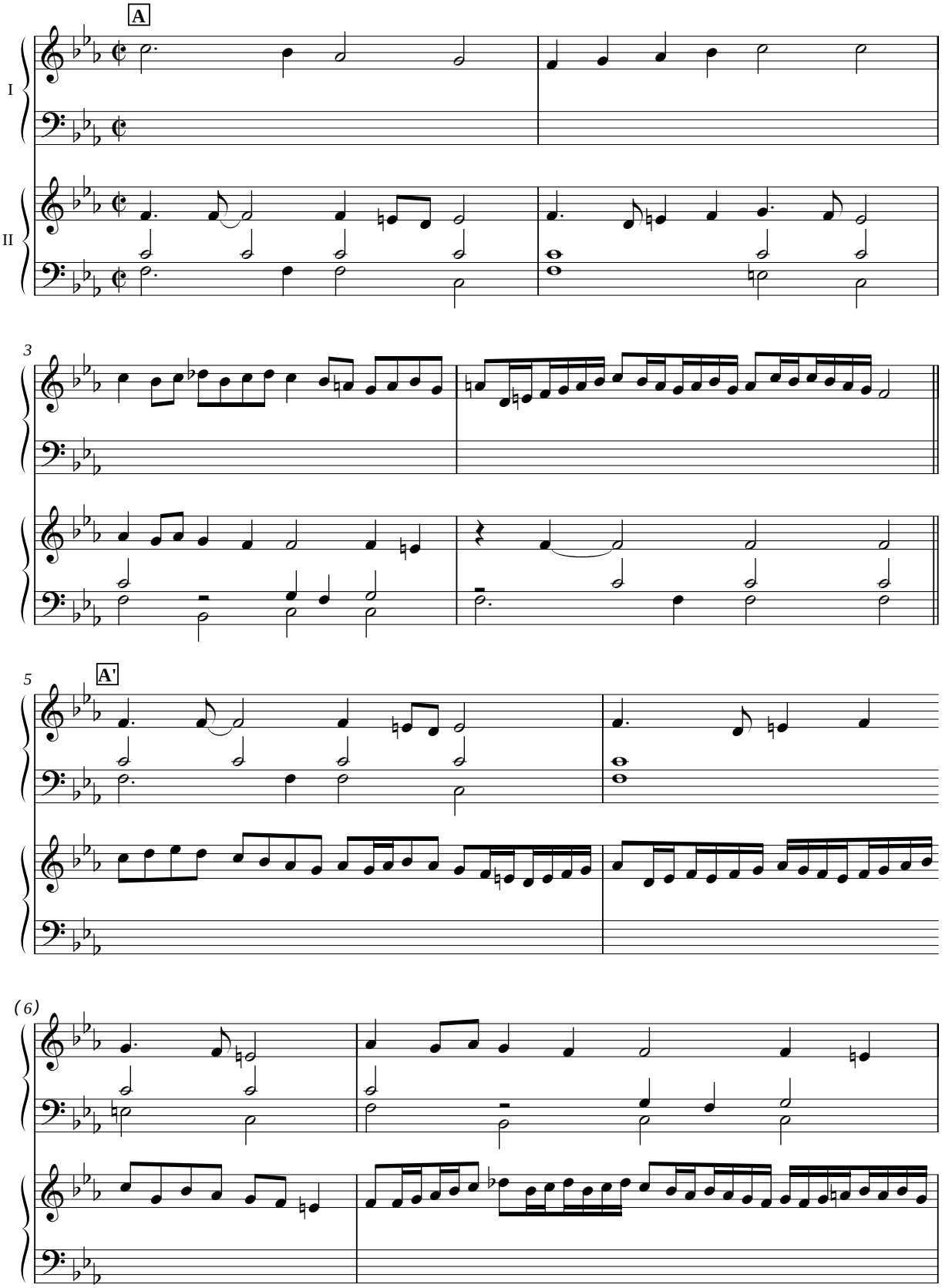
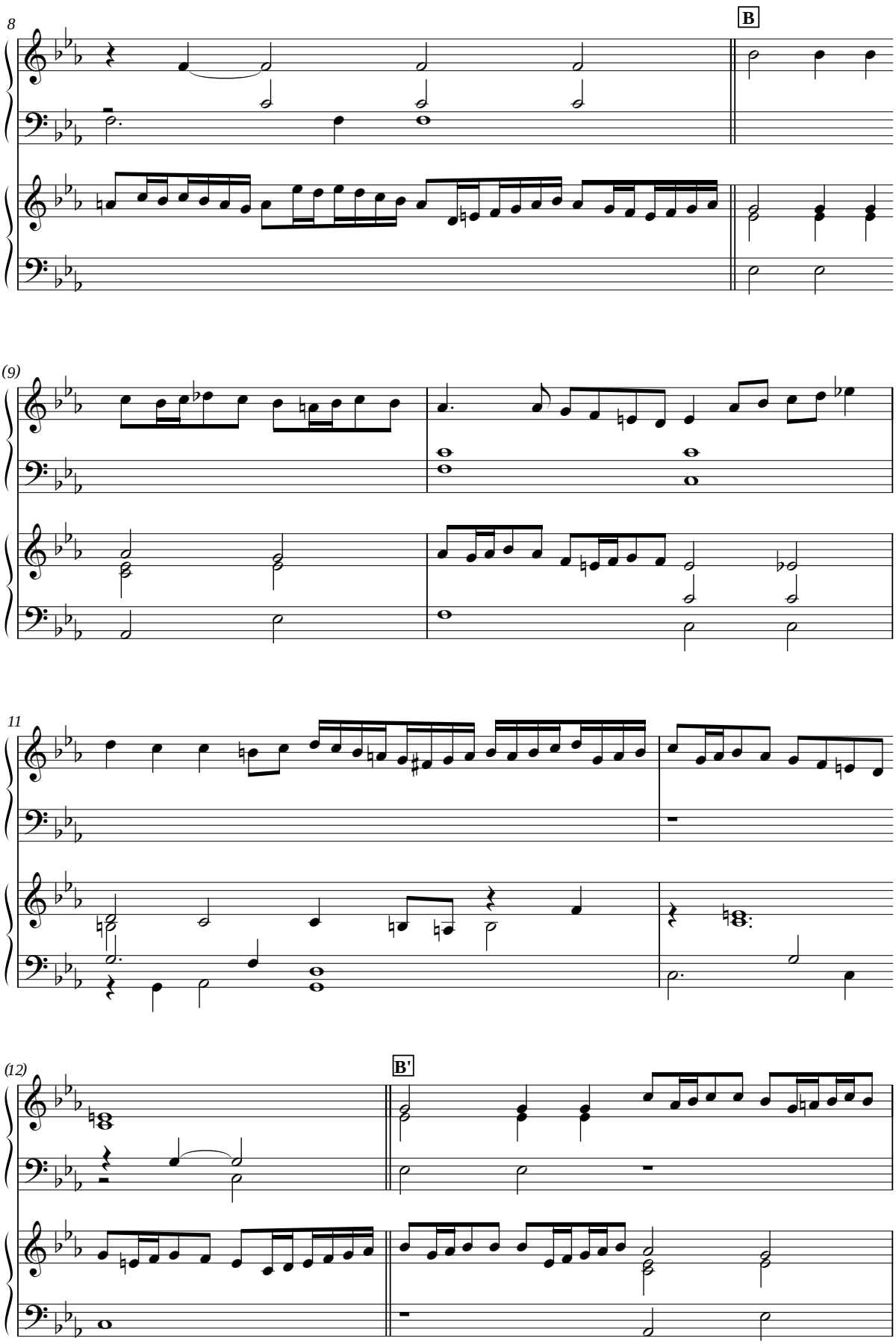
46

53. Flat Pavan

Pickeringe, f. 4v-5r

Johnson




8
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(9)
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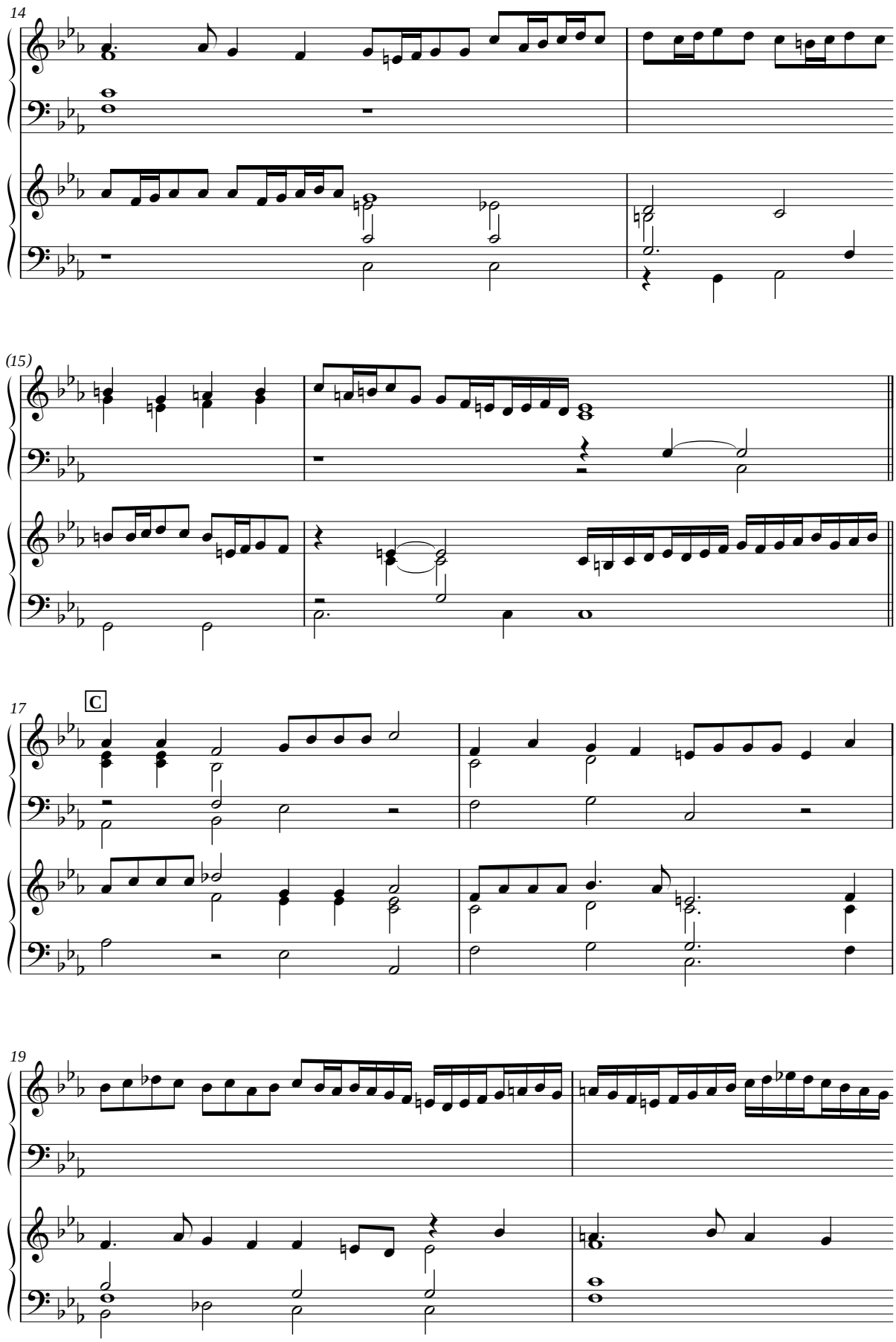
(12)
B'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(15)
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C
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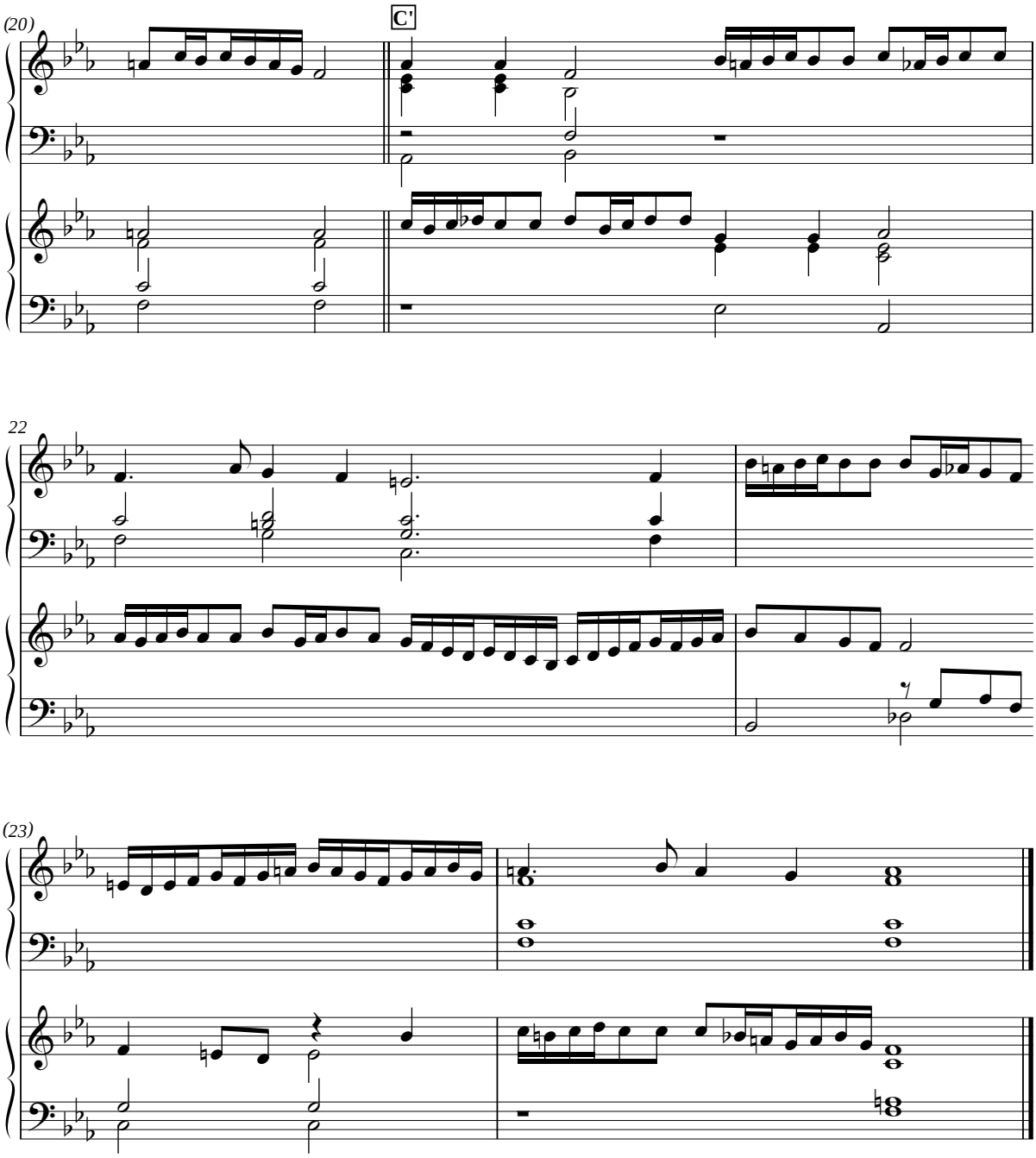
(20)
C'
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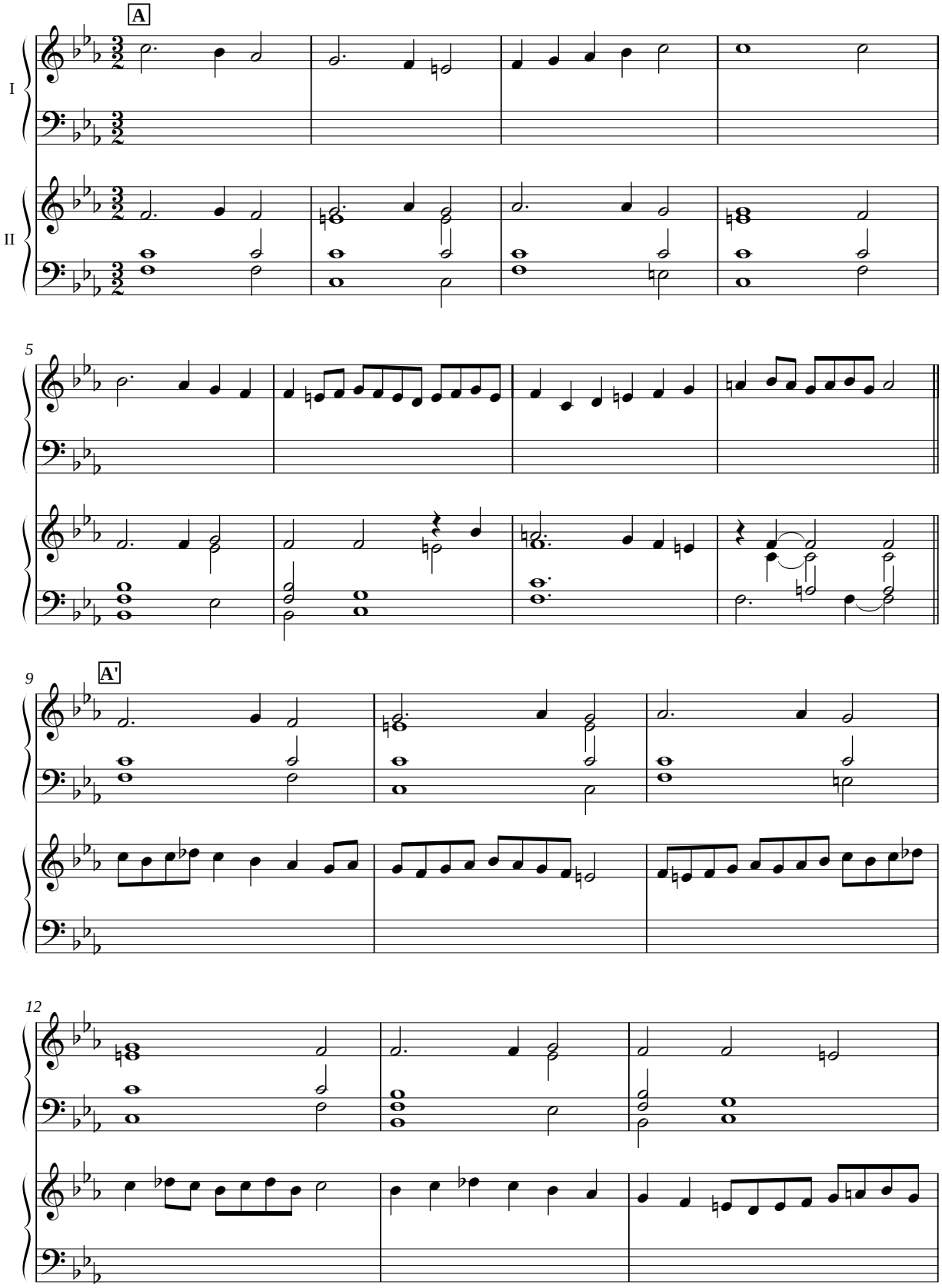
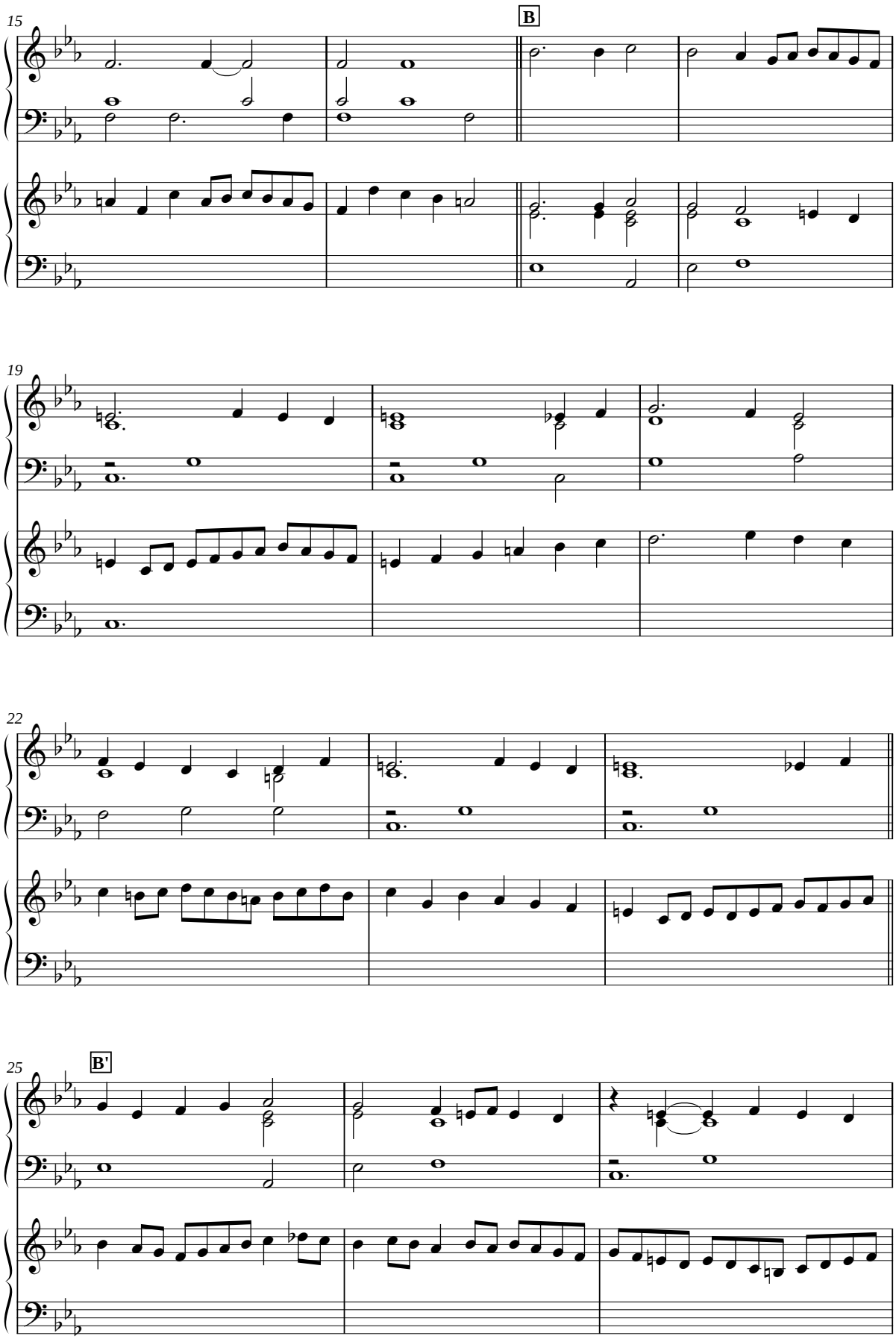
(23)

54. Flat Galliard

Pickeringe, f. 5v-6r

Johnson

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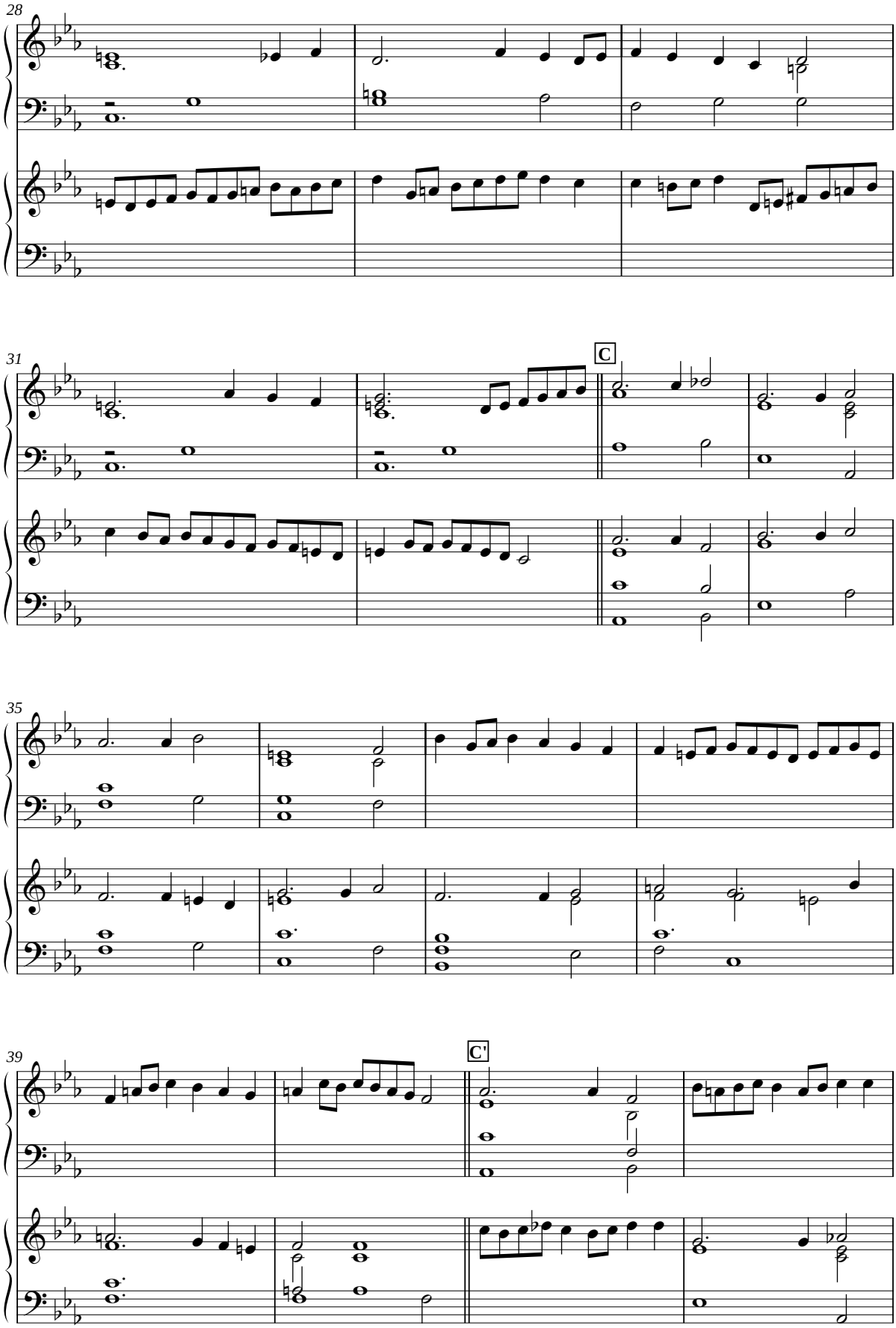
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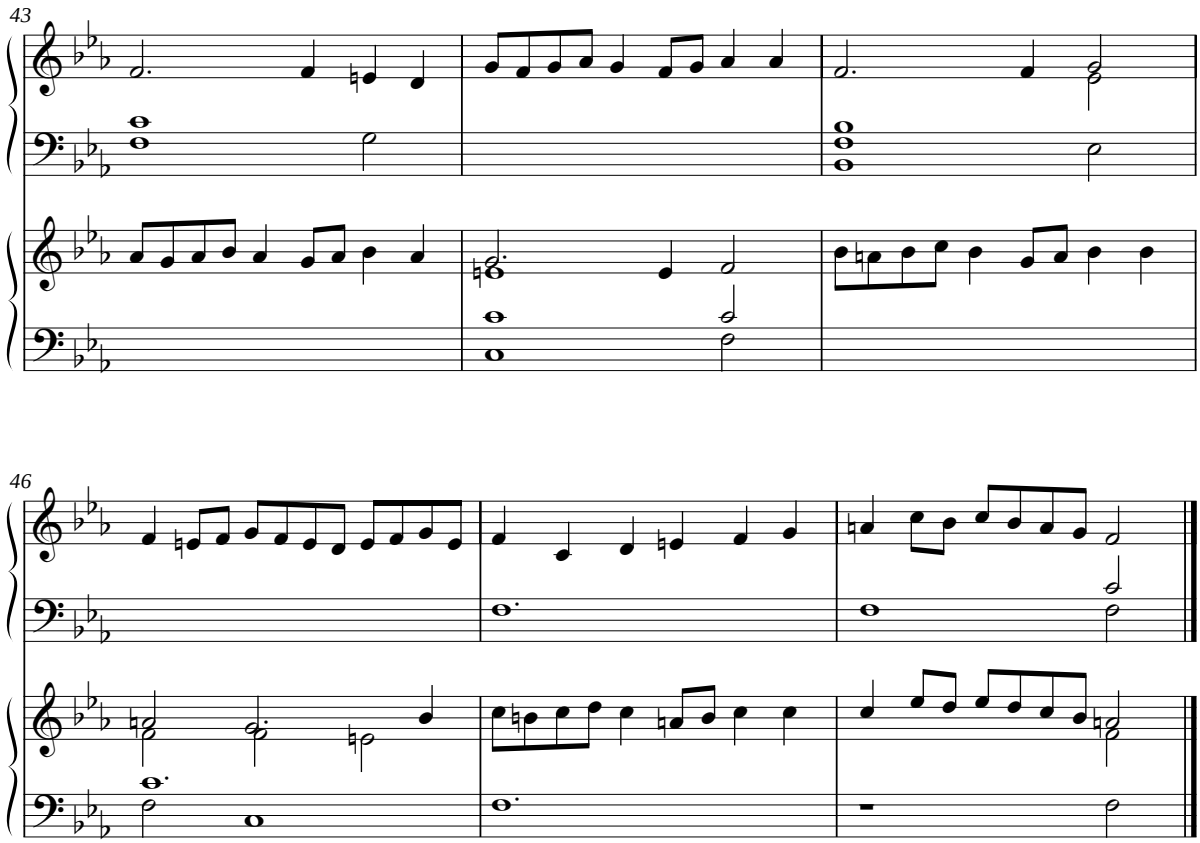
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46

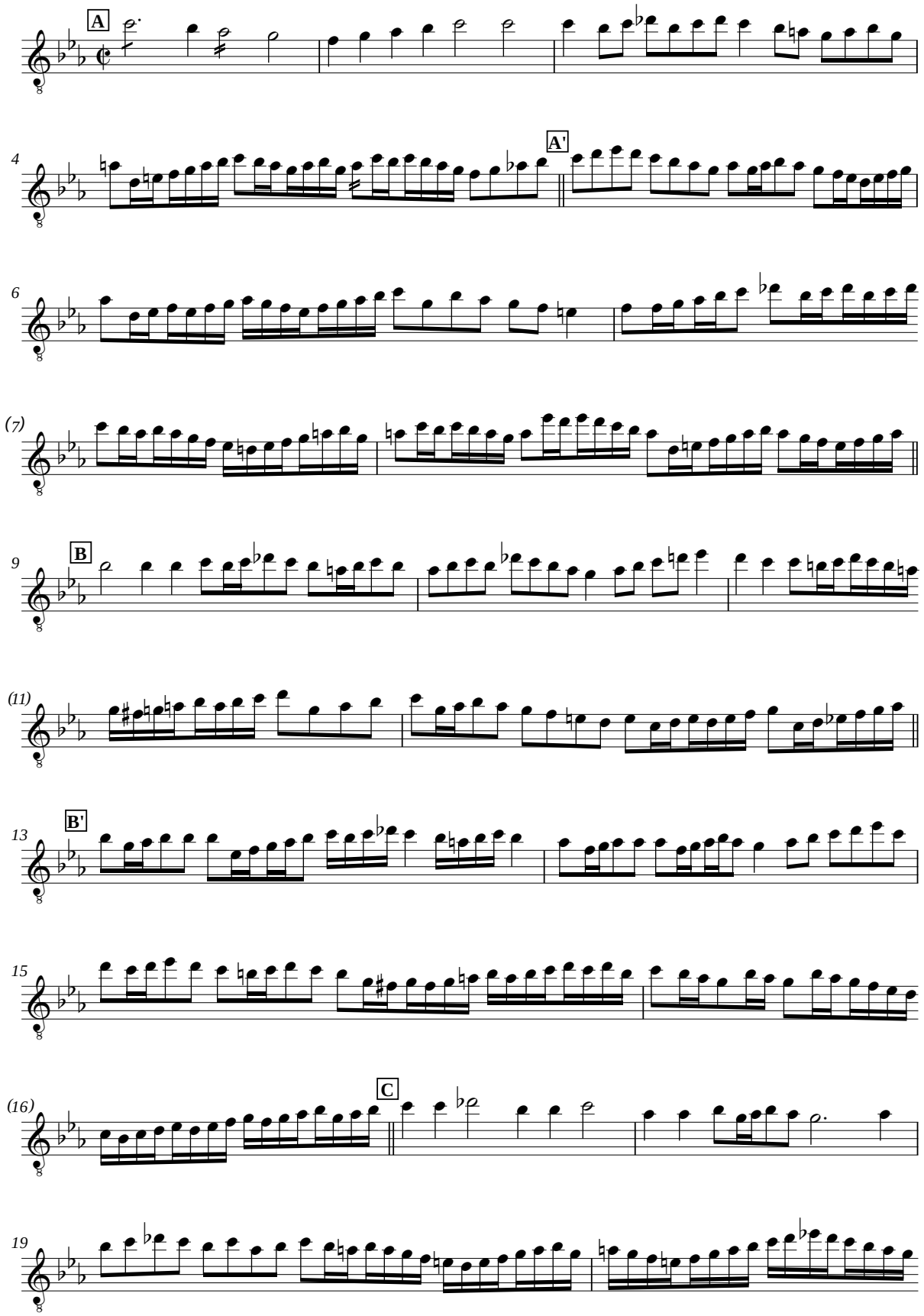
2. Treble and ground duets

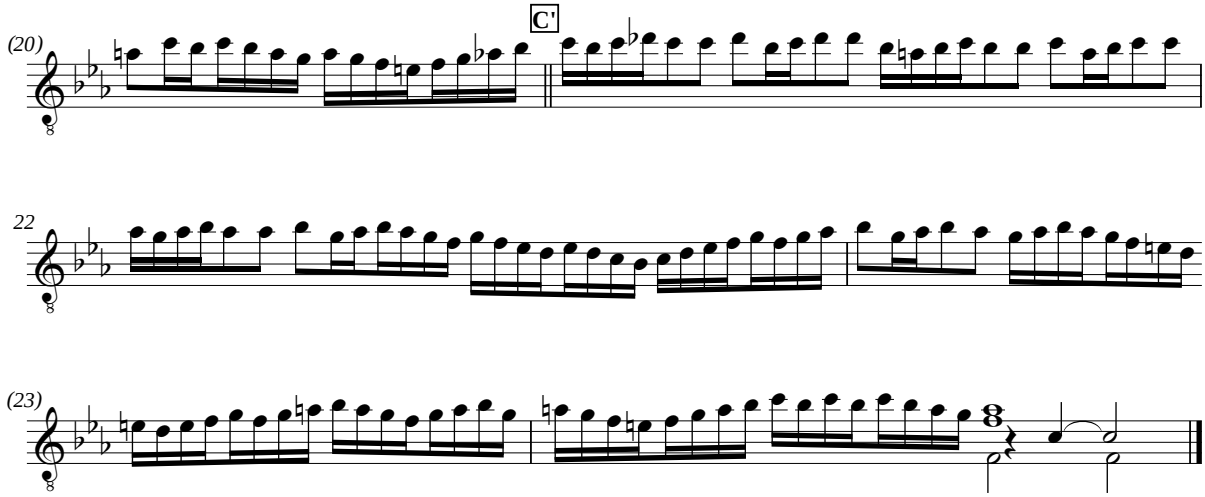
55. Flat Pavan

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 21v

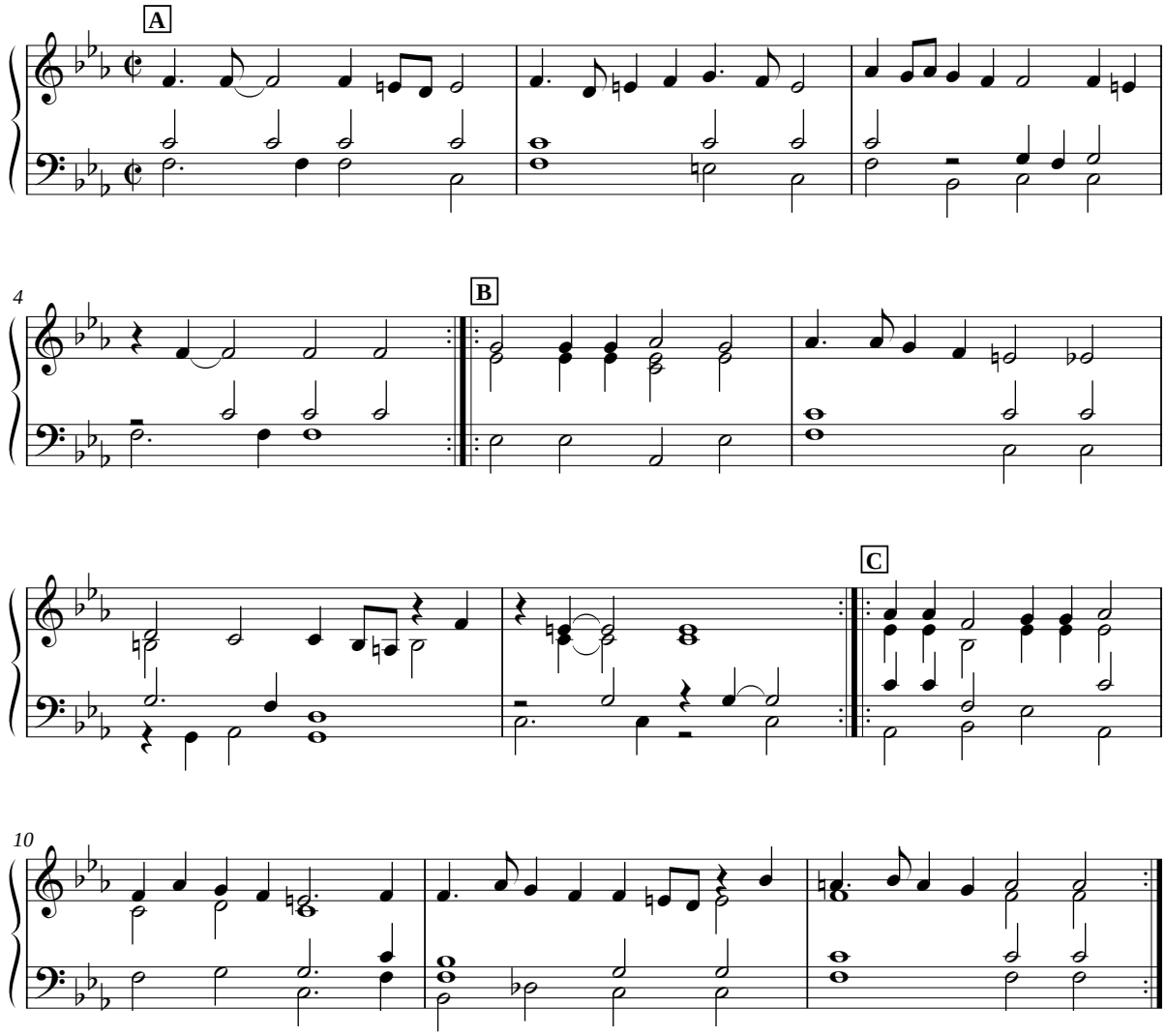
[Anonymous]





ground

[reconstructed]

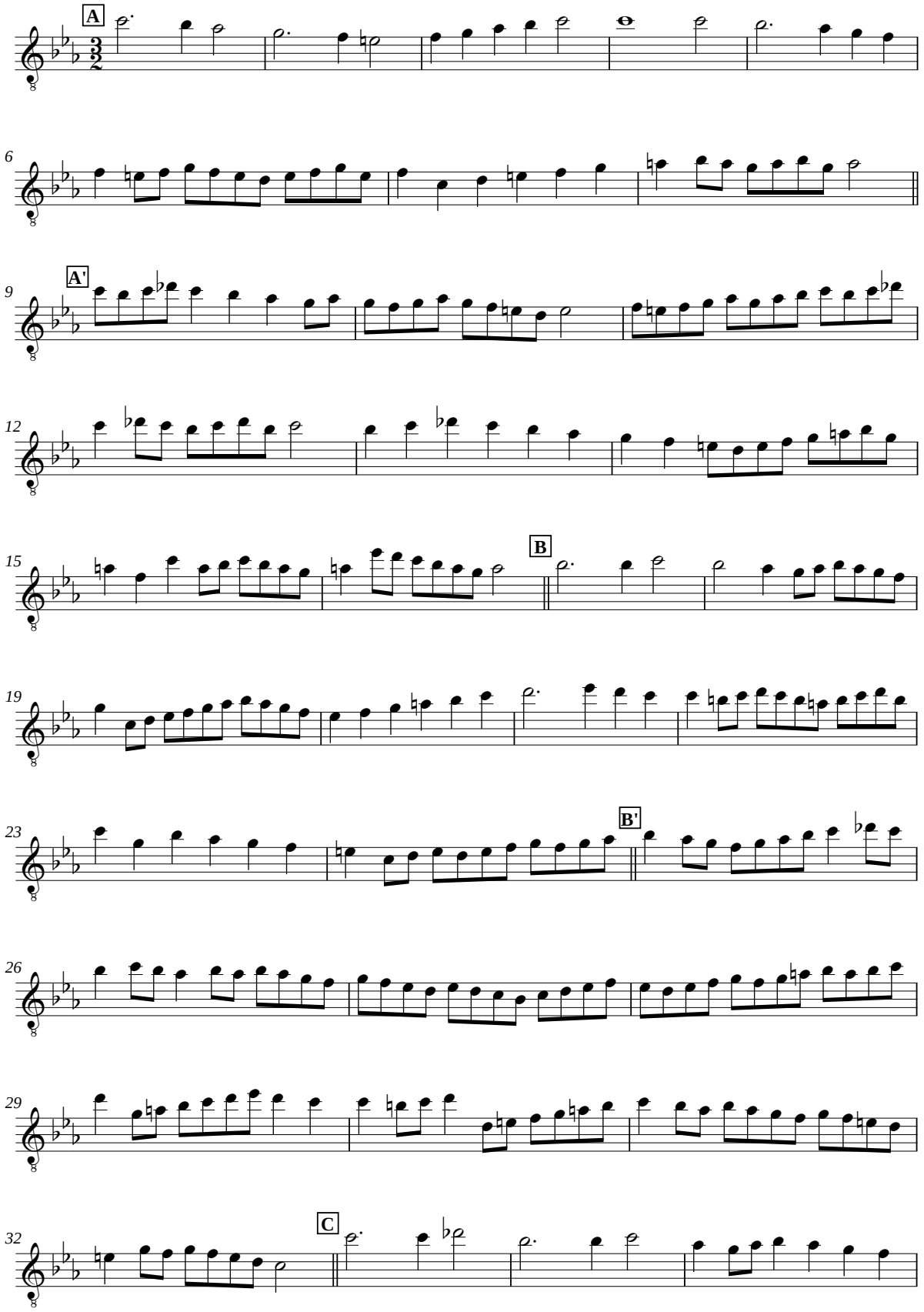


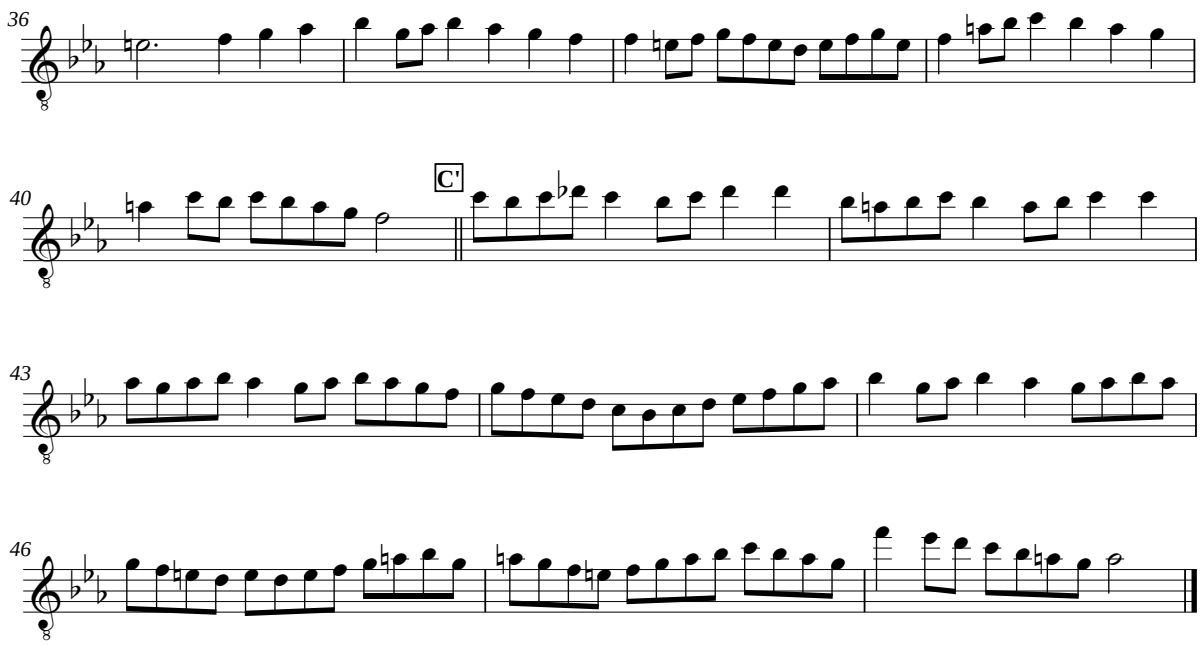
56. Flat Galliard

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 22r

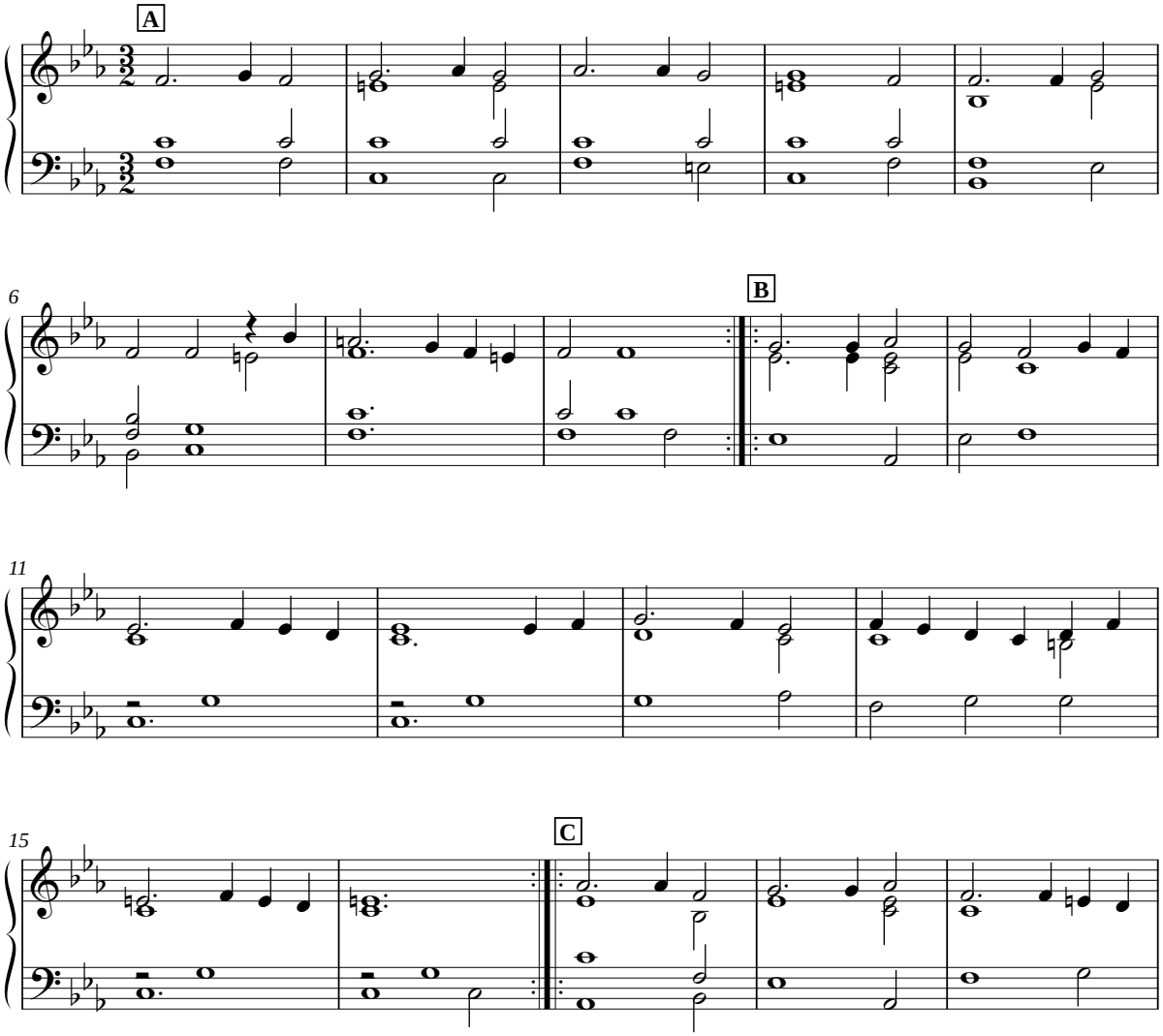
[Anonymous]

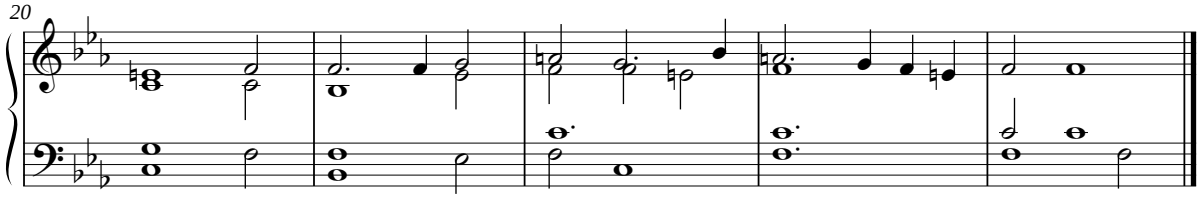




ground

[reconstructed]



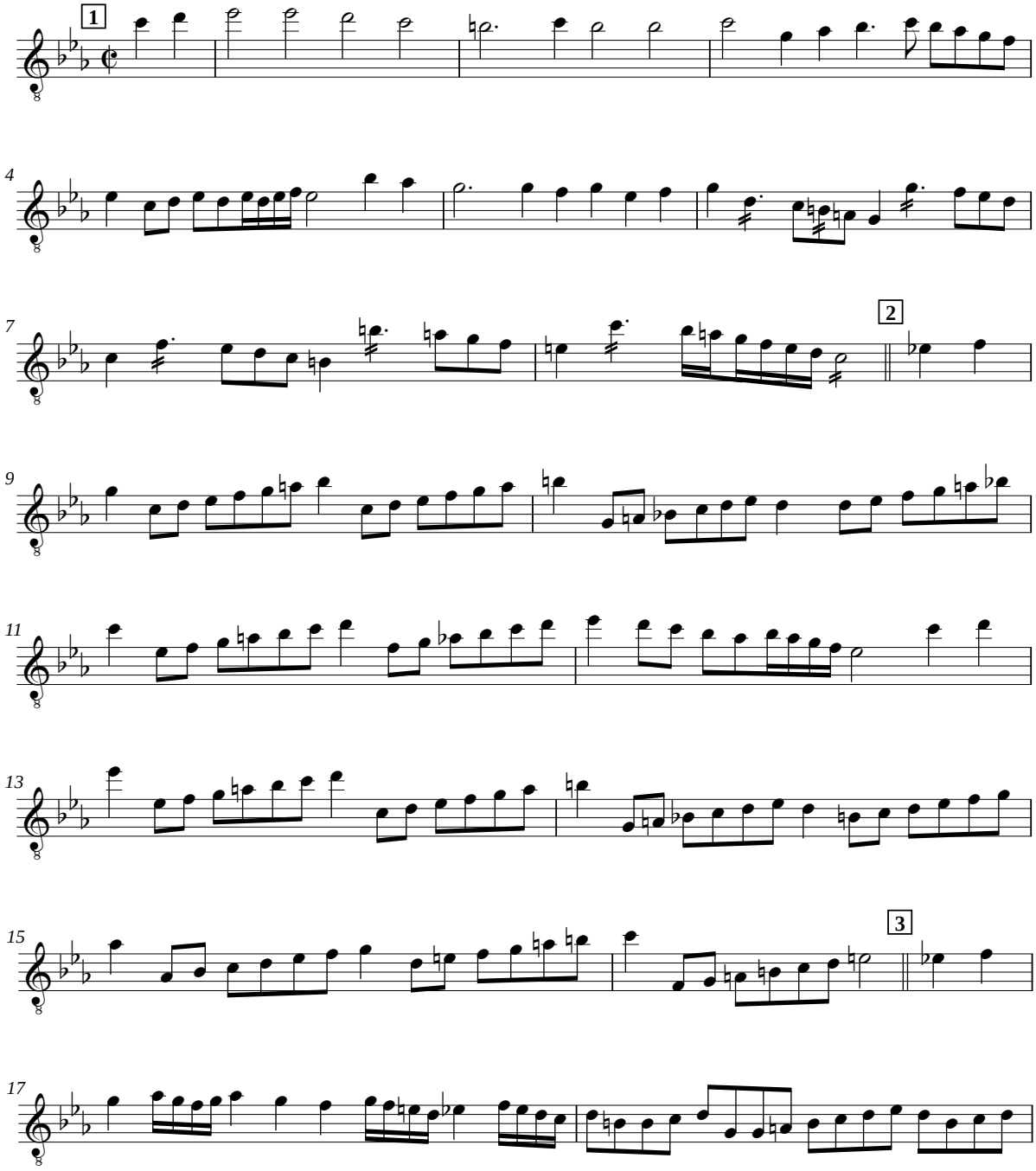


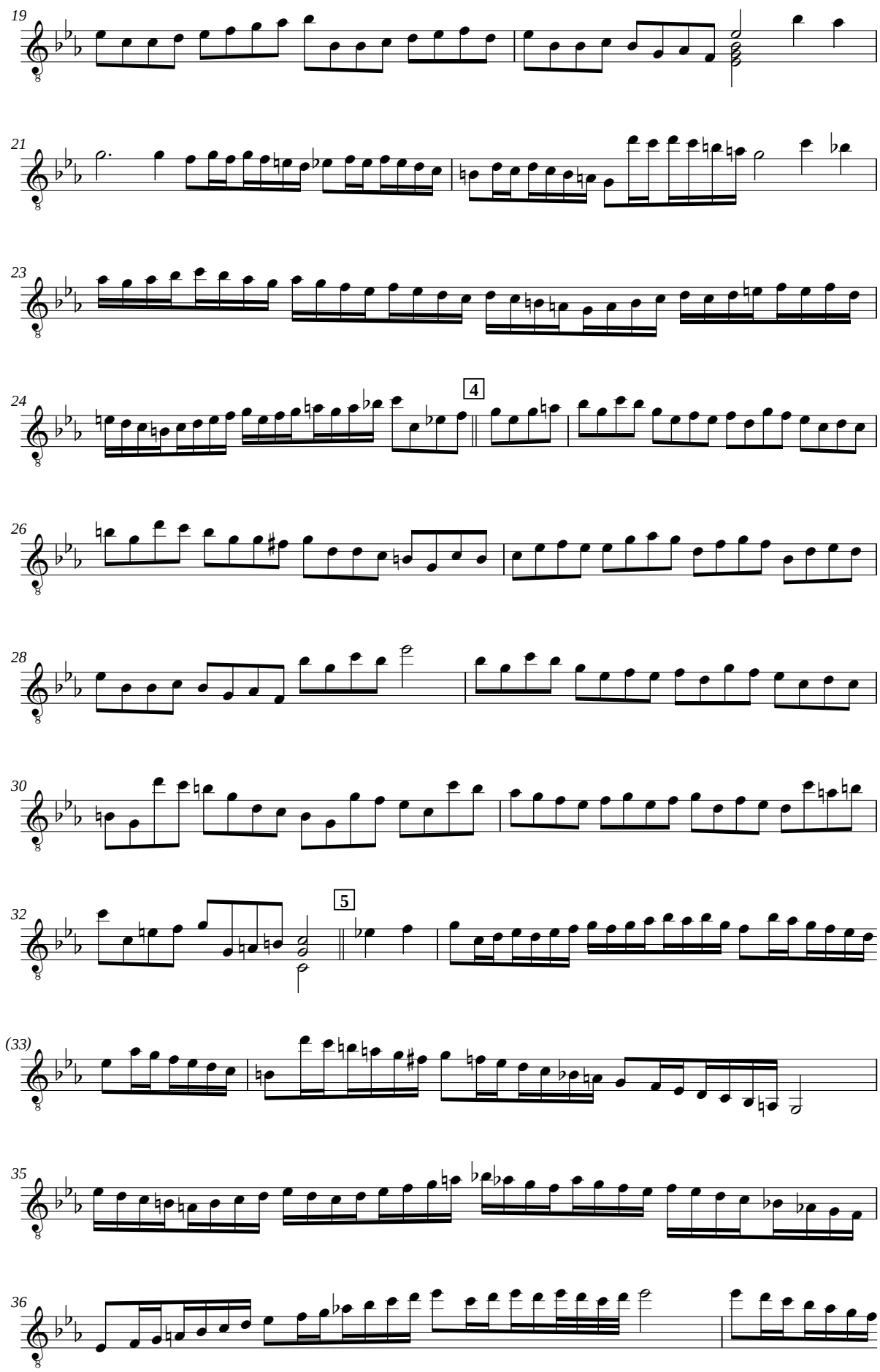
57. Short Almain [1]

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 9v-10r

John Johnson

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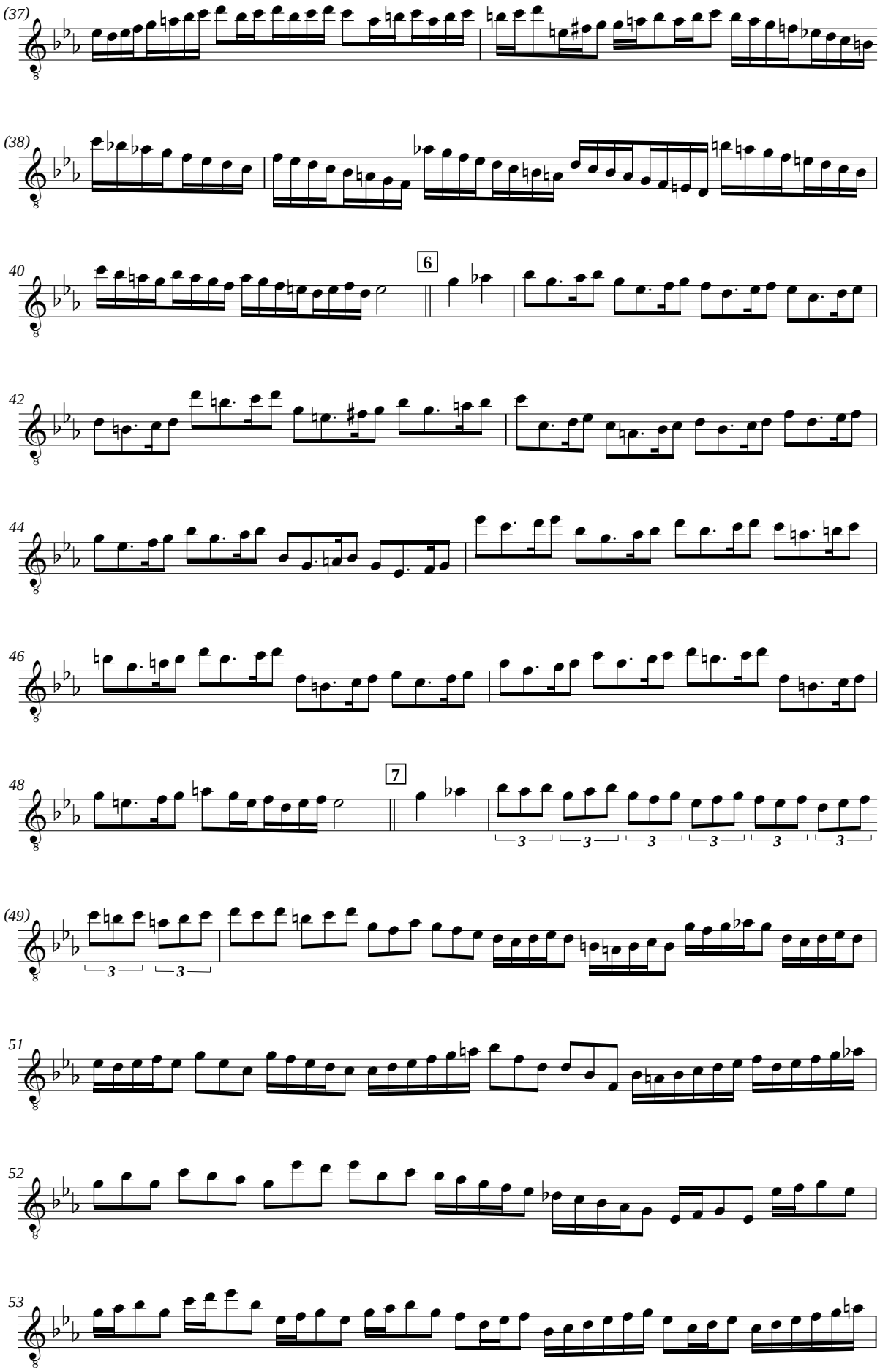
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(49)
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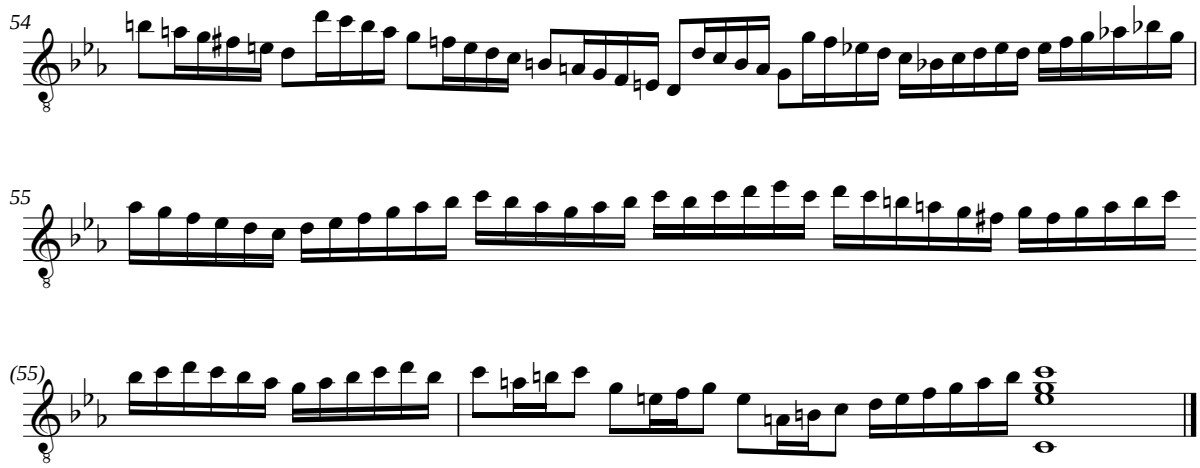
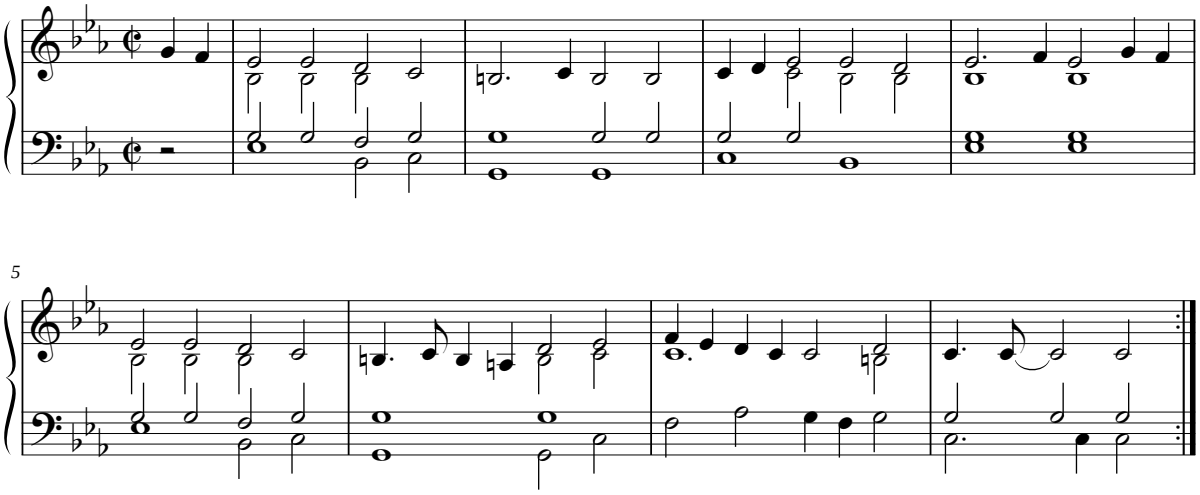


ground

Pickeringe, f. 14r

Johnson

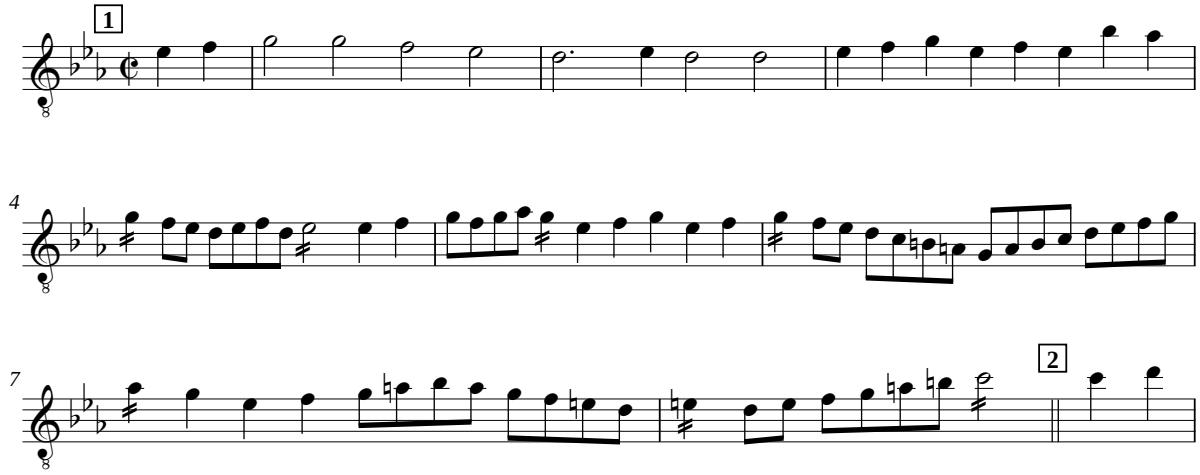


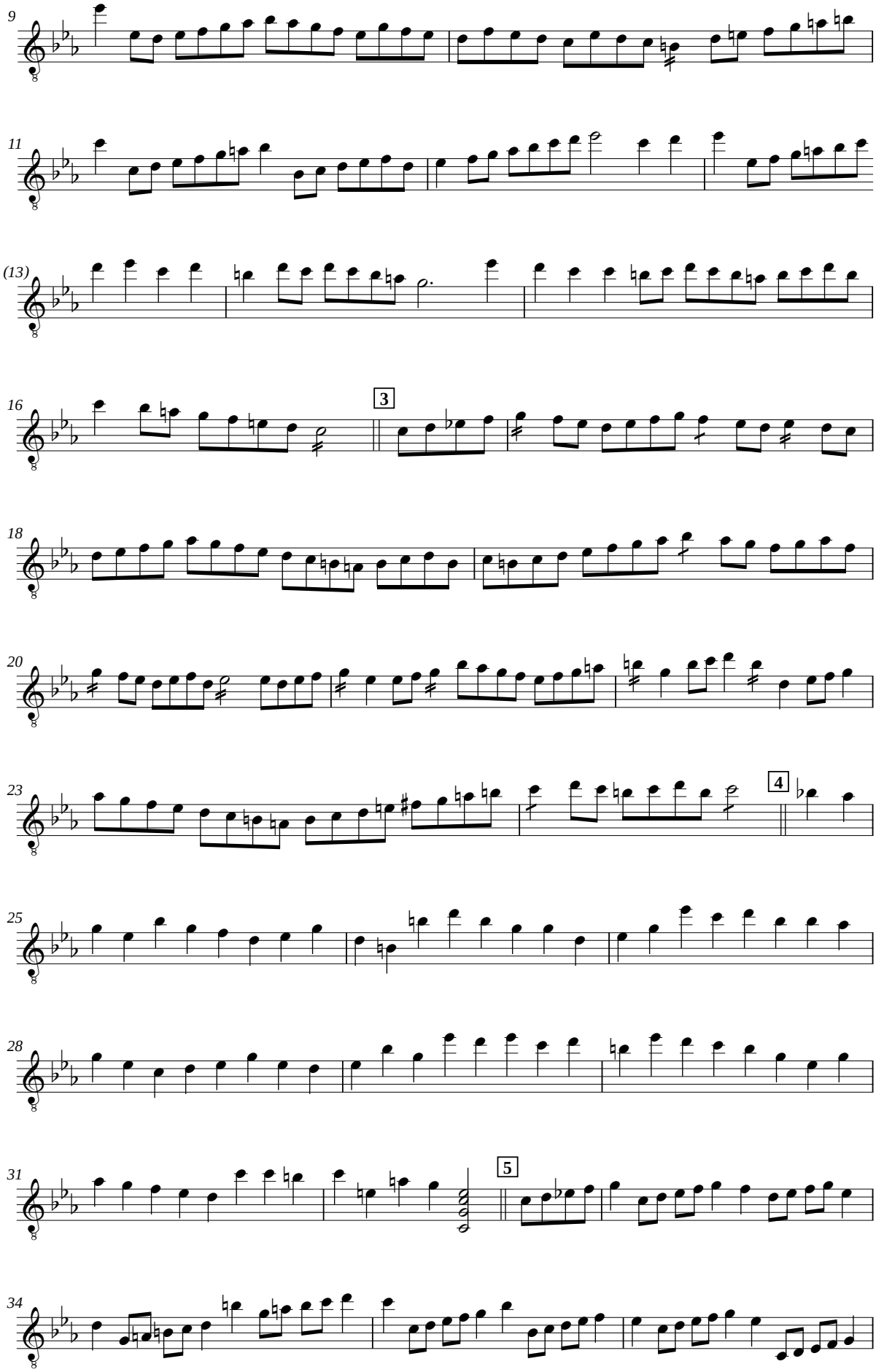
58. Short Almain [2]

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 10v

Johnson

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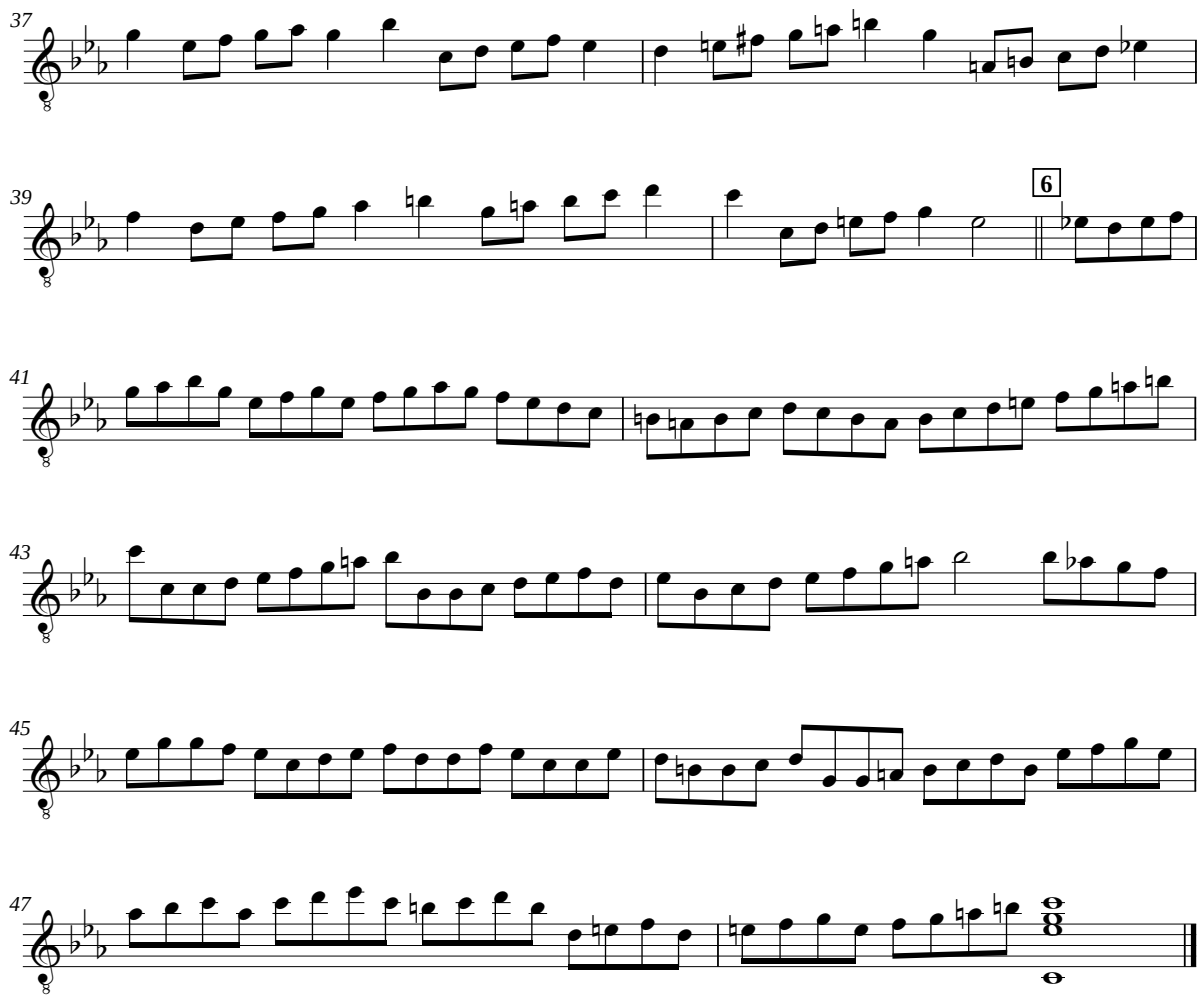
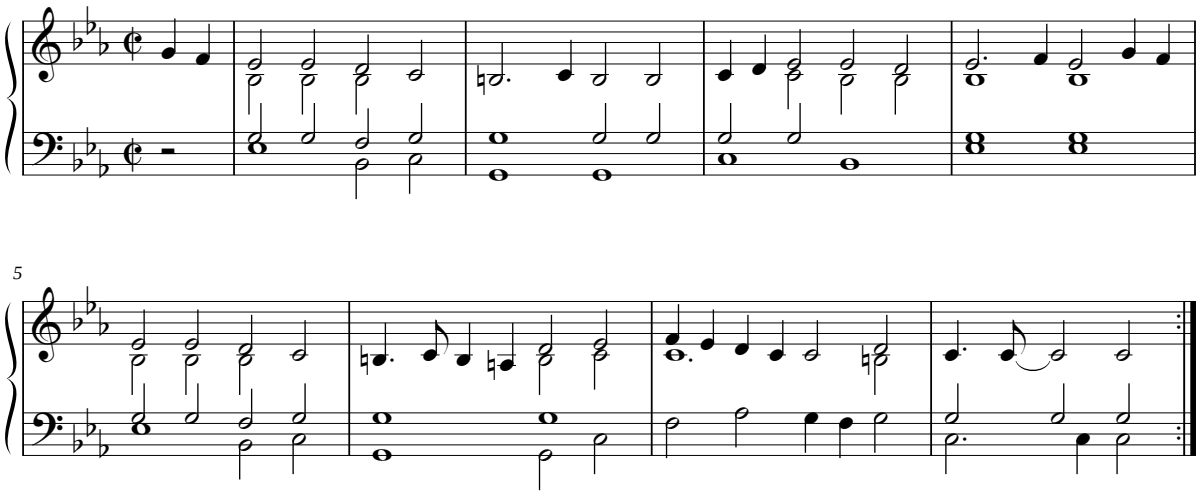


ground

Pickeringe, f. 14r

Johnson

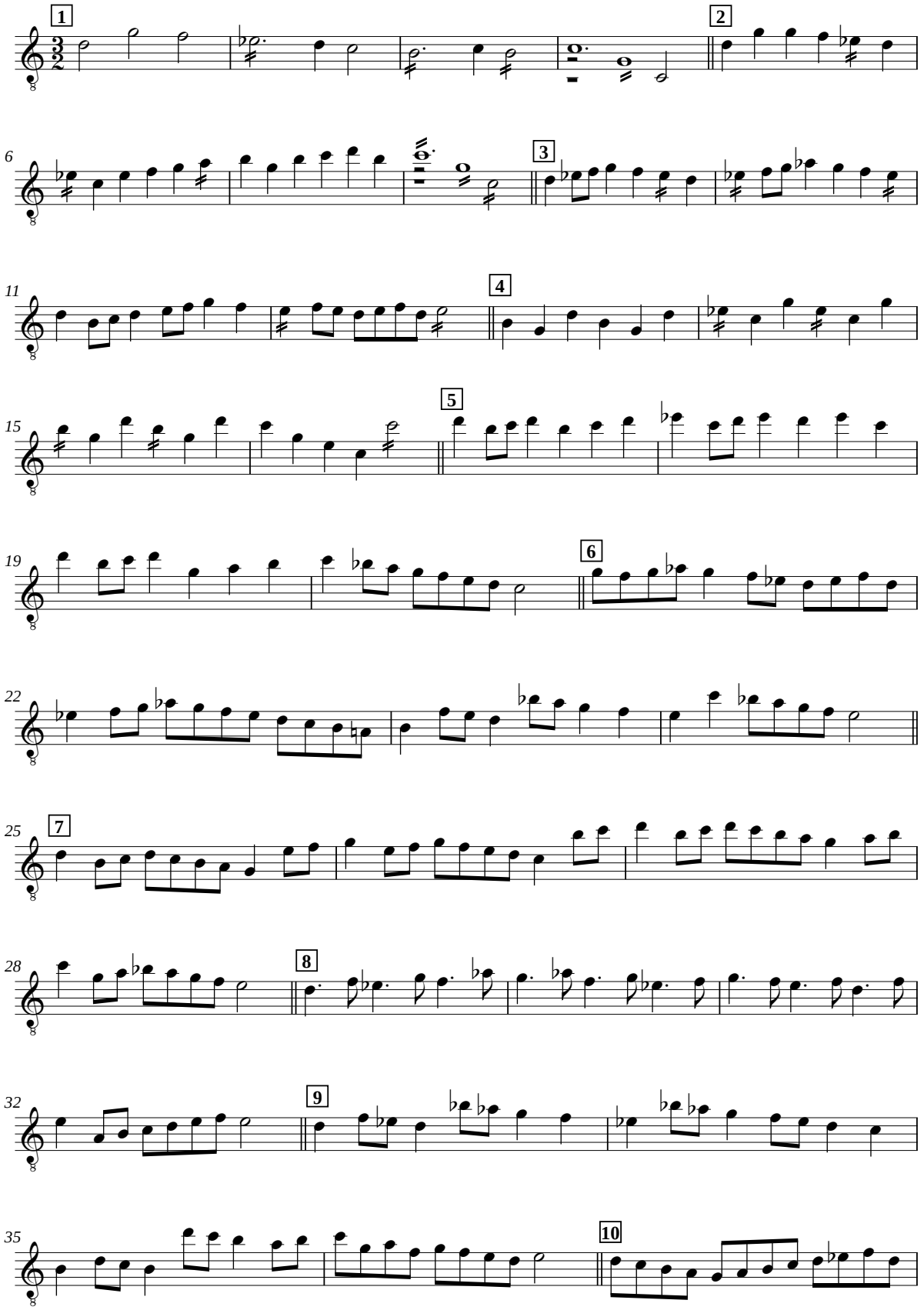


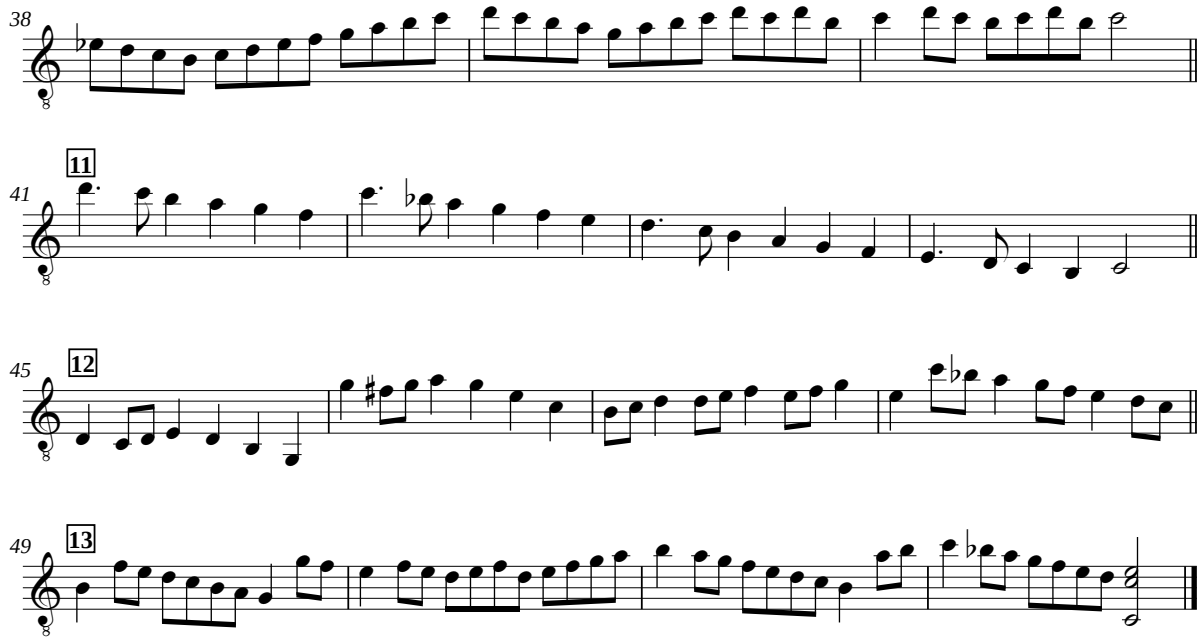
59. First Dump

treble

Marsh, p. 144-145

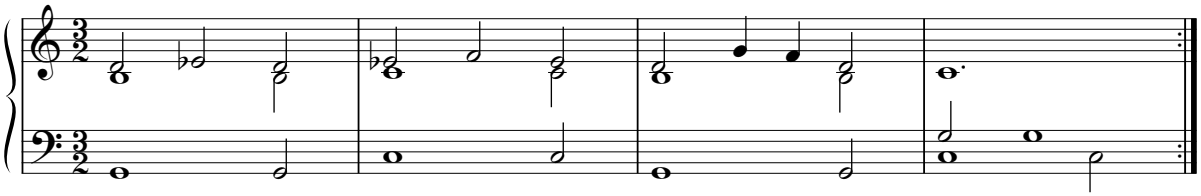
John Johnson





ground

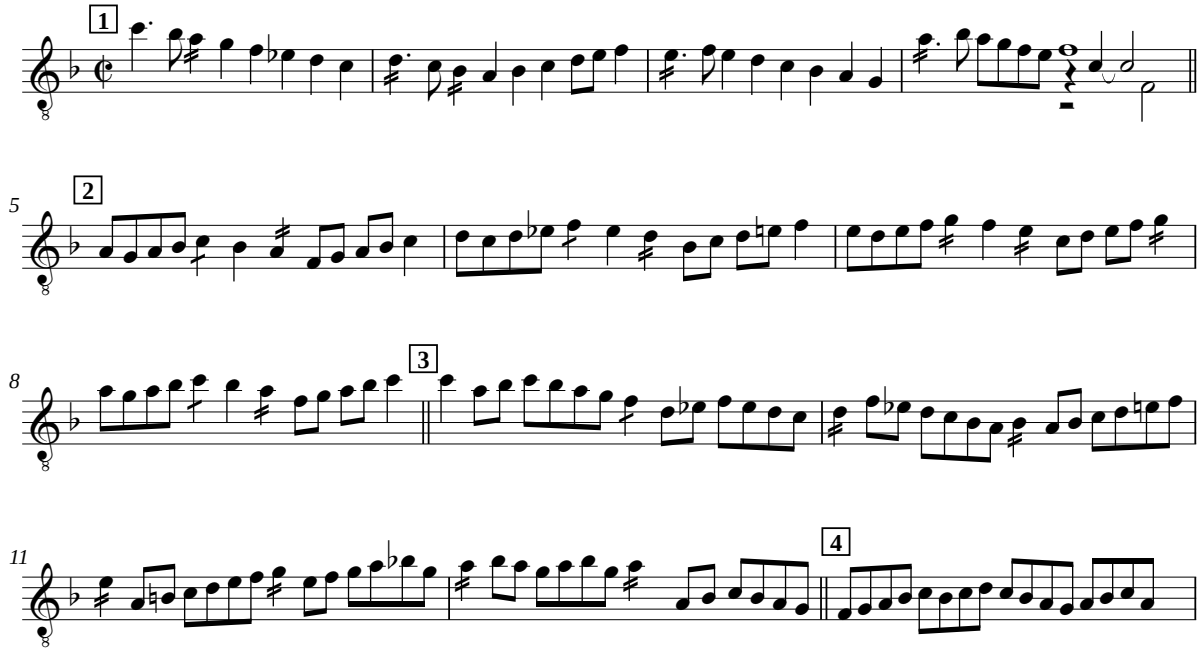
Marsh, p. 144 John Johnson

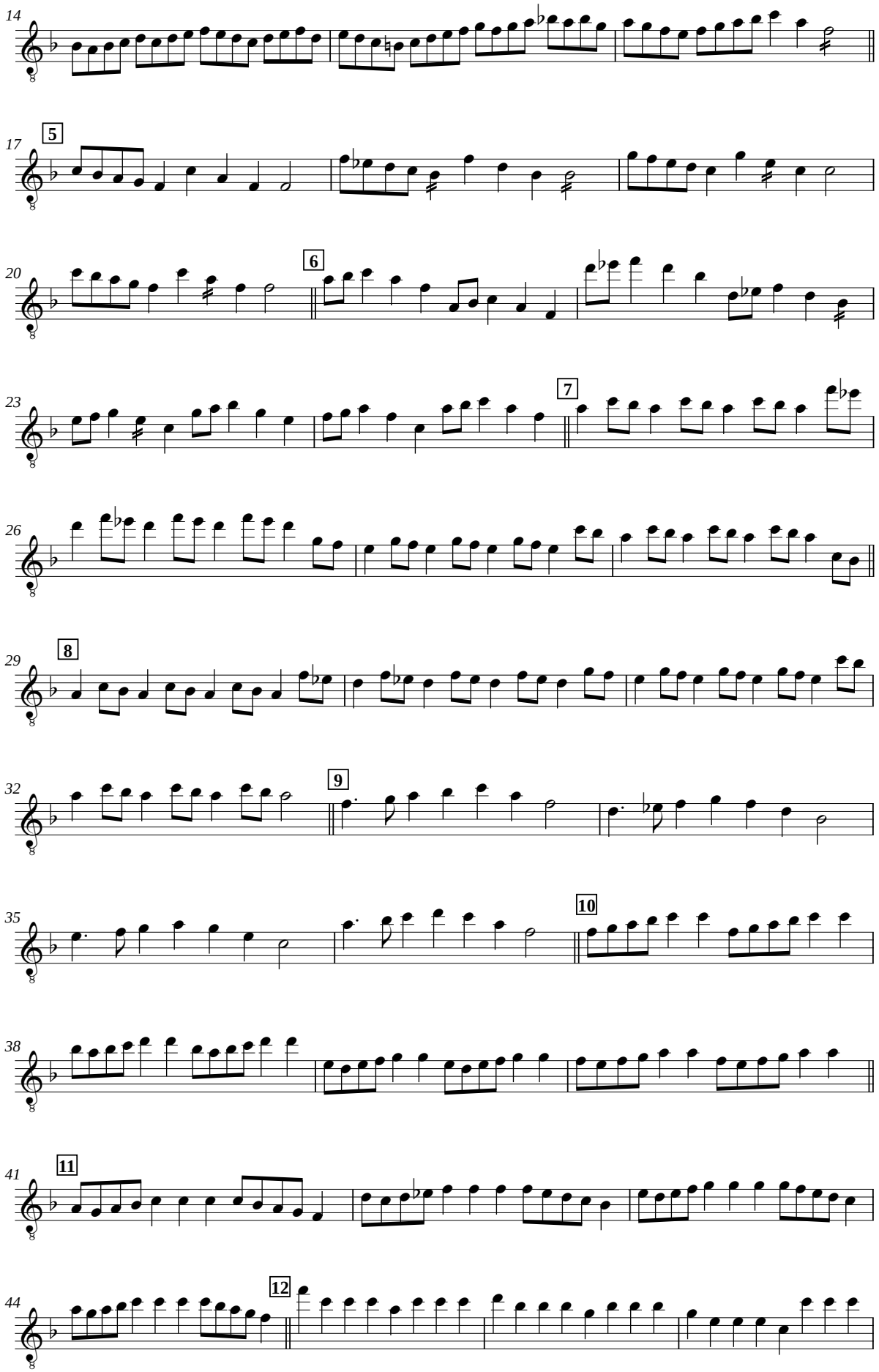


60. Second Dump (The Queen's Treble)

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 4r-3v (sic) John Johnson

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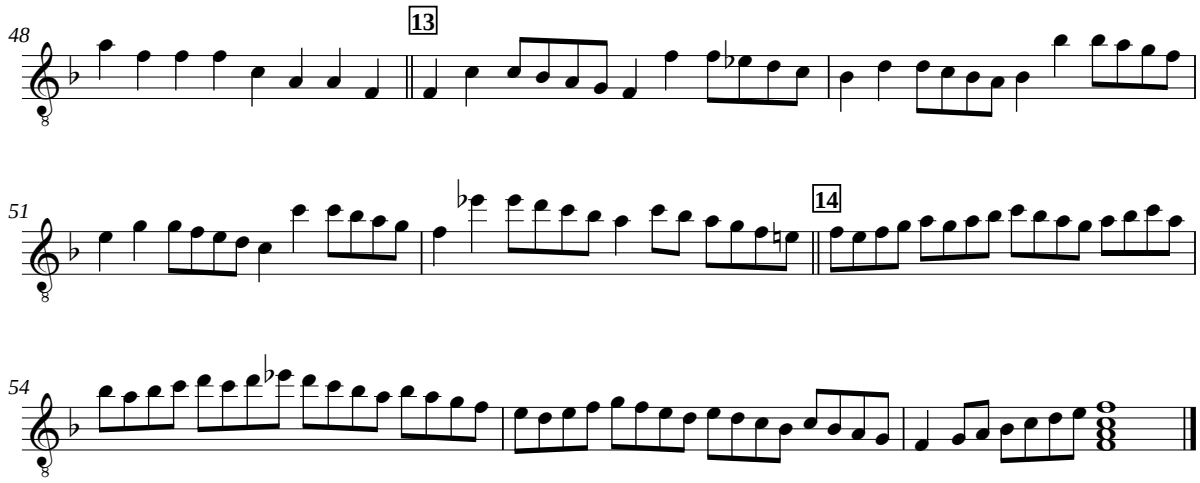
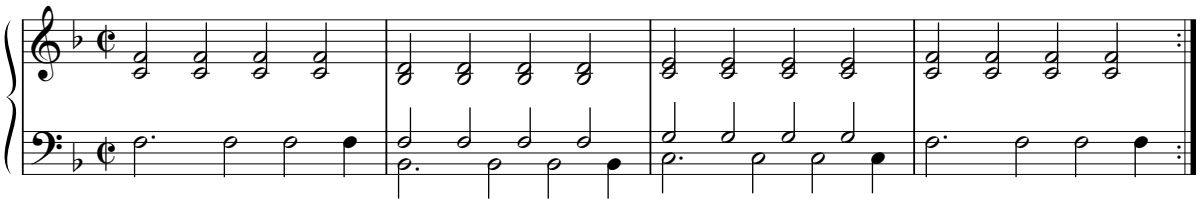


ground

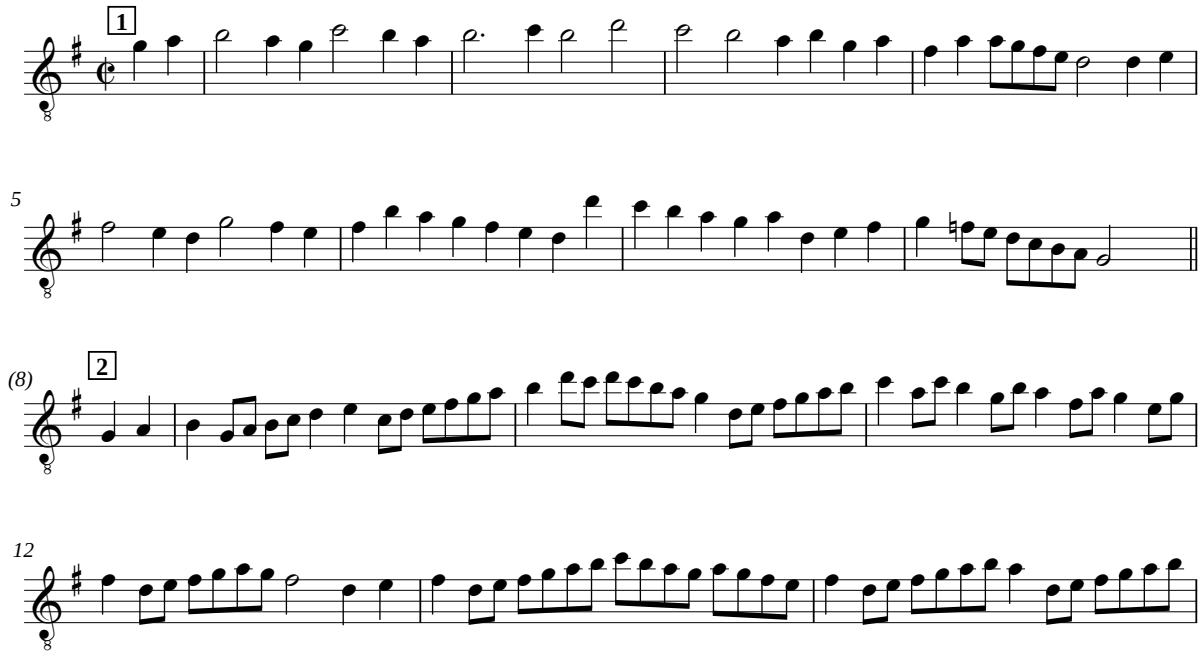
Brogyntyn, p. 7 (second version) John Johnson

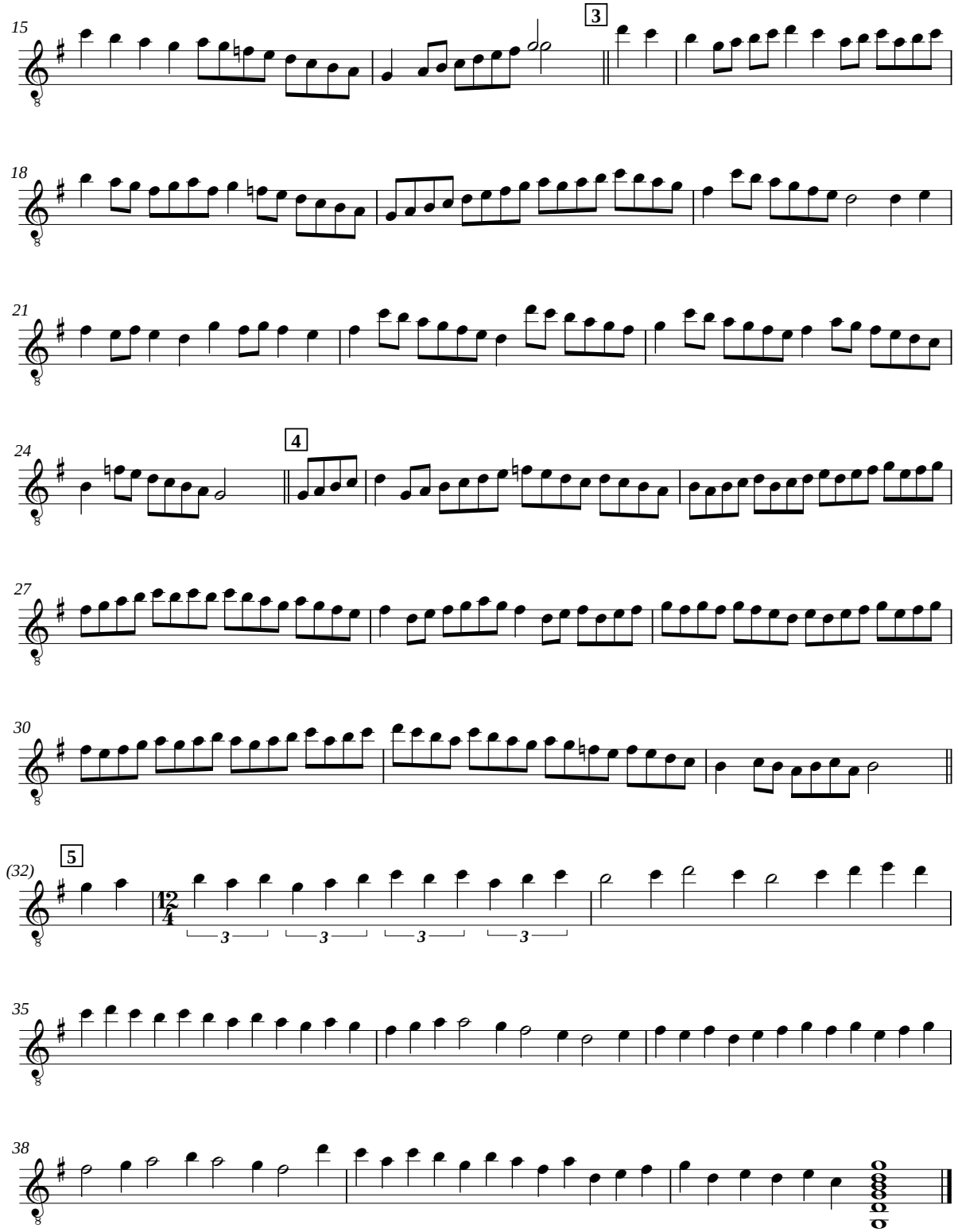


61. Rogero

treble

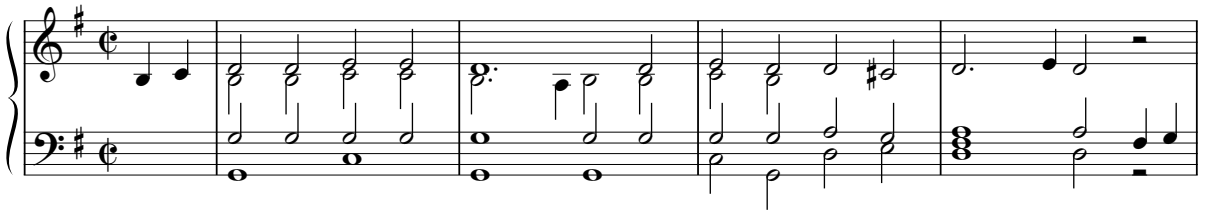
Dd.3.18, f. 1r John Johnson

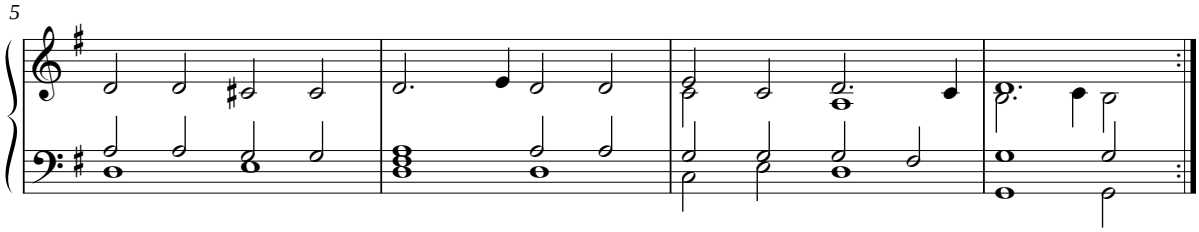




ground

[reconstructed]

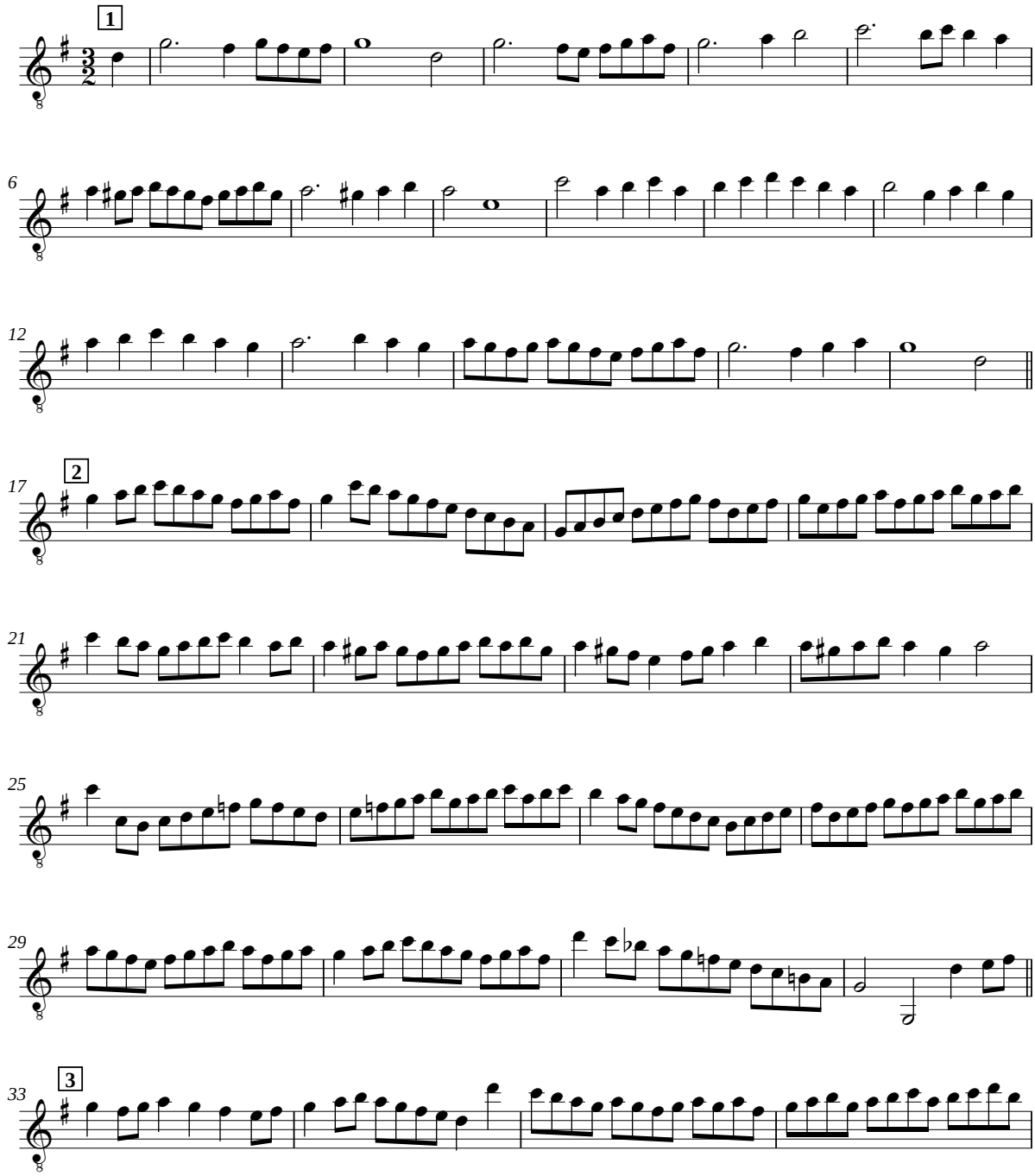


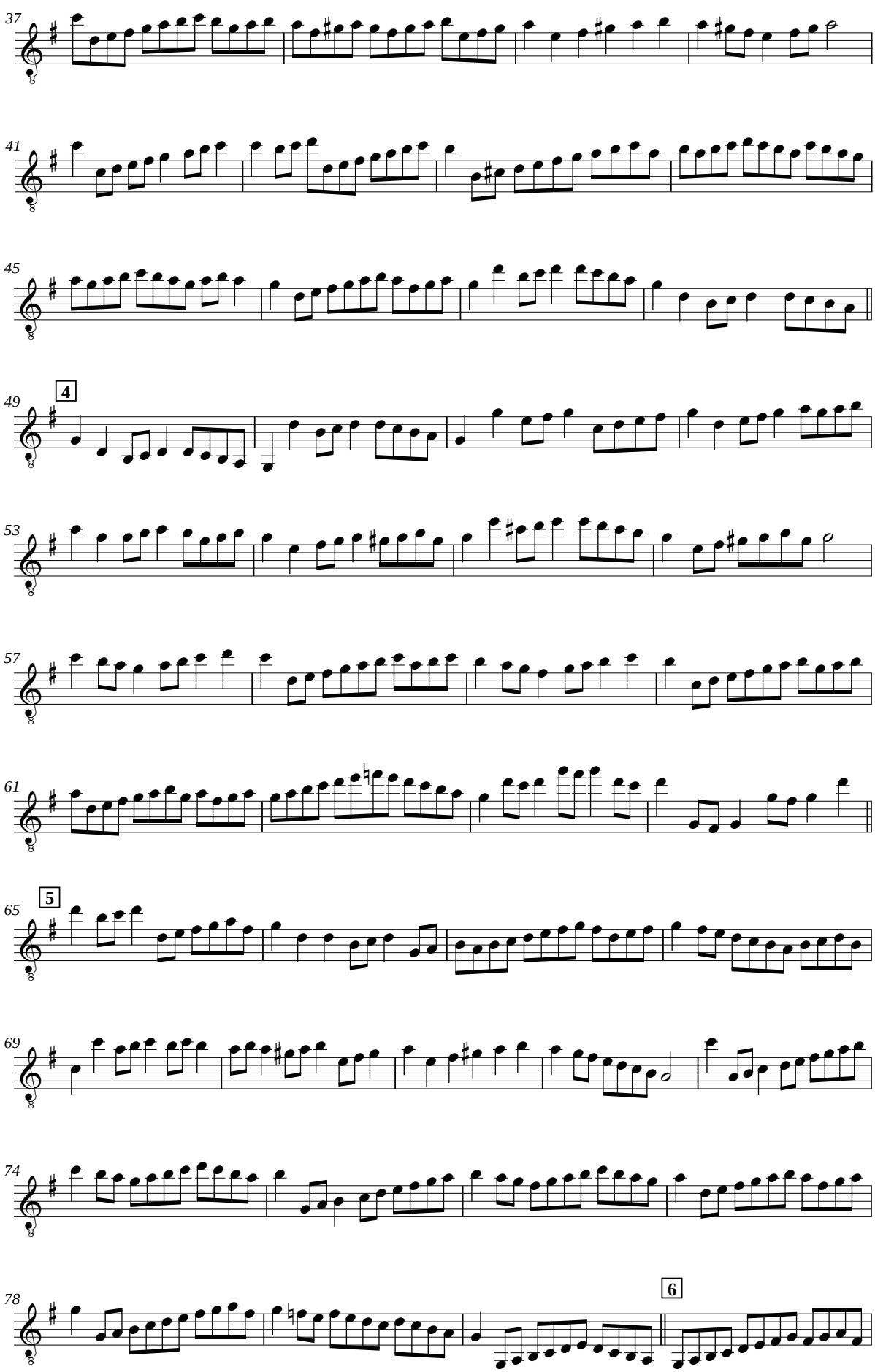


62. The New Hunt is Up Up

treble

Marsh, p. 183-186 — John Johnson

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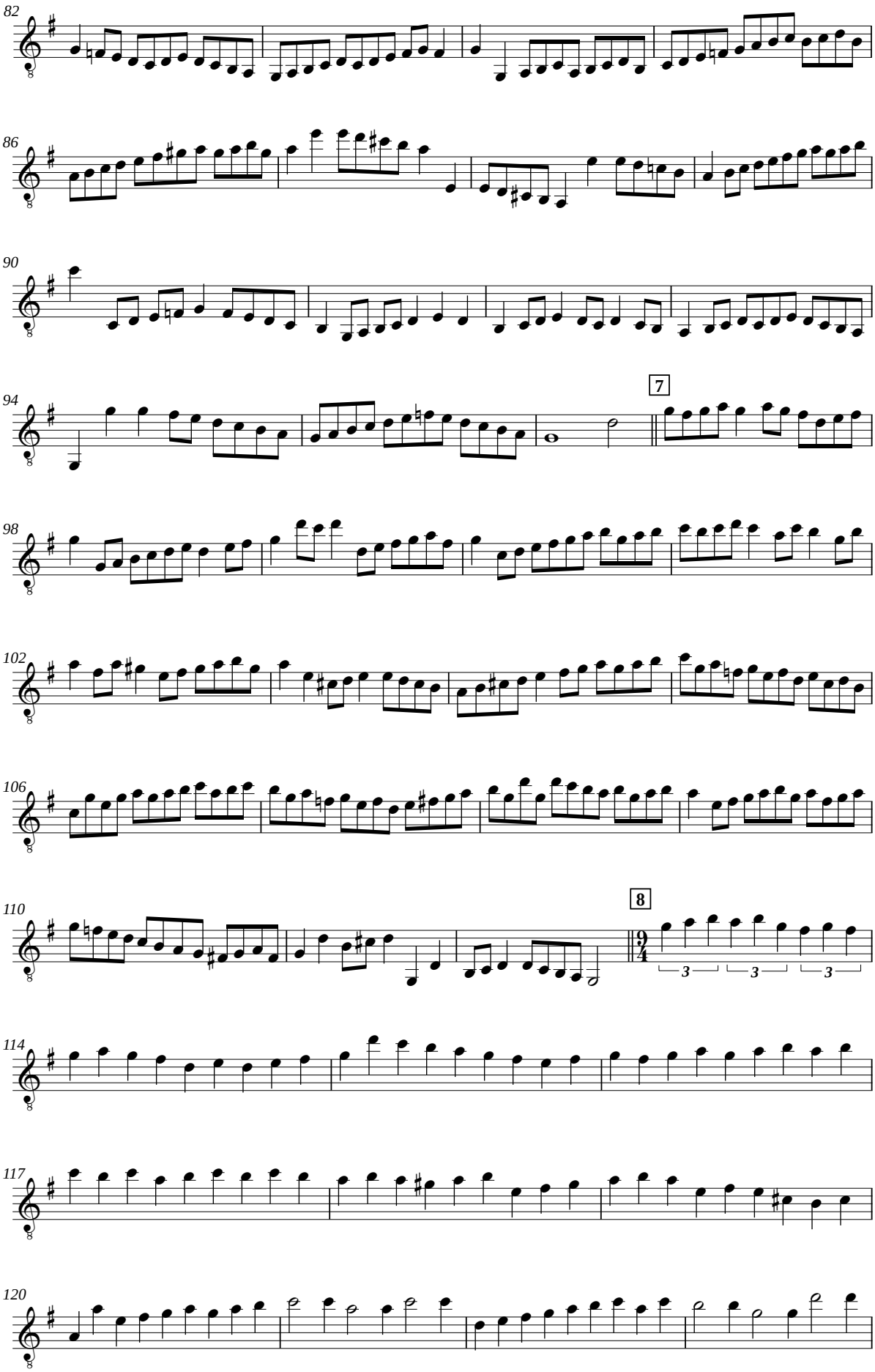
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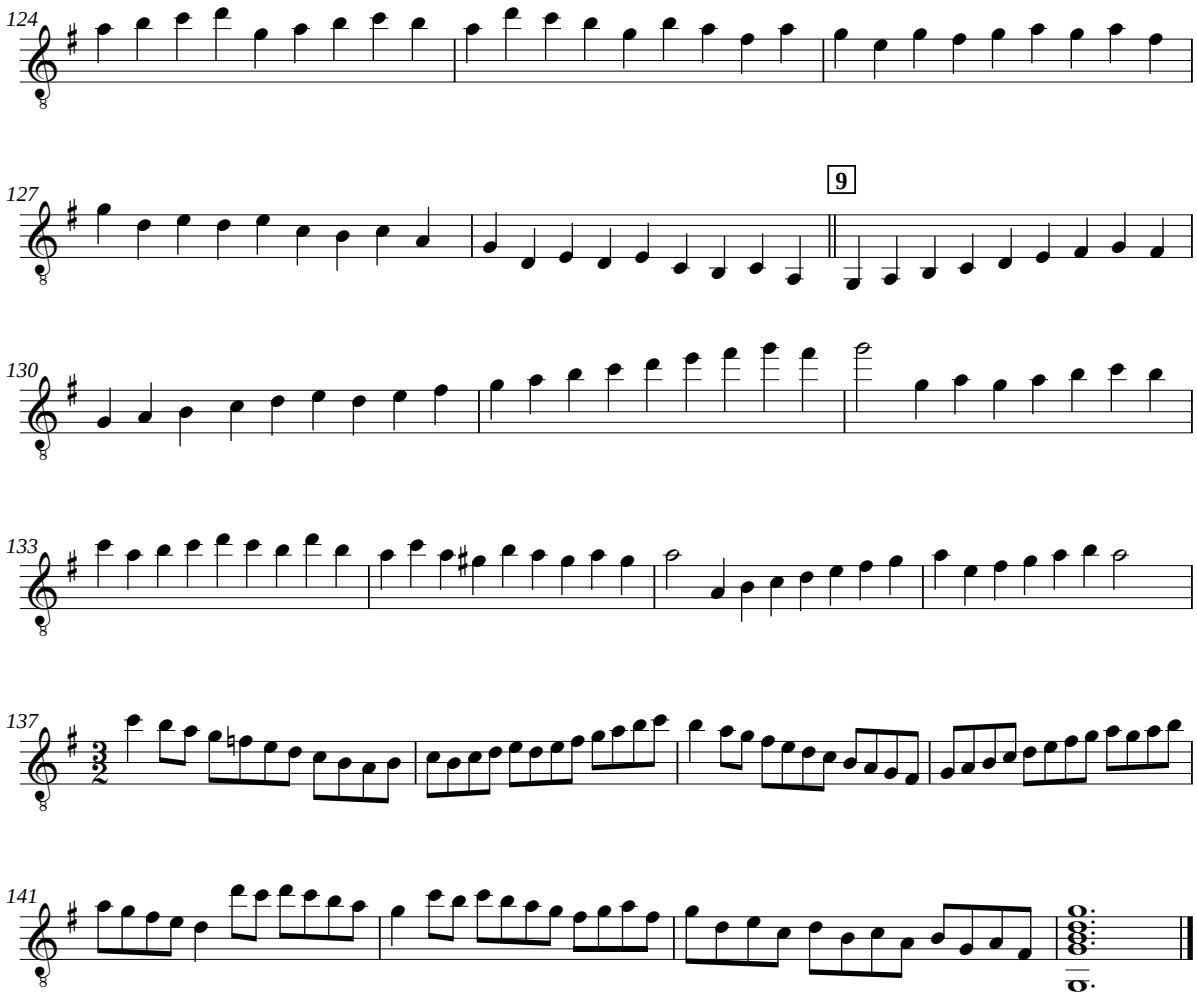
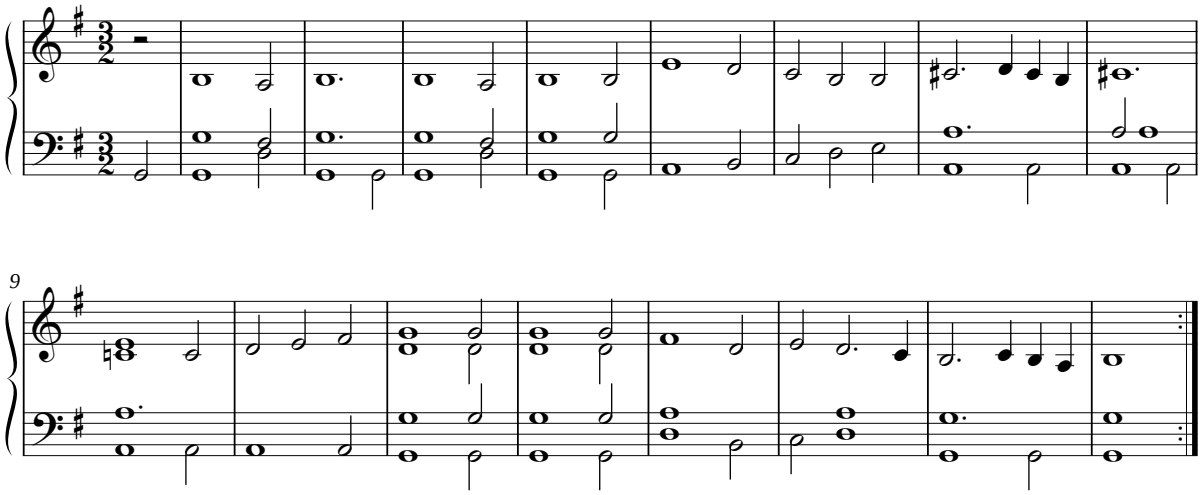


ground

Marsh, p. 186 [Anonymous]

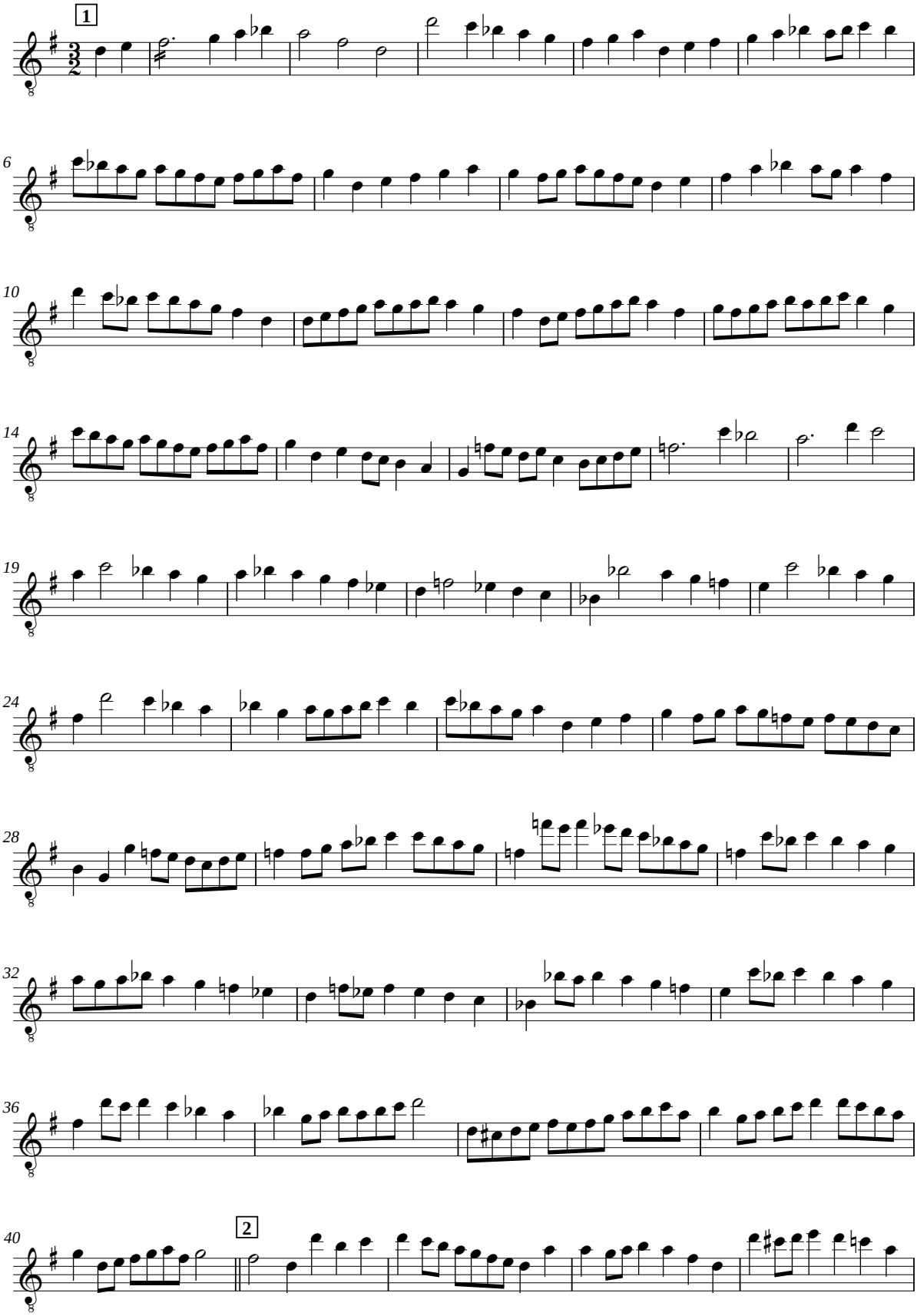


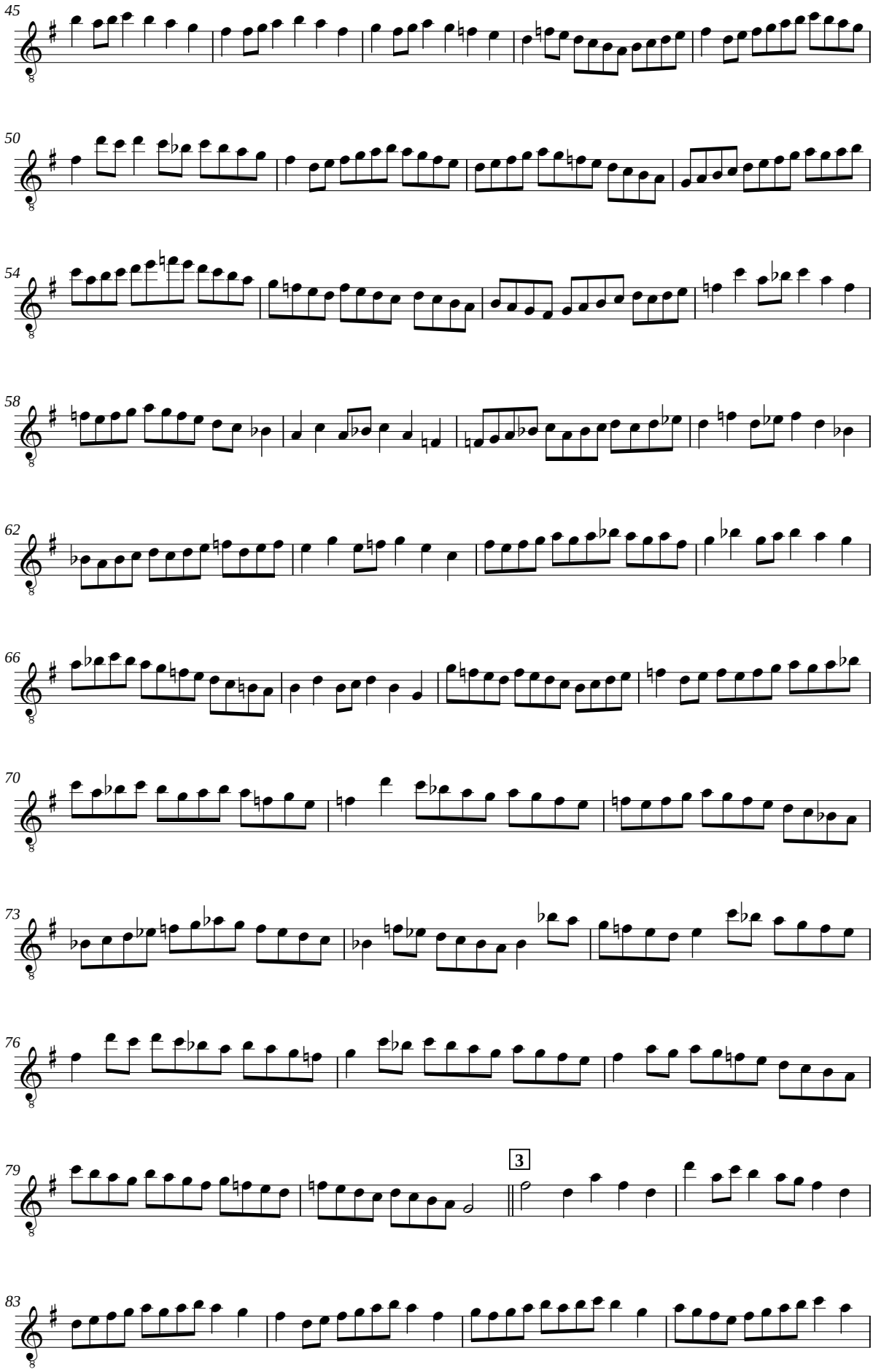
63. Chi Passa

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 7v-8r

John Johnson

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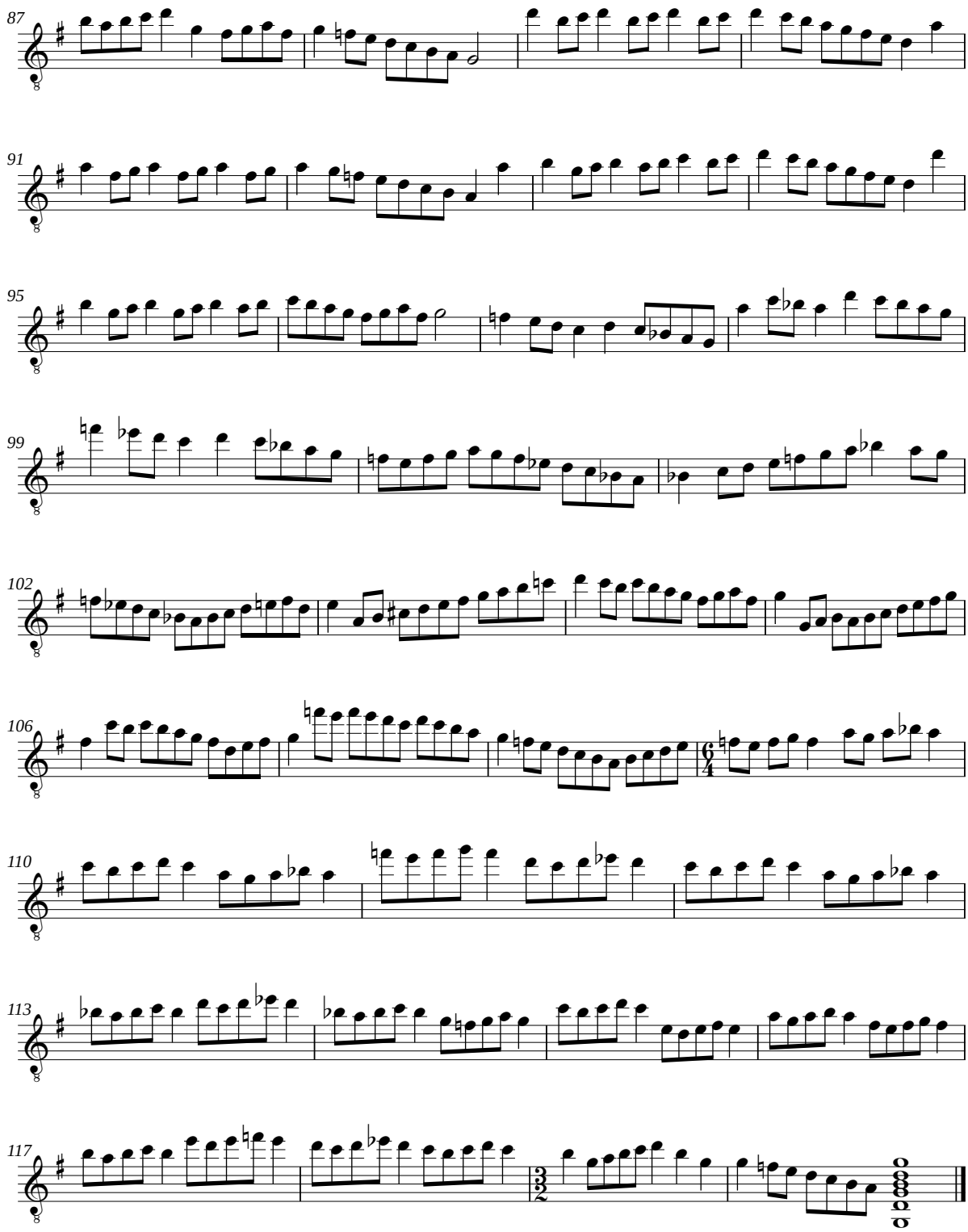

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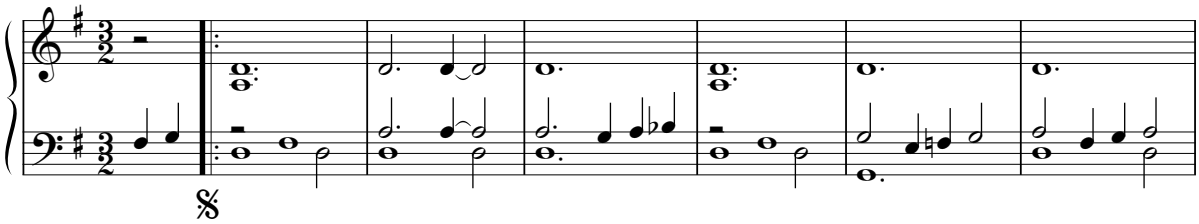
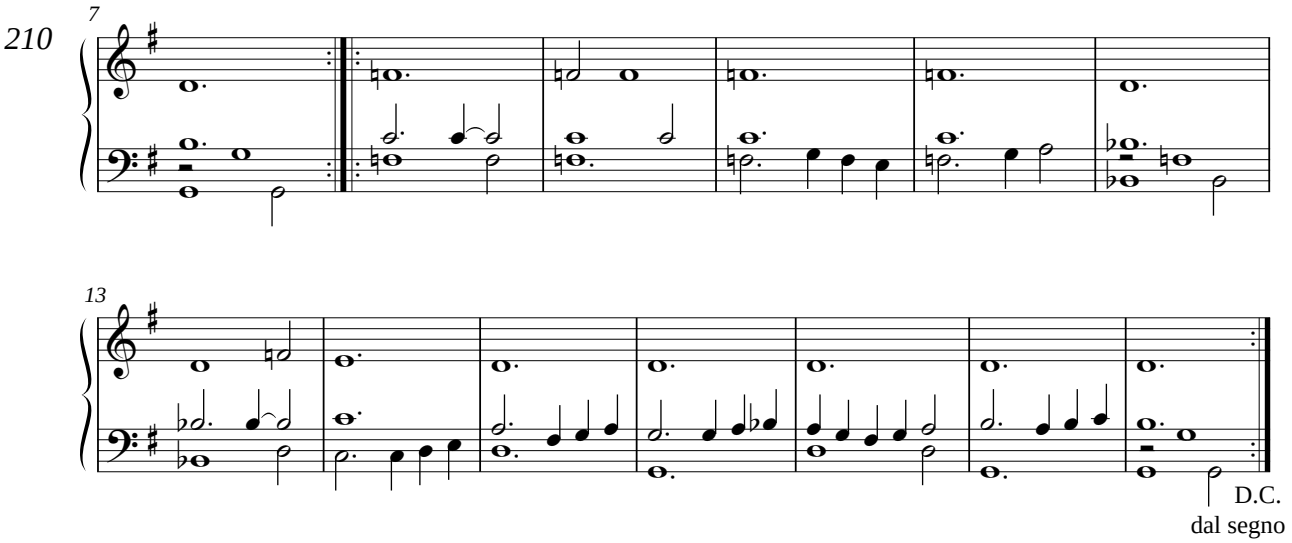
[reconstructed]



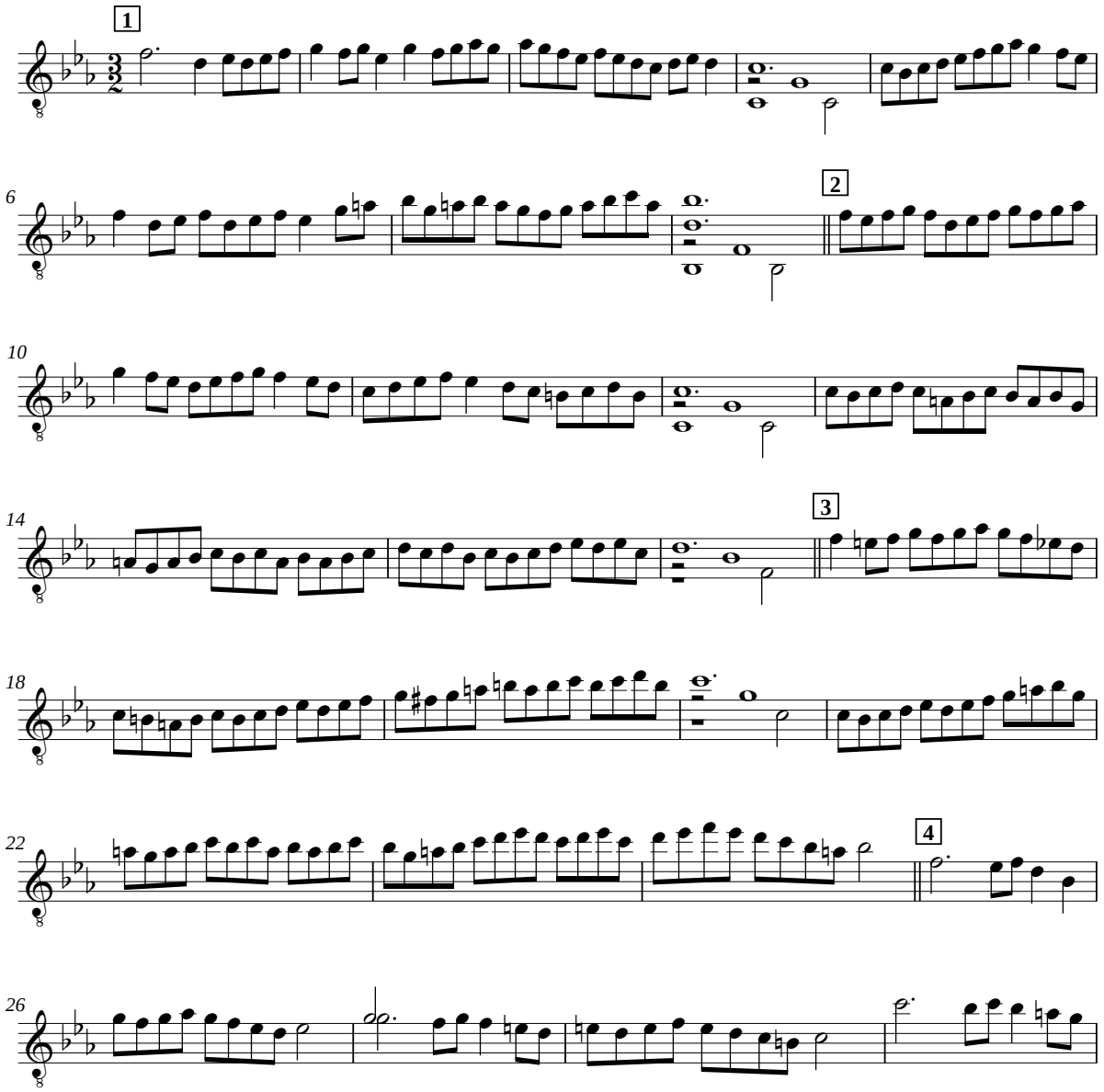


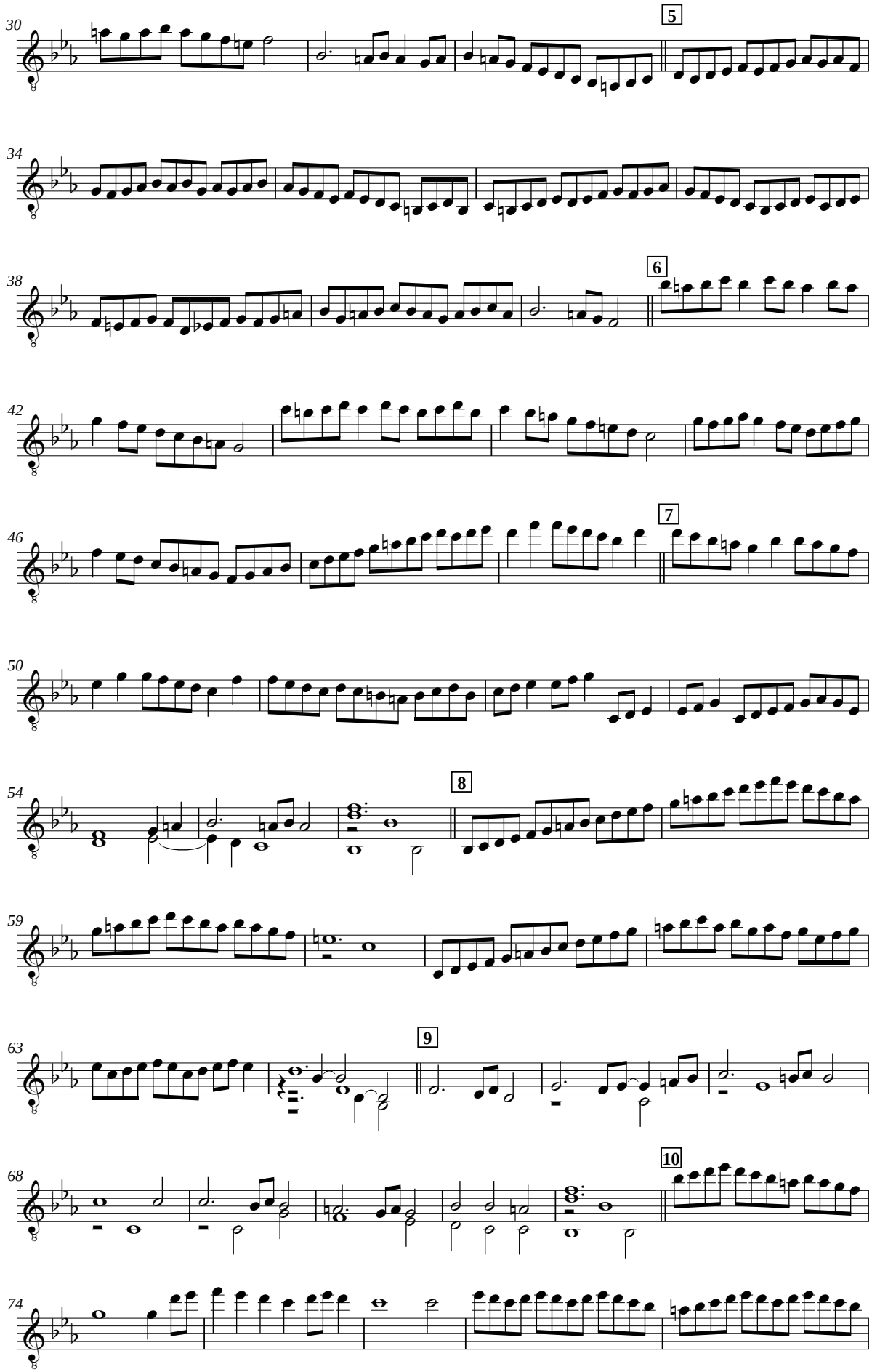
64. Goodnight

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 15v-16r

John Johnson

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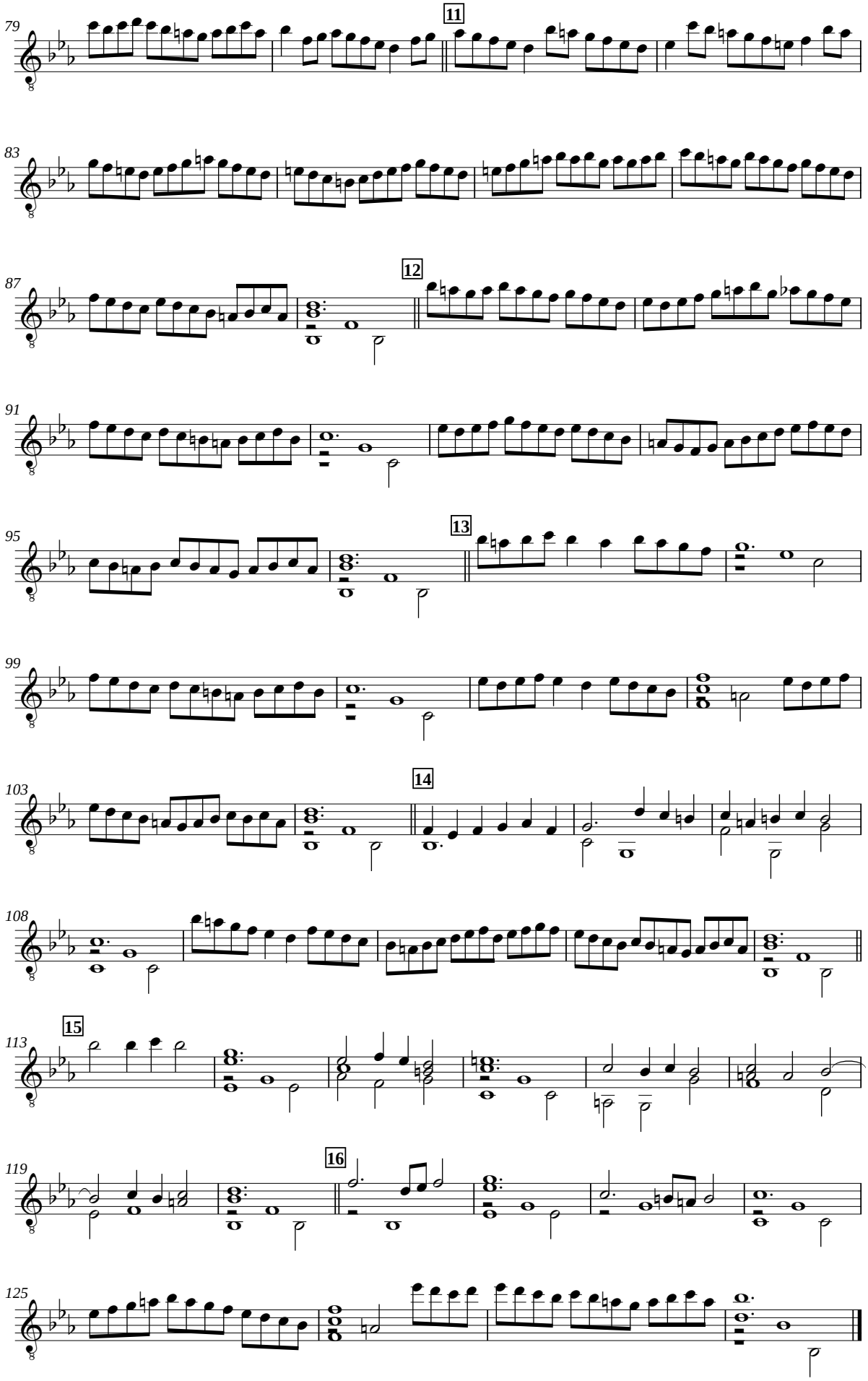
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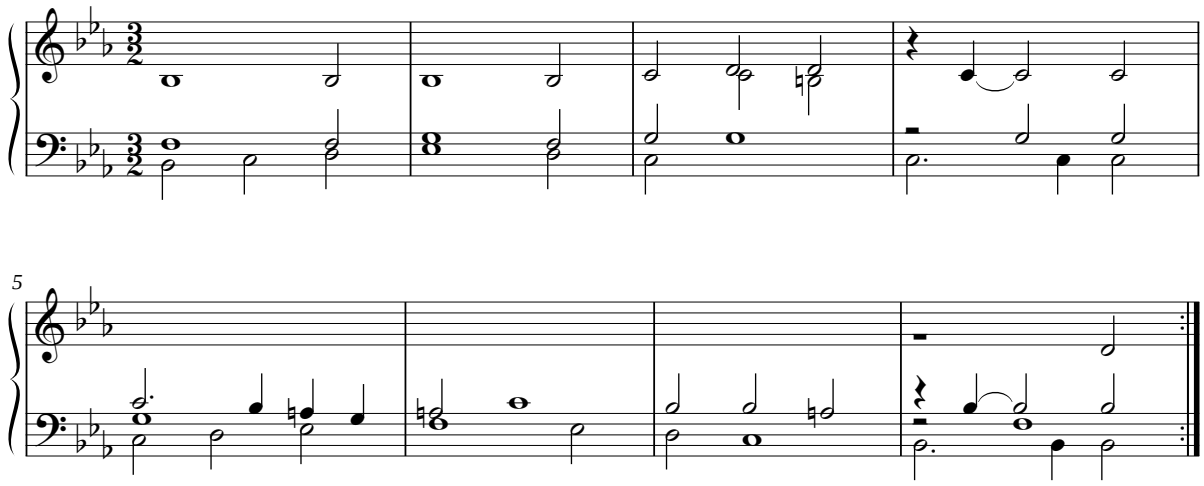
ground

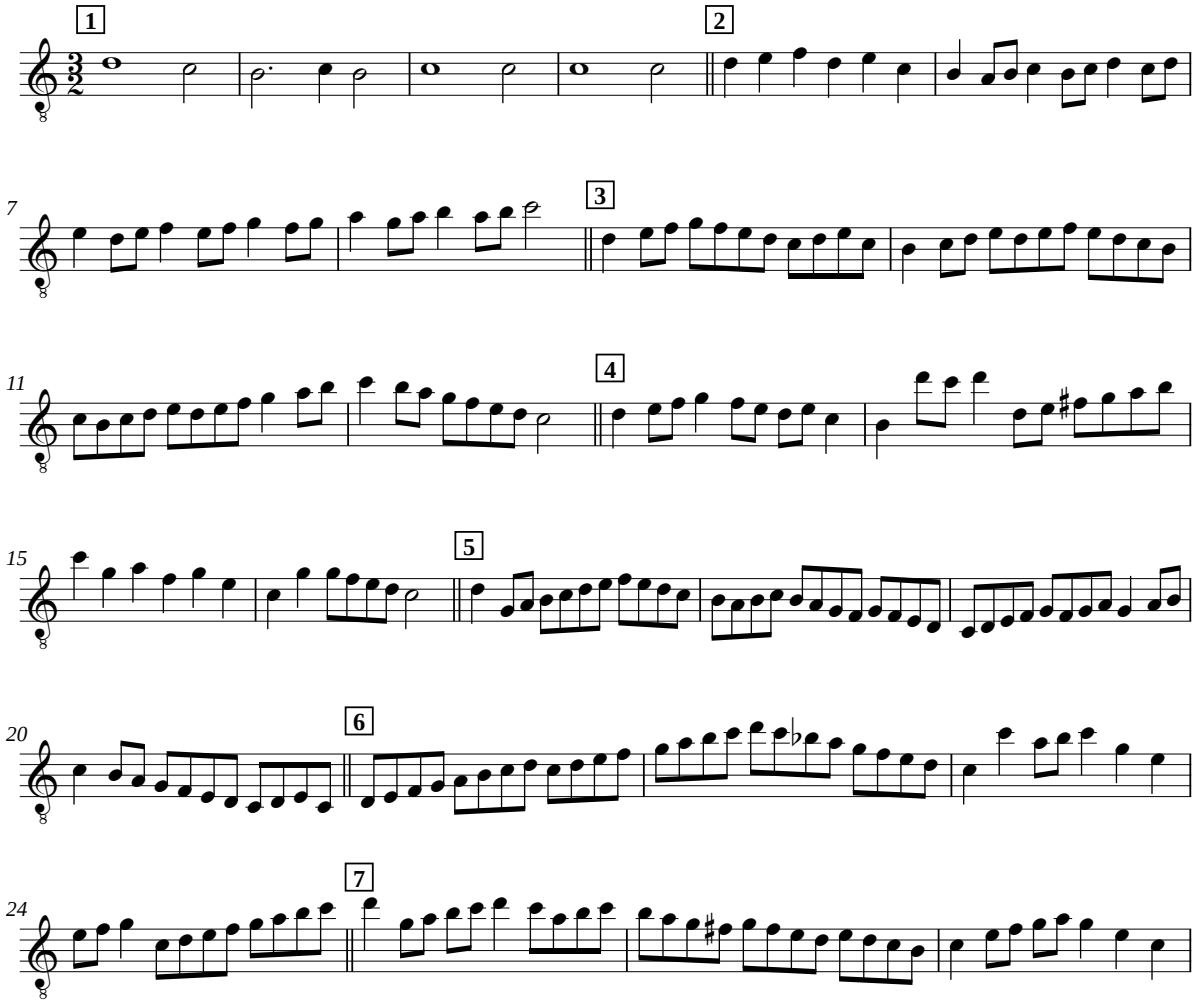
Dallis, p. 16 [Anonymous]

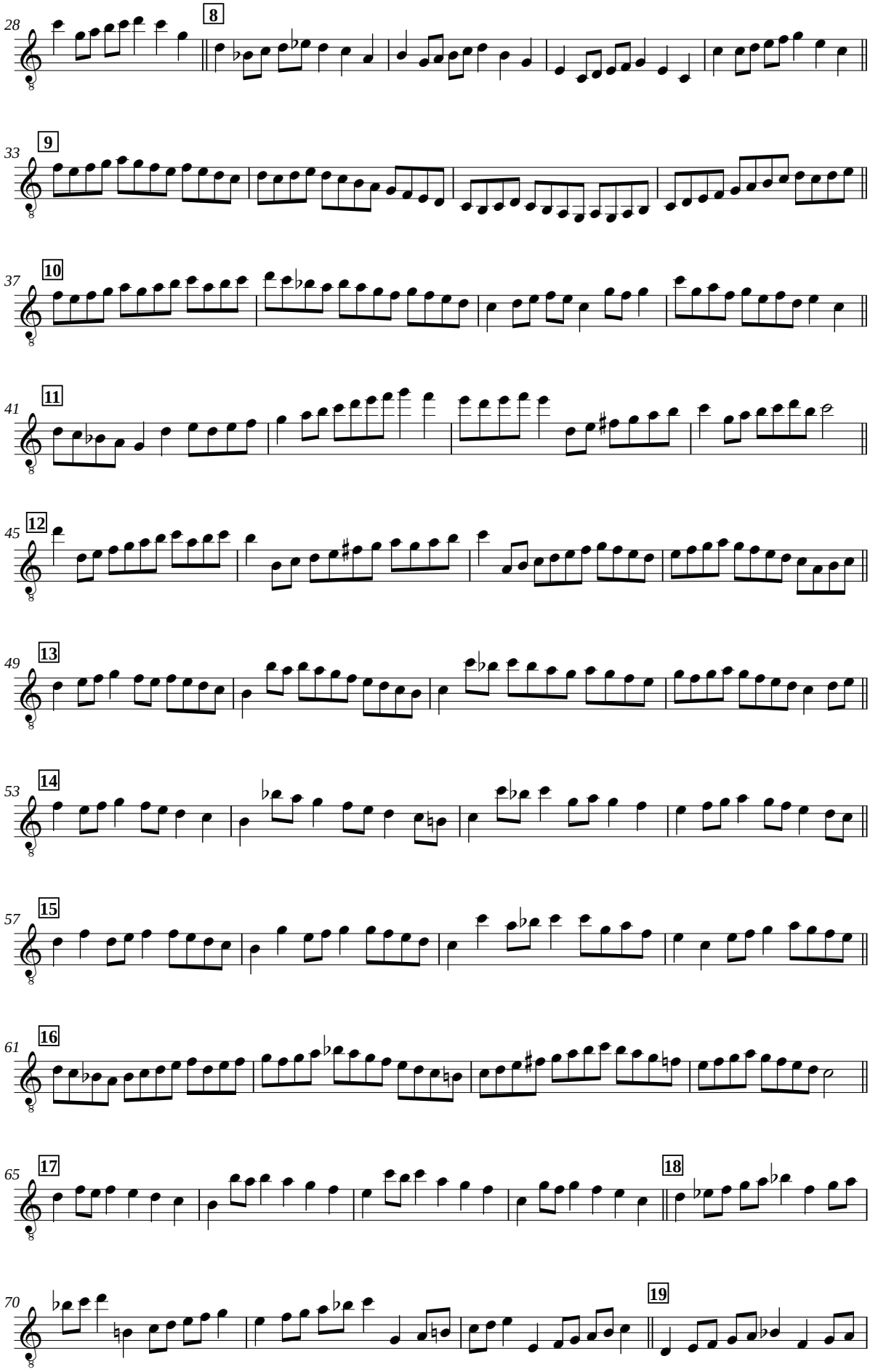


65. Wakefield on a Green

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 11v-12r John Johnson

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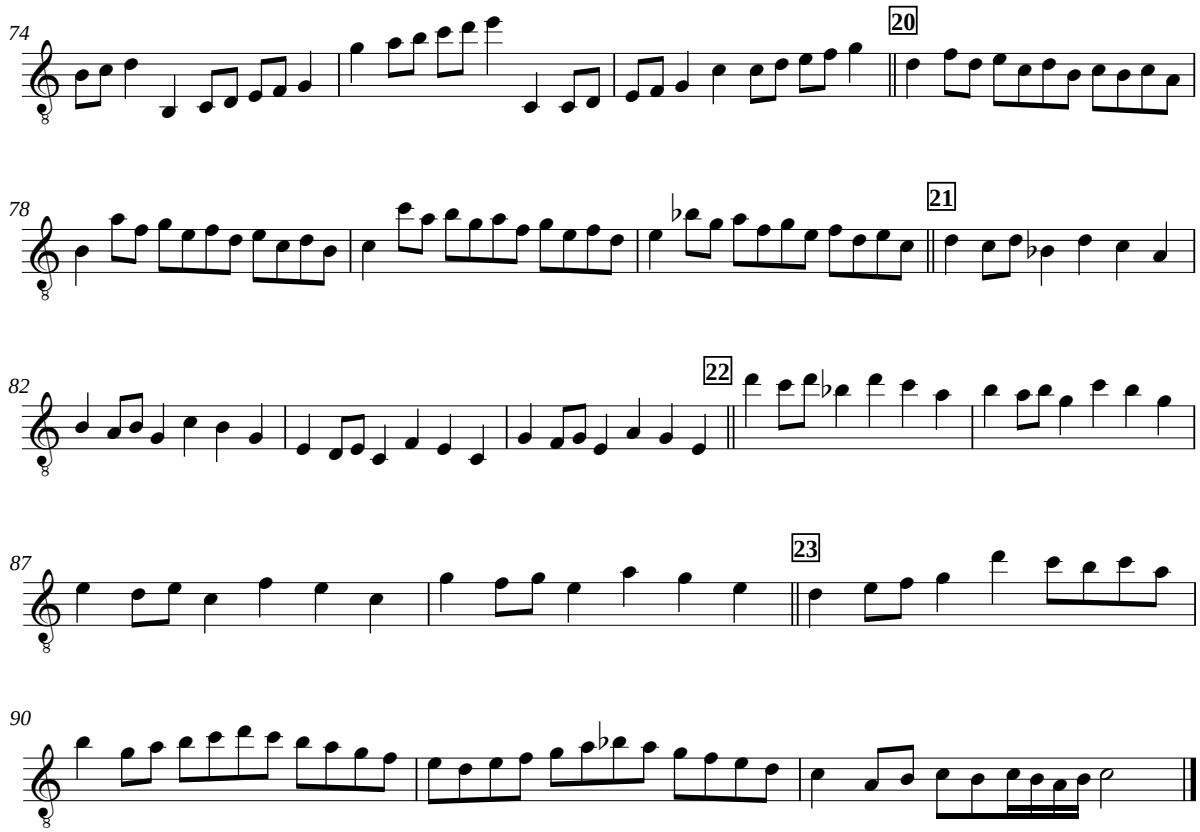
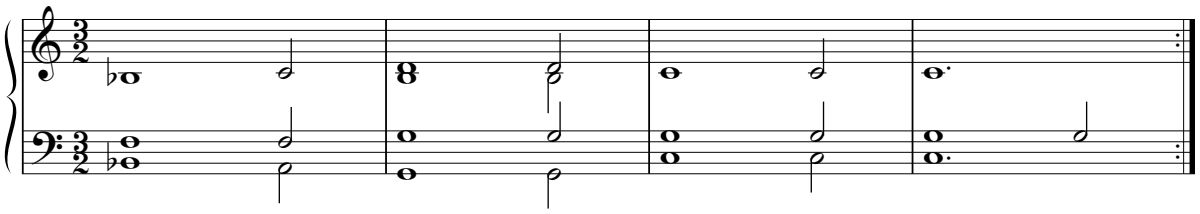


ground

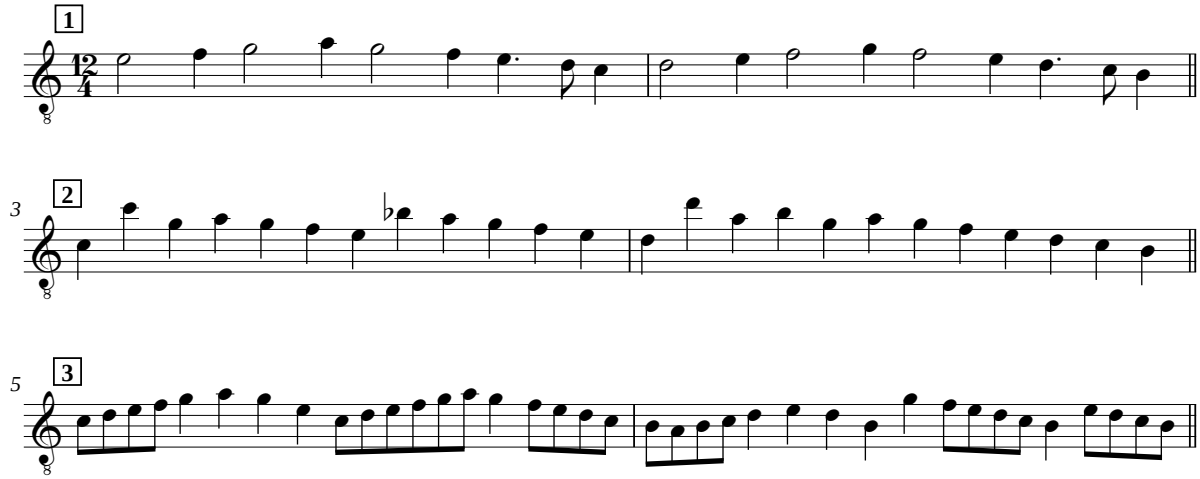
Marsh, p. 148 [Anonymous]

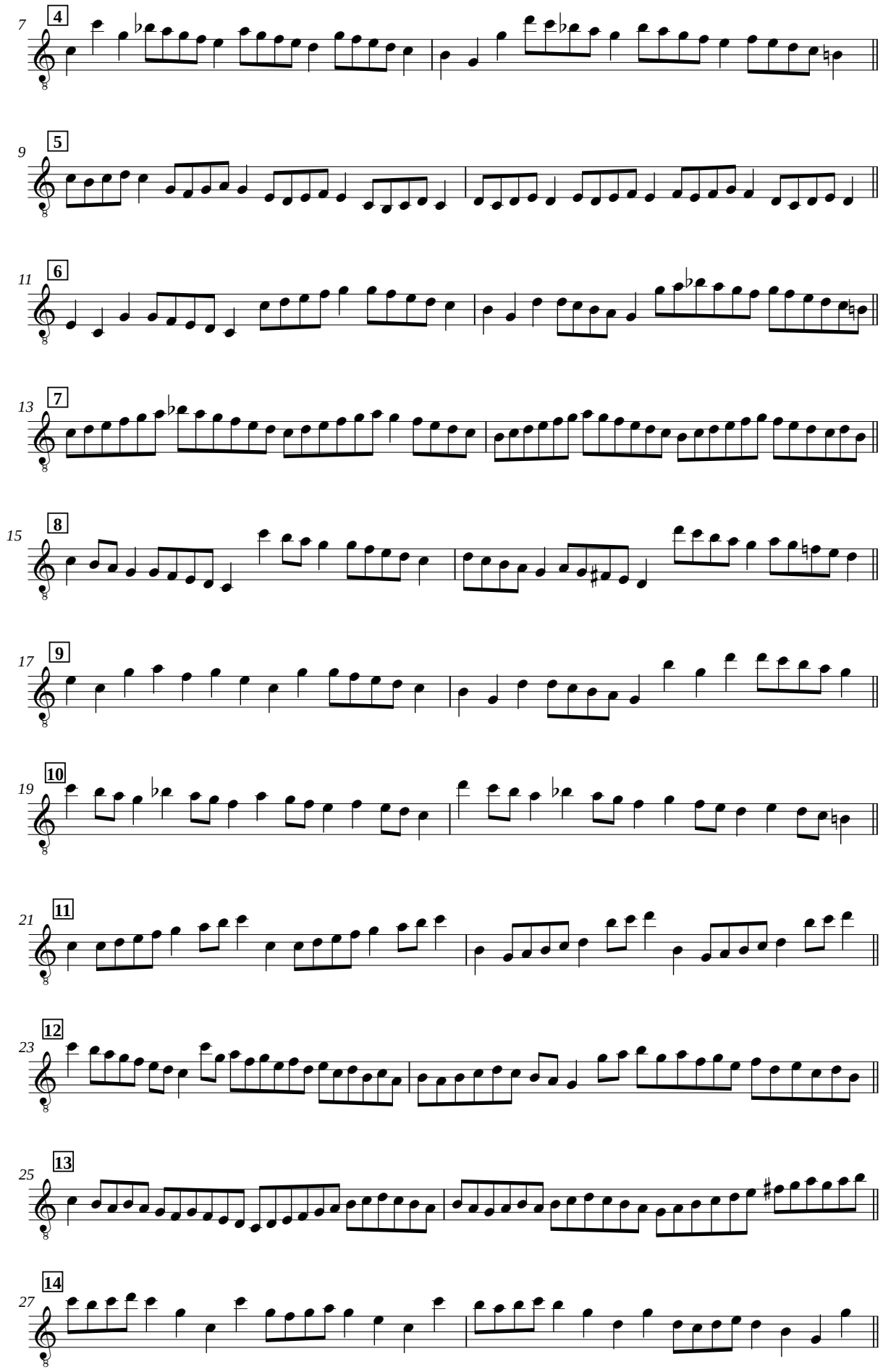


66. Trenchmore

treble

Marsh, p. 139-141 John Johnson

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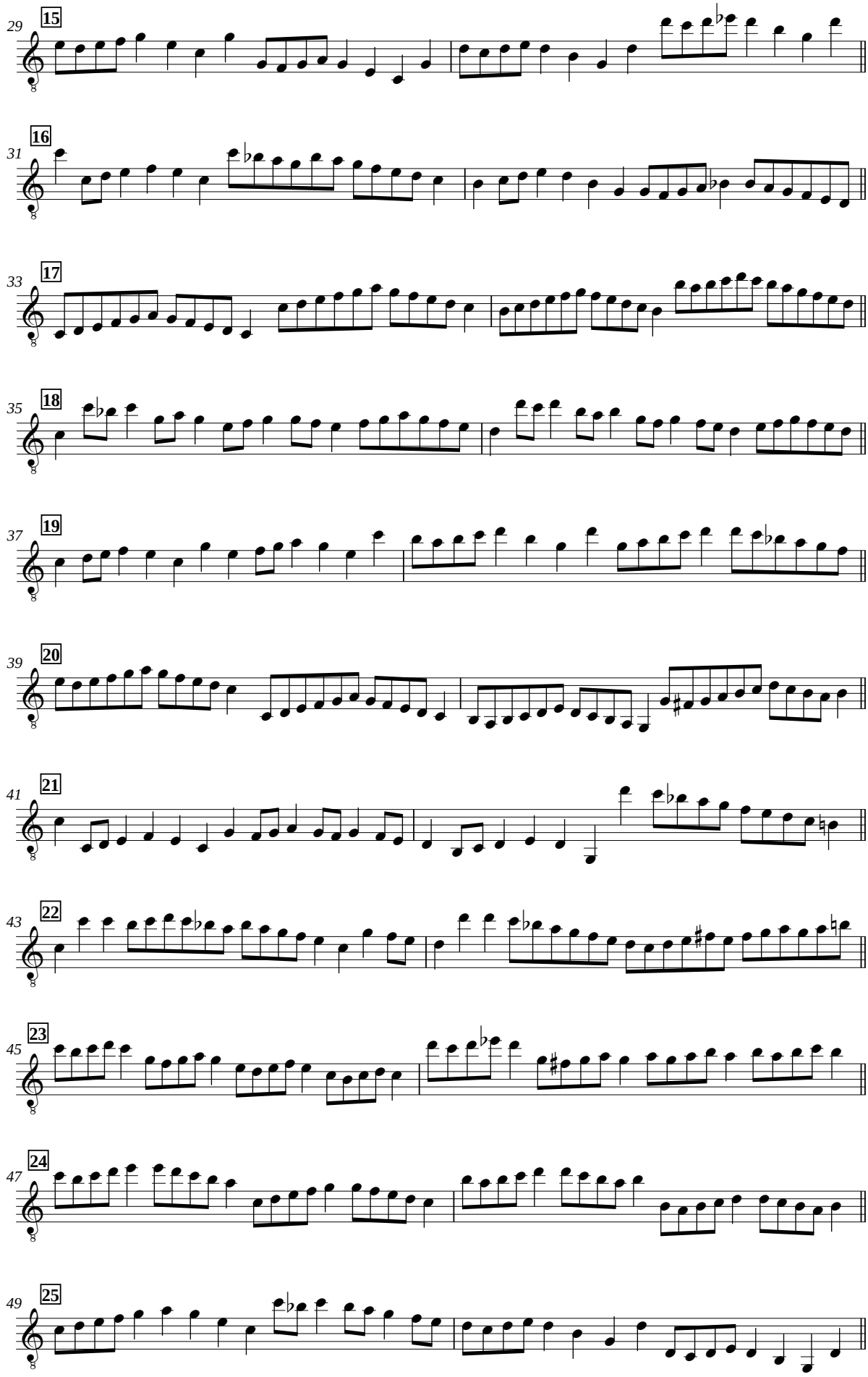
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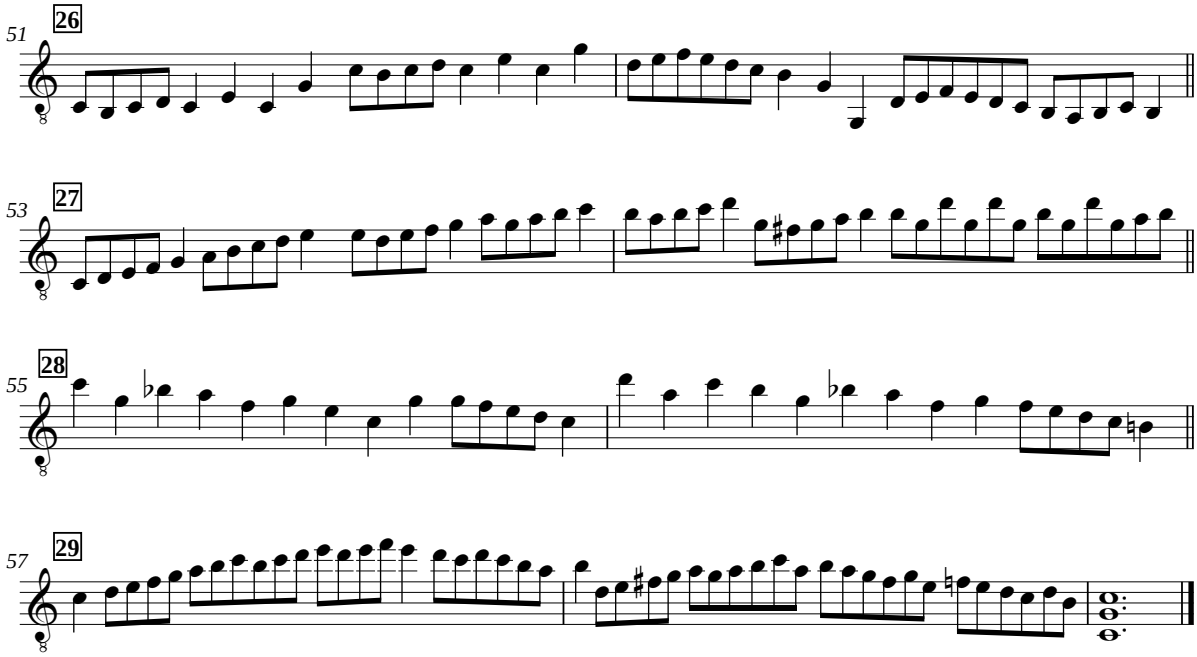
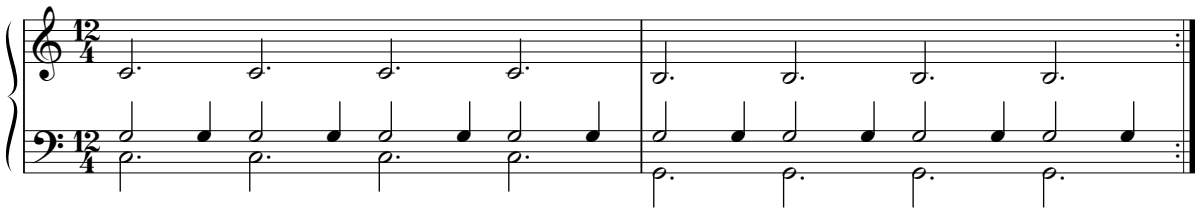


ground

Marsh, p. 139 [Anonymous]



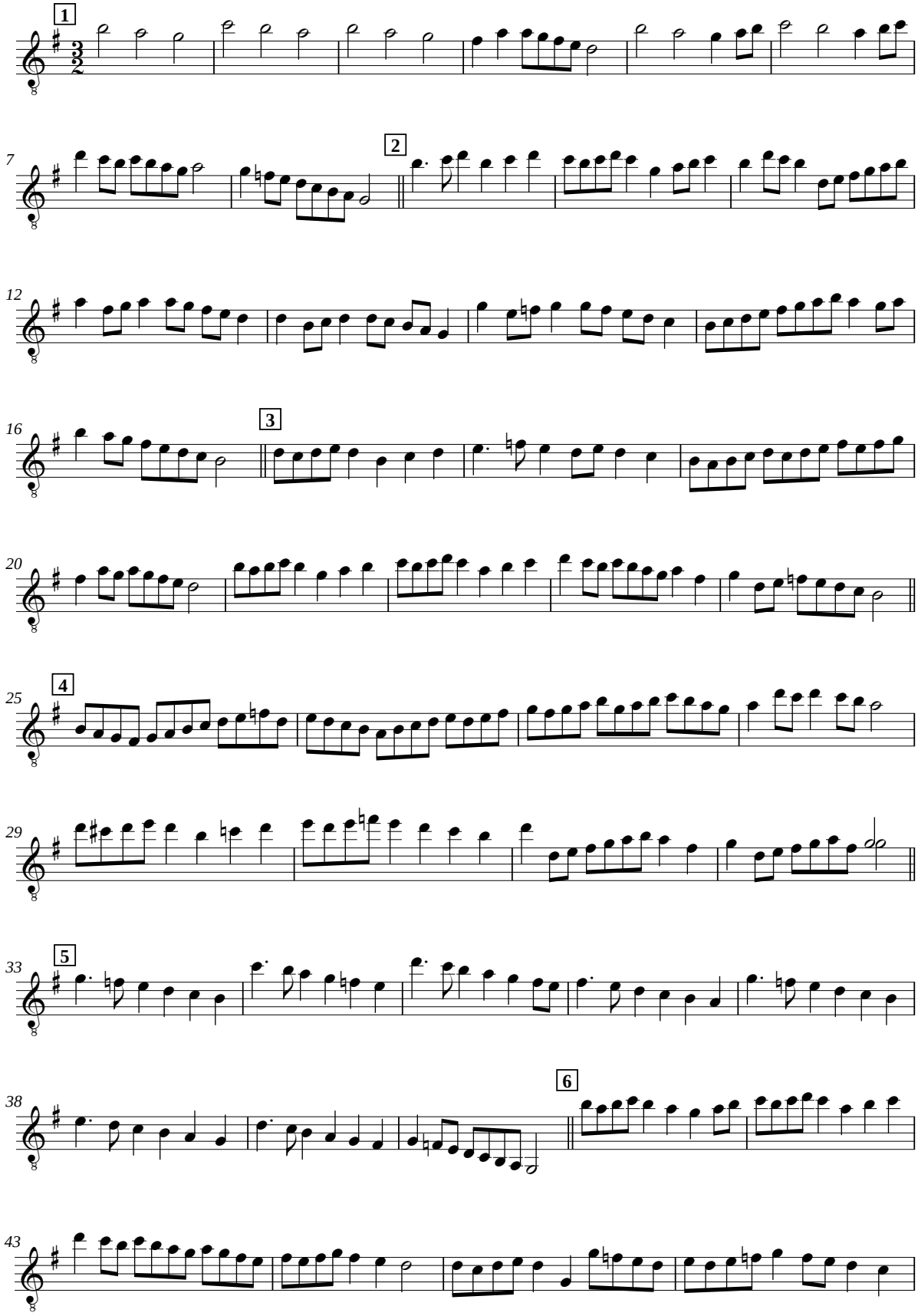
APPENDIX B

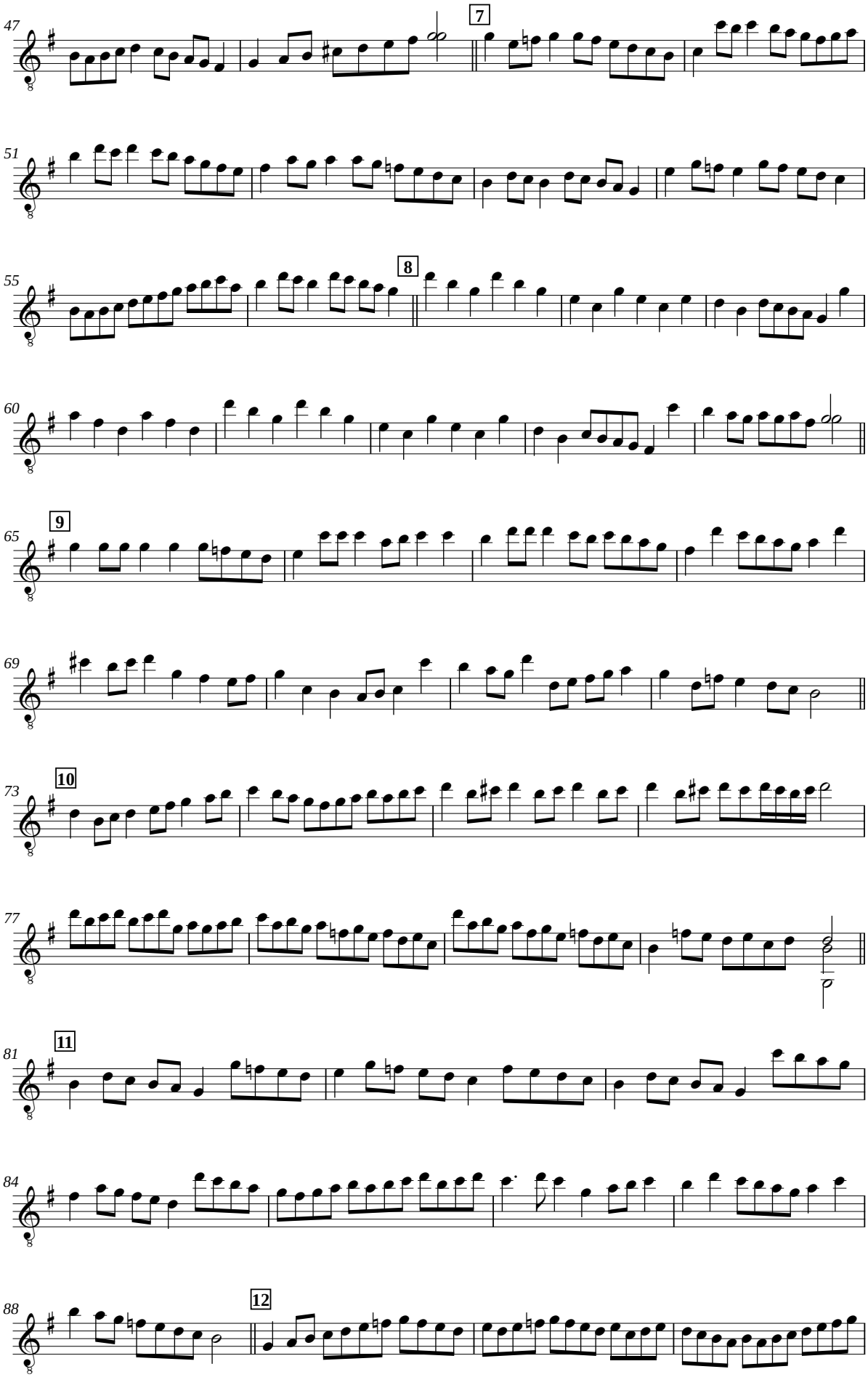
Treble and ground duets of uncertain ascription

67. [Quadro Galliard]

treble

Marsh, p. 154-156 [Anonymous]

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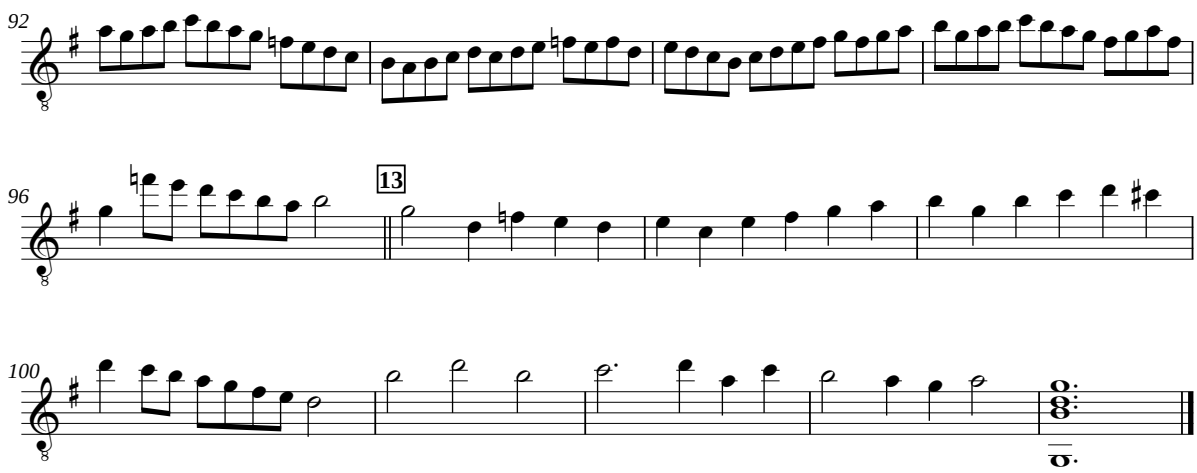
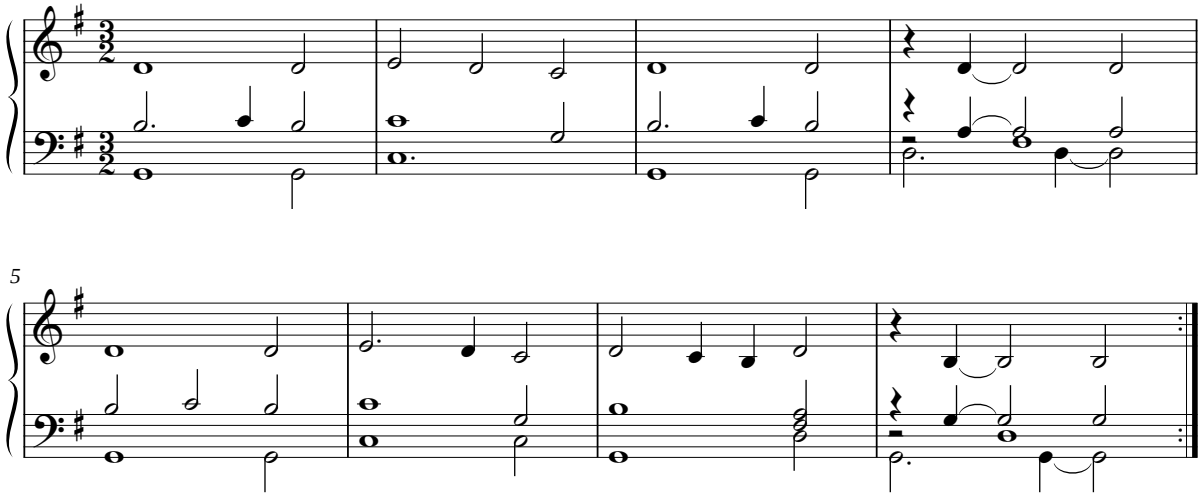


ground

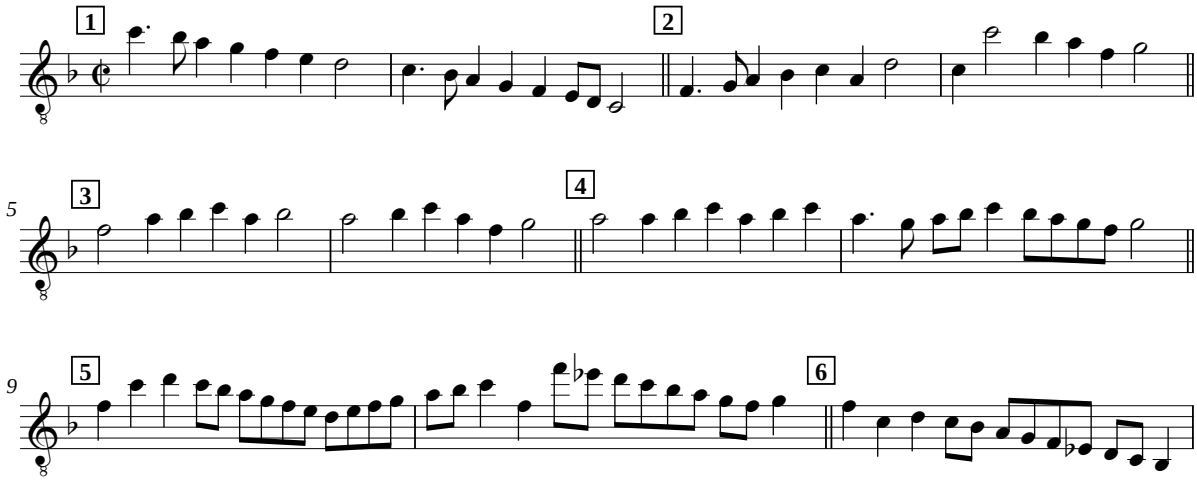
Marsh, p. 154 (transposed) [Anonymous]

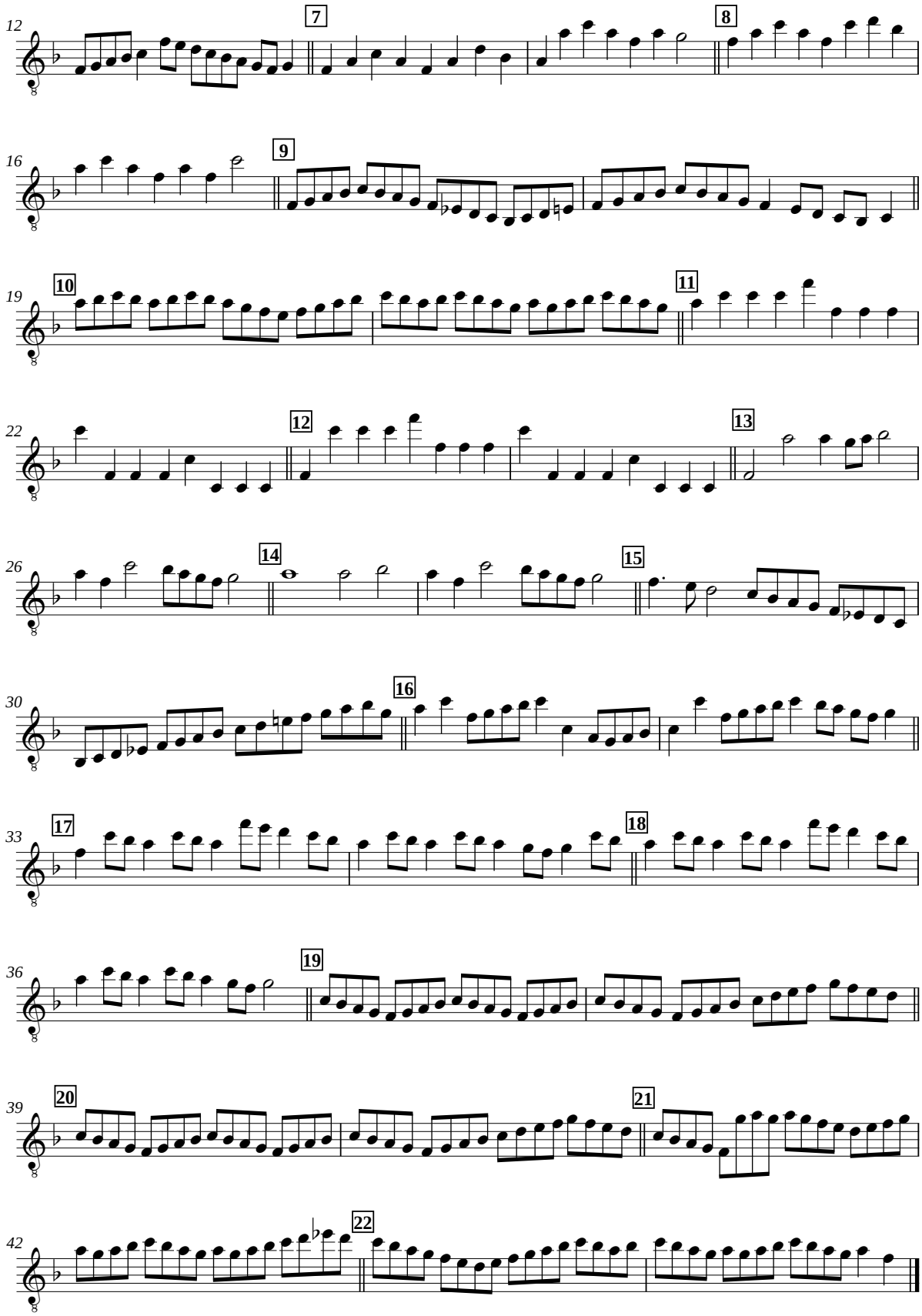


68a. [Dump]

treble

Marsh, p. 150-151 [Anonymous]

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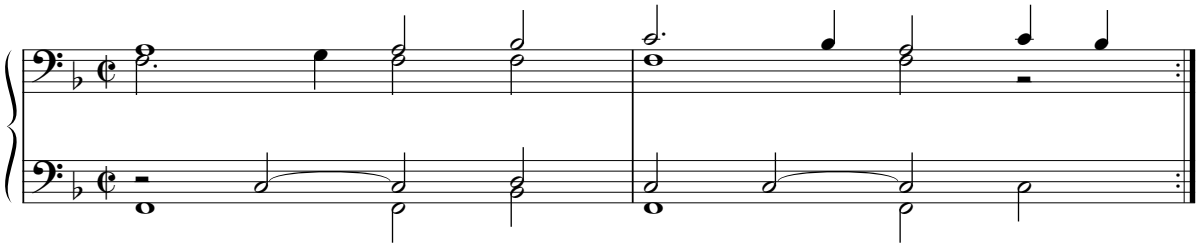
ground

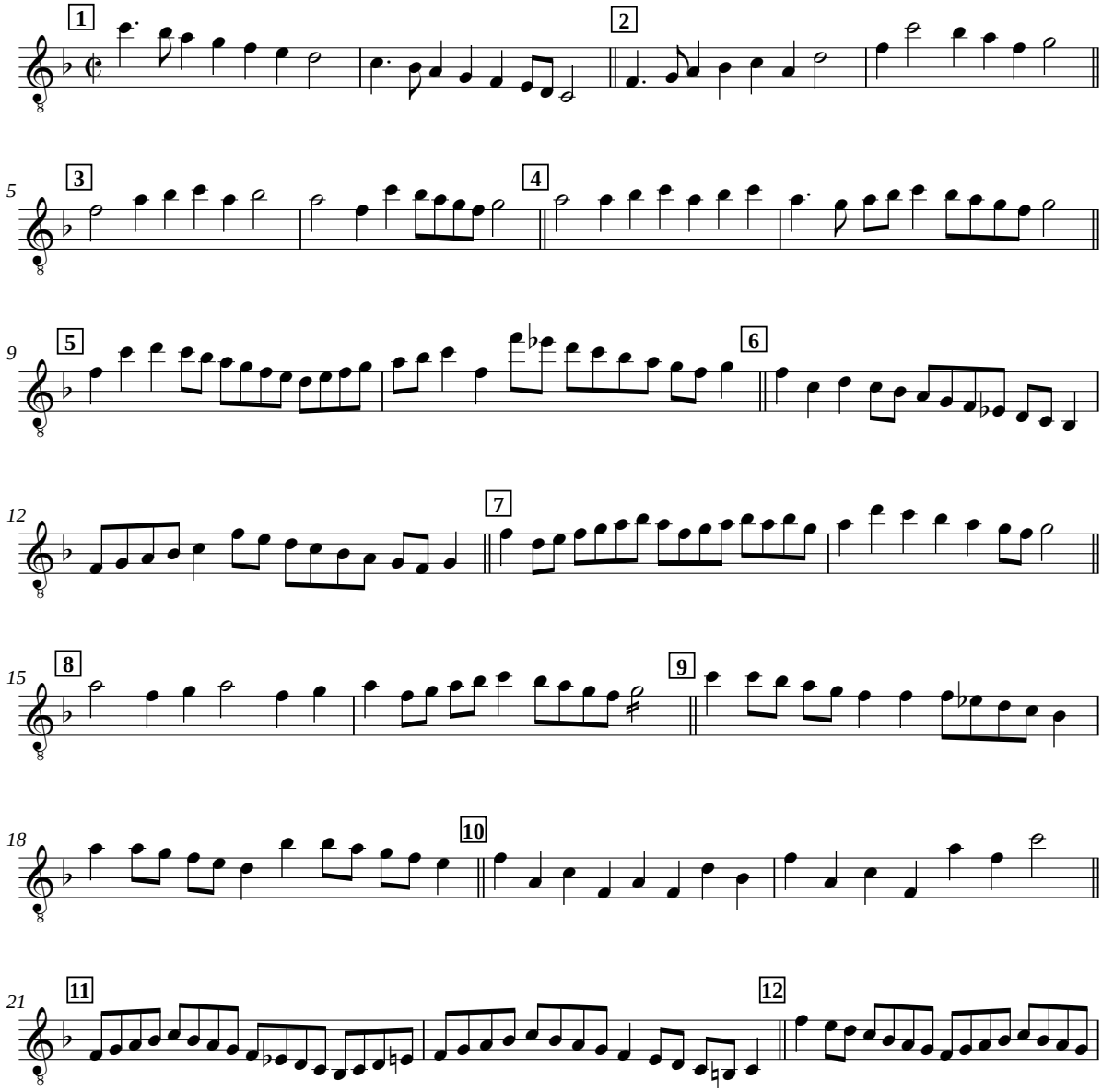
Marsh, p. 151 (transposed) [Anonymous]

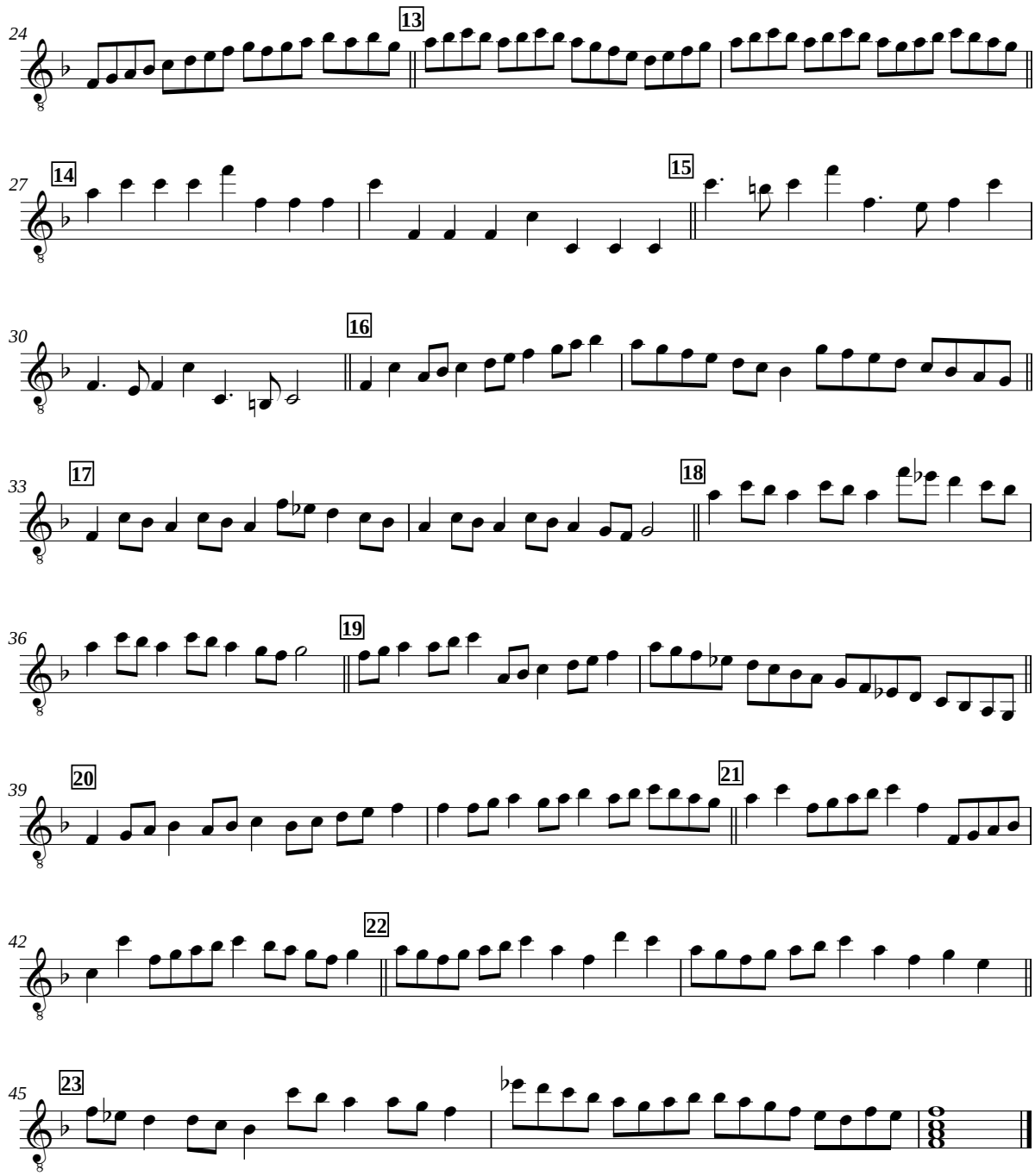


68b. [Dump]

treble

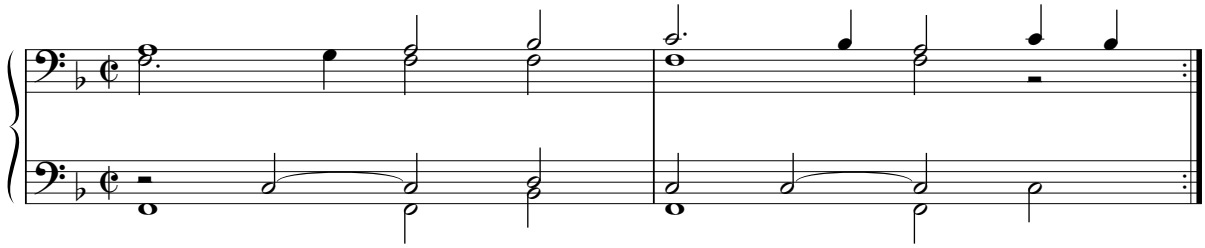
Dd.3.18, f. 71v-72r [Anonymous]





ground

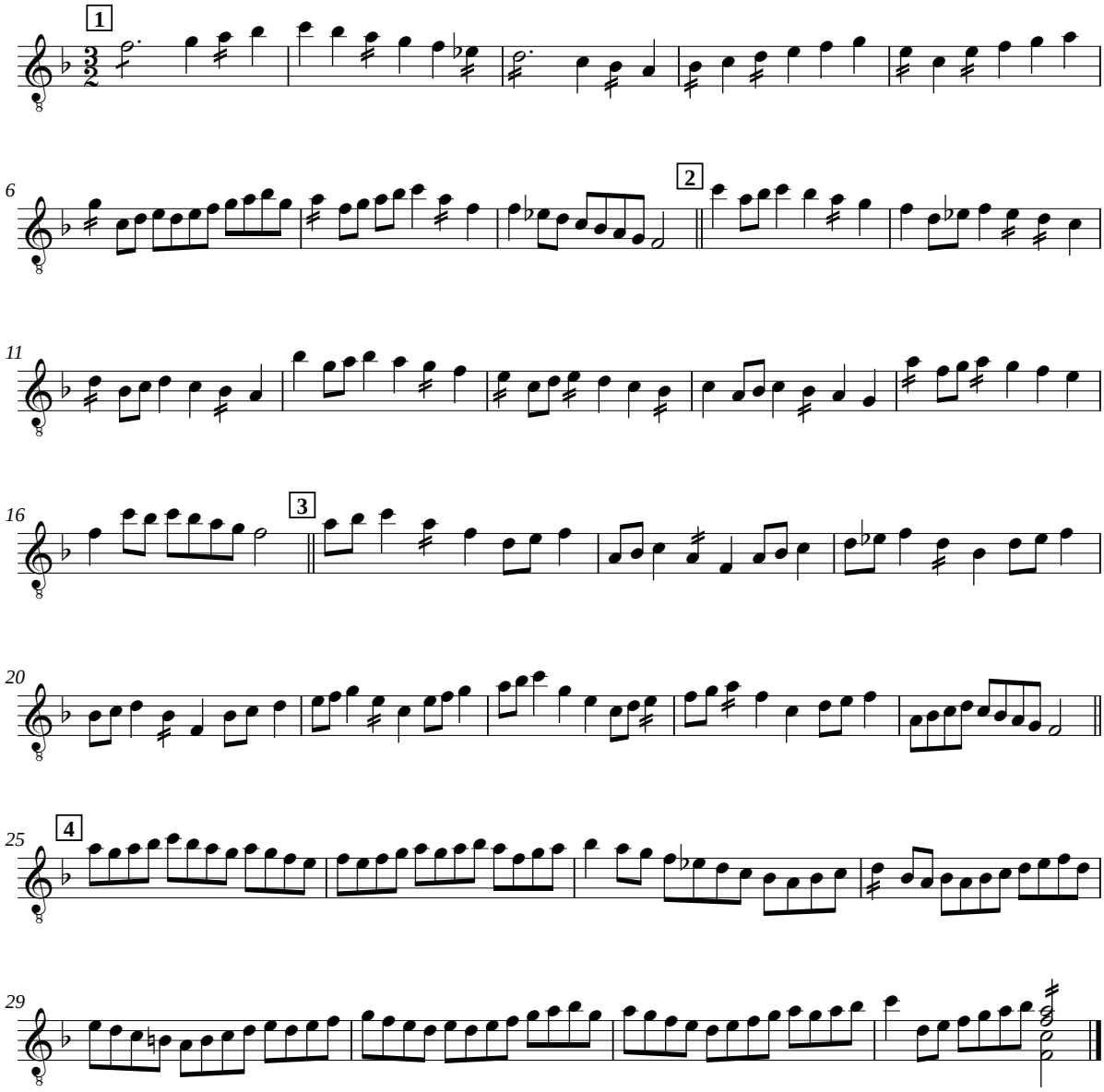
Marsh, p. 151 (transposed) [Anonymous]



69. [Dump]

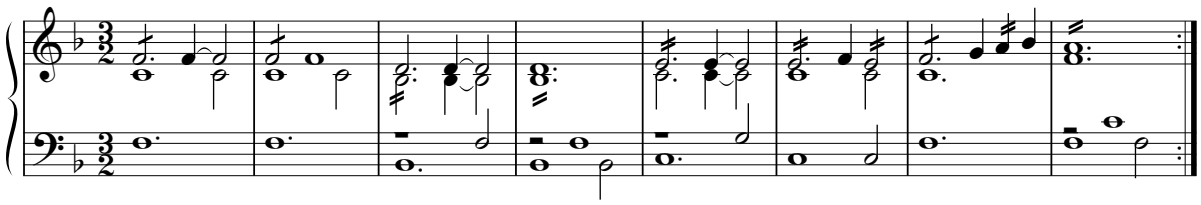
treble

Board, f. 1r [Anonymous]



ground

Board, f. 1r [Anonymous]

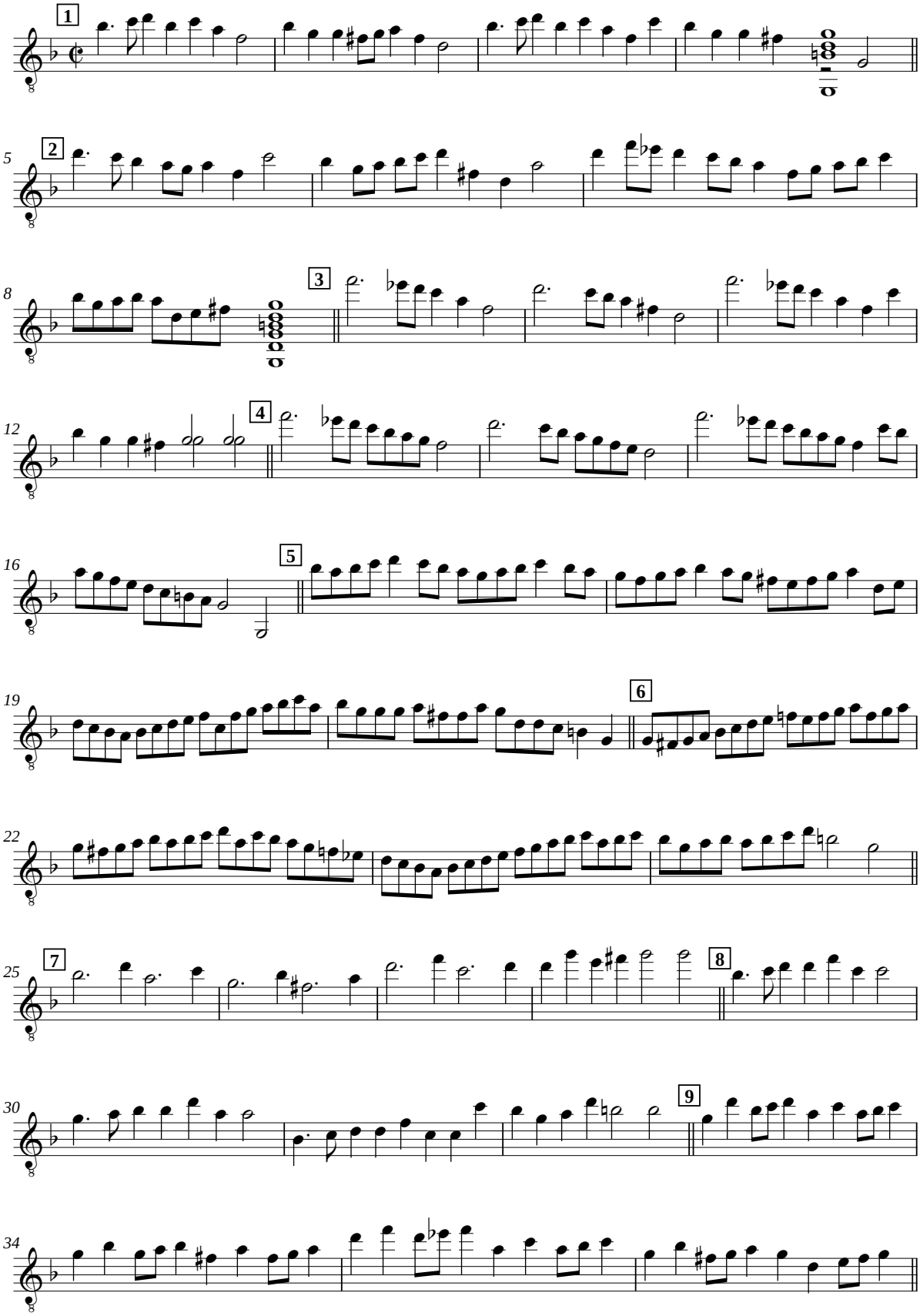


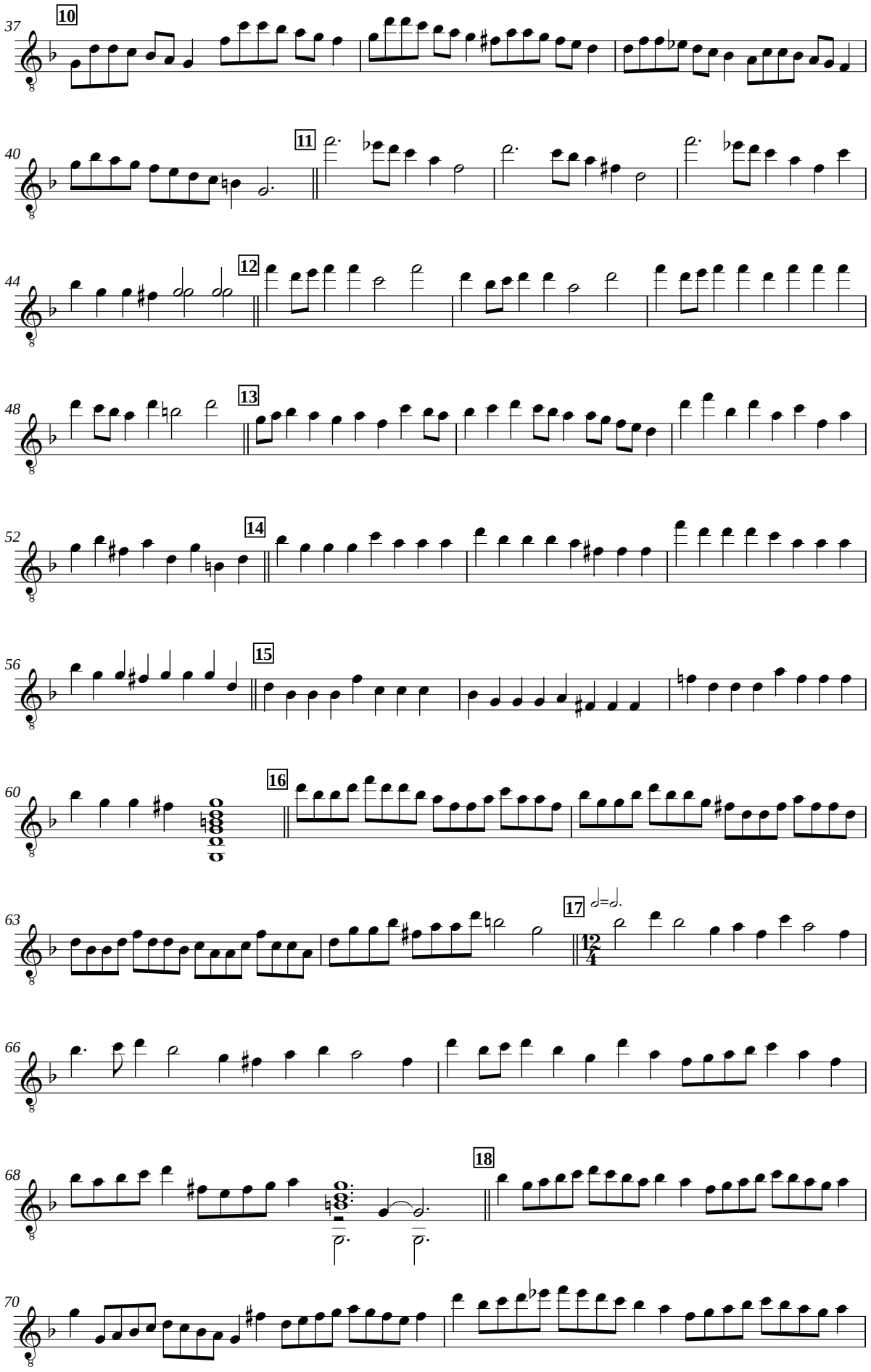
70. Greensleeves

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 8v-9r

[Anonymous]

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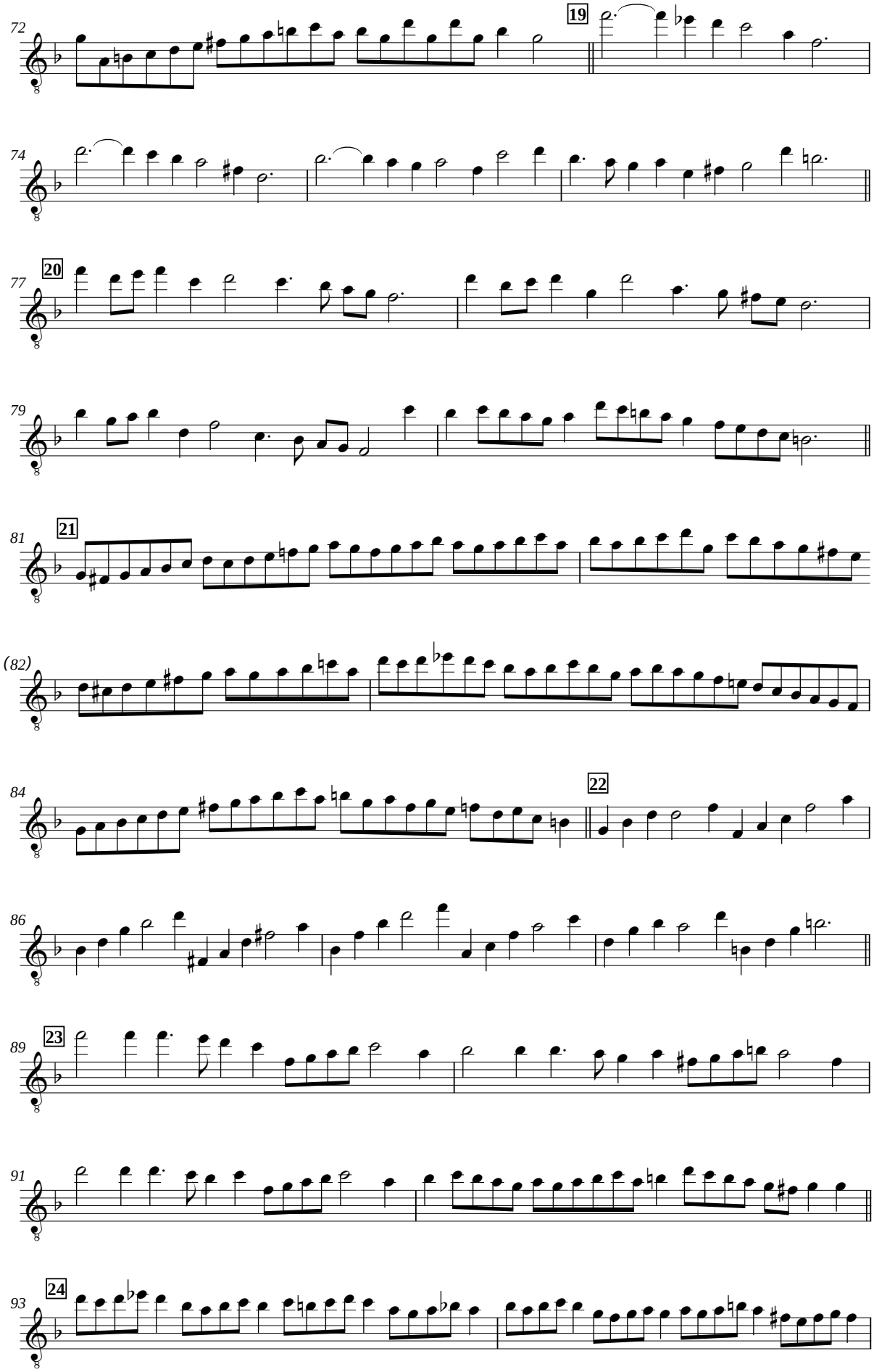
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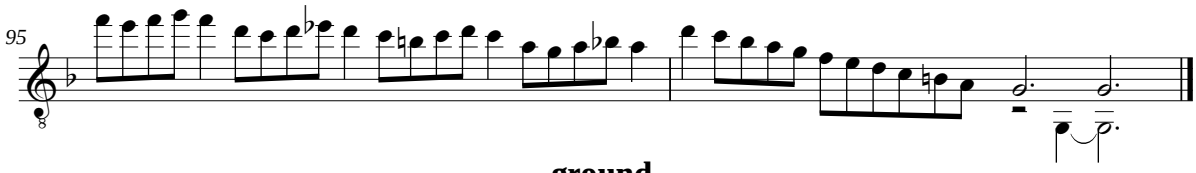
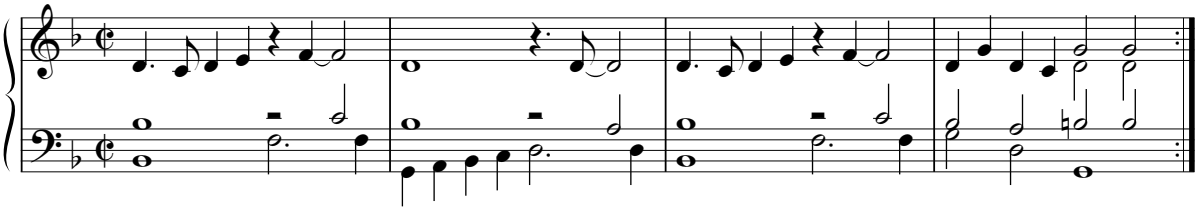


ground

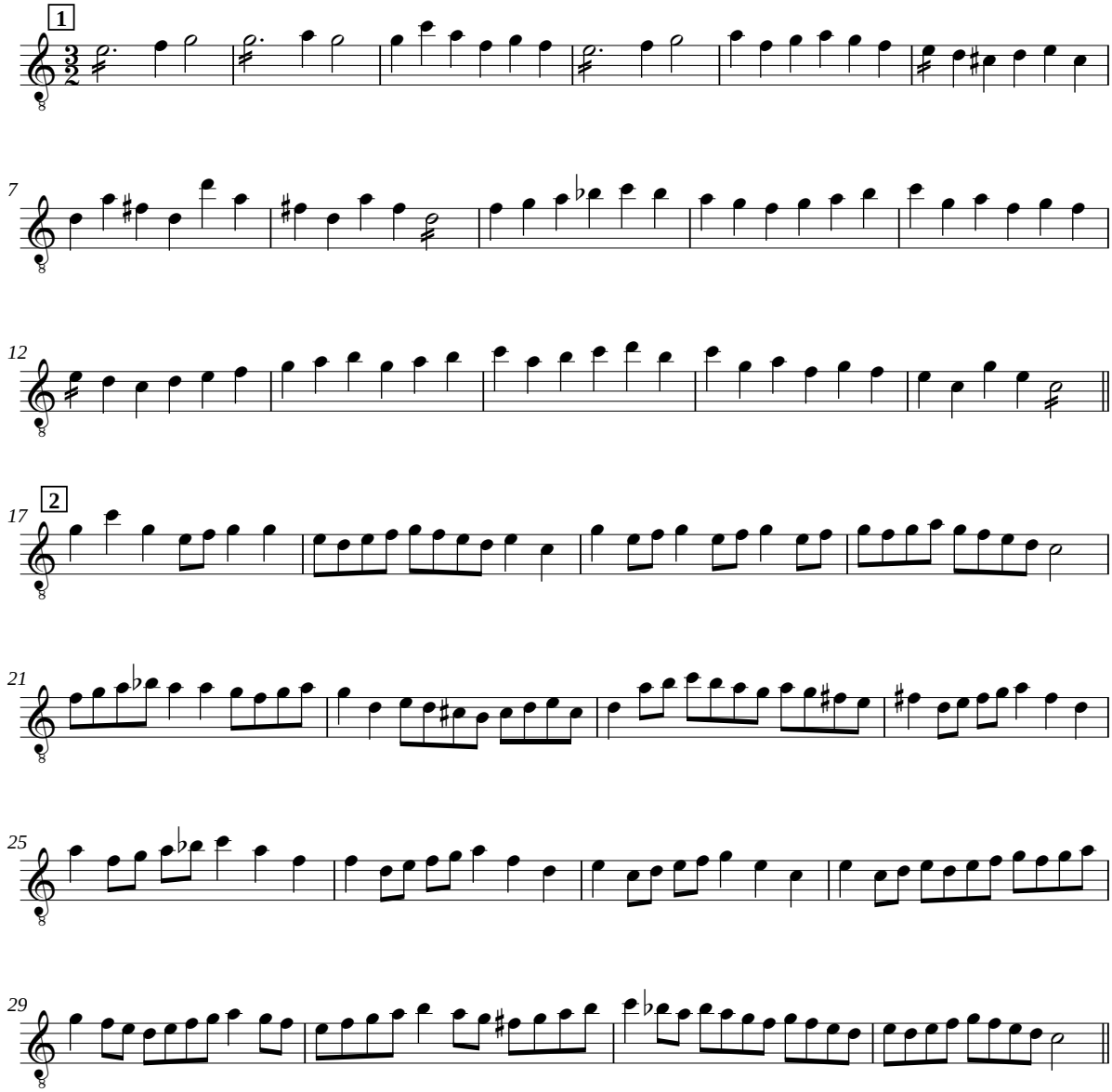
Folger, f. 5r [Anonymous]

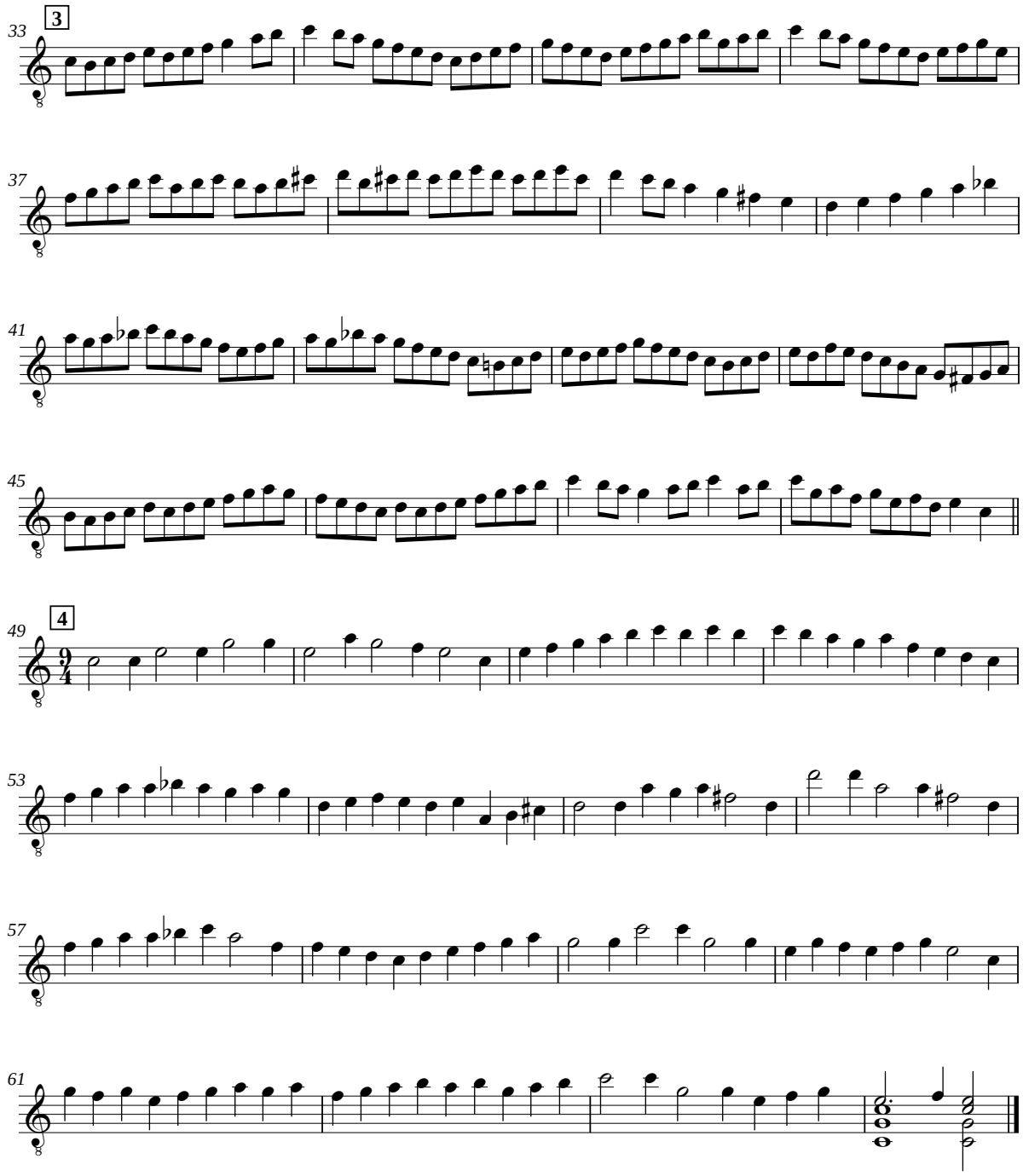


71. The Hunt is Up

treble

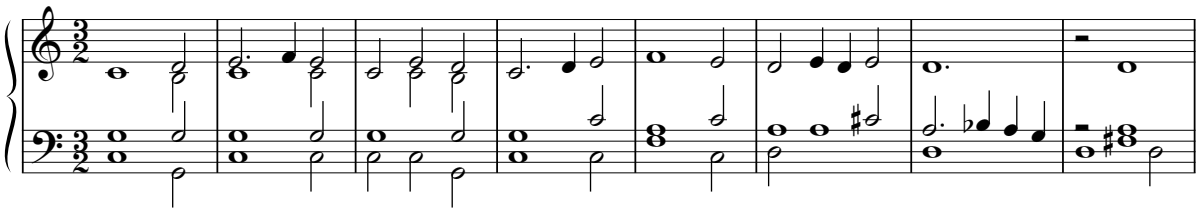
Dd.3.18, f. 4v [Anonymous]

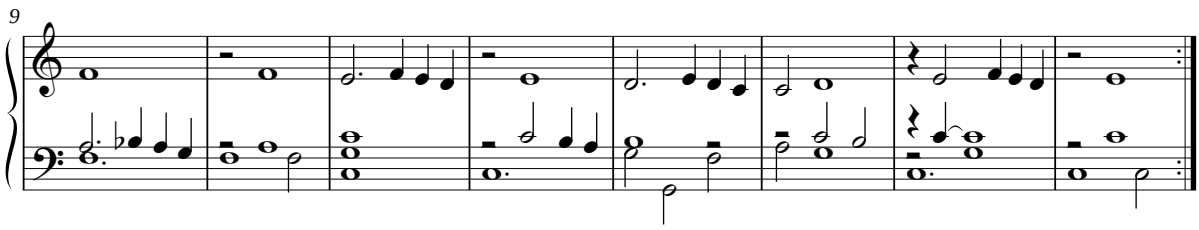




ground

Trumbull, f. 2r [Anonymous]

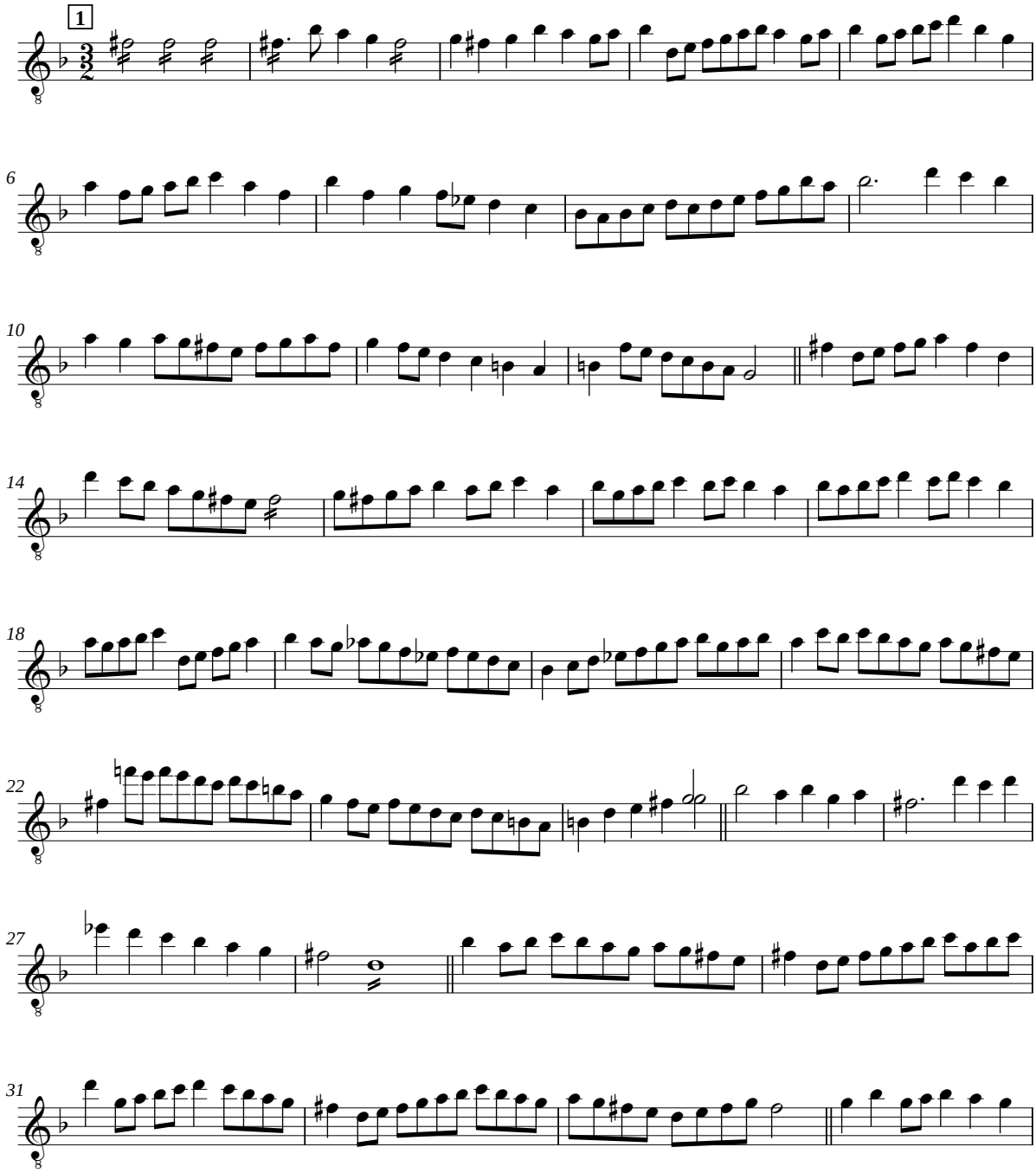


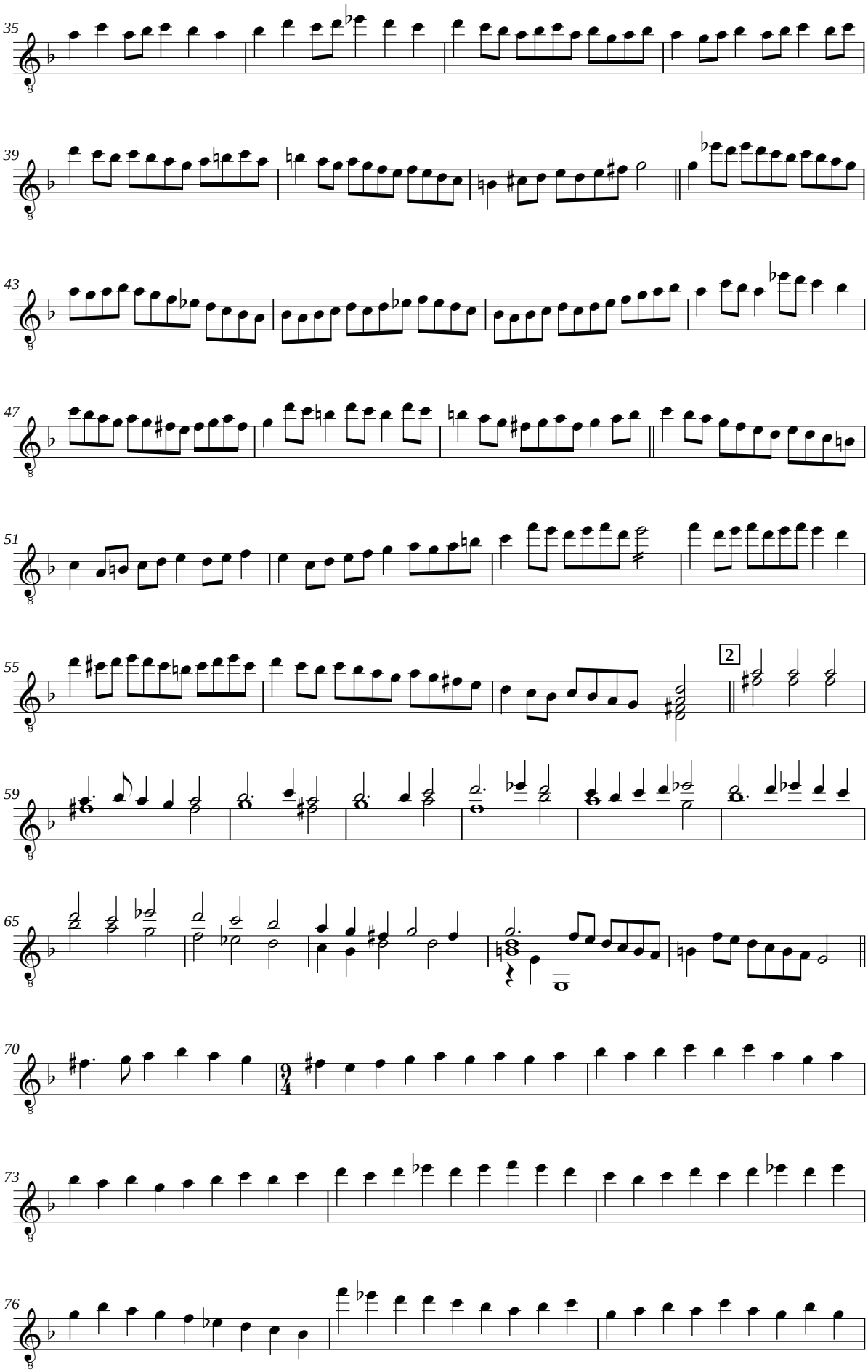


72. Cara Cosa

treble

Marsh, p. 162-163, 165 [Anonymous]

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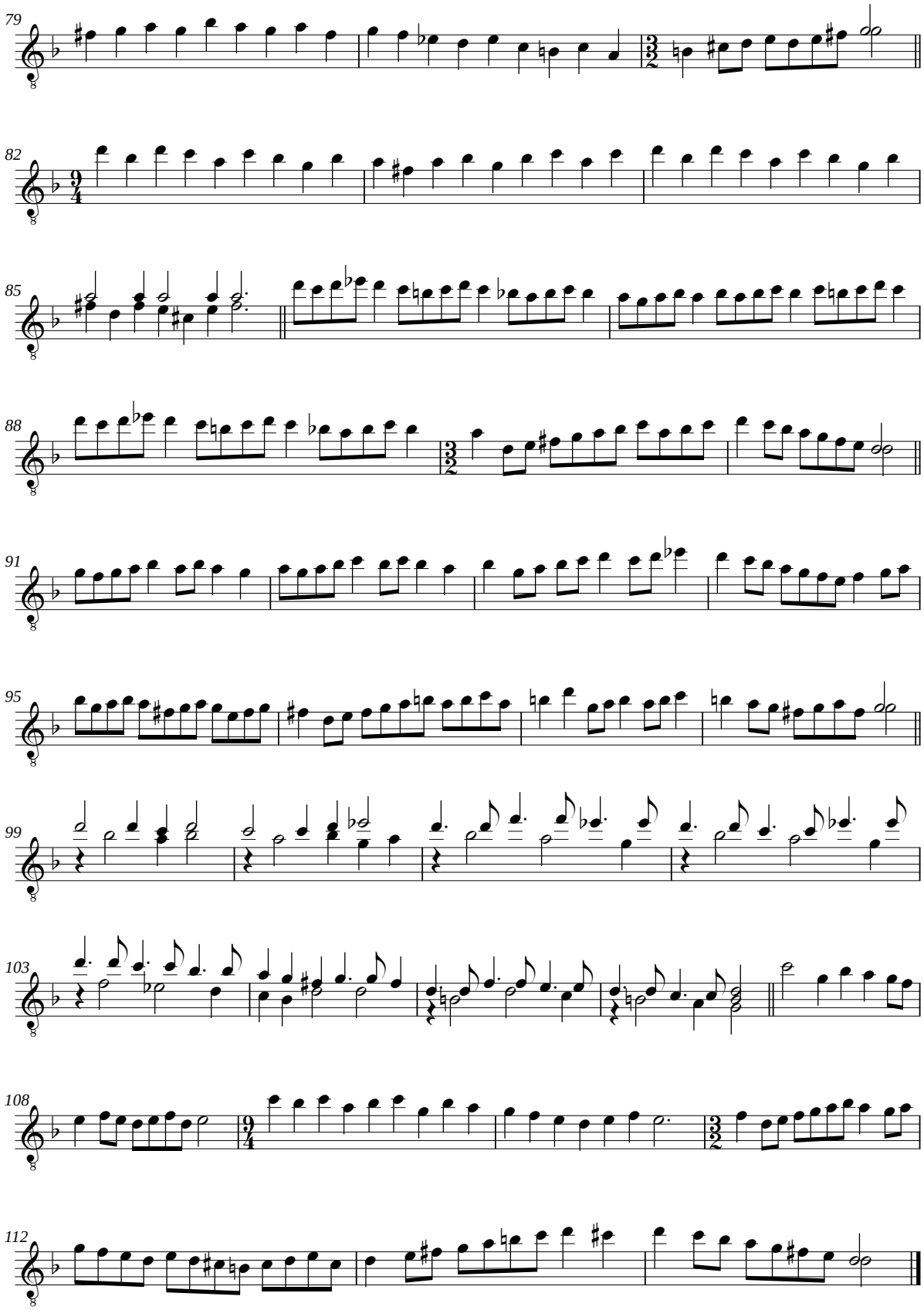
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ground

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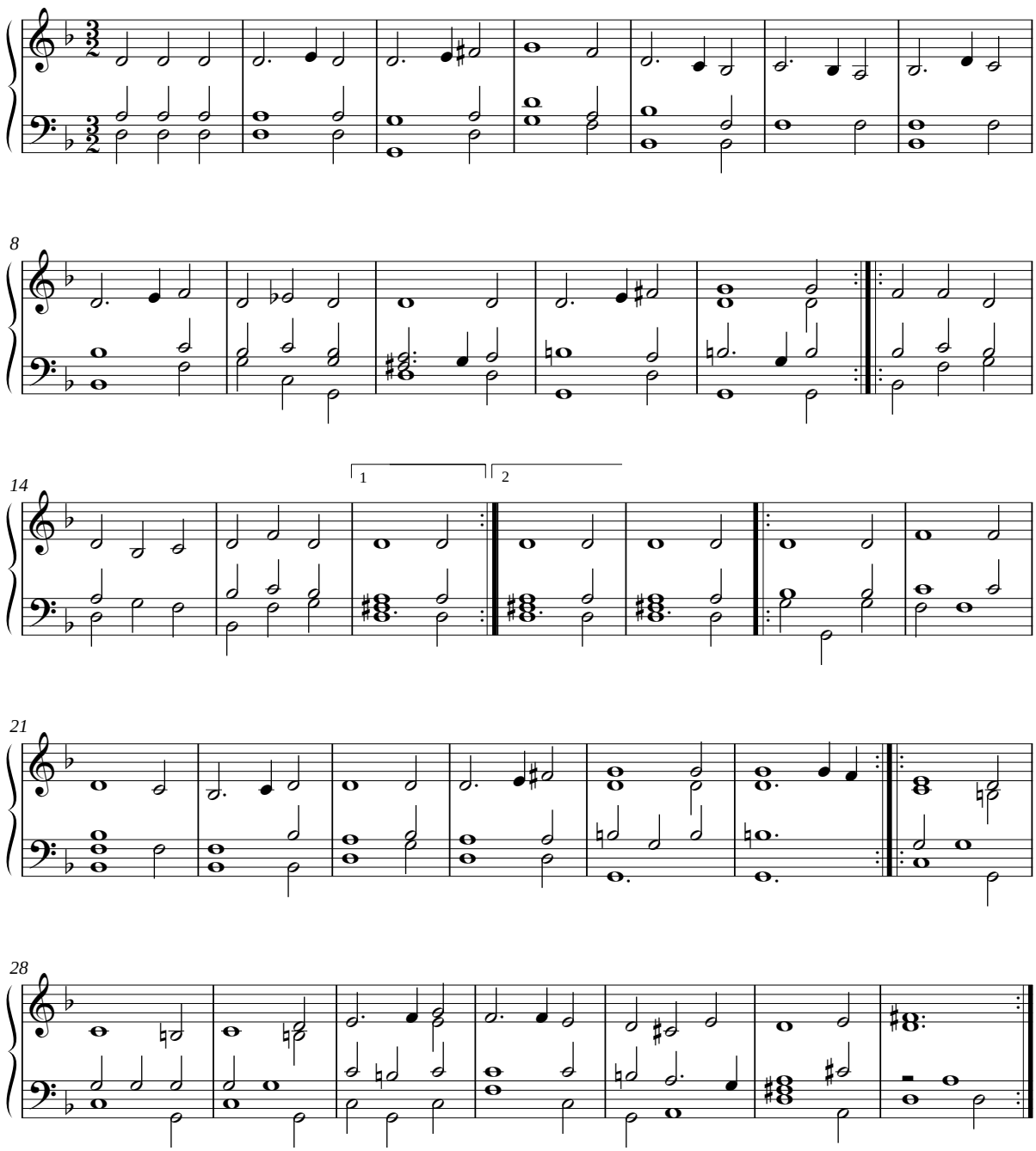
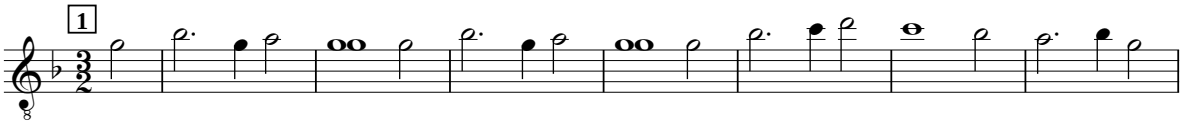


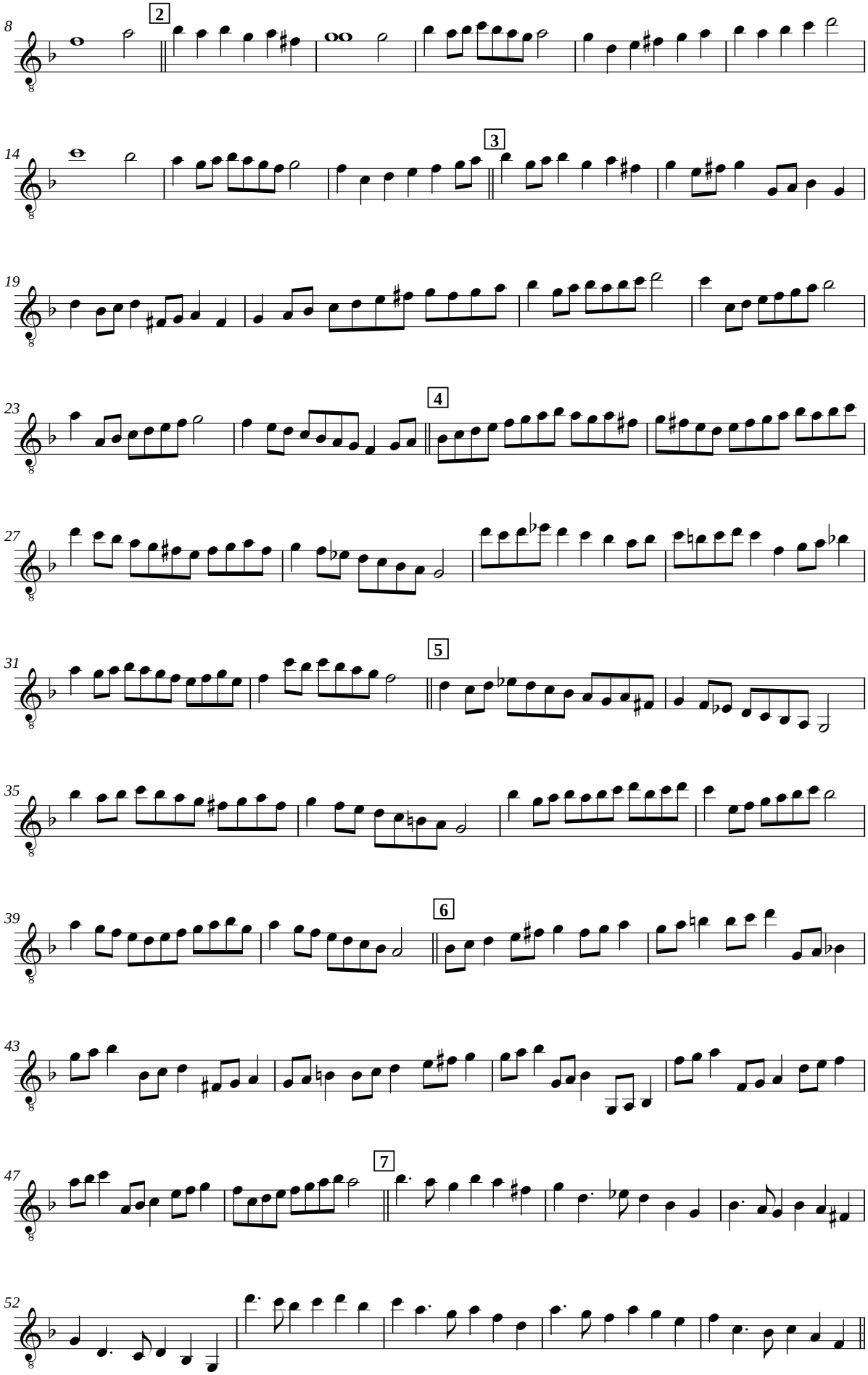
73. The Nuts be Brown

treble

Pickeringe, f. 14v-15r

[Anonymous]

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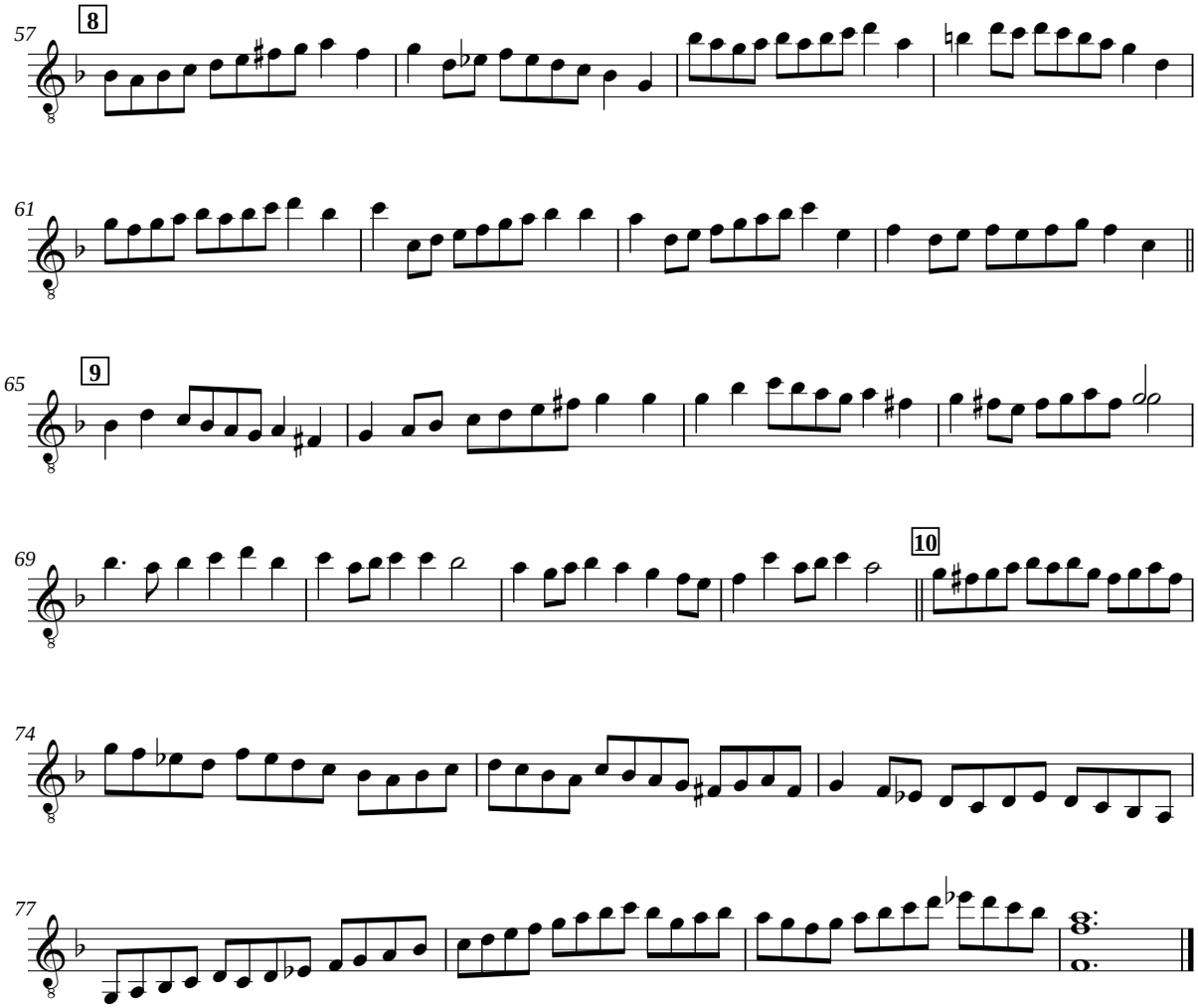
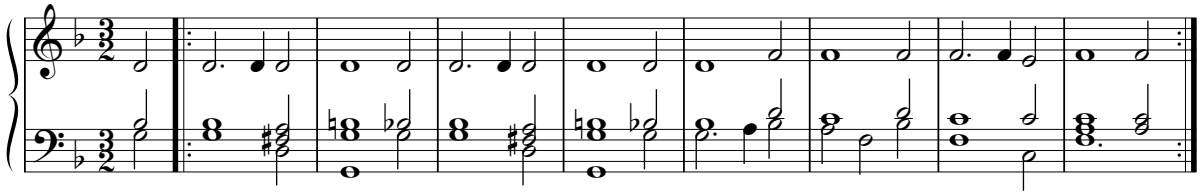


ground

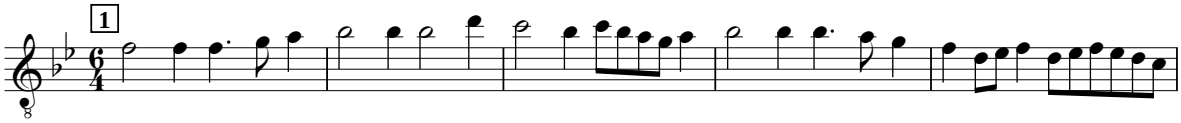
Pickeringe, f. 15r [Anonymous]

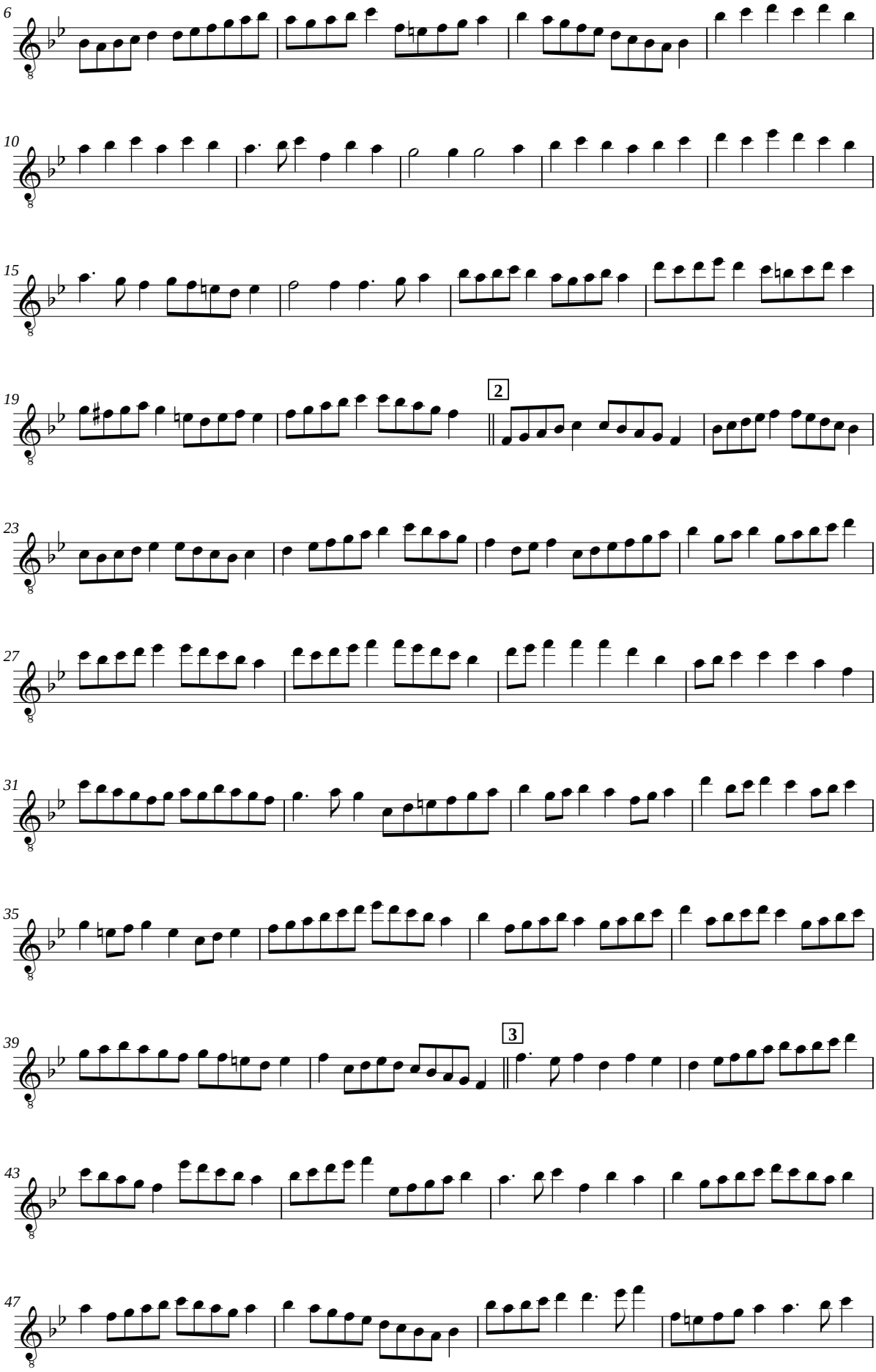


74. Sellenger's Round

treble

Dd.3.18, f. 5r [Anonymous]

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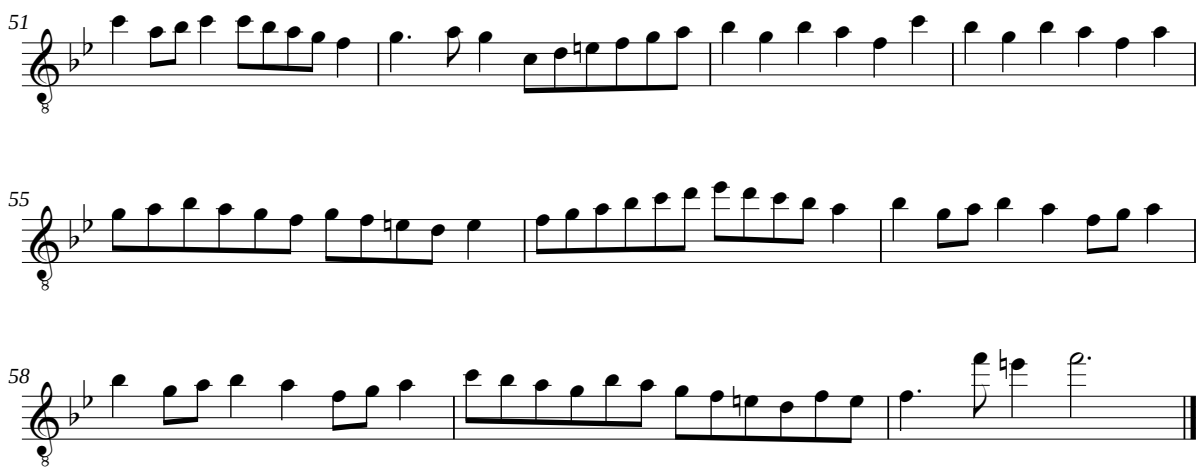
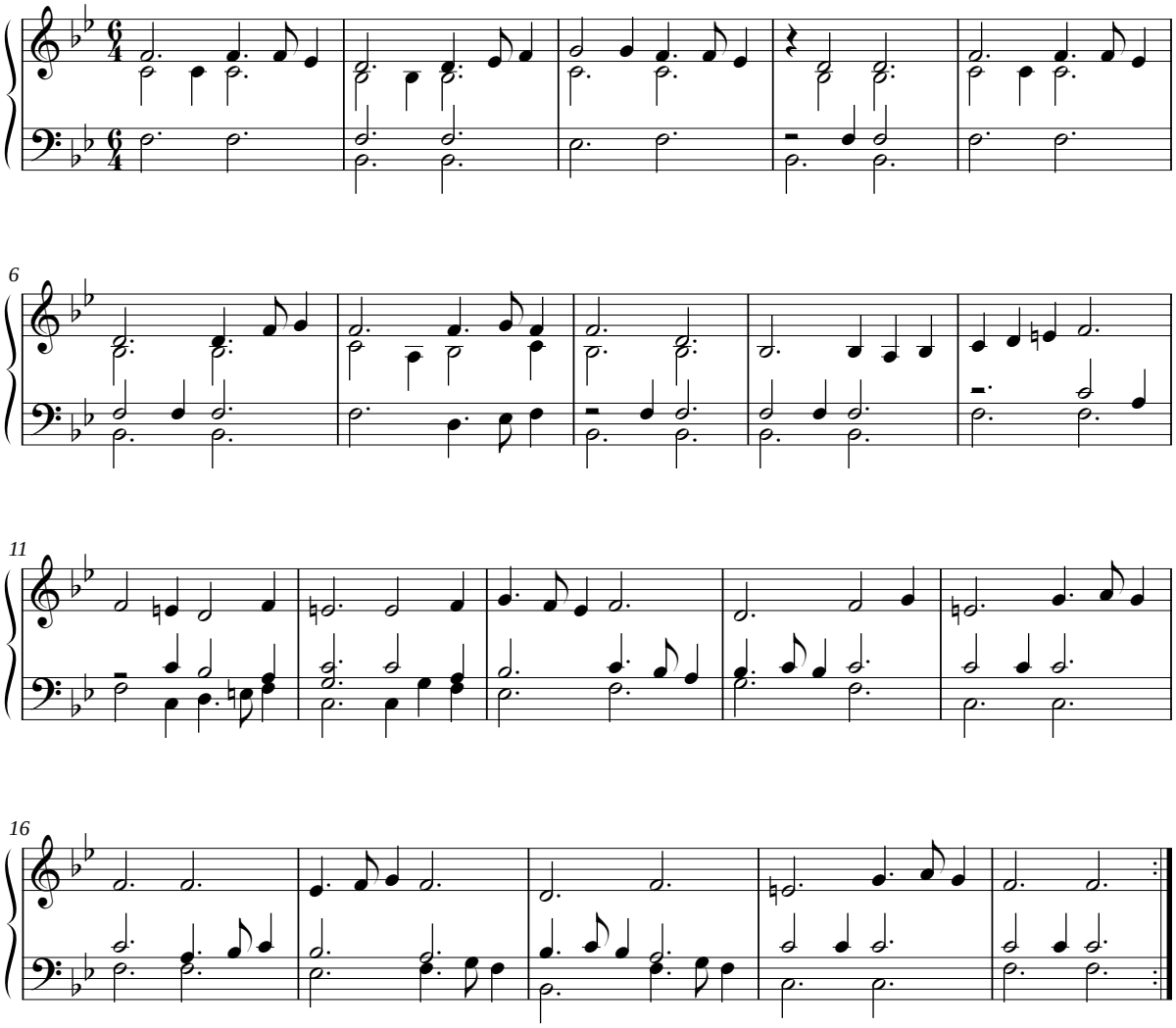


ground

[reconstructed]



COMMENTARY

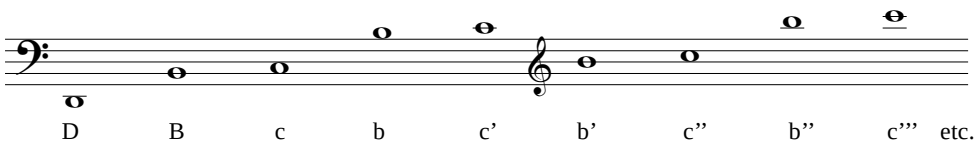
In the commentary, we first give a full list of all the sources of an individual piece. Each version is preceded by a roman numeral in small italics. The versions for lute solo are mentioned first, followed by any other settings. The first version for solo lute listed is the one published in this edition. Also given are the numbers under which the piece is treated and edited in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* and Ward, *John Johnson*.

The pieces have been transcribed as faithfully as possible from the chosen main source, including the finger dots and graces. The interpretation of the signs for graces is not unequivocal, but see the recent study by Shepherd, *Interpretation of signs for graces*, which shows that in the earlier English sources, until ca. 1590, the double cross (the sign #, the only sign found) represented all kinds of graces. In the sources in the years ca. 1590–ca. 1620 the double cross represented 'shakes', i.e. the upper and lower shake as well as the upper and lower mordent, so all graces starting with the main note, while the single cross (the sign + or x) represented 'falls', i.e. all single, double ore shaked forefalls or backfalls, so all graces starting with the auxiliary note. In some sources the signs are altered: in Board a dot is used instead of the double cross, in Folger a dot is used instead of the single cross, while in Dd.4.22 there appear specific signs, in the form of a comma, for the forefall and backfall (see no. 40).

Further, in the commentary one will find a justification of the grounds on which a work not explicitly ascribed to John Johnson in the sources is included in the present collection. The commentary also includes a list of the most important differences between the published version and the others. All editorial changes to the main version are also mentioned.

A number of abbreviations are used in the commentary. A single or double letter 'm.' followed by one or more numbers refers to one or more measures. These numbers are often followed by a number in between brackets which gives the beat under discussion. Thus 'm. 6(3)' means: sixth measure, third beat. The beats are counted in semibreves, thus a pavan has four beats to a bar, a galliard three. All numbers refer to bars and beats in the present edition, even when these are different from a particular version under discussion (which for instance may lack the varied repeats).

Small *italics* refer to tablature letters. These are always preceded by an Arabian numeral referring to a course on the lute; assuming a tuning in *g*, 1 stands for the highest course in *g'*, 2 for the second course in *d'*, and so on. Hence '6*d*' means: sixth course, third fret, which will give a *B-flat*. Notes are referred to as follows: *A, a, a', b flat, c sharp*, etcetera. The actual pitches are indicated thus as shown on the staff below.



1. Pavan – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 46r: *Pauen Jo. Johnson.*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* VII (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 10.

This piece probably forms a pair with galliard no. 2; see there.

Editorial changes: m. 19(1) 3*f* from 2*f*; m. 19(3) 5*c* from 5*e* (both changes were introduced on the basis of the corresponding m. 27); m. 25(3) 4*c* from 5*c* (corresponding to m. 17, where the pedal point on *g* is not interrupted); m. 37(3) 3*f* from 4*f*; the bar line between mm. 46 and 47 added.

2. Galliard – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 46v: *Galliard to the pauen last before Jo: Johnson.*
ii Wickhambrook, f. 17v: *Johnson galiarde.*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* VIII (p. 95-96); Ward, *John Johnson* 11.

This piece probably forms a pair with no. 1; *i* explicitly states the fact that this pavan and galliard belong together, but *ii* has this galliard following the *Long Pavan* (here no. 3). However, musically nos. 1 and 2 form a better pair than do nos. 2 and 3, as sections A and B of 1 and 2 start with similar motives.

The varied repeats are lacking in *ii*; apart from this the two versions are similar.

Editorial change: the 1*a* in the upbeat was added on the basis of similar places in m. 8 and in version *ii*; m. 48 the semibreve from a minim.

3. Long Pavan – John Johnson

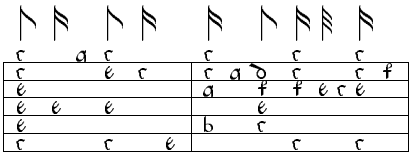
i Dd.2.11, f. 47v-48r: *The Long Pauen Jo. Johnson*
ii Wickhambrook, f. 17v: *Pavane Jo: Johnson*
iii Ballet, p. 99: *a pauin of John Jhonsons*
iv Dd.2.11, f. 64v: *Long Pauen* (bandora, solo)
v Dd.5.20, f. 4r: *Longe Paven* (bass part of a setting for mixed consort)
vi Dd.5.21, f. 4r: *Longe Paven* (flute part of a setting for mixed consort)
vii Dd.14.24, f. 19v: *Long pauen. J. Johnson* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* IX (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 12a.

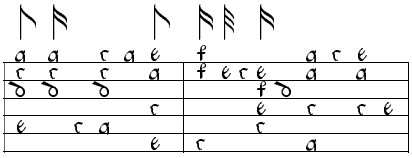
This pavan is obviously called ‘Long’ because of its length of 8-10-8 bars, although the *Delight Pavan* no. 5 has exactly the same number of bars. This piece should probably not be paired with galliard no. 2; see there. Two compositions for keyboard with a similar title, *Kinloch his [Lang] pavane* and *Galliard of the Lang paven*, by [William] Kinloch (*Early Scottish keyboard music*, p. 4-9, nos. 3 and 4), show no similarities with Johnson’s pavan.

Versions *i*-*iii* for lute solo are virtually identical, but for the varied repeats of *i* which are lacking in *ii* and *iii*. A large number of graces were added to *iii*. In the same version the last one-and-a-half bar of section B and the first bar of section C are missing. It is possible that the composer himself added his autograph to the version in *ii* (see also p. 6 above).

In *i* a few melody notes are found that do not appear in the other versions, nor in the varied repeats of *i*; these notes are therefore probably not authentic, and have been omitted in the edition. These are: mm. 21(1) and 22(1) 1*c*, and mm. 3-4 and 37-38 (in which, in *i*, in m. 38(3) the scribe corrected 1*a* from 1*e*):



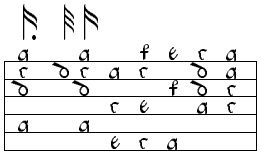
i, mm. 3-4



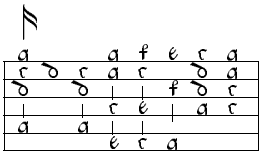
i, mm. 37-38

No two versions give an identical reading of the melody in m. 6; the editor opted for a reconstruction based on the presumption that in mm. 5(3)-6(2) a repeat was intended of the melody of mm. 4(3)-5(2), one tone lower. This presumption is confirmed by the sequential build up of the

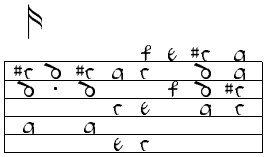
corresponding passage in the varied repeat of *i*, mm. 12(3)-14(2), although in m. 14(2) the note 1*a* is lacking, and is added here to make the sequens perfect. The text of m. 6 in versions *i, ii* and *iii*:



i, m. 6

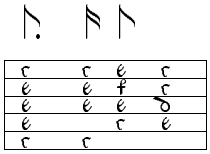


ii, m. 6



iii, m. 6

In version *i* m. 31 is missing; for this bar the corresponding m. 21 is introduced. To avoid a literal repetition, one could play m. 21 as found in *ii* and *iii*, which then should be played at m. 21 and not at m. 31, as this bar is somewhat simpler than m. 21 in *i*. Since extra notes were added in mm. 21-22 of *i*, it is well possible that the corresponding bar in *ii* and *iii* gives the original text.



ii, m. 21

Other editorial changes: m. 12(4) 3*e* from 3*f*; m. 18(2, second half) a note 2*e* omitted; m. 23(4) 6*a* from 6*e*; m. 40(2) 2*e* from 2*d* (both corrections based on *ii* and *iii*); m. 51(3) in the middle voice the note 4*e* is added.

4. Pavan – John Johnson

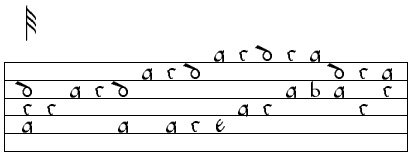
i Trumbull, f. 5v-6r: *A pauan mr Johnson*
ii Oxford 1280, f. [2r] (fragment)
iii Vanden Hove, *Florida*, f. 91r: *PAuana.* / index, f. 110v: *Pauana*
iv Ballet, p. 100: *a pauin of Jhon Jhonsons*
v Dd.2.11, f. 69r: *Pauen A: Holburn* (bandora, solo)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XII (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 15a.

This short and irregular pavan has strains of 6, 6 and 4 measures. It is composed on a *Passamezzo moderno*-like bass in long notes and intervals of fourths and fifths. The bass starts with long notes that get increasingly shorter: in section A the longa forms the beat, B the breve and in C the semibreve. The constructive quality of the piece is also evident in the repeat of the melody of m. 1 at the beginning of the C section, m. 25, where it appears in halved note-values.

In the sources the version for lute solo is twice attributed to John Johnson. It is completely in his (early) style: note the repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 8-10, 13-14, 15-18, 19-20, 21-22, 25-26, 29-30), the accentuated inverted chords and suspended notes (mm. 2, 4, 14, 15), the pedal points in mm. 3-4 and 15-16, the characteristic cadences in mm. 17-18 and 28; the division on a final chord in *C* (m. 12), and the doubling of the *g'* (m. 24). There is no doubt about Johnson's authorship of this setting. The ascription of version no. *v* for bandora to Holborne is probably an error, unless it is meant that the latter was only responsible for transposing Johnson's pavan onto the bandora. If this is the case Holborne probably also composed new varied repeats, because the divisions of no. *v* are very different from those of any of the lute versions. It is also possible that Johnson based his piece on Holborne's setting, but this is chronologically less likely.

For version *ii* see Craig-McFeely, *Fragments of English lute music II*, p. 44-50, with a reproduction on p. 47; here the pavan was not recognised, and so the author's suggestion that it might be the beginning of the piece ending on f. 2v of the manuscript, called *Lullaby the Quenes*, is wrong. Of this version *ii* only the major part of sections A, A' and B remain. This is however sufficient to establish that this version was identical to *i*. Version *iii* is similar to *i*, differing only in the divisions in sections B' and C', which are simpler in places. The variant reading of m. 11, with its imitation, is foreign to Johnson's style:



iii, m. 11

Version *iv* is similar to *i* but lacks the varied repeats, has less full chords, abounds in graces and has a closing bar of three breves instead of two.

Editorial changes (all made on the basis of corresponding places in versions *iii* and *iv*): m. 4(4) in the chord a note 2*a* omitted; m. 26(4) 6*e* from 6*a* (see also m. 30); m. 27(4) 4*e* added (see also m. 31); in m. 29 rhythmic mistakes have been corrected after m. 30 and *iii*.

5. Delight Pavan – John Johnson

i Willoughby, f. 25v-27v: *A paven to delight / Mr Johnson*
ii Folger, f. 14v-15r: *Delight pavin Jo: Johnsonn*
iii Wickhambrook, f. 10r: *Jhonsons delighte* (fragment)
iv Marsh, p. 164-165
v Board, f. 6v-7r: *Delyght Pavan / Delyght Pauin Mr Jo: Johnsonn*
vi Welde, f. 3v-4r: *Pauane Delight Mr Johnson*
vii Ballet, p. 92-94: *delight paven Jo Jonson*
viii Dallis, p. 84-85: *deligt pavane p*er *Jhonson // Basso*
ix Mynshall, f. 7v: *Jonesons delite pauian* / index, f. [ii]v: *Jonesons delitte pauion*
x Naples, p. 364-365: *Pauana Engloise. / Pauana Englesa.*
xi Waissel, *Tabulatura*, f. [Liiij]^{r}: *5. Padoana.*
xii Dlugorai, p. 118-119: *Pauana Anglica*
xiii Brogyntyn, p. 13 (1): *Delig*h[*t*] *Pauen* (second part of a lute duet?)
xiv Dd.3.18, f. 59v-60r: *Delight Pauen* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xv Board, f. 14v-15r: *Delyghte Treble / Delight treble / Delyghte Pavin for Consorte Jo: Johnson* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xvi Dd.3.18, f. 20v-21r: *Johnsons Delight* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Johnsons Delight.* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xvii Trumbull, f. 4v-5r: *Delight.* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xviii Königsberg, f. 62v-63v (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xix Thysius, f. 147v: *Pauyn de Lyght Rich Machyn* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort?)
xx Walsingham, no. 9: *Delight Pauen* (descant, bass, flute and citttern parts of a setting for mixed consort; with the cittern part: *Mr. Richard Jhonson*, with the flute part, in a later hand: *Jhon Jhonsonne*) / index: *Delight Pauen*
xxi Browne, f. 16r: *Delight Pauin. Johnson* (bandora part of a setting for mixed consort)
xxii Dd.5.20, f. 2r: *Delight Pauen* (bass part of a setting for mixed consort)
xxiii Dd.5.21, f. 10v: *Delight Pauen* / index, f. 1v: *Delight pauen* (recorder part of a setting for mixed consort)
xxiv Dd.14.24, f. 10r: *Delight pauen* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xxv Otley, f. 1r: *delyghte paven* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xxvi Kassel, no. 25 (consort à 5) xxvi
xxvii FWVB, II, p. 436-439, no. 277: *Pavana. Delight / Edward Jhonson sett by Will. Byrd* (keyboard)
xxviii Forster, p. 276-283, no. 47: *Johnsons delighte / Mr Bird* (keyboard)
xxix Burnett, p. 5-8: *Jhonstonnis delyt* (keyboard)
xxx Cleveland, Case Western Reserve MS, p. [114a] (keyboard)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* I (p. 93-94); Ward, *John Johnson* 1.

This is Johnson's most popular and most widely dispersed piece. It is also one of the best known compositions for lute of the Elizabethan period. On 26 December 1580 the company of actors of the Earl of Leicester staged a play called *Delight* during the traditional Christmas performance at the court (Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 89). Is it possible that there is a connection between Johnson's composition and this play? Does the title found in *i*, the oldest source, refer to that? In that case the play should date from before 1580 as the *Delight Pavan and Galliard* are certainly older than that (the composition might be named after the play, the other way around seems unlikely).

In the past, the *Delight pavan* has, on the basis of its ascription in no. *xxvii*, the *Fitzwilliam Vir-*

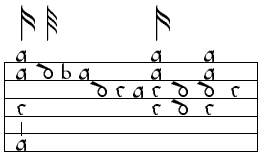
ginal Book, been attributed to Edward Johnson. However, this composition shows all the signs of being an original work for lute, and lacks the typical unidiomatic features particular to transcriptions of keyboard music for lute. The piece is moreover attributed explicitly to John Johnson in various lute manuscripts (see nos. *ii, v, vii* and *xv*). Another possibility, that Byrd's setting was based on a piece by Edward Johnson which in its turn was based on on the original lute composition, seems less likely than a simple mistake of Francis Tregian, who copied out no. *xxvii*. The ascription to Richard Johnson in *xx* is most likely also a mistake, as no composer of that name is known. Richard Machyn, whose name we find with the piece in no. *xix*, probably provided the Dutch compiler of this manuscript with the piece: Richard Machyn was the leader of a troupe of actors and musicians travelling through Germany and the Low Countries in the early years of the seventeenth century (see Curtis, *Sweelinck's keyboard music*, p. 15).

Versions *xiv-xix* for lute are all in *g*; these are probably parts for mixed consort. The identical versions in nos. *xiv* and *xv* were undoubtedly meant as such, as is indicated by the explicit mention in no. *xiv* and their musical structure: in the repeats we find fast running diminutions during which other voices have been omitted (see also the commentary in Edwards, *Music for mixed consort*, no. 13). At first sight the also virtually identical versions nos. *xvi-xviii* appear to be solos: all voices are written in full and there are no extended fast divisions in the repeats. However, as the melody is mostly absent, this presumption has to be relinquished. No. *xix* would appear to be a rather poor version of no. *xviii*. Of the versions in *c*, nos. *i-x* and *xiii*, no. *xiii* also lacks the melody; this is probably the second part of a duet, as it fits the solo exactly. Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 42, no. 31, suggested that this part was added to the solo by another composer. Nos. *i-x* are all versions for lute solo, in *c*, and with a complete melody. This includes no. *viii*, in spite of its text *Basso*, which seems to indicate that this is also a lower part of a lute duet. Versions no. *xi* and *xii* are also solo's, but in *d*; undoubtedly these are settings by continental lutenists.

Essentially all these settings for lute solo in *c* are the same. However, some of them show considerable variation in chordal shapes and especially in the figuration. In this edition two versions have been selected for printing. Version *i* (here no. 5a) is found in one of the earliest manuscripts, and shows a number of features that are lacking in the other versions: in mm. 3(3) and 11(3) the bass note 6*d* instead of the harmonically sharpened 6*e*, and the diatonic passage in mm. 17(1-2) and 27(1-2) instead of the more 'trumpet'-like variant with jumps over third intervals which is found in the other versions. This is probably an earlier version of the *Delight Pavan*. The same is suggested by the figuration in mm. 49-50, the syncopated runs in semiquavers, also found in the *Delight Galliard* (see there, no. 6, mm. 45-46). In this respect it is also worth noting that the passing note 2*d* in m. 39(4), which breaks the otherwise strict symmetry in mm. 37-40, is only found in the more developed versions of this composition (i.e. in nos. *ii, v, vi, ix*, and the settings in *g*, with the exception of *xix*); this also is therefore likely to be a later addition.

The second version printed in this collection is *ii* (here no. 5b). This is by far the most developed version, with the most complex divisions. Furthermore, this version is signed by the composer (see p. 5), and so probably was approved by him. Version no. *iii* in the important Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript would also be considered for publication here, had that version been complete. The few remaining bars show it to be virtually identical with no. *ii*, differing only in the figuration of the cadence in the two closing bars.

Versions *viii* and *ix* lack the varied repeats. Versions *iv, v* and *vii* are similar to no. *ii*, but have a somewhat simpler figuration. The variant reading in no. *iv* of the bass line in the cadence in *g* in mm. 7, 15, 43 and 51, with its typical *a flat* where other versions have *g-e flat-f-g*, is also found in the *Delight Galliard* in the same source.



iv, m. 7

Version *vi* differs very markedly from the other settings; this version is probably not by John Johnson himself (Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 68, also considers this version a reworking). The first two strains and their repeats are good

variations on the 'standard' *Delight Pavan*, but in section B' the copyist got into trouble. Section C likewise deviates from the other versions, but is less convincing than the preceding sections. Its repeat, C', is, surprisingly, completely identical with the version in *iv*, including the typical bass note *a flat* instead of *e flat*. Furthermore, the in *vi* following *Delight Galliard* is virtually identical with the one in *iv*. All things considered, it looks like someone started to compose a parody on Johnson's *Delight Pavan and Galliard*, with a version of this piece as in *iv* as a model; after a while he got confused or lost interest and so simply copied the rest. It is possible that this composer was identical with the copyist of the manuscript: it is striking that the *Delight Pavan*, although in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, was written in a slightly different way, without graces and with the right-hand fingering incomplete.

Editorial changes, in no. 5a: m. 9(4) 2*a* added; m. 14(1) 1*a* added; mm. 18(1) and 28(1) rhythm signs corrected (in both instances the note values of the first half of the beat have been halved); m. 49(1) 4*d* from 3*d*.

6. Delight Galliard – Johnson

i Willoughby, f. 28r-29r: *The galiard to the paven / Mr Johnson*
ii Wickhambrook, f. 10r: *the galiard to delighte*
iii Marsh, p. 166
iv Board, f.7v: *Delyght Gally / Delight Gally:*
v Welde, f. 4r: *The galiard to yt*
vi Pickeringe, f. 32r: *Delight galyerd by Mr Johnsonn*
vii Königsberg, f. 61r: *Vp tie liiht Pavan Divisiont. Galliard.* (?)
viii Nürnberg, f. 6r (last 11 bars only)
ix Naples, p. 365: *Gallarda della Pauana.*
x Aegidius, f. 114v-115r (113v-114r): *Galiarde*
xi Dd.4.23, f. 22v: *Galliard delight* (cittern, solo)
xii Dd.4.23, f. 25v: *Galliard Jhon Inuenta* (cittern, solo)
xiii FWVB, II, p. 440-441, no. 278: *Galiarda / Ed. Jhonson. sett by William Byrd* (keyboard)
xiv Forster, no. 48: *The galliard to the pauin aforesaid / Mr Bird* (keyboard)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* II (p. 94); Ward, *John Johnson* 2.

As Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 94, footnote 248, has pointed out, the first strain of this galliard is very similar to the anonymous *Nusquam Galliard*, while the third strain of Holborne's galliard *Muy Linda* (Holborne, *Music for Lute & Bandora*, no. 37) begins with a paraphrase of the first four bars of the third strain of the *Delight Galliard*.

Sources *i-v*, *ix*, *xiii* and *xiv* have this galliard paired with the *Delight Pavan*; it is found independently in only one of the English sources (no. *vi*). Musically too, pavan and galliard form a unity, so that John Johnson, who wrote the pavan, must also be the author of the galliard. For the erroneous ascription to Edward Johnson in no. *xiii* see the commentary to no. 5 above. Due to the unclear writing, the reading of the first three words of the title of no. *vii* is unsure.

In this edition are published no. *i* (as no. 6a) and no. *ii* (as no. 6b). No. 6a is an early version of this composition, found in the source with the *Pavan to Delight* (edition no. 5a). No. 6b is the setting from the authoritative Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript.

Textually there are very few differences between the versions *ii-vii*; they concern mostly the figuration in the cadences. Nos. *ii* and *vii* are very similar, not taking into account the many mistakes in *vii*. Nos. *iii* and *v* are practically identical. What remains of version no. *viii* is very similar to no. *ii*. No. *ix* also is similar to *ii*, but lacks the varied repeats. Version *x* differs a lot from the other settings for lute; it also lacks the varied repeat of the B section.

Editorial changes, in no. 6a: m. 27(1) 6*a* added; m. 48(3) the rhythm sign corrected from breve to semibreve.

7. Pavan – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 44^v^: *A pauen: Jo: Johnson.*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XI (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 14.

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 96, foot-

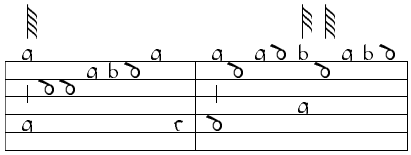
note 272, notices that Thomas Morley in his *Service for the Burial of the Dead* duplicates the beginning of this pavan, in the setting of the words 'I am the resurrection' and in the harmonies of 'Man that is born of woman'.

In the manuscript this pavan in *f* is followed by a galliard of John Johnson in the related key of *b flat* (edition no. 23). In spite of this difference in key, there are however some textual similarities: compare for instance the cadences *f-b flat* (pavan mm. 21-22, galliard mm. 46-48), and especially some of the scalar runs (pavan mm. 30-31, galliard mm. 22-23).

Editorial changes: m. 13(1) 5*b* from probably 6*b* (see the corresponding place in m. 5); m. 35(1) 3*d* omitted after the 3*e* to avoid parallel fourths between treble and alto (and see the corresponding places in mm. 34 and 43); m. 39(3) rhythmic values in the source twice as short; m. 43(2) in the treble the last note 2*d* added to provide the full melody (see corresponding places in mm. 7 and 35).

ture letters (e.g. *d* and *g*) appear. It seems the copyist hurried the writing of the last bars.

Editorial changes: a lot of mistakes have been corrected. Often bass notes are placed a line too high or too low (mm. 12, 23, 30, 32, 33-35, 38); superfluous repetitions of groups of notes appear in scalar runs (mm. 11, 46, 48); there are a lot of mistakes in the rhythm signs (mm. 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 41). In m. 8(1) in the second chord a note 4*e* has been omitted (compare m. 40); in m. 25(4) the note 5*b* has been added; m. 34(2) 3*b* from 4*b*; mm. 45(2) and 47(3) 5*a* added; m. 46(2) 3*b* from 3*c* (compare m. 38). In m. 30 1*b* was added as the last note of the bar; as other solutions are possible, here is the bar as found in the manuscript:



i, m. 30

8. Marigold Pavan – Johnson

i Königsberg, f. 63v-64v: *NB / The marrigolde pauane* per *mr. Jonson.*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XIII (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 16.

For the possible uncertain ascription of this piece, see the commentary to the paired galliard, no. 9. The pavan shows all the characteristics of John Johnson's style: the dotted rhythm at the beginning of the piece, with chords on the highest strings; the many inverted chords and suspended notes on the beat (mm. 1, 3, 5, 6, 18, 19, 23, 33, 35); the repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 9-16, 25-26, 29-30, 41-42, 45); the use of the rhythmic pattern (mm. 12, 14, 15, 29, 43, 46; the same pattern appears twice as slow in mm. 5 and 35); the repeated rhythmic pattern in m. 45; the characteristic figuration on the first course after the final chord in *C* in m. 46.

The handwriting of the copyist suddenly changes in m. 35, the third bar of the C section: it becomes larger, less tidy, the pressure on the pen is increased and some alternative shapes of tablature letters (e.g. *d* and *g*) appear. It seems the copyist hurried the writing of the last bars.

9. Marigold Galliard – Anonymous

i Board, f. 26v: *Marygoud gould*
ii Vanden Hove, *Florida*, f. 82r: *Alio Galliarde* / index, f. 110v: *Galliarda alio*
iii Thysius, f. 25r: *Gailliarde.*
iv Holborne, *PGA*, no. 8: *The Marie-golde* (consort à 5, in *d*)
v Holborne, *Cittharn School*, no. 43: *Galliarde* (cittern)
vi Dd.4.23, f. 1v: *Marigold Galliard* (cittern)

Ward, *John Johnson* Appendix 2.

This galliard undoubtedly forms a pair with the *Marigold Pavan* (no. 8), because of its title as well as their common musical material. The A-sections of both pavan and galliard are melodically as well as harmonically identical, while in the B- and C-strains a lot of melodic similarities are apparent, although these latter sections do slightly differ harmonically. However, the lute versions *i-iii* of this galliard are, except for the transposition, completely identical to Holborne's five voiced setting in *iv*. The authorship of both pavan and galliard – these pieces must be by the same composer – is

therefore uncertain. Are these pieces then by Holborne, and is the ascription of the pavan to Johnson a mistake, or did Holborne merely arrange a galliard by Johnson? The first solution does not seem probable, as the lute versions of the galliard and certainly of the pavan are more in Johnson's style than in Holborne's. The second solution remains: although Holborne's book does not, as far as we know, contain any arrangements of works by other composers, the present galliard must be the exception to the rule. It is probable furthermore, that he used compositions by Johnson on other occasions (compare no. 4, and Holborne, *Music for Lute & Bandora*, no. 50). A third solution, that it was Johnson who arranged a work by Holborne, seems the least obvious: Johnson, who died in 1594, would not have been familiar with the contents of Holborne's book which was published in 1599. A treble and ground duet in Dd.3.18, f. 23r, a galliard by Ellis Lawrey with the title *The Marygolde*, bears no resemblance to these compositions by Johnson/Holborne.

The galliard shows many characteristics of Johnson's style, albeit not to the same extent as the accompanying pavan. Very typical of this style are the beginning of the piece on the three highest courses; the regular structure of the sections with two phrases of four bars each; the inverted chords and suspended notes on the beat (mm. 3, 6, 19); the repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 10-11, 12-14, 16, 25-27); the use of the typical rhythmic patterns (mm. 22, 25, 45) and (mm. 10, 11).

Of the versions for lute no. *ii* differs slightly from *i*: all three strains lack a repeat but have a rather lively figuration, which in sections B and C is even busier than the corresponding varied repeats of no. *i*. Version *ii* is perhaps an arrangement by Vanden Hove (note the lively bass lines in mm. 22, 37 and 39, which are typical of his way of writing). Version *iii* also lacks varied repeats, but this setting is almost identical with the A-, B- and C-sections of *i*.

Editorial changes: m. 48(1) 2*d* from 1*d*, and in m. 27(2-3) the finger-dots have been corrected.

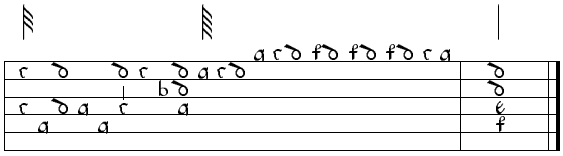
10. Pavan – Johnson

i Pickeringe, f. 23r: *A pauin by m^r^ Johnsonn*
ii Hirsch, f. 2r (fragment)
iii Rude, *Flores Musicæ*, II, no. 85 (in *g*)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* X (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 13.

As manuscript *ii*, according to Robert Spencer (in its edition on p. xiii), was started around 1595, and this piece is found right in the beginning of it, John rather than his son Robert must be the author of this pavan; Robert was at that time only about thirteen years old, which makes him an unlikely candidate. The fact that the piece is also found in *iii*, a German anthology from 1600, is also a point in favour of John's authorship: the son was not yet known as a composer, certainly not abroad. Stylistically the pavan fits the rest of Johnson's works, as is shown by the punctuated rhythm at the beginning; the repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 2, 4-5, 12, 21-22 and 24, 29-30, 48-51; the reiterated chords in mm. 37 and 45; the striking repeats of a musical turn in mm. 5(3-4), 27(3-4), 40(1-2), a second one in mm. 5(1-2), 25(1-2), 38(3-4), and a further one in mm. 6(1-2), 28(1-2); the use of inverted chords and suspended notes on the beat, as in mm. 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 21, 22, 23 (in the latter bars in connexion with a pedal point); the reiteration of a single note of a chord, on the fourth course, in m. 49; the long written out trill in m. 12; the rhythmic pattern in mm. 31, 35 and 48 (the same pattern at half the speed in mm. 14, 26 and 30); and the rhythmic pattern which appears eight times in mm. 48-51. Likewise J. Ward, *John Johnson*, p. 124, no. 13, finds in this piece the characteristics of 'Johnson's mature style'.

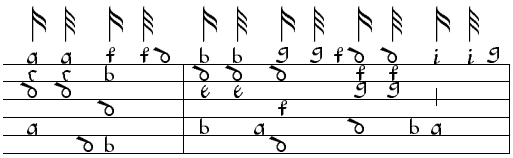
It goes without saying that no. *i* is the only version that comes into consideration for publication here. There is however one problem. When we compare m. 43 with the corresponding m. 51 of the repeat, we notice that the latter is only half as long: two semibreves against four. In version *ii* there are also only two beats to m. 51, but here the measure is completed with the first half of the next bar.



ii, mm. 51-52

It is unclear whether we are dealing with a mistake by a copyist, who forgot to write half a bar, or wrote incorrect rhythm signs. Trying to reconstruct the 'missing' second half of m. 51 leaves us with a musically unsatisfactory result. In mm. 48-50 Johnson accelerates the flow of the music by repeating the rhythmic pattern a number of times, decreasing the size of the intervals between them. The tension which is built up in this way needs to be resolved in the final chord: the motion has to be continued into the cadence in m. 51, but a whole bar of four beats on *C* then seems too long to sustain. All things considered, it is likely that this reading, of m. 51 with half the length of the other bars, is correct. The solution chosen by Ward, *John Johnson*, no. 13, of inserting the first half of m. 43 in the beginning of m. 51, is not very convincing, because in that way the movement is stopped and the tension is broken.

Only the last 5 3/4 bars of the version in *ii* remain. Judging from the divisions in the final bar, this version also had varied repeats. These were simpler than the ones in *i*: compare the simple variation of the melody and bass in mm. 40-41:



ii, mm. 40(3-4)-41

Version *iii* has no repeats and is in *g* instead of *f*. This setting follows *i* quite accurately, although a number of chords appear in root position rather than in first inversion, and a few added figurations are found in section C, mostly in the top voice.

Editorial changes: a number of irregularly placed barlines have been corrected, as well as some mistakes in the rhythm signs in mm. 17(1) and 47(1); in m. 34(3) in the chord a note 2*d* has been omitted, as it breaks the line of the middle voice (compare m. 26) and seems to have been expunged in the manuscript; in m. 43(3) a reiterated note 5*a* was added.

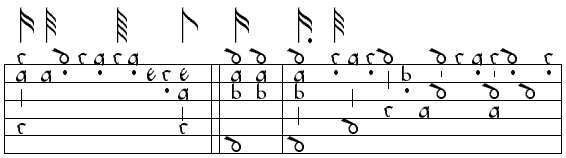
i Folger, f. 12r: *Levecha pavin m*^{r} *Johnson*
ii Wickhambrook, f. 14r (incomplete)
iii Schele, p. 143-144 (lute part of a setting for mixed consort)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* V (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 7.

The *La Vecchia Pavan* (*La Vecchia* being Italian for 'old woman') is based on the *Pass' e mezzo della Paganina*, printed first in 1578 (see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 95, footnote 263; there also a list of English settings of *La Vecchia* which are not related to Johnson's). The bass is related to the *Passamezzo antico*. The *La Vecchia* melody is mentioned in Munday *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts* (1588, but registered in 1584). Nos. *i* and *ii* are versions for lute solo; no. *i* is, contrary to what Ward, *Dowland lute book*, p. 24, suggests, not a consort part. No. *iii* on the other hand, with its incomplete bass line and scalar figuration using the whole range of the lute, is part of a consort setting. Although this setting is clearly related to Johnson's solo, there is no reason to suppose he wrote its rather dull passagework. Johnson did write a version of this piece for two lutes; see no. 51.

The occurrence of this piece in the early Wickhambrook manuscript excludes Robert Johnson as a possible candidate for the authorship of this composition. Stylistically the ascription to John is well founded: note the repeat in mm. 3-4 of the rhythm of mm. 1-2; the characteristic rhythmic pattern in mm. 9(3-4) and 14(1); the duet between the two top voices in m. 1; and the repeat of the musical material of m. 3 in mm. 17-18. In *i* John Johnson himself may have added his autograph to the piece (see p. 5).

Only the first twelve measures (strains A, A' and B) of no. *ii* remain. This version lacks the graces while the figuration is more sober than in *i*. Two scalar runs have been replaced: the figure which appears in m. 2(1-2) in *i* now is found in m. 6(1-2), and the run in *i* m. 12(1-2) appears in *ii* in m. 10(1-2). All this makes it probable that the composer himself rearranged his work. In *ii* we find parallel thirds in m. 3(4) rather than parallel sixths as in *i*. Mm. 8 and 9 also differ:



ii, mm. 8-9

Editorial change: in m. 9(3) to the middle voice the note 3*d* has been added (compare this place with the equivalent in *ii* and in the paired galliard no. 12).

12. [La Vecchia Galliard] – Anonymous

i Marsh, p. 264

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* Addenda A.1 (p. 104); Ward, *John Johnson* Appendix 3.

As with the *La Vecchia Pavan*, Johnson also wrote a version for two lutes of the *La Vecchia Galliard*; see no. 52. The version for lute solo of this piece is only found in no. *i*, and is anonymous there. Here it is ascribed to John Johnson because (like the duet) it undoubtedly forms a pair with his *La Vecchia Pavan* (see no. 11): the pavan and galliard are melodically as well as harmonically similar, in particular in sections A and B; the C sections differ. On stylistic grounds John Johnson is a very likely candidate for the authorship of this galliard: note in particular characteristics like the repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 25(3)-26 (in a hemiola); the literal repeat of mm. 4(3)-8(1) in mm. 32(3)-36(1); the inverted chords on the beat in mm. 18, 22, 30, 38, 46; the repeated note on the fourth course in m. 23; the use in mm. 25(1) of the rhythmic pattern ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩, and also in mm. 44-45; the duet between the two top voices in m. 2.

Editorial changes: m. 6(2) bass note 6*a* added; m. 40(2) 2*c* from 3*c*; m. 46 last note 1*c* from 1*e*.

13. Flat Pavan - John Johnson

i Ballet, p. 18: *The flat Paven*
ii Board, f. 2v: *Flatt Pavin / Flatt Pavin M*^{r} *Johnso*[*n*]
iii Euing, f. 8v
iv Mynshall, f. 4v: *the flate pauiane* / index, f. [ii]v: *The flatt pauion*
v Dd.2.11, f. 87r: *The flatt pauen Jo Johnson*
vi Dallis, p. 92: *NB / Jhonsons Flatt pauin*
vii Königsberg, f. 55r: *Flatt Pauan / NB*
viii Dd.9.33, f. 90v-91r: *flatt pauen* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort)
ix Folger, f. 10r: *the fflatt pavin for consorte* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort)
x Trumbull, f. 10r: *The flat pavan.* (lute part of a setting for mixed consort)
xi Walsingham, no. 24: *The Flatt Pauen / The Flatt Pauen* (setting for mixed consort; flute, cittern and bass parts, descant part torn out)
xii Dd.14.24, f. 3v: *The flatt paven* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xiii Otley, f. 2v: *Jhonsones paven* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xiv Otley, f. 37v: *Flat Pa / the flat pauine* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xv Browne, f. 13v: *Flat Pauin* (bandora part of a setting for mixed consort)
xvi Königsberg, f. 39r: *Flatt pavin* (bandora part of a setting for mixed consort)
xvii Dd.5.20, f. 2r: *The flatt pauen* (bass part of a setting for mixed consort)
xviii Dallis, p. 264 (staff notation for treble and alto)
xix Add.30485, f. 54v-55r: *flat pauen M*^{r} *Jonsons* (keyboard)
xx Add.36661, f. 56r: *M*^{r} *Johnsons flatt Pauin* (keyboard)
xxi FWVB II, p. 453-455, no. 284: *The Flatt Pavan. / Giles Farnaby* (keyboard)
xxii Paris 1186, f. 27v-28r: *A pavine* (keyboard)
xxiii Drexel 5609, p. 114 (keyboard)
xxiv Cleveland, Case Western Reserve MS, p. 138a, fragment 35: *Flat pauin* (keyboard)

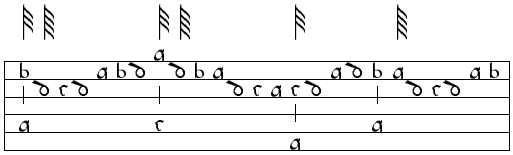
Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* III (p. 94-95); Ward, *John Johnson* 3.

This is one of Johnson's most widely dispersed compositions. The title *Flat* probably refers to the key of the piece. For the galliard that forms a pair with this pavan see no. 14. Johnson also wrote a version for two equal lutes (see no. 53), and there also exists a treble and ground duet on the *Flat Pavan* (see no. 55). It is not known whether the setting for mixed consort (nos. *viii*-*xvii*) is also by Johnson. In Munday, *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts* (1588, but registered 1584) we find the

mention of a ‘dittie, sung after the note of the flat Pauin, which is playd in Consorte’. The wording of this message, as well as the style of the setting for lute solo (in Johnson’s early style), and the occurrence of this piece in *vi* (an early source of around 1584) point to the version for lute solo as being older than that for consort. Edwards, *Music for mixed consort*, no. 14, suggest that this was the other way round, as in the consort setting the melody is divided between the lute and flute parts (a descant part for viol or violin is lacking and may never have existed); this observation does however not have any bearing on the relative age of these two versions. An early lute piece in Lodge, f. 6v-7r, *A flatte pavione*, is musically not related to Johnson’s *Flat Pavan*.

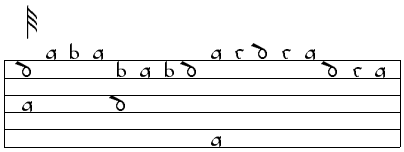
Nos. *i-vii* are settings for lute solo. Of these, nos. *i* and *iv* are paired with the matching galliard. All versions differ slightly, especially in the divisions; nos. *vi* and *vii* lack the varied repeats. The settings in *i*, *iii* and *iv* are for the most part identical; of these *i* was chosen for publication in this edition, as no. 13a. The setting in *ii* shows the greatest differences of all the others, and is found in a later source: this is possibly the latest remaining version of this piece, and is published here as no. 13b.

Versions *iii* and *iv* differ from *i* in mm. 18(2) and 22(2), in which *i* has a chord on *F* and almost all the others a chord on *d* (likewise in *ii*); in the varied repeats m. 22, the divisions are adapted to fit the bass:



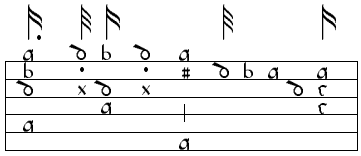
iii, m. 22

The setting in *iii* has a more sober figuration in mm. 19(4), 23(2-4) and 24(3) than the version in *i*, and also has an added upper voice 2*c* in m. 6(1). Apart from a large amount of copyist’s mistakes particularly in the rhythm signs, the version in *iv* has a number of chords with a note more ore less than version *i*, a quieter figuration in m. 11(4), while the divisions in m. 15-16 are similar to *ii*, with the exception of the flattened notes *a’ flat* and *e’ flat* (1*b* and 2*b*); mm. 23 and 24 are like the version in *iii*. The settings in *vi* and *vii* lack the varied repeats but are otherwise virtually identical with *i*; the figuration is somewhat quieter in places, and the chord on *d* occurs in m. 18(2). No. *vii* differs more: m. 3 is similar to *v*, m. 11 is similar to *ii*, m. 20 is identical to m. 4, and the figuration in m. 19 differs from all the other versions:



vii, m. 19

The setting in *v* differs most from the ones in *i*, *iii* and *iv*, in particular in the varied repeats: these are (for the most part) at variance in mm. 5-8, 14-15 (in m. 15(3-4) as in *iv*), 20, 23-24 (m. 24 identical to m. 8). Here are a number of further differences: m. 3 has divisions of the melody, while divisions are lacking in m. 19, where they would rather be expected (this m. 19(1-2) is as in *ii*); m. 18(2) reads, like *i*, a chord on *F* i.e. 2*d*, 3*a*, 4*a*), while m. 22 of the varied repeat has divisions as in *iii* and *iv*, omitting the bass note *f* which does not fit.



v, m. 3

Editorial changes in 13a: m. 9(3) 4*c* from 4*a*, m. 20(4) the first four semiquavers from quavers. Editorial changes in 13b: the bars have been doubled in size; later additions in the source (a bass note *C* in m. 24(4)) have been ignored, as well as later alterations (the bass note *c* to *C* in mm. 4(4), 8(4) and 20(4), and the addition of a help line to the bass note *D* in m. 15(1), changing it from seventh to eight course).

14. Flat Galliard – Anonymous

i Ballet, p. 19: *The flat Paven Galliard / The flat Pauen* (rubbed out)

ii Mynshall, f. 5r: *the galliard to the flat paui*[*ane*] / index, f. [ii]v: *The galliard to the same*

iii Dd.2.11, f. 1v: *Galliard to the flatt pauen*

iv Dd.9.33, f. 92v (sections A and A’ only)

v Thysius, f. 28r: *Gailliarde.*

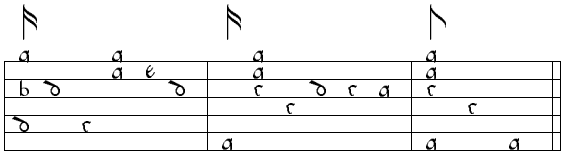
vi Otley, f. 2v: *The galliard* (cittern part of setting for mixed consort)
vii Dd.5.20, f. 2r: *Galliard to the flatt pauen* (bass part of setting for mixed consort)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* IV (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 4.

This galliard forms a pair with the *Flat Pavan* (no. 13). As was the case with the pavan, of this piece also exist versions as equal lute duet (no. 54) and as treble and ground duet (no. 56); for the relation between the settings for mixed consort (versions *vi* and *vii*) and lute solo, see the commentary to the paired pavan, no. 13.

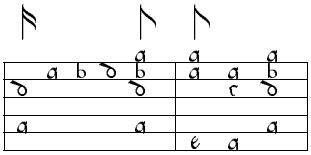
Although there is no author mentioned for this galliard in the sources, it is undoubtedly by John Johnson; two of the five versions for lute solo are paired to his *Flat Pavan*, with which the galliard is both melodically as as well as harmonically closely related. The piece shows various characteristics of Johnson's early style: the opening phrase in punctuated rhythm; the familiar cadence *G-C*, in which the fifth degree *g* is adorned with an *f* and an *a flat* (mm. 5-8, 37-40); the use of repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 10-11, 41-42), while the rhythmic pattern ♩ ♫♫♫♫♫ is also found frequently (17 times in the space of 48 bars); the use of the rhythmic pattern ♩ ♫♩♩ ♩ (m. 45), and the variant ♩ ♫♫ ♩ ♫♫ (mm. 13, 25-26, 31). The use of material from the corresponding pavan is also typical for Johnson.

Versions *i* and *ii*, both paired to the pavan, are identical, except for considerable slipshod and some small differences in texture. The divisions in the varied repeats of *iii* and *iv* (in *iv* only sections A and A' were written down) differ largely from the ones in *i* and *ii*; amongst themselves *iii* and *iv* also differ. Version *v* lacks varied repeats. In all versions sections A, B and C are virtually identical. There are but a few differences: the passing note 5*a* in *i* and *v* in m. 21(3) is lacking in *ii* and reads 5*c* in *iii*; version *v* is the only one to have in m. 35(3) a chord on *d* instead of *F* (as we saw most versions of the *Flat Pavan* have on the corresponding place a chord on *d*); and in *iii* and *v* mm. 22-24 have a slightly different reading from the other versions:



iii, mm. 22-24

It would seem *iii* and *iv* are both versions of a slightly different setting of this piece, as is substantiated in mm. 3-4, where both have the same alternative reading:



iii, mm. 3-4

Editorial changes: m. 1(1) 4*c* from 4*a*; m. 3(3) 6*e* from 6*a* (versions *i* and *ii* surprisingly have this clear mistake in common (compare the repeat in m. 11, and the corresponding place in the pavan); it would seem they both stem from the same source); m. 6(3) 4*a* from 5*a*; m. 9(1) 5*a* from 6*a*; m. 13(1-2) the (more characteristic) rhythm ♫♫♫♫ (as in *ii*) from ♫♩ ♫♫♫ ; m. 14(1) 4*a* from 5*a*; m. 17(3) 5*d* from 5*b*; m. 22(1) 3*b* and 5*d* from 3*d* and 5*c*; m. 46(1) 4*a* from 4*c* and 5*a*.

15. Quadro Pavan – John Johnson

i Add.31392, f. 20v-21v: *A Quadrant pavyn.*
ii Dd.3.18, f. 26v-27r: *The Quadro Pauen M^r^ Jo: Johnson.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Quadro pauen and the galliard*
iii Add.2764(2), f. [11]r-[11]v: *Quadro Pavin Treble* (fragment)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXVIII (p. 102); Ward, *John Johnson* 34.

Johnson has written many variation pieces over the bass from the *Passamezzo moderno*, which originated from Italy. This ground-bass is in a key using the *B naturale*, also known as *B quadratum* (and so differs from the *B flat* in the *Passamezzo antico*), whence its current English title *Quadro*. In the English *Quadro's* the bass occurs twice and is then followed by another, closely related bass, which is also repeated. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 100, footnote 302, gives an ex-

haustive list of English *Quadro* settings.

It is not clear why this piece, which is so obviously an independent solo, is called a *Treble* in *iii*, and is also listed under the *trebles* in the index of *ii*. There is no reason to suppose as does Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 73, that it is a duet treble turned into a solo by adding a bass (compare *Passamezzo Galliard*, no. 20).

At first glance, versions *i* and *ii* appear to be different settings of the *Quadro Pavan*. Closer investigation shows that they are in fact identical in about half of the total amount of bars: 22 out of 48 match with the exception of a few minor differences in figuration. These identical measures are mm. 9-16, 24-33 and 44-47. The pieces differ in roughly the first half of sections A and A', the whole of section B, the first three bars of B', and the closing bar of B'. Both versions are followed by the same galliard (no. 16 in this edition). We therefore must conclude that we are dealing with two versions of a single piece. It seems likely that *ii* is an adaptation of *i*, which would mean that the latter is the older version: the added repeated rhythmic patterns in *ii* (the patterns in mm. 10-11 and 44-46 were maintained) give a clearer structure to the figuration. Apart from this, in the matching *Quadro Galliard*, which has not been changed, the first bar of the A-strain and the first two bars of the B-strain are identical with the corresponding bars in the pavan (compare *Pavan* and *Galliard* nos. 1 and 2, which also have identical bars at the beginning of sections A and B).

As the 26 bars that do not match in versions *i* and *ii* are for the most part totally different, both versions are given in full in this edition (nos. 15a and 15b). Between both pieces the following differences occur: *i* has more passing harmonies than *ii*; in *ii* the movement is not restricted to the upper voice as in *i*, as is seen in mm. 20-23 and 38-40 (a further indication that *ii* must be later than *i*); and, as was mentioned earlier, *ii* has more repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 5, 6, 17-18, 19-22, 35-40). It seems likely that Johnson himself must have revised this *Quadro Pavan*, as the variations that are only found in the anonymous version *i* show signs of his style: repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 18-20 and 34; the rhythm in mm. 7, 42 and, and half the speed twice in m. 34; the literal repeat of m. 30 in m. 38. Mm. 44-46, which are copied in *ii*, also show a beautiful example of a repeated rhythmical pattern. Furthermore, compare m. 28(3-4), also preserved in version *ii*, with the *Pavan* no. 1, m. 48(1-2). Also, the division in *i* mm. 22(3)-23(2) has, with some changes, been replaced to mm. 6(3)-7(2) in *ii*, a device Johnson uses more often when reworking his pieces. No. *iii* is identical with *ii*, as is seen in the remaining mm. 33-40(2) and the rhythm signs of mm. 40(3)-42(3) and 45(3)-48.

Editorial changes in no. 15a: m. 1(1) 6*a* added; m. 5(1) second note 1*c* added; m. 5(1-2) quavers from semiquavers; m. 23(4) 4*e* from 3*e*; m. 47(4) 2*c* (the second note of the beat) added; 47(4) semiquavers from quavers; m. 48(4) the minim from a semibreve. In m. 31(3) the note *f* (4*a*) should maybe be a *c* (5*a*): compare the corresponding place in *ii*. Editorial changes in no. 15b: m. 36(1-2) the scalar run corrected from 3*hlm*2*hlmh*; m. 38(4) 2*f* from 3*f*.

16. Quadro Galliard – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 26r: *Quadro Galliarde.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Quadro pauen and the galliard*

ii Add.31392, f. 21v-22r: *Galiard.*

iii Mynshall, f. 4r: *the galliard to the quadorn pauion* / (erased) *passingingmesur*[*es*] *Galliard* / index, f. [ii]v: *The quadrone galliard*

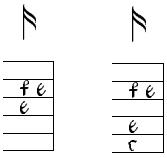
Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* Addenda B.2 (p. 104); Ward, *John Johnson* Appendix 7.

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 104, footnote 328, gives an exhaustive list of *Quadro* galliards in English sources.

In *i* and *ii* this galliard is paired to the *Quadro Pavan* no. 15; the index of *i* also states this explicitly, listing both pieces with the *trebles*. Pavan and galliard have some musical material in common (see the commentary to no. 15). In *iii* the galliard is found amongst three other pieces that are undoubtedly by Johnson, in spite of the fact that in this source they all remain anonymous (the *Rogero* treble, f. 3v, and the *Flat Pavan* and *Galliard*, f. 4v-5r). In the face of all this, we may assume that the present piece is also by John Johnson. At any rate, it bears the characteristics of his style: note the masterly overall structure of this piece, which starts slowly and gradually in-

creases in speed, but is halted at the beginning of the B-section, by way of preparation for the virtuosic closing part with quasi-polyphonic divisions (mm. 47-48). Apart from this we find: a typical dotted rhythm in the opening bars; a considerable amount of repeated rhythmical patterns (mm. 9-13, 16-20, 25-27, 35-37, and 29(3)-31, where the repeated pattern brings out a hemiola); the rhythms ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ (m. 9-13, 42) and ♫ ♫ ♫ ♩ ♩ (m. 29-31); the duet of the two top voices in m. 6 (also compare mm. 5-8 with no. 12 mm. 1-4); in *ii* and *iii* the repeat of a single note on the fourth course after a chord (in *ii* mm. 16, 24, 39); the doubling of the note *g'*, through plucking both 1*a* and 2*f* (m. 37); a number of syncopations that are similar to the ones found in the *Delight Galliard* (no. 6): compare mm. 35-37 with no. 6b mm. 19-21, 23.

In all sources this galliard is virtually identical. Apart from a number of writing errors in *iii*, which mostly concern rhythm signs (mm. 3, 10, 19, 35, 46), the most significant differences are the more filled out chords in *ii* (mm. 15, 16, 20, 24, 34, 39). In m. 32(2) *ii* and *iii* read the (for Johnson more characteristic) sharpened note 3*e* instead of 3*d*, while each manuscript has its own variant reading of m. 43(3):



ii and *iii*, m. 43(3)

Editorial changes: m. 35(3) 6*c* from 5*c* (as in *ii* and *iii* and in the corresponding m. 42). In mm. 4 and 12 the copyist apparently corrected 2*e* from 2*d*; *ii* and *iii* both have 2*e* here.

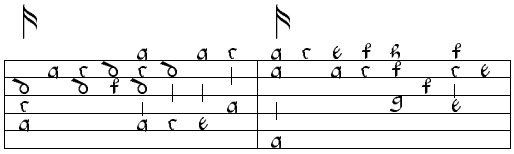
17. Quadro Pavan – John Johnson

i Dallis, p. 86-88: *quadro pauane p*er *Jhonson*
ii Brogyntyn, p. [24]-25 (12-13): *Quadron pauen:*
iii Dd.9.33, f. 93v-94r: *Jo Johnson*

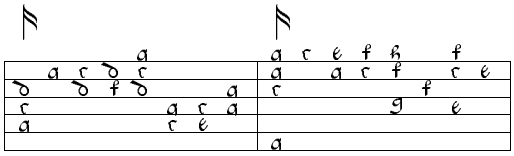
Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXX (p. 100); Ward, *John Johnson* 33.

Variations over the bass of the *Passamezzo moderno* (see the commentary to no. 15). For a possible earlier version of this pavan see no. 38; for galliards that could possibly form a pair with it see nos. 39 and 41.

This piece is preserved in three almost identical versions. Variant readings occur in a few places: no. *i* has a number of more filled out chords than either *ii* and *iii*, while a number of copying errors have crept into no. *ii*: see mm. 22(1), 25(3), 30(3-4), 40. The main differences between the various versions are: *i* has in mm. 5-8 a dotted rhythmical pattern which is lacking in *ii* and *iii*, while the latter have a series of added parallel middle voices in m. 6-7:

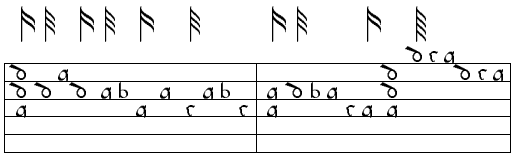


ii , mm. 6-7



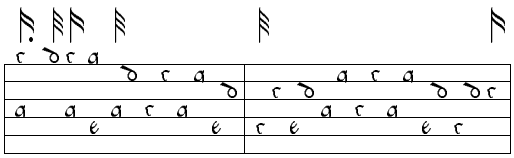
iii, mm. 6-7

Contrary to *i*, versions *ii* and *iii* have no dotted rhythm in m. 21. Mm. 11-12 in *ii* are completely different from *i* and *iii*:



ii, mm. 11-12

In m. 34(3-4) no. *iii* has a figuration that is unlike the other two versions; the alto voice in m. 30(3-4) of versions *ii* and *iii* differs from the one in *i*: it occurs on the third course (3*f* instead of 2*a* as in *i*), while the note *e'* is lacking. In mm. 35(3-4) and 36(3-4) nos. *ii* and *iii* have slightly simpler readings, without any figuration in quavers at all. In mm. 37-38 no. *iii* has a syncopated upper voice over a slightly different bass:



iii, mm. 37-38

Version *ii* has a variant reading of m. 39(1-2), while in m. 40 (1-2) of versions *ii* and *iii* the bass note *B* occurs one quaver later.

Editorial changes, all based on probably correct occurrences in *ii* and *iii*: m. 2(3-4) three notes belonging to the middle voice have been placed a line higher (3*a*4*ca* from 4*a*5*ca*); m. 27(3) 4*a* added; m. 28(1) 4*a* from 5*a*; mm. 29(3) and 31(1) 2*d* omitted; m. 33(2) 2*c* from 3*c*; m. 46(3) 6*a* added.

18. Quadro Pavan – John Johnson

i Wickhambrook, f. 10v-11r: *the Quadrone pauene Jo: Jhonsone*
ii Marsh, p. 120-121
iii Dd.2.11, f. 31v-32r: *Quadro pauen*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXIX (p. 100); Ward, *John Johnson* 32.

Variations over the bass of the *Passamezzo moderno* (see no. 15). For a galliard that could be paired with this pavan see no. 41.

These three versions are virtually identical. There are no graces at all in no. *ii*, very few in *iii*. In mm. 30(3), 38(2), 44(3), 45(1), 46(2), 46(3) and 47(1) no. *ii* lacks bass notes. Versions *ii* and *iii* show some copyist's errors: in *ii* these are, apart from a number of incorrect rhythm signs, in mm. 20(1), 26(2-3), 41(3), 47(4), in *iii* in mm. 13(2) and 31(4).

In *ii* and usually also in *iii* repeats of the note *g* on the fourth course have been avoided by omitting the note 4*c* in the preceding chord, or by playing 3*c* there (mm. 7(1), 8(1), 23(1), 36(1), 41(1)); in *iii* in one instance (m. 36(1)) the copyist changed a note 4*c* into 3*c*, from which could be concluded, that the copyist's original had, at least in this place, a reading as in *i*.

Other deviations from *i*: a number of notes were added in *ii*, i.e. 3*d* in m. 26(4), 5*c* in m. 34(4, on the beat), and 1*c* in m. 37(3); the bass in m. 46(1) was put up one octave (4*c* instead of 6*a*). In m. 27(3) of no. *iii* the note 3*d* was added to the chord; in the same version 4*c* was omitted in the chord in m. 39(1); in m. 40(1-2) the melody reads 1*fecea* instead of 1*fdcea* as seen in versions *i* and *ii*; in m. 47(4) the bass was put down one octave (4*c* instead of 6*a*).

Editorial change: in m. 29(4) a finger dot has been added under 2*c*.

19. Passamezzo Pavan – John Johnson

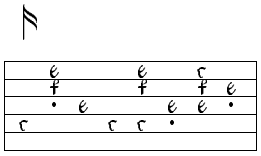
i Wickhambrook, f. 16v-17r
ii Dd.3.18, f. 24v-25r: *Passemeaz*(ures) *Pauen. M*^{r} *Jo: Johnson* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Passemeaz*(ures) *pauen and the galliarde*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXVII (p. 99-100); Ward, *John Johnson* 29.

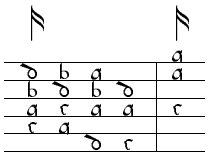
Three variations on the bass of the *Passamezzo antico*. Like the *Quadro* this ground-bass originated in Italy; unlike the *Quadro* the same bass is repeated as many times as is required. In Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 99, footnote 298, an exhaustive list of English *Passamezzo antico* settings.

In the index of no. *ii* this piece is listed with the *trebles*; it is however a lute solo. Nordstrom, *Consort books*, p. 89, and Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 100, note 299, are of the same opinion.

The two versions *i* and *ii* of this piece are for the greatest part identical. The differences between them: in *ii* there are no graces marked, with the exception of a double cross sign under tablature letter 1*c* in m. 19(3); also a number of chords are filled out in varying ways: there is a fuller chord on *F* in mm. 3(3) and 9(2), the bass note is lacking in mm. 7(4), 13(1) and 21(3), while an extra top note 1*a* is added in m. 5(3), which same note is missing in m. 6(1). The chord breaking in m. 7 is worked out differently (with a characteristic repeated note on the fourth course!), and at the close of the chordal sequence in m. 12(3-4) there are two deviant harmonies:

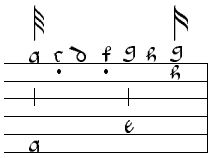


ii, m. 7

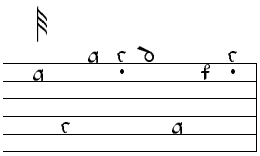


ii, mm. 12-13

The lower voices in mm. 38(4) and 40(4) are changed slightly:



ii, m. 38



ii, m. 40

Editorial change: m. 5(2) 3*a* from 3*d*; this more logical passing note as in *ii*.

20. Passamezzo Galliard – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 25v-26r: *Passemeaz*(ures) *Galliard* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Passemeaz*(ures) *pauen and the galliarde*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* Addenda B.1 (p. 104); Ward, *John Johnson* Appendix 6.

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 104, footnote 330, gives an exhaustive list of *Passamezzo antico* galliards in English sources.

In the manuscript these four variations on the *Passamezzo antico* bass are located after Johnson's *Passamezzo Pavan* (see no. 19 before), and are mentioned as forming a pair in the index where the two pieces are joined by a brace. As is the case with three other solo works by Johnson, or attributed to him (notably nos. 15, 16 and 19), this piece is listed in the index under the trebles. As with these other works, this piece is a full-fledged solo, with a complete harmonic basis. However, unlike the other three pieces, this galliard might indeed have started life as a treble, to which chords were added later: the strictly linear structure of the upper voice, and the high position of some of the passages (mm. 20, 21, 28-29, 44-45, 52, 57-58, 64) are unlike Johnson's solo works in degree and quantity. Apart from this, there are a number of places (mm. 7, 24, 39, 55) where the bass note cannot be held, due to rapid changes of position; these can certainly be called exceptions in Johnson's otherwise so idiomatically composed oeuvre.

Indeed this piece can be attributed to Johnson on stylistic grounds: note in particular the fine overall structure, with passages with a lively rhythm alternating with lyrical arpeggiated chords (mm. 16-20) and almost uninterrupted rows of quavers (mm. 33-40); the very intensive use of repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 25-29, 49-53 and, over two bars, in mm. 33-38(1) and 41-44. Here, as elsewhere, we come across patterns that are typical for Johnson: note ♩♫♩♩ in mm. 13 and 55. Variation 4 is build on the same rhythmical pattern as is variation 5 of the also anonymous *Quadro Galliard* treble (no. 67).

In the manuscript in m. 52 the first note 1*l* of the top voice seems to be corrected from 1*h*; the other way around, a correction 1*h* from 1*l* is unlikely, as a seventh position is maintained throughout this measure (compare m. 49). It is possible that the first note 1*a* in m. 48 is an error; a musically more satisfying 1*e* might be intended.

Editorial change: m. 41 last note 3*b* from 3*d* (m. 41 is repeated up a fifth in m. 43).

21. [Passamezzo Pavan] – John Johnson

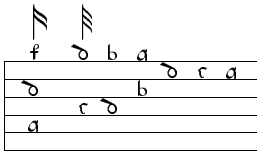
i Dd.2.11, f. 74v: *Jo: Johnson*
ii Dd.2.11, f. 62v: *J: John*[*son*]

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXVIII (p. 100); Ward, *John Johnson* 30.

Two variations on the *Passamezzo antico* bass (see no. 19).

The two versions of this piece are virtually identical, as is sometimes the case in this manuscript. A few differences can be noted: m. 8(2) in *ii* reads 2*b* instead of 2*c*; the last note of m. 10 in *ii* reads 1*a* instead of the correct 1*b*; in m. 32(3-4) in *ii* a single final chord.

Editorial changes: m. 17(4) 4*a* from 4*f* (correct in *ii*); m. 32(3-4) minims from crotches (otherwise the measure is too short). In m. 8 later a middle voice was added, in a different type of ink. This addition was omitted in the edition.



i, m. 8

22. Galliard – Johnson

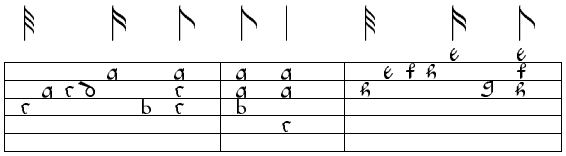
i Marsh, p. 90
ii Marsh, p. 91
iii Marsh, p. 365
iv Willoughby, f. 31r-31v: *Jonsones gallyard.*
v Besard, *Thesaurus*, f. 109v-110r: *GAlliarda*

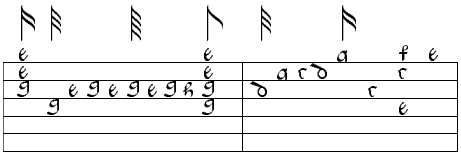
Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XVII (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 20.

The first strain of this piece was used by John Dowland in the third strain of one of his galliards (Dowland, *Lute music*, no. 27; see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 96, footnote 277).

Only one of the five sources of this piece mentions Johnson, and undoubtedly John is the intended composer. Robert Johnson can be disregarded as a possible candidate, as this galliard occurs in early sources from the 1570's–1580's. Stylistically the piece fits John's early style. Characteristic are: the opening bars that (throughout section A) remain on the three top courses; the inverted chords on strong beats (mm. 1, 17, 19, 24, 34, 36; i.e. the beginning of both sections A and B); the beginning of section C in two times two bars, with 𝅗𝅥 𝅝 in the second bar; in the same bars the chordal progression under a rigid top voice, reminiscent of of the beginning of the C strain of Johnson's *Delight Galliard*; the dotted figure in mm. 9, 41 and 43; the repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 4-8, 12-14 and, over two bars, mm. 17-20, 33-36, 41-44; the rhythmical pattern ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ (mm. 12-14, 28).

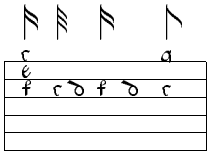
The five versions are essentially the same, but there are some considerable variations in the figuration. Version *ii* differs in two places from *i*: in the A-section, the rhythm in mm. 4-7 is ♘.♘♘ as opposed to ♘𝅘𝅥𝅯♘ (the first chord is not repeated on the second beat); in section C', mm. 41, 43 and 45, there is a deviating figuration, that might however be authentic, as it is identical with the same measures in the *Delight Galliard* (no. 5):





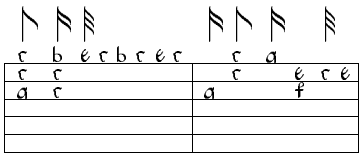
ii, mm. 41-45

The same figuration is found in this place in *iv*. Versions *ii* and *iv* have another variant reading in common, namely that of m. 12 (*iii* has here a simplified version of *i*):



iv, m. 12

Version *iv* is the only one with dotted passing notes 3*d* in m. 33(3) and 2*h* in m. 35(3) to break the chordal blocks at the beginning of the C strain. Version *iii* has a variant figuration in mm. 46(3)-47(1), as well as a unique reading of mm. 29-30(1):



iii, mm. 29-30

Version *v* lacks the varied reprise of the C-strain, and it has some peculiarities of its own, probably brought into the setting by Besard. Different from the other versions are the melody in mm. 7, 12, 19, 20, 27-28, the figuration in mm. 13, 30-31, 34, 36, 38-39, and the harmony in mm. 23, 25, 26, 38. The texture of the piece is simplified in mm. 9, 21 (where the setting is as in version *iii*), 26-27; in the B'-section (mm. 25-31) basses have been added or put an octave lower.

In version *iv* all barlines have been irregularly placed from section A' onwards. In *i* there are six minims to a bar; the bars have been halved in the edition to concord with the other versions of this piece, as well as all other galliards by Johnson.

Further editorial changes: m. 8(1) 1*a* added; m. 12(3) 2*a* from 2*c* (see the corresponding m. 4); m 16(3) an open fifth 2*a* omitted.

23. Galliard – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 45r: *Galliard Jo Johnson*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XV (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 18.

This is a remarkable galliard on account of two specific features: the unusual key of *b flat* minor and the irregular number of bars, i.e. 8-8-16; the C-strain is twice as long as the other two sections. See also the commentary to pavan no. 7, which shows some similarities with this piece.

Editorial changes: m. 4(1) 4*d* added (compare the corresponding m. 12); m. 59(1) 2*b* from 2*d* (compare m. 43); mm. 33-34, 37-38 and 41-42 all have ties over the barlines, but in the original the barlines are lacking, forming bars of double length.

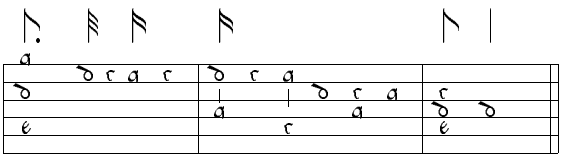
24. Galliard – John Johnson

i Dd.5.78.3, f. 43r: *Jo: Johnson*
ii Oxford 1280, f. [1]v: *Galiard* (fragment)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XVIII (p. 96-97); Ward, *John Johnson* 21.

See also the anonymous galliard no. 43.

For version *ii* see Craig-McFeely, *Fragments of English lute music II*, p. 44-50, with a reproduction on p. 46; here the galliard was not recognised. In *ii* the piece was written on three lines, of which the left part has disappeared; that leaves us now with only mm. 4-8 (rhythm signs lacking), 12(3)-18 and 22-24. This version largely agrees with *i*; both lack varied repeats. There are three differences: in *ii* m. 6(3) reads 3*c* instead of 3*d* as found in *i*; *ii* has an added, superfluous bar between mm. 7 and 8, extending the chord *C* over two bars; in *ii* in mm. 14-15 the bass was changed as to avoid most of the dissonants:



ii, mm. 14-16

Editorial changes: m. 14(3) crotchets from quavers; m. 19(3) 3*a* from 4*a*.

25. Galliard – John Johnson

i Brogyntyn, p. 17 (5): *Galliard J: John:*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XX (p. 97); Ward, *John Johnson* 24.

A short galliard of 3 x 4 bars without varied repeats. There is no reason to assume that this is the second part of a lute duet, as is suggested by Robert Spencer in the commentary to the facsimile edition of this manuscript and by Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 97; it is a musically complete piece with a satisfying melody.

26. Lord Burgh's Galliard (Johnson's Jewel) – Johnson

i Welde, f. 14r: *Galliard*
ii Dd.2.11, f. 99r: *Johnsons Jewell*
iii Board, f. 21r: *The lo: Bourrowes Gallyard*
iv Thysius, f. 32v: *My Lorde barnayes his Gallarde.*
v Dolmetsch, f. 91v-92r: *Galliarde Barodi colon:*
vi Dd.4.23, f. 5r: *My lo Boroughs Galliard* (cittern solo)
vii Dd.4.23, f. 18r: *My lord Burrou*[*ghs*] *Galliard* (cittern solo)
viii Parthenia, no. 14: *Galiardo XIIII* (keyboard, in *d*)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XVI (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 19.

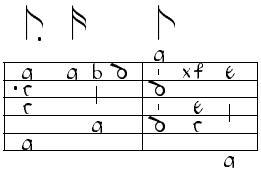
This galliard was probably named after Thomas Lord Burgh, to whom Holborne in 1597 dedicated his *Cittharn School* (Spencer, facsimile edition of Board). Lord Burgh died in 1597, at which time Robert Johnson was 15 years old; this probably excludes him as a possible composer of this piece.

The piece shows John's stylistic characteristics: note the phrasing over two bars with a repeated rhythmical pattern at the beginning of section B; the expressive suspended sixth in m. 6(1), the familiar *G-C* cadence with adorned fifth degree at the end of section A, literally repeated at the end of section C; the virtually identical repeat of m. 13 in m. 14, with the typical rhythm

♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ . It would appear that also the arrangement in *ii* might be Johnson's: here we find the same characteristic rhythm in mm. 10-11 (in a hemiola), 29, 30, 39, 43, 47, as well as the rhythm ♫ ♩ ♩ in mm. 10, 14, 30, 31 (the latter in a hemiola, the first three with a turn around one note), and a typical inverted chord at the beginning of the C strain.

Version *ii* is an extension of *i*, with added varied repeats, but it also shows some deviations in melody and harmony: compare mm. 3, 5, 19, 33, 38-39; it has become a new piece (the change of title could also be significant in this respect). For this reason both versions are are included in this edition, as nos. 26a and 26b.

No. *iii* is virtually identical to *i*, with only some minor differences: *iii* lacks the dotted rhythm in mm. 9 and 11, while mm. 14 and 15 read:



iii, m. 14-15

Version *iv* also lacks the varied repeats, and shows a considerable number of minor melodic and harmonic deviations from *i*, which, for the major part, are possibly not authentic. Note in this respect the erroneous chord on *f* in m. 6(1) instead of the correct first inversion on *c*. The example from which *iv* was copied was probably closer to *ii* than to *i*, as can be seen in m. 3, where the melody agrees with *ii* (the melody in m. 5 on the other hand agrees with *i*), and m. 17(1), where section C begins with a chord on *e flat*.

Version *v* constitutes a new setting altogether; it has the strains AA'BC. It is based on versions *i*-*iv*, but deviates frequently. The setting for keyboard, no. *viii*, is anonymous but is probably by John Bull, as in the source both the preceding *Galiardo XIII* as the following *Galiardo XV* are ascribed to *D*^{r} *Bull* (see also Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 96, footnote 276).

Editorial changes in 26a: in m. 3 the rhythm 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 , which disturbs the hemiola, is changed to 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 as is found in all other sources; m. 9(3) minim from crotchet; m. 19(2) the musically logical note 2*f* added, as it is found in *ii* and *iii*.

Editorial changes in 26b: m. 20(2) 1*a* omitted, on analogy of m. 28 and all other sources; m. 23(1) 3*b* from 2b, on analogy of m. 31 and *i*, thus avoiding parallel fifths; m. 31(1) 5*d* added and 31(2) 2*a* added, on analogy of m. 23.

27. Omnino Galliard – Johnson

i Dallis, p. 31: *oio Jhonsins*
ii Dallis, p. 95: *gal. oio. Jhonsins.*
iii Marsh, p. 287
iv Brogyntyn, p. 21 (9): *omnn galiard* (in cypher)
v Ballet, p. 90: *omnino galliard*
vi Otley, f. 2r: *omnyno galliard* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
vii Paris 1186, f. 25r: *Johnsons Galliard* (keyboard)
viii Drexel 5609, p. 110 (keyboard)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XIX (p. 97); Ward, *John Johnson* 22.

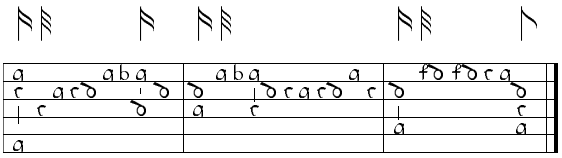
'Omnino' is Latin for 'entirely'. In 1583 Queen Elizabeth signed a letter *Omnini E.R.*, presumably meaning 'Entirely yours Elizabeth Regina' (Spencer, commentary to this galliard in the facsimile edition of Brogyntyn).

There are two versions of this piece, that are both incorporated in this edition. No. *i* (no. 27a in the edition) deviates on a number of occasions from the other versions: there is a dotted rhythm in mm. 1 and 5, a different melody in m. 17, a different chord in m. 9(3), a different bass in mm. 17-18, and practically no divisions in the varied repeats. Version *i* probably constitutes an older version of this galliard of which *ii*-*v* are later renditions. The other way around seems unlikely, as the latter have more complicated divisions, in mm. 18-19 an evident improvement of the preparation to the cadence, and the fact that that section B' of *i* was used as the B-section of the other versions, thus omitting the original B-strain of *i* with its characteristic repeated chords.

It seems likely that John Johnson both composed as well as improved this piece: there was no other lute composer of that name working in the 1580's when *i*-*iii* were copied. Apart from this, both versions show his stylistic characteristics: in *i* the already mentioned repeated chords in mm. 9-11, which occur with a repeated rhythmical pattern; the arpeggiated chords, also with a repeated

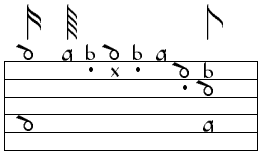
rhythmical pattern, in mm. 13-15; the familiar cadence *G-C* in mm. 18-20. In the later versions we see a repeated rhythm in mm. 13-15, and the typical rhythmical figure in mm. 20 and 22.

Versions *ii*, *iii* and *iv* are very similar: apart from some minor textural differences, and the fact that *iii* includes the simpler B-section from *i*, *ii* and *iii* are virtually identical. No. *iv* is also virtually identical to *ii*, but has a different figuration in mm. 20 and 22-24:

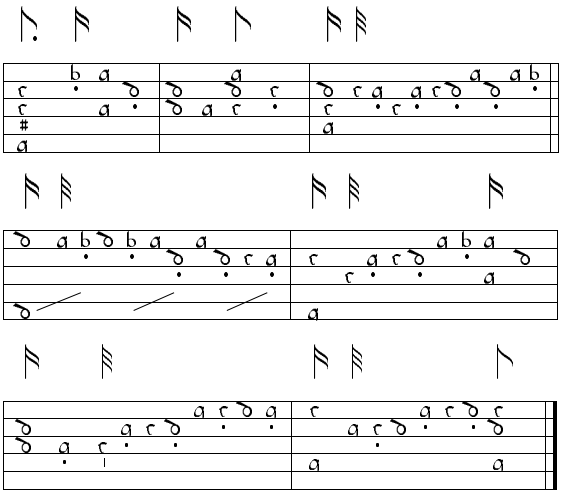


iv, mm. 22-24

Version *v* belongs to the group of the later renditions, but deviates strongly from *ii-iv*: there is a chord on *f* instead of on *a flat* in m. 9(3), which corresponds to *i*; in mm. 18-19 the preparation to the cadence is different from both other versions; particularly in mm. 7 and 18-24 the divisions differ from the other versions:



v, m. 7



v, mm. 18-24

It is not altogether impossible that *v* is yet another arrangement of this galliard.

Editorial changes to 27a: m. 3 6*d* added (analogous to m. 7); m. 6 5*d* added (analogous to m. 2). Editorial changes to 27b: m. 11(3) 4*a* from 5*a*; m. 15(1) 2*b* added (on analogy of nos. *iii* and *iv*); m. 19(2) 2*a* added (also on analogy of *iii* and *iv*); m. 21(3) 4*a* added. A number of erroneous rhythm signs in mm. 1(3), 6(3), 15(3), 18(1) and 21(1) have been corrected.

28. French Galliard – Johnson

i Dallis, p. 40-41: *NB / The diuision of the frenche gayliarde by Jhonson*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXI (p. 97); Ward, *John Johnson* 23.

The theme of this galliard came from the continent, probably from Italy. In France it was called the 'Galliard known as *Milanese*', in England as 'French Galliard' (see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 97, footnote 280, where also other English settings are listed). Johnson's setting differs from other known versions in *c* of this galliard: two concording ones in Marsh, p. 46-48, and Oxford 1280, f. [3]v, as well as the one in Lodge, f. 16v-17v, which resembles the previous ones. So the ascription to John Johnson of the setting in Oxford 1280 by Craig-McFeely, *Fragments of English lute music II*, p. 45 (with more concordances), is not correct. The title in *i* is remarkable: does it imply that what we have here are just the varied repeats A'B'C'?

The occurrence of this work in the early Dallis manuscript excludes Robert Johnson as possible composer. The piece shows the signs of John's (early) style: note the repeated rhythmical patterns in mm. 2-4 (including the rhythm ♩ ♩ ♫♫♫), 9-12 (in a hemiola), as well as the rhythmical figure ♩ ♫ ♩ ♫ in mm. 5 and 15.

29. Galliard – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 33r: *Galliarde Jo Johnson.*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XIV (p. 96); Ward, *John Johnson* 17.

Remarkable for the number of bars: 8-12-12.

30. Galliard – John Johnson [fragment]

i Oxford 1280, f. [2]v: *A galiard Jo. Jonson.* (fragment)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXII (p. 97); Ward, *John Johnson* 25.

A study of this fragment in Craig-McFeely, *Fragments of English lute music II*, p. 44-50, with a reproduction of *i* on p. 48.

Only the right hand part remains of the three lines of tablature on which this piece was notated. The surviving parts are: the last four bars of section A, the first three and last four bars of section B, and the first five and last two bars of section C. In view of the perished amount of tablature, i.e. about three to four bars on the left hand side of the page, this galliard probably had 8-8-10 bars. (The amount of missing tablature can be reconstructed on the basis of other fragments of pieces from this manuscript that do have concordances – e.g. on the reverse side of this page we find part of Johnson's *Pavan* in *C*, no. 4.) This would imply, that of this galliard the mm. 5-11, 15-21 and 25-26 remain. There were no varied repeats.

Editorial changes: barlines added between mm. 8 and 9, mm. 10 and 11 (both in m. 8 and m. 16 the double barlines are placed before the upbeat); m. 10(1) semibreve from minim; m. 11(1) 4*d* added; m. 11(2) 1*f* from 1*g*; mm. 17(1) and 19(1) the dot added after the rhythm sign; m. 21(1) the original rhythm was ; m. 26 both rhythm signs added.

31. Almain (Toy): The gathering of Peasecods (Allin's Jigg) – John Johnson

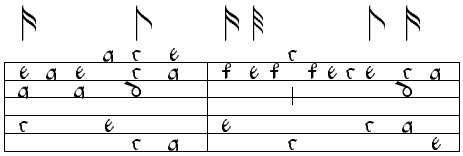
i Dd.2.11, f. 56r: *Allmaine Jo Johnson*
ii Dd.2.11, f. 20v: *Johnsons Toy*
iii Dd.9.33, f. 28r: *Allins Jigg*
iv Board, f. 26r: *The Gatheringe of pescodes*
v Thysius, f. 465v: *Brande Piscet. Chanson Angloise.*
vi Dd.9.33, f. 82r: *Jo Johnsons Allmaine* (bandora solo)
vii Linz, no. 11: *Englesca* (keyboard)
viii Playford, *English Dancing Master*, p. 96: *Gathering Peascods* (melody only)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXIII (p. 97); Ward, *John Johnson* 26a.

The title of this piece in *iv*, *v* and *vii* indicates that it is based on a folk tune or possibly a dance tune. The Allin to whom this piece was apparently dedicated (see *iii*) might have been the famous actor Edward Alleyn (1566–1626, active 1586–1604). The form of this piece is not a jigg, but it could be an almain or a toy; a branle, as it is called in the continental source *v*, is not likely to occur in English music. William Byrd composed a *Pescodd Time* (FWVB, II, 274), consisting of a number of variations over a bass; this work is not related to the melody of Johnson's setting.

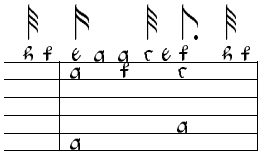
The various versions for lute solo *i*-*v* differ in a lot of places, but these concern mostly minor variants; only the continental version *v* is more deviant. No. *i* was selected for the edition because it has the fewest diversions from what seems to be most common to all of the versions *ii*-*iv*. It differs from the other versions in m. 5(4) where these have a bass line 5*a*6*e* instead of 5*bc*, in m. 9(2) where *i* has a unique figuration in the top voice (1*ce* instead of 1*fe*, as found in *ii*, *iii* and *vi*), and in m. 10(1-2) where *i* has a bass line not found in any of the other versions, which mostly have a bar identical to m. 3 (a similar bass *f*-*e*-*d* is found in *v* m. 3).

The variant readings in the other settings for lute are mainly: the simpler rhythm in *iii* and *v* m. 1(1-2); the dotted rhythm in *iv*, *v* and *vi* m. 2; the variant bass line *d*-*B*-*c*-*d* in *iv* m. 3(1-2); the deviating bass and melody lines in *iii* mm. 4-5 (in *iv* m. 5(2) the melody also deviates):

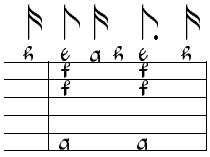


iii, mm. 4-5

Versions *iii* and *iv* have a different melody in m. 7(1-2) (*v* is here similar to *iii*); versions *ii* and *vi* have a different bass and melody in m. 7(3):

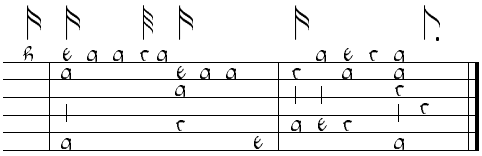


iii, mm. 6(4)-7



ii, mm. 6(4)-7

In *iv* m. 9(3-4) the melody singularly imitates mm. 7 and 9(1-2), while it also differs in m. 10 (*iii* gives a more adorned version):



iv, mm. 8(4)-10

It is furthermore worth noting that in *iv* and *v* the bars are halved in value, while in *iii* they are sometimes halved and sometimes irregularly placed.

Editorial change: m. 8(2) 5*a* added (on analogy of the same place in *iii* and *iv*). In *i* m. 6(1) the scribe probably corrected the bass note 6*e* from 6*d*, rather than the other way around.

32. Carman's Whistle – Johnson

i Pickeringe, f. 32v-33r: *Carmans whistle by Mr Johnsonne*
ii Dd.5.78.3, f. 48v-49r: *Carmans Whistle*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXV (p. 99); Ward, *John Johnson* 28.

Two partly different versions of variations on a simple melody, which consist of a descending tetrachord that is repeated six times. Byrd wrote variations for keyboard on the same tune, which apparently was not held in good repute by some, as is indicated by an utterance of Henry Chettle, who in 1592 calls it an 'odious and lasciuious ribauldrie' (Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 85-87).

As he was only twelve years of age at the time *ii* was copied, Robert Johnson may be excluded as possible author of this piece. His father than remains as only possible composer, and the work does show some of his stylistic characteristics: we see many first inversion chords, some play on the highest courses (mm. 49-57 in *i*), and a lot of repeated rhythmic patterns (in *i*: mm. 17-20, 33-36, 37-39, 45-47, 57-60, 65-67, 71-76, 81-84, 97-103, 105-110 and 113-115, as well as in the varying strains of *ii*: mm. 57-59, 65-67, 85-86 and 89-90); the characteristic rhythm appears in *ii* m. 67. In spite of all this the piece does however deviate from John Johnson's familiar style: the piece is rather polyphonic in structure (the melody occurs constantly in the top voice, with the lower voices moving in counterpoint), there are hardly any scalar runs (especially in *i*), and the typical lute idiom is violated in a number of places: note in this respect in *i* the parallel thirds on the lowest two courses in m. 88 and the uncharacteristic treatment of a *C* chord in mm. 44 and 72. These features might indicate that this is an adapted compositions for keyboard. Does *Mr Johnsonne* then refer to the transcriber, not the composer? If so John must have been intended. Or might it be that this is an original composition by Edward Johnson?

The two extant versions of this piece are both incorporated in this edition. Version *i* (in this edition no. 32a) consist of five variations, whereas *ii* (no. 32b) has only four. The first two variations of both versions are virtually identical. Probably version *ii* is an adaptation of *i*, and not the other way around. This can be substantiated on the basis of the first variations that both have in common: in *ii* the unadorned setting of the melody in the upper voice is broken (mm. 5, 7, 12) whereas *i* follows it through strictly. Also, the last variation of *ii* resembles in a number of places the last variation of *i*: compare *ii* mm. 73-75 with *i* mm. 97-99, as well as the three closing bars of both versions. If we assume John Johnson to be the composer or the transcriber of *i*, we might as well assume he is responsible for the revision: the new variations in *ii* are more in his style than are those of *i* (apart from the characteristics mentioned above, the former are more linear, and include more scalar runs).

Editorial changes to no. 32a: m. 20(3) 5*a* omitted; m. 45(3) 2*c* (above 3*c*) omitted; m. 49(3) 1*f* added; m. 65(1) 1*c* omitted (both in order to keep the melody intact); m. 88(3) 6*f* added; m. 108 the rhythm from (also to preserve the melodic line; see mm. 68, 116); m. 120 the dotted minim from a semibreve. Editorial changes to no. 32b: m. 9(2) 1*c* from (probably) 1*a* (this letter is difficult to read); m. 96(2) the four last notes of the figuration have the rhythm . Also in the edition of *ii* the length of the bars has been halved, to make them conform to those in *i*.

33. Rogero – John Johnson [fragment]

i Ballet, p. 91: *Rogero qd Jo Jonsonn* (fragment)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXI (p. 100); Ward, *John Johnson* 41.

Variations on an Italian ground-bass taken from the *Aria di Ruggiero*; see Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 612-614. Other English settings of *Rogero* are listed in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 100, footnote 304. Johnson also composed a treble on this bass; see no. 61.

Only the last four and a half bars remain of this set of variations; in the manuscript one or more pages are missing between p. 90 and p. 91. Ward, *John Johnson*, p. 126, no. 41, thinks that this piece no. 33 is also a treble (although in his *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, no. XXXI, p. 100, he listed it under the solo's), but with its complete bass line it clearly is a lute solo. A thin texture like this, with only bass and melody, is found more often in the rapid closing bars of Johnson's pieces (see for instance the pavans nos. 8, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 19).

The remaining ending of this piece bears no resemblances to the anonymous settings of *Rogero* for lute solo in *C*, that can be found in Dallis, p. 20: *ROGERO* (including a division on p. 21: *the Division of Rogero before #2*), nor to the one found in Sampson, f. 3v: *Rogero*, which equals the one in Board, f. 2r: *Rogero / Rogero*.

Editorial changes: m. 3(3) and 4(3), on the beat, crotchets from minims.

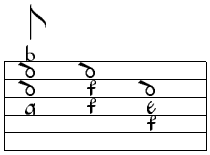
34. [Walsingham] – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 98r: *Jo Johnson*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXII (p. 100); Ward, *John Johnson* 35.

This piece consist of five variations over the famous melody *As I went to Walsingham*, of which settings are also known by Dowland, Collard, Holborne and Cutting (for lute), as well as Corkine (lyra viol), Byrd and Bull (keyboard) (see Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 741-743; an extended list of English settings in Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 100, footnote 306). This melody consists of 12 bars, subdivided in a section of four bars in *A flat* and a repeated section of four bars in *E flat-f(F)*.

The copyist erased a number of notes in m. 6, which previously read:



i, m. 6

He also corrected 2*d* in m. 18(1) (or does that note still read 2*b*?), 3*e* in m. 18(2) (probably from 3*f*), as well as 2*a* in m. 32(2) from 2*d*; he also erased a note 5*f* in m. 20(1).

Editorial changes: in mm. 1-2(1) the rhythm signs and the notes 1*b*, 2*b*, 3*d* - 1*d* - 1*f*, 2*g* -1*d* - 1*b* had to be reconstructed, because the upper part of the manuscript is damaged; m. 39(3) 3*b* added (compare the corresponding place in m. 15).

35. Ground – John Johnson

i Wickhambrook, f. 17v: *A grounde Jo: Jhonson*

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXVI (p. 99); Ward, *John Johnson* 31.

Three variations on a twelve bar ground-bass, consisting of a section of four bars in the keys of *F-C*, and a repeated section of four bars in *C-F*.

Editorial changes: m. 10(1) 4*a* from 5*a*; m. 11(3) 5*a* from 4*a*.

36. Old Medley – John Johnson

i Dd.2.11, f. 88v-89r: *Olde Meddley Jo Johnson:*
ii Welde, f. 8v-9r: *The Medley M*^{r} *Johnson*
iii Marsh, p. 270-271
iv Thysius, f. 192r-193r: *Le Medly*
v Add.2764(2), f. [3]v-[5]r: *the olde Medlye*
vi Adriaensen, *Pratum Musicum*, f. 92r ([Z4]r): *PAuane à l'Englesa.* / index, f. [A1]v: *4. Padoanes à l'Englesa*
vii Thysius, f. 142v: *Pavane Maechdelijn* (three strains only)
viii Add.31392, f. 18v-19v: *medley* (in *d*)
ix Marsh, p. 272 (in *d*)

x Waissel, *Tabulatura*, f. Lij^{v}: 2. *Padoana* (in *d*)
xi Fabritius, f. 115r: *Padoana Anglica / NB.* (in *d*)
xii Brogyntyn, p. 16-17 (4-5): *Medley: J: J:* (in *g*)
xiii Dallis, p. 53: *medlije* (in *g*)
xiv Dd.4.23, f. 7v: *The Olde Meddly* (cittern solo)
xv Dd.4.23, f. 21r: *Medley / Jn J* (cittern solo)
xvi Otley, f. 1v-2r: *the medley* (cittern part of a setting for mixed consort)
xvii Edwards MS, f. 30r-31r, no. 119: *The flamming fire in fornice closse y^{t} fryes* (song)
xviii Edwards MS, f. 8r: *the flaming fyre* (song, untexted)
xix Edinburgh La.III.488, p. 25 [41]: *The flamming fire / 4 Vocum* (song, untexted)
xx Valerius, *Neder-landtsche Gedenck-clanck*, p. 99-100: *Pavane Medelyn.* (song *OCh hoort doch aen ô Heer!*, with accompaniments for lute and cittern)
xxi FWVB, II, p. 366-369, no. 243: *Jhonsons Medley / Edward Johnson* (keyboard)
xxii Forster, p. 188, no. 37; index: *Bird* (keyboard)
xxiii Tisdale, f. 74v-76r: *Johnsons Medley by Mr Randall* (keyboard)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXIV (p. 97-99); Ward, *John Johnson* 27.

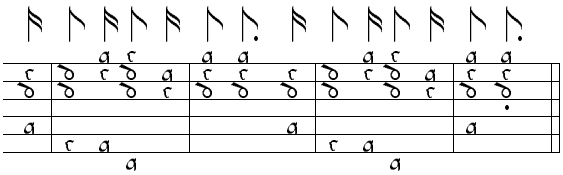
Medleys were an Elizabethan genre, which enjoyed a certain popularity; Johnson's *Old Medley* was the best known example (see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 97-98, footnote 283, for other English medleys). Johnson possibly wrote also the *New Medley* (no. 47). The *Old Medley* was mentioned in Munday, *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts* (1588, but registered in 1584): 'This Ditty is sung to Iohnsons Medley', beginning 'When fond desire had drawne my mind to Love'. Mention of 'ye tune of ye Medley', on which a song would be sung beginning 'Prepare with speed Crist commyng is at hand' is also made, c. 1575, in Bod.MS Rawl. Poet.195, f. 11v (see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 99).

The following considerations should be made about the ascription of this piece to Edward Johnson in *xxi*: in 1594 Edward submitted a piece called *Jhonsons Medley* (i.e. an identical title as in *xxi*) to obtain the degree of 'Bachelor of music' (see the entry on Edward Johnson in the *New Grove*; but see now the remark of Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 98, footnote 289, which implies that Johnson obtained his degree on a vocal piece). The title of this piece, as well as the fact that John Johnson's *Medley* was composed more than ten years before (as can be deduced from its occurrence in *vi* and *ix*), would seem to indicate that Edward made an arrangement for keyboard (or voices) of John's work for the occasion of his examination. The most conclusive evidence for this must be that the piece contains all the hallmarks of an original composition for lute by John Johnson: note the repeated chords (mm. 17, 19, 21, 58, 60), the homophonic passages (mm. 33-37, 73-76), and the repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 17-22, 25-28, 33-36, 41-48(!), 57-60, 61-63, 65-67, 73-76). For the probably erroneous ascription in *xv* to Byrd, see Byrd, *Keyboard Music*, II, p. 203, no. 111, and Neighbour, *William Byrd*, p. 166 and 178.

There are a number of versions of the *Old Medley*. Of the settings for lute solo (nos. *i-xi*) most are in the key of *c* (nos. *i-vii*); there are however also two versions in the key of *g* (*xii* and *xiii*). Version *xiii*, and probably *xii* also, are versions for ensemble or maybe parts of a lute duet: the major part of the melody is lacking in these. No. *ix*, a setting in *d*, is located directly after *iii* in the manuscript and constitutes a rather clumsy arrangement, that might have been intended as a bass part of a duet with the version in *g*. No. *viii*, also in *d*, is a good transposition of the version in *c*, and is therefore a sound solo piece itself. As we shall see below, large chunks of this version are literal transpositions of versions in *c*, although it also includes some unique passages (e.g. the divisions in mm. 13-15 and 30-32, with the typical rhythm , as well as a repeated rhythm) which show the hand of Johnson. It is of course not impossible that these characteristic passages were in the actual example in *c* that this version was based on. The continental versions in *d*, nos. *x* and *xi*, are much more simple: varied repeats, inverted chords and sharpened bass notes are lacking, as in the versions *v* and *vi* (see below).

Three versions in *c*, nos. *ii*, *iii* and *iv*, are virtually identical. Of these *ii* was chosen for this edition, under no. 36b. No. *iii* compares well with only a few minor differences in texture. The same is the case with no. *iv*, where the chords are generally less filled out; it also lacks the dotted rhythm

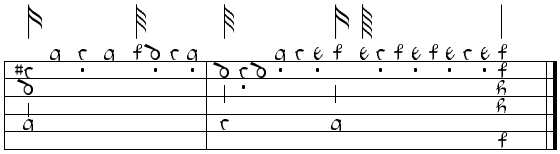
in mm. 57, 59, 65-67 and 69. In this latter version there is a chord in root position in m. 39(1) (with 3*a* instead of 3*b*), while the passing note 4*c* in the bass is lacking in mm. 77 and 79, and in m. 73-76 the rhythm and the harmonies of some chords are different from versions *ii* and *iii*:



iv, mm. 72(3)-76

Version *i* is mostly different from the three earlier mentioned versions, especially in mm. 1-64: the variant figuration is less complicated (see section A'), and the melody differs in places. As we might be dealing here with an earlier version of the *Old Medley* by Johnson himself, it too is incorporated in this edition, under no. 36a. Johnson's style is evidently present in *i*: there are many repeated rhythmical patterns (mm. 11-12, 15, 17-20, 21-22, 25-28, 33-36, 41-44, 57-60, 61-64, 65-66) as well as the rhythm (mm. 11, 12, 15 (twice), 29, 41, and at half the speed in mm. 3, 7). It is also shown by the characteristic cadence in m. 51 and its division in m. 55, which is identical to m. 15 of the early version of the *Delight Pavan* (no. 5a). Here too we find a repeated strain from an earlier version used as an initial strain in a later version: the division in *i* in m. 13(1) is found in *ii* in m. 5(1). We already saw the same process used with the *Omnino Galliard*. A variant of this technique is demonstrated in *ii* m. 25(3-4), where we find the melody and harmony from *i* m. 27(3-4) transposed down a thirth. The earlier mentioned solo version in *d* no. *viii*, is in certain places very similar to *ii* (mm. 10, 15, 29) but even more often to *i* (mm. 1-11, 25-28(!), 43-45); *viii* probably stems from a transitional form of the piece which contained elements from both *i* and *ii*. This then confirms the assumption that *i* is an authentic variant.

Only a few fragments of *v* (also in *c*) remain; these fragments contain mm. 1-29, 45-50, 53-59, most of 75-80, and only the rhythm signs of mm. 30-34 and 61-65; in this version the copyist forgot to write out m. 18. The remaining fragments indicate that the beginning of this version is identical to *ii-iv*, but that it agrees more with the setting in *d* no. *viii* from m. 46 onwards: note the bass in mm. 50-51, the divisions in mm. 53-55 and – judging from the remaining rhythm signs – mm. 61-64, as well as the figuration in the closing bars 78-80:



v, mm. 78-80

In these closing bars we may possibly have another early version of this composition. This might also be the case with the settings *vi* and *vii*. The latter was probably copied from the former, leaving out section A, but including some additional information: the title of the work is not given in *vi*. Version *vi* cannot be attributed to Johnson as it is too primitive and too schematic, and differs in too many places from the other settings in *c*. For example, the last three sections E, F and G are in double rather than in triple time and there are no inverted chords at all. This latter feature might indicate that this version goes back to an earlier form of the piece in question; in particular the replacement of the chord in first inversion on *B* in m. 33, 50 and 66, by a chord in root position on a non-raised *B flat*, reminds us of a similar case in an earlier form of the *Delight Pavan*, that was mentioned above.

Editorial changes to no. 36a: m. 16 the last two crotchets from minims; m. 56(3) a crotchet rest added; m. 79(2) 1*a* added. Editorial changes to no. 36b: m. 6(3) dotted minim from dotted crotchet; m. 16(1) 5*a* added; m. 20(4) 2*b* from 3*b*, on analogy of m. 28(4); m. 29(1, first note) crotchet from minim; m. 64 a finger dot under 3*b* omitted and placed under 3*d*.

37. [Pavan] – Anonymous

i Wickhambrook, f. 11v

This anonymous piece without title is included in this collection because of its inclusion in the oldest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript, which suggests it was composed by John Johnson; see the *Introduction*. This pavan reminds one of a pavan by Holborne (Holborne, *Music for Lute & Bandora*, no. 6): compare m. 30 with Holborne

mm. 15-16 and mm. 34(3)-35 with Holborne mm. 29-31. Especially the latter resemblance can hardly be coincidental: Holborne has used this piece as a model. It is improbable that he himself composed this pavan, because it does not agree with his style, which is in general more polyphonic and with the chords more filled out.

It is unclear whether we may ascribe this piece to Johnson. On the one hand it much lacks the harmonic ease and rhythmic vividness that characterize most of his compositions. It also has an untypically constructed C-strain, with in m. 36(2) a closing chord on the second beat of the bar. On the other hand there are a number of characteristic features of his early works: note the repeated rhythmic patterns (mm. 2-3, 10 and 12, 18-19, 27); the many inverted chords on the beat (mm. 2, 5, 8(!), 18, 23); the dotted rhythm introduced in the bass during divisions (e.g. in mm. 9, 10, 12, 30); the pedal points on the first and fifth degree (mm. 5-6, 7-8, 23-24); the use of cross-relations (mm. 32, 47); the repeat of the final cadence of the A-strain (mm. 5(3)-6) at the end of section C (mm. 38(3)-39), which, as in the early version of the *Delight Pavan* (no. 5a) occurs the second time with an added top voice; the written out trill in m. 16; the dotted rhythm in small values in m. 36, which remind us somewhat of m. 3 of the *Delight Pavan*, as does the gently arching melody line of the A-strain.

Editorial changes: m. 30(3) dot under 2*e* omitted; m. 38(3) 1*a* added (necessary because of the leading note *f'sharp* before; compare also m. 46); m. 47(1-2) crotchets from quavers.

38. Quadro Pavan – Anonymous

i Ballet, p. 88: *The quadran paven*
ii Ballet, p. 8-9: *the quadren Pauen*
iii Sampson, f. 8r: *The Quadran pavin*
iv Dallis, p. 56-59: *the quadren pauion*
v Mynshall, f. 1v-2r: *Quadren pauian /* index, f. [ii]v: *The quadron pauione*
vi Marsh, p. 227-228: *Quadro Cotton*
vii Dallis, p. 24-26: *quadro pauane / NB*

Nos. *iii-v* are practically identical versions of variations on the *Passamezzo moderno* bass (see the commentary to no. 15). Ward, *Lute books of Trinity College*, p. 28, no. 51, suggested John Johnson as possible composer of *iv*. A number of Johnson's stylistic characteristics can indeed be found in this piece: repeated rhythmic patterns in mm. 5-6, 8, 17-18, 19-20, 20-22, 23-25, 27-28, 28-30, 38-39 and 41-42, in which the typical rhythmical figure ♩ ♫ ♬ crops up several times, as well as the figure ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ (mm. 2, 27-28); the repeat of a single note from a chord on the fourth course (m. 9); the halting movement of the piece at the beginning of section B (m. 33); the harmonic development *C-E*^{6}*-F-G-C* as final cadence in sections A and A' (mm. 15-16 and 31-32, the second time with the characteristic repeated rhythm ♩.♪); the cadence *A-G* with the bass on the fourth course (m. 13). Also, a number of bars are either identical with, or certainly related to bars in Johnson's *Quadro Pavan* no. 17 (most of these are in different places): compare m. 1 with no. 17 m. 1, m. 8 with no. 17 m. 14 (and m. 31), m. 23 with no. 17 m. 42, m. 24 with no. 17 m. 32, and mm. 38-39 with no. 17 mm. 5-6. If this *Quadro Pavan* is indeed a piece by John Johnson, we have to place it in his earlier period: the structure is far more linear than in his other settings of the same groundbass, and the divisions lack somewhat Johnson's lively rhythm and, although logical and sometimes even inventive, do nevertheless contain some weaker passages with literal repeats of scalar runs (a technique not wholly unfamiliar to authentic early works by Johnson; compare nos. 5a and 11). All in all this piece might be an early version of the *Quadro Pavan* no. 17, and for that reason it is included in this collection under no. 38c.

There are a number of other settings of the *Quadro Pavan* that show similarities with the setting of *iii-v*. No. *ii* has 14 bars either entirely or partly in common with *iii-v* (i.e. mm. 1-3, 6-7, 15-17, 21-25 and 31), while a further 7 bars are strongly related (mm. 5, 9, 19-20, 36-37 and 41). Furthermore, the galliards that are paired with the pavan in *ii* and *iii* are closely related, and the final cadence of the pavan in *ii* is very similar to the one of the galliard in *iii* (no. 39c in this edition; a similar cadence can also be found in mm. 67-68 of the also anonymous *New Medley*, no. 46). Mm. 34 and 46 of *ii* are the same as mm. 34 and 38 of the *Quadro Pavan* no. 17 (the second of these only in version *iii* of no. 17). Version *ii* therefore appears to be an – possibly earlier – variant of *iii-v*,

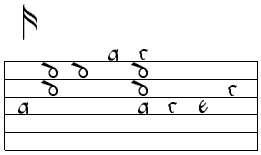
which is the reason for its inclusion in the present collection under no. 38b.

No. *i* in its turn has 10 out of 24 bars in common with version *ii*: mm. 2-3, 4-5 (in *ii* with divisions), 15 (in *i* with divisions), 17, 19(1-2), 20-21 (in *ii* these are mm. 33, 35(1-2) and 36-37). No. *i* has also some bars in common with *iii*: mm. 2-3, 5 (in *iii* with divisions), 17-21 (in *iii* m. 33-37, with only a few minor deviations), while a number of bars seem to be altered and moved to different positions: compare m. 4 in *i* with m. 12 in *iii*, m. 5 in *i* with m. 9 in *iii*. Furthermore, no. *i* is paired in the manuscript with a variant form of the galliard that is paired with the pavans in *ii* and *iii* (the final cadence in m. 15 is practically identical to the final cadence of the galliard in *iii*; see no. 39c below). Our conclusion therefore must be that *i* too is a variant of the same composition as *ii*-*v*. Furthermore, m. 6 of *i* is identical to m. 40 of no. 17. Version *i* is apparently the earliest form of this piece as it has the simplest divisions and lacks the varied repeats; it is published here under no. 38a.

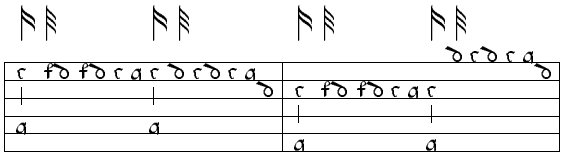
Settings *vi* and *vii*, which are nearly concordant (only the final bars 47-48 are different), also have a lot in common with *ii*: 18 bars are more or less identical, i.e. mm. 2-3, 5-6, 8, 11-12, 15, 17 (coincides with m. 25 in *ii*), 18-20, 31-32, 41, 46-47 and 48 (coincides with m. 40 in *ii*). Mm. 2-5, 15, 30-31, 33-36 and 39-43 are either partly or in full identical with the same bars in *iii*-*v*, while m. 17 is similar to *iii* m. 25, mm. 12-13 to *iii* mm. 19-20, and mm. 19-20 to *iii* mm. 27-28. These versions too have some instances in common with no. 17: mm. 33, 27-28 (the latter only with version *iii* of no. 17), and mm. 21-22 with mm. 3-4 of no. 17.

At the end of the day it is difficult to discern whether all these clearly connected settings are versions of one and the same work by Johnson, or that the version in *vi* and *vii* was composed by the Cotton that is mentioned in *vi*, using musical material provided by Johnson's *Quadro Pavan* no. 17. A further possibility is that Cotton is responsible for all the versions mentioned here. The presence of Johnson's stylistic characteristics in the versions of this work as well as in the galliards paired with it, and the close relationship with settings on the *Quadro* bass that were doubtlessly composed by Johnson, render the last of these possibilities highly unlikely. Of this Cotton little is known. He might have been identical with a Clement Cotton, who's pavan was arranged for keyboard by William Tisdall (*FWVB* II, p. 306, no. 219).

Versions *iv* and *v* of the setting in *iii*-*v* differ only slightly from *iii*. The chords in *iv* in mm. 40(1) and 42(1) are filled out more more and there is a different bass note in m. 46(3), i.e. 5*c* instead of 6*a*. This latter bar is lacking in *v*, as are mm. 8(1-2), 26(3-4), 27(3-4) and 44(3)-45. In this version there are a lot of graces, while the bars have been halved, and the chords in m. 31(3-4) are fuller. There are some different rhythm signs in mm. 9(1-2), 34, 38(1) and 39(1) and there is a deviating figuration in m. 48. Versions *iv* and *v* have some features in common that are different in *iii*: these include arpeggiated chords in m. 4(1-2), the rhythm signs in m. 8(1-2) ( ) and m. 34(1) (lacking the dot), as well as the figuration in mm. 29-30:



iv, m. 4



iv, mm. 29-30

Above m. 33 in version *iv* we find the text *2 quadran*, an under m. 42, with an indication to the bass note *d*, the text *hic digitus impressus tenuidus* (bad Latin for 'press this finger gently').

Editorial changes to no. 38a: m. 21(2 last note before the following beat) 1*c* from 1*a*; m. 23(4) crotchets from quavers; m. 24(3) semibreve from minim. Editorial changes to no. 38b: bar length of two beats, normalized to a length of four beats; m. 46 the last rhythm sign added; m. 47(2) 1*a* from 2*a*. Editorial changes to no. 38c: m. 16(3) minim from semibreve; m. 19(2) the dot replaced from under *d* to under *b*.

39. Quadro Galliard – Anonymous

i Ballet, p. 89: *The quardran galliard*
ii Ballet, p. 10-11: *the galyard to the quadren paven*
iii Sampson, f. 8v: *The Galliard to the Quadran pavin*
iv Marsh, p. 289
v Dallis, p. 17: *quadro pauin gailiard*

Variations on the *Passamezzo moderno* bass; on this ground-bass see the commentary to no. 15. These galliards have a number of features in common, and are furthermore paired with also resembling *Quadro Pavans* in *i-iii* (see no. 38 above). They are probably different versions of a single piece. As there are reasons to believe that the above mentioned pavans are by John Johnson, these paired galliards might also be his. They show indeed a number of the characteristics of Johnson's style: note the clear structure of the divisions; the many repeated rhythmical patterns (in all versions the A'-strain is construed of repeated rhythmic patterns over two bars); the use of the rhythmical figures ♩ ♫ ♫♫♫ (*passim*, and then often in repeated patterns) and ♩ ♫♩ ♩ (regularly, in *i* often: see mm. 25, 27, 29, 31, 45); the competent structure of the pieces, including natural hemiola's in closing sequences, and in *ii* and *iii* an accelerating movement in the A'-section that is halted at the beginning of the B-strain. Note also the rhythmical-melodic motif in *ii* and *iii* m. 27, which occurs exactly the same in m. 29 of Johnson's treble *Chi Passa* (no. 63 below). Versions *i* and *iv* in the manuscripts are situated close to the certainly authentic *Omnino Galliard*.

Three versions of this galliard, *i, ii* and *iii*, are published here under the numbers 39a, 39b and 39c. Version *iv* is virtually identical with *iii*; only mm. 1-2 and 24 are different but follow *ii*, while many chords are fuller than in *iii* (m. 39 is missing). No. *v* is very similar to *i*, albeit that there are no varied repeats; mm. 1-2, 5-7, 11-15, 33, 36-40 are either identical or similar. On p. 59 in the source there is a *Quadro Pavan* with a reference to this galliard; the pavan in question is, with the exception of mm. 1-2 not similar to the pavan that is published here under no. 38. Can it be that this reference was mistakenly placed with this pavan instead of with the preceding *Quadro Pavan* (p. 56-59 in this manuscript), that is a version of no. 38?

Large parts of *ii* and *iii* match exactly: this concerns mm. 6, 17-23, 25-30 (i.e. almost the whole of section A'), 33 and 42, while mm. 3-5 in *ii* are a simpler version of the same bars in *iii*; in both versions mm. 12-15 and 34-37 are similar. No. *i* in its turn has mm. 1-5, 7-9 and 33 in common with *ii*, while *i* mm. 45(3)-46 are virtually identical with *ii* mm. 37(3)-38. If all these versions are variants of one and the same piece, then no. *i*, with the simplest divisions (note e.g. mm. 9-13 where mm. 1-5 are simply repeated, as opposed to *ii* where this repeat is varied), and its coupling to a simple version of the *Quadro Pavan*, might be an early phase of this composition. Version *v*, without varied repeats A' and B', might even be older. Nos. *iii* and *iv* are possibly later, whereas *ii* should be placed in between *i* and *iii*, as it has a lot of material in common with both of these. It may be added that a further anonymous *Quadro Galliard* in *C* (no. 41 below) could possibly be a further development of the same piece, or that at least it owes some of its material to this one (see the commentary to no. 41).

Editorial changes to no. 39a: the missing m. 16 is reconstructed on the basis of the upbeat and the similar mm. 8 and 32; m. 18(3) 5*a* from 4*a*; m. 20(1) 4*a* from 5*a*; m. 25(1) 5*a* added; m. 26(1) 2*c* and 5*a* from 3*c* and 6*a*; m. 41(2) 4*c* from 3*c* and the following two quavers from crotchets. Editorial changes to no. 39b: mm. 45(3) and 46(1) the bass is completed with the notes 4*a* and 4*e*, on analogy of mm. 37-38 (optionally the latter note can be left out; compare mm. 13-14); m. 48(2) semibreve from minim. There are no editorial changes to no. 39c.

40. Quadro Pavan – Richard Allison

i Dd.4.22, f. 4v-5v: *the quadren pavine by Mr Richard Allisoun*
ii Board, f. 19v-20r: *Quadran Pavin / Quadran Pavin*
iii Morley, *Consort lessons*, no. 1: *The Quadro Pavin* (setting for mixed consort)
iv Walsingham, no. 29: *The Quadro Paven R. A.* (setting for mixed consort)

Variations on the *Passamezzo moderno* bass; on this ground-bass see the commentary to no. 15. See Allison, *Lute music*, no. 4. On the grace sign in the form of a reverse comma , probably representing a forefall, see Shepherd, *Interpretation of signs for graces*, p. 69-70.

Of the settings for lute solo of this piece, *ii* remains anonymous, whereas *i* ascribes it to Richard Allison. The piece is however in a style entirely different from Allison's usual style: compare his pavans and especially his *Passymeasures Pavan and Galliard* (Allison, *Lute music*, nos. 7 and 8). These pieces contain divisions that move mostly in continuous semiquavers and that lack the rhythmical variation and drive that we find in this *Quadro Pavan*. Furthermore, Allison's pieces also tend to have a rather less solid musical construction than this piece: see for instance the closing bars of his *Passymeasures Galliard*, where the bass harmonically nor rhythmically leads convincingly to the cadence, and the hemiola is not put forward.

This *Quadro Pavan* does however bear the hallmarks of Johnson's style: note the repeated rhythmical patterns (mm. 17, 44-47); the rhythmically broken chords (m. 14); the contrasting homophonic passage (m. 34); the cadence *A-G* with the tenor voice acting as bass (m. 7, 22, 35, 43); the manyfold appearances of the typical rhythm ♩♫♩♩ (mm. 28, 31, 42 and no less than seven times in mm. 44-46); the long written out trill in m. 48; the ornamentation of a concluding chord *C*, with on the first course a motif from *a'* to *c"* (mm. 21 and 44; compare also the run in m. 21 with that of m. 19 of the authentic *Quadro Pavan* no. 15b). The overall form of this piece reminds us of the other *Quadro Pavans* in *C* by Johnson, and a number of quotes from those are also present here: the upbeat and m. 1 are identical with those of no. 17, m. 11 is identical to no. 17 m. 3, m. 21, with the echoing effect in the octave, resembles no. 17 m. 26, and m. 36 resembles no. 17 m. 40; mm. 47 and 48 are closely related to the same bars in no. 18 (the figuration in m. 48 appears an octave lower in no. 18). Some passages are furthermore very similar to parts of Johnson's *Pavan* in *C* (no. 4): compare mm. 29(3-4) with no. 4 mm. 31(3-4), m. 35 with no. 4 m. 17, and m. 38 with no. 4 m. 16. The cadence *G-C* in m. 8, with its ornamentation in the bass of the note *g* and with inverted chords, is similar to the ones in the *Pavan* no. 4 (m. 28) and in the *Delight Pavan* (no. 5 m. 7). Version *i* is in the manuscript followed by an anonymous *Quadro Galliard*. The first three bars of this piece are somewhat similar to those in no. 39b, but this unimaginative setting, without any use of rhythmical patterns, is certainly not by Johnson.

A setting of this pavan for mixed consort can be ascribed to Allison as his initials appear in *iv*; apart from this the pavan is followed in *iii* and in *iv* by the matching *Quadro Galliard*, which in *iv* is accompanied by the text *Sett by Mr. Richard Allison* (see Edwards, *Music for mixed consort*, p. 211, no. 29 and 30, and Morley, *Consort lessons*, p. 183). Beck remarked in the last mentioned collection that the bass of the consort setting of the pavan has many musical features in common with the present setting for lute solo: see mm. 2, 6, 10-16 of the A-section and mm. 34 and 39 of the B-section. Probably the solo and the setting for consort are in fact the same piece. If we than maintain on stylistic grounds, as we did earlier, that the solo was composed by Johnson, we may assume that Allison is only responsible for the arrangement for mixed consort. The formulation in *iv*, 'Sett by...', leaves that possibility open. This arrangement may have led the copyist of *i* to think that the solo too was Allison's. Such arrangements we have seen before: Anthony Holborne probably arranged Johnsons *Pavan* no. 4 for bandora and Johnson's *Marigold Galliard* (no. 9) for consort à 5. It must be pointed out that the other versions of the *Quadro Pavan* known to be Johnson's (nos. 15, 17 and 18) also have musical material in the bass in common with the setting for consort, especially in section B: see no. 15 mm. 13, 36-38, no. 17 mm. 7, 15, 36-40, and no. 18 m. 15, 33-36; the bass line in m. 15, in the final cadence of section A, is nearly always done in the same way.

Versions *i* and *ii* are virtually identical: the graces do not match altogether, and *ii* has slightly fuller chords in mm. 21(1), 28(4), 30(1), 46(1) and 47(1); in the last chord of *ii* m. 10 on the other hand 3*d* is lacking.

Editorial changes: in order to be consistent with the other pavans published here, the bars, that have a length of two minims in both *i* and *ii*, have been enlarged to contain four minims; m. 18(2) 3*d* from 2*d*, as in *ii* and the corresponding place in m. 2.

41. [Quadro Galliard] – Anonymous

i Dd.2.11, f. 32v

Variations on the *Passamezzo moderno* bass; on this ground-bass see the commentary to no. 15. This galliard follows in the manuscript on the next page after the last page of Johnson's *Quadro Pavan* (no. 18), which in this manuscript also remains anonymous. This *Quadro Galliard* might belong to the preceding pavan; the fact that it was not copied straight after the pavan might be due to lack of space on the remaining part of f. 32r (five lines were left, whereas the galliard took nine). On the following page, f. 33r, the scribe copied a further piece by Johnson (galliard no. 29), this time adding the composer's name.

In any case the galliard shows the typical characteristics of Johnson's style. The amount of repeated rhythmical patterns is remarkable (mm. 3-4, 14, 19-20, 21-22, 23-24, 29-30, 38, 39-40, 41-42, 45-46) as well as the ease with which these were applied: see e.g. mm. 23-24, 41-42 and 45-46 where they serve to bring out the hemiola's. We may also note the use of the figure ♩♫♩♩ (mm. 15, 25), the cadence *A-G* with the bass on the fourth course (mm. 6-7), an inverted chord on a strong beat (m. 17(1), at the beginning of section A'), the sharpened lead tone for the fifth degree in the ascending scalar run in the division of a final chord (m. 47). The frequent use of parallel thirds is not unfamiliar to John Johnson, especially in descending passages. A number of passages strongly resemble places in authentic pieces by this composer: a final chord on *C* in high position also appears in the variations on *Carman's Whistle* (no. 32) and in the *Old Medley* (no. 36), parallel thirds in dotted rhythm over a syncopated bass (m. 28) also occur in the variations on *Walsingham* (no. 34, m. 37), the descending parallel thirds in the upper voices in a cadence *G-C*, with one of the voices syncopated (mm. 29-30) can also be found in the pavan no. 4 (m. 3-4).

More important are in this respect the similarities between this galliard and the *Quadro Pavan* no. 17 in *C*: compare the final cadence in mm. 45-46 of the galliard with m. 47 of the pavan. Even more striking is the close of section A' and the beginning of section B (mm. 32-35 in both): it would seem the material for the galliard was taken straight from the pavan (in the case of m. 35 no. 17's versions *ii* and *iii* are in this respect even more evident than *i*). All this does not only confirm Johnson's authorship of this *Quadro Galliard*, but also makes it possible that this piece was intended to form a pair with *Quadro Pavan* no. 17. Such a relationship can also be deduced from the fact that the *Quadro Pavan* no. 17 shows similarities with no. 38 (see the commentary to the latter), while the *Quadro Galliard* no. 39, paired with pavan no. 38, is in places identical and in others similar – especially in its later versions 39b and 39c – with the present galliard no. 41: compare in both pieces mm. 1, 3-4, 12-14, 18-20 (partly with divisions in no. 41) and 43. In short, the *Quadro Pavans* nos. 17 and 38, and the *Quadro Galliards* nos. 39 and 41 all appear to be different versions of a single pair, or at least different pieces by a single composer.

Editorial changes: m. 8(3) 5*c* from 4*c*; m. 46(2) 6*a* added (the bass note *G* is vital in this cadence to *C*). In m. 17(1) the copyist first wrote 4*a*, but later corrected it to 5*a*.

42. Old Spanish Pavan – Anonymous

i Wickhambrook, f. 14v-15r: *the oulde spannyshe pauen / the oulde spannyshe pauen*
ii Trumbull, f. 23v-24v: *the Spanish pavan*

This piece consists of eight variations on the popular *Spanish Pavan*, a melody written on a variant of the Italian *Folia* bass, which in Spain was initially known under the name *El Pavana Italiana*. Other settings were composed by Robinson, Pilkington, Ferrabosco and Bull (see Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 678-681, and Ward, *Apropos Broadside ballad*, p. 75-77). A striking feature of this version is the lack of an exposition of the melody; we only find an outline of it in the first variation. A further general difference with other lute settings is the double length of the bars, which, together with the fact that the piece starts with a half bar upbeat, means that each variation starts in the middle of a bar without a cesura whatsoever. The upshot of this is that in these transitional bars we find a rather striking modulation from *C* to *c*. These features make this an exceptional composition in the Elizabethan lute repertoire.

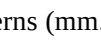
This piece is included in this collection because its occurrence in the oldest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript suggests it was composed by John Johnson; see the *Introduction*. He should certainly be considered on stylistic grounds: note the quality of the construction of the piece, with its alterations of fast runs and chordal passages. Also characteristic is the very extensive use of repeated rhythmical patterns, which sometimes appear throughout variations (mm. 11-14, 18-20, 21-23, 33-40, 41-46, 47-54), and that often include rhythms as (mm. 21-23) and (mm. 47-56). A regular feature is also the typical pattern (mm. 10, 16, 18-20 (eight times), 23 and 25). Further characteristics of Johnson's style can be found in the familiar treatment of the fifth degree in the cadence *G-C* (m. 6); the long written out trill (m. 64); the repeat of a single note from a preceding chord on the fourth course (m. 3); the run *a'-c"* on the highest course on a final chord *C* (m. 16). A broken chordal passage as in the last variation (mm. 56-64), with a dotted rhythm in the upper voice, is reminiscent of the one in the *Passamezzo Pavan* no. 21 m. 23. Mm. 4 and 5(3-4) remind us of passages in the *Delight Pavan* no. 5 (mm. 24 and 6), while m. 47 is virtually identical with m. 11 of *Pavan* no. 4. The qualification 'Old' in the title causes the suspicion that there should also be a new version of the same ground by the same composer, just as possibly with the Old and New *Medley*. There is however no known *New Spanish Pavan*.

Versions *i* and *ii* are virtually identical. There are more graces and fingerings marked in *ii*, and there are also more filled out chords in mm. 25(1) and 64(1), as well as a large number of copyist's errors including incorrect rhythm signs and especially tablature letters appearing on lines below or above the intended ones. It is striking that in some instances correct passages, that were at first identical to *i*, were later changed, resulting in an apparently incorrect reading: in m. 24(4) a correct rhythm sign was changed into an incorrect one, in m. 29(3) the note 1*a* was erased, and in m. 55(3) the appropriate bass notes 5*ce* were changed to incorrect 4*ce*. Here, we are apparently dealing with a copyist, who consciously alters the text of his example during his work.

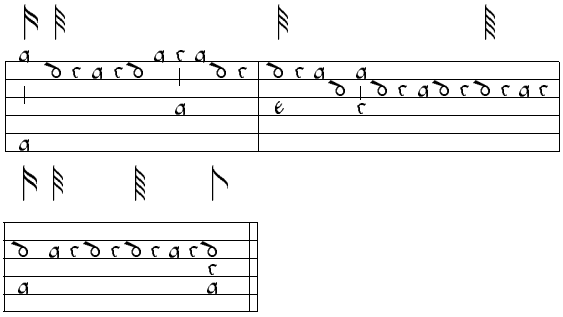
Editorial change: m. 17(4) 4*c* from 3*c* (4*c* in *ii*).

i Willoughby, f. 32r-32v: *a Galliard*
ii Marsh, p. 89

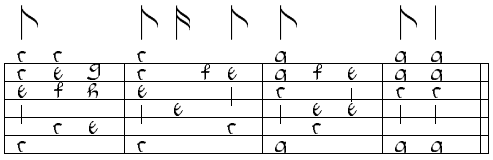
The first three bars of this galliard are identical to the first two bars of Johnson's galliard no. 24 (in the latter the first bar is not repeated); also compare m. 3 with galliard no. 22 m. 21. In both sources the piece is located close to authentic work by Johnson: in *i* it follows galliard no. 22 whereas in *ii* it comes right before that piece.

Stylistically the work fits very well in the oeuvre of the composer Johnson: note the frequent use of repeated rhythmical patterns (mm. 1-3, 9-10, 17-22, 29-32, 33-36, 37-39 and 41-46, i.e. more than half the piece!); the rhythm  (mm. 13 and 25, both times in a hemiola); the also typical rhythm (mm. 9-10, 41-46); the opening passage on the three highest courses (mm. 1-3); at the beginning of section C (mm. 33-36) the characteristic phrasing over two bars, with a halting movement in the second bar. Familiar are also in the C'-strain (mm. 41-46) the syncopated scalar runs in the top voice, which start after an initial bass note (compare the same place in the *Delight galliard*, no. 5). The striking chordal passage *D-E* with parallel fifths and octaves (m. 21) is rather rare in lute music, but it is nevertheless exactly identical with galliard no. 2 mm. 3 and 21. There are however a few instances where melody and harmony appear rather less evidently as is usually the case in works by Johnson (see mm. 37-38), and there are no inverted chords at all. The lack in *i* of hemiola's at final cadences of sections is also untypical of this composer. If Johnson did write this piece, it must be an early work. Both versions do indeed occur in early sources.

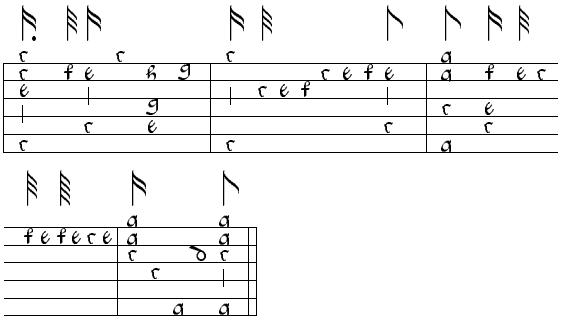
As far as the hemiola's are concerned, they are present in *ii*, at least at the end of sections A', B and B'. This indicates that *ii* is a revised version of *i*. It is at exactly these places that both versions disagree considerably; changing the bass had consequences on the melody and figuration, especially in the varied repeats:



ii, mm. 14-16

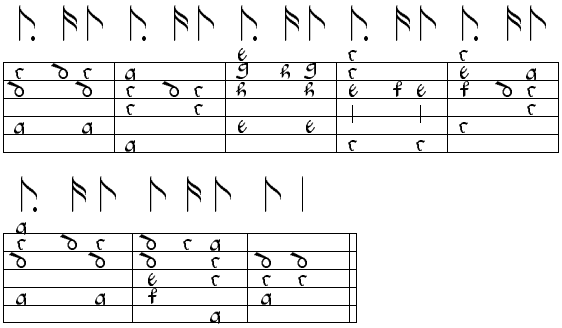


ii, mm. 21-24



ii, mm. 29-32

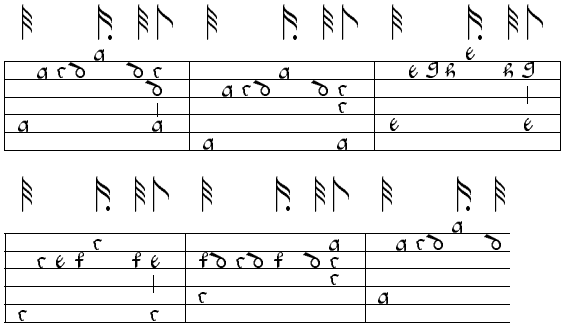
A further important alteration occurs in section C mm. 33-36, where the phrasing per two bars is abandoned. In m. 33 in the first chord the note 1*a* should be added, analogous to *i*, so as not to break the descending line, that appears per bar throughout the section. M. 37 too is different, without the note 1*a* in the treble:



ii, mm. 33-40

Other differences between the two versions are less important: in *ii* dotted rhythms were cancelled in a few places (mm. 1-3) and introduced in others (mm. 10, 41-46); some bass notes are doubled with the lower octave (mm. 5, 6, 12-14, 22, 26); the figuration in m. 12, 27 and 46-47 differs.

There are some irregularities in both versions. In *ii* some bass lines in repeated strains differ from their first occurrences: compare mm. 6-7 with mm. 14-15, m. 17(2) with m. 25(2). In *i* we come across a similar case: the *D* harmony in m. 45(3) differs from the *G* harmony in m. 37(3). In both these places we find *G* in *ii*, which has a rather clumsy division in m. 45, that breaks the pattern otherwise kept throughout mm. 41-46: here we possibly have a ‘correction’ by a copyist.



ii, mm. 41-46

It is worth noting that the copyist of *i* made a few corrections to m. 12: on two occasions he changed the note 2*f*, that probably occurred in his example, to 1*a*. We know the name of this copyist: it is Rychard Grene (see the commentary by Alexander and Spencer in the facsimile-edition of Willoughby). It is possible that the for Johnson uncharacteristic breaking of the chord in the final bar of the B’ section (m. 32), with a deviation to the lead tone in the bass, is an invention by Grene: in the following piece in the manuscript, also copied out by him, we find exactly the same figure four times, albeit down a fourth in the key of *D*.

Editorial changes: m. 25(2) 5*c* added and m. 26(3) 5*a* added, on the basis of analogy with the corresponding places in mm. 17-18.

44. Packington’s Galliard – Anonymous

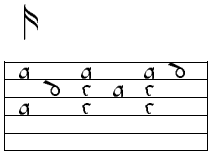
i Mynshall, f. 9r: *pactkintonns galliard* / index, f. [ii]v: *Pactkintons galliard*
ii Sampson, f. 9r: *packingtoune galiarde*
iii Marsh, p. 266
iv Add.2764(2), f. [2]v-[3]r: *M*^{r} *Pagonton his Galyarde.*
v Brogyntyn, p. 19 (7): *Pag: Gal:*
vi Brogyntyn, p. 19 (7): *Pag: Gal:*

This piece was named after Sir John Packington (1549–1625) and, on account of the lack of his title, must have been composed before 1587, when he was knighted (Spencer, commentary to the facsimile edition of Brogyntyn). None of the sources mention a composer, but the piece shows the hallmarks of Johnson's style: note the treatment of the fifth degree *g* in the cadence *G-C* in mm. 6-7, 40-41, including the suspended sixths (compare e.g. mm. 40-41 in no. 44a with the *Flat Galliard* no. 14 mm. 5-6, which are completely identical, with the *Omnino Galliard* no. 27b mm. 18-19 and with the *Old Medley* no. 36b mm. 50-51); in no. 44b the exact repeat of the varied repeat of this cadence (mm. 14-16) in mm. 50-52; at the beginning of the piece the dotted rhythm ♩.♪♩♩𝅗𝅥 , which is present in a lot of Johnson's galliards, and which, in the case of no. 44b, is accompanied by writing on the three highest courses; the many instances of repeated rhythmical patterns (in no. 44a in mm. 1, 3, 5, 33, 35, 37 (the typical galliard rhythm ♩.♪♩♩𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 on which the section A is built is repeated in section C) and 28-30; in no. 44b mm. 10, 12, 13, 17-20, 25-28, 33-38, 43-46); the rhythm ♩ ♫♩ ♩ in m. 13 in no. 44a and in mm. 23 and 31 in no. 44b. We may further point out some 'imperfections' that occur more often in works by Johnson, such as the parallel fifths and octaves in mm. 20 and 23 (see for instance the parallel octaves in no. 28 *French Galliard* mm. 3-5), and the alterations of the bass line in the varied repeats: in no. 44a in mm. 30-31 and 47, in no. 44b in the final cadence, mm. 50-51; we see the same in *Lord Burgh's Galliard* (no. 26). Furthermore, mm. 3 and 11, especially in version *ii*, resemble mm. 21-22 in the *Delight Galliard* (no. 6).

Versions *v* and *vi* lack the varied repeats. Version *vi* is not a piece for lute solo: as it lacks the melody it may be the second part of a lute duet. It may possibly have been intended as the second part to *v* which matches it harmonically and rhythmically, and which is located next to it on the same page of the manuscript.

Two clearly different versions of this piece circulated: the first of these is represented in *i*, *iv* and *v*, the other in *ii* and *iii*. Both versions are included in this collection: *i* under no. 44a and *ii* under no. 44b. The differences between the two versions are: the melody in mm. 6-7, 18, 22; the bass in mm. 3, 6-7, 23, 40; the middle voice in m. 21, accompanied by an *F* major harmony in no. 44a as opposed to *f* minor in no. 44b (in *v* a harmony of *d*); the different harmony in m. 35(3) where no. 44a has an *A flat* chord and no. 44b an *f* chord; the position of the bass notes in the first measures as well as omitted bass notes in no. 44b in mm. 17, 19, 33, 35; the rhythm in mm. 34, 36. It seems likely that the setting in *ii* and *iii* is a later version of the other one, as it is melodically, rhythmically and harmonically more refined (compare e.g. the first four bars of section C).

Nos. *ii* and *iii*, constituting the second version, are virtually identical. A few chords are less full in *iii* and the figuration is less busy (mm. 25, 27, 51). The rhythm in *iii* mm. 34 and 36 is 𝅗𝅥. ♩ 𝅗𝅥 , and in m. 7 there is a different middle voice (identical to m. 51):



iii, m. 7

There are more differences between the three older versions nos. *i*, *iv* and *v*, especially in the divisions of *i* and *iv* (the latter are difficult to make out as a few bars are missing, due to the poor state of the manuscript). Different are in *iv* mm. 4 (similar to *v*), 8, 13, 15-16, 28, 30, 32, 47. A few basses are missing in *iv* m. 3(2-3), and the copyist forgot to write out m. 10(1-2) and the final m. 52. As mentioned above, only version *iv* has in mm. 21(3) and 29(3) a *d* harmony (1*c*, 2*a*, 5*c*). M. 31(1) was lost, but as far as we can determine, unlike *i* the bass was not altered in mm. 30-31. A few musical turns are found in *i* that are lacking in the other versions: the *f* harmony in mm. 3(1) and 11(1) (possibly a copyist's error: 4*a* instead of 5*a*), the bass 6*a* in m. 34(1) (in the varied repeat, m. 44(1), there is a totally incorrect chord (see below), probably intended as a *B flat* harmony), and the repeat with dotted rhythm of the the *B flat* chord in mm. 38(3) and 48(3).

Editorial changes to no. 44a: a fair number of corrections had to be made to the edition of *i*, as this setting is rather corrupted. Many barlines in sections A, A', B and B' were placed wrongly. Mistakes in the rhythm signs in mm. 5(2), 6(1-2) and 44(1-2) are corrected. Missing notes are added:

m. 7(1) 4*d*, m. 7(2) 4*a*, m. 14(3) 4*a*, m. 15(3) 4*c*, m. 19(3) 4*a*, m. 22(3) 1*a*, m. 27(2 and 3) two times 6*d*, m. 28(1) 5*d*, m. 40(3) 4*d*. A number of apparently superfluous notes were omitted: m. 7(3) 1*a*, m. 9(3) 3*b*, m. 14(2 on the beat) 4*a*, m. 15(2 on the beat) 5*a*. Further changes: m. 19(2) 3*b*, 4*a* from 2*b*, 3*a*; m. 37(1) 3*b* from 3*a*; m. 44(1) the chord 2*a*, 3*c*, 4*c*, 6*a* from 2*b*, 3*a*, 5*d*; m. 47(1) 3*b* from 3*a*. Finally, two missing parts, mm. 25(1-2) and 51(1), were completed on analogy of *iv*. A note 1*c* in m. 13(1) possibly has to be corrected to 1*b*.

Editorial changes to no. 44b: m. 27(3) 6*d* added (compare mm. 19 and 25); m. 33(1) 2*a* omitted (this note does not appear in m. 43 nor in any of the other versions); m. 34(3) 2*a* omitted (on analogy of the identical melody in m. 36, and because of the lack of this note in m. 44).

45. [Almain] – Anonymous

i Euing, f. 16r

This anonymous piece without title, probably an almain, follows the also anonymous *Flat Pavan* by Johnson in *i* (f. 9-15 in between remained unused). These two pieces are followed in the manuscript by works of the 'classical' composers Dowland and Holborne. Stylistically the piece is altogether characteristic of Johnson: it begins in *E flat* and ends in *c*, like the *French Galliard* no. 28 (that has parallel octaves in mm. 3-5 just as this piece has in m. 22); the many repeated rhythmical patterns, especially in mm. 25-28, 30-31, 33-34, 41-42, 47-48, in the last case with the typical rhythm ♩♫♩♩, which is also found in mm. 29 and 43; the rhythmical structure of the divisions (including the figure ♩♫♫♫♫), which strongly resemble those of the second version of the *Omnino Galliard* no. 27b; the overall construction, in parts of two or four bars (the latter at the beginning of section B); the homophonic passages, some of which are reminiscent of the *Old Medley* no. 36 (compare mm. 1-4, with the inverted chord on *d*, with the virtually identical mm. 37-40 of the *Old Medley*), others of the *Flat Pavan* no. 13 (compare mm. 33, 34 and 37 with m. 17-18 of the *Flat Pavan*); the first inversion chords by way of preparation of a cadence, as with the above mentioned *d* harmony, and the chord on *a flat* in m. 39; the characteristic position of the cadences *G-C* (mm. 7-8, 15-16) and *F-E flat* (m. 20) with in the first case the typical treatment of the fifth degree, and in the second the suspended seventh degree.

Editorial changes: m. 26(1) 1*a* omitted (compare the corresponding place in m. 18); m. 33(2) 5*d* omitted (compare mm. 34 and 37 as well as mm. 41, 42 and 45).

46. Goodnight - Anonymous

i Dd.2.11, f. 8v-9r

Fifteen variations on a ground-bass that was also known as *Good night and good rest*. Johnson wrote a treble on the same ground, see no. 64. This solo is included here, because its beginning is practically identical to the ground of Johnson's *Goodnight* treble, while the typical variation 8 of the solo, entirely written on the three lowest courses of the lute (mm. 57-64), is largely identical to variation 9 of the treble (mm. 65-72). If Johnson is the composer of this *Goodnight* solo, he probably made it after he had finished the treble; variation 8 of the solo was copied from variation 9 of the treble, which in its turn probably was borrowed by Johnson from yet another piece (see no. 64).

That Johnson himself could have written this solo, is evident also from the careful construction and the style of the piece. In it monotony is avoided by means of a continuous alternation of variations in a chordal movement with variations build on scalar runs. Near the end of the work, in variations 13 and 14, a climax is achieved by an accelarated movement in triple time, after which the piece closes majestically with the full chords of variation 15. Each variation has its own character, but in the final variations the musical material of the beginning of the piece is used again: variation 13 is identical to 2, only now in triple time, and in the same manner variation 14 is a repetition of 5 first half and 4 second half. In the first half of variation 15 we find a broadening of the music of variation 9 (descending scalar runs on an ascending bass line), and the second half of variation 15 is very much like the last bars of 2, this time with fuller chords. By this means the piece is given a solid structure. Some characteristics of Johnsons style are found in this piece: vari-

ations build on repeated rhythmical patterns (see for instance mm. 21-23, with the characteristic rhythm ♩♫♩♩, and variations 4, 8, 11 en 12); a written-out long trill (m. 85); the repeat of mm. 33-34 in mm. 105-106 (the repeat in triple time); the cross-relations in mm. 69-70, which give a nice structure to the passagework of this variation. Moreover, the homophonic passage in mm. 97-104 reminds one of a similar passage in the *Old Medley* (no. 36, mm. 57-68).

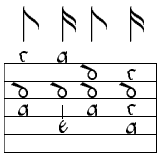
Other solo's on the same ground are found in Marsh, p. 362-363: *Cotton* (15 variations; edited in Ward, *John Johnson*, Appendix 9) and Dd.2.11, f. 86r: *Good night and good rest* (6 variations). In this last setting the first variation has some resemblance with the ground of Johnson's treble, but what follows has no likeness with the treble, and is not in Johnson's style either. This also goes for the setting in Marsh, attributed to Cotton. This piece in the beginning (mm. 1-12) has the same contours as *i*, and variation 9 in *i* could be inspired by Cotton's variation 7 (as we shall see, in the commentary to no. 64, Johnson probably knew Cotton's setting), but compared with *i* Cotton's piece has a weak and aimless construction and much less variety, while some variations largely consist of mechanical scalar runs of semiquavers, which clash with the bass much more often than in Johnson's compositions (see variations 7 and 8, and variation 10, with still more dissonants).

The text of *i* obviously is somewhat corrupt. The scribe, Matthew Holmes, in many instances corrected clear mistakes (see for example mm. 23, 30, 31, 70 and 75). Some other evident mistakes are corrected in this edition: m. 11(2) 2*a* from 3*a*; m. 13(2 and 3) two notes 2*a* and 1*a* added, to avoid a nonsensical upper voice, in which procedure the melodic line of similar passages (mm. 101 en 117) has been copied; m. 36(1) a note 2*c* added; m. 98(2) 2*b* from 2*a*; mm. 109-111, in the triple time, the rhythm sign 𝄾 from 𝄿. The time signature has been replaced from the beginning of m. 105, where it stands in *i*, to m. 109, where it obviously belongs: in mm. 109-111 are the triplets. The upper octaves of the notes *B* written in mm. 50(3) and 51(2) do not seem very idiomatic for the lute, and have an octave parallel as result; mayby here we should read 4*c* instead of 3*c*.

i Pickeringe, f. 34v-35r: *The Madlay*
ii Trumbull, f. 6v-7r: *the new Medly*
iii Waissel, *Tabulatura*, f. Liij^{v}: *4. Padoana.*
iv Dd.14.24, f. 27v-28r: *4 / The new Meddley* (cittern part of setting for *mixed consort*)
v Forster, no. 23: *The new Medley* (keyboard)

On the medley in general see the commentary to no. 36. The title of this piece seems to imply a link with the *Old Medley* (no. 36 in this edition); this then suggests that Johnson may also be the composer of this new version. Stylistically it fits his oeuvre very well, especially on account of its lively rhythm: note the many repeated rhythmical patterns; the manyfold occurrences of the rhythm ♫♬♩ (e.g. in mm. 15, 23, 24 and, in doubled note values, in mm. 64 and 65); the rhythmically repeated chords in mm. 9, 13 and 14; the treatment of the fifth degree in cadences in mm. 28 (with the characteristic cadence *C-G*) and 41-42 (prepared by an inverted chord); the long written out trill in m. 85. The piece shows the same construction as the *Old Medley*: an opening part in double time, that increases in speed and culminates in a homophonic passage, and in conclusion a long lively section in triple time.

Version *ii* is virtually identical to *i*, with the exception of a number of added graces and fingerings, some differently filled out chords, and a fair amount of copyist's errors; m. 53 lacks altogether, while m. 79 was added later, perhaps from memory, as the chords are notated in the wrong order:



ii, m. 79

Version *iii* is essentally like nos. *i* and *ii*, but the varied repeats are mostly lacking, and the written repeats E', F' and G' are simpler than in the English lute sources. Some harmonies in *iii* are different.

Editorial changes: mm. 11(1), 19(2), 35(2), 80, 83(3) a few obviously erroneous rhythm signs are corrected; in some places at the end of the piece bar lines are normalized; m. 7(1) 2*a* from 2*d* (as

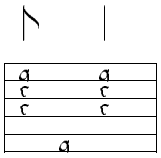
in *ii*; compare also the same scalar runs in mm. 15 and 19); m. 14(1) in the third chord a note 5*a* has been added (which is also missing in *ii*); m. 17(1) 3*d* from 2*d* (as in *ii* and in the corresponding m. 19); m. 46(2) 4*e* from 3*e* (as in *ii*); m. 80 the rhythm from 𝅗𝅥. 𝅘𝅥 𝅗𝅥 (corrected on analogy of *ii* and of m. 72). Both versions have in two places a formally incorrect rhythm in common: in m. 36(4) the final chord on *C* has a longer value (a semibreve in *i* and a dotted semibreve in *ii*); this may possibly be intended to indicate that the final note of the first part of the piece should be held longer than the minim that fills the bar (note that in both versions the time signature *3* is written before, instead of after the chord in question). Both manuscripts have longer note values in the figuration of the closing cadence in m. 85(3-4) (i.e. one quaver followed by semiquavers), which possibly serves as a written out ritardando.

48. Si Vous Voulez [Philip van Wilder?] – Anonymous

i Wickhambrook, f. 13r: *Si vow voules*
ii Trumbull, f. 21v-23r
iii Dd.2.11, f. 24v-25r: *Si Vous Voulez.*
iv Add.31390, f. 40r: *Si vous voulez Phillipes* (consort à 5)
v Add.22597, f. 45v: *Si vous voles* (tenor only)

This piece remains anonymous. It is a setting of the five part chanson *Si vous voules*, possibly composed by Philip van Wilder, who was in the service of Henry VIII in the second quarter of the sixteenth century; he died in 1553. For an edition of the polyphonic model see Wilder, *Collected Works*, no. 31. This is not a setting of Van Wilders five-part chanson *Pour vous aymer* (see Wilder, *Collected Works*, no. 28), as is stated by Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 6. This lute piece is included in the present edition as a possible work by Johnson, because it is part of the oldest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript (see the *Introduction*). It shows some characteristics of Johnson's style, particularly in the structure of the divisions: note the many scalar runs, the frequent use of repeated rhythmic patterns, the written out long trill in m. 44, and the rhythm ♫♬♬♫ in m. 17 (twice) and, in doubled note values, in mm. 4, 23 and 24. Other melodic or harmonic characteristics cannot be found as this piece was based on a vocal model.

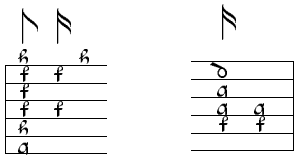
The three versions for lute solo are virtually identical. In *ii* and *iii* the graces and fingerings are lacking. In *ii* we find, apart from a number of writing errors, that the half m. 38 was filled out to a full bar:



ii, m. 38

In *i* the same bar was contracted to the preceding bar, resulting in a bar of six beats, whereas in *iii* this m. 38 was added to the following bar, after which all bar lines were moved up half a bar.

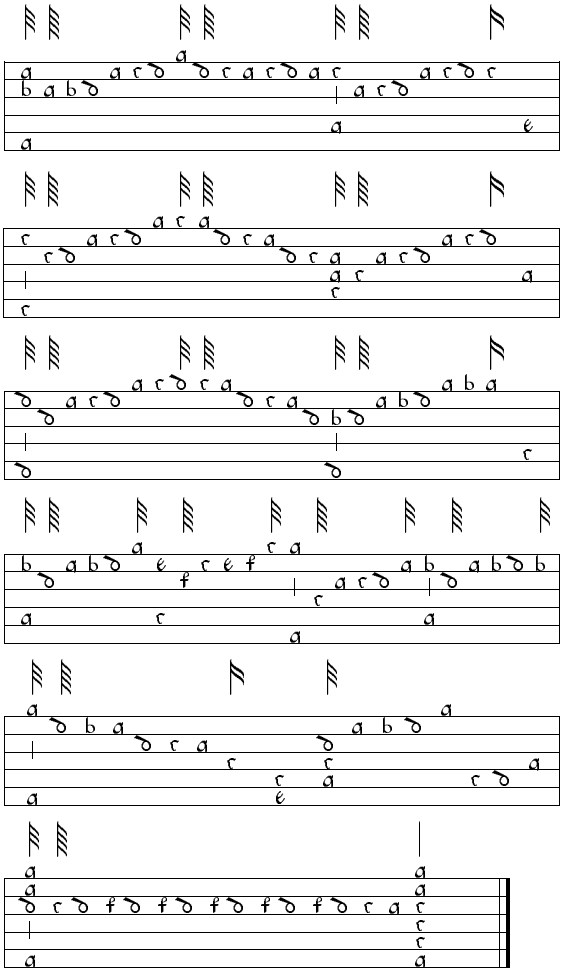
No. *iii* has a few more unique readings: some notes were left out, probably by mistake (mm. 5(4), 18(4), 19(2), 24(3), 26(3), 29(4), 37(1)); on two occasions notes were mistakenly placed a line higher or lower (mm. 10(2) and 11(1)); in m. 15(1) the bass note appears up an octave (4*c* instead of 6*a*); in mm. 10(4), 13(2), 14(2), 14(4), 27(2) the preceding bass note is repeated; m. 27(2) has 2*d* instead of 2*a*; the chord in m. 17(1) is fuller, while that in m. 35(4) has a different structure:



iii, m. 17(1) *iii*, m. 35(4)

Nos. *ii* and *iii* sometimes have a common reading that differs from *i*. This concerns the figuration in m. 10(3-4), that was notated in second position (2*a* and 1*a* were replaced by 3*f* and 2*f*); 4*a* is lacking in m. 12(4); m. 20(3) has a note 4*a* (in *iii* added to the chord, in *ii* instead of 3*a*); the bass 6*c* is repeated in m. 26(4); 4*e* is lacking in m. 31(4); 3*d* is lacking in m. 34(3).

Nos. *ii* and *iii* also have a variant reading of the last six bars in common. This concerns a written out repeat in mm. 39-42(2) of the passage in mm. 34-37(2). In *i* this repeat has virtually no divisions, while *ii* and *iii* give an alternative with elaborate divisions. This passage in *ii* is printed here in full, counted as mm. 45-50 (in m. 48(2) the notes 2*f* and 1*c* and the rhythm sign are added):



ii, mm. 45-50

In *iii* the reading of this passage is mostly identical to *ii*, with the exception of a couple of added notes: 4*c* in m. 45(1) and 5*c* in m. 46(4); m. 47(4) incorrectly reads 5*e* instead of 5*c*; the missing notes in *ii* m. 48(2) were added after *iii*.

This variant passage is, in *iii*, notated in place of the unvaried mm. 39-44 in *i*. In *ii* the piece was written out exactly as in *i*, and the extra six bars were added immediately following bar 44. It was probably not intended for the final passage to be played three times; hence, it is evident that the copyist of *ii*, or maybe an earlier one, mistakenly took this added alternative section as a regular part of the composition (such added passages do exist in reality, as can be seen in Dd.5.78, f. 61v-62r, where at the end of a pavan by Daniel Bachelar an alternative is given for a bar in section B). It in any way shows that the reading in *i* is the original, and that the variant six bar ending is a later addition. If it was indeed Johnson who made this setting of the chanson, this addition must also be his: note the repeated rhythmical patterns in mm. 45-47 and 48, which serve to intensify the movement, using a pattern that is derived from the rhythm in the corresponding bar in the first version of the piece (see *i* mm. 42(3-4)).

Editorial change: m. 22(4) last note 1*a* from 2*a*, after *ii* and *iii*. A few bass notes possibly are on the wrong line in the tablature, because they differ from the polyphonic model: m. 8(1) 4*c* (possibly 5*c*), m. 22(2) 5*c* (possibly 6*c*).

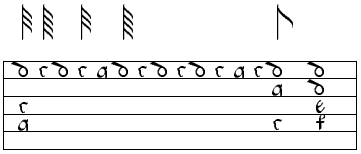
49. Susanne un Jour [Orlandus Lassus] – Anonymous

i Wickhambrook, f. 13v-14r
ii Dd.2.11, f. 23v-24r: *Susanna orlando*
iii Thysius, f. 180r-181r: *Susanne ung Jour. a 5. Jn Contra tenor.*

This is a setting of the five part chanson by Orlandus Lassus that was published for the first time in 1560 in *Lisvre des meslanges...* (Paris, Le Roy & Ballard). In England this famous work probably gained popularity already before its publication in 1588 in the first part of East's *Musica transalpina*. The setting for lute is anonymous and is included in this collection as a possible piece by Johnson on the basis of its occurrence in the oldest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript (see the *Introduction*). The structure of the divisions are indeed in Johnson's style: note the many scalar runs, with manifold occurrences of the rhythmical pattern , the frequent use of repeated rhythmical patterns (note in particular mm. 4, 6, 7 and 11, 18-21, 22-23, 26-27, 35-37), and the regularly appearing rhythm in mm. 21, 26 (twice), 27, 32 (at doubled note values), 40 and 52 (twice). As was the case with no. 48, no other melodic or harmonic characteristics of Johnson's style can be detected, as these features are taken from the vocal model.

The lute setting follows the vocal model meticulously with the exception of two instances. In m. 42(2) according to Lassus the note 1*f* should read 1*a*; actually in *iii* the copyist who apparently knew the chanson first wrote 1*f* and afterwards changed that to 1*a*. The bass in m. 52(3) should be 5*e* instead of 4*c*; maybe the arranger had doubts about the tritone that Lassus wrote here in the bottom voice, which on the lute would have given the interval of the augmented fourth *b flat-e*.

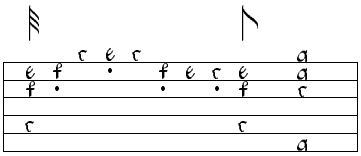
No. *ii* is for the major part identical with *i*: however, this version lacks graces, and dots indicating fingering occur only in mm. 1-14. Furthermore, the first half of m. 26 is lacking in *ii*, causing the bar lines to be misplaced half a bar throughout the remainder of the piece. Other differences: in the cadence in m. 10(1) there are more notes and Johnson's typical rhythm:



ii, m. 10

M. 22(2) reads 5*d* instead of 5*e*; m. 23(3-4) has incorrect rhythm signs; before the already mentioned missing notes m. 25(4) has the last three notes a line lower (3*cd*2*a* instead of 2*cd*1*a*); in m. 26(3) in the chord immediately after the missing passage 2*c* is lacking; at first the chord in m. 29(1) was left out, later to be given a *G major* harmony (1*a*, 2*a*, 3*c* and 6*a*); m. 32(1) has an *A major* harmony (3*e* instead of 3*d*, with 4*e* and 5*e* added); the chord in m. 33(1) has 3*d* instead of 2*d*; the notes 2*c*, 3*d* and 5*a* are lacking in the chord in m. 41(2); m. 48(3) has a chord identical to the one on the fourth beat of that measure; m. 58(2) has a fuller chord with an added note 3*a*.

In version *iii* the varied repeat of mm. 1-14(2) is not written out in mm. 14(3)-27, as in *i* and *ii*; only mm. 14(3)-15(2) are copied, after which mm. 2-14(2) have to be repeated. In this continental source there are a lot of differences with versions *i* an *ii*. Most of these, apart from some scribal errors, concern differently filled out chords (mostly fuller in *iii*), a few repeated bass notes, an some bass notes 4*a* transposed down an octave to 7*a*; in mm. 3(2), 7(4) and 8(1) passing notes have been added, in mm. 13(3)-14(2), 32(3-4), 43-44(2), 50(2), 51(2, 4), 52(2) and 53(2) the figuration has been simplified. Furthermore, the chord in m. 28(3) has been crossed out; m. 9(4) has a bass note 7*a* added; m. 42(2) has 6*e* instead of 6*d*; the chord in m. 38(1) is provided with a decorative flourish:



iii, m. 38

The copyist of *iii* appeared to consider this piece as a contratenor part of a lute quartet (of which there are more in this manuscript); the other parts are missing, and probably never have existed, because this setting is clearly a solo.

Editorial changes: m. 28(1) the note 2*a* added, on analogy of *ii* and iii; m. 23(1) 6*d* from 5*d*, after *ii* as well as m. 9. In accordance with *ii* the bars, which have a length of two beats (as they have in *iii*), have been doubled in size so as to agree with Johnson's usual bar length of a breve. Initially *i* m. 35(1-2) was lacking, but the same copyist later added it.

50. Ma Pauvre Bourse [Philip van Wilder?] – Anonymous

i Wickhambrook, f. 12v
ii Dd.2.11, f. 17r: *Ma poure bourse Mr Phs*
iii Dallis, p. 50-51: *mij pore porse*

This is a setting of the (four-part?) chanson *Ma pauvre bourse* that was probably composed by Philip van Wilder (see the commentary to no. 48); an edition of the vocal piece (but mostly based on the lute intabulations) in Wilder, *Collected Works*, no. 25. This setting is anonymous and is included in this collection on the basis of its occurrence in the earliest layer of the Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript (see the *Introduction*). The setting does indeed show some characteristics of Johnson's style, albeit to a lesser degree than is the case with nos. 48 and 49; in the structure of the divisions we see repeated rhythmical patterns in mm. 4, 6, 7; 15; 25-27; 36, 38, 40, 41; mm. 38 and 41 have a complete identical rhythm. Other characteristics of Johnson's style cannot be found, as the melodic and harmonic features will have been taken from the vocal model.

Nos. *ii* and *iii* are two identical versions of a different setting of this chanson for lute: they are in the same key but lack the divisions of *i*. In mm. 45-48 no. *i* also has a coda that is lacking in *ii* and *iii*, and that may not have been present in the vocal model. This may also be deduced from the coda's final cadence *B flat-F*, that differs from the cadences *C-F* as found in the piece proper.

It would be expected that the simpler versions *ii* and *iii* follow the vocal model more accurately

than *i*. However, this is not the case and there are few differences between the two settings. The treatment of the voices in *i* is virtually identical to that in *ii* and *iii*. In a few places chords may be more or less filled out than in the other version. Occasionally *ii* and *iii* have a sharpened note *e* where *i* has *e flat*, or the other way around (mm. 7(3), 18(3), 23(1), 33(3), 34(1)); in m. 22(4) *i* has *b* whereas *ii* and *iii* have *b flat*. In m. 32(2) *ii* and *iii* have a harmony of *g* (1*a*, 2*a*, 4*c*) instead of a harmony of *C* as in *i* (according to the vocal model the correct notes would have been 1*a*, 2*c*, 4*c*). In m. 34(1) a passing harmony with an inverted chord on the bass note *d*, as found in *ii* and *iii* (and in the vocal piece), is absent in *i*. A remarkable feature of *i* is the absence of a few technically easy notes in the middle voices, which notes are present in *ii* and *iii*, as well as in the polyphonic model; these are m. 15(4) 2*a*, m. 25(1) 3*a*, m. 29(2) 2*a*, m. 35(1) 4*c* and m. 43(3) 3*d*, as well as a top voice 1*d* on in m. 22(1, on the beat).

Editorial changes: m. 29(1) 4*a* added (this bass note probably is not omitted on purpose by the arranger of the setting, as could be the case with the above mentioned notes in the middle voices); m. 4(2) 4*a* from 3*a*, after the vocal model, as well as *ii* and *iii* and the corresponding m. 38 in *i*. Possible mistakes that are not corrected in the edition of *i*: in m. 7 the last note 3*d* should possibly be 2*a* (compare the model, as well as *ii* and *iii* and the repeat in *i* m. 41); in m. 24(1) 3*a* should perhaps be 4*a* (compare the model and *ii* and *iii*; the latter gives the middle voice *g-f-e*); in m. 43(2) the slightly odd middle voice should perhaps be as in m. 9, which bar for the rest is repeated here exactly.

51. La Vecchia Pavan – Johnson

i Wickhambrook, f. 15v (lute I)
ii Wickhambrook, f. 15v (lute II)
iii Ballet, p. 45: *Lavecho for two Lutes* (lute I)
iv Pickeringe, f. 4r: *the pauecheo for ij lutes Johnsone* (lute I, incomplete)
v Brogyntyn, p. [28]-29 (18-[19]): *Leueche pauen* (lute II)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* V (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 8.

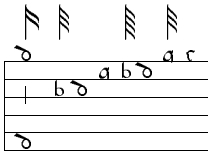
A duet for equal lutes; for the paired galliard see no. 52. A version for lute solo also exists of this piece: see no. 11. Duet and solo are closely related: in both, the harmonic structure is the same (apart from a small digression in m. 9(1-2)), as are the melody of the A-section and parts of the diminutions: these are identical in mm. 1-3(2), 6(1-2), 16(3-4) and 19(1), while in m. 9(3-4) the same rhythmical patterns have been used. Also, the scalar runs of mm. 7(4) and 14 (in the varied repeats A' and B') of the solo recur in mm. 3(4) and 10 respectively of the duet (in sections A and B). It is clear that one of these versions of the piece is an adaptation of the other. The most probable option seems to be that the the solo is the earlier version, as is apparent from the already mentioned use of musical material of the varied repeats of the solo in the corresponding unvaried sections of the duet, and from the little motif in m. 15(1) of the solo, which is repeated a couple of times in mm. 15-16(1) of the duet, albeit slightly altered.

The *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* duet is derived directly from the solo (or perhaps it was the other way around), without an intermediate treble and ground duet, as is the case with the *Flat Pavan and Galliard* duet (see nos. 53 and 54). This is the reason why there is a marked stylistic difference between these *Flat* duets and the *La Vecchia* duet: it is clear that in the *Flat Pavan and Galliard* both a treble part and a ground have been divided between two lutes, while the *La Vecchia* duet shows a further development, with many instances of the 'concertato' or 'reporting' style – in both lutes short motifs in close imitation but without any overlap (see mm. 6(3)-7(1), 13-16 and 21-24); on this style see Nordstrom, *English lute duet and the consort lesson*, p. 17-20. There is no reason to follow Nordstrom, *l.c.*, p. 20, in his presumption that the *La Vecchia* duet cannot be an adaptation of the solo; the differences between both settings could very well be the result of such a reworking of the piece. Nordstrom thinks the equal lute duet has evolved from the mixed consort, but with the *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* no such previous phase is known. There is a setting for consort of *La Vecchia* in Schele (see the commentary to no. 11), but neither solo nor duet are closely related to it. It is true, the Schele version is based on Johnson's *La Vecchia Pavan*, but it is alien to his style, and it has diminutions which differ com-

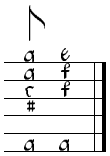
pletely from those of his solo and duet; this setting must be by another composer.

When we look at the galliard belonging to this pavan, which incidently also exists both as a solo and as an equal duet (see no. 52), we see the same relationship between the different settings as with the pavan. From that circumstance it follows that these four pieces, solo and equal duet of the *La Vecchia* pair, in whichever way they are related to each other, presumably have been composed and re-arranged by one and the same person; in view of the ascriptions in the various sources, this person can have been none other than John Johnson. There is no need for Lyle Nordstom's reserve about John Johnson's authorship of these equal duets (see the commentary to the *Flat Pavan*, no. 53). Besides, in the *La Vecchia* duet we recognize the unmistakable characteristics of Johnson's style: the rhythmical vigour, achieved by repeating rhythmical (and melodic) motifs (mm. 13(2)-14, 15, 21-24), and the use of the rhythmical figure (mm. 9-10 three times, 13-14 four times, slightly extended, 18 two times); the closing figuration in m. 20(1-2) in lute II is a variant of Johnson's closing figuration on a final chord in C (see the Introduction), transposed one tone up.

Versions *iii* and *iv* of this pavan are practically identical to *i*. Of version *iv* only mm. 11(2)-24 remain; this fragment is exactly like *i*, apart from the graces which are lacking in *iv* and an added note 4*c* in the chord in m. 20(1). Version *iii* has more graces, bars consisting of two beats instead of four, and some variant readings: in a few places a slightly simpler figuration (mm. 2(2), 4(2), 7(4)), fuller chords or chords in different positions (mm. 4(4), 5(2-4), 6(1), 6(3), 16(3), 18(1-2)), a somewhat different scalar run in m. 16(1-2), and an added chord in the final bar 24(3-4). Version *iii* lacks m. 20(1-2).



iii, m. 16(1-2)



iii, m. 24(3-4)

Version *v* is practically identical to *ii*.

Editorial change in *i* (lute I): double bar line added between mm. 20 and 21. Editorial changes in *ii* (lute II): m. 5(1) first note, crotchet from quaver; m. 5(4) last note 1*e* from 1*f*; m. 15(3) last two notes, quavers from crotchets; m. 19(3) the first 1*e* from 1*d*; m. 18(3) the rhythm signs of 1*racdc* are corrected from four semiquavers and a last note without sign. All changes have been made on the basis of version *v*.

52. La Vecchia Galliard – Johnson

i Wickhambrook, f. 16r (lute I)
ii Wickhambrook, f. 16r (lute II)
iii Pickeringe, f. 4r: *Lauecheo gallyerde for ij lutes by Johnsone* (lute II)
iv Pickeringe, f. 4v: *Lauecheo gallyerde for ij lutes by Johnsone* (lute I)
v Brogyntyn, p. 29 ([19]): *The Galliard to Leueche* (lute II)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* VI (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 9.

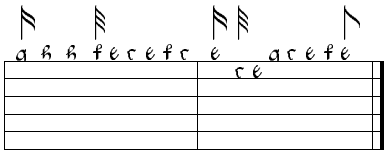
A setting for two equal lutes; for the paired pavan see no. 51. For an anonymous version for lute solo, probably by Johnson, see no. 12. A duet in Ballet, p. 46-47, *A Galliard for two Lutes after Laveche*, is not related to Johnson's piece, although in the manuscript it directly follows Johnson's *La Vecchia Pavan*.

The *La Vecchia Galliard* solo is partly identical to the duet: in both settings the melody is for the greater part the same in mm. 1-5 and 17-18, while (just as with the *La Vecchia Pavan*) a diminution in the varied repeat A' in the solo (m. 14) is found in the duet in the A-section (m. 6). Harmonically in both solo and duet, sections A and B are identical, but in the C-section both versions differ; here the duet version is identical to the paired *La Vecchia Pavan*. Consequently, the duet galliard is probably not a reworking of the solo galliard, but an adaptation of the duet pavan; this can also be shown by a small harmonic change from the earliest version of this piece, the solo pavan, which the duet galliard at the beginning of the B-section (mm. 17-18) has in common with the duet pavan (m. 9). Probably the solo galliard is a later work, adapted from the solo pavan. In all likelihood, all versions of the *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* are compositions by John Johnson, in view of their interdependence and of the characteristics of Johnson's style, which are found in them (see the

commentary to no. 51).

Those characteristics are also apparent in this *La Vecchia Galliard* equal duet: note the repetition of a note on the fourth course (mm. 19, 31), the repeating of rhythmical (and melodic) patterns (mm. 25-29; 33-36, 36-39; 41-44; 47-48), and the use of the rhythmical figure (many times in the B' and C sections).

Version *iv* is identical to *i*, apart from two added notes: in m. 22(2) in the chord the note 2*b*, and in m. 44(3) in the melody a note 1*a*. For the greater part versions *iii* and *v* are identical to *ii*: in *v* m. 15(2) we read 1*e* instead of 1*d*, in m. 18(1) there is an added bass note 6*d*, and in m. 28(1) we have 1*m* instead of (the correct) 1*n*; in *iii* the final figuration, in mm. 47-48, differs from *ii* and *v*:



iii, mm. 47-48

In *iii* and *iv* there are no graces, and both versions begin with a mensural sign *3*, which in *iii* is followed by a rest of two minims.

Editorial change in *ii*: m. 21(1) 2*c* from 2*b*, and in the same bar the rhythm sign above the first note has been added; both corrections according to *iii* and *v*.

53. Flat Pavan – Johnson

i Pickeringe, f. 4v-5r: *the flatt pauion for ij luttes by Johnsone* (lute I)
ii Pickeringe, f. 5r: *the flatt pauion for ij luttes by Johnsone* (lute II)
iii Trumbull, f. 15r (lute II)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* III (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 5.

A duet for equal lutes; for the paired galliard see no. 54. For a version of this piece for lute solo, see no. 13; a treble and ground duet version is given as no. 55. In the commentary to no. 55 it will be argued that this equal duet is probably an adaptation of the treble version. Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 38, no. 15, doubts if the equal duet versions of the *Flat Pavan and Galliard* are composed by Johnson, on account of the circumstance that the sources of these duets date from after 1600, when equal duets were in fashion. But, apart from the fact that often in lute manuscripts repertoire is found from earlier years than the time the book was copied, Trumbull must have been written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, as was Wickhambrook for that matter, in which Johnson's *La Vecchia Pavan and Galliard* equal duet are written (see nos. 51 and 52); those pieces are also found in Pickeringe. Moreover, all these equal duets in Pickeringe are explicitly attributed to Johnson. Furthermore, Johnson's stylistic characteristics can be found in the *Flat Pavan* equal duet, also in those places where this setting differs from the treble and ground duet, from which the equal duet has been derived: note the many instances of the rhythmical figure in these passages (twenty times all in all), and of the figure (two times, mm. 23-24); often these figures are repeated at short intervals.

Version *iii* (lute II) is mostly identical to *ii*. Some differences are obviously mistakes of a copyist: in m. 7(2) the rhythm is slightly different, in m. 16(2) we read 3*c* instead of 4*c*, and in m. 17(1) 3*d* instead of 4*d*. Sharpened or flattened notes we find in in m. 5(2), 2*h* instead of 2*g*, and in m. 16(3), two times 2*b* instead of 2*c*.

Editorial changes: in *i* and *ii* misplaced bar lines have been corrected (in *i* m. 13 and *ii* m. 24). In *ii* the bars 11(3-4)-15(1-2) are lacking (a mistake by a scribe: m. 11(1-2) is identical to m. 15(1-2)); these missing bars have been supplemented after *iii*. It is possible that in *i* m. 22(2) in the chord the note 3*c* should be omitted.

54. Flat Galliard – Johnson

i Pickeringe, f. 5v: *the galyerd to the flatt pauion for ij luttes by Johnson* (lute I)
ii Pickeringe, f. 5v-6r: *the galyerd to the flatt pauion for ij luttes by Johnsone* (lute II)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* IV (p. 95); Ward, *John Johnson* 6.

A duet for equal lutes; for the paired pavan see no. 53. For a version for lute solo of this piece see no. 14; for a setting as a treble and ground duet see

no. 56. This equal duet is probably derived from this treble and ground; see the commentary to no. 56. Nordstrom hesitates to ascribe the equal duet version to Johnson, but his doubts seem unfounded; see the commentary to the paired *Flat Pavan*, no. 53.

Editorial changes in *i*: in m. 39 a rhythmical mistake has been corrected, and in m. 48 a superfluous bar line before the final chord has been removed.

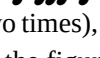
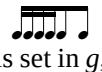
55. Flat Pavan – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 21v: *The flatt pauen.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *flatt pauen and galliard* (treble in *f*)
ii Trumbull, f. 17v-19r: (treble in *g*)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 60v-61r: *flatt Pauen.* (treble in *g*)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* III (p. 95).

A treble and ground duet; for the paired galliard see no. 56. Johnson's setting for lute solo of this piece is given here as no. 13; for his setting as a duet for equal lutes see no. 53. Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 37-38, no. 11, ascribes the anonymous *Flat Pavan* no. *i* and its paired galliard to Johnson, because of the fact that both solo and equal duet are ascribed to him, and because of 'Johnson's general propensity toward treble-ground duets'. A few lines later, under no. 15, he even says that he has no doubts about Johnson's authorship of these pieces.

One thing is certain, solo and both duets are very closely related: in all settings exactly the same melodic and harmonic material has been used. There are but few differences between the versions, even in the divisions. Nordstrom, *l.c.*, considers the equal duet as an adaptation of the treble and ground duet (see also Nordstrom, *English lute duet and the consort lesson*, p. 20, where it is stated that this equal duet was directly derived from the treble and ground, and not, as was the case with other equal duets, from an intermediate setting for mixed consort). Close comparison between the three versions of the *Flat Pavan*, solo and both duets, indeed leads to the conclusion that the duet for equal lutes is an adaptation of the treble, and that the treble and ground duet in its turn was derived from the solo. To start with this last observation, the treble is, for the greater part, identical to the solo, both in its melodic line and in its divisions of the melody; but when the figuration in both pieces diverges, the treble seems to be an extension of the solo: the outline of the melody of the solo is often preserved in the treble (for instance in mm. 3, 5(1-2), 6(3-4), 9(3)-11). The equal duet is mostly identical to the treble, only the melodic material of the treble has been divided over both lutes in the equal duet. Few places show differences in the figuration, and some of those are passages that, in the treble, had been taken unchanged from the solo; this is especially clear in mm. 17-18, where the simple melody of solo and treble has been extended with some extra notes. So the sequence solo-treble-equal duet is the most probable one; see also the commentary to the *Flat Galliard*, no. 56.

As Johnson wrote both the solo and the equal duet, he will also be the composer of the intermediate treble and ground duet. Moreover, the characteristics of his style are clearly present in this treble, also in those passages which differ from the solo version: the many repeated rhythmical motifs (for instance in mm. 3, 4, 7(2), 8, 12(3-4), 13(3-4), 21-22(1)), often with the characteristic figure  (mm. 5, 9 (two times), 12, 13, 14, 15 (two times), 18, 21 (two times), 23), and in mm. 21-22 the figure  three times.

The treble *ii* is set in *g*, but apart from that it is practically identical to *i* (which is in *f*). In only a few places is the figuration slightly different from *i*: see mm. 6(1-2), 7(4), 9(3-4, where the melody is not embellished), 10(2), 14(4), 20(4); in *ii* are a few sharpened notes that are absent in *i*. Nordstrom, *l.c.*, p. 15, thinks this version *ii* is a reworking of the version in *f* by a copyist, in order to be able to play the treble in a mixed consort. It even is possible that Johnson himself wrote this setting, in view of the text of m. 9(3-4), where the bare melodic line of the solo version has been followed. Anyhow, as version *ii* adds nothing to *i*, it is not given in this edition. The treble *iii*, also set in *g*, is built on the harmonic structure of Johnson's *Flat Pavan*, but has in its melodic line scarcely any relationship with it. This setting probably has nothing to do with Johnson; in it his stylistic characteristics are not found.

In the text of *i* no editorial changes have been made. Possibly in m. 21(4) the note 1*c* has to be

read as 1*b* (or as 2*g*), in view of the corresponding places in *ii* and in lute I of the equal duet.

The ground of this treble is not extant, but it could easily be reconstructed from both lute parts of the equal duet.

56. Flat Galliard – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 22r: *Galliard to the flatt pauen* / index, f. 73r (66r): *flatt pauen and galliard* (treble in *f*)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* IV (p. 95).

A treble and ground duet; for its paired pavan see no. 55. For Johnson's setting of this piece for lute solo see no. 14; for his setting as an equal lute duet see no. 54. Nordstrom ascribes this anonymous *Flat Galliard* positively to Johnson, and states that the treble and ground duet is derived from the solo, after which the equal duet was derived from the treble and ground. This view seems to be correct; see the commentary to the *Flat Pavan* no. 55.

In any case, all three settings are very closely related in their melodic and harmonic material and even in their divisions. The treble of the *Flat Galliard* has 28 of its 48 measures in common with the solo, which means that they are completely identical or give an embellished text; so in 20 measures the music is essentially different (mm. 7-9, 13-16, 19-20, 27-28, 32, 39-42, 44, 45(3)-48: mostly in the varied repeats of the sections). The differences between equal duet and treble and ground are far less numerous: only 7 measures have a different reading (mm. 16, 35-36, 43(3)-47). In mm. 35-36 the text of the equal duet is somewhat simpler, as in the solo. In mm. 43(3)-45, 47 we see an indication that indeed the equal duet was derived from the treble and ground: a motif which is introduced in the treble in mm. 41 and 42 is reused in the equal duet another four times. Unlike the *Flat Pavan*, Johnson's stylistic trademarks are not very prominent in the *Flat Galliard* where it deviates from the solo version: only the rhythmical figuration in m. 9 and especially in mm. 41-42 can be considered as such.

In the final bar m. 48 of *i* the first note 1*l* in the manuscript has been corrected from another letter (perhaps from *c*?).

Editorial change: m. 30(3) 1*e* from 1*d* (all other settings have a sharpened note here). It is possible that more flattened notes, which in this setting differ from the text in the other versions, should be sharpened: *e flat* to *e* in m. 19, 20, 27 and 28, *b flat* to *b* in m. 27, perhaps also *f* to *f-sharp* in m. 30.

The ground of this treble is not handed down, but it could easily be reconstructed from both lute parts of the equal duet.

57. Short Almain [1] – John Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 9v-10r: *Jo. Johnson* / index, f. 73r (66r): *short Allmain.* (treble)
ii Pickeringe, f. 14r: *the grownd to the treble* (ground)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 59r: *fr Cutting* (treble)
iv Dd.2.11, f. 59v: *A: Holb*
v Board, f. 21v-22r: *Jl nodo digordio / Jl Nodo de gordio / Jl nodo di gordio By Mr Holborne*
vi Dd.4.23, f. 20v-21r: *Tinternell* (cittern solo)
vii Dd.4.23, f. 24r: *My Lo. of Oxfords Short Allmayne* (cittern solo)
viii Dallis, p. 20: *Tinternel* (bandora solo)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XLI (p. 103); Ward, *John Johnson* 44.

The ground of the *Short Almain 1* is not extant, but that of Johnson's *Short Almain 2* (no. 58) is handed down, and it fits the *Short Almain 1* without any problems. In the index of *i* both trebles are captured under one title, so we are probably dealing with two settings of one and the same piece, or at least with two trebles on the same ground.

This ground enjoyed a certain popularity: Cutting wrote a treble on it (no. *iii*), and Holborne used it as a starting-point for a lute solo (nos. *iv* and *v*, 'The Gordian Knot'; on this title see Spencer, facs. Board, commentary to no. 63); nos. *vi* and *vii* are anonymous solo settings of this ground for cittern, no. *viii* for bandora (see also Nordstrom, *Cambridge Consort Books*, p. 84-85, no. 15). Probably Johnson composed this ground, and the solo settings are derived from it: Johnson has used this ground twice for a treble, the beginning of Holborne's solo setting is only a slightly extended variant of the ground, and the ground shows the

characteristics of Johnson's style: see the concluding cadence, with the embellishment of the dominant *g*, in combination with a descending melodic line (compare for instance *Galliards* no. 25 mm. 3-4 and no. 26a mm. 6-7 and 22-23).

In the manuscript in m. 56(1) 1*c* was corrected from 1*e*.

Editorial changes: the many irregularly placed bar lines have been normalized; m. 45(3) 1*d* from what seems to be 1*e*; m. 47(2) 1*b* from 1*c*; m. 48(2) first two semiquavers from quavers; mm. 49-52(3) all quavers from crotchets. In mm. 49-52(3) in the manuscript a few – musically superfluous – bass notes on the beat are written in smaller tablature letters than usual; these notes were probably added by the copyist (possibly they served as orientation points to hold the beat in the complicated triple time), and therefore have been omitted. A few rather strange *b-flat* notes have been maintained, but should possibly be read as *b* (mm. 10(2), 14(2), 24(2)).

58. Short Almain [2] – Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 10v: *Short Allmain* / index, f. 73r (66r): *short Allmain.* (treble)
ii Pickeringe, f. 13v-14r: *A treble by M*^{r} *Johnson* (treble)
iii Pickeringe, f. 14r *the grownd to the treble* (ground)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XL (p. 103); Ward, *John Johnson* 43.

This treble is composed on the same ground as *Short Almain 1* (no. 57); see the commentary to that treble.

Versions *i* and *ii* are virtually identical. Treble *ii* and the ground *iii* have two beats in a bar instead of four, and there are no graces or fingering dots for the right hand. Furthermore, *ii* has in m. 30(2) the notes 1*fh* instead of 1*hf*, and in m. 43(4, the last note) 1*a* instead of 2*a*.

Editorial changes: in *i* three leading notes have been sharpened, as in *ii*: m. 23(4) 2*e* from 2*d* (resulting in a sharpened leading note to the dominant, so characteristic of Johnson's style), and mm. 42(4) and 48(2) 1*e* from 1*d*. In the final chord in *i* there is no note 5*a*, because of damage to the manuscript (or to the consulted microfilm?), which note has been added after *ii*. In the edition of *iii* the length of the bars has been doubled, to four beats in a bar, to match the treble *i*.

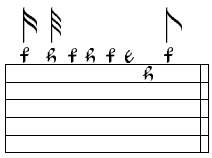
59. First Dump – John Johnson

i Marsh, p. 144-145 (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 144 (ground)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 3v: *A D*[*ump*] / index, f. 73r (66r): *J: Johnsons i Dump* (treble)
iv Dd.3.18, f. 3v: *A D*[*ump*] / index, f. 73r (66r): *J: Johnsons i Dump* (ground)
v Add.31392, f. 22v: *A treble* (treble)
vi Add.31392, f. 22v: *the ground to the treble before* (ground)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXIV (p. 101); Ward, *John Johnson* 37.

The sixteenth-century *Dump* probably was a lament or *tombeau*, a piece written in memory of a deceased person; it consisted of variations on a simple (mostly tonica-dominant) bass pattern, sometimes on an Italian ground-bass like the *Bergamasca*, *Romanesca* or *Passamezzo antico* (see Ward, *Dollful Dump*).

The setting *iii* of this treble is almost identical to *i*: in *iii* there are no graces and fingering dots for the right hand, in m. 52(3) there is only a single note 3*d* instead of the final chord, and m. 40 obviously has been corrected from:



iii, m. 40

In *iii* m. 42(3) it is not clear whether 2*c* or 2*b* has been intended by the copyist Mathew Holmes. Probably he corrected the original note 2*c* (as in *i*) to 2*b*, on account of the harmony in the ground, but in similar cases in mm. 26, 46 and 50 he did not change the note *e* to *e flat*. This correction by Holmes shows that in this divisions the ground should not be changed; probably in these places Johnson deliberately wrote the false-relation *e* against *e flat*.

The ground *iv* is identical to *ii*, apart from the

note 4*c* that is missing in m. 4(1). The ground *vi* is the same as the grounds in *ii* and *iv*, but the joined treble *v* (consisting of five variations) is altogether different, and not in Johnson's style. Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 41, no. 29, is of the same opinion; he remarks that this treble displays little of the depth of Johnson's work. Johnson's grounds were used more often by others: see *Short Almain*, no. 57.

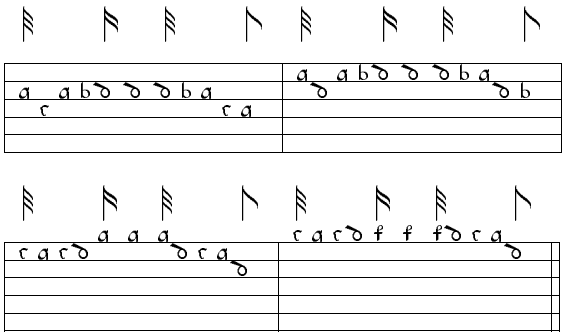
60. Second Dump (The Queen's Treble) – John Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 4r-3v (sic): *A dum*[*p*] / index, f. 73r (66r): *J: Johnsons 2. Dump* (treble)
ii Brogyntyn, p. 7: *The grounde to A treble sett by Mr John Johnson* (ground, two versions)
iii Pickeringe, f. 8v-9r: *A Treble* (treble)
iv Pickeringe, f. 9r: *the grounde to the treble before* (ground)
v Folger, f. 6v-7r: *The Queenes Treble* (treble)
vi Folger, f. 7r: *The Grownd* (ground)
vii Add.38539, f. 4v-5r: *A treable* (treble)
viii Königsberg, f. 61v-62r: *The queenes treble per m Jonson.* (treble)
ix Königsberg, f. 62r (ground)
x Schele, p. 138-139 (treble)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXV (p. 101-102); Ward, *John Johnson* 38.

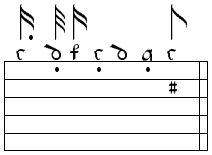
On the name *Dump* see the commentary to no. 59. The title of this piece in *v* and *viii* possibly indicates that queen Elizabeth had a special predilection for this treble; probably Johnson wrote it when working at court, 1279–1294 (see Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 77). This is Johnson's most popular duet, even known on the continent. The ground, consisting only of the simple harmony I-IV-V-I, is identical to the *Bergamasca*, a popular ground-bass originated in Italy, probably in Bergamo, mentioned first in 1564. For an anonymous treble on the same ground in triple time, see no. 69.

The settings *iii*, *viii* and *x* are virtually identical to *i*, version *v* shows somewhat more differences. No. *iii* and the first half of *v* have measures of two beats instead of four; *viii* and *x* have at the beginning a mensural sign ¢. Versions *iii*, *viii* and *x* have no fingering dots, and graces are also lacking; in *v* and *vii* the many graces are not concordant with those in *i*. In *vii* and *x* mm. 31(4)-32 the concluding phrase of the variation is given in a different position, on the first course (identical to the phrase in mm. 27(4)-28). In *vii* a later hand added bass notes to the variations 1-8 (mm. 1-32), apparently to turn the treble into a solo piece; in the fifth variation (mm. 17-20) he furthermore erased the – repeated – last note of every bar and wrote a bass note instead. Version *x* opens with a chord, after which the regular treble follows. In *viii* the copyist made a number of mistakes (mm. 25-26, 29, 31-32, 35, 55), and all of the eleventh variation (mm. 41-44) is in a slightly different rhythm; this variant reading, which is found in no other source, probably also is an error:

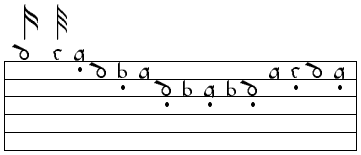


viii, m. 41-44

In *v* an apparently unexperienced copyist started writing out the piece on f. 6v, and then a practised hand finished the work on f. 7r, changing the measure from two to four beats per bar. The second scribe, when starting his work, inadvertently skipped mm. 31(4)-32, and repeated, probably by mistake, the sixth variation which had already been written by the first scribe (mm. 21-24). In a number of places the text of this setting *v* differs from that of the other versions: m. 10(1, first note) 3*b* instead of 2*a*; m. 15(4) 1*acda* instead of 1*dcda*; all of m. 17 an octave higher (and consequently identical to m. 20); m. 23(1) 1*a* instead of 2*f*; m. 33(1, first note) 1*c* instead of 2*d*; m. 38(1 and 3) written on the first course and not partly on the second (1*dcdf* instead of 2*ihi*1*f*); m. 36(3-4) and m. 54 totally different:

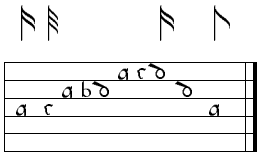


v, m. 36



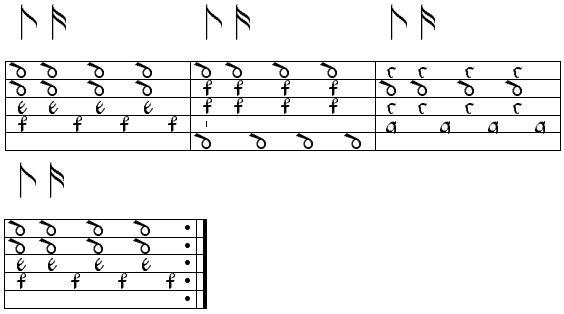
v, m. 54

Editorial change in *i*: the final chord in m. 56(3-4), in the edition given as in all other versions, originally is broken:



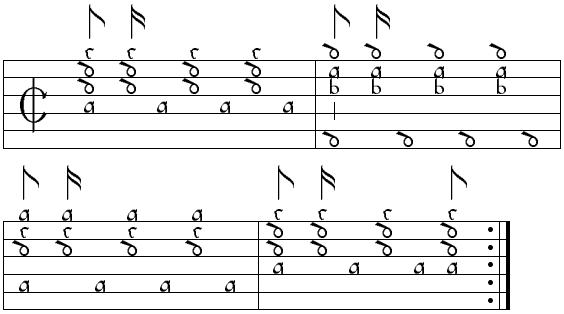
i, m. 56

The ground is handed down in *ii* (twice), *iv*, *vi* and *ix*. It has the simplest form in *ii* (the second version there) and *vi*. The settings in *ii* (the first version there) and *iv* (with two beats per bar) have somewhat fuller chords, and are for the greater part played in the third position:



ii (first version)

The setting in *ix* also has fuller chords, and in addition uses the first course:



ix

The second setting in *ii*, being the most simple version of the ground, is given in this edition.

61. Rogero – John Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 1r: *Rogero Jo: Johnson* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Rogero*. (treble)
ii Mynshall, f. 3v-4r: *The heare trebble of Rogeroe* (between *heare* and *trebble* the word *of* deleted) / index, f. [ii]v: *The heier trebble of Rogero* (treble)
iii Trumbull, f. 25v (treble, first part only)
iv Trumbull, f. 25v (ground?, two versions)
v Thysius, f. 383r-384r (treble)
vi Dallis, p. 92: *Rogero to the grounde* (ground?)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXIX (p. 102-103); Ward, *John Johnson* 42.

A ground-bass from Italy, derived from the *Aria di Ruggiero*; see the commentary to no. 33, the version for lute solo by Johnson. Nordstrom, *Cambridge Consort Books*, p. 81-82, points out that this treble is not related to the versions for cittern solo in Dd.14.24, f. 1r, nor to the bass-part in Dd.5.20, f. 1r.

Of these settings only *i* is complete: in *ii* variation 4 is missing (mm. 24(4)-32(3)), while in *iii* from m. 22(3) the text is lacking, which probably was written on the now missing f. 26r. It is not certain whether the fourth variation, which is missing in *ii*, was originally part of the composition; possibly in *ii* an earlier version of the piece has been preserved, in which case this fourth variation would be a later addition. Stylistically Johnson could be the author of this added variation (similar variations, consisting of an almost uninterrupted chain of quavers, now and then occur in his trebles, see the *Introduction*, p. 17), but it is obvious that it does not fit very well to the ground, which could indicate that it was not added by Johnson, but by somebody else.

Version *v* has two beats to a bar instead of four beats, and in other respects too this setting differs considerably from *i*. In *v* the first variation is the same as in *i*, and also the second variation is for the greater part identical to *i* (only mm. 10 and 13(3)-16(2) are different, m. 13 in *v* being the same as m. 21 in *i*). In the third variation only mm. 16(4)-

18 and 22-24(3) are identical in *v* and *i* (apart from that, in *v* somewhere between mm. 18 and 21 there is one bar too many). Of the fourth variation of *v* (which is the last variation in that setting) mm. 24(4)-25(2) are identical to those in *i*, but apparently this is no more than a coincidence, because after that both versions are completely different (with an extra half-bar in *v* at the close of the piece). Thus it seems that the variations 1-3 of setting *v* are strongly related to *i* (although handed down in a rather corrupt form), which setting is possibly composed by Johnson; see the change of m. 13 in *v* to m. 21 in *i*, a procedure used more often by him when reworking his compositions. The fourth variation in *v* is an addition by someone else, in view of the unstructured scalar runs of which this variation mostly consists, and the way in which musical material is aimlessly repeated (mm. 26(3)-27 are a varied repeat of mm. 11-12(2), m. (25(3) is identical to m. 23(1-2)): these traits are not in agreement with Johnson's style.

So it is possible that version *v*, without the last variation, constitutes the earliest stage of this treble, and versions *ii* and *i* without the fourth variation a following stage; the fourth variation of *i* then is the latest addition, by Johnson or by another musician.

In version *ii* there are, as so often in this manuscript, some incorrect rhythm signs (mm. 2, 10, 20, 34, 36, 38) and irregular bar lines (mm. 14-15, 19-20, 33-40), and a number of notes deviant from the setting in *i* probably also are mistakes: m. 10(3-4) with too many notes (2*e* is repeated), m. 15 with a repeat of the first part of m. 14 before, m. 17(3) 1*f* missing, m. 21(4) 1*e* instead of 1*c*, m. 23(3) 1*e* instead of 1*c*, m. 33(1) 1*ace*, m. 38(3) 1*e* instead of 1*a*, m. 39(3) 1*cac*. Possibly authentic alternative readings we find in m. 9(3-4) 2*cace*1*acf* (with the same rhythm as in *i*), m. 15(3) 2*e* instead of 2*d*, m. 16(2) 3*e* instead of 3*d*, and m. 40(3) the final chord without the notes 1*a* and 5*c*. Version *iii* is almost identical to *i*: different are only the irregularly placed bar lines in m. 1-5, and in m. 16(2-3) 3*e* instead of 3*d* and a missing note 1*a*.

Editorial changes: in *i* in the triplets of the last variation the right hand dots are incorrectly placed (in mm. 33, 35, 37, 39 and 40 they are under every second note instead of under the middle note of every triplet); these dots are corrected according to *ii*. Furthermore, in m. 40(3) the rhythm sign has been changed from a minim to a semibreve.

It is possible that in the final scalar run in m. 16(2) the original note 3*d* should be changed to 3*e*, as is it found in *ii* and *iii*; such a sharpened lead note to the dominant in an ascending scalar run is a characteristic of Johnson's style; see the *Introduction*, p. 18.

The ground has not been handed down. In *iv* is a simple setting of *Rogero*, followed by a more elaborate one. The simple setting does not quite fit the treble (in m. 6 the treble requires a whole bar of *D* harmony), and also the slightly decorated melodic line on the first chord in mm. 5-6 is not typical for Johnson's grounds. Setting *vi*, also in *G*, has, more so than *iv*, the character of a lute solo. In this edition a reconstruction of the ground is given, based on *iv*, and with elements in it of the very simple setting in *C* in Dallis, p. 20 (*ROGERO*). In Thysius, f. 383r (*Rogier*) right before treble *v* there is a simple setting for lute solo in *F*, which cannot be used as a ground to the treble.

62. The new Hunt is Up – John Johnson

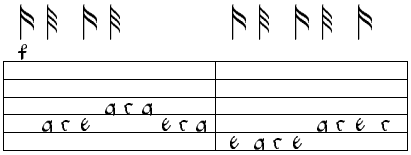
i Marsh, p. 183-186 (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 186 (ground)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 13v-14r: *The New Hunt is vp Jo Johnson* / index, f. 73r (66r): *The New Hunt is vp.* (treble)
iv Trumbull, f. 15v-16r (treble)
v Welde, f. 13r-14r (treble)
vi Marsh, p. 397 (ground, bandora, two versions)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXVII (p. 102); Ward, *John Johnson* 39.

Nine variations on a ground with a length of sixteen bars. A *Hunt's Up* is not necessarily a hunting song or tune, but a tune that for some reason is calculated to rouse a sleeper, at New Years day or May day, or to rouse a newly married couple (see Dean Smith, edition of Playford, *English Dancing Master*, p. 81). The title of the piece 'The *New* Hunt is up', leads one to suspect that Johnson also wrote an earlier version; see the anonymous *The Hunt is up*, no. 71, on the same ground. In Munday, *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts*, a piece called *The Queenes Majesties new Hunt is up* is mentioned, which possibly is identical to this composition. See

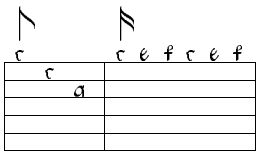
also Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, p. 232-327, and Nordstrom, *Cambridge Consort Books*, p. 85-86, no. 21.

The settings *iii*, *iv* and *v* are almost identical to *i*; *v* has fingering dots throughout and a lot of graces. Some graces are also in *iv* (mm. 24(3), 32(1), 96(1)). In *iv* the variations have been numbered. In *iv* and *v* there is in m. 113 the mensural sign 3^1, in *iii* the mensural signs in mm. 113 and 137 are lacking. Some different readings are found in version *v*, in which sometimes parts of scalar runs have been placed on different courses of the lute, in order to avoid playing in high positions (mm. 44, 47(3), 54(3)-55(1), 56-57, 62(3), 74(1-2), 86(2)-87(1), 88(1), 101(2-3), 115(2)). Furthermore, versions *iii*, *iv* and *v* all show some minor differences, for the most part probably mistakes of copyists; the omission of m. 59 in *v* clearly is such an error. Other, more important differences: *iii* mm. 90-91, where identical notes have a different rhythm:

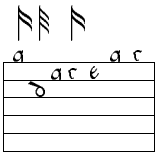


iii, mm. 90-91

iv mm. 8 and 9 and m. 100, which last case possibly is also a mistake of a copyist:

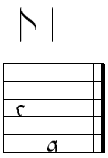


iv, mm. 8-9

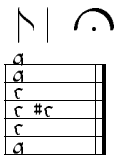


iv, m. 100

Furthermore, the final bar m. 144 is different in all versions (in *iv* the bottom margin of the manuscript has been damaged; as a consequence this bar could not be read on the photo which was used):



iii, m. 144



v, m. 144

Editorial changes in *i*: both *i* and *ii* start with a whole measure beginning with a rest of two minims; these have been removed, because otherwise every repeat of the ground would have one bar too many. A few mistakes in the rhythm signs have been corrected (mm. 9(2-3) and 23(3)), as were some other errors: m. 9(1) 1*f* from 2*f* (as in all other versions), m. 39 (2) 1*b* from 1*a*; m. 46(2) 1*e* from 1*a*, m. 63(2-3) 1*nmn* from 1*mlm* (as in *iv*; *v* has 1*nln*, but see the repeats of this short motif, at a lower octave, in m. 64), m. 64(3) 1*h* from 2*h*, m. 74(1-2) 2*hfh* from 2*fhf*, m. 111(3) 5*c* from 4*c*, m. 131(3)-132(1) 1*mnm* | *n* from 1*lml* | *m* (as in *iv* and *v*), m. 140(2) 2*e* from 2*d* (the more characteristic 2*e* in all other versions).

The ground has been handed down in *ii*. The grounds for bandora in *vi* (the second setting, at the bottom of the page, seems to be a corrected version of the first setting directly above), fit the treble rather well; only the chords in *C* harmony in mm. 5 and 9-10 are a bit awkward.

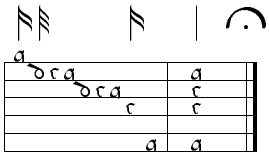
63. Chi Passa – John Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 7v-8r: *Chi passa Jo Johnson.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Chi passa.* (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 151-153 (treble)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXIII (p. 101); Ward, *John Johnson* 36.

This ground-bass originated in Italy, and was derived from a vilotta by Filippo Azzaiuolo, *Chi passa per questa strada* (1557); see Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, p. 101-103.

The setting in *ii* is mostly identical to version *i*. In *ii* the mensural sign is lacking in m. 109, and after the final bar m. 120 there is another (apparently superfluous) half bar m. 121.



ii, mm. 120-121

In a few places in *ii* the melodic line differs slightly from *i*: m. 38(2) reads 2*e*1*ace* instead of 2*ere*1*a*, m. 50(1-2) 1*hfdc* instead of 1*hfh*. There are some differences between *i* and *ii* regarding

the sharpened or flattened notes *e'*, *f'* and *b'* (*e' flat*, *f' sharp* and *b' flat*), in the tablature the notes 2*b*-2*c*, 2*d*-2*e* and 1*d*-1*e*: these differences are found in m. 58(2) 2*b*, m. 72(2) 2*b*, m. 74(1) 2*c*, m. 75(3) 2*e*, m. 79(1) 1*d*, m. 79(2) 2*d*, m. 90(2) 2*d*, m. 94(2) 2*d*, and m. 106 (1,2) 1*d* (two times). In m. 111(1) we read 1*m* instead of 1*n*, clearly a mistake.

Editorial change: in m. 83(3) preference has been given to the reading of *ii*, where the rhythmical pattern of mm. 82-86 is not altered; in *i* here we find four quavers 1*ca*2*ec*.

The ground has a length of 40 bars, and consists of two repeated sections (AA'BB'), of which A has 8 bars and B 12 bars. Johnson's ground is not handed down; the reconstruction given in this edition is based on simple settings of *Chi Passa* for lute solo, in the same key, in Willoughby, f. 84v-85r (*Quipassa in the hygher keye*), and Königsberg, f. 57r (*Chipass:*).

64. Goodnight – John Johnson

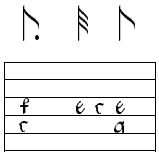
i Dd.3.18, f. 15v-16r: *Jo: Johnson /* index, f. 73r (66r): *goodnight.* (treble)
ii Dallis, p. 16: *GROVNDE* (ground)
iii Marsh, p. 158-160 (treble)
iv Marsh, p. 26-27 (treble)
v Willoughby, f. 3v-5r: *ye treble donn down* (?) (treble)
vi Willoughby, f. 5v: *The grounde* (ground)
vii Brogyntyn, p. 7: *goodnight* (ground)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XXXVI (p. 102); Ward, *John Johnson* 40.

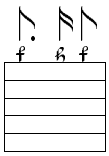
It is possible that Johnson also wrote a lute solo to this ground: see no. 46, where more is said about the melody which underlies the ground. Other trebles on the same ground are found in Ballet, p. 85-86 (*a treble*), and in Robinson, *Schoole of Musicke*, sig. D^r^ (p. [13]) (*The Queenes good Night*). Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 76, has pointed out that this treble has some material in common with Cotton's setting of *Goodnight* for lute solo (printed in Ward, *John Johnson*, Appendix 9), and that most likely Johnson was the one to borrow from Cotton, not the other way around. In versions *i* and *iii* Johnson's treble has sixteen variations, in *iv* eleven, and in *v* six; in *v* the last variation differs completely from the sixth variation in the other settings. In *v* it is difficult to make out the reading of the last two words of the title; judging from the colour of the ink these words are a later addition.

Version *iii* lacks a number of bar lines and has some scribal errors (m. 100 is followed by mm. 109-110(1), which were subsequently deleted; in m. 102(3) a note 5*f*, with a minim for rhythm sign, has also been deleted), but apart from these errors this version is practically identical to *i*. There is on striking trait in *iii*: in many places where in *i*, *iv* and *v* is a dotted minim, in *iii* there is a minim followed by a crotchet repeating the note before (mm. 25, 27, 29, 31, 40, 65, 66, 70, always on the first two beats of the measure). Furthermore, there are some chords with a note added or missing (mm. 55(3), 96(1), 100(1), 104(1), 112(1), 115(1), 118(1), 126(1)); in m. 74(3) there is 1*ih* instead of 1*hi*.

In *iv* the variations 12-16 are lacking, there are some irregularly placed bar lines, m. 43(3) is missing, and in m. 67(1) there is a rhythmical error. This setting also has a number of chords with notes added or missing (mm. 4(1), 8(1), 12(1), 55(3), 56(1), 56(2), 88(1)). Other readings different from *i*: m. 18 three times 3*b* instead of 3*c*, m. 21(1) 3*c* instead of 3*b*, m. 47(3) 1*hili* instead of 1*hfhi*, m. 63(2) 2*dab*3*d* instead of 2*db*3*d*2*a*, and mm. 71 and 76:



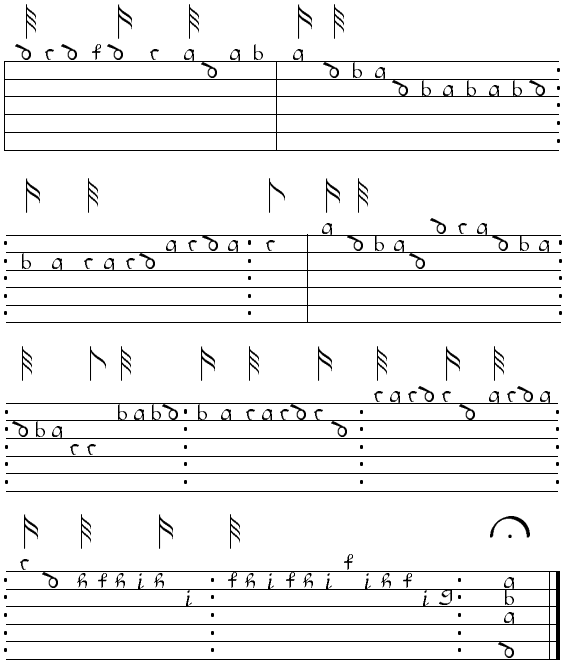
iv, m. 71



iv, m. 76

Setting *v* has only six variations, of which the first five are virtually identical to those in the other versions. The differences: m. 17(1) 2*b* instead of 2*c*, m. 18(2) 3*b* instead of 3*c* (but m. 18(1) does have 3*c*), m. 21(1) 3*c* instead of 3*b*, m. 40 the rhythm 𝅗𝅥♩♩𝅗𝅥 instead of 𝅗𝅥.♫𝅗𝅥 ; m. 35(3) is deleted. Apart from the first five notes, the sixth variation is completely different from nos. *i*, *iii* and *iv*. In it we find some of Johnson's stylistic traits (the repeated rhythmical figure ♫♫♫♫♩♩ with a descending third at the end). It is hard to decide whether Johnson has composed this variation, but if he has, the text must have been handed down very corruptly: in it there are seven beats

too many, and the notes do not fit the ground very well. All in all this looks more like the attempt of an amateur. Here follows the text, with the missing bar lines added as dotted lines:



v, variation 6

When we omit the seven beats from the second bar line, after the note *e'* (2*c*), and continue from the next note *e'*, we have a reading which more or less fits the ground.

As has been noted already in *v* the variations 12-16 are missing. It therefore is possible that these are a later addition. Certainly the eleventh variation forms a good conclusion of the composition, with its closing figuration of an uninterrupted chain of quavers, with a strong beat on the first of every group of four notes (compare the close of no. 60, *Second Dump*). Furthermore, the variations 12-16 hardly agree with the ground, not only in the figuration but more so on account of the many diverging bass notes (see mm. 98(3), 106(1-2), 107(1), 114(3)-115(2), 117(1-2), 118(3)-119(2)), and as a composition they are weak and not in Johnson's style: see the rather aimless diminutions, the overall lack of inventiveness (for instance, mm. 91 and 99 are completely identical), and the atypical variation 15, which is in the form of a small lute solo. Also, the full stops on cadences, not only on m. 4 and on the final m. 8 of a variation, but also in mm. 2 and 6 in variations 13, 15 and 16, causing an interrution of the movement, are not found in the first part of the piece (except in variation 6, but there after two variations without any stops at all). On the contrary, in variations 1-11 even in m. 4 sometimeas a stop is avoided (in variations 4, 5, 7 and 11), and in variations 4, 6 and 10 even in the final m. 8 the movement is not halted; there the variation is linked to the following one (see also Ward, *Music for Elizabethan lutes*, p. 76). There is something else which makes it very unlikely that Johnson wrote the variations 12-16 of this piece. Johnson probably borrowed some material for this treble from a lute solo *Goodnight* by Cotton. Ward, *l.c.*, listed these instances: Johnson's variation 1 is taken from Cotton's variation 6, the first half of Johnson's variation 3 is borrowed from Cotton's variation 13, Johnson's variation 4 is built on the theme of Cotton's variation 4, and Johnson's variation 9, very uncommon for his trebles, while it is written in two-parts, is a parody of Cotton's variation 12. It is clear that whoever made the variations 12-16, also knew very well Cotton's piece: all these added variations are simply copied, sometimes in a slightly thinned out version, from the solo, (compare these to the variations 7, 10, 11, 14 and 15 of Cotton's setting). So, Johnson took some material from Cotton's piece, and by reworking transformed that into a treble in his own musical style, but it is unthinkable that he also was responsible for adding the variations 12-16 by taking them completely from the solo by Cotton.

Editorial changes in *i*: in mm. 60(2) and 74(1) a semibreve from a minim; in mm. 38(2), 80(2) and 81(3) a note *e* (*e'*) has been replaced by *e flat* (successively 5*d* from 5*e*, 3*g* from 3*h*, and 2*b* from 2*c*), as have all other versions and which, especially in the last two instances, is musically more logical; in mm. 70(3)-72(1), where the copyist Holmes clearly was in doubt about the text, in view of the corrections he made, two obvious mistakes have been amended, on the basis of the versions *iii* and *iv*: in m. 70(3) the notes 4*c*-5*d* from 4*a*-5*c* , and in m. 71(2) 5*a* from 5*c*.

Version *ii* has been chosen as a ground, because this is the simplest setting, and because it is written in a low register of the lute. Version *vii* has fuller chords and an added upper voice. In *vi* in mm. 6-7 the bass line deviates from the line in *ii* and *vii*, and the ground is repeated with an added embellished upper voice. Apart from the already mentioned variations 12-16, the ground fits the treble quite well; only mm. 26(3), 30(3), 66(2) and 69(2) show some rather harsh dissonances.

65. Wakefield on a Green – John Johnson

i Dd.3.18, f. 11v-12r: *Jo: Johnson wakefilde on a green* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Wakefeld on a green.* (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 146-148 (treble)
iii Marsh, p. 148 (ground)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XLIII (p. 104); Ward, *John Johnson* 45.

Twenty-three variations on a short ground of four measures. Nothing is known about the tune; see Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, p. 29, n. 1.

The settings *i* and *ii* are practically identical. Both versions have irregularly placed double bar lines that serve to separate the variations; in *i* there are more double bar lines missing than in *ii*. In *ii* there are some scribal errors: m. 42(3) 1*m* instead of 1*n*, m. 76(1) 5*a* instead of 4*a*, and all of variation 21 is corrupt: m. 82 is written twice (the first time as a whole positioned one line too high, with four crosses above the staves instead of rhythm signs), after which m. 83 is written, while m. 84 is missing.

In *ii* there are two alternative readings in the figuration: m. 48(3) 3*dcad* instead of 3*dacd*, m. 59(3) 1*dca*2*d* instead of 1*fac*2*d*. Furthermore, version *ii* has a few instances of a *b flat*, where *i* has a *b*: m. 17(2) 3*b* instead of 3*c*, m. 45(2) 1*d* instead of 1*e*. Possibly these variants in *ii* are better than the readings in *i*, because of the *B flat* chord that is here in the ground, but there are other places where both versions have a *b* in the figuration against a *B flat* chord in the ground (mm. 21, 25, 37, 77); clearly Johnson intentionally wrote these false-relations.

Editorial change in *i*: the irregular bar lines in the first variation, mm. 1-4, have been corrected (in *i* the bars have a length of six beats).

66. Trenchmore – John Johnson

i Marsh, p. 139-141 (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 139 (ground)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 12v-13r: *Trenchmoore Jo: Johnson* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Trenchmoore.* (treble)
iv Welde, f. 11v-12r: *Trenchmore* (treble)
v Welde, f. 11v: (ground)

Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* XLII (p. 103-104); Ward, *John Johnson* 46.

Twenty-nine variations on a short ground of two measures, on the simple harmonic scheme I-V; the piece finishes with an added final bar. Obviously the ground was based on a dance tune; see Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, p. 716-718. Very simple anonymous settings for lute solo are in Lodge, f. 10r-10v (*Trenchmore*) and Nn.6.36, f. 33v-34r; judging from their style both solos are certainly not by Johnson, although the beginning of the setting in Nn.6.36 bears a strong resemblance to the opening bars of this treble.

All versions of the treble are practically identical. In *i* and *iv* the treble is preceded by the ground (*ii* and *v* respectively), the variations have been numbered, and there are fingering dots for the right hand (in *iv* more so than in *i*); in *iii*, *iv* and *v* there are a few graces (in *iv* at the beginning of the piece, at the notes m. 1(1) 2*c* and m. 2(1) 1*a*; in *iii* at the notes m. 12(4) 1*a* and m. 20(3) 1*a*). In *iv* a number of bar lines are missing; some of the double bar lines that separate the variations have been placed irregularly in *iii*.

Variant readings: in *iii* m. 2(4) three crotchets instead of the dotted rhythm, m. 16(4) 2*e* instead of 2*d*, m. 58(3) 1*d* instead of 1*e*; in *iv* m. 16(2) 4*a* instead of 4*b*, m. 27(4) 2*a* instead of 1*f*.

Editorial changes in *i*: m. 34(3) 1*h* from 1*i*; a faulty repeat of m. 5 has been omitted, as have been the four notes 2*a*1*fhf* without rhythm signs, standing between mm. 35 and 36. Some irregularly placed fingering dots have been corrected (in mm. 9(3), 27(1-3), 43(4) and 53(1-3); in m. 3 the copyist himself had canceled incorrect dots, by crossing them with vertical lines).

67. [Quadro Galliard] – Anonymous

i Marsh, p. 154-156 (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 154 (ground)

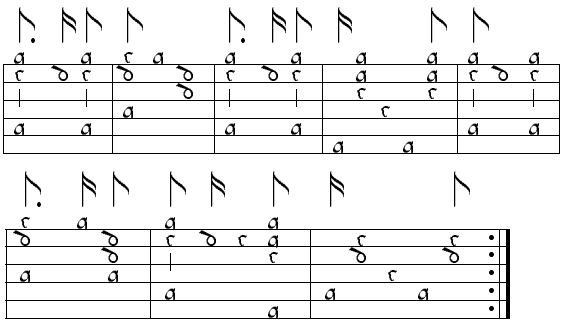
This treble, consisting of 13 variations on a ground of eight measures, is based on the *Passamezzo moderno* ground-bass, which is used often by Johnson, but without the shortened and transposed repeat, in which form it was current in England and also in Johnson's pieces (see the com-

mentary to no. 15).

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 40, no. 21, ascribes this treble to Johnson: 'Falling thirds, cross relations, full use of the range of the instrument, and general verve all point to Johnson'. The stylistic characteristics of this composer are indeed present in the treble: the lively and varied rhythm, with many instances of repeated rhythmical motifs in mm. 5-6, 7-8, 11-14, 21-22, 29-30, 33-39, 49-54 and 56, 73 and 75, 81-84; passages with uninterrupted chains of quavers (mm. 25-27, 77-79, 89-95) in alternation with broken chords in a lyrical way (mm. 57-62, 97-99). The rhythmical figure ♩♪♪♪♩♩ is used often, in mm. 10, 17, 21, 22, 29, 30, 41, 42; in mm. 44-47 we find a play with this rhythm, as in mm. 65-67, 69-71 the rhythmical pattern ♩♪♪♩♩ is varied; in mm. 69-71 the related rhythmical motif ♩♩♪♪♩ is used in a hemiola. Also in Johnson's style is the doubling of the final note *g* (1*a*2*f*, mm. 32, 48, 64). Variation 5 is built on the same rhythmical motif as variation 4 of the – also anonymous – *Passamezzo Galliard* for lute solo (no. 20).

Editorial changes in *i*: between mm. 8 and 9 a missing bar line has been added; m. 36(1) 2*c* from 2*d*.

In the manuscript the ground *ii* directly precedes the treble. This ground is set for a bass lute in *D*; for the sake of convenience – the bass lute is not a very current instrument – in this edition the ground is transposed to make it fit the 'normal' lute in *G*. Here follows the original ground *ii*.



ii

68. [Dump] – Anonymous

i Marsh, p. 150-151 (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 151 (ground)
iii Dc.5.125, f. 2r-3r: *Tribill* (treble)
iv Dd.3.18, f. 71v-72r (treble)

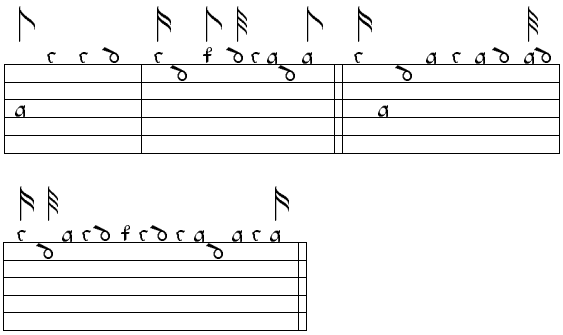
A treble of 23 (or 24) variations on a ground of two bars, with a harmonic scheme I-IV-I-V. It was Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 40, no. 22, who gave this piece its title *Dump*; on the *Dump* as a genre see the commentary to no. 59. Because the treble in *iv* is very different from the settings found in *i* and *iii*, in this edition both versions are given, as nos. 68a and 68b.

In his description of this treble, Nordstrom, *l.c.*, remarks that 'there is little question that this piece is by Johnson, with the constructional qualities, the inventiveness of the motifs, and the use of the full range of the instrument'. In fact in *i* we find Johnson's characteristic lively rhythms, with repeats of rhythmical motifs in mm. 1-3, 5-7, 9, 11, 31-32, 33-36, while there are also 'lyrical' broken chords in crotchets (mm. 13-16, 21-24), against uninterrupted chains of quavers (mm. 17-20, 29-30 and at the close of the piece, m. 37-44). In fact, the treble is structured by this rhythmic variety, and by the repeating of variations, at the same pitch or at an octave: see variations 7 and 8, 11 and 12, 13 and 14, 17 and 18. These same stylistic means are applied in Johnson's *Second Dump (Queen's Treble)*, no. 60 (in variations 7 and 8). There are more passages in this *Dump* that remind us of the *Second Dump*: compare in each piece the first two measures, variations 11-12 in this *Dump* to variation 12 in the *Second Dump*, variations 17-18 in this *Dump* to variation 7 in the *Second Dump*; also in version *iv* of this *Dump* variation 17 to variation 8 in the *Second Dump*, and variation 9 in this *Dump* to variation 13 in the *Second Dump*.

The setting *iv* is rather different from the setting *i* (and setting *iii*). The first six variations are more or less identical in both versions, but after that they diverge. Between variations 6 and 7 in *i*, version *iv* has three variations that are lacking in *i*. Variation 7 in *i* differs slightly from the corresponding variation 10 in *iv*. Variation 8 of *i* (a repeat of variation 7) is lacking in *iv*. Between variations 9 and 10 of *i* there is in *iv* a variation (number 12) that is missing in *i*. Variation 10 in *i* differs slightly from the corresponding variation 13 in *iv*. Instead of variation 12 of *i* (a repeat of variation 11) in *iv* there is an embellished variation 15. Variations 13-15 of *i* are missing in *iv*. Variation 16 of *i* we find as variation 21 of *iv*. In *i* variation 17 is an unaltered repeat of 18, but in *iv* the first of these variations (also numbered 17 and 18) is at the lower

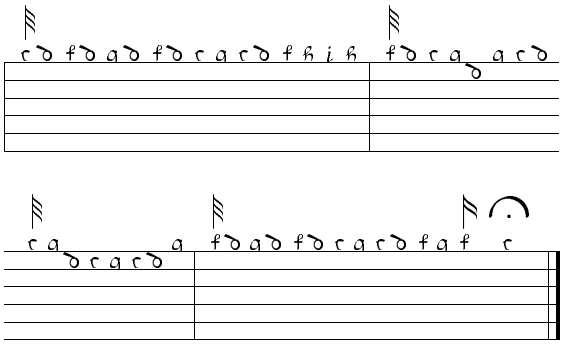
octave. Variations 19-22 of *i* are missing in *iv*: here we have five different variations 19-20 and 22-24 (21 being variation 16 of *i*). Apparently one version is a reworking of the other, and it seems most probable that *i* is the earlier setting: in two instances literally repeated variations in *i* have been replaced in *ii* by varied repeats (see in *i* variations 11-12, in *iv* 14-15, and in *i* and *iv* variations 17-18, in which in *iv* the variant reading (a repeat at the lower octave) is placed before the original text); one almost literal repeat in *i* (variation 8 is partly identical to 7, partly at the higher octave) is omitted in *iv*. This rewriting of the piece could be Johnson's work. We see the characteristics of his style in the new variations in *iv*, especially in the many instances of repeated rhythmical (and sometimes melodic) motifs (mm. 17-18; 29-30; 31; 33-34; 37; 39-40; 41-42; 43-44; 45), and also the uninterrupted chain of quavers that connects variations 12 and 13. Furthermore, the style of rewriting the piece, by changing the position of certain passages within the composition, reminds one of the way in which some pieces for lute solo were altered, probably by Johnson himself (see *Introduction*, p. 20).

In *iii* there are many faulty rhythm signs, and the bars are twice as long (eight beats instead of four), but essentially this setting is identical to *i*. The most important differences: in mm. 19(3)-20(2) the figuration is as in *iv*, mm. 25(3)-26(2); variation 12 (mm. 23-24, the repeat of variation 11) is missing; mm. 25-28 (variations 13 and 14) are different: variation 13 is a variant of 14 in *i*, and variation 14 has its own figuration (given here is a reconstruction of the text, which in this place is most confused, and in which some bar lines and rhythm signs are misplaced or wrong):



iii, mm. 25-28

Mm. 39-40 (variation 20, a literal repeat of the variation before) are missing; in mm. 42-44 the figuration is related to, but different from *i*:

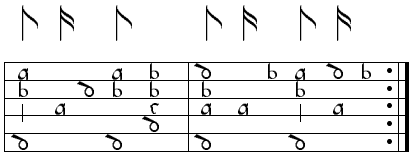


iii, mm. 42-44

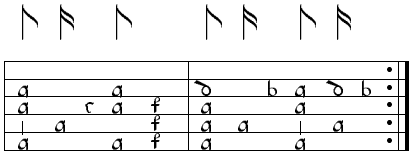
There are also some minor differences: some sharpened or flattened notes (m. 30(1) 5*e* instead of 5*d*, m. 35(3) 1*i* instead of 1*k*), and a few different notes (m. 4(1) 2*d* instead of 3*d*, m. 7(1) 2*d* instead of 1*c*, m. 41(2) 1*acd* instead of 1*aca*); in m. 10(3) the seventh position is maintained (as in *iv*).

Editorial changes in *i*: a few bar lines and double bar lines have been added, one rhythmical error has been corrected (the crotchet in m. 29(1) was lacking the dot), and in two instances apparent mistakes have been redressed: in m. 22(1-2) 4*aaa* from 5*aaa* (corrected after the repeat in m. 24, and all other versions here), and in m. 34(1) 1*cfd* from 1*cdf*. There are no editorial changes in *iv*. The copyist of the manuscript *iv* in m. 1(3) corrected the note 1*c* from 1*b* (or was it the the other way around, 1*b* from 1*c*?).

The ground *ii* is a setting for bass lute in *D*. In the edition a transcription is given for a lute in *G*, for which transcription a seventh course (in *F*) is necessary. Johnson himself, who probably played a six-course lute, would have lowered his sixth course to *F*, a not unusual procedure in the music for this instrument. We give the original ground in *D*, followed by a transcription for a six-course lute in *G* with the *scordatura*.



ii



transcription

When the final bar m. 44 of the treble *i* (and also of *iv*) is played, the player of the ground should hold the chord *F* on the third beat in the second bar of the ground, and not continue with the fourth beat. When the treble *iii* is played however, which has an added final bar, in the ground an extra bar also should be played, consisting of the chord *F*.

Editorial changes in *ii*: the bar line has been added, and in the second bar, between beats 3 and 4, a superfluous note 4*a* (5*a* in the transcription), with a crotchet rhythm sign, has been removed.

69. [Dump] – Anonymous

i Board, f. 1r: *A Treble / A treble* (treble)
ii Board, f. 1r: *The ground to ye treble before* (ground)
iii Add.38539, f. 5r: *A treable* (treble)

A treble without title, consisting of four variations on the *Bergamasca* ground-bass. This ground is the same as the one in Johnson's *Second Dump*, no. 60, apart from the fact that it is in triple time; there are also resemblances in the figuration of both trebles. Possibly both pieces formed a pair, like a pavan and galliard; as a matter of fact in *iii* this *Dump* is written directly following the *Second Dump*. Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 41-42, no. 30, points out that this *Dump* is found only in two late manuscripts, and for that reason he does not consider Johnson as the composer; he thinks this piece is a parody. Of course his argument is not conclusive: a lot of Johnson's compositions are found in later sources. Furthermore, in Add.38539 this *Dump* is written directly following a authentic piece by Johnson, and in Board this composition is in the first part of the manuscript, where many early pieces are found. Both in his lute solos as in his duets Johnson liked to write paired pieces that are based on the same musical material, of which the first is in double time and the second in triple time. In this treble no. 74 the variations 2 and 3 (mm. 9-24) show the characteristics of Johnson's lively rhythm: the second variation is built on the rhythm ♩♫♩♩, while the third variation resembles in its rhythm and melody variation 6 of no. 60 (mm. 21-24). The concluding fourth variation is in an uninterrupted chain of quavers, as is the last variation of no. 60. All in all it is very well possible that Johnson wrote this *Dump* no. 74; not typical for Johnson is only the limited length of the piece.

Versions *i* and *iii* are virtually identical, even the graces are for the greater part the same; the only difference is *iii* m. 8(1) 2*c* instead of 2*b*.

70. Greensleeves – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 8v-9r: *Green Sleeues.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Green sleeues.* (treble)
ii Folger, f. 6r: *the ground to grien sluis* (ground)
iii Folger, f. 6r: *the theterble to gr^{i}en sliuis* (treble)

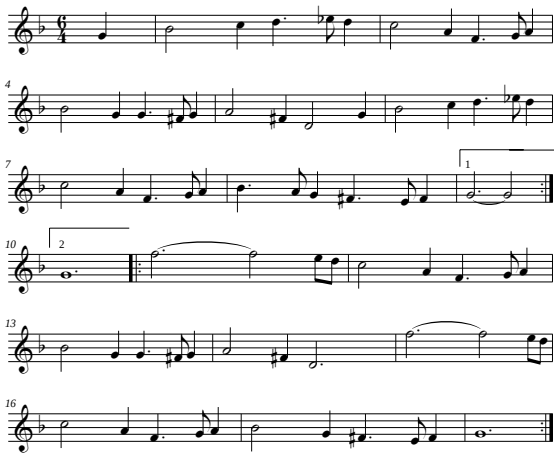
A treble consisting of 24 variations on a ground of 4 measures, based on the still famous ballad; see Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 268-278. Apparently this tune was known in different variants.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 39-40, no. 19, considers parts of this treble as written in Johnson's style, and indeed we find many of his characteristics. There are many instances of repeated rhythmical motifs, and many times a whole variation is built on such a motif. For variety there are also some uninterrupted chains of quavers (mm. 19-24, which connects two variations, mm. 81-84), and broken chords in crotchets (mm. 85-88 and mm. 51-55, in which case two variations are also connected, after which a related pattern is written of broken chords with note repetitions in mm. 57-60, which is repeated at double speed in mm. 61-64, which in its turn is followed by the same pattern in triple time in mm. 65-67). Tone repetitions are also found in scalar runs in mm. 37-39; in mm. 45-48, 67 and 77-79 the rhythmical figure ♩♫♩♩ is written; in mm. 12 and 44 are doubled notes *g* (1*a*-2*f*). Furthermore, the rhythmical-melodic figure in mm. 93-95 is also used in Johnson's *Quadro Pavan*, no. 18, mm. 17-20.

Nordstrom, *l.c.*, gives his opinion on the quality of this of treble: 'It is regrettable that this duet survives in such a form. Not only is it too long, but an apparently confused copyist entered an eleventh division which is merely a repeat of the third. Although many of the divisions appear to be by Johnson, the confused nature of the manuscript, including many extraneous double bars and fer-

matas, appear to indicate a second hand.' However, the treble is as long as, or not much longer than Johnson's trebles *Short Almain 1*, *Chi Passa*, *Goodnight* and *Trenchmore* (nos. 57, 63, 64 and 66), and it is shorter than *New Hunt is up* (no. 62). Concerning the repeated variation, Nordstrom could have added that variation 19 is identical to variations 3 and 11 apart from its triple time, and that variation 4 is just an embellished variant of variation 3; moreover, variation 20 is clearly derived from variation 12 (so variations 11-12 and 19-20 are related pairs). All in all, these repeats are more likely the result of a deliberate composer, who introduced them in order to enhance the structure of the piece, than the errors of a confused copyist. As we have noticed already, Johnson often uses the stylistic means of repeating musical material in his compositions, particularly in his pavans and galliards, but we also find such repeats in his trebles: see no. 60 *Second Dump*, in which variation 7 is repeated in the following variation 8 at the higher octave. Concerning 'the confused nature of the manuscript', it is true that variation 16 (m. 64) concludes with a multiple bar line, consisting of four strokes, and a fermata, as if the piece ends there, but the copyist continued writing without a visible break. Moreover, some double bar lines that conclude a variation are followed by a special sign . This sign is written after (or, when there was not enough space, above) the double bar lines closing mm. 40, 48, 72, 80, 84 and 92, to indicate the end of variations 10, 12, 18, 20, 21 and 23. The meaning of this sign is obscure.

A further close analysis reveals that this treble was undoubtedly composed as one coherent work. As we saw, many variations are built on rhythmical motifs, and we find that such motifs sometimes are used again in following variations, in an embellished or elaborate form: see variations 3-4 and 14-17. Now and then in a variation the tune of the original ballad can be recognized; such is especially the case in the variations 3, 4, 11 and 19, and somewhat less clearly in variations 12, 23 and 20. To facilitate the identification of the tune, we give the (of course well-known) melody as it is found in Ballet, p. 104 (*greene sleues*), here transposed from *c* to *g*:



It is clear that the structure of the ballad-tune underlies the treble: the form of tune – AA'BB', with four measures to each section – is maintained consistently in the treble, and especially the melody of the B-section – beginning high and then descending – is often clearly recognizable: see the already mentioned variations 3, 4, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20 and 23 (at this point in the treble the harmonic change in the ballad is very cunningly camouflaged). So, this treble has a very solid and carefully devised structure, which characterizes it as the work of a masterly composer, and which makes clear that this must be an integral and complete piece and not the patchwork of a second composer, let alone the accidental result of the errors of some copyist. It is certain now that the piece never could have ended with variation 17. Thus the multiple bar line with fermata in m. 68 probably is the result of an error of a copyist (but not of Matthew Holmes, the copyist of *i*, because he wrote the entire piece without a break). Perhaps an earlier scribe was copying this treble from an exemple that had a page turn at exactly this spot; so he first thought the piece ended here, finished it in his own book, and only after turning the page found out that it went on. Holmes later copied the resulting mistake without thinking.

The composer of this *Greensleeves* treble could then very well be John Johnson. We found his stylistic features in this piece, and the way this treble is built on the underlying tune also points at this composer (Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, p. 71, has made it clear that the structural use of a tune is characteristic of Johnson's trebles and long grounds).

In *i* the copyist Holmes corrected a few notes: m. 28(1) the first note 1*h* apparently from 1*k*; m.

29(3) 1*l* from 1*k*; m. 62(3) second note 2*e* from 2*a*; m. 67(2) 1*h* from 1*f*; in m. 66 the first note 1*d* was first omitted and then scribbled in.

Editorial changes: the already mentioned close in m. 64 and the obscure signs have been removed, and a number of apparent scribal errors have been corrected: m. 33(2) 1*d* from 1*e*; m. 42(2) 1*d* from 1*e*; m. 71(2) 1*l* from 1*h*; some superfluous notes have been omitted: in m. 71(4) a note 2*d* under the last note 1*c*, and in m. 79(2) the notes 1*ad* above 2*ad*; faulty rhythm signs have been corrected in m. 34(3), 68(4), 79(1) and 96(3). Bar lines have been normalized in mm. 37-40 (where in *i* the bar lines are a crotchet early), and in mm. 80-84, 89-95 (where in *i* the bars are halve the length). In m. 96(3) the note 6*a* has been added (it is disappeared as a result of a damaged bottom margin).

The ground as it is given in *ii* fits this treble very well, apart from the resulting parallel octaves in m. 1(1) and 3(1). Still, it is not certain that this ground originally belonged to the treble; together with *ii* in the manuscript is the text of a treble *iii*, which piece has nothing to do with our *Greensleeves*. In *ii* the bars have a length of two beats; in the edition they have been made twice as long, in order to correspond with the treble.

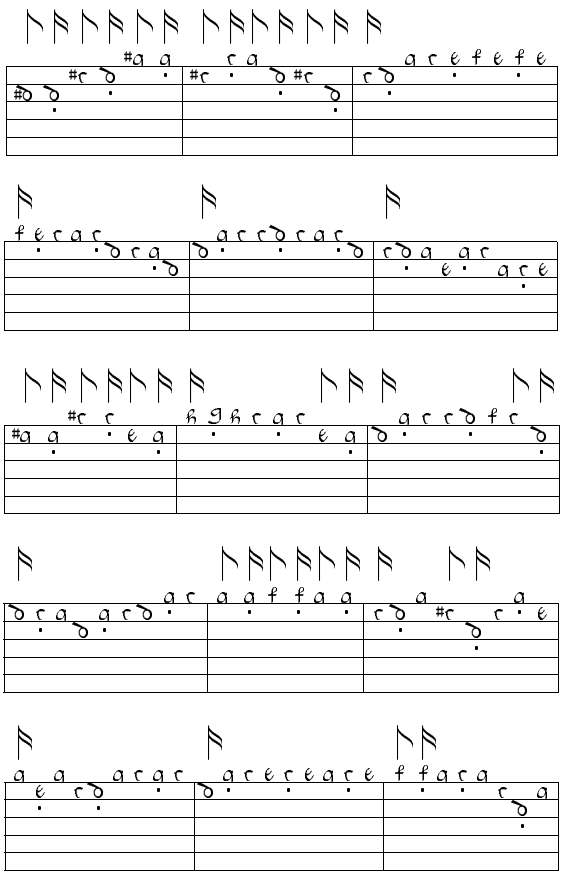
71. The Hunt is Up – Anonymous

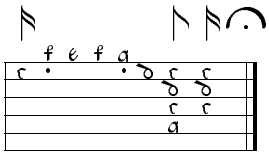
i Dd.3.18, f. 4v: *The new Hunt is vp. /* index, f. 73r (66r): *The new Hunt is vp.* (treble)
ii Folger, f. 4v-5r: *the honsok The treble* (treble)
iii Folger, f. 5r: *the honsok ground* (ground)
iv Trumbull, f. 1v-2r (treble)
v Trumbull, f. 2r (ground)
vi Board, f. 2v-3r: *Treble Hunts vp / Huntes vpe / Huntes vp treble* (treble)
vii Board, f. 3r: *The grounde to the treble before* (ground)

Johnson wrote a treble on the same ground, and with the same title, in *G*; see no. 62. The title in *ii-iii* probably is a corrupt reading of *Hunts up*, as this piece is called in *vi*. If Johnson indeed is the composer of this treble, it might be earlier than no. 62, *The* new *Hunt is Up*; Matthew Holmes, the copyist of Dd.3.18, however calls both pieces 'new'.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 39, no. 17, ascribed this treble to Johnson because of stylistic characteristics like falling thirds and a concluding variation in triple time. To this we can add the repeated rhythmical motifs in mm. 21-22; 24-27; 29-31(1) (notice the drive which is achieved by the repeated scalar runs which move against the beat, each figure ending a note higher than previous one!); 49-50, 59, 63, as well as the use of characteristic rhythmical figures in mm. 39 and 47. Also the hand of a master is evident in mm. 42-43(1) and 44-45(1), where an identical melodic line is repeated at the lower fourth.

The settings of this treble in *iv* and *vi* are practically identical to the one in *i*. In *iv* there are no graces or fingering dots, in *vi* on the contrary more so than in *i* (with misplaced dots in the passage in triple time); in *vi* we find in m. 51(1) the note 2*e* instead of 2*d*. Both settings have in m. 60(1) the figure 1*cdf* instead of 1*cfd* as in *i*. The version in *ii* is, for the greater part, also identical to the other settings, apart from the final variation, mm. 49-64, in which a number of differences occur, some minor ones, some more important, in mm. 49(2), 53(3)-54(2), 55(2), 56, 60, 61(1) and 63-64. We give the entire variation:



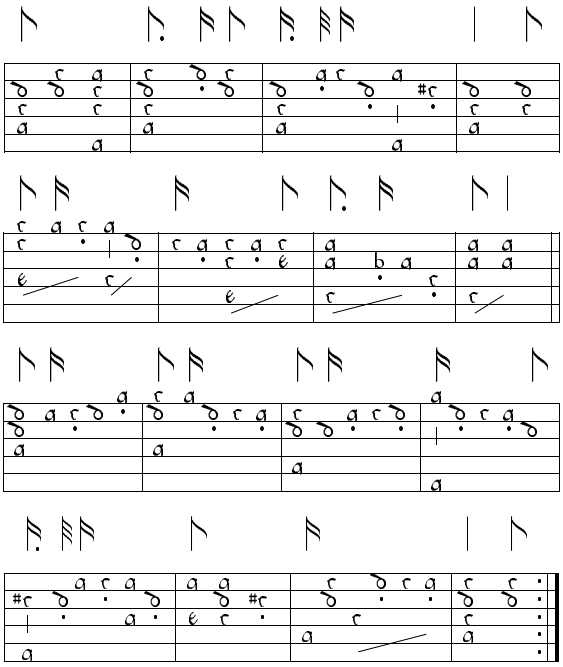


ii, mm. 49-64

Furthermore, in *ii* a scalar figure in m. 21(1) differs from the other settings: 2*dcd*1*a* instead of 2*d*1*acd*.

Editorial changes in *i*, on the basis of the text in the other versions of this treble: m. 21(3) 2*d* from 2*e*, m. 39(1) 1*e* from 1*d*, m. 39(3) 2*e* from 2*d*, m. 56(3) 2*ea* from 2*aa*. In m. 49 the rhythm sign *3* has been added.

Ground no. *v* has been chosen for the edition. No. *vii* is practically identical to it, apart from the added fingering dots and graces, and two bass notes at the lower octave: in m. 7(2) there is an extra note *D* (7*a*), and in m. 16(3) the last note *c* (5*a*) has been deleted and replaced by a note *C* (8*a*). Ground *iii* differs somewhat from versions *v* and *vii*: the melody has a number of embellishments (not characteristic for Johnson's grounds), and in mm. 5-6 the harmony is different. As a consequence these bars fit the treble less well, while the melody here partly doubles the melodic line in mm. 5-6 of the treble. We give this alternative ground *iii*.



iii

i Marsh, p. 162-163, 165

This treble is based on a variant of the well known *Folia* ground-bass. Its ground consists of a section of 12 bars, which is repeated, a section of 4 bars, which is also repeated with an additional final bar, a section of 8 bars, also with its repeat, and a section of 8 bars, which is not repeated; furthermore, this total of 57 bars is played once again. Above the final chord of m. 57, at the point where the ground is finished for the first time, we find a fermata, which gives the impression that the piece ends here, but the second part has been written directly after the first part, without a break.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 40, no. 20, finds that this treble 'has the earmarks of Johnson in use of motifs, cross relations, and general sonorities'. Indeed in this treble we find the lively and varied rhythms so characteristic for Johnson's style, with repeats of rhythmical motifs in mm. 5-6, 15-17, 19-23, 29-30, 34-36, 55-56, while contrasting uninterrupted chains of quavers have been written in mm. 42-45. The rhythmical figure ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ is in mm. 7 and 11; see also the doubled final note *g* (1*a*-2*f*, m. 24), the leading note *c sharp* to the dominant *d* (m. 41), and the effective repeats of a short melodic motif in m. 48.

All these traits of Johnson's style are found in the first part of this treble; in the second part, mm. 58-114, these characteristics are much less prominent. Rhythmically this second part is more uniform than the first part, and repeats of rhythmical motifs we see only in mm. 86-88 and 91-92. The motif in m. 91-92 is found earlier, in mm. 15-17, as it happens more often that passages in the second part appear to be derived from the first part of the piece: mm. 58 and 59 from mm. 1 and 2, mm. 91-94 from mm. 34-37. Also within the second part there is a repeated passage: compare mm. 62-67 with mm. 99-104. There seems to be a stylistic break between both parts of the piece, and this impression is strengthened by the fact that some elements in the second part do not seem to agree with Johnson's style: see the two-part passage in mm. 58-67 and 99-104 (although a similar trait we find in the *Goodnight* treble, no. 64, but only there); the rather mechanically broken chords in

mm. 82-85 and 101-104; in the passages in triplets the uninterrupted chains of crotchets; the many changes from double time to triple time, and back (mm. 71, 81, 82, 89, 109, 111). Only the rhythmical figure in mm. 86-88 and the doubled final notes *d* and *g* (mm. 81, 90, 98 and 114) can be considered as concordant with Johnson's style. The overall conclusion must be that the first part of this piece, mm. 1-57, could very well have been written by John Johnson, but that the stylistic features of the second part, mm. 58-114, strongly point to another composer. The already mentioned fermata in the final chord of m. 57 reinforces this conclusion, as does the fact that the implicit harmony of the ground in the second parts does not agree in certain instances with the harmony of the first part (for instance in mm. 63(3), 66, 95, 103).

Editorial changes: the fermata in m. 57(3) and the double bar lines after m. 32 and m. 84 are omitted; a dot is added to the minims in mm. 85(3) and 110(3).

The ground is not handed down; here is given a reconstruction.

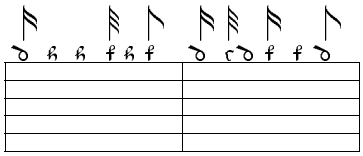
73. The Nuts be Brown – Anonymous

i Pickeringe, f. 14v-15r: *A treble* (treble)
ii Pickeringe, f. 15r: *the grownd to the treble before* (ground)
iii Dd.3.18, f. 17v: *The Nutts be Browne.* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Nuttes be browne.* (treble)
iv Dd. 9.33, f. 63v-64r (treble)

Ten variations on a ground of eight bars; the opening variation has the tune *The leaves be green, the nuts be brown*, also known as *Browning*; see Chappell, *Popular Music* I, p. 154-155.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 40, nr. 23, says about this treble: 'It would be difficult not to put this in the Johnson column; note its fine construction, motivic development, and play over the full range of the instrument. Parts remind one of *Wakefield on a Green*'. This piece does show the lively rhythms so characteristic of Johnson's style, in which short rhythmical motifs of just three notes are alternated with motifs with a length of two bars. These rhythmical (and sometimes also melodic) motifs are often repeated: mm. 1-8; 11-12, 15-16; 18-19; 21-23; 33-40; 41-47; 49-56; 57-62; 62-64; 65-68. Variations 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are each built completely on a single motif, variations 3 and 9 also in part; as a contrast variations 4 (in part) and 10 consist of uninterrupted chains of quavers. The rhythmical figure ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ we find in mm. 17, 18, 19, 70, 71; also typical for Johnson is the doubled note *g* (1*a*-2*f*, mm. 2, 4, 10 and 68).

Settings *i*, *iii* and *iv* are virtually identical. In *iii* the mm. 76(3)-77(1) are illegible because the manuscript is damaged here. Variant readings in *iii* compared to *i*: in mm. 2(1), 4(1) and 10(1) a single note 1*a*, without 2*f*; in m. 20(2-3) two times 2*d* instead of 2*e*; in m. 37(1-2) 1*dacdcdf*, so the same notes played in the second position, not in the fifth; in m. 47(2) 3*c* instead of 3*b*; in m. 63(3) 1*a* instead of 1*f*; in m. 72(3) two notes 1*c*2*d* instead of 1*c*, with as rhythm sign a crotchet instead of a minim; in m. 80 just one note 2*h* instead of the final chord. In *iv* we find the same variant readings in mm. 20, 37 and 47 as in *iii*, and in m. 40(2) 3*c* instead of 3*b*; in m. 68(3) a single note 1*a*, without 2*f*. In m. 69-70(1) the text of *iv* deviates from all other versions. Here the copyist of the manuscript after the first note 1*d* of m. 69 erroneously continued with the second note of m. 70. Afterwards he noticed his error, and he wrote the missing m. 69 in the margin. In doing so he made another mistake: he retained the note 1*d* as the first note of m. 70. This mistake, and the different text of m. 69 which is only found here, make one believe that he made these corrections later, when he no longer had the exemple at his disposal, and that the missing m. 69 was composed by himself.



iv, mm. 69-70

In *iv* the final chord in m. 80 is completely wrong: 1*f* (or *k*?)-2*f*-3*h*-6*a*.

Editorial changes in *i*: all double bar lines have been added, and a misplaced bar line in m. 50 has been corrected; in m. 23(2) 3*b* from 3*c* (after *iii* and *iv*); in m. 60(3) 2*fa* from 2*fe*, also after the text in *iii* and *iv*, which reading is musically more logical.

The ground is found in *ii*. In it the upbeat has to be played only at the beginning of the piece and not at the following repeats of the ground; at the

close of the piece in the final bar the repeat of the chord can be omitted.

74. Sellenger's Round – Anonymous

i Dd.3.18, f. 5r: *Sellengers Rounde* / index, f. 73r (66r): *Sellengers rounde.* (treble)
ii Marsh, p. 182 (treble)

This ground, with a length of 20 bars, is based on a ballad that was already popular in 1567, and which was also known as *The beginning of the World*; see Simpson, *Broadside ballad*, p. 643-646, and Ward, *A propos Broadside ballad*, p. 72.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson*, p. 39, nr. 18, observes that the appearance of this treble in both Dd.3.18 and Marsh indicates that it is an early duet. In his opinion 'the continuity and the construction are of Johnson's quality, and the play of sonorities is characteristic'. Moreover, we can point at the many instances of repeated rhythmical motifs (mm. 6-7; 17-23; 25-26; 27-28; 29-30; 33-35; 37-38; 41-42 and 45-46; 43-44; 46-48; 49-50; 57-58), and at the 'lyrical' broken chords in mm. 53-54. It is significant that the repeated rhytmical-melodic motifs in mm. 17-23 are also found in pieces for lute solo that are in some cases certainly written by Johnson, in others possibly so: compare mm. 17-19 with *Quadro Pavan*, no. 18, mm. 17-20, and mm. 20-23 with *Quadro Galliard*, nos. 39b and 39c, mm. 25, 27. Another well-known feature in Johnson's trebles is the way in which in mm. 20-23 this motif connects one variation to the next.

Version *ii* is for the greater part identical to *i*, apart from some minor variants: in mm. 11(1), 15(1), 45(1), 49(2), 50(2) and 60(1) the rhythm is not dotted, in m. 2(2) in a dotted rhythm the note 1*f* has been added (1*dfh*), m. 14(2) has 1*d* instead of 2*i*, m. 27(1) 2*h* instead of 2*i*, and in m. 60(2) under the last note the bass note 4*a* has been added.

The ground is not handed down. The reconstruction given here is partly based on versions for lute solo of *Sellenger's Round*, in Marsh, p. 42-43, Ballet, p. 103 and Board, f. 12r.

LIST OF SOURCES

The following list contains all the sources of lute music by John Johnson in alphabetical order. The folio or page number concerned is followed by: the title and the number of the piece in the present edition; a 'T' when the title is given in the source; a '(T)' where the source provides a fragmentary title; the ascriptions to the composer ('JJ' stands for John Johnson, 'J' for Johnson; other names are quoted in full.

Add.22597			
f. 45v	Si Vous Voulez 48, consort (tenor only)	T	—
Add.2764(2)			
f. [2]v-[3]r	Packington's Galliard 44	T	—
f. [3]v-[5]r	Old Medley 36	T	—
f. [11]r-[11]v	Quadro Pavan 15	T	—
Add.30485			
f. 54v-55r	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	T	J
Add.31390			
f. 40r	Si Vous Voulez 48, consort à 5	T	*Phillipes*
Add.31392			
f. 18v-19v	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
f. 20v-21v	Quadro Pavan 15	T	—
f. 21v-22r	Quadro Galliard 16	T	—
f. 22v	First Dump 59, treble	(T)	—
f. 22v	First Dump 59, ground	(T)	—
Add.36661			
f. 56r	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	T	J
Add.38539			
f. 4v-5r	Second Dump 60, treble	(T)	—
f. 5r	Dump 69, treble	(T)	—
Adriaensen, *Pratum Musicum*			
f. 92r	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
Aegidius			
f. 114v-115r	Delight Galliard 6	(T)	—

Ballet

p. 8-9	Quadro Pavan 38	T	—
p. 10-11	Quadro Galliard 39	T	—
p. 18	Flat Pavan 13	T	—
p. 19	Flat Galliard 14	T	—
p. 45	La Vecchia Pavan 51, equal duet, lute I	T	—
p. 88	Quadro Pavan 38	T	—
p. 89	Quadro Galliard 39	T	—
p. 90	Omnino Galliard 27	T	—
p. 91	Rogero 33	T	JJ
p. 92-94	Delight Pavan 5	T	JJ
p. 99	Long Pavan 3	(T)	JJ
p. 100	Pavan 4	T	JJ

Besard, *Thesaurus*

f. 109v-110r	Galliard 22	T	—

Board

f. 1r	Dump 69, treble	(T)	—
f. 1r	Dump 69, ground	(T)	—
f. 2v	Flat Pavan 13	T	J
f. 2v-3r	The Hunt is up 70, treble	T	—
f. 3r	The Hunt is up 70, ground	(T)	—
f. 6v-7r	Delight Pavan 5	T	JJ
f. 7v	Delight Galliard 6	T	—
f. 14v-15r	Delight Pavan 5, treble	T	JJ
f. 19v-20r	Quadro Pavan 40	T	—
f. 21r	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26	T	—
f. 21v-22r	Short Almain 57 and 58	T	Holborne
f. 26r	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Peasecods 31	T	—
f. 26v	Marigold Galliard 9	T	—

Brogyntyn

p. 7	Second Dump 60, ground (2 versions)	(T)	JJ
p. 7	Goodnight 64, ground	T	—
p. 13	Delight Pavan 5	T	—
p. 16-17	Old Medley 36	(T)	JJ
p. 17	Galliard 25	T	JJ
p. 19	Packington's Galliard 44	T	—
p. 19	Packington's Galliard 44	T	—
p. 21	Omnino Galliard 27	T	—
p. [24]-25	Quadro Pavan 17	T	—
p. [28]-29	La Vecchia Pavan 51, equal duet, lute II	T	—
p. 29	La Vecchia Galliard 52, equal duet, lute II	T	—

Browne

f. 13v	Flat Pavan 13, consort bandora	T	—
f. 16r	Delight Pavan 5, consort bandora	T	J

Burnett

p. 5-8	Delight Pavan 5, keyboard	T	J

Cleveland, Case Western Reserve MS

p. [114a]	Delight Pavan 5, keyboard	—	—
p. 138a	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	T	—

Dallis

p. 16	Goodnight 64, ground	(T)	—
p. 17	Quadro Galliard 39	T	—
p. 20	Short Almain 57 and 58, bandora	(T)	—
p. 24-26	Ouadro Pavan 38	T	—
p. 31	Omnino Galliard 27	T	J
p. 40-41	French Galliard 28	T	J
p. 50-51	Ma pauvre Bourse 50	T	—
p. 53	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
p. 56-59	Quadro Pavan 38	T	—
p. 84-85	Delight Pavan 5	T	J
p. 86-88	Quadro Pavan 17	T	J
p. 92	Flat Pavan 13	T	J
p. 92	Rogero 61, ground (?)	T	—
p. 95	Omnino Galliard 27	T	J
p. 264	Flat Pavan 13, staff notation for treble and alto	—	—

Dc.5.125

f. 2r-3r	Dump 68, treble	(T)	—

Dd.2.11

f. 1v	Flat Galliard 14	T	—
f. 8v-9r	Goodnight 46	T	—
f. 17r	Ma pauvre Bourse 50	T	*Phs*
f. 20v	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Peasecods 31	(T)	J
f. 23v-24r	Susanne un Jour 49	T	*Orlando*
f. 24v-25r	Si Vous Voulez 48	T	—
f. 31v-32r	Quadro Pavan 18	T	—
f. 32v	Quadro Galliard 41	—	—
f. 33r	Galliard 29	T	JJ
f. 44v	Pavan 7	T	JJ
f. 45r	Galliard 23	T	JJ
f. 46r	Pavan 1	T	JJ
f. 46v	Galliard 2	T	JJ
f. 47v-48r	Long Pavan 3	T	JJ
f. 56r	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Peasecods 31	(T)	JJ
f. 59v	Short Almain 57 and 58	—	Holborne
f. 62v	Passamezzo Pavan 21	—	JJ
f. 64v	Long Pavan 3, bandora	T	—
f. 69r	Pavan 4, bandora	T	Holborne
f. 74v	Passamezzo Pavan 21	—	JJ
f. 87r	Flat Pavan 13	T	JJ
f. 88v-89r	Old Medley 36	T	JJ

f. 98r	Walsingham 34	—	JJ
f. 99r	Johnson's Jewell 26	T	J

Dd.3.18

f. 1r	Rogero 61, treble	T	JJ
f. 3v	First Dump 59, ground	(T	JJ)
f. 3v	First Dump 59, treble	T	JJ
f. 4r-3v	Second Dump 60, treble	T	JJ
f. 4v	The Hunt is up 70, treble	T	—
f. 5r	Sellenger's Round 73, treble	T	—
f. 7v-8r	Chi Passa 63, treble	T	JJ
f. 8v-9r	Greensleeves 69, treble	T	—
f. 9v-10r	Short Almain 57, treble	T	JJ
f. 10v	Short Almain 58, treble	T	—
f. 11v-12r	Wakefield on a Green 65, treble	T	JJ
f. 12v-13r	Trenchmore 66, treble	T	JJ
f. 13v-14r	The New Hunt is up 62, treble	T	JJ
f. 15v-16r	Goodnight 64, treble	T	JJ
f. 17v	The Nuts be Brown 72, treble	T	—
f. 20v-21r	Delight Pavan 5, treble	T	J
f. 21v	Flat Pavan 55, treble	T	—
f. 22r	Flat Galliard 56, treble	T	—
f. 24v-25r	Passamezzo Pavan 19	T	JJ
f. 25v-26r	Passamezzo Galliard 20	T	—
f. 26r	Quadro Galliard 16	T	—
f. 26v-27r	Quadro Pavan 15	T	JJ
f. 59r	Short Almain 57, treble	—	Cutting
f. 59v-60r	Delight Pavan 5, treble	T	—
f. 60v-61r	Flat Pavan 55, treble	T	—
f. 71v-72r	Dump 68, treble	—	—

Dd.4.22

f. 4v-5v	Quadro Pavan 40	T	Allison

Dd 4.23

f. 1v	Marigold Galliard 9, cittern	(T)	—
f. 5r	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26, cittern	T	—
f. 7v	Old Medley 36, cittern	T	—
f. 18r	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26, cittern	T	—
f. 20v-21r	Short Almain 57 and 58, cittern	T	—
f. 21r	Old Medley 36, cittern	(T)	—
f. 22v	Delight Galliard 6, cittern	T	—
f. 25v	Delight Galliard 6, cittern	(T)	—
f. 24r	Short Almain 57 and 58, cittern	(T)	—

Dd.5.20

f. 2r	Delight Pavan 5, consort bas	T	—
f. 2r	Flat Pavan 13, consort bas	T	—
f. 2r	Flat Galliard 14, consort bas	T	—
f. 4r	Long Pavan 3, consort bas	T	—

Dd.5.21

f. 4r	Long Pavan 3, consort flute	T	—
f. 10v	Delight Pavan 5, consort flute	T	—

Dd.5.78.3

f. 43r	Galliard 24	—	JJ
f. 48v-49r	Carman's Whistle 32	T	—

Dd.9.33

f. 28r	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Peasecods 31	(T)	—
f. 63v-64r	The Nuts be Brown 72, treble	—	—
f. 82r	Almain (Toy): Gathering of Peasecods 31, bandora	(T)	JJ
f. 90v-91r	Flat Pavan 13, treble	T	—
f. 92v	Flat Galliard 14	—	—
f. 93v-94r	Quadro Pavan 17	—	JJ

Dd.14.24

f. 3v	Flat Pavan 13, consort cittern	T	—
f. 10r	Delight Pavan 5, consort cittern	T	—
f. 19v	Long Pavan 3, consort cittern	T	JJ
f. 27v-28r	New Medley 47, consort cittern	T	—

Dlugorai

p. 118-119	Delight Pavan 5	(T)	—

Dolmetsch

f. 91v-92r	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26	(T)	—

Drexel 5609

p. 110	Omnino Galliard 27, keyboard	—	—
p. 114	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	—	—

Edinburgh La.III.488

p. 25 [41]	Old Medley 36, song	(T)	—

Edwards MS

f. 8r	Old Medly 36, song	(T)	—
f. 30r-31r	Old Medley 36, song	(T)	—

Euing

f. 8v	Flat Pavan 13	—	—
f. 16r	Almain 45	—	—

Fabritius

f. 115r	Old Medley 36	(T)	—

Folger

f. 4v-5r	The Hunt is up 70, treble	T	—
f. 5r	The Hunt is up 70, ground	T	—
f. 6r	Greensleeves 69, treble	T	—

f. 6r	Greensleeves 69, ground	T	—
f. 6v-7r	Second Dump 60, treble	T	—
f. 7r	Second Dump 60, ground	(T)	—
f. 10r	Flat Pavan 13, treble	T	—
f. 12r	La Vecchia Pavan 11	T	J
f. 14v-15r	Delight Pavan 5	T	JJ

Forster

no. 23	New Medley 47, keyboard	T	—
no. 37	Old Medley 36, keyboard	—	Byrd
no. 47	Delight Pavan 5	T	J/Byrd
no. 48	Delight Gallaird 6, keyboard	(T)	Byrd

FWVB

no. 243	Old Medley 36, keyboard	(T)	Edw. Johnson
no. 277	Delight Pavan 5, keyboard	T	Edw. Johnson/ Byrd
no. 278	Delight Galliard 6, keyboard	(T)	Edw. Johnson/ Byrd
no. 284	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	T	Giles Farnaby

Hirsch

f. 2r	Pavan 10	—	—

Holborne, *Cittharn School*

no. 43	Marigold Galliard 9, cittern	(T)	—

Holborne, *PGA*

no. 8	Marigold Galliard 9, consort à 5	T	—

Vanden Hove, *Florida*

f. 82r	Marigold Galliard 9	(T)	—
f. 91r	Pavan 4	T	—

Kassel

no. 25	Delight Pavan 5, consort à 5	—	—

Königsberg

f. 39r	Flat Pavan 13, consort bandora	T	—
f. 55r	Flat Pavan 13	T	—
f. 61r	Delight Galliard 6	T	—
f. 61v-62r	Second Dump 60, treble	T	J
f. 62r	Second Dump 60, ground	—	—
f. 62v-63v	Delight Pavan 5, treble	—	—
f. 63v-64v	Marigold Pavan 8	T	J

Linz

no. 11	Almain (Toy): Gathering Peasecods 31, keyboard	(T)	—

Marsh

p. 26-27	Goodnight 64, treble	—	—
p. 89	Galliard 43	—	—
p. 90	Galliard 22	—	—
p. 91	Galliard 22	—	—
p. 120-121	Quadro Pavan 18	—	—
p. 139	Trenchmore 66, ground	—	—
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p. 146-148	Wakefield on a Green 65, treble	—	—
p. 148	Wakefield on a Green 65, ground	—	—
p. 150-151	Dump 68, treble	—	—
p. 151	Dump 68, ground	—	—
p. 151-153	Chi Passa 63, treble	—	—
p. 154	Quadro Galliard 67, ground	—	—
p. 154-156	Quadro Galliard 67, treble	—	—
p. 158-160	Goodnight 64, treble	—	—
p. 162-163, 165	Cara Cosa 71, treble	—	—
p. 164-165	Delight Pavan 5	—	—
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p. 182	Sellenger's Round 73, treble	—	—
p. 183-186	The New Hunt is up 62, treble	—	—
p. 186	The New Hunt is up 62, ground	—	—
p. 227-228	Quadro Pavan 38	(T)	*Cotton*
p. 264	La Vecchia Galliard 12	—	—
p. 266	Packington's Galliard 42	—	—
p. 270-271	Old Medley 36	—	—
p. 272	Old Medley 36	—	—
p. 287	Omnino Galliard 27	—	—
p. 289	Quadro Galliard 39	—	—
p. 365	Galliard 22	—	—
p. 397	The New Hunt is up 62, ground, bandora (2 versions)	—	—

Morley, *Consort Lessons*

no. 1	Quadro Pavan 40, consort	T	—

Mynshall

f. 1v-2r	Quadro Pavan 38	T	—
f. 3v-4r	Rogero 61, treble	T	—
f. 4r	Quadro Galliard 16	T	—
f. 4v	Flat Pavan 13	T	—
f. 5r	Flat Galliard 14	T	—
f. 7v	Delight Pavan 5	T	J
f. 9r	Packington's Galliard 44	T	—

Naples

p. 364-365	Delight Pavan 5	(T)	—
p. 365	Delight Galliard 6	(T)	—

Nürnberg

f. 6r	Delight Galliard 6	—	—

Otley

f. 1r	Delight Pavan 5, consort cittern	T	—
f. 1v-2r	Old Medley 36, consort cittern	T	—
f. 2r	Omnino Galliard 27, consort cittern	T	—
f. 2v	Flat Pavan 13, consort cittern	(T)	J
f. 2v	Flat Galliard 14, consort cittern	(T)	—
f. 37v	Flat Pavan 13, consort cittern	T	—

Oxford 1280

f. [1]v	Galliard 24	T	—
f. [2]r	Pavan 4	?	?
f. [2]v	Galliard 30	T	JJ

Paris 1186

f. 25r	Omnino Galliard 27, keyboard	(T)	J
f. 27v-28r	Flat Pavan 13, keyboard	(T)	—

Parthenia

no. 14	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26, keyboard	T	—

Pickeringe

f. 4r	La Vecchia Pavan 51, equal duet, lute I	(T)	J
f. 4r	La Vecchia Galliard 52, equal duet, lute II	T	J
f. 4v	La Vecchia Galliard 52, equal duet, lute I	T	J
f. 4v-5r	Flat Pavan 53, equal duet, lute I	T	J
f. 5r	Flat Pavan 53, equal duet, lute II	T	J
f. 5v	Flat Galliard 54, equal duet, lute I	T	J
f. 5v-6r	Flat Galliard 54, equal duet, lute II	T	J
f. 8v-9r	Second Dump 60, treble	(T)	—
f. 9r	Second Dump 60, ground	(T)	—
f. 13v-14r	Short Almain 58, treble	—	J
f. 14r	Short Almain 57 and 58, ground	(T)	—
f. 14v-15r	The Nuts be Brown 72, treble	(T)	—
f. 15r	The Nuts be Brown 72, ground	(T)	—
f. 23r	Pavan 10	T	J
f. 32r	Delight Galliard 6	T	J
f. 32v-33r	Carman's Whistle 32	T	J
f. 34v-35r	New Medley 47	(T)	—

Playford, *English Dancing Master*

p. 96	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Pescods 31, tune	T	—

Rude, *Flores Musicae*

no. 85	Pavan 10	T	—

Sampson

f. 8r	Quadro Pavan 38	T	—

f. 8v	Quadro Galliard 39	T	—
f. 9r	Packington's Galliard 44	T	—

Schele

p. 143-144	La Vecchia Pavan 11, treble	—	—
p. 138-139	Second Dump 60, treble	—	—

Thysius

f. 25r	Marigold Galliard 9	(T)	—
f. 28r	Flat Galliard 14	(T)	—
f. 32v	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26	T	—
f. 142v	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
f. 147v	Delight Pavan 5, treble	T	R. Machyn
f. 180r-181r	Susanne un Jour 49	T	—
f. 192r-193r	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
f. 383r-384r	Rogero 61, treble	—	—
f. 465v	Almain (Toy): The Gathering of Pescods 31	T	—

Tisdale

f. 74v-76r	Old Medley 36, keyboard	T	J/Randall

Trumbull

f. 1v-2r	The Hunt is up 70, treble	—	—
f. 2r	The Hunt is up 70, ground	—	—
f. 4v-5r	Delight Pavan 5, treble	T	—
f. 5v-6r	Pavan 4	T	J
f. 6v-7r	New Medley 47	T	—
f. 10r	Flat Pavan 13, treble	T	—
f. 15r	Flat Pavan 53, equal duet, lute II	—	—
f. 15v-16r	The New Hunt is up 62, treble	—	—
f. 17v-19r	Flat Pavan 55, treble	—	—
f. 21v-23r	Si Vous Voulez 48	—	—
f. 23v-24v	Old Spanish Pavan 42	(T)	—
f. 25v	Rogero 61, treble	—	—
f. 25v	Rogero 61, ground (?, 2 versions)	—	—

Valerius, *Neder-landtsche Gedenck-clanck*

p. 99-100	Old Medley 36, tune, lute, cittern	(T)	—

Waissel, *Tabulatura*

f. [Liiij]^{r}	Delight Pavan 5	(T)	—
f. Lij^{v}	Old Medley 36	(T)	—
f. Liij^{v}	New Medley 47	(T)	—

Walsingham

no. 9	Delight Pavan 5, consort	T	JJ (Rich. Johnson)
no. 24	Flat Pavan 13, consort	T	—
no. 29	Quadro Pavan 40, consort	(T)	*R. A.*

Welde

f. 3v-4r	Delight Pavan 5	T	J
f. 4r	Delight Galliard 6	(T)	—
f. 8v-9r	Old Medley 36	(T)	J
f. 11v	Trenchmore 66, ground	(T)	—
f. 11v-12r	Trenchmore 66, treble	T	—
f. 13r-14r	The New Hunt is up 62, treble	—	—
f. 14r	Lord Burgh's Galliard 26	(T)	—

Wickhambrook

f. 10r	Delight Pavan 5	T	J
f. 10r	Delight Galliard 6	T	—
f. 10v-11r	Quadro Pavan 18	T	JJ
f. 11v	Pavan 37	—	—
f. 12v	Ma pauvre Bourse 50	T	—
f. 13r	Si Vous Voulez 48	T	—
f. 13v-14r	Susanne un Jour 49	—	—
f. 14r	La Vecchia Pavan 11	—	—
f. 14v-15r	Old Spanish Pavan 42	T	—
f. 15v	La Vecchia Pavan 51, equal duet, lute I	—	—
f. 15v	La Vecchia Pavan 51, equal duet, lute II	—	—
f. 16r	La Vecchia Galliard 62, equal duet, lute I	—	—
f. 16r	La Vecchia Galliard 62, equal duet, lute II	—	—
f. 16v-17r	Passamezzo Pavan 19	—	—
f. 17v	Long Pavan 3	(T)	JJ
f. 17v	Galliard 2	T	J
f. 17v	Ground 35	T	JJ

Willoughby

f. 3v-5r	Goodnight 64, treble	(T?)	—
f. 5v	Goodnight 64, ground	(T?)	—
f. 25v-27v	Pavan to Delight 5	T	J
f. 28r-29r	Galliard to Delight 6	(T)	J
f. 31r-31v	Galliard 22	T	J
f. 32r-32v	Galliard 43	T	—

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless stated otherwise, sources are for lute solo. When the editor was not able to consult a source directly or, as was mostly the case, by means of a film or a facsimile-edition, references from secundary literature have been used; this literature is mentioned between brackets (see for instance Add.30485).

Add.22597 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 30485, consort parts (from: Wilder, *Collected Works*)

Add.2764(2) — Cambridge University Library, Add.MS 2764(2), c. 1585–1590 (fragments, from bindings of books from 1546, 1590, 1598, 1601).

Add.30485 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 30485, c. 1610, keyboard (from: Edwards, *Walsingham Consort Books*).

Add.31390 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 31390, c. 1570, consort à 5 (from: Spencer, Commentary in editions of Trumbull and Brogyntyn).

Add.31392 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 31392, c. 1595.

Add.36661 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 36661, keyboard (from: Edwards, *Walsingham Consort Books*).

Add.38539 — Londen, British Library, Add.MS 38539, The M.L. lute book, c. 1610–1640 (generally known as John Sturt's lute book; facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1985).

Adriaensen, *Pratum Musicum* — *Pratum Musicum longe amœnissimum* – – – per – – – Emanuelem Hadrianum Antverpiensem (Antwerp 1584; facs. repr. Knuf, Buren, The Netherlands 1977).

Aegidius — Prague, Narodni Museum, IV.G.18: lute book of Joannes Aegidius Berner de Rettenwert, c. 1623–1637.

Allison, *Lute music* — *The solo lute music of Richard Allison, with bandora and cittern arrangements*, ed. by J. Robinson and S. McCoy, with a biographical sketch by R. Spencer, s.l. 1995 (The Lute Society music publications).

Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music VI* — *Records of English Court Music, Volume VI (1558–1603)*, calendared and ed. by A. Ashbee, Aldershot 1992.

Baldwin, *The Shakespearean Company* — T.W. Baldwin, *The organisation and personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton 1927).

Ballet — Dublin, Trinity College, MS 408/1: William Ballet's lute book, c. 1595–1610, and the second lute book, MS 408/2, c. 1605.

Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture* — *A new Booke of Tabliture* – – – [*for*] *the Lute, Orpharion and Bandora* (William Barley, London 1596; ed. W.W. Newcomb, *Lute music of Shakespeare's time*, University Park, Pennsylvania 1966).

Beck, *Morley Consort Lessons* — see Morley, *Consort Lessons.*

Bernstein, *Wilder Collected Works* — J.A. Bernstein, *Philip van Wilder, Collected Works*, II: *Secular Works, Instrumental Works, Appendices*, New York 1991 (Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 4).

Besard, *Thesaurus* — *Thesaurus Harmonicus* – – – per Ioannem Baptistam Besardvm – – –, Coloniæ Agrippinæ 1603.

Board — Margaret Board's lute book, c. 1620–1635, owned by Robert Spencer (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1976).

Bod.MS Rawl. Poet.195 — Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet. 108: Edward Gunter's commonplace-book, c. 1575 (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lute*s).

Bowle — Londen, British Library, Stowe 389: Raphe Bowle's lute book, 1558.

Brett, *Musicae modernae laus* — Ph. Brett, 'Musicae modernae laus: Geoffrey Whitney's tributes to the lute and its players', *LSJ* 7 (1965), p. 40-44.

Brogyntyn — Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MS 27, c. 1595–1600 (facs. ed. R. Spencer en J. Alexander, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1978).

Browne — The Browne (formerly Braye) Bandora (c. 1600) and Lyra viol (c. 1635–1640) Book, owned by Robert Spencer (from: Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*).

Byrd, *Keybord Music* II — William Byrd, Keyboard Music, transcr. and ed. by A. Brown, vol. 2 (Stainer and Bell, London 1971; Musica Britannica 28).

Burnett — Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 9447 (formerly Pan. 10): Edward Burnett's MS, c. 1610 (from Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lute*s).

Case, *Apologia Musices* — J. Case, *Apologia Musices* – – – (Oxford 1588).

Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* — E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1923).

Chappell, *Popular Music* — W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London 1855-1859, repr. New York 1965).

Cleveland, Case Western Reserve MS — Cleveland, Case Western Reserve University, SpecCol 3/Lge/ML431/.D24: MS fragments (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Craig-McFeely, *Fragments of English lute music II* — J. Craig-McFeely, 'Fragments of English lute music II: Oxford libraries', *LSJ* 33 (1993), p. 34-54.

Curtis, *Sweelinck's keyboard music* — A. Curtis, *Sweelinck's keyboard music* (Leiden/London 1972).

Dallis — Dublin, Trinity College, MS 403 (formerly D.3.30): Thomas Dallis' lute book, c. 1583.

Dc.5.125 — Edinburgh, University Library, MS Dc.5.125, c. 1590.

Dd.2.11 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.2.11, c. 1595–1600.

Dd.3.18 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.3.18, c. 1595, lute solo and parts of duets and for *mixed consort.*

Dd.4.22 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.4.22, c. 1610.

Dd.4.23 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.4.23, c. 1595, cittern solo (from: Ward, *Sprightly and Cheerful Musick*).

Dd.5.20 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.5.20, c. 1595, bass parts for *mixed consort* (from: Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*).

Dd.5.21 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.5.21, c. 1595, descant and flute parts for *mixed consort* (from: Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*).

Dd.5.78.3 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.5.78.3, c. 1595.

Dd.9.33 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.5.9.33, c. 1600.

Dd.14.24 — Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.14.24, c. 1595, cittern solo and parts for *mixed consort* (from: Ward, *Sprightly and Cheerful Musick*, Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort* and Nordstrom, *Consort Books*).

Dlugorai — Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt, MS II.6.15: the Dlugorai lute book.

Dolmetsch — Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library, MS II.B.1, Bavaria (?), c. 1620.

Van Dorsten, *Poets, patrons, and professors* — J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, patrons, and professors. An outline of some literary connexions between England and the University of Leiden, 1575-1586* (Leiden 1962; diss. Leiden, also as Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, General Series, no. 2).

Dowland, *Lute music* — *The collected lute music of John Dowland*, transcr. and ed. by D. Poulton and B. Lam (London 1974).

Drexel 5609 — New York, New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5609: Sir John Hawkins's copy of keyboard pieces (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Early Scottish Keyboard Music — *Early Scottish Keyboard Music*, transc. and ed. by K. Elliott (Stainer & Bell, London 1958, second revised ed. 1967).

East, *Musica transalpina* — *Musica transalpina*, ed. M. East (Londen, East, 1588).

Edinburgh La.III.488 — Edinburgh, University Library, MS La.III.488: Mure of Rowallan's cantus part-book (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Edwards MS — Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 9450 (formerly Pan.11): Robert Edwards's musical commonplace-book, c. 1630–1665 (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort* — W. Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort* (London 1977: Musica Britannica 40).

Edwards, *Walsingham consort books* — W. Edwards, 'The Walsingham consort books', *Music & Letters* 55 (1974), p. 209-214.

Euing — Glasgow, University Library, MS Euing 25 (formerly MS R.d.43), c. 1610.

Fabritius — Copenhagen, Der kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 841. 4°: the Petrus Fabritius lute book.

Fellowes, *English madrigal composers* — E.H. Fellowes, *The English madrigal composers* (London, 1948^{2}).

Folger — Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.280 (formerly MS 1610.1), c. 1590.

Forster — British Library, Royal Music Library, MS 24.d.3: Will Forster's Virginal Book, 1624 (from: Byrd, *Keyboard Music* II).

FWVB — Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Music MS 168: the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, 1609-1619; references are to the edition of J.A. Fuller Maitland en W. Barclay Squire (Breitkopf & Härtel, Londen/Leipzig 1899, repr. Dover Publications, New York 1963).

Harwood, *Cambridge lute manuscripts* — I. Harwood, 'The origins of the Cambridge lute manuscripts', *LSJ* 5 (1963), p. 32-48.

Hirsch — Londen, British Library, Hirsch M 1353: The Hirsch lute book, c. 1620 (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boetius Press, Kilkenny 1982).

Holborne, *Cittharn School* — A. Holborne, *The Cittharn School* – – –, London 1597 (*The complete Works of Anthony Holborne*, vol. II, *Music for cittern*, ed. by M. Kanazawa (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass./London 1967; Harvard Publications in Music, 1).

Holborne, *Music for Lute & Bandora* — *The complete Works of Anthony Holborne*, vol. I, *Music for Lute & Bandora*, ed. by M. Kanazawa (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass./London 1967; Harvard Publications in Music, 1).

Holborne, *PGA* — Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains* (Londen 1599); references are to the edition of B. Thomas (London pro musica, London 1980).

Holman, *New sources* — P. Holman, 'New sources of music by Robert Johnson', *LSJ* 20 (1978), p. 43-52.

Vanden Hove, *Florida* — *Florida sive Cantiones, – – – ad Testvdinis vsum accommodatæ opera atque industria* Ioachimi vanden Hove Antverpiani (Vltraiecti, Apud Salomonem de Roy, & Ioannem Guilelmi de Rhenen, 1601).

Kassel — Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, MS 4° mus. 125 [1-5], c. 1600, consort à 5 (from: Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*).

Königsberg — Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithanian Academy of Science, MS 285-MF-LXXIX (formerly Königsberg, Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Msc. A 116. fol), c. 1600–1620 (facs. ed. A.J. Ness and J.M. Ward, Editions Orphée, Columbus 1989).

Lassus, *Lisvre des meslanges* — Orlandus Lassus, *Lisvre des meslanges* – – – (Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1560).

Linz — Linz, Landesmuseum, MS no. 16, Inv. 9647 (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Lodge — Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, MS 448.16: Giles Lodge lute book, c. 1575.

LSJ — *The Lute Society Journal* (1959– ; since 1982: *The Lute. The Journal of the Lute society*).

LSJA — *Journal of the Lute Society of America* (1968–).

Marsh — Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z3.2.13, c. 1595 (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1981).

Morley, *Consort Lessons* — *The first book of Consort Lessons, collected by Thomas Morley, 1599 & 1611*, reconstructed and ed. by S. Beck (New York etc. 1959)

Munday, *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts* — A[nthony] M[unday], *A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts*, London 1588 (registered in 1584).

Mynshall — Richard Mynshall's lute book, c. 1597–1600; owned by Robert Spencer (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1975).

Naples — Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. MS 40032 (formerly Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek): the Naples lute book.

Neighbour, *William Byrd* — O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (Faber and Faber, London 1978, 1984[2]; The Music of William Byrd, 3).

Newcomb, *Englischen Lautenpraxis* — W.W. Newcomb, *Studien zur englischen Lautenpraxis im elisabethanischen Zeitalter* (Kassel etc. 1968).

New Grove — *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London 1980[6]).

Nordstrom, *Consort Books* — L. Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', in: *LSJA* 5 (1972), p. 70-103.

Nordstrom, *English lute duet and the consort lesson* — L. Nordstrom, 'The english lute duet and the consort lesson', in: *LSJ* 18 (1976), p. 5-22.

Nordstrom, *Lute duets of John Johnson* — L. Nordstrom, 'The lute duets of John Johnson', in: *LSJA* 9 (1976), p. 30-42.

Nürnberg — Nürnberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, MS 33748/M.271, Fasc. I

Otley — Matthew Otley's Cittern Book, after c. 1600 and after 1650; owned by John M. Ward, Cambridge, Massachusetts (from: Ward, *Sprightly and Cheerful Musick* and Edwards, *Music for Mixed Consort*).

Oxford 1280 — Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1280, c. 1580 (fragments, from bindings of books from the library of Richard Allestree, given to Christ Church in 1680).

Paris 1186 — Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Rés. 1186: Robert Creighton's keyboard MS, c. 1630's (from: Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*).

Parthenia — *Parthenia, or the Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls* (Londen 1612/3), ed. Th. Dart (Stainer and Bell, London 1960, 1962[2]).

Pickeringe — Londen, British Library, MS Egerton 2046: Jane Pickeringe's lute book, 1616 and c. 1630–1650 (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Kilkenny 1985).

Playford, *English Dancing Master* — John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (London 1651, facs. repr. with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes by M. Dean-Smith F.S.A., London 1957).

Records of English Court Music — *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 6 (1558-1603), calendared and ed. by A. Ashbee (Aldershot, Scolar Press 1992).

Robinson, *Schoole of Musicke* — *The Schoole of Mvsicke* – – – Newly composed by Thomas Robinson, Lutenist (London 1603, ed. D. Lumsden, Paris 1976[2]).

Robinson/McCoy, *Richard Allison* — *The solo lute music of Richard Allison, with bandora and cittern arrangements*, ed. by J. Robinson and St. McCoy, with a biographical sketch by R. Spencer ([London] 1995; The Lute Society music editions).

Roche, *Dictionary* — J. Roche en E. Roche, *A dictionary of early music, from the Troubadours to Monteverdi* (Faber and Faber, London 1981).

Rosenberg, *Leicester, patron of letters* — E. Rosenberg, *Leicester, patron of letters* (New York 1955).

Royal App.58 — Londen, British Library, Royal Appendix 58, c. 1550 (the lute pieces edited by Chr. Goodwin, in: *Lute News, the Lute Society Newsletter* 38, June 1996).

Rude, *Flores Musicæ* — J. Rude, *Flores Musicæ* – – – (Heidelberg 1600).

Sampson — Henry Sampson's lute book (formerly known as The Tollemache lute book), c. 1610; owned by Robert Spencer (facs. ed. R. Spencer, Boethius Press, Leeds 1974).

Schele — Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.B/2768: Ernst Scheles Lautenbuch, c. 1615.

Shepherd, *Interpretation of signs for graces* — M. Shepherd, 'The interpretation of signs for graces in English lute music', *LSJ* 36 (1996), p. 37-84.

Simpson, *Broadside ballad* — C.M. Simpson, *The British broadside ballad and its music* (New Brunswick 1966).

Spencer, *Alfonso Ferrabosco* — R. Spencer, review of: R. Charteris, *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543–1588): a thematic catalogue of his music with a biographical calendar* (New York 1984), *JLS* 25 (1985), p. 90.

Spink, *Robert Johnson* — Robert Johnson, *Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, ed. I. Spink (London 1961; The English Lute-Songs, second series, 17).

Stephens, *The Wickhambrook lute manuscript* — *The Wickhambrook lute manuscript*, transcr. and ed. by D.E.R. Stephens (Yale University 1963; Collegium Musicum 4).

Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage* — L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (repr. London 1979).

Stokes, *Lists of the King's musicians* — E. Stokes, 'Lists of the King's musicians in the Audit Office declared accounts', *The musical antiquary*, vol. 1 (1909–1910), vol. 2 (1910-1911).

Strong en Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* — R.C. Strong en J.A. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, (Leiden/London 1964; Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Special Series, 2).

Sunderman, *Robert Johnson* — Robert Johnson, *Complete works for lute*, ed. A. Sunderman (Oxford University Press, London 1972).

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