

ENGLISH LUTE MANUSCRIPTS AND SCRIBES 1530-1630

An examination of the place of the lute in 16th- and 17th-century English Society through a study of the English Lute Manuscripts of the so-called 'Golden Age', including a comprehensive catalogue of the sources.

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A major part of this book was originally submitted to the University of Oxford in 1993 as a Doctoral thesis

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README

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The natural course of time and continual development of scholarship and use of resources has meant that some of the work covered in this book has been superseded, particularly where the catalogue has been used as the basis for further research. Therefore, this work should never be considered completely comprehensive. The decision to publish via the web was taken as much of the work has been accessible for many years on a site provided and maintained by Dr Wayne Cripps in the USA. That version of the thesis does not include the illustrations which are an integral part of the work, and which have been included here, though at a resolution that is better for on-screen work than printing, to keep file sizes to a reasonable minimum. The Thesis version does however include a substantial number of scans from slides that were collected as part of a study of the iconography of the lute, discussed in Chapter 8.

I would like to acknowledge the work of my thesis supervisors John Caldwell and Robert Spencer and thank them for their support during the writing of the original thesis. Robert Spencer went beyond the normal requirements of a supervisor by lending me some of his original sources, and allowing me unlimited access to his considerable collection of manuscripts and printed music. John Caldwell gave his time and encouragement whenever it was needed, as did his colleagues Dr H. D. Johnstone and from the English Faculty in Oxford, Dr Malcolm Parkes.

I was exceptionally fortunate to have been working at a time when a number of other scholars were also preparing dissertations on music in England during the period 1550-1650. This meant that there was a substantial corpus of up-to-date data available on areas which the limitations of this book prevented me from pursuing. Knowing that these areas were being covered has made my work much simpler, and gave me exceptional resources for discussing my own research with scholars in the same field. I am particularly grateful to Lynn Hulse, Victor Coelho, Robert Thompson, Matthew Spring and Penny Gouk, who allowed me access to their unpublished work, and in some cases also generously provided me with copies of their doctoral dissertations. I am also particularly grateful to Lynda Sayce, who performed a marathon of proof-reading. The debt of the lute world to David Lumsden, who started it all, is surpassed only by the extraordinary knowledge and scholarship of Robert Spencer, who was instrumental in publishing the major English lute sources in facsimile, and supplied them with superb scholarly studies that include exceptional research into the provenance of the sources and their compilers, and exhaustive concordance lists. His work stands as a model of manuscript study and has formed the backbone of much of our knowledge of the lute sources. He died far too soon for his pupils and friends, but the exceptionally high standards that he set and demanded together with the considerable body of his own research are a fitting tribute: all future work on the lute repertory will build upon and be measured against it.

As with any long-term project, those who have supported the work have changed with the years. I would like to acknowledge particularly the support of Craig Ayrey, Michael Burden, Richard and Liz Coleridge, Christopher, Sarah, Dominic, Tara and Clementine Franks, Steve Harrison, Louise Locock, and many other friends who are numbered but remain nameless.

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The Music and Letters Trust
The Ermuli Trust
The Musica Britannica Trust
The British Academy
St Anne's College, Oxford

This work is gratefully dedicated to my parents

Preposterous ass! that never read so far
To know the cause why music was ordain'd!
Was it not to refresh the mind of man
After his studies or his usual pain?
Then give me leave to read philosophy,
And while I pause serve you in harmony.

William Shakespeare *The Taming of the Shrew* III:i

Editorial Policy

Dates: During the period under discussion, the day on which the New Year began (i.e. when the numbering of the year changed) was not the same throughout Europe. Depending on the calendar, the place and the chronicler, it could start on 25th December, 1st March, 25th March (Lady Day) or Easter Day; the day-date was also 10 days behind Europe in England before 1700, and 11 days behind after. It was not until 1752 that a consensus was reached across Western Europe, including England, of beginning the New Year on 1st January and adopting the Gregorian calendar that allowed for the extra quarter-day in the earth's rotation each year. All citations of years have therefore been standardized to new style, but the day-date will remain the same as in the original document. In cases where specific contemporary references are cited, the original date is given with the new-style date following it in square brackets.

Pitch: References to pitch names are shown using the Helmholtz system, in which middle-c is expressed c': CC BB C B c b c' b' c" b" c'''

Illustrations: Unless reproductions of original sources are at actual size, the percentage of reduction or enlargement from the original is stated.

Transcription of original text: All text reproduced from original sources is given in italic type. Spelling, punctuation and capitalization are reproduced exactly as in the original, even where obvious errors have been made by the original scribe. The original order of the words is strictly followed at all times. Ascriptions in most of the manuscripts are placed in the margins, line-ends are not shown as is the usual practice with an oblique stroke. Use of this sign is reserved for text appearing on a different part of the page, e.g. at the beginning and end of a piece of music. Text deleted in the original source is shown enclosed by <>. Obsolete letter forms such as the yogh, thorn or es are expanded to their modern equivalents and italicised. Standard contractions are realised within square brackets and italicised. All editorial additions to transcribed text such as letters assumed to be intended but not indicated by a standard contraction words that have been removed by cropping are placed in square brackets and are in roman type.

Ascriptions: The exact complete ascription given in a source is reproduced wherever possible, with the exception of the word 'finis', which is considered to be an adjunct to the final double-bar, rather than part of the ascription itself. Where the text associated with the music is very lengthy (e.g. in the case of verses of songs following or underlying the music), only the incipit is given, followed by an ellipsis.

Folio/page numbers: Any folio number is assumed to be recto unless followed by lower-case 'v', in which case the verso face is indicated. A folio or page number followed immediately by an oblique stroke is used when more than one piece of music appears on the relevant face. Thus 27v/3-28 = the third piece on the verso of folio 27, which continues to the recto of folio 28.

Exceptions to the above practices are explained at the point where a new policy is employed, and are only relevant at that point.

ABBREVIATIONS

*

A - GENERAL

B - LIBRARY SIGLA

C - MANUSCRIPTS

D - SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED SOURCES

*

A - GENERAL

2/	Second edition	incl.	includes, including
accomp	accompaniment	It.	Italian
Add.	Additional	inv	inverted (i.e. written upside-down on the page in relation to other music)
arr.	arrangement(s), arranged by/for		
ascr.	ascription, ascribed to	JD	John Dowland
a.u.	ascription unknown	kbd	keyboard
band.	bandora	LB	Lute Book
bapt.	baptized	LH	left hand
cf	<i>confer</i> , also used to indicate cognates in inventories	l.v.	lyra viol
citt.	cittern	n.t.	no title
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France)	orig.	original
cnst	consort	orph.	orphanion
cog.	cognate, cognate with/to	P.A.	Passamezzo antico
coll.	collection, collected by	P.M.	Passamezzo moderno
con.	concordance, concordant with/to	pr.	printed
del.	deleted	PRO	Public Record Office, London
diss.	dissertation	pt(s)	part(s)
dt	duet	pubd	published
dvns	divisions	/R	(editorial) revision [in signature]
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by	R	photographic reprint
edn(s)	edition(s)	repr.	reprinted
exc.	except	rev.	revision, revised (by/for)
facs.	facsimile	RH	right hand
Fr.	French	RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
frgmt	fragment	RMA	Royal Musical Association
Ger.	German	Sig.	Signature (printed books)
gr.	ground	s.n.	staff notation
inc.	incomplete	tabl.	tablature

tr.	treble	unpubd	unpublished
trans.	translation, translated by	USA	United States of America
transcr.	transcription, transcribed by	v.t.	<i>vieil ton</i> (tuning)
U.	University	w.s.m.	without shelf mark
unattrib.	unattributed		

B - LIBRARY SIGLA

<i>A-KR</i>	Austria, Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift	<i>EIRE-Dm</i>	Ireland, Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral, Marsh's Library
<i>A-Wn</i>	Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	<i>EIRE-Dtc</i>	Ireland, Dublin, Trinity College Library
<i>CH-Bu</i>	Switzerland, Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität	<i>F-AIXm</i>	France, Aix-en-provence, Bibliothèque Municipale, Bibliothèque Méjanes
<i>CH-BEes</i>	Switzerland, Berne, Eidgenössisches Staatsarchiv	<i>F-CNRS</i>	France, CNRS Library
<i>CH-Gbusch</i>	Switzerland, Geneva, Hans von Busch, private collection	<i>GB-AB</i>	Great Britain, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
<i>CS-Pnm</i>	Czechoslovakia, Prague, Národní Muzeum, Hudebni Oddeleni	<i>GB-BEV</i>	Great Britain, Beverley (Yorkshire), East Yorkshire County Record Office.
<i>CS-Pu</i>	Czechoslovakia, Prague, University Library	<i>GB-Bcro</i>	Great Britain, Reading, Berkshire County Record Office
<i>D-BAUK</i>	Germany, Bautzen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek	<i>GB-Ckc</i>	Great Britain, Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
<i>D-B</i>	Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz	<i>GB-Ctc</i>	Great Britain, Cambridge, Trinity College Library
<i>D-Dlb</i>	Germany, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek	<i>GB-Cu</i>	Great Britain, Cambridge, University Library
<i>D-Hs</i>	Germany, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek	<i>GB-En</i>	Great Britain, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
<i>D-Kdma</i>	Germany, Kassel, Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv	<i>GB-Eu</i>	Great Britain, Edinburgh, University Library
<i>D-Kl</i>	Germany, Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek	<i>GB-Ge</i>	Great Britain, Glasgow, Euing Music Library
<i>D-Ko</i>	Germany, Cologne, Hochschule für Music	<i>GB-HAd</i>	Great Britain, Haslemere, Carl Dolmetsch, private collection
<i>D-LEm</i>	Germany, Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt	<i>GB-Lbl</i>	Great Britain, London, British Library
<i>D-Ngm</i>	Germany, Nuremberg, Germanisches National-Museum	<i>GB-NO</i>	Great Britain, Nottingham, University Library
<i>D-ROu</i>	Germany, Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>GB-Npro</i>	Great Britain, Northamptonshire, Public Record Office
<i>D-Us</i>	Germany, Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Depositum Scherमार,	<i>GB-Ob</i>	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>D-W</i>	Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	<i>GB-Och</i>	Great Britain, Oxford, Christ Church Library
<i>DK-Kk</i>	Denmark, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek	<i>GB-Occ</i>	Great Britain, Oxford, Corpus Christi Library

<i>GB-Oeh</i>	Great Britain, Oxford, St Edmund Hall Fellow's Library	<i>S-SC</i>	Sweden, Skoklosters Castle Library
<i>GB-Omc</i>	Great Britain, Oxford, Magdalen College Library	<i>S-Sk</i>	Sweden, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket
<i>GB-Sfo</i>	Great Britain, Shrewsbury, private library of Lord Forester	<i>S-Uu</i>	Sweden, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
<i>GB-Wa</i>	Great Britain, Warminster, Longleat House, old library	<i>US-CAward</i>	USA, Cambridge, Harvard, John Ward, private collection
<i>GB-Wsp</i>	Great Britain, Woodford Green, Essex, Robert Spencer, private collection	<i>US-Cn</i>	USA, Chicago, Newberry Library
<i>I-Gu</i>	Italy, Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria	<i>US-LAuc</i>	USA, Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
<i>I-Nc</i>	Italy, Naples, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S Pietro a Majella	<i>US-LAum</i>	USA, Los Angeles, University of California Music Library
<i>I-Tn</i>	Italy, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria	<i>US-NHb</i>	USA, New Haven, Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
<i>L-Vs</i>	Lithuania, Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science	<i>US-NHm</i>	USA, New Haven, Yale Music Library
<i>NL-Lt</i>	Netherlands, Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, in Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit	<i>US-NJandrea</i>	USA, New Jersey, Michael d'Andrea, private collection
<i>PL-Kj</i>	Poland, Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska	<i>US-NYp</i>	USA, New York, Public Library at Loncoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts
<i>RU-StPan</i>	Russia, St Petersburg, Biblioteka Akademii Nauk SSSR [Academy of Science Library]	<i>US-OAm</i>	USA, California, Oakland, Mills College, Margaret Prall Music Library
<i>RU-StPit</i>	Russia, St Petersburg, Leningradsky Gosudarstvenniy Institut Teatra, Muziki i Kinematografii	<i>US-R</i>	USA, Rochester, University, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library
<i>RU-LV</i>	Russia, L'vov, Biblioteka Gosudarstvennoy Konservatoriu imeni N. V. Lysenko [University Library]	<i>US-SFsc</i>	USA, San Francisco State College Library, Frank V. de Bellis Collection
		<i>US-Ws</i>	USA, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Libraries

C - MANUSCRIPTS

All shelf marks have been confirmed by the libraries concerned and are correct as of September 1993

<i>408/2</i>	<i>EIRE-Dtc</i> Ms.408/2 c1605 (bound with <i>Ballet</i>)	<i>41498</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.41498 (fragment, one piece) c1590
<i>2764(2)</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Add.2764(2) (reconstructed from binding fragments) c1585-90	<i>60577</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.60577 f.190-190v (two pieces) <i>Winchester MS</i> c1540
<i>4900</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.4900 (15 lute songs) c1605	<i>Aegidius</i>	<i>CS-Pnm</i> Ms.IV.G.18 <i>Aegidius of Retenwert</i> 1623
<i>6402</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.6402 (loose sheets, 4 pieces) c1605	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>US-NJandrea</i> w.s.m. (loose sheets) c1575
<i>31392</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.31392 c1605		

<i>Balcarres</i>	<i>GB-En</i> MS Acc.9769 84/1/6 Owned by Lord Crawford, <i>Balcarres</i> , c1700	<i>Drexel</i>	<i>US-NYp</i> Ms.Drexel 5612 (keyboard), c1635-45
<i>Ballet</i>	<i>EIRE-Dtc</i> Ms.408/1 <i>William Ballet</i> c1590 and c1610 (bound with 408/2)	<i>Dusiacki</i>	<i>PL-Kj</i> Berlin.Mus.Ms.40153, 1620-21 ⁴
<i>Basle</i>	<i>CH-Bu</i> Musiksammlung Ms.F.IX.53 c1630-45	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>GB-Oeh</i> EE.12 (fragments <i>in situ</i> lifted from paste-down) c1635
<i>Bautzen</i>	<i>D-Bauk</i> Druck 13.4°.85 MS additions to Besard 1603 1608	<i>Euing</i>	<i>GB-Ge</i> Euing 25 (<i>olim</i> Ms.R.d.43) c1610 and a later layer c1650
<i>Beckmann</i>	<i>S-SC</i> Ms.B <i>Lucas Beckmann</i> 1622	<i>Fabritius</i>	<i>DK-Kk</i> MS Thott 841.4°, Petrus Fabritius LB, c1604-8
<i>Bern</i>	<i>CH-BEes</i> Ms.Spiezer Archiv nr.123 c1624	<i>Folger</i>	<i>US-Ws</i> Ms.V.b.280 (<i>olim</i> Ms 1610.1, erroneously: <i>Dowland</i> lute book or manuscript) c1590
<i>Board</i>	<i>GB-Wsp</i> w.s.m. Board LB <i>Margaret Board</i> c1620 and 1635	FWVB	<i>GB-Cfm</i> Ms.168 The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book
<i>Brahe</i>	<i>S-SC</i> PB.fil.172 <i>Per Brahe</i> c1610-20	<i>Genoa</i>	<i>I-Gu</i> M.VIII.24 Manuscript additions to Besard 1603 c1605
<i>Braye</i>	<i>see Osborn</i>	<i>Hainhofer III and IV</i>	<i>D-W</i> MSS Guelf.18.7 and 18.8.Aug°. Philipp Hainhofer's LB vols.III, 1603 and IV, 1604
<i>Brogynryn</i>	<i>GB-AB</i> Brogynryn Ms.27 c1600	<i>Handford</i>	<i>GB-Ctc</i> MS.R.16.29 <i>George Handford</i> 17 December 1609
<i>Burwell</i>	<i>GB-Wsp</i> w.s.m. Burwell L Tutor <i>Elizabeth Burwell</i> 1668-71.	<i>Herbert</i>	<i>GB-Cfm</i> Ms.Mus.689 <i>Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury</i> c1630 and 1640
<i>Cologne</i>	<i>D-Ko</i> Ms.R.242, c1615-20	<i>Herdringen</i>	<i>D-Kdma</i> FÜ 9825 and 9829 c1620
<i>Como</i>	<i>US-LAum</i> Ms.757, c1620-30 ¹	<i>Herhold</i>	<i>CH-Gbusch</i> Ms.E 1602
<i>Cosens</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Add.3056 (erroneously: <i>Cozens</i>) C.K. c1610	<i>Hirsch</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Ms Hirsch.M.1353 <i>H.O.</i> c1620
<i>Dallis</i>	<i>EIRE-Dtc</i> Ms.410/1 <i>Dallis's pupil's lute book</i> 1583-5	<i>Holmes books</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Mss.Dd.2.11, Dd.3.18, Dd.4.23, Dd.5.20, Dd.5.21, Dd.5.78.3, Dd.9.33, Dd.14.24, Nn.6.36 (broken consort and lute books) <i>Matthew Holmes</i>
<i>Danzig</i>	<i>PL-Gdansk</i> Ms.4022: destroyed during war, microfilm in pos- session of Wolfgang Boetticher	<i>Krakow</i>	<i>PL-Kj</i> Berlin Mus.Ms.40641 c1615
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.2.11 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> c1585-95	<i>Kremsmunster</i>	<i>A-KR</i> ms L 81, c1640-50
<i>Dd.3.18</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.3.18 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> c1585-1600	<i>Leipzig</i>	<i>D-Kl</i> II.6.24, c1660
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.4.22 c1615	<i>Linz</i>	<i>see Eijsertt</i>
<i>Dd.4.23</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.4.23 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> (cittern book) c1600	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>US-Ws</i> Ms.V.a.159 (<i>olim</i> Ms 448.16) <i>Giles Lodge</i> 1559-c1575
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.5.78.3 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> c1595-1600	<i>Lvov</i>	<i>RU-LV</i> Ms.1400/I <i>Hans Kernstok</i> c1555-60
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Dd.9.33 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> c1600-1605	<i>Magdalen</i>	<i>GB-Omc</i> Ms.265 [guard book] ff.61-62v (fragments from later binding) c1605
<i>de Bellis</i>	<i>US-SFsc</i> Frank de Bellis LB, 1615-25 ²	<i>Mansell</i>	<i>US-LAuc</i> M286M4 L992 1650 Bound (<i>olim</i> Finney no.24) <i>John</i>
<i>Dlugoraj</i>	<i>D-LEm</i> Ms.II.6.15 <i>Albertus Dlugoraj</i> , 1619 ³		
<i>Dolmetsch</i>	<i>GB-HAd</i> Ms II.B.1 c1630		
<i>Dresden</i>	<i>D-Dlb</i> Handschriftenabteilung, Ms.M.297, 1603		

¹ See Coelho 1989.² See Coelho 1989.³ See Coelho 1989.⁴ See Coelho 1989.

	<i>Mansell</i> (lyra viol, one lute piece) c1615	<i>Richard</i>	<i>PL-Kj</i> Berlin.Mus.Ms.40143 <i>D. Richard</i> 1600-1603
<i>Marsh</i>	<i>EIRE-Dm</i> Ms Z3.2.13 c1595	<i>Rostock</i>	<i>D-ROu</i> Ms.Mus.saec XVII-54, c1670
<i>ML</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.38539 (erroneously: <i>Sturt</i>) <i>Margaret L.</i> c1620 (and one piece c1630-40)	<i>Rowallan</i>	<i>GB-Eu</i> Ms.La.III.487 c1605-8 and c1615-20
<i>Montbuysson</i>	<i>D-Kl</i> Ms.4°.Mus.108.1 <i>Victor de Montbuysson</i> 1611	<i>Sampson</i>	<i>GB-Wsp</i> w.s.m. <i>Sampson</i> Lute Book <i>Henry Sampson</i> c1610
<i>Mulliner</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.30513 <i>The Mulliner</i> Book (kbd)	<i>Schele</i>	<i>D-Hs</i> ND.VI.No.3238 <i>Ernst Schele</i> 1613-19
<i>Mynshall</i>	<i>GB-Wsp</i> w.s.m. <i>Mynshall</i> Lute Book <i>Richard Mynshall</i> 1597-1600	<i>Schermar</i>	<i>D-Us</i> MSS 1 30a, <i>Anthony Schermar</i> part books
<i>Naples</i>	<i>I-Nc</i> Ms.7664, 1608 and 1623 ⁵	<i>Schmall</i>	<i>CS-Pu</i> Ms.XXIII.F.174 <i>Nicolaao Schmall</i> 1613
<i>Nauclerus</i>	<i>D-B</i> Mus.Ms.40141 1615	<i>Sibley</i>	<i>US-R</i> Vault.M140.V186 MS bound with <i>Vallet</i> 1615 c1635
<i>Newberry</i>	<i>US-Cn</i> ms case 7.Q.5, c1625	<i>Skene</i>	<i>GB-En</i> Adv.Ms.5.2.15, <i>Skene</i> mandora book, c1625
<i>Nn.6.36</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ms.Nn.6.36 <i>Matthew Holmes</i> c1610-15	<i>St Petersburg</i>	<i>RU-StPan</i> Ms.ON.124 1614-c1665
<i>Nörmiger</i>	<i>D-Tu</i> Mus.40 098. <i>August Nörmiger</i> , keyboard tablature 1598 [lost]	<i>Stobaeus</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Sloane.1021 <i>Stobaeus of Königsberg</i> c1635
<i>Northants</i>	<i>GB-Npro</i> F.H.3431.c (loose sheets) c1615	<i>Stockholm253</i>	<i>S-Sk</i> Handskriftavdelningen, MS S 253, C1614-20
<i>Nürnberg</i>	<i>D-Ngm</i> Mus.Ms.33748/271, Fascicle 2 1608; Fascicle 3 1608-10; Fascicle 4 1608-12; Fascicle 6 1630-40; Fascicle 8 1630-40	<i>Stowe389</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> <i>Stowe.389 Raphe Bowle</i> 1558
<i>Occ254</i>	<i>GB-Occ</i> Ms.254 (two pieces) c1610	<i>Straloch</i>	<i>GB-En</i> Ms.Adv.5.2.18 1627-9 <i>Straloch/Graham</i> copy 1847
<i>Och1280</i>	<i>GB-Och</i> Mus.1280 (fragments from later binding) c1580	<i>Swarland</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add.15117 <i>John Swarland</i> c1615
<i>Osborn</i>	<i>US-NHb</i> <i>Osborn</i> Collection Music Ms.13 c1560	<i>Thistlethwaite</i>	<i>GB-Eu</i> Ms.Dc.5.125 <i>John B.</i> c1575
<i>Panmure5</i>	<i>GB-En</i> ms. 9452, <i>Panmure</i> ms.5, c1632	<i>Thynne</i>	<i>GB-Wa</i> music ms.7, c1634 <i>Thynne</i>
<i>Panmure8</i>	<i>GB-En</i> MS.9449, <i>Panmure</i> Ms.8, c	<i>Thysius</i>	<i>NL-Lt</i> Ms.1666 c1620
<i>Philidor I & II</i>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés F494 and F496: <i>Plusieurs vieux Airs ... Recueillis par Philidor l'Aîné en 1690</i>	<i>Trinity</i>	<i>GB-Ctc</i> Ms.0.16.2 c1630
<i>Pickeringe</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Eg.2046 <i>Jane Pickeringe</i> 1616 and c1630-50	<i>Trumbull</i>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Add.8844 (formerly <i>GB-Bcro</i> <i>Trumbull</i> Add.Ms.6) <i>William Trumbull</i> c1595
<i>RA58</i>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> <i>Royal Appendix</i> 58 c1530	<i>Turin</i>	<i>I-Tn</i> <i>Riserva musica</i> IV, 23/2 c1620 ⁶
<i>Reymes</i>	<i>F-CNRS</i> <i>Bullen</i> <i>Reymes's</i> LB, c1632	<i>Uppsala</i>	<i>S-Uu</i> <i>Ihre</i> 284, keyboard tablature, 1678
<i>Reynaud</i>	<i>F-AIXm</i> MS Rés.17, c1585-c1620 (It. tabl.) and c1660-75 (Fr. tabl.) <i>Reynaud</i>	<i>Vienna17706</i>	<i>A-Wn</i> Ms mus.17706
		<i>Vilnius</i>	<i>L-Vs</i> Ms.285-MF-LXXIX <i>Stobaeus of Königsberg</i> c1600-20
		<i>Walsingham</i>	<i>GB-BEV</i> MSS DD.HO.20/1-3: flute, treble viol and bass viol broken consort part books. The cittern book is in <i>US-OAm</i> .

⁵ See Coelho 1989.⁶ See Coelho 1989.

	Also known as Beverley and Mills consort books. 1588	<i>Werl</i>	<i>GB-Wsp</i> w.s.m. Werl Lute Book <i>Albrecht Werl</i> c1625-55
<i>Welde</i>	<i>GB-Sfo</i> w.s.m. <i>John Welde</i> c1600	<i>Wickhambrook</i>	<i>US-NHm</i> Rare Ma21, W632 c1595
<i>Wemyss</i>	<i>GB-En</i> Dep.314, No.23 <i>Lady Margaret Wemyss</i> 1643-4	<i>Willoughby</i>	<i>GB-NO</i> Ms Mi LM 16 <i>Francis Willoughby</i> c1560-85

D - SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED SOURCES

Adriansen 1584	Emanuel Adriansen: <i>Pratum musicum</i> (Antwerp, 1584)
Adriansen 1592	Emanuel Adriansen: <i>Novum pratum musicum</i> (Antwerp, 1592)
Adriansen 1600	Emanuel Adriansen: <i>Pratum musicum</i> (1600)
Arbeau 1588	Thoinot Arbeau: <i>Orchésographie</i> (Langres, 1588)
Ascham 1545	Roger Ascham: <i>Toxophilus, or the Schoole of Shootinge</i> (1545)
Ascham 1558	Roger Ascham: <i>The Scholemaster</i> (1558)
Bakfark 1553	Valentin Bakfark: <i>Intabulatura Valentini Bacfarc, transilvani Coronensis. Liber Primus</i> (Lyon, 1553)
Ballard 1611	Robert Ballard: <i>Diverses Pièces mises sur le luth, Premier Livre</i> (Paris, 1611)
Ballard 1614	Robert Ballard: <i>Diverses Pièces mises sur le luth..., Deuxiesme Livre</i> (Paris, 1614)
Barley 1596	William Barley: <i>A new Booke of Tabliture ... [for] the Lute, Orpharion and Bandora</i> (London, 1596 RCNRS, 1977)
Bataille 1608	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Premier Livre</i> (Paris 1608, 1611, 1612)
Bataille 1609	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Deuxiesme livre</i> (Paris, 1609, 1614)
Bataille 1611	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Troisieme livre</i> (Paris, 1611, 1614)
Bataille 1613	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Quatrieme livre</i> (Paris, 1613)
Bataille 1614	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Cinquieme livre</i> (Paris 1614)
Bataille 1615	Gabriel Bataille: <i>Airs de différents autheurs ... Sixiesme livre</i> (Paris, 1615)
Beauchesne 1570	John de Beauchesne: <i>A Booke containing divers sortes of handes</i> (London, 1570)
Besard 1603	Johan Baptiste Besard: <i>Thesaurus harmonicus</i> (Cologne, 1603 RGeneva, 1975)
Besard 1617	Johan Baptiste Besard: <i>Novus Partus</i> (Augsburg, 1617)
Brade 1617	William Brade: <i>Neue ausserlesene liebliche Branden, Intradan, Mascharaden, Balletten, All'manden, Couranten, Volten, Aufzüge und frembde Tänze... a 5</i> (Hamburg and Lübeck, 1617)
Burton 1621	Robert Burton: <i>The Anatomy of Melancholy</i> (London, 1621)
Case 1586	John Case: <i>The Praise of Musicke</i> (1586)

Danyel 1606	John Danyel: <i>Songs for the Lute, Viol and Voice</i> (London, 1606 RMenston, 1970)
Denss 1594	Adriaen Denss: <i>Florilegium</i> (Cologne, 1594)
Dowland 1597	John Dowland: <i>The firste Booke of Songes or Ayres ...</i> (London, 1597/R 1600, 1603, 1606, 1613 RMenston, 1968)
Dowland 1604	John Dowland: <i>Lachrimae or seven Tears... for the lute, viols, or violons in five parts</i> (London, [1604] RLeeds, 1974)
Dowland 1610A	Robert Dowland: <i>A musicall Banquet</i> (London, 1610 RMenston, 1969)
Dowland 1610B	Robert Dowland: <i>Varietie of Lute-lessons</i> (London, 1610 RLondon, 1958)
Dowland 1612	John Dowland: <i>A Pilgrims solace</i> (London, 1612 RMenston, 1970)
Elyot 1531	Thomas Elyot: <i>The Book Named the Governor</i> (London, 1531)
Fuhrmann 1615	Georg L. Fuhrmann: <i>Testudo Gallo-Germanica</i> (Nürnberg, 1615 RNeuss, 1975)
Galilei 1584	Vincenzo Galilei: <i>Fronimo Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei ... sopra l'arte del bene intavolare ...</i> (Venice, 1584)
Galilei 1620	Michelagnolo Galilei: <i>Primo libro de Intavolatura di Liuto...</i> (Munich, 1620)
Hoby 1561	Thomas Hoby: <i>The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio</i> (1561)
Holborne 1597	Anthony Holborne: <i>The Cittharn Schoole</i> (London, 1597: facs. Amsterdam, 1973)
Holborne 1599	Anthony Holborne: <i>Pavans, Galliards, Almains</i> (London, 1599: facs.)
Hove 1601	Joachim van den Hove: <i>Florida</i> (Utrecht, 1601)
Hove 1612	Joachim van den Hove: <i>Delitiae musicae</i> (Utrecht, 1612)
Le Roy 1568	Adrian Le Roy: <i>A Briefe and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tableture...</i> (London, 1568)
Le Roy 1574	Adrian Le Roy: <i>A briefe and plaine Instruction, to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tableture...</i> (London, 1574)
Lechner 1590	Leonhard Lechner: <i>Neue teutsche Lieder</i> (1590)
Lodge 1580	Thomas Lodge: <i>A Defence of Poetry, Musick, and Stage Plays</i> (1579-80)
Mace 1676	Thomas Mace: <i>Musick's Monument</i> (London, 1676 RCNRS, 1977)
Mathew 1652	Richard Mathew: <i>The Lute's Apology for her Excellency</i> (London, 1652)
Maynard 1611	John Maynard: <i>The XII Wonders of the world</i> (London, 1611 RMenston, 1970)
Mercator 1540	Gerardus Mercator: <i>Literarum Latinarum, quas Italicas cursoriasque vocant, scribendarum ratio</i> (Louvain, 1540)
Mertel 1615	Elias Mertel: <i>Hortus musicalis. Novus ...</i> (Strasbourg, 1615 RGeneva, 1985)
Morley 1597	Thomas Morley: <i>A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music</i> (London, 1597)
Morley 1599	Thomas Morley: <i>The First Booke of Consort Lessons</i> (London, 1599, 1611)
Moy 1631	Louys de Moy: <i>Le petit Boucquet de frise orientale</i> (1631)
Mulcaster 1581	Richard Mulcaster: <i>Positions...</i> (London, 1581)
Mylus 1622	Johann Daniel Mylius: <i>Thesaurus Gratiarum</i> (Frankfurt, 1622)

Newsidler 1566	Melchior Newsidler: <i>Il Primo Libro. Intabolatura di Liuto...</i> (Venice, 1566)
Newsidler 1574	Melchior Newsidler: <i>Teütsch Lautenbüch...</i> (Strasbourg, 1574)
Peacham 1622	Henry Peacham the Younger: <i>The Compleat Gentleman</i> (1622)
Phalèse 1546	Pierre Phalèse: <i>Des Chansons reduictz en Tabulature</i> (Louvain, 1546)
Phalèse 1547	Pierre Phalèse: <i>Des Chansons ... reduictz en Tabulature</i> (Louvain, 1547)
Phalèse 1552	Pierre Phalèse: <i>Hortus Musarum</i> (Louvain, 1552)
Phalèse 1568	Pierre Phalèse: <i>Theatrum Musicum</i> (Louvain, 1568)
Phalèse 1571	Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère (publishers): <i>Theatrum Musicum, longe amplissimum...</i> (Louvain, 1571)
Piccinini 1623	Alessandro Piccinini: <i>Intavolatura di Liuto et di Chitarrone, Libro primo</i> (Bologna, 1623)
Piccinini 1639	Alessandro Piccinini: <i>Intavolatura di Liuto ... Gagliarde</i> (Bologna, 1639)
Pilkington 1605	Francis Pilkington: <i>The first Booke of Songs or Ayres</i> (London, 1605 RMenston, 1969)
Pilkington 1624	Francis Pilkington: <i>The second Set of Madrigals</i> (London, 1624)
Playford 1651	John Playford: <i>The English Dancing Master: or, Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance</i> (London, 1651)
Praetorius 1612	Michael Praetorius: <i>Terpsichore</i> (1612)
Reymann 1598	Matthew Reymann: <i>Noctes Musicae ...</i> (Heidelberg, 1598)
Robinson 1603	Thomas Robinson: <i>The schoole of Musicke</i> (London, 1603, RLondon, 1971)
Rosseter 1609	Philip Rosseter: <i>Lessons for Consort...</i> (1609)
Ruden 1600 I	Johannes Rudenius: <i>Flores musicae ... Libri primi</i> (Heidelberg, 1600)
Ruden 1600 II	Johannes Rudenius: <i>Florum musicae ... liber secundus</i> (Heidelberg, 1600)
Tottel 1557	Richard Tottel: <i>Songes and Sonettes</i> . [frequently known as 'Tottel's <i>Miscellany</i> '] (London, 1557, facs. Menston, Yorkshire 1966 R Rollins, 1965).
Valerius 1626	Adriaen Valerius: <i>Neder-Landsche Gedenck-Clanck</i> (Haarlem, 1626)
Vallet 1615	Nicolas Vallet: <i>Secretum Musarum</i> Vol.I (Amsterdam, 1615)
Vallet 1616	Nicolas Vallet: <i>Secretum Musarum</i> Vol.II (Amsterdam, 1616)
Vallet 1620	Nicolas Vallet: <i>Regia Pietas</i> (Amsterdam, 1620)
Waissel 1591	Matthäus Waissel: <i>Tabulatura Allerlei künstlicher Preambulen, auserlesener Deutscher und Polnischer Tentze ...</i> (Frankfurt, 1591)

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

*

A - PALAEOGRAPHICAL

I - LETTERS

II - SCRIPTS

B - PAPER, PRINTING AND BINDING

C - MUSICAL (SPECIFIC TO THE LUTE REPERTORY)

*

A - PALAEOGRAPHICAL

i - Letters⁷

Angulation: Used with inclination to describe the angle and direction of the slant of the hand when it is not vertically upright.

Arm: A stroke, usually horizontal, which extends outwards from part of a letter such as F, E or L.

Ascender: The part of a letter that extends above the height of an x, as in b, d, f etc.

Bar: A line drawn between two parts of a letter (such as A) or across a curve (such as e), which joins the two parts. Distinct from arm.

Biting: This occurs when two adjacent contrary curved strokes coalesce, for instance when b is closely followed by e, or the ascender and descender of two letters placed above one another coincide in the same way.

Body: Either the entire letter as in a, c, e, i etc, or that part of a letter which does not include an ascender or a descender.

Broken stroke: A stroke made in more than one movement, the direction of the pen being changed sharply without its being lifted from the page. eg: h or r.

Contraction: Omission of medial letters or elements from a word, usually indicated by a line drawn above the point of omission. (*See* TITLE)

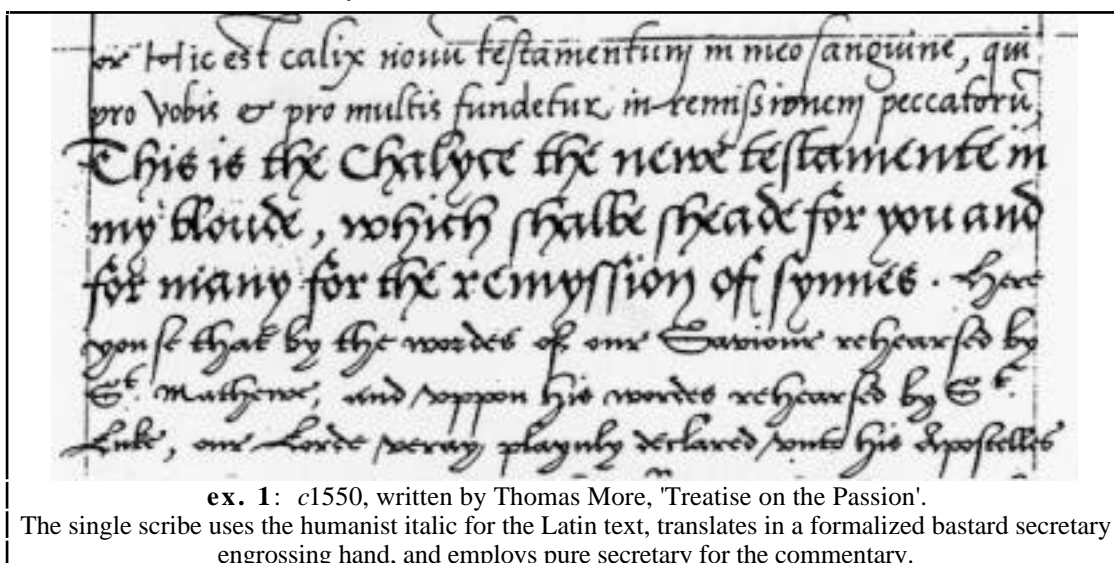
Crosspiece: A short stroke through the middle of a letter such as the italic f.

Currency: The speed at which the hand is written.

Current: Used to describe a non-formal and usually quickly written hand. A current hand would be used, for instance, to take notes for the contents of a document, and a formal hand would then be used to make a good copy. Most scribes would make use of two quite different hands

⁷ The following literary texts have provided most of the definitions of non-musical terms: Parkes 1969, xxvi; Dawson/Skipton 1981, 3-26; James J. John: 'Latin Paleography' in *Medieval Studies* ed. James M Powell (Syracuse, 1976), 1-68.

which would serve for these two purposes or to highlight levels of importance in the text.
See Italic and Secretary below.



Descender: The part of a letter that extends below the depth of an x, such as g, j, p etc.

Downstroke: When the pen-stroke moves from a higher point to a lower on the page.

Duct: The distinctive manner in which pen-strokes are traced upon the writing surface: it represents the combination of such factors as the angle at which the pen was held in relation to the way in which it was cut, the degree of pressure applied to it, and the speed and direction in which it was moved.

Es: A common contraction of the letters '-es' or '-is' at the end of a word, and appearing as a large letter 'e' with an extended lower curve.

Formal: A carefully-written hand taken from any script. It may be intended as a highlighted title script, partly for decorative purposes, or to ensure the legibility of the text.

Grapheme: The smallest component of any letter or flag, any single pen-stroke.

Grip: The angle at which the quill is held by the scribe.

Hand: What the scribe actually puts down on the page.

Headstroke: The cross at the top of a letter such as T.

Limb: The part of a letter such as h which is added to the ascender.

Lobe: The part of the letter (e.g. b) that is formed with a curved stroke to the right of the STEM.

Minim stroke: The shortest and simplest stroke, and that used to form the letters i, m, n, and u.

Model: The ideal formation of letters, set out by contemporary handwriting manuals and tutors. (e.g. J. Baildon and J. de Beuchesne: *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1571)).

Nib: The part of the quill which is shaped by hand to produce a writing implement. The wide end of the quill is cut to a point, the tip of the point is squared off, a channel is cut up a little way into the quill and a small hole is made at the top of the channel to act as an ink reservoir. Modern nibs still use this principle.

Otiose stroke: A superfluous stroke, one which does not form part of a letter, and which does not indicate an abbreviation. (Distinct from SERIF which is part of the letter, added to give it a neater or more formal finish.)

Paraph: A sign employed by a scribe in place of a signature.

Pitch: Width of the whole letter.

Scribe: The writer of the text under consideration.

Script: The model which the scribe has in his mind's eye when he writes - Usually SECRETARY, ITALIC or COURT. (See below for explanation of these terms.)

Serif: A decorative element or finishing stroke on a letters, comprising in its simplest form a short, thin horizontal stroke at the end of a vertical or slanting part of the letter. They were of considerable importance in some writing styles, and were produced by a lateral movement of the pen, which helped to square off the ends of letters. They are not strictly essential to the letters, but give a more finished or formal appearance, and may occasionally aid in differentiating between two letters which would otherwise look very similar in certain hands. Serifs are frequently used when the writing edge of the pen becomes frayed, necessitating more attention to the finish of the strokes: they are also used by printers.

Shading: A term applied to a hand or script which has contrasting thick and thin strokes. It results either from a change of direction in the path of a broad-nibbed writing instrument or from a change in pressure on a flexible writing instrument. Scripts with shading can usually be characterized by the angle of their thinnest stroke with respect to the horizontal writing line. This angle is not the same as ANGULATION, which is defined above.

Shaft: The main vertical part of a letter such as t or f.

Splay: An effect made by putting pressure on the pen while writing, which causes the channel to open out, thus temporarily widening the squared writing end of the nib.

Stem: The part of a letter such as b which rises above the general level of the other letters, and is also known as the ASCENDER.

Stroke: A single trace made by the pen on the page; if the stroke has no sudden change of direction, it is made in a single movement. Thus, f has two strokes, but r has one broken stroke.

Thorn: The y-shaped letter having no modern equivalent, which was used to represent the 'th' sound, eg: in ye [the], yt or yat [that], yis [this].

Tittle: A short line (straight, wavy or looped) made over a letter or letters to indicate omission of an m or n following the marked letter. Usually occurs at word-ends.

Upstroke: When the stroke moves from a lower point to a higher on the page. Less usual than DOWNSTROKE.

Weight: The amount of pressure applied by the scribe when writing.

Yogh: A 'g-' or '3'-shaped letter, the nearest modern equivalent of which is the '-gh' sound in words like 'through', though (arguably) pronounced more in the style of the '-ch' in (Scottish) 'loch'.

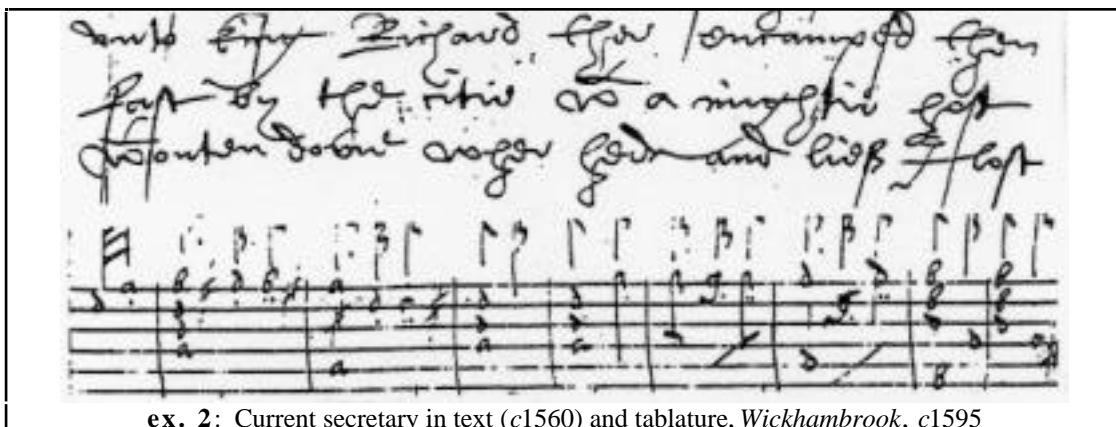
ii - Scripts

For additional descriptions of scripts, see Chapter 4 (Lute Scribes and Handwriting). The following samples of current hands, tablature and common alphabets illustrate the types of hands, and most of the variations between them.

Secretary: The commonest Elizabethan current hand.

Other styles of writing were in use side by side with the secretary for some purposes, but before about 1650 these were exceptional, It was well established by 1525. By 1650 it was well on its way toward extinction, and by 1700 it had vanished - not without trace, but as a distinct hand.⁸

The Secretary hand has far more scope for idiosyncrasies than the other scripts, though it can be highly formalized in the uniformity of the letter shapes. Its extinction as a distinct hand was due to contamination from more fluid and less complex hands such as italic. Early forms of the secretary use the Gothic form of e - the form which is recognized as the correct one for a pure secretary. (i.e.: two strokes, both curving in the same direction.) By c1600, most secretary hands made use of the italic 'e'.

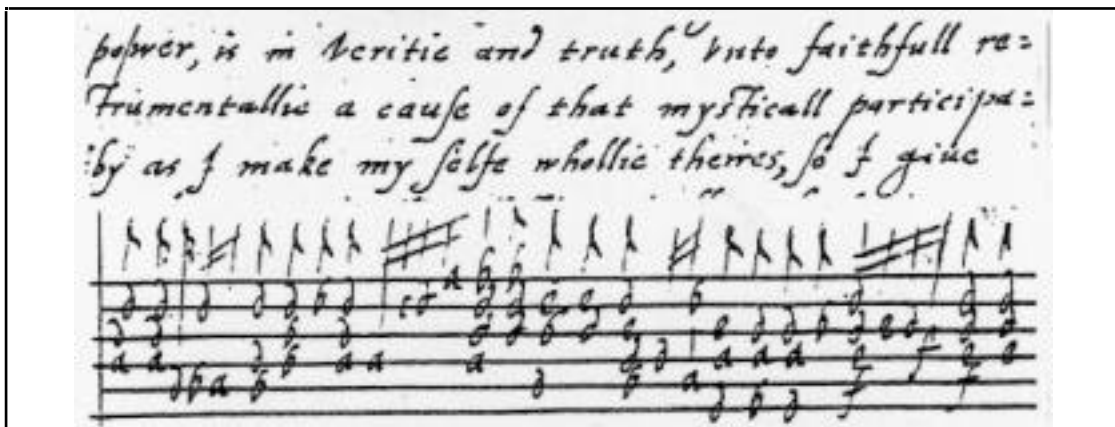


ex. 2: Current secretary in text (c1560) and tablature, Wickhambrook, c1595

Italic: Predominantly oval shaped letters. One of the characteristics of the hand is the distinctive shading caused by using a wide nib: the hand frequently develops a slant to the right, and the rounded arches of minim shapes such as m, n, and the limb of h have a tendency to become pointed, the upstroke being a diagonal connecting stroke. Its simplicity and the resulting speed of writing make it usual for all the letters to be formed with the absence of pen-lifts, and the result is always elegant. It was the most important of the hands that existed side by side with the Secretary, and although it gained increasing popularity after 1550, it did not replace secretary until the early seventeenth century.

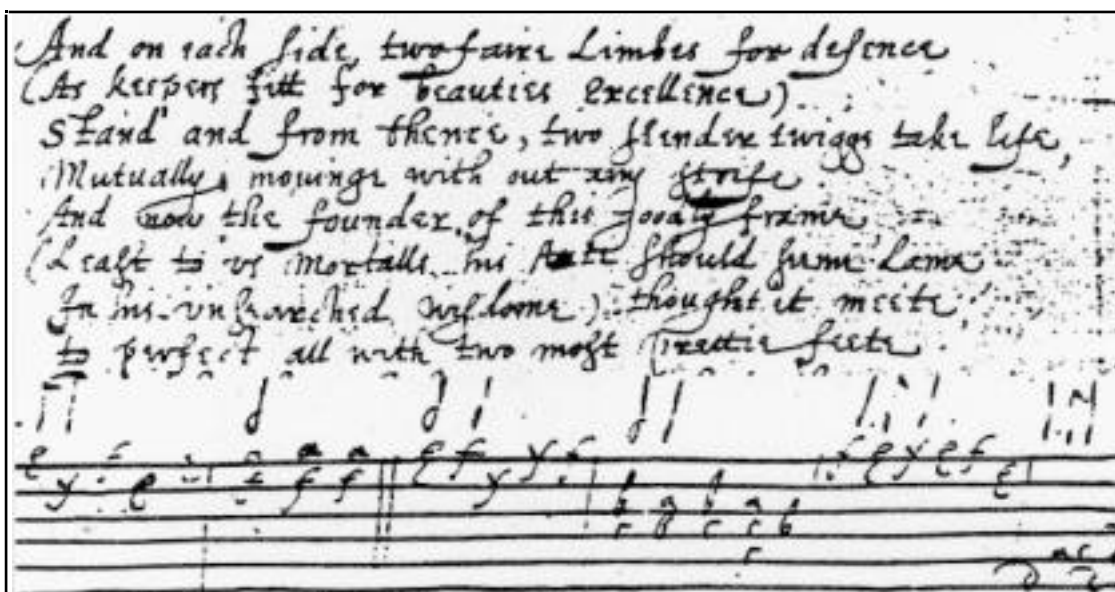
⁸ Dawson/Skipton 1981, 8-9.

Secretary and Italic hands were often used side by side by scribes to offset certain elements, and many scribes in lute manuscripts appear to have been equally skilled in both scripts. There is less scope in the Italic hand than in the Secretary for developing a personal style, which seems to have been a desirable trait when developing one's handwriting.



power, is in veritie and truth, vnto faithfull re=
 frumentallie a cause of that mysticall participa=
 :by as I make my selfe whollie thieres, so I giue

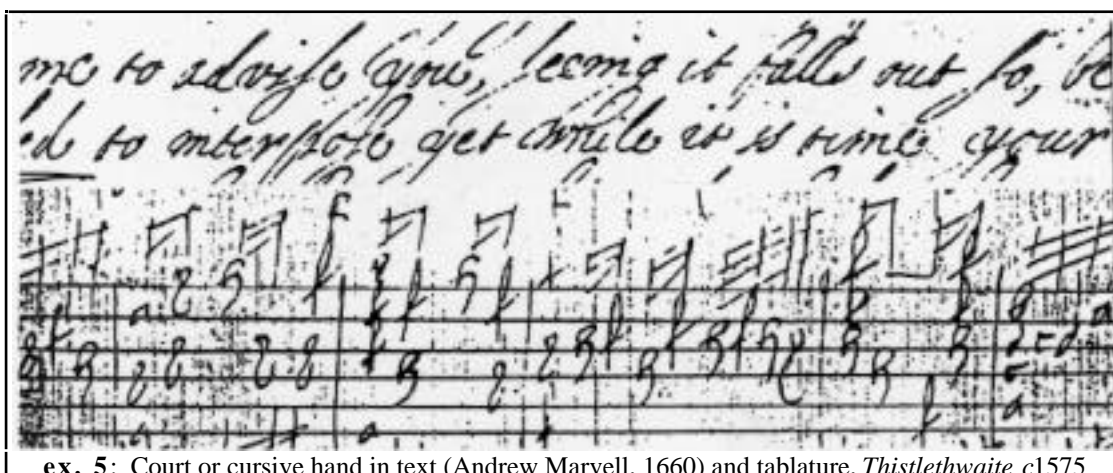
ex. 3: Italic hand in text (*GB-Ob Ms.Add.C.165*, fifth book of Hooker's *Lawes*, c1650) and tablature, *Willoughby* c1560-85



And on each side, two faire Limbes for defence
 (As keepers fitt for beauties Excellence)
 Stand and from thence, two slender twigs take life,
 mutually mouinge with out any strife
 And now the founder of this Joyous frame
 (Lest to vs mortalls his Arte should from Lenax
 In his unweatched influence) thought it meete
 to perfect all with two most sweete fiste

ex. 4: Bastard Italic script in text (early seventeenth century) and tablature, *Trumbull* c1595

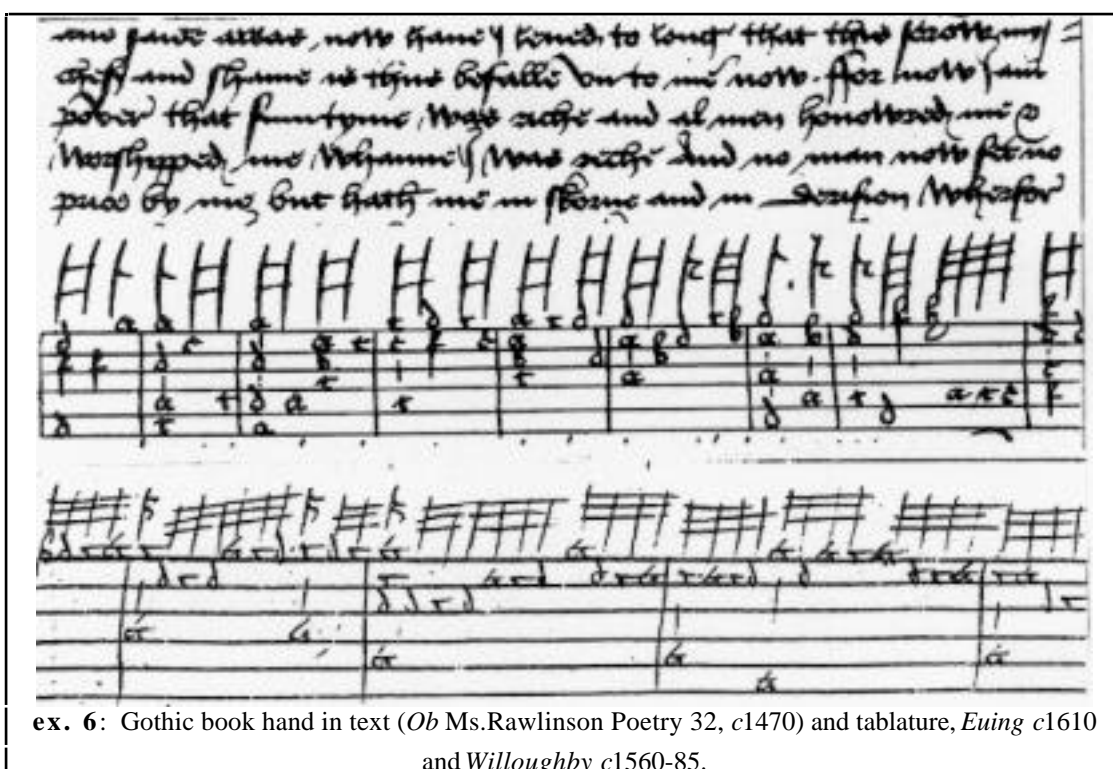
Court: Court hands were usually cursive, having grown out of a need for speed in the business of court and government. The Chancery, Common Pleas, Exchequer and Pipe Office hands grew from this root, developed by the named offices, and required to be learned by their clerks. Flowing, joined and often inclined to the right. The emphasis is on an easy currency to the script.



ex. 5: Court or cursive hand in text (Andrew Marvell, 1660) and tablature, *Thistlethwaite* c1575

Gothic: Square and ornate book hand resembling the script which developed from handwriting used about 1200 for writing commentaries in the margins of texts. Characterized by distinct and strong shading, numerous small otiose strokes on the corners of the lobes of letters such as a, b, h, etc, and by the angular basic shape of lobe and minim. It often appears to have been squashed from above. Texts written in this style of hand are often highly compressed, closely spaced and full of abbreviations, giving little scope for personal style.

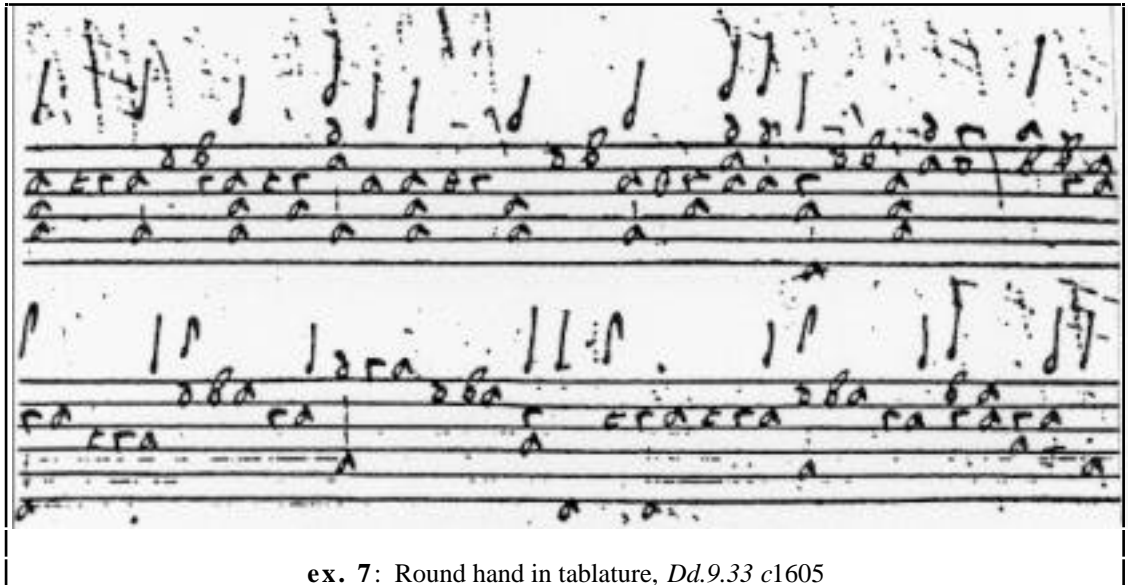
The similarities in Gothic hands bear witness to this effect. In lute tablature, where spacing between letters is much greater than when the script is used in a text, the scope for ornamentation and personal style is greatly increased, though the hands remain basically similar. The hands under discussion in this study are not true forms of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century book-hands, but the term is a useful one in connection with a form which



ex. 6: Gothic book hand in text (*Ob Ms. Rawlinson Poetry 32*, c1470) and tablature, *Euing* c1610 and *Willoughby* c1560-85.

has many of their characteristics. Gothic scripts always use the old secretary form of the letter 'e'.

Round hand: This is not a model script, but rather a form of the Italic or Secretary base and referred to as 'round' for its solid and uniform shape, with small letters for the width of the nib and medium to heavy weight predominating, having none of the elegance or functions of a formal court hand.



ex. 7: Round hand in tablature, *Dd.9.33* c1605

B - PAPER, PRINTING AND BINDING⁹

Bifolium: A pair of folios which are joined together through the fold at the spine of a book. In most books, these leaves are adjacent only at the centre of a gathering.

Blind stamping: The impression of a binding stamp or ROLL on a leather binding, without the use of colour or gold leaf. It is more common than gold-leaf stamping on many musical volumes, where the bindings were utilitarian rather than decorative.

Block: Generally a loose term for a block, usually of wood, into which any unique design has been cut, such as pages of printed music. The impression of the block on the paper is usually visible from the compression of the fibres under it, but not around it. Binding block stamps are usually made from brass, and some centre panels are of single blocks. The term is also applied to the written area of a manuscript page that would correspond to the printed block.

Chain-lines: Part of the impress of the mould used in making paper, formed by the chain-wires that keep the laid-wires in place. They run parallel to the short side of a sheet of paper and are more widely spaced than the laid-lines.

⁹ Most of these terms are defined in Krummel/Sadie 1990, 489-550, and some of the definitions are wholly or partially reproduced from that source.

- Collation:** A description of the structure of a book or manuscript as it is prepared for binding. It is a formulaic or diagrammatic presentation of the number of leaves in each gathering, and provides (with the book's format) a first step towards determining many details of the completeness of the volume and, where applicable, of how the printer worked with the music he was to print in it. Printed gatherings are usually also marked with a SIGNATURE.
- Countermark:** A secondary watermark in the half-sheet of paper opposite to that containing the main mark, either in the centre or in the lower outer corner. It often includes the name or device of the papermaker, or a date, and is usually smaller and less complex than the main mark.
- Cropped:** A term used to describe pages so heavily trimmed (usually by the binder) that some of their content is missing. A common result of cropping is the loss of a scribal or printed ascription for the piece of music on the page.
- Doublures:** The ornamental lining of the inside of a book cover, usually of leather. Occasionally earlier covers are used as doublures when the original binding is replaced.
- End-paper:** The extra sheets of paper used at the front and back of a volume to attach the book to its binding: each is a bifolium, with one folio pasted to the binding board itself (the paste-down) and the other standing free. Usually the end-papers are of a different paper from the printed pages of the book. The term is also used to refer to a FLYLEAF.
- Fascicle:** A unit of content of a volume, which may (but need not) coincide with a structural unit. The term appears particularly in the discussion of manuscripts which show evidence of layers of scribal activity.
- Fillet:** A wheel with a line on the circumference used as a binders decorative tool.
- Fleuron:** A symmetrical 'leaf-type' design of binders stamp that is usually placed alone at the corners of borders. Some shapes of stamps are designed to be interlaced to produce repeating patterns, but fleurons are self-contained.
- Flyleaf:** A blank folio at the front or back of a book which is not part of the printed volume. Many bound books have flyleaves within the fold of the end-papers, which help to attach the book to its binding.
- Foliation:** Sequential numbering which applies to the leaves of a volume rather than the pages. In manuscript sources, foliation usually commences after the flyleaves and end-papers.
- Folio:** (i) A single leaf of a book, front and back (recto and verso) together, thus comprising two pages.
- Folio:** (ii) A term used to describe the approximate size of a volume, tending to refer to a page size larger than about 250 x 200 mm.
- Format:** A description of the traditional relationship between an individual LEAF of a volume and the original SHEET of paper, which in almost all cases consists of more than one leaf. The most widely used terms for format are 'folio', 'quarto' and 'octavo'; each describes the number of

leaves made by folding a single sheet. Some of these can exist in both 'upright' format (with the vertical axis longer than the horizontal) and 'oblong' format (in the opposite orientation). See table 1.

TABLE 1

The diagram illustrates the layout of type in different forms, showing the arrangement of pages and folios in both 'Outer forme' and 'Inner forme' for three different formats: a: folio, b: quarto, and d: oblong quarto.

a: folio

- Outer forme:** A vertical rectangle divided into two columns. The left column is labeled '4r' and the right column is labeled '1r'. Above the columns are the labels '2v' and '1r'.
- Inner forme:** A vertical rectangle divided into two columns. The left column is labeled '2r' and the right column is labeled '3r'. Above the columns are the labels '2r' and '1v'.

b: quarto

- Outer forme:** A vertical rectangle divided into two columns and two rows. The top-left cell is '8r', top-right is '5r', bottom-left is '1r', and bottom-right is '4r'. To the left of the rectangle are labels '4v' and '1r'. To the right are '1v' and '4r'.
- Inner forme:** A vertical rectangle divided into two columns and two rows. The top-left cell is '2r', top-right is '1r', bottom-left is '7r', and bottom-right is '6r'. To the left of the rectangle are labels '1v' and '4r'. To the right are '1r' and '3v'.

d: oblong quarto

- Outer forme:** A horizontal rectangle divided into two columns and two rows. The top-left cell is '5r', top-right is '4r', bottom-left is '8r', and bottom-right is '1r'. Above the columns are labels '3r' and '2v'. Below the columns are '4v' and '1r'.
- Inner forme:** A horizontal rectangle divided into two columns and two rows. The top-left cell is '3r', top-right is '6r', bottom-left is '2r', and bottom-right is '7r'. Above the columns are labels '2r' and '3v'. Below the columns are '1v' and '4r'.

From Krummel/Sadie 1990, 511

Forme: The completed block of type that is locked into place and used to print all the pages on one side of a sheet of paper.

Foxing: The discolouration of paper leaves through damage by fungus or paper mildew, so called because it consists of gingery or reddish-brown patches. It may be the result of the paper's having been stored in a damp place; in books from many periods it is caused by the fungus growing in the felts used for making the paper.

Furniture: Blocks of wood or printing type used to make an incomplete page of type up to the full size of the printing block so that the finished page is firmly anchored in the printer's FORME. If a piece of music in a music book does not occupy the whole of a page, what would otherwise appear as white space on the page may be filled with furniture of blank staves. In some cases this type of furniture has been used by a later owner of the book for adding short manuscript pieces. (See *Genoa* p.vii)

- Gathering:** The prime structural element of a book, consisting of a group of BIFOLIA which have been folded together to allow them to be sewn or stapled as a unit into the binding. There are usually practical upper limits to the size of a gathering. If a book is in quarto format a gathering will normally contain four folios; it will contain eight if two sheets have been folded, one inside the other. The size of the gatherings in a larger volume, and the points at which they begin and end, need have nothing to do with the musical content of the book, and in the case of manuscript books, this often indicates that it was written after binding.
- Gutter:** The blank area of an opening nearest to the spine, made up of the inner margins of two facing pages. In manuscript sources that were bound after copying, some of the musical or literary content may become lost or unreadable in the gutter.
- Laid-lines:** Part of the impress of the mould used in making paper, formed by the laid-wires. They are close together, usually fainter than CHAIN-LINES, and run parallel to the long side of a sheet of paper.
- Landscape format:** The more standard term for what music bibliographers usually refer to as oblong format.
- Leaf:** A single piece of paper in a book, consisting of two pages, front and back. The term FOLIO is often used in the same sense; the only reason for preferring 'leaf' is to avoid confusion with other meanings of 'folio'.
- Manuscript paper:** Paper on which staves have been ruled or printed for writing music. It has been printed at least from the middle of the sixteenth century. The earliest examples appear to be German in origin. In England the distribution of manuscript paper was included in the restrictive privilege awarded to Byrd and Tallis in 1575.
- Oblong [landscape] format:** A format in which the first fold of the sheet is made parallel with the long side; this usually, though not always, produces pages in which the long axis is horizontal as opposed to the more normal vertical. The term does not necessarily apply to the dimensions of the page. The distinguishing features are the position of the watermark and the direction of the CHAIN-LINES. In upright quarto format the watermark is in the GUTTER and the chain-lines are horizontal; in oblong quarto the mark is split between two adjacent folios, in the centre of the top edge, and the chain-lines are vertical.
- Pagination:** The practice of numbering each page of a volume rather than each folio. It rarely appears in musical volumes before the sixteenth century; foliation persists in manuscript sources longer than in printed books.
- Pallet:** A chisel-like instrument with a line set on a curved rocker used as a binders decorative tool.
- Panel:** A large decorative ornamental shape stamped usually in the centre of a binding that may be composed of one or more BLOCKS.

- Paper:** The most common surface for printing music. All paper prior to c1880 is hand-made. Hand-made paper was produced by dipping a sieve-like mould into a vat of pulp and then turning out the wet sheets of pulp so formed, separated by layers of felt, on to a pile. The sheets show a pattern impressed by the wires in the mould, usually as heavier CHAIN-LINES and lighter LAID-LINES, together with any watermark that may be present. The rough edges of the paper produced by this process are usually trimmed away when bound or collected in GATHERINGS. Paper intended for printing is usually of a lower quality than that intended for manuscript.
- Paste-down:** The leaf of paper pasted to the inside of the binding board of a book, usually half a bifolium, the other half of which is sewn with the book itself.
- Paste-over:** A piece of paper carrying a corrected reading, pasted over the incorrect notes or words. More commonly found in printed sources than in manuscript.
- Quarto:** (i) A term used to describe the format of a book in which each sheet of paper is folded twice after printing, to produce eight pages half the size of those in Folio format, or four folios.
- Quarto:** (ii) A term loosely used to indicate the approximate size of a printed book, that is about 250 x 200 mm.
- Rastrum (Latin: 'rake'):** A multi-nibbed pen, or scorer, used to draw all the lines of a staff at once. Used for music MSS at least since the fifteenth century, rastra appear to have been made with four, five and six nibs (or tines), and even with ten or up to 30 in groups for drawing pairs or groups of staves. Whether they were made from metal or quills is not known, and certainly if they were an assemblage of quills their life would have been very limited.
- Recto:** The first side of a folio and the right-hand page of a book when open. If a book is foliated, the numbers usually appear on the recto.
- Roll:** A wheel with an elaborate design on the circumference used as a binder's decorative tool.
- Sheet:** The name given to the whole piece of paper, as it comes from the paper mill and as it is run through a printing press, before being folded for binding. The sheet size and its relation to the format of a volume gives rise to the various descriptive names.
- Signature:** A letter appearing on the first page of each GATHERING of a book and on subsequent pages with the addition of a numeral, indicating the position of the gathering in the book, and that of the page within the gathering, acting as aids to the binder.
- Stub:** the traditional processes of binding require that each folio be attached to another, through the spine, so that the stitching may grip on the paper. A single folio, if it is to be bound, must have a part of the leaf (the stub) on the other side of the spine to prevent it from slipping from the binding. Occasionally it is glued to an adjacent folio. A stub may also be the remains of a folio that has been removed from a previously bound book.
- Upright [portrait] format:** any format in which the vertical axis is longer than the horizontal.
- Verso:** The second side of a folio or the left-hand page of a book when open. Reverse of the RECTO.
- Watermark:** The trace left in paper by the wires in the mould; these produce a visible thinning in the paper which is visible when held up to the light. The four elements of watermarking are the

LAI-D-LINES and CHAIN-LINES, both traces of the basic structure of the mould, and the COUNTERMARK and watermark. The term is usually used to refer specifically to the last of these. The watermark is produced by a wire device mounted on the chain-wires of the mould. It is usually in the middle of one half of a complete sheet; the original reason for this seems to have been that it would then be in the middle of a leaf when the paper is folded once, to make folio format. If there is a countermark, it would appear either in the middle of the other half of the sheet, or in its lower outer corner.

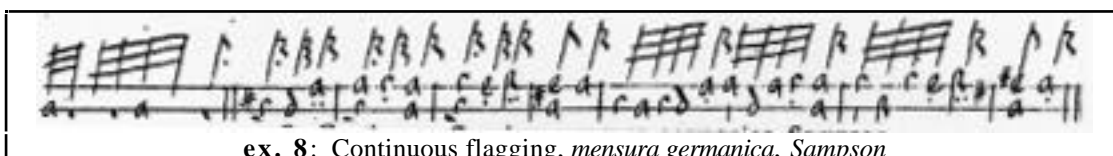
Although many designs were in use for some years, individual devices probably did not last long as they were quite fragile, and could easily become distorted. Many designs were intended to be statements, not about their manufacturer, but about the quality and size of the paper. Together with a countermark bearing the manufacturer's name or device, they ensured that both quality and source of paper were apparent to the stationer.

C - MUSICAL (Specific to the Lute Repertory)

Beam(s): The horizontal or diagonal stroke(s) attached to the STEM or crossing one or more stems, which indicate the division of the beat and the value of the note.

Bulb: The shape formed by the beam of a single FLAG when it curves back toward the stem. See example 9 below.

Continuous flagging: (*See* FLAG) One stem is given for each note in the tablature. More usually associated with *mensuragermanica*, but occasionally found in *mensuragallica*. Usually the *germanica* system BEAMS multiple notes of the same duration together in groups within bars, but some earlier manuscripts, such as RA58, do not join notes into groups, leaving them as single flags over each note.



ex. 8: Continuous flagging, *mensura germanica*, Sampson

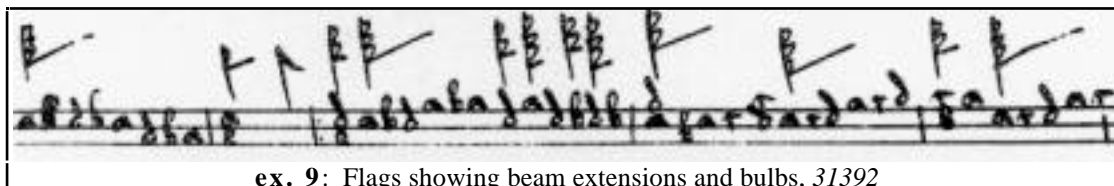
Course: (i) String or double string on a lute, usually made from gut. Double strings are tuned in unisons or octaves depending on whether they are bass courses or not. Even octave-tuned courses are transcribed as unisons.

Course: (ii) Sometimes taken to mean the line in the tablature system representing the corresponding course on the lute

Divisions: A decorated version of a simple, usually chordal, piece of music. This usually involves rapid running-notes over the same harmonic ground. Divisions are usually found in repeated STRAINS of dance music; where they are not written out it would be expected that the player

would improvise them. Several treatises are devoted to the art of improvising divisions, both vocally and instrumentally.

Extension: Added BEAM on single FLAGS which halves the duration. Used when describing scribes who join beams together when drawn on one stem and with one pen-stroke.



ex. 9: Flags showing beam extensions and bulbs, 31392

Flag: The sign placed above a letter indicating the duration of the note or notes below it.

Hold sign: Lines drawn nearly horizontally across the stave below the 'melody' line, though occasionally they are found above it, indicating that one of the notes in a chord is to be held in a situation where it is clear that others are not. Although hold signs are not often carefully placed, it is usually obvious from the context to which note(s) it is intended to be applied.

Intabulation: The re-working of a piece of music not originally written for the lute, and its recording in tablature form. The term is used to describe both the process of arrangement, and its final appearance.

Mensura gallica: Rhythm indication which makes use of mensural notes - note-head, stem and beam - to indicate the duration of the notes above which they have been placed. Named in Fuhrmann 1615.

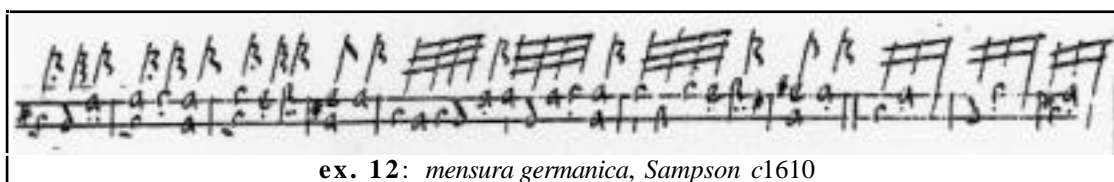


ex. 10: Table showing *mensura gallica* and *mensura germanica* from Fuhrmann 1615.



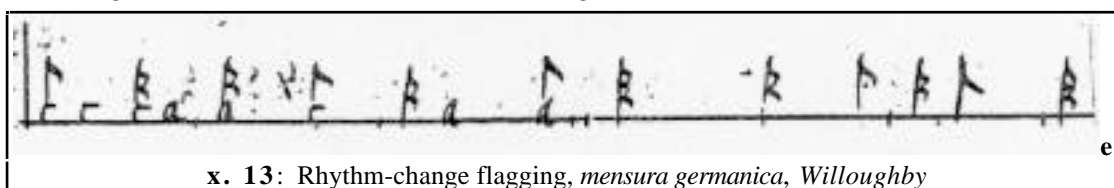
ex. 11: *mensura gallica*, ML c1620

Mensura germanica: The rhythmic system that uses flags rather than mensural note values. Named in Fuhrmann 1615.



Renaissance-G tuning: See *VIEIL TON*.

Rhythm-change flagging: The rhythm is only indicated when it changes from one note value to another: thus one *germanica* or *gallica* FLAG suffices for all the notes following in the tablature until a new flag is introduced. This is the predominant system in use with *mensura gallica*, and is sometimes found in *mensura germanica*.



Stem: The vertical down-stroke of the flag or note.

Stopping: In order to change the pitch of a COURSE on the lute, the string is held against the fingerboard behind a fret, thus preventing it from vibrating for its full length, and raising the resulting pitch. The course is therefore 'stopped' on that fret.

Strain: A section of music, usually dance music. Most English dances fall into three equal strains of four, eight or 16 bars, which are repeated in an ornamented form (see *DIVISIONS*) before moving on to the next strain.

Tablature: The system of six, sometimes seven, parallel lines used to write out music for the lute. Each line represents a COURSE of the lute. The position of the fingers on the instrument is indicated rather than the notes that will sound when the course is struck. Extra courses are indicated using oblique strokes followed by the letter representing the note to be played. German tablatures dispense with the system of lines, and use only the letters or numbers indicating which frets the player should employ. Examples of French, Italian and German tablatures may be found below, pp.14-19.

Vieil ton: Also known as 'Renaissance-G tuning'. The pattern of notional pitches designated for each COURSE of the lute or, more accurately, the intervals between them, that comprise the tuning most frequently in use during the period 1540-1630. Where pitch is given in relation to another instrument, it appears that the lute was most often conceived as being in 'G' (i.e. the treble and 6th courses were at the pitch of g' and G respectively), though where it appears with the voice the pitch is less often fixed, and just as frequently appears to be in 'A'.

INTRODUCTION

As the lute is the king of instruments so hath it few things that are common with other instruments. Its music and its manner of composing is special to itself[,] and as the human body[,] is like a little microcosm that gathereth and comprehends in itself all that is[,] and all that is fine and rare in music.

*Mary Burwell*¹

*

BACKGROUND

CONCORDANCES

*

§BACKGROUND

PARTLY BECAUSE OF ITS INSIGNIFICANT size, its unobtrusive volume and apparent lack of mechanical complexity, the importance of the lute in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century life in Europe is often underestimated. *Burwell* (1668-71) gives advice on where to play, and to whom, to achieve the best effect from such an intimate instrument:

You will do well to play in a wainscot room where there is no furniture[;] if you can[,] let not the company exceed the number three or four for the noise of a mouse is a hindrance to that music.²

The existence of the repertory in a now archaic and generally unintelligible form of notation has also contributed to its obscurity among musicologists in general. The description of the lute repertory by E. D. Mackerness summarizes the overall misconceptions that still exist:

...its complicated tuning made it difficult to handle, though it was impressive when played by a virtuoso ... The Lute and other fretted instruments ... were in demand for accompanying the voice, and instruction books for them began to appear in the middle of the [sixteenth] century.³

This impression is almost entirely false, as lute tuning was far from complicated, even after 1630, and it was relatively easy to make a good instrument sound well, even in the hands of an amateur. If one looks only at the published music for lute, it would be understandable to view it solely as an accompanying instrument, but the vast manuscript resources belie this impression, as do the number of lutenists employed at court, and the generally high esteem in which players were held.⁴ Even the tutors that survive are directed towards solo performance, consisting largely of instruction on how to intabulate vocal music for solo lute.⁵

One contributory factor was undoubtedly the system of notation of the music; another may also have been the co-existence of early keyboard instruments. The keyboard eventually became the

¹ *Burwell*, f.68v. (Facsimile Spencer 1974A) In the private collection of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex, England. Spelling, punctuation and capitalization are standardized. Commas are only added to the original text where essential, as their placing can alter the intended meaning. Those that have been added are enclosed in square brackets to differentiate from original punctuation.

² *Burwell* 42v.

³ E. D. Mackerness: *A Social History of English Music* (London, 1964), 63.

⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁵ See Le Roy 1574.

most important solo instrument in the history of music, and one for which the largest body of solo music for any instrument has been written. While the lute declined and eventually all but died out for various reasons, leaving no successor to maintain our interest in its repertory, the keyboard became elevated to a position of total supremacy—a position from which it is difficult to dislodge it, even as far back as 1600. A partial explanation for this type of dismissal is examined by David Englander, Diana Norman, Rosemary O'Day and W. R. Owens in their introduction to the series of source-readings: *Culture and Belief in Europe 1450-1600, An Anthology of Sources*.

... scholarly disciplines have stuck equally rigidly to the accepted canon of 'important' sixteenth-century works; that is to say, to works appreciated for their intrinsic worth and for their discernible influence upon the development of later European culture, *not* because they were of overwhelming concern to contemporaries.

In the past two decades or so, some changes in the scholarly attitude to the sixteenth century, as to past cultures in general, have become apparent. There is more concern to study the past on its own terms, to try to understand what was important to contemporaries—all contemporaries, high and low, young and old, male and female. Vernacular and popular cultures have become a valid subject for study in all disciplines. Scholars are attempting to discover why contemporaries thought, felt and expressed themselves as they did, and are finding the answer in in-depth study of '*histoire totale*', even '*culture totale*', as well as of texts and artefacts themselves. There has been a desire to disentangle the many threads of the process of change and to understand its uneven pace and pattern. It is a much more complex society which today's scholar perceives, and it is a much more complex understanding of its changing nature for which the scholar strives.⁶

This ideal has formed the backbone of the present study, since the English lute repertory is one that has been particularly badly neglected when compared with other repertories from this period. Contemporary solo music that survives for keyboard has eclipsed that of the lute in a disproportionate manner. Admittedly the keyboard music of this period became the foundation of an extremely important repertory, but at the time, it was an insignificant instrument when compared with consort groups and the lute. Virtually all of the surviving English music for Virginals is contained in a small group of manuscripts: My Lady Nevells Book, the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book⁷ and smaller sources such as the Dublin Virginal Manuscript, The Mulliner Book and Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book.⁸ Because this music has long been available for playing purposes, the idea took root that the Virginals were the most important domestic musical instrument in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Nothing could be further from the truth. The repertory for Virginals consists of about 400 pieces of music written principally by four composers: Byrd, Bull, Tomkins and Gibbons, whereas the lute repertory from the same period in England is more than five times that size, and was the work of at least 150 known composers, and probably considerably more when the vast anonymous corpus is taken into consideration.

Another contributory factor in elevating the importance of the keyboard is seen in household accounts and inventories. Where musical instruments are listed, it is not unusual to find virginals

⁶ Introduction, pages x-xi.

⁷ My Ladye Nevells Book is privately owned; the Fitzwilliam Virginal book : *GB-Cfm* Ms.32.g.29, is the largest surviving keyboard source from the period.

⁸ *EIRE-Dm* 410/2, *GB-Lbl* Add.30513 and *GB-Lbl* R.M.23.L.4 respectively.

since they are more obviously 'furniture', but lutes are often absent, even when we know that there were lutes in the house.

The preliminary chapters explore the origins of the repertory which was brought to such expressive and technical peaks by composers such as John and Robert Johnson, Allison, Bacheler, Dowland, Holborne, Danyel, Pilkington and Rosseter, and discuss the features of its many sources.

In the last ten years, the imbalance in consideration of the lute repertory has been gradually eroded, though the music is still to a great extent only known and played by a very small number of lutenists. The significance of the repertory has been eloquently summarized by Victor Coelho:

The surviving reliquiæ of European lute music comprise the largest body of instrumental music composed before 1800, amounting to over 30,000 individual pieces preserved in manuscripts and printed books intended specifically for the lutenist, as well as in books of worship, dance manuals, histories, theoretical works, broadsides, tutors, collections for voice and other instruments, and iconographical sources. The importance of this instrument and its impact on the history of European culture cannot be overemphasized. The first books of instrumental music ever published were the lute books by Spinacino (1507) and Dalza (1508), which were also among the first music books of any kind published by Petrucci. Throughout the Renaissance, the lute was considered to have the closest affinity with the ancient Greek instruments. By the end of the sixteenth century, the lute and chitarrone were considered by musicians and poets as substitutes for the Orphic lyre, as well as a link to antiquity; Marino's dialogue between the lutenist and the nightingale is a story that goes back at least 2000 years. ... In the hands of Francesco da Milano, Alberto da Ripa, John Dowland, and Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, the lute produced cathartic effects that were described and chronicled by their respective contemporaries. In the hands of Leonardo, Vincenzo Galilei, his son Galileo, Mersenne, Huygens and other scientists, the lute was used to perform experiments in tuning and temperament.⁹

It was the lute's shape and its supposed origins in antiquity as the shell of a large tortoise which earned it the Latin designation of *Testudo*. In Europe and the Baltic a few composers seem to have distinguished themselves particularly, but in England the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw a plethora of relatively insignificant composers writing for the lute. Many of these composers are known as little more than names, though a large number of them were employed in the courts of Henry VIII, the Royal Princes and Princesses, and the retinues of Queen Elizabeth and eventually James I (VI) and Charles I.

Needless to say, the notation of the lute repertory will probably ensure its continuing obscurity until it is completely and reliably published in mensural notation, a form familiar to all musicians. Until 1957, the repertory was largely unplayed, and its extent almost unknown when compared to that of Elizabethan and Jacobean virginalists and madrigalists. The thesis of David Lumsden, 'The Sources of English Lute Music (1540-1620)' written by 1955, but only finally registered in 1957, brought the repertory quite suddenly into the open, and by cataloguing the sources then known he laid the major part of the groundwork for all subsequent research into the lutenists and sources of that period. Lumsden listed the aspects of the repertory that he intended to examine in his

⁹ Coelho 1989.

thesis in order to provide a basis for 'future enquirers' to examine more detailed subjects within the field:

the composers concerned with lute music, the kind of music they wrote, the notation they used, the lay-out and general characteristics of their books, the problems of dating both music and sources.¹⁰

In fact, he was unable to do more than skim the surface of these aspects, and his necessarily cursory glance at his sources did not equip him with adequate information to provide unassailable answers to his own questions. In addition, this type of historical musicology was only in the early stages of evolution in the mid 1950s, and the discipline had yet to develop in accuracy, consistency and approach. To today's musicologist, Lumsden's goals were not satisfactorily reached and so they are still applicable to the present study, though more accurate detail and more trustworthy evidence have been used to reach for the final conclusions than were available in 1955.

The dates given in some manuscripts, though they can apply only to one particular part of the book, have been accepted in all cases as the date of the book as a whole. The few remaining sources which cannot be dated in this way are placed solely by reference to their contents, style and lay-out and, perhaps most important of all, by that indefinable sense of atmosphere or 'scent' sharpened by long familiarity with the music.¹¹

Hardly surprisingly, some of the dates, and much of this information, are inaccurate, and inconsistencies that exist in the collections are re-examined here in the light of new information and research techniques. The following study emphasises the firm evidence provided by the physical properties of the manuscripts, and the identification of the scribes, to assign new, more accurate and defensible dates to these sources and assess the original purpose of their compilation. Many of Lumsden's lists provided scholars with essential raw material, and were repeated, but supplemented by the information that has since come to light, and expanded to embrace other material that is now considered essential.

This is the first study of this group of sources to make a detailed examination of the scribes involved in their compilation, and to search specifically for scribal concordances and draw inferences from these results. The facsimile publications of lute manuscripts in the Boethius Press collection¹² have included notes regarding the identity of the scribes where that was deemed relevant to dating or provenance, and have mentioned scribal concordances in passing if they were known. The importance of this aspect of the sources has not, however, been given the consideration that it probably deserves, and as much as 80% of the scribal concordances discussed here are new. Any discoveries of concordances by other scholars are acknowledged at the point in this study where they are discussed—the most notable being the occurrences of the secondary scribe in *Sampson*, which were listed by Robert Spencer, but not otherwise discussed—the remainder are unique to this work.

¹⁰ Lumsden 1957A, i-ii.

¹¹ Lumsden 1957A, 33.

¹² Almost all of the introductory information for these publications has been provided by Robert Spencer, and he is the only editor to have listed scribal concordances as a matter of course.

Methods of dating are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, and scribal concordances are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and the application of that in the case studies of Chapter 7. The remainder of the text deals with a general discussion of the establishment and development of the English school, chronological context, the types of collections to be found among the sources, the types of music used to build up a collection, and a reference framework into which each source can be placed and understood.

Although the present catalogue covers all music in French tablature, the text of this work is intended as an examination specifically of the English repertory, the bulk of which survives in manuscript form only, although on the continent, prints abound.

The majority of the manuscripts were copied between 1580 and 1615, when lute music was written exclusively in *vieil ton*. The 'Golden Age' label is attached broadly to the period 1550-1630. Apart from the evolution and brief but prolific work of the lute-song writers, the concept of a Golden Age stems from the apparent maturing of an idiomatic English solo style, synthesized from various continental influences, and resulting in an identifiably insular harmonic flavour, texture and group of genres. Before 1580, the music reflects trends principally garnered from Italian masters, as well as features from intabulations of popular secular and sacred models. Although intabulations continued to appear in the solo repertory after 1580, their importance waned rapidly. Nevertheless, their melodic influence persisted in the now-popular and ubiquitous dance music and in settings of popular songs and ballads, becoming an integral part of the English style. After 1625, influences from abroad, particularly France and the Netherlands, diluted the repertory, and this diversification marked the end of this era. What survives today from the Golden Age is a repertory of about 2100 pieces by some 100 known composers, with possibly as many again who composed only one or two surviving pieces and remain anonymous.

It has been necessary to limit the scope of the present study to music composed specifically for the solo lute, although intabulations which appear in the solo sources are shown in the inventories. Only music in French tablature is examined, omitting the generally unconnected repertories preserved in German and Italian tablatures. German tablature had become largely obsolete by c1600, and much of the later German repertory adopted French tablature.¹³

A large group of manuscripts of English origin have been omitted from this study: the Paston Manuscripts.¹⁴ Edward Paston employed a number of professional copyists to compile an unrivalled collection of music manuscripts, among them a group of lute manuscripts written entirely in Italian tablature, and containing only intabulations of vocal music, without any generic solo lute music.¹⁵

Despite these exclusions, the surviving repertory (listed in the table below) is surprisingly large for one so old. Its bulk makes a good grasp of it in its entirety extremely difficult, but once this obstacle is surmounted the resulting wealth of information is startling, both in its complexity and its

¹³ See discussion in Chapter 1.

¹⁴ Originally St Michael's College, Tenbury, now Bodleian Library, Oxford.

¹⁵ See Philip Brett: 'Edward Paston' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* iv (1968-9), 51. An Oxford DPhil dissertation by Francis Knights: 'The Paston Manuscripts' was, unfortunately, abandoned.

scope. Intimate knowledge of every source is impossible, though some sources, particularly where they serve as examples of specific problems or present unusual information, have been examined in closer detail. Statistically, the size of this repertory and the diversity of the sources allows generalisations about it to be made with good evidence to support them, even though what survives can only be a small percentage of the original MS sources, without taking into account the vast amount of lute ephemera. Most of the printed music known to have been produced seems to survive, even if only as *unica*, as attested by stationers' and publishers' registers. It would be unreasonable to suppose that more keyboard sources were lost or destroyed than lute or consort sources. The consort repertory, though, was probably larger than simply the music written specifically for consort groups, as the lute song publications were undoubtedly also used to provide sets of short consort pieces, many in dance forms¹⁶ or easily adaptable to dance measures.

The Italian seventeenth-century manuscript repertory has been described and catalogued by Victor Coelho in his thesis: 'The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music: A *Catalogue Raisonné*' (1989), and the present study has attempted to be complementary to this work where possible. Coelho's thesis and subsequent work is the most comprehensive exploration of the Italian repertory in the English language, and several relevant passages have been reproduced here. There is no comparable work available concerning the German repertory, though most of the manuscripts have been listed in Pohlmann 1971, Boetticher 1978 or Schulze-Kurtz 1990. The English manuscript repertory after the Golden Age, that is from 1630 on, has been described and indexed by Matthew Spring, together with some identification of concordances.¹⁷

In table 2, printed and manuscript sources that comprise the entire corpus of solo lute music in French tablature using *vieil ton* are listed, even where the date of these sources places them outside the scope of the present study. All have been catalogued and considered for the present study (the list is alphabetical, and commonly used names are given in inverted commas): those that can be described specifically as English, dating from 1530-1630, and with which this study is therefore principally concerned, are marked with an asterisk. A number of these sources originated outside Britain, but consideration of their contents is essential to the understanding of the repertory as a whole, and of the English sources in particular.

TABLE 2	
FRENCH TABLATURE LUTE SOURCES 1530-1630	
Emanuel Adriansen	<i>Pratum Musicum</i> 1584
Emanuel Adriansen	<i>Pratum Musicum</i> 1592
Robert Ballard	<i>Premier Livre de Luth</i> 1611
Robert Ballard	<i>Deuxiesme Livre de Luth</i> 1614
William Barley	<i>A New Booke of Tabliture for the Lute and Orpharion</i> 1596*
Jean Baptiste Besard	<i>Novus Partus</i> 1617
-	Manuscript additions to Strasbourg copy of Besard 1617 c1630
Jean Baptiste Besard	<i>Thesaurus Harmonicus</i> 1603
CH-Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Musiksammlung Ms.F.IX.53	c1630-45

¹⁶ Such as John Dowland, 'Frog Galliard' from Dowland 1597.

¹⁷ Spring 1987A.

CH-Bern, Eidgenössisches Staatsarchiv, Ms.Spiezer Archiv nr.123 1624
CH-Geneva, Private collection of Hans von Busch, Ms.E 'Herhold' 1602
CS-Prague, Narodni Museum, Ms.IV.G.18 'Aegidius of Retenwert' 1623
D-Bautzen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek, Druck 13.4°.85 Manuscript additions to Besard 1603 1608
D-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Mus.Ms.40141 'Johannes Nauclerus' 1615
D-Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ND.VI.No.3238 'Schele' 1613-19
D-Kassel, Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches, Archiv FÜ 9825 and 9829 'Herdringen' c1620
D-Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Ms.4°.Mus.108.1 'Victor de Montbuysson' 1611
John Danyel <i>Songs for the Lute, viol and voice</i> 1606 (two pieces)*
Adriaen Denss <i>Florilegium</i> 1594
John Dowland <i>First Booke of Songs or Aires</i> 1597 to 1600 (one piece)*
John Dowland <i>A Pilgrimes Solace</i> 1612 (one piece)*
Robert Dowland <i>A Musicall Banquet</i> 1610 (two pieces)*
Robert Dowland <i>Varietie of Lute Lessons</i> 1610*
EIRE-Dublin, Library of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, Ms.Z3.2.13 'Marsh' c1595*
EIRE-Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms.408/1 (<i>olim</i> D.1.21/1) 'William Ballet' c1595 and c1610 (bound with Ms.408/2)*
EIRE-Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms.408/2 (<i>olim</i> D.1.21/2) c1605 (bound with Ms.408/1)*
EIRE-Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms.410/1 (<i>olim</i> D.3.30/1) 'Dallis's Pupil' 1583-5*
Georg Leopold Fuhrmann <i>Testudo Gallo-Germanica</i> 1615
GB-Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn Ms.27 'Brogyntyn' c1600*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Add.2764(2) (fragments) c1585-90*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Add.3056 'Cosens', erroneously: 'Cozens' c1610*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Add.8844 (<i>olim</i> GB-Bcro Add.Ms.6) 'Trumbull' c1595*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.2.11 'Matthew Holmes' c1585-95*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.3.18 'Matthew Holmes' c1585-1600*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.4.22 c1615*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.4.23 'Matthew Holmes' (Cittern) c1600
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.5.78.3 'Matthew Holmes' c1595-1600*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Ms.Dd.9.33 'Matthew Holmes' c1600-1605*
GB-Cambridge, University Library, Nn.6.36 'Matthew Holmes' c1610-15*
GB-Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms.Mus.689 'Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury' c1630 and 1640*
GB-Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms.0.16.2 'Trinity' c1630*
GB-Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Dep.314, No.23 'Lady Margaret Wemyss' 1643-4
GB-Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms.Adv.5.2.18 1627-9 'Straloch/Graham copy' 1847*
GB-Edinburgh, University Library, Ms.Dc.5.125 'Thistlethwaite' c1575*
GB-Edinburgh, University Library, Ms.La.III.487 'Sir William Mure of Rowallan' c1605- 8 and c1615-20
GB-Glasgow, University Library, Euing 25 'Euing' c1610 and a later layer c1650*
GB-Haslemere, Private Library of the Dolmetsch Family, Ms II.B.1 'Dolmetsch' c1630
GB-London, British Library, Eg.2046 'Jane Pickeringe' 1616 and c1630-50*
GB-London, British Library, Ms.Hirsch.M.1353 'Hirsch' c1620 ¹⁸ *
GB-London, British Library, Royal Appendix 58 c1530*
GB-London, British Library, Sloane.1021 'Stobaeus of Königsberg's Commonplace Book' c1635
GB-London, British Library, Stowe.389 'Raphe Bowle' 1558*
GB-London, British Library, Add.4900 c1605 (15 pieces)
GB-London, British Library, Add.6402 c1605 (4 pieces)*
GB-London, British Library, Add.15117 'John Swarland' c1615*
GB-London, British Library, Add.31392 c1605*
GB-London, British Library, Add.38539 'ML' or, erroneously: 'Sturt' c1620 (and one piece c1630-40)*
GB-London, British Library, Add.41498 c1590 (one piece)*
GB-London, British Library, Add.60577 (two pieces) 'Winchester MS' c1540*
GB-Northamptonshire, Public Record Office, FH.3431.c (fragments) c1625*
GB-Nottingham, University Library, Ms Mi LM 16 'Francis Willoughby' or 'Middleton/ Myddleton' c1560-85*
GB-Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus.1280 (fragments) c1580*
GB-Oxford, Corpus Christi Library, Ms.254 c1610 (two pieces)*

¹⁸ See discussion in Chapter 7 for information regarding the date of this source.

GB-Oxford, Magdalen College Library, Ms.265 [guard book] 61-62v (fragments) c1605*
GB-Oxford, St Edmund Hall Library, (fragments) c1635*
GB-Shropshire, Private Collection of Lord Forrester, w.s.m. 'John Welde' c1600*
GB-Woodford Green, Private Library of Robert Spencer, w.s.m. 'Henry Sampson' c1610*
GB-Woodford Green, Private Library of Robert Spencer, w.s.m. 'Margaret Board' c1620 and c1635*
GB-Woodford Green, Private Library of Robert Spencer, w.s.m. 'Richard Mynshall' 1597- 1600*
I-Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, M.VIII.24, manuscript additions to Besard <i>Thesaurus Harmonicus</i> c1605
Joachim van den Hove <i>Delitiae Musicae</i> 1612
Joachim van den Hove <i>Florida</i> 1601
Adrian Le Roy <i>A briefe and easye instruction to learne the tableture...</i> 1568*
Adrian Le Roy <i>A briefe and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tableture...</i> 1574*
L-Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Ms.285-MF-LXXIX c1600-20 'Königsberg'
John Maynard <i>The XII Wonders of the World</i> 1611*
Elias Mertel <i>Hortus Musicalis</i> 1615
Louys de Moy <i>Le Petit Boucquet de Frise Orientale</i> 1631
Johann Daniel Mylius <i>Thesaurus Gratiarum</i> 1622
NL-Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana Ms.1666 'Thysius' c1620
Pierre Phalèse <i>Des Chansons Reduictz en Tabulature</i> 1546
Pierre Phalèse <i>Des Chansons Reduictz en Tabulature</i> 1547
Pierre Phalèse <i>Hortus Musarum</i> 1552
Pierre Phalèse <i>Theatrum Musicum</i> 1563
Francis Pilkington <i>First Book of Songs or Aires</i> 1605 (one piece)*
Francis Pilkington <i>Second Set of Madrigals</i> (Altus partbook) 1624 (one piece)*
PL-Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Berlin Mus.Ms.40143 'Richard' 1600-1603*
PL-Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Berlin Mus.Ms.40153 'Dusiacki' c1620-21
PL-Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Berlin Mus.Ms.40641 'Krakow' c1620*
Matthew Reyman <i>Noctes Musicae</i> 1598
Thomas Robinson <i>The Schoole of Musicke</i> 1603*
RU-Lvov, University Library, Ms.1400/I c1555-60
RU-St Petersburg, Academy of Science Library, Ms.ON.124 c1630 (Fr. and It. tabl.)
S-Skoklosters Castle Library, PB.fil.172 'Per Brahe's Visbok' c1610-20
S-Skoklosters Castle Library, Ms.B 'Lucas Beckmann' 1622
US-Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Mansell Lyra Viol MS. (one lute piece) 'Mansell' c1600?*
US-New Haven, Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Music Ms.13 'Osborn' c1560*
US-New Haven, Yale Music Library, Rare, Ma21, W632, 'Wickhambrook' c1595*
US-New Jersey, Private Library of Michael d'Andrea, w.s.m. (fragments) 'Andrea' c1570*
US-Rochester, University, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library Vault.M140.V186, manuscript bound with Vallet 1615 'Sibley' c1635
US-Washington, Folger-Shakespeare Library, Ms.V.b.280 (<i>olim</i> Ms.1610.1) 'Folger' or, erroneously: 'Dowland MS' c1590*
US-Washington, Folger-Shakespeare Library, Ms.V.a.159 (<i>olim</i> Ms.448.16) 'Giles Lodge' 1559-c1575*
Adriaen Valerius <i>Nederlandsche Gedenck-Clanck</i> 1626
Nicolas Vallet <i>Regia Pietas</i> 1620
Nicolas Vallet <i>Secretum Musarum</i> 1615
Nicolas Vallet <i>Secretum Musarum</i> 1616

Some of the manuscripts (such as *Board*, *Herbert* and *Pickeringe*) include additions to the original repertory that originate outside the chronological limits of this study. In the past where this has been the case, the practice has been to deal only with those pieces which are specifically deemed relevant,¹⁹ with the result that many pieces in *Herbert* that should have been considered in Lumsden's thesis were not. As much of the present study depends on viewing each of the collections as a whole, the entire solo lute contents of each manuscript have been included in the catalogue and inventories,

¹⁹ See Lumsden 1957A and Spring 1987A.

even where some of the music clearly falls outside the date-limits of the repertory, or the tuning limits of *vieil ton*.

Lumsden did not attempt to explore the origins of the music, treating it only as a fully-formed repertory. Nor did he attempt to fit it into the picture of social existence that we have for the Elizabethan period, or explore the motivation behind the compilation of a lute book, or the clues available to tell us how the instrument was taught, and to whom.

Lumsden cannot be considered at fault for omitting to consider some fundamental questions. Essentially, he was dealing with an entirely unexplored repertory, and there were very few precedents on which he could base his research. In his introduction he states that he had hoped to go much further with his research, but found himself hampered by the lack of basic information. The initial work of locating sources and cataloguing them was far more time-consuming than anyone had suspected, and the thesis was perforce shaped by these considerations. Without his work there would not now be a flourishing lute-playing community, two international journals devoted to lute music, and a fine understanding of the original instrument and playing technique.

Having taken this into account though, most of the work on the English lute repertory to be published in the last 30 years has been limited to a discussion of the work of one particular composer,²⁰ or one small segment of a vast repertory, such as duet music²¹ or the contents of one manuscript.²² This has been pursued even though the extent of the work of each composer is not really known, due to the Elizabethan practices of not ascribing music to any composer, or of ascribing it arbitrarily to someone well-known to assure its popularity or appeal, or re-ascribing it when the divisions were re-composed. We have now reached a situation where the foundations of much of this research are beginning to sink under the accumulation of so much detailed study, but we are perhaps now better equipped to re-examine the corpus as a whole and in a new light.

§CONCORDANCES

In order to be able to discuss these sources in even the most basic detail, a certain standard of information for each source has been necessary. This ranges from straightforward measurements of book and page dimensions, to a detailed examination of watermarks and collation. However, although this gives a physical picture of the sources it is a picture still lacking the dimensions that most often link them.

A large part of this study is devoted to the analysis of tablature hands and an exploration of scribal concordances between manuscripts. However, these aspects of the sources are peripheral to their main importance, which is as the repository of a flourishing Elizabethan and Jacobean instrumental

²⁰ Richard Newton: 'The Lute Music of Francis Pilkington' *LSJ* i (1959); David Scott: 'John Danyel: His Life and Songs' *LSJ* xiii (1971).

²¹ Richard Newton: 'English Duets for Two Lutes' *LSJ* i (1959) and Lyle E. Nordstrom: 'The English Lute Duet and Consort Lesson' *LSJ* xviii (1976).

²² In general these are detailed works, but they rely heavily on Lumsden's work, and thus have clear limitations. Apart from a number of publications in the *Journal of the Lute Society* (listed in the bibliography) the facsimile editions of a large number of the manuscripts also include an introductory study detailing research into the provenance of the manuscript, but again relying heavily on Lumsden for the existence and location of concordances.

repertory. In order to discuss this music in even the most general terms, an understanding of its distribution is essential. David Lumsden, the first scholar to attempt a comprehensive study of the lute repertory, compiled a thematic catalogue that took the first steps towards establishing concordances between sources. Lumsden examined every source known at the time, and listed each piece of music on file cards to construct a catalogue with concordances that has been used by scholars and players of the repertory ever since. Since his work in the early 1950s, the microchip revolution has made computers available to any scholar involved in data analysis research, making it possible to examine a much larger range of sources with a greater degree of accuracy.

Obviously, any system has shortcomings, and Lumsden's work has suffered from the passage of time in many ways. Firstly, many new sources have come to light: Lumsden surveyed 45 books; the present study takes into account 68 sources known to be English and a further 44 which are not specifically English sources, but contain English music. Secondly it has become clear through international exchange and the surge in facsimile productions that it is not sufficient simply to catalogue music in English or British manuscripts; foreign sources must also be taken into account, because of the interchange between musicians and copyists in the period under discussion, and later sections of the manuscripts on Lumsden's list must also be considered. Thirdly, file card systems inevitably rely on memory and human fallibility, and subsequent use of his catalogue has thrown up numerous errors and omissions.

Sources with previous concordance studies used by the author in preparation of Appendices 1 & 2	
2764(2) (RS unpublished)	<i>Mynshall</i> (RS 1975)
408/2 (JW 1968)	<i>Och1280</i> (RS unpublished)
41492 (identified SM)	<i>Osborn</i> (JW 1992)
4900 (JW 1992)	<i>Pickeringe</i> (RS 1985)
<i>Ballet</i> (JW 1968)	<i>RA58</i> (JW 1992)
<i>Board</i> (RS 1976)	<i>Sampson</i> (RS 1974)
<i>Brogyntyn</i> (RS/JA 1978)	<i>Stowe389</i> (JW 1992)
<i>Dallis</i> (JW and others 1967)	<i>Thistlethwaite</i> (JW 1992)
<i>Dd.2.11</i> (JR unpublished)	<i>Trumbull</i> (RS 1980)
<i>Herbert</i> (MS 1987 partial)	<i>Vilnius</i> (JW/AN 1989)
<i>Hirsch</i> (RS 1982)	<i>Welde</i> (RS unpublished)
<i>Lodge</i> (JW 1992)	<i>Wemyss</i> (MS 1987)
<i>Marsh</i> (JW 1969, RS 1981)	<i>Willoughby</i> (RS 1978, JW 1992)
<i>ML</i> (RS 1985)	

AN - Arthur Ness; JA - Jeffrey Alexander; JR - John Robinson;
 JW - John Ward; MS - Matthew Spring; RS - Robert Spencer;
 SM - Stewart McCoy; VC - Victor Coelho

The original intention of this study, simply to revise Lumsden's catalogue, was abandoned, as it became clear that a complete re-examination was necessary. The catalogue part of the work was re-worked entirely from scratch, translating the first ten notes of every known piece in French tablature, using *vieil ton* or 'Renaissance-G' tuning, to a system of numbers and letters representing the courses of the

lute and the finger positions indicated, disregarding rhythm. Ten notes was sufficient to indicate whether a piece was similar or not, and from that point, comparison of the the pieces themselves has confirmed whether the sources are concordant or not. All this information was fed into a database with further fields giving the meter, the tonality, the composer's name, the original ascriptions, standardised titles for the music and those concordances that were known. Lumsden's numbering system was also included, as it provided some information that could not be found elsewhere.

Sources lacking previous concordance studies	
6402	<i>Krakow</i>
31392	Le Roy 1568
60577	Le Roy 1574
Adriansen 1584	<i>Lvov</i>
Adriansen 1592	<i>Magdalen</i>
<i>Aegidius</i>	<i>Mansell</i>
<i>Andrea</i>	Mathew 1652
Ballard 1611	Maynard 1611
Ballard 1614	Mertel 1615
Barley 1596	<i>Montbuysson</i>
<i>Basle</i>	Moy 1631
<i>Bautzen</i>	Mylius 1622
<i>Beckmann</i>	<i>Nn.6.36</i>
<i>Bern</i>	<i>Northants</i>
Besard 1603	<i>Nürnberg</i> (partial)
Brade 1617	<i>Occ254</i>
<i>Brahe</i>	Phalèse 1546
<i>Cosens</i>	Phalèse 1547
<i>Dd.3.18</i>	Phalèse 1552
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	Phalèse 1568
<i>Dd.4.23</i>	Reymann 1598
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	<i>Richard</i>
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	<i>Schele</i>
Denss 1594	<i>Sibley</i> (partial)
<i>Dolmetsch</i>	<i>St Petersburg</i> (partial)
Dowland 1610B	<i>Stobaeus</i>
<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Straloch</i>
<i>Euing</i>	<i>Swarland</i>
<i>Folger</i>	<i>Thysius</i>
Fuhrmann 1615	<i>Trinity</i>
<i>Genoa</i>	Valerius 1626
<i>Herbert</i>	Vallet 1615
<i>Herdringen</i>	Vallet 1616
<i>Herhold</i>	Vallet 1620
Hove 1601	Waissel 1591
Hove 1612	<i>Wickhambrook</i>

It is in the nature of a machine to be literal, and this has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that it will not omit an entry 'by mistake' so, given the right questions, it will answer them far more fully and accurately than a human brain can. On the other hand music, by its nature, does not lend itself to literal analysis, and so pieces which start almost, but not exactly, the same are discarded by the computer, which is searching for exact matches. It was surprising how many pieces did actually start in precisely the same way, even if they diverged quite considerably as they progressed. Those pieces which did slip through the net when sorting through the incipits were picked up either by existing concordance lists (also fed into the computer), or by sorting on other fields, such as the composer's name or title of the music. Under the present system, some transposed versions of pieces may have escaped notice, but again it is likely that incorporating existing concordances and sorting by every possible parameter will have caught most of these. In fact, lute music is not often transposed, as

its tuning and the hand positions required for any original piece do not lend themselves to adjustment to a different pitch.

Thus, the new catalogue embraces *all* music, English or not, written for the lute in French tablature using *vieil ton* or 'Renaissance-G' tuning. This amounts to approximately 8000 pieces of music, as opposed to the 1600 covered by Lumsden. Inevitably, when writing in a period of political or cultural upheaval, the constant emergence of new sources has made it impossible to present the catalogue in a 'finished' form, though the appendices presented here contain as much detail as is available at the time of writing. Lumsden tended to scatter information through his thesis in numerous lists or discussions of the same material under various headings, and this approach has been rationalised—although inevitably a complete picture of any single source cannot be wholly obtained through reading the entry regarding it in Appendix 1, as its context within the repertory as a whole is not discussed there.

Any previous concordance work on any source was included in the database to ensure the most complete final output possible. The lists given here indicate which of the concordances lists produced as Appendices 1 and 2 are entirely new, and which contribute only partially new information. The result of bringing all these sources together at one time has meant that even pre-existing concordance lists have been expanded on average by about 50%. The limitations of time, the parameters of this

study and the method by which concordances were searched, has meant that contemporary keyboard and viol consort sources have not been included in the database of incipits. This will undoubtedly be the next stage of groundwork in establishing a comprehensive picture of instrumental music during this period.

Concordances with the following sources, from later periods or in other tablatures or tunings, were supplied by concordance studies or isolated notes to personal copies:

Adriansen 1600 (RS)	<i>Newberry</i> (VC 1989)
Bakfark 1553 (RS)	Newsidler 1566 (RS)
<i>Balcarres</i> (MS 1987)	Newsidler 1574 (RS)
Bataille 1609 (RS)	Nörmiger 1598 (RS)
Bataille 1611 (RS)	<i>Panmure5</i> (MS 1987)
Bataille 1613 (RS)	<i>Panmure8</i> (RS)
Bataille 1615 (RS)	Phalèse 1571 (RS)
<i>Cologne</i> (RS)	Philidor I and II (RS)
<i>Como</i> (VC 1989)	Piccinini 1623 (VC 1989)
<i>Danzig</i> (RS, VC 1989)	Piccinini 1639 (RS)
<i>de Bellis</i> (VC 1989)	Praetorius 1612 (RS)
<i>Dlugoraj</i> (RS)	<i>Reymes</i> (RS)
<i>Dresden</i> (RS)	<i>Reynaud</i> (RS)
<i>Drexel</i> (RS)	Rosseter 1609 (RS)
<i>Dusiacki</i> (VC 1989)	<i>Rostock</i> (RS)
<i>Fabritius</i> (RS)	Ruden 1600 I & II (RS)
Galilei 1584 (VC 1989)	<i>Schermar</i> (RS)
Galilei 1620 (RS 1988)	<i>Schmall</i> (RS)
<i>Hainhofer</i> III and IV (RS)	<i>Skene</i> (RS, MS 1987)
<i>Kremsmunster</i> (RS, VC 1989)	<i>Stockholm253</i> (RS)
Lechner 1590	<i>Thynne</i> (MS 1987)
<i>Leipzig</i> (RS)	<i>Turin</i> (VC 1989)
<i>Linz</i> (RS)	<i>Uppsala</i> (RS)
<i>Naples</i> (VC 1989)	<i>Vienna17706</i> (VC 1989)
<i>Naclerus</i> (RS)	<i>Werl</i> (RS 1990)

MS - Matthew Spring; RS - Robert Spencer; VC - Victor Coelho

for which previous concordance lists are unknown may nevertheless have been mentioned in other inventories, thus some of the concordances have been confirmed by other studies. Some foreign sources, particularly those that are exceptionally large such as *Nürnberg*, *Montbuysson* and *St Petersburg*, contain music in Italian or German tablature or music in French tablature that is not in *vieil ton*. Where this is the case, only music in *vieil ton* and French tablature were examined.

The quantity and accuracy of the information that each prior study provides is not indicated in these lists, though those by Robert Spencer are usually the most exhaustive. The more recent of his inventories to facsimile publications are particularly complete. The date of the publication of existing lists is given here to allow some assessment of the amount of previous work and the number of new sources that are likely to have been taken into account in their preparation. Until now, all studies have used Lumsden's catalogue as their starting point, and the present work is no exception. The sources

CHAPTER 1

THE LUTE

The Lute is without contradiction the king of instruments. It maketh alone a consort of music[,] it speaks without any origin and out of dead and dumb things it draws a soul that seems reasonable by the several thoughts and expression that the skilful master makes of his lute upon all kinds of matters and subjects. It is a faithful & commodious companion that watcheth amidst darkness[,] and when the whole nature is in silence it banisheth from it horror and unquietness by pleasing sounds.

Mary Burwell¹

*

SYMBOLISM AND SCIENCE

CONSTRUCTION AND TUNING

NOTATION

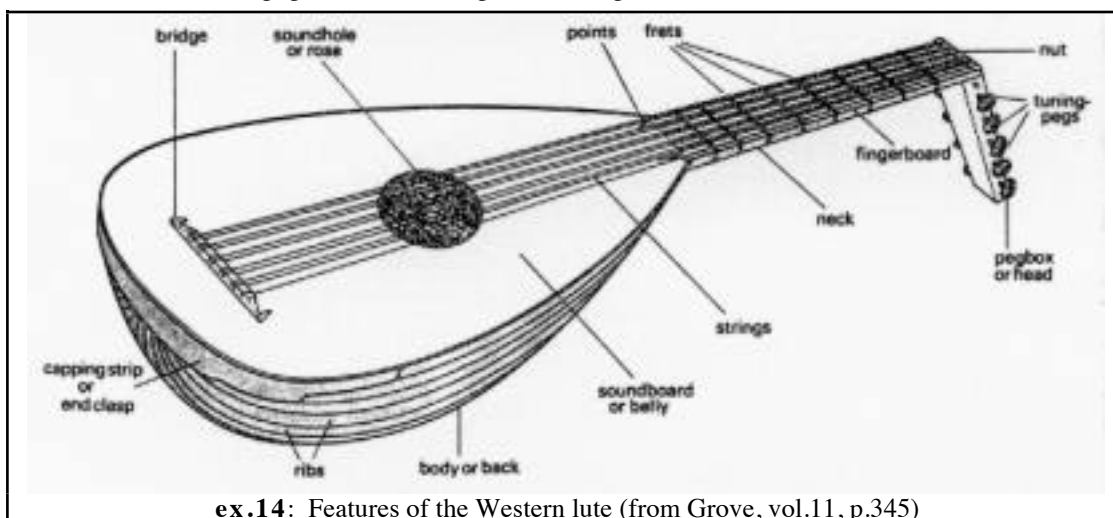
PATRONAGE AND EMPLOYMENT

LEARNING THE LUTE

*

§SYMBOLISM AND SCIENCE

THE LUTE IS ONE OF the most attractive and delicate of all Renaissance musical instruments. Its principal characteristics are an exceptional lightness of construction, a rounded back constructed from a number of ribs and the peg-box set at an angle to the fingerboard.

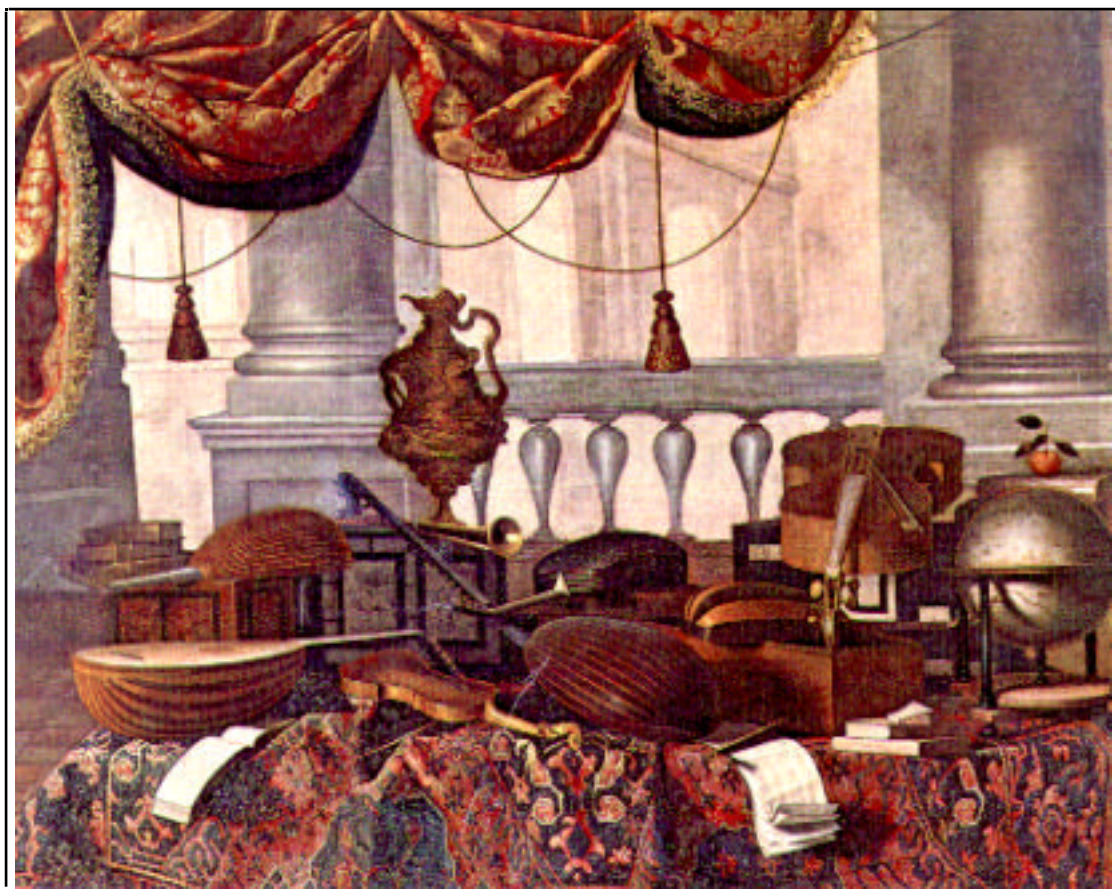


ex.14: Features of the Western lute (from Grove, vol.11, p.345)

The play of light on the polished back of a lute, and the delicate detail of its construction fascinated painters throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond, and it is always to be found in depictions of collections of instruments, and often in the background of a portrait or group, particularly where the objects had symbolic significance. The lute or lutenist was often used to portray the sense of hearing in allegorical representations of the five senses.² It was a physical example of

¹ Burwell (1661-72), f.43.

² e.g. *The Five Senses* by Gonzales Coques, c1655-60; *The Five Senses* by Theodore Rombouts c1600, *Allegory of the Sense of Hearing* by Breughel, 1617-18.



ex.15: Evaristo Baschenis (1617-77) [untitled musical instruments]

geometric perfection and scientific precision in its shape, dimensions and the positions of its frets, and was frequently used as the representative of all music and artistic invention. Its geometrical accuracy and symmetry were also seen as symbolic of the perfection of nature.³ More than any other instrument, the lute has come to symbolise the renaissance in the modern mind.

§CONSTRUCTION AND TUNING

In 1581 Vincenzo Galilei described the lute in the most basic terms as a 'simple piece of hollow wood over which are stretched four, six, or more strings of the gut of a dumb beast or of some other material.'⁴ This description could be applied to virtually any of the family of fretted string instruments from the period 1500-1700. By 1550, virtually all lutes were strung with six courses of strings, and seven courses were not unusual in 1580. Originally there would have been only five courses, and iconographic evidence indicates four-course instruments from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Gut was tied around the neck of the instrument for frets, but the length of the neck limited the number of this type of fret that could be used, although even very early lutes seem to use wooden frets glued to the soundboard. Nevertheless, the pitch range of the instrument was limited by the length of the neck.

³ Coelho 1989 discusses this concept at length in relation to the decline of the lute in seventeenth-century Italy. See also Coelho 1992.

⁴ *Dialogo della musica e della moderna* (1581), quoted from Oliver Strunk: *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), 313.

With the addition of the sixth course and wooden soundboard frets, the range of the instrument was gradually increased upward. At probably about the same time, there was a desire to increase the range downward, a development only made possible by the production of higher-quality gut strings. Lutes with up to 10 courses on a single pegbox gave basses down to a certain pitch, but the range could then be increased downward without any major improvement in gut string technology by adding a neck-extension that would provide the player with the extra length necessary for the string to vibrate at a low enough frequency to produce low notes while still retaining a reasonable tension.

Extensions to the neck and bridge meant that the added courses did not necessarily lie over the fingerboard, and were therefore not stopped with the fingers of the left hand, resulting in large numbers of courses tuned diatonically in the basses. By 1600 it was common for lutes to have one or two added courses over the fingerboard, as this was feasible without making drastic changes to the neck or pegbox, and 10-course lutes were in use by 1610, though the added courses were rarely stopped. These changes were sufficient to circumvent the necessity of re-tuning the bass course of the old 6-course lute.

Typical eight-course tunings add low F and D to the basic six-course tuning. 10-course lutes were usually tuned diatonically down from the 6th course, and the music was notated below the 6 lines of the existing tablature system. By 1630, lutes with 12 or more courses were not uncommon, and luthiers were beginning to build instruments with widened fingerboards so that even the lowest bass courses could be stopped in the same way as the original six.

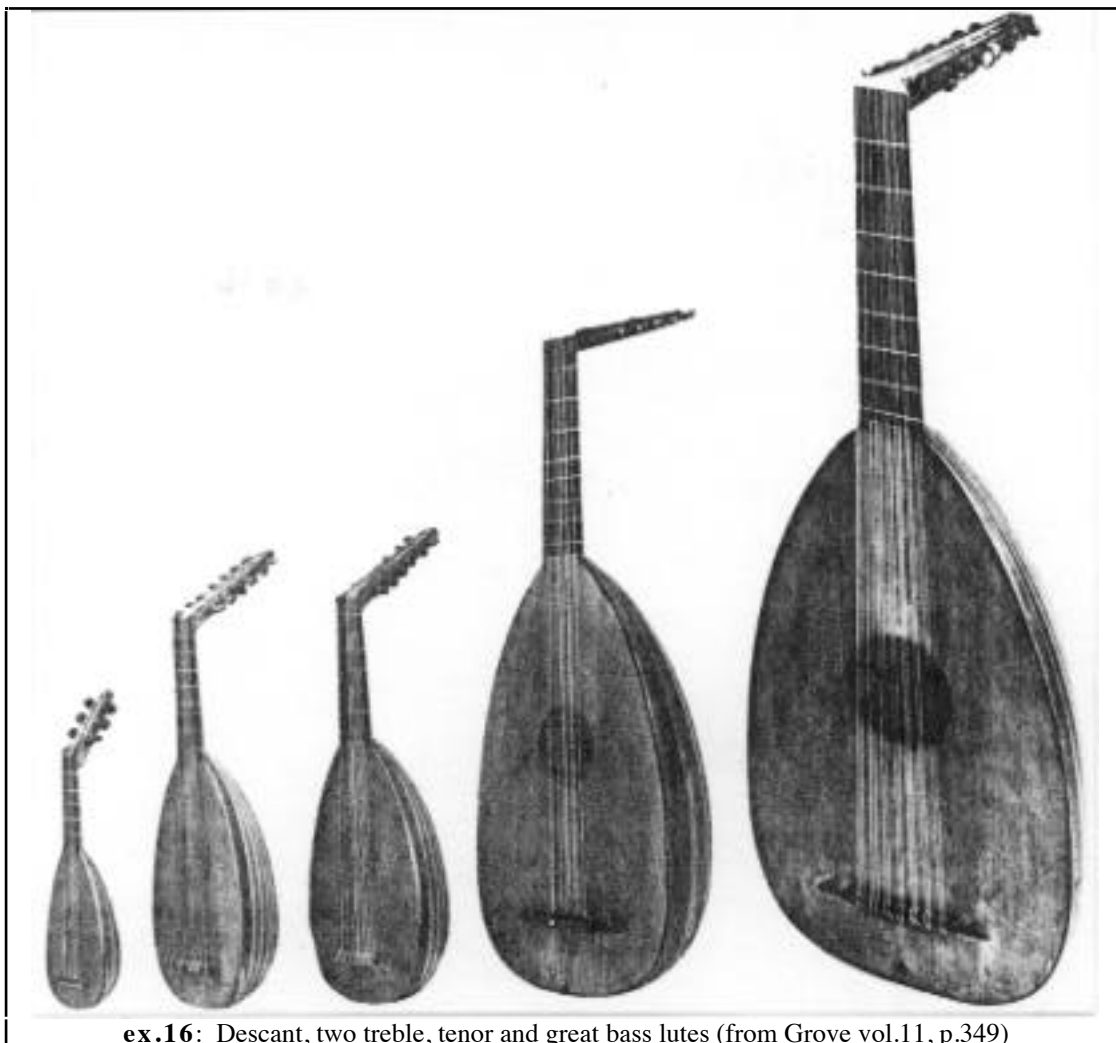
All changes to the notation of lute music can be traced to developments in the musical style, though it is possible to argue that the developments in musical style could not have taken place before the lutes were altered to allow them. Originally the lute was a relatively simple instrument with four or five courses, and was not clearly differentiated from other plucked string instruments. All but the treble course were strung in pairs, though there are references to double top strings, and many surviving old lutes are fitted for a double *chanterelle*. A sixth course was added probably around 1500, though different countries show varying traditions in instrument building. The most important period of development and growth for the lute repertory, particularly in England, revolves around this basically six-course instrument.⁵

The terminology surrounding the instrument is often vague. The term 'lute' is frequently used to describe the generic family of plucked string instruments that includes the various sizes of lute, archlute, theorbo and chitarrone. The terms theorbo and chitarrone seem to be interchangeable in the eyes of most players, though not to quite such an extent in the eyes of builders. Music written for the theorbo or chitarrone before 1650 is all Italian, and although the music written in tablature for this family of instruments seems generally interchangeable, music for an instrument with a re-entrant tuning⁶ is not playable on an instrument without the re-entrant strings. This is particularly true towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when the bigger instruments became more common. In

⁵ That is: 11 gut strings, the lowest ten tuned in pairs at the unison (some sources advocate octave doubling for the lowest pairs), and the treble, sometimes called the chanter, usually, but not always, alone.

⁶ In which the top two strings are tuned down an octave, the highest pitched course therefore being the third.

England the 'lute' repertory up to c1630 was almost certainly played on the lute itself, and not its larger cousins. Thomas Mace (in Mace 1676) was vociferous in his praise of the solo qualities of the instrument, and seems to have recommended it above the viol despite the latter's wider acceptance.



ex.16: Descant, two treble, tenor and great bass lutes (from Grove vol.11, p.349)

Certainly, the lute was considered as much a consort instrument as the viol. The lute appears not only in the broken consort context where it was mixed with other instruments, but also in lute consorts, where instruments of different sizes were brought together in the same way as a group of voices would have been, as treble, mean, tenor and bass. Lutes of many different sizes survive, and their string length together with consort tablatures places them at relative pitches ranging from a tone to a fourth apart. Some duet sources were also clearly intended for consort lutes rather than equal (pitch) lutes⁷ and the main groups seem to be descant (treble d'') string lengths of approximately 44 cm, alto (treble a') approx. 58-60 cm, tenor (treble g') approx. 66-8 cm and bass (treble d') approx. 80 cm upwards. The most common instrument in England for solo music was described as the 'mean' lute, and music written for the lute and other instruments (or voice) indicate that the notional pitch designated for the bass (or sixth) course was usually G.

⁷ See Appendix 6.

§NOTATION

The reason for the undeserved obscurity of the lute repertory lies in the form of notation used for lute music. Tablatures were used for a number of instruments, but nowhere as effectively or consistently as for the lute. Rather than producing a notation representing the pitches and durations of the music, tablatures were basically a form of instructions telling the player where to place his fingers, but not what sounds to expect when he struck the notes. Modern notation represents the sounds the player should expect to hear, but not how to obtain them. Tablatures were not confined to lute music, and a number of other instrumental repertories used them, including viol and all other fretted plucked string instruments, keyboard instruments and some less commonly found for wind instruments. Since the sixteenth century all of these other repertories have also been transmitted using mensural notation, and by the end of the seventeenth century, virtually all music was using it. Any musician can interpret mensural notation on virtually any instrument he chooses. Where tablature is concerned, unless the musician is actually playing the correct instrument, the notation is meaningless, and it is only recently that musicians have again begun playing the lute. Most lutenists will play from tablature since it is a much more accurate notation for that particular instrument than modern mensural notation. That the system has survived and remains in use today says much, both about its appropriateness to the instrument and, more significantly, about its ability to convey all the information the player requires in order to perform the music.

French and Italian lute tablatures consist of a system of lines that represent the courses of the lute. German tablature was devised in such a way that every available note was allocated a different letter or symbol and thus did not require placement on a system of lines. Each line or course in French and Italian tablature represents a pitch and, although the precise frequency of the pitch intended is not fixed, it is the intervals between the courses that yield a particular pattern of pitches recognised as certain lute tunings. Virtually all music written for the lute before c1620 was intended for a lute tuned in *vieil ton*, or Renaissance-G tuning. This yielded the intervals: perfect 4th-perfect 4th-major 3rd-perfect 4th-perfect 4th, from the lowest sounding course to the highest, and the most common nominal pitch assigned to the bass and treble courses is G. After c1620 the harmonic demands of composers on their instruments required the alteration of one or more of those intervals, and a period in which a large number of different tunings came into use resulted. These tunings are now collectively described as transitional tunings, and are particularly associated with the French seventeenth-century repertory.

The frets along the fingerboard are spaced a semitone apart, and are represented in the notation by a consecutive sequence of letters or numbers depending on the type of tablature. The rhythm of the notes indicated is given by placing flags or mensural notes in the space above the stave.

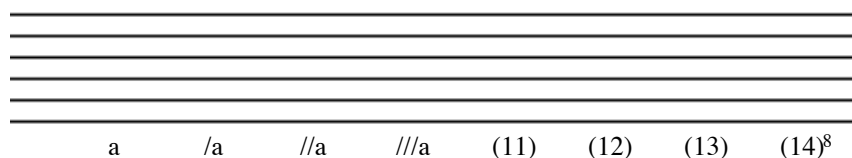
French tablature is found in sources from France, England, the Low Countries and in seventeenth-century Germany, as well as being present in some Eastern European sources and one Italian source. French tablature usually employs six lines for a stave, the top line representing the highest-sounding course of the lute. The frets on the fingerboard are represented by the letters of the alphabet: a = open course, b = 1st fret and so on. The letters 'i' and 'j' were interchangeable during this

period, but in tablature the letter between 'h' and 'k' usually resembles a modern letter 'y' more than either of these letters. In this system, the relevant fret is given the same letter on each course.

ex.17: French tablature with *mensura germanica* (top) and *gallica* (below) flagging

In the English sources, rhythm is almost exclusively indicated by *mensuragermanica* up to c1625, when scribes began to use *mensura gallica*, the system favoured in France, as well, or in preference. *Mensura germanica* allowed the scribe to place a flag above every note if he so desired, and this made the rhythm simple and unequivocal to read. The rhythmic signs in any tablature only indicate the fastest moving voice at that point, and do not show which notes should be held. This is usually up to the player to decide, although some scribes, particularly those dating from the early seventeenth century, use hold signs. In chords where the notes are on widely separated courses, vertical lines are sometimes used to indicate alignment.

Time signatures are almost never indicated in French tablature sources before about 1620. They were irregularly used before that date on the continent in manuscript sources, but in English sources their use was comparatively rare even after 1620. Usually, the metre of the music was obvious from the position of the bar-lines that would be placed with the tactus, or by the grouping of the flags. When time signatures began to appear in these sources, they usually took the form of a number '3' to indicate triple division, or 'C' to indicate duple. The incidence of a source that uses neither rhythms nor bar-lines is very rare in England, and only found in the earliest sources, and only occurs in France after c1625 in pieces such as unmeasured preludes.

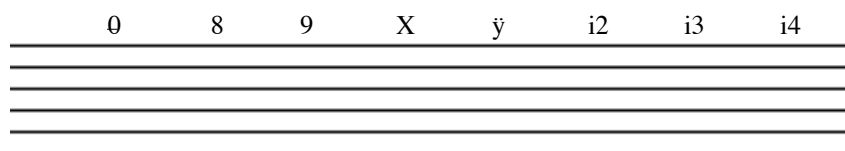


Additional bass courses are indicated by writing a letter below the system of lines with short slashes to differentiate them from one another: a = 7th course, /a = 8th course, //a = 9th course, ///a = 10th course.

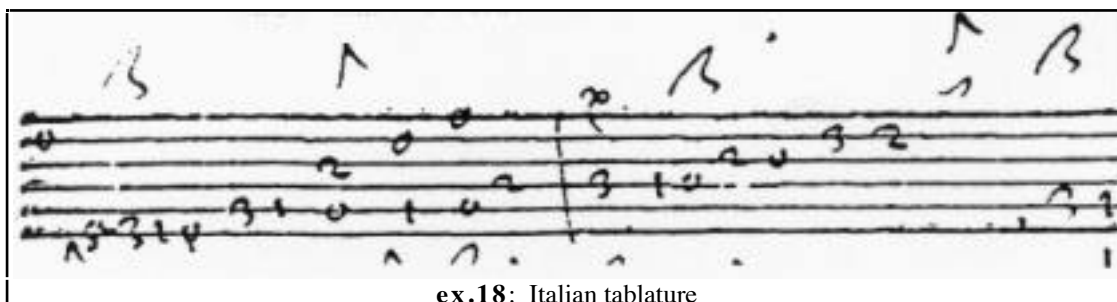
⁸ In seventeenth-century French sources, the 11th course is indicated by a "4". In *Dusiacki*, both Italian and French systems—used separately and together—are used to designate strings in the "grand jeu".

In later sources where more than ten courses are in use, the 11th and 12th courses are either indicated by using four or five slashes, or by numbers: sometimes '4' or '5' or alternatively, '11', '12', '13' or '14' below the lowest line, though this is most common in Italian sources and its appearance in French tablature is rather unusual. The advantage of the system of slashes meant that it was possible to write for stopped bass courses, though this requirement of the lower courses is relatively rare before 1630.

Italian tablature was generally used in Italy, Spain, southern France and southern Germany, as well as in some eastern European sources. It uses numbers to indicate the position of the fingers on the fingerboard, using (on the whole) the lowest line to represent the highest sounding course. Thus 0 = open course, 1 = first fret and so on up to 9 = ninth fret. The tenth fret is indicated by the letter X, with X surmounted by single and double dots appearing as early as 1508⁹ for the 11th and 12th frets. Later standardisation of the tablature shows courses beyond the first six designated by various Arabic and Roman numerals or symbols written above the staff:



The use of symbols other than these usually reveals foreign input. Once again, the relevant fret is allocated the same number on each course, and the tablature usually employs a six-line staff. Italian sources also favoured *mensura germanica* for the indication of rhythm. Here also, bar-lines give the meter, but time signatures such as '3', 'C' or occasionally 'allabreve' are found. Unlike the French tablature sources, some entire manuscripts from the Italian repertory lack rhythms or barring, raising almost insurmountable questions of performance. Clearly these personal types of collections were not intended for general consumption, or as more than a reminder of the music for the scribe or lutenist who copied them.

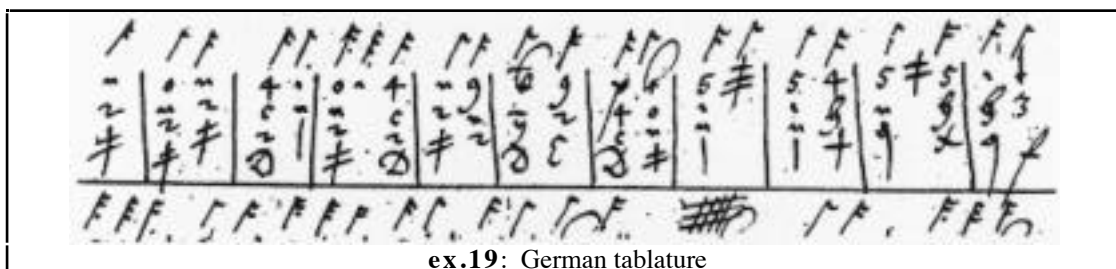


Piccinini in 1639 compromised by changing to letters when he ran out of numbers, but was still forced to abandon a progression that ultimately was not geared for large numbers of frets and courses. By the end of the seventeenth century staff notation had largely replaced tablature in Italian lute sources.

German tablature is found in Germany, northern Italy, northern France, the Low Countries, Czechoslovakia and some areas of the Baltic and Poland. German tablature was devised to

⁹ Joan Ambrosio Dalza *Intabulatura de Lauto Libro Quarto...* (Venice, 1508).

accommodate only five courses. When a sixth was added the German type of shorthand was complicated by attempting to integrate a sixth course into a definitively five-course system. Thus by 1600 German tablature was already heading for obsolescence. It had been conceived using a system of different letters not only for the different frets, but also for the different courses of the lute, making the use of a stave redundant (and in the process greatly facilitating the printing of lute music), and had left no room for expansion. The numerical sequence progressed across the courses rather than along them, so that the open fifth course was '1', open fourth course was '2' etc, up to the open first course which was '5'. The sequence then returns to the fifth course where the first fret was indicated by the letter 'a', and first fret on the fourth course by the letter 'b' and so on. Once all the letters of the alphabet were used up, two 'symbols' were introduced¹⁰ and then the alphabetical sequence was resumed starting at 'a' again, with a line above all the letters. Since the sixth course had been added after this system was already in place, its ciphers do not fit into the overall sequence, and it required the introduction of a further numerical or alphabetical sequence that did not overlap the ciphers already in use. The open course was numbered 1, and the subsequent frets were given capital letters A, B, C etc. Unfortunately, no system for representing the sixth course seems to have become standard, with the result that virtually every major publication from the 1550s on used a different code for it.



ex.19: German tablature

By the time lutes were gaining a sixth course, they were also gaining higher frets and further bass courses in a process of growth that was hardly stemmed throughout the seventeenth century. However, all the letters of the alphabet had already been used twice and the possibilities for further expansion of the tablature had been virtually exhausted. To say that the system was complex would be an understatement, though it is not unreadable, and it did have the advantages of not being tied to a stave, so that errors caused by misplaced letters were virtually unknown. Many lutenists today prefer German tablature because the system makes both the fret and the course unequivocal. However, as the music became more polyphonically complex and technically demanding this form of tablature became predictably obsolete, and virtually all sources from c1600 changed to the more flexible French system.¹¹

The Italian system suffered from similar problems as the German by using numbers, thus limiting itself to 10 frets on the instrument although it was simpler to expand than the German system.

¹⁰ The symbols for the words *et* and *con* usually represented in modern transcriptions or discussion by the numbers 7 and 9 respectively.

¹¹ Nicolao Schmall's lute book: Prague University Library, Ms XXIII.F.174 - c1610-15 still uses German tablature, though Adriansen 1584 and others had already changed to French tablature for their many printed collections.

English lute music, almost without exception, is written in French tablature. Some foreign sources written in Italian and German tablature preserve one or two English pieces (usually one of them is *Lachrimae*), but the number of these is negligible.

In addition to the letters or numbers and flags of the tablature, there are numerous other signs that represent fingering or graces. Although right hand fingering signs in French tablature were simple, generally limited to one or two dots beneath the notes, and usually had the same meaning from source to source, graces display both a wide variety and complexity. The most commonly found signs were the '+' (sometimes 'x') or '#' signs, but even where a recognisably similar sign was in use, its interpretation could vary from scribe to scribe and player to player. Their lack of consistency makes an attempt at overall description impossible in the space available.

Most lute music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is preserved in manuscript collections compiled by players and printed collections put together by publishers and editors. Although some lute fragments survive in the form of single pieces in sources devoted principally to music for another instrument and lute manuscripts often contain pieces for its close cousins, music for the fretted plucked string family and other instruments seems to be mutually exclusive. The types of manuscripts to be found in the English repertory are described in detail in Chapter 3, together with brief descriptions of their Italian counterparts. Like most hand-written documents prepared before printing had become commonplace, the lute sources exemplify the reverence the writer had for his hard-won skills and costly materials, and the prevalent attitude that the appearance of the book should be a reflection of the time, patience and skill that had gone into its preparation, and the value of the book itself. It is clear that the music was often less valuable than what it was written on.

By the end of the sixteenth century in Italy the virtuoso solo lutenist had reached a certain state of disfavour as the result of trends in philosophical-musical thought. Humanistic musical writings described both the admirable qualities of ancient music and the deplorable desire for virtuosity above a naturalistic simplicity. Coelho states that 'it is not a coincidence that the last decade of the sixteenth century in Italy witnesses an abundance of publications containing music for lute and voice, and relatively few books for solo lute.'¹² Humanistic thought considered that technical virtuosity on the lute, which went against all the classical ideas of the Orphic lyre only being used to accompany the voice, was dangerous and contrary to nature. In spite of this, some of the most virtuosic lute music ever published was still appearing in late sixteenth-century Italian sources.¹³

The printed sources, almost all originating outside England, are more difficult to define as they generally contain solo music (occasionally with some duets) with a comparably sized section of lute songs. This sort of mixture is never found in manuscript sources, suggesting that solo lutenists were not often performers of lute songs. That the continental printed sources contained such a large proportion of lute songs in tandem with the solo music suggests that the repertory chosen by these

¹² Coelho 1991, 6.

¹³ e.g. Giovanni Antonio Terzi *Intavolatura di liutto...* (Venice, 1593) and *Il secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto...* (Venice, 1599).

early editors may have been influenced more than a little by the need to sell the product to as wide a public as possible. Certainly the quantity and diversity of the music that these sources provide suggests that they were probably a sort of compendium from which the player extracted a selection of pieces to copy into his personal manuscript collection.

These printed sources, and also some foreign manuscript collections, are each more than three times the average size of an English manuscript source, though there are exceptions. Dowland 1610B has much in common as regards size and characteristics with the English manuscript collections, and it is probably significant that it is the only English solo printed source from the period under discussion. The inference is that for some reason English sources for solo lute tended to be on a smaller scale than those from central or eastern Europe, where manuscript collections, though they still do not mix solo music and lute songs, were almost as large as the printed collections.

§PATRONAGE AND EMPLOYMENT

A lutenist could rarely, if ever, afford to exist exclusively on his playing. For one thing, itinerant musicians still to a large extent held a status only slightly higher than vagabonds, so unless an appointment at court or within one of the other institutions which offered cultural independence could be obtained, lutenists had to rely on the patronage of the nobility and gentry. Patronage could take several forms: either the musician was indentured and retained as a household servant, but allowed to work elsewhere when his local duties permitted, or else the patron simply agreed to allow his name to be used for some enterprise (usually publishing) to lend respectability to the venture. Between these extremes were a variety of shades, including supplying the musician with livery that he should wear whenever he was professionally engaged (thus reflecting well on the patron), but leaving him otherwise free to offer his services and earn his living as he chose. Having been employed by a nobleman, the lutenist thereby obtained a salary, sometimes little more than a retainer, and livery. Livery was the most important indication of the individual's status: liveried musicians did not spend all their time at the home of their employer—often the salary was not enough to support the player, and was not intended to be enough. The reason for giving a musician a livery and employment was that the employer thus had first call on his time, but when his services were not required, he carried your livery around the country looking for *ad hoc* work, at the same time advertising your affluence. He in turn was glad of the patronage, but particularly glad of the livery, since it was a passport enabling him to hawk his wares unmolested and un-arrested, and also provided him with a visible testimonial as to his talents and *bona fides*. Robert Dowland was appointed to the Cavendish household in 1612, but the household accounts show only a few one-off payments and the cost of livery between 1612 and 1616. Hulse concludes that 'Robert Dowland served more than one nobleman during these years, but was expected to wear Cavendish's livery when playing in the consort.'¹⁴

John Dowland seems to have been apprenticed for 17 years, but was denied a place at the English court for the best working years of his life. He moved abroad, where the Danish monarch

¹⁴ Hulse 1986A, 64; i.e. he was only required when the consort performed.

snapped up his talents, and remained in Christian IV's employment, with extended leaves of absence, for some years (1598-1606). However, he clearly spent enough time in England to establish a small teaching practice that included such English gentlewomen as Margaret Board and the owner of *Folger*. He petitioned most of his life for a position at Elizabeth's court, describing himself as 'Bachelor of Musick in both the Vniuersities'¹⁵ and using a series of well-connected patrons to supplicate for him, including Sir Robert Cecil. However, his eventual appointment seems to have had to wait not only for Elizabeth's death, but until James I (or whoever controlled the hiring and firing of his musicians) relented and the death of one of the royal lutenists in 1612 freed a place for him. There was certainly no question of a special post being created for him as was the case with Daniel Bacheler. It was certainly neither a lack of talent (Dowland was renowned worldwide) nor unsuitability for a royal appointment that stymied Dowland for so long, as the King of Denmark was obviously justly proud of having secured the services of so great a man. Poulton suggested that Dowland's adherence to Catholicism may have hindered his preferment, but this did not seem to hamper William Byrd, and by 1572 Elizabeth had made clear her intention not to persecute Catholics unless they openly defied her. Dowland's history also shows a certain lack of rigour in maintaining his faith.¹⁶

An appointment at court seems to have been the culmination of any lutenist's career, and was even recognised as such by the patrons for whom the lutenist already worked, otherwise they would not have supported applications for court posts. Perhaps there was some reflected glory to be had in passing one of your household retainers on to the monarch. Even with a court appointment, lutenists continued to work elsewhere, a practice obviously permitted, and possibly encouraged.

Despite a willingness to employ musicians, it was clearly not always financially viable for a household to do so, and some lutenists are known to have been attached to households as grooms or serving men rather than as musicians. In transferring the indenture of a servant to a new employer (either in the retinue of a newly married child, or perhaps in settlement of a debt or realisation of capital) his worth may be enhanced by the comment that he is also a passing good lutenist (or musician). There is clearly a divide between these servant-class musicians and those who would have described themselves as gentlemen. Cutting and Allison were both described as gentlemen musicians, so although it was considered slightly vulgar for a well-bred gentleman to be able to play to professional standards, it seems that being a professional musician or lutenist did not necessarily exclude one from being described as a gentleman. Daniel Bacheler is the only lutenist, however, known to have been granted arms, and his case seems to have been exceptional.

Bachelor is one of the few lutenists whose life is now extremely well documented. Thanks to one of his descendants,¹⁷ the history of his employment provides solid evidence for many previously hypothetical ideas about lutenists. Woodfill came to the conclusion that Elizabethan musicians were basically lower middle class. He summarized:

¹⁵ Poulton 1982, 22.

¹⁶ Poulton 1982, 40-44.

¹⁷ Anne Batchelor: 'Daniel Bacheler: The Right Perfect Musician' *LSJ* xxviii (1988), 3.

... professional musicians were, on the whole, little more than tolerated. Persons who subscribed to Castiglione's views regarded musical training as important in the fashioning of a gentleman, but required moderation, and therefore usually mediocrity. Most professional musicians found themselves regarded with suspicion: they could be citizens or burgesses. ... A few of them could subscribe themselves gentlemen and bachelor or doctor, but the appellations seldom indicated that they had a secure place in the upper strata of society. The men of the Chapel Royal were called gentlemen, and on the whole probably lived as gentlemen; the men of the King's Musick could afford to live as gentlemen, probably did, and probably thought of themselves as gentlemen.¹⁸

Woodfill goes on to demonstrate that music was one way of climbing socially, giving the practitioner an excuse to learn to read, particularly through the church. The church itself was a considerable springboard from which musicians could progress to university degrees or clerical appointments that would raise their social status, and a good salary could ensure that status was passed on to their offspring. It is hardly surprising therefore that Dowland, described by Poulton as 'emotional and volatile'¹⁹ should have been so anxious to gain a royal appointment. Although Dowland's family has not been identified, all the known Dowlands seem to come from the upper ranks of the artisan class. John, however seems to have used his talents to gain entry into a totally different social stratum, being received with particular friendship by Henry Noel and the Landgrave of Hesse, and enabling Sir Robert Sidney to act as Robert Dowland's godfather.

Coats of arms and titles were exceptional, and clearly Bachelor was an exceptional musician. Like most musicians who descended from non-musical families, Bachelor came from the trade class. His father was a yeoman farmer who apprenticed him at the age of seven to an uncle who was a lutenist and dancing master at Elizabeth's court. This may seem young, but was not unusual.

some time between the ages of seven and fourteen children would normally be sent away from home, to be apprenticed, go into service or, among the upper classes, join another nobleman's household or go to school or university.²⁰

The apprenticeship was signed over to Sir Francis Walsingham when Daniel was 14, and it is clear that Walsingham felt he had gained not only a servant, but also a good entertainer, while Daniel would receive a better education and the chance to further his professional career. By the age of 16, in 1588, Daniel was writing accomplished consort music though he would remain indentured until 1595. In 1594 he is recorded in the household of the Earl of Essex, probably one of the closest appointments to the court without actually being one of the Queen's Musick, and by 1599 his position was such that he was entrusted with letters between Elizabeth and Essex while he was in Ireland. Daniel finally seems to have reached a court appointment in 1603 with the accession of James I, but he was not appointed as a musician. Possibly his obvious position of trust was the reason that he was appointed Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, with a salary of £160, also occupying the most senior position among all the grooms. From here his life, though interesting, is clearly very exceptional, being a catalogue of gifts and graces including the grant of arms similar to part of the Walsingham

¹⁸ Woodfill 1969, 243.

¹⁹ Poulton 1982, 19.

²⁰ Briggs 1983, 45.

arms. Even Elizabeth's favourite singer, Robert Hales, was only paid £60, but records of one-off 'gift' payments to many musicians indicate that they only had to please their employer or a visitor to receive additional remuneration. The Elizabethan nobility were particularly sensitive to status, and in some ways this type of low(-ish) salary coupled with dependency on gratuities may have been deliberately engineered to maintain the social status quo, perpetuating the musician's station and dependency on employment, and preventing his insinuation into the higher ranks. Dowland's social strategy may have been the most significant barrier to his appointment, while Daniel's appointment as a groom may have been a deliberate move to ensure him a position that meant playing the lute (at which he was obviously extremely gifted) was not his job, and afforded him both the status and a high enough salary to be able to refuse patronising and therefore socially demeaning gifts for his playing.

The most important patron of the lute in England seems to have been William Cavendish, first Earl of Devonshire (1551-1626).

Until 1608, Cavendish lived mostly on the Derbyshire estates of his mother, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury ... His consort included the family chaplains, Starkey, Oates and Bruen, who also tutored his children on the lute and viol; the children's singing master, Thomas Banes, who probably served the Countess; and two other servants, William Hewett and a youth named Ham, whose precise musical status is unclear. Michael Cavendish, the composer and a relative of the Earl, was briefly employed in the household, as was a professional French lutenist called Lambert.

After ... 1608, the nature of Cavendish's musical patronage changed both in terms of its scale and location. He now spent several months of the year at his town house in London. His checkroll of permanent servants included Hewett and a lutenist named Molsoe, he continued to employ Cavendish and Oates on a part-time basis, and he patronised at least six lutenists resident in the capital during the years 1610 to 1616: Thomas Cutting, John and Robert Dowland, Mr Maynard, Mr Pierce and M Louis.²¹

The unusually large collection of music books amassed by Cavendish probably represents the general tastes among the nobility of the day, and the instrumental music shows a preference for lute songs, viol consort, broken consort, lute and virginals. By 1622, he owned at least 12 books of lute songs, and his household inventories show that among his instruments were six viols, a bandora, several lutes and recorders, two virginals and a trumpet.²² The mention of the lutes is more unusual than might be expected in Elizabethan households. Up to about 1600, lutes either were not considered important enough to be mentioned, or else they really were not present in noble households. They may simply have belonged only to servants. After 1600, lutes appear in significant numbers in both wills and inventories.²³ In view of the apparently widespread popularity and currency of the lute, speculation suggests that the reason lutes are not found in household inventories more frequently could be because they were considered commonplace, and therefore furniture and as such did not merit specific mention. However bandoras, citterns and viols, comparable both in size and cost, are mentioned, and we must conclude that lutes were neither as common nor as popular as these other instruments,²⁴

²¹ Hulse 1986A, 63.

²² Hulse 1986A, 68, n.29.

²³ See Woodfill 1969, 276-9.

²⁴ '1561: Thomas Windebank to Cecil, from Paris. Mr. Thomas Cecil has no great taste for the lute, but likes the "cistern" (cittern?).' Woodfill 1969, 276.

though their relative fragility may also account for their absence from inventories where one might expect to find them.

Lumsden was probably the first writer to point out the huge difference in the number of pieces surviving for the lute and those surviving for the keyboard. He did not make the additional observation that there is no overlap between the composers who wrote for each instrument. Byrd, Bull and Gibbons wrote no idiomatic lute music, though a few keyboard or vocal pieces by them are to be found intabulated for the lute. Similarly, Dowland, Cutting, Pilkington, Holborne, Bacheler, Allison and the host of other names associated with the lute repertory seem to have bypassed the keyboard altogether. Apart from the vast differences in playing techniques, the only reason to have been advanced for this apparent polarity that seems plausible is that whereas the lute by its nature had to be equally tempered in tuning, keyboards still used unequal temperaments, and it is possible that the resulting differences in tonalities and key colours may have made them incompatible. Though there is no direct evidence for it, one additional possibility is that there was a social divide between the people who played the two instruments that was never crossed, the keyboardist having the greater respect and serious image, while lutenists were considered more frivolous. The lute and viol seem to have been instruments that anybody could (and did) play, while the keyboard was reserved for the serious musician. Whatever the reasons, the divide remains, and the fact that keyboard composers did not write lute music has contributed to the modern obscurity of the repertory.

It appears that a musician employed to teach the family women or children to play would be expected, unless they were teaching the keyboard, to teach them more than one instrument. The Cavendish accounts show that a Mr Maynard was paid £11 to teach Mrs Ellin and Mrs Aston both lute and viol, and Bruen, one of the family chaplains, tutored the children on both lute and viol.²⁵ This apparently expected instrumental diversity within the fretted string group is also to be seen in the lists of musicians employed at court from Elizabeth's reign on. Although only a few lutenists were employed in her court, there were a number in the retinue of the young Prince Henry, but the real rise in numbers employed to play this instrument seems to have been in the court of James I, where the musicians are frequently listed as for the 'lutes, viols and voices' indicating that they were expected to be considerably more versatile than, for example, the trumpeters. It does seem, however, that most instrumental musicians may also have been expected to sing, so it is possible that the expected standard of these non-specialist singers was not prohibitively high. The constant pairing of the lute and voice in lists of royal musicians reflects the primarily accompanimental role that it was expected to occupy, a role emphasised by the lute-song industry. In fact, the quantity of lute songs with not only high quality affective poetry but also superb musical settings may suggest that the voice came first, and a good singer took up the lute to accompany himself, rather than simply for the purpose of playing a harmony instrument.

The absence of a printed lute repertory is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Why there should be such a proliferation of printed lute song sources without a correlative body of manuscript sources is a

²⁵ Hulse 1986A, 63-64.

mystery. One possible answer may be that the main exponents of the lute song were the professional musicians, a body who may not even have been able to read, and who would have been trained from an early age in memorising music. The leisured classes seem to have been both the major consumers and the most usual exponents of solo lute music. They were the people who had the time and inclination to compile manuscript collections, and though some of them (such as Cavendish) clearly bought lute songs, the purpose of obtaining those books seems often to have been to expand on a household's consort repertory rather than for use by a lutenist and singer.

§LEARNING THE LUTE

There were two potential types of lute pupil: first, the young (seven-year-old and older) aspiring professional who was apprenticed to a master in exactly the same way as an apprentice shoemaker or baker would have been. Evidence of aptitude would predispose the parents towards professional music, but it was not necessarily a pre-requisite. Only exceptional children can have shown particular aptitude at the age of seven, though like most trades, this one too could run in families, and a genetic or contextual predisposition was probably as good as any.

The second category of lute pupil is the member of the leisured classes who 'took up' the lute to entertain themselves and obtain a social skill. It is this second category that particularly concerns the question of how the lute was taught, since these were the people to whom many of the most important lute manuscripts belonged. The professionally apprenticed player would have learned by example and painstaking practice day after day from a very early age, and might have ended up as a city wait or theatre musician with apprentices of his own or, if he were lucky, a servant in the retinue of a large household. It is quite likely that it would not have been considered necessary to teach him to read or write, as the use of memory was still a more essential function of life than literacy. Some city waits may also have held positions as singingmen (who had to be literate) in the cathedrals of large cities and Matthew Holmes, principally a singingman, seems to have been an active instrumentalist as well. It would have taken particular skill and probably considerable connections to obtain a position at court and, though not essential, the gradual rise through the cultural ranks of these players would presuppose some degree of literacy. Any of these 'servants' may have ended up teaching young ladies such as Margaret Board, Margaret L., Jane Pickeringe, or young gentlemen such as John Welde, Edward Herbert or Francis Willoughby. Slightly higher in rank than these 'servant class' musicians were those who may have been of a slightly higher class, and who sought to learn the lute to improve their social standing or to play semi-professionally, supplementing their battery of skills to obtain a better position. These were the people like Raphe Bowle (the scribe of *Stowe*³⁸⁹), Richard Mynshall or the pupil taught by Thomas Dallis at Cambridge. Dallis's pupil may have been at the University, and clearly studied diligently to master this craft and copy a large selection of music from a very wide variety of sources. The student would have been higher in class than such as Holmes, but lower than a gentleman like John Welde or William Trumbull, and the various young lady lutenists for whom learning the lute was an affordable luxury.

From the list of owners of surviving books, it appears that the most likely people to be learning the lute and compiling a lute manuscript along the way were young noblemen or young women of at least the lesser gentry prior to marriage (possibly for the purpose of attracting a husband).²⁶ Servants may have been taught to play an instrument if their services were required in the family consort, but these pupils would not be supplied with their own instrument or book in which to copy music. Cavendish's musician, Ham, was supplied with a pen and ink horn 'to pricke forth lessons with' in November 1605, but was not actually taught to set music until the following summer.²⁷

The situation of lutenists in England today may not be dissimilar to that pertaining in London in the period 1580-1615. There are a considerable number of players in this country at present, perhaps 30-40 playing professionally (not all full-time), and many more playing more casually, though the instrument cannot be compared in popularity to the guitar. There is a fairly limited number of lute-makers worldwide, but a fair number of exceptional and some less significant builders in England, all of whom know each other well, and who also know viol and keyboard instrument makers. If an interested party wished to start playing the lute, they may approach a professional player after a concert who will send them to the best teacher and luthier (within their price-range and ambitions) that they know. This must also have been the case in the early seventeenth century, though perhaps more so, as luthiers and teachers did not have the advertising availability of the modern lute world. In addition just as the present writer, on embarking on this study, was directed to Robert Spencer for many English sources and photographs of others that he did not own, the seventeenth-century aspirant would have been directed to the one, or possibly two, booksellers in London who could supply them with a blank tablature book, or even a ready-copied one.

Mainly because of the lack of a native tradition of printed lute tutors, there is very little on which to base an assessment of teaching methods in England, and therefore the earliest age at which a pupil might begin instruction. Even the size of a pupil's hands may not have been very important, as lutes came in a large variety of sizes allowing a young pupil with small hands to begin on a small treble lute. Brought down to the absolute minimum of requirements, the amateur student had to be able to read or at least recognise letters if he wished to play from music (though memorization was still an indispensable skill in a society where literacy rates were still very low), and also to have sufficient motor control to manage the technical side. Naturally, there are no extant lute books that suggest that a child may have been taught to play before he could write, but it seems that for the middle classes, the process of being taught the lute required the pupil to have a certain level of writing skills, since copying music into a personal anthology under the direction of a tutor was a significant part of the teaching process and a vital tool in the acquisition of theoretical musical skills. This is indicated by the various tables in the books, and is also demonstrated by the examples of the different uses for a bass pattern in *Folger*. Thus the young player was provided not only with a written repertory, but also

²⁶ See Chapter 3.

²⁷ Hulse 1986A, 67, n.25.

the techniques of intabulation and essential basic theoretical knowledge of rhythm and metre. This evident practice would account for the scarcity of sources bought ready-copied, and the habit of copying obtained at this early stage remained, and was probably used as an aid to memorizing or learning the music in order to play it. (See Chapters 3 and 7).²⁸ Barley 1596 and both Le Roy 1568 and Le Roy 1574 place emphasis on the intabulation of vocal or instrumental models as an integral part of learning to play the lute, so it seems likely that a child, unless he was apprenticed to a lutenist as a trade, would not have been expected to learn the instrument before he could read and write.

From the handwriting tutors it seems to follow that neither reading nor writing was taught to the very young. This, and the limit of six months intensive tuition before a student should be allowed to write without lined paper,²⁹ suggests a probable average age of about 12-13 as being ideal for teaching a boy to write,³⁰ though the age for learning to play a musical instrument suggested in *Burwell* (discussed below) is considerably less.

A scholar must begin at seven or eight years old; and look whether his hand be fit for it. For it must be neither too short nor too long but full enough and, above all, handsome. For it were better never to play of the lute than to play with an ugly hand, especially those who having naturally a fine hand will not preserve it.³¹

The relatively low esteem in which women were held, and the secondary importance placed on their need for education would suggest a later age for teaching them, particularly as they were not considered to have the requisite powers of concentration for learning anything of even slight complexity.³² Scholars of this period seem to believe that as a rule literacy rates among women were extremely low,³³ and more emphasis was placed on domestic and social skills as desirable marriageable commodities. In some cases even if a woman was taught to write, it may have been delayed until after marriage, and then only undertaken because the wife was required to take responsibility for household accounts and other business requiring writing skills. In this situation, the more affluent the household, the less likely the need for the mistress of the house to write, since a large estate would employ a bailiff or foreman to manage accounts and the running of the estate in the absence of the owner. This view of literacy among women seems to be contradicted by the numerous lute books compiled by young women who exhibit quite advanced handwriting and playing skills (to judge from the complexity of the music they copied), and who do not appear to have come from noble families but only from minor landed gentry. The families were affluent enough not only to allow and encourage the young woman the leisure to learn music, but also to employ both writing and music teachers and purchase an instrument and music book for her use, none of which could be said to utilise only petty cash.

Considering the number and variety of sources that have survived 400 years, ranging from the jottings of a clerk in *Stowe*³⁸⁹ to the comprehensive long-term collection of a professional musician like Matthew Holmes, it is odd that not one among the sources shows evidence of being a teacher's

²⁸ See Chapter 3.

²⁹ See Chapter 4, pp.107-8, Giovan Francesco Cresci.

³⁰ Margaret Wemyss began her lute book at the age of 13.

³¹ Dart 1958, 38.

³² See Chapter 4, p.119, Martin Billingsley.

³³ Briggs 1983, 109.

exemplar. Most of the evidence we have is negative; it is what we don't have and what we don't know that has to tell us about the teaching practices of the day: Dowland 1610B gives extensive advice on what sort of lute to choose, but not where or how easy or difficult it was to get it. Nor does it advise on the teaching practices an aspirant should expect or how long they might need to practise every day to attain the right degree of skill. There are two descriptions of the practices of lute teachers. The first is to be found in a letter dated 1707 about the expenses of setting up house and arranging tutors for the young Lord Danby and his younger brother, Peregrine. Although it is nearly a century after the period with which this study is primarily concerned, it is probably relevant to practices from the century before since, bearing in mind that they were being taught privately, the description of the boys' day seems not far removed from the summary of the Elizabethan schoolday by Briggs:

It began at six or seven in the morning, continuing until the children went home for their lunch at about 11.00. Work resumed at 1.00, and lasted till five or six in the evening, for six days of the week.³⁴

In any case, the Danby letters constitute the only unequivocal statement of the actual as opposed to the desired frequency and duration of a lute-master's visits to survive.

My Young Lords have already four masters that are come to them since Wednesday last; and Monday next they will have six, viz, the Riding Master in the morning & then the Latin Master till dinner time. At two of [th]e Clock comes the Mathematick Master (who also teaches them to draw two days of the week). At three the Dancing Master, at four the fencing Master, & at five the Lute & Harpsichords Masters. All these Masters come five days in the week, so that the Young Lords have no other days of rest but Sundays and Thursdays.³⁵

It seems then that the lute master would call every day rather than once a week and, judging by the practices of the immediately preceding masters, would probably stay for an hour, supervising the student's practice, as it seems unlikely that the boys could have found much time to practise earlier in the day. It is possible that the time following his teacher's departure would have been concerned with copying new music into his book, or consolidating the work he had covered during the lesson.

A probably more important source is *Burwell*, copied 1668-71 by Mary Burwell with some corrections in another hand, probably that of the master.³⁶ This is a manuscript treatise copied again by a young woman, probably from a master's exemplar, and giving exhaustive detail on technique, playing style and, most importantly, how to teach (and learn) the lute. The chapters illustrate the matter that was considered important and an integral part of learning to play:³⁷

1. The origin of the lute or the derivation of the lute.
2. Of the increase of the lute and its shape.
3. [Of the masters of the lute.]
4. Of the strings of the lute, and stringing thereof, and of the frets, and tuning of the lute.
5. Of the several moods and tunings of the lute.
6. Of first the carriage of the hand, the comely posture in playing, and the striking of the strings.
7. For to take out a lesson, figure and value of the notes.

³⁴ Briggs 1983, 113.

³⁵ Tim Crawford: 'Lord Danby, Lutenist of 'Quality'' *LSJ* xxv/2 (1985), 56.

³⁶ A detailed description of the contents and partial edition of a diplomatic transcription made by Brian Trowell can be found in Dart 1958. For facsimile, see Spencer 1974A.

³⁷ The summary of the contents in Dart 1958 is abridged to form this list. Spelling is modernised.

8. Of the way and manner for pricking lessons to the lute. Part two concerning the fingering of both hands.
9. Concerning the pricking of the marks and graces of the lute.
10. The way to teach and to learn to play well upon the lute.
11. Of the progress and how to attain the perfection of the lute.
12. Concerning the measure.
13. Of the usefulness of the lute and his advantages.
14. Of the enthusiasms and ravishments of the lute.
15. Concerning the art of setting lessons upon the lute.
16. Concerning errors and abuses that are committed about the lute.

Chapters 3, 10 and 13 are the most relevant, and as with the Danby documents, they appear to be relevant to practices 50 or more years earlier. The masters that seem to be favoured (Ch.3) were certainly present in sources dating from the early decades of the seventeenth century; Perrichon and Reys are described as 'furthest lutenists in the memory of man that deserved to be mentioned and to have a statue upon the mount of Parnassus', and Gaultier and Mesangeau 'hath drawn the admiration and the praises of all the world'.³⁸ Pinel, Dufaut, Dubut, Lanclos, Vincent and Mercure also receive considerable praise. Somewhat disappointingly from the point of view of identifying the greatest English teachers, *Burwell* concentrates on foreigners:

The first and most famous lute masters we confess were the Italians who were the first authors of the lute as all the world must acknowledge and that the French have been the most famous in that [art.] And although there is some confusion in the French to acknowledge that they have been subdued by the Romans yet they must not be ashamed to acknowledge that they owe their skill to their conquest³⁹

Chapter 10 (The way to teach and to learn to play well upon the lute) is filled with admonishments toward obedience, both to parents and to the lute master, who should be given authority over the pupil. The attributes of the good master, however, seem to have much in common with the good thoroughbred:

... it is good to choose masters well bred and that are famous. ...

A master should not be too old nor too young.

The young one is foolish and hath little experience, the old one is peevish distasteful knows not or slights the new manner of playing and the new lessons, hath a bad hand and hath neither a good voice nor good action in playing, which is very dangerous for young scholars are like apes or like wax they take any impression by imitating their masters.

The voice for a master is very necessary to teach well to play upon the lute because whilst the scholar plays his lesson 'tis good the master should sing the same to give him the humour and the time of the lesson.

That method is better than to play together on another lute because one confounds the other, it hinders the master to hear the faults and makes the scholar negligent[,] hiding the faults of his playing under the good playing of his master[.] Yet it is requisite that the master should play well because he must sometimes play before the scholar[.] That formeth his ear and gives him the air and humour of a lesson[.]

The Art of Music is rather inspired and communicated than taught ... Likewise the scholar must always practise, and the master sometimes[,] having three things in all to do

The setting of lessons, the teaching and playing.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Burwell*, 5-5v.

³⁹ *Burwell*, 5.

⁴⁰ *Burwell* 36-36v

There follows a list of the order in which certain aspects of technique should be imparted to the student, with appropriate examples, all of which may be seen in a similar style in English and continental tutors from the early years of the century. The player is encouraged to play while looking at the book, and avoid playing from memory until the lesson is perfect. Playing before company should always be done from memory, with a 'pleasing countenance', and the student may also play walking about and looking around. The most significant statement about the lute master's practices is left to the end of this chapter:

I would not have a beginner play in the absence of his master; therefore the master must come to the scholar as often as he can, at least once a day, because of the tuning of his lute, and the keeping it well strung. For it is prejudicial to play on a lute that is in disorder; that spoils the ear of the scholar. As you must not play when the hand is weary, so you must not neglect your lute. ... It will be good also to learn many lessons ... for it is a deceit to make a scholar play some few trifles to please the parents. It is better to render oneself capable to play hereafter than to satisfy a present curiosity.

The author seems to bemoan the practices of young ladies who espouse the skill as a marriageable virtue, but forget it when that end is attained. It also appears from the designation '*at least once a day*', that the master may have visited more frequently, and no doubt did if he was in residence.

To practise in the morning is better than at any other time in the day because the hand is at rest and the sinews softer and so more apt to be broken and receive good habits[.]

The lessons that are best to practise in the morning are preludiums passages and lessons full of hard strokes[.] Doing thus you plough and sow with hopes to have a good crop[.] The scholar must take heed to learn good lessons of his own choosing and not to learn of any but his master because he will neither play them well but will contract evil habits[.]⁴¹

Changing from one master to another is deplored, as is assuming that your own master must be the best at all aspects of the craft.

some poor players and worse setters are better to begin a scholar than the rarest lutenists[.]

Some are good for the progress, some only for the perfection[.]

A scholar must have the judgment to choose these masters according as he improves himself and never believe that a man is capable of those three degrees[.] for an excellent player will scorn to take the pains to begin a scholar[.]⁴²

Despite the wealth of information *Burwell* provides, it is still frustratingly silent on the matter of the compilation of the lute sources that survive today. Spencer, drawing on his own experiences as a teacher and his familiarity with the sources, has reached the conclusion that a teacher would not have wasted any part of the lesson while either he or a pupil copied his next piece out, but would have spent the time working on music already in the pupil's book. At the end of the lesson, having gained a specific idea of the student's current level of skill, he would have left music of a suitable standard for the pupil to copy out for the next day's lesson. The value of the teacher's manuscript as a professional tool would have made it unlikely that he would have wished to leave it in

⁴¹ *Burwell*, 39v.

⁴² *Burwell*, 40.

the hands of a child or young woman, and the obvious corollary is that the lute teacher kept his repertory in the form of loose sheets, some of which may now survive as fragments.⁴³ This type of source would undoubtedly disintegrate and be discarded far sooner than the carefully bound books owned by the pupils. John Dowland copied some music into his pupil's books himself, but may have been doing so because, being their composer, he had no hard copy and simply notated the music from memory. This would account for the rather untidy appearance of his tablature. His personal copies may have been tidier, and he may even have had pupils re-copy some of his music if they had a presentable and legible hand.⁴⁴

The sort of collection of loose leaves that might be expected to originate with a teacher is exemplified by *Trumbull*, which has the comment (written in Flemish) in the margins 'that I must have',⁴⁵ implying that a second person was going through the music and copying it into their own source. Numerous other pieces are also marked with one or more of three signs that Spencer was unable to find a purpose for, and which may have been written by Trumbull or his pupils to indicate which pupils had copied the piece. Three other pieces are also marked *ex^r* which Spencer expands to 'examinatur', meaning 'it has been checked',⁴⁶ all of which seem to imply very strongly that the sheets were being used to teach from. It may be that William Trumbull, who is assumed to have compiled the lute book as a pupil in his teens, also taught the lute to friends or colleagues in Brussels where he worked as a secretary and later as an envoy. This would account for the book never having been bound up, or even having been disbound to facilitate its use as an exemplar. The 19 leaves, some only half-sheets, are folded and stitched together into a single gathering and were only foliated in 1980, when the facsimile was made. Judging by its state of preservation, there are likely to be many pieces missing. Two types of printed papers and one hand-ruled paper are used and as many as six watermarks are miscellaneously distributed throughout the surviving leaves,⁴⁷ implying that the present order of the music is quite likely not to have been the original, if indeed there was an original order. Its survival into the late 20th century without any binding at all is something of a miracle, and due entirely to the fact that the sheets remained in the same family. Since Trumbull was not a professional lutenist but originally a secretary his book seems to have survived while those of the professional players do not.

Trumbull is classified as a pedagogical book simply because we must assume that it was originally compiled when Trumbull himself was learning to play, even though the duets are scattered through the collection rather than organised at the beginning. The miscellaneous state of the leaves may account for this, as they may have lost their original order long before they were stitched together. In fact many of the now extinct professional's books may have originated in the same way, though since professional lutenists were unlikely to have been able to write at the time they were learning the lute—from the age of seven on—their books are probably less likely to look so much like pedagogical collections. However, since the pedagogical books were probably copied from a collection such as

⁴³ The most likely candidates are 6402, *Andrea*, *Edmund*, *Magdalen*, and *Och1280*. See Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 7.

⁴⁵ *dat mout ich hebben* (3v and 14v).

⁴⁶ See Spencer 1980, introduction.

⁴⁷ The watermarks are partially obscured by repair material covering some of the sheets.

Trumbull, the exemplar sheets, if collected together would look exactly as Trumbull's sheets do, and would be almost indistinguishable from the copies.

Although there is no direct documentary evidence for the loose-leaf theory, the compilation of the bound lute books, the appearance of *Trumbull*, the absence of exemplars and stemmatic evidence for them seem to support it very strongly, and would explain why there is no surviving lute book that belonged to Dowland, Allison, Cutting or any of the other known masters.

CHAPTER 2

THE ENGLISH LUTE REPERTORY

... we doubt not of that truth, that will help us to believe that the lute is fit to assuage the passions ...
 This heavenly harmony, rising unto the brain as an intellectual dew, does moisten gently the heat and dryness of it and if there be too much moisture and terrestrial vapours it dissipates and dries them by the melodious activity that produces a subtle fire[.] ... it followeth that this harmony set aright the faculties of the soul and perfect them.
 If the heart be closed it openeth it and if it be too much opened, it gently shutteth it to embrace and keep in the sweetness that the lute inspires into its sensible concavities. ...
 This harmony softens stony hearts and banishes the cruelty from it to give room to compassion[;] it turneth out hatred to lodge in love.

*Mary Burwell.*¹

*

SHAPE AND SURVIVAL

GENRES

SOURCES BEFORE 1580

SOURCES 1580-1615

SOURCES AFTER 1615

THE 'GOLDEN AGE'

*

MUSIC SURVIVING FOR THE LUTE in French tablature emerges from three tablature traditions: French, German and Italian. The repertory in Italian tablature is the one that has fewest overlaps with the French repertory and the tablatures themselves have little in common beyond their six-line system. Since German tablature was becoming more and more unwieldy, most Germanic lute publications and manuscripts from the end of the sixteenth century on used French tablature: it also broadened the market to include most of Europe. Melchior Newsidler attempted to introduce Italian tablature in Germany with his two 1566 publications, *Il primo libro intabolutura di liuto di Melchior Neysidler...* and *Il secondo libro intabolutura di liuto di Melchior Neysidler...*, but the project appears to have been unsuccessful, as he re-issued the two books as one in German tablature, *Tabulatura continens praestantissimas et selectissimas quasque cantiones, in usum Testudinis, à Melchiore Neusydlar...*, in 1573.

There seems to be no particular reason for the adoption of French rather than Italian tablature in England, other than the geographical and political proximity of the countries. Most of the early English lute music to survive seems to have been influenced heavily by the Italian repertory, and almost not at all by the French. It could be argued that the Alps provided a natural barrier to a ready cultural exchange between Italy and the rest of Europe, though this does not seem to have affected the movement of composers and players or their immigration into England to any great extent. However, France was geographically the nearest centre and ties between England and this part of the continent

¹ *Burwell*, 43-43v.

were particularly close at this time. One major reason for the continuing preference for French rather than Italian tablature in England in during the 1590-1610 period was the prevalence of music for seven- and eight-course lutes, with fretted chromatic notes on the basses (e.g. all of Dowland's fantasias), which is much easier to show in French tablature than in Italian. The fondness for fretted basses on seven- and eight-course instruments does seem to be a particular trait of English music in a period where, rather than using chromatic fretting, most of Europe was gravitating towards the use of multiple diatonic basses.

The designation 'French' does not stem simply from modern musicology, as contemporary writers also used the term. The development of this type of tablature though, seems to have had little to do with political and geographical boundaries, most of which were in a state of flux at this time. It may be more accurate to describe it as Anglo-French, as instances of Italian tablature in English sources are very rare, and often limited to rather unusual circumstances,² suggesting that French tablature was as much the norm in England as it was in France, and probably originated at the same time. There is little doubt that it was this tablature that was pre-eminent in Europe. French tablature sources abound in western Europe, and even sources that contain an otherwise purely Italian or German repertory can use this more versatile system. Italian and German tablatures, on the other hand, are rarely found outside their respective countries of origin (though German tablature was used in several areas of northern Europe), and sources contain far less English and French music than is found in French tablature collections originating from those two countries.

The music that survives in French tablature spans production from many countries, including Germany, the Netherlands, the Baltic states, Poland and even northern Italy. Given the shortcomings of German and Italian tablatures, it is hardly surprising that a fair quantity of continental music found its way into English sources. One would expect to find a reasonable amount anyway, given the climate of cultural growth and exchange that prevailed in Europe during the sixteenth century.

Lumsden divided the sources that he knew, giving date boundaries that correspond reasonably closely to those used here. Having set out all his sources and dated them, he divided them into five groups: the earliest manuscripts: 1550-1560; the earliest printed books: 1560-1570; the development of style—the influence of early and foreign music: 1570-1590; the Classical period: 1590-1615; the decline of the English school and rise of the French school; old-fashioned sources: 1615-1640. Since many of the dates he proposes for sources are ill-defined and thus inaccurate—sometimes by several decades—his broad groupings rarely contain all the right sources, and thus he was misled when defining the date limits of each field. However, it is noteworthy that, despite this handicap, his conclusions about the broad canvas defined by the sources are essentially correct.

§SHAPE AND SURVIVAL

The music of the English lute school that survives today is preserved in about 85 manuscript and five printed sources, containing 2100 different pieces with a further 1230 concordances, giving a total of

² The Paston Manuscripts, *see* Chapter 3, p.82.

3330 works. This constitutes a considerable body of information with which to assess the influences that came to bear on the development of an English lute style. The English Lute repertory is characterised by a surge in the production of indigenous solo music between the years 1580 and 1615. Around its origins in the mid sixteenth century, several small pieces with French titles appeared in English musical or literary manuscript sources, and the French style of notation was adopted throughout. More noticeable in the music, though, is influence from Italy, probably due to the vogue for Italian musicians at court, which strongly influenced fashions among the nobility—the class with the leisure to cultivate music—and eventually filtered through to the lower classes. From 1580, the English repertory began to deviate from widespread continental norms, establishing a 'National' style, and after 1615 was finally dominated by music from Europe, particularly France, the latter period being exemplified by what later came to be known as 'transitional' tunings. Until about 1625, lutes were almost exclusively tuned in *vieil ton*, but the march of technical and virtuosic progress also heralded new experimental tunings that would allow more adventurous chordings, mostly originating in France. Most simply involved the retuning of one of the courses up or down by a tone or semitone, though a few were more complex. Depending on its frequency of use and the supposed inventor, some were known by the name of their inventor, such as 'Gauthier', 'Mesangeau' or 'Mersenne's Extraordinaire', but most were so infrequently used as not to merit any title.

Tables 4 and 5 indicate the range of printed and manuscript sources in which the English repertory survives. Table 4 lists the sources of English solo lute music: Group One contains the early sources from the earliest known c1530 up to 1580 when there is a discernible shift in emphasis in both contents and style of compilation; Group Two lists sources written from 1580 to 1615; and Group Three lists sources after 1615 up to c1630. Table 5 represents foreign sources which contain English music, divided in the same way as in table 4.

The repertory under examination is entirely English, since only one manuscript survives from Scotland during this period, a collection of psalms and intabulations of keyboard music for a 5-course instrument, none of which have concordances with other manuscripts from the period.³ Anything not compiled or published in England is referred to as foreign or continental.

TABLE 4	
ENGLISH LUTE SOURCES	
<u>GROUP 1 - EARLY SOURCES 1530-1580</u>	
<u>MANUSCRIPT:</u>	
	<i>RA58</i> - considered to be the earliest source of English lute music: insertions in a manuscript of tenor parts for song tunes, oblong quarto format, c1530.
	<i>60577</i> - two fragments of very early lute tablature, written into a large volume of liturgical commentary originating with the Bishops of Winchester, and covering the years 1500-1550. The lute fragments probably date from c1540, possibly earlier. One title in French. Upright format, almost as large as folio.
	<i>Stowe389</i> - another fragmentary source, this time inserted into a list of household accounts associated with the court, mostly song tunes and a passamezzo. Inscribed: <i>Raphe Bowle to learne to playe on his Lutte in anno 1558.</i>

³ GB-Edinburgh University Library Ms.La.III.487 (written by Sir William Mure of Rowallan, and containing some of his own compositions) c1600.

Lodge - solo music, oblong quarto, 1559-c1575.
Osborn - mostly song settings, oblong quarto format, c1560.
Willoughby - oblong quarto format collection of 47 solo or duet lute pieces by a number of scribes associated with the Willoughby household, also includes some keyboard music, c1560-85.
Andrea - three leaves, apparently never originally bound, containing eight pieces, c1570.
Thistlethwaite - oblong format, almost as large as folio; collection of 55 solo and duet lute pieces by a variety of scribes, with some Italian music by Francesco da Milano, c1575.
Och1280 - short fragments of music lifted from a later binding, c1580.

PRINTED:

Le Roy 1568 *A Briefe and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tableture ... englished by J.Alford Londenor*
 Le Roy 1574 *A briefe and plaine Instruction, to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tableture ... now translated in English by I.K. Gentleman*

GROUP 2 - SOURCES 1580-1615MANUSCRIPT: [Upright folio format unless otherwise stated]

Dallis - a collection of solo pieces, upright quarto, 1583-5.
Dd.3.18 - lute book from a set of consort books, also containing duet parts and two solo pieces, c1585-1600.
2764(2) - reconstructed from fragments retrieved from the binding of a number of other books. A substantial part of an oblong quarto lute book, c1585-90.
Dd.2.11 - about 320 pieces, earliest of the 'Cambridge' lute MSS compiled by Matthew Holmes. Holmes was originally a singingman and city wait in Oxford and compiled a large collection of solo lute music in several manuscripts, and music for broken consort including lute from 1580 to about 1615. This book c1585-95.
41498 - one piece on a single sheet of paper, c1590.
Folger - belonged to the Dowland family, but was not John Dowland's lute book. Contains the work of many scribes, including the holographs of John Johnson and John Dowland, which gave rise to the belief that it may have belonged to him, c1590.
Wickhambrook - small collection of solos and duets, one scribe, c1595.
Ballet - small collection of solo lute and lyra viol music by one principal scribe, c1595 and a secondary layer of several scribes c1610.
Trumbull - mostly anonymous, with some comments in Dutch. c1595.
Marsh - very large collection, mostly by a single scribe with some slightly later additions, c1595.
Dd.5.78.3 - one of the Holmes books, containing about 150 pieces, 1595-1600.
Mynshall - written by Richard Mynshall around the age of 16, with three additions by other scribes. Contains many corrupt versions of well-known pieces. Mynshall later became a town musician. Dated 1597 and probably in use up to c1600 with one or two later additions.
Brogynntyn - the latest surviving English book in oblong quarto format. Includes a simple code to obscure the titles of the pieces. Also contains a large number of lute song accompaniments without the tunes written in, c1600.
Welde - small collection written by a single scribe, c1600, probably bought ready-copied.
Richard - compiled abroad by an Englishman, D. Richard, and containing mostly music concordant with foreign printed and MS sources, but with some popular English pieces. In oblong folio format, dated 1600-1603.
Dd.9.33 - about 150 pieces, one of the Holmes books, c1600-1605.
31392 - the work of three consecutive scribes in oblong folio format, c1605.
408/2 - small collection of solo music by two consecutive scribes, c1605.
6402 - four pieces on two loose folio leaves, c1605.
Magdalen - two fragments from the binding of *Opuscula Medica* (1639) now in a guard book, probably from a larger lute source. c1605
Rowallan - the only surviving Scottish source, containing mostly psalm tunes, the music not concordant with the English sources, oblong octavo format, c1605-8 and c1615-20.
Euing - oblong folio format. A major source for the music of John Dowland, c1610 and a later layer c1650.
Sampson - three or four scribes, the first is Henry Sampson; upright folio format, from 1610.
Cosens - erroneously called 'Cozens', c1610.
Nn.6.36 - 90 pieces, one of the Holmes books, upright folio format, c1610-15.
Dd.4.22 - short collection of pieces, c1615
Swarland - book containing mostly lute songs with some solos passim., c1615.

PRINTED:

Barley 1596 *A New Booke of Tabliture ... for the Lute and Orpharion*
 Robinson 1603 *The Schoole of Musicke...* [almost all Robinson]

Dowland 1610B *Varietie of Lute Lessons...*
 Maynard 1611 *The XII. Wonders of the World* [all Maynard, mostly transitional tuning]

GROUP 3 - SOURCES AFTER 1615

MANUSCRIPT: [All upright folio format except *Rowallan*]

Rowallan - compiled in two layers, c1605-8 and c1615-20. See also above.

Krakow - small collection, related to *ML* c1615

Pickeringe - copied by Jane Pickeringe from 1616, with a later section added at the back in transitional tunings, using the book inverted, c1630-50.

Hirsch - currently dated c1595, more likely c1620⁴

ML - not, as previously thought, written by John Sturt, but more probably by the owner, Margaret L., c1620 (and one piece c1630-40), related to *Krakow*

Trinity - lyra viol and lute in transitional tunings. Probably mostly French music, c1630.

Board - principally the work of Margaret Board, with a later section added by scribes who may have been French, and who used transitional tunings as well as *vieil ton*, c1620 and 1635.

Northants - two letter fragments, c1625.

Herbert - music both from the 1580-1615 period and after, a great deal of it French, but all in *vieil ton*. About 200 pieces, written c1630 and 1640.

Edmund - a single bifolium used as a paste-down and guard in Hugonis Grotius *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641). In transitional tuning, c1635.

PRINTED:

Mathew 1652 *The Lute's Apology for Her Excellency* [All Mathew]

TABLE 5

FOREIGN SOURCES IN FRENCH TABLATURE CONTAINING ENGLISH MUSIC

GROUP 1 - EARLY SOURCES 1540-1580

MANUSCRIPT:

Lvov - c1555-1560

PRINTED:

Phalèse 1546, Phalèse 1547 *Des Chansons...*

Phalèse: *Carminum pro Testudine...* 1546

Phalèse: *Carminum quae chely vel testudine...* 1549

Hans Gerle: *Eyn Newes sehr Künstlichs Lautenbuch...* 1552

Albert de Rippe: *Premier livre* 1552, 1553, 1554, 1558, 1562

Phalèse 1552 *Hortus Musarum*

Phalèse 1563 *Theatrum Musicum...*

Valentin Bakfark: *Premier Livre...* 1564

Adrian Le Roy: *Breve et facile instruction pour apprendre la tablature....* 1565

Phalèse: *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum...* 1568

Phalèse: *Thesaurus Musicus...* 1574

GROUP 2 - SOURCES 1580-1615

MANUSCRIPT:

Herdringen - c1590

Bern - c1595

Herhold - c1600

Thysius - c1610

Nürnberg - French and Italian tablatures, c1610

Brahe - Per Brahe's *Visbok*, c1610

Basle - c1610

Montbuysson - from 1611

Vilnius - c1610-20

Schele - 1613-19

Bautzen - Manuscript additions to Besard 1603, c1615

PRINTED:

Adriansen 1584, Adriansen 1592 *Pratum Musicum*

⁴ See Chapter 7.

Denss 1594 *Florilegium*
 Hove 1601 *Florida*
 Besard 1603 *Thesaurus Harmonicus*
 Ballard 1611 *Premier Livre*
 Hove 1612 *Delitiae Musicae*
 Ballard 1614 *Deuxième Livre*
 Fuhrmann 1615 *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*
 Mertel 1615 *Hortus Musicalis*
 Vallet 1615 *Secret des Muses* Vol.I

GROUP 3 - SOURCES AFTER 1615

MANUSCRIPT:

Beckmann - c1620
 Sibley - Manuscript additions to Vallet 1615 c1620 (see printed sources below)
 Aegidius - 1623
 Stobæus - c1635
 Dolmetsch - 1635-60

PRINTED:

Vallet 1616 *Secret des Muses* Vol.II
 Besard 1617 *Novus Partus*
 Mylius 1622 *Thesaurus Gratiarum*

§ GENRES

DANCE FORMS

Despite the pervasive presence of pavans, galliards and almains in continental sources of instrumental music throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the origin of all these forms outside England, these three dances nevertheless became the most common dance forms in England around 1600 and have since been considered the most English of genres. This may not, in fact, be very far from the truth, particularly as by 1600 English composers had begun to develop a harmonic and contrapuntal style that set them apart from their continental peers. Their exploitation of these forms led to such succinct stylistic traits that they became not only instantly recognisable, but also more clearly differentiated from the other dance forms that were current at the time. The same is not so easily said for their continental equivalents. Arbeau 1588 and Morley 1599 provide a description of, respectively, the dance steps and the musical form. The equal weight accorded the three genres in contemporary writings and in publications such as Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards, Almains* (London, 1599) is not reflected in the lute sources. The almain was given scant attention compared with the pavan and galliard, and galliards noticeably outnumber pavans. Table 6 lists the genres that appear in the English sources, showing the clear preference for certain genres and types of music. The pieces without specific genre titles consist almost entirely of pavans and galliards with descriptive names, and the number of pavans includes the 21 settings of John Dowland's 'Lachrimae'.

TABLE 6
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GENRES IN ENGLISH
SOURCES

	Galliard	750		
	Pavan	658		
music without genre title	Song settings ⁵	289		
	Courant	268		
	[Grounds	247	Passamezzo	117
			Quadro	78
			Chi Passa	20
			Ruggiero	14
			Bergamasca	11
			Sinkapace	4
			Romanesca	3]
	Fantasia/Fancy	200		
	Almain	196		
	Prelude	85		
Maske tunes/dances	Volt	67		
	Jig/Port	67		
	Intabulations	53		
	Toy	52		
	Dump	39		
	Delight	30		
	Battle pieces	24		
	Saraband	24		
	Lavecchia settings	23		
	[Lachrimae	21]		
In nomine settings	Ballet	16		
	March	15		
	Farewell	11		
	Choice	10		
	Branles	10		
	Good Night	7		
	Canaries	6		
	Hornpipe	6		
	Funeral	5		
	Toccata	2		
	Lesson	2		
	Lament	2		
	Gavotte	1		
	TOTAL	3330		
	without duplications	2100		

The mature English genres that first bore fruit in the music of John Johnson employ a thicker contrapuntal texture than is seen in their foreign counterparts. This divergence in texture became more pronounced as the English composers developed an insular national style, no longer relying for inspiration on their continental contemporaries. Italianate lute music, with its slow harmonic rhythm and relatively limited harmonic vocabulary that dominated the earlier repertory, was steadily superseded in England by a sophisticated contrapuntal style and finely crafted melody. The English gift for melody and the pervasive false relation successfully disguised a harmonic conservatism that other repertories were beginning to leave behind. Strictly contrapuntal writing was reserved in continental lute music for the fantasia and prelude, while in the dance genres the superficial pseudo-counterpoint and brilliant but melodically unmemorable divisions were balanced by innovative and wide-ranging harmonic adventures. The false-relation was also common in continental lute music, particularly that for lute consort, for which there is no equivalent English repertory.

The pavan⁶ and the galliard⁷

Pavan
Pavane
Pavin
Paven

both appear to have originated in northern Italy, though not simultaneously, and the earliest printed examples date from the first decade of the sixteenth century. By the late sixteenth century they had become so firmly entrenched in the English dance repertory that, with the almain, they represent just over 50% of the surviving repertory. They are particularly synonymous with English dance and of the two, the sedate duple time pavan seems most to have suited both the English temperament and the requirement of a form that could embrace a relatively strict contrapuntal texture without sacrificing recognisable dance movement. Morley⁸ refers to following a point in the pavan

⁵ Both simple harmonizations and contrapuntal arrangements, but excluding intabulations.

⁶ It is clear from the variant spellings that Elizabethan pronunciation placed the emphasis on the first syllable rather than the last, and the final '-en' (or '-an') should probably be pronounced as in 'chicken'.

⁷ The spellings indicate a two-syllable pronunciation in which the spelling 'Galyerd' seems most accurate for the modern reader.

⁸ Morley 1597, 180-181.

and, though he states that it need not be followed as strictly as in a fantasia, his comment nevertheless reflects what became a strong tradition in England of fundamentally contrapuntal writing as opposed to principally articulated homophony. Mace summed-up the nature of the sixteenth-century English pavan, which is almost unrecognisable when compared with continental versions: 'very *grave*, and *Sober; Full of Art, and Profundity*'.

The pavan is sometimes paired with a galliard, but not as frequently as the common modern pairing of the names might suggest. Arbeau indicates that a long-short-short rhythm should accompany the music, and this is demonstrated in the musical example that he suggests. Although the outline of this rhythm is often visible in the opening bars of English lute pavans, particularly those from the late sixteenth century, its appearance after 1600 seems to be more a matter of musical choice than necessity or formal structure, as it is just as frequently not apparent and often confined only to the first bar of a strain. Whether or not to begin with an anacrusis seems to be similarly the choice of the composer. Arbeau did not seem to regard the number of strains as important, but again the English lutenists seem to have formalized the dance in this respect, as virtually all the surviving examples have three equal strains—almost invariably eight bars. Continental passamezzo or quadran pavans frequently ignore the three-strain formula, but in England the structure is fairly rigidly adhered to, even when utilising grounds. Even so, Thomas Mace as late as 1676 still described the dance as being 'of 2, 3 or 4 Strains'.⁹ Because of the longer strains resulting from a protracted bass pattern, the varied reprise is usually discarded, though the impression of divisions remains as each statement of the ground progresses from longer to shorter notes.

The dance step of the galliard is similar to that of the saltarello, both using variations of the same basic five steps taken in the time of six beats: short-short-short-long-short (cinquepace¹⁰ or cinq pas) and the music is indistinguishable in style. English galliards either overtly follow this rhythmic scheme or virtually ignore it. The galliard, according to Arbeau, was faster and more energetic than the saltarello, the jumps higher and the 'kicks' more vigorous. The music is invariably in triple metre in the lute sources, and the interchange between 6/8 and 3/4 metre hemiola rhythms is particularly characteristic of the English galliard in the approach to cadences, but not exclusively so, since both intermediate cadences and overall melodic figurations make use of the rhythm.

In England, if the galliard is paired with another dance it is almost invariably a pavan, but elsewhere, both as galliard and in the guise of saltarello, it can be paired either with a pavan or a duple time passamezzo. It was clearly not essential that a galliard paired with a pavan should have originally been intended to partner it, though thematic linking occurs as early as 1531 in keyboard publications of Attaignant,¹¹ and is not unknown in the English lute repertory. The dances themselves, however, are

Galliard
Galyard
Gaillard
Galiard
Galyerd
Cinquepace
Sinkapace

⁹ Mace 1676, 129.

¹⁰ It is likely that the English word 'sinkapace' originates in the description of the galliard/saltarello dance step, but its use seems to be equally applied to one of the ground bass patterns. The rhythm of the ground, though not following the cinquepas rhythm, exhibits the hemiola figure that was such a distinctive feature of the galliard.

¹¹ *Quatorze gaillardes neuf pavannes* (Paris, 1531).

unlikely to have been paired; the galliard was intended for a solo dancer, and the pavan a group. Printed collections of ensemble music from France seem to favour galliards that are so closely modelled on the preceding pavan that they are often simply re-workings of the same material to fit the new time-signature, but the incidence of deliberately paired pavans and galliards in the English repertory is rarer than of single independent pieces, and it appears that thematic linking (usually reflected in the title to the music) in particular was considered a special occasion rather than the norm. Thus the fact that there is no known Pavan to complement Mrs Vaux's Galliard does not mean that the relevant piece is lost.

Like the pavan, the dance falls into three strains of equal length (usually eight bars), and each strain would be repeated with divisions that began to be written out in lute sources from about 1575, though it seems that some composers kept their divisions a closely guarded secret for many years before allowing them to be written down.¹² The strains are rarely thematically related in early sources, and there is no deliberate inclination towards recapitulation in the third strain. Thematic links between strains became more common from about 1590 but here, as in the use of the classic dance rhythm, there is no sense of a deliberately formulated strategy to be followed. Contrapuntally, the galliard tends towards articulated homophony, even where it is thematically or notionally paired with a heavily imitative pavan. Despite continental pairs in which the galliard is little more than a triple-time re-working of the pavan, paired pavans and galliards in the English lute repertory are virtually limited to a 'head motif' type of relationship that disintegrates within one to three measures. Occasionally the second and third strains echo those of the pavan, but not with significant frequency. The subtlety and contrapuntal complexity of the English pavan did not translate well into the considerably lighter language of the galliard, and to some extent it may be this widening stylistic gap between the two forms in England that accounts for the relatively small number of paired movements among the many examples of each form.

The earliest reference to the almain appears in a short dancing manual devoted to the basse danse appended to Alexander Barclay's *The Introductory to Write and to Pronounce French* (London, 1521, repr.1937), translated by Robert Coplande, from an unknown source. The title was used in the Netherlands and France for compositions often called 'tantz' or 'ballo' in German and Italian sources. It may have begun life as a sort of basse danse, but it seems that by 1551 it was a distinct genre. Arbeau includes choreography for an almain, and refers to it as 'a plain dance of a certain gravity' and also stated that it must be among 'our most ancient dances, for we are descended from the Germans'. Sixteenth-century almaines employ C-time with no syncopation, consisting of three repeated strains, each being made of repeated motifs with a homophonic texture. The tonality of the second strain contrasts with that of the first and third strains, occasionally emphasized by the use of shorter phrases. Several late sixteenth-century sources indicate that it was normal for the final section of the dance to be performed, as Arbeau says,

Almain
Alman
Almane
Allmane
Almond
Allemande
Almayne

¹² 'When provoked by Barclay's incorrect versions [of Dowland's solo lute music] in 1596, and again in 1604, when he complains of foreign publications that have appropriated his work from poor copies, the natural answer would have been to issue authoritative texts, yet on neither occasion did he do so.' Poulton 1982, 65.

'with greater lightness and animation', with small jumps inserted between each step 'as in the courante'. Contemporary literary references to the dance consistently refer to 'almayne leaps', and the music that appears for this section is often similar both melodically and harmonically to that of the first strain. In German and Netherlands collections of dances, the almains usually appear towards the end of the collection, with the final strain given a separate name such as 'nachtanz', 'saltarello', 'reprise' or 'recoupe'. This practice does not seem to have extended to the English versions of the piece to be found from c1570, neither does the practice of giving the final strain a different character. Together with the pavan and galliard, but never linked in any way to either dance, the almain was one of the principal dances to be found in English keyboard and lute music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

There are problems in distinguishing untitled pieces in duple time which may be almains or pavans or—particularly in the later repertory—just ballet airs. The almain as it developed has a number of identifying features which later make it fairly recognisable. It is binary; it normally opens with an upbeat followed by a chord, then a bar or so of a characteristic figure in the upper part, followed by a free interplay of standard motifs between parts. Later almains may be distinguished from duple time jigs in that jigs tend to begin with a single part rather than a chord. The pavan, on the other hand, is normally in three strains and the harmonic basis is usually less adventurous than in that of the almain. The use of imitation, though often veiled, can be more overt than in the other English dances, particularly the pavan where the counterpoint is not necessarily wholly based on imitative figures. Motivic interplay is not, however, indispensable as in all dances the counterpoint may easily become subordinated to a distinctive melodic line; these types are clearly 'outgrowths' of the French and English lute air.

The jig is primarily distinguished by its compound duple metre, though duple time jigs are not unknown, and are occasionally confused with the almain. Like the galliard, the jig involved 'leaps', and for some reason this movement seems to have linked the dance with the Irish or Scots. It does appear throughout the almost exclusively English sources of Elizabethan and Stuart lute music, but only infrequently, indicating familiarity but a certain amount of contempt or lack of either popularity among players or interest to composers.

Jig
Giga
Gigue
Jigge
Gigge
Port

The jig is invariably shorter than the almain, and is often found filling in gaps of one or more lines in manuscripts, though its appearance at the top of some pages indicates that it was not considered only a gap-filler. Like the almain, jigs are usually written in two strains, though some that appear transformed into popular songs are in three. Divisions were infrequently written out when compared with the regularity of their appearance in other dances. The imposition of strains on what would otherwise have been a through-composed piece seems to have been the responsibility of the English lute school, who tended to frame the music in phrases of equal length divided by full closes and a double bar. The implication of jigs that are copied into lute sources that are otherwise meticulous in notating divisions is that they were not played, either because of the speed and movement of the piece itself, or because as a form it was not appropriate for division-writing. Lute sources that contain a repertory including some arrangements of popular songs are likely also to contain one or two jigs, whereas the genre is less likely to be represented in sources that are more exclusively concerned with

dance or art music. The jig also appears more frequently in late sources than early ones; that is during the mature phase of the repertory, though some are effectively disguised as popular songs in jig time. Sources from this middle to late period—the latter half of Group Two manuscripts and those in Group Three—may also include courants that appear similar in rhythmic notation and length, and are often only distinguishable from jigs by their title.

The music that is probably more specifically representative of native forms is to be found in the numerous short strain-with-varied-reprise pieces that are scattered throughout the English lute sources, but that do not consistently fit the features of pavan, galliard or almain despite being usually in two or three strains. If any music in duple time with three repeated strains could be called a pavan, then many of these may qualify, but the aesthetic behind them seems to have been more to supply a pleasant interlude-like piece of music, and the use of recognisable dance patterns was simply a way of imposing form on otherwise unstructured music. The toy and jest often show features of the jig, both in the metre and in the frequent lack of divisions. The invention of fanciful or amusing names for dance related music that did not necessarily fit the popular moulds seems to have been particularly common in English lute music.

Choice
Chose
Thing
Nothing

Toy

Delight

Jest

Lament
Funeral
Funeralls
Finerall

Farewell
Good Night

Liberally scattered among the various pavans, galliards, almains and other recognisable dance-names are pieces whose metre and movement suggest these dance measures, but whose titles seem to suggest more than an element of word-painting, as well as some that suggest nothing recognisable to the modern reader: My Lady Hunsdon's Puff; Solus cum sola and Solus sine sola; Mr Timothy Wagstaff's Content of Desire; The Motley; Lord Hastings' Good Morrow; A Dream.

'Lament', 'Funeral', 'Farewell', 'Good Night', 'Choice' (or 'Thing'—including one 'Nothing') and 'Delight' turn up more than once, as do 'Dump' and 'Toy'; all of which are just as likely to have suggested a genre or a short-lived popular dance to those contemporary with its composition as a short free composition. Titles that suggest a serious or sad music are invariably in slow duple time, minor modes or keys, and rich in chromatic harmony and augmented melodic leaps. Divisions are still an integral part of the music, either in repetition of sections or strains, or in a progressive increase in movement, but the degree and style of ornamentation reflects the characterisation of the piece. Titles such as these do not preclude an overall formal framework within one of the dance patterns; thus apparently fanciful descriptive non-dance titles may be cast in the mould of pavan, galliard almain, etc. By 1600 the practice of dividing music into regular strains of contrasting tonality and increasing thematic relationship, and of putting divisions to each strain of music was well established in virtually every dance-related form, leaving only the free fantasia-like compositions for through-composed music.

Battle music was popular in England throughout the brief flowering of the lute **Battle** repertory. Battle pieces had been popular for nearly a century before the lute became popular **March** in England, a popularity often linked with pieces such as Jannequin's *La Guerre*, in which the sounds of battle are reproduced by the singers, and the swift rhythmic movement and vocal interchange make up in interest for the lack of harmonic activity. The percussive effects were suited to the strumming of the instrument and often, if not usually, the lowest course was re-tuned down a tone thereby

accommodating repetitive chords which did not require stopped courses, and allowing the player the use of his left hand to play a running melodic upper line over the unchanging pedal bass chords. Unlike William Byrd's depiction of a battle in *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, the most significant feature of battle pieces for the lute seems to have been their immense and tedious length.

The March, though probably also military in origin, is more comparable in length to the dance music, and can also make use of the strain plus varied reprise form. Repeated chords are also featured in these pieces, though they are more likely to change harmony and accommodate one or more moderately contrapuntal parts. Both pieces are invariably in duple time.

The transcription or intabulation of music from masks accounts for a number of cryptic titles and oddments such as 'Mad Tom' and 'The Turtle Dove'. Masking dances acted as interludes before, during and after the action of the maske; it was not unusual for members of the audience to participate in these dances with the players, and by drawing the watchers into the action they would become party not only to the overt plot, but are also included in any underlying political or social allegory. By the middle of the seventeenth century the antimaske dances (also known as antics, ante-maske, or antique-maske) had become a series of traditional set pieces depending upon where the maske was to be performed. Sabol¹³ lists the dances that were performed at the Inns of Court as a quadran pavan, 'Tinternell', 'The Earl of Essex's Measure', 'Turkeylony' and four almains. Pavans, almains, galliards (later replaced by sarabands), courants, volts and branles were all used for the social dance measures in masks in which members of the audience took part.

TABLE 7	
MASKES BEFORE 1630 WITH MUSIC IN ENGLISH LUTE SOURCES	
1560	<i>Nusquam Maske</i> , performed in the Willoughby household,
1609	<i>Maske of Queens</i> , Ben Jonson, 2 Feb (included Witches Dance)
1611	<i>Oberon</i> , Ben Jonson (Robert Johnson), 1 Jan (included Fairy's Dance and the Prince's Maske/Lady Eliza's Maske)
1613	<i>The Nobleman</i> , Play by Cyril Tourneur, (known to have contained a Maske)
1613	<i>The Lords' Maske</i> , Thomas Campion, 14 Feb for the marriage of the elector palatine and Princess Elizabeth (included Antiq Maske, <i>Board</i> gives 'by Confesso, set by Mr Taylor')
1613	<i>Maske of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn</i> , George Chapman (?Robert Johnson), 15 Feb for the marriage of the elector palatine and Princess Elizabeth (may have included Prince's Maske)
1613	<i>Maske of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn</i> , Beaumont, 20 Feb for the marriage of the elector palatine and Princess Elizabeth (included Tom of Bedlam)
1613	<i>Squire's Maske</i> , Thomas Campion, 26 Dec for the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard (may have included Devil's Dance)
1621	<i>Gipsies Metamorphosed</i> , Ben Jonson (?Robert Johnson), 3 Aug for the duke of Buckingham's entertainment for King James (may have included Gipsies Dance)
1622	<i>Maske of Augurs</i> , Ben Jonson, 6 Jan and 6 May
Undated maske tunes:	
	<i>Lord Zouch's Maske</i> , masking dance that may have been written in anticipation of a maske for Lord Zouch c1634
	<i>Lady Phyllis's Maske</i>
	<i>French King's Maske</i> , may have been used in the maske in act V:ii of <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> in which the stage direction prior to the entry of the King of Navarre and his lords in disguise calls for music.

The maske repertory before 1630 was fairly small and exclusive, and numbered only a few works. Some appear to have achieved a far wider popularity and circulation than others to judge by

¹³ Sabol 1982 and James P Cunningham: *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London, 1965).

their infiltration into the lute repertory, particularly the later Group Two sources (in table 4), and their continued presence in dance music publications well into the eighteenth century. The masques that are represented in lute sources, listed in table 7, are almost exclusively from the more public entertainments rather than private masques performed only once for a special occasion at a private residence, and are concentrated in three sources, *ML*, *Krakow* (two manuscripts that are linked¹⁴) and *Board*. *Willoughby* proves an exceptionally early lute source of masque dances, with music from the *Nusquam Maske*, performed for the Willoughby household.

The set pieces in particular masques, unlike the formal Elizabethan social dances, usually fell into two strains, the second more elaborate than the first. These often choreographed dances were usually instrumental versions of preceding sung music and may have had a descriptive purpose as adjuncts to the action as well as providing an excuse for some maskers to exit or enter. The early Stuart masque proper opened with a set of three dances in which the maskers were discovered and progressed to the dancing place during the first short dance, performed a much longer and more substantial dance for the second in which the character or quality of the masque to follow was presented to the audience, and finally the third dance was again a short accompaniment for the maskers to return to their tableau and the ensuing action. Many dances survive in sets of three, and this pattern accounts for the numerous examples of masking dances with titles that refer to them as the first, second or third of a particular masque. Both the social and the set dances are found arranged for lute. Table 8 lists music in the lute sources specifically written for masking dances.

Further dances that the sources clearly describe as 'masques' (both with and without any further title) indicate that the composition of masque dances was not limited to those that were part of official documented entertainments. Sabol's comments suggest that some were commissioned specifically to attract a sponsor for a major entertainment, while others may either have been parts of less formal and elaborate entertainments or parts of small-scale masques that are not documented. He does not list any masques before 1604, and therefore some dances that remain unidentified may be from this inevitably rather enigmatic grey area.

Sabol indicates that not only do some of the set pattern dances have a regular position in the masque, but so also do passamezzo, quadro and bergamasca settings, buffoons and branles and so on. The implication is that far more of the lute repertory than is currently credited was originally conceived specifically for the purpose of providing masque dances. The 'Earl of Essex's Measure' must be only one of a large number of pieces that are not usually considered in terms of the masque, but were clearly not only traditional but also frequent and specified events at masque performances over a considerable number of years that may at least cover the time in which the English lute repertory grew to maturity and was finally submerged under the new music from France.¹⁵

¹⁴ See Chapter 7 §*ML* and *Krakow*.

¹⁵ Durette courants, lavoltas, morrises/moriscos, Spanish pavans/Spasiolettas, toys; titles prefaced by 'French', 'Prince's' or 'Queen's'; 'The New Year's Gift', 'Antic', 'Sinkapace Galliard', 'Trenchmore', 'Wilson's Wild'; music associated with the Earl of Derby (Lord Strange), Robert Devereux, the Earl and Countess of Sussex, Sir John Packington, Lord Hay, Lord Hunsdon, Lady Laiton, Lord Zouch, the Lord of Oxford, the Earl of Somerset and probably a large proportion of Robert Johnson's music are all highly likely to have

TABLE 8	
MASKE MUSIC IN ENGLISH LUTE SOURCES	
French King's Maske/Earl of Derby's Courant	408/2 111/5 <i>The Earle of Darbyes Caraunta</i> <i>Board 8/2 Maske / The french kinges Maske</i> <i>Dd.2.11 61v/2 King's Maske</i>
Gipsy's Maske/Duke of Buckingham's Maske	<i>Board 38v/3 the Gipsies dance</i>
Gray's Inn Maske/Mad Tom of Bedlam	<i>Trinity 137 Grays Inn maske</i> <i>ML 30/2 graysin maske</i> <i>ML 32/2 [n.t.]</i> <i>Board 38v/2 grays Inn mask</i> <i>ML 29/2 Mad Tom of Bedlam</i> <i>Board 31v/1 [n.t.]</i> <i>Board 44/4-44v/1 [n.t.]</i>
Lady Phyllis's Maske	<i>Board 17/3 The Lady Phillyes Mask</i>
Lord Zouch's Maske	<i>ML 7v/2-8/1 the Lord Souches Maske</i> <i>Dd.4.22 3v [n.t.]</i> <i>Dd.9.33 88/1 [n.t.]</i> <i>Folger 8/2 Zouch his march</i> <i>Mynshall 7v/2 my lord Southes maske</i> <i>Board 39v/5-40/1 [n.t.]</i>
Lord's Maske, Dance	<i>ML 30v/2 the first tune of the lorde[s] masque</i>
Lord's Maske, First Tune	<i>Board 27v/3 Antiq Masque p[er] mr Confesso set by mr Taylor</i>
Lord's Maske, Second Tune	<i>ML 30v/3 second tune of the Lorde[s] masque</i>
Maske tune	<i>Board 4/2 Maske / A Maske</i>
Maske tune	<i>Nn.6.36 18v/3 Maske</i>
Maske tune	<i>ML 3v/2 A Masking tune</i>
Maske of Augurs, Dance	<i>Board 40v/2 [n.t.]</i>
Maske of Queens, First Almain	<i>Dowland 1610B 29v/1 The first of the Queens Maskes.</i>
Maske of Queens, Second Almain	<i>Dowland 1610B 29v/2-30/1 The second of the Queenes Maskes.</i>
Maske of Queens, Last Almain	<i>Dowland 1610B 30/2 The last of the Queenes Maskes.</i>
Maske of Queens, Last Almain ?	<i>Board 41/3 [n.t.]</i>
Maske of Queens, Witches Dance	<i>Board 26/1 The witches Daunce</i> <i>Dowland 1610B 30v/1 The Witches daunce in the Queenes Maske.</i> <i>ML 4/2 the wiches Daunce</i>
Nobleman's Maske	<i>ML 19/2 the Noble Man</i> <i>Dd.4.22 8v-9/1 the noble menes mask tune</i>
Nusquam Maske, Dance	<i>Willoughby 80 Nusqua[m]</i>
Prince's Maske, Dance	<i>Board 28/1 The Princis Masque</i> <i>Krakow 1/2 2</i>
Prince's Maske, Second Tune	<i>Krakow 1v/2-2/1 Ballet</i>
Prince's Maske, Third Tune	<i>Krakow 2/2 4 <5> Ballet</i> <i>Nn.6.36 18v/2 Maske</i>
Prince's Maske/Lady Eliza's Maske	<i>Board 30v/2 The La: Elyza her masque</i>
The Turtle Dove/Maske tune	<i>Trinity 132/2 A maske</i> <i>Board 45v the turtle doue</i>

Despite the supposed sixteenth-century origins of the word as denoting mental **Dump** perplexity, the identification of the lute 'dump' with funeral music and laments seems to be **Dumpe** misguided, as a large number of lute dumps could hardly be described as lament-like. Pieces **Dompe** such as 'Semper Dowland, semper dolens' indicate that the conveying of 'sad' sentiments had by this time developed clear associations with minor tonality, chromaticism and slow harmonic and rhythmic movement; most lute dumps do not exhibit these features. In fact, the only factor that is consistent among all the pieces described as 'Dump' is the use of short simple harmonic grounds, and among the examples peppered through the lute repertory this is nearly always manifested in the music taking the form of a treble-ground duet with a particularly energetic top line. The typical form of dump duets is of a very simple ground of four to eight chords which are repeated without variation by one player,

while the other plays progressively more complex and virtuosic divisions over the ground. This is admirably exemplified in John Johnson's dump music. Possibly the mental perplexity lies in the increasing difficulty of the treble player's part.

Music based on grounds accounts for a small but significant percentage of all music written for the lute, perhaps because of its use as a teaching tool, and also perhaps because once a ground was fixed in the listener's ear, it was no longer necessary to do more than sketch a reminder of it now and again, thus allowing the player considerable freedom of melodic detail in spite of the limitations of the instrument. Two types of ground exist in this repertory; the melodic bass line and the harmonic ground; lute grounds are most usually of the harmonic rather than the melodic variety. Variations on grounds such as the passamezzo pervade lute music in England up to about 1575, but despite their continued popularity abroad gradually gave way to native grounds and popular melodies in the duet repertory and, to a lesser extent, imported grounds like the chi passa, Buffoons¹⁶ and Bergamasca. The passamezzo moderno in England had a four-note coda, and the resulting ground was known as quadro or quadran, a title that was also applied to the unaltered passamezzo moderno abroad. This form of the ground survived much longer than the pure antico or moderno grounds in English lute music, and is still found in sources throughout the early 1600s in spite of the decline of the conventional passamezzo in this repertory. About half of the surviving music on grounds is written for equal pitch treble-ground duet lutes, and this is where the majority of the home-grown grounds can be seen. Solo lute grounds are almost invariably chi passa, passamezzo or quadro settings. The continuing currency of passamezzo-based music abroad is not reflected in the contents of English manuscripts, which moved decisively towards a dance repertory that was not constrained by harmonic grounds. The quadro continued to make a decisive mark, but nevertheless the form occupies a noticeably and increasingly insignificant part of the repertory from 1580 on. Anything from 25% to 50% of the solo music in a standard Group One source might be based on grounds, and nearly all of these will be passamezzos, whereas in Group Three sources, solo grounds vary from about 0% to 5% of the contents, depending on the size of the source and quantity of retrospective music it contains. Here, the original purpose of the source in question determines the type of solo repertory it contains.¹⁷

One other form of ostinato is common in the lute sources, and this can appear either as a bass ground or a treble ostinato. The Canary is a Spanish dance characterised by Arbeau as 'gay but nevertheless strange and fantastic with a strong barbaric flavour'. Its popularity in France undoubtedly led to its importation into

Passamezzo
Passing measures
Quadro
Quadran

Folia

Chi passa
Qui passa
Chipas

Romanesca

Buffoons

Bergamasca

Ruggiero
Rogeroe
Rogero

Sinkapace

Canaries

Lavecchia
Pavecheo
Leueche

¹⁶ Sabol 1982 (p.594, note 216) describes the Buffoons as 'Representative of a type of early antimasque dance, this item emphasizes the comic types who engage in ritual dancing in morrises and in mummers' plays. In such dances as this, one of several surviving specimens of a theme and variation type, the popular folk basis of sophisticated courtly masking procedures may be seen. It provides a basic statement of a simple harmonic progression on which variations in increasingly smaller note values slowly growing to a climax are constructed.'

¹⁷ See Chapter 3.

England, though noticeably only in sources after 1610.¹⁸ There are numerous variations on a basic melodic shape called 'canaries' which also follows generally the passamezzo moderno harmony. The type is immediately recognisable by the tonic-supertonic-median rising third of the opening which is stated twice. Examples from the sixteenth century are most often in duple time, although in the early seventeenth century triple time examples begin to appear. By the early eighteenth century, however, the movement is frequently triple but is more often in a dotted compound time. Like branles, canaries may appear in groups in the continental sources, but only singly in England.

Lavecchia, Italian for 'the old woman' is a pattern applied to a pavan or a galliard in much the same way as the passamezzo. The tune was registered with the stationers company in 1584 in England, but appeared in 1578 in a Venetian print in the form of a passamezzo and saltarello. One of the many tunes that grew from the passamezzo ground, this tune became emancipated from its roots some time in the 1580s and achieved independent popularity in the English lute sources.

FRENCH-INFLUENCED DANCE FORMS

The growing popularity of French music in England led to the inclusion of a large group of dance pieces composed by French lutenists and not imitated by the English composers. Inevitably, some pieces seem to have been transmitted in a corrupt form, their copyists trying to force them into the same mould as pavans, galliards or almains in the English style. The process also seems to have blurred even further already subtle divisions between different genres. This is most apparent between courant, saraband and volt, where the different terms can refer to the same piece, sometimes even in the same source where the piece appears twice. Among these clearly French pieces are also to be found a small number of 'ballets', a term that not only applied to a particular type of piece, but also applied to any imported piece of which the genre was unclear. The result is an intractable formal ambiguity, since it is often impossible to discriminate between pieces that were genuinely called 'ballet' and pieces which had acquired that name by default.

The earliest known saraband is one by Jacob Reys (*dl*605) in *Herbert*, but apart from this isolated instance, the form only really begins to appear in French lute sources from the 1630s, making the Reys example exceptional, quite apart from the fact that *Herbert* is an English source—albeit one with strong French connections. The term, however, is current in early sixteenth-century Spanish guitar music. Features that became an integral part of the mature saraband are already inherent in these early pieces: triple metre, four-bar phrases usually with the cross-rhythm hemiola, fast harmonic pace, strummed chords which became a particular distinguishing feature of the lute version, contrasted homophonic and melodic passages and multiple short sections. One further feature emerges in the Saraband—though clearly without gaining formal significance—of a bass note anacrusis followed by a chord on the first beat of the bar, particularly at the opening of the piece. Once set up, the pattern may continue through an entire piece. This was originally used by Robert Ballard in the last of each group of three ballets in Ballard 1611, and must have become

¹⁸ Board, *ML*, Nn.6.36, *Straloch*, and *Trinity*.

transferred onto the saraband as the three-movement 'suite' of allemande—courant—saraband began to develop. Of the three principal dance types of the later strongly French-influenced period—the 1630s on—the saraband is the most clearly defined and recognisable, and settled into a binary form. Like nearly all of the other dance types, it also utilised several of the common bass patterns.

There are various factors that probably contributed to the saraband being one of the less exploited forms in the lute repertory. Firstly, its late popularity abroad, basically after the English lute repertory had passed its prime, meant that it was probably almost unknown during the most active time of the English lutenists. Secondly, during the years when it might have entered the lute repertory in Europe, it seems to have been a genre that was particularly associated with the guitar repertory and strummed playing. Strumming has never played a significant part in lute technique, and the addition of percussion instruments and the apparently wild abandon with which it was supposed to be performed undoubtedly combined to prejudice English lute composers against it. After 1640, its development in France refined it into the stately and dignified dance that the term now suggests, but this was too late to catch the mainstream English school.

The popularity of the courant in late seventeenth-century France may account for the surprising number of examples in the English sources; substantially fewer than either pavans or galliards, but notably more than almains, suggesting that the courant probably occupied a more important position in the repertory. The early seventeenth-century dance is to be found in both Italy and France, but by the end of the century it had diverged into two distinct types; the sophisticated slow-moving 'courante' in France and the chordal and unpretentious fast-moving 'corrente' in Italy. The English preference for the subtler dance forms makes it predictable that it was the French form that found favour in England.

Courant
Corant
Courante
Currant
Curent
Carranta
Crananta

The characteristics of the dance are triple metre and an opening up-beat followed by a chord similar to the 'Ballard' type of saraband, and also the occasional use of strummed chords. Regardless of whether the up-beat is followed by a chord, this is probably the only dance in the repertory in which the anacrusis is a definite feature of the dance and is uniformly present. Despite these overlapping features between the courant and the saraband, the two genres are clearly distinguishable by their phrase structures: the saraband uses an almost rigid four-bar phrase structure, while the French courant idiomatically avoids even phrase lengths in favour of a mix of various irregular numbers of bars that seems to be entirely unpredictable. The shared features of the two dances probably gave rise to titles such as 'Courante Sarabande', which finds its way into the English sources, though not always attached to the same piece. Clearly composers deliberately exploited the stylistic overlap to generate a specific type of dance, although the idiosyncrasy of the phrase structures must have made them instantly discrete to players. David Ledbetter¹⁹ identifies the repeated chord at the end of each phrase as a 'typical courant punctuation mark' in the French repertory, but in the English repertory this gesture is also typical of phrase endings in the galliard, and to a certain extent also the pavan.

The courant is frequently confused with the volt by copyists, and in some cases the same piece

¹⁹ Ledbetter 1990, 36-7.

may even appear copied twice into the same source, one copy entitled 'courant' and the other 'volt'. That those contemporary with its composition did not pedantically distinguish between the two suggests that perhaps it is not strictly necessary to do so. Usually, the volt lacks the 'fingerprint' features of the courant, such as the saraband-like up-beat, and shares with the saraband a preponderance of equal phrase-lengths.

As seen above, the volt may be easily confused with the courant or the saraband, particularly by the composers and copyists of the period, and the situation is not helped at all by titles such as 'La Volta Courant' or 'Courant Saraband'. Although there appear to be a fair number of volts in the English repertory, some of these are described as courants in concordant sources, although the volt does not open with the distinctive anacrusis of the courant. Because of their relative numbers, this confusion is more significant to the volt population than to that of the courant. The volt was apparently the only dance current in the second half of the sixteenth century that allowed the dancers to embrace closely, and had movements that seem to have been considered suggestive. Despite the overt sexual innuendo prevalent in Elizabethan poetry and its often obvious setting by the English madrigalists, this dance is another that seems to have been less popular than the 'serious' types in the lute repertory. Arbeau considered the volt to be a relation of the galliard, but the versions in English sources show less compositional interest than the more popular forms. It seems to have had a short-lived vogue in France and Italy, mainly in the sixteenth century, and died out in the early years of the seventeenth. In spite of its apparently limited currency both on the continent and in England (as evidenced by the small number to appear in the manuscript sources), Robert Dowland printed as many of these as of all the other genres that he included in the *Varietie of Lute Lessons*.²⁰ His preference does not appear to reflect the prevailing tastes in England at the time, but may have been governed by a desire for symmetry in the publication, where each genre is represented by seven examples. Dowland includes only fantasias, pavans, galliards, almains, courants and volts; ignoring the only other piece of which there is a significant number in the repertory: the prelude.

Only seven English sources contain branles and these sources are spread through the period: *Board* (c1620-30), *Dallis* (1583-5), *Dd.5.78.3* (c1595-1600), *Lodge* (1559-1575), *Pickeringe* (c1630), *Straloch* (1627-9), *Le Roy* 1568. The branle seems to have been most popular in France and was commonly used as the first dance during celebratory gatherings: it was also immensely popular as a concluding dance for maske revels (performed before the action of the maske proper) in England. It seems to have been particularly associated with weddings, and its attraction seems to have been the lack of artifice behind its performance, both by players and dancers, that encouraged a style that was the reverse of the carefully choreographed steps of dances such as the pavan and galliard. Although the term only dates from c1500, it is clear that round dances employing branle-like sideways steps had been common for about 150 years before that. Its lack of currency in the English lute sources may be due to the tradition that the music was provided by the dancers themselves singing, led by a soloist. This does not, however, seem to apply to continental

Volt
Volte
Volta
Wolt
Lavolta

Branle
Bransle
Brawle
Brale
Bralle
Brand

²⁰ See table 14 below, page 64.

sources, where branles appear with some frequency and never singly. They seem never to have been performed singly either, but only in groups of about three or more.²¹ There are numerous varieties of step and rhythm associated with the dance that originate in the verse types on which they are based and the regional localities where they supposedly developed. They are usually in 6/4 metre, but the 'branle de Poitou' is usually in 9/4, occasionally alternating with 6/4 and making use of rustic drone effects. The possibly rowdy results of a dance that deliberately espoused rustic styles may be one of the reasons why only ten²² examples survive in the English lute repertory, which showed clear preferences for more sedate music, as well as the inappropriateness of an instrument as subtle and light as the lute for a dance normally accompanied on loud wind instruments.

The ballet is similarly thinly represented in the English sources, and significant numbers only appear after 1615, though in no way enough to challenge the supremacy of the light English forms of jig or toy. 'Ballet' was a term applied both to a specific dance type and to those pieces that might have entered the repertory by importation from courtly masque-type entertainments. In this latter guise the pieces it identifies often have no specific identifiable dance features since they were probably choreographed set pieces, and the term thus became used for other music simply to mean 'dance', although the pieces designated may not necessarily have originated in the same way as the true 'ballet'. The generic ballet in continental sources was occasionally coupled with a courant or another dance, and consisted of two strains that were repeated with divisions, with no predetermined metre.

It is good the scholar learns music and dancing and singing. The music will make him play good time and discover unto him the faults of any lesson.

Dancing will give him the humour of a Courant and of a Sarabrand and singing will give him the graces of the lute[,] for instruments are the leaps of a voice[,] and the more an instrument comes near to it the more perfect it is[,] As the lute to which we attribute the facility of speaking for we say that other instruments sound well but of the lute we say that lute speaks well.

*Mary Burwell*²³

NON-DANCE FORMS

No sources from 1580 onwards lack settings of popular songs altogether, but collections of song settings tend to appear in large numbers in some sources and not at all in others. Rather than copying one or two consort songs, a compiler will copy a group of as many as ten. The same is true of settings of popular songs, either a source has one or two, or it is liberally peppered with them. The impression given by sources that contain song settings within an otherwise 'highbrow' dance repertory is that these fripperies have been copied in to use up single- or double-line spaces that would otherwise be left between the copying of more significant music. The number shown in the 'comparative table' (p.41) is slightly misleading as they are not evenly spread throughout the sources but cluster in a few.

There are two types of song settings in the lute repertory; firstly the simple harmonization of

²¹ See Sabol 1982, 17-18 and Grove: 'Branle'.

²² Three sets of four branles and seven single dances, one of which is for cittern, and one further that is entitled 'courant' in the English source, but 'branle' in continental concordances.

²³ *Burwell*, 39v.

a melody and second the use of a melody for art music that will usually incorporate divisions on each strain of the tune.²⁴ In some cases the song is incorporated thematically in one of the standard dance patterns. Many of the art-music types that appear in the lute sources are also seen in the contemporary keyboard repertory: the commonest of these is 'Walsingham', set by a number of composers. These pieces are distinct from those that originated as broadside ballads or consort songs and subsequently found their way into the lute repertory as simple harmonizations, intabulations or as arrangements for lute and solo voice. Although melodically distinctive, these settings seem to have progressed forward from simple intabulation or harmonization to embrace the compositional imperatives inherent in the carefully crafted dance forms. English tunes treated in this manner include: 'The 'Carman's whistle', 'Fortune my foe', 'Gathering peascods', 'Go from my window', 'Greensleeves', 'John come kiss me now', 'The Nightingale', 'Robin', 'Wakefield on a green', 'Walsingham', 'Will ye walk the woods so wild'.

The distinction between the fantasia, toccata and prelude seems to have been particularly blurred on the continent, since one composer may call a piece a fantasia, while another will call the same piece a prelude, and similarly with the toccata. Pieces called fantasias and preludes that appear to be stylistically undifferentiated exist side by side in *Herbert* and in many continental sources. Until 1630 the unmeasured prelude that became such an instrumentally idiomatic part of the French lute repertory was virtually unknown. It certainly made no impact on the *vieil ton* repertory, and seems to have emerged at the same time as the new tunings and with similar goals of exploiting the new harmonic and textural resonances of the lute. The fantasia and toccata similarly seem to be interchangeable; nevertheless some pieces survive, entitled fantasia, that would undoubtedly conform better to the title of 'toccata' in the sense of touching the instrument to test its tuning and warm up the fingers with some florid passage-work. Some preludes could also be toccatas in this sense, but the main distinction between the imitative type of fantasia/toccata and the imitative prelude seems to be one of length; the latter is usually significantly shorter.

The fantasia consists of a series of three or more unrelated imitative points that function as independent sections, each one beginning with a clear opening. In some cases there is a very brief overlap between points, but more commonly each section is marked off by half or full closes. Thus any one of these successive imitative episodes could be re-used as the beginning of a new piece or as an independent prelude. The imitative prelude usually consists of three or (more often) fewer distinct imitative points. Several examples exist in which a prelude in one source is the opening section of a fantasia in another, or even the same source. In English music there is a more specific distinction between the genres designated fantasia (fancy) or prelude: the fancy conforms to Morley's definition,²⁵ involving a series of points of imitation and a carefully wrought imitative and loosely fugal contrapuntal texture that is free in overall length and lacking other formal features. The prelude, on the

Prelude
Preludium
Lesson
Toccata
Ricercar
Fuga
Phantasy
Fantasia
Fancy

²⁴ According to *Burwell*, 'It is a disgrace for the lute to play country dances songs or courants of violins as likewise to play tricks with one's lute' (*Burwell*, 70).

²⁵ In which a composer 'taketh a point, and wresteth and turneth it as he list...' Morley 1597, 180.

other hand, unless imported from a continental source and therefore of the imitative type, is a series of anything from four to 16 bars of straightforward chordal writing. This type of only slightly articulated homophony is usually significantly more harmonically adventurous than is usual in the English vocabulary and implies the use of the piece to test the tuning of the instrument, and may also have been used to practise the different and sometimes complex hand positions and changes required to master chords of four and more notes and play them smoothly.

Elias Mertel's exhaustive collection of fantasias and preludes: *Hortus Musicalis* (1615) contains both imitative and improvisatory preludes; 'Prelude 21' appears in Michelagnolo Galilei's 1620 *Primo Libro d'intavolatura di Liuto* as a Toccata (p.38) and also has significant similarities with Mertel's 'Fantasia 1'. As well as concordant sources which use both the titles fantasia or prelude²⁶ for single pieces, there are instances such as that of Mertel's 'Prelude 166' which exists as Molinaro's (1599) 'Fantasia Quinta' but only from bar 12 onwards, thus further complicating concordancing.

The result is a confusing plethora of fantasias and preludes from a relatively small number of points. Imitative preludes in particular seem to have suffered from this short-cut type of composition, since many are constructed by using one or two points from the central section of a much longer fantasia.

The lesson manifested itself most spectacularly in the English keyboard repertory, and hardly appeared in the lute repertory at all. Where it did, its purpose seems to have been synonymous with the English style of lute prelude, rather than the development of an independent character. Despite the imitative and technical resources exploited through the form by contemporary keyboard composers, neither the prelude nor the lesson—purely chordal pieces—seems to have made any impact on the lute repertory. The unusually large section of imitative and rhapsodic preludes in *Cosens*, though mostly by continental composers, seems to be exceptional.

§SOURCES BEFORE 1580

The manuscripts in Group One of table 4 are representative of the earliest stage of the English repertory, c1530-1580. These sources are mainly fragments or collections of less than ten pieces written by a single scribe, apart from *Willoughby* and *Thistlethwaite*, which require separate treatment. They contain a few settings of the passamezzo, some short, simple pavans and galliards, and numerous song or ballad settings related to poetry by Wyatt, Surrey and others, most of which was published in Tottel 1557. The preparation of these sources suggests that they were most probably used only by the compiler rather than being intended for general consumption. Their lack of polish implies that their owner was not compiling for posterity, but only for his (or her) transitory use. The lines are mostly drawn by hand rather than being ruled, the rhythm flags are frequently omitted, and the style of writing appears untidy or hurried in the manner of jottings, rather than a carefully written-out copy.

Any fantasias which appeared in manuscripts in the latter part of this group were exclusively

²⁶ e.g. Mertel's 'Fantasia 23' appears as 'Prelude' in *Herbert* f.21v.

Italian, either by Alfonso Ferrabosco (i),²⁷ who worked in England between 1562 and 1579, or by the somewhat older Francesco da Milano (1497-1543), who is not known to have visited England.

There are two printed sources from this period, listed at the end of Group One, both almost exactly similar in contents, and both translations of a French tutor by Adrian Le Roy, originally published in Paris in 1565.²⁸ They are conservative collections, containing instructions for playing the lute which are followed, in the second edition, by an exhaustive description of how to intabulate vocal models based on music by composers such as Josquin, Sermisy and Lassus.²⁹ The collection contains no other solo music, and is almost certainly the product of an already existing repertory rather than the genesis of a new one in the manner of the effect that the publication of *Musica Transalpina* in 1588 had on the English Madrigal School.

Although the music was not particularly modern, the instructions were clearly considered reliable, and still relevant enough for William Barley to reprint them without acknowledgement in 1596.

Linking this early group to later manuscripts are *Willoughby* and *Thistlethwaite*. These are both rich in Italian music, particularly *Thistlethwaite* which John Ward³⁰ suggests may have been compiled in part by an Italian scribe. Tables 9 and 10 list the contents of these manuscripts.

The manuscripts are already showing evidence of the principal changes that were beginning to take place in the English repertory: there are more dances than intabulations; fewer and shorter passamezzo settings; the pieces are longer and include written-out divisions which were not shown in the earlier manuscripts. The contents are by a diverse range of composers, and do not on the whole include compositions of, or arrangements made by the scribe, though the last piece in *Thistlethwaite* appears to be a composition by the last scribe. The volume of music collected is much greater, and there is a marked tendency to neaten and standardize the layout and copying. Paper with pre-ruled six-line staves and, later, printed paper is used and the more meticulous specific notation and general appearance would easily allow use of the book by another player apart from the scribe. There are also a number of scribes apparently at work together in each of these sources, nine in *Willoughby*, and ten in *Thistlethwaite*. The contents are more diverse in their selection of genres, and there are numerous examples of the fantasia and passamezzo forms.

Willoughby and *Thistlethwaite* represent both the end of the period influenced mainly by Italian music, and the beginning of a new English school, bridging the stylistic division between Groups One and Two.³¹

²⁷ Alfonso (i) (1543-1588) was in the service of the Queen by 1562, but left her service c1579. Alfonso (ii) (c1578-1628) was the son of Alfonso (i) and was in the service of the Queen or King in some way from 1592 until his death.

²⁸ Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, printers, *Breve et facile instruction pour apprendre la tablature, a bien accorder, conduire, et disposer la main sur le cistre*. (Paris 1565, R Casazza 1983).

²⁹ Josquin c1440-1521, Sermisy c1490-1562, Lassus c1532-1594.

³⁰ Ward 1992.

³¹ The early sources of English lute music are discussed in Ward 1992.

TABLE 9
 CONTENTS OF *WILLOUGHBY* c1560-85

Source (folios)	Title (in standardized spelling)	Composer
1v-2	Fantasia	Luys de Narvaez
2v-3	Fantasia	
3v-5	Good Night, duet treble	John Johnson
5v	Good Night, duet ground	John Johnson
6v-7v	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
8-9/1	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
9/2-10v/1	Pour Vos Amis	Philip van Wilder
10v/2-11	Pavan	Brewster
11v-12/1	Pavan	Philip van Wilder
12/2-12v/1	Galliard	
12v/2-14	Quadran Pavan	T.A.
14v-15/1	Pavan	?Anthony Holborne/Anthony de Countie
15/2-17	New Almain	
17v-18	Almain	
17v-19/1	Almain	Richard Greene
19/2-20	Galliard	
20v-21/1	"E Lume Alta" Galliard	
21/2	Galliard	
21v-22v/1	Quadran Pavan	
22v/2-23	Labandalashot Galliard	
23v-25	Pavan	
25v-27v	Delight Pavan	John Johnson
28-29/1	Delight Galliard	John Johnson
29/2-30v	Galliard	Peter van Wilder
31-31v	Galliard	John Johnson
32-32v/1	Galliard	
32v/2-33v	Hall's Galliard	Richard Greene
34-35/1	Quadran Pavan	
35/2-36v	Quadran Pavan	
37-37v	Quadran Galliard	
38-39v	Conde Claro	Guillaume Morlaye arr.?
41v	Galliard [fragment]	
78-80/1	Galliard	
80/2	Nusquam Galliard	
80v-81	Galliard	
81v-82v	Fantasia	
83v-84	Chi Passa	
84v-85/1	Chi Passa	
85/2	Chi Passa	
87v-88/1	Chi Passa	
88/2	Passamezzo Pavan	
88v-89/1	Turkeylony/The Gods of Love	
88v/1	Passamezzo Galliard	
89/2	Chi Passa	
89v-90/1	Quadran Pavan	
90/2	Chi Passa	
90v	Church's Galliard	

TABLE 10
 CONTENTS OF *THISTLETHWAITE* c1575

Source (folios)	Title (in standardized spelling)	Composer
2-3/1.....	Dump, duet treble	
3.....	[fragment].....	
3v-5v.....	Passamezzo [antico] Pavan	
6.....	Galliard	
6v-7.....	Galliard	
7v-8.....	Galliard	
8v-9v/1.....	Pavan.....	
9v/2.....	[fragment].....	
10v.....	Pavan [fragment].....	
11v-13v.....	Chi Passa.....	
14v.....	Ground [fragment]	
15.....	Quadran Pavan [fragment].....	
15v-17v.....	Quadran Pavan.....	
18/1.....	Galliard?.....	J R
18/2.....	Exercise? [fragment]	
18v-22.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
22v-24v/1.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
24v/2.....	[?].....	
25.....	Old Almain.....	William Byrd arr.?
25v-26.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
26v-28v.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
29v-31v.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
32.....	Villanella S'io Fostri Certo.....	
32v-34.....	Fantasia?	
34v.....	O Ta Che Mi Dai	Luca Marenzio arr.?
35v-36.....	Galliard	Lichfield
36v-37.....	Madonna.....	
37v-39.....	Suzanne Un Jour.....	Orlando Lassus arr.?
40v-43.....	Fantasia?	
43v-44/1.....	Fantasia?	
44/2.....	[fragment].....	
44v-47.....	Stabat Mater	Josquin des Pres arr.?
47v-50.....	Benedicta es Coelorum Regina.....	Josquin des Pres arr.?
50v-51.....	Fantasia.....	
51v-52.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
52v-53.....	Toccata?	
53v-54.....	[?].....	
55v.....	Fantasia?	
58v-62v.....	The Battle	
63v-64.....	Galliard (Consort/duet part).....	
64v-65.....	Passamezzo (Consort/duet part).....	
65v-67.....	Fancy.....	
67v-68.....	[Intabulation].....	
68v-70.....	Galliard	
70v-71.....	Ground, A Down.....	
71v-73.....	Fancy.....	
73v-74v.....	Fantasia.....	
75v-77v/1.....	Fantasia.....	
77v/2-78.....	Fantasia.....	
78v-80.....	[?].....	
81v-84.....	Benedicta es Coelorum Regina.....	Josquin des Pres arr.
84v-86/1.....	Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
86/2.....	Intabulation.....	
86v.....	[fragment].....	
87v-89.....	Heaven and Earth/King's Pavan.....	
89v-90.....	[Heaven and Earth?] Galliard.....	
90v-92v.....	Fantasia.....	Alberto da Rippe
93v-95v.....	Passamezzo Pavan.....	Thistlethwaite

§SOURCES 1580-1615

The manuscripts in Group Two of table 4 illustrate a number of distinct changes in the style of manuscript production: as well as the mixing of a number of scribes using the books, printers and

binders began to adopt the characteristic upright folio format that took over from oblong quarto in English lute collections some time after 1590, possibly to accommodate the increasing length of pieces which now invariably included written-out divisions. Foreign collections, however, retained the quarto layout well into the seventeenth century.

Group Two manuscripts, from 1580 to 1615, probably represent the most successful and popular period for the six- and seven-course Renaissance lute in England. The tuning of the instrument was stable, though diatonic bass courses were being added steadily without affecting the tuning of the instrument.

The year 1580 marks approximately the point when the contents of English lute sources began to diverge most markedly from the contents of foreign collections, and the number of concordances with foreign sources falls off most dramatically. This period also defines the work of Matthew Holmes, who copied virtually all the extant pieces from this period in his collection of lute books. By following the undoubtedly current copying of Holmes³² it is possible to gain an excellent overall picture not only of the way in which the repertory developed, but also to appreciate which older pieces were clearly still being played during the most compositionally active era. His lute books are surveyed in Chapter 6³³ in relation to establishing detailed and specific chronology for Group Two repertory.

In 1596, William Barley published his *New Booke of Tabliture ... for the Lute and Orpharion*, and its contents are listed in table 11. This is an archetypal late sixteenth-century pure English collection, containing no passamezzos, fantasias or intabulations, only pavans, galliards, almains and a few ballad settings. They are all by English composers: Dowland, Cutting, Rosseter and Edward Johnson. As was the case with the Le Roy translations, the publication is almost certainly the product of existing trends in the manuscript collections of the time, though most of the larger manuscript collections still included one or two passamezzos or fantasias.

TABLE 11
CONTENTS OF WILLIAM BARLEY: *A NEW BOOKE OF TABLITURE...* (London, 1596)

Source (pagination)	Title (in standardized spelling)	Composer
FOR LUTE		
17.....	The Ten Commandments	[?William Barley]
22-23.....	Study	[?William Barley]
26-29/1.....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
29/2-32.....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
33-36.....	Lachrimae Pavan.....	John Dowland
37-41.....	Captain Digorie Piper's Pavan	John Dowland
42-44.....	Almain.....	Francis Cutting
45-46.....	Fortune My Foe	John Dowland
47-49.....	Pavan and Galliard.....	Francis Cutting
FOR ORPHARION		
55-56.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (1).....	Philip Rosseter
57-58.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (2).....	Philip Rosseter
59.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (3).....	Philip Rosseter
60-61.....	Solus cum Sola	John Dowland

³² The currency of the books is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, and also in Chapters 5 and 6.

³³ Page 163ff.

62.....	Earl of Essex's Galliard/Can She Excuse.....	John Dowland
63.....	Galliard	Francis Cutting
64.....	Galliard	Edward Johnson
65.....	Almain.....	Francis Cutting
66-68.....	Go From My Window	John Dowland
69.....	Packington's Pound	Francis Cutting
71.....	Mrs Winter's Jump.....	John Dowland
72.....	Cutting Comfort	Francis Cutting
73-75.....	Walsingham	Francis Cutting
76-78.....	Bray Pavan.....	W. Byrd arr. Francis Cutting

Contrary to the state of affairs in England, the lutenist abroad was enthusiastically publishing his own work and that of his contemporaries in large, sometimes gargantuan collections. By the 1550s a pattern had become established in the printed collections which is laid out in table 12 below in order to give a simplified idea of the contents of each. In terms of numbers, no single genre seems to predominate. What is more interesting is the hierarchy that emerges through the consistent layout of the sources, in which all the music is grouped by genre.

TABLE 12
PRINTED SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC AFTER 1580
The largest genre-group in each source is shown in bold type

	prelude	fantasia	passa- mezzo	pavan	galliard	almain	dance/ chorea	branle	ballet	courant	volt	song/ ballad
Adriansen 1584		5	9		7	10		3		4	1	4
Adriansen 1592	15	5	18		5	3		3	1	1		
Denss 1594		11	17		10	22	3	4		5	2	
Barley 1596				5	8	2						6
Hove 1601		7	17	6	11	8		2		6	5	12
Besard 1603	37	40	25		52	34	9	28	17	33	35	7
Dowland 1610B		7		7	7	7				7	7	
Hove 1612	6		14	6	10	9		4	2	11		6
Fuhrmann 1615	11	7	12	11	20	5		14	29	21	12	5
Mertel 1615	234	119	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Vallet 1615	14	5	4	4	6	5	3		5	24	6	5
Besard 1617	2	5	9		3	5		5	5	18	2	9
Mylius 1622	21	22		13					8	23	14	

By listing all the continental printed sources between 1580 and 1625 that are not limited to the works of a single composer, and including the publications in England of Barley and Dowland it is possible to make a basic comparison between the contents of the English collections and their foreign counterparts. The number of pieces which appear in each genre group is given, and the predominant genre in each collection is shown in bold type. It is clear that no particular genre consistently takes precedence in numbers over any other, though the emphasis appears to shift from passamezzo settings,

galliards and almains towards the French dances.

Up to the mid-1500s, instrumental publications of music followed no particular set pattern or hierarchy of genres. By examining all publications of instrumental music before 1600 where more than one genre is included, and comparing the order of the genres represented, what emerges is that by 1584, the pattern in these collections of fantasias; then intabulations; then dances was well established, and Emanuel Adriansen was following a clear-cut template in his collection *Pratum Musicum*. The earlier publications of lute music collected by Phalèse etc. were printed in oblong quarto format, and Adriansen did depart from the norm here, by choosing a new upright folio format that was to become the standard for printed lute music. This template used by Adriansen, no doubt prompted by the increasing length of the pieces and the by now standard inclusion of divisions for each strain of dance pieces, held good for all future foreign publications, most of which are listed in table 12. The arrangement and type of contents of these books remained essentially the same right up to the 1622 publication of Mylius and beyond, even though most manuscript collections had largely ceased to preserve the more archaic and cerebral fantasias and passamezzo settings, and did not follow any consistent pattern such as that seen here.³⁴

The fantasia and prelude were always put in the place of honour at the head of a collection and separated from other solo music by a section of intabulations that frequently dwarfed the solo sections. The intabulations were of sacred motets by Josquin, Sermisy, Lassus and others, and secular vocal music mainly from the four Antwerp anthologies published by Phalèse between 1583 and 1591.³⁵ The intabulations are not shown in the table above, which concentrates on the emergence of the solo repertory, but this is another apparently anomalous feature of the printed sources in which the inclusion of intabulations persists long after they became virtually extinct in manuscripts, though to some extent vocal music retains its place with the growing number of settings of song tunes and broadside ballads, sometimes in single-strain settings, and sometimes in the complex and artful sets of variations.

Passamezzo pavans and galliards are always the first of the solo music to appear after the intabulations. These tended to be long-winded and, with their repetitive bass patterns, can be dull, though are not always so. Manuscript collections had all but abandoned passamezzo pavans and galliards by 1585, and they never appear in the manuscript sources in the quantity in which they are found in the printed collections. The remaining dance music was all grouped by genre and seems to have had no particular hierarchy, except that pavans, when included, were always placed after the Passamezzos. The ballad or song settings—the lightest music—conclude each collection. The foreign sources consist entirely of music with only the briefest prefatory matter in the form of laudatory verses intended to sell the books or honour the patrons of the compiler. They offer nothing in the way of instruction in music or in the playing of the instrument, though Fuhrmann does draw parallels between tablature rhythm signs and mensural notation.

³⁴ In *Thysius* some sections of the manuscript are organized by genre, as is the case with parts of *Dolmetsch*. Here, the reason may have been that both compilers were copying from printed sources.

³⁵ *Harmonia Celeste* (1583), *Musica Divina* (1583), *Melodia Olympica* (1591), and *Symphonia Angelica* (1585), All reprinted frequently, and well into the sixteenth century.

One source stands out from this group: the collection of Elias Mertel. Only one book of preludes and fantasias survives from what was clearly intended to have been a mammoth, multi-volume collection in the style of, but on an entirely different scale from, Besard 1603 and others. There is no index, as this was probably intended to have been published in the final volume. The pieces in this volume are simply numbered. It seems that the sheer size of the task overwhelmed Mertel, and there is no record of further volumes in the series being published, nor any surviving music. The apparent intention though, indicates that the amount of music circulating on the continent was enormous. Only about 5% of the fantasias, and fewer of the preludes in this volume are duplicated in other sources, manuscript or printed.

Although by the middle of the sixteenth century, national compositional schools seemed to have become established in vocal music, the same does not appear to be true of the lute repertory. As far as the composers represented in these sources is concerned, national boundaries on the continent seem not to have existed. A collection such as Fuhrmann 1615 embraces music from a very wide variety of continental sources, including England.

This collection is typical of the others in the group of printed sources in mixing music from all over Europe. Fuhrmann lists Rome, Venice, Paris, Orléans, Nuremberg, England, Strasbourg, Thuringia and Pergamon. In listing his contributors, he seems to have considered Richard Allison and Robert Dowland to be in the same league as John Dowland and the more widely known continental masters, a view which doesn't seem to have been shared by the compilers of any of the other foreign printed collections, although they were less specific in their advertisements.

Of all English music to reach the continent, that of Dowland was undoubtedly the most widely known and copied. This must be due to the fact that Dowland spent most of his life travelling in Europe³⁶ and from 1598 to 1606 was employed by Christianus IV, King of Denmark.³⁷ Dowland was held in extremely high regard abroad, and was ideally placed, both geographically and politically, for his music to gain the widest possible circulation in mainland Europe. If in doubt about the composer of a piece, a compiler simply ascribed it to Dowland. Quite probably some pieces were misattributed to him since his reputation was such that the mere appearance of his name would guarantee the piece a playing.

Table 13 compares the number of English pieces in foreign sources, both manuscript and printed, and demonstrates how much more important Dowland was outside England than any other English composer. Of the 220 English pieces which found their way into foreign sources, 104 of them were almost certainly by Dowland, 44% of the total. 'Lachrimae'³⁸ alone appears 12 times, whereas

³⁶ 1580: went to Paris (age 17) in the service of Sir Henry Cobham, Ambassador to the French court. 1586: returned to England. 1594: began to travel abroad with Duke of Brunswick, Landgrave of Hesse, left for Rome to meet Marenzio (it is not known whether he ever reached Rome), joined Grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence. 1595: in Nuremberg. 1598: appointed to Danish court. 1606: dismissed from Danish court. 1612: appointed one of the lutes to James I (VI). Died 1626.

³⁷ Diana Poulton (in Poulton 1982) goes to some lengths to illustrate the drunken state of the Danish court at the time Dowland was employed there, thereby undermining any impression that it may have been an artistic and cultural oasis for musicians such as Dowland.

³⁸ The most famous piece of lute music, both in the seventeenth century and now; the subject not only of

the nearest competitor for popularity, John Johnson, has only nine pieces reproduced outside England.

TABLE 13
ENGLISH COMPOSERS WHOSE MUSIC APPEARS IN FOREIGN SOURCES

Giving the total number of pieces before and after removing duplicates, each followed by the percentage of the whole. Occasionally two sources will attribute the music to different composers. Where this is the case, the composers have been shown separated by an oblique stroke.

Composer	Quantity of pieces	Percentage of the whole: %	Quantity without duplication	Percentage of the whole: %
TOTALS	220	100	115	100
Allison	5	2.27	3	2.6
Bachelor	8	3.63	3	2.6
Byrd arr.	3	1.36	2	1.74
Cutting	2	0.91	2	1.74
Cutting/Allison	2	0.91	2	1.74
Cooper	1	0.45	1	0.87
Dowland	97	44.09	37	32.17
['Lachrimae']	[12]	[5.45]		
Dowland/Bachelor	6	2.72	1	0.87
Dowland/Ferrabosco	1	0.45	1	0.87
[Dowland TOTAL]	[104]	[47.27]	[39]	[33.91]
Earle	1	0.45	1	0.87
Ferrabosco/Allison	2	0.91	1	0.87
Howett	1	0.45	1	0.87
Holborne	4	1.82	4	3.48
Hoskins [one source only]	3	1.36	3	2.6
John Johnson	9	4.09	8	6.97
Robert Johnson	6	2.72	5	4.35
Robert Jones	3	1.36	1	0.87
Robin Jones	2	0.91	2	1.74
Lusher	1	0.45	1	0.87
Mathias Mason	2	0.91	2	1.74
Peter Phillips	6	2.72	5	4.35
Robinson	5	2.27	3	2.6
Rosseter	1	0.45	1	0.87
Richard Shellower	1	0.45	1	0.87
Simpson	2	0.91	2	1.74
ANONYMOUS	46	20.9	20	17.39

The foreign printed collections were the only readily obtainable source of music from outside England available to English composers. For this reason, the divergence between the contents of English and foreign sources is all the more striking. Unlike his foreign counterpart, the English lutenist-composer had largely discarded the formal scholarly genres of passamezzo and fantasia by 1600, despite the activity in contemporary vocal music that emphasized imitative writing. He preferred lighter instrumental dance forms, most particularly the pavan, galliard and almain. Holborne 1599, a collection of consort music, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains...* exemplifies this trend.

In 1610, Robert Dowland published the *Varietie of Lute Lessons*: a list of contents is shown in table 14.

frequent musical quotation, but also mentioned in poetry and literature. The opening phrase, most often quoted, makes use of the figure of four falling notes, symbolic of man's fall from grace.

TABLE 14
 CONTENTS OF ROBERT DOWLAND *VARIETIE OF LUTE LESSONS* (London, 1610)

Source (folios)	Title (in Standardized Spelling)	Composer
FANTASIAS		
10v-11.....	Fantasia.....	Diomedes Cato
11v-12/1.....	Fantasia.....	Laurencini
12/2-12v/1.....	Fantasia.....	Jacob Reys
12v/2-13/1.....	Fantasia.....	Laurencini
13/2-13v.....	Fantasia.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco
14-14v.....	Fantasia.....	Gregory Huwet
15-16.....	Fantasia.....	John Dowland
PAVANS		
16v-17.....	Pavan.....	Mauritius, Landgrave of Hessen
17v.....	Pavan.....	Anthony Holborne
18.....	Pavan.....	Thomas Morley
18v-19.....	Pavan.....	Daniel Bachelier
19v-20v/1.....	Sir John Langton's Pavan	John Dowland
20v/2-21.....	Pavan.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco
21v-22.....	Sir Thomas Monson's Pavan.....	Robert Dowland
GALLIARDS		
22v-23.....	Battle Galliard/King of Denmark's Galliard.....	John Dowland
23v.....	Queen Elizabeth's Galliard.....	John Dowland
24.....	Earl of Essex's Galliard/Can She Excuse.....	John Dowland
24v.....	Earl of Derby's Galliard	John Dowland
25.....	Lady Rich's Galliard/Dowland's Bells.....	John Dowland
25v-26/1.....	Lady Clifton's Spirit/K D'Arcy's Spirit	John Dowland
26/2-26v.....	Sir Thomas Monson's Galliard	Robert Dowland
ALMAINS		
27-28v.....	Mounsieur's Almain	Daniel Bachelier
29.....	Sir Henry Guildford's Almain	
29v/1.....	First Almain of the Queen's Maske	
29v/2-30/1.....	Second Almain of the Queen's Maske	
30/2.....	Last Almain of the Queen's Maske.....	
30v/1.....	The Witch's Dance from the Queen's Maske.....	
30v/2-31.....	Sir John Smith's Almain.....	John Dowland
COURANTS		
31v/1.....	Ballard's Courant.....	Robert Ballard
31v/2.....	Mrs Lettice Rich's Courant.....	Julien Perrichon
32.....	Courant.....	
32v.....	Courant	Mercure d'Orléans/René Saman
33.....	Courant.....	René Saman
33v/1.....	Courant.....	Mathias Mason
33v/2.....	Courant.....	Saman
VOLTS		
34.....	Volt.....	
34v.....	Volt.....	
35.....	Volt/Courant.....	Gautier
35v/1.....	Volt.....	Gautier
35v/2-36/1.....	Volt.....	
36/2.....	Volt.....	Julien Perrichon
36v.....	Volt.....	

This collection shows that the compiler had clearly assimilated the foreign model for printed lute books, arranging the music by genre, with the learned fantasia at the head. Robert Dowland knew Besard 1603 well, and both the Dowlands were clearly respectful enough of Besard's instructions to repeat them, though they did not go far enough in admiration to imitate the entire layout of Besard's publication, perhaps because of the thriving printed lute song industry that would have made a section of intabulated airs rather spurious. Robert's intent in publishing was entirely mercenary, both on his own behalf, and for his father. John Dowland was still pressing for the position at court that had long been denied him, and Robert's publication may have been a political as well as a financial expedient:

VARIETIE / OF / LVTE-lessons: / *Viz.* / Fantasies, Pauins, Galliards, Almaines, Corantoes, / and Volts: Selected out of the best approued / AVTHORS, as well beyond the Seas as of our owne Country. / By *Robert Douland.* / Whereunto is annexed certaine Ob- / seruations belonging to LVTE-playing: / By *Iohn Baptisto Besardo* of Visonti. / Also a short Treatise thereunto appertayning: / By *Iohn Douland* Batcheler of / MUSICKE. / LONDON: / Printed for *Thomas Adams.* / 1610.

Undoubtedly anxious not to compromise the popularity of this collection by the inclusion of genres in which the English had no interest or the exclusion of those that might be coming into fashion, passamezzos and intabulations were discarded altogether, as were preludes, ballets, branles and the lighter forms of song settings and intabulations. The new forms of volt and courant that were only just beginning to be copied into English sources were included. Dowland selects the six most frequently copied genres in the repertory, and this is unlikely to have been accidental. The prelude is the only form that appears in the English repertory in significant numbers to be omitted, but in its English form it was probably so insignificant as not to merit consideration alongside the more complex forms, while its continental counterparts were largely indistinguishable from the fantasia. Its omission here as an independent entity is therefore hardly surprising.

This source reflects the predominant attitude of the English composer and the amateur market to the various genres and emerging national styles and shows that, though the music was traded freely across national boundaries, its precursors in the printed book market had placed a particular stamp on the lute publishing tradition.

The learned fantasias are written only by Germanic and Italian composers, with the exception of the one by Dowland. Pavans, galliards and almaines, the traditional staple of the English diet, were all written by English composers (with one exception), and were also mostly by Dowland. Courant and volt, the new forms from France, are represented by the only French composers in the collection, and are apparently the only forms at which John Dowland did not try his hand. They may possibly have been too new for the ageing master, who had no need to embrace modern music to ensure his continuing popularity.

Returning to table 14, it is noticeable that Dowland 1610B is the only printed source from the period to provide an equal quantity of each genre represented.

If the fantasia, passamezzo, courant and volt in general have concordances outside the repertory in England, what of the pavans, galliards and almaines—genres also to be found in the foreign printed sources? The answer is that there is virtually no overlap. The five or so pavans, galliards or almaines which appear both in England as well as abroad are without exception those of English composers. Foreign examples do not appear at all in English sources in Group Two though it is clear from the foreign sources that foreign composers did essay those genres.

The influences of Dowland 1610B are varied but somewhat limited: outside England, Fuhrmann, from his 1615 collection, appears to have known Dowland 1610B, and takes most of his Dowland from it. He ignores Robert's balanced English-style layout retaining the format established by earlier continental compilers. The foreign printed sources remained stable throughout the entire period, and probably also stagnant if the contents of contemporary foreign manuscripts are any

indication. This poses the question: were the printed sources only repositories of large quantities of music which were intended to be used as a sort of cornucopia from which the collector or scribe selected favourites for his own collection?

§SOURCES AFTER 1615

Within England influences on the development of the repertory after 1615, such as they were, seem mainly to have come from abroad. It is difficult to tell how much this repertory was affected by a small publication like Dowland 1610B. There is every reason to suppose that Dowland was influential and popular as a lutenist in England at this time, particularly looking at the number of his lute song and consort collections published,³⁹ and the quantity of his music to be found in manuscript sources. No doubt the *Varietie of Lute Lessons* was a similarly popular publication.

By comparing the contents of Dowland 1610B with the contents of English sources compiled after 1615, it is possible to arrive at a generalized evaluation of the influence of this publication on later manuscript compilations.

TABLE 15
MUSIC FROM *VARIETIE OF LUTE LESSONS* IN ENGLISH SOURCES AFTER 1615

Dowland 1610B	<i>ML</i> (c1620 & one piece c1630-40)	<i>Pickeringe</i> (1616 & c1630-50)	<i>Board</i> (c1620 and c1635)	<i>Herbert</i> (c1630 and 1640)
FANTASIAS				
11v-12/1				14v-15/1
13/2-13v				44v
15-16	14v-15	24v-25/1		
PAVANS				
17v				8
GALLIARDS				
22v-23	12v-13/1	17v-18	17v-18	
24				55/2
25		18/2		
ALMAINS				
30/2			41/3	
30v/1	4/2		26/1	
30v/2-31	8v/1			
COURANTS				
31v/1				36v/2
31v/2			18v/2	
32v	25/2			65/1
33v/2				66v/1
VOLTS				
35				72/3
35v/1				49v/1
36/2				74/2

In the first column of table 15 above, the folio numbers of pieces from Dowland 1610B which appear in English sources compiled after 1615 are listed (Group Three in table 4). In the second to fifth columns, the appearances of these pieces in five Group Three sources is noted, *Herbert*, *Pickeringe*, *Board* and *ML*. The other two sources from this period, *Trinity* and *Hirsch* contain no

³⁹*The first Booke of Songes* (London, 1597, 1600, 1603, 1606, 1608, 1613); *The second Booke of Songes* (London, 1600); *The Third and Last Booke of Songes* (London, 1603); *Lachrimæ or Seaven Teares* (London, 1604); *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London, 1612); *A Musically Banquet* (London, 1610).

music from Dowland 1610B.

Herbert, with its more continental cast, and a scribe who spent much of his time abroad, may include Dowland 1610B music copied from a third party, since the collection relies heavily on the new foreign genres, while the other three copy mainly from the selections of English dances and the Dowland fantasia on folios 15-16 of Dowland 1610B.

What seems most clear from an analysis of the contents of all the Group Two and Three sources, is that the appearance of the French dances (volt and courant) in Dowland 1610B marked the beginning of an influx of these forms into English manuscript sources rather than following existing trends.

The publication of the *Varietie of Lute Lessons* marks something of a pivotal point, though it is not until 1615 that a new emphasis can be clearly discerned in the English manuscript collections that are more directly representative of popular trends. 1615 marks a watershed in the activity of lutenists and lute scribes in England. Up to 1580 the music is heavily influenced by Italian genres and composers; between 1580 and 1615 the music develops idiomatic English features in the choice of genres, the precedence of a multitude of English composers and the lack of foreign music to be found in the sources. After 1615, the English repertory once again began to be dominated by foreign music; before 1580 it was principally Italian, after 1615 it is principally French.

Certainly after this otherwise arbitrary date there are five distinct changes to be seen within the repertory: firstly, there is a rise in French and other imported music. Secondly, and linked to the first point, is the rise in transitional tunings, specifically required to accommodate the new French music. Third, the number of added courses increases. Fourth, time signatures begin to be used, although both John and Robert Dowland were exceptional in using time signatures, even before 1600. The Dowland usage may have been the result of Dowland's peregrinations and lengthy stay abroad, since time signatures were far more commonly used in sixteenth-century printed tablature collections outside England.⁴⁰ Fifth and finally, the number of concordances with foreign sources, and the quantity of foreign composers appearing in the manuscripts, rises dramatically just as the number of apparently active English composers begins to decline.

These points outline to a great extent the characteristics of the manuscripts in Group Three. In addition, the length of collections grows, becoming closer gradually to the size of the major foreign collections such as *Thysius* with 510 folios, and *Dolmetsch* with nearly 300 folios.

Similarly, types of florid continental handwriting also begin to appear in English manuscripts, as do the titles, written now in their native language rather than being translated to the vernacular. English sources make less use of titles than foreign sources up to this time, and where they appear, they are placed at the end of the piece. French titles are always placed at the beginning of the music, as in *Herbert* - a source strongly influenced by the French school—and this practice begins to insinuate itself into the English manuscripts by 1620.

⁴⁰ e.g. Phalése 1552, Phalése 1563, Le Roy 1568 and Le Roy 1574, Adriansen 1592.

Herbert, *Pickeringe*, *Board* and *ML* are all examples of collections which show the infiltration into the English style of foreign influences after about 1610-15. They are dominated by the French dance forms and lutes with many added courses. The later sections of *Board* and *Pickeringe* also have music in transitional tunings. The tendency towards display in the manner of playing has also become more pronounced with the addition of a large variety of notated florid graces and relishes.

§THE 'GOLDEN AGE'

The production of lute music in England from 1550⁴¹ to 1630 was dubbed the 'Golden Age of English lute music' by Richard Newton,⁴² a term perpetuated and elaborated by David Lumsden.⁴³ At face value, there is no reason to argue with his term—the lute clearly enjoyed remarkable popularity among both the nobility and the gentry, and its numerous composers devoted themselves to producing a large repertory of music which catered to the English taste.

The English school had remarkably little impact on the rest of the world, but foreign influences can be seen to have provided a genesis for this repertory with the intabulation, the fantasia and the ubiquitous passamezzo. These influences, though still strong on the continent, faded from importance in England during the major years of production between 1580 and 1615. After this period, the influence of foreigners began to re-assert itself very quickly, as the French lute and style of playing grew in popularity.

The end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603 and the subsequent change in monarch probably gave rise, eventually, to a Scottish lute repertory, by ending the dominance of the court in London and Oxford (and to a lesser extent other towns and cities such as Windsor) as the centre of excellence towards which musicians gravitated. It also opened the doors of the court to a new influx of foreign music and musicians, particularly from France, who finally made their presence and their repertory felt around 1615, and in some cases, slightly earlier.

Clearly it is too much of a generalization to refer to the entire repertory from 1550-1630 as The Golden Age. The real period of 'glory' for the English repertory was limited to the 35 years spanned by 1580-1615, even though Dowland continued to compose until his death in 1626. By 1620 the English customs and genres were appearing alongside the newly fashionable foreign music with which, ultimately, they do not seem to have been able to compete. The most spectacular example of a single scribe working through this period, and leaving us a generous and superbly representative cross-section of music from that specific period is provided by Matthew Holmes, whose five lute books (four solo and one duet and consort), *Dd.3.18*, *Dd.2.11*, *Dd.5.78.3*, *Dd.9.33* and *Nn.6.36*, were compiled between about 1585 and 1615.

The musical content of these MSS is of an exceptionally wide range. In time it spans the years with compositions by Taverner, who died in 1545, to pieces which became popular towards the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. Little

⁴¹ At this time, the date of *RA58* was believed to be c1550, and the presence of the two early dances in *60577* had not been discovered.

⁴² Richard Newton: 'English Lute Music of the Golden Age', *PRMA* lxxv (1938/9).

⁴³ Lumsden 1957A.

toys of an elementary simplicity are there, so are compositions demanding a virtuosity found only among the greatest players. All the most notable English lutenist composers are represented and there are a few pieces by some of the great Continental masters.⁴⁴

There seems to have been a clear divide in England between the solo virtuoso and the lutenist who was principally an accompanist, since solo music is very rarely found in lute song sources, and lute songs seem never to appear in solo sources in any form other than an intabulation. *Swarland* is an exception to this rule, and quite unlike any of the other lute or lute-song sources. *Dallis* has a small section of lute songs towards the end of the book, and also includes psalm intabulations, neither of which genres appears in other English solo sources. *Dallis* has more in common with a source such as *Vilnius*, compiled in Königsberg, and has a variety of other continental features.⁴⁵ In sixteenth-century Italian philosophical writings there was a struggle to reconcile the popularity of the virtuoso with the subjugation of any instrument to the natural humanist ascendancy of nature and the voice, considered the perfect (and in some cases the only) vehicle for the imitation of nature. The divide between the solo and accompanimental roles of the instrument became ever wider in Italy, and by 1600 the lute as a solo instrument had entered a period of decline from which it never recovered.⁴⁶ In England the decline, though undeniably visible from about 1640, began later than in Italy, and as well as being slower to start, seems to have taken longer and to have been for different reasons. Solo manuscript sources do appear until late in the seventeenth century,⁴⁷ though not in such proliferation as during the 1570-1630 period. Whereas in Italy the decline of the lute seems to have stemmed from the impact of humanism, in England it seems to have been the result of changing fashions, some imported from Italy, but also in some part due to the rise in popularity and versatility of keyboard instruments (and to some extent viols) for solo performance, to say nothing of the new virtuosity of the music being written for it.

⁴⁴ Poulton 1982, 98.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 3, §Pedagogical Books.

⁴⁶ Coelho 1991.

⁴⁷ See Spring 1987A.

CHAPTER 3

MANUSCRIPTS: TYPES, CHARACTERISTICS AND COMPILATION

This is what the masters have never taught nor never set in writing and whereof they would never make no rules[.] The chapter is the golden key that openeth the cabinet of Apollo.

*Mary Burwell.*¹

*

PRINTED LUTE SOURCES

SCRIBAL PUBLICATIONS

FRAGMENTS

TEACHING FRAGMENTS

PROFESSIONAL BOOKS

PEDAGOGICAL BOOKS

HOUSEHOLD OR PERSONAL ANTHOLOGIES

FOREIGN SOURCES WITH ACTIVITY BY AN ENGLISH SCRIBE

GHOSTS

*

IN COMPARISON TO ITS FOREIGN counterparts, the English solo lute repertory includes only a negligible number of printed sources, as virtually all English lute music is preserved in manuscript form. This is perhaps odd in view of the vast number of lute song publications that were flooded onto the English music market in the years leading up to and immediately following 1600—the period that was also the most active in terms of the production of solo lute music. The implication is that the popularity and widespread use of the lute as an accompanying instrument was sufficient to sustain an energetic publishing industry, but as a solo instrument it was not. By c1670 the writer of the treatise copied in *Burwell* was able to state that

the French are in possession of the lute that it is their instrument[,] as the viol is the instrument of England, the guitar that of Spain[,] the theorbo that of Italy[,] the virginal or harpsichord that of Germany[,] the harp that of Ireland[,] and so of others according to the genius of each nation.²

The impression of the lute as a minority instrument is belied by the exceptional wealth of manuscript sources that survive from the period, ranging from single-line fragments of quickly jotted music on scraps of paper to carefully copied and bound manuscripts of 100 folios or more. The publication of instrumental music in England went through various vicissitudes in its infancy, and perhaps this had an effect on the willingness of a publisher to risk producing music for a public that clearly preferred accompanied vocal music to solo works. The keyboard repertory is similarly lacking in an early publishing history, though if one is to believe *Burwell* this should not be surprising.

¹ *Burwell*, 18.

² *Burwell*, 6.

Our present understanding of the sources makes several tacit assumptions about its origins and the state of the repertory during the period of its composition and transmission in manuscript form. The first of these assumptions is the very understandable one that, since music manuscripts were not particularly prized, and often the paper on which the music was written was considered more valuable than the music itself, what survives today is probably only a very small proportion of what was around at the time, and that it has survived is a simple accident of circumstances surrounding each source independently. This is particularly true of the lute sources, since the instrument declined in popularity to the extent that it virtually vanished during the eighteenth century, and the system of notation was often not even recognised to be music since it was not understood, thus leading, we might surmise, to the destruction of a greater proportion of lute sources than of, say, keyboard ones. The second assumption is that, since only a few of the sources survive, then almost certainly only a similar proportion of the music has been preserved, and there must have been more that is permanently lost.

Since these assumptions are never stated, they are never really challenged, though the second is patently inaccurate; at least where the main flowering of the solo repertory is concerned. The most obvious argument against it is that if the repertory were indeed originally much larger than that which survives today, we should expect to see a much higher number of *unica* in the sources. Instead, it is actually fairly unusual to find a piece that has no concordances, either in England if the music is English, or in continental sources if the piece originated abroad. What is still unknown is often the author of a piece, though even so, a surprisingly high percentage of the music is now ascribed through attribution in at least one of its sources.

The first assumption is not so simply put aside, but again, if the concordance position is examined, then the picture that emerges is not the one that might be expected. Scribal concordances are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, and the picture that emerges is that at least 50% of the sources in the central repertory are linked in one large group, and other, otherwise unrelated sources also have scribal concordances. If so many of the sources are linked, then have we really preserved 90% or more of the original repertory, or is the surviving music determined entirely by the taste of a relatively select and geographically insular number of players?

John Ward remarks in passing that some lute books were bought with the music already copied into them.³ However, only one of the surviving lute books, *Welde*, hints at this possibility; on the contrary, most of them show clear evidence that, even if the owner's name is not known, it was clearly the owner who was doing the copying, and not an anonymous scribe copying for an unknown buyer. There would have to have been a small but significant demand for lute books of this sort in England to warrant their production, but the large-scale production of lute song publications suggests that even this relatively minority repertory found a printing market, so a small publishing industry to supply the solo demand as well would not be unexpected. Though there was clearly a market for printed solo music on the continent, the publishing industry in England, although on a significantly smaller scale, shows no indication of sufficient interest in ready-copied or printed solo music to give

³ Ward comments in passing on scribal publication of lute books in a manner that suggests the practice was considerably more widespread than the evidence implies. See Ward 1992 Vol.I, 66.

credence to the idea, despite the popularity of printed collections of lute songs. It is clear that the lute was primarily considered an accompaniment instrument for the voice, and exclusively solo players were not particularly common. This lesser market might have attracted the scribal publishing industry were it not for the obvious preference of scribes to copy their own books probably as part of the process of learning to play the instrument.

Most published music during the 1550-1630 period had a particular consumer-orientated purpose, and the intended market for a printed source is rarely in doubt. The manuscript sources, on the other hand, present quite a different face to the world; that of the private collector and player whose selection of pieces, copied in his own hand, gives an insight into many aspects of Elizabethan and Stuart musical and domestic life.

The present chapter surveys these personal hand-written sources, and attempts to define those characteristics that enable the modern reader to understand the motivation behind the original compilation of the source. A manuscript, in this context, is defined as any piece of paper or parchment on which the music has been written by hand. Many of the substantial sources examined in this study originated as books of paper, ruled with a rastrum in systems of six lines, then bound in leather and sold blank. Some originated as loose leaves that were bound after copying, and a few others remain in an unbound state, or were bound by the libraries that acquired them. A substantial part of the lute music that survives from England in the period 1575-1630 is composed of these book collections. Earlier sources show a more diverse content: they are often only a few pages in a larger book containing not only music for other instruments, but also such material as recipes or poetry (for example), and sometimes are only a few loose leaves. Details of the size format of specific books and fragments and the relevance of this aspect is considered separately in Chapter 5. Size format does not bear any relation to the intended or eventual use of a manuscript.

The printed sources in which solo lute music appears are also listed below, in order to give a perspective on the English sources as a whole. The manuscripts themselves can be grouped under four main headings with respect to their intended function: Fragments; Professional Books; Pedagogical Books; and Household or Personal Anthologies. Two further categories are listed: Foreign sources that include activity by an English scribe and Teaching fragments.

The purpose of the book is the most influential factor in defining the scope of the repertory it contains, the musical characteristics of the repertory and also the layout of the manuscript. It also affects the dating of the manuscript, since a pedagogical book, for example, would be likely to contain a repertory with wide chronological origins, even though it was probably copied in a relatively short space of time. The whole repertory may even date from a period considerably earlier than the date of scribal activity, as is the case in *Sampson*.

These categories are not limited to the English lute repertory, or indeed to the lute, and the parallels between this tradition and that of the lute in seventeenth-century Italy are sometimes surprisingly close, sometimes remarkably diverse; the English Golden Age being paralleled in Italy by the repertory during the seventeenth century. Other repertories have been discussed under these, or

similar, headings,⁴ but the relationship between national lute repertoires, being the most pertinent, is the one with which most parallels are drawn in the following discussion.

Some specific sources are discussed in more detail following each list, particularly where their classification is not immediately obvious, or may be disputed.

§PRINTED LUTE SOURCES

Le Roy 1568
Le Roy 1574
Barley 1596
Robinson 1603
Dowland 1610B
Maynard 1611 (various tunings including <i>vieil ton</i>)
Mathew 1652 (in transitional tuning)

Publications devoted principally to solo lute music (in date-order).

Dowland 1597 (one piece)
Pilkington 1605 (one piece)
Danyel 1606 (two pieces)
Dowland 1610A (two pieces)
Dowland 1612 (one piece)
Pilkington 1624 (Altus partbook, one piece)

Publications devoted principally to lute songs, but containing solo lute music (in date-order).

<i>Handford</i> (MS prepared in printed format but never published)
4900 (15 pieces, all intabulations of song accompaniments)

Lute song manuscripts not containing solo music.

§SCRIBAL PUBLICATIONS

<i>Welde</i> owned by John Welde

One of Lumsden's ghosts, this source is difficult to categorise since its overall appearance, and the lack of association of the hands it contains with the hands of the Welde family who owned it, suggests that it was bought with music already copied into it by a professional scribe, and the name of the new owner was stamped on the cover in the same way as initials were stamped on the covers of other books bought ruled but otherwise blank. There are large areas of folios left blank to allow the scribe to start each piece on a new opening, and in another type of book these spaces would have been filled. Evidence for the sale of manuscript collections of lute music seems to rest on a single entry in an account book of John Petre of Ingatestone,⁵ '1567 Dec. To Mr. Petro for a booke for the lute and prickyng songes therein, xxs', which does not seem to refer unequivocally to a book of ready-copied tablature music. Spencer's reasoning is that since the publication of solo collections was so minimal in England, it would have been probable that the needs of this particularly small market would be met through the practice of what has been described as scribal publication.⁶ If the trade in scribally published lute music was of any significant size, one place where we might expect to see evidence of its purchase would be in the accounts of William Cavendish, one of the most important patrons of English lutenists. However,

⁴ Gustafson 1979, Silbiger 1980, Coelho 1989.

⁵ Essex Record Office, Chelmsford. D/DP A17, cited in Spencer 1959B.

⁶ Love 1993.

despite the continuous purchase of a vast number of music books for a private owner at that time, most of the evidence points either to printed music or to blank books for copying.⁷

Long after the establishment of music printing, scribal publication persisted for texts that were only required in very limited numbers, a financial imperative for many music texts with their limited market, and a picture that would account for the absence of more printed sources of solo music to match the explosion of lute song publications. Music as a whole, with its relatively limited specialist market, certainly utilised the trade in hand written books, particularly in the case of the consort repertory.

Viol consort music, along with the related lyra-viol repertoire and fantasia suites and airs for violin, bass viol and organ, circulated through an extensive and well-organized network of copyists to a scattered but enthusiastic amateur clientele to whom it offered both an aesthetic and, as suggested earlier, an ideological satisfaction. But this circulation represented only one aspect of a much wider participation by the families concerned in the culture of scribal publication.⁸

Whether the practice was at all widespread in the lute world is highly unlikely, since *Welde* is the only book out of a considerable number to have been a likely candidate for it, and the practice of players copying their own personal collections for the solo lute would have made scribal publication of lute music uneconomic to exploit. Scribal publication also assumes a sequence of 'events' which start with a single composer who wants to publish his music hiring a scribe and then selling the copied music on to his friends, pupils or colleagues. This would result in single-composer collections of the sort found in the viol consort repertory. There is no evidence that any composer for the lute followed or even attempted to follow this practice as every source is enormously diverse in its contents, even where substantial quantities of a particular composer's works are represented. The existence of *Welde* therefore is clearly not attributable to any of the composers it contains, placing it on the periphery of the scribal publishing industry. It may simply be the work of an entrepreneurial secretary or clerk, or a bespoke collection put together under the direction of John Welde himself. *Handford*, a collection of lute songs that appears to have been prepared for a printer, may actually be in the form originally intended, as a scribal publication. The copying hand and overall appearance suggest otherwise though, and considering the sizeable market for printed books of lute song, using scribal publication in this case would seem unnecessary unless, as Love suggests, the author was avoiding the social stigma attached to print. However, whether composers of lute music felt themselves to have sufficient social standing to have considered publishing the stigma that it obviously was to the upper-class literati is a moot point.

The only other books that betray the sort of exceptionally practised hand and copying style that one might expect a professional scribe to possess are *Sampson* (except that the scribe wrote his

⁷ The following extracts are taken from Hulse's transcription of the inventory of Cavendish's music books, Hulse 1986A, 69-72, and are the only references given to non-printed instrumental music books: 1601 - 2 little ruled playing or singing bookes; 1605 - ruled bookes... 2 of 6 lynes & one of 5 lynes; a ruled paper booke; 2 bookes for the vyall [pricked by] Mr Edneis man; 1606 - 6 viall bookes to be pricktd; a booke to prick voyall lessons in; musicke bookes; 1612 - a sett of ruled song bookes binding and stringes; 1613 - 2 bookes for 2 vyolls; three bookes for three lutes. Only the last two entries must refer to ready-copied music, though they could have been specifically prepared at Cavendish's request.

⁸ Love 1993, 27.

name in the book), perhaps *ML* (though the discussion in Chapter 7 indicates that it is unlikely to have been a scribal publication) and the most likely possibility, *Wickhambrook*. The similarity of this hand to the one in *Welde* and the presence of duets copied in 'table layout' (see example 20) in this book point to the publishing tradition,⁹ but there are small variations and features of detail, and particularly the lack of a contemporary binding (hence some missing early folios), that suggest a more personalized compilation. Though a professional scribe would not have been precluded from copying in a more personal book, the presence of *Wickhambrook* scribe A in *Folger* (D) also weakens its case somewhat. However, this seems to be one of those sources whose purpose will probably remain in doubt.

ex.20: *Wickhambrook* f.15v, reduced to 71%

§FRAGMENTS

<i>Swarland</i> John Swarland
41498 (loose sheet)
60577 (two pieces)
<i>Northants</i> (loose sheets)
<i>Occ254</i> (loose sheet)
<i>Mansell</i> (one lute piece)

Fragments, in this context, may be broadly defined as pieces of lute music that survive on loose sheets, and do not appear to have been, or are no longer, part of a larger music manuscript book. This category lists only those sources that were intended as fragments when they were conceived, omitting those that may have had another intended purpose but have since been damaged or altered. The term 'fragments', therefore, also includes sources that are not in a fragmentary state, but which only contain lute music in the manner of jottings, and sources where a section of lute music appears in a source that is not otherwise designated a 'music' or 'lute' source. As a rule, these pieces cannot be placed in any of the better-defined categories. One source that survives in a fragmentary state but enough survives to show characteristics that nevertheless indicate its original purpose is 2764(2) and this is included in the discussion of pedagogical books.

⁹ Duets are also copied in table layout in *Ballet*.

One further sub-category is included under this blanket heading, and that is the source which is basically a collection of lute-songs or other music, but which contains lute solo interpolations or additions. It is interesting to note that, among the vast corpus of lute song publications, the incidence of solo interpolations is very rare, suggesting a divide between the solo virtuoso and the lutenist who was principally an accompanist. If the printed music were listed among the manuscript sources, then the group of lute song publications that include one or two lute solos would come under the heading of fragments. Only one manuscript source adopts this practice, *Swarland*, and the source is therefore listed as a fragment. Perhaps the lute song performer considered himself primarily a singer. The growing ascendancy of the voice in Italy, and the reasons behind the decline of the Italian solo lute repertory may have had some influence in this area. In the major solo sources vocal music is occasionally represented in the form of an intabulation, sometimes with the words written below,¹⁰ but more often not at all. Intabulations lacking their vocal line and words appear,¹¹ as do vocal intabulations without any words added, indicating that the piece was intended to be played as a solo.¹²

Apart from their ephemeral nature, the main characteristic of most fragments is that they are the work of a single scribe. The style of copying can range from quite neat and careful work to a slapdash appearance that was probably never intended to survive longer than it would have taken to copy the music into a more permanent collection, or commit it to memory. The system of lines is often hand-drawn without a rule, and this contributes to the sometimes wayward appearance, though the music almost always occupies all the lines drawn, without leaving blank unused staves.

Letters from lutenists to each other occasionally mention new pieces that they enclose for the interest of the recipient, but these pieces never survive with the letter. A large number of this type of 'letter-fragment' are in the collection of the Augsburg nobleman, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520-83) described in Fenlon/Milsom 1984:

A considerable number of partbooks and lute books in the Herwart collection are not integral manuscripts but consist of single leaves in a variety of hands made up into volumes at a later date. These single leaves are often written on one side only, and the way in which they were subsequently folded implies that they were enclosed in letters and so served as a way of sending compositions from one place to another. Innumerable documentary references suggest that this was an extremely common means of transmission, although inevitably few specimens of what would have been regarded as ephemera have survived.¹³

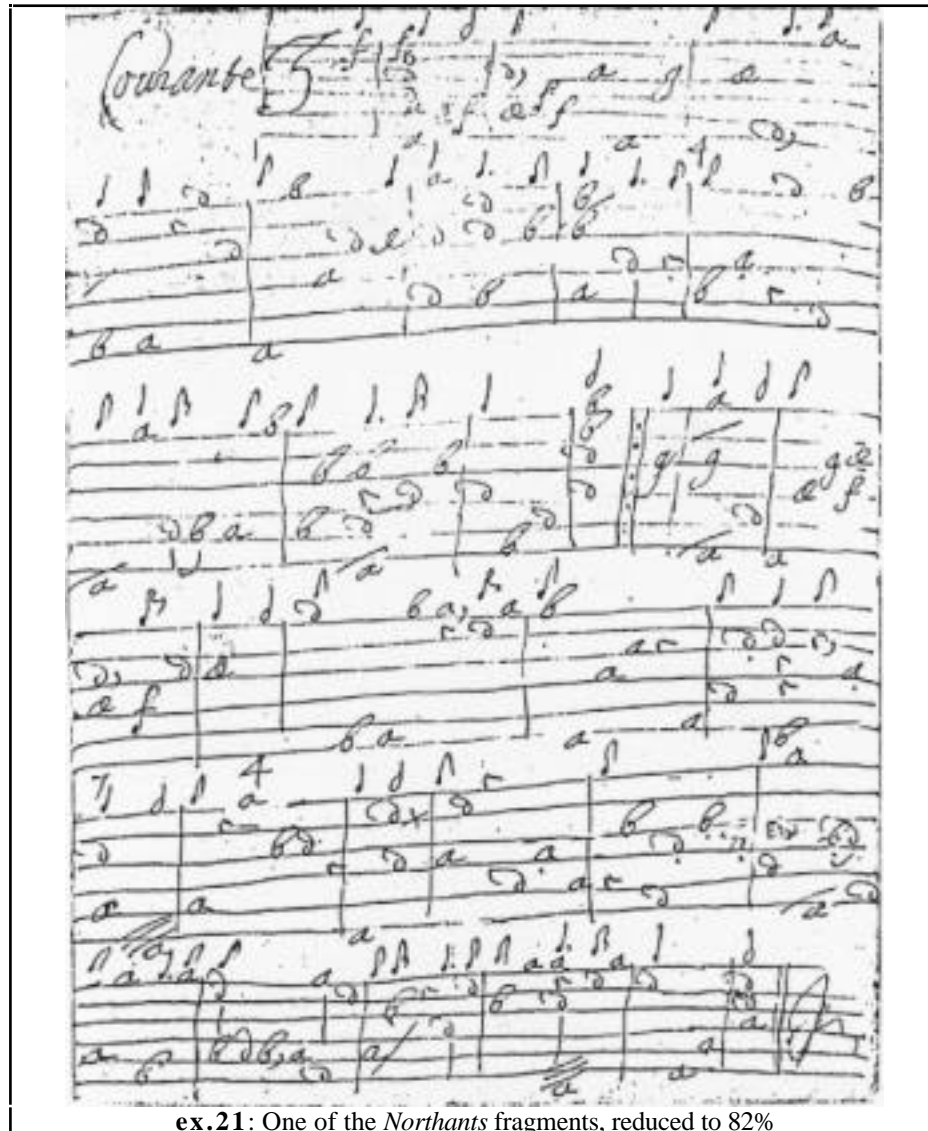
Some of the fragments in the list above may have been pieces transmitted in this manner. The most likely candidates are the *Northants* fragments that show a pattern of folds suggestive of inclusion in a letter.

¹⁰ As in *Thistlethwaite* f.32r.

¹¹ *Brogyntyn* pp.125 ff.

¹² *Thistlethwaite* f.81v-84.

¹³ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 143.



41498 is unlikely to fit this description partly because of the type of piece it preserves, and partly because of the manner in which it was notated, suggesting that it was not intended as anything other than an *aide mèmire*. The Corpus Christi fragment, *Occ254*, looks like a 'letter' fragment, but on the reverse is a description of how to work out your horoscope, and it seems more likely that this is a leaf from a collection of personal papers that may have been bound up or otherwise collected together by a subsequent owner.

In the case of 60577 (see example 22), the two pieces are on consecutive folios of a very large literary manuscript whose compilation spans nearly 100 years, and in places dates from some considerable time prior to the addition of the musical contents of the book.¹⁴ The two pieces—they appear to be dances—are written out using the original dry-point rulings intended for lines of literary text, and each seventh line is scored out.¹⁵

¹⁴ An investigation of the music in the book was undertaken by Iain Fenlon shortly before the publication of the entire manuscript in facsimile. There is a group of dances in the latter part of the manuscript, apparently not associated, either by scribe or by repertory, with the earlier lute music. These dances were the main focus of the study by Fenlon included in the introductory material for the facsimile (Cambridge, 1981) by Edward Wilson.

¹⁵ Fenlon mistook these scorings for 'rudimentary rhythm signs', but they bear no relation to the music.

Mansell is a single piece of lute music in a book otherwise devoted to music for lyra viol. It appears to have been copied in a different hand and the style of flagging does not match that in use in the viol music, and is also copied with the book turned through 180° so that it is in the opposite orientation to the rest of the music in the book. Though this may suggest the table layout of a mixed duet, this is not the case. It may be that this single piece found its way into the lyra viol manuscript accidentally—mistaken for lyra viol music, which also uses tablature—though reversing the book and writing the lute music in ‘upside-down’ makes it look as if it was a conscious decision. As a source, it is not entirely unique, as the mixture of lyra viol music with solo lute music was not unknown, though neither was it common. *Ballet* also mixes the two instruments, but in a more balanced proportion. The original compiler of *Mansell* may have intended to copy more lute works, but the intention was never fulfilled. It is slightly surprising that two instruments that had very little in common apart from their gut strings should have shared space in manuscripts, particularly as the technique of playing was so different. There is nothing surprising in finding bandora music mixed with that for the lute, as in *Dd.2.11*, since a player could switch between these two instruments with ease. However, other instruments that could be similarly accommodated with very little change in technique, such as the orpharion, are not seen in lute sources, with the important exception of Barley 1596.

§TEACHING FRAGMENTS

6402 (loose sheets)

Och1280 (fragments from binding paste-down)

Edmund (fragment from binding paste-down)

Magdalen (fragments from binding paste-down)

Andrea (loose sheets)

See also *Trumbull* in ‘Pedagogical books’

A situation in which ‘fragments’ would perforce exist is that seen in the activity of lute teachers, discussed in Chapter 1. It seems highly likely, though there is no more than circumstantial evidence for it, that after his visit a lute teacher would leave a leaf of music with his pupil, to be copied into the pupil’s manuscript before his return. This overall picture seems to fit the facts surrounding the absence of a ‘Dowland’ or ‘Bachelier’ lute book, for example, and also the likelihood that a master would have been reluctant to leave his entire valuable collection of music in the hands of a youngster for any period of time. We know that the pupils copied the music from somewhere, and this suggestion for the source seems plausible and borne out to some extent by evidence that would not otherwise suggest an answer to the question of pupil-teacher practices.

la galantyne 190

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, it is titled "la galantyne" and has the page number "190" in the upper right corner. The notation is written on a five-line staff. The first system consists of two lines of notes: the top line has notes 'a', 'c', 'a', 'c', 'd', 'd', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a' and the bottom line has notes 'a', 'a', 'a', 'a'. The second system has notes 'a', 'a', 'a', 'c', 'd', 'd', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'c', 'd', 'd', 'd', 'a' on the top line and 'a', 'a', 'a', 'a', 'a', 'a' on the bottom line. The third system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. The first measure has notes 'c', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a' on the top line and 'a', 'a', 'a' on the bottom line. The second measure has notes 'a', 'c', 'a', 'c', 'd', 'c', 'a' on the top line and 'a', 'a', 'a' on the bottom line. The fourth system also has two measures. The first measure has notes 'a', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a', 'a' on the top line and 'a', 'a', 'a' on the bottom line. The second measure has notes 'a', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'a', 'a', 'a', 'c' on the top line and 'a', 'a', 'a' on the bottom line. The word "finis" is written at the end of the fourth system. There are some decorative flourishes and a large '7' on the right side of the page.

ex.22: 60577 f.190

Although *Trumbull* is not listed here, it is very likely that, had it not remained in the scribe's family for so many years, leaves from this collection would also be listed among these fragments. The book is listed as a pedagogical one as many of its features fit the profile of a pupil's collection, and it may indeed have begun life as a pedagogical book. However, what remains of the original is 19 fairly fragmentary leaves, some only half-leaves, that were stitched together in a single gathering in what may be a miscellaneous order. The fact that most pieces in the lute manuscripts often occupy only a single folio means that the order of the leaves in a book is not always important unless some pre-determined order is intended. The proposition that Trumbull's later use of his collection may have been as a teaching exemplar is implied by comments in the margins of two of the pieces in a different hand from the tablature scribe to the effect that the second writer wanted to 'have' those two pieces, probably intending to copy them into his own book. The marks suggesting which pieces had been copied by which pupils and the note that some pieces had been 'checked' all conspire to put *Trumbull* in this category.

As was noted in Chapter 1, a pedagogical exemplar would be expected to look like its copies, and were it not for the fact that Trumbull's profession is known, and was not that of a lute teacher, this book would certainly be classified as a teacher's collection. It was apparently never bound, and contains ruled but otherwise unused leaves. It lacks pedagogical material in the form of tables or exercises, but these may have been lost or discarded. The music pre-dates Trumbull's time in Brussels, which is when it appears to have been used for teaching, and explains why most of the music copied in pedagogical books pre-dates the copying time. This is the only book that might be a teacher's exemplar, and is a significant piece of evidence in the diverse array pointing towards teaching practices in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

At best, however, this must be a hypothetical category. There are four remaining fragments whose state does not allow much more than a guess at their original function. They do not appear to have originally been intended as fragments by their copyists, and the most likely interpretation for their appearance and even existence may be that they represent the undoubtedly vast corpus of music owned by lute teachers for their students to learn and build their own repertory from.¹⁶ Fragments that have been lifted from paste-downs would have been at some time in a pile of scrap paper in a bindery. Whether a binder would always use loose sheets for his scrap, or whether he would take the trouble to dismantle complete books to obtain scrap is impossible to determine. *Och1280* and *Magdalen* are too heavily cropped to see whether or not they were loose scraps, and of the four fragments *Och1280* is the least justifiably included under this heading.

From their appearance, *6402*, *Och1280*, *Magdalen* and *Andrea* could once have been part of larger manuscripts that do not survive, or may not even have reached a bound state at any time. They are unrelated in every other respect. The music is not only readable but also of reasonable quality, and does not share the characteristics of the jottings seen in true fragments. Unlike true fragments, these were not all copied in a single hand, although what survives suggests a short copying period. The

¹⁶ See Chapter 1.

Andrea fragments are interesting in that they could be part of a larger collection, or part of a teacher's collection. They originally came to light in 1989 in an eighteenth-century literary manuscript. They were folded in half down the centre, and bound apparently arbitrarily into the middle of the book. It is only since their removal (in 1991) that it has been possible to see the music that had been hidden in the gutter. The eighteenth-century book has now been sold, and so we are not able to say whether the fragments may have had any connection with its contents, though it seems unlikely at this stage. There is no evidence that these leaves were not previously bound up in a larger music or lute manuscript that has now been dismantled. Nothing seems to be missing, and they are in a large oblong format of odd dimensions that is unknown in surviving manuscripts, though its apparent completeness is not sufficient reason to discount the possibility that there were other sheets in (hypothetically) at least one more unbound quire that no longer survive. Unlike most other fragments, it is neatly copied and carefully titled in an elegant late sixteenth-century secretary hand.¹⁷ The only other source to use a similar format is *31392* much later in date than the *Andrea* fragments.

6402 comprises a single loose sheet (f.1) and a single bifolium (f.2-3) in upright folio format, neither of which seems to have been previously bound, at the front of a copy of Balliol College Statutes dated 1610. The paper has been hand ruled without a rastrum on folios 1, 1v and 2. Folios 2v-3v are unruled, 3v has Balliol College Statutes copied in close-written Latin. The four pieces of music appear on the recto of folios 1 and 2. Neither the tablature hand nor the ink appears to have any relationship to the text on folio 3v. The copying hand is not consistent, but the scribe wrote for a seven-course lute, and uses graces, right-hand fingering and both bass and treble hold signs. The paper is the sort of high quality used in bound lute books, and may have originated in France. The music is clearly legible, without the appearance of curtailment or abbreviation that might suggest its owner was simply jotting, and seems to have been intended to have a useful lifetime. It shows no folds that might indicate that it was a letter fragment, and the blank ruled folios also argue against this purpose; it is more likely to be a surviving part of an unbound collection such as a teacher might own. The teachers who have been pinpointed did not write neat hands, partly because their social status implies that they may have come to writing later than their pupils would have done, and partly because their purpose in writing was not the same as that of their socially superior pupils. This would make the slightly irregular appearance of this fragment consistent with the possibility of its having been part of a teachers' collection.

Magdalen has much in common with *6402* though it is considerably more damaged through having been used as a paste-down. This fragment also shows unused staves, but the missing edges of the sheets make it impossible to tell whether it was previously bound. The same is true of *Och1280* which is almost too fragmentary to be identifiable, and may in fact be one of the previous category of fragments.

The *Edmund* fragment, lifted from the paste-down in a binding, may also be a teaching fragment, but is difficult to classify. It is a bifolium of what appears to have been a sheet folded in

¹⁷ See also Appendix 1: Inventories of English Sources.

upright folio format. The outer edges are cropped, there are blank staves, and the paper appears to have been ruled with a double-stave rastrum. The folios appear to be numbered consecutively 2 and 3 in the upper left hand corner, though these may be numberings of the pieces. Folios 2 and 3 are unlikely to have been in the centre of a gathering, and the centre fold of the bifolium does not appear to have been stitched.

§PROFESSIONAL BOOKS

Marsh

Cosens C.K.

Dd.2.11 Matthew Holmes

Dd.3.18 Matthew Holmes

Dd.5.78.3 Matthew Holmes

Dd.9.33 Matthew Holmes

Nn.6.36 Matthew Holmes

Hirsch H.O.

Wickhambrook

Krakow

This category is composed of manuscript sources copied by professional musicians as a way of preserving or extending their repertory. The copyists were not professional scribes who would have been copying at the behest of an employer. A large number of professional players were employed as musicians at court or at the principal noble houses. Still others

spent their lives under the ægis of a number of wealthy patrons, and earned a living either as players or teachers, or both. Most lute players would also find some employment, if not most of it as teachers, and we have an excellent and otherwise uncorroborated insight into John Dowland's life as a teacher through *Board* and *Folger*.

Very few professional scribes (as opposed to professional musicians) are known to have been active among the surviving manuscripts in the English repertory, but among those who are known is the scribe of the Paston manuscripts, a secretary of Edward Paston, who transcribed vast quantities of vocal music into Italian lute tablature. He is never named in the music manuscripts, and his identity has only been discovered by locating his hand in other household documents not associated with music. This scribe does not appear in any other lute sources of the period, and there is no record of his being associated with other lutenists, with the court, or as a player.

Most professional books were bound after ruling and copying if they were bound at all, but this is not an absolute rule, principally because it is hard to find books that can be categorically classified as such. They are usually the work of a single scribe, though occasionally a group of scribes working concurrently can be seen. Where there are a number of scribes, there is usually evidence that one scribe was a principal, and was 'overseeing' the activity of the others. Tampering with the music by subsequent layers of scribes is almost unknown. The copying usually runs consecutively from start to finish, though there may be rare cases where the manuscript is divided into sections that were gradually filled. This is particularly prevalent in manuscripts copied from the third decade of the seventeenth century.

The format generally appears uncluttered, a necessity when facilitating the performer's use, and lacking the sort of marginalia that tend to accumulate in the more personal books, such as snippets of poetry, tuning tables or other theoretical matter and even shopping lists. The music is usually carefully laid out with the player in mind, so that occasionally blank lines or even, though rarely, whole folios are left in order to avoid an awkward page-turn. This type of tailoring often betrays a

practised hand as the music fits exactly the space designated for it, but the script is not necessarily tidy. The standard of accuracy and musical literacy in these sources is usually high, though the number of titles and ascriptions for the music is often correspondingly low. This element is also visible in manuscripts in other categories, though non-professional scribes seem to have a more parsimonious attitude to paper that sometimes leads them into awkward corners. This attitude can also lead to the appearance of layers of scribal activity, as the scribe or scribes will return to empty lines to fill them with short pieces. Blank pages at the end of professional books are rarely found, indicating either that all the available space was used, or that only those gatherings that were filled were bound up into the final manuscript.

One other peculiarity of the professional sources that may simply be a fortuitous coincidence is that they all make use of printed paper. *Hirsch* has a fragment of printed paper stuck into it and *Cosens* uses printed paper throughout; *Marsh, Dd.9.33* and possibly also *Nn.6.36* from the Holmes books use printed paper in combination with hand ruling. Four other sources also use printed paper: the pedagogical books *Dallis, 408/2* and *Trumbull*, and the personal anthology *Herbert*. *Trumbull*, however, may be another of the professional sources, since it seems to have been used as a teaching exemplar. Its position in the repertory is discussed above, and in Chapter 1.

Coelho's description of the Italian professional sources has much in common with the English sources in the same category. He states that because of their purpose, the books

therefore had short lives; there is a built-in obsolescence in professional books due to the commitment on the part of the copyist (who was probably the player) to provide "contemporary" music. By extension, these professional books are almost never anthological in nature. They contain music of a fairly limited time-frame and stylistic scope, and concordances are to similar manuscripts and printed books of roughly the same period. ... The works in these sources, as in most professional books, are more challenging than are found in non-professional books.¹⁸

The main difference between the two traditions seems to be that the English sources contain considerably more music. In the Italian sources, the contents are most often arranged by genre, but this practice is almost unknown in English sources. The reason for this arrangement in the Italian sources may have been that it allowed the player to construct suites easily or, in the case of dance music, to play a sequence of courantes or sarabandes without repeating himself musically, or requiring the dancers to form new sets.¹⁹

¹⁸ Coelho 1989, 7.

¹⁹ Very little is known about the use of lutes for accompanying social dancing. It is clear that the lute was too quiet an instrument, on its own, to provide a solid basis for dancers, but iconographic evidence such as Hermann van der Mast (1550-1604): *Henri III and his court at a ball celebrating the marriage of Anne, Duc de joyeuse to Margaret de Lorraine-Vaudémont, c1581-4* (Musée National du Chateau de Versailles) suggests that quite a small group of instruments may have been sufficient for a relatively large gathering. Even here, however, the gathering are not clearly dancing to the three lutenists, but only being entertained by them. At present, there is no research that might lead to a better understanding of the use of the lute for accompanying dancing. Most depictions of lutes, particularly in the early 1600s are of single instruments and very small groups of people. Larger groups including a lute (or lutes) are usually of broken consorts or posed family portraits, while Dutch genre paintings frequently include a lutenist among social gatherings grouped about tables. Pictures of groups dancing to the lute are far rarer, and imply that its use was usually confined to a more intimate arena—it may have been used by dancing masters when teaching single pupils the steps.

Notable in the English sources is that professional lutenists (as distinct from professional scribes) often had quite 'poor' tablature hands, and a feature of professional books is the obvious speed at which they were written, sometimes occasioning 'shorthand' elements in the rendering of the tablature. Unlike the amateur, the professional did not have the leisure or incentive to develop an elegant but time-consuming script, and was probably not from a social background in which he would have been taught to write formally as a child. Apprenticed lutenists may have 'picked up' writing over the years, while musicians employed by the church may have been able to learn to write as adults. The theory that professional lutenists wrote the neatest hands is completely destroyed by examination of the hands of scribes whose history is known. Margaret Board and Jane Pickeringe (amateurs) both wrote extremely elegant and uniform hands, carefully laid out and executed, while Matthew Holmes (a professional) wrote a dramatically faster script which, although uniform, is still clearly written at high speed (his crossing-out bears witness). John Dowland possessed one of the messiest tablature hands surviving, shown in example 23.



ex.23: Sample of the hand of John Dowland from *Folger 22v*

Matthew Holmes appears to have been attempting to compile a comprehensive collection of all lute music current in England during his lifetime. *Dd.3.18*, as well as being one of the Holmes consort books²⁰ is also a major source for English duet music.

The manuscripts can be sub-divided into two types: in the first group, the music was more often for performing rather than for teaching purposes, and the repertory tends to be almost entirely contemporary with the copying time, rather than retrospective. There may also be divisions composed by the scribe to music by well-known composers, though this does not seem to extend to complete original compositions. In the second group the relationship between the quantity of old and new music is reversed: the contents of the manuscript seem to pre-date the copying period, sometimes by several decades, though more modern music is always included. This is not surprising, when we consider that this is also the case with the repertory in most of the pupil's books. In the first group the book was almost certainly used to perform from, while in the second the purpose of the construction of a complete manuscript seems to have been to preserve a particular repertory. A teacher's repertory probably existed on single sheets that could be left with a pupil overnight for copying, and the second group represents the preservation of this comparatively ephemeral type of collection. In this type of collection one would expect to find evidence of pre-determined organisation, and also of a principal scribe who had control over the work of the others. *Marsh* and, although its position here is controversial, *Hirsch* both appear to be this type of source. *Marsh* is particularly interesting from this point of view as, though there is clearly the intention of some sort of pre-determined organisation behind its gap-filled compilation, that organisation is now unrecognisable. In addition, as well as some pieces of considerable length that involve page-turns, the layout of many other pieces also requires page-turns and awkward jumps through several pages. Basic grammatical errors such as whole chords displaced by one course and the hand itself suggests that the music was copied very quickly without checking back, and it seems unlikely, despite its being perhaps the most legible of all the sources, that the book was originally used for playing from.

The books that can be described with some certainty as being 'professional' books are very few in number, and even fewer when it is taken into account that all the Cambridge University manuscripts listed above, with the exception of *Cosens*, were written by the same scribe, Matthew Holmes. Information about the life of Holmes confirms the professional purpose of his manuscript collections.²¹ *Cosens* is not one of Holmes's manuscripts, but seems to fit the criteria of this category because of the similarity in the type of its contents to that of the Holmes books. Like them, it is written out by a single scribe, and fills the manuscript almost entirely. He uses his own well-crafted divisions for many pieces in preference to those written by the composer, further supporting the suggestion that he is a professional player. The scribe of *Cosens* also deliberately arranges some of his pieces by genre, putting an exceptionally large collection of foreign preludes (for an English source) together, just as the compiler of *Hirsch* did when separating his dance and non-dance genres. The

²⁰ Set of part-books for broken consort copied by Matthew Holmes: Cambridge University Library, *Dd.3.18* (Lute); *Dd.5.20* (Bass viol); *Dd.5.21* (Recorder); *Dd.14.24* (Cittern).

²¹ See Chapters 2, 6 and 7 for discussion of the Holmes books and their peculiar position in the repertory as a whole.

purpose and provenance of *Hirsch* is highly controversial, but it has been placed in this category mainly because of the clear evidence that the principal scribe was ordering the contents of the book, and that the music seems to pre-date the copying by a substantial lapse of time.²² The most plausible reason for this type of activity on the part of one scribe is that the book was a fair copy being made of a collection of ephemera.

The Holmes books are the most important in the entire English lute repertory for many reasons. Holmes's residence in the two cities (Oxford and London) that would have been the first to hear newly composed music, and also his being a professional musician ensure that the likelihood of his copying new music into his books very shortly after it was composed is extremely high. In addition the exceptional size of the collection and the number of years it spans (1580-1615) provide us with a superb picture of the repertory as it emerged and developed during its most active years. Naturally there will be numerous older pieces to be found among Holmes's more modern copying, but even this gives a clear idea of the music that he would have considered contemporary and fashionable enough to warrant its preservation in his collection. This may account for the slightly confusing appearance of some pieces more than once. In fact this is common enough in the first type of professional book to be a feature of its compilation, and is also seen in *Cosens*. It may be that the copying in these books only just remained abreast of new compositions, and the compilers may not have had a chance to play the pieces more than once, if at all, before copying in further music. In this case it would not be surprising to have forgotten a piece to the extent that hearing or seeing it again with, perhaps, a new set of divisions would have prompted its re-copying without checking back in the manuscript to see if it was already there.

The inclusion of *Marsh* in this list is also hard to justify on purely physical evidence. It could almost as easily be one of the household or personal anthologies, but it is listed here for a number of reasons. The hand is extremely fast, fluid and neat, there are very few copying errors, there is an almost total absence of titles or ascriptions, and the layout and overall appearance of the copying suggests a practised and confident scribe. In addition, the book seems to provide virtually a compendium of different types of music, the most unusual being a group of equal-pitched lute treble-ground duets that include both parts. This is unusual as grounds were not usually copied as they were so easily memorable. The layout of the pieces suggests that, like *Hirsch*, this manuscript may be an archive collection.

Unlike the other professional books in this category, *Wickhambrook* includes numerous ascriptions. However, the book was unbound, and is now stitched into an eighteenth-century white paper wrapper. Despite its unbound state, it is in good condition, though some leaves are clearly missing. The scribe appears to have been associated with John Johnson, and possibly also his son Robert, as the music in his hand in this book and in *Folger*, includes some pieces signed by John Johnson, and in *Wickhambrook* one piece (f.17v) apparently also signed by one of the Johnsons, though possibly by Robert in this case. The lack of grading of the pieces and the unusual table-layout

²² The arguments surrounding this manuscript are described in detail in Chapter 7.

of the duets make it unlikely to be a pedagogical book, and the lack of binding also excludes it from this category and that of household or personal anthologies. The scribe may have intended it to be a scribal publication, but the notation is slightly flawed, and some of the ascriptions were written by a different hand. The most likely explanation for the book's features and its contents places it in this category.

SUMMARY	
PROFESSIONAL BOOKS	
Two sub-categories: 1. Music copied to preserve a performing repertory, and 2. Music copied for 'archive' purposes.	
PHYSICAL: Book usually bound after ruling and copying. May be some connection with printed paper. Sources are often larger than those in any other category.	
SCRIBES: Usually a single copyist who does not sign the book, but occasionally one or two pieces may have been inserted within the original layer, also by anonymous scribes. One copyist is always clearly the principal, and his social status may be of a servant or artisan. Standard of accuracy and musical literacy high, though personal 'shorthand' elements may be present. Accuracy may be patchy in 2. where some errors may be seen in notation. Handwriting always appears to be fast, may not be particularly polished, but is usually clear and legible. Performing indications are far less common in 2. than in 1. Blank folios are uncommon in 1. but not in 2.	
REPERTORY: Generally, all the music is of a similar (high) standard. 1. Repertory is usually contemporary with copying period, unless 2. when it is likely to be retrospective. Format clear and uncluttered, lacking marginalia, and often also lacking ascriptions. Some pieces may be copied more than once, and though the scribe's own divisions may be apparent (usually very competent), there are unlikely to be pieces composed by the owner.	
LAYOUT: 1. Copying runs consecutively from start to finish without pre-arrangement, pieces need not start at the top of a folio, but page-turns are always avoided, thus some unused lines may be seen. The book may have been copied over a substantial period of time. 2. Shows evidence of pre-determined organisation, page turns are not consistently avoided, and some basic uncorrected errors may be apparent. Usually copied fast and over a short period of time	

§PEDAGOGICAL BOOKS

<p><i>408/2</i> <i>Dallis</i> 2764(2) (reconstructed from fragments, incomplete) <i>Trumbull</i> William Trumbull (see above, 'Teaching fragments') <i>Dd.4.22</i> <i>Wemyss</i> Lady Margaret Wemyss <i>ML</i> Margaret L. <i>Pickeringe</i> Jane Pickeringe <i>Stowe</i>³⁸⁹ Raphe Bowle <i>Board</i> Margaret Board <i>Mynshall</i> Richard Mynshall <i>Sampson</i> Henry Sampson <i>Folger</i> <i>Rowallan</i> Anna Hay and Sir William Mure of Rowallan</p>	<p>Pedagogical books are those written by students of the lute, almost always under the direction of a tutor. In almost all cases, the identity of the teacher is unknown. There are two types of pedagogical book: the most common is that compiled by a young woman, or less usually a young man, from the leisured classes learning the instrument as part of their social armour, and easily forgotten when more important matters (such as marriage) took over. The second type was compiled by a man with a lower social status, who may have intended to use the skill either semi-professionally, or as an attempt to improve his social standing by complementing his other professional skills. The musical and textual standard of</p>
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the contents in the first type is generally high: the copious ascriptions are usually accurate, as are the versions of the pieces copied—sometimes in a simplified form compared to versions found elsewhere. Though the general attributes of the second type of scribe are similar—copious ascriptions, gracing etc., the accuracy is quite different if the scribe's youth, musical illiteracy or lack of experience leads to textual errors and untidy copying practices. *Mynshall* and *Dallis* are both of the second type, and are

significantly less skilled and meticulous in appearance and layout from the elegant and superbly presented collections of *Board*, *Pickeringe*, *ML* and *Sampson*.

Despite the existence of various types of contemporary literature mentioning music and musicians, there are no descriptions of a lute lesson or of the matters surrounding it that were taken for granted. There are quite detailed descriptions of the attributes expected of the nobility or gentry relating to music, and documents exist to support the reality of these somewhat idealised images: household accounts listing musical instruments and payments to both players and teachers for their services and for the supply of instruments and the peripheral consumables associated with their use. We know about the physical technique required to play the lute—where and how to place the fingers—often from continental tutors printed as a preface to music collections; even some basic information on how to tune the lute, but we have no information relating how the required skills were passed from teacher to pupil. The absence of any type of information in primary sources is partly due to the paucity of printed music tutors or collections of solo music, but is also usually the result of a practice being so widespread and generally accepted that any contemporary description of it is considered superfluous by those who practise it. Contemporary writers rarely have either an eye to posterity, or an appreciation of the possibilities of the future obsolescence of their subject to the extent that the teacher-pupil inheritance might be lost. This seems to be particularly true of music as opposed to other subjects—contemporary writing tutors for instance answer many questions that it would be desirable to answer in relation to the lute: what might a prospective pupil expect from his lessons, and what did the teacher expect from the pupil and his employers? For how long would you engage a teacher if he was not already one of your servants? Were there differences in practices between teachers who were already household servants, and those employed from outside? Did the teacher supply the instrument or the books? How old or young should the ideal pupil preferably be? Who were the great teachers of the day? How long would it usually be before you were likely to be a competent player, or considered fairly good? How good could you become before you were vulgar? Was it a relatively expensive skill to acquire? One passing comment by Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) implies that it could have been quite costly to some parents, and—far from indulging a whim—they consider the attainment of the skill hard won, and worth paying for:

Our young women and wives, they that being maids took so much pains to sing, play and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents to get these graceful qualities, now being married will scarce touch an instrument, they care not for it.²³

It is probably reasonable to assume that tried and tested methods of teaching in other spheres were applied to the teaching of music, and from this assumption comes the generally accepted probability that music lessons took the form of supervised practice sessions each day, in between which the student would copy music provided by the teacher into his or her personal collection, and practise the previous day's exercise. This form of intensive teaching is still employed today, though rarely as a

²³ Cited in Boyd 1973, 4 where he states that 'Richard Mulcaster also made this observation in his *Positions...*, 1581'.

way of acquiring musical skills, since there is unlikely to be the urgency in learning to play that there is in, for instance, learning a new language.

The type of book compiled by a student under the supervision of a teacher is usually bound after ruling but before copying. They are almost always written by a single scribe, but as the compilations often leave part of the manuscript unused, there are sometimes subsequent layers of scribes active. In some cases the teacher does appear to have been active, and this is the case in *Sampson*, *Board*, *Folger*, *ML* and *Dd.4.22*. The incidence of a group of concurrent scribes is relatively rare unless the second scribe is the owner's tutor. Often the only evidence that a teacher existed is in the graded difficulty of the music. Where several layers of scribes appear, the purpose of the book has usually changed. Sometimes a book that started out as being compiled under the direction of a tutor becomes a household or personal anthology, sometimes of a different owner. Where this is the case, the book is categorised by its original purpose.

Clues to the pedagogical purpose abound: in some cases such as *Board*, *ML* and *Folger* the teacher has been active scribally, correcting the music of the principal scribe and occasionally adding music themselves. Sometimes simply the progressive standard of the music from simple short pieces to more complex works betrays its origins. In almost all cases, the principal scribe, the pupil, has written his or (more often) her name in the book. Other evidence of a learning process can sometimes be seen in tables of graces, tunings, rhythms or solmization etc., and in the case of *Folger* a demonstration of techniques of varying a bass pattern. The presence of duets, particularly treble-ground types invariably indicates a teacher-pupil relationship within the book, particularly where it is not possible to play the duets from the parts as they are laid out. Duets were an ideal teaching tool, and the pupil would probably have learned both parts at some time. *Pickeringe* is a notable example of this practice, preserving a large proportion of the extant lute duets in the repertory in the first folios of the manuscript. It is perhaps odd that the duets are often copied in such a way as to make it impossible for two lutenists to play them from the same manuscript, implying that in this situation the second lutenist might play from memory or from another source, possibly the exemplar. This is not the case with *Wickhambrook*, where the second part of the duet is copied at the bottom of the same page or on a facing page, with the book inverted.²⁴ (It is probably significant that in other respects this book does not appear to be a pedagogical collection.) Treble-ground duets often lack their grounds, particularly where they were undoubtedly well-known ones that any lutenists might have been familiar with. Watching modern duettists play, the ground player will read the music perhaps for the first two statements of the ground, and then his eyes will begin to wander and the music ceases to be necessary.

Pedagogical books make up by far the largest category among the Italian manuscripts, and many of them were written by noblemen. One of the main characteristics of the Italian books seems to be the plurality of hands—the opposite of the situation usually found in the English sources. The teachers are also far more obviously active in the compilation of the books, probably indicating

²⁴ ff.15v and 16.

differing teaching practices between the two countries, and their identity is often well known and documented.

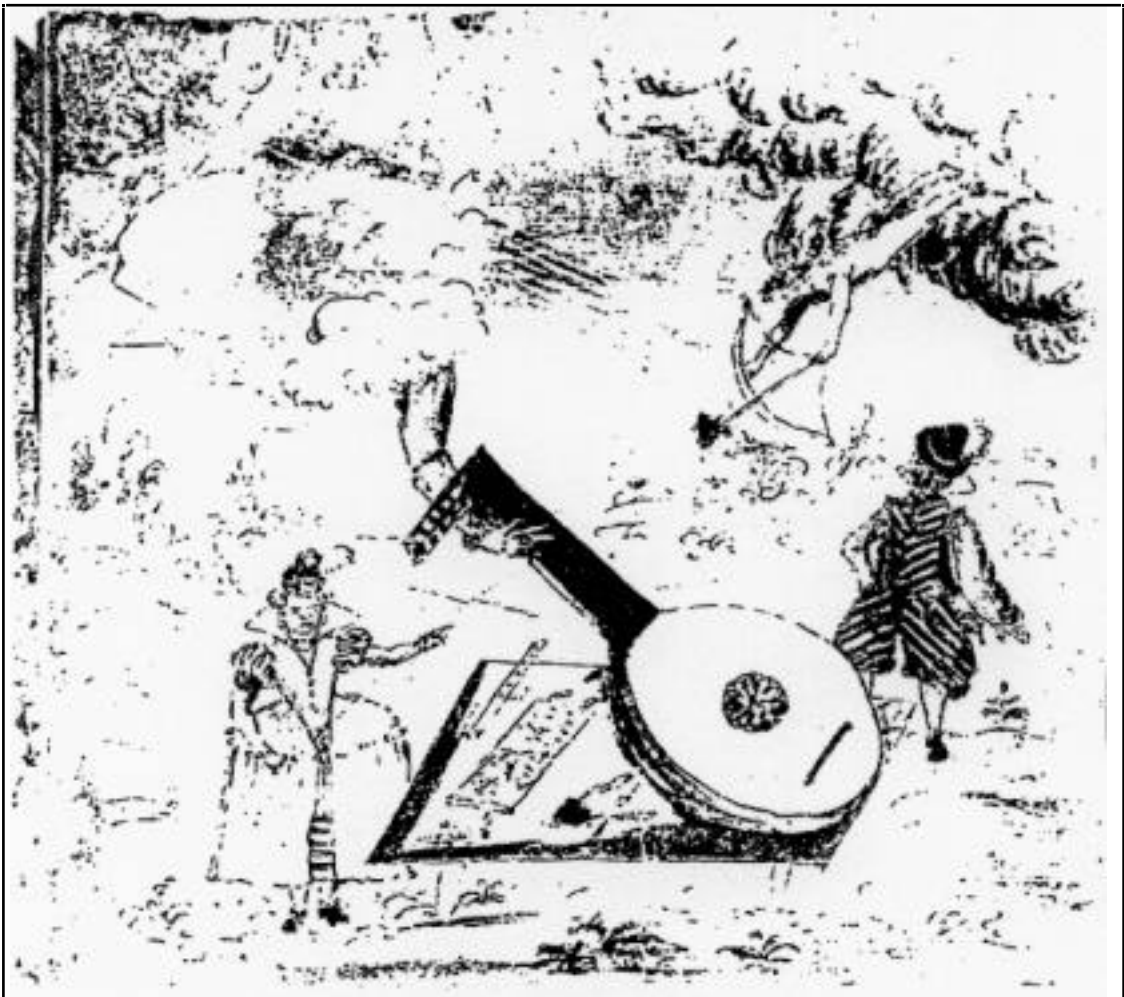
A plurality of hands is one of the main characteristics of these books, for most of them were used by a succession of owners over a long period of time. Consequently, the repertory contained in these manuscripts is quite diverse in both style and in chronology. A table of contents was often started but rarely finished Unlike professional books, one finds in these sources a profusion of fingerings and other aids for the student lutenist. Usually, these books also contain pages of a purely didactic content, such as tuning charts, simple exercises in realizing figured bass, exercises in playing scales, chords and arpeggios, and in one case, transposition. One can usually distinguish the hand of the teacher from that of the student(s). The clearest example of this is in *Perugia*, in which the steady hand of Falconieri (?) is contrasted with the tentative hand of the student, whose quill technique (like his lute technique, judging from the pieces in this hand) was neither clean nor secure. ... in *Rome 4145*, pages are consistently left blank after *passacagli*, probably to leave space for the student to compose his own variations.²⁵

The English sources are also chronologically diverse, but not for the same reason that the Italian ones were. In the English manuscripts, this sort of diversity is probably attributable to the tutor having collected his teaching material over a substantial period of time or using his own pedagogical book as an exemplar, as is the case with *Trumbull*. He offered the music to his student in an order of difficulty that had little to do with its currency or present popularity. One of the identifying features of the English pedagogical sources is that their repertory is often very old-fashioned. *Dallis* is an extreme example. It is clearly dated by the scribe 1583, and to judge by the copying was probably written over only a very short period of time. It has been dated by its repertory 1565-80, disregarding the scribal indication and the fact that some pieces are undoubtedly copied from Adriansen 1584. Much of the repertory is emphatically early, with music copied from continental prints dating from the early 1500s right up to the clearly very up-to-date Adriansen print; but the inscribed date indicates the true period of the book. *Dallis* has other interesting features that set it aside from the mainstream of English lute manuscripts: it makes use of time signatures long before they became common in English lute music, and also incorporates lute songs and a number of psalm settings, neither of which genre made any impact on English taste. This type of mixture would more usually be found in foreign collections such as *Vilnius* and undoubtedly appear in *Dallis* as the result of the scribe copying much of his music from foreign printed collections. *Sampson* also shows a discrepancy between the date of the repertory and the date of copying, though in this case not quite such a significant discrepancy because Henry Sampson was not copying a repertory drawn mostly from continental prints, but from a more specifically English tradition. To judge by some of the contents, the book could easily date from the late 1500s or the very early years of the seventeenth century. The watermark, though, is dated 1609, and the book is accordingly dated c1610.

Tables of contents are not particularly common in any English manuscripts, and they are no more so in this category. In general, French tablature sources do not contain a great deal of fingering. What there is, is usually limited to indication of the right hand index finger, and where this appears, it is consistently notated through the work of a scribe. The right hand thumb and middle finger may also

²⁵ Coelho 1989, 8.

be indicated. Fingerings are not limited to pedagogical sources, neither are graces, which often vary from scribe to scribe in both range and interpretation.²⁶ Hold signs are often added to the copying of a scribe by a teacher, but the practice is invariably not taken up by the pupil following the teacher's example. The use of hold signs seems to be a particular feature of the duct of some scribes, and the rare treble hold sign is a significant feature of only a few scribes. Some scribes indicate neither graces nor fingering, but there is no correlation between their use and the purpose of the manuscript. As for the professional sources, we should be wary of assuming that a scribe is inexperienced because his writing is messy. Even the young Richard Mynshall can be excused for his awkward italic tablature hand when we examine his index to the book, for which he uses a secretary script with considerably more fluency and consistency than we might expect, given the state of his tablature pages.



ex.24: Illustration from *Krakow* flyleaf, reduced to 71%

The English pedagogical manuscripts are not the largest category in this group of sources, and none seem to have been written by noblemen.²⁷ These books belonged predominantly to women, and none of those in the period 1530-1630 came from a noble family. As well as Robert Burton's comment on the desirability of the quality gained in learning to play the lute and to dance (see above),

²⁶ Graces and their interpretation are discussed in Spencer 1976C and *EMc* iii (1975) by various authors.

²⁷ The only book known to have been written by an English nobleman that has survived is *Herbert* and this does not appear to be one of the pedagogical sources. Francis Willoughby became a nobleman some time after the compilation of his lute book, *Willoughby*.

another indication of the usefulness of the instrument is illustrated by one of the end-papers of *Krakow*, shown in example 24, and the matter is confirmed by the author of *Burwell*:

All the actions that one does in playing of the lute are handsome, the posture is modest free and gallant ... The shape of the lute ... sets [the body] in an advantageous posture.

The beauty of the arm, of the hands and of the neck are advantageously displayed in playing of the lute. The eyes are employed only in looking upon the company. ... Nothing represents so well the consort of angelical choirs and give[s] more foretastes of heavenly joys and of everlasting happiness. For the advantages of marriage how many bachelors and maids have we seen advanced by this agreeing harmony. When persons of both sexes have neither considered wealth nor beauty of the person, but suffering themselves to be drawn by the charms of this sweet melody.

Some hath believed that they should possess an angel incarnate, if they could unite themselves by a marriage to a person that enjoys this rare quality.

... Of all the arts that I know there is none that engages more the inclination of men than the lute. For ravishing the soul by the ear and the eyes by the swiftness and neatness of all the fingers.²⁸

Perhaps this explains why those books written by young unmarried women seem to date only from their pre-marital years, with no evidence that they were still learning or adding music after marrying. Even the later additions to sources such as *Boardor Pickeringe* seem to bear no relation to the original owner.

Trumbull is included here mainly because of the high proportion of duets it contains and the known history of the scribe. However, William Trumbull clearly also used his collection of loose leaves as a teaching exemplar, and its overall appearance does not match those of the books compiled by the higher classes, which were bound before copying. *2764(2)* is also in this category because of the proportion of duets, though it is difficult to get a reasonable idea of the original use for a manuscript that survives in such an incomplete and damaged state, and it may have been a teaching exemplar as *Trumbull* became later in its life. In this type of collection, the duets nearly always appear at the beginning of the compilation, though they are scattered through *Trumbull*, possibly because the book was never bound and the original order may have been disturbed. Collections in which there are a group of duets later in the book are often not pedagogical. Other books with large numbers of duets are *Ballet*, *Folger*, *Marsh*, and *Wickhambrook*. If bound teachers exemplars existed, it is likely that a pedagogical book would look like the exemplar from which it was copied. If this is the case, then some of the books in this category may be exemplars. *Trumbull* and *2764(2)*, both unbound collections, may be this type of book, particularly as the assumption that *Trumbull* was originally a pedagogical book rests entirely on the fact that he originally worked as a secretary. Someone of this social class would be unlikely to have employed a lute teacher while he was learning the skills of his adult trade, though he may have been fortunate enough to have had a lute-playing friend or relation who taught him for little or nothing when he was a child (as was the case with Daniel Bacheler). Since there is almost never any evidence giving the name of lute teachers, it may be wrong to assume they were the well-known composers of the day, and more of them than we currently suppose may have been well-meaning amateurs like William Trumbull. The ladies who compiled books such as *Board*,

²⁸ *Burwell*, 43v-45.

Pickeringe and *ML* seem to have been taught by masters of the calibre of Dowland, but their books reach a considerably higher standard, and are noticeable better crafted as a whole than the collections of such as Dallis's pupil, Richard Mynshall and Henry Sampson.

It is unusual to be able to name the teacher as well as the pupil in a book, but *Board* is an exception. In it, the hand of John Dowland is apparent, not only copying whole pieces of music but also adding a solmization table to the book's flyleaf and adding hold signs to some of Margaret's copying (see example 25).

Dowland's activity however, is limited to only a part of the book, and it is quite likely that he was not her first, nor her principal teacher. No other scribe seems to have intruded on Margaret's copying though. This is not, however, the only source to show the signs of the teacher's input. Dowland makes a similar contribution to *Folger*, both copying music of his own and adding hold signs to the copying of one of the other major scribes. The discussion of Richard Allison in Chapter 7 shows a scribe active in a large number of otherwise very diverse sources, in a manner that also suggests him to be a teacher.



The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from a manuscript. It consists of six staves of music. The notation is dense, with many notes and rests. There are several vertical lines (hold signs) added to the notation, which are characteristic of Dowland's work. The handwriting is clear and legible.

ex.25: Folio 13 of *Board* showing hold signs added by Dowland

Folger, once believed to have belonged to the Dowland family, has been dismissed as having been Dowland's book after a comprehensive examination by John Ward.²⁹ Its contents and their layout indicate amateur origins on the whole, though Dowland was clearly one of the scribes and was undoubtedly acting in a pedagogical capacity just as he was in *Board*. However, the scribe that Dowland appears to be teaching, despite having been the copyist of the majority of the contents, is not the origi-

²⁹ Ward 1976B.

nal scribe, and the large number of other hands makes this source unusual among the pedagogical books. John Ward discusses the pedagogical activity in this book in great detail and with convincing clarity. Although he describes some treble hold signs as slurs etc., he has nevertheless correctly identified the fact that many of these performance marks were added by a scribe other than the copyist of the tablature. His discussion of the demonstration of different forms of notation and the exercise in a varied bass pattern shows perhaps the clearest example of teaching activity in any pedagogical source.³⁰ It appears from the signatures of both John Dowland and John Johnson that the Scribe B, who completed music written by the original scribe, Scribe A, not only invited acquaintances to contribute pieces but also had the eminent professionals of the day autograph their compositions and, in Dowland's case, copy his own music and offer some performing advice for some other music. It is possible that the Scribe B was the teacher of Scribe A, who wrote simple dumps and other duets and gave their titles in a youthful hand. Scribe B may have been acquainted with masters such as Dowland and Johnson, and may even have been an eminent composer himself. Whatever their relationship, the repertory in this book is also unusual among others in the category in that it is relatively up to date.

The three books written by Jane Pickeringe, Margaret L. (*ML*) and Margaret Board are the principal representatives in this category; a group of manuscripts copied by young gentlewomen in immaculate scripts, and with great pride in their presentation. As Spencer points out, these manuscripts are all 'large, wide-ranging collections containing quite difficult pieces, reminding us of the playing standard reached by these amateur lady lutenists'.³¹ Despite the high playing standard they reached, none of the pedagogical scribes seem to have written their own music or divisions.

Sampson does not show the didactic tables found in the other sources, but instead offers an unusual instance of a single piece ('Mrs Whites Choice') written out twice consecutively in different keys and with slightly altered divisions (see example 26). This seems to be an exercise in transposition: essentially the pieces are the same, but the divisions on each strain are slightly altered, leading the proud intabulator to ascribe the first version to its composer, John Dowland, and the second to himself, Henry Sampson.

This small clue gives a valuable insight into the attitude of the Elizabethan lutenists towards authorship of a piece. Clearly when a composer or player invented new divisions to an old tune, then it was the practice to write his own name at the end of the piece, thus appearing to claim authorship for the whole. This practice would explain why, not infrequently, one piece may be ascribed to a variety of composers through a group of sources. The copyist was not ascribing the original composition but only the divisions. In its turn, this is a reflection of the prevalent attitude towards eclecticism in any form of invention—literary or musical—in Elizabethan life, though the practice and the philosophy behind it was already in decline by the middle of Elizabeth's reign. Quoting a pre-existing and usually recognisable work lent authority to the new music, as well as imparting a sub-

³⁰ Ward 1976B, 8-9.

³¹ Spencer 1976C.

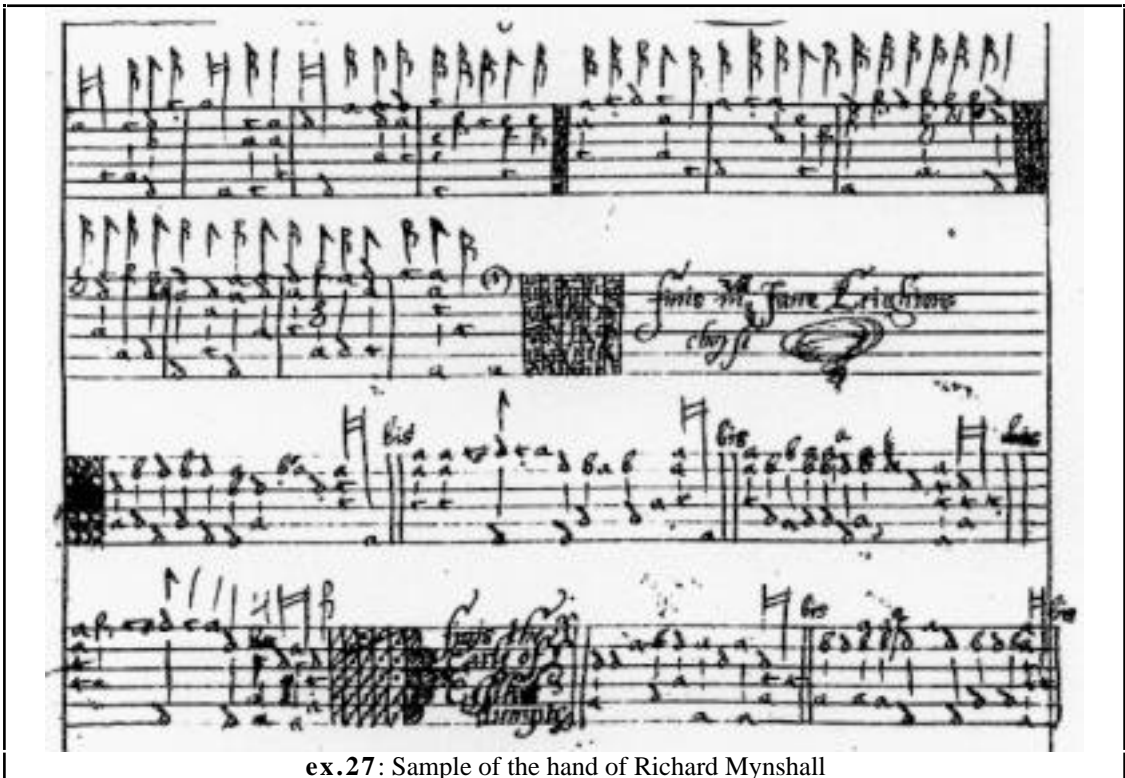
the added dimension for the initiate. A musical practice that has declined since that time is the writing of variations or sets of divisions on a well-known tune or ground, originally considered an important part of a composer's education.



ex.26: *Sampson* folio 7, reduced to 60%

Trumbull, discussed above and in Chapter 1, has some features in common with the professional books but, like *Mynshall*, is well supplied with ascriptions. *Mynshall* is included in this category, though it seems surprising that a teacher should have allowed so many grammatical errors to creep into the copying. On the other hand, the age of the scribe (15) and the layout, which matches most of the features of the other pedagogical books, places it here. Richard Mynshall later became a town musician, but even without the date (1597)³² this book was clearly compiled in his youth when his copying betrays his lack of musical literacy and unease with the new italic hand, coupled with an exuberant but uncontrolled decoration (see example 27).

³² f.5v.



ex.27: Sample of the hand of Richard Mynshall

408/2 is difficult to categorise as its binding and end-papers (if it was originally bound up) are missing. The retrospective repertory and the standard of the music make this category far more likely than any of the others for this book, though, and the added similarity in layout to *Sampson* makes its presence here justifiable. *Wemyss* may also be misplaced, but the age of the scribe alone justifies its inclusion, as a scribe who started to compile at 12³³ would be unlikely to be working on a household or personal anthology. This manuscript dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, but is included in this study as it contains much *vieil ton* music. It seems to have become a household book later in life, when a number of scribes added music to Margaret's beginnings. Anna Hay, the scribe of *Rowallan*, joins the ranks of young lady lutenists who wrote a lute book before their marriage. The simple style of the music in her hand and that of her sister, Mary, and the age and station of the scribe make it highly likely that this was a pedagogical book, though its original purpose has been obscured by the activity of a subsequent owner, Sir William Mure of Rowallan, who used it as a commonplace book, entering poetry and music, including some arrangements of his own. From this time on it became a household or personal anthology.

In the case of 2764(2), a great deal survives of a source that was probably originally a reasonably large and comprehensive lute book. It has been reconstructed by removing leaves from bindings of a group of manuscripts in Cambridge University Library. Some of the leaves are quite badly damaged, but the source is not classed as a fragment as much of its original character is evident.

³³ Margaret Wemyss (1630-49) signed the second folio 'Begunne June 5 1643'.

SUMMARY

PEDAGOGICAL BOOKS

Two sub-categories: 1. Main group, copied by young women (or, less often, men) from the gentry or minor nobility learning for leisure, and 2. Copied by lower class men who may use the skill semi-professionally later.

PHYSICAL: Book is usually bound after ruling but before copying.

SCRIBES: Compiled under the direction of a teacher. 1. Handwriting and presentation generally elegant and textual standard generally high. 2. Musical literacy, handwriting and layout of noticeably lower standard. 1. & 2. Identity of teacher usually unknown, though evidence of his activity may be seen in corrections or performing indications. Fingerings and graces may be used. These sources are sometimes heavily graced by the pupil. Scribe almost always writes his/her name in the book, and initials are likely to be stamped on the cover. Didactic material is likely to be present in the form of tables or different settings of single pieces. Usually written by a single scribe, though this scribe may be interrupted or emended by a teacher.

REPERTORY: Copious ascriptions, usually accurate. Progressive in musical standard from simpler pieces (usually duets, often only one part is copied) to sometimes quite difficult works, depending on the length of the copying period. Where both duet parts are present, they may not be on the same opening. Some easy versions of difficult pieces may be found. Repertory is likely to range from very old-fashioned to contemporary, and may be entirely retrospective. Music composed by the owner is not included.

LAYOUT: Later layers may be present, as these books often leave blank folios at the end of the collection, and sometimes *passim*. 1. Music usually carefully fitted into the available space, and some gaps may be filled with very short pieces. New pieces usually start at the top of a page. 2. Pieces may have missing bars or strains that are written in wherever there is space. Sometimes confusing and corrupt versions of pieces. 1. & 2. Unused lines are generally avoided, and the scribe may make awkward compressions to facilitate this. Copying span of the original scribe is likely to be very short—usually for the duration of their teaching only, though later layers may continue for some decades.

§HOUSEHOLD OR PERSONAL ANTHOLOGIES

Ballet William Ballet
Brogynryn
Herbert Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury
Trinity
Thistlethwaite John Bam...
Straloch
Euing
 RA58
 31392
Willoughby Francis Willoughby
Osborn
Lodge Giles Lodge

This category covers the books containing the personal collection of amateurs who played the instrument as a pastime. Many pedagogical books ended up becoming personal anthologies, but the manuscripts listed below were originally begun as private collections. As household books, they were often added to by guests in the house, or visiting lutenists, as well as resident players in a large household. It is not unusual to find a large number of scribes active, often concurrently, but also in layers as the

book was passed on to subsequent owners. Thus the scribal activity can be divided into two categories: either the manuscript is the work of a single scribe, with any gaps possibly filled in by a further scribe (or, rarely, scribes) at a later date (e.g. *Herbert*), or the manuscript is the work of a group of scribes, all working together, or within a very short time span (e.g. *Willoughby*, *Thistlethwaite*³⁴).

³⁴ John Ward (Ward 1992) describes this book as 'a professional's miscellany', and dismisses the anomalies that this idea gives rise to as quirks, exceptions or oddments. His main reason for marking the book as the work of a professional player is the length of the pieces, though the fact that he is comparing this manuscript with earlier sources with quite substantially different histories could easily account for this. The problem seems to be one of context - the purpose of the books under discussion has not been adequately codified, neither has the date been sufficiently justified, thus giving rise to many facts that seem anomalous, but which are not so when viewed in the correct light. In fact, the book fits so well into the category of Household or Personal anthologies without any manipulation of apparent anomalies, that it seems Ward made a decision on the purpose of the book without consideration of the repercussions of his conclusion, or any examination of the whole area of the intended use of a book discussed here, and thus ended up trying to force a square peg into a round hole. His arguments are further confused by his basing the scribe's amateur or professional status on the appearance of the handwriting as well as its accuracy, though this argument seems to be put forward when desirable, but not when it would cause contradictions. Comparison of the tablatures written by young amateurs and mature professionals shows that usually the more neat and accurate a hand is, the more likely the writer was to have been an amateur writing under the tutelage of a professional, while the more cryptic and inaccurate texts probably belonged to the

Characteristically, with groups of scribes in this category, their activity is not limited to single sections of folios, but is spread among the work of the other scribes. There is no impression of an arrangement in order of technical standard, but this is sometimes difficult to define in any case. Significantly, this is the only category of book in which compositions by the owner-scribe are likely to appear. They are rarely of a standard, however, to compete with the professional repertory.

Large sections of unused (often ruled) folios at the end of a book are frequently found in this category. Oddments of additional information also accumulate, scribbled in margins or on end-papers, though pedagogical material is almost unknown. Tables of graces may find their way into this sort of source. Sometimes, the book ended up as more of a musical or general commonplace book than being strictly confined to lute music, and intabulations are more common in this type of source, particularly if music for other instruments, or combinations of instruments, is included. *Rowallan*, although it began life as a pedagogical book, came into the hands of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, who used it as a commonplace book for poetry and lute music. He may also have played the simple pieces left by Anna and Mary Hay. He added music of his own, as did Lord Herbert and the last scribe of *Thistlethwaite*, none particularly accomplished, but a typical practice of scribes in this type of book.

The repertory can be extremely diverse, reflecting changing fashions and differing personal tastes, as well as some unusual features that can only be explained as additions made by a visiting player with a particular repertorial interest or background that sets him apart from his peers. He may, for instance, have been an Italian musician from the royal household. The source may have been copied over a fairly long period of time, and may contain music of more than one chronological layer.

Non-professional scribes or copyist-players tend to lack the element of critical judgement that allows the professional or more experienced compiler to copy a piece very precisely into a designated space. The amateur hand may look very professional because the amateur has more time to devote to the way his book looks, but many of them find that pieces are running off the end of lines or pages, or ending with only one or two bars on the last line. Professionals would always avoid these 'widows and orphans'.

Once again, the Italian repertory shows far more activity by noblemen than by the landed gentry who seem to comprise the greatest part of the lute-compiling public in England.

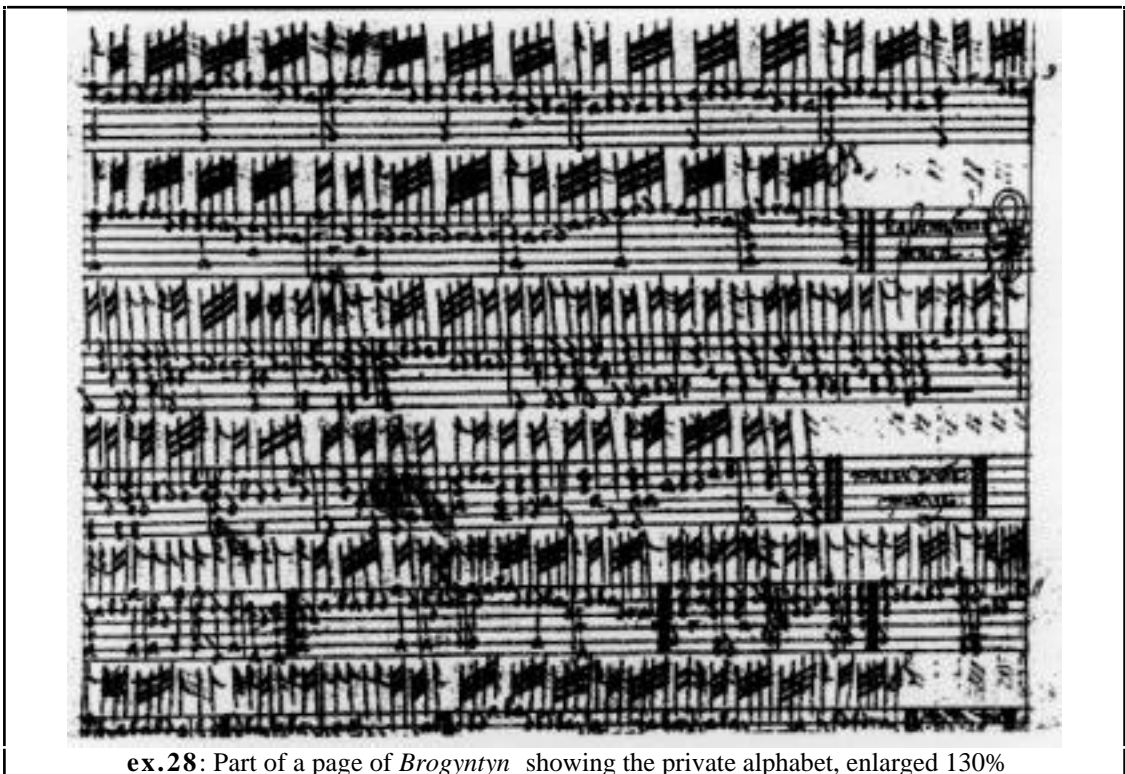
The owners of this kind of manuscript were often noblemen or even students, who wrote down pieces in their lute book as they discovered them. A good example of such a book is *K81*, part of which was copied during the Italian trip of Johann Sebastian von Hallwil. ... *Berkeley 757, 759 and 761* are all "personal" anthologies belonging to Carlo Banci, whose status as an upper-class Bolognese student is established by the inscription "Ego Carolus Bononiensis Ex. Nobillium Bononiae" contained in *Berkeley 759*. Even the appearance of *Berkeley 757*, with its parchment bindings and silk ribbon clasps – a format rather inappropriate for either the middle-class student or the professional musician – gives the impression of a book intended for the wealthy dilettante.³⁵

professionals, who had no particular need of an immaculate display copy, and relied on memory to make up for the deficiencies arising from the lack of leisure-time required to copy neatly. Consistency in his approach to and use of evidence seems to be the main problem in this work (and some others), and many weighty conclusions are questionable, while others are substantially inaccurate.

³⁵ Coelho 1989, 9.

As can be seen from the list above, household or personal anthologies make up a large portion of the manuscripts surviving in the English repertory. However, this may be a misrepresentation. As was noted above the main reason for categorising a manuscript as a professional book is information about its owner. Most, though not all, of the manuscripts listed above represent biographical 'black holes', and their place here occasionally has more to do with the absence of evidence to the contrary than any more specific reason. The most controversial books in this respect are *Straloch*, *Euing* and *31392*. The number of titles and ascriptions seems to vary too, and if we were to take their lack as evidence that they were professional collections, then several might have to be 're-categorized'.

Brogynryn is highly decorative and immaculately copied and contains ascriptions in a private alphabet, not a practice one would expect a professional to use (see example 28).



ex.28: Part of a page of *Brogynryn* showing the private alphabet, enlarged 130%

The history of *Herbert* places it firmly in this category, while it is the lack of history for the *Straloch* manuscript that places it here. *Willoughby* was copied by Francis Willoughby and various other scribes, many of whom are known, and range from household servants to personal friends. *31392* is unusual in many ways, the most immediately noticeable being its large oblong folio format. It is the work of three scribes who all wrote very elegant, neat and fluent tablature hands. Whether they were working in the same period is difficult to ascertain, as their work falls into three distinct fascicles. It is painstakingly supplied with ascriptions by all the scribes and includes an unusual quantity of music by Francis Pilkington. For this reason, it is tempting to link him to its compilation in some way. The presence of a large number of pieces by Alfonso Ferrabosco and Lodovico Bassano may also link the manuscript with the court.

SUMMARY

HOUSEHOLD OR PERSONAL ANTHOLOGIES

Two sub-categories: either (most often) a large number of scribes have been active in a short space of time, sometimes only copying single pieces, or the book is the work of a single scribe with gaps filled by others.

PHYSICAL: Usually bound after ruling and before copying, and may have the owner's initials on the cover.

SCRIBES: Usually amateur, members of the landed gentry or minor nobility, playing the instrument as a pastime. Identity of the owner is not common; though some do write their names into the book, most do not. Marginalia unrelated to the music may accumulate (household accounts, shopping lists, poetry, recipes, etc.) and music for other instruments, intabulations and/or vocal music. There may also be tables of graces. Hands vary from very neat and stylish to quite poor and irregular.

REPERTORY: No apparent arrangement by technical standard, and may be extremely diverse in chronology and origin. The number of titles and ascriptions varies from scribe to scribe within a book. There are likely to be pieces written by the owner (not necessarily very high quality).

LAYOUT: Activity is likely to be mixed, with no sectionalization or clear layering between scribes. Some pieces may be placed apparently arbitrarily among otherwise blank folios. Pieces do not always fit precisely into the spaces designated for them. Books can be quite large, with a sizeable collection of music, but are rarely completely filled.

§FOREIGN SOURCES WITH ACTIVITY BY AN ENGLISH SCRIBE

Richard D. Richard
Vilnius

These manuscripts could be placed in the above categories, but have been kept apart because it is clear that the circumstances of the compilation of a manuscript can be affected by its environment, political or domestic.

Richard is the work of a single scribe, and may be a professional collection or a personal anthology. Most English scribes working abroad were there as professional lutenists attached to a foreign court or noble household, and often found their way there through having travelled in the retinue of an English nobleman. Apart from its present residence in Poland, it is clear that the scribe was an expatriate Englishman from his inscription: 'Modus tendendi neruos testudinis / D. Richardi Angliis natione'.

Vilnius has a more eclectic background. It originated in Königsberg,³⁶ the capital city of Brandenburg, which was a principal gateway to central and eastern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By 1560, Königsberg had become one of Europe's most illustrious musical centres, and saw an almost constant traffic of musicians and actors' troupes travelling to and from the continent from England and the Low Countries. The manuscript reflects the cosmopolitanism of the Brandenburg court, containing music from all over Europe, Prussia, Poland and modern Lithuania and containing the music of at least one English lutenist, John Hoskins, not found in any native source. The ascriptions are written in German, English and various combinations of these and other languages, while the handwriting, although all in French tablature, reflects a variety of European traditions. Although some of the scribes have been identified as professional lutenists resident at the court, its layered compilation is difficult to categorize satisfactorily. In common with foreign sources in German tablature, there are a large number of psalm settings in the collection, and lute songs may also be found. As might be expected, the ready availability of the European solo lute publications increases the number of concordances with these sources when compared with the contents of English manuscripts,

³⁶ Now Kaliningrad.

and notation styles, even from the latter decades of the sixteenth century, usually incorporate features such as time signatures that are only found in England in exceptional cases at this time.

§GHOSTS

Etwall Hall MS
Straloch MS (copy surviving)
Travel book of Hans von Bodeck: <i>liber amicorum</i>

Occasionally a source is described by a writer cataloguing a library or private collection, but later researchers are unable to locate it. For many years the collections that had been housed in Berlin before World War II were lost, but were subsequently re-discovered, many in Krakow, to where they had been moved when Berlin was in danger from bombing. Lumsden described a number of sources that he could not trace, many of which have now come to light. These included *Welde*, the Braye book now owned by Robert Spencer, *The Scyence of Lutyng* (1565), Robert Ballard: *Exhortation to play the Lute* (1567), William Barley: *New boke of Tabliture* (1593 and 1599) and Thomas Robinson's *Medulla Musicae* (1603). He did not know of *Board, Krakow, Richard, Sampson, Trumbull, Wemyss* or the fragments 2764(2), 41498, 60577, *Andrea, Edmund, Genoa, Magdalen, Mansell, Northants, Occ254, Och1280*. Despite locating several of the sources that were known of but otherwise lost, there are still at least three known manuscript 'ghosts' about which no current information is available.

The Straloch Manuscript was mentioned in letters from the scribe of a partial copy, indicating that the original manuscript dated 1627-9 was sent to a number of friends who had been interested. The partial copy (*Straloch*), made in the eighteenth century, contains some of the more esoteric contents of the original manuscript, but also gives an index to the remaining music, indicating quite a substantial repertory. None of the known sources fits his description of the original, and it is now presumed lost, though since it had survived into the eighteenth century, it is unlikely to have been deliberately destroyed, and may still be preserved in the library of a country house.

The Etwall Hall Manuscript was described by Rimbault³⁷ in 1851 as a lute manuscript in Etwall Hall Derbyshire, but he does not describe or inventory it. Lumsden was unable to trace it, and its whereabouts remain unknown.

Hans von Bodeck (1582-1658) was sent from Elbing on the Baltic on a European diplomatic tour in 1597 to study and establish trade connections with people of importance. His travel book was filled with autographs, proverbs, drawings and other personal ephemera to remind him of the people he befriended. There were apparently 256 entries made between 1597 and 1609 from Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France and England. Bodeck stayed in Oxford, Cambridge and London between April 1602 and September 1604 and English additions to his *liber amicorum* include entries by Campion, John Dowland and Philip Rosseter, who all lived in the same district of London at the time when Bodeck met them (the Campion entry is dated 1604). Dowland copied a short lute piece and autographed it 'Jo. Dowlande' on 9 May 1604. An extensive inventory of the book was made by Hans Bauer in 1929³⁸ and published with a description of Bodeck's journey. In 1987, Kenneth Sparr

³⁷ Edward Francis Rimbault: *Little Book of Songs and Ballads* (1851).

³⁸ Hans Bauer: 'Alt-Elbinger Stammbücher in der Stadtbücherei' [*libri amicorum* from old Elbing in the City Library] *Elbinger Jahrbuch* viii (1929), 151 ff.

attempted to publish facsimiles of the relevant pages, but found that the book had disappeared. He concluded that,

Elbing was severely damaged during the Russian invasion at the end of World War II, the library was completely destroyed, and its collection had not been evacuated. There is, of course, a very slight possibility that Bodeck's book was dispersed and may turn up some day.³⁹

Unless the book has indeed been deposited in another library or private collection as were the Berlin manuscripts, it must be assumed lost, though Bauer's detailed description preserves considerably more than is usually the case with ghosts.⁴⁰

³⁹ Kenneth Sparr: 'Some Unobserved Information about John Dowland, Thomas Campion and Philip Rosseter' *LSJ* xxvii (1987), 37.

⁴⁰ One further manuscript known to have been destroyed by fire during the war is *Danzig*. Fortunately a microfilm survives, owned by Wolfgang Boetticher.

CHAPTER 4

LUTE SCRIBES AND HANDWRITING

Before one plays of the lute he must have his lute well strung and well tuned[,] as it behoveth to get good ink good paper and a good pen before one undertakes to write well[.]

*Mary Burwell.*¹

*

LITERACY

LEARNING TO WRITE

TOOLS

TYPES OF SCRIPT

EXAMINING LUTE SCRIBES

TABLE

*

PROBABLY THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUE in describing the contents and compilation of lute manuscripts is that of the identity of scribes and scribal concordances. This is because there is fundamentally no absolute way of proving identity of one un-named scribe with another.

When examining a lute manuscript, there is rarely any information immediately apparent to identify either the provenance or the date. A knowledge of the identity of the scribe can reverse this situation. In tablature, the task of identifying hands is made considerably easier than for scribes using mensural notation, since lute scribes use a system of letters for their notation. By identifying a scribe, or by simply pinpointing two separate occurrences of the same hand, information can be brought to bear on a manuscript which may either illuminate the date at which it may have been written, or offer clues as to its provenance. Needless to say, the instances where this does take place in reality are very few, but even these few 'successes' are worth the time spent in looking closely at each scribe at work in the period.

The following discussion is concerned with the early modern scribe, his materials and attitude to the practice of writing, and the modern approach to the examination of the skills of the scribe writing music in French lute tablature. The application of the resulting methodology is relevant to any sample of French lute tablature in the period 1530-1630, and also more generally to scribes active outside that period. It is limited to French tablature because of the particular system of letters rather than numbers that it uses, and the discussion below concentrates on English scribes because of the predominance of certain styles of handwriting in use in England at the time.

Literary palaeographers have attempted for many years to develop a standardized terminology for describing handwriting, but it is still subject to idiosyncrasies. For this reason, no one text was sufficient for all the needs that became apparent when describing lute scribes, and a specialized vocabulary had to be defined, set out in the glossary of terms above.

¹ *Burwell*, 7.

Although handwriting varied considerably between scribes at any one time, it is sometimes possible to date samples with some accuracy, as the development of any script is documented through dated letters and writings as well as printed writing tutors. During the period 1550-1650, although printing was becoming more widely used, hand-written books and documents were still the norm, and so handwriting had a far more fundamental position in terms of both social status and the power structures surrounding local and national government than it did by 1750. Particularly in the late sixteenth century, anyone who could read and write was instantly more powerful and influential than someone from the same class who could not.

Handwriting styles changed with fashion and necessity, and some features can make dating possible simply by examination of the state of evolution of the script. Quite apart from a generalized aid in dating, a more fundamental use of the study of scribal hands in the lute repertory is the identification of their appearance in more than one manuscript. The existence of a large number of basic models can cause hands to seem similar at first glance, though closer study has proved that some of those scribes originally believed to be concordant are not.²

The study of graphology has furnished some technical background, although the science was originally intended as a way of codifying areas of handwriting analysis unrelated to music hands. Specifically, it was directed towards the examination of modern hands, and the literature is concentrated in two areas: the study of a hand for character analysis, and the discovery of forgery. Both of these approaches were concerned entirely with modern handwriting, particularly as it appears in the construction of words, but it required little adaptation in order to use its systems for examining and identifying renaissance tablature hands.

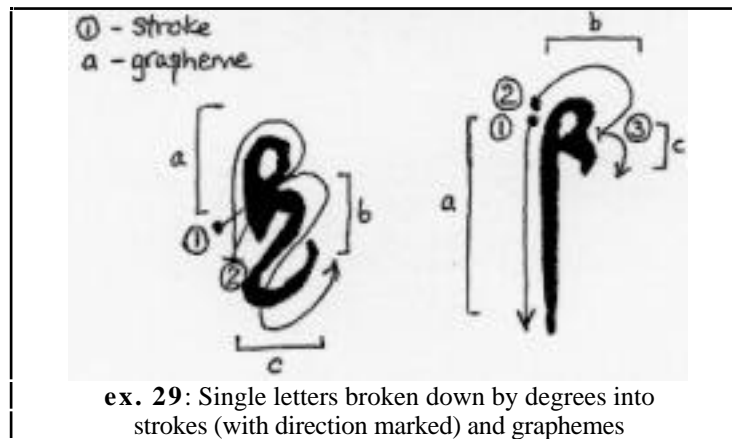
On the whole, much of the literature relating to character analysis can be discarded as it does not deal with the purely technical matter of the construction of a use-hand, though it does give some insights into the importance of habit in the formation of a hand. The forgery literature is more specific, and these techniques are also documented in more detail through police and law journals, though the finished product is discussed more than the process of creation itself. This literature is almost solely concerned with the efforts of the scribe to disguise the characteristics of his own handwriting, a matter largely irrelevant when applied to the lutenists. Most of the scribes were writing music for their own use, and neither possessed nor required secretaries because their status did not require it. Lord Herbert is an exception in that he was in a socially higher stratum than the other scribes and owners of the lute manuscripts. He certainly employed a secretary, and it is interesting to note that among the responsibilities of a good secretary, apart from mastery of both italic and secretary hands, would have been the production of a reasonable imitation of his employer's hand.³ The similarities between Herbert's autograph hand in *Herbert* and that of the principal scribe of the book suggests that the principal may have been Herbert's secretary, copying out Herbert's loose-leaf

² See Chapter 7.

³ See Love 1993, 99.

collection in his counterfeit of Herbert's hand which, due to his occupation, is quite likely to have been better formed than Herbert's own.

Much of the terminology used to describe handwriting relies heavily on the paleography of medieval literature:⁴ the only term added from graphology is the 'grapheme', describing the smallest possible constituent part of a single letter. Until recently, analysts had concentrated on the minim—the part of the letter that excluded any ascender or descender—as the smallest reference point, but the grapheme has steered analysis into a far more detailed channel, and put each pen-stroke under the microscope instead of just the magnifying glass. Close examination of the movements which were used to execute letters shows conclusively that, though the final results may look different in two samples, the grapheme will always be the same if the scribe is the same.



§LITERACY

Estimating the level of literacy of any group in a society as diverse as that in Elizabethan England, or even of the whole society in a 30-50 year period, seems to be a matter charged with controversy and fraught with misleading clues. Among the most relevant questions emerging regarding literacy were, firstly, who in Elizabeth's England learned to write, who was able and was expected (socially) to write, how well did they write, and what specific skills would each type of pupil have been required to learn; then, who from this fairly elite cross-class group would have been the sort of person to compile a lute book? Obviously there are exceptions to any overall picture, and it seems that music and musicians may not have conformed entirely in this respect. This begs further questions of how well those who were not formally taught could have written, how they might have obtained the skill, how they would have used it, and whether these would be the sort of people to write a lute book. The simple and indirect evidence ranges widely. The number of schools may be important, though this is clearly not consistently representative of any particular level of literacy. The production and sale of books could be more significant, though reasons for buying books ranged from the desire to read and acquire knowledge to the simple pretensions of ownership; and some sources were bought even by the illiterate because everybody else had one. Inventories left in wills or in the appraisal of an estate that list books

⁴ Particularly Parkes 1969.

are equally problematic, since they are indicators of ownership, not literacy: just because someone is leaving books to another, it did not mean that either recipient or donor could read. These types of evidence, then, are all considered highly ambiguous as indicators of literacy levels:

There is usually a relationship between abundant schooling and widespread literacy but this link is neither precise nor consistent over time between countries: Sweden offers the example of a country with high levels of reading ability and very few schools. ... The number of school places might grow but they might be filled mainly by boys from the middling ranks of society, leaving the lower orders and girls little affected.⁵

... that a man or woman did not own a book did not prevent them borrowing one, and the simple fact of possession does not prove that a volume was read or consulted very often. Books might be bought for show.⁶

Book ownership around 1550 was largely limited to the upper classes in England, and ownership by artisans was almost unknown except among printers. By 1600, 25% of craftsmen owned on average three books, but these were almost always the same type of book—the Bible, and various ephemeral almanac-type publications.⁷ The rise in book ownership does not, however, appear to have been straightforward, as by 1700, nearly 30% of merchants' inventories contained no books at all. Ownership around 1600 was entirely dependent on wealth and social standing, and the contents of those libraries was severely limited by both the cost of the books and social expectations:

Full and wide-ranging [personal] libraries were very rare at any social level before the eighteenth century, and collections were dominated by religious works and/or reference books.⁸

It wasn't until the mid seventeenth century that reading tastes saw an increase in historical, scientific and fictional titles at the expense of religious works. Books of music or musical origin seem to have made such a small impact on the statistics that they are not even considered worth mentioning.

Houston is wary of observations of literacy made by contemporary analysts, which may simply be chance comments rather than researched and accurate evaluations. The almost complete absence of standardised long-distance widespread communication at this time made the type of literacy evaluations now obtained through census-type studies impossible, and so any estimate, no matter how scholarly, is likely to be based on a tiny regional sampling, and could thus be completely unrepresentative of any country or class. Houston does however allow that some of these ambiguous, indirect sources of information, can be corroborated by sources which he classifies as direct:

we possess such corroborative evidence in the form of the subscriptions made on documents by everyone from princes to paupers. During the late medieval period, the keeping of written records became much more common for the state, the church and the individual. ... Many of these documents had to be subscribed by the person

⁵ Houston 1988, 117. Two problems arise in the use of Houston's work. The first is that his study embraces the whole of Europe, and in this sense is over-diversified. Secondly, there is a tendency to treat the period 1500-1800 as a whole, with the result that he does not define clearly the date boundaries of some generalisations that are clearly directed at a shorter period within those parameters. The text overall has a tendency to describe the changes that took place from the state of literacy in 1500 to its state in 1800, without identifying exact points at which certain factors emerged or changed.

⁶ Houston 1988, 118.

⁷ Houston (p.188) cites the example of a Parisian woman who died leaving a Book of Hours, a Lancelot and a book on how to make jam.

⁸ Houston 1988, 188.

involved, of which the most important are petitions, contracts, wills, testimonies of witnesses before secular and ecclesiastical courts, and marriage registers.⁹

All literacy commentators concur in an essential tripartite division among those who may be described as literate. Reading and writing were not conjunct skills; a significant minority of the population could write, while a far larger number could read but not write apart from their names. The fact that someone could read did not, however, mean that they did so. That 'reading took from one to three years to learn, writing the same again'¹⁰ explains the existence of one skill without the other. An even larger proportion could neither read nor write, but were able to sign their names. This last group are not considered strictly 'literate'. Thus the Protestation Oath cited by Houston as subscribed by all adult males in England during 1641-2 as a good indicator of a definable cross-section of a population is a problematic source for an estimate, since the fact that a man could sign his name would not indicate whether or not he could also read or write. This source also does not encompass the literacy levels among women, whose ability to write is probably the most significant factor in the emergent literate status of any social group or nation, and whose position is of particular interest in the lute repertory where a significant proportion of the sources were copied and/or owned by women. Houston comments that 'One of the great constants of early modern literacy is that men were far superior to women'.¹¹ The situation in Spain between 1580 and 1650 would not have been unlike that in England, though literacy rates may have been slightly lower in certain areas of the socio-political structure in relation to differing practices between the two countries.

All clergymen could sign their names as could the *letrados* (qualified bureaucrats), merchant elite and most of the upper nobility, but not the poorer *Hidalgos* or lesser nobles. Between one-third and one-half of artisans, shopkeepers and the better-off farmers could sign. Among employees, the nature of employment and the status of the employer were important. Servant retainers of noble households were usually literate but humble tavern staff or journeymen were largely illiterate, as were virtually all the day labourers.¹²

Women would have been the last social group to have been offered this rarefied skill, and so any indications that significant numbers of women had writing skills would indicate either an important step forward in overall literacy, or a particularly enlightened controlling medium. In the sixteenth century, most literate women came from the social elite, though even the lowest classes had some literate members. Women did not work as professional scribes, for obvious reasons, and one commentator estimated that only 10% of women could even write their names.¹³ However, a very high proportion of this percentage would have come from the higher classes and those living in London. There is scattered evidence to suggest that women who could write may have undertaken the functions of secretaries in a household, but in general teaching a woman to read and write was an

⁹ Houston 1988, 120.

¹⁰ Houston 1988, 130.

¹¹ 'One man in three and two out of every three women could not sign the parish register when they married at Amsterdam in 1630. ... For rural France in the 1740s, just one woman in eight was literate compared with one male in three.' Houston 1988, 134.

¹² Houston 1988, 131, citing statistics of B. Benassar: *Un siècle d'or Espagnol, 1525-1648* (Paris, 1982).

¹³ Cressy 1980, 128-9.

advertisement of leisure, rank and wealth rather than a means to an end, and this is certainly true of teaching women to play a musical instrument.

It appears that those responsible for the body of lute literature from 1530-1630, among them a large number of women, would have been those who were educated not in the various types of school run by church or state, but by private writing and music masters at home. This represents a significant minority of the population. Significantly, the purpose of a school during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period was the education of boys in elementary arithmetic, religious instruction and reading (in that order of importance). Although numbers of 'free' schools had been established, in practice education was hardly ever free, since a child occupied at school was not able to contribute to the family income by working. Thus, the real section of society who could attend even free schools was limited to only those families who could afford to lose the part of their income that would have been generated by the child, and the length of time they attended was similarly proscribed by financial constraints. Among the poorer classes, it would have been considerably more desirable to apprentice a child to a trade (including musical work ranging from singing in church to the skills of city waits) than to waste his time sending him to school, while other children of his age were well on the way to earning a living, and thus financially and socially advantaged. Writing was frequently not taught at all, and only a very exceptional school might employ a writing master. On the other hand, there were specific writing schools, but their establishment seems to have been only intermittent during Elizabeth's reign, as the classes who attended school were not those of the bourgeoisie who may have required writing skills as was the case by 1700.

Among lower-class writers of autobiographies, most had received very little formal education but had sought out reading and writing in their own way later in life. ... Some ordinary people never attended a school and had to rely on their own efforts or the help of friends if they were to master the basics of literacy.¹⁴

Those who learned to write as children in England were almost exclusively from the wealthy merchant classes upwards, who employed a writing master to attend the pupil personally. It was not uncommon among the lower levels of this category for families to have shared the cost of teachers, and an impromptu 'class' of up to five children of very mixed ages from about 12 upwards for writing, and seven upwards for other subjects might have been expected. In this environment, a parent may have taken advantage of the presence of a teacher to educate his daughters as well as his sons.

The renaissance aristocracy seems to have been the most prolific employer of home tuition, as by 1650 literacy levels had conspired to bring the public school into being, requiring a concomitant 're-arrangement' of the social status of those who went to school. By this time, literacy levels among women had declined slightly with the decline in home tuition, but among men had improved with the expectation that all young men from the lesser gentry up attended school.

For the lesser gentry and for the daughters of the nobility, a stay in another gentle household could provide a similar training at less cost ... The resort to private tutors

¹⁴ Houston 1988, 94-5

declined after the sixteenth century as landowning families began increasingly to send their sons to urban grammar schools and then university.¹⁵

In general, higher education was the province of those young men who could already read, if not write as well, and involved direct financial commitment. According to Houston, the late 1620s saw as many as 52% of the students coming from plebeian stock, but this was because universities were considered the major way for boys of humble background to enter the clergy. Apart from this type of preferment, university would not have been a means of social mobility, as the nobility tended not to attend.

Patterns of attendance at institutions of higher learning were, not surprisingly, dictated by the same social and economic forces which determined who might go to school. University attendance was largely the province of the middling and upper [middle] classes while the nature of the course studied and the general experience of university were dictated by social origins.¹⁶

A musician such as Matthew Holmes would have been doubly fortunate in being able to use his musical status in the church as an excuse to acquire or peddle scribal skills, and his proximity to the University of Oxford would also have afforded him the opportunity to obtain further education while earning his living. Dallis's pupil may have been in a similar position in Cambridge, and the state of his handwriting may be an indication of the uses to which he put it.

Throughout the renaissance, a situation of learning existed that was only faintly mirrored in the movement of migrant populations between Europe and the Americas in the early nineteenth century. With the rise in expectations of children, it was not unusual for parents to be illiterate but for their children to be able to read and sometimes to write, and to pass their skills on to the older generation rather than *vice versa*. Among the many characteristics of the renaissance was not simply a desire for learning, but also the desire to pass it on, giving rise to the publications of tutors of a wide variety of skills, some more obtuse than others, and ranging from dancing to writing.¹⁷

Broadly speaking, reading skills were the province of those who went to school (boys) and the addition of writing was limited to those who learned in the home, allowing the inclusion of girls. Though boys would have been taught from the age of seven, and would have started writing from 12, the age at which the girls learned would have been dependent on the age of the boys. Elizabethan home instruction favoured reading, religious instruction¹⁸ and writing before geometry, languages or accounting. The polarity of wealth and land ownership is reflected in the polarity of literacy. Literacy was intimately linked with social position and, unlike attendance at university, could be used to advance one's position, either socially or financially, and there were no barriers to learning the requisite skills at any time of life. The education of valued (or potentially valuable) retainers might be seen as an investment by an employer, and some servants may have attended classes with the children of the

¹⁵ Houston 1988, 92.

¹⁶ Houston 1988, 83.

¹⁷ The earliest ABC primers were published in Strasbourg in 1480.

¹⁸ Home tuition was particularly necessary in families of minority or oppressed religions. Thus for English Catholics, this form of schooling was the only one available to them.

household (where they would have had to learn without the attention the youngsters received) or have been educated separately in a more elementary manner.

Occupation is usually a reliable indicator of social position in the early modern period ... In the sixteenth century ... virtually all those who could read and write came from the landlord, mercantile or professional classes. The occupations and status groupings ... are based on the main divisions in economic function and wealth.¹⁹

It seems likely that musicians were uniquely privileged in their access to the skills of writing; it would certainly have benefited an employer to furnish a household servant who was also a musician with the necessary basic skills to write out music for other members of the family or household, just as a musician who could notate his music would have been a more employable artisan. There was also the advantage to the employer that a certain degree of loyalty could reasonably be expected of a retainer educated at their employer's expense that would not be expected of one who already had those skills, or who never acquired them.

The compilers of the lute books were for the most part from the upper classes and nobility if they were women, but from a slightly larger social range if they were men. Indubitably the better hands would have been written by those from a higher social class, though it is clear that it was not impossible for a professional musician to learn to write. Ultimately, though, the social class of the professional musician as a servant would preclude advanced writing skills, although those who raised their status either through the church or through having been 'gentlemen' to start with (rather than apprenticed artisans) could be expected to acquire a more respectable hand.

§LEARNING TO WRITE

With a large group of hands, the question of coincidental similarities arises. It is commonly—and not unreasonably—assumed that those hands that survive are only a tiny percentage of the tablature hands that were in use at the time; but even if this is the case, over 200 samples of scribes writing in French tablature are extant. All of these show well-defined and individual characteristics and even where isolated features match those in another hand, they are nearly all easily distinguished. One step in assessing how likely coincidental similarity might be, is an understanding of the manner of teaching handwriting to children or potential scribes, and what the likelihood was of two or more very similar hands evolving independently or deliberately.

In the twentieth century writing is a necessity and taken for granted despite relatively high levels of illiteracy in some areas. Very few of the literate population look closely at their use-hand as a work of art or real expression of their personality or moral outlook. The attitude is summed-up by Osley:

... handwriting - a subject much neglected, badly taught, badly practised. Some people regard it at best with polite toleration. For the late Richard Crossman, it was 'a useful method of taking notes or communicating and all I want for my children is

¹⁹ Houston 1988, 132-3.

that they are able to do it competently and clearly before they learn to type'. Others consider that it is already obsolete, superseded by the tape-recorder and typewriter ...²⁰

Nothing could be further from the ideal of renaissance man. To him, handwriting was a highly specialized tool, and one which he was proud and privileged to possess, as so few people did in any great degree. Despite the fact that throughout Elizabeth's and subsequent reigns literacy outside the church grew astonishingly fast, as late as 1650 handwriting was still mainly practised only by the professional classes and the nobility. On the whole, the surviving lutebooks written by women do not seem to originate with the nobility, and do not suggest any obvious connection with London, where literacy among women from classes below the nobility was highest. *Board* was probably partly written by Margaret during one of her family's stays there.

A child who showed particular aptitude in the skill of writing would have been treated much as an artistically gifted child would be today—he would, if possible, be sent to study further with a reputable writing master, with an eye to a career as a secretary—at that time a post which could become a stepping-stone to diplomatic or courtier status.

Giovan Francesco Cresci describes in detail how he considers a master should teach a pupil to write, and ends up giving a fairly comprehensive demonstration of teaching techniques.²¹ His pupils learned to write in a standing position, and were expected not only to be able to demonstrate the shapes of the letters on paper, but also to describe the formation of the letter verbally. In extremis, he suggests that the master should take the hand of the pupil and move it himself to form a letter that was causing problems. Cresci advocates a form of intensive personal tuition, though he notes in passing that some masters simply write out a model script and leave their pupils to copy it. Even with his concentrated attention to a single pupil, he considered that it took about 6 months of daily lessons before the student should be allowed even to dispense with ruled paper.

In reality, the practicalities of teaching meant that writing as a skill took considerably longer to acquire—sometimes up to three years, as it would most usually have been taught in groups. As it was a skill that had only recently become the province of the laity, and one acquired not only at considerable expense but also only after a great deal of effort on the part of the pupil, the ability to write was viewed as an art, and was treated as such. The rare servant who may have been taught to write would not have been offered the level of tuition of his master's wife or children, and would not have been expected to produce a hand with anything like their final polish. Even so, there were clearly distinctions between the various uses to which a pen could be put, dividing embellishment within the script from extraneous decoration:

... we are sometimes compelled to draw with our pens rather than write—for example, when we make the initial letters of the gothic scripts ...²²

²⁰ Osley 1980, 13.

²¹ Giovan Francesco Cresci: *Il Perfetto Scrittore* (Venice, 1569).

²² From Christopher Plantin: *La première et la seconde partie des dialogues françois pour les jeunes enfants*, Part II, Dialogue 9 (Antwerp, 1567) trans. Osley 1980, 223.

Here the implication is that although it was clearly appropriate and expected to spend time and energy in embellishing an already ornate formal script like gothic, it was probably not so usual in other scripts. Gothic hands have a strong tendency to be formalized and are rarely characterized in the same way as more personal hands such as secretary and italic. The difference between formal and other hands was clearly recognised by sixteenth-century teachers and scribes, and some of the modern terminologies are based on this division, rather than distinctions between the numerous scripts that would fall under either heading: for many paleographers, the term 'cursive' refers to any hand that is not 'formal', thus secretary is a cursive hand. This is not the case in the present discussion, where cursive is given its more modern meaning, applied to a particular script, and types of scripts are categorized as either formal or current.

Handwriting tutors stress not only the basic formation of letters, but also the philosophical necessity to develop an individual style and to make one's handwriting an expression of, not only good breeding, but also taste and elegance. Just as *Burwell* insists that 'it were better never to play of the lute than to play with an ugly hand',²³ many of today's slapdash hands would have remained unused rather than run the risk of being seen to the detriment of their writer. Cresci pens a diatribe against bad writing masters who, when they write,

... reveal to anyone who is watching them letters which are ragged, uneven, and shaky ... If they had any sense at all, it would be their duty not only to run away and hide themselves because of these faults and never let themselves be seen in the act of writing ...²⁴

He was not alone in his views. The following extract is taken from a printed French writing tutor of 1567:

... there are so many scrawlers about, who are only fit to cross out or scratch out what they have written. ... A good teacher, when handing out copies to his pupils, should ensure that they serve as examples not only of good handwriting, but also of learning to live a decent life. ... He starts with the letters of the alphabet and shows how to make the correct shapes for each of them ... We teach the pupil to make words from them, and then a whole line, and then two, three, four lines and more, according to the child's ability. ... [They shall learn to decorate and draw letters well] by copying the model which is given to them. They can ... teach themselves to make vigorous flourishes after they have mastered everything else and have acquired a light touch.²⁵

The same source lists 17 different named hands,²⁶ adding that there are 'a host of others' that it does not name, and indicating quite categorically that there are yet 'others that you can invent at will and name as you please'.²⁷ Even before attempting to teach 'vigorous flourishes', the tendency to elaborate is seen even in the model tables of John de Beaufort, one of which is given as example 32

²³ *Burwell*, 36v. The full passage is cited in Chapter 1, p.29.

²⁴ Cresci op.cit. trans. Osley 1980, 123.

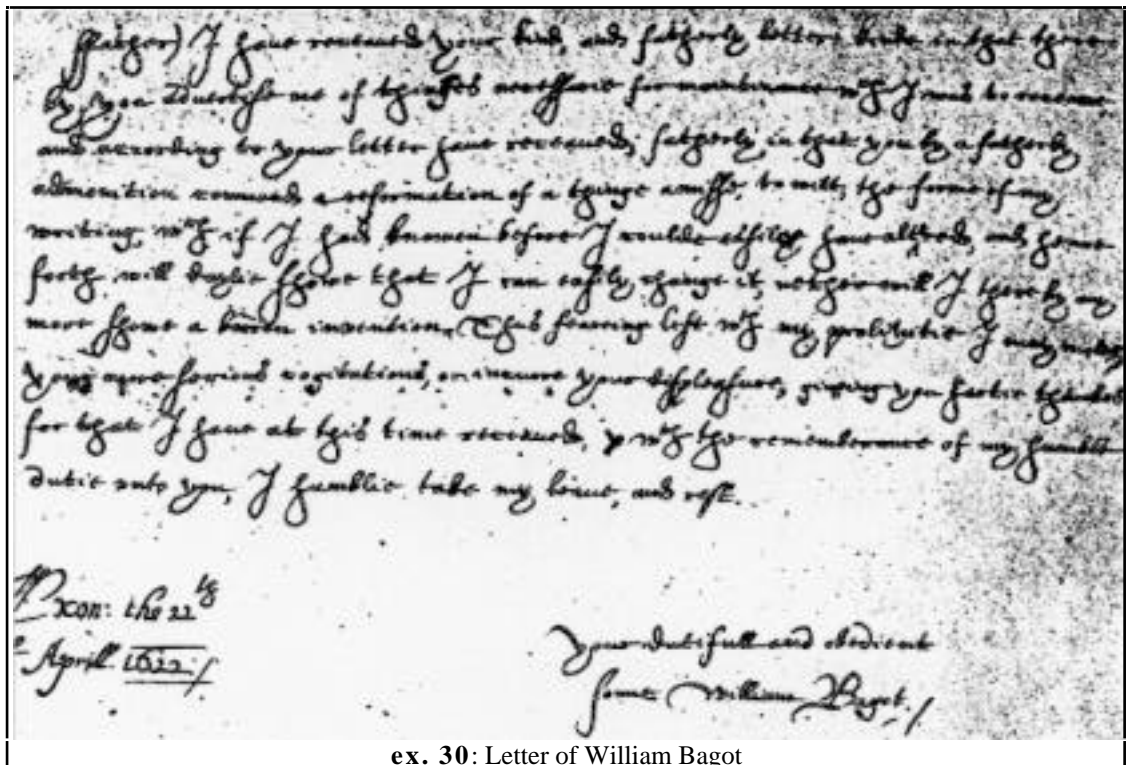
²⁵ Plantin op.cit. trans. Osley 1980, 224.

²⁶ *Lettre carrée, lettre ancienne, lettre d'état, lettre ronde, lettre de comptes, lettre de finances, lettre italique commune or ronde or d'exercice, lettre venecienne ronde or carrée, lettre pattée et droicte*, chancery letter, left handed [mirror writing], forward-sloping, bisected [cut horizontally by a white line running through the middle], backward-sloping and dog-toothed.

²⁷ Plantin op.cit. trans. Osley 1980, 224-5.

below. Despite the fact that the tables are intended to show only the basic letters, the 'g' at the beginning of the third line shows some of the initial stages of elaboration.

The importance placed on the individuality of the appearance of a current hand is illustrated by an extract from a letter written in 1622 by William Bagot, an Oxford student, to his father who had evidently complained that his handwriting lacked elegance and personality:



... according to your letter [I] haue receaued; fatherly in that you by a fatherly admonition command a reformation of a thinge amisse, to witt, the forme of my writing, which if I had knowen before I could e easily haue altered, and hence forth will daylie shoue that I can easily change it, ne[i]ther will I thereby any more shoue a barren invention.

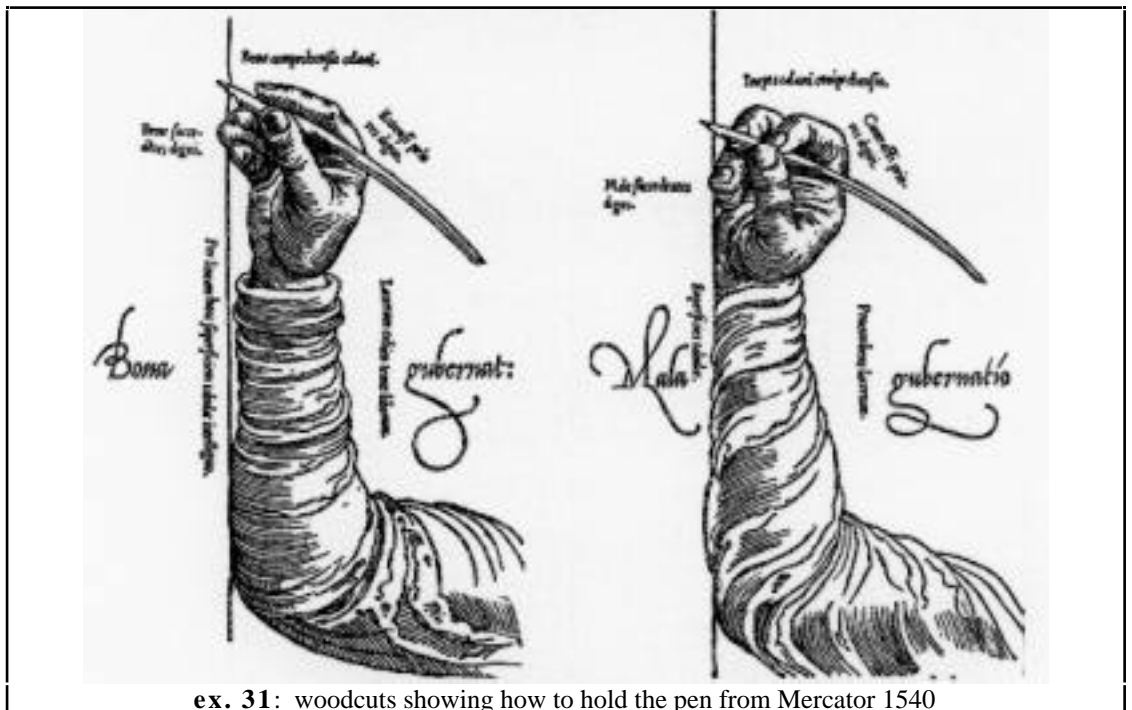
The importance the writer and his reader place on the appearance of the hand is emphasized in the desire to show innovation and originality, and the harsh description of William's invention as 'barren' gives some indication of how necessary his father considered it to be. Some secretary hands depart so far from the original model that they are almost impossible to decipher, though still somehow pleasing to the eye. As well as providing samples of fairly florid secretary hands from the beginning of the seventeenth century, letters written by members of the Bagot family also show that similarities in the writing of siblings was just as unusual as in any other circumstance.²⁸

The art of handwriting was in a dramatic state of flux in the years leading up to 1600. In many ways this reflected the growing desire for change, and the advances in modern thinking which characterize what has come to be known as the renaissance or the early days of modern history. From about 1620, it is possible to see in some English secretary hands a growing pretence for humanistic

²⁸ Dawson/Skipton 1981, 95 and 103.

simplicity and clarity which was not only effecting the gradual overall shift in preference among scribes from the secretary to the italic hand, but was also in turn influenced by it. Exaggerated ascenders and descenders begin to disappear, and shading becomes less pronounced partly due to the scribes now cutting a much narrower italic style nib.

Most of the writing tutors from this period are not in English, and those current in England usually came from Italy or France. The first printed one to be published in England was written by a Frenchman, John de Beauchesne, who had settled here in 1565.²⁹ Beauchesne's tutor appeared in 1570, but does not seem to have sparked off any rush of similar works. Self-education was becoming common in other fields, but the first truly native writing tutor to appear in England was Edmund Coote's *The Schoolmaster* (1596), from which the industrious student might teach himself both to read and write. Around 1585 the new chancery or Italian hand, now called italic, started insinuating itself noticeably into English scripts, heralding a gradual but eventually cataclysmic change in current and formal hands. At no point during the period 1550-1700 did handwriting cease to evolve, though the 30 years before and after 1600 seem to have been the most energetic.



ex. 31: woodcuts showing how to hold the pen from Mercator 1540

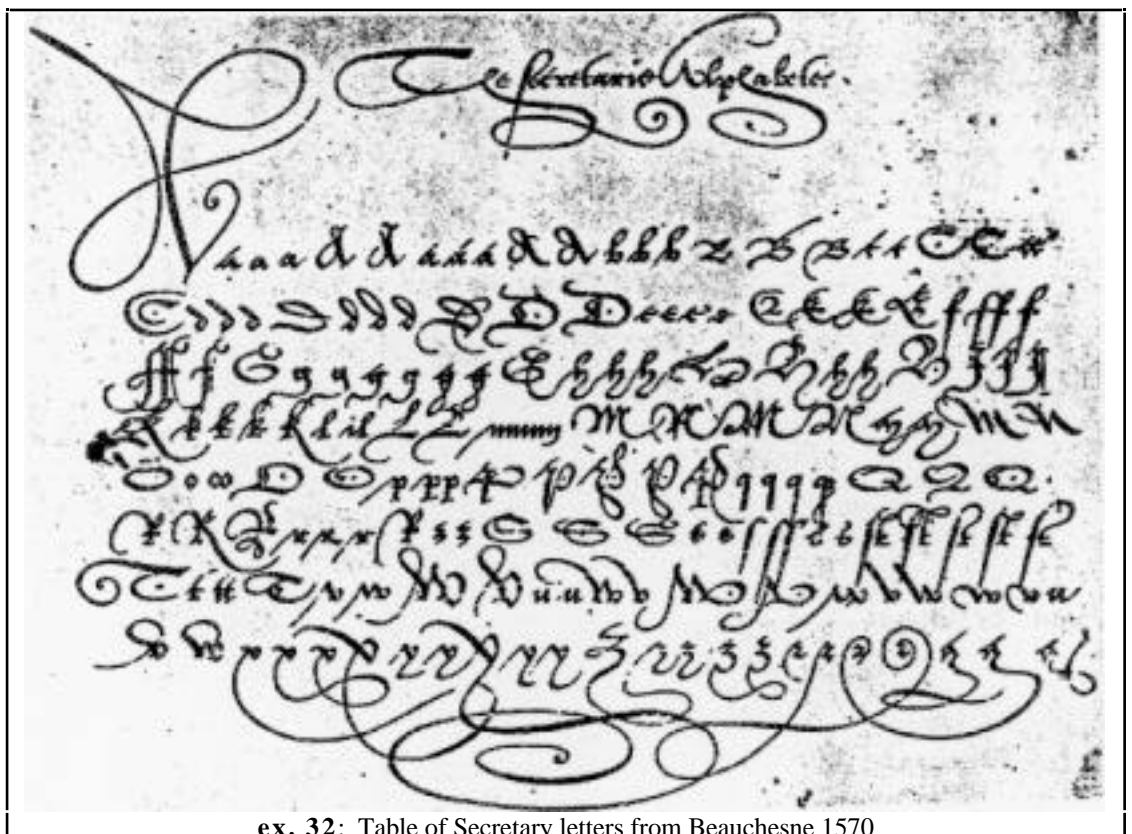
Tutors in any subject, and from virtually any period up to the 1800s, emphasized the philosophical aspect of their subject above all. In purely quantitative terms, the largest portion of any treatise was usually devoted to discussion of the importance of becoming proficient in the skill that was being offered, and of the admirable qualities of any person possessing it. In handwriting tutors, having provided the student with a model alphabet to copy and told him how to hold his pen, there was little else to do beyond exhorting him to cultivate originality, consistency, fluency and elegance.

²⁹ John de Beauchesne: *A Booke containing divers sortes of handes* (London, 1570)—Beauchesne 1570.

Originality was more than simply an idea. It was an ideal that seems to have been one of the most important, and closest to the heart of renaissance as opposed to medieval man. Cohen summarizes prevailing attitudes in France in the two decades before 1550 in his commentary on Rabelais, attitudes which must have been visibly more concrete by 1600 in England, despite the time-lag between emergent philosophy on the continent and its repercussions in England.

Rabelais is not concerned with individuals; he is not sufficient of a Renaissance man for that. What he draws is the picture of an age or, to be more exact, of a time when two ages overlapped, the new age of research and individualism, with which he was in intellectual sympathy, and the age of the fixed world-order, to which he owed emotional loyalty.³⁰

Individualism was a practice which had evolved around, and ideally suited the secretary hand rather than the increasingly popular italic, though some commentators have seen italic as equally suitable for embellishment. Example 32 illustrates the table of secretary letters from Beauchesne's book showing the very basic form of the alphabet. Example 33, from Gerardus Mercator, illustrates the italic hand, also called humanist or chancery, though chancery was a particular office hand and should more accurately be described as a form of italic.

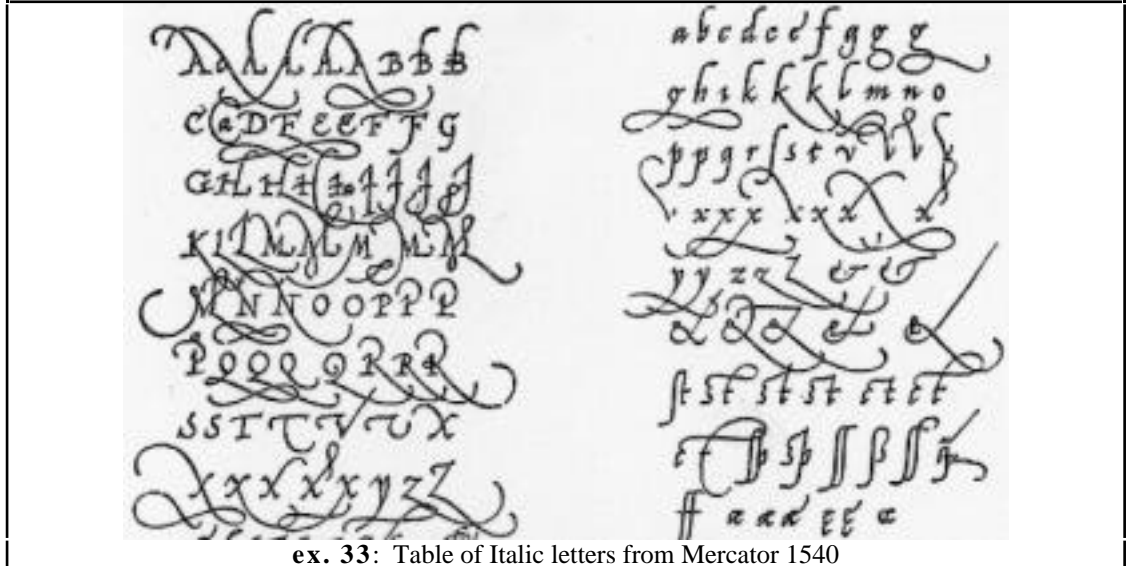


ex. 32: Table of Secretary letters from Beauchesne 1570

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that most scribes who wrote a secretary hand also practised italic, and both forms could be equally elegant or decorative. In the lute sources, italic was increasingly adopted as the tablature hand, being simpler in form, and therefore easier to read and

³⁰ François Rabelais, trans. J. M. Cohen: *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (London, 1955) translator's introduction, p.21.

quicker to write than secretary. Where the scribe had a command of both types of script, it is not unusual to find them employed for contrasting purposes: the tablature may be written in italic while the titles are in secretary, or *vice versa*.



ex. 33: Table of Italic letters from Mercator 1540

Richard Mynshall and Matthew Holmes are lute scribes who used italic or a hybrid italic for tablature, italic for titling, but also wrote a masterful secretary, demonstrated by Mynshall in scattered titles and in his index, and by Holmes in formal legal documents, but also—and perhaps more significantly—when he was taking quick notes. Obviously his secretary hand was more fluent and comfortable for quick work, and the more uniform practised hand when it came to formal work.

In the early years of the [seventeenth] century a professional scribe would be expected to write at least two hands, the native secretary and the imported italic. ... Those who used it [secretary] as their regular hand would often use italic for proper names and headings or interpolated passages that required to be distinguished in some way.³¹

An example of a literary scribe writing both hands equally well is seen in example 1 (p.xiii); the scribe—Thomas More—is offsetting text, translation and commentary, and exhibits an immaculate and elegant mastery of both hands, as well as an 'engrossing' hand (the large black script). The practice of more than one script was not unusual among professional scribes or those who spent some time writing as part of their work, since the need to offset different parts of a text from each other was often essential, regardless of its decorative aspects.

In order to learn to write a pupil, sometimes in a class of as many as 10, but just as frequently privately taught, was provided with a pen, ink and a model script to copy. His tutor also immediately began to instruct him in the technical aspects of the craft, namely preparing the paper, mixing ink and cutting his pen. In exceptional circumstances, a few tutors advocated allowing the student to write over letters if he was unable to master their formation in any other way. As well as his florid current hand, the writing master wrote an immaculate and largely featureless model hand from which the student learned his alphabet. Elegance and lightness of touch were also considered highly desirable traits:

³¹ Love 1993, 108.

lightness particularly was necessary, since a flowing script would not be possible if the pen was unable to move freely across the paper. Once these had been accomplished, a student was encouraged to develop individuality and add ornament, finally developing his own personal script.

There seems to be a certain amount of disagreement concerning the desirability of individuality that probably stemmed from the late impact of renaissance ideas in England. Although the Italian tutors emphasise its desirability, Martin Billingsley seems to dislike it, though this may have more to do with an antipathy toward the integration of separate scripts resulting in bastard forms. The difficulties in assessing the situation are summarised by Love:

The seventeenth century gave birth to a bewildering variety of hands. There is a widely accepted belief that the overall movement across the period was in this, as in other things (including upper-class dress), one from variety to conformity; but such a view is at best a half-truth. A more accurate model (again as in other things) would be one of repeated attempts to impose conformity subverted by new assertions of diversity.³²

In this subject at least, imitation was not the sincerest form of flattery. Rather, the sign of a good master was a group of students who showed diversity and individuality. Thus it seems that where there is a very close similarity between scribes, though it may be coincidental it is substantially more likely that it is not a coincidence at all, but a concordance.

§TOOLS

Just as a man who wishes to learn to play a musical instrument must also know how to tune it ... so for many reasons the student who aims to learn handwriting must know how to cut quills.
Ludovico Vincentino: *Il modo di Temperare le Penne*³³

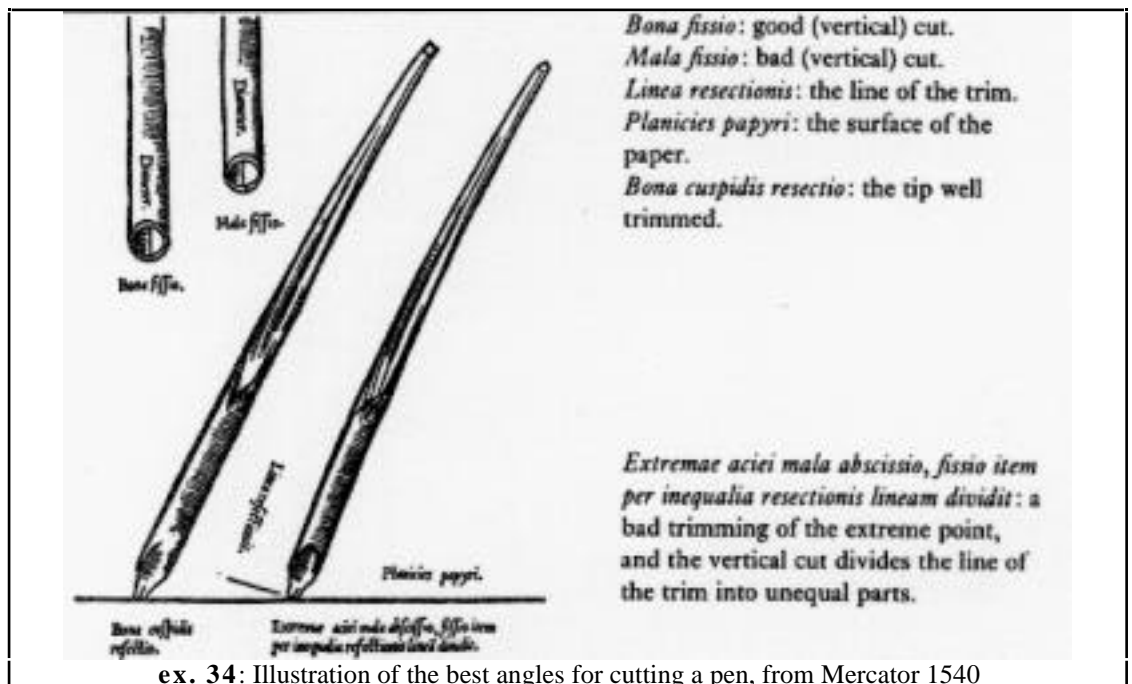
One of the factors which makes the identification of modern hands difficult, apart from the invention of the biro, is the invariability of mass-produced nibs. A modern steel nib lasts for many years, and is one of a batch of thousands. This problem does not exist when examining lute hands, since early modern scribes wrote with a quill, usually from a goose, and writers prepared their own quills in the same way as modern reed players will make their own reeds. Quills, being made from a fairly soft material, lose their hardness quite quickly, and can be easily damaged. The modern steel nib wears down very slowly to an angled tip which relates to the angle of the grip used by the writer. Modern nibs are always produced (except in the case of left-hand nibs) with a square tip, to which the writer has to accommodate his hand. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scribes cut and balanced their own pens specifically to suit their own hand, usually using a goose quill. Thus the width of the writing edge and its angle were cut to the degree which the scribe knew best suited the angle at which he held the pen, and would write most smoothly without catching on the fibres of the paper, obviating the necessity for any compromise in his hand. Whereas the steel nib is resilient enough to last some years, the quill, if even moderately well-used, would have to be replaced frequently—usually daily if it was heavily used—as its softening would affect the appearance of the hand, and gradually make it less usable, and less

³² Love 1993, 108.

³³ (Venice, c1525) trans. Osley 1980, 79.

reliable in holding the ink and facilitating an even flow. It was possible to buy bundles of ready-cut quills that could either be used as they were or adjusted to suit the scribe's hand.

If the writer tended to lean heavily he would be unlikely to want a very hard quill which would catch on the fibres of the paper and damage the writing surface as he wrote, hampering the fluency of the hand. Quills were hardened in hot sand, and the length of time they spent being heated and the number of times the process was repeated affected their hardness, as did the thickness of the original membrane. Apart from this, the shape of the writing point and the type, if any, of the ink reservoir was entirely up to the prospective writer, who would cut a nib which best suited his hand and the available quill.



ex. 34: Illustration of the best angles for cutting a pen, from Mercator 1540

Writers like Jane Pickeringe, Margaret Board, Henry Sampson and Margaret L. had clearly been carefully taught to a significant level of mastery in writing, and would certainly have taken sufficient pride in their hand to eschew the use of off-the-peg pens, considering the correct cutting of the nib integral to their script. Ready-made pens required additional work to ensure their suitability for the scribe, and these were the type of people who would have had time to embrace the niceties of writing. On the other hand, scribes like Richard Mynshall, Richard Allison³⁴ and John Dowland, from a lower class—and working people—would probably have had little time to spare for the fiddly business of trimming nibs; they would have bought their pens in standard bundles and used them just as they came. This would be apparent from the scripts these two classes of lute scribes wrote: the first group (cutting their own pens) display elegant and highly consistent hands, while the hands of the second group (using rough-cut pens) are rarely consistent, and often so irregular as to make them difficult to identify even within a single source.³⁵

³⁴ See Chapter 7 §Mynshall and Swarland and §Richard Allison.

³⁵ See Chapter 7 §Richard Allison.

The contemporary experts seem to differ in the amount of instruction they consider necessary to give a pupil to enable him to cut a good pen for himself, but all agree as to the necessity of a pupil learning this skill, and the fact that it was an intimate part of writing, not a peripheral option. Ludovico Vincentino considered it 'an essential part of ... handwriting' and important enough to devote an entire booklet to the subject.³⁶ He describes in precise detail how to prepare the feather, on which plane to cut, the angles of the various cuts and the precise length of each, concluding with a discussion on the merits and effects of dividing the tip to suit the touch of the writer.

Since professional scribes, or those who spent much of their time writing, would usually have more than one use hand, a different type of nib would be required for the different scripts. Italic required a narrower and more flexible nib than secretary, and some italic hands written with a secretary pen can look clumsy and childish despite the more experienced appearance of the scribe's other scripts.³⁷ It was not uncommon for adults to learn a new hand, as a new job might require the incumbent to practise a particular office hand. If a scribe changed the type of pen he was using, then although the duct and unconscious features would remain essentially the same, his actual surface style could look radically different.³⁸

Modern pens generally provide an internal reservoir of ink which ensures an even flow for many lines of writing. The early modern scribe would have had to dip every few words, more or less frequently as his size of writing and pen demanded. The frequency of dip would become habitual so that the pen did not dry out unexpectedly, and this is the type of unconscious factor that very rarely alters in the hand of a scribe, even when that writer is taking deliberate pains to alter his hand.

§TYPES OF SCRIPT

The scripts common between about 1550 and 1650 are listed in the glossary of terms³⁹ with examples of each hand in current and tablature use. Although the terminology is basically drawn from medieval paleography, the titles given to each script are particular to this study, since scholars in different areas of this discipline take different meanings from terms such as cursive, secretary or gothic.

The ubiquitous medieval English script was the gothic book hand.⁴⁰ It was a square and ornate hand resembling the script which developed from handwriting used about 1200 for glossing (writing commentaries in the margins of texts), and was characterized by distinct and strong shading, numerous small otiose strokes on the corners of the lobes, and by the angular basic shape of lobe and minim. Texts written in this script are often highly compressed, closely spaced and full of abbreviations, giving little scope for personal style. The similarities between gothic hands bear witness to this effect. In lute tablature, which evolved more than 100 years after the gothic book hand, and where spacing between

³⁶ Vincentino op.cit.

³⁷ Richard Mynshall used an Italic hand for the ascriptions to his lute pieces and a secretary for the index to the book. The secretary shows a neat and well-formed hand, while the Italic, probably written at the same time, looks considerably more clumsy, possibly because it appears to have been written with the same pen.

³⁸ See Chapter 7, §Richard Allison.

³⁹ See Glossary, pp.vx-xviii.

⁴⁰ See Glossary, p.xvii.

letters is much greater than when the script is used in a text, the scope for ornamentation and personal style is greatly increased. By the middle of the sixteenth century, though, the hand is more precisely a secretary with strong gothic overtones. Gothic scripts always use the old form of the letter 'e' with two strokes, one above the other, and both curving in the same direction, similar to a modern letter 't'. Although the 'e' survived long after the rest of the script, gothic hands had all but disappeared by 1600.

The commonest Elizabethan current hand was the secretary.⁴¹ It developed from Gothic script and was well established by 1525. In 1618, Martin Billingsley wrote that:

the *Secretary* ... is so tearmed ... partly because it is the Secretaries common hand; and partly also, because it is the onely vsuall hand of England, for dispatching of all manner of bu[si]nesses of the most part, whatsoever.⁴²

By 1650 it was well on the way to extinction, and by 1700 it had vanished altogether as a distinct hand. Secretary had far more scope for idiosyncrasies than other scripts, though it can be highly formalized in the uniformity of the letter shapes. Its extinction was due to contamination from more fluid and less complex hands. Early forms of the secretary use versions of the gothic 'e', and this is the correct form for a pure secretary, but by 1600 most were making use of the italic form.

Italic script had predominantly oval shaped letters.⁴³ One of the characteristics of the hand is the distinctive shading caused by using a wide nib. The hand frequently develops a slant to the right, and the rounded arches of minim shapes such as 'm' and 'n' have a tendency to become pointed, the upstroke becoming a diagonal connecting stroke. Its simplicity and the resulting speed of writing make it usual for all the letters to be formed with the absence of pen-lifts, and the result is always neat and elegant. It was the most important of the hands that existed side by side with the Secretary, gaining increasing popularity from 1580, and many lute scribes seem to have been equally skilled in either. Martin Billingsley, as late as 1618, described it rather disparagingly in the following way:

it is conceiued to be the easiest hand that is written with the Pen, and to be taught in the shortest time: Therefore it is vsually taught to women, for as much as they (hauing not the patience to take any great paines, besides phantasticall and humorsome) must be taught that which they may instantly learne⁴⁴

Italic was considered a prestigious hand from the time it was introduced into England, and was used for many documents presented to royalty or the nobility. But its use seems to have been double-edged, since its legibility and simplicity made it the preferred hand of the semi-literate and functionaries.

Court hands⁴⁵ were usually cursive, having grown out of a need for speed in the business of court and government, and tend to date from later in the seventeenth century than most of the hands under discussion. The Common Pleas, Exchequer and Pipe Office hands grew from this root, developed by those offices, and were required to be learned by their clerks. Flowing, joined and often inclined to the right, the emphasis is on fluidity of motion.

⁴¹ See Glossary, p.xv.

⁴² Martin Billingsley: *The Pens Excellencie* [1618] cited in Dawson/Skipton 1981, 8.

⁴³ See Glossary, pp.xv-xvi.

⁴⁴ cited in Dawson/Skipton 1981, 10.

⁴⁵ See Glossary, pp.xvi-xvii.

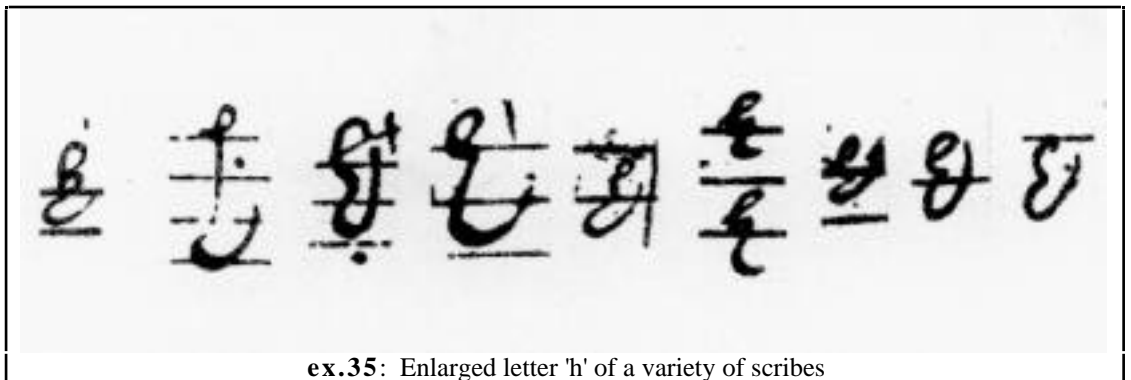
Pure scripts in lute tablatures are fairly unusual, since by this time pure scripts were fairly unusual in any situation, and a scribe would often simply take the quickest or most comfortable version of each letter. Thus one script became contaminated by another and a 'bastard' form resulted. Lute scribes who write a secretary tablature hand frequently use the italic form of the letters 'e' and 'c', and pure secretary hands in tablatures are very rare.

In lute manuscripts samples of current writing can appear to differ widely from either the tablature hand or the hand the scribe uses for ascriptions because the scribe may use a formal hand for titles which is completely different from that employed as his current hand.

§EXAMINING LUTE SCRIBES

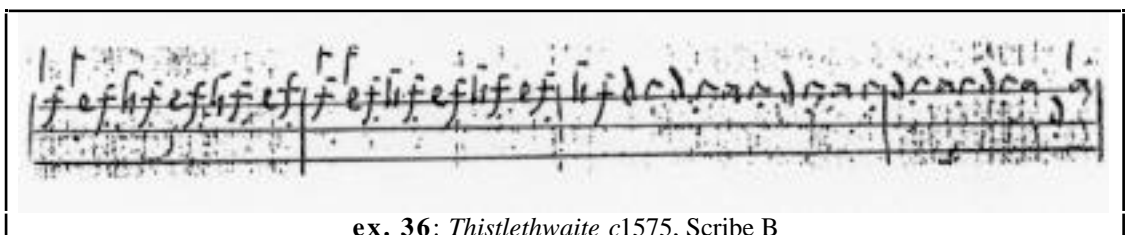
There are five main areas that come under consideration when examining the handwriting of lute scribes: the type of pen and nib, the shapes of the flags, the shapes of the letters, the hand used for titles or ascriptions, and the intended purpose of the preserved repertory. To these are added information regarding the paper or papers on which the scribe is known to have written and a probable or even precise date for any of the sources in which his activity is evident. The reliability of information concerned with the dating of manuscripts is discussed in the following chapters.

Magnification of single letters or chords has proved in many cases the final arbiter where two scribes cannot be separated, or where a concordance remains in doubt. Example 35 shows letters from several scribes that have been magnified a number of times, thus making the peculiarities of each hand more pronounced.



ex.35: Enlarged letter 'h' of a variety of scribes

As well as examining the slant, shape, width and composition of individual letters, flags and bar-lines, the weight of the scribe's hand is usually evident through various contributing factors that are visible in the finished writing. Example 36 is by a scribe who uses heavy pressure with a hard nib, often causing the fibres of the paper to be lifted:

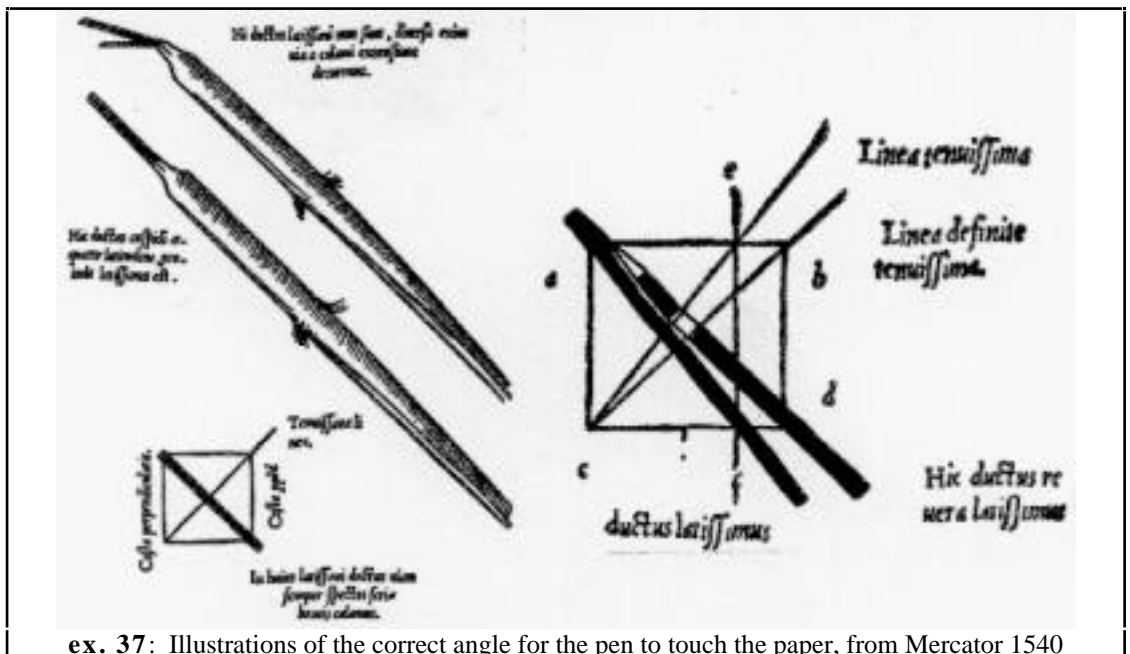


ex. 36: *Thistlethwaite* c1575, Scribe B

Apart from making the paper appear ragged, this also prevents Scribe B from forming evenly curved strokes, and the result here is letters composed of very straight strokes which do not join up because they have become fouled by scraped-up paper fibres. The letters are thus not only square, but also 'open' in forms where they should ideally be closed (for example: a, b and d).⁴⁶

As well as damage to paper fibres, pressure can be calculated by the density of ink in the writing, and can be discerned by examining the width of the line, whether the nib splays, how pronounced the shading is if there is any. Paper quality is also a factor in judging the weight of a hand, as fibres may be scraped up with the lightest of touches if the surface has not been properly finished.

Placing heavy pressure on a soft nib causes the two sides of the nib to splay through a stroke, so that each grapheme has a bulbous shape, narrowing at the beginning and end of the stroke, and widening—sometimes dramatically—in the middle. Splaying of the nib also prevents rounded strokes in a way that is facilitated by an un-splayed nib, so the overall letters will again appear 'square' although the strokes are more likely to join up than in a heavy hand with a hard nib.



ex. 37: Illustrations of the correct angle for the pen to touch the paper, from Mercator 1540

The ideal slant of the pen advocated by the treatises places the thickest and thinnest stroke at opposite angles of 45° to the horizontal.

These variations are added to the basic differences in the model of each scribe, and the results are usually easily distinguishable from one another. It is almost unknown in this period to find two different scribes with exactly similar hands: I have not been satisfactorily able to do so, and among literary paleographers, the usual and safer course is to assume that hands which are extremely similar belong to the same scribe.

⁴⁶ Many of John Ward's discussions of handwriting seem to be based on the erroneous premise that the neater and more fluent a hand looked, the more likely it was to have belonged to a professional lutenist. As can be seen from the comparison of young amateurs such as the group including Margaret Board and Jane Pickering with hands by professionals like John Dowland and Matthew Holmes, both concerned more with speed than with elegance, the opposite is far more likely to be the case.

The systems of flagging in lute sources are also described in the glossary, and the terminology is clarified by making use of Fuhrmann's description of tablature flagging in his *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* (1615). Infrequently, scribes use two types of flagging, but this is rare. A possible explanation for a scribe changing between *mensura gallica* and *germanica*, such as is seen in *Board* and *Sampson*, is that the scribe may be copying from an exemplar which uses a different flagging system from his own. In *Sampson*, Scribe B changes from a system of rhythm-change flagging⁴⁷ to one of continuous flagging on f.11r, for no immediately apparent reason. It may be that the scribe found the rhythm more complicated here, and put in continuous flags to ensure that he played it correctly.

Bar-lines are a habitual part of a hand, and a scribe rarely thinks about how he draws them. The stroke used for straight vertical lines within the script frequently does not match the downward stroke of the bar-lines, which often employs a new grip to the one used for the script, and frequently will also show a slight bowing of the stroke caused by the way the scribe supports his hand when writing. The way one scribe re-aligns his pen for drawing bar-lines is very rarely repeated by another scribe, and the combination of the angle of the pen used for the script and its subsequent re-alignment are as distinctive as a signature. Hold signs are also habitual and seem to be an integral part of the duct that is not changed by influence or experience. Either the scribe always uses them, or never. Even if a secondary scribe with influence over the primary such as a teacher who uses hold signs habitually, adds them to a pupil's copying, the pupil does not take up the practice of using them himself, nor does there seem to be evidence that he may add them to his battery of signs. The same is not true of grace signs, whose use can vary from piece to piece.⁴⁸ It is possible that hold signs were more often used by teachers than pupils, though the evidence of the books does not give any clear support to the idea.

In examining a pair of scribes the comparison of identical chords is far more revealing than single letters, since the way a scribe writes groups of letters will be far more idiosyncratic than the way he handles single ones. In a simple text hand a parallel to this practice would be in comparing words common to both samples, and the equivalent in tablature is the recurrence of specific chords.

Some scribes always use the same terminations for the end of a piece, and some, quite clearly, do not. Some on the other hand use the same termination for one period of their copying, and then change to another style. This is one of the few purely decorative aspects of the scribe's work, and can sometimes almost become a paraph. Terminal flags or fermate may also become something of a 'signature' but are more difficult to prove as fermate do not offer a great deal of scope for scribal idiosyncrasies. Repeat marks were also less formalized than they have become today, and can have quite a large range of types from the simple line with dots, to a more decorative pattern, sometimes including the word *bis* or a figure '2'.

Highly idiosyncratic hands such as the scribe in example 38 are very rare before about 1640. This scribe has developed a distinctive 'e', though a similar form appears in some late seventeenth-century French manuscripts.

⁴⁷ See Glossary, p.xxv.

⁴⁸ See *Myntshall*, *Board*, *Ballet*, *Hirsch* and other sources.

Courante


2

ex. 38: Scribe of the Hender Roberts lute book

The overall layout or duct is the most important aspect of any hand—the complete appearance and the habits of the scribe are far more revealing than isolated letters: letters that look similar at first often prove not to be so when the examination steps back from details. A scribe has a certain expectation of how a page of tablature should look—he may prefer to have the page looking clean, uniform and spacious as in the work of Henry Sampson in example 39.

ex. 39: From the hand of Henry Sampson, c1610.
Note the white space between the bottom of the stave and the top of the flags

or he may prefer to cover the paper, leaving no obvious white space as in example 40.

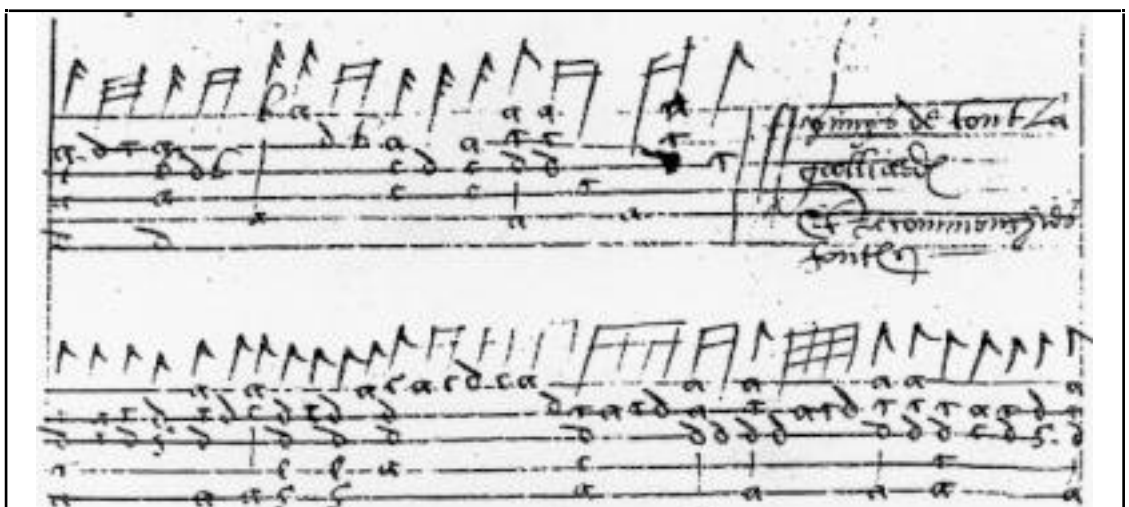


ex. 40: from the hand of Margaret Board. The scribe not only fills the white space, but also allows the flags to overlap the staff above

Margins may be important to the scribe and carefully observed by keeping extraneous matter such as titles within the confines of a self-imposed block as the scribe of example 41 has done by confining the title within the margins of the staves, leaving a clean border around each page of music.

How each piece is displayed on the page, whether the last bar would be squeezed in or put on a new line, what line-extensions look like if they are used, whether lines always end with a complete bar or not, whether extra staves have been drawn in at the foot of the page, and how a scribe corrects his own mistakes have their own place in a hierarchy when examining a hand.

The examination of the slant of the hand applies not simply to the overall duct, but to each separate component which comprises the hand. The barlines, for instance, may show a different slant from the tablature letters, and the titles may have a different slant again.



ex. 41: *Stowe389*, the hand of Raphe Bowle, 1558. The title on the first line remains within the hand-drawn margins here, though other scribes do not always define their limits so clearly.

A hand can change with the age of the scribe, and may be affected by the onset of arthritis or failing eyesight, or may become more mature if the original sample was written by a young scribe.

The speed at which a sample is written can affect—sometimes drastically—the overall duct, and angulation particularly becomes more pronounced as the speed of writing increases. Jane Pickeringe's hand slants increasingly to the right as the book (*Pickeringe*) progresses and she writes faster. For the most part in these manuscripts, the music is written by amateur scribes, often petty gentry or their sons and daughters. They are not concerned with speed as were the scribes of professionally copied texts such as biblical commentaries, but are copying music for their own use and have a different set of priorities in copying. Most amateur scribes take a great deal of care when copying, since they had the leisure time to do so, and they may have wanted to display their ability to write just as much as to make a book which would be pleasing to own and use, though even the neatest copying can be corrected by the master who set the work.⁴⁹ Care in preparation is typical of many forms of pastime practised by the leisured classes, and is reflected in many forms of surviving literature and handcraft, such as quilting or the sewing of samplers. On the other hand, the occurrence of a professional scribe who takes particular care with the appearance of his book is fairly rare.

The assumption is very common that a neat and uniform hand must have been written by a master, even though there are numerous examples available to disprove this theory. Many scholars still advance this theory,⁵⁰ despite samples of John Dowland's hand and that of Richard Mynshall, both professional musicians, whose tablature hands are two of the untidiest in the repertory.

Fingering indications vary far less than grace signs during this period, and can generally be described very simply. Usually a scribe either uses all the fingering signs available to him, or none at all. Scribes who use only one sign are relatively rare. Graces on the other hand are usually the province of a single scribe who has invented or devised them to represent the embellishments that they commonly use. There are only three or four commonly used signs that appear in lute tablature, and a veritable cornucopia of others that were only used by single scribes. These are discussed in Chapter 6. Graces are by no means reliable as a means of identifying scribes. Most copying is precisely that: the exact reproduction of an exemplar and no more. Graces and other performing indications are added by the scribe or teacher at the playing stage, and if they appear in the exemplar they are likely to be transmitted intact by a future copyist. A scribe who normally heavily graces his music will not necessarily grace every source in which he copies, but is likely to do so only in sources from which he expects to play.

Secondary scribes may provide a further source of information to link or disprove apparent links between two manuscripts. If the compilation of a manuscript is shared in any way by more than one scribe, then none of those scribes can be considered in isolation.

Table 16 provides an outline methodology for examining scribes. Apart from minutiae, the overall duct remains the most important single aspect of scribal identification, since many of these minor features can change or be changed by the scribe.

⁴⁹ e.g. in *Sampson*: Scribe A corrected by scribe B (?Richard Allison), and *Board*: corrected by John Dowland.

⁵⁰ e.g. Arthur Ness in the preface to Ward/Ness 1989.

TABLE 16
IDENTIFYING LUTE SCRIBES

General:

The identity of the scribe and his/her dates of birth and activity where known are all taken into account in addition to the foregoing material, as is any dating available for the manuscript(s) in question. Information regarding the binding, paper and ruling or printing of the staves with their measurements may also be relevant where this affects the scribe's hand or duct. A scribe may also habitually use one type of ruling.

PEN:

- i Width of nib.
- ii Flow of ink, blotting.
- iii Hardness of nib.
- iv Angle of grip.
- v Pressure of writing.
- vi Overall consistency in type of nib.
- vii Ink: colour and consistency, any impurities.

FLAGS:

- i Flagging System: *mensura germanica* or *gallica*, single flags or continuous, internal consistency.
- ii Shape of note heads, white and black notes where used.
- iii Where on the stems the single stroke beams come.
- iv Slant.
- v Multiple Strokes: group and single. Where on the stems do the beams start, and are they single or joined? Do the beams cross the stems, or are they neater? Is the whole flag drawn in one pen-stroke?
- vi Do the stems extend upwards or downwards into the staves, or are they confined to the white space between them?
- vii Dots: where are they in relation to the flags—any distinguishing features in placing or drawing?
- viii Are the flags all on one level, or do they dip up and down with the tablature notes?
- ix Distinguishing features: shape of the top of the flag, terminal flourishes, shape of joins if multiple strokes are joined. Does the multiple beam stroke return to the stem with each extra beam?
- x Speed of drawing stroke: fast/medium/slow.
- xi Rhythmic accuracy.

Bar-Lines:

- i Slant—and comparison to flags and letters.
- ii Are the strokes within the system or overlapping?
- iii Are the strokes straight and consistent?
- iv Speed of drawing stroke.
- v Insertions—what method does the scribe use to indicate and insert missing notes or whole bars?

Terminal Bars

- i Is the scribe using a single style of double bar?
- ii Is there a habitual sign for section ends as well as full closes?
- iii Use of a distinctive fermata.

LETTERS:

- i Style model (ie: Italic/Secretary/Court)—are there exceptions or contaminations to this model, are the forms internally consistent within the sample?
- ii Position in relation to system lines.
- iii Slant—and comparison to bar-lines and flags.
- iv Distinctive flourishes or particular letters which are a feature of the hand.
- v Corrections.
- vi Pitch and placing of letters in relation to other letters and bar-lines.
- vii Do all letters have the same minim size?
- viii Do higher letters lose consistency in size and shape?
- ix Descenders on h and g—where do they curve towards at termination?
- x k—direction of terminal stroke.
- xi Does the f resemble the flag shape for a semiquaver?
- xii Do all the letters close round where they are meant to?
- xiii Deviations from model formation: a b f h k l m—all one stroke. c d e g i—two strokes.
- xiv Possible occupation or age of the scribe, based on the overall appearance and speed/accuracy of writing. (i.e.: does the copyist appear to be a professional scribe, is the hand very immature, could problems in letter formation be due to age or an unfamiliar script, could the scribe be using the source as a notebook to jot down ideas, as in the case of some fragments (see Chapter 3)?)
- xv Added text—Additions made to the work of one scribe by another, such as corrections, hold signs, and graces. Also considered here are any intrusions which the scribe under examination may have made into the work of another scribe.

xvi	Alignment strokes—lines drawn to align simultaneous notes which are separated by several lines on the tablature.
TITLES:	
i	Model script.
ii	Neatness and consistency.
iii	Quantity and accuracy of information.
iv	Same hand as music/corrections/graces.
v	Scribal paraphs, colophons, and holographs.
PLAYER/SCRIBE:	
Lute:	
i	Number of courses.
ii	Tuning(s) used.
iii	Bass course tunings if used.
Graces:	
i	Which ones are used, and is their interpretation clear, are they graces in use by other scribes?
ii	Neatness, accuracy of placing.
iii	Consistency of usage.
iv	Written in the same hand as music/titles or not.
Fingering	
i	How much is indicated.
ii	Is it consistently indicated in the same situations?
Overall Information:	
i	Quantity and reliability in either the accuracy of the music or the ascriptions.
ii	Does the type and quality of the information reflect the purpose of the source?
iii	Anything extraneous to the basic understanding of the music.
iv	His reasons for writing.
Overall hand or duct:	
i	The weight of the writing.
ii	Paper quality related to hand weight—whether fibres have been lifted by the nib.
iii	Overall appearance—shake/wobble, consistency in formation/size.
iv	Consistency in slant.
v	General size in relation to other hands.
vi	Hold signs—these are not ornaments, but part of the duct of the hand.
vii	Do lines always end with a full bar?
viii	Does the scribe write within a notional block, or does he write right to the edges of the page?
ix	Does he always remain within the confines of the ruled staff, or does he extend lines to complete bars?
x	Does he calculate the space required for each piece accurately?
xi	Display: are there any purely decorative elements?
Slant or angulation	
i	Overall direction of slant.
ii	Exceptions to the overall slant
SECONDARY SCRIBES:	
i	Information provided about the primary scribe by the presence of a known secondary hand. (John Dowland appears to have taught Margaret Board, as he wrote one piece into the Margaret Board Lute Book, and corrected her copying.)
ii	When comparing two hands, do any of the secondary scribes associated with the hand under consideration appear in other sources, associated in the same way?

CHAPTER 5
DATING LUTE MANUSCRIPTS I:
Material evidence

*

RECORDED DATES, DATEABLE MARGINALIA

BINDING, FORMAT

WATERMARKS

MUSIC PAPER, RULING

*

THE EXAMINATION OF THE PHYSICAL and bibliographical features of a manuscript is essentially directed towards discovering a single piece of information, its date, either actual or approximate. From this basis grow most of the assumptions and conclusions about the manuscript and its music, but without it, even speculation on some facts is pointless. Hardly surprisingly, this can be the most controversial element in any discussion of a source, since the original compiler or owner could not foresee the need for recording this information. The contents of music manuscripts from this period, in common with some literary sources, are never representative of a single period of musical activity, and the lute sources particularly are frequently also not reliably representative of any single short period of copying or composition. Thus there is sometimes an extreme discrepancy between the overall date of the repertory that a source contains and the date when it was copied. Some features will be more readily dateable in some sources than in others, but in order to examine any repertory as a whole, the same dating criteria must be applied to all sources. In examining the sources, therefore, only one date is likely to be both obtainable and of any interest as regards the source itself, and this is the date of copying. John Ward tends to date sources by the repertory they preserve, even when that leads to a date spanning (for instance) 30 years, and even when the scribe has indicated the date of copying (e.g. *Dallis*); while Spencer takes the repertory into account in dating, but also examines every other feature of the book and assigns a date that represents the period of activity of the scribe(s) and thus the compilation of the book, giving each book a context as a historical entity and allowing an assessment of the relative popularity of certain types of music throughout the history of music written for the instrument.¹

¹ Many of the more significant sources have a number of dates assigned to them, depending on the author of the various studies in which the book is mentioned. *Marsh* was dated c1580 by Lumsden, c1585-95 by Diana Poulton, 1570-1610 by John Ward and c1595 by Robert Spencer. Only the last of these is likely to be truly representative of the actual date of the source: Lumsden worked to some extent from guesswork backed up with less information than is available now, Poulton dated by specific pieces and Ward by repertory and handwriting. *Dallis* has had a similarly confusing array of dates assigned to it: Ward's date of 1565-1580 seems to be at odds with the scribe's own statement that the book was begun in 1583, but Lumsden uses the scribe's date only. In addition to the scribe's statement of the start of his copying period, the fact that some music was clearly copied from a 1584 continental print suggests that a date of 1583-5 would be far more representative as an indication of the period of the book's compilation.

The discussion below deals with some elements of dating manuscripts that are specific to the lute repertory (though their relevance may be wider) and their application to, and effect on, the dating of particular lute sources. The emphasis is on the date of the copying activity, not such single elements as the date of the paper, of the binding or the date of specific parts of the repertory it contains. As will be seen, the date of the composition of the music itself is often irrelevant to the activity of the scribe.

When deducing an overall eventual date for any manuscript it is usually possible to get within about 5 years, so a manuscript can be c1595 because it is clearly later than 1590 and earlier than 1600. Other manuscripts that have been dated over a less specific period such as c1590-1605 generally span a long period because their contents were added over some time, and not because their compilation is so nebulous that it cannot be dated with any degree of accuracy. Lumsden found the problems of accurate and defensible dating of his sources almost insurmountable, and often discarded vital evidence when it did not correlate with other apparent indications. He comments that,

Many problems confuse and confound every attempt to place the sources ... in any exact order of compilation. In most cases direct information of a sort calculated to show provenance or date is entirely lacking. Even those sources about which some fact of this kind is known resist attempts to place them precisely.²

Although the problems can be as intractable as Lumsden found, they are frequently not nearly as insurmountable as they appeared to him at that time, and even the evidence he discusses indicates that he made heavy weather of dating some sources that were not so problematic. Scientifically there have been considerable advances both in the methodologies employed to examine sources, and in the tools available as aids. Research in the intervening years has also changed quite radically our knowledge of sources that Lumsden did not believe could be explored any further:

... the four main Cambridge manuscripts are known to have been part of Archbishop Moore's collection and deposited in the University Library in 1714, but there can be little hope of discovering at this late date their whereabouts over a century earlier ...³

Research from the 1960s and 70s has, however, uncovered a wealth of information about the copyist and these manuscripts, and has facilitated a very accurate chronology for most of them. Lumsden undoubtedly underestimated the effect his own work would have on future scholarship, and the response by scholars to the groundwork that he provided in first attempting to examine all the sources as a whole as well as individually.

The scientist, when attempting to validate a theory, will first establish a hypothesis and then attempt to prove or disprove it. This system does not work when dating lute manuscripts. Too many sources of information can be ambiguous to the extent that the evidence can be manipulated to suit a preconceived idea; in this case, the date. Preconceptions, on the whole, are not inclined to alter when faced with facts. Those familiar with the sources and with Lumsden's approach (to establish an approximate date by 'feel' and then look for the evidence to support it) can unwittingly follow Lumsden's method. In some cases, this has led to a certain manipulation of evidence to support the

² Lumsden 1957A, 30.

³ Lumsden 1957A, 30.

date that seems most likely and the resulting repudiation of any inconsistencies that arise. It would be incorrect to state that no manuscripts are free from atypical factors, but it is all too easy to discard them when they do not support the evidence that points to the preconceived date, and even indicate that it is wrong. There is usually a path, and thus a date, that reconciles all the disparate factors, eliminating or embracing anomalies, and it is this path which has to be approached by degrees in which the date of the source is absolutely the last factor to be proposed.

Though it is useful and in some cases desirable to categorize the methods of dating and deal with each separately, the area of each category inevitably involves a certain amount of overlap with others. The most significant overlap, however, is to be found between the original purpose of the manuscript (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) and every other area of review. This is particularly true when attempting to date a source by the repertory it contains, but frequently also qualifies any other evidence.

The methods of dating explored below can be divided into two categories, material and implied. Material evidence includes anything that can be discovered through the immediate physical examination of the source: watermarks; binding (though both of these can turn out to be disappointingly vague); identity of the scribe; the owner or the composers represented, dateable information given in ascriptions⁴ or marginalia; the identification of one scribe in an undated source with another in a manuscript that can be dated. Implied evidence includes the repertory in the book—both the composers and the genres; the provenance of the manuscript; the style of the handwriting, layout, organization and notation; the numbers and types of graces in use; and the size of lute and tunings employed. Though implied evidence can be the most controversial—and is sometimes dismissed when it does not seem to meet expectations—material evidence can be equally inconclusive. Factors such as those mentioned above, when applied to sources c1700, can allow the paleographer to reach an unequivocal date. When those same methods are applied to books dating from before 1630, the results are often considerably more ambiguous.

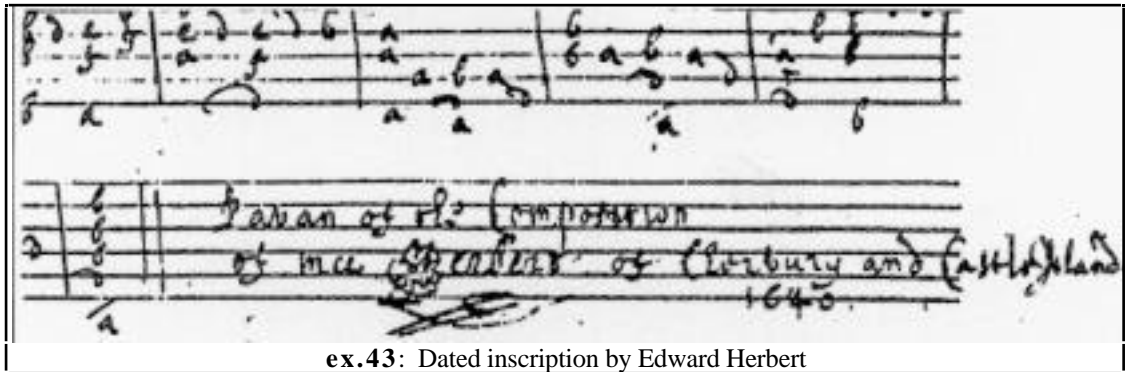
This chapter is supplemented by Appendix 1 'Indexes of sources of English solo lute music' and Appendix 5—'Dateable Elements in Titles of Lute Music'.

§RECORDED DATES, DATEABLE MARGINALIA

Even though the ground here seems less treacherous than is the case with other aspects of dating, recorded dates are not always as useful as they first appear. On the whole, the date was not considered an important piece of information for the renaissance lutenist or scribe to record, but there are a number that survive, the most significant in *Herbert, Mynshall, Richard* and *Pickeringe*. *Richard*, copied probably in the Low Countries or Germany by an English scribe, is well supplied with dates, virtually all written by a single hand that is apparently unrelated to the music, unlike the inscriptions in *Herbert*. Edward Herbert tried his hand at composing a number of times during his years as a lutenist, though the results are not always as polished as we have come to expect from the English lutenist-composer.

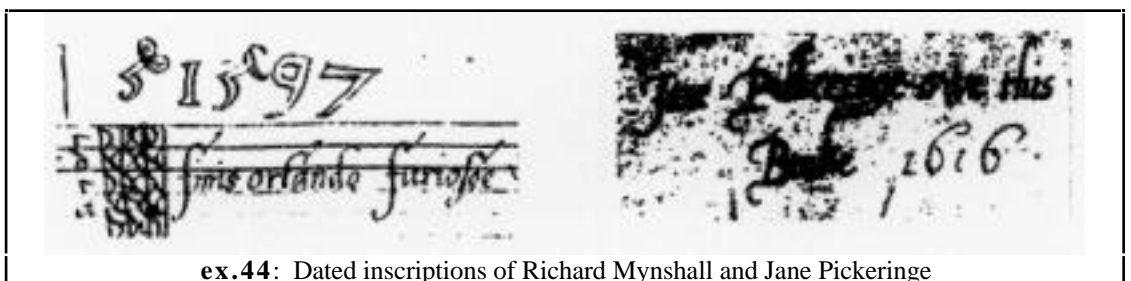
⁴ See Appendix 3.

He was sufficiently proud of his achievements, though, that each of his compositions is elaborately supplied with his name, titles and the exact date of their composition. The dates range from 1628 to 1640. However, whether they actually represent the time of copying is highly debatable, since all the pieces could have been copied in at any time after composition. Fortunately we have the exact date of Edward Herbert's death—1648—so a *terminus ad quem* is known.



ex.43: Dated inscription by Edward Herbert

A particular problem with dates written in by one scribe is that a subsequent scribe often seems to obliterate traces of prior ownership, and will go to great lengths to remove both names and dates. Since very few of the extant manuscripts show activity limited to a single scribe, very few of them as a result show the elusive date of writing. Both *Mynshall* and *Pickeringe*, however, contain dates written by their principal scribes, and not subsequently suppressed:

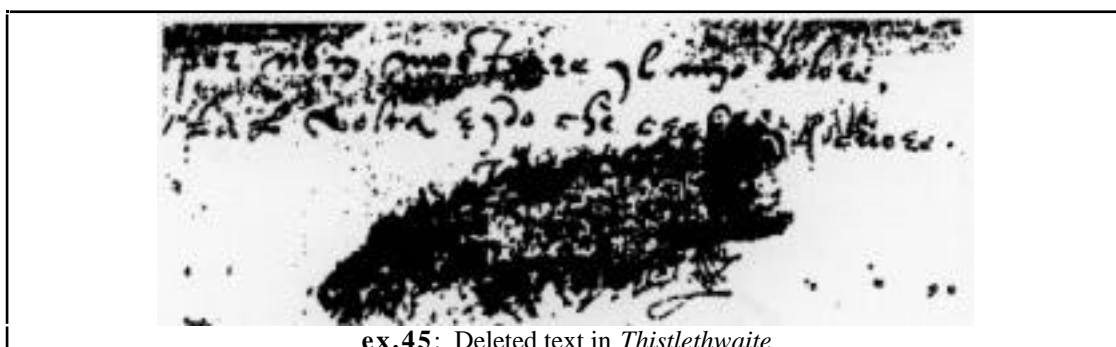


ex.44: Dated inscriptions of Richard Mynshall and Jane Pickeringe

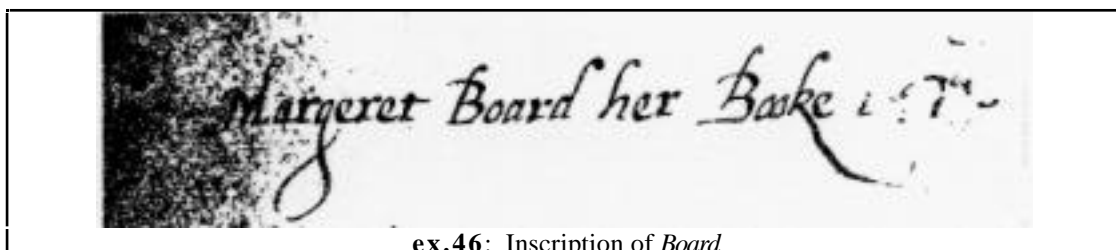
Thistlethwaite was the work of 11 scribes, only the last of whom left his name for posterity. On one of the front flyleaves, however, there is an inscription in Italian that has been almost completely scratched off the paper. It almost certainly originally included a date, and probably a name too. At least one scribe or user was called John Bam...⁵ He was probably the original owner of the book, since the initials I.B. are embossed on the cover, but whoever scratched out the original owner's name did not replace it with his—or her—own. A similar situation pertains in *Sampson*, where the first scribe in the book entitles one piece: 'Mrs Whites choyce per Henricum Sampson scriptorem libri'⁶ only to have all but the name of the piece assiduously deleted by a later scribe. In this case, since the paper is not damaged, examination under ultraviolet light has revealed the deleted matter.

⁵ The name appears on f.93r, inverted, with no other writing, and faded to illegibility for the last few letters of the name. John Ward (in Ward 1992) fails to notice the correlation between this name and the initials 'I.B.' on the cover, leading him to suggest a member of the Bassano family as owner of the book.

⁶ The second piece on f.7r.

ex.45: Deleted text in *Thistlethwaite*

Ultraviolet light proved insufficient to reveal the date on the flyleaf of *Board* as too much of the paper is missing.⁷ Although Margaret Board's name survives, the date following it is tantalizingly obscured by damage to the paper that does not seem to have been as deliberate as that found in *Sampson*, since it would seem odd to remove a date but not the name of the original owner. The edges of the letters that remain show that the missing matter originally gave a date that could have been 1615 or 1616, but may even have been 1625. Fortunately, Margaret's date of baptism (1600) and approximate date of her marriage (after 1623 and before 1631) are known, allowing the extrapolation of a probable date for her copying of c1620, confirmed by other factors in the book's contents.⁸

ex.46: Inscription of *Board*

Other marginalia may be less useful and even misleading, particularly where it seems that it has been written by a scribe other than the lute scribe(s). A book of paper of any description could become whatever was required at the time: thus a lutebook could become a household account book, or a book of recipes could become a repository for lute music.⁹ Old paper or parchment was often used for end-papers or guards, and where it shows a date, can indicate the earliest possible time at which a book could have been bound up. Wills and other out-of-date legal documents such as indentures find their way into bindings surprisingly often, but since the scrap paper may easily have been very old before it was re-used, this only provides a very general idea of dating. It can on the other hand be helpful in providing a provenance for a source, though this result can be even more elusive than dating.

Dallis is also inscribed with a date, and one that contradicts the repertory quite substantially.¹⁰ On page 12 the scribe has written *Incepi Nonis Augusti praeceptore Mro Thoma Dallis. Cantabrigiae Anno 1583*. The repertory clearly dates from the early 1500s to the mid 1580s, but the scribal

⁷ The present owner, Robert Spencer, has gone to considerable lengths to try and read this date, without success.

⁸ John Dowland's hand obviously pre-dates his death in 1626.

⁹ See *Stowe* 389.

¹⁰ See Chapter 6 §Repertory, dateable elements in ascriptions.

inscription and the exceptional consistency of the hand throughout the book clearly indicates a very short compilation span—perhaps of only a couple of years, and the book is therefore dated 1583-5.¹¹

Dd.9.33 has two highly significant non-musical inscriptions on the back end-paper requesting prayers for the sick in Matthew Holmes's secretary hand. Ian Harwood¹² in an exceptional and highly comprehensive piece of research on the Holmes books located the addresses and the men named and placed them in London at the date mentioned in the first notation; 28 February 1600 (i.e. 1601 in modern dating). In addition he was able to supply the dates of burial of both the men in the parish of Westminster on 18 March and 15 April 1601.¹³ This places the manuscript unmistakably in London in 1601, but since Holmes had begun copying his collection of lute manuscripts some years before in Oxford, it is quite possible that he had brought the completed ones with him to London, and *Dd.9.33* may have been completed long before this date. However, the Holmes books by virtue of their being the work of a professional musician living in the two cities that were probably most in touch with newly composed music, are uniquely representative of contemporary music as it was composed, and other factors in both the repertory and the script enable Harwood to say that *Dd.9.33*, although it may possibly have been begun in Oxford before he left in 1597, was certainly still being completed in London in 1601. *Nn.6.36* also bears evidence of its origins and date on its parchment wrapper. An unsigned indenture dated 4 April 1597 is written on it, concerning the lease of a tenement in Oxford to Mathew Holmes, and describing him as a singingman at Christ Church. However, *Nn.6.36* is dated c1610-15, so by the time Holmes came to compile this last of his volumes he probably looked around for something to protect the loose gatherings as he added to them, and the indenture being long out of date by then, came into the category of re-usable scrap. Harwood's work is a model of manuscript investigation, and the fruits of his research have supplied a remarkably detailed picture of the work of the most important copyist of the English lute school.

§BINDING, FORMAT

English lute books do not seem to have merited any coverings that qualify as fine bindings. Since most of the illustrated works of binding scholarship concentrate on bindings and tooling as a work of art, and therefore on the fine binding market and the work and workshops of the known binders in England and abroad, the often simple and basic trade bindings of lute manuscripts are difficult to categorise. Many of the important binding collections came from private libraries who employed a binder to make matching covers for all their books. Lute books, however, tended to belong to people who would not have owned a substantial library, and who therefore bought their books ready bound with basic trade decoration on the cover and, in several cases, had the book personalized by having their initials stamped on either side of the centre-block by the bookseller at the time of purchase. Lute

¹¹ Prior studies (Poulton 1982, Ward 1967B) have used the date c1565-80, despite evidence to the contrary, though this is a reasonably accurate assessment of the date of the major part of the repertory.

¹² In Harwood 1963.

¹³ The Parish Register gives 1600 for the first date, and Harwood states that 'The two inscriptions, then, were written more than a year apart' but had not taken into account that the new year would have begun on 24 March, and therefore the inscriptions are only a month apart in 1601 by new style reckoning.

books that were bound after copying seem also to have utilised only the simplest and cheapest of bindings, presenting a finished appearance very similar to the ready-bought variety. The most interesting bindings among the lute books almost invariably belong to books that were either not originally intended exclusively for music—those that may have started life as commonplace books of another description—or those that were taken or gifted from a library that was rich enough to have put relatively fine bindings even on blank music books.

Pickeringe and *Mynshall* both have royal arms centre-stamps, though neither copyist had any observable connection with the court, and these are probably the most impressive bindings among the sources. *Pickeringe*, adorned with ties and gilt edging is frustratingly impossible to link with the court. The presence of the arms of James I on the covers indicate that the book was bound up between 1603 and 1616 when Jane wrote the date on the front end-paper. Various theories have suggested that Jane may have been a descendant of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper during Elizabeth's reign—but he had no daughter by the name of Jane—or that she was the daughter of Sir Thomas Puckering, in spite of the fact that this daughter cannot have been born before 1616/7. Pickeringes seem to have been quite numerous, and the Yorkshire Protestant family of Sir William Pickeringe (1516-75), a gentleman and diplomat, may also be candidates for Jane's ancestors. However, Sir William fell out of favour during the reign of Mary and his family may not have re-established their original ties to the monarchy. Apart from the arms on the covers these bindings are not decorative, and would not generally be described as fine. Though the centre stamp is necessarily ornate, it is simply a single stamp, and would have been used on all books bound for the use of royal musicians—essentially servants—or for a royal library. Royal arms were also used by trade binders on many books that were not destined for royal libraries, as there was no control on its use, and it may have been a selling-point.¹⁴ Households of nobility or minor nobility such as those of Lord Willoughby or Lord Herbert of Cherbury might be expected to have used fine bindings, and the reality is not wholly disappointing, although *Herbert* exhibits unmistakably French influence in the use of coloured morocco leather with ties. The binding of *Mynshall* is stamped with the arms of Elizabeth I, and the watermark of the end-papers appears to have been made by the Queen's jeweller, John Spilman, who set up a paper mill in 1588 at Dartford, Kent. Another mark incorporating the initials ER appears on the endpaper of *Marsh*. This mark is more rudimentary, and may be a countermark. The bindings are completely different, as are the sizes of the book, and there is nothing to suggest a connection between them. Spilman's paper was probably readily available in London, where most lute books are likely to have originated, and since the watermarks of neither of the end-papers nor the main body papers in the two books are related, these books probably originated with different stationers. Richard Mynshall, the son of a Cheshire merchant, as well as providing further interesting evidence of the book's connection with royalty in the form of a copy of a letter from the Earl of Essex to Queen Elizabeth dated 1599, brings most speculation to a halt by writing or doodling the date 1597 on f.5v. His connection to royalty is tenuous, and hinges mostly on a 'Captain Mynshall' who may have been connected with Essex in Ireland. Mynshall's

¹⁴ Shackleton 1968, 79.

identity is far better documented than that of Jane Pickeringe though, and the evidence in the book makes much speculation redundant.

The commonest type of binding decoration found on lute books right through the period is of a straight pallet or fillet border on the outer edge, a second similar border about one inch in with corner fleurons, and an oval or decorative centre-stamp, copied on back and front. *Folger* is an excellent example of a book in a simple trade binding. More often than not, particularly with pedagogical books, the initials of the owner,¹⁵ or more rarely his name,¹⁶ are stamped on either side of the centre-stamp or within it¹⁷ if the stamp would accommodate them. Initials are usually found only on gilt tooled bindings, but *Mynshall* has the original tooling in gold and the initials 'R M' blind-stamped on later.

Until the nineteenth century, when publishers' bindings became common, binding was not a part of the original book. The binding therefore communicates little or nothing about the origins of the paper, its printing or publishing, though it may be revealing in terms of its subsequent history. Likewise, the paper tells us nothing about the subsequent sale of the book. This is particularly true for music, where printed anthologies were often bound up after they were bought in the form of individual pieces.

Most books that were issued blank, or blank with rulings, were bound in leather with gold tooling of a style depending on the quality and cost of the book. Gold tooling began to be used about 1530, but did not become common before c1550. Many specimens from the Royal Tudor libraries show examples of a style which reflected European traditions. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gold tooling became more common, though the workmanship, when compared to continental work, appears coarse. Centre- and corner-piece designs became prominent, and it also became more common for owners to have their arms stamped on the covers in the central panel. It was fairly common for some binders when selling a book to have stamped the initials of the owner on either side of a standard central decorative stamp.

Even with printed books it would have been impractical for whole sets of copies to be bound without the previous assurance that they could be sold, particularly as reasonably large purchasers of books would have used their own local binder, possibly making use of specific tools for the owner concerned. The trade in ruled but otherwise blank books was probably considerably more precarious than that in printed books, and the size and content of a music book is unlikely to have been determined before a buyer was found. This is attested by the variations in size and format of the lute sources, and the fact that many of them clearly lacked binding until after they were written, implying the purchase of a ream of unbound paper that may have been already ruled by the bookseller, or may subsequently have been ruled for his requirements by the buyer. Spencer does make the useful observation, however, that the format of lute manuscripts may be significant, since all lute books

¹⁵ *Pickering, Board, Willoughby, Mynshall*

¹⁶ *Welde.*

¹⁷ *ML.*

before 1590-95 are in oblong quarto format.¹⁸ It may be that the larger upright format came into use to accommodate the increasing length of pieces, most of which after 1585, and even earlier, also included written-out divisions. *Dallis*, in oblong quarto, has numerous page-turns that would have made playing from the book extremely difficult. Bound books tended to tie up capital until they were sold, and in a trade where the average turnover would not have been at all sizeable binding would almost certainly have waited until a buyer was found. The general book trade in England is summarized by Gaskell:

In the sixteenth century the English book trade was centred in London, and consisted chiefly of publishers (usually operating in small syndicates) who wholesaled their own books, but who were also retail booksellers handling a general stock, not all of their own publishing; printers, who were frequently members of publishing syndicates, and who generally had a retail shop as well; and retail stationers who would be likely to purvey both new and second-hand books and a variety of other goods. There were also binders, with or without a retail shop; wholesale stationers specializing in paper; and publisher-retailers specializing in the foreign trade. Apart from the university presses, there were no printers and scarcely any publishers in the provinces after the 1550s, only retailers (again trading in other goods as well as books and stationery) and retailer-binders. (It is confusing that both publishers and retailers were known indifferently as booksellers, and that any book trader might be referred to as a stationer.)¹⁹

Trade bindings utilised either blind-stamping—the impress of patterns on a binding without gold leaf—or gold stamped impressions. Ordinary trade bindings would usually have been blind-stamped, so the frequency of gilt to be found on the covers of lute books also suggests that lute bindings would have been executed for particular buyers. The shapes were made by simple tools moulded or carved from brass that were heated and then pressed into the leather. Apart from ornate figures, floral shapes and armorial bearings, the tools also included single-letter stamps and instruments for making the simple border patterns: pallets (lines set on curved rockers); fillets (wheels with lines around the edge); and rolls (wheels with elaborate designs around the edge).²⁰ Since the instruments were most often made in brass, they would take several decades to wear down to the point where they were unusable, and many were passed on through several generations of tradesmen, so some bindings may appear anachronistic, particularly with binders who were working for a lifetime of possibly as much as 50 years.

English binding styles changed little from the Elizabethan period to the time of the civil war, apart from the greater proliferation of armorial bearings and a tendency for the blocks to employ more delicate patterning. Binders slowly ceased to follow European and particularly French fashions so closely, and by the middle of the century the practice of making up centre- and corner-patterns with combinations of smaller tools had become very widespread, and characteristic of an English style. This was the type of binding favoured by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Since binding tools were not mass-produced, identical ornate tools might suggest some connection between books, and the distinctive tools used by some well-known binders make it possible to identify their books. However, various

¹⁸ Spencer 1982, xiii.

¹⁹ Gaskell 1985, 180.

²⁰ Gaskell 1985, 149.

considerations must qualify this statement: first, there were a number of standard simple tools in use in trade bindings that would have been intentionally similar to others, and would be very difficult to tell apart. Second, no lute books show sufficiently distinctive binding decoration that they might be traced to any specific binders, and the use of particular standard types of corner-fleurons and other very basic decoration suggests that a lute book was not treated as an item worth the application of special work. Finally, bound lute books such as those purchased by many of the amateur players would have been available only from a very few sellers,²¹ almost all in London. Furthermore, if it was the teacher who purchased the book for the pupil, as he certainly seems to have done for other 'consumables' such as strings,²² then it may be that teachers favoured a single bookseller. This may seem an arbitrary assessment, but the activity of the secondary scribe (perhaps Richard Allison) of *Sampson*, *Dd.4.22*, *Swarland* and one of the Holmes books (*Dd.9.33*) implies that lutenists who may have acted as peripatetic teachers seem to have had significant contact with numbers of otherwise quite diverse sources—both in style of contents, purpose and provenance—to the extent that a single copyist appears in an exceptionally high proportion of the sources.²³

The use of ties on books is usually considered a European feature,²⁴ the fact that English binders were heavily influenced by continental fashions during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I gives little weight to the association of ties before 1640 with non-English binders. Many lute books, and particularly those from the sixteenth century, show evidence that they originally had ties or clasps, though these have usually rotted away or broken off.

The type of leathers used changed gradually from the predominance of vellum, calf or pigskin (cowhide for large books) in trade bindings in the sixteenth century, to sheepskin, Morocco or 'Turkey leather' by the middle of the seventeenth century. According to Shackleton, limp vellum became more popular in the first half of the seventeenth century, particularly for smaller books,²⁵ but does not seem to be common on lute manuscripts. Hollow-back binding was not used until about 1770 in France and 1800 in England. The first example of an English binder tooling the title of a book on the spine occurs c1610, and is the work of Williamson, a binder employed by Eton College.

Because of the undistinguished style of trade bindings, they are rarely helpful in establishing a date for a book. Occasionally, though, the evidence that the binding adds to an already dubious situation may serve to clarify it. Lumsden dated *Cosens* c1595, but Danyel's 'Mrs Anne Greene her leaves be green' (1606) and music by Thomas Vautor make it likely that the manuscript was finished in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and the handwriting and compilation suggest a short time-span for the copying. According to Fenlon and Milsom, who examined the book because it contains

²¹ See Thompson 1988A and 1988B, Fenlon/Milsom 1984 and the section below on watermarks for a discussion of the distribution and purchase of music paper.

²² Accounts for expenses paid to household and court musicians include allowances for strings for their pupil's instruments, and in some cases also for music books.

²³ This particular copyist is discussed in detail in Chapter 7 §Richard Allison.

²⁴ Shackleton 1968, 45-69.

²⁵ Shackleton 1968, 77.

printed music paper, 'the "heads in medallions" roll on the covers of the binding is very similar to a type that is found as late as 1617'²⁶ confirming the growing suspicion that Lumsden's dating is probably about 15 years too early. The binding, format and paper of *Brogynryn*, on the other hand, point to a date considerably earlier than the repertory it contains, and though it would have been unusual to buy a ruled music book and then not use it, all the evidence points to this having been the case in this instance.

§WATERMARKS

The use of watermarks for dating music sources can be both influential and inconclusive. Watermark studies have concentrated on watermarks from the mid-seventeenth century on for two reasons. The contemporary recording of marks after c1650 becomes accurate and comprehensive enough to facilitate dating of specific marks, and the production of paper grows to the extent that watermark designs have a short enough life to be dateable within a short span. Before 1650, poor documentation of paper marks, low quantities of production that meant that some moulds lasted for some time, and patterns of design that would be repeated almost exactly from mould to mould make specific watermark studies impossible. Thus even with accurate examination, description and comparison of the marks in the lute sources, only a very few papers can be identified accurately, and of these the dating is still almost uselessly vague unless it actually incorporates a date—a factor unusual enough before 1650 to make it likely to be reliable. Not all papers before 1650 had watermarks at all, but virtually all fine papers, the type required for music, were marked, and watermarks can be found in all the lute sources, even the very early ones.

When dealing with a group of sources at this early stage in the use of watermarks, even when the mark can be traced to a certain mill, its use is either completely undocumented, or else all we can tell is that it may have been used for a period as long as 20 to 30 years. Fenlon and Milsom refer to this use of dating evidence as 'the notoriously vague datings produced by identifying watermark types',²⁷ and it may be as well to bear this comment in mind when considering any discussion of watermarks in a group of sources. Further complications ensue when the fact is taken into account that all watermark studies to date have excluded musical sources from their investigations. Thompson's work on the mid and later seventeenth-century music papers has revealed a certain amount of information that suggests that music papers were bought in small batches and quickly used, and it can only be assumed that a similar situation prevailed in the latter years of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries.

The value of watermarks for the study of sources falls into two general areas: dating the source, and examining its consistency and structure. Both depend on precise description of the individual marks. Their use as a tool for dating MSS and printed volumes is fraught with problems. It requires exact dating of the individual mark and reliable knowledge as to how long a batch of paper might take to be completely used, neither of which are currently available. With the exception of the very few marks

²⁶ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 158. They refer the reader to James Basil Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), pp.53-54, type HM(h).

²⁷ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 156.

(made principally in France from 1742 and in England between 1794 and 1811) that carry a date, we normally have no indication of when a specific sheet of paper was made; we only have information as to when it was used.²⁸

As a device for examining the collation of books, the watermarks are of significantly more use in the study of manuscripts than of printed books. In the latter case, the sheets of paper in a single printed source that has come from a large print-run may be virtually unrelated to each other, due to the large quantities of paper required for the process, and the fact that multiple copies of each forme were printed consecutively before moving on to the next one. In a manuscript, it is highly likely that two adjacent sheets will have come from the same batch of paper, particularly if it was bound before copying.

Many of the dates given in the collections of marks by Briquet *et al.*²⁹ come from dates on letters or other ephemera, and do not take into account the possibility, if not probability, of the writer having bought a batch of paper (rather than a few single sheets) and stored it for some time before use, giving each batch a considerable life. The dates given in printed books are probably far more reliable, given the much faster turnover a printer would show. Although the dates provided by the watermark studies can give an approximate period of circulation for a particular mark, the deliberate repetition of some marks by makers makes even this date indeterminate. As Krummel and Sadie comment, 'There has been considerable controversy over how long one batch of paper might last in a scriptorium or printing house³⁰ to say nothing of stationers storing paper, particularly music paper that would not have been sold in such large quantities as plain writing sheets. When expressing their reservations about watermark dating, Fenlon and Milsom state that

Watermarks can be useful for dating the period of manufacture of a batch of printed paper, but in general they can only be used to confirm a date arrived at through other evidence... In at least one case watermarks vary during the course of a [print] run of a single design, while in another the watermark remains constant while the design changes.³¹

Up to about 1630 the inclusion of watermarks in fine papers was not widespread, and was by no means controlled or standardized in any way. For this reason watermark studies have concentrated on papers produced from the second half of the seventeenth century on, when a large number of devices came into use, and their inclusion is documented in an increasingly reliable form. Despite their irregularity, virtually all lute papers show marks, possibly because they were of a particularly high quality. Although dates incorporated in watermarks can generally be assumed to be reliable, some papermakers seem to have used old moulds for some time after they were actually 'out-of-date'. Paper moulds were first legally required to incorporate dates in France in 1741, with the result that many papermakers—following only the letter of the law—used the date 1741 in their moulds right up until c1775, when the discrepancy was eliminated. In England the regular use of dates in watermarks did not

²⁸ Krummel/Sadie 1990, 548.

²⁹ Le Clerc 1926, Churchill 1935, Briquet 1968, Labarre 1967, Heawood 1969.

³⁰ Krummel/Sadie 1990, 548.

³¹ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 143.

start until 1794, and then the incentive was a tax one rather than a legal expedient.³² Fortunately this chaotic state of affairs does not affect the repertory under consideration, and since it was not compulsory for papermakers to include dates in their moulds at this time, it is reasonable to use a mark that incorporates a date as a reliable indication of the date of manufacture of the paper.

Until fairly recently, it was not easy to examine watermarks accurately, particularly of papers that were bound up into books. One of the spinoffs of the fibre-optic revolution though, has been the availability of 'light sheets' and 'light pens' which, when used in conjunction with beta-radiography (very expensive, but with no adequate substitute yet) enable the papers and their marks to be examined very thoroughly. General paper studies have been used where possible to establish a contextual dating for a mark. Most marks in music papers are not to be found in these extensive collections of drawings though, and to date, the only extended study of watermarks in music papers has been made by Robert Thompson,³³ who again concentrated on the sources from 1625 on, for which the activity of paper mills is more reliably documented than in the preceding years.

Virtually all paper in use for music copying in England until 1670 was imported, mostly from France, particularly Normandy, but some also from the Low Countries. Perhaps because high quality continental paper was easy to come by, and because the paper-making tradition was so much better established abroad, English mills seem to have been unable to produce paper of a sufficient quality for music copying. Though English papers are found in lute manuscripts, these are almost always confined to the end-papers, with continental papers used for the body of the book. This indicates that stationers bought reams of paper from abroad, and had it made up into books in England, and continental end-papers would rationally suggest that the book may also have been either bought abroad, or imported made up. It seems unlikely, though, that books were imported made up for sale as blank books, as their weight and subsequent cost would not justify this practice, particularly as English binders had no lack of skill such as that exhibited by the paper-makers. *Sampson* uses English paper, which is of a predictably low quality, though it has maintained its integrity surprisingly well. *ML* on the other hand is made up from three papers, the two earlier of which may have originated in England, although they use marks similar to ones in use abroad. Most of the well-known marks were widely copied in Europe, and some English paper-makers also clearly copied foreign marks, perhaps in an attempt to break through the barrier caused by the reputation of English papers by attempting to convince a stationer that he was buying imported goods. Reasonably high quality English papers in lute books are more likely to date from after 1610-20 than before.

Thompson has also discussed the possibility that paper may have been stored for some time prior to its sale or use, and his arguments against this proposition are compelling, even without documentary evidence, for their common-sense aspect. His work on watermarks found in music manuscripts of the mid-seventeenth century is crucial to any discussion of music papers. He asserts convincingly that papers with precisely the same mark were manufactured in only small quantities,

³² See Churchill 1935.

³³ Thompson 1988A, and Thompson 1988B.

since the amount of paper which could be made from a single mould was extremely limited—contemporary documentary evidence gives a single mould a life of about 8 months, and in addition to this, high quality papers such as those ideal for music paper would have taken considerably longer in preparation than low quality, so that the probable production rate of 8 reams a day for medium quality paper should consequently be limited when considering the production of high quality music paper.³⁴

Although makers did deliberately copy their marks between moulds, particularly between the pairs of moulds used at one time, the possibility of a mouldmaker producing absolutely identical moulds is extremely small, since the complexity of the patterns and laid- and chain-lines would make this virtually impossible, even if the mould-maker wished to do so, and the pattern of knots used to attach the design to the chain and laid wires, visible as small dots in the final mark, seems to have been as unrepeatable as a fingerprint.

Although many designs were in use for some years, individual devices probably did not last long as they were quite fragile, and could easily become distorted. Gaskell reckons on a life of about six months for a watermark before it dropped off the mould,³⁵ and a month or so of disintegration before that. His estimate suggests that each mould in a pair could produce 2000 or more sheets of paper a day which, over the five months during which the watermark should survive recognisably, is a massive quantity of paper. Once a mark disintegrated, the maker would simply use a new copy, as there was no intention of providing a chronological sequence of marks.

There is no reliable way of estimating how long a specific mark may stay in use ... However, there is evidence that many makers replaced devices with close copies in order to retain the same basic design. ... The early designs of an oxhide, a cardinal's hat or an anchor within a circle all lasted for over a century, and were used by many makers, although often within a small geographical area. Later designs such as the 'Strasbourg bend' were also long-lived and widespread. Many of these designs were intended to be statements, not about their manufacturer, but about the quality and size of the paper ... Together with a countermark bearing the manufacturers name or device, they ensured that both quality and source of paper were apparent to the stationer.³⁶

Thompson believes that music papers were usually prepared by a stationer because of the careful ruling. This means that measurements of staff-liners (or *rastra*) could potentially be useful in determining the origins of some paper³⁷ though the problems of paper shrinkage seriously limit the effectiveness of this type of study as only approximate measurements can be used. The quality of metals and the nature of manufacture of precision instruments at that time would also suggest that a stationer would have kept a number of *rastra* in use at one time, and the possibility of their having the same dimensions would be extremely small.

How close a potential connection does the identification of identical watermarks in two different sources suggest? Such evidence as there is³⁸ suggests that the writing paper trade was

³⁴ Thompson 1988B, 2-3.

³⁵ Gaskell 1985, 62-3.

³⁶ Krummel/Sadie 1990, 547.

³⁷ See also Fenlon/Milsom 1984 for a discussion of printed papers.

³⁸ Particularly documentary evidence from the record of the Lord Chancellor's office, cited in Thompson 1988B, 4.

characterized by a fairly rapid turnover of small quantities, an understandable feature when one considers the vulnerability of paper to fire, water, and mice. If this is coupled with Gaskell's production figures (given above), a further implication is that papermakers rarely sold a batch of paper from a single mould to only one stationer. They are more likely to have dispersed the paper in small quantities to a number of supply outlets. Thus, identity of papers in two books may not imply that they were bought from the same stationer. A picture that seems to fit the facts of the music trade is that of specialist stationers (such as John Playford)

obtaining a ream of paper and ruling it for music; then selling it in small quantities to various individuals So identity of watermark, if coincidental, is coincidence within a relatively short time-span; equally probably, it is not coincidence at all.³⁹

The explanation for the use of certain types of high quality papers and not others is probably that, rather than a large number of retailers buying paper, ruling it and selling it again, there was probably only a single trader—Thomas East and then William Barley being the obvious candidates in the early seventeenth century—making arrangements of his own to buy the paper which he thought the most suitable and of the most consistent quality for music, so that his decisions are reflected in the majority of music sources of his time. Since there was probably only a single stationer at any one time producing paper ruled for music, the problem caused several stationers stocking paper with the same mark may not arise, as other sources would be supplying the paper for different uses. Therefore, identity of *music* papers in disparate books is probably significant.

Ideally, music paper must be top-quality writing paper of a fairly heavy kind. *Sampson* is made up from quite a poor paper though it has survived show-through and the vicissitudes of age remarkably well. The watermark is not known anywhere else in music manuscripts despite its distinctive pattern, and may be English. According to Thompson,⁴⁰ papers of lesser quality and good quality light papers alike would, or should, be unsuitable for music. Imported papers were preferred to English for this reason, and if English papers appear at all it is usually as end-papers, though the low quality of end-papers means that they are rarely watermarked. Almost all the English lute sources use papers that were imported from France, particularly Strasbourg (the Strasbourg 'bend' appears several times), or from Holland and the makers of Amsterdam. *Pickeringe* somewhat idiosyncratically uses the high quality imported paper for the end-papers while the body of the book shows a pot watermark in a lighter paper that is similar to marks originating in England in 1619. Numerous pots in various states of disintegration appear throughout the lute sources, but since use of these was so widespread across Europe with a large number of varieties, there seems to be no local significance in their predominance among the marks found in lute sources.

³⁹ Thompson 1988B, 4.

⁴⁰ Thompson 1988B, 2-4.

§MUSIC PAPER, RULING

The only study made of printed music papers between 1550 and 1650 is the brief article of John Milsom and Iain Fenlon in 1984⁴¹ that lists all the printed papers in music manuscripts and discusses their possible provenance. They found that most lute, vocal, consort and keyboard manuscripts were written on hand ruled paper, but gained the impression that, proportionally, far more lute sources used printed papers than did any other type of manuscript source. Even so, only a very low proportion of the lute sources are not written on paper ruled by hand, either with or without the help of a rastrum. There appears to be no correlation between those sources that use printed paper and the purpose to which they were put, or for which they were bought, although all of the books identified here as professional books make use—if not entirely—of printed paper (the Holmes books are treated here as a single extended source). It may be significant that Fenlon and Milsom mention five-line staves with an extra line added to make a six-line keyboard stave, or a four-line stave made up to a five-line one. It seems, though, that one case where one might expect to see hand-ruled lines added to printed ones would be in lute tablatures—or even an extra line added to a rastrum-ruled stave. In fact, there is no instance where this is the case. Why this should be so is not immediately obvious. Fenlon and Milsom do note that in printed lute papers, the lines within each stave are spaced wider apart than in blank five-line staves used as furniture to fill up pages of printed music, and it may be that five-line staves were not added to because the lines were too closely spaced to accommodate lute tablature. Or perhaps lute paper was so easy to obtain that the time-consuming process of cannibalizing other types of paper was unnecessary. Although music books were often bound up in oblong landscape or quarto format, from about 1580 the lute books favour progressively larger upright sizes, and the discrepancy between the standard format of vocal or keyboard books and the size and shape of lute manuscripts may also account in part for the rarity of mensural staves altered for tablature use.

The royal patent held by Byrd and Tallis included the printing of music paper as well as music of all kinds, and although the patent was financially a virtual dead loss, a report on the operation of all royal patents in 1582 suggests that despite their well-known lack of business acumen, their trade in printed music paper during the first seven years of the monopoly was nevertheless economically successful. Even this part of the business, however, had fallen into disarray by the time Morley took over Byrd's patent on its expiry in 1598.⁴² Fenlon and Milsom suggest that the monopoly may not have been enforced very strictly between 1582 and 1596 and pirate papers may have undermined the legal market. The only paper signed by a printer is that of Thomas East, who gave each signature his initials, 'T.E.', but none of the other papers in circulation can be traced to their printers, nor does the type used for blank music paper appear as furniture in blank spaces on pages of printed music issued by Byrd and Tallis. As a result, none of the printed manuscript papers that appear in English music sources can be dated any more accurately than the watermark (vague, as is seen above), the binding, any inscription or the repertory may suggest. It appears that printed music paper was widely obtainable on

⁴¹ Fenlon/Milsom 1984.

⁴² Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 141.

the continent from c1550, and Fenlon and Milsom suggest that many of the types they were not able to identify may have been imported,⁴³ particularly as virtually all paper used for music in England came from abroad anyway until the late seventeenth century. Several printers employed fleurons for borders, and these seem to have come into use in England during the mid 1560s, remaining in use until the early seventeenth century. The production of printed music paper in England had almost entirely been eclipsed by hand ruling by 1610, although evidence that East's papers continued to appear in manuscripts up to 1610 suggests that his printed paper was enough in demand to make its sale viable for his heirs. Henry Denham took up music printing in 1583, and Thomas East in 1588, relatively late in their careers (East had been a printer—but not of music—since 1565). East inherited the larger of the two music fonts belonging to Thomas Vautrollier, who died in 1587, and subsequently began to print music as the assign of Byrd. He certainly printed lute paper (with widely-spaced six-line staves instead of narrower spaced five-line ones) implying that Byrd had done so before, though since there is no way of tracing the papers this can only be conjecture:

... a wide variety of papers can be identified in twenty-nine manuscripts copied by English scribes during the period *ca.* 1560-1610. Several of these manuscripts are made up exclusively from a single design of printed paper, others are composite manuscripts that contain two or more designs or a mixture of printed and hand-ruled paper, while in a few cases the incidence of printed music paper amounts to nothing more than a fragment cut from a larger sheet. The quantities of each surviving design vary considerably, from several hundred near-identical leaves to small fragments of a single leaf.⁴⁴

East's first music publication was Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, in 1588. There was no more influential music publication in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than this one, and in the same year he also published William Byrd's highly successful *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie*. From then on, East flourished as a music printer, as well as continuing to produce non-musical material, until his death in 1608. After Byrd died, East operated as the assign of Thomas Morley, and of William Barley from Morley's death in 1606. Considering the uncertainty of the market when East entered it, he made a remarkable success of his business, and it did not die with him. It continued to operate very successfully under the management of his widow, Lucretia, and his adopted son Thomas Snodham, both of whom continued to publish under East's name. Since the music paper business was clearly successful before East began to issue it, it is reasonable to assume that it continued to be a viable trade while East operated the patent, particularly as his papers continue to turn up for some years after his death, in spite of the fact that Morley at least felt that the trade in printed music paper had already been made financially non-viable by the trade in hand-ruled papers. Snodham may have been selling off old stocks of printed paper rather than printing new, which would have allowed him to keep his pricing competitive with the hand-ruling business.

If printed paper was as financially viable as East's business suggests, then it is not surprising that a large group of papers identified by Fenlon and Milsom are without recognisable printers. The authors suggest that the 14 designs of paper they can isolate may have been printed by unknown

⁴³ The collection of Hans Heinrich Herwart, mentioned in Chapter 3, Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 145.

⁴⁴ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 142.

printers either between the patents of Byrd and Morley, when no patent was in force, or else by East's successors, or else were issued illegally while a patent was still in force. These may have been printed in England or imported. That none of these papers seem to match up with each other suggests

either that there was a rapid turnover of printer's stock due to wear and tear or that a competitive market existed, and many outlets, legal and otherwise, were at hand.⁴⁵

This picture of many outlets does not match up with Thompson's convincingly argued impression of a single specialist stationer who was virtually the only source for music paper. It may be that hand ruled paper had a different commercial status and viability from that of printed paper, though watermarks are just as difficult to find a matches for, in spite of an average production of around 300,000 sheets for each mould in use. However, type does not wear down so quickly, and would have continued in use unchanged probably for many years, as East's inheritance of Vautrollier's font implies. Fenlon and Milsom summarized music printing activity in England as it emerged from the study of printed paper:

By the 1570s there are firm indications of both a wider constituency for music (and of a more cosmopolitan taste), in the sudden increase in manuscript sources and by the revival, after a forty-year interlude, of English music printing. It was no doubt in response to this growing audience for music that printed paper was produced in greater quantities than ever before in the final decades of the century. The virtual disappearance of the phenomenon in the early seventeenth century is more difficult to explain. It may be that such a marginal aspect of a small business fell foul of the sharp rise in inflation that took place during the 1590s. More probably, printed paper became temporarily obsolete since, as Morley remarked to Cecil, "There is many devices by hand to prejudice the press."⁴⁶

It is interesting in this context that the more cosmopolitan taste is seen to start in the 1570s, whereas the contents of the lute books indicate that, at least in that repertory, aspects of repertory that would be referred to as cosmopolitan hardly had any place in the manuscripts before 1620, and only *Herbert* is one for which that epithet is entirely appropriate. This in fact may highlight one important aspect of the lute repertory when compared with virtually any other instrumental or vocal repertory on a parallel time-scale, and that is the conservatism and insularity of the lute players' repertory, while all around 'things Italian' were taking hold of the English musical imagination.

The following printed papers in English lute manuscripts were listed by Fenlon and Milsom (the numbers refer to their place in Fenlon and Milsom's tables). Their survey was principally of papers between about 1570 and 1610, a period that they identified as the most active in the production of printed music papers.

No papers with lute copying were found in the category represented by Table 1 ('English manuscripts containing printed music paper presumably in circulation before the Tallis-Byrd monopoly (1575)'). Only one lute manuscript, *Dallis* (2d), appears in Table 2 ('English manuscripts containing printed music paper presumably issued by Tallis and Byrd'), but Table 3 ('English manuscripts containing printed music paper signed "T.E." (Thomas East)'), contains *Dd.9.33* (3f) and *Cosens* (3g).

⁴⁵ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 153.

⁴⁶ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 157.

Table 4 ('English manuscripts containing music paper presumably printed *ca.* 1575-1600, of unknown origin and legality') is the most significant, as they isolate three papers from *Marsh*, (4d, 4e and 4f), and further a paper from *Cosens* (4h), as well as four others, from *408/2* (4i), *Trumbull* (4j, 4k), and *Hirsch* (4l). Their tabulation of the information is reproduced in the table below (though all the manuscripts now appear in one table), which also includes further manuscripts that are written on printed papers. The numbers in the first column relate to Fenlon and Milsom's tables 1-4 while *Herbert*, *Richard* and *Folger*,⁴⁷ without numbers, have been added by the present writer.

The most characteristic attributes of a design are those that concern the staves themselves: the number of lines within the staff—four, five, or six—the height of the staff, its length, the number of staves to the page, and the total distance between the uppermost line of the highest staff on the page and the bottom line of the lowest⁴⁸

TABLE 17
PRINTED PAPERS IN LUTE MANUSCRIPTS

Measurements are in centimetres and are approximate because of variable paper shrinkage.

	Source	Staves per Page	Lines per Staff	Height of Staff	Length of Staff	Total Height	Comments
2d	<i>Dallis</i>	4	6	1.65	15.0	10.2	Some hand-ruled paper <i>passim</i>
3f	<i>Dd.9.33</i>	4 + 4; central gap 3.1	6	1.55	15.3	25.0	Signed T.E. Vertical printers' rules to either side of staves, 15.8 apart
3g	<i>Cosens</i>	8	6	1.55	15.3	24.6	ff.1-142. Signed T.E. Vertical printers' rules to either side of staves, 15.8 apart
4d	<i>Marsh</i>	4 + 4; central gap 3.8	6	1.6	15.2	24.5	<i>passim</i> (cf. f.1)
4e	<i>Marsh</i>	4 + 4; central gap 4.0	6	1.65	14.9	25.95	<i>passim</i> (cf. f.79). Watermark concordance with 4f
4f	<i>Marsh</i>	4 + 4; central gap 2.6	6	2.0	15.1	26.55	<i>passim</i> (cf. f.117). Vertical printers' rules to either side of staves, 15.4 apart. Watermark concordance with 4e
4h	<i>Cosens</i>	8	6	1.55	15.0	22.9	ff.149-[92]. Bound with T.E. paper (3g)
4i	<i>408/2</i>	8	6	1.65	15.1	22.0	
4j	<i>Trumbull</i>	8	6	1.6	15.0	24.8	<i>passim</i> (cf. f.1). Dimensions variable
4k	<i>Trumbull</i>	8	6	1.6	15.0	22.4	<i>passim</i> (cf. f.4)
4l	<i>Hirsch</i>	?	6	1.65	14.8	?	fragment attached to f.19r
	<i>Folger</i>	10	6	1.35	16.8	25.6	Staffs 1-6 and 10 are 1.35 wide, but 7-9 are 1.3. Vertical hand rules enclosing staves, 16.7-16.8 apart
	<i>Herbert</i>	10	6	1.55	14.5	24.8	Top line inset by 2.1 cm
	<i>Richard</i>	5					Compiled and probably bought in the Low Countries or Germany, in oblong folio format. Measurements not available.

The presence of a central gap in the printing of both *Marsh* (c1595) and *Dd.9.33* (c1600-1605), suggests that both papers were originally intended for oblong quarto format; the paper of *Dd.9.33* may therefore have come from an old printing forme or batch of paper, since oblong quarto

⁴⁷ The identification of this paper as printed was made in Ward 1976B, 18. Although Ward did not supply any measurements for the volume, overall dimensions of the book were kindly provided by Laetitia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library. Since the present writer's copy of the source appeared from comparison with these measurements to be at full size, the staff measurements were made from this copy. Accordingly, although they are reasonably accurate, they should not be treated as exact.

⁴⁸ Fenlon/Milsom 1984, 142-3.

lute books are not found after about 1595. The lack of central gap in the printing of *408/2* (c1605), on the other hand, confirms a date after 1600, but as the forme and watermark are otherwise unidentified it is possible that the paper was bought ready-printed from a continental supplier.

Measuring any written, printed or drawn matter older than about 100 years has its own particular problems associated with paper shrinkage. Gaskell⁴⁹ notes that shrinkage is more pronounced across chain-lines than along them, so comparison of measurements of upright and oblong format books is impossible when the chain lines do not run in the same direction on the page. Referring to the immediate shrinkage of paper after printing on slightly damp paper, he found that the impression of metal type was generally 1%-2.5% smaller than the type itself. He does not appear to be calculating shrinkage over time in these figures, but rather the shrinkage observed between the printing process, when the paper was moistened to allow it to stretch when the type was applied, thus enhancing the impression, and its subsequent drying. Because of the practice of moistening paper in this way, shrinkage within a printers block is likely to be more uniform than across paper that has not been pressed by a printer's forme. Even so, all papers cannot be relied upon to shrink uniformly, as a vast array of environmental factors will affect the amount of shrinkage ranging from the quality of the paper to its age and embracing not simply the storage conditions of the paper throughout its life, but also techniques employed in the paper-making process, the preparation of the writing surface, the quality and type of binding, the amount of use it received and so on almost indefinitely. Where measurements of printed papers may be useful, it has been found that measuring pages of hand-ruled paper, even of the same batch and bound in a single book, results in widely differing measurements, and particularly between written and unwritten pages. Currently research into papers and their origins is making use of quite detailed measuring of stave ruling,⁵⁰ but the present writer has found the practice of recording extremely small accurate measurements to be meaningless because of the ubiquitous and insuperable problem of paper shrinkage.

In any sources of this age the degree of paper shrinkage is not uniform in any way, and this is not simply between different books or between separate leaves of a book, but even across a single sheet; particularly noticeable where one edge of the book has been distressed in any way, through water or other damage. Printed papers may shrink more uniformly than those that were hand-ruled, due to the fact of their having been put under pressure while damp. Thus measuring the distance between the lines of the staves ruled with a single rastrum on a leaf—a matter of only about three to five millimetres—becomes reduced to average measurements across the page concerned, and those measurements cannot be taken as representative of any other leaf in the book. Mathematical precision is not only impractical but pointless, since even if a reasonably accurate set of measurements could be obtained, comparison with other sources is inconclusive. Attempting to discover whether multiple-stave rastra in discrete sources match is equally dubious since the degree of variance between unrelated sources sold by the same stationer is likely to be deliberately small because of buyers having a certain

⁴⁹ Gaskell 1985, 13.

⁵⁰ The distance between staves and the distance between each of the lines of the stave, as well as very precise measurements of the overall block on each page.

expectation of the appearance of a book. In this situation, the variation in measurements between books from different stationers is likely to be large enough that measurements do not need to be in extremely small increments, and even a single stationer is unlikely to be able to match his rulings precisely. In fact, exactly equal measurements between two sources must be viewed with suspicion unless every circumstance of their physical characteristics and history match. In this (hypothetical) case though, identity of ruling would hardly be significant.

TABLE 18
HAND-RULED PAPERS IN LUTE MANUSCRIPTS

Source	Staves per Page	Comments
<i>2764(2)</i>	4	
<i>31392</i>	6	
<i>Andrea</i>	8	
<i>Ballet</i>	8	
<i>Board</i>	12	
<i>Brogyntyn</i>	6	
<i>Dallis</i>	4	usually irregularly hand-ruled
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	11/12?	
<i>Dd.3.18</i>	4	
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	8	
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	5	
<i>Edmund</i>	8	probably double-stave (i.e.12-tine) rastrum
<i>Euing</i>	6	
<i>Hirsch</i>	10	
<i>Krakow</i>	8	
<i>Lodge</i>	4	
<i>Magdalen</i>	?	fragments of larger sheets
<i>Mansell</i>	5	
<i>Marsh</i>	10	various ruled and printed papers combined throughout
<i>ML</i>	12	
<i>Mynshall</i>	10	
<i>Nn.6.36</i>	10	
<i>Och439</i>	10	
<i>Och532</i>	6	
<i>Och1280</i>	6	
<i>Osborn</i>	3	
<i>Pickeringe 1</i>	10	
<i>Pickeringe 2</i>		Each page is differently ruled
<i>RA58</i>	6	
<i>Rowallan</i>	4	
<i>Sampson</i>	10	
<i>Thistlethwaite</i>	5	
<i>Trinity</i>	8	
<i>Trumbull</i>	8	
<i>Welde</i>	10	
<i>Wickhambrook</i>	12	
<i>Willoughby</i>	4	

Hand-ruled papers almost invariably made use of a rastrum, either a single rake which ruled one stave at a time, or a multiple instrument that allowed the ruling of anything up to ten staves simultaneously. The latter type of rastrum would only have been used by a stationer, and it is unlikely that an everyday lutenist would have possessed even a single-stave instrument when it was probably quicker and cheaper to buy paper ready-ruled. The construction of rastra is an enigma, since none survive, and it is not known whether they were cast from metal or constructed from a number of quills.

If the latter is the case, then the life of an average instrument must have been extremely short, and identity of hand-ruling between papers is highly unlikely.

The analysis of rastrum ruling is too large a subject to be adequately explored here, and is unlikely, given the range and diversity of sources in the lute repertory, to be a significant aid to dating. If a stationer or bookseller were to find a particular format or ruling popular or easy to bind, or if he owned a multiple rastrum with a specific number of staves, he would probably repeat it, but as table 18 shows, there is considerable variety in the numbers of staves to appear on pages of lute books. Sources written on hand-drawn (i.e. un-ruled) lines are omitted as they would have been prepared by the scribe and not repeated.

CHAPTER 6

DATING LUTE MANUSCRIPTS II: Implied evidence

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HISTORY OF THE SOURCE, OWNER OR SCRIBE

SCRIBAL CONCORDANCES

TYPE OF LUTE AND TUNINGS

REPERTORY, DATEABLE ELEMENTS IN ASCRPTIONS

STYLE OF HANDWRITING AND NOTATION, GRACES

COMPILATION AND LAYOUT

STEMMATICS

*

§HISTORY OF THE SOURCE, OWNER OR SCRIBE

BECAUSE NEARLY ALL THE SURVIVING manuscripts of lute music in England were written by amateur scribes, even knowing the name of the scribe rarely provides sufficient data to establish a history of that scribe's activity. Serious, that is professional, players rarely bothered to write their names all over their books: this was a practice of the amateur. Indeed, it seems likely that professional teachers did not own personal book collections, only loose leaves that could be easily copied one at a time by a pupil. Again, this is an area where circumstantial evidence is all that is available. It has been argued that teachers' books may not have survived because of the increased wear-and-tear that one might expect them to receive. However, the books of a professional player like Matthew Holmes have survived in very good condition, and many other surviving books show evidence of a long and active life. Considering the number and diversity of the surviving sources, surely at least one teachers' book, should such a thing have existed, would have survived among all the others.

It is very rare for a book to survive without additions by later owners to the original: what is interesting is the attitude of subsequent owners to those who came before. The inscription on the front flyleaf of *Thistlethwaite* has been so comprehensively scratched out that it is unreadable even under ultra-violet light; the inscription of *Board* has been damaged, obscuring the date, and Henry Sampson's name has been heavily crossed-out on f.7 of *Sampson*, though the title of the piece is left intact. The missing front end-paper in *Sampson* (1a) may have been a title page to the collection which was removed at the same time as the ascription was deleted, as part of the process of removing all traces of Sampson's previous ownership. It appears from these deletions that evidence of a previous owner of a book had to be removed, even though the music they copied was retained and used. There are a few books that show evidence of leaves being removed, though it is difficult either to find a reason for their removal, or to ascertain at what point in its history the leaves were removed unless they were removed before copying, which is usually obvious. The cost of paper, a scribe's pride in the appearance of his book, and the relative rarity of bound books would suggest either a serious and unrecoverable copying

error, or—in the light of attitudes to ownership—a rather drastic attempt to remove evidence of a previous owner. This attitude to ownership is explored in relation to the dating of repertory, where problems in ascribing music are addressed.¹

Pedagogical books are often well supplied with indications of the scribe's name, but since he or she is usually someone otherwise unknown it is rare to be able to establish any sort of biography for them that may give any indication of their period of activity. There are notable exceptions, such as Margaret Board, whose family records and the parish records of Lindfield in Sussex provide us not only with the date of her baptism, but also the information that she married between 1623 and 1631.² Jane Pickeringe, otherwise the closest scribe to Margaret Board in terms of her period of copying and parallels between the histories of their respective books, is an enigma. At present the only information we have about her is her name, though she did provide us with the date 1616 in her layer of the *Pickeringe* manuscript.

The biography of Edward Herbert, on the other hand, is known in extensive detail,³ but in some respects this has served to confuse the dating of the manuscript rather than elucidate its history. When the manuscript first came to light, Thurston Dart published a lengthy discourse about its compilation based on this biographical material,⁴ and subsequent studies⁵ did not question his dating to any great extent. He came to the conclusion that the music was probably collected from 1608, but only copied into the manuscript between 1624 and his death in 1640, without adding more contemporary music to the repertory. Dart was not aware of the key scheme governing the arrangement of the book, and saw the manuscript as divided into sections related to different periods in Herbert's life, which he spent partly in England and partly in Europe, with some prolonged stays in France. Herbert was forced into a form of exile in 1624, which Dart concluded gave him the ideal opportunity to begin copying out his collection of music. This may be a correct assumption, but is in fact more likely to be false, since Herbert's ascriptions for his own compositions indicate that he could not have been active in the book before 1628, so the compilation is more likely to date from 1630 with the last pieces added in 1640.⁶ The origins of the repertory are very varied, reflecting Herbert's cosmopolitan life, but even so the compilation is extraordinarily conservative for a manuscript to which additions were certainly still being made in 1640. In terms of the date of its compilation, it is out of place in this study, but going solely by its contents it is one of the most substantial extant Golden Age manuscripts, written entirely in *vieil ton* and preserving a repertory dating almost exclusively from the early years of the seventeenth century.

Occasionally the name and date of birth of a scribe are known, but there is no further evidence to suggest a date of the manuscript in which they are active. Where dates of birth and of copying are

¹ See below, p.158ff.

² The dates of the wills of two of her relatives, the first referring to her as 'Margarett Board', and the second naming her 'Margarett Borne wife of Henry Borne'. See Spencer 1976C (inventory).

³ Herbert wrote a fairly detailed autobiography, and as a member of the nobility his movements are reasonably well-recorded in official source, most of the information now available in *DNB*.

⁴ Dart 1957.

⁵ Price 1969, Spring 1987A.

⁶ See Craig 1991. Conclusions of this text are summarized in Chapter 7.

both known, the manuscripts compiled by young women seem to have been copied when they were no younger than the age of about 20 (Margaret Board), while the earliest age for a boy to be writing was 15, in the case of Richard Mynshall. Thus, if the name of the scribe and the date of his or her birth are known, it would be safe to suggest the ages of 15 for a boy and 20 for a young woman as being the approximate ages at which they would begin copying a lute book. Bearing this in mind, Jane Pickeringe was probably born c1595. Where the scribe is clearly a professional musician or writing later in life there are no such simplistic guidelines to follow: such scribes seem to have had a copying and playing life of 30-40 years, a not unreasonable span for any professional life. Some of the royal lutenists who held posts until their deaths were professionally active for considerably longer:⁷ thus other criteria become more important when assessing their date of activity.

§SCRIBAL CONCORDANCES

There are numerous instances in which scribal concordances for sources have been identified but that information has contributed virtually nothing to the dating or other information about either source. There are probably as many cases where the identification of a scribal concordance (or its absence) does have repercussions, either on the dating of a particular source or on our understanding of the repertory as a whole. The copying life of an amateur lutenist is likely to be considerably shorter than that of a professional musician who would continue to add to his repertory as new pieces became available. The work of the known amateur players like the scribes of sources such as *Dallis*, *Pickeringe*, *Board*, *Sampson*, *ML*, seem to be limited to a considerable burst of activity, probably at the time they were working with a teacher, and no other appearances. The more professional players, however, have a tendency to appear in more than one source, and possibly over a considerable time-span. John Dowland is one such known scribe, as is the scribe tentatively identified as Richard Allison. Women in particular seem to have learned to play the lute in the early years of adulthood, before marriage, particularly if they remained unmarried into their 20s, as mastery of the instrument seems to have been considered a highly marriageable trait.

Essentially, the identification of scribal concordance is usually acceptable unless it thereby overturns previous entrenched ideas about the sources. The insurmountable problem in identifying a scribe is that the answer can never be proved, and so even highly detailed analyses of hands by a number of experts may be discarded. The examination of scribes has been discussed in Chapter 4 and, since the subject is particularly controversial and therefore requires considerable attention, some specific cases that have raised particularly contentious problems have been examined in detail in Chapter 7. Table 19 summarizes the incidence of scribal concordances in the English sources.

Scribal practices in some ways are particularly predictable. The cost of paper and particularly ruled paper in bound books meant that scribes were almost always highly conservative in the use of paper. Blank folios are almost never left for no reason. In *Herbert* sections of folios have been left blank to accommodate music that was intended to be copied in the same key as that preceding, which is

⁷ See Ashbee 1988 and Ashbee 1991.

copied continuously without any empty pages. In sections where the quantity of music exceeded the space available, some of the spaces reserved for other keys were used. The compilation of *Hirsch* implies that the scribe was keeping dance music and fantasias separate, and like *Herbert* apart from the large gaps between sections, blank folios are not to be found within groups of pieces. Frequently, a scribe may return to early portions of a book and fill single or double line spaces left by longer pieces that did not fill a page with short song settings or arrangements of popular tunes. In the case of *Board*, the scribe was clearly filling the smaller gaps with these types of piece as she went along.

For this reason, if the work of one scribe is interrupted by the work of another, it is almost certain that they were working in the book contemporaneously. Very often, the secondary scribe changes or corrects the work of the primary, as in *Sampson* and *Board*, and in some cases a piece of music may be started by one scribe and completed by another, as in *Hirsch* and *Swarland*. In pedagogical books the only fully satisfactory explanation for the 'invasion' of one scribe into the copying of another is that the second scribe was teaching the first, and the style of the invasion usually justifies this supposition. Personal anthologies seem to have encouraged the intrusion of secondary scribes, as the purpose of these books was more social. In these sources, sections of different scribes interspersed with the principal scribe are not unusual, but even so, the practice of maintaining an uninterrupted flow of music without blank folios seems to have been important.

End-papers were not usually used as copying pages, mainly because the quality of the paper was not of a 'writing' standard. Normally, only pen trials and possibly an *ex libris* inscription are to be found here. That Dowland used the flyleaf and not the first folio in *Board* for his table of mensural equivalents indicates that he probably wrote it after the first folios were copied, though he may have preferred this leaf as it was not ruled. If he had been active at the inception of the book though, one might expect to find some evidence of his activity in the early folios up to 11v.

In a group of about 50 sources that might be optimistically 10% of the original generation, one would not expect to find many scribal concordances. Six of these sources, the Holmes books, were written more or less end to end by a single scribe, however, bringing the real total down to 44. Even so, the number of such concordances again exceeds expectations, in some cases quite dramatically. The secondary scribe of *Sampson* is also the secondary scribe of *Swarland*, *Dd.9.33* and *Dd.4.22*,⁸ linking the largest and most comprehensive professional collection to survive with three otherwise unconnected sources, not only in apparent provenance but also in the type and purpose of the manuscripts linked. A further three sources are linked to the group through concordant primary scribes or stemmatic relationships.⁹ If fragments preserving unrelated repertoires and earlier sources that are limited to the previous generation of music are excluded, then the percentage of the remaining sources that are clearly linked is over 50%. This statistic is 'alarming' because it shows that our ideas about the survival of the sources of this repertory may be quite substantially incorrect. These are not the only manuscripts

⁸ See Chapter 7 §Richard Allison.

⁹ See Chapter 7 §Richard Allison. The other sources are *Mynshall* with a primary scribe concordant with *Swarland* (see Chapter 7 §*Mynshall* and *Swarland*), 31392 and *Euing*, both of which appear to have used the Holmes books as copying exemplars of some sort.

to be linked by scribal concordance either. Those that remain are frequently linked, though rarely in more than pairs. Have we been overestimating the extent of use that a domestic instrument received and assumed inaccurately a widespread popularity for the lute, and have we also failed to recognise the unusual status of manuscripts devoted to music for this instrument?

TABLE 19
SCRIBAL CONCORDANCES IN ENGLISH LUTE SOURCES

Source	Scribe	date	Concordances
408/2 A		c1605	6402
408/2 B		c1605	
6402		c1605	408/2 A
2764(2)		c1585-90	Willoughby G
31392 A		c1605	
31392 B		c1605	Dd.9.33 B
31392 C		c1605	
41498		c1590	
60577		c1540	
Andrea		c1570	Lodge C; cf. Willoughby G?
Ballet A		c1590	
Ballet B		c1610	Folger D
Ballet C		c1610	31392 B; ML C?
Ballet D		c1610	Swarland C
Board A	Margaret Board	c1620	Hirsch B
Board B	John Dowland	c1620	Folger
Board C		c1625	ML C
Board D		c1625	cf. Willoughby E
Board E		c1625	
Brogynlyn A		c1600	
Brogynlyn B		c1600	
Cosens	C.K.	c1610	cf. Pickeringe A
Dallis	'Dallis's Pupil'	1583-5	
Dd.2.11	Matthew Holmes	c1585-95	Holmes books
Dd.3.18	Matthew Holmes	c1585-1600	Holmes books
Dd.4.22 A		c1615	
Dd.4.22 B	?Richard Allison	c1615	Sampson B, Swarland B, Dd.9.33 C
Dd.4.22 C		c1615	
Dd.4.23	Matthew Holmes	c1600	Holmes books
Dd.5.78.3	Matthew Holmes	c1595-1600	Holmes books
Dd.9.33 A	Matthew Holmes	c1600-1605	Holmes books
Dd.9.33 B		c1600-1605	31392 B
Dd.9.33 C	?Richard Allison	c1600-1605	Sampson B, Swarland B, Dd.4.22 B
Dd.9.33 D		c1600-1605	
Dd.9.33 E		c1600-1605	
Edmund		c1635	
Euing A		c1610	
Euing B		c1650	
Folger A		c1590	
Folger B		c1590	
Folger C		c1590	
Folger D		c1590	Wickhambrook A; cf. Welde A
Folger E		c1590	
Folger F	John Dowland	c1590	Board B
Folger G		c1590	
Folger H		c1590	
Genoa		c1600	
Handford	George Handford	1609	
Herbert A	Herbert's secretary	c1630	
Herbert B	Edward Herbert	c1630	
Herbert C	Cuthbert Hely	c1640	
Hirsch A	H.O.	c1620	?Magdalen A cf. Thistlethwaite H

<i>Hirsch B</i>	Margaret Board	c1620	<i>Board A</i>
<i>Hirsch C</i>		c1620	
<i>Hirsch D</i>		c1620	
<i>Hirsch E</i>		c1620	
<i>Krakow A</i>	?John Sturt	c1615	<i>ML B</i> ; cf. <i>Folger E</i>
<i>Krakow B</i>		c1615	
<i>Krakow C</i>		c1615	
<i>Lodge A</i>		1559	
<i>Lodge B</i>		1559	
<i>Lodge C</i>		c1575	<i>Andrea A</i>
<i>ML A</i>	Margaret L.	c1620	
<i>ML B</i>	?John Sturt	c1620	<i>Krakow A</i>
<i>ML C</i>		c1620	
<i>ML D</i>		c1620	
<i>ML E</i>		c1630-40	<i>Och532 B</i>
<i>Magdalen A</i>		c1605	<i>Hirsch A</i>
<i>Magdalen B</i>		c1605	
<i>Mansell</i>		c1600?	<i>Mynshall B</i>
<i>Marsh A</i>		c1595	
<i>Marsh B</i>		c1595	<i>Thistlethwaite A</i> (title)
<i>Mynshall A</i>	Richard Mynshall	1597	<i>Swarland A</i>
<i>Mynshall B</i>		c1600	<i>Mansell</i>
<i>Mynshall C</i>		c1605	
<i>Nn.6.36 A</i>	Matthew Holmes	c1610-15	<i>Holmes books</i>
<i>Nn.6.36 B</i>		c1610-15	
<i>Nn.6.36 C</i>		c1610-15	
<i>Northants</i>		c1625	
<i>Occ254</i>		c1610	
<i>Och439 A</i>		c1620	
<i>Och439 B</i>		c1620	
<i>Och439 C</i>		c1620	
<i>Och439 D</i>		c1620	
<i>Och439 E</i>		c1620	
<i>Och439 F</i>		c1620	<i>Dd.9.33 E</i>
<i>Och1280</i>		c1580	
<i>Osborn</i>		c1560	
<i>Pickeringe A</i>	Jane Pickeringe	1616	
<i>Pickeringe B</i>		c1630	
<i>Pickeringe C</i>		c1650	cf. <i>Folger D</i> ; <i>Ballet B</i>
<i>Pickeringe D</i>		c1630	
<i>RA58</i>		c1530	cf. <i>Ballet ?</i>
<i>Richard</i>		1600-1603	
<i>Rowallan A</i>	Anna Hay	c1605-8	
<i>Rowallan B</i>	?Mary Hay	c1605-8	
<i>Rowallan C</i>	Sir William Mure	c1615-20	
<i>Sampson A</i>	Henry Sampson	c1610	
<i>Sampson B</i>	?Richard Allison	c1610	<i>Dd.4.22 B</i> , <i>Swarland B</i> , <i>Dd.9.33 C</i>
<i>Sampson C</i>	[title only]	c1610	
<i>Stobaeus</i>	Johann Stobaeus	c1635	
<i>Stowe389</i>	Raphe Bowle	1558	
<i>Swarland A</i>	Richard Mynshall	c1615	<i>Mynshall A</i>
<i>Swarland B</i>	?Richard Allison	c1615	<i>Sampson B</i> , <i>Dd.9.33 C</i> , <i>Dd.4.22 B</i>
<i>Thistlethwaite A</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite B</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite C</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite D</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite E</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite F</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite G</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite H</i>		c1575	cf. <i>Hirsch</i>
<i>Thistlethwaite J</i>		c1575	
<i>Thistlethwaite K</i>	Thistlethwaite	c1575	
<i>Trinity</i>		c1630	

<i>Trumbull A</i>	William Trumbull	c1595	
<i>Trumbull B</i>		c1605	
<i>Welde</i>	professional copyist	c1600	cf. <i>Folger D</i> ; <i>Wickhambrook A</i>
<i>Wemyss</i>	Lady Margaret Wemyss	1643-4	
<i>Wickhambrook A</i>		c1595	<i>Folger D</i> ; cf. <i>Welde</i>
<i>Wickhambrook B</i>		c1595	
<i>Willoughby A</i>	?Richard Greene	c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby B</i>	?Francis Willoughby	c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby C</i>		c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby D</i>		c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby E</i>	?John Edlin	c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby F</i>		c1560-85	
<i>Willoughby G</i>	?Richard Greene	c1560-85	2764(2)
<i>Willoughby H</i>		c1560-85	

The common belief, predicated partly on fact and partly on a sort of common-sense extrapolation, is that the further back in time you proceed from your own point, the less of each succeeding period's belongings survive for your perusal. This is reasonable as far as it goes, since the equation: age = fragility = degeneration, is undoubtedly correct. If, as seems to be the common assumption, a calculation based on rates of survival of books of any kind in more recent times leads to a figure of around 5% for 1600, this needs to be offset by such considerations as the rarity and monetary value of manuscript music-books. Furthermore, the frequency of scribal concordances can only strengthen the suspicion that survivals of lute-books, in particular, represent a far higher proportion of what once existed.

Lutes appear repeatedly in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings in the hands of men and, equally often, women, and they find their way into lyric poetry of most decades up to c1650.¹⁰ That the lute and its symbolism thus pervaded Elizabethan and Stuart life is therefore not an issue. However, the problem of how many of these people—often clearly middle- or working-class—compiled lute books is unresolved. The courtesans of England, Italy, France and the Netherlands, whose lute was a badge of trade,¹¹ almost certainly did not use written music, nor, as already explained, did the professional players of the Royal Music. This would also give some explanation for the paucity of printed collections for the solo lute in England compared to printed lute-songs. The only players who compiled books were the aristocratic ones, and even these would play from memory, not music, in public. To them, though, the lute book was as valuable as the instrument—perhaps more, as the instrument could be easily replaced—and was preserved and passed-on with great care.

The number of scribal concordances between the lute sources indicates a high level of communication between them. If the number of books to survive was really only about 5% of the

¹⁰ See Betty S Travitsky and Adele H Seeff: *Attending to Early Modern Women: Proceedings of a symposium held at the University of Maryland 21-23 April 1994* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, forthcoming), particularly Session 19: 'Women in Dialogue with their Lutes: Strategies for Self-Expression'; and Line Pouchard: 'Louise Labé in Dialogue with her Lute: Silence Constructs a Poetic Subject' *History of European Ideas* (1993, forthcoming).

¹¹ See Dirick van Baburen (1590/5-1624): *The Procuress* (1622), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Frans van Mieris (the Elder 1635-81): *Brothel Scene* (1638), The Hague, Mauritshuis; Gerard Terborch (1617-81): *Brothel Scene* (?); Gerrit van Honthorst (1590-1656): *The Procuress* (1625), Utrecht, Centraal Museum; Jan Steen (c1625-79): *The Morning Toilet/Prostitute at her Toilet* (1663); Jan Vermeer (1632-75): *The Procuress* (1656), all of which feature lutes prominently. Also, R H Fuchs: *Dutch Painting* (London, 1978), 44 and 54-5.

original distribution, then there should be dramatically fewer scribal concordances. Perhaps having a pupil write a lute book was the particular practice of a specific school of teachers in a single region? This would certainly provide one explanation for the distribution of concordances. Unfortunately, however, the evidence of common exemplars that would confirm this situation, is also absent. Taking into account natural losses from fire and other accidents, deterioration through use, and the likelihood of unbound sources having a considerably shorter life, the conclusion is that a more accurate figure for the rate of survival might be 50%.

§TYPE OF LUTE AND TUNINGS

The consensus among modern players and from the prefatory matter to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publications, particularly Dowland 1610B, is that the standard sixteenth-century English lute had six courses and eight frets, and that the seven-course lute in England dates from almost precisely 1595.¹² However, the six-course instrument persisted, and certainly a lutenist would not have changed his instrument simply to stay in fashion. The overall result is a variety of six-course pieces being adapted for larger lutes by the addition of notes requiring bass courses, and the reverse change in which later music is adapted to suit a more conservative instrument. Thus the presence of these bass notes themselves could indicate the relative age of a source, but their absence might not. *Euing* for instance, was written by a scribe who played a six-course lute, but contains much music that was intended for at least seven courses and has been adapted, not always successfully. On the other hand it is easier to adapt a lute to accommodate additional frets than it is to dispense with the need for them in the music. Dowland 1610B refers to Mathias Mason as having invented the ninth, tenth and eleventh frets on the old English eight-fret instrument by glueing strips of wood to his soundboard, and adds that the French subsequently lengthened the neck of their instruments to accommodate ten tied frets. He implies that these improvements had been around for some time, and that the most popular instrument was the long-necked French variety, which probably had three extra frets on the belly. How long the instrument with these high frets had been in use is nowhere specifically stated, though it is probably unlikely to have been before 1600. Certainly, music that uses tablature letters above 'k' is likely to date from after 1605 or even 1610, depending on whether it also requires more than one added bass course. This is more an aid to dating repertory than sources, although some adaptations, more re-writings than simple alterations, are so successful that it is impossible to see which version came first. Composers also complicated matters by improving on old pieces by re-composing them. Dowland's 'Battle Galliard' appears in *Sampson* (c1610) in an easier form than is found in books of more accomplished players, and may have been an early version of the piece rather than a simpler adaptation.

Lutes with large numbers of added courses were generally used late in the first half of the seventeenth century, but those with six to seven courses, although probably made early in the century, were nevertheless still in use later. Thus, although we have approximate dates for technical changes such as the addition of extra frets and courses, the lack of precise information, and the undoubtedly

¹² See *LSJ* i (1959).

variable take-up of any new innovation, makes this an extremely volatile weapon in the dating armoury. Even an attempt to pin down a decade during which the seventh course came into use is inadvisable, since it may have been in use in some places long before, and was certainly not taken up by every player as soon as a few had tried it.¹³

An English manuscript that is heavily influenced by the French repertory and by trends in design and construction originating abroad may appear to be later than it really is because it is progressive in its geographical context. On the other hand, a manuscript such as *Herbert* looks as if at least parts of it must date from the early years of the seventeenth century because of its consistent *vieil ton* tuning and the lack of numerous bass courses in many pieces. Considering the unavoidable links that its owner had with the continent before and during the copying period, and the actual date of copying, it is extremely surprising that there are no new French tunings employed, and that there is so little that is truly representative of the up-to-date repertory. On the other hand, Lord Herbert used a lute with up to ten courses, which would preclude an early dating despite those features that make the manuscript a conservative product for the 1630s and 1640s.

Clearly there are numerous caveats to be taken into account when examining the type of lute a player used. Again there seems to be a significant gap between what we might expect the amateur or the professional to be using. The amateurs probably bought up-to-date instruments, but may have found themselves copying music for a more conservative instrument. In this case, we may expect to see some bass courses added to the music for extra resonance on chords that would otherwise not have had much bass range. The professional, on the other hand, probably changed instruments or altered old ones (as Mathias Mason is reputed to have done) in order to keep up with modern trends, thus assuring the popularity of his repertory and improvising style as well as making it easy to play newly composed music. A single scribe, depending on his (or her) wealth, enthusiasm or professional needs, may easily have changed his lute to suit changing fashions, and a scribe who copied over a considerable length of time, such as a thirty-year span,¹⁴ would be likely to change aspects of his notation to accommodate the changing construction of the instrument and increasing demands on its range.

§REPERTORY, DATEABLE ELEMENTS IN ASCRIPTIONS

The single most important feature of a source that qualifies every aspect of its dating, and particularly the date of its repertory, is the original intended purpose of the book. It has been shown in Chapter 3 that the currency of the repertory can depend entirely on the category of book. In particular, pedagogical books may be expected to preserve a particularly 'old-fashioned' repertory, while professional books are probably the only ones in which dating principally by the repertory they contain

¹³ The absence of any comprehensive study on the development of the lute, and the various stages of its growth, makes it impossible to give a more detailed account of the dates at which selected changes in its construction took place. The subject is too large to be covered adequately here, and research undertaken by various luthiers is unpublished, usually because of the difficulty in arriving at a consensus. The reluctance of luthiers to publish their findings is also linked to professional secrecy, which may also reflect the attitude of builders of the sixteenth century. However, *see* Lowe 1976 for an initial excursion into this field by a highly regarded luthier.

¹⁴ Almost always likely to be a professional musician.

is plausible. However, if the book was not compiled in London (or, possibly, Oxford) or the immediate environment of the composers it contains, the time new music took to percolate outwards into more provincial areas places constraints on the effectiveness of this method of dating. Dating by repertory alone can, in some cases, be useful, but more often than not leads to a distortion of the historical position of the book.¹⁵ Overall, the conclusion that must be reached is that although the repertory must not be ignored, dating by repertory alone is unwise, and even proposing a date by using the repertory as a prime factor has proved dangerous.¹⁶ Relative difficulty or simplicity of the repertory clearly has no relevance to its date. The repertory may support other evidence and may even contradict it, but essentially its consideration must be qualified by first ascertaining the original intended purpose of the book.

Dallis is undoubtedly a pedagogical book, and this factor would lead us to expect it to contain a repertory from a wide chronological background with some emphasis on early music.¹⁷ The evidently short copying span also brings its dating by Poulton and Ward¹⁸ of 1565-80 into question, as the consistency in script implies strongly that it was copied over a significantly shorter time, even though the music in it was copied from prints dating from the early 1500s right up to Adriansen 1584. In some ways, *Dallis* is a rather extreme example of the divergence between the date of compilation and the actual date of copying, but since we know that it was prepared in Cambridge under the direction of a Cambridge teacher it is far more likely that the lutenist and his master would have had access to a fair library of old books of music, and particularly of the continental prints that seem to have exercised the authors of Ward 1967 to the extent that they felt justified in disregarding the scribe's quite clear statement of the date of his work. *Sampson* is similarly impossible to date by the repertory, and for the same reasons. This book is also one of the pedagogical books, and the repertory copied by Henry Sampson is considerably earlier than the 1609 of the watermark.

Appendix 5 lists titles or names that appear in ascriptions that provide the piece of music concerned with a date, sometimes only approximate, before or after which the piece must have been composed, thus adding to the body of information that has to be reconciled in order to reach a satisfactory conclusion regarding the chronology of the source under consideration. The problem with this apparently ideal source of dating information is that even where a firm date is established by, for instance, the date of a composer's BMus, it is sometimes possible, even preferable, to argue that the piece or the ascription that supplies this date may have been added to the source at a different time from the remainder of its contents. This argument arises in the context of the dating of *Hirsch*.

It is often in examining the repertory of a source that the largest number of anomalies arise, but the evidence provided by the repertory is frequently that which is most readily set aside as simply anomalous, even when the evidence it offers seems unavoidable. This was the case with Lumsden 1957, and again in the considerably more recent Ward 1992, though the problems usually arise because

¹⁵ See Chapter 5, note 1.

¹⁶ See Chapter 7 §Board and *Hirsch*.

¹⁷ See also Chapter 5 §Recorded dates, dateable marginalia.

¹⁸ Poulton 1982 and Ward 1967B.

the source has been dated before all the evidence has been considered; subsequent evidence has been manipulated to fit the *a priori* conclusion reached.

The elements of a title that can lead to the proposal of a date for a piece of music can be extremely diverse. Sometimes, a relatively exact date such as that of a composer's degree, or the date of a knighthood are shown in an ascription; sometimes the whole thing is more nebulous, and all that is known is that a dedicatee took part in a battle, and a title mentioning his name may indicate a piece was written to welcome him home. Many post-degree sources of Dowland's music do not describe him as Bachelor of Music: the same is true of those that must have been copied after he was awarded a Doctorate, some time after 1621. Some pieces certainly existed before they were dignified by the title they now have - 'Sir John Langton's Pavan' is also known as 'Mr John Langton's Pavan'. The contents of Dowland 1610B were certainly not all composed specifically for the occasion of their publication, and some perhaps previously untitled pieces may have acquired titles for the occasion.

On occasion, this may appear a relatively exact science, but it rarely turns out to be so. If a degree conferred in 1605 (for example) does not appear appended to the relevant person's name, then it is not safe to assume that the manuscript was therefore copied before its conferral. There may be many reasons for the omission: perhaps the composer was not known to the copyist, or the exemplar did not give it. On the other hand, if the degree is mentioned, we can only say that the manuscript was copied after 1605, but not how long after (with the caveat mentioned above).

Although using specific pieces to establish dates is fraught with caveats, there have been some notable exceptions. 31392 was originally thought to have been copied c1590, but Richard Newton, researching music by Francis Pilkington,¹⁹ discovered that Mrs Mary Oldfield, mentioned on f.23, was not married until 1600. The contents of a manuscript rely heavily on the contents of the exemplar or exemplars to which the copyist had access, or his (or their) ability to notate music by ear or from memory.

The name of a composer is of little real use. Some manuscripts are considered 'early' because they do not contain any music by Robert Johnson (for instance), though his absence from any source and the inclusion of any other may simply indicate the taste of the owner or a lack of familiarity with maske music and maske composers, rather than the date of copying. The peculiar practices obtaining to ascription also complicate matters, when a piece is ascribed to a composer like Robert Johnson (apprenticed in 1596) but which appears, unasccribed, in a source that should be too early for his work. It is possible that the later version only became associated with him because he set the divisions for it.

There is no reason to suppose that music did not circulate for quite a reasonable amount of time after its copying. Henry Sampson's repertory seems to date from the 1580s and 90s, but cannot have been copied before c1610. The most essential factor to be taken into account when attempting to place a source chronologically by its repertory is the type of book it is, and thus the relationship of the writer to the composer. Professional musicians in London such as Matthew Holmes—at the sharp end of musical developments—were probably copying music within a few weeks of its composition, and

¹⁹ Richard Newton: 'The Lute Music of Francis Pilkington' *LSJ*, i (1959), 34.

their manuscripts, though inevitably containing some older music, would probably reflect this tendency. Books compiled by pupils under the direction of a teacher, on the other hand, may be expected to contain an almost exclusively 'out-of-date' repertory, particularly if they lived outside London. Personal anthologies, depending on the skill of the owner, would rely not only on their proximity to London to determine how new was the music they were copying, but also their contact with the lute fraternity and the court where most of the new music would have been composed and played. It is all too easy to forget how slowly current fashions would have percolated outwards from London to the provinces, and thus the amount of time that a piece of music written in London might have taken to be played as 'new' music in Nantwich²⁰ (for example).

The issue of ascription is further clouded by an attitude to authorship that clearly had little to do with twentieth-century ideas of originality. Many pieces, even those published by well-known composers, can nevertheless turn up in a different source with another composer's name attached. We are thus faced with an apparent problem of dubious authorship. An understanding of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attitude to authorship may help in our understanding of a concept that we now describe as eclecticism or even plagiarism, even though this practice had been considered correct and would lend authority to any work for hundreds of years up to this point, and was not only common and accepted, but considered normal right up the mid eighteenth century and beyond. We now describe it as 'borrowing', but even this is mis-interpreting an attitude that we no longer understand, particularly as through transmission of the repertory and the various manners of scribal attribution, the difference between the composer of a piece and the arranger of a piece or tune has often been submerged.²¹ The anxiety over who got credit for what seems not to have existed in 1600, and was still not widespread in 1700 when composers were re-arranging each others music or re-using another composer's arias and calling them their own. This seems to be a hangover from a more liberal idea of authorship dating from the middle ages. Folio 7 of *Sampson* (in example 26, p.91) was copied by Henry Sampson. Both pieces on the page are 'Mrs White's Choice', believed to be by John Dowland. The first statement of each strain is exactly repeated, but transposed up a tone in the second version; perhaps an exercise in transposition, though the second version does allow the player the resonance of his open bass courses substantially more than the first. The divisions are very similar (one would expect them to be, since they are based on the same music and harmony), but not exact repetitions. The first is entitled 'Mrs Whites choice' [by John Dowland] but the second is 'Mrs Whites choyce <per Henricum Sampson scriptorem libri>' [by Henry Sampson] (The deleted words are enclosed thus < >). Spencer²² 'translates' this as "i.e. set by Henry Sampson, the scribe of this book" which is not what it actually says. Spencer has been misled by his twentieth-century expectations. Sampson's meaning and intent

²⁰ The home of *Mynshall*.

²¹ Ward 1977, 28-30 gives an excellent series of examples of 'eclecticism' among the compositions of John Dowland: 'Sir Robert Sidney's Galliard' originally appears as 'M. Bucton's Galliard', but the music is basically a slightly re-worked version of Lassus's 'Susanne un jour', which appears very frequently throughout the lute sources. 'My Lady Hunsdon's Almain' also appears to draw on thematic material found in five continental sources dating from c1600, while 'Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home', arranged by Dowland, is usually described as composed by him.

²² Spencer 1974B, introduction.

are quite clear: 'Mrs White's choice by Henry Sampson writer of this book'. If he was going to write that much, then surely he would also have written 'set by' if he had meant it. For Sampson, by setting a well-known or pre-existing piece with his own divisions, he becomes entitled—even expected—to claim authorship. Thus Dowland himself could simply be setting divisions to music by someone else in the same way as he would write a setting of the popular songs 'Walsingham' or 'Go from my Window'. We assume he was the composer of the original melody simply because we have no evidence to the contrary.

A single piece of music that exists, therefore, ascribed to John Dowland, Francis Cutting and Daniel Bacher is not necessarily misattributed in two instances (though it could be).²³ It may be rather that there are three independent settings of the same tune or dance by three independent composers, each of whom quite legitimately claimed authorship of the whole. Who wrote the original measures is a question that may never be answered, and was probably irrelevant to those it most concerned in any case. Even settings by Dowland of one piece of music survive with a variety of different divisions and in different forms, giving rise to the assumption that copyists putting their own mark on a work and the problems inherent in the transmission of the repertory gave rise to a certain corruption of the original. However, no player worth his salt would have missed the opportunity of improvising in that section of a piece where improvisation was expected, whether notated or not, and the variant versions probably owe more to this tradition than to the corruption of the repertory through transmission.

Further examples of this attitude can be seen in the lute repertory in the borrowing of written instructions on playing the lute. William Barley used Besard's instructions without acknowledging him; but perhaps it is odd for us to expect that, or comment on its absence. In fact, the original author is immaterial to a contemporary reader. The fact that Barley now repeats it, simply means that he endorses the method and adopts it as his own to the extent that he quotes it verbatim (albeit translated) because he sees no reason to change or re-write something that is perfectly adequately expressed already. Most modern scholars and players have assumed that because Dowland made the remark that he was going to make a lute tutor and the Dowland 1610B tutor is largely Besard's work, that Dowland must have had another work in mind. On the other hand, viewed in the above light, perhaps the Besard translation was what Dowland had in mind?

The style of the repertory in particular may be misleading, since a pupil copying from a master's exemplar may be copying music which was far from new if the exemplar had been in use for some years. *Sampson* is a demonstrable example of a source where the date of the repertory is positively contradicted by the physical evidence.

There is an obvious danger in taking too doctrinaire a line about the relationship between chronology, repertory and a group of sources. All sources of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lute music are likely to contain recent compositions; they will also contain music that is much older. In a

²³ *Thysius* ascribes one piece of Dowland to 'John Dowland Bacher', presumably referring to his BMus, but ascriptions like this one could lead to misattribution in subsequent sources.

situation where there is a sequence of manuscripts that preserve comparable repertoires, which come from a similar locale and which may be placed in a chronological order, such as the collection of Matthew Holmes, there is no reason to assume that it should not be possible to establish where the repertoire of one generation overlaps with the next and so on, particularly if the manuscript is one of those that will almost certainly consist of only immediately contemporary music. The resulting data might give some extremely valuable clues as to the nature of the 'new' and 'popular' repertoire in each segment of the period as shown in Chapter 2.

	<i>Dd.2.11</i> c1585-95	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> c1595-1600	<i>Dd.9.33</i> c1600-1605	<i>Nn.6.36</i> c1610-15
Galliard	(87) 27	(71) 45	(37) 23	(23) 24
Pavan	(69) 21	(33) 21	(27) 16	(17) 18
'English' genres ²⁴	(24) 7	(14) 9	(28) 17	(6) 6
Song settings ²⁵	(36) 11	(14) 9	(28) 17	(7) 7
Courant	(7) 2	(3) 2	(19) 12	(12) 13
[Passamezzo	(6)	0	0	(1)]
[Quadro	(9)	0	0	(2)]
Fantasia/Fancy	(31) 10	(3) 2	(9) 5	(2) 2
Almain	(12) 4	(8) 5	(15) 9	(5) 5
Prelude	(4) 1	(2) 1	(1) .6	(2) 2
Maske tunes/dances	(1) .3	(2) 1	(1) .6	(6) 6
Volt	(2) .6	(2) 1	(5) 3	(3) 3
Jig/Port	(7) 2	(7) 4	(9) 5	(3) 3
Intabulations	(12) 4	(3) 2	(6) 4	0
Toy	(4) 1	(2) 1	(3) 2	(2) 2
Dump	(1) .3	0	0	0
Battle pieces	(1) .3	0	0	0
[Lachrimae	(3)	(1)	0	0]
[In nomine settings	(3)	0	(2)	0]
Ballet	0	(1) .6	(1) .6	(2) 2
March	(5) 1.5	0	(1) .6	0
Branles	0	(1) .6	0	0
Popular grounds ²⁶	(2) .6	(2) 1	(2) 1	(3) 3
Hornpipe	(1) .3	0	0	0
TOTAL pieces in MS	324	156	164	94

The four lute books of Matthew Holmes, which are ideally placed chronologically to represent the whole of the most influential period in England, 1580-1615, have been organized statistically by their contents in tables 20 and 21.²⁷ In the first table (table 20) the genres are listed in the same order as the 'league table of popularity' shown in Chapter 2.

²⁴ Including: Delight, Farewell, Good Night, Funerals, Lament/Lamentation, Choice, Thing, Nothing, Puff, Lullaby, Good Morrow, Dream, Spirit and other programmatic or dedicatory titles.

²⁵ Both simple harmonizations and contrapuntal arrangements, but excluding intabulations.

²⁶ Including: The Hunts up, Canaries, etc.

²⁷ For complete inventories see Appendix 1.

	<i>Dd.2.11</i> c1585-95	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> c1595-1600	<i>Dd.9.33</i> c1600-1605	<i>Nn.6.36</i> c1610-15
Richard Allison	7	4	0	0
Ascue	2	1	1	0
Daniel Bacheler	2	13	6	20
Bradbury	1	1	0	0
William Byrd	3	2	5	0
Cavendish	1	1	0	0
Jeremy Chamberlayne	0	0	2	0
Edmund Collard	1	5	2	0
Francis Cutting	19	24	14	1
John Danyel	0	0	2	1
John Dowland	44	24	30	9
Alfonso Ferrabosco	12	4	0	0
Francesco da Milano	4	0	0	0
James Harding	0	2	0	2
Anthony Holborne	42	22	10	1
John Johnson	17	2	5	1
Robert Johnson	0	0	3	3
Robert Kennerley	0	4	0	0
Lassus	4	0	0	0
Lusher	2	4	2	0
Marchant	1	0	1	0
Mathias Mason	0	0	3	0
Peter Phillips	3	2	2	0
Edward Pierce	1	1	0	0
Francis Pilkington	9	0	2	1
Thomas Robinson	2	2	2	0
Philip Rosseter	0	0	2	0
Nicholas Strogers	1	0	2	0
John Sturt	0	0	0	3
Taverner	3	0	2	0
foreigners ²⁸	3	1	6	5
miscellaneous ²⁹	7	3	4	4
TOTAL pieces in MS	324	156	164	94

As might be expected there is a decline in the quantity of fantasias, though not, as might be expected, in the numbers of song settings, though they seem to have been a low priority from the start of Holmes's copying. Their low numbers may indicate something more significant about the difference between the types of genres copied by professionals as opposed to amateurs. There is also a very slight decline in the proportion of pavans and galliards, balanced by a rise in the proportion of courants, volts, ballets and maske tunes. Although the figures are not particularly dramatic, they demonstrate in microcosm the movement of taste and popularity to be seen throughout the entire repertory. In table 21 the composers in the sources are listed alphabetically. In each source, a few composers appear who do not seem to be present in any of the other sources, and who are only represented by one piece. These are grouped together as 'miscellaneous composers'. Since there is so

²⁸ Emanuel Adriansen, Charles Bocquet, Julien Perrichon, Johann Leo Hassler, Renaldo Paradiso, Mercure d'Orléans, Jacques Arcadelt, Sermisy, Guillaume Morlaye and Charles de L'Espine.

²⁹ S. Whitfield, Dirick Gerard, Lodovico Bassano, Blanks, Robert Baker, Southwell, Richard Reade, Parsons, Richard Greene, H. Porter, Daniel Farrant, Thomas Greaves, Barick Bulman, Thomas Tallis, Jo Singer, James Sherlye, Andrew Marks.

little music by continental composers to be found in this group, these composers have also been grouped together.

Similar observations about the decline or otherwise in the popularity of certain composers are hampered by problems in ascription, where some pieces are ascribed to two or more composers in different sources, and we cannot be certain that some of the unascribed music was not written by otherwise familiar composers. Holborne, Dowland, John Johnson, Allison and Ferrabosco appear to decline in popularity, and only Bachelier shows a rise, though the rather unusual concentration of his music in *Nn.6.36* may distort the real picture. Certainly the proportion of music by foreign composers, though still very low, does rise dramatically when the relative sizes of the sources are taken into account.

Having established a chronology from this perspective, it does not necessarily follow that the reverse method can be applied due to the complexity of the repertorial chronology to be seen in the various categories of source. Dating by repertory can be effective in some cases where the overall period represented by the music is coherent, but only a source with exactly similar origins to the Holmes books could benefit from the attempt to date exclusively by repertory. It is possible to use repertorial analysis to support other evidence, but only where other suitable sources are available for comparison. One cannot, unfortunately, discount the possibility that a scribe may be copying exclusively from a much earlier exemplar, or that his (or frequently her) taste is what is reflected primarily in the music copied. In *Board*, the second layer of scribes contributed a repertory in transitional tunings that betrays French influence and indicates the second decade of the seventeenth century clearly in the style of notation and the choice of genres and composers mentioned in the ascriptions.

Robert Johnson's music is frequently linked to music for the maske; but Sabol 1982 clearly indicates that maske dances are not reliable chronological markers.³⁰ Sabol asserts that some works became set pieces at the performance of every (or any) maske in a particular location, and those dances would be performed year after year every time a new maske was performed. Clearly, in locations where masking continued well into the seventeenth century some of the same music could be performed for perhaps as long as 40 years. Thus further evidence for sources containing apparently out-of-date music must be taken into account.

The type of lute for which the music was written may be a more reliable way of dating some music, though as is discussed above, we have no clear idea of precisely when the various changes to the mechanics of the instrument came into being, nor how quickly or comprehensively they were adopted by players and composers.

The registration of songs with the Stationers' Company sometimes gives us a *terminus ad quem* for a setting of a popular song, but again, we are forced to be wary since songs were not always registered as soon as they came out, and some were known and popular some years before their registration.

³⁰ See also Chapter 2, p.46ff.

The date of registration of songs with the stationer's company has been used to date popular ballad settings with varying degrees of certainty in most of the sources, but again there is no way of knowing how long the song circulated before it was registered, though if it was considered worth the effort of registration, it might be reasonable to suppose that it was relatively new at the time of its documented appearance. Mounseur's Almain was probably named after the Duke d'Alençon, who is named 'Mounseur' in the New Year's Gifts of 1582, but the tune was not registered until 1584.

Published music may also have been in circulation for some time before its publication and, although a composer or publisher may wish to make his publication saleable by including previously unknown works by famous composers, he may also have wished to include music that the consumer would recognise and buy for that reason. There is no way of telling which pieces fall into which category.

The overall picture presented by a single lutenist's repertory as seen in a single source, although clouded by the evident currency of both modern and old fashioned music, can to some extent be categorised, though naturally with reservations about the efficacy of this course. John Ward in tabulating the contents of the early English sources,³¹ shows that there was (in the most basic terms) a gradual shift in popularity away from an early repertory dominated by intabulations, passamezzo variations and three-strain dance music without varied refrain (no doubt improvised, but not notated) to one almost wholly concerned with dance music, with fewer and fewer passamezzi (those that remain are much shorter and better disguised) and often lacking intabulations altogether.

John Ward's study evokes a strong picture of the eminent court lutenist Philip van Wilder,³² whose playing was widely regarded as the ideal, but fails to establish any sort of repertory for him, despite the presence of a small but nevertheless fairly cosmopolitan English group of manuscripts that might reasonably be expected to have preserved his music. Certainly in the sixteenth century, the environment seems to be one of virtuoso lutenists who did not necessarily compose idiomatic solo music themselves, but were exceptionally skilled in playing (other people's) solo music, and intabulations, which were the staple of the early English repertory at that time, and have some parallel in the vast quantities of piano arrangements published in the nineteenth century to satisfy an intelligent leisured class who wished to perform popular music that would otherwise have required forces not available to them. Intabulations provided the competent lutenist with a vast repertory of high quality instrumental and vocal music that he could perform alone; and the market for this type of performing matter is evidently still in the ascendant during the first decades of the seventeenth century, as the style of publication of lute songs testifies; though one might say that the layout of the song books is more indicative of the desire to make lute songs available to consort players or groups of singers than the opposite, and there is only one rather irrelevant source that is clearly dedicated to intabulating and nothing else (the lute collection of Edward Paston). This is also the only source to intabulate any quantity of William Byrd's consort and vocal music, a repertory that we might expect to find well

³¹ Ward 1992, 60.

³² Ward 1992, Chapter 1.

represented in Group Two sources if the desire for intabulations was still as high in the early seventeenth century as it clearly was *c*1550. By this time, there was of course a much larger quantity of idiomatic and specifically composed solo music that was beginning to find its own popular audience, thus displacing the older and more cerebral style of intabulation that tended towards contrapuntalism rather than the articulated homophony of dance music, and therefore had a less overtly 'popular' flavour.

§STYLE OF HANDWRITING AND NOTATION, GRACES

Elizabethan and Stuart handwriting styles and the degree to which a scribal hand can be dated with any accuracy, discussed in detail in Chapter 4, leave much to be desired as aids to dating manuscript sources. Single sources such as *Thistlethwaite* can contain a number of hands, apparently all copied within a few years of each other, if not virtually simultaneously, with such widely differing characteristics that they appear to originate from chronologically opposing spheres. This is a feature of a source that cannot be used as a dating aid unless it is in the identification of scribal concordances. However, in the case of fragments, these superficial indications are often the only clues available in attempting to date the source, particularly if the music it contains is chronologically ambiguous, and its original purpose is unclear. Despite the dangers inherent in attempting to date sources by the way they look, handwriting has been used in the past both to determine the profession and probable identity of a scribe, and also for dating.

There is no little danger in using the appearance of a scribe's hand to determine his abilities or his profession. Comparison of the tablatures written by young amateurs and mature professionals show that usually the more neat and accurate a hand is, the more likely the writer was to have been an amateur writing under the supervision of a professional, while the more cryptic and inaccurate texts probably belonged to the professional musicians who had no particular desire for an immaculate display copy, and relied on memory to make up for the deficiencies arising from the lack of leisure-time required to copy meticulously. In addition, the professional musician, as distinct from the highly accomplished amateur, was not usually a member of the classes that employed a writing master—certainly not in England—and may have learned to write late in life. The amateur was, and one would therefore expect the amateur hand to look neater, more regular, and more aesthetically pleasing than that of the professional.

The hands of two known teachers and professional lutenists, John Dowland and the anonymous teacher of the scribes of *Sampson*, *Dd.2.11* and *Swarland* (possibly Richard Allison), both wrote positively unattractive hands when compared with the elegance and visual attraction of their pupils. John Ward frequently refers to the various styles of handwriting to be seen in his discussion of *Thistlethwaite*:

The repertoire, style of music, difficulty and length of most of the pieces, certain aspects of the notation, even the handwriting support a dating of the MS in the late 1560s and early 1570s and a conjecture that the chief contributor was an

accomplished Italian lutenist who may have composed much if not all of the music he wrote out.³³

Subtle variations in the handwriting of scribe C point either to two scribes with almost identical writing (unlikely) or two periods of copying (more likely, but difficult to prove as there is evidence of disturbance to the original collation). Ward's comment to the effect that the handwriting suggests a particular date should be viewed with suspicion, since the 'vigorous, hastily written tablatures' of [his] scribe B look as far from the date he concludes as any in the repertory. He also goes on to point out that this very early example of the use of rhythm-change flagging in a manuscript of this date 'appears to be without parallel', but does not find it anomalous enough to re-assess his original dating. Had Ward been able to ascertain the original purpose of the book, its repertory alone might not have proved such a satisfactory means of dating the source as it eventually was.

Ward also uses flagging styles, particularly continuous or rhythm-change flagging, to suggest periods of copying in *Thistlethwaite*:

All of [the scribes] wrote Anglo-French tablature ... but some ... indicated note values the redundant way, providing a sign for each stroke ... others ... indicated them the economical way, providing a sign only when the value changed. ... The former system is found in all English manuscript tablatures from the 1550s up to the end of the century, and was not completely abandoned until well into the reign of James I. The latter system prevailed on the continent during the last half of the century, may have been introduced to the English with Rowbotham's reprintings of French lute and gittern books in the 1560s, and was employed almost exclusively in tablatures printed in England, no doubt because it required less type than the redundant or 'grid' system. Its use in an English manuscript of the late 1560s/early 1670s appears to be without parallel.³⁴

Thistlethwaite, though probably copied in a short period of time, shows rhythm-change and continuous flagging, both of which seem to have been in use more or less currently. The only reasonably dateable alteration in flagging styles is one that is not relevant to *Thistlethwaite*. Sources in which *mensura gallica* flagging is used usually date from after 1615, and the same is true for time signatures, with the notable exception of the practices of the Dowland family, whose familiarity with continental sources led them to use time-signatures far earlier than other English scribes and sources. *Mensura gallica* in a source that is observably entirely English in style, content and layout would be likely to date from the second decade of the seventeenth century, though *Sampson* (c1610), which appears to be highly 'English', shows both types of flagging. A copyist who had contact with European printed and manuscript sources in any respect may easily have contaminated his style with a practice that seemed easier or quicker than the one he originally used. Scribes familiar with lute song are far more likely to use mensural notes for flagging, as this would match the rhythm of the vocal part. Flagging styles should clearly never be seen as independent dating evidence, but this part of the notation is not as equivocal as the script itself.

³³ Ward 1992, Vol.I, 51.

³⁴ Ward 1992, Vol.I, 52.

It has been seen that continental trends had very little bearing on the central English repertory, either in the genres of the music composed, or in the way it was laid out in the sources.³⁵ The same is true of trends in notation. In particular, any continental innovations would have been particularly slow to show effects in English music.

In the most simplistic terms, it would be reasonable to say that the greater the number, variety and complexity of the graces in a source, the later is likely to be its date of copying. This 'rule', however, cannot be dogmatically applied, since graces are those signs added by a scribe to indicate his own performing practices, or occasionally the influence of his exemplar. There is no reason why a scribe who graces his own book most freely should not copy into another book with a complete absence of signs. In fact, if a scribe is copying from an un-graced exemplar, then it would be expected that he would simply copy the graces in the original, only adding his own if he were intending to play (or perhaps teach) from the copy. The use or absence of graces may be related to the intended purpose of the book. The more personal and amateur the source, the more likely the scribe is to grace it generously in keeping with contemporary practices. Pedagogical books would therefore be likely to present the most likely candidates for gracing, a probability borne out by Poulton. Poulton observes that *Folger, ML*, the middle section of *31392, Sampson, Welde* and *Board* are the manuscripts that contain the greatest number of signs in each piece, and their scribes have evolved the most sophisticated systems for indicating each carefully differentiated grace. She also indicates that in England,

Evidence suggests that ornamentation reached a higher degree of complexity at the end of the 16th and the first two decades of the 17th century than in any other country in the pre-baroque era. Nevertheless, in spite of the very large quantity of ornamented source material that has come down to us, interpretation is difficult since there was no standardization of the signs used either by scribes or printers, and we have exceptionally little information on the subject.

Early MS sources bear no ornament signs, but some of these are fairly unsophisticated in the way they are written, and it is perhaps not to be expected that methods would be found to convey the subtler aspects of playing. All the Matthew Holmes lute books ... are ornamented, although Holmes is somewhat capricious in his use of the signs. At least seventeen other MSS are also ornamented.³⁶

Even with the paucity of printed lute tutors in England, we might expect those that do exist at least to touch on graces and grace signs. Although Barley 1596 includes both the + and # signs throughout the tablature, nowhere does he describe what these signs are intended to represent. Dowland 1610B includes the instructions from Besard 1603 and the essence of his advice is that a student should go and listen to a virtuoso or more experienced player to learn how to grace a piece of music. Neither describes specific graces or signs, but the Dowlands agree with Besard that graces should be learned and applied to all music, whether notated with signs or not:

You should haue some rules for the sweet relishes and shakes if they could be expressed here, as they are on the LVTE: but seeing they cannot by speech or writing be expressed, thou wert best to imitate some cunning player, or get them by thine owne practise, onely take heed, lest in making too many shakes thou hinder the

³⁵ See Chapter 2.

³⁶ Diana Poulton: 'Graces of play in renaissance lute music' *EMc* iii (1975), 112.

perfection of the Notes. In somme, if you affect biting sounds, as some men call them, which may very well be vsed, yet vse them not in your running, and vse them not at all byt when you iudge them decent.³⁷

This last reference to 'biting sounds' is somewhat enigmatic, and hardly serves to illuminate the reader. Robinson 1603, though it does not give examples of the signs to which terms refer, does list 'A Relish', 'A Fall' and 'A Fall with a Relish', with a verbal description of their respective interpretations.

TABLE 22 GRACES IN BOARD.		
Sign	Scribe's description	Explanation
M a r g a r e t B o a r d		
•a		probably a relish or shake starting on the main note, used before tablature letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h and i.
+c		a half-fall of a tone or semitone, used before tablature letters b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i and l. It may also mean a backfall. She occasionally combined both the fall and shake signs.
••		possibly a single relish, used only on tablature letter h, and only from 10v on.
•••		possibly a whip (interpretation unknown) or vibrato on tablature letters f, g and h, on ff.11v and 15.
••••		possibly a whole-fall, only used on tablature letter d on f.20v.
,		a backfall on tablature letter c on f.29 only.
J o h n D o w l a n d		
•		shake, on tablature letters a, b, c, d, e, f and h.
†		fall on tablature letters a, b, c, d and g, it may also mean a backfall depending on context.
‡		possibly a whole-fall (on tablature d).
++		possibly a double backfall, on tablature letter g.
••		perhaps a whip or vibrato on tablature letter i.
S c r i b e E		
)	<i>a pul back</i>	a backfall, used on tablature letters a, b, c, d, e, f and h
(<i>a fal forward</i>	a half-fall, used on tablature letters b, c, d, e and f
+	<i>to beat down the finger with a shake</i>	although it is ambiguous, I think this means a half-fall repeated, used on tablature letters b, c, d, e, f and g. It appears to apply to tablature letter a twice, but in each case I think the grace belongs to the neighbouring note
•••	<i>3 prickes to be struck upward with one finger</i>	one right-hand finger playing a chord from higher to lower sounding strings
#	<i>for a long shake</i>	used on tablature letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h and l, presumably beginning and ending on the same note, rather than beginning on a note lower or higher than the ending note
⌒	<i>for a slide</i>	slurring or hammering two or three notes with left hand fingers having plucked only the first with a right hand finger.
••••		These signs appear in the tablature on folios 33v and 38v, but are not explained in the table—perhaps indicating a beat.

³⁷ Dowland 1610B, 6v.

The most useful of all the manuscript sources is *Board* in which one of the secondary scribes has supplied a table of grace signs and a verbal description of their interpretation. Dowland and Margaret use a generous variety of personal signs, several of which do not appear in the work of any other contemporary copyists, though Margaret's more complex signs clearly date from her contact with Dowland. The usefulness of the interpretation of these symbols is therefore limited to the single source in which they appear, but they serve to demonstrate the variety and subtlety of the graces that were commonly used by the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. The table above gives the signs used by the Margaret, Dowland and Scribe E in the left hand column and the probable interpretation suggested by Robert Spencer³⁸ in the right hand column, including the description of the interpretation of the signs given in the table of Scribe E on f.32v.

§COMPILATION AND LAYOUT

Despite the apparently lengthy periods of compilation proposed by Lumsden for some of the English sources, and the dates of sources such as *Pickeringe* and *Board*, very few sources show evidence of copying over more than a few years. Common sense suggests that the Holmes books were probably compiled end to end rather than with the overlapping periods of copying suggested by dates proposed by Lumsden, Harwood and Poulton. Because of the extended activity of their scribe, these books each show a longer compilation span than is common among many other books. As might be expected, the purpose of the books virtually defines the length of activity of the scribe. Nearly all the pedagogical books were copied only within the duration of the pupil's instruction, and perhaps for a short time after, though their actual use for playing may have been considerably longer. This may be partly due to the fact that the addition of new repertory to the pupil's collection depended on what the teacher was able to offer. Any period of learning was likely to be finite, since once the approximately desired level of competence was attained further instruction should become unnecessary, particularly if the pupil then married and found less time for the pursuit of this particular past-time. Once the teacher ceased to visit, the immediate source of new music was cut off. Professional collections such as the Holmes books would reflect the fact that the owner/scribe was continually coming into contact with new music, and would to all intents and purposes continue adding to his collection for the duration of his working life, though possibly in patches rather than purely continuously. The household or personal anthology would again show perhaps a lengthy compilation, but only as long as the owner's enthusiasm for the lute persisted; probably not as long as the single span seen in a professional book. Thus with the possible exception of the professional books, the compilation of any book is unlikely to exceed ten years, and in the case of pedagogical books less than five years. This does not take account of later additions to the book unrelated to the work of the initial scribe, though each of these self contained layers are similarly likely to be very limited in duration. Single amateur players would therefore not be expected to show more than a single layer of activity in a book. Thus returning to a book frequently over a period of thirty years, for example, would be highly unlikely, and is not seen in any of the

³⁸ Spencer 1976C, introduction.

surviving books, despite previously held ideas about both *ML* and *Herbert*, both discussed in Chapter 7. If a source is encountered where an amateur player appears to have copied in the source over a considerable time, then three more likely probabilities should be considered: first, the later appearances of the scribe were not made later; second, they were not made by the same scribe; third, the original scribe is actually not an amateur.

The layout of a source is governed by many factors, and rarely by one principle alone. From the point of view of dating, the most important factor to be understood is that if the scribe is able to determine his layout in advance of copying, he must therefore already have assembled the music he intends to copy—or at least the majority of it—and therefore the finished source is likely to contain almost entirely music that pre-dates the start of the copying period, perhaps by up to several decades. This is the sort of book in which, in rare cases, the repertory may be entirely from a significantly earlier period than the book, or it may come from a highly chronologically diverse background, and include reasonably recently composed music (assuming it was compiled within easy reach of the compositional activity).

There are two types of pre-determined layout: firstly, and most commonly found, the arrangement of the contents in order of difficulty, beginning with technically simple pieces, usually represented by a group of duets, and progressing through stages to more difficult music of a standard that might be found in any source. Books compiled along these principles are invariably pedagogical sources, preserving a repertory that pre-dates the copying period sometimes by as much as 20 years. It is the easier and therefore first-copied music that is likely to be chronologically out of step, while the later-copied and more difficult music is likely to be considerably more up-to-date. In the larger pedagogical sources, which cover a significant period of learning and progress to a high standard, the apparently anachronistic early music tends to be balanced by the later works. In the case of sources where the student does not continue copying up to the high standards seen in *ML*, *Pickeringe* and *Board*, the overall repertory may appear to be anachronistic, as in *Sampson* and *Dallis*. Sources with a deliberately pedagogical layout are usually easily distinguishable both from the immediately obvious arrangement by technical standard and also by the inclusion of other features.

However, pedagogical books are not the only ones to exhibit signs of pre-arrangement, and sources that use different criteria, as well as being much rarer, are also far more difficult to recognise. The arrangement of *Herbert* into sections by key was not recognised for many years, despite some quite detailed investigation of its contents. Despite the clearly delineated division of *Hirsch* into dance music and contrapuntal music (fantasias) this was not considered significant in dating terms. In both cases, the importance of the fact that the scribe must have known what he was going to copy in advance has been overlooked. In the case of *Herbert*, it appears from the repertory copied that the music must have been collected over a substantial period and from music current in both England and France at different times and been virtually complete before copying into the book began. All the music pre-dates the copying time by ten years or more. The same must be true of *Hirsch*, not in this case copied by a single scribe, but by a number of scribes clearly directed by the primary scribe. Neither book has the appearance of having been completed, and there is no reason to suppose that the scribes did not have

every intention of including new music as it came their way. So far, these are the only sources known to exhibit evidence of a pre-determined order governing the whole compilation. One is a personal anthology (*Herbert*), while the other occupies a grey area in professional books. There are deliberate gaps throughout the compilation of *Marsh* that suggest strongly a pre-determined order, rather than the scribe simple copying where the book happened to fall open, but in this case the order is one that is indistinguishable to the modern eye. The pages copied by the original (and main) scribe were carefully prepared before he copied on them,³⁹ and those left blank lack preparation, suggesting that the scribe certainly intended to leave these pages blank and knew precisely how much space each section of copying would require. The implication of the blank pages, however, is that the collection was not completed. Table 23 lists the contents of the manuscript with the key of the first and last chords of each piece in the first column (lower case letters indicate minor key, and upper case major).⁴⁰ Additions by the second, later, scribe are in italic type. There is no demonstrable correlation between the copying divisions in any category (single unused pages are shown by a single horizontal line, and gaps of more than one unused page are shown by a double horizontal line), though the key column, in spite of its miscellaneous appearance, may be the most likely of all the possibilities.

TABLE 23			
CONTENTS AND DIVISIONS OF <i>MARSH</i>			
Key	Page	Title/Genre	Composer
c-C	10-12/1	P.A. Pavan	
c-C	12/2-13	P.A. Galliard	
c-C	14-17	P.A. Variations	
G-G	18	Monsieur's Almain	[may have been added later]
C-C	25/1	Almain	
C-C	25/2	Lord Hereford's Galliard	
Bb-Bb	26-27	Good Night, duet treble	John Johnson
d-D	28-29	Fantasia	Alberto da Rippe
g-G	30/1	Chi Passa	
G-C	30/2	Chi Passa	Cotton
C-C	35	Nusquam Galliard [incomplete]	
F-F	36/1	Galliard	
Bb-Bb	37/1	Round	
C-C	37/2-36/2	Galliard	
C-C	38	Ruggiero	
f-C	39	Ruggiero, duet treble	
C-C	40-41	Downright Squire	
C-C	42-43	Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars	
C-C	44-45	Pepper is Black	
C-C	46-48	French Galliard	John Johnson/Francesco da Milano
Bb-Bb	49/1	Part song arrangement?	
Bb-Bb	49/2	Fancy	Newman
c-C	50-54/1	P.A. Pavan/Weston's Pavan	Weston
Eb?-Bb	54/2-55	Cantus Firmus setting?	
c-C	56	Galliard	
F-F	57	Galliard	
Bb-Bb	58/1	Galliard	
a-A	58/2-59	Galliard	Henry Lichfield
C-C	60	Lesson	

³⁹ Most of the book consists of printed paper with two sets of four staves on each page and a central gap. The copied pages have a further staff added in the central gap, and usually also have upright rules added to enclose all of the nine staves. A different design of printed paper has each group of four staves enclosed by printed upright rules, but the groups are not spaced widely enough to accommodate an additional central staff. On this paper no further additions were made to the ruling before copying.

⁴⁰ Major final chords are usually *tierces de Picardie*.

c-c	61/1	Lusty Gallant	
F-F	61/2	Queen of Scots Galliard	
c-C	62-63	Galliard	
D-g	64	Quel Bien Parler	Pierre Sandrin arr. Alberto da Rippe
c-C	71-72	Almain	
D-G	73	Chi Passa	
d-G	74/1	Chanson, Je Suis Desheritée	Cadéac/Lupus arr. Alberto da Rippe
d-g	74/2-75	Si Comme Espoir	Jean Maillard arr. Alberto da Rippe
g-C	76/1	Galliard	
d-G	76/2	Galliard	
F-D	79	E Lume Alta Galliard	
Bb-Bb	80-81	Galliard	
c-C	82-83	Pavan	
f-F	84	Galliard	
C-C	89	Galliard	
C(G?)-g	90	Galliard	
C(G?)-G	91	Galliard	John Johnson
Bb-F	92	Galliard	
G-G	94	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
F-F	99	Scottish Galliard	
c-c	102	Galliard	
C-C	103	Labandalashot Galliard	
g-G	107	Dont Vient Cela	arr.?
d-D	115	Galliard	
F-F	116-117/2	Galliard	
C-C	117/1	Scottish Galliard	
G-G	118/1	The New Year's Gift Galliard	Anthony Holborne
f-F	118/2	Galliard	
C-C	120-121	Quadran Pavan	John Johnson
c-c	123	Almain	Richard Greene
c-C	124-125	Galliard	
F-F	126	Sinkapace Galliard/Church's Galliard	
F-F	129	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
f-F	130-131	P.A. Variations	
d-G	132	Fancy	
D-G	133	Fancy	Fernyers
D-G	134-135	Fantasia	Alberto da Rippe
A-A	136-137	In Nomine	Robert Parsons arr. H R
F-F	138	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
C-C	139/1	Trenchmore, duet	John Johnson
C-C	139/2-141	Trenchmore, duet	John Johnson
g-d	142-144/1	P.A. Pavan, duet treble	John Johnson
G-C	144/2	First Dump, duet ground	
G-C	144/3-145	First Dump, duet treble	John Johnson
Bb-C	146-148/1	Wakefield on a Green, duet treble	John Johnson
Bb-C	148/2	Wakefield on a Green, duet ground	
c-c	148/3-149	French Galliard, duet treble	
g-g	150-151/1	Dump, duet treble	
g-g	151/2	Dump, duet ground	
C-G	151/3-153	Chi Passa, duet treble	John Johnson
C-C	154/1	P.M. Variations, duet ground	
C-C	154/2-156/1	P.M. Variations, duet treble	
c-C	156/2-157	duet treble	
g-g	158-160	Good Night, duet treble	John Johnson
D-D	162-165/2	Folia ground variations, duet treble	
c-C	164-165/1	Delight Pavan	John Johnson
c-c	166	Delight Galliard	John Johnson
G-G	168-169/1	Quadran Pavan	
G-G	169/2-171	Quadran Pavan	
F-F	173-175/1	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
C-	175/2-176	Arthur's Dump [incomplete]	Philip van Wilder
F-F	182	Sellenger's Round, duet treble	
C-G	183-186/1	The New Hunt's Up, duet treble	John Johnson
C-G	186/2	The New Hunt's Up, duet ground	John Johnson
c-C	187-186/3	Pavan	
G-C	188	Weston's Pavan	Weston

G-	190	<i>Lady Rich's Galliard [first six bars]</i>	<i>John Dowland [No.43]</i>
C-C	225	Quadran Pavan	
C-C	227-228/1	Quadran Pavan	Clement Cotton
C-C	228/2-229	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
Bb-Bb	230-231	Fancy	Newman
F-G	232-233	Conde Claro/Hornpipe	Guillaume Morlaye arr.?
C-Bb	234	Fancy	
G-C	235	Fancy	
f-F	236/1	Galliard	
G-G	236/2-238	Fantasia	Francesco da Milano
G-Bb	239	Part-song arrangement?	
G-C	243	Dump	E. E.
C-C	244-246/1	Galliard Rondo	
D-D	247-246/2	Pavan	Ambrose Lupo/John Ambrose
G-C	248-251/1	Variations	
c-C	251/2	Chi Passa	
c-C	257	Galliard	
G-G	263	Quadran Pavan [unfinished]	
G-G	264	Lavecchia Galliard	
c-C	268	Packington's Galliard, first part of duet	
c-c	270-271	The Old Medley	John Johnson
D-D	272	The Old Medley	John Johnson
D-G	273	Part-song arrangement?	
G-G	274	In Nomine	Robert Parsons arr. H R
C-C	279	Galliard	
G-C	280-282	Dump ?	
c-C	287	Omnino Galliard	John Johnson
C-C	289	Quadran Galliard	
c-D	295	Almain	
C-C	305	Ruggiero	
C-C	319	Knole's Galliard	Knowles
G-G	328-329	Lesson?	
g-G	330	Fancy	
f-F	357/1	Lord Strange's Galliard	
G-G	357/2	Galliard	
F-F	358	Quadran Galliard	
g-g	359	Militis Dump [Bergamasca Ground]	
G-C	360-361	Chi Passa	
Bb-Bb	362-363	Goodnight, duet treble	
F-F	364	Galliard to Westminster/To Me I Must	
G-G	365	Galliard	John Johnson
D-g	366-367	Chanson L'Oeil Gracieux	arr. Alberto da Rippe
F-F	368	Labandalashot Galliard	
c-C	369-375/1	P.A. Pavan, duet treble	Marc Antoine
g-G	375/2	P.A. Pavan, duet ground, bass lute	
c-C	376-378	Pavan	
g-F	379/1	Quadran Pavan	
g-g	379/2	Quadran Galliard	
F-g	380/1	Chi Passa	
c-d	380/2	Chi Passa	
c-C	380/3	<i>Change Thy Mind</i>	<i>Richard Martin</i>
G-G	381	<i>Lady Rich's Galliard/Dowland's Bells</i>	<i>John Dowland [No.43]</i>
G-G	382/1	<i>Mistress Norrish's Delight</i>	<i>?John Dowland [No.77]</i>
d-D	382/2-383/1	<i>The Emperor's Almain/Alliance Almain</i>	
F-F	383/2	<i>The Duke of Parma's Almain</i>	
g-G	383/3	<i>O Dear Life when shall it be</i>	
F-D	384	<i>Sir John Smith's Almain</i>	<i>John Dowland [No.47]</i>
G-G	385	Pavan	<i>Mathias Mason</i>
g-G	386/1	Galliard	<i>Alfonso Ferrabosco/John Dowland/Francis Cutting/Robert Hales</i>
c-C	386/2-387	Galliard	<i>Anthony Holborne</i>
F-F	397/1	fragment [bandora]	
d-G	397/2	Goodnight [bandora]	
Ab-	397/3	fragment [bandora]	

F-F	397/4	The Hunt's Up [bandora]	
g-g	398/1	P.A. [bandora]	
c-C	398/2	Expectare Pavan [bandora]	
c-C	399	Expectare Pavan [bandora]	
C-C	400-401	Madrigal: Dormendo un Giorno	Philippe Verdelot arr.
g-G	419/1	P.A. Galliard	
g-G	419/2	P.A.	
D-C	419/3	Chi Passa	
G-G	419/4	duet ground	
G-G	419/5	duet ground	
c-C	420-422	Galliard Variations	
C-G	423-424/1	Bergamasca Variations	
g-G	424/2	P.A. Variations	
D-[G]	425	fragment	
G-C	426/1	In Nomine	John Taverner arr. N. Strogers [?]
C-C	426/2-428	Arthur's Dump	Philip van Wilder
f-F	429/1	Psalm: Where Righteousness	
F-F	429/2	Psalm: Where Righteousness	

Most professional books exhibit evidence of hurry in their copying and have a tendency to a complete lack of overall organisation that is quite surprising. There is, however, a grey area occupied by a few books that have a single section of one genre or one composer within an apparently unorganised collection. Most often this involves separating duet music out from solo music. The original scribe of *Ballet* copied his duets at the back of his book, keeping only solo music at the front. Matthew Holmes was a prolific copyist, and it might be reasonable to expect him to foresee a lengthy copying life, and organise his books into sections that he would fill as appropriate music came his way. The opposite seems to be true though, with the exception of the non-solo lute music that is nearly all put into *Dd.3.18*. Apart from this, and with the possible exception of *Nn.6.36*, in which a large group of preludes is copied in a group, Holmes apparently simply copied pieces one after the other (leaving no blank folios) and at such a rate that he frequently copied pieces more than once. This may have been because he was copying faster than he could include the music in his playing repertory—collecting avidly and indiscriminately the best music he could find—but it is more likely that he copied different settings of pieces deliberately, to take advantage of a different set of divisions or transposition. The group of pieces by Holborne in *Dd.2.11* are all for bandora, and even the unusually large number of pieces by Bacheler in *Nn.6.36* may simply have been expedient because Holmes was working with Bacheler at the time. As noted above, scribes did not leave blank folios between their work and that of other scribes. Standard layout in any book does not allow for blank folios, and their presence should suggest a pre-determined order that may be apparent, or may only have been obvious to the compiler because he was copying from a variety of exemplars that he was conflating (or even just a single one that he was adjusting or copying in the order that he learned the music, not the order it was written in).

Concurrent scribes, therefore, will always copy within each other's work without gaps. In fact subsequent layers of scribes also follow this practice if they are working within a few years after the previous scribe's work. So far, none of the *vieil ton* sources have shown the original scribe progressing to transitional tunings, though if that were the case, it might be expected that the scribe would lay the manuscript out so that music in certain tunings was grouped together to facilitate its performance. *Vieil ton* sources that do contain music in transitional tunings have always had it added

by a noticeably later layer of scribes. Transitional tuning scribes seem to prefer to invert the book and begin copying from the back, giving themselves a new 'front' to work from, rather than continuing on from where the old scribe concluded. With notable continental exceptions, the music of the older scribes is not mixed with the new-style music, even when the new scribe also makes use of *vieil ton*. Perhaps surprisingly, even these scribes do not deliberately layer their music into sections of each tuning.

It appears that even when a scribe might have been able to anticipate a lengthy copying span, and therefore be able to predict certain copying divisions, he did not organise his music into deliberate layers, and to have done so was fairly unusual. Many sources seem to have been deliberately miscellaneous in layout, so that a continuous playing from start to finish would give quite a varied and diverse programme. The layout of *Hirsch* (c1620) and its other features suggest a special purpose or intention behind its compilation, discussed further in Chapter 7. Even the most obvious of layouts, putting music in order of composer—possibly the type of layout that might be most expected—is only seen in *Nn.6.36* (c1610-15), where a large number of pieces by Daniel Bachelier are grouped together at the beginning of the manuscript (with some music by other composers), and music by continental composers such as Bocquet or Perrichon only appear in the last folios, though not grouped together. The section of music by Bachelier is the largest group of works of any single composer in any of the sources. Pavans and galliards with titles and thematic material that indicate pairing are to be found separated by other music as frequently as they are found in tandem. Very occasionally up to four pieces by a single composer appear together, but this seems to be more by accident than by design, and there is no evidence that blank folios had been left to accommodate the addition of later pieces by the same composer. It seems that the music simply came into the copyist's hands in this order. Put simply, and based only on the statistically limited evidence provided by *Nn.6.36*, *Hirsch* and *Herbert*, pre-arranged layout of any manuscript seems to have been undesirable, and is unlikely before 1615.

§STEMMATICS

TABLE 24	
BANDORA MUSIC IN <i>31392</i> AND <i>Dd.2.11</i>	
<i>31392</i>	<i>Dd.2.11</i>
Scribe C	Holmes
39v-40	- 27v-28
40v-41	- 28v
41v-42	- 35
42v-43	-
43v-44	- 85v

As has been noted above, in spite of the presence of clear scribal links between many of the *vieil ton* lute sources, there is presently no observable stemmatic lineage between them. One exception is the possible connection between *Dd.2.11* and *31392* seen most clearly in the bandora section of the music. The concordances between the two sources are shown in tables 24-25 and the duplicated order of copying for some of these pieces implies some relationship between the two sources.

The relationship of the bandora pieces is limited to a matched running order, with one piece omitted, and the bandora pieces in *Dd.2.11* spread among those for the lute. Copying of lute music by the same scribe in *31392* from f.27v shows a similarly related order with *Dd.2.11*, as if the compiler was flicking through *Dd.2.11* choosing a selection of Holmes's pieces to copy. The size of *Dd.2.11* and the very popular repertory it contains would make concordances between it and *31392*, copied chronologically very close to each other, to be expected, but even this rudimentary type of relationship

is rare in the extant sources, and the corollary is that Scribe C in *31392* either copied from *Dd.2.11* or from an exemplar common to both sources.

<i>31392</i>	<i>Dd.2.11</i>
Scribe A	Holmes
14v/2-15	- 58v/1
17v-18	- 41v-42/1
18v-19v/1	- 88v-89/1
19v/2-20	- 43
Scribe B	
25	- 53/2 and 66/3
25v	- 66v/2
Scribe C	
26	- 100/1
26v-27	- 3
27v-28	- 46v/2-47/1
28v-29/1	- 53/1
30v-31	- 71
34/2	- 71v/2
35v-36	- 75v-77/1

In this case, the stemmatic relationship of these two sources does not have any bearing on their dating, neither of which is particularly dubious, but should a relationship of exemplar and copy be established for a source in which the dating factors are considerably more controversial, such as *Hirsch*, this could have significant repercussions on its chronological position. Since no recognisable exemplars survive however, unless *Hirsch* is a copy of an earlier one as is suggested in Chapter 7, the probability of quantities of loose sheet exemplars that did not survive is strengthened.

Diana Poulton has noted that the contents of *Euing* are closely related to the Holmes books,

even, occasionally, to the reproduction of identical mistakes made by Holmes in his copies. Of its [*Euing*] 71 pieces only three have titles or composers' names. The first part appears to be contemporaneous with all but the latest of the Cambridge books, but another hand, probably of the mid-17th century, has added an extremely interesting set of instructions for the realization of figured bass on the theorbo.

Despite the apparent corollary assumed by Poulton that the *Euing* scribe must have been copying from Holmes (or *vice versa*) the order of the music (shown in table 26) does not support the idea, and it may be that a third source (now extinct) is indicated. The similar lack of concordance with the linked 'Allison' group of sources suggests that those concordances that do exist may simply be fortuitous, as are concordances between the 'Allison' sources themselves. It is possible that the unrelated order of the music may have come about because the *Euing* scribe was copying from Holmes's music before it was bound, but since the *Euing* concordances cover the manuscripts compiled from c1585 up to 1605 (excluding the rare pieces concordant with *Nn.6.36* which may simply be coincidental), it may be more likely that Holmes was copying from *Euing*, although the fact that the *Euing* scribe is adapting seven-course music for a six-course lute suggests that he must have been copying from Holmes. In any case, the previous dating of *Euing* as c1600 seems to be too early, and the additional evidence of its binding being stamped with the arms of James I (VI) suggests that it should probably be no earlier than c1610.

TABLE 26		
CONCORDANCES BETWEEN <i>EUIING</i> AND THE HOLMES BOOKS		
<i>Euing</i>	Holmes books	'Allison' sources
8v	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 87/1	<i>Mynshall</i> 4v
16		
16v-17		
17v-18/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 3, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 39v-40 & 40v, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 31v-32	(<i>Euing</i> 48v-49/1)
18/2	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 11v-12/1	
18v	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 17v-18/1	
19/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 66v	
19/2		
19v		<i>Mynshall</i> 10/2
20	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 60v/1, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 75	
20v-21/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 35v-36/1	
21/2	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 4, <i>Dd.2.11</i> 99v/1	<i>Dd.4.22</i> 6v-7
21/3	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 38/2, <i>Nn.6.36</i> 1 & 2	<i>Sampson</i> 13v
21v-22/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 38v-39/1	
22/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 61/3	
22v-23/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 12v-13	
23/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 56/5, 60/3 and 95/1, <i>Dd.4.23</i> 28 (cittern)	
23v/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 29/2	
23v/2	<i>Dd.3.18</i> 8/2 [consort]	
24/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 40v/1 and 62v/1,	
24/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 100v/2	
24v/1	? <i>Dd.2.11</i> 12/2	
24v/2		
25		
25v-26/1	Lachrimae—concordances in virtually every source	
26/2		
26v-27/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 40v/2 and 93/2	
27/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 56/2, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 89, <i>Nn.6.36</i> 15/3,	<i>Mynshall</i> 9v/1
27v-28/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 58v/1	
28/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 9/2, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 68v-69v	
28v	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 53/1 & 82/2 (bandora), <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 9av [21v]-10/1, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 73v	
29	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 71v/2	
29v/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 46v/2-47/1	
29v/2		
30/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 46v/2	
30/2	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 5v/2	
30v-31/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 36v-37/1	
31/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 53/2 & 66/3, <i>Dd.3.18</i> 11 & 18, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 29v-30	<i>Mynshall</i> 8/4 (<i>Euing</i> 46v-47)
31/3	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 9/2, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 68v-69v	
31v-32/1		
32/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 57v-58/1 and 32 (bandora)	
32v-33/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 84v/1, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 13v-14	
33/2	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 32v-33	
33v-34v		
35-36/1	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 6v-7v	
36/2	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 9/2	
36v-37	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 41v-42/1	
37v-38/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 64v-65, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 5v-6	
38/2	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 14v/1, 58v/2, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 28v	<i>Sampson</i> 11v/2, <i>Mynshall</i> 1/2
38v	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 49v/1	
39	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 15v and 29v-30/1	
39v	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 83/1	
40	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 79v/1, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 46 & 45v	
40v/1	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 71v/2-72	
40v/2-41/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 17/2	
41/2		
41v-42/1	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 43v-44	

42/2	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 19v/2	
42v-43		
43v-44/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 29/2, 82v, 96, 96v-97/1 & 98/1, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 12/2 & 50v-51/1, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 21, 26v-28/1 & 67v-68	
44/2		
44/3	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 67	
44v/1		
44v/2-45	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 1v-2	
45v-46/1	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 77v	
46/2		
46v-47	<i>Dd.2.11</i> 53/2 & 66/3, <i>Dd.3.18</i> 11 & 18, <i>Dd.9.33</i> 29v-30	<i>Mynshall</i> 8/4 (<i>Euing</i> 31/2)
47v-48/1		
48/2	<i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 22v-23/1, <i>Dd.2.11</i> 53v/1	
48v-49/1	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 31v-32, <i>Dd.2.11</i> 3, <i>Dd.5.78.3</i> 39v-40 & 40v	(<i>Euing</i> 17v-18/1)
49/2	<i>Dd.9.33</i> 45v/2-46/1 & 74v	

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDIES

*

HERBERT

ML AND KRAKOW

BOARD AND HIRSCH

MYNSHALL AND SWARLAND

RICHARD ALLISON

*

DAVID LUMSDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE lute sources in the 1950s provided prospective lute scholars not only with the first list of lute music concordances, but also dates and an approximate chronology for all the sources available at that time. With the progress that has relatively recently been made in paleographical technique coupled with more recent studies of specific manuscripts, it is evident that a large number of sources were wrongly dated, though not often by many years. However, as is discussed in Chapter 2, since the development and maturity of this repertory is compressed into such a relatively short time-span, a mis-dating of 15 years can be quite significant, particularly if the source is thereby inconsistent with its peers. In most cases, re-dating the sources with the new information to hand has not had unexpected repercussions, nor has the new evidence substantially contradicted existing research. On the other hand, some sources have raised issues, though not necessarily those of dating, that require detailed examination, particularly where established research appears to have explored all the necessary avenues of investigation fully. Manuscripts which have merited closer examination are discussed below.¹ Some of the scribal concordances are particularly controversial as they call into question many of the premises on which previous research has been based. It should be emphasized that the handwriting of the scribes is never the only evidence considered in any case.

It is frequently unnecessary to describe a hand in detail when a tabulation of its features is sufficient. In the case studies below, much descriptive detail has been omitted in favour of graphic demonstration, and only the points that are particularly salient are discussed, together with the resulting implications for those manuscripts.

There are numerous other examples of scribal concordances in currently unrelated sources that are not discussed here. The concordances do not, however, alter information about the sources themselves to any significant degree. These concordances are noted in table 19, p.ØØ. Samples of the work of each scribe are given in Appendix 1, where they may be compared.

¹ I am particularly grateful to Dr Malcolm Parkes, Keble College, Oxford, who has given freely of his time to engage in detailed examination of these sources, and also to Detective Constables Hampshire and Short in the Oxford Constabulary Cheque Fraud Office for discussing modern techniques of examining hands to detect forgery.

§HERBERT

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY'S LUTE BOOK: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms.Mus.689. Book written by two scribes with similar hands, and one further scribe. Currently dated 1624-40 as a result of some dated pieces of music composed by Herbert. Signed by Herbert on the front endpaper.

Three writers have examined this manuscript in some detail since Lumsden's brief and incomplete examination of the book in Sotheby's salerooms. As their work has been so central to the subsequent understanding (or misunderstanding) of its contents, these studies were reviewed in Craig 1991 when the manuscript was re-examined.² Thurston Dart³ provided a comprehensive biography of the owner, and Curtis Price⁴ made a study of the contents and discovered certain organizational features that accounted for some of the anomalies for which Dart was unable to find a satisfactory explanation. Both provided an index of the complete contents of the book⁵ listing the original ascriptions, but neither attempted to list concordances either for those pieces Lumsden had examined, or for those that he omitted. Lumsden thought (falsely, as it later turned out) that the English music in the book was written in *vieil ton* but all the French music made use of transitional tunings, so he ignored a large portion of its contents as he believed they did not fit his *vieil ton* or date criteria. A further brief examination of the book was undertaken by Matthew Spring⁶ attempting to fill in the gaps left by Lumsden, but in fact not doing so, as he also limited himself strictly to the music that fitted the scope of his thesis. He aimed to provide a study of the later English repertory that the book contained (i.e. that dating from after 1630), and the result was that he only examined the work of Edward Herbert himself and the otherwise unknown Cuthbert Hely. Price built on Dart's work, and Spring in his turn built on Dart, Price and Lumsden, so that together all four studies should constitute almost everything that can be ascertained about the compilation of the manuscript and its owner. Looking closely, though, it appears that all four writers overlooked or did not re-examine important elements in examining the manuscript.⁷

Before the study published in Craig 1991, the compilation of Edward Herbert's manuscript was generally accepted to span the years 1624 to 1640, and it was believed to have been written in three hands: Scribe A, Scribe B (the autograph hand of Herbert of Cherbury, 1583-1648) and Scribe C (responsible only for the music of Cuthbert Hely, and probably his hand). 1624 was the year in which Herbert was exiled to Castle Island in Ireland—a location frequently cited by Scribe B, and possibly also referred to in the quotation on f.1r, from the second of Ovid's elegies, written from his exile near

² The following discussion is a summary of the findings discussed in the article: as only the conclusions are reproduced here, readers are referred to the original for detailed discussion.

³ Dart 1957.

⁴ Price 1969.

⁵ Dart only in the reprint of his article, and with many inaccuracies in readings. Both Dart 1957 and Price 1969 modernized or standardized the use of the letters 'u' and 'v', and also 'i' and 'j' which were interchangeable in the seventeenth century. Thus original readings of e.g. *pauan* became *pavan*. Scribal preference for either letter can, however, be significant, so original spellings are retained exactly in all transcriptions of primary source material.

⁶ Spring 1987A.

⁷ I am grateful to Dr Victor Coelho of the University of Calgary for his comments on the scribes in the book, which led me to re-examine their work in greater detail.

the Black Sea. This evidence, together with the probable time-filling purpose of the book, seemed good enough to Dart for the date of inception, but it seems unlikely that Herbert began the book before he made the inscription on the second flyleaf, naming himself as "Lord Herbert, of Cherbury and Castle Island". Until 1629, he could only claim the title of Herbert of Castle Island.

The terminal date relies on three factors. The date of Herbert's death, the dates provided in Herbert's autograph hand: 16[19],⁸ 1626, 1627, 1628, 1639 and 1640;⁹ and the assumption first made by Dart and maintained by Price that the two principal Scribes, A and B, were both Herbert of Cherbury, at different times in his life. There is no doubt that in several cases Herbert, whose autograph is only in the hand of Scribe B, added pieces to the collection after Scribe A had finished. The dates indicate the date of composition of their respective pieces, but do not necessarily also indicate the date on which they were copied. Indeed, the completed if inaccurate state of these copies, lacking any sign of ongoing compositional process, suggests that they were probably composed some time before they were added to the book. Further, the inscription on f.82r: 'Pavan of the Composition of mee Edward Lord Herbert 1627 ...' must have been written in after 1629, the date of his elevation to the English peerage.

It is also tempting to cast doubt on Dart's '1619' reading for one of Herbert's compositions, accepted but not verified by both Price and Spring. It has not been possible to clarify this, partly through a lack of ultraviolet equipment in the Fitzwilliam Museum, but mainly because the edge of the page is now missing. The doubt is crystallized when we note that the piece is essentially the same as that on f.82r (dated 1627), described by Dart as 'another birthday piece'. It is more likely that the damage to f.79r had obscured the date to too great an extent for Dart to make an accurate reading, even under ultraviolet light, and that in fact this piece is also dated 1627, leaving Herbert's earliest piece to date only from 1626.

Dart does not discuss the hands, simply assuming they both belonged to Herbert, despite the fact that the inscription on the front flyleaf and all Herbert's pieces were undoubtedly written by Scribe B, as is the first piece in the book. It was rare with any scribe from this period to leave his first leaf unused, since paper was by no means a cheap commodity, and when a scribe had a collection that was clearly going to require all the space in his book, he would not have left any leaf unused without very good reason.¹⁰ Price's arguments for Scribe B having worked after Scribe A had finished are relatively unassailable, but still do not adequately explain how the first piece in the book came to be written by Scribe B. Perhaps Scribe B worked in the book both before and after Scribe A. On looking closely at both hands, several questions arose that seemed to call into question the rather seminal assumption that the whole book, with the exception of the music by Cuthbert Hely, was written by Edward Herbert.

⁸ Folio 79r. This is unreadable in the manuscript, but Dart in Dart 1957 read the number '19' under ultraviolet light.

⁹ On folios 13v, 82r, 78r, 90v and 90r respectively.

¹⁰ The exception here is *Sampson*, in which the original scribe left not only the first two leaves unused, but also left unused pages later in the book. As the collection is comparatively short, it is not possible to tell whether these omissions relate to a copying order, or were more random in nature. This is particularly unusual for a pedagogical book and all other indications suggest this was its original purpose.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top left, there is a circled title "Corrente" with "Santitas" written below it. The score consists of several systems of staves. The first system has two staves with rhythmic markings above. The second system has two staves with notes and rests. The third system has two staves with notes and rests. The fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The tenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eleventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The twelfth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fourteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventeenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The nineteenth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twentieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The twenty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirtieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The thirty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fortieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The forty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fiftieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The fifty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixtieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The sixty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The seventy-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eightieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The eighty-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninetieth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-first system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-second system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-third system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-fourth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-fifth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-sixth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-seventh system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-eighth system has two staves with notes and rests. The ninety-ninth system has two staves with notes and rests. The hundredth system has two staves with notes and rests.

ex. 47 Herbert f.46v, reduced to 82%

Price describes the quite considerable variants between Scribes A and B and reasons that the differences were attributable to 'an unconscious change of writing style over the years', a reason that hardly seems sufficient for the quite radical habitual differences he describes. The one feature which was least likely to be an unconscious change, that is the alteration of the terminal word from *fine* (Scribe A) to *finis* (Scribe B), Price suggests may be deliberate, but does not offer a convincing reason for it. He discusses f.46v of the manuscript, shown here in example 47, with both the scribes at work on one page.

This also illustrates well the variation in slant between the two hands, as well as a number of other noteworthy elements not otherwise described by Price. Scribe A writes his letter 'b' with a single circular motion (much as a modern writer would shape the number 6), while Scribe B uses the down-up-down motion of a modern 'b'. Scribe A always writes to the end of the line, but never goes outside the ruled block, and thus does not always complete the line with a full bar. Scribe B always ends the line with a full bar, even when this means leaving a small space unused, or having to extend the pre-ruled lines. One final note on this page; although the two pieces were clearly copied by different hands, the titles were just as clearly written by the same hand. It could be argued that Scribe A was leaving a note for himself that this was the piece that he wanted copied next, but it may be taxing credibility to suggest that he did not fill in the piece for some 15 years. If the similarity of the hand in the titles is taken as an argument for the two scribes being the same, this does not explain why the tablature hand has changed so radically, but the title hand has not.

Not obvious from this page is the apparent inexperience of the copying of Scribe B (Herbert) when compared to that of Scribe A. Like most experienced copyists, Scribe A tailors his pieces to fit exactly the space for which they were intended, but Scribe B seems to lack this ability to judge, and ends up having to extend lines, add new staves, and sometimes meander onto unrelated folios to complete a piece. In many cases, this could be explained as the scribe 'squeezing' extra pieces into the book, but in as many cases that explanation is not sufficient. The lack of accuracy in Herbert's copying of his own pieces—all only in hand B—also confirms the probability that Herbert was not as good a copyist as the owner of hand A. If the hands both belonged to the same scribe, it is unlikely that his copying skills would have deteriorated over the years, rather the reverse. As a composer, Herbert was hardly to be considered competent.

By all accounts,¹¹ Herbert was somewhat arrogant and his pride in his own music was apparent, all signed in generous detail—but only by Scribe B. If Scribe A is Herbert copying 1624-8, why did he not include the Castle Island and earlier pieces at that time, and why did he not inscribe the flyleaf at that time? Perhaps he did. Dart was convinced that the two hands belonged to Herbert. Price introduced an element of doubt, but still concluded that the hands both belonged to him, and were entered into the book a number of years apart. In fact, this may only be the partial truth. It seems unlikely that the scribe who initiated the copying should begin anywhere but on the first folio of the

¹¹ Mostly written by Herbert himself, and reviewed in Dart 1957.

book, and equally unlikely that Herbert should inscribe the flyleaf and put in the first piece in the manuscript some 20 years after the work had been started. What seems a more likely explanation, is that Herbert employed a copyist for much of the work, possibly an Italian as this is the only known source—English or Italian—that refers to a 'Sr Danielli Inglesi'.¹² He copied the first piece in the book, and then left the Scribe A to do the main work. When his copyist had finished, or during his work, Herbert then added pieces himself, most notably those of his own making. Herbert is known to have employed a secretary who would have used a counterfeit version of Herbert's hand as part of his job.¹³ The most likely probability is that Scribe A was Herbert's secretary.

One further possibility exists: if it is accepted that Scribe A is not Herbert, then it is possible that Herbert could have obtained the partially complete book from a third party, and added his own pieces in accordance with the previous owner's key divisions. However, this still does not explain Herbert's activity on the first folio.

Conclusion

Dart, Price and Spring concur in the belief that the last 15 pieces in the book were copied later than the main part of it. Here, Herbert's autograph hand has clearly deteriorated from its earlier appearances, though its principal characteristics—the shape of the letters, the slant and the manner in which he covers the page—remain unchanged.

If Herbert inscribed the flyleaf when he started to compile the book, then the book cannot have been started before 1629, when he became Lord Herbert of Cherbury. On the other hand, we have no very good reasons for supposing that the book could not have been started until the first page was written. The only facts we can offer with certainty are that Scribe B, Herbert of Cherbury, used the book after Scribe A had finished working. We cannot tell how long a gap there was between the activity of the two scribes, if there was in fact a gap, and we have no good reasons for supposing that Scribe A was Herbert; quite the reverse in fact. It is almost certainly true that the last few pieces in the book are later than the main body, but again without knowing how late, or early, the main body is, we cannot say how much later—5 days or 15 years? If we follow Dart's reasoning regarding the Latin tags, then the book was probably started in 1624, but much of the work done by Scribe B must have been started after 1629. On the other hand, the Latin tags are written by Scribe B, which implies either that they date from after 1629, or that Herbert's hand did not change appreciably from 1624 to 1630. Perhaps the whole book dates from c1630, with the exception of the last 15 pieces, that date from 1640.

Dart gives very plausible reasons for the book having been started in 1624, but his similarly plausible account of its composition has been convincingly dismissed by Price, so his date of inception may not be as unassailable as it first appears. His main argument for the 1624-8 period revolves around the two Latin tags inscribed in the text, though Dart himself gives evidence that Herbert still

¹² Folio 3v. Other titles early in the book refer to English and foreign authors as 'Sr' rather than 'Mr', the form in which they appear later in the book in both hands A and B.

¹³ See Chapter 4.

felt the disgrace of his exile long after it was over, and thus it is possible that he may have written the tags later, particularly as the literary evidence points conclusively to Herbert's (i.e. Scribe B's) activity dating from after 1630. Assuming the tags are in Herbert's hand, which is likely, and we know that they date from the 1630s, then we now have no reason at all for assuming the book was copied before that date, as Scribe A gives no dateable elements. It seems highly unlikely that Scribe A is Herbert, as the scribe clearly has quite a different level of skill from Herbert and this copying lacks the evidence of his personality so abundant in the appearances of Scribe B. In this case we are not faced with the problem that concerned Price, that two hands belonging to the same scribe could be so different. The only question then, is to decide when Scribe A was writing. Like many manuscripts that are approximately dateable, this manuscript contains a mixture of retrospective and modern music in an old style of tuning, but one that had not entirely gone out of use. Dart may have been correct in suggesting that it was a copy of a loose-leaf collection, gathered over some years prior to copying.

It is rarely possible to reach a satisfactory conclusion in cases such as these. When faced with the evidence above, the obvious course is to conclude that Scribe A was probably copying just before Herbert started work, and the likelihood is strong that the gap between their respective periods of activity was quite small. Thus the major part of the manuscript probably dates from the early or mid 1630s, with the exception of the last 15 pieces, that date from 1640.



ex.47a: Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury

§*ML* AND *KRAKOW*

- THE *ML* LUTE BOOK: London, British Library Add.Ms.38539. Currently dated *c*1610 and one piece 1630-40. In the hand of Margaret L. (initials on the cover), identified by jottings on the flyleaf as Margaret. Whether Margaret L. was the principal copyist is a moot point. Copying of the main scribes may be in two layers.
- THE *KRAKOW* LUTE BOOK: Poland, Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Berlin.Mus.Ms.40641. Probably dating *c*1615-20. Small collection written by one principal scribe and two, possibly three, minor scribes. Studied only in facsimile due to difficulties in gaining access to the original source.

The original owner of *ML* (also known in the past as the Matthew Locke book and the Sturt lute book) purchased a blank ruled book with a binding dating from some time between *c*1606 and 1627, and had their initials, M.L., stamped on the front cover.¹⁴ This may have been Margaret L..., whose name appears in a doggerel verse inside the manuscript. Apart from this, there is no information about the original owner of the manuscript. John Sturt was lutenist to Prince Henry in 1612, played in Chapman's Middle Temple Maske (15th February, 1613), and was a London Wait from 1613 until his death shortly before 15th April, 1625. Apart from the six pieces in this manuscript, his lute compositions survive in *Board*, *Dd.4.22*, *Nn.6.36*, *Swarland* and *Krakow*. Altogether this provides us with only seven extant solos, and the presence of six of them in *ML* seems to have been one of the reasons for its having originally acquired the association with the composer. Apart from this, there is no evidence to suggest why Sturt's name had been postulated at any time as an owner or scribe of the book. The name of Matthew Locke was suggested by the British Library because of the initials on the cover, but since he was born some time after the book was bound and sold, that association was discarded fairly quickly.

The Latin verse on the name Margaret (f.56r) refers to her accomplishments, among which we may assume was a mastery of the lute. Italic hand, used in a bastard form for the tablature in *ML*, was apparently the hand preferred by ladies since it required less application to learn than the secretary hand.¹⁵ If this is the case, it increases the likelihood of a feminine hand, though most lute hands by the early seventeenth century were italic. More significant is the number of other manuscripts of lute music from this period known to have been compiled by young ladies, and showing very similar contents and copying practices to this one—particularly *Board* and *Pickeringe*. The first layer of scribal activity in the manuscript is dated 1615, with music copied into the gaps left by the first scribe in a slightly different, and possibly later hand, and one or two pieces added at the end of the book. The latest copying seems to date from *c*1630-40,¹⁶ and is probably not related to the principal copyist's work.

Spencer identifies some fifteen scribes at work in the book,¹⁷ most of them contributing only fragmentary lines of text or musical tables. Two wrote mensural music, and their activity does not seem to be related to that of the writers of the lute tablature. Only five of the scribes are responsible

¹⁴ Facsimile with introductory study: Spencer 1985B.

¹⁵ See Chapter 4.

¹⁶ Spencer 1985B, xx.

¹⁷ Spencer 1985B, ix-xx.

for lute music. Some of the others may be the same scribes as are found in the lute music, but it is not possible to say whether this is the case or not.

The principal lute scribe begins to write on f.2, and continues to do so apparently without interruption until f.27. The hand is extremely regular and carefully organized in layout: where there is not enough room to write a complete piece on one opening, a new opening is started. To this compilation, a second hand has added music from f. 27 to f.32, and also filled in some of the larger gaps in the original compilation with small pieces from two to seven lines in length. Three further lute hands contribute one piece of music each on ff.32, 32v and 33v.

The scribes of particular interest are the first two, whose hands are extremely similar in many respects, although one appears to be less fluid than the other, and may have been written by an older scribe; possibly the same scribe writing some years apart. The two scribes use separate distinctive terminal double bars, and this was one of the main points made by Spencer in identifying two different hands rather than two forms of one hand.

A third hand was discussed by Spencer in connection with this source; the principal hand in *Krakow*, which was rediscovered in 1982 after having been lost since 1945. This lute book has only been available to the present writer in the form of photographs and microfilm, which has hampered the examination of the hands. However, reproductions are more than adequate to show shape and angulation—all that is lost is an appreciation of ink colour and any effect the quality of the paper may have had on the script. Boetticher¹⁸ dated the manuscript c1700, but it seems far more likely that it dates from a period c1615, since the repertory has so much in common with other English manuscripts of this date. That it originated in England is also highly likely, since the repertory seems to originate from the English court and is particularly concerned with maske music. Of the 30 folios in the manuscript, only thirteen were used, and all of these were written on by this scribe. Seven bars of an incomplete piece were written in by a second scribe on f.3, and a fragment of three bars by a third scribe on f.10, followed by a number of letters written in what may be a fourth hand. There is not enough of this hand to tell, though it would be tempting to link it with one of the minor contributors to *ML*. There are many concordances with *Board*, *ML* and also with *Nn.6.36*. *Board* and *ML* are known to date from the second decade of the seventeenth century, or possibly even later, and the majority of the music is in the French dance forms that became popular in England from c1615 onwards, the ballet and courant. There are also many concordances with Vallet 1615.

The manuscript is much smaller in both size and format than *ML*, but it seems probable that the main scribe in this book may also be identified as one of the lute scribes of *ML*. Spencer¹⁹ suggests that the scribe of *Krakow* and the principal hand of *ML* are the same person. At present nothing is known of the provenance of *Krakow*, apart from the fact that it was originally housed in the Preussischer Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung, Berlin.

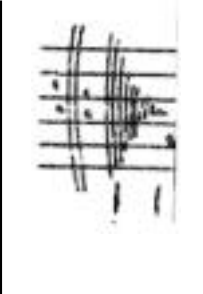
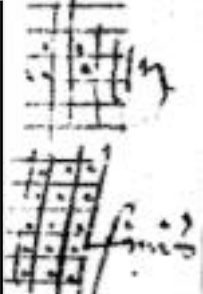
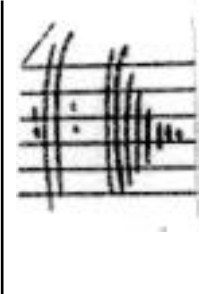
¹⁸ Boetticher 1978, 39.

¹⁹ Spencer 1985B, xiv.

TABLE 27
CONTENTS OF *KRAKOW*
Concordances with *ML* are listed.

Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
	<deleted matter>		
i.....		[c1936 paper?]	
ii.....		[blank]	
iiiv.....		[watercolour picture]	
1/1.....	<i>Ball</i> [et].....	Ballet (2 strains).....	
1/2.....		The Prince's Maske/The lady Eliza's maske.....	
1v/1.....	<i>3 Ballet</i>	Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 2v/1</i>		
1v/2-2/1.....	<i>4 Ballet</i>	Second of the Prince's Maske.....	Robert Johnson
2/2.....	<5> <i>Ballet</i>	Ballet.....	?Robert Johnson
2v.....	<i>5 Ballet</i>	Lady Banning's Almain/Ballet.....	John Sturt
3/1.....	<6> <i>Ballet</i>	The Prince's Almain.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 17/2</i>		
3/2.....		Fragment.....	
3v-4.....	<i>Passamez</i> [e].....	Passamezzo.....	
4v-5.....	<i>fantazia</i>	Fantasia.....	
5v/1.....	<i>Courante</i>	Courant La Rosignoll.....	
6.....	<i>Volte John Sturte</i>	Volt.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 21v/1</i>		
6v-7/1.....	<i>Ballet</i>	Ballet.....	
7/2.....	<i>Courant</i>	Courant.....	
7v-8.....	<i>Galliard</i>	Galliard.....	Charles Bocquet/M Webster
	<i>ML 21</i>		
8v-9/1.....	<i>Courant</i>	Courant.....	
	<i>ML 26v/1</i>		
9/2.....	<i>Ballet</i>	Ballet.....	
9v/1.....	<i>6 Ballet</i>	Almain.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 16/2</i>		
9v/2-10/1.....	<i>7 Ballet</i>	Almain Hit it and Take it/Ballet.....	Robert Johnson
	<i>ML 20v/1</i>		
10/2.....	<i>Courant</i>	Courant.....	
10v/1.....	<i>Courant</i>	Courant.....	
10v/2-11.....	<i>Courant</i>	Courant.....	
	<i>ML 18v</i>		
11v-12.....	<i>Courant Jo: Sturt</i>	Courant.....	John Sturt
	<i>ML 21v/2-22/1</i>		
12v/1.....	<i>la Duchesse</i>	La Duchesse.....	
12v/2-13/1.....	<i>la Dauphine</i>	La Dauphine.....	
13/2.....	<i>la Princesse</i>	La Princesse.....	
13v/1.....	<i>Ballet des Jardiniers</i>	Ballet des Jardiniers.....	
13v/2.....		[blank ruled]	
30v.....		[blank ruled, with a sepia drawing of a head]	

TABLE 28
TERMINAL BAR-LINES IN *ML* AND *KRAKOW*

<i>ML</i> : Margaret	<i>ML</i> : Scribe B	<i>Krakow</i> : Scribe C
		

For ease of reference, the principal scribe of *ML* will be referred to as 'Margaret' as it is reasonable to assume that this scribe was Margaret L., the secondary scribe as 'Scribe B', and the principal scribe of *Krakow* as 'Scribe C'.

One of the notable characteristics of Margaret's copying is the habitual terminal double-bar she employs at the end of every piece in her hand. An

almost identical termination appears in *Krakow*. Although these are the only two scribes who use this type of double bar, it is not sufficiently idiosyncratic to rule out the possibility of another scribe

developing a similar figure, or copying the form from a teacher or acquaintance. In fact Scribe B does attempt to copy the same termination on f.26. Whether this is the case or whether the scribe of *Krakow* is indeed one of the *ML* scribes must be ascertained by examining the other features in the hand. All three terminations are shown in table 28.

Scribe C writes a pure secretary hand, using the old form of the letter 'e' which is unusual in a scribe writing c1615. Margaret employs the more usual italic 'e', although the secretary form makes appearances on ff.2v (line 1), 3r (lines 8 and 9), 5v (line 1) in company with italic 'e's. It is unlikely that these can be explained away as temporary aberrations made as the result of Margaret using *Krakow* as an exemplar and copying the script in that manuscript, as the secretary forms do not occur in pieces which are concordances. Scribe C spaces the letters regularly and fairly wide apart and, although the same appears to be true for Margaret, the overall appearance of her hand is considerably more compact than that of Scribe C.

Margaret wrote for a 10-course lute in *vieil ton*, and Scribe C for a lute with nine courses, though it may possibly have had a tenth course that was not required in the pieces notated in *Krakow*, though that is rather unlikely. Clearly, one of the other scribes in *ML* used a 12-course lute, and played the music written by Margaret, as attested by the additions to her copying on f.4v, but the same cannot be said of the two (or three) minor contributors to *Krakow*.

While Margaret uses three graces fairly uniformly throughout her copying, there is only one appearance of + (f.1v line 6) and the # has been added fairly liberally only to the single piece on ff.11v-12, which may suggest that it was added by a different scribe. The one + sign in *Krakow* is very similar (as far as it is possible to tell) to the same usage in *ML*, but the # is clearly different. It does not appear likely, from what can be seen of the secondary scribes in *Krakow*, that any of the secondary scribes in the two manuscripts can be paired.

ex. 48: letter 'h',
Margaret, enlarged.



A feature of Margaret's hand is the letter h (enlarged in example 48), formed with a single looped stroke with a pronounced limb and hook. The letter could be described simply as a straight descender with a loop at the top and a hook at the bottom, since most of the defining curves of the letter have disappeared. The ascender is shortened to the height of a minim, and the limb descends sharply through several course-lines before the 'hook' is made. This formation is echoed in the descender of the letter 'y', and the descender of the 'f', formed with one broken stroke, still straight, which descends through most of the stave. The 'g' is more conventionally formed, without an excessively large descender, though the concluding stroke is curved down and back on itself to make a small decorative loop at the end. These features are sufficiently

consistent and habitual that they could be expected to appear in other sources of this hand. Scribe C does use pronounced descenders for the letters 'f', 'h', and 'y'. However, there are noticeable differences in duct that are more striking than the similarities.²⁰ Specifically, none of the downward strokes

²⁰ A similar form of the letter 'h' can be seen in the hand of the *Folger/Wickhambrook* scribe.

shows Margaret's hook, the downstroke of the 'f' in Scribe C is bowed, but straight when written by Margaret and the headstroke is also formed in a different manner: Table 29 illustrates these letters, and other symbols common to both hands.

The secretary 'e' which Margaret uses is also not sufficiently similar to link these two hands. This letter betrays the differing grips of the two scribes, to be seen in the lower curve of the two. The stroke of Scribe C is widest at the top part, the more vertical part of the curve. The stroke of Margaret is widest on the base of the curve, where it is nearly horizontal.

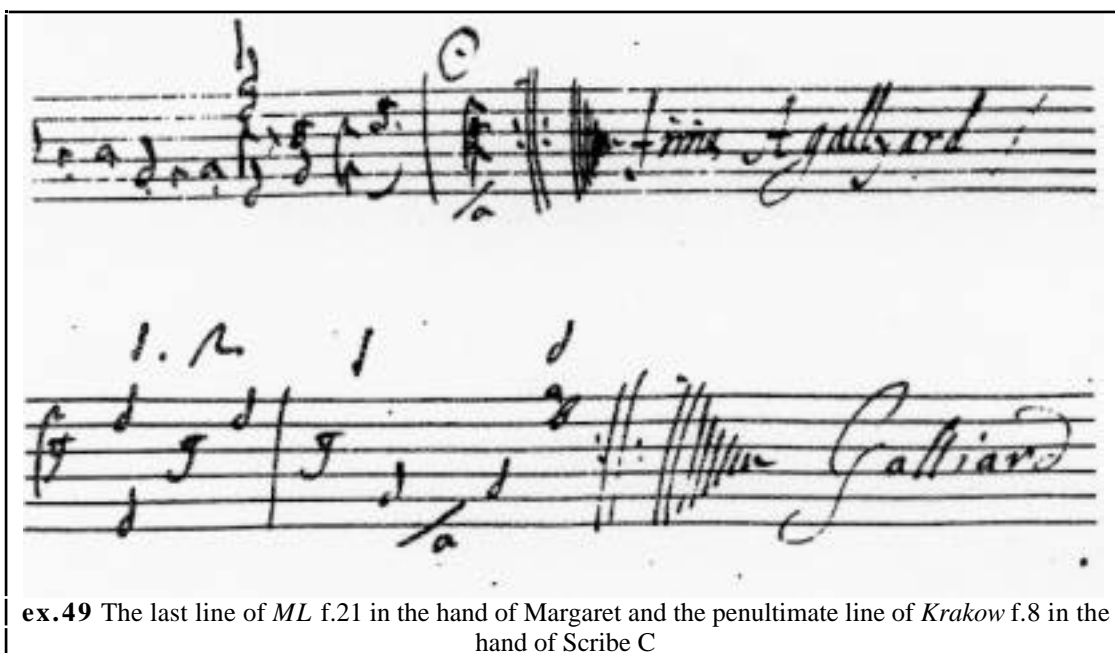
TABLE 29 COMPARISON OF FIGURES FROM <i>ML</i> AND <i>KRAKOW</i> Letters 'e', 'f', 'h', 'y', and 'g' and other symbols common to each hand.		
<i>ML</i> : Margaret	<i>ML</i> : Scribe B	<i>Krakow</i> : Scribe C
		
		
		
		
		
		
		

The *mensuralgallica* flags used by both of these scribes have much in common in terms of shape, but the angulation is, in places, dramatically different, Margaret's upright or slanting to the left, and those of Scribe C to the right. In this case, the flags are of little use in distinguishing or linking the hands, since very similar flags appear in *Och532* (Scribe A), *Nn.6.36* (C) and *Dd.9.33* (E), *Herbert* (A), *Board* (C), and *Pickeringe* (D), although the accompanying tablature hands are extremely dissimilar. Margaret frequently uses a fermata, but there are only two in the hand of Scribe C (ff.4 and 8), without the regular shape displayed by Margaret. Hold signs are used by Scribe C only on ff.11r to 12, and three times on f.1, while Margaret not only employs the usual bass hold sign throughout the

manuscript, but also makes use of an unusual treble hold sign in several places. One other scribe known to have used the relatively rare treble hold sign during this period was John Dowland.²¹

Only the titles and the current hand used to write them remain to be compared. Example 49 highlights most of the inconsistencies between the two hands, as well as some similarities.

Spencer has suggested²² that the signature in Scribe C has the appearance of a holograph, comparing it to the signatures of John Dowland and John Johnson, both found in *Folger* (c1595), while appearances of the name in *ML* do not have the same panache. This observation seems to be accurate, although Spencer notes that the piece on f.1v of *Krakow* which is attributed to Sturt in *ML* would surely also bear his signature if Sturt were the scribe of *Krakow*. On the other hand, the attribution in *ML* may be incorrect, since it is not repeated in *Nn.6.36*, which is the only other known source of the piece. If the version in *Krakow* is not simply an earlier version, then one possibility may be that John Sturt was the scribe of *Krakow*, and that he may have been the teacher of Margaret, who copied his distinctive double bar, and some of the characteristics of his copying style, along with some of the music from his manuscript.



ex.49 The last line of *ML* f.21 in the hand of Margaret and the penultimate line of *Krakow* f.8 in the hand of Scribe C

The two principal scribes in *ML*, Margaret and Scribe B, may be the same scribe writing at two different periods of his or her life. Example 50 shows the hands of both scribes on the same folio, where they are easily compared. Margaret's hand has a number of very dominant characteristics—many described above—which tend to overwhelm the eye.

²¹ To be seen in both *Board* and *Folger*.

²² Spencer 1985B, xiv.



Table 30 lists the contents of *ML*; the scribes are indicated in the second column, Margaret represented by the letter A, Scribe B by the letter B and other lute scribes by letters C to E.

TABLE 30 CONTENTS OF <i>ML</i>			
Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
2/1	A	Mrs White's Choice/Thing	John Dowland
2/2		Prelude	
2v/1		Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain	John Sturt
2v/2-3/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
3/2		Volt/Courant	
3/3		Almain	
3v/1		Brett's Courant	
3v/2		Maske	
4/1		Almain	Robert Kindersley
4/2		The Witches Dance from the Maske of Queens	
4v-5/1		The Queen's Dump, duet treble	John Johnson
5/2		Duet Treble	
5v-6/1		Sharp Pavan, duet treble	Richard Alison
6/2	B	Courant	
6v	A	Duet treble	
7		Lavecchia Pavan	
7v/1		The Cobbler	
7v/2-8/1		Lord Zouche's Maske	
8/2	B	Courant	
8v/1	A	Sir John Smith's Almain	John Dowland
8v/2-9		More Palatino/En Me Revenant	Daniel Bachelier
9v/1		Pavan	Robert Johnson
9v/2-10/1		Mall Sims	Johan Leo Hassler
10/2		The Fairy's Dance	
10v-11/1		Passamezzo Pavan/Weston's Pavan	
11/2	B	Courant	
11v-12	A	John Come Kiss Me Now	
12v-13/1		Battle Galliard/King of Denmark's Galliard/Mr Mildmay's Galliard	John Dowland
13/2		Galliard	Robert Kindersley
13v-14/1		Last Will and Testament Pavan	Anthony Holborne
14/2		Poor Tom of Bedlam	
14v-15		Fantasia	John Dowland

15v/1	To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bacheler
15v/2-16/1	Galliard on a Galliard of Daniel Bachleler	John Dowland
16/2	Almain	Robert Johnson
16/3	Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	
16v/1	Galliard, My Lady Mildmay's Delight	Robert Johnson
16v/2-17/1	The Flying Horse	
17/2	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
17v/1	Courant	
17v/2	Courant	Mercure d'Orléans
18/1	Volt	John Sturt
18/2	Courant	
18v/1	Courant	
18v/2-19/1	Courant de la Durette	Robert Ballard
19/2	The Noble Men's Maske	
19/3	Volt	
19v/1	Almain	John Sturt
19v/2	Almain	
19v/3	Courant	
19v/4-20/1	Volt	
20/2	Ballet des Folles	
20/3	Volt	Mercure d'Orléans
20v/1	Hit it and Take it Almain	Robert Johnson
20v/2-21/1	Galliard	Robert Johnson
21/2	Galliard	Charles Bocquet
21v/1	Volt	John Sturt
21v/2-22/1	Courant	John Sturt
22/2	Courant	Jacques Gauthier [prob]
22/3	B Prelude	John Sturt
22v/1	A Pavan	Robert Johnson
22v/2-23	Lachrimae Pavan	John Dowland
23v-25/1	Battle Pavan	
25/2	Courant	Mercure d'Orléans/René Saman
25v/1	Courant La Bontade	Robert Ballard
25v/2-26/1	A-B Galliard	
26/2	B Courant de la Reine	Robert Ballard
26/3	Canaries	
26v/1	A Courant	
26v/2-27/1	Courant Le Testament	Julien Perrichon
27/2	B Courant	
27/3	Almain	
27v/1	Galliard	
27v/2-28/1	Courant	
28/2	Almain	
28/3	Almain	
28v-29/1	Mrs Anne Markham's Pavan	Francis Cutting
29/2	Gray's Inn Maske/Mad Tom of Bedlam	
29v/1	La Courant Sarabande	?Robert Ballard
29v/2-30/1	Pavan	Lodovico Bassano
30/2	Gray's Inn Maske	
30v/1	The Devil's Dance	
30v/2	First Tune of the Lord's Maske	
30v/3	Second Tune of the Lord's Maske	
31	Courant	
31v-32/1	Pavan	Robert Johnson
32/2	C Gray's Inn Maske	
32v	D Maske tune/Almain	
33v/1	E Almain, first part of duet	
33v/2	Almain, second part of duet	

There are two probabilities that should be considered before advancing further. The most obvious reason for the clear point of take-over between Margaret and Scribe B would be that the two scribes were using the book at the same time, and the second scribe completed work started by the first scribe, and then copied in two more pieces. Folio 26v shows the hand of Margaret at work again. Disregarding this take-over in copying between the two scribes, and treating it as if it is simply the completion of a piece previously left incomplete, then it would appear that there are two principal

layers of copying in this first part of the book. The first scribe, Margaret, copied in a large repertory of music up to folio 27r and then stopped working for one reason or another. At this point—or possibly after a hiatus of some years—Scribe B came to the book and completed Margaret's unfinished Galliard on 26v, even to the point of attempting to imitate Margaret's stylish final double bar. Scribe B copied two courants into the remaining blank staves, still trying to imitate Margaret's double bar. The imitation proved a failure, and so Scribe B resorted to a simpler form of ending, which he used to add two more courants into the empty staves on f.27r, continuing to copy without interruption until 32r. At some point, during or after this period of activity, this second scribe went back through the book and filled in some of Margaret's blank staves with short dances, usually courants.²³ That these 'fill-ins' were added after his activity on f.26r seems very likely, as Scribe B's experimentation with Margaret's double-bar occurs here only, and this sort of attention to detail is likely to be associated with a scribe's first entries into a book, particularly if he or she were attempting to blend the new additions in with the old. Considering the large number of pages left unused in this manuscript, it is slightly surprising that Scribe B should have gone to the trouble of filling in these small gaps, though the presence of spaces large enough to accommodate a short piece may have been difficult to ignore if this was the only book that the scribe owned, or if he or she had a particularly parsimonious attitude to paper. A similar situation is apparent in *Herbert*,²⁴ where a second scribe has added to the principal scribe's compilation, though in this case the extra space is used because there was no space elsewhere. This is seen more dramatically in *St. Petersburg*, a manuscript of French origin, written in *vieil ton*, but with gaps filled by a second hand in transitional tunings, the repertory indicating probably as much as 20 years after the original compilation.

How reasonable would it be to suggest that the first scribe, Margaret, left the piece of music on f.26 incomplete in her original compilation, and continued on the next clean folio after leaving a space for the completion? If the second scribe is in fact Margaret writing later in life and after the onset of (perhaps) arthritis which causes difficulties in forming letters cleanly, then this could have been the case. However, it is equally possible that this is the activity of two scribes using the book at the same time.

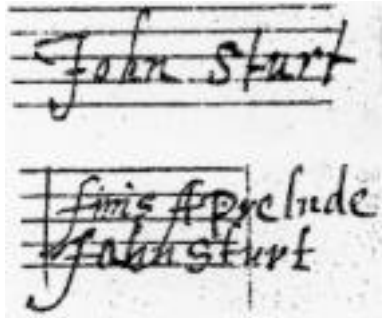
The same treble hold signs are employed by Scribe B as by Margaret, and the writing of the name John Sturt on f.22 bears many similarities in duct to that shown in example 50. Many spellings of the titles are also the same, but all of these supposed similarities could be simply attributed to the two scribes working in the same book and influencing each other's work. As has been seen before, when comparing Margaret with Scribe C, the very precise and idiosyncratic shape of the limb of the letter 'h' is probably important. One would expect the hooked shape to become more angular with age, particularly when the scribe's hand has aged as appears to be the case with Scribe B. Most of the letters have acquired a more square body, but the limb of the 'h' is still surprisingly curved and flowing. In fact it resembles far more the shape of the letter 'h' in Scribe C than in Margaret. The # signs also

²³ 6r — 6 lines, 8r — 2 lines, 11r — 3 lines, 22r — 4 lines.

²⁴ See the discussion above.

have more in common with Scribe C than with Margaret. The sloped duct and spacing of Scribe C are not exactly echoed in the hand of Scribe B, but f.27 shows strong similarities seen in examples 52a-b.

ex. 51 *ML* f.22, ends of lines 1 (Margaret) and 12 (Scribe B)



Any condition causing stiffening of the joints would account for much in the alteration of a hand, and decreasing fluency may cause the hand to take a more upright angulation. The increase in the number of grace and hold signs would be expected with the passage of time and changing fashions. Both scribes use a ten-course lute, something that could change with the passage of time if the player was interested and could afford to buy a new instrument and extend their technique to accommodate the additional courses dictated by changing fashions in music. This practice seems to

be most common, though, only among those whose livelihood depended on the currency of their technique and music, and is rarely seen among the amateur population.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on a page with ten staves. The notation is a mix of mensural notation and modern-style notes. The first three staves (lines 1-3) are attributed to Margaret and contain mensural notation with some modern notes. The fourth staff (line 4) has the text "Volte Joan" and "Sturte" written across it. The fifth and sixth staves (lines 5-6) are attributed to Scribe B/?C and feature more complex mensural notation. The seventh and eighth staves (lines 7-8) continue the notation. The ninth staff (line 9) has the text "finis" and "Acorant" written across it. The tenth staff (line 10) is a lute tablature with letters on a six-line staff.

ex. 52 ML f.27r, lines 1-3 (Margaret); lines 4-11 (Scribe B/?C) reduced to 60%

One of the most seductive arguments for these two hands belonging to the same person is to be seen on f.26 of this manuscript (given as example 50 (*ML*, f.26): written by Margaret (lines 1-3) and Scribe B (lines 3-12)—only the point of changeover is shown). On this folio the scribe attempts to imitate or repeat the full close demonstrated by the first scribe, but has difficulty—for whatever reason—in completing the figure with the final flourish. In the end, he discards the original figure for a full close requiring less digital flexibility. Many of the differences to be seen between these two hands could be attributed to the onset of old age or arthritis. The letters become more brittle in formation, the double-bars seen on this folio also indicate difficulty in figurations which require flexibility in the hand and particularly the fingers, and fine control of the writing edge. A lessening of dexterity which would be commensurate with the difficulties encountered by an elderly scribe would have the effects seen in the hand of this scribe.

Conclusion

It is difficult, to attempt to make judgements about the scribes in two manuscripts when one of those sources is only available for study as a microfilm or photocopy. Spencer is also understandably cautious about the wisdom of comparing *ML* with *Krakow* in his introduction to the facsimile of *ML*. For this reason the evaluation of the *Krakow* scribe must only be given the weight of conjecture here, though the reproductions leave no doubt about such essentials as layout, spacing, duct and the shape or slant of letters and flags.

The examination above suggests that there are two rather than three scribes at work in these two manuscripts, but not the pair which had previously been suggested. If the two scribes in *ML* were a single scribe this requires the possibility that Margaret left the galliard on ff.25v-26 unfinished. To judge by the accuracy and completeness of her copying this seems unlikely, and the altered angulation between the two scribes to be seen on f. 27 suggests that they are not the same person. However, the alteration in style between Margaret and Scribe B would be commensurate with difficulties brought on by disease affecting motor control or manual dexterity, and could account for most of the variations in the scripts, although the angulation of the hand makes the link with Scribe C in *Krakow* more likely.

There are, hypothetically, two possible cases. First that all three hands in the two sources were written by the same person, Margaret, who began copying as a student in *ML* c1610, and began work in a new book c1615 (*Krakow*). Later still (c1620) she returned to the original book and filled in some of the gaps left incomplete before. However, Margaret is quite relaxed about leaving blank spaces in *ML* but the same is not true of Scribe B. A more likely picture is that *Krakow* was written c1615 by a scribe who could be John Sturt. This scribe then came in contact with the principal scribe of *ML*, Margaret L, who may have copied some music from *Krakow*, imitating the terminal bar flourish of Scribe C. The scribe of *Krakow* also wrote in *ML*, though by this time his dexterity had begun to deteriorate: he attempted his original terminal-bar flourish, but had to compromise with a simpler form. If this is the case, then the date of c1610 proposed by Spencer for *ML* is probably slightly too early. It could have been bound as late as 1627, and there is nothing in the music or the

ascriptions which would suggest positively that the music was written in before *c1620*, particularly if Margaret and Scribe B were working together. *ML* is clearly a pedagogical book, and therefore the repertory in Margaret's hand is likely to be from an earlier period than the copying date. A date later than 1610 would also be supported by the use of *mensura gallica* by all the scribes, a style of flagging that was rare in English manuscripts before *c1620*. Sturt's professional life seems to date from 1612, and though his music may have been in circulation earlier than that, this would seem a safe date to establish for his working life. He died in 1625, so if he had any links with these two manuscripts, they must have been copied between *c1612* and 1625, which seems to tie in with the other evidence surrounding them.

It seems possible that the scribe of *Krakow* (possibly John Sturt) may have been the teacher of Margaret or simply an acquaintance. The relationship may never become wholly certain, but the links between the two manuscripts may ultimately shed some light on their provenance. Spencer suggests a period of ten years for the compilation of *ML*, though Margaret's hand shows no evidence that she may have been copying for a long period. His examination of the scribes led him to decide that they had been using the book at the same time, and the repertory suggests 1613 as the earliest date for the start of copying. The date of *Krakow*, *c1615*, is probably accurate, but in view of the probable link between the two sources, *c1620* would be a more likely copying date for the *vieil ton* music in *ML*.

§BOARD AND HIRSCH

THE MARGARET BOARD LUTE BOOK: Private library of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex. Probably dating from 1620-35. Book written mainly in the hand of Margaret Board [Boord] (see end-papers, initials on cover) baptized Lindfield, Sussex, 19 Nov 1600, *m* Henry Borne between 1623 and 1631 (see f.32v),²⁵ with a section of later additions *c1630-35* towards the end of the book, possibly in a French hand.

THE HIRSCH LUTE BOOK: London, British Library Ms Hirsch.M.1353. Undated, but currently believed to originate *c1595*. Named after Paul Hirsch, twentieth-century owner of book. Written by at least five anonymous scribes. Initials on cover *HO*. No other information about original owner.

Board and *Hirsch* are two sources of mainstream English repertory, dated 1620-30 and *c1595* respectively, since the publication of facsimiles of each manuscript.²⁶ According to the research published in the facsimile introductions, the manuscripts appear to have been written about 30 years apart. However, closer examination of the details given in this research reveals a number of anomalies that bring the dating of *Hirsch* into question. The situation is further complicated by the apparent presence of a scribal concordance between the manuscripts. This is neither unusual or problematic, particularly as the identity of scribes is often not known. However, in this case the scribe in question is Margaret Board, born in 1600, and therefore unlikely to have been one of the scribes in *Hirsch*, if it does indeed date from *c1595*.

Margaret Board began copying her lute book around 1620. Her initials are stamped on the cover, and her name appears frequently on the end papers of the book together with names of family

²⁵ Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Par. 416/1/1/1 (Lindfield parish register), f.8v.

²⁶ *Board*: Spencer 1976C; *Hirsch*: Spencer 1982.

servants, and her married name: Margaret Borne. Margaret married some time between 1623 and 1631,²⁷ so the book was clearly begun before 1623, but the repertory indicates that it cannot have been much earlier. The dating is well-justified in Spencer 1976, where he also traces the year of Margaret's birth: 1600.

Dowland himself copied two pieces among those of Margaret, and added hold signs to some of her work, indicating that he was probably teaching her at some point in the book's history, though his activity in the body of the book is only evident between folios 10v, where she adds his 'Lachrimae' to her collection, and 16v, where Dowland adds hold signs to her copying. This part of the book at least must pre-date his death in 1626. From the consistency of Margaret's hand, it seems that her copying occupied a fairly short period of time, and it is likely that the fascicle in her hand dates from about 1620-25.

Board was almost certainly originally sold as a bound and ruled lute book. Margaret copied from the first folios of the book up to 30v, and from here to 45v at least three further scribes are at work. There appears to be no link between Margaret's work and these later copyists, who probably date from after 1630.

Hirsch seems to date from the last decade of the sixteenth century. The initials stamped on the cover are H. O., but there is no internal evidence of its original ownership and even the music is for the most part untitled and unasciibed. This manuscript was originally dated 1597 by David Lumsden among others, though evidence for such a specific date is lacking. Spencer suggests that it may relate to song versions of two pieces, first published in 1597,²⁸ but widens his field of evidence in reaching his own conclusions about dating:

All English manuscripts before about 1590-95 are quarto in form, but *Hirsch* is folio. The style of binding is very similar to that of the *Welde* lute book, which has been dated c1600. The paper could have been made between about 1577 and 1596.

The majority of the known composers represented date from the 16th century ... and only Dowland and Byrd were still alive in 1613. If the MS had been written out after 1611 (see piece 44) [apparently a copy of a 1611 version of a Byrd fantasia] one would expect to find more French music and pieces by Robert Johnson, Sturt and Rosseter. Pieces 19 and 20 were not copied from Barley 1596.

I suggest the MS was begun c1595.²⁹

Since the Byrd fantasia (No.44) raises serious questions about the early dating of the manuscript, Spencer takes care to justify his excluding its publication date from his evidence, continuing:

In *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (Faber, 1978) Oliver Neighbour writes about this Fantasia: "Though published in 1611, Fantasia 4/g can be dated with some certainty about 1590 or a little earlier" (p.92). Having seen a transcription of the *Hirsch* version (made by Peter Trent, who first identified this text), Mr Neighbour informs me that it is the 1611 text with some errors. This suggests but does not prove, that it was written in the *Hirsch* manuscript after 1611. Byrd could have made the revision some years before the 1611 publication; likewise

²⁷ See Spencer 1976C.

²⁸ 'Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard', and 'Can She Excuse' (ff.11-11v).

²⁹ Spencer 1982, xiii.

the copyist could have added this piece some years after beginning his manuscript collection.

This discussion is plausible, though it seems that the argument may have been tailored to fit a preconceived notion of the date of the book. The exclusion of French music could be attributed to a conservative or specifically English taste, but the real influx of French music in these sources did not begin until well after the publication of Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons* in 1610, and was only usual from 1620 with scribes who had some personal connection with the continent, such as Edward Herbert. The French additions to *Board* and *Pickeringe* date from as late as 1630 and 40 and, in the case of *Pickeringe*, up to 1650. In fact, there are three token 'French Corantos' on f.10v of *Hirsch* that are found in other English sources, particularly for keyboard. The first was based on the pavan *Belle qui tiens ma vie*, that was included in Arbeau 1588, and is concordant with f.4 of *Montbuysson* (1611).

Spencer lists John Sturt among the composers one might expect to find in a manuscript of later date. This is dubious, as Sturt's music only survives in a very small proportion of the manuscripts contemporary with him, and it appears that the circulation of his work was rather limited. The Holmes books, compiled by a professional singer and probably also city Wait in Oxford and London, which otherwise contain virtually the gamut of contemporary lute music, only contain three isolated pieces by Sturt, in *Nn.6.36* (c1610-15). Spencer also mentions Robert Johnson and Philip Rosseter, who were more popular than Sturt, although Rosseter's surviving repertory is substantially smaller than Sturt's, and is found in only a few of the many sources dating from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.³⁰ Rosseter only has two pieces in only one of the Holmes books, and he is not found in *Marsh*, *Folger*, *Wickhambrook*, *Trumbull*, *31392*, *Mynshall*, *Brogynntyn*, *Welde*, *Euing*, *Sampson*, *Cosens* or *ML*, the other major sources from this period. Robert Johnson is also poorly represented in the Holmes books.³¹ Comparison of the contents of *Hirsch* with *Pickeringe*, dated 1616, shows a similar range of concordant sources. *Pickeringe*, though it dates from the second decade of the seventeenth century, contains 11 pieces by John Johnson (*d* 1594), but only one piece by Robert Johnson, so it is clearly not usual to find music by Robert Johnson in sources from the 1620s. The exclusion of Sturt, Robert Johnson and Rosseter from *Hirsch* therefore has considerably less significance than Spencer's comments would suggest. Their absence from the manuscript certainly does not prove that *Hirsch* pre-dates their working lives.

All these factors could argue against an earlier provenance for the book, but Spencer's dating is not unreasonable. The repertory as a whole certainly seems to date from the late sixteenth century, as the number of concordances with *Dd.2.11* (shown in table 31) demonstrates. However, it is not the date of the repertory that is in question but its date of copying, since the probable purpose of the book makes an anachronistic repertory virtually certain. Spencer points out that the format makes an even

³⁰ Sources of music by Philip Rosseter: *Barley* 1596 (Orph.) 55-56, 57-58, 59; *Board* 23/1, 28v/1; *Herbert* 10/2, 21-21v/1; *Dd.3.18* 41/2; *Dd.9.33* 46/2-46v, 47v-48; *Montbuysson* 99/2; *Pickering* 25v-26/2; *Vilnius* 8/2.

³¹ See table 21.

earlier provenance unlikely, though even for an upright folio format book this one is very large, and closer in size to those dating from the 1620s such as *ML* rather than earlier sources like the Holmes books. Spencer also advances the theory that the book may have had pieces added to it for many years after its inception. However, the arrangement of the scribes suggests that they were copying concurrently, and the later inclusion of the Byrd fantasia as he proposes would have involved the scribe leaving the book and returning to it at least 15 years later without any alteration in copying style, and without noticeable intervening interference or addition from any of the other scribes involved in the compilation. The currency and obvious interrelationship of this group of scribes indicates conclusively that in fact the book was compiled over a relatively short time-span, and not the 15 to 20 years which Spencer concedes must be possible in order to fit the Byrd anomaly into his overall scheme.

The Byrd fantasia is not the only piece to appear in printed sources, and other concordances might also shed further light on the average date range of sources containing this repertory.

Table 31 lists the other lute sources with which *Hirsch* has concordances (in date order as far as this is possible), and the quantity of those concordances. Cognates with consort, keyboard or versions for other instruments are not shown.

TABLE 31
LUTE SOURCES CONCORDANT WITH *HIRSCH*

Source	date	No. of cons.	Folio numbers in order of concordances in <i>Hirsch</i>
<i>2764(2)</i>	c1585-90	1	[5]v-[6]
<i>Dallis</i>	c1583-5	1	93-94
Adriansen 1584	1584	1	5
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	c1585-95	21	101v, 48, 71, 41, 44, 60v, 72v, 57v-58, 32, 21v, 57-56v, 75v-77, 37v, 40, 50v-51, 22, 65, 54v, 28, 18, 16
<i>Trumbull</i>	c1595	4	16v-17, 6, 4, 1
<i>Marsh</i>	c1595	1	247-6
<i>Wickhambrook</i>	c1595	1	11
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	1595-1600	7	33, 29v-30, 15v, 10v, 20, 14v-15, 69
Barley 1596	1596	2	3-4v, 1v-3
<i>Welde</i>	c1600	1	8
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	c1600-1605	5	59v-60, 60v, 17, 86v-87, 84v-85
<i>Herhold</i>	1602	1	13v-14
Besard 1603	1603	1	32
<i>31392</i>	c1605	3	30v-31, 32v-33, 29v-30
<i>Euing</i>	c1610	2	39, 32
Dowland 1610B	1610	1	1-1v, Sig.G
<i>Nn.6.36</i>	c1610-15	1	14v
<i>Montbuysson</i>	1611	1	4
<i>Schele</i>	1613-19	1	p.52-5
Mertel 1615	1615	4(5)	p.146-7, 223-4, 191, 222-3, (cf: 148-9)
Fuhrmann 1615	1615	1	p.59
<i>Pickeringe</i>	1616	1	17
<i>ML</i>	c1620	1	13v-14
<i>Herbert</i>	c1630	1	44v

The largest single group of these concordances is with *Dd.2.11* which dates from the period around 1595. The other concordances are spread fairly evenly over sources dating from the period 1570-1630, with the exception of the other Holmes books, *Dd.5.78.3* and *Dd.9.33*, and the music found in

Mertel 1615. The Holmes collection is undoubtedly the most comprehensive from this period, and so a large number of concordances is to be expected. Mertel's fantasias Nos.17, 56, 79 and 80 are concordant with *Hirsch* folios 13r (Scribe A), 65r (Scribe B), 65v (Scribe B) and 64r (Scribe A) respectively. The fantasia on 65r is a tone lower than Mertel's version, but otherwise is precisely concordant. The two fantasias copied by Scribe B are almost exactly concordant with those in Mertel 1615, while the one on f.13r shows quite substantial re-writing of the harmony. The last piece noted is concordant with one of the *Hirsch* fantasias, and may not therefore be related.

Mertel 1615 probably had a fairly limited circulation as very few copies survive when compared with other publications. We cannot say for certain that it did not reach this country in some form, particularly as its contents indicate that the compiler was familiar with English music, though his sources are not evident. It is far more likely that music in a manuscript source should have been copied from a printed source, than that the printed source was copied from a manuscript as diverse as this one. These four pieces were not copied in by the same scribe, and the third also has concordances with *Dd.2.11* and *Herhold* and is parodied in one of the fantasias in Hove 1601.³² Unfortunately, it is not possible to demonstrate conclusively that the *Hirsch* versions of the fantasias were copied from Mertel 1615. All that this demonstrates is that these fantasias were clearly still in circulation and popular enough in 1615 for Mertel to be familiar with them, and to print them in his *Magnum Opus*.

The paper of *Hirsch*, though not precisely identifiable, may date from the period 1590 to 1610. Restoration work carried out by the British Museum conservation department between 1958 and 1960 included re-stitching and re-backing, when the positions of the end-paper stubs was altered, and water stains were removed from a number of leaves. Since then there has been quite substantial offsetting of the ink onto facing pages of the treated folios³³ affecting legibility quite badly. A microfilm made before the conservation work was done has survived, and it is from this that facsimiles of the damaged folios have been made.

It is difficult to tell now whether *Hirsch* was bound before writing, but there is no loss of material in the gutters or from cropping, even where the writing extends right out to the edges of the paper. The likelihood is that, like *Board*, it was sold ruled and bound. In 1947, before its acquisition by the British Museum, Daphne Bird, in a note now bound as folio ii, dated the manuscript 1597, and this is the date that David Lumsden repeated, neither presenting supporting evidence. It is possible that during the restoration work the evidence for this date was also removed or trimmed away, but it is more likely to relate to the song versions of two pieces.

Table 32 is an inventory of the contents of the *Hirsch* manuscript. In the second column, the letters A to E indicate the work of its five scribes. A large gap of 42 ruled but otherwise unused folios between 21v and 63v is indicated with a double horizontal line. The single horizontal line indicates the point where dance music gives way to fantasias.

³² Hove 1601 sig.A f.3v.

³³ ff.2v-5 and 65 almost illegible, others affected: ff.5v-6, 12, 19-19v and 68v.

TABLE 32
CONTENTS OF *HIRSCH*

Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
[1v-]2/1.....	A	Pavan [last five bars only].....	John? Johnson
2/2.....		Galliard	William Byrd arr.
2v.....	B	In Nomine Pavan, duet part	Nicholas Strogers
3/1.....		In Nomine Galliard, duet part.....	Nicholas Strogers
3/2.....	A	Lady Laiton's Pavan/Dream.....	?John Dowland
3v-4/1.....	B	Pavan.....	Richard Allison
4/2.....	C	Galliard	
4v-5/1.....		Sharp Pavan.....	Richard Allison
5/2.....	A	Hasselwood's Galliard.....	Anthony Holborne
5v-6/1.....		Pavan.....	Ambrose [?Lupo]
6/2.....		Galliard	
6v/1.....		Fantasia, duet part	Marchant
6v/2-7/1.....		Galliard	Francis Cutting
7/2.....		Galliard	John Dowland
7v/1.....		Clark's Galliard/Quadran Galliard/Jest.....	Anthony Holborne
7v/2-8.....		Last Will and Testament Pavan.....	Anthony Holborne
8v-9/1.....		Fantasia	Alfonso Ferrabosco
9/2.....	D	Galliard	Richard Allison
9v.....	(A) B	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
10.....	(A) B	Pavan	Francis Cutting
10v/1.....	E	Ground	
10v/2.....		Three French Courants.....	
11/1.....		Galliard	Edward Pierce
11/2.....		Galliard	
11/3.....		Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard.....	John Dowland
11v/1.....		Earl of Essex's Galliard/Can She Excuse.....	John Dowland
11v/2.....		Captain Candish's Galliard.....	John Dowland
11v/3.....		Lachrimae Pavan.....	John Dowland
12.....		Groninge's Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
12v-13/1.....	B	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
13/2.....	A	Fantasia.....	
13v-14/1.....		Fantasia.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
14/2.....		Fantasia.....	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
14v-15/1.....		Fantasia.....	
15/2.....		Prelude	
15v.....		Fantasia.....	
16.....		Fantasia.....	
16v-17.....		Fantasia.....	
17v.....		Fantasia.....	Renaldo Paradiso
18.....		Fantasia.....	
18v-19.....		Intabulation of Verdelot's Ultimi Miei Sospiri	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
19v-20/1.....		Fantasia.....	
20/2.....		Fantasia 5	Emmanuel Adrianssen
20v-21.....			
21v.....		Fantasia.....	William Byrd arr. ?
63v.....	C	Sharp Pavan.....	Richard Allison
64.....		Fantasia.....	Anthony Holborne
64v/1.....		Fantasia Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La	Alfonso Ferrabosco I
64v/2.....		Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
65.....	B	Fantasia.....	Anthony Holborne
65v/1.....		Fantasia.....	Francesco da Milano
65v/2-66.....		Fantasia.....	
66v-67.....		Fantasia.....	
67v/1.....		Fantasia.....	
67v/2-68.....		Fantasia.....	
68v/1.....	A	Fantasia.....	
68v/2-69.....		Fantasia.....	

Scribes D and E are comparatively anomalous: D copies only one piece in what appears to be a blank space left at the end of music copied by Scribe A, while E occupies two full openings, and inserts a series of very short pieces without divisions, apparently unrelated in style to the music or

copying of any of the other scribes. It appears very much that D and E could have been scribes who used gaps that had been left in the compilation organised by the first three scribes. Scribe B is the putative *Board* scribe, and it is clear from this table that B and A had some connection, confirmed by their joint activity on folios 9v and 10. The activity of Scribe C is more difficult to pin down, but becomes clearer if we examine the compilation of the book.

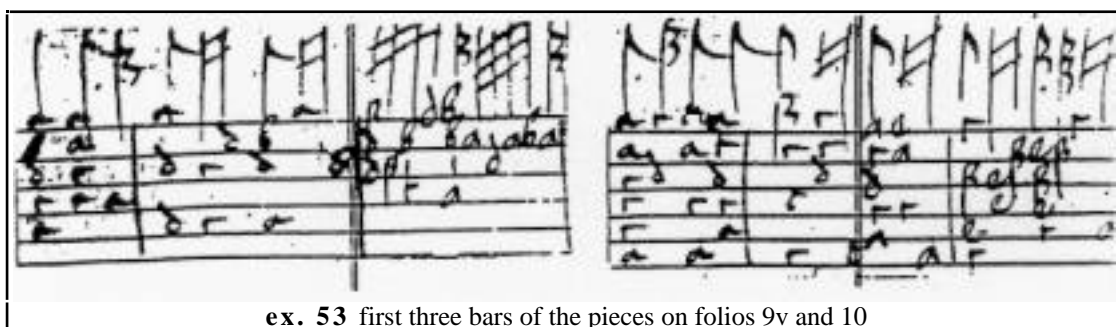
The copying began on at least one lost folio, indicated by the presence of the last few bars of a pavan on the folio now marked as folio 2. Since this pavan, in the form that it takes elsewhere, would not have occupied a full page itself,³⁴ there must have been further missing pieces, and the collation of the book, in 11 regular gatherings of eight folios, suggests that there was probably at one time a further gathering at the front of the book which is now missing, thus making the complete number of gatherings 12 rather than 11. Since the manuscript binding has been altered, it is not known whether there was originally any looseness at the front, or a series of stubs that might have indicated the removal of some sheets. The foliation in the upper right hand corner of the recto side of each folio was added in pencil by Daphne Bird, and begins with the number two, presumably because she could see that there was a page missing.

Examination of the layout reveals that the book appears to have been used at both ends at once. Scribe A copied two dances at the front of the book, and two Fantasias onto the final opening. He then handed over to Scribe B, who copied two pieces at the front of the book, counted back four folios from the end and then filled in a group of six fantasias copying towards the back. Scribe B even appears to have been using the same pen as Scribe A. After two more entries by A and B at the front, Scribe C added two dances and a pavan, and three fantasias at the back, before A once again interrupted with two large groups of pieces. At this point, his largest group of fantasias was added, but this group does not appear to fit into the 'front and then back' sequence, as they were copied into the front section of the book.

There are several possible reasons for this interruption to the scheme previously followed by all the scribes. It could simply be a mistake, or Scribe A may have decided that he did not intend to add any more dances, and the remaining music was to be only fantasias. This last proposition seems the most plausible, since on folio 8v, Scribe A had already changed to fantasias, only to be interrupted by B and E.

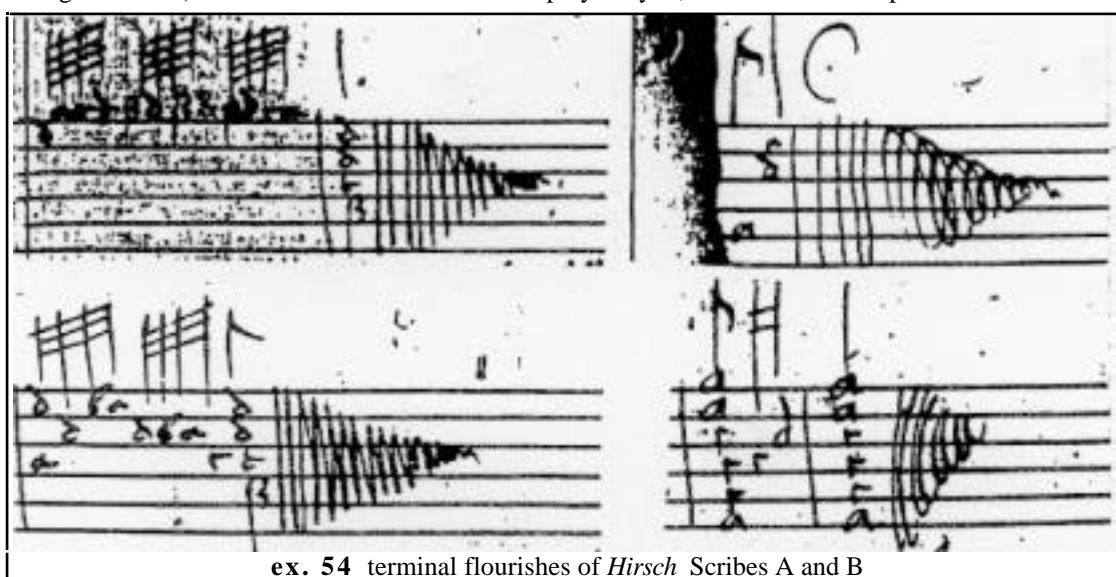
Scribes A, B and C seem to have copied continuously from each other. The probability that at least A and B were working together is confirmed by the first lines of the pieces on folios 9v and 10, shown in example 53. Here, Scribe A has written the first few notes of two pavans at the top of each page, and Scribe B has filled in the remainder, suggesting that although there were many copyists, there was one principal scribe overseeing the contents of the book, and its compilation was far from random. The point where the scribes change is indicated with a double vertical line.

³⁴ I am grateful to Dr Richard Rastall for bringing this to my attention.



ex. 53 first three bars of the pieces on folios 9v and 10

It appears that Scribe A was the principal scribe in this collection, responsible for the choice of its contents, and their layout. Scribe B seems to have been influenced by him, as he (or she if it is Margaret Board) imitates the terminal flourish employed by A, illustrated in example 54.



ex. 54 terminal flourishes of *Hirsch* Scribes A and B

Scribes D and E do not fit so neatly into this organization. Scribe D, particularly, seems to have been filling in a gap left at the end of a piece copied by A and, unlike A, B and E, he appends both title and composer to the music. The work of E occupies two complete openings with short versions of dances. Unlike the other dances in the book, these lack divisions.

From the title index in table 32 it looks as if by the end of his first significant group of copying from folios 5 to 9, Scribe A had decided to conclude the group of dances, and continue with fantasias. Scribes B and E nevertheless added some further dance music, before A finally took over and added his largest group of fantasias. The blank opening between ff.20r and 21v may have been a device to indicate that one or two other pieces in the sequence were intended to be filled-in later. There seems to be no obvious reason for it though, and the handwriting of Scribe A is unchanged.

The most significant organizational feature of this manuscript is not, however, the activity of the scribes. The presence of a number of copyists is fairly commonplace in manuscripts of this period though rarely with such clear links as in this case. What is surprising is the organization of the genres into two definite sections. The order envisaged and fairly consistently maintained by Scribe A was known and followed by Scribes B and C, and possibly also D and E. This type of preconceived layout is very unusual in English lute sources .

The contents of the book and the arrangement of the scribes working in it indicate that it was almost certainly copied in a fairly short space of time, though Scribes D and possibly also E may have been working later. Though some organization is present in varying degrees in late sources such as *Herbert*, it is unknown in English manuscript sources before 1620 or printed English sources before 1610, in spite of foreign precedents. Robert Dowland adopted the layout common on the continent for the *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, where organization by genre in printed collections had been established for some 50 years by 1600. The *Varietie of Lute Lessons* is fairly conservative in content though, despite the inclusion of a section of French dances, and it is likely that if the foreign sources influenced its organization, then they also influenced its repertory. In addition, foreign collections always place fantasias at the head of any collection, not at the end as in *Hirsch*.

The arrangement of *Hirsch* indicates particularly that it was almost certainly not a pupil's book copied for the purposes of learning the lute. In a teaching book, we might expect to find some duet music, and a more balanced mix of genres of approximately graded difficulty with considerably fewer fantasias, if any.

The immediate conclusion that arises from the activities of Scribes A and B in *Hirsch*, is that A may have been the teacher of B. In *Hirsch*, one scribe (A) is clearly influencing the order of the compilation. Despite his uniform and compact copying style, he still ends up having to attach an extra piece of paper to f.19r in order to accommodate the length of the intabulation of Verdelot's *Ultimi Miei Sospiri*. This is also evidence that he intended to play the music, since if he had not intended to play from the copy, Scribe A would not have been concerned about avoiding a page-turn in this rather clumsy manner. In addition, the edges of the pages containing music are noticeably grubbier than those that remained blank. Scribe A wrote for a six-course lute, and used x and # graces, but no fingering; Scribe B also wrote for six-course lute, used + and • graces, and • and •• for fingering; Scribe C wrote for six and seven-course lute, and gave titles in an apparently Italian style in the fantasia section. He used +, # and • graces and • and •• fingering; Scribe D also wrote for six-course lute, and used • and •• for fingering; Scribe E, again writing for six-course lute, used no fingering or grace signs.

In the section of fantasias at the end of the book, three of the pieces copied by Scribe A have time signatures: two of c-slash, and one of 3.³⁵ Time signatures are not found in English lute music before 1620 unless it was copied (or published) by John Dowland, and are usually associated with the later French repertory in which they were employed as a matter of course. The English scribes up to the mid-1620s, and sometimes later, relied on the placing of the bar-lines and the grouping of the flags to convey the metre of a piece.

There are clearly some aspects of the compilation of the *Hirsch* manuscript that make its present dating suspicious: the organization by genre, the presence of one piece apparently copied from a 1611 print, the use of time signatures and the extremely up-to-date repertory (if it was copied in 1595)

³⁵ ff.68v-69r.

since every source, no matter what its purpose, has a significant proportion of earlier music. However, the dating of the greater part of this repertory to c1595 is not unreasonable.

Table 33 is an inventory of Margaret Board's copying in *Board*, laid out in the same way as that for the *Hirsch* lute book. The section added by later scribes and some blank folios are omitted here and the omission is indicated with a double line near the bottom of the second page of the table. In this manuscript, Scribe A has been identified by Spencer as Margaret Board, and Scribe B as John Dowland. There is no overlap between the *Hirsch* and *Board* repertories.

TABLE 33			
CONTENTS OF <i>BOARD</i>			
Folio	Scribe	Title	Composer
1/1	A	Duet treble	
1/2		Duet ground	
1/3		Orlando Sleepeth/Orlando Furioso	John Dowland
1v/1		Delacourt Pavan	
1v/2		Galliard	Marc Antoine
2/1		Ruggiero	
2/2		Pavan	
2v/1		Flat Pavan	John Johnson
2v/2-3/1		The New Hunt's Up, duet treble	John Johnson
3/2		The Hunt's Up, duet ground	John Johnson
3v/1		Pavan	Ambrose
3v/2		Study	
4/1		Galliard	Ambrose
4/2		Maske	
4v-5/1		Spanish Measure, duet treble	Richard Allison
5/2		Spanish Measure, duet ground	Richard Allison
5/3		Light of Love/The Countess of Ormond's Galliard	
5/4		The Scolding Woman	
5/5		Prelude	
5v-6/1		Pavan	Peter Phillips
6/2		La Rossignol Almain, first part of duet	
6/3		Toy/Ballad Tune	
6v-7/1		Delight Pavan	John Johnson
7/2		Courant	
7v/1		Delight Galliard	John Johnson
7v/2		Loth To Depart Galliard	John Dowland
8/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
8/2		Earl of Derby's Courant/French King's Maske	
8v-9/1		Passamezzo Pavan	Richard Allison
9/2		Singer's Jig	Jo Singer
9v-10/1		Passamezzo Galliard	Richard Allison
10/2		Lady Banning's Almain	John Sturt
10/3		Go From My Window	Richard Allison
10v-11/1		Solus cum Sola	John Dowland
11/2		Home Again, Market is Done, Ballad tune	
11/3		I Cannot Keep My Wife at Home	
11v-12/1		Lachrimae Pavan	John Dowland
12/2		Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	
12v/1	B	Almain	Robert Dowland
12v/2	A	Robin is to the Greenwood Gone/ Bonny Sweet Robin/Robin Hood	John Dowland
13/1		Almain	John Dowland
13/2		La Volta Courant	William Byrd arr.
13v-14/1		Primero	Richard Allison
14/2		Flow Forth Abundant Tears	
14v-15		Delight Pavan, duet treble	John Johnson
15v/1		Study	
15v/2		Courant	
16/1		To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bacheler

16/2	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
16v-17/1	Galliard on a Galliard of Daniel Bachleler	John Dowland
17/2	My Mistress Farewell	
17/3	The Lady Phyllis's Maske	
17v-18	Battle Galliard/King of Denmark's Galliard/ Mr Mildmay's Galliard	John Dowland
18v/1	Almain	?Anthony Holborne
18v/2	Mrs Lettice Rich's Courant	Julien Perrichon
18v/3	Mrs Lettice Rich's Lavolta	?Julien Perrichon
18v/4	Courant	
19/1	Galliard	Robert Johnson
19/2	Courant	
19v-20	Quadran Pavan	Richard Allison
20v/1	Galliard Heigh Ho Holiday	Anthony Holborne
20v/2-21/1	Dream	
21/2	Lord Burgh's Galliard/Johnson's Jewel Galliard	Johnson
21/3	Almain	Lusher
21v/1	Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard	John Dowland
21v/2-22	The Gordian Knot	Anthony Holborne
22v/1	Dowland's First Galliard	John Dowland
22v/2	Courant	
22v/3	Courant/Branle	
23/1	The Prince of Portugal's Galliard/ La Bergera Galliard	Philip Rosseter
23/2	Poor Tom of Bedlam	
23/3	Branle de la Torche	
23v/1	Sir Walter Raleigh's Galliard	Francis Cutting/William Bradbury/Richard Allison
23v/2	Fair Ministers Disdain Me Not	
24/1	Courant	
24/2	Queen's Galliard	John Dowland
24v	Maske Tune?	
25/1	Sellenger's Round/Est-ce Mars/The French Tune	Pierre Guedron
25/2	Courant	
25/3	The Eglantine Branch	
25v/1	The Wood Bind	
25v/2	The Gillyflower	
25v/3	More Palatino/En Me Revenant	Daniel Bacheler
26/1	The Witches Dance from the Maske of Queens	
26/2	Gathering Peascods	John Johnson
26/3	Almain?	
26/4	Ballad tune/Toy	
26v/1	Marigold Galliard	
26v/2	Midnight	John Dowland
27/1	The Prince's Courant	Robert Johnson
27/2	The May Pole/The King's Morisck	
27v/1	Hunter's Carrier	
27v/2	Ballad Tune	
27v/3	First Tune of the Lord's Maske	Robert Taylor
28/1	The Prince's Maske	?Robert Johnson
28/2	Almain	Robert Johnson
28v/1	Almain	Philip Rosseter
28v/2	Almain	
29/1	Volt/Courant	Julien Perrichon (/Mathias Mason)
29/2	Prelude	John Dowland
29v	Fantasia	Alfonso Ferrabosco/ Richard Allison
30/1	Courant	John Dowland
30/2	Almain	Johnson
30/3	Ballet/Almain	Robert Johnson
30v/1	Almain	Jenning
30v/2	The Prince's Maske/Lady Elizabeth's Maske	?Robert Johnson
30v/3	Mall Peatly	
83v/1	B	Prelude
83v/2	A	Dulciana/Dance

Not apparent from the two tables is how little information is given by the *Hirsch* scribes in comparison with *Board*. Only three of a possible 56 titles and ascriptions in the *Hirsch* index were provided by the scribes, whereas most of the information in the *Board* list was supplied by Margaret—genres and composers.

A cursory glance through the titles of the *Board* inventory reveals a large number of popular songs and ballad tunes, and French genres that only became popular in England in the early 1620s. On the other hand, the *Hirsch* book consists almost exclusively of pavans, galliards and fantasias; all relatively complex compositions demanding quite a high level of technical skill from the player.

The dimensions of the two books are shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34 DIMENSIONS OF <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i>		
	<i>Board</i>	<i>Hirsch</i>
Binding	353 x 217 mm	343 x 218 mm
Page	339 x 205 mm	332 x 204 mm
Width of stave	12.3 mm	17 mm
Distance between staves	13 mm	15 mm

All surviving English lute books from before about 1590 are quarto in format, but *Hirsch* is folio, and very close in size to *Board*. The *Board* book is ruled with 12 six-line staves to a page, but *Hirsch* was ruled with a wider rastrum, allowing only 10 six-line staves. The rastra used for ruling the *Board* and *Hirsch* papers are quite different in size, and the spacing between them also differs. Clearly a different instrument was used to rule the two papers, and the possibility of a single stationer being responsible for the two books is cast into doubt by this disparity. Unfortunately, we do not know enough about ruling practices to say whether one stationer always used one rastrum. The quality of metals and the nature of manufacture of precision instruments at that time would suggest that a stationer would have kept a number of rastra in use at one time, and the possibility of their having the same dimensions would be extremely small.

The *Hirsch* music was intended for six- and seven-course lutes, and Margaret Board's repertory suggests its later provenance by being written for a lute with nine courses. *Hirsch* appears to have been copied quite fast, and apparently not subsequently corrected by players, who may have admitted the errors rather than clutter the text with messy corrections. The written pages of the manuscript are significantly grubbier than the unused folios, indicating that there was a fair amount of handling, so the music was not simply deposited here, but played from, probably quite extensively. There is no sign of the idiosyncrasy in playing style that can be seen in *Board*. In *Board*, Margaret's copious relishes reflect not only her florid musical taste, but also demonstrate a considerable dexterity, while Dowland's irritably repeated hold signs suggest a lack of understanding of the importance of holding down some notes. Stretches caused by holding down bass notes were unlikely to have been a problem, as some of the chord shapes and cadential configurations imply a reasonable hand span—or at the very least, a small lute. Margaret's book shows every evidence of slow and careful copying, with decorative final bar-lines and carefully placed graces. Together with the progressive difficulty of the music, this indicates that *Board* was a collection compiled at the instigation of a teacher, reflecting the influence of the teacher as well as the tastes of the scribe, and quite extensively used to play from.

There is no evidence of this sort of use in *Hirsch*, copied fast and with a scheme in mind that would have been entirely inappropriate for a teaching collection. What we are able to surmise from household accounts, letters and diaries about the manner of teaching the lute³⁶ suggests that a lute teacher visited his pupil every day, and probably supplied him with one piece at a time on a loose leaf, to be copied and learned before the teacher's next visit, when it would be exchanged for the next in the progression. This practice may lead to an explanation for the compilation of the *Hirsch* lute book.

It is possible that *Hirsch* was compiled under the direction of a teacher, in order to preserve his collection of loose-leaf music that was beginning to suffer from its itinerant lifestyle. The different scribes may have been pupils whom he considered could copy accurately and neatly enough to perform a copying task that he would have found tedious and needlessly time-consuming. This explanation would account for the inclusion of the Byrd fantasia in an otherwise early repertory. That fantasia may have been a later addition to the master's teaching repertory that had probably remained largely unchanged for many years.

The same explanation would also account for the organisation of the layout which one would not expect to find in a late sixteenth-century source, nor for that matter in any source compiled as a personal or teaching collection. Most collections appear to have grown more or less spontaneously through a copying period. The sort of organization one might expect to find in a printed source, where the contents are determined before the book is produced, is not generally applicable to the more personal collections that these manuscripts represent. It could perhaps be that *Hirsch* was intended to end up as a printed lute book, but there are a number of factors that make this unlikely. Firstly, printer's fair copies were usually, for practical reasons, written out by one scribe, most often the compiler. Secondly, the only commercially produced book of solo lute music to be published in this country before 1650³⁷ was Dowland 1610B which suggests that the market was very poor for this sort of publication, as opposed to the immensely popular lute song.

Also accountable is the influence exerted by A over B and the speed of copying. The earlier type of six- or seven-course lute intended for *Hirsch* may be explained as the lute for which the exemplar was prepared, and from which the music was copied. This may also be the case with the limited use of fingerings and graces, but can also be explained if the book was an 'archive' rather than a performing or teaching collection, and thus never accrued those signs that would have been particular to the owner's or scribe's style of playing.

So far, there is nothing in either the putative dating or their respective compilations to link the *Hirsch* and *Board* manuscripts except, possibly, Margaret Board herself.

The Board lute book is one of a relatively small number of manuscripts for which we are able to put a name to the principal scribe. We have reasonable grounds to suppose that Margaret Board was born in 1600, and began copying her lute book in her early 20s. For at least a short period she was

³⁶ Many dating from later in the seventeenth century, and these including the letters and accounts of Lord Danby and his guardian during their stay in Utrecht, 1706-10. See Tim Crawford: 'Lord Danby, Lutenist of "Quality"', *LSJ* xxv/2 (1985), 53-68. See also Chapter 3.

³⁷ Maynard 1611 was privately published by the author.

taught by John Dowland, probably at her family's London residence, as Dowland was living in Fetter Lane at the time. Her hand is extremely distinctive among those in the lute repertory for its size, weight, regularity and legibility, and this is apparent in example 55, which illustrates as much of a page of her copying as will fit onto an A4 page at actual size.

In titles, Margaret Board uses an italic script, commonly used by women in the early seventeenth century. Professional handwriting analysts emphasise the importance of habit over all variations in detail when examining any sample of handwriting. Margaret Board's tablature hand is flamboyant and fairly heavy, and some letters betray secretary rather than italic forbears. The sharp differentiation in shading suggests a wide and very soft quill. The size of the letters does not seem to take the width of the ruled lines into account, and in many ways they look too large for the stave, as the minim stroke entirely fills the space between the lines.

The letters are generally written vertically upright, above the lines of the system rather than on top of them, and the script covers the page very heavily both vertically and horizontally. When dotting flags, Margaret tucks the dot under the lowest curve of the flag. Noticeable is the recurved shape of the top of single flags as opposed to the 'grid' pattern of flag groups of the same value. The manner in which the flags fill the space between the systems entirely, frequently overlapping the stave above, is particularly noteworthy, since it is particularly distinctive. This overlapping is unknown in the copying of other lute scribes—not only those active in England. Margaret uses a very large vocabulary of grace signs, many also used, and possibly added, by her teacher, John Dowland.

Two more detailed characteristics may be noted at this point: the vertical angle of the short stroke of the 'e', probably a hangover from a pure secretary form, and the manner of writing the letter 'a', with the straight back of the letter higher than the rounded lobe.

One highly individual peculiarity of Margaret Board's hand is the manner in which she appears to roll the pen slightly when writing, so that the wide part of the stroke is not consistently at one angle. This is particularly noticeable in the letter 'a' where the angle of the wide stroke of the nib used for the lobe of the letter is different from the angle for the backstroke.

Altogether, it is a distinctively modern and extrovert hand for its time, and one of the largest of any lute scribe surviving from this period. There are several other scribes active in this lute book, all added at a later date with the exception of John Dowland, who copied during Margaret's active period and corrected her work by adding hold signs and some graces (Margaret herself uses no hold signs at all). There seems no reason to question the resulting supposition that Dowland taught Margaret Board at some time during her learning period.

Example 56 shows part of a page of the *Hirsch* lute book at actual size, copied by Scribe B. Although the pages are similar in dimension, the staves are ruled further apart and the rastrum has wider-spaced tines than in *Board*.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for Margaret Board. It consists of approximately 12 staves of music. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs. The lyrics are written below the notes, often appearing to be a sequence of letters or syllables. The handwriting is somewhat irregular, characteristic of a working draft or a personal manuscript. The score is presented in a vertical orientation on the page.

ex. 55 Hand of Margaret Board

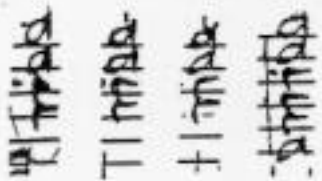
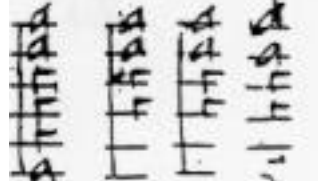
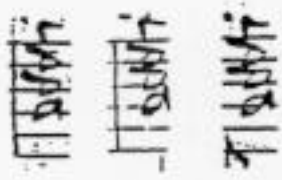
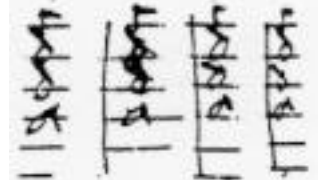
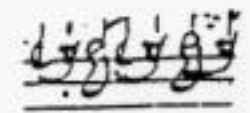
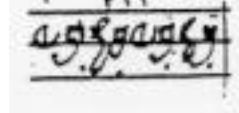

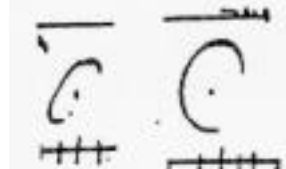
Handwritten musical score for guitar, labeled "ex. 56 Hirsch Scribe B". The score consists of ten systems of music, each with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature. The notation is dense and includes many slurs, ties, and complex rhythmic patterns. The handwriting is somewhat messy and appears to be a student's work. The music is written on ten systems of five-line staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and ties, suggesting a complex and technically demanding piece. The overall appearance is that of a handwritten manuscript, possibly a student exercise or a composer's draft.

ex. 56 Hirsch Scribe B

The hand is again large and the covering of the page is very heavy. The flags again intrude on the stave above, though the slightly wider space between these staves is more accommodating to the size of the script. All the English lute scribes are extremely careful to ensure that their flags do not intrude on the tablature line above the one to which they apply, with the notable exception of these two hands. Here, as in *Board*, the flags are very large and overlap the stave above, but the letters, although still very large, are more suited to the spacing of the individual lines.

Most of the characteristics of Margaret Board's hand are evident here: the habit of size and layout, the similar type of quill, the angle of multiple beams, the shape of the tops of flags and positioning of dots, and the more specific details in the letters a and e.

Most lute scribes attempt to end each line with a full bar, but neither of the scribes here makes this effort. It is simple to isolate various letters which are very similar, or identical, in these hands. In table 35 though, whole chords that appear in both sources have been reproduced, as each scribe will deal with the problems of letter combinations in a different and idiosyncratic way.

TABLE 35 COMPARISON OF FIGURES FROM <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i> There are strings of higher letters (those above e) in a set of divisions together with both forms of letter 'd' and fermatas.	
Margaret Board	<i>Hirsch</i> B
	
	
	
	

The roll of the pen is evident, and the angle of the ascender of the 'd' in the second chord (line two) shows a similar stroke, though the wider spacing of the *Hirsch* lines has meant that the stroke has not become flattened to quite the same extent. Both the flat and upright forms of the letter 'd' appear in each manuscript, and the heavy and slightly bowed shape of the added backstroke is repeated in each

instance. In examining any renaissance hand, the higher letters above f tend to be more idiosyncratic than the lower letters, since these letters have descenders and ascenders which allow a certain amount of flourish that is not possible in letters like a, c and e. The angle of the curve of the descender, and the amount the tail returns to the starting point varies widely among scribes, and is often the surest way of identifying a hand. The ascenders and descenders offer more scope for originality and embellishment, particularly in the secretary forms that can be seen in the progression of letters 'e-g-h'.

Finally in this table there are fermatas employed by both scribes. This circular shape is again unusual, and the central placing of the dot is again limited to the use of the two scribes in *Hirsch* and *Board*.

The flags are as individual as the letters, and the recurved shape of the top as well as the return at the bottom of the beam towards the stem, with any dot tucked under the final tail, is noticeable in both hands; features unusual enough in lute usage to be noteworthy here. The angles of the multiple beams in the two samples are the same, and closer examination shows that this is partly due to the scribe aiming for the top of the last downstroke with the first beam of each group, but not drawing the two without a pen-lift, as some scribes do. The first beam and the last stem are not in these cases drawn in the same motion. Placing single elements such as the dots under a magnifying glass—literally this time—shows the pen with the same touch and angle to the paper.

One of the features often viewed as a 'signature' when comparing hands is a scribe's use of the final bar and also the fermata or final note and flag. Some scribes always use the same terminal bars, some use the same termination for one period of their copying, and then change to another, while others are inconsistent. The terminal bars in these two sources do not match: that of Margaret Board is more meticulously executed, with decorative features, whereas that of the *Hirsch* scribe is faster and more spontaneous, and appears to have been influenced by the usage of the principal scribe in that book. It is not unusual for a scribe to use several forms of terminal barline, although most do practise just one form. Changes usually occur when a scribe is copying at different periods,³⁸ or from different exemplars.

More significant in this case is the use of a fermata on the last note, which is an integral part of the duct of the hand, and offers more scope for idiosyncrasy than letters or flags. Margaret Board uses a fermata at the end of virtually every piece, but the *Hirsch* scribe uses one only twice: these are isolated at the end of table 35. Among the other scribes in this repertory, several³⁹ draw fermatas in this manner. Several omit a dot altogether, but those who use one place it less uniformly centrally, and none of them makes the outer bracket almost completely circular. Although the shapes are not uniform, they have similarities, and the pattern of shading is unique.

The hand of each scribe develops quite noticeably through each manuscript, although the change in handwriting is more evident in the *Hirsch* book, where it becomes larger and inclines slightly to the right towards the end of the book so that the scribe appears to be writing faster.

³⁸ e.g. the Holmes books (*Dd.2.11*, *Dd.3.18*, *Dd.4.23*, *Dd.5.20*, *Dd.5.21*, *Dd.5.78.3*, *Dd.9.33*, *Dd.14.24*, *Nn.6.36*), *Sampson* Scribe B.

³⁹ Principal scribe of *ML*, Scribe C in *Dd.9.33*, Scribe D in *Folger*.

Returning to examples 55 and 56, the samples of the hands of Margaret Board and *Hirsch B*: assuming they were written by the same scribe, they appear to have come from two different periods of copying. However, there are essential differences in the speed of writing and the intended purpose of the two sources which may explain the differences in fluency. In *Board*, the copying is clearly intended for the use of the scribe; she has added graces and other signs which give a personal flavour to the collection, and John Dowland has obviously taught from the book, copying one of his son's pieces in himself, and adding hold signs to Board's work. In *Hirsch* the copying appears to be much faster, probably simply reproducing the exemplar without spending time learning or practising each piece.















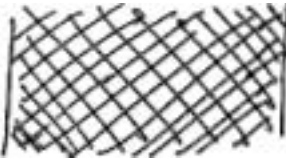

The letters are written closer to each other in *Hirsch*, but the wider spacing of the ruling means that the hand is better accommodated. All these samples exhibit strong similarities in habit, and many of the minor alterations seem to be due to the difference in the spacing of the tablature lines, and the different speed at which the two samples were written. The shapes of the letters and their distinctive shading remain unaltered, as does the very particular placing of the 'e' on the line: just scooping through it. The scribe also uses connecting dashes in both samples, though many other scribes also do so.

The string of higher letters—e, g and h—is so similar that they might have come from the same page, and are the most eloquent indication that these two hands were written by the same scribe. The *Board* lute book is a slowly and carefully written collection that clearly shows the personality of the owner. In *Hirsch*, the scribe was working in somebody else's book, and this seemed to influence her copying style. The book as a whole lacks the personality evident in many books of this period, and was probably never played by Margaret or Scribe A. Since Dowland only seems to have influenced her for a short time during the compilation of the *Board* book, it is possible that *Hirsch* Scribe A could also have been one of Margaret's teachers, and was using her as one of his trusted copyists. In a repertory that boasts some 200 scribes, none shows the heavy flamboyance of these two scripts, and none is even remotely similar in any respect.

Table 36 shows the types of corrections made to their copying used in the two books by the scribes in question. Again, this is revealing, as habit plays an indispensable role in emendation. A scribe rarely thinks very hard about the manner in which he emends, so that the way he does it becomes habitual. A quick glance down the table shows three types in common, the most significant being that on folio 1 of *Board*: other scribes in this situation, where too many beams have been drawn, scribble out the bottom one, as in the example at the end of the *Hirsch* corrections, rather than inking in the gap between the bottom two beams. In short, all the paleographical evidence is in favour of the conclusion that the hand of Margaret Board does appear in the *Hirsch* lute book.

One further possibility could be explored. Was it possible for two scribes to develop these same characteristics of duct independently, or could *Hirsch B* have been an older relation of Margaret? The conclusion that has to be reached is that this was not a viable possibility, since the handwriting tutors seem to be unequivocal about the indispensability of originality in the development of a good hand. Since the hand should be a reflection of the writer's personality, imitation of another's hand

would not have been complimentary to the writer of the model, and would also reflect badly on the copier.

TABLE 36 EMENDATIONS MADE TO COPYING IN <i>BOARD</i> AND <i>HIRSCH</i>	
<i>Board</i>	<i>Hirsch</i>
4v, 10v, 11, 13v 	2v, 66v 
1, 2v, 7, 11v, 13v, 15, 16v, 20v 	10, 12v 
83v 	65v, 67v, 68 
1, 1v, 3, 5v, 7, 14v 	9v 
1v 	9v, 10 
2v, 3v 	65v, 67v, 68 
3v, 5v, 6 	66v 
25, 26v 	2v 

Robert Thompson⁴⁰ asserts convincingly that papers with precisely the same mark were manufactured in only small quantities, since the amount of paper that could be made from a single mould was extremely limited. The *Hirsch* book contains only three watermarks, all from the mill of Nicolas Lebé of Troyes (1550-1605). The *Board* lute book contains four papers, one which may be Burgundian or English, and three further, all from Troyes, made by Edmond Denise, Jean Nivelles and Nicolas Lebé. The Lebé mark is the same type, and very similar to that in the *Hirsch* book, but is clearly not from the same mould. Their arrangement suggests that both books were bought bound.

Practices surrounding the sale of music paper in the early seventeenth century suggest that the paper of the *Board* and *Hirsch* lute books probably came from the same supplier, imported from France or the Low Countries. What is interesting is that virtually all the imported papers in *Board* show marks that are either similar or identical to marks dating from the 1580-1605 period, not the second decade of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ Clearly an old batch of paper was used for *Board*, and a similar watermark turns up in *Hirsch*, for which the date of writing is in question. It is reasonable to assume that the paper was bought from the same seller, though not necessarily at the same time. From the ruling and watermark evidence, we can say with some certainty that they did not come from the same batch. This does not rule out the possibility that they were bought at the same time, but it makes it considerably more unlikely. The ruling also places these books in different batches as does the tooling on both covers, which also makes their origins with the same binder unlikely. This is not surprising, since the books were clearly not bought or owned by the same person.

So far, the purpose and date of the *Hirsch* lute book have not been considered other than superficially. None of the scribes apart from John Dowland have been traced in different manuscripts up to this time. There were a number of anomalies which did not seem to require immediate answers: the very large upright format, the organization of the genres which one would not expect to find until after 1620, the presence of an 'overseer', the use of time signatures, the modern appearance of the hands of the scribes—most notably Scribe B—and the anomalous Byrd piece. The sum of these points is sufficient to raise serious questions about the current dating of *Hirsch*. We know that it is highly unlikely, if not impossible, for two independent hands with the same unusual and distinctive nuances to have developed at any time, and particularly not 30 years apart, so if we add the probability that one of the scribes cannot have been copying earlier than about 1620, then not only is its earlier date incompatible, but there is new evidence to suggest a 'correct' date.

It is possible that the two books were copied during the same period, especially if *Hirsch A* were Margaret's original teacher, but the appropriateness of the *Hirsch* version of her hand to the size of the ruling, suggests that her tablature hand may have evolved in this book first.

There is no reason to suppose that the majority of the music in the *Hirsch* book was originally compiled later than 1595. On the other hand, the evidence points towards the fact that at least one of the scribes is from a later period than that suggested by the book's contents, so there must

⁴⁰ Thompson 1988A, and Thompson 1988B. See Chapter 5.

⁴¹ See Spencer 1976C, Introduction: The Watermarks.

be another explanation. The most plausible explanation, and one which is supported to a great extent by the internal evidence, is that the book may have been a copy, or partial copy, made in the early seventeenth century of an exemplar dating from 1595, with some later pieces included.

One of the pieces of evidence to support this hypothesis is the apparent presence of the *Board* scribe. The possibility that the *Board* scribe may have added those pieces at a later date than the rest of the book is unlikely, since some of the pieces copied by the *Board* scribe were clearly started by *Hirsch* Scribe A, and apparently using the same pen.

It is fairly likely that Margaret Board was born in the year she was baptized (1600), and the *Hirsch* book is unlikely to pre-date the inception of the *Board* book by many years without suggesting an unusual degree of precocity. As the *Hirsch* hand is more fluent, fast and consistent than Board, it is reasonable to suppose that it is more mature, and therefore dates from the same period or a later one than the copying of *Board*. The fact that the *Board* book is more carefully prepared and has a more personal connotation for the scribe than the work in *Hirsch*, may make the likelihood of their being contemporary greater, particularly if *Hirsch* Scribe A was Margaret's first teacher, and guided the first lessons that Margaret copied into *Board*. The absence of titles and graces from *Hirsch*, which proliferate in *Board*, is probably due to their absence from the exemplar, rather than being a personal preference on the part of the scribe. The *Board* book was her own, but clearly Margaret Board was copying for someone else in *Hirsch*: specifically, Scribe A (anonymous) who wrote a more conservative secretary hand.

Conclusion

It is unlikely that the copyist of *Board* was not Margaret Board, born at Lindfield in Sussex in 1600. The date of *Board* was written on the verso of the first flyleaf, but it has been scratched out, and is now unreadable. She may have begun to copy as early as 1615, but in the absence of firm evidence, a fairly accurate approximation would be c1620. It is difficult to doubt that the hand of Margaret Board appears in the *Hirsch* lute book, currently dated c1595, particularly in view of the uniqueness of her hand when compared with all other surviving tablature hands, which makes the present dating unlikely. The argument concerning the dating of *Hirsch* does hinge to a great extent on this probability though, and such a controversial element qualifies any judgement, no matter how seductive the arguments, since it is impossible to prove. Taking into account all the internal 'literary' and paleographical evidence, it would seem likely that *Hirsch* was copied in the early seventeenth century, possibly as a way of preserving a master's exemplar, or simply as an organised copy of parts of one or more earlier sources, thus accounting for the early nature of the repertory it contains. Thus, the conclusion is that the *Hirsch* lute book is a copy of an exemplar or exemplars dating from the late sixteenth century, and its date of copying is more likely to be c1620 than c1595.

§MYNSHALL AND SWARLAND

RICHARD MYNSHALL'S LUTE BOOK: Private library of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex. Dating from 1597 (date written on f.5v). Book written almost entirely in the hand of Richard Mynshall (b1582) with three pieces added at the end of Mynshall's section by two further hands.

THE JOHN SWARLAND BOOK OF LUTE SONGS: London, British Library Add.Ms.15117. Signed on the endpaper by John Swarland, but not apparently entirely written out by him. Lute songs interspersed with some solos. c1615.

Mynshall was written by a very young scribe in 1595, and was almost certainly prepared under the direction of a tutor.⁴² The mature use-hand of the young Richard Mynshall is seen only in the secretary script that he uses when writing out an index to the contents and occasionally in titles within the book. (See table 40 below, p.228.) For his tablature he chose italic which was clearly his second hand, and one he was not entirely comfortable with when he began copying the lute music. (See example 60.)



Because this script is still in a state of evolution during copying, the characteristics of his hand change quite significantly through the book, particularly in the titles of the pieces. Although some titles are remarkably crude, others show more flow and sense of proportion in the duct and demonstrate the emergence of a quite elegant italic hand. Such is the difference in appearance of the better-written examples, which appear irregularly interspersed among the cruder titles, that it is possible the neater ones were written by a scribe more experienced in the use of italic—perhaps Mynshall's teacher. A second scribe copied a single piece at the end of Mynshall's copying, and is followed by a

⁴² Spencer 1975C.

⁴³ Examples 57-9 have been omitted.

third hand contributing the final piece in the book. Spencer believes that the last scribe is the mature form of Mynshall's hand,⁴⁴ and it certainly has much in common with the earlier part of the book.

Whether or not the last piece in *Mynshall* is in fact in Richard Mynshall's mature tablature hand is quite significant. It is certainly likely that this is the case, since two similar hands would have been unlikely to appear in the same book unless they were related. The slight angulation to the right in the later hand would be commensurate with faster and more confident copying, and an older scribe would be likely to have dispensed with the flamboyant decoration of his early years. Examples 60 and 61 show folios 7v and 12v from *Mynshall*, the first in the hand of Richard Mynshall, the second possibly Mynshall later in life.



ex. 61 *Mynshall* f.12v, ?Richard Mynshall

The form of the letter 'c' is different, excluding the serif, and the higher letters and flags seem to have settled into a fixed form. The second scribe uses both # and + graces, in a clearly different hand from Mynshall's ornaments, and without the cross-hatch variations of Mynshall earlier in the book. The high letters could have been written by the same scribe, and the flourish on the descender of the 'g' is similar to that tried on some folios by Mynshall. The 'f' and the single flags, on the other hand, use significantly different strokes from those employed by Mynshall. The spacing of the letters is very regular, and many features of the duct have changed, including the addition of hold signs to his copying by *Mynshall* Scribe C, unlike Mynshall. Mynshall may have started to use hold signs as his playing became more accomplished, but scribal practices overall in this repertory show that a scribe either used

⁴⁴ In his commentary to the facsimile (Spencer 1975C), he states that 'Piece no. 41 is copied by yet another hand, or perhaps by Mynshall later in life', and in communication with the present writer in 1993 has indicated more decisively that he believes this to be the case. Spencer's long familiarity both with the source, which has been in his possession for some years, and with tablature hands in general gives considerable weight to this opinion.

hold signs or not, and did not change this habit even when learning from a teacher who employed them. John Dowland, who used hold signs in his own copying, added hold signs to the copying of both Margaret Board and one of the *Folger* scribes, both of whom it appears he taught at some time in their careers. Neither scribe, however, picked up the usage from Dowland, and neither use them either before or after Dowland taught them.

Swarland, a book of lute songs and solos, is so called because of the inscription 'John swarland / His Booke' written horizontally on a front end-paper (the book is in upright format), although Swarland himself does not appear to have been responsible for the contents.⁴⁵ He may have been an owner of the book after the lute music was copied. The back of the (?parchment) wrapper is a will written in the seventh year of the reign of James I, i.e. 24 March 1609 to 23 March 1610 and the back end-paper shows the dates 1630, 1608 and 1633, though all these dates appear to refer to legal cases and seem to be in a later seventeenth-century hand than that in the music part of the book. On the same end-paper is the inscription 'This Booke be...[?...longs to/?...gun by] / Hugh Floyd', also in a mid seventeenth-century hand.

The music in *Swarland* is by two scribes, the second being one who appears in a number of other sources, discussed below as, possibly, Richard Allison, dating from 1588 (*Walsingham*), c1600-1605 (*Dd.9.33*), c1610 (*Sampson*) and c1615 (*Dd.4.22*). The work of these two scribes in *Swarland* seems to have been contemporary and could therefore date from any time in the 30 years spanned by these sources: 1585-1615.⁴⁶ Certainly the hand of Allison is clearly recognisable, and does not seem to change a great deal despite the length of time he was active. *Mynshall*, copied from 1597 on, places Richard Mynshall's copying life precisely alongside the activity of Allison.

Example 62 is taken from *Swarland*, and the similarities between this folio and Mynshall's known hand (shown in example 60 above) are very striking, particularly the letter 'c', the shapes of the flags, the overall layout and the double bars and decoration of the final bar. The inaccuracies in barring and rhythm seen in *Mynshall* are also evident, though to a lesser extent, and mostly corrected, in *Swarland*.

Mynshall's ornament signs, though not unusual, are fairly distinctive, partly because he appears to scratch them with the edge of the nib to get the finest line in both directions. They are all variations of the # sign, with varying numbers of crosses both horizontally and vertically, and slightly irregular angulation. They are added liberally to some pieces, and not at all to others; an indication that they may not necessarily have been put in by Mynshall, or that he may have been copying from two exemplars: one heavily graced, and the other not. Example 63 is taken from f.1 of his copying in *Mynshall*. The first piece is ungraced, but the second is liberally decorated with several different forms of the # sign.

⁴⁵ Facsimile edition: *British Library Manuscripts, Part I: English Song 1600-1675*. (Garland: New York, 1975).

⁴⁶ On f.7 music begun by *Sampson* B is completed by *Swarland* A.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a lute tablature. The notation is organized into ten systems, each consisting of a staff with rhythmic symbols above and letters below. The letters are primarily 'a', 'r', and 'f', which represent fret positions on a lute. The rhythmic symbols include vertical stems with flags and various note heads, indicating the timing and duration of notes. The handwriting is in a historical style, and the paper shows signs of age and wear. The text 'Swarland f.8v, Swarland A: ?Richard Mynshall' is printed at the bottom of the page.

ex. 62 Swarland f.8v, Swarland A: ?Richard Mynshall

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a multi-measure rest exercise. The score is organized into ten systems, each consisting of two staves. The notation is dense and rhythmic, featuring numerous multi-measure rests and complex rhythmic patterns. A section of the score is marked "Preludium". The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests, with some measures containing multiple notes. The overall appearance is that of a technical exercise designed to challenge the student's ability to maintain a steady rhythm and manage complex rest patterns.

ex. 63 Mynshall f.5

Swarland A uses the + or x sign grace, which Mynshall uses only once,⁴⁷ placed after or beneath their notes. As in *Mynshall*, some pieces are graced, while others are not. The # sign also appears, similar in appearance to Mynshall's sign, but only in the simple form without the additional cross-hatching.

The higher letters (f, g, h, j, k) are usually more distinctive than lower ones in tablature, but because of the state of development of the script, they appear in a number of forms; with descenders sometimes flourished, and sometimes simply curled under. In fact, in this case it is the lower letters (a, b, c, d, e) that are more regular, and are most distinctive. The 'c' is characterised by a small 45° serif on the angle of the vertical and horizontal strokes, visible in example 63. This old-fashioned formation is clearly visible on all the tablature appearances of the letter, but not in the titles where the more modern rounded form of the letter is employed. Almost every internal double bar and all the terminal bars are decorated differently, the only regular feature being that they are all decorated, giving the manuscript an appearance of uncontrolled exuberance.

The inconsistency in Richard Mynshall's writing has been attributed to his youth when he compiled *Mynshall*, and this is not an unreasonable hypothesis. The writing certainly looks as though it was executed by a child, though the secretary script that Mynshall would have learned first in the late 1590s shows that his hand was not lacking in finesse in his formal hand. If the first script in *Swarland* was also executed by Mynshall, then it appears that his italic hand did not undergo much deliberate improvement later in life, although by c1615 (the approximate date for the compilation of *Swarland*) he was comfortable enough with its use to write an index in italic. Mynshall's tablature never seems to settle into the regular form that most hands acquire with time, a form like that of *Mynshall Scribe C*, which is how one might expect the earlier hand to mature. Like Allison, discussed below, Mynshall's hand shows an irregularity related to the types of pen he used. He was probably one of those not particularly highly-taught writers who bought job lots of pens and ink from stationers, and probably did not bother to re-shape or trim the nibs himself. Mynshall's lack of attention to his pens leads to variations in his script, all showing the same overall characteristics, but varying in size and pressure. Like many writers, he probably kept a pot of pens beside him, and when one nib became soggy, he set it aside to dry and harden up, and used another, switching between the two as he went. Because they had not been cut and finished similarly, variations in the hand appear.

Although the flagging in the two sources appears at first glance to lack regularity, closer examination shows that it is surprisingly consistent, and single flags particularly show distinctive and frequently recurring shapes. It is the flags and the style of the tablature letter 'c', as well as some of the terminal bar decorations, that link the two sources.

Both the *Mynshall Scribe C* tablature and that in *Swarland* are for larger lutes than Mynshall was using when he first started playing. Mynshall learned to play with music for a six-course lute.

⁴⁷ Spencer suggests that Mynshall may have meant to write #, as the sign is not used elsewhere in his copying.

Mynshall C used a lute with seven courses, and *Swarland A* one with ten, though the tenth course is very rarely used and some of the solo pieces do not use more than the first six courses.


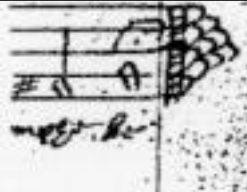


Very few lute sources have an index. *Mynshall* and *Swarland* do, though they use different scripts. Table 40 shows the index from *Mynshall* and a portion of the longer one from *Swarland*. If the scribe is Mynshall, he may have been comfortable enough with his italic hand by c1615 to use it for his index; equally probably, they may not have been written by the same scribe.

Richard Mynshall	Swarland A
Platt canon 2	Comhally quest
Galliard to the Jano 2	O Lord of whom
Quainto canon 2	O Lord Let vs
Scotch gunt 2	in praise thou god
and furo/ab 2	O all ye worke
quason galliard 2	My Soule do
and longstans & joye 2	O Lord Because
Subtiffes dance 2	What man sauer
and dola/gh 2	O Lord turne not
7 foy 2	Our father
7 foy 2	Heard Israel
7 foy 2	Wher Righteousnes

Conclusion

The strongest arguments against these two scribes being Richard Mynshall are the dates of the two books. The date of the watermark of *Swarland*—in this case reasonably exact—is substantiated by circumstantial evidence that places it undoubtedly in the second decade of the seventeenth century, almost certainly after 1615. The date 1597 was doodled in *Mynshall* at the time of copying, almost certainly by Richard Mynshall himself. Pedagogical books nearly always contain a retrospective repertory, and Mynshall may have been doodling a date from his exemplar, rather than making a point about the year in which he was copying. The absence of deliberate dates from other books (whatever their purpose), and the fact that Mynshall is certainly the youngest scribe known in the repertory if he was copying in 1597, give grounds for suspicion about the date of copying. However, the arms on the cover, the watermark of the end-papers and the 'Essex letter' of 1599 copied at the back of the book place it indisputably late in the reign of Elizabeth, and confirm Mynshall's copying date of 1597. It is quite possible that Mynshall's mature hand did not change significantly from the hand he used in 1597, particularly if he did not write tablature very frequently. However, neither the apparently immature text hand nor the tablature of Richard Allison changed over this period (i.e. c1595-1615), so it is reasonable to suppose that Mynshall's hand also did not change. The activity of the Allison scribe discussed in the following case study shows that it is quite likely that Mynshall's tablature hand remained basically unchanged for some twenty years, arguing strongly for the probability that the hand in *Swarland* did belong to him.

⁴⁸ Tables 37-9 have been omitted.

TABLE 41 TERMINAL BARS AND OTHER FIGURES IN <i>MYNSHALL</i> AND <i>SWARLAND</i>	
<i>Mynshall</i>	<i>Swarland</i>
	
	

There are far more similarities between Mynshall and *Swarland A* than between Mynshall and Scribe C in *Mynshall*. The duct, angulation and detailed characteristics, including the graces scratched with the side of the nib, are virtually identical to Mynshall's current tablature hand, as are the titles. The final bar decoration frequently matches a pattern which Mynshall uses more than once, but is not used by *Mynshall* Scribe C, and the occasional caricature face that Mynshall doodles by using terminal bar strokes and fermatas is

also to be seen in *Swarland* (see table 41, particularly the lowest of the examples given in each column). Although Mynshall's hand looks irregular, in fact the spacing and angulation of individual letters is very consistent right through his copying in *Mynshall* and is echoed in *Swarland*. The likelihood, therefore, is that the late hand in *Mynshall* on f.12v (shown in example 61) is probably not that of Richard Mynshall, but of another scribe, and that Mynshall is the principal scribe of *Swarland*.

If *Mynshall* and *Swarland* are linked, then that brings *Mynshall* in turn into the Allison group discussed below. The occurrence of a lute solo scribe who also writes lute songs is very rare—witness the apparent polarization of both printed and manuscript sources into either lute song or lute solo. *Swarland* is unique in that it preserves both types of repertory side by side, and Richard Mynshall is therefore significantly one of only two solo lute scribes who are also known to have copied lute songs, both of whom are represented only in *Swarland* as scribes of lute song.

§RICHARD ALLISON

- THE HOLMES BOOKS, Dd.9.33: Cambridge, University Library Ms.Dd.9.33 (c1600-1605). One of the books in the extended solo lute collection of Matthew Holmes, singingman in Oxford and London, and also the compiler of an extensive set of broken consort books.
- MANUSCRIPT Dd.4.22: Cambridge, University Library Ms.Dd.4.22 (c1615). A short collection of solo lute pieces compiled by two scribes who appear to have been working together.
- THE SWARLAND BOOK OF LUTE SONGS: London, British Library Add.Ms.15117 (c1615). Mixed collection of lute songs and solos in two hands. The cover describes the book as 'Psalms Musicall by Allison'.
- THE SAMPSON LUTE BOOK: Private Library of Robert Spencer, manuscript without shelf mark: Sampson lute book (c1610—watermark 1609). The pedagogical book of Henry Sampson, whose copying was corrected and added to by a second scribe.
- THE WALSINGHAM CONSORT BOOKS: Beverley (Yorkshire), East Riding Record Office. MSS DD.HO.20/1-3: flute, treble viol and bass viol broken consort part books. The cittern book is in Mills College Library (Oakland, California). Also known as the Beverley and Mills consort books. (1588)

The scribe in these manuscripts was first identified and linked by Robert Spencer, a finding that first appeared in print in the facsimile of *Sampson* in 1974. In his brief note about the scribal concordances, Spencer was not concerned with the implications of his discovery, rather with the postulation of links between *Sampson* and other sources from a similar period. In fact, his simple statement masks what must have been a considerable feat of detection, since this scribe is one whose script changes quite radically. His work in *Sampson* falls clearly into two sections that overlap, but show a hand with significant variation in duct.

Robert Spencer has suggested that the scribe may be Richard Allison, who is known to have been active between 1592 and 1606, and may have been active for longer, as 1606 is simply the date of his last known publication. If this scribe is Richard Allison, then Allison has much in common with Matthew Holmes who also had strong affiliations with consort music, and in spite of a career as a cathedral singingman, a musician unconnected with the lute, was evidently also an accomplished lutenist. Allison, if this is indeed his hand, would be likely to have known Holmes as a colleague and contemporary as well as through their shared interest in consort music, thus accounting for his activity in a book compiled by a professional, and clearly not one of his beginners. Holmes is known to have been singingman and precentor at Christ Church, Oxford from 1588 to 1597, and then to have held the same post at Westminster Abbey between 1597 and his death in 1621. He may originally have been copying music for the Oxford Town Waits. The compilation of *Dd.9.33* dates from the London period of Holmes's working life, and as there is evidence of him using at least this one of the manuscripts in London, it is reasonable to assume that the whole group of MSS travelled with their scribe. It is likely, therefore, that the *Sampson* copyist may be connected with Westminster, and it is known that Allison lived in London in 'the Dukes place neere Alde-gate'.⁴⁹

Allison's publications include *the Psalms of David in Meter* (London, 1599/R1968), *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (London, 1606);⁵⁰ and 10 psalm harmonizations in Thomas East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1592). In the psalms of David he was described as a gentleman practitioner of music, and he appears to have been in the employ or under the protection of the Duke of Warwick at

⁴⁹ Preface to Richard Allison: *The Psalms of David in Meter* (London, 1599).

⁵⁰ ed. E. H. Fellowes: *The English Madrigalists* xxxiii (1924, rev. 2.1961).

that time, possibly as a gentleman in the Warwick household. By the time of his last known publication in 1606 ('apt for instruments and Voyces'), he was clearly under the patronage of Sir John Scudamore, to whom that work is dedicated. Whatever his position, the description of him as a 'practitioner' of music implies more than a gentlemanly interest in the arts. Beck⁵¹ proposed that the gentleman who sponsored the publication of Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* may have been Allison.

TABLE 42
MUSIC BY RICHARD ALLISON IN ENGLISH LUTE
SOURCES
(In date order)

Source	date	folio
<i>Dd.3.18</i>	c1585-1600	19v-20/1; 34v-35; 44v/2-45; 46v-47; 57v- 58 (all consort or duet)
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	c1585-95	4v-5/1; 28v (bandora); 71; 75/2; 87v; 97v
<i>Folger</i>	c1590	17v-18 (duet)
<i>Trumbull</i>	c1595	17/2 (duet)
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	c1595-1600	32v/1, 33/1
<i>31392 3</i>	c1605	0v-34/1
<i>Herhold</i>	1602	35v-37/1
<i>Euing</i>	c1610	48v-49/1
<i>Sampson</i>	c1610	10 (broken consort)
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	c1615	4v-5v
<i>Montbuysson</i>	1611	1/1
<i>Fuhrmann 1615</i>	1615	59
<i>Pickeringe</i>	1616 ⁵²	6v-8 (duet); 11v-12; 12/2 (duet)
<i>Hirsch</i>	c1620	3v-4/1; 4v-5/1; 9/2; 63v
<i>ML</i>	c1620	5v-6/1 (duet)
<i>Board</i>	c1620	4v-5/2; 8v-10/1; 10/3; 13v-14/1; 19v-20

Allison's first printed music was published in East's psalter which set the 'church tunes' in the tenor. In the *Psalms of David* he indicates that 'The plaine Song beeing the common tunne to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Bass Violl, Severally or altogether, the singing part to be either for Tenor or Treble to the Instruments, according to the voyce, or for fowre voyces'. That John Dowland and Sir William Leighton contributed laudatory poems indicates the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries, as well as a certain familiarity with them. The copying of this scribe who could be Allison includes quite a significant proportion of Dowland's works, and those that are titled are correctly ascribed to the composer. The *Psalms of David* was the

first published collection of consort lessons, and Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons*, including some of Allison's works, was published in the same year, though the format may have existed in manuscript form before then.

Allison's lute works turn up in many of the solo lute sources, sometimes as non-solo music in an otherwise basically solo source. Regardless of whether this scribe is indeed Allison, the dates currently given for his activity seem to be unnecessarily compressed, since he was clearly composing and having his music copied in the early 1580s. If this is Richard Allison, the dates of his activity should probably be revised to c1580-1620, a not unreasonable period of activity for any professional musician.

Allison signs his name to two pieces (*R Alisoune; mr Richard Allisoun*). These are the only pieces composed by Allison in the sources in which this scribe appears (see table 43). In itself this is

⁵¹ Alison Beck: *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (New York, 1959) [incl. preface].

⁵² The part of the manuscript copied c1630 is not relevant here, the same applies to the similar portions of *ML* and *Board*.

not particularly significant. None of the other music in the four sources is by Allison, so it is not possible to see whether Allison might also have added his autograph to copies of his music written out by another scribe. The music in *Dd.9.33* that he appears to correct is not composed by him. The cover of *Swarland* reads 'Psalmes Musicall by Allison' and Allison's interest in the psalms is clear both from his contributions to East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1592 and his own *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599), thus providing another tenuous link between this scribe's work and the composer Richard Allison. Other composers he names are John Dowland (though his name is not attached to every piece by him copied by this scribe: *Jho Dowland; mr Dowland; Jo: Dowland*), Daniel Bacheler (*Dani: Batchi:; mr D: B:;*), Robert Johnson (*Rob: Jho:; Robart Jhonson*), James Harding (*Jam: Ha:;*), John Danyel (*Jhon Danniell*) and Mr Marchant (*mr Marchant*).

TABLE 43
MUSIC COPIED BY ?RICHARD ALLISON

Sampson

Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
6/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
6/2		Volt?	
9/1	<i>Packingtoune galiarde</i>	Packington's Galliard	
9/2	<i>preludiume</i>	Prelude	
9v	<i>Leueche pavinn[e]</i>	Lavecchia Pavan	
10	<i>a allmayne by R Alisoune</i>	Almain	Richard Allison
10v-11/1	<i>delatrumba</i>	De la Tromba/The Lady Frances Sidney's Good-morrow, second part of duet	
11/2	<i>i / a fancy for ii lutes by Jhon Danniell</i>	Fancy	John Danyel
11v/1	<i>ii / an allman for ii lutes mr Marchant</i>	Echo Almain, first part of duet	Marchant/Pilkington
11v/2	<i>3 lo: wi=lobies welcom hom. / by Jho Dowland</i>	Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home	John Dowland [No.66a]
12/1	<i>duncomes galiarde for 2 lutes</i>	Duncome's galliard	
12/2	<i>a mery moode for 2 lutes</i>	A Merry Mood	
12v/1	<i>bo peep / <bo peep> an allmane for 2 lutes</i>	Bo Peep/A Toy	Thomas Robinson
12v/2-13	<i>for ii lute[s] 5 / a galiard for ii lutes</i>	Squire's Galliard	
13v	<i>a galiarde by mr Dowland</i>	Earl of Derby's Galliard	John Dowland [No.44]

Swarland

Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
4v-5	<i>Jam: Ha: MiserereB: Da: psalme 5i</i>	Miserere	?James Harding
5v	<i>Deprofundis psalme i30</i>		
6v-7/1	<i>alack, When I look back</i>		William Byrd

Dd.9.33

Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
47		Mounsieur's Almain	John Dowland
65/1		Courant	
86v-87/1	<i>fancy / fancy</i>	Fantasia	
95v/1		[n.t.]	

He also corrects or adds to Holmes's flagging in the following music: 54v, 55v, 56, 56v/1, 56v/2-57/1, 57v/1, 57v/2, 57v/3-58/1, 58/2, 58/3, 58v, 59

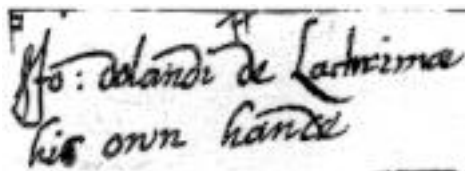
<i>Dd.4.22</i>			
Folio	Original ascription	Title	Composer
2/1		Almain, first part of duet?	
2/2		Jig	
2v/1		Passamezzo [Antico] Galliard.	
2v/2		Passamezzo Galliard	
3		Spanish Pavan	Francis Pilkington
3v		Lord Zouche's Maske	
4v-5v	<i>the quadren pavine by mr Richard Allisoun.</i>	Quadran Pavan	Richard Allison
6		Quadran Galliard	Richard Allison?
6v-7/1	<i>a galiard Dani: Batchi:</i>	To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bacheler
7/2	<i>preludium</i>	Prelude	
7/3		[n.t.]	
7v/1	<i>preludiume</i>	Prelude	
7v/2-8/1	<i>Carrante mr D: B:</i>	Courant	Daniel Bacheler
8/2	<i>preludium</i>	Prelude	
8v-9/1	<i>the noble menes mask tune</i>	The Noble Men's Maske	
9/2	<i>a gig</i>	Jig	
9v	<i>Carrant</i>	Volt/Courant	
10/1	<i>an alman Rob: Jho:</i>	Almain	Robert Johnson
10/2	<i>an allman by mr Robart Jhonson</i>	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
10v/1		Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain	John Sturt
10v/2		Courant	
11/1		Pavan	
11/2	<i>A Coranta</i>	Courant	
11v	<i>fortune by Jo: Dowland</i>	Fortune My Foe	John Dowland [62]
12	<i>Mounseirs Almayne</i>	Mounsieur's Almain	John Dowland

How likely is it that the two attributions in *Sampson* and *Dd.4.22* represent Allison's signature? Some signatures of lute composers and other musicians show a flair and panache that is unmistakable, though some lack the embellishment that marks them out as the work of the composer, nor do they always spell their names the same way. Dowland signs his name with a flourish, but without the artistic flair of John Johnson. Table 44 illustrates the signatures of several known lute composers, or musicians associated with the instrument.

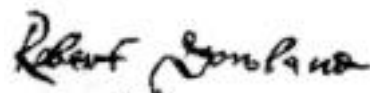
The evidence to suggest this scribe's identity as Allison is very little more than circumstantial, and the scribe could just as easily be one of the many other composers whose work was popular at this time. But it is convenient to be provided with a name to facilitate discussion. Nevertheless, the idea is essentially little more than a likely hypothesis and should be treated as such.

Allison's activity in *Sampson*, although it may simply have been that of a subsequent owner of the book, seems most likely to have been that of Sampson's teacher, particularly considering his appearances in the other sources. If Allison only appeared in this book, the implication would have been that he was a subsequent owner who played Sampson's music, particularly as the original scribe's name was deleted, though it is not possible to say who deleted it or why. However, Allison appears in many other sources in a similar capacity (i.e. as a secondary scribe who corrects the work of the original). In *Sampson*, Allison entered a number of pieces both after and during Henry Sampson's work, adding graces to Sampson's tablature, and changing the cadence of one piece. Sampson's work is exceptionally neat and precise, and extensive correcting was clearly unnecessary.

TABLE 44
SIGNATURES OF LUTE COMPOSERS AND SCRIBES



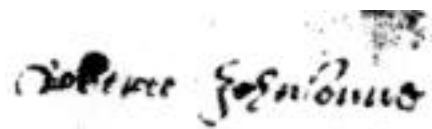
John Dowland



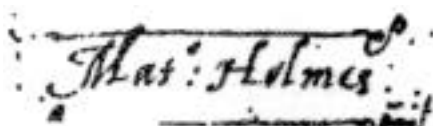
Robert Dowland



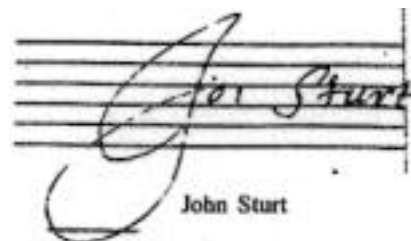
John Johnson



Robert Johnson




Matthew Holmes



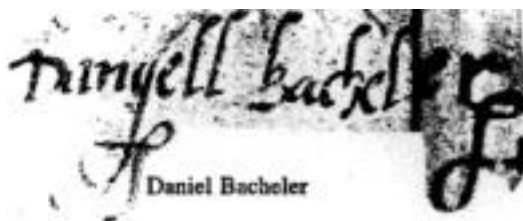
John Sturt



William Corkine



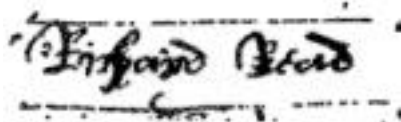
Richard Goosey



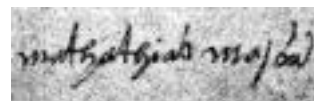
Daniel Bachele



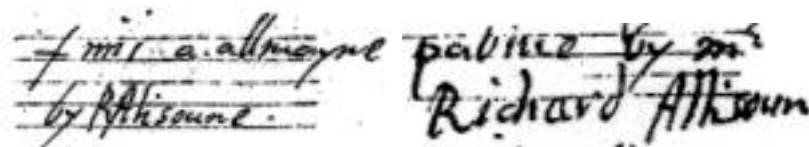
George Handford



Richard Reade



Mathathias Mason



Richard Allison

Allison's is a script that essentially does not maintain a rigidly identifiable form, despite the fact that on the whole its appearances are not chronologically very widespread, and in one case, *Sampson*, his work appears to change quite dramatically between the copying of one piece and the next. Other even relatively young scribes seem to have developed a uniform style of writing by the time they came to copy into a bound book. Even Richard Mynshall, who appears to have copied music and tablature in an italic hand that he found less comfortable than the secretary that he used for his index, and which creeps into his use in the *Swarland* source of his hand, does not show quite such significant variations to his script, even over a period of about 20 years. The four appearances of the "Allison" hand in tablature are shown in examples 64-68 in chronological order as far as that can be determined, with both forms of the hand as it appears in *Sampson*.

The image displays five systems of handwritten musical notation, likely tablature, arranged vertically. Each system consists of a single staff with notes and rests written in a cursive, italicized hand. The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic lines, characteristic of early printed music. The systems are separated by small gaps, and the overall appearance is that of a manuscript page.

ex. 64 *Dd.9.33 f.86v* (c1600-1605)

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the first form of Sampson f.10 (c1610). The score is written on eight staves, each containing a line of music with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are written in a stylized, cursive script. Above the notes, there are various dynamic markings, including 'p' (piano) and 'pp' (pianissimo), often accompanied by a 't' (tutti) or 'f' (forte). The music appears to be a vocal line, possibly for a soloist or a specific voice part. The notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is somewhat dense and characteristic of early modern manuscript notation. At the bottom right of the eighth staff, there is a signature 'by B. Hirsch'.

ex. 65 *Sampson* f.10 (c1610) first form

The image displays a handwritten musical score on a single staff. The notation is highly complex and idiosyncratic, featuring a variety of note values, rests, and accidentals. The key signature changes frequently throughout the piece, with sharp signs appearing on various lines of the staff. Some notes are written as letters (a, e, r) instead of standard musical notation. The overall appearance is that of a personal or experimental manuscript rather than a formal printed score.

ex. 66 Dd.4.22 f.5v (c1615)

Handwritten musical score for 'Swarland f.4v (c1615)'. The score is written on six systems of five-line staves. Each system contains a vocal line with lyrics and a lute tablature line with letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) and rhythmic notation. The lyrics are in Latin and describe a prayer for grace and forgiveness. The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets, quavers) and rests. The lute tablature uses letters to represent fret positions and includes rhythmic flags. The score is written in a historical style, likely from a lute book.

Lord whose grace, no hymnes, comprehend, sweet lord. Whos me
stands from measure free. to me that grace to me that more
and wipe o lord my sinne from sinfull me, o clense o wash
fall iniquity, clens still my spottes still wash away my sh

ex. 67 Swarland f.4v (c1615)

A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The text is written in a cursive, historical hand. The score is organized into systems, with some staves containing multiple lines of music. The final system includes the instruction "in duplo" and "grosso for a lute".

ex. 68 Sampson f.12 (c1610) second form

A clue to the reasons behind the variations to be seen in his script may lie in Allison's social position. He was described as a gentleman, but was certainly one of the working section of that stratum, whose position was probably due to personal advancement through his musicianship and acquisition of certain gentlemanly skills rather than birth. As a result, he probably did not come from the classes who employed a writing master to train a child up to the high standards of the young lady scribes of *Board*, *ML* and *Pickeringe*, and he may either have learned the skill as a privileged servant, or through a period of shared teaching with other boys of his class more cursory than that enjoyed by those of the leisured classes. He may even have picked up the skill later in life as his social standing improved, but his skill would have been specifically directed towards basic practicality rather than adornment.

The *Sampson* source for this hand is the most difficult to assess, as the scribe was clearly alternating between two pens. The result is two very different hands which, although very similar in duct, are affected quite drastically by the different hardness of the pens. Since pens had a very short life, the various forms of Allison's hand would all have been written with different types of pen, and the variations to be seen are the result.

It appears that *Sampson* is the work of two distinct hands (the second with a variable script), with a third who appears only to correct the title of piece 24 on f.12v. The book is written in such a way that its layout, and particularly its blank lines and leaves, suggest some form of pre-determined order or distribution, methodically written from the first folios onwards. This causes the gaps in the compilation to appear enigmatic, since there is sufficient evidence to suppose that there was an intended purpose for the empty pages. The scribal activity is summarized in table 45.

Taken in isolation, the versions of Allison's script give the appearance that there are two quite distinct secondary scribes in the book (i.e. apart from the principal, Henry Sampson). Separating them is not difficult since they use different flagging systems, and different pens. The amount of variation is unusual enough to warrant further examination, since it throws some light on the degree of variation that might be expected from a particular type of scribe. First examination leaves the distinct impression that the two hands must have been written by two different people. In some ways the clear evidence that the two hands were copying music at the same period is another indication that they must belong to different people—if a scribe changed his hand over a period of years, then one might expect a later group of pieces to appear to be written by a different scribe. However, these two hands are linked, not simply through a progression of duet parts, the first two copied by Allison (i), and numbered 'i' and 'ii' by him, the third copied by Allison (ii) and marked '3', but also by the fact that the work of Allison (i) is interrupted by Allison (ii) half way down f.11v, and Allison (i) resumes again halfway down f.12v, without any break between the pieces copied. Neither hand could therefore have been filling in gaps left by the other. Matters are further clouded by the appearance of a further duet, in Allison (i), but marked '5' using the Arabic numerals of Allison (ii) while copying in the duct of Allison (i)—clearly part of the earlier progression of three duets, though not the progression seen in *Sampson* since there are three other duet parts between these numbers three and five. Allison (i) uses Roman 'ii' to

TABLE 45	
SUMMARY OF SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN THE 'ALLISON' LUTE SOURCES	
The two forms of the hand in <i>Sampson</i> are marked (i) or (ii)	
<i>Sampson</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1-1v.....	Blank end paper, some pen-trials in an unidentifiable hand
1a.....	Stub
2-2v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
3-4r.....	Henry Sampson
4v-5v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
6.....	'Richard Allison' (i)
6v.....	Henry Sampson with some corrections by 'Richard Allison'
7-8v.....	Henry Sampson
9-11v.....	'Richard Allison' (i) changing to 'Richard Allison' (ii) from line 5
11v-12v....	'Richard Allison' (ii) changing to 'Richard Allison' (i) from line 6
12v-13v....	'Richard Allison' (i)
14-48v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
<i>Swarland</i>	
Foliation	Hand
2-4.....	Richard Mynshall
4v-5v.....	'Richard Allison'
6.....	Richard Mynshall, text of song appears to be by 'Allison'
6v-7/1.....	'Richard Allison'
7/2-21v....	Richard Mynshall
22-22v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
23.....	Richard Mynshall
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1-3v.....	Scribe A
4.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
4v-7/1.....	'Richard Allison'
7/2.....	Scribe C
7v-11/1....	'Richard Allison'
11/2-12....	Scribe C
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1v-2v.....	Matthew Holmes
3-3v.....	Scribe B
4-46v.....	Matthew Holmes
47.....	'Richard Allison'
47v-54....	Matthew Holmes
54v.....	Matthew Holmes with flag additions or corrections by 'Richard Allison'
55.....	Matthew Holmes
55v-59....	Matthew Holmes with flag additions or corrections by 'Richard Allison'
59v-64v....	Matthew Holmes
65/1.....	'Richard Allison'
65/2-85v...	Matthew Holmes
86.....	Unused printed music paper
86v-87....	'Richard Allison'
87v-91v....	Matthew Holmes
92/1.....	Scribe D
92/2-92v...	Matthew Holmes
93v.....	Unused printed music paper
94-94v....	Matthew Holmes
95.....	Unused printed music paper
95v/1.....	'Richard Allison'
95v/2.....	Matthew Holmes

indicate 'two' lutes, while Allison (ii) uses an Arabic figure '2', though both scribes use the '-es' contraction when writing 'Lutes'. This is consistent with the numbering of the pieces, so perhaps we could argue that the anomalous Arabic '5' for the last in the sequence was added by the other hand. It can certainly look that way if one is convinced the two hands are not related.

The titles seem to confirm the suspicion that these two hands were either intimately linked or were written by the same person, since all appear to be in the same hand. One could argue, of course that the titles were added by one of the two putative scribes. If they both belong to the same person, as now seems very likely, then the only explanation for the differences in numbering practice must be either that the two samples, despite their dovetailing into each other, were not copied in a short space of time, or that the disparity in practice is deliberate to differentiate between sets of duets from two different exemplars or to reflect practices in two different exemplars.

The answers remain unsatisfactory until the fact that the scribe was deliberately alternating between two pens is taken into consideration. It seems clear from *Sampson* that Allison was simply switching frequently between two quite different pens to avoid either one becoming too soggy to use. The superficial (and sometimes not so superficial) differences between the

hands easily persuades the reader not to look further or deeper to discover more subtle facets of the duct that might make one suspicious of the original decision, and were it not for the obvious appearance of this hand in other sources and in transitional forms between the two seen in *Sampson*, they might have been classified as two separate scribes. The appearance of Allison in *Swarland* is for an instrument with at least 8 courses, and the rhythmic indications are in mensural notation, rather than rhythm-change flagging. This type of notation may have been adopted to conform with that of the lute song which it accompanies. The music by Allison in *Dd.9.33* is written for a lute with at least nine courses, and more probably ten. The appearance of this scribe in *Dd.9.33* on f.65r is also accompanied by the mensural rhythm notation, and on f.47r of the same manuscript replaces the italic letter 'h' with a secretary one which is slightly irregular in form. Folios 4v-11r of *Dd.4.22* form the greater part of the manuscript, and this is the largest single source of this scribe's writing. The scribe uses three forms of flagging here—continuous flagging, rhythm-change flagging and mensural notation—and it is this source that ties together all the different forms that Allison's script can adopt with considerable certainty. Two of the pieces in *Dd.4.22* are concordant with pieces in *Sampson* copied in the hand of Henry Sampson, though the second is only concordant for the statement of the tune, supplying a new set of divisions.

Any doubt that the various sources of this hand were written by the same scribe is confounded by the appearance of the titles, and in particular the ascriptions to the pieces by Richard Allison, shown in examples 65 and 66 above.

Although the features of this scribe's hand are not as predictable as his overall duct, the type of activity he shows in all these sources is surprisingly consistent. Firstly, he is never the primary scribe of a source, even where the pieces copied by him outnumber those by other scribes, making him the main scribe in terms of contribution; secondly, he always appears to be the second scribe to work in a book, and his copying always seems to overlap the activity of the primary scribe, interspersing his work with theirs, and putting markings in the other scribe's tablature. Finally, he often corrects the work of the scribe with whom he overlaps, and this factor, together with other features of his relationship with the other scribes, suggests that he may have been teaching them.

Thus the indications are that, with the exception of *Dd.9.33* in which he came in contact with Matthew Holmes after Holmes had already reached f.47, Allison's work was contemporary with the earliest period of compilation of each source and he probably had a pedagogical relationship with the initial scribe, who is most likely to have been the original owner of the book. His relationship with the scribe is particularly significant in the case of *Dd.9.33*; notably earlier in date than the other four sources, but the only one known to have been compiled by a professional musician, even if not one who made his living by playing the lute. Here, his first appearance is in copying out a piece of Dowland, but shortly after he is to be seen correcting the flags of Matthew Holmes, the principal scribe. The music that Allison copied was undoubtedly added during the latter part of the overall compilation of Holmes (1597-1603), probably from 1600: and this, together with the fact that he corrected and added flags to Holmes's work, suggests strongly that he was teaching him rather than simply using the book after Holmes had discarded it. One final source for this scribe seems to be in

Walsingham, dated 1588. This would extend his activity quite considerably, but in fact, his copying here seems to be limited to enlarging on the ascriptions to some pieces (e.g. by adding the name of the composer to an unascrbed piece), and this copying may easily not be contemporary with the initial period of copying of *Walsingham*. Any set of consort books (particularly considering the amount of copying time they represented) is likely to have had a relatively extended active life, and since the composers represented in this collection were still having their music copied into manuscripts around 1615, there is no reason to suppose that the repertory they contain had gone out of fashion by the time the Allison books were being copied.

If Allison was principally a teacher this would imply that all the sources in which he appears are pedagogical sources. However, *Swarland* does not seem to fit these criteria, and indeed Allison's activity here is quite limited (as it also is in *Dd.9.33*) and does not extend to correcting the work of the primary scribe. *Dd.9.33* is certainly a professional book, but since Matthew Holmes was officially a professional singing man, rather than a professional lutenist (though as a professional musician he may easily have been of a professional standard as a lutenist as well), he may have availed himself of the opportunity to take some lessons with Allison while he was still collecting music in this, one of his earlier books. It is clear from the early intrusion of another scribe into Holmes's copying in this book that he permitted experienced copyists to add to his work. Allison's copying in *Dd.4.22*, almost certainly a pedagogical book, has hold signs added to some pieces, though it is not clear who added them—perhaps the third scribe—and his activity in *Sampson* seems to fit the pedagogical framework well. There are no musical concordances between Allison's copying in any of the sources where he is active. There are concordances between *Sampson*, *Dd.9.33* and *Dd.4.22*, despite their being unrelated in other respects. However, the relationship is so vague as to be virtually immaterial. Allison apparently never copied the same piece twice in different manuscripts.

Just as the Holmes books are a highly significant collection of sources, so the secondary scribe of the *Sampson*, *Dd.4.22*, *Dd.9.33* and *Swarland* manuscripts, perhaps the well-known composer of consort music, Richard Allison, is probably the most significant of any surviving from this period, since his widespread activity suggests not only links between a spectacularly large proportion of the extant source, but also indicates a degree of activity that can only satisfactorily be explained as the practice of a teacher. A musician of Allison's stature and reputation would be more likely to have had a sphere of influence as wide as this than someone unknown. The *Sampson*, *Swarland* and *Dd.4.22* manuscripts cluster chronologically around 1610-15, but *Dd.9.33* the earliest (and possibly the most interesting) source was probably begun about 1600, perhaps a few years earlier, and seems to have been completed not many years after 1603. The *Walsingham* consort books are dated 1588. If the dating of these sources is correct, a fact that does not seem to be in dispute at present, then the known activity of this scribe appears to cover a period of about 25-30 years. This would not be an unreasonable working span for any scribe, whatever his purpose in copying, and would certainly be a reasonable working life for a teacher.

The scribe responsible for the samples of tablature discussed here appears to have been active in four otherwise discrete manuscript sources of this period. That he may have been associated with 10% of all the surviving sources of English lute music suggests one of two things: either that he had an exceptionally wide sphere of activity and influence, or that the surviving sources from this period, which had hitherto appeared to be a representative sampling of a generation of books, are in fact not so. The transmission of the contemporary consort repertory through scribal publication may provide some clues to the apparently exceptional connection between so many of the sources, but the indubitably peculiar characteristics of the lute playing and copying community seem to exclude this type of relationship.

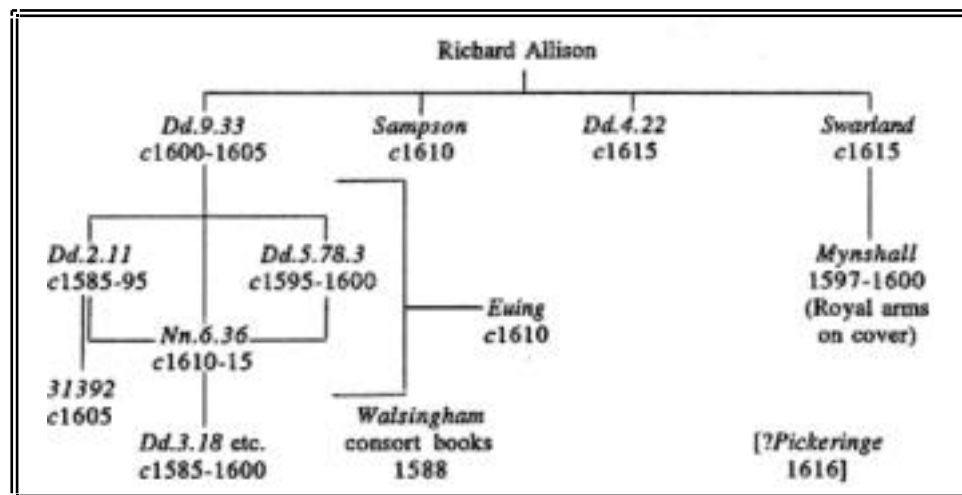
The situation of the Allison group is further complicated by the addition of other sources linked by other scribes active in the books. If, as is suggested above, *Mynshall* and *Swarland* are linked by Richard Mynshall's hand, then *Mynshall* must also be brought into the group, as must the other Holmes books which, although normally considered as separate sources, should more accurately be considered as one extended source.⁵³ If Diana Poulton's comment that *Euing* appears to be closely related to the Holmes books, even to the extent of reproducing some of Holmes's errors, is accurate then this book also enters the discussion. 31392 may be linked to *Dd.2.11* stemmatically, bringing yet another book into the circle. Even *Pickeringe* may find its way into this complex set of books, though through the name of a possible owner, Puckering, rather than one of its scribes, although the relation of his name to Jane Pickeringe is very tenuous to say the least. This brings the total of linked sources to 12 (possibly 13 with *Pickeringe*, though the link is not generic) sources out of only 41. This is over 25% of the surviving sources. If all the Holmes books are considered as one (albeit very large) source, this means that there are only actually eight manuscripts linked to Richard Allison out of a total of 35. However, this is still over 20% of Group Two sources, a spectacularly large proportion of the whole.⁵⁴

Close relationships between such a significant proportion of the surviving sources suggests that what survives may not be a representative sampling of the sources around at the time. If this were the case, then we should expect to find at least one observable instance in the sources as a whole of a stemmatically provable relationship between exemplar and its copy. However, the only possible case of this type of relationship is between the Holmes books and *Euing*, and even this is not a full case of exemplar and copy. This suggests that all the other sources may have used the same (now lost) exemplar(s). So perhaps what remains is representative of the contemporary corpus. Is it actually so surprising that such a high proportion of books linked with London and possibly the court should come to be connected in such a straightforward manner? It does suggest a sort of lutenist's *atelier* encompassing not only beginners, but also the talented amateur player and the mature professional

⁵³ The Holmes books should, in fact, always be considered as a single source, since neither the type of repertory they contain nor the purpose in compiling the books changes between one manuscript and the next. Of course, it is attractive to have five large sources each filled with very mainstream repertory, but in fact it does distort the picture of the surviving repertory that is built up as a result.

⁵⁴ See table 4, page 37.

musician. The implication that there should be a vanished exemplar (or exemplars) from which all these pieces were copied is very strong, and supports once again the hypothesis that teachers did not have lute books, but worked from something more ephemeral.



If Allison was a well-known teacher, then perhaps the suspicious number of sources in which he is active is not quite as peculiar as the statistics would seem to suggest. It is clear that he tended to make more than just passing acquaintances with either these manuscripts or their owners, and he may indeed have been a teacher to whom many Londoners gravitated or were directed, suggesting a respectable reputation, particularly as a player of Dowland's reputation seems to have held him in some esteem. John Dowland, where he writes in manuscripts, does not appear to have been a particularly active copyist, perhaps because his hand was often not as neat or legible as that of his pupil. His fame rested on his abilities as a player and a composer though, not as a teacher. The fact that Allison appears in Matthew Holmes's book in an apparently didactic guise is another suggestion that he was considered a fine teacher by his professional contemporaries, though it is equally possible that he was a professional colleague of Holmes rather than his teacher. The Holmes books seem to be the work of a mature player, though he may have 'gone back to school' in the middle of an active performing life if he came into contact with Allison through consort music, particularly as his profession was that of a singingman, not a lutenist.

Conclusion

Although the evidence pointing to the identity of the scribe in *Sampson*, *Swarland*, *Dd.9.33* and *Dd.4.22* as Richard Allison is undoubtedly circumstantial, it is nevertheless clear that all those factors regarding the activity of the scribe, regardless of his name, remain unchanged. He was clearly a teacher of some reputation, working in London between about 1585 and 1615, and one who had an impressive *atelier* and sphere of influence. The sources that are linked in this small London circle facilitate the understanding of the other very small hints that can be seen as each source in the repertory is examined in detail, allowing the extrapolation of what is probably a reasonably accurate picture for the lute playing world in England during the height of the instrument's popularity.

CHAPTER 8

THE SIGNIFYING SERPENT: SEDUCTION BY CULTURAL STEREOTYPE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

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This is a later addendum to the main part of the thesis, and forms part of an extended discussion among lute scholars regarding the reasons behind the steady decline in popularity and use of the lute during the 17th century

*

OUR CURRENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE symbolic meaning of the lute in the seventeenth century is as part of the general musical metonym: it conveys some message about romance, can be a metaphor for a courtship, or is simply one of the dishes in the banquet of love. This nebulous image is commonplace and is one familiar to any scholar of art or literature from this period.¹ Although most authors recognise that the lute is not simply a prop but also holds a symbolic place, few attempt to define its specific meaning without treating it as simply another part of the language of music. The emblematic use of the lute is much more complex than it appears at first glance: it represented very specific sub-texts, depending on the way in which it was employed.

In England, the lute enjoyed a period of immense popularity between about 1570 and 1630, after which it declined continuously until, by 1700, it had almost fallen out of use altogether. The lute's decline in Italy a century earlier has been linked by Victor Coelho to the rise of humanism,² but the impact of that philosophy in England was not so dramatic, and in particular the decline of the lute in England seems to owe more to the symbolism that had grown up around it. By the middle of the seventeenth century it had become both an instrument of immense expressive power, and a metaphor for sex. This paper examines images that had grown up specifically around the lute in early modern England, and the way in which they were used by writers and artists (obviously, this ignores the use of the instrument in religious contexts, and concentrates only on secular representations). Despite the fact that none of the contemporary sources discusses this symbolism directly, it is possible to understand its connotations by extrapolating the meaning back from the images themselves. The picture that emerges is one of increasing power—both natural and supernatural—wielded by an inanimate object, an object that progresses from being a simple emblem meaning 'sex' to a living, breathing, feeling, entity in its own right.

From its origins, the lute had been allegorically associated with fertility; its rounded back minding the observer of the pregnant belly of a woman, an image used by Francesco del Cossa in the detail of *April* (c1465), that shows the triumph of Venus, where the lute is held pendant before the womb. In Baldung's *Ages of Womankind* (1540), the lute signals the fertile part of the woman's life, [See also: *The Four Ages of Man* (c1625), Moise Valentin (c1591/4-1632)] and Valentin's *Four Ages of Man* conveys a similar message, where the lute symbolises the age of love and sexual dalliance. It is a short step from fertility and pregnancy to an association with sex, and in particular with women's sexuality. Giovanni Serodine's *Allegoria della Scienze*

¹ See (for example) John Hollander: *The Untuning of the Sky* (Princeton NJ, 1961); Lawrence J Ross: 'Shakespeare's "Dull Clown" and Symbolic Music', *Shakespeare Quarterly* xvii (1966); and Gretchen L Finney: 'A world of Instruments' *ELH* xx (1953).

² Victor Coelho: 'L'ultima parte: Some Perspectives on the Decline of the Lute in Seventeenth-Century Italy' in *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo* (London, 1992)

(c1630), comes from a tradition in which lacteal baptism was a sign of the blessing of the gods or the muses. In his representation, though, the muse is unable to baptise the lute, which symbolises the fertile and creative aspect of science as opposed to its theoretical and non-creative side. Between this and the other symbols in the picture the message is clear: science is dying, and the world order is only precariously balanced.³

The association with sex was not an isolated one either: Thomas Coryat's *Crudities* (London, 1611) describes the practice of Venetian courtesans carrying the lute as a badge of their trade, and also comment that the courtesans were often independently famous for their skill as players. In the Low Countries, painters had begun to employ an emblematic technique using objects descriptively in portraits from the early sixteenth century, to describe the sitter and his or her attributes as vividly as if fully verbalized. This is a hallmark of the Dutch style that was popular all over Europe and which had become an art form in itself by the end of the sixteenth century. Dutch genre painting, with its increasingly naturalistic style, was immensely influential in England: it draws on a code of imagery that was far more widespread than simply the Low Countries, and related to the popular, often crude and simplistic, metaphorical interpretation of the world. What did the lute mean in this language of images? The initial answer is very simple: the Flemish for lute, *Luit*, was also the word for vagina. This gives rise to a whole host of pictures involving prostitutes: *The Procuress* (1625), Honthorst (1590-1656) [plate 1], *The Procuress* (c1635), Baburen (owned by Vermeer), *The Procuress* (1656), Vermeer (1632-75), *Brothel Scene* (1658), Van Mieris the Elder

The three paintings entitled (by the artists) *The Procuress* show negotiations between a procuress and a prospective client for the favours of a courtesan. In the first, all the characters are gesturing at the lute, and appear to be bargaining over *it*, rather than the courtesan; the message is less explicit in the Baburen, a painting owned by Vermeer, though the lute is still very prominent. Vermeer's own *Procuress* hides the lute (in this case a cittern) but suggestively uses the position of the neck and the way it is held. Vermeer's apparently chaste *Young Lady seated at the Virginals* (1673-5) is paradoxically accompanied not only by the phallic viol, but also by Baburen's *Procuress*, unmistakably hung behind her.

There are literally hundreds of paintings from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on subjects such as Van Mieris's *Brothel Scene*, which is signposted by the lute hung on the wall. However, the image extends beyond the genre study to allegories on themes like *The Five Senses*, in which the lute represents hearing, but transforms the whole picture to lust and vanity as the results of indulging the senses.

In Metsu's *Tête-à-tête: Lady Lute Player and Cavalier* (c1655), even the pretence of playing the instrument is abandoned, and it lies suggestively in the lap of the player. Although scenes in which *men* play the lute publicly are more ambiguous, the lute could hold sway in the hands of either sex. There are often pointers to the intent of the characters, such as can be seen in Vermeer's *Concert* (1665-6), where the viol and Baburen's *Procuress* are again in evidence.

There are less obvious images that nevertheless draw on the genre tradition to reinforce ideas stated in the title of the work. Isaac Oliver's Love theme: *Allegory of Virtuous and Vicious Love* (c1595) places the lute among the 'vicious' and unchaste participants; Buytewech's *Tavern Scene* (c1617-20) implies something of the conversation of the men without actually giving a lute to the man whose hands are held as if playing, while

³ See Victor Coelho, above.

Steen's *Life of Man* (1665) employs a wealth of devices to depict man's lust and vanity, including the suggestion that the old woman with the fiddle is a procuress, since she is holding it sideways as if it is a lute.

On the whole, placing the lute with people conveys an unmistakable message and infuses the protagonists with specific tensions. *The Love Letter* (c1666) [plate 2], a classic of Vermeer's mature style, that catches the subjects apparently unaware in a simple domestic situation, shows a servant and her mistress who seem to be conversing about an unopened letter in the mistress's hand. The picture hanging behind them shows a ship in full sail, suggesting that the letter has come some distance. That the trappings of everyday life, such as the broom and basket of washing, are scattered around what is clearly a public chamber suggests some sort of disarray—perhaps the household is in the process of arrival or departure?—the shoes were a symbol of domestic virtue, but the most important 'prop' is the cittern, apparently a more chaste form of the lute, which announces unequivocally that this is a love letter. It is a prop that sits well in the hands of a lone woman because of the reflective and thoughtful connotations of private music-making. The woman is expected to think only of the man, even when he is absent. Placing the man in the picture though, as in *Woman playing a lute* (c1655), Gerhard Terborch (1617-81), conveys an even stronger message: one that is usually confirmed by the expressions and gestures of the subjects.

The obvious corollary for all this symbolism is a picture like *The Morning Toilet* (1663), Jan Steen (1632-75) [plate 3]. This is a comment on venal love: the still life of the arch showing conventional symbols of vanity introduces the moral content, but the erotic matter is defined both by the emblems and in reference to linguistic usage. The woman's state of undress and the setting of a bedchamber is more than suggestive; the carelessly abandoned lute implies both a recent sexual encounter and venal love; while the shoes, usually a symbol of domestic harmony, are kicked aside. The woman is conspicuously pulling on a stocking—the Dutch word (*kous*) was slang for vagina; the un-lighted candle usually referred to ephemerality, but in this case it accompanies an open jewel box on the side table: they refer to a popular saying: 'Neither does one buy pearls in the dark, nor does one look for love at night.' To those who saw it the message of this picture would have been unmistakable.

All these images are ones in which the lute appears almost crudely as a sexual metaphor from the fifteenth century right through to the late seventeenth. There is another and more subtle use of the lute emblem though, one that made it not only possible but appropriate for gentlewomen to play the instrument: the lute was a vehicle for the expression of subtle emotions and feelings in a way that was socially acceptable.

Music had held a unique position as the bridge between the natural and the magical since the middle ages (and probably before) since it was so difficult to articulate the effects of organised sound on the passions and emotions. The very fact that music could affect the passions led to its association with the supernatural and with medical theory that relied on the balance of 'vapours' or 'humours' to explain physical states. That music could affect these humours in many different ways was ultimately beyond the scope of medical theory to explain. Thus the most powerful passion, love, and the one most difficult to understand and codify in terms of the humours had become most closely associated with something that ultimately defied all attempts to rationalise it: music.

Of all musical instruments, the lute in particular seemed capable of curing any ill: decreasing or increasing terrestrial vapours, opening or closing the heart and generally setting aright the faculties of the soul.

Why should the lute have been so spectacularly effective? The sixteenth century had seen the rise of the lute and the keyboard as two instruments that could produce a 'consort of music' by themselves. Harmony dramatically increased the emotive and therefore curative power of simple melody, and these instruments allowed a single player control of all aspects of the music, thereby intensifying its powers of communication.

'... we doubt not of that truth, that will help us to believe that the lute is fit to assuage the passions as choler sorrow and the pains that we suffer from distastes and hurts[,] impatience and hunger itself when the bilious humour pricketh the stomach and causeth its peevishness and displeasure.

This heavenly harmony, rising unto the brain as an intellectual dew, does moisten gently the heat and dryness of it and if there be too much moisture and terrestrial vapours it dissipates and dries them by the melodious activity that produces a subtle fire[.] So that rarifying the spirits in purging them of these fuliginous vapours and fixing their extraordinary motion it followeth that this harmony set aright the faculties of the soul and perfect them.

If the heart be closed it openeth it and if it be too much opened, it gently shutteth it to embrace and keep in the sweetness that the lute inspires into its sensible concavities. ... it is fed there with so favourable a nourishment that it loseth all bitterness and casts out all her venom.

This harmony softens stony hearts and banishes the cruelty from it to give room to compassion[;] it turneth out hatred to lodge in love.'

The Burwell Lute Tutor (1668-71), ff.43-43v.

The lute became pre-eminent as it was the only instrument capable of considerable dynamic range as well as harmonic subtlety. Given its power as a communicator, it became an ideal tool for the expression of feelings and sensibilities that might otherwise be beyond the power of the player to express, and this aspect is one that is explored widely in early modern European literature, though not ignored in the genre painting.

In France, Louise Labé, a Lyonnais poetess writing in about 1555, uses the lute in several of her sonnets, always inspired by the absence of a lover.⁴ The content of Labé's poetry is unashamedly erotic: she was a lady, not a courtesan, but she is not discussing chaste, appropriate love within marriage: she is eulogising lust and the power of sex. However, there is more to Labé's imagery than straightforward lust. By 1550, the image of the lute in France and Italy had progressed further: in her Sonnet XII, she endows the lute with an anthropomorphic existence: not only does it express the subject's feelings, being transformed by the writer's mood, but it also fulfils the role of both a compassionate friend and a protagonist in the argument.

⁴ Labé's dialogue with her lute is discussed in Line Pouchard: 'Louise Labé in dialogue with her lute: Silence Constructs a Poetic Subject' *History of European Ideas* 792 (1993), 126, where the author constructs an entirely phallic and erotic framework for the poetry. This seems a rather narrow view, given the wealth of imagery that Labé is using. Her poetry is taken from Enzo Giudici, ed.: *Œuvres Complètes de Louise Labé* (Geneva, 1981). English translations are available in versified form in Edith Farrell: *Louise Labé's Complete Works* (New York, 1986), those used in this paper were made by Louise Locock.

SONNET XII

Lut, compagnon de ma calamité, De mes soupirs témoin irréprochable, De mes ennuis contrôleur véritable, Tu as souvent avec moy lamenté:	<i>Lute, my companion in adversity, Blameless witness of my sighs, Moderator of my troubles, How often have you lamented with me:</i>
Et tant le pleur piteus t'a molesté, Que commençant quelque son délectable, Tu le rendois tout soudein lamentable, Feignant le ton que plein avoit chanté.	<i>My piteous tears have vexed you so much, That starting some delightful air, You changed your tone at once to a lament, As though it were a plaint you had begun.</i>
Et si te veus efforcer au contraire, Tu te destens et si me contreins taire: Mais me voyant tendrement soupirer,	<i>And if I force you to a different vein, Your strings relax, force me to be silent; But seeing that I sigh so tenderly,</i>
Donnant faveur à ma tant triste plainte: En mes ennuis me plaire suis contreinte, Et d'un dous mal douce fin espérer.	<i>Giving preference to my sad lament; I am forced to find my pleasure in grief, And hope for sweet endings to so sweet a pain.</i>

Labé endows the lute with the power to make decisions, to offer comfort in its own right as well as to act as a vehicle for the expression of the players' anguish. In her works, the lute is always melancholy and an outlet for pent emotion. For her, the lute represents and expresses the inexpressible: the passions and sensibilities. In Sonnet XII she uses the idea of singing to the lute to express the conflict between expression of the private and internal (the lute) and the public externalised convention verbally or vocally expressed (singing).

The lute is divorced from the body, but is able to express the body's inner conflicts, while the voice as an instrument betrays the emotions by refusing to perform under stress. The distance of the lute from the lover enables it to express passion freely. In Labé's Sonnet XII the lute refuses to play when asked to express false emotions: thus forcing the lover to be silent rather than lie. In contrast, Sonnet II progresses through physical and emotional description of the loved one, until finally his lute is introduced in the same breath as a whole host of body parts. Labé blames the lover's lute just as much as his looks and moods for her state, while, significantly, as the lute player, he remains unmoved.

SONNET II

Ô beaux yeus bruns, ô regards destournez, Ô chaus soupirs, ô larmes espandues, Ô noires nuits vainement atendues, Ô jours luisans vainement retournez:	<i>O beautiful brown eyes, O averted looks, O warm sighs, O spilt tears, O blackest nights for which I vainly wait, O shining days that vainly return.</i>
Ô tristes pleins, ô desirs obstinez, Ô tems perdu, ô peines despendues, Ô mile morts en mile rets tendues, Ô pires maus contre moi destinez.	<i>O sad laments, O persistent desires, O time that's lost, O cares I have suffered, O thousand deaths in a thousand snares, O worse ills destined to be against me.</i>
Ô ris, ô front, cheveux, bras, mains et doigts: Ô lut pleintif, viole, archet et vois: Tant de flambeaus pour ardre une femmelle!	<i>O smile, O brow, hair, arms, hands and fingers, O plaintive lute, viol, bow, and voice: So many torches, one woman to enflame!</i>
De toy me plein, que tant de feus portant, En tant d'endroits d'iceus mon cœur tatant, N'en est sur toy volé quelque estincelle.	<i>I complain of you that, carrying so many fires, And touching my heart in so many places with them; Not one spark of them has flown onto you.</i>

Labé also refers to the tuning of the lute, though in terms that involve playing in minor keys when she would rather be trying to cheer herself up with a major tonality. The lute is thus truthful in its expression of

the player's feelings, unable to take part in any artificiality. The corollary is that the truth of a lover's feelings can only be heard if he (or she) plays the lute, as words alone are untrustworthy.

This is not an isolated image, as it also appears in Shakespeare and the Dutch genre painting,⁵ and is famously evident in Holbein's *Ambassadors* where the lute is prominently displayed while the lute case is hidden beneath the table, reinforcing the message that the ambassadors' intent is one of open and honest discourse, having set aside their superficial ambassadorial rhetoric. Thomas Wyatt (1503-42) had been using this sort of imagery for the lute for nearly a quarter of a century before Labé was writing. It appears in a number of his courtly poems ('My lute awake'; 'Blame not my lute' (see below); 'Since you will needs'; 'All heavy minds') and 'Blame not my lute' in particular anticipates Labé's problem of the lute betraying feelings that the poet would rather remain hidden. It is a complex exploration of the lute that begins with a statement that the lute lacks the wit to express anything other than that which it is told to, and so what it speaks of must come from the poet's heart. Wyatt is denying the independent will of the instrument, but not its power to express his torment, and constructs the lute as a figure for the poet himself.

BLAME NOT MY LUTE

Blame not my lute for he must sound
Of these or that as liketh me;
For lack of wit the lute is bound
To give such tunes as pleaseth me:
Though my songs be somewhat strange,
And speaks such words as touch thy change,
Blame not my lute.

My lute, alas, doth not offend,
Though that perforce he must agree
To sound such tunes as I intend
To sing to thee that hearest me;
Then though my songs be somewhat plain,
And toucheth some that use to feign,
Blame not my lute.

My lute and strings may not deny,
But as I strike they must obey;
Break not them then so wrongfully,
But wreck thy self some wiser way:
And though the songs which I indite
Do quit thy change with rightful spite,
Blame not my lute.

Spite asketh spite and changing change,
And falsèd faith must needs be known;
Thy fault so great, the case so strange,
O right it must abroad be blown:
Then since that by thine own desert
My songs do tell how true thou art,
Blame not my lute.

Blame but the self that hast misdone
And well deservèd to have blame;
Change thou thy way, so evil begun,
And then my lute shall sound the same:
But if till then my fingers play
By thy desert their wonted way,
Blame not my lute.

⁵ In Vermeer's so-called *Music Lesson* and his *Young man and woman drinking wine* the cittern is laid to one side but facing the subjects as if it is an interested observer.

Farewell, unknown, for though thou break
 My strings in spite with great disdain,
 Yet have I found out for thy sake
 Strings for to string my lute again;
 And if perchance this foolish Rhyme
 Do make thee blush at any time
 Blame not my lute.

The development of the imagery employed by Wyatt and Labé is seen in Shakespeare's works around the turn of the century. In *Much Ado About Nothing* (II:i) Shakespeare employs the lute and its case to express the conflict between the inner person and the public image, as is the case with Labé, Wyatt and Holbein:

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING
 ACT II, SCENE I: A hall in LEONATO'S house.

 {Enter LEONATO, ANTONIO, HERO, BEATRICE, and others.}
 {Enter DON PEDRO, CLAUDIO, BENEDICK, BALTHASAR,
 DON JOHN, BORACHIO, MARGARET, URSULA and others, masked.}

DON PEDRO: Lady, will you walk about with your friend?
 HERO: So you walk softly and look sweetly and say nothing,
 I am yours for the walk; and especially when I walk 80
 away.
 DON PEDRO: With me in your company?
 HERO: I may say so, when I please.
 DON PEDRO: And when please you to say so?
 HERO: When I like your favour; for God defend the LUTE
 should be like the case!

Among Shakespeare's many references to 'music' in general, he makes a number specifically to the lute, usually referring to the capabilities of the instrument to alter mood or arouse passion. There are definite signs, however, that this power was dangerous, and even frightening because its effects were too profound to be natural. In *Richard III* (I:i), the King is seduced by a lady playing a lute (he 'capers nimbly in a lady's chamber / To the lascivious pleasing of a lute')—though as we have seen this may simply be a metaphor for sex:

KING RICHARD III
 ACT I, SCENE I: London. A street.

 {Enter GLOUCESTER, solus.}

GLOUCESTER: Now is the winter of our discontent
 Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
 And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
 In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
 Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
 Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
 Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now, instead of mounting barded steeds 10
 To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
 He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
 To the lascivious pleasing of a LUTE.

The implication, however, is that the playing ensnares and bewitches him more than the lady herself: he is dancing to her tune, literally. The sexually manipulative interpretation is a direct descendant of the teaching of the church that women were evil and dangerous, that they could ensnare men and force them perform sinful acts (of which sex was one) against their will. In *Titus Andronicus* (II:iv) the lute tames the beast and bewitches the man to love the player, particularly if 'she' also sings:

TITUS ANDRONICUS

ACT II, SCENE IV: Another part of the forest.

{Enter DEMETRIUS and CHIRON with LAVINIA, ravished;
her hands cut off, and her tongue cut out.}

MARCUS: Who is this? my niece, that flies away so fast!

...
Fair Philomela, she but lost her tongue,
And in a tedious sampler sew'd her mind:
But, lovely niece, that mean is cut from thee; 40
A craftier Tereus, cousin, hast thou met,
And he hath cut those pretty fingers off,
That could have better sew'd than Philomel.
O, had the monster seen those lily hands
Tremble, like aspen-leaves, upon a LUTE,
And make the silken strings delight to kiss them,
He would not then have touch'd them for his life!
Or, had he heard the heavenly harmony
Which that sweet tongue hath made,
He would have dropp'd his knife, and fell asleep 50
As Cerberus at the Thracian poet's feet. ...

while in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (IV) nature itself is silenced by the lady's playing, and there is also the suggestion of pain in hearing her play, as she pierces to the heart.

PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE

ACT IV

{Enter GOWER.}

GOWER: Imagine Pericles arrived at Tyre,
Welcomed and settled to his own desire.
His woeful queen we leave at Ephesus,
Unto Diana there a votaress.
Now to Marina bend your mind,
Whom our fast-growing scene must find
At Tarsus, and by Cleon train'd
In music, letters; who hath gain'd
Of education all the grace,
Which makes her both the heart and place 10
Of general wonder.
...
Be't when she weaved the sleided silk 21
With fingers long, small, white as milk;
Or when she would with sharp needle wound
The cambric, which she made more sound
By hurting it; or when to the LUTE
She sung, and made the night-bird mute,
That still records with moan; or when
She would with rich and constant pen
Vail to her mistress Dian; still
This Philoten contends in skill 30
With absolute Marina: so
With the dove of Paphos might the crow
Vie feathers white. ...

This dangerous image of the lute did not disappear as the century progressed, and is still present in works like the frontispiece of Adrianus Poirter's 1670 *Lady World*, an allegorical depiction of women's deceit and manipulation of the physical world in which the lute is the dominant symbol.

The implications are obvious, but a subtler message is conveyed in *The Taming of the Shrew*: Hortensio enters disguised as a music teacher and bearing a lute. His encounter with Katherine is disastrous: Katherine breaks the lute over his head, thus breaking the symbol of love and lovers over the disguised suitor's seat of reason.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW
ACT II, SCENE I: Padua. A room in BAPTISTA'S house.

.
{Enter KATHARINA and BIANCA.}

{Enter GREMIO, LUCENTIO in the habit of a mean man;
PETRUCHIO, with HORTENSIO as a musician; and TRANIO,
with BIONDELLO bearing a LUTE and books.}

PETRUCHIO: ... [Presenting HORTENSIO.]
Cunning in music and the mathematics,
To instruct her fully in those sciences,
Whereof I know she is not ignorant:
Accept of him, or else you do me wrong: 60
His name is Licio, born in Mantua.

...

BAPTISTA: A mighty man of Pisa; by report
I know him well: you are very welcome, sir,
Take you the LUTE, and you the set of books;
You shall go see your pupils presently.
Holla, within!

...

{Re-enter HORTENSIO, with his head broke.}

BAPTISTA: How now, my friend! why dost thou look so pale?

HORTENSIO: For fear, I promise you, if I look pale.

BAPTISTA: What, will my daughter prove a good musician?

HORTENSIO: I think she'll sooner prove a soldier
Iron may hold with her, but never LUTES.

BAPTISTA: Why, then thou canst not break her to the LUTE?

HORTENSIO: Why, no; for she hath broke the LUTE to me. 150
I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
And bow'd her hand to teach her fingering;
When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
'Frets, call you these?' quoth she; 'I'll fume
with them:'
And, with that word, she struck me on the head,
And through the instrument my pate made way;
And there I stood amazed for a while,
As on a pillory, looking through the LUTE;
While she did call me rascal fiddler
And twangling Jack; with twenty such vile terms,
As had she studied to misuse me so. 160

PETRUCHIO: Now, by the world, it is a lusty wench;
I love her ten times more than e'er I did:
O, how I long to have some chat with her!

Hortensio chose the lute because of its associations with love and marriage, and the unavoidable conclusion arising from her actions is that his suit is rejected—before he has even had a chance to put it. Katherine's wilful nature was known, so Hortensio made a serious mistake by trying to insinuate himself by *teaching* her the lute ('I did but tell her she mistook her frets' 150). In so doing he was telling her how and what to *feel*, since the lute is the window on the heart. He fails because he is trying to manipulate her emotions instead of expressing his own, or even just attending to her feelings. He could have done with the advice given in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (III:ii): Proteus refers to Orpheus's lute, which could melt hard hearts and tame wildness, making the vicious gentle. It can be employed therefore to turn the heart of a woman to look well upon a man, which is what Hortensio had hoped to achieve by teaching it. He should simply have played to her.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA
ACT III, SCENE II: The same. The DUKE's palace.

.....
{Enter DUKE and THURIO.}

PROTEUS: Say that upon the altar of her beauty
You sacrifice your tears, your sighs, your heart:
Write till your ink be dry, and with your tears
Moist it again, and frame some feeling line
That may discover such integrity:
For Orpheus' LUTE was strung with poets' sinews,
Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
Make tigers tame and huge leviathans 80
Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands.
After your dire-lamenting elegies,
Visit by night your lady's chamber-window
With some sweet concert; to their instruments
Tune a deploring dump: the night's dead silence
Will well become such sweet-complaining grievance.
This, or else nothing, will inherit her.

DUKE: This discipline shows thou hast been in love.

Clearly, the lute has a special association with and for women in England. All that is lacking is an account of the lute by a woman. Such a source does exist, but by the standards of European courtly poetry of the preceding century, it is decidedly restrained. Mary Burwell's lute tutor⁶ was written in the late 1660s, when the lute was a long way down the slope of its decline. Rather than simply copying the words of her teacher, she goes beyond a simple description of playing technique into the magical and affective properties of the instrument. Her words recall the lost golden age of the lute and expound its qualities with an almost desperate intensity. Her terminology and subject matter show an attitude to the instrument that was evident in earlier literature, and is clearly still immediate for her. She describes it as:

... the king of instruments. It maketh alone a consort of music[,] it speaks without any origin and out of dead and dumb things it draws a soul that seems reasonable by the several thoughts and expression that the skilful master makes of his lute upon all kinds of matters and subjects. It is a faithful & commodious companion that watcheth amidst darkness[,] and when the whole nature is in silence it banisheth from it horror and unquietness by pleasing sounds.⁷

The symbolism of her lute as a noble companion, endowed with an emotional life of its own, pervades Mary Burwell's language. It is always gendered as male, often praised as a Prince or King and at times seems to hold the importance of a lover in her life.⁸ Quite apart from these qualities, there were also physical aspects to lute-playing that Mary Burwell is quick to advance:

All the actions that one does in playing of the lute are handsome, the posture is modest free and gallant ... The shape of the lute ... sets [the body] in an advantageous posture.
The beauty of the arm, of the hands and of the neck are advantageously displayed in playing of the lute. The eyes are employed only in looking upon the company. ... Nothing represents so well the consort of angelical choirs and give[s] more foretastes of heavenly joys and of everlasting happiness. For the advantages of marriage how many bachelors and maids have we seen advanced by this agreeing harmony. When persons of both sexes have neither considered wealth nor beauty of the person, but suffering themselves to be drawn by the charms of this sweet melody.
Some hath believed that they should possess an angel incarnate, if they could unite themselves by a marriage to a person that enjoys this rare quality.

⁶In the private collection of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex, England.

⁷The Burwell Lute Tutor, f.43. Spelling, punctuation and capitalization are standardized. Commas are only added to the original text where essential, as their placing can alter the intended meaning. Those that have been added are enclosed in square brackets to differentiate from original punctuation.

⁸'As the lute is the king of instruments so hath it few things that are common with other instruments. Its music and its manner of composing is special to itself[,] and as the human body[,] is like a little microcosm that gathereth and comprehends in itself all that is[,] and all that is fine and rare in music.' The Burwell Lute Tutor (1668-71), f.68v.

... Of all the arts that I know there is none that engages more the inclination of men than the lute. For ravishing the soul by the ear and the eyes by the swiftness and neatness of all the fingers.⁹

This is the crux of the matter for Mary Burwell: the lute was an ideal tool for the seduction of men. Since the lute was associated with sensibility and sex, the obvious corollary is that it came to symbolise marriageability, since musically it represented harmony. Theodor van Thulden's allegory, *Harmony and Marriage* gives the lute pride of place in the hands of 'harmony'. It is easy to view early modern woman's life as one of silence, humility, and passive acceptance of her lot. On the other hand, it is abundantly clear that women were not only far from passive, but actively manipulated their silence to further their needs. Marriage was essential if a comfortable life was to be assured, and those whose lot was uncertain could take steps to provide themselves with a voice to inform their listeners that they could offer something more enduring than physical beauty. Mary Burwell's praise of the lute constantly returns to the ability of the instrument to express feelings, and her paean is emphatic about the importance of playing well to exploit that faculty.

What message is being conveyed then, by men or women *tuning* the lute? Obviously the instrument is out of tune, and the message may lie not so much in the effort to re-tune it as in the implication of discord. The images that involve tuning the lute seem to refer not simply to sex, but also to adultery, if not in deed at least in thought; or perhaps more broadly, disharmony in love, informing us of the subject's state of mind. In Thomas Heywood's play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603),¹⁰ Anne Frankford, the principal female character, is renowned as a fine lutenist (one whose sensibilities are finely communicated and appreciated). When she refers to her fall from grace after her adultery, she calls on that image of the woman with her lute, describing her predicament thus: "We are both out of tune, both out of time" (XVI, 19). When she is banished from her husband's house, she leaves her lute behind—itsself a symbolic act, suggesting that although finer feelings are betrayed with the marital breakdown, she leaves the body of those feelings within her marriage. Her husband, however, discovering the lute 'flung in a corner' declares,

Her lute! O God, upon this instrument
 Her fingers have run quick division,
 Sweeter than that which now divides our hearts.
 These frets have made me pleasant, that have now
 Frets of my heartstrings made. O Master Cranwell,
 Oft hath she made this melancholy wood,
 Now mute and dumb for her disastrous chance,
 Speak sweetly many a note, sound many a strain
 To her own ravishing voice, which being well strung,
 What pleasant, strange airs have they jointly sung.—
 Post with it after her.—Now nothing's left;
 Of her and hers I am at once bereft.

(XV, 13-24)

He requires his servant to remove even the representation of her feelings from his home (and heart): The next scene shows the lute being returned: Anne takes it up to play once again, "My lute shall groan; / It cannot weep, but shall lament my moan." and even the rude servants are moved to pity and compassion by her playing. But then she hands it back to the servant, and directs him:

⁹ The Burwell Lute Tutor (1668-71), ff.43v-45.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Leslie Dunn for bringing this source to my notice, and for her discussion of it at a seminar of the *Shakespeare Association of America*, Chicago, 25 March 1995.

Go break this lute upon my coach's wheel,
As the last music that I e'er shall make—
Not as my husband's gift, but my farewell
To all earth's joy; and so your master tell.

(XVI, 72-5)

Her words are straightforward enough: she cannot enjoy music any longer without the honour of her marriage, and her statement is intended to emphasize her abject regret. The subtext introduced by the lute, though, raises this act to a far more significant level: if a woman could only express her deeper feelings through the instrument, then the destruction of the instrument effectively silenced her forever ("My inward grief / No tongue can utter"); the destruction of the 'body' of the lute also destroys the power of the woman to seduce, so Anne is submitting herself to her husband's domination and making an offering of atonement in so doing ("...and so your master tell"), destroying the cause of her infidelity. The lute becomes the receptacle for Anne's wrongdoing, and is blamed for her actions, relieving Anne of that responsibility.

A broken lute string is a lesser image that can also represent the destruction of marital harmony (it may appear in a brothel scene to suggest that the man is married), but is also used to indicate a state of unease between two parties who may not necessarily be amorously involved.¹¹ In Holbein's *Ambassadors*, for instance, the broken string of the lute may simply represent the uncomfortable relations between England and France, but there may be a subtler message conveyed by the artist's choice of a lute to convey this message: the lute would instantly remind the viewer of love, and Henry VIII's notorious behaviour with Anne Boleyn—the root of one of many bones of contention between the two countries. All the images in this picture speak of the willingness of the two ambassadors to reconcile the differences between neighbours, but none so eloquently as the open lute case, dimly visible on the floor beneath the shelves that hold the other objects.

Just as the lute was the symbol of feelings and inner sensibilities, so the lute-case symbolised the outward appearance or superficial presentation of emotions. In *Much Ado About Nothing* (II:i) Shakespeare employs the lute and its case to symbolise the conflict between the inner person and the public image. The open lute-case in Holbein's painting refers to the willingness of the ambassadors to treat honestly and openly with the English monarch.

The richness and variety of lute emblems must have made it a volatile symbol for the private and chaste player, but one with enormous power. Mary Burwell is too coy when she tells us that any man beholding a woman playing the lute will be instantly captivated by the grace of her body and hands. The message conveyed, even privately, must have been an unmistakable promise of passion, deliberately reinforced by the emotive affect of the music being played. To play the lute to a potential suitor was many things: a form of self-expression, a semi-magical exercise of power, and a deliberate and outspoken erotic invitation: a woman playing a lute is promising sex. Add to this Mary Burwell's assertion of the elegance of the body and the simple beauty of the sound and you have a catch-22: if you remained unmoved you were coarse, if you were moved you were lost. Many men clearly took up the invitation; the ladies, however, often abandoned the lute once they were married and had achieved their goal which was clearly seen by some as entrapment through emotional manipulation.

¹¹ This image is explored in Mary Rasmussen: 'The case of the flutes in Holbein's *The ambassadors*', *Early Music* xxiii (February 1995), 114

There is something unexpected in such consciously manipulative behaviour of an overtly sexual nature. Why should this be surprising? Our experience of early modern poetry and the madrigal should lead us to expect an open attitude to eroticism. That this is being expressed by women is no more surprising than that it is being expressed at all. Women were clearly far from passive or impotent in expressing both their feelings and their desires, and the lute performed the specific social function in this context of advertising their willingness to have sex, and therefore bear children: it was worn as a badge of fertility.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, society was increasingly coming to recognise the worth of a woman who could provide intelligent conversation as well as heirs, and perform useful functions in the household.¹² How then, could a woman demonstrate that she possessed higher sensibilities and emotions in an environment where it would have been immodest to take any lead in these matters? The answer lay in the lute, and as women's exploitation of the corpus of expressive and emotive music grew, so also did their ability to communicate their feelings in an appropriate and acceptable way. A woman could attract attention to herself by surrounding herself with silence while she played, and into that silence she could 'speak' volumes.

Playing the lute was recognised as one of the great accomplishments of the young lady, and many seventeenth-century noblewomen were painted in close association with their instruments.¹³ According to Aubrey's memoir of him, old Dr. Kettle, the President of Balliol College, was utterly captivated by Lady Isabella Rich [plate 4] who wandered about Balliol gardens twangling in full view of the desiccated dons.¹⁴ She was renowned for her skill at the lute, and her portrait reeks of seductive desirability. Edmund Waller's poem about her betrays another helplessly enraptured listener. He also recognises the power and danger of the woman playing the lute. His picture of Lady Isabella is of a Siren, and among his images of power and danger listeners become no more than animals:

OF MY LADY ISABELLA PLAYING ON THE LUTE

Edmund Waller

Such moving sounds, from such a careless touch!
 So un-concern'd her self, and we so much!
 What art is this, that with so little pains
 Transports us thus, and o'er our spirits reigns?
 The trembling strings about her fingers crowd,
 And tell their joy for ev'ry kiss aloud:
 Small force there needs to make them tremble so:
 Touched by that hand, who would not tremble too?
 Here LOVE takes stand, and while she charms the ear,
 Empties his quiver on the list'ning deer:
 Music so softens, and disarms, the mind,
 That not an arrow does resistance find.
 Thus the fair tyrant celebrates the prize,
 And acts herself the triumph of her eyes:
 So NERO once, with harp in hand, survey'd
 His flaming ROME, and as it burn'd he play'd.¹⁵

¹² Castiglione's *Courtyer* states that women are only useful for child-bearing: "the world hath no profit by women, but for getting children". This attitude and the other ideas of the worthlessness of women unless they could bear children is discussed by Nanette Salomon in 'Positioning Women in Visual Convention: The Case of Elizabeth I' *Attending to Women in Early Modern England* ed. Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Cranbury NJ, 1994).

¹³ The Countess of Pembroke, Lady Anne Clifford and Lady Margaret Hoby are also depicted with a lute.

¹⁴ Daughter of the Earl of Holland, b1623, who married Sir James Thynne some time in the late 1630s. Aubrey states that "Our Grove was the Daphne for the Ladies and their gallants to walke in, and many times my Lady Isabella Thynne (who lay at Balliol College) would make her entry with a Theorbo or Lute played before her. I have heard her play on it in the Grove myself, which she did rarely [i.e. unusually well]; for which Mr. Edmund Waller hath in his Poems for ever made her famous." Quoted from Oliver Lawson Dick, ed.: *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (London, 1949), 186.

¹⁵ *The Works of Edmund Waller...published by Mr. Fenton* (London, 1729), 105-106.

Lady Mary Wroth (niece of Sir Philip Sidney) was fêted for her intelligence and subtlety: she was known among her contemporaries as a poetess, but is depicted in her portrait with a more powerful instrument than the pen. Nor is the archlute leaning negligently to one side, or turned coyly away from the viewer as in the naturalistic view of Lady Isabella. Lady Mary's lute is as prominently posed as she is herself, and undoubtedly significant. Its presence tells us that this is a woman of great sensibility and expressive emotional power, just as clearly as her clothing and stance advertise her station, confidence and nobility. Lady Anne Clifford similarly poses with her lute, holding it like a lance, troping one of Hilliard's miniatures of a nobleman. This is a public recognition of the symbolic role of the lute that is just as direct as Mary Burwell's text or Labé's sonnets. None of these depictions are of Ladies *playing* the lute, but all are portraits that feature the lute prominently as a symbol of the personality and sensitivity of the subject. Clearly the emphasis of the message depends on whether the lute is being played or is only a prop, which explains why portraits of noblewomen never show them in the act of playing the instrument, although Lady Isabella's pose is highly suggestive even so.

The two stereotypes seem to be clearly defined: the lute as a metaphor for sex and sensuality or as a metonymic substitution for the expression of complex feelings that could not be adequately or appropriately verbalised. However, these stereotypes merge seamlessly in the majority of situations: the basic erotically-charged image overlaps with the artful manipulation and expression of emotions seen in Labé's poetry and pictures such as *Lady World*, created over a century apart.

That stereotype of female manipulation and sexuality was hardly new, nor was the idea of a woman's power unusual: what is surprising is that such a charged and complex image should have survived so long attached to the lute. The steady rationalisation of the early modern world tried to devolve magical influence from persons to objects, so within a framework of humanistic rejection of superstition it would be natural to try to divorce supernatural control from a person and instead look to some external mechanism for explanation.

The keyboard lacked emotive strength, had no overt sexual imagery, and required the player to turn modestly away from any audience while performing. Its ascendancy during the seventeenth century may have had a great deal to do with its safety as a symbol, and it was increasingly associated with images like Vermeer's *Young Lady standing at the Virginals* (1673-5), where Cupid holding the single playing card of fidelity dominates the scene both spatially and symmetrically. The lute was already 'set up' as a scapegoat for the 'dangerous' woman by the sixteenth century, but by the middle of the seventeenth, because magic was still the only explanation for many events, the metaphorical transfer of power was so complete that the lute had become invested with a life of its own. The logical outcome of that progression was that the lute should decline and eventually become obsolete, its place in domestic life being taken by the keyboard.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta musicologica</i>	<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>AnMc</i>	<i>Analecta Musicologica</i>	<i>M&L</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>AnnM</i>	<i>Annales musicologiques</i>	<i>MEME</i>	<i>Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</i>
<i>CMc</i>	<i>Current Musicology</i>	<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>EMc</i>	<i>Early Music</i>	<i>MR</i>	<i>The Music Review</i>
<i>FAM</i>	<i>Fontes artis musicae</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>	<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>JLSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Lute Society of America</i>	<i>RISM</i>	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>	<i>SIMG</i>	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Lute Society Journal</i> (1959-1978) <i>The Lute</i> (1982-)	<i>TL</i>	<i>The Library</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>The Musical Antiquary</i>		

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