

# THE LUTE IN BRITAIN

A HISTORY OF THE  
INSTRUMENT AND ITS MUSIC

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# Chapter One

## *Introduction*

Contrary to popular belief, the lute was never the natural instrument of the troubadour or trouvère. It does not feature in French or English iconography or literature before the thirteenth century. This introduction traces the appearance of the lute before its arrival in northern Europe. It serves to differentiate, at an early stage, the lute from other popular plucked instruments like the gittern and citole. It is intended to do no more than lay down some general markers on the early history of the lute, a huge subject quite outside the scope of this book.

Plucked string instruments with long thin necks and relatively small bodies are thought to be of considerably greater antiquity than those with short necks.<sup>1</sup> Long-necked lutes are found depicted on Mesopotamian seals dating as far back as the period 2340–2198 BC, and appear in ancient Egyptian iconography.<sup>2</sup> Such ancient long-necked lutes have modern-day descendants in the Turkish saz, the Indian tambura, the Pakistani tanbur, and in many Islamic, African, and Central Asian folk instruments.<sup>3</sup> Short-necked lutes were known in Egyptian times and in classical antiquity. One of the most successful and long-lasting short-necked lutes is the Arabic ‘ūd. The exact origins of the ‘ūd are remote and undocumented, but it has been suggested that it was developed by the Arabs from the Persian barbat during the seventh to ninth centuries, into a form still recognizable as the ‘ūd today.<sup>4</sup> The pre-Islamic Arab lute had a tapering neck and a small body covered in skin.<sup>5</sup> Laurence Picken has suggested that this instrument, in turn, had its origins in the short-necked lute known to the Central Asian Turco-Mongols of the first-century kingdom of Kusanas.<sup>6</sup>

The medieval European lute is closely related to the Arabic ‘ūd, indeed the name ‘lute’ is said to have been derived from the Arabic ‘al ‘ūd’. The word ‘ūd simply means ‘wood’, the material from which the instrument is made. Many instruments were made of wood. The name ‘ūd may have come about through a need to highlight the instrument’s wooden soundboard, so as to distinguish it from instruments

<sup>1</sup> Diana Poulton, ‘The Early History of the Lute’, *JLSA* 20–1 (1987–8), 1–21 at 1.

<sup>2</sup> Harvey Turnbull, ‘The Origin of the Long-Necked Lute’, *GSJ* 25 (1972), 58–66 at 59–60.

<sup>3</sup> Jean L. Jenkins, *Musical Instruments* (Horniman Museum and Library Publication; London, 1970), 73–4.

<sup>4</sup> Henry G. Farmer, ‘The Origin of the Arabian Lute and Rebec’, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (London, 1931), 95–6.

<sup>5</sup> Jenkins, *Musical Instruments*, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Laurence Picken, ‘The Origin of the Short Lute’, *GSJ* 8 (1955), 32–42 at 40.

with fronts made of skin, parchment, or any other material. The centuries after the rise of Islam (c.670) saw a cultivation of the ‘ūd by the Arabs, such that by the tenth century it had inspired long treatises covering tunings, technique, and musical theory.<sup>7</sup> Much work was done by Henry Farmer in the inter-war years on the early Arabic ‘ūd, its origins, and introduction into Europe.<sup>8</sup> Though the subject remains little understood, there has been a recent revival of interest in the area.<sup>9</sup>

A variety of plucked-instrument types which have features in common with the lute can be found in medieval European iconographical sources from the ninth to the twelfth century. Examples are in the Utrecht Psalter, Stuttgart Psalter, and Beatus Apocalypse MSS.<sup>10</sup> However, as Emanuel Winternitz suggested, their ancestry may be connected to the classical kithara, and their descendants are more likely to have been the medieval citole and later the Renaissance cittern than any type of lute.<sup>11</sup> These instruments usually have slender bodies which taper to a bulbous pegbox. The ‘ūd, by contrast, appears in medieval iconography of the thirteenth century as a distinctly larger instrument, with a plump round body, and a bent-back pegbox.<sup>12</sup>

The earliest known ‘ūd player in Europe was Ziryāb, a virtuoso player from Baghdad, whose real name was Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Alī ibn Nāfi‘. He crossed into Al-Andaluz in 821, and entered the service of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (822–52), the Caliph of Córdoba. Ziryāb’s fame preceded him, and the Caliph is said to have ridden out of Córdoba to welcome the musician personally, and paid him 40,000 pieces of gold annually.<sup>13</sup> Moorish power in the Iberian Peninsula gradually declined from its zenith in the tenth century to the final expulsion in 1492 of the Moors from Granada, their last remaining stronghold. During this time Christian courts grew in power and absorbed Moorish lands. Much Arabic influence remained, not least in the music and instruments at the expanding Christian courts.<sup>14</sup>

The famous miniatures in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (c.1260) of Alfonso el Sabio, King of Castile and Leon (1221–84), depict a great variety of instruments

<sup>7</sup> Farmer, ‘The Origin of the Arabian Lute and Rebec’, 88. See also id., ‘The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources’, *PMA* 52 (1925–6), 89–124.

<sup>8</sup> Curtis Bouterse, ‘Reconstructing the Medieval Arabic Lute: A Reconsideration of Farmer’s “Structure of the Arabic and Persian Lute”’, *GSJ* 32 (1979), 2–9.

<sup>9</sup> For recent writings on the subject see Monika Burzik, *Quellenstudien zu europäischen Zupfinstrumentenformen* (Kassel, 1995), and Eckhard Neubauer, ‘Der Bau der Laute und ihre Besaitung nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Quellen des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993), 259–378.

<sup>10</sup> *NL-Uu* 32, Pss. 43, 71, 92, 150; *D-Sl*, Bibl. fol. 23, fo. 125<sup>r</sup>; *GB-Mr* Lat. 8, fo. 89<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London, 1967), 57–65.

<sup>12</sup> For three drawings taken from 12th- and 13th-c. iconography, see Bouterse, ‘Reconstructing the Medieval Arabic Lute’, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Henry G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (London, 1929), 128–30.

<sup>14</sup> Higinio Anglés, *Historia de la música medieval en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1970), 341–54.

played by both Moorish and Christian musicians.<sup>15</sup> Two of the pictures show large-bodied instruments with large bridges and several sound holes. These instruments are recognizable as the *‘ūd* in a form not far removed from that seen today in Arab countries (see Pl. 1.1). In one of these miniatures the *‘ūd* is played together with a rebab, which also is seen in a form little altered from that still found today in parts of the Arab world.<sup>16</sup> In the other miniature, two *‘ūds* are seen together; one is played, and the other held while its owner listens.<sup>17</sup>

The Arabic origin of both the *‘ūd* and rebab may account for their joint depiction, and these two instruments may have formed a common ensemble. The *‘ūd* in this miniature is so large that its near-circular front almost completely obscures the player’s chest, and the neck extends outside the frame of the picture (Pl. 1.1(a)). Nine pegs are depicted, suggesting a five-course instrument with a single top or bottom string, and with the remaining strings grouped in octave or unison pairs. It is plucked by a plectrum held in the right hand. The player’s right arm cradles the instrument from below, and thus supports it.

In the second miniature one *‘ūd* has eight pegs, and the other twelve (Pl. 1.1(b)). There is probably some confusion in these depictions. On both instruments the pegs are not equally distributed on either side of the pegboxes, nor do their numbers tally with the number of strings. On one of the instruments the nine strings that appear are clearly grouped into four pairs with a single string on the bass. According to the ninth-century theorists, the *‘ūd* had four strings corresponding to the four humours of the body. From top to bottom the strings were coloured: yellow for bile; red for blood; white for phlegm; black for melancholy. Ziryāb’s contribution was to add a fifth string, also red, symbolizing the soul, which he introduced between the second and third.<sup>18</sup> It would appear from the Cantigas miniatures that both four- and five-course *‘ūds* were known in thirteenth-century Spain, and that courses were normally paired rather than single. Unfortunately, the miniatures tell us nothing about the backs of the *‘ūds*. All surviving old lutes and *‘ūds* have backs constructed by gluing separate ribs together to form a curved shell. Arab manuscripts from as early as the tenth century show that a ribbed construction was the norm.<sup>19</sup> We must suppose that the early European *‘ūds*, as depicted in the Cantigas miniatures, also had a ribbed back, but we cannot be sure.

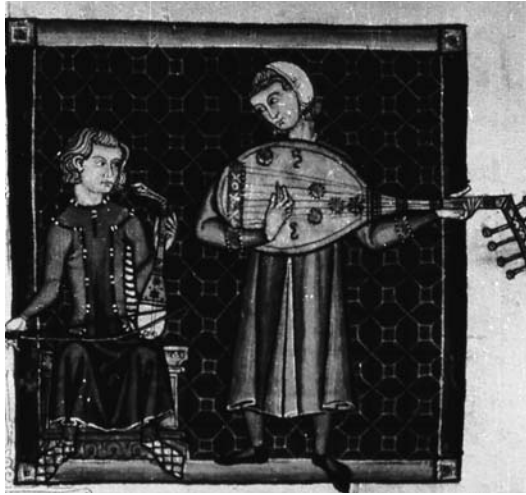
<sup>15</sup> For a facsimile of the original, *E-E* b.I.2, with a critical edition of music and text see Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1943–59). For a study of *E-E* t.I.1 with reproductions of the miniatures see José Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cántigas: estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas* (Madrid, 1949).

<sup>16</sup> *E-E* b.I.2., fo. 162<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *La música de las Cantigas, estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza* (Madrid, 1922); trans. Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell in *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (Stanford, 1929; repr. New York, 1970), 103.

<sup>19</sup> Bouterse, ‘Reconstructing the Medieval Arabic Lute’, 3.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

PL. I. I. Miniatures from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (c. 1260): (a) rebab and 'ūd; (b) two 'ūds; (c) two gitterns; (d) fiddle and citole; (e) citole and oval-bodied lute. El Escorial, Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, MS b. i. 2. Copyright Patrimonio Nacional

Two other important plucked instruments that appear in the Cantigas miniatures are the gittern and citole. Laurence Wright has conclusively shown that the term ‘gittern’ should be applied to the small plucked instrument with a rounded back and sickle-shaped pegbox.<sup>20</sup> The gittern is shown in the Cantigas miniatures with a body which merges into the neck (suggesting a single-piece carved construction), leading to a sickle-shaped pegbox terminating in a bulbous crest or carved head (Pl. 1.1(c)).<sup>21</sup> Like the ‘ūd, the gittern is of Arabic origin.<sup>22</sup> It is fortunate that a mid-fifteenth-century gittern by Hans Ott has survived.<sup>23</sup> Ott was active in Nuremberg from 1434 to 1463, during which time the instrument was probably produced (Pls. 1.2, 1.3). It seems that by the mid-fourteenth century the lute and gittern were an established ensemble in Italy.<sup>24</sup>

According to Wright the term ‘citole’ should be applied to the instrument that Winternitz has identified as having its origin in the classical lyre or kithara, and its descendant in the Renaissance cittern.<sup>25</sup> This instrument would appear to have been carved from a solid piece of wood, and is depicted in medieval iconography in several shapes. One such shape has been likened to a holly-leaf. Winternitz has suggested that the ‘wings’ of the holly-leaf shape developed from the kithara’s yoke, and that they persist in a vestigial form on the cittern. The citole is depicted in three Cantigas illustrations. In the picture of King Alfonso with his court, two citole players appear on one side opposite two fiddle players on the other.<sup>26</sup> In a later miniature the combination of fiddle and citole reappears (Pl. 1.1(d)), and in a further depiction the citole is played alongside an instrument with an oval belly, a sickle-shaped pegbox, and a neck that is thin and quite long relative to the body length (Pl. 1.1(e)).<sup>27</sup>

The citole’s period of most common use in Europe was from 1200 to 1350.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the lute and gittern, it is not thought to be of Arabic origin, although it was popular in fourteenth-century Spain. We are fortunate that a magnificently carved English citole survives. According to Mary Remnant it should be dated *c.* 1300–40.<sup>29</sup> This instrument was altered to carry a violin neck and strings at a later stage, but its original body form is intact. Both the surviving gittern and citole have carved

<sup>20</sup> Laurence Wright, ‘The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity’, *GSJ* 30 (1977), 8–42.

<sup>21</sup> *E-E* b.I.2, fo. 104<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Wright, ‘The Medieval Gittern and Citole’, 11.

<sup>23</sup> For a description and photograph see Friedemann Hellwig, ‘Lute-Making in the Late 15th and the 16th Century’, *LSJ* 16 (1974), 24–38. The instrument today forms part of the Wartburg Stiftung, Eisenach (Cat. no. KH 50).

<sup>24</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, ‘St Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy’, *Musica disciplina*, 38 (1984), 25–65 at 43.

<sup>25</sup> Wright, ‘The Medieval Gittern and Citole’, 23; Winternitz, *Musical Instruments*, 57–65.

<sup>26</sup> *E-E* b.I.2, fo. 29<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 39<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Wright, ‘The Medieval Gittern and Citole’, 24.

<sup>29</sup> Remnant calls this citole ‘the Warwick gittern’. Mary Remnant, ‘The Gittern in English Medieval Art’, *GSJ* 18 (1965), 104–9; Mary Remnant and Richard Marks, ‘A Medieval Gittern’, in *Music and Civilization: The British Museum Yearbook*, 4 (1980), 83–134 at 101.



PL. I.2. The Hans Ott gittern. Wartburg  
Stiftung, Eisenach (Cat. no. KH 50)



PL. I.3. Detail of the rose of the Hans Ott gittern

backs. This feature, which we must assume to be the norm for gitterns, citoles, and many other medieval stringed instruments, sets them apart from the *ʿūd* and lute of ribbed construction. That no medieval lute survives may be due to the fragility of ribbed construction, and the instability of glue in the often cold and wet conditions of Europe.

The oval-bellied, long-necked lutes appear elsewhere in the *Cantigas* miniatures<sup>30</sup> and in other iconography of the period. They may have a variety of belly shapes and pegbox constructions, but all have long necks. Such instruments no doubt developed from the ancient Mesopotamian instruments mentioned at the outset, which have plentiful modern descendants in Arabic and Asian countries. It is also possible that such long-necked lutes were known in fourteenth-century

<sup>30</sup> *E-E* b.I.2, fos. 125<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>.



France as the 'guiterne moresche'.<sup>31</sup> Long-necked instruments, while maintaining a presence in southern Europe, seem never to have been popular in the north.

Other instruments besides the 'ūd and gittern were also successfully introduced to Europe via the Arab world from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The shawm, another import from north Africa, had, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, become the basis for the dance-band ensemble of loud or 'haut' instruments found throughout Europe. The nakers were similarly successful as percussion instruments. These instruments of Arabic origin immensely enriched the stock of instrumental colours and techniques open to medieval musicians. Once introduced they were adapted in response to the rise of polyphonic music in the later Middle Ages. By the fourteenth century lutes in central and northern Europe were clearly different from the 'ūds seen in thirteenth-century Spanish iconography.

<sup>31</sup> Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern and Citole', 10–11. The Spanish term occurs in a poem of c.1330 by Juan Ruiz, where the Moorish gittern is differentiated from the Latin gittern. Guillaume de Machaut's two poems 'La Prise d'Alexandrie' and 'Remède de Fortune' mention the 'morache', probably the long-necked lute by another name.

## Chapter Six

### *The Lute in Consort*

there was an excellent princely maske brought before hir [the Queen] after supper, by Mayster Goldingham, in the Privie Chamber; it was of gods and goddesses, both strangely and richly apparelled . . . Then entred a consorte of musicke; viz. sixe musitians, all in long vestures of white scarcenet gyrded aboute them, and garlands on their heads, playing very cunningly.

Bernard Garter, *The Ioyful Receyving of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578)

The great majority of surviving lute pieces from England are for the solo lute, yet this may not reflect the lute's common use, and its role as a consort and accompaniment instrument may be no less significant. During the Middle Ages it was mainly used to play single lines, and combination with another instrument or instruments, or a voice or voices, may have been the norm. Once technique had changed to allow a single player to add a harmonic support to the melody line, the lute became a leading solo instrument. Solo music apart, the instrument's new capacity to play chords and polyphonic lines enhanced its suitability as an accompaniment instrument. Indeed the lute, in the form of the theorbo or archlute, was still in use for this purpose until the eighteenth century, long after solo music had ceased to be composed in Britain.

Within a consort of instruments the lute could either play a melodic line (with limited sustain) or provide chordal support—or a combination of both. The use of the lute as a single-line melody instrument did not stop at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when, by discarding the plectrum and plucking directly with the fingers, harmonic and contrapuntal play became possible. A substantial and important repertoire of duet and mixed-consort music survives from the 1570–1610 period, which makes a feature of fast and agile single-line diminutions or divisions. Certain Stuart masques required massed lutes, up to forty according to one account. Some masque musicians designated 'treble lutes' may still have been using this type of play as late as the 1630s.

English sources of lute music of the period preserve a repertoire of over eighty duets (see Table 6.1). There is an obvious division of the pieces into two categories: the 'treble-and-ground duet' and the 'equal duet'.<sup>1</sup> In most treble-and-ground

<sup>1</sup> Lyle Nordstrom, 'The English Lute Duet and Consort Lesson', *LSJ* 18 (1976), 5–22. See also Richard Newton, 'English Duets for Two Lutes', *LSJ* 1 (1959), 23–30.

duets one lute repeats a simple harmonic ground that may be anything from two to thirty-two bars in length. Grounds are normally a progression of homophonic chords with little melodic or rhythmic interest. Over this part the other lute plays a single-line melody, producing varied divisions for as many times as the ground is repeated. While there are a number of such duets in which both parts are relatively simple, the form normally involves the contrasting of a simple chordal ground with a more difficult single-line melody.

Table 6.1. *Principal English lute duets 1570–1625*

*Note:* Not included are the few Continental duets that appear in English sources, or grounds for which no matching trebles have been found. Titles have been standardized.

Title	Composer	Main sources (t = treble, g = ground)
TREBLE AND GROUND		
Chi Passa	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 7 <sup>v</sup> –8 <sup>r</sup> (t); Marsh, pp. 151–3 (t)
Dump, no. 1	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fo. 3 <sup>v</sup> (t&g); Marsh, pp. 144–5 (t&g), Add. 31392, fo. 22 <sup>v</sup>
Dump, no. 2 (Queen's Treble)	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 4 <sup>r</sup> –3 <sup>v</sup> (t); Schele, pp. 138–9 (t); Pickeringe, fos. 8 <sup>v</sup> –9 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Folger, fos. 6 <sup>v</sup> –7 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Add. 38539, fos. 4 <sup>v</sup> –5 <sup>r</sup> (t); Königsberg, fos. 61 <sup>v</sup> –62 <sup>r</sup> (t&g), Brogyntyn, p. 7 (g)
Goodnight	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 15 <sup>v</sup> –16 <sup>r</sup> (t); Marsh, pp. 26–7, 158–60 (t); Willoughby, fos. 3 <sup>v</sup> –5 <sup>v</sup> (t&g); Brogyntyn, p. 7 (g); Dallis, p. 16 (g)
The New Hunt is Up	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 13 <sup>v</sup> –14 <sup>r</sup> (t); Trumbull, fos. 15 <sup>v</sup> –16 <sup>r</sup> (t); Welde, fos. 13 <sup>r</sup> –14 <sup>r</sup> (t); Marsh, pp. 183–6 (t&g)
Rogero	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fo. 1 <sup>r</sup> (t); Mynshall, fos. 3 <sup>v</sup> (t); Trumbull, fo. 25 <sup>v</sup> (t&g); Dallis, p. 92 (g)
The Short Almain, no. 1	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fo. 10 <sup>v</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fos. 13 <sup>v</sup> –14 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
The Short Almain, no. 2	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 9 <sup>v</sup> –10 <sup>r</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fo. 14 <sup>r</sup> (g)
Trenchmore	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 12 <sup>v</sup> –13 <sup>r</sup> (t); Welde, fos. 11 <sup>v</sup> –12 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Marsh, pp. 139–41 (t&g)
Wakefield on a Green	John Johnson	Dd.3.18, fos. 11 <sup>v</sup> –12 <sup>r</sup> (t); Marsh, pp. 146–8 (t&g)
The Queenes good Night	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , p. 13 (t&g)
Twenty waies upon the bells	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , p. 14 (t&g)
Passemezzo Galliard	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , p. 21 (t&g)

Title	Composer	Main sources (t = treble, g = ground)
The Sharp Pavan	Richard Allison	Pickeringe, fos. 11 <sup>v</sup> -12 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Folger, fos. 17 <sup>v</sup> -18 <sup>r</sup> (t); Add. 38539, fos. 5 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>r</sup> (t); Trumbull, fo. 17 <sup>r</sup> (g)
Spanish Measures	Richard Allison	Board, fos. 4 <sup>v</sup> -5 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
The Spanish Pavinge	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Dd.3.18, fos. 14 <sup>v</sup> -15 <sup>r</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fos. 10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
The Marygolde	Ellis Lawrey	Dd.3.18, fo. 23 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
Passymeasures Galliard	John Danyel	Dd.3.18, fos. 62 <sup>r</sup> -63 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
Short Almain	Francis Cutting	Dd.3.18, fo. 59 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Galliard	Robert Askue	Dd.9.33, fo. 88 <sup>v</sup> (t)
Fortune my Foe	?John Dowland	Dd.9.33, fo. 89 <sup>r</sup> (t)
The Leaves be Green	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 17 <sup>v</sup> (t); Dd.9.33, fos. 63 <sup>v</sup> -64 <sup>r</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fos. 14 <sup>v</sup> -15 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
The Flatt Pavan	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 21 <sup>v</sup> (t); Trumbull, fos. 17 <sup>r</sup> -19 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Galliard to the Flatt Pavan	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 22 <sup>r</sup> (t)
The Honsok/Hunts Up	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 4 <sup>v</sup> (t); Board, fos. 2 <sup>v</sup> -3 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Folger, fos. 3 <sup>v</sup> -4 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Trumbull, fos. 1 <sup>v</sup> -2 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
Sellenger's Round	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 5 <sup>r</sup> (t), Marsh, p. 182 (t); Thysius, pp. 442-3 (t)
Greensleves	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 8 <sup>v</sup> -9 <sup>r</sup> (t); Folger, fo. 5 <sup>r</sup> (g)
Cara Cosa	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Marsh, pp. 162-3, 165 (t)
Passemeasures Galliard	Anon. (?J. Johnson) <sup>a</sup>	Marsh, pp. 154-6 (t&g)
Dump	Anon. (?J. Johnson) <sup>a</sup>	Marsh, pp. 150-1 (t&g)
Dump	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 71 <sup>v</sup> -72 <sup>r</sup> (t); Thistlethwaite, fo. 2 <sup>r</sup> -3 <sup>r</sup> (t); Schele, p. 16 (t)
Passemeasures Pavan	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 1 <sup>v</sup> -2 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Marsh, pp. 142-4 (t); Mynshall, fos. 2 <sup>v</sup> -3 <sup>r</sup> (t); Ballet, p. 85 (g)
Galliard to the Passemeasures	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fo. 2 <sup>v</sup> (t)
The French Galliard	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Marsh, pp. 148-9 (t)
Go Merely wheele	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 40 <sup>v</sup> -41 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Dump (Bergamasca)	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Add. 38539, fo. 5 <sup>r</sup> (t); Board, fo. 1 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
Green Garters	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 23 <sup>v</sup> -24 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Callinoe	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fo. 3 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Quadro Pavan	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fos. 5 <sup>r</sup> -6 <sup>r</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fos. 9 <sup>v</sup> -10 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Trumbull, fos. 10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Quadro Galliard	Anon. (?J. Johnson)	Dd.3.18, fos. 6 <sup>v</sup> -7 <sup>r</sup> (t); Pickeringe, fos. 8 <sup>r</sup> 12 <sup>v</sup> -13 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Trumbull, fos. 11 <sup>v</sup> -12 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Dump	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fos. 6 <sup>r</sup> -7 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Robin is to the Greenwood	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fo. 11 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Passemezzo Galliard	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fos. 41 <sup>v</sup> -42 <sup>r</sup> (t)

Table 6.1. *cont.*

Title	Composer	Main sources (t = treble, g = ground)
Passemazzo Pavan	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fos. 42 <sup>v</sup> -43 <sup>v</sup> (t)
The Galliard	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fos. 43 <sup>v</sup> -44 <sup>r</sup> (t)
The Bodkin	Anon.	Dd.3.18, fo. 44 <sup>r-v</sup> (t)
Greensleeves	Anon.	Folger, fo. 5 <sup>r</sup> (t&g); Mynshall, fo. 3 <sup>r-v</sup> (t)
?Dump	Anon.	Add. 31392, fo. 22 <sup>r</sup> (t&g)
Rogero	Anon.	Marsh, p. 39 (t); Dallis, p. 92 (g)
A Treble	Anon.	Marsh, pp. 156-7 (t)
A Treble	Anon.	Ballet, pp. 85-6 (t)
Hart Opressed	Anon.	Mynshall, fo. 2 <sup>r</sup> (t)
John Come Kiss Me Now	Anon.	Welde, fos. 10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>r</sup> (t)
Malt's Come Down	Anon.	Dd.9.33, fo. 89 <sup>v</sup> (t)
Mounsiere Alman	Anon.	Dd.9.33, fos. 53 <sup>v</sup> -54 <sup>r</sup> (t)
A Treble	Anon.	Add. 38539, fo. 6 <sup>v</sup> (t)
PIECES THAT CAN BE PLAYED AS DUETS ON LUTES A FOURTH APART (s = superius, b = bassus)		
Lady Rich's Galliard	John Dowland	Königsberg, fo. 21 <sup>r</sup> (s&b)
Philips Pavin	Peter Philips	Dallis, pp. 82-3 (s&b)
In Nomine Pavan	Nicholas Strogers <sup>b</sup>	Dallis, p. 81 (b); Trumbull, fos. 16 <sup>v</sup> -17 <sup>r</sup> (s); Hirsch, fo. 2 <sup>v</sup> (s)
In Nomine Galliard	Nicholas Strogers	Dallis, pp. 93-4 (s&b); Trumbull, fo. 6 <sup>r</sup> (s); Hirsch, fo. 3 <sup>r</sup> (s), Dd.9.33, fo. 60 <sup>v</sup> (s)
Chi Passa	Anon.	Willoughby, fos. 83 <sup>v</sup> -85 <sup>r</sup> (s&b)
EQUAL DUETS		
Flat Pavan	John Johnson	Pickeringe, fos. 4 <sup>v</sup> -5 <sup>r</sup> (I&II); Trumbull, fo. 15 <sup>r</sup> (II)
Galliard to the Flat Pavan	John Johnson	Pickeringe, fos. 5 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>r</sup> (I&II)
La Vecchia Pavan	John Johnson	Pickeringe, fo. 4 <sup>r</sup> (I); Ballet, p. 45 (I); Wickhambrook, fo. 14 <sup>r</sup> -15 <sup>v</sup> (I&II); Brogyntyn, pp. 28-9 (II)
La Vecchia Galliard	John Johnson	Pickeringe, fo. 4 <sup>r-v</sup> (I&II); Wickhambrook, fo. 16 <sup>r</sup> (I&II); Brogyntyn, p. 29 (II)
Galliard	John Johnson <sup>c</sup>	Brogyntyn, p. 17 (II)
A Plaine song	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , pp. 18-19 (I&II)
A Fantasie	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , pp. 22-3 (I&II)
A Toy	Thomas Robinson	<i>Schoole of Musicke</i> , pp. 26-7 (I&II); Sampson, fo. 12 <sup>v</sup> (II)
An allman/Eccho	John Marchant/ Francis Pilkington	Sampson, fo. 11 <sup>v</sup> (II); Brogyntyn, p. 31 (I)
A Fancy	John Marchant	Hirsch, fo. 6 <sup>v</sup> (I); Brogyntyn, p. 15 (II)
A Fancy	John Marchant	Thistlethwaite, fos. 77 <sup>v</sup> -78 <sup>r</sup> (I)

Title	Composer	Main sources (t = treble, g = ground)
Lord Chamberlaine's Galliard	John Dowland <sup>d</sup>	<i>First Booke</i> , sig. L2 <sup>v</sup> (I&II); Dd.9.33, fo. 90 <sup>r</sup> (I&II)
Lord Willoughby's Welcome home	John Dowland	Sampson, fo. 11 <sup>v</sup> (II); Folger, fo. 9 <sup>v</sup> (I)
Now oh now/Frog Galliard	John Dowland <sup>c</sup>	Königsberg, fo. 21 <sup>r</sup> (II)
Pavan	Richard Reade <sup>e</sup>	Dd.3.18, fos. 54 <sup>v</sup> –55 <sup>r</sup> (I); Dd.3.18, fo. 54 <sup>r</sup> (II)
Pavan	Richard Reade <sup>e</sup>	Dd.3.18, fo. 55 <sup>r</sup> (I); Dd.3.18, fo. 54 <sup>v</sup> (II)
Pavan	Richard Reade <sup>e</sup>	Dd.3.18, fo. 56 <sup>r</sup> (I)
De la Tromba Pavan	Richard Allison	Pickeringe, fos. 6 <sup>v</sup> –8 <sup>r</sup> (I&II); Sampson fos. 10 <sup>v</sup> –11 <sup>r</sup> (II); Brogyntyn, pp. 26–7 (II)
Go From My Window	Richard Allison	Add. 2764(2), fo. 9 <sup>v</sup> (II)
A Fancy for 2 lutes	John Danyel <sup>f</sup>	Sampson, fo. 11 <sup>r</sup> (I)
Drewries accorde	Anon.	Pickeringe, fo. 6 <sup>v</sup> – <sup>r</sup> (I&II); Ballet, pp. 48–9 (I&II); Brogyntyn, p. 30 (II)
La Rosignall	Anon.	Pickeringe, fo. 8 <sup>r</sup> – <sup>v</sup> (I&II); Board, fo. 6 <sup>r</sup> (I)
A Merry Mood	Anon. <sup>f</sup>	Sampson, fo. 12 <sup>r</sup> (I)
An Almayne	Anon.	Sampson, fo. 3 <sup>r</sup> ; Folger, fo. 2 <sup>v</sup> (I&II)
Duncomb's Galliard	Anon. <sup>f</sup>	Sampson, fo. 12 <sup>v</sup> (I)
Galliard	Anon. <sup>d</sup>	Trumbull, fo. 32 <sup>v</sup> (I&II)
Galiard for 2 lutes/ Squires Galliard	Anon. <sup>c</sup>	Sampson, fos. 12 <sup>v</sup> –13 <sup>r</sup> (II)
Battel for 2 lutes	Anon. <sup>g</sup>	Pickeringe, fos. 52 <sup>v</sup> –54 <sup>r</sup> (I&II)
Alpha Pavan	Anon. <sup>c</sup>	Brogyntyn, p. 13 (II)
De la Trumba Galliard	Anon. <sup>c</sup>	Brogyntyn, pp. 27–8 (II)
Galliard after La Vecchia	Anon.	Ballet, pp. 46–7 (I&II)
Pavan to Delight	Anon. <sup>h</sup>	Folger, fos. 14 <sup>v</sup> –15 <sup>r</sup> (I); Brogyntyn, p. 13 (II)
Galliard	Anon. <sup>f</sup>	Trumbull, fo. 33 <sup>v</sup> (I)

<sup>a</sup> Ground on a lute tuned a fourth below.

<sup>b</sup> The Dallis bassus may be unrelated to the surviving superius.

<sup>c</sup> Lute II only.

<sup>d</sup> For two to play on one lute.

<sup>e</sup> For 2 orpharions tuned a fifth apart plus consort?

<sup>f</sup> Lute I only.

<sup>g</sup> Lutes a tone apart.

<sup>h</sup> Duet part that fits the solo version by John Johnson in Folger.

Trebles are ideally suited to the right-hand thumb-and-forefinger technique. This technique developed from plectrum playing, and such treble parts can be, and may have been, played using a plectrum.<sup>2</sup> This type of duet is older than the equal duet, which may have developed from it. The repertoire consists of many more duet trebles than equal duets (53 to 23).<sup>3</sup> Most treble-and-ground duets are sets of variations over a ground, but there are a number which are pavans, galliards, or some other popular dance form in which one lute ‘descants’ with fast divisions. Duet trebles were evidently very popular in the 1570s and 1580s, and connect with the large amount of solo lute music also based on grounds in sources like the Willoughby and Marsh manuscripts. It may be that some of this early solo music, such as the *Dump Philli* in the Marsh manuscript, developed in imitation of the effects and texture of a treble-and-ground duet.

The equal duet, by contrast, involves near equal technical difficulty for both players, and the sharing of musical responsibilities for melody and accompaniment. Some equal duets produce a treble-and-ground texture, in which the single-line melody is passed from player to player. While one player ‘descants’, the other accompanies with chords. Many of such ‘alternating style’ duets are based on tripartite dances (pavans, galliards, almans). A number of easier equal lute duets correspond to the lighter jigs and toys of the solo repertoire. These pieces, whether bipartite, tripartite or longer, consist of short answering phrases where the melodic material is passed from player to player, and is either reiterated exactly, or in a slightly altered form. This repetition of material can follow after a phrase is finished, or more quickly as an ‘echo’ effect, or as the type of canonic imitation known in the sixteenth century as ‘reports’. These pieces connect with the considerable body of Renaissance duo material for two trebles. As with Morley’s duets, such *bicinia* often had a pedagogical purpose.

Lute-duet trebles were produced in countries other than England in the sixteenth century. In Italy single-line trebles were composed and published throughout the century from Spinacino (1507) and Dalza (1508) to Galilei (1584) and Terzi (1593).<sup>4</sup> A variety of types of equal duets were published in Italy from Joannes Matelart’s duet arrangements of fantasias by Francesco da Milano (1559) to the early seventeenth-century canzonas and toccatas by Melli (1614–20) and Piccinini (1623).<sup>5</sup> In general the emphasis in these equal duets is on the improvement in

<sup>2</sup> The use of a plectrum in connection with lute duets may have continued into the 17th c., as the engraving by Jacob Cats in *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* (1618) shows a plectrum on the smaller of the two lutes in the picture.

<sup>3</sup> The only study dedicated to the English lute duet is Jeffrey Alexander’s ‘The English Lute Duet, 1570–1610’ (MA thesis, University of Nottingham, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolatura de lauto* (Venice, 1507); Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabolatura de lauto* (Venice, 1508); Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo: Dialogo* (Venice, 1584, rev. edn., 1584); Giovanni Antonio Terzi, *Intavolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1593).

<sup>5</sup> Joannes Matelart, *Intavolatura de leuto* (Rome, 1559); Pietro Paolo Melli, *Intabolatura di liuto Libri I–V* (Venice, 1614, 1616, 1616, 1616, 1620); Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di liuto et di chitarrone* (Bologna, 1623).

definition of musical ideas made possible with two lutes. Canonic imitation and echo effects are much clearer with two sound sources. Equal-duet music was published in quantity outside Italy in the sixteenth century, notably by the Antwerp publisher Phalèse, and in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century by the anthologists Adriaenssen, Van den Hove, and Besard. Later, in the Baroque period lute duets re-emerged with the French *contrepartie*—a piece composed for a second lute to combine with an existing lute solo in the manner of the Matelart/Milano pieces. There are some instances of this type of piece in the English repertoire—Dowland's 'Lord Wilobies Welcome home' is an example—but they are rare. Duets were still being produced in some quantity by the last generation of eighteenth-century German lutenist-composers.<sup>6</sup>

English sources suggest that the fashion for lute duets was strong in the years 1570–1610, but that duets were played well into the 1620s. The vogue was at its peak in the twenty years from 1570 to 1590, slightly before the most productive period for English solo lute music. The sixteenth-century combination of two lutes, one descanting and the other providing a simple accompaniment, must connect with the fifteenth-century combination of virtuoso lute or gittern performer with an

Table 6.2. *Principal sources of English lute duets*

Source	Number	Comments
Dd.3.18	43	35 trebles, only 3 of which have grounds attached. Of the 10 presumed equal duet parts, only two are complete and some may be consort parts
Marsh	15	All duet trebles, a few with grounds
Pickeringe	14	7 equal; 7 treble and ground
Brogynryn	16	6 grounds; 10 equal duet parts
Trumbull	10	7 trebles, 5 with grounds; 2 lute-duet parts; 1 duet for two to play on one lute
Sampson	8	All equal duets, only one of which is complete
Folger	8	3 equal (only one of which is complete); 4 trebles (2 of which have grounds); one ground without treble
Ballet	7	4 equal duets (2 complete); 1 treble and ground; 2 grounds without trebles
<i>Schoole of Musicke</i>	6	3 trebles with grounds; 3 equal duets
Board	5	4 trebles (2 with grounds); 1 equal-duet part
Mynshall	5	4 trebles all without grounds; 1 equal-duet part

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Gottlieb Baron, 'Courante', *US-NYp* JOG 72–29, fasc. xiii; Leopold Sylvius Weiss, '4 Partien für zwei Lauten', *D-Dlb* MS Mus 2841/v/i; Joachim Bernhard Hagen, 'Konzert für zwei Lauten und Violine', *D-As* MS Tonkunst Schl. 290, fasc. ii, iii; Adam Falkenhagen, 'Duetto F-Dur für 2 Barocklauten', *D-As* MS Tonkunst Schl. 290, fasc. iii.



accompanimental 'tenorista'. This practice was well documented in Italy and may have been widespread in Europe. The combination must have been known in England well before the 1570s, from which point manuscript sources survive that contain duets.

The earliest English duet repertoire is quite sophisticated and reflects a developed genre. Possibly there was a written repertoire prior to 1570 that has not survived. More likely, the repertoire was the preserve of professionals able to improvise (or compose and memorize) descants over a simple accompaniment such as a well-known tenor or a stock chord progression. As the harmony was slow moving it gave time for the improviser to think. As professionals evolved from illiterate minstrels to trained musicians, so improvisation gave way to studied compositions committed to paper. The elaborate trebles of John Johnson in manuscripts of the 1570s and 1580s would be examples of this latter type. With the increasing number of good amateur players and the increased use of tablature and manuscript circulation of music, so the equal duet developed and technical demands became more moderate. Thomas Robinson may be referring to the descanting style of the 1570s and before when, in *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), Timotheus the lute teacher berates the earlier generation of lute players, saying:

for in older times they strove (onelie) to have a quick hand upon the Lute, to runne hurrie hurrie, keeping a Catt in the gutter upon the ground, now true then false, now up now downe, with such painfull play, mocking, mowing, gripeing, grinning, sighing, supping, heaving, shouldring, labouring, and sweating, like cart lades, without any skill in the world, or rule, or reason to play a lesson, or finger the Lute, or guide the bodie, or know any thing, that belongeth, either to skill or reason.

One basic difference between English duets of the 1570–1610 period and Continental duets is that English duets, with few exceptions, are for two identically pitched instruments.<sup>7</sup> A far greater proportion of Continental duets are for lutes of different pitches. Two of the Matelart/Francesco duets are for unison lutes; the rest, like many of the pieces published by Besard, Melli, and Piccinnini, are for instruments a tone apart. There are vihuela duets by Valderrábano that call for instruments a third, fourth, and fifth apart as well as at the unison.<sup>8</sup> Duets for lutes a fourth apart were particularly popular and would suit a treble and mean lute, or mean and bass. The large collection published by Heckel (1562) is for lutes a tone or a fourth apart, and Phalèse's 1552 set is for lutes at the unison, fourth, and fifth.

<sup>7</sup> The exceptions are found in the Marsh, Dallis and Pickeringe MSS. The Willoughby MS contains three solo settings of the 'Qui passa', two of which (nos. 7 and 36) can be played by two lutes a fourth apart, according to a footnote in the MS.

<sup>8</sup> Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547), Libro IV.

The existence of lutes of different sizes in the sixteenth century is well documented. A good number of Renaissance bass lutes survive, many of them recycled as theorbos in the seventeenth century. Lutes of different sizes were played together as trios and quartets. Surviving plucked trio and quartet music in tablature spans the period from 1564, the date of Pacoloni's large collection for three lutes (to which Viaera added ad lib cittern parts, 1564),<sup>9</sup> to the anonymous suite published in 1645 entitled 'Conserto Vago' for lute, theorbo, and a small 4-course guitar.<sup>10</sup> The Thysius manuscript contains thirteen quartets for lutes in which pre-existing pieces are arranged for lutes of different sizes.<sup>11</sup> Music for two or more lutes, or for a number of lutes and voices, is an important ingredient of many of the Continental anthologies listed in Table 7.2. The opening two sections of Besard's *Novus partus* (1617) are devoted to music for three concerted lutes, the first of which also requires two or more other instruments or voices. The collections of Fuhrmann and Van den Hove also contain some lute duets.<sup>12</sup> Visual evidence is found in the anonymous French painting *Le bal des noces du duc de Joyeuse* (1581–2), in which a consort of four lutes provides court dance music.<sup>13</sup>

Adriaenssen's three books have sections devoted to concerted music for two to four lutes in various combinations.<sup>14</sup> In all lute-ensemble music, the upper lutes play divisions and are most active, while the lower parts are more functional and have a harmonic role. Adriaenssen's approach to arranging vocal music for a lute quartet at the nominal pitches *a'*, *g'*, *e'*, and *d'* is quite straightforward. The soprano, alto, and tenor lutes play the soprano, alto, and tenor lines in their upper voices and all play the bass line in their lowest voice. The bass lute plays the bass part an octave lower and has the tenor in its upper part. Chords are filled out as required and melodic embellishments are normally given to the upper parts.

Concerted lutes were heard in England. Court accounts of the 1570s and 1580s occasionally mention lutenists as being of 'the three lutes'. John Johnson received his place 'in the room of Anthony de Counte, deceased, one of the musicians for the three lutes'.<sup>15</sup> This mention is a surprise, as until 1579 only one place (that of Anthony County) is specified as a lutenist. We could interpret the accounts as saying only that there were three lutenist places, and not that there was an ensemble

<sup>9</sup> Giovanni Pacoloni, *Longe elegantissima excellentissimi musici . . . tribus testudinibus ludenda Carmina* (Louvain, 1564); Frederic Viaera, *Nova et elegantissima in Cythara ludenda Carmina* (Louvain, 1564). Viaera provides a number of cittern pieces that can be played with Pacoloni's trios.

<sup>10</sup> Anthony Rooley and James Tyler, 'The Lute Consort', *LSJ* 14 (1972), 13–24.

<sup>11</sup> Todd Lane, 'The Lute Quartets in the Thysius Lute Book', *JLSA* 22 (1989), 28–59.

<sup>12</sup> Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo gallo-germanica* (Nuremberg, 1615), 130–2; Joachim Van den Hove, *Florida* (Utrecht, 1601), fos. 72<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, Louvre, inv. 1817. There are several versions of this painting.

<sup>14</sup> In *Pratum musicum* (Antwerp, 1584) these sections are for: two lutes and three voices (fos. 40<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup>–58<sup>r</sup>), three lutes (fos. 46<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>), four lutes and four voices (fos. 49<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>), two lutes and four voices (fos. 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>, 61<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> *RECM* vi. 124.

known as ‘the three lutes’. Was there a court consort of lutes in existence by 1579? Accounts would confirm that there was, and the number of places was never fixed at three. Holman goes further and states that they were called ‘of the three lutes’, not because there were three players, but because the group used three different sizes of lute.<sup>16</sup> This is indicated in accounts which specify the size of lute used by particular players within the consort.<sup>17</sup> Mathias Mason, who was appointed at the same time as Johnson, was also mentioned as a ‘musician for the 3 lutes’.<sup>18</sup> Walter Pierce’s appointment in 1589 also specifies that he belonged to the group.<sup>19</sup> The warrant for Pierce’s appointment contains the last mention of the group in royal accounts, and the appointment of Edward Collard to Johnson’s place in 1599 makes no mention of the three lutes.

The consort of lutes did not die out at this stage but was expanded in the early seventeenth century. Robert Johnson and Philip Rosseter were both referred to in payments for strings for the bass lute, and in 1615 Johnson was ‘one of the consorte of Lutes’.<sup>20</sup> In the 1630s the group was called ‘his Ma[jes]tes fower Lutes’. The group may have got bigger again, as John Coggeshall was paid for supplying strings for ‘the four lutes and theorba’ in 1629 and 1630. In 1632 and 1633 he was responsible for ‘provyding & maynteyning of his Ma[jes]tes Fower Lutes wth Stringes at all tymes of their meetings & practises’.<sup>21</sup> Outside court William Cavendish employed enough lutenists to make a lute consort a reality and purchased ‘three bookes for three lutes’. On one occasion Cavendish paid Lord Dudley North’s men who ‘played on three lutes’, suggesting another lute consort outside court.<sup>22</sup>

As for extant English lute music for concerted lutes we have only the title and one part of the piece ‘Replete for three lutes’ in the Brogyntyn manuscript.<sup>23</sup> The Dallis lute book contains a piece that can be played by four lutes, ‘Era di maggio’, and one for five lutes, ‘Pavan si vous’.<sup>24</sup> The Dallis pieces are far from convincing. The parts of the eight-bar ‘Pavan si vous’ are written one below the other down the five tablature stave lines. The second, third, and fourth lines are marked ‘Sup’, ‘Tenor’, and ‘Bassus’ and the first line is almost identical to the second. The parts could be played by lutes at nominal pitch  $g'$ ,  $g'$ ,  $d'$ ,  $c'$ , and ‘ $a$ ’. Robinson promised, in his address to the reader in *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), to follow it up with a book which included ‘lessons for one, two and three Lutes’, if the *The Schoole of Musicke* was well received. This he never did.

<sup>16</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 226–7.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Johnson and Philip Rosseter were at different times players of the bass lute; *RECM* iv. 87–8, 101.

<sup>18</sup> *RECM* vi. 126.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 145.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 87–8, 98, 101, 109.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 54, 57, 141, 146; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 227.

<sup>22</sup> Hardwick MS 29, entry for Jan. 1616. See Hulse, ‘Hardwick MS 29’, 66.

<sup>23</sup> Brogyntyn MS, 18–19. For a reconstruction see Davies, ‘Replete for Three Lutes’.

<sup>24</sup> Ward and Music 200, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College’, 20.

The small amount of surviving English material for three or more lutes is all of inferior quality and in some cases may be reworkings of solo material in different keys, rather than music intended to be played together. The lack of source material may be because lute trios of this period performed duet material repertoire with a simple bass lute part added, rather than three independent parts. The trios in Hume's 1607 book can be played this way. It is certainly easy to concoct a bass lute part for most existing duets, and this transforms the sound into a richer and more balanced texture.

At court massed lutes were a feature of Stuart masques. Twelve lutes seems to have been a standard number for Jacobean masques, though *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611) involved two groups of twelve lutenists, and twenty were organized by Robert Johnson for *Oberon* (1611). Their main role was to accompany vocal music but, as in *Hymenaei* (1606), the massed lutes did also accompany dancers.<sup>25</sup> A set of three pieces composed for the 1607 Lord Hayes Masque by Thomas Campion survive in arrangements for mixed consort in Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort* (1609). The pieces were published by Campion himself in *The Description of a Maske* (1607) in versions for voice or voices, lute, and bass viol.<sup>26</sup> The first piece, 'Move Now', was originally performed as follows:

the foure *Silvans* played on their instruments [given on sig. B2 as 'two bearing meane Lutes, the third a base Lute, and the fourth a deepe Bandora'] the first straine of this song following: & at the repetition thereof the voices fell in with the instrumentes which were thus devided, a treble and a base were placed neare his Majestie, and an other treble and base neere the grove, that the words of the song might be heard of all.<sup>27</sup>

The resulting sound must have been familiar to the Stuart court and many others across Europe.

Table 6.1 shows that the English lute-duet repertoire is dominated by one man, John Johnson, and that while there are over twenty sources of English duets, only a handful of sources contain much of the music. Thomas Robinson's six finely crafted duets—three equal duets and three duet trebles—stand somewhat apart, as they were printed, and like Robinson's solo lute pieces, they do not appear to have circulated much in manuscript. The only other printed duet is Dowland's 'My Lord Chamberlaine his Galliard', 'an invention by the said Author for two to play upon one Lute'.<sup>28</sup> It is a good piece presented in a novel way, and allows the possibility of an intimate embrace between the two players. A similar two-on-one-lute duet is found in the Trumbull manuscript.<sup>29</sup> The idea was later copied by Hume in his 'Lesson for two to play upon one Viole'.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640* (Oxford, 1996), 150–1.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske* (London, 1607), nos. II, III, V.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. C2.

<sup>28</sup> John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (London, 1597), sig. L2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Trumbull MS, fo. 32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres* (London, 1605), no. 111.

Of the lute-duet manuscript sources listed in Table 6.2 three are pre-eminent: Dd.3.18, Marsh, and Pickeringe. A further six manuscripts are important: Brogyntyn, Folger, Sampson, Trumbull, Board, and Ballet.<sup>31</sup> Dd.3.18 contains 109 compositions, including thirty-six duet trebles. Nordstrom suggests that Dd.3.18 was started earlier than the solo books in Holmes's hand as a collection of duet trebles, and that it was continually added to over a period of some twenty years.<sup>32</sup> Nordstrom divides the book into twelve sections, six of which contain trebles. The twelve sections are divided into those that contain mostly: consort lute parts; a mixture of duet trebles and consort parts; solos; equal duets; pieces for three orpharions. Most of the duet trebles in the opening section of the manuscript are either by John Johnson or are attributed to him by Nordstrom. Among the pieces in the second section is a unique treble by Ellis Lawrey entitled 'The Marygolde'.<sup>33</sup> Most of the trebles lack grounds, probably because they were so simple and well known. Lawrey's piece has its ground as it is more extended than most. The last sections with trebles include pieces by Cutting and Danyel. Many of the trebles in Dd.3.18 are unique. Of those for which concordances can be found, the Dd.3.18 versions are generally the most complete, and sometimes contain sections which are either absent or incorrect in other sources.

Like the earlier sections of Dd.3.18, the Marsh manuscript also dates from the 1580s, and contains many treble duets and no equal duets. Of the fifteen duet trebles, eight are by Johnson (including two versions of 'Goodnight'), and a further five are attributed to him by Nordstrom. All the eight Johnson pieces are found in some form in Dd.3.18, and some four of the possible Johnson pieces are unique to the Marsh manuscript. The Marsh manuscript contains a number of grounds for the bandora. Certainly the instrument was used as an alternative to a second lute to accompany lute trebles. Eleven of the trebles are placed together in one section of the manuscript.

The Pickeringe lute book probably dates from after 1600, and opens with a balanced group of seven equal duets and seven treble-and-ground duets. The selection of treble-and-ground duets contains popular favourites of an older generation. None is unique and none is excessive in length or technical demands. The book begins with the less antiquated equal duets, the first four of which are probably by Johnson, and all of which appear to have achieved some degree of popularity, to judge by manuscript concordances. In several cases the two parts cannot both be played together from the manuscript as they are written on different openings. Most probably this collection of fourteen pieces was copied as an entity from a friend's or a teacher's book. One senses that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the

<sup>31</sup> Lyle Nordstrom, 'The English Lute Duet', 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', 73.

<sup>33</sup> Dd.3.18, fo. 23<sup>r</sup>.

lute duet was no longer a form that interested lutenist-composers. Useful in teaching, it had become the preserve of the amateur.

Two Willoughby manuscript 'Qui passas' in different keys carry the note 'these tow qui passas agre one tow lutes the one set foure notes above the other'. The line alerts the player to the possibility of performing two solos based on the same ground as a duet on lutes a fourth apart.<sup>34</sup> The practice of creating duets, or possibly even trios, out of the simultaneous playing of different versions of standard grounds is lent support in the line in Holborne's *The Citharn Schoole* (1597) where he states, 'I have conioyned the most usuall and familiar grounds of these our times, for consort or thine owne private selfe'.<sup>35</sup> Here the support of the bass viol is particularly needed as the cittern's tuning makes it impossible for it to play the bass line properly.

John Johnson's influence on the English lute duet cannot be overestimated. His duets were still being played and circulated decades after his death. Nordstrom, in his study of Johnson's duets, lists sixteen attributed pieces, and identifies a further sixteen that on stylistic grounds are likely to be by him.<sup>36</sup> Nordstrom's seven points of style characteristic of Johnson are: idiomatic use of all the resources of the lute; the exploration of the instrument's full range from the lowest notes on the sixth course to the highest note on the top string ( $g''$ ); the preference for the high frets on the lowest three courses to contrast the octave stringing of these courses with the unison stringing of the upper courses; echo effects at the octave; cross-relations; triplets towards the close; extended sets of divisions. The trebles of 'Green Garters', the 'Short Almain 1', and 'The New Hunts Up' are long and virtuosic, and may reflect the material played by the royal lute consort. Example 6.1 exemplifies some of Johnson's points of style, particularly the exploitation of the full range of the lute (bar 49 descends to the lowest note on the lute, bar 62 ascends to the highest), echo effects (bars 49, 50, 63), and cross-relations (bars 55–6). It is interesting that the sources of this piece disagree on how to notate the two highest notes in bar 62. Dd.2.11 and the Marsh manuscript have them as 'm' and 'l'; the Welde manuscript as 'n' and 'l'; the Trumball manuscript as 'n' and 'm'. I believe they all imply the pitches  $g''$  and  $f''$  and that the confusion resulted from the fact that added frets on the belly of the lute to facilitate these notes had yet to be invented at the time of composition.

No identifiable composer other than Johnson contributed significantly to the genre of the treble-and-ground duet. Stylistically Johnson's pieces are more diverse, varied, and less predictable than those of any other. Richard Allison's two

<sup>34</sup> Willoughby MS, nos. 36 and 37 for  $g'$  and  $d'$  lutes, fos. 83<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Anthony Holborne, *The Citharn Schoole* (London, 1597), Preface to the Reader. I am grateful to Stewart McCoy for this suggestion.

<sup>36</sup> Lyle Nordstrom, 'The Lute Duets of John Johnson', *JLSA* 9 (1976), 30–42.

EX. 6.1. 'The New Hunt is Up' (fourth variation of nine), (a) treble from Dd.3.18, fo. 13<sup>v</sup>;  
(b) ground from Marsh MS, p. 186, bars 48-63

(a) 50

Musical score for part (a) showing treble and bass staves with lute tablature. The treble staff contains a melodic line in 3/8 time. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The lute tablature is written on a six-line staff below the bass staff, with letters 'a', 'r', 'e' indicating fret positions.

(b)

Musical score for part (b) showing treble and bass staves with lute tablature. The treble staff contains a melodic line in 3/8 time. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The lute tablature is written on a six-line staff below the bass staff, with letters 'a', 'r', 'e' indicating fret positions.

Musical score for part (a) continuation showing treble and bass staves with lute tablature. The treble staff contains a melodic line in 3/8 time. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The lute tablature is written on a six-line staff below the bass staff, with letters 'a', 'r', 'e', 'f', 'g', 'h', 'l', 'g' indicating fret positions.

Musical score for part (b) continuation showing treble and bass staves with lute tablature. The treble staff contains a melodic line in 3/8 time. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The lute tablature is written on a six-line staff below the bass staff, with letters 'a', 'r', 'e' indicating fret positions.

55

h k g h k k h g k h h l g h l g h f e h f h e f h

e e f e r e e e e

f a r e a r e f r e f e r a e a r e f e a r e a r e a r e

f a a a a a a a a a a a



EX. 6.1. *cont.*

60

1.

1. Tablature letters altered to *n m n* as in the Trumbull MS. fo.15<sup>v</sup>.

surviving duet trebles exist in versions for mixed consort. The 'Sharp Pavan' achieved some popularity, but it is conceivable that the Allison duets, like others in the repertoire, are anonymous arrangements of existing pieces for mixed consort or solo lute.<sup>37</sup> The Pickering version of Allison's 'Sharp Pavan' may suggest this in the manuscript note 'the treble to the pavinge of allasons'.<sup>38</sup> Robinson's modest trebles are pedagogical in purpose, and two are fully fingered for the left hand.<sup>39</sup> By 1603 when Robinson produced his book the genre may have seemed archaic, and suitable more for developing technical proficiency rather than musical expression.

The link with teaching is even stronger with equal duets. Many of the lighter duet pieces such as 'La rosignoll', 'An Allman/Eccho', and 'A merry moode' are simply exercises in 'reporting style'. In these pieces the alternation of roles between the two lutes of treble and accompaniment is rapid, and the musical material is swapped with little or no alteration. In 'An Allman/Eccho' the alternation of material is every two or four bars (see Ex. 6.2). Even the few fantasias for lute duet follow this pattern. Equal-duet pieces make excellent pedagogical exercises, as the pupil is able to copy the articulation and phrasing of the teacher.

The English duet repertoire is closely related to that of the mixed consort. Many pieces exist in versions for both combinations, and many of the sources that contain duets (Dd.3.18, Marsh, Folger, and Trumbull manuscripts in particular) also have lute-consort parts. Nordstrom put forward the plausible theory that the duet treble of the 1570s and 1580s gave rise to the consort lesson.<sup>40</sup> According to this theory the potential monotony of the ground was relieved by alternative instrumentation. The Marsh manuscript contains bandora grounds. Further instruments could join in—the bass viol on the bass line and the treble viol with a melody on top. With a larger ensemble, bipartite and tripartite dances were found to be more suitable, as the parts then had two or three sections of different material instead of one, and the lute could vary the sections by playing treble-line divisions on the repeats of each section.

Further expansion of the ensemble occurred with the addition of the cittern to supplement the harmonic framework supplied by the bandora, and the flute to play an inner part sounding an octave higher than written. The use of the flute in this way was known in France as early as the 1530s, and may well have been known in England. The lute then made the crucial move from doubling the soprano line in its upper part to playing a second inner line. In its mature form the music of the mixed consort can be divided into four parts. The soprano line is taken by the treble viol and the bass by the bass viol. Inner parts are taken by the flute and the lute

<sup>37</sup> *The Solo Lute Music of Richard Allison*, ed. John Robinson and Stewart McCoy, with a biographical sketch by Robert Spencer (Lute Society, Oldham, 1995), p. iii.

<sup>38</sup> Pickering MS, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke*: 'The Queenes good Night'; 'Twenty waies upon the bells'.

<sup>40</sup> Nordstrom, 'The English Lute Duet'.

EX. 6.2. 'An Almain/Eccho' for two lutes by Francis Pilkington/Mr Marchant: (a) Lute 1, *Brogynntyn*, p. 31; (b) Lute 2, *Sampson MS*, fo. 11<sup>v</sup>, bars 15–20

(a)

(b)

20

25

1.

30

1. All the notes in this bar have been editorially altered to match the *Sampson* MS part.

(with its own supporting harmonies on the opening statements of the multi-partite dances, and divisions on the repeats). The cittern and bandora add rhythm and harmonic support, with the bandora doubling the bass with its bottom line.

Characteristic of the mature style of mixed consort pieces is the contrasting of different instrumental groupings. This is especially so in the last section of pavans and galliards where the lute and treble viol often answer each other in 'reporting style'. Nordstrom's contention is that this answering or echoing between pairs or groups of instruments is then mimicked in the equal duet. Thus the answering devices of so many equal duets developed out of the imitation found in mixed consort music. Possible examples of consort lessons being rearranged as equal-lute duets are 'Duncomb's Galliard', 'Squires Galliard', and the 'De La Tromba Pavan'. Where pieces exist in arrangements for several different genres the process of interactive development is difficult to disentangle and may only be guessed. Examples of this are Johnson's 'Flat Pavan' and Allison's 'De la Tromba Pavan', which exist in versions for solo lute, duet lutes, and for mixed consort.

John Johnson's 'Flat Pavan' is a fascinating example. Possibly the earliest form of this piece was the solo version in C minor as it exists in early sources (Giles Lodge and Dallis). It was from this that the treble-and-ground version in F minor probably developed, of which only the treble survives. These two forms were probably in circulation by the early 1580s.<sup>41</sup> The piece was expanded into a consort lesson in G minor by 1588 as the Walsingham consort books include the piece, and it was referred to in Anthony Munday's *A Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588), where one of his verses was to be 'sung after the note of the flat Pavin, which is playd in Consorte'. Probably the earliest consort version had the lute part following the tune, and such a lute part exists in the Folger manuscript.<sup>42</sup> At some point an alternative lute part developed within the consort arrangement, with the lute playing a line more independent of the tune.<sup>43</sup> Finally an equal-duet version developed in F minor that incorporated elements of the consort piece.<sup>44</sup> Surprisingly, an alternative treble-and-ground duet version appears in the Trumbull manuscript in G minor, which Nordstrom suggests could be played within the context of the consort.<sup>45</sup> (See Ex. 6.3.)

Nordstrom points to the 'De La Tromba Pavan' as a seminal piece. The piece takes its name from the trumpet-like answering phrases between viol and lute in the last section. A plausible line of development might have started with composition as a mixed-consort piece in the 1580s in the version found in the Cambridge and Walsingham part-books. An alternative to the treble viol part is provided in Dd.3.18, so that the answering is now between a pair of lutes within the consort.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Solo versions in Giles Lodge, Dallis, Dd.2.11, and Euing; treble in Dd.3.18.

<sup>42</sup> Folger MS, fo. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Trumbull MS, fo. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Trumbull MS, fo. 15<sup>r</sup>, Pickeringe MS, fos. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Nordstrom, 'The English Lute Duet', 15.

<sup>46</sup> Dd.3.18, fos. 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>.

This version is then the basis for a lute duet in which the trumpet calls are passed from one lute to another. The final version as published by Morley follows not the original consort version, but the lute-duet version, now with answering returned to lute and viol. Tromba effects are found in the final section of three of the Richard Reade pavans (nos. 2, 7, and 9), and it may be that Reade and his Oxford circle developed this technique with a didactic purpose in mind.

Ex. 6.3. Comparison of versions of the 'Flat Pavan' by John Johnson, bars 1-4: (a) solo version from Dallis MS, p. 92; (b) duet version, Pickeringe MS, fos. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>; (c) consort version from Walsingham consort books (bandora part from the Browne MS) with lute part from Folger MS, fo. 10<sup>r</sup>, and an alternative lute part from Trumbull, fo. 10<sup>r</sup>

(a)

(b)

(c)

Ex. 6.3. *cont.*

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piece in G minor, 3/4 time. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble and a bass line with some chords. The second system features a more active treble line and a bass line with rhythmic patterns and some chords. The third system shows a simpler treble line and a bass line with chords. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f'.

There are four surviving sets of part-books for the English mixed consort which are purely instrumental: two in manuscript and two published. (See Table 6.3.) The fact that the two manuscript collections are earlier than the published ones may reflect the shift in the period 1580–1600 from the consort being associated with aristocratic private entertainments to association with waits and theatre musicians. Of the manuscript sources the Walsingham part-books are probably the earlier of the two, as two pieces are dated 1588.

Four books from the Walsingham set survive, and are marked ‘for the treble viol’, ‘for the flute’, ‘for the cittern’, and ‘for the base viole’. The cittern book is in Mills

The Lute in Consort

(c) Treble Viol (reconstructed)

Flute

Lute

Alternative Lute

Cittern

Bandora

Bass

Detailed description: This page contains a musical score for a consort of lute-like instruments. The score is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. It features seven parts: Treble Viol (reconstructed), Flute, Lute, Alternative Lute, Cittern, Bandora, and Bass. The Treble Viol part is a simple melody of quarter notes. The Flute part has a similar melody with some grace notes. The Lute part is more complex, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a figured bass line below it. The Alternative Lute part consists of block chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The Cittern part also features block chords in the right hand and a simple bass line. The Bandora part has a more active bass line with eighth notes. The Bass part provides a simple harmonic foundation with quarter notes.



Ex. 6.3. *cont.*

This musical score is for a lute consort, consisting of six parts. The notation is arranged in three systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef). The first system includes a lute part with a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, and a bass line with a similar pattern. The second system continues the lute part with a melodic line and a bass line with a similar pattern. The third system features a lute part with a melodic line and a bass line with a similar pattern. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'a'.

Table 6.3. *The sources of English mixed-consort music*

## A. PART-BOOK SETS

## Walsingham Consort Books (1588)

Treble viol: Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University, MS DDHO/20/1

Flute: Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University, MS DDHO/20/2

Bass Viol: Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University, MS DDHO/20/3

Cittern: Mills College, Oakland, California

## Cambridge Consort Books (c.1588–92)

Bass viol: *GB-Cu* Dd.5.20

Cittern: *GB-Cu* Dd.14.24

Lute: *GB-Cu* Dd.3.18

Recorder: *GB-Cu* Dd.5.21 (also contains some parts for flute and some for violin)

Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599)

Flute: *GB-Och* Mus 805 (olim K.4.19)

Cittern: *GB-Ob* Douce MM.410

Bandora: *GB-Och* Mus 806 (olim K.4.20)

Bass viol: *GB-Lbl* K.1.i.21

Philip Rosseter, *Lessons for Consort* (1609)

Cittern: *GB-Lcm* II.E.43 (lacking sig.C4)

Lute: *GB-Ob* Mus 157 b.I (fragments only)

Flute: *US-NYp* Drexel 5433.5

Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1611)

Flute: *GB-Lbl* K.1.i.7

Treble viol: *GB-Lcm* II.E.40 (copy also in *US-NYp*)

Bandora: Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

## B. LUTE AND BANDORA SOURCES CONTAINING CONSORT PARTS

Ballet: 1 lute consort part

Board: 1 lute consort part

Folger: 2 consort parts

Euing: 1 consort lute part

Schele: 2 consort lute parts

Königsberg: 2 bandora and 2 lute consort parts

Trumbull: 2 lute consort parts

Browne: 35 bandora consort parts

Dd.9.33: 1 lute consort part

Sampson: 1 lute consort part

College, Oakland, California, and was available to Beck and his predecessors in the field, but the find by Gwilym Beechey of the other three books in the 1960s greatly increased the surviving repertoire. The Walsingham books list thirty-four consort pieces copied out by what is now generally agreed to be the young Daniel Bacheler's elegant and remarkably error-free hand (see above, Pl. 5.2*b*). Bacheler was working

as a page and apprenticed musician in the household of Sir Francis Walsingham in 1588. Two of the pieces mentioned in the contents list do not appear in any of the four books, and some pieces are present in only some of the books. Seven titles in the books refer to members of the Walsingham family—Sir Francis himself, Lady Walsingham his wife, and Lady Frances Sidney (the daughter who had been married to the poet and national hero, Sir Philip Sidney, from 1583 until his death at Zutphen in 1586).

The seven surviving consort pieces by Bacheler are found only in the Walsingham books.<sup>47</sup> As there is no lute book to the collection, and his pieces are all *unica*, we cannot be sure what Bacheler's lute writing for the mixed consort was like. In reconstructing the lost lute parts Warwick Edwards follows the style of Richard Allison, as he says Bacheler adopts 'many of the textures used by Allison'.<sup>48</sup> A further piece, 'The Lady Francis Sidney's Goodnight', is ascribed to Bacheler in the Walsingham books, but in the Morley consort collection and the Browne manuscript (formerly Braye Bandora and Lyra-Viol manuscript) it is ascribed to Richard Allison and called 'Response Pavan'. The confusion over this title and attribution, and the fact that the Walsingham collection contains thirteen out of the surviving total of eighteen consort pieces composed or set by Allison, has led to the suggestion that Allison and Bacheler worked together at this time, and that Allison may have also been attached to the Walsingham household.<sup>49</sup> Edwards goes so far as to suggest that Bacheler may have filled in the 'rhythm' parts to Allison's 'Response Pavan'.<sup>50</sup>

The other manuscript set, the Cambridge part-books copied by Mathew Holmes in Oxford in the years 1588–97, is discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to solo-lute music and duets. There is every indication that the consort books of the set were at least in part produced for the purpose of teaching the Christ Church choristers instrumental skills. Ian Payne's work on instrumental teaching provision at English cathedral churches makes it clear that the sixteenth-century letters patent of some cathedral organists included responsibility for the teaching of choristers, and perhaps other boys from the grammar schools, to play musical instruments. By the late sixteenth century this responsibility was often delegated to specially qualified lay clerks.<sup>51</sup> At Christ Church, Mathew Holmes, as precentor, had responsibility for all the singing; but another individual, the *informator*, was responsible for their general instruction, which included learning instruments. One of those who had this role

<sup>47</sup> Warwick A. Edwards, 'The Walsingham Consort Books', *M&L* 55 (1974), 209–14.

<sup>48</sup> *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Warwick A. Edwards (MB 40; London, 1977), p. xviii.

<sup>49</sup> Allison, *The Solo Lute Music*, p. viii.

<sup>50</sup> Edwards, 'The Walsingham Consort Books', 214.

<sup>51</sup> Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 134. There is some evidence that at Ely lutes and other plucked instruments were involved. The will of Edward Watson (1587), an Ely lay clerk, and possibly also the choristers' teacher of instruments, includes 'al my books for the Citteren, virginals, bandora or lute'.

while Holmes was at Christ Church was the singing man John Mathew.<sup>52</sup> Mathew's 1602 probate inventory included eleven lutes valued together at £3 6s. 8d., and a chest of viols at £4.<sup>53</sup> These were cheap lutes even for the time and surely must have served for pedagogical purposes. I would suggest that Holmes was not just the scribe who prepared the books for the boys, but also selected the pieces, helped in their arrangement, and maintained the books. It may also be that he took the consort books with him to Westminster in 1597 with the intention of using them with the choirboys there.

The four surviving books are for cittern, bass viol, recorder, and lute; the bandora and violin books are missing. The cittern book is also important as a source of solo cittern music.<sup>54</sup> The recorder book has two pages of pieces labelled 'treble violan'. These pieces, accidentally copied into the wrong book, plus the several pictures of mixed consorts using violins, is the sum total of evidence for a violin being used instead of a treble viol, though Holman argues that the term 'viol' includes violin and viol.<sup>55</sup> The fact that this book is specified as 'the recorder parte' is the only instance among the sources for the replacement of the usual flute by the recorder. In some pieces a flute part is present as an alternative to the recorder. The Walsingham flute book calls for an instrument with a nominal range from *d* to *c'*. Most of the pieces could be played by a bass flute (lowest note *g*) at the written pitch, or by a tenor (lowest note *d'*) sounding an octave higher than written. Such a flute may be indicated by the moderately sized flutes in the pictures. A comparison of the flute part clefs used by Morley, Rosseter, and in the Walsingham books (alto and tenor), and that of the Cambridge recorder book (treble), plus the octave displacement that is discernable in concordant pieces, suggests that the Cambridge recorder book was for a tenor recorder. The octave displacements were to keep the recorder in its more unobtrusive lower range.<sup>56</sup>

Among the pieces in Holmes's four consort books there are quite a number for which parts are absent for one or more of the instruments, and in several pieces, for example 'Alysons Pauen', only the lute part survives. This may suggest that not all the pieces were for the full consort of six. The lute book (Dd.3.18) contains some sixty possible consort parts in addition to the duet trebles. As no lute book survives from the other sets, apart from the Bodleian Rosseter fragments, and consort lute parts from solo sources are few and often poor, this book is of vital importance to our knowledge of mixed-consort music. The book supplies lute parts to many of the pieces in the other collections, and the models for those that have to be reconstructed. Apart from the consort lute parts with no other surviving parts, there are

<sup>52</sup> My thanks to Ian Harwood for passing this information on to me.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Fleming, 'Some Points Arising from a Survey of Wills and Inventories', *GSJ* 53 (2000), 301–11 at 301.

<sup>54</sup> Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 137–41. Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', 97–100.

<sup>55</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 136–7.

<sup>56</sup> Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', 79.

pieces that may be duos or trios, and some lute parts that are simply repeated in the manuscript.

Of the four sets, the Holmes consort books contain the greatest diversity of piece types. The most frequently attributed composer is Richard Reade. Reade's attributions in Dd.3.18 includes twenty-four consort pieces, and four duets which, from comments in the book, appear to be intended for a trio of three wire-strung instruments (orphanions are mentioned), doubled by viols. Though no third tablature exists to expand these duets into trios, the third part may have been included in the lost bandora book.<sup>57</sup> Reade, a Christ Church singing man, received his B.Mus. degree on 7 July 1592. As he is never given this title by Holmes, it has been suggested that all the consort pieces attributed to him, and indeed most of Holmes's consort collection, were put together in the years 1588–92.<sup>58</sup> It seems that Holmes's meeting with Reade, together with the fact that Reade was evidently prepared to provide and arrange music for mixed consort, was the spur that got the Christ Church mixed consort project launched. Reade was evidently considered something of an expert on instruments as he was one of the appraisers of the will of Robert Mallet in 1612. Mallet combined being manciple of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, with being an instrument maker with a specialization in wire-strung instruments.<sup>59</sup>

Morley's *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* of 1599 is arguably the most influential source of the genre. It was reprinted in 1611, eight years after Morley's death, in a 'newly corrected and enlarged' edition published by John Brown, which argues strongly for its commercial success.<sup>60</sup> The title-page of the 1599 edition acknowledges the lessons were 'made by divers exquisite Authors', and that they were 'Newly set forth at the coast & charges of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for divers others his frendes which delight in Musicke'. None of the 'divers exquisite Authors' are named, but in his dedication to the Lord Mayor, Morley says the lessons are 'some few fruites of perfection of the most perfect men in their quality'. He says also that he has kept the composers' best interests at heart '... whose works that I might not abase in devoting them to a meane patron, nor abuse the workers in ioyning them discordes for their true descant'. Morley is at pains to say how carefully he has prepared the pieces, '... and not to disgrace my care and travaile, which at the instant request of my very good friend have beene very carefull, trully to set them out'.

It was suggested by Dart and Beck that the 'Gentleman' who paid the printing expenses was Richard Allison.<sup>61</sup> Robert Spencer rejects this idea for a number of

<sup>57</sup> Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', 95.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 77.

<sup>59</sup> Fleming, 'Some Points Arising', 302. Mallet's 'workhouse' held some furniture and '4 Orphanions, 5 Citternes whereof one in a case, 2 citternes unfinisht, a flatback lute & case, 2 chists, working tooles, with divers lumber', valued together at £5. 4s. 4d.

<sup>60</sup> Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 30.

<sup>61</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons Collected by Thomas Morley 1599–1611*, ed. Sydney Beck (New York, 1959), 2; Thurston Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons of 1599', *PRMA* 74 (1947–8), 1–9.

reasons. Allison claimed the right to call himself a gentleman through inheritance, but was by his own admission 'a poore man'. He had been apprenticed to (or had served in the household of) Sir Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick before 1589/90, and was not the dedicatee of Morley's *First Booke*.<sup>62</sup> Even if Allison was not Morley's sponsor, his musical contribution to the work outweighs that of any other. The first edition contained twenty-three pieces, five of which were by Allison, and the 1611 edition a further two new pieces, both by Allison. Five of these pieces, 'De La Tromba', 'Allisons Knell', 'Go from my window', 'The Batchelor's Delight', and 'Response Pavin', are among the most weighty and elaborate of the twenty-five, especially so in the case of the last two from the 1611 book. These pieces are different from the rest of the collection in that they were probably conceived first for mixed consort, rather than arranged from originals for other media.

The rest of the pieces in *The First Booke* appear to be either Morley's arrangements of existing works by known composers, Dowland (5), Byrd (2), Phillips (2), Nicolas Strogers (1); popular pieces (like 'Lavolto' and 'La Coranto'); popular songs arranged by Morley; or rearrangements of existing pieces by Morley. Among the songs is 'O Mistresse Mine', the melody of which is attributed to Morley, but which appears in a keyboard arrangement in *FVB* attributed to Byrd.<sup>63</sup> This melody is traditionally linked with verses from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, though this has been challenged. The Shakespeare link with this setting started and maintained much of the interest in the mixed consort earlier in the last century, and attracted sponsorship for Beck's 1959 edition of *The First Booke*. 'Joyne hands' is a reworking of Morley's three-voice canzonet, 'See, mine own sweet jewel'. 'Sola Soletta' is an arrangement of a popular Italian madrigal by Girolamo Conversi 'Englished' to the words 'When al alone my bony love was playing'.<sup>64</sup>

In general Morley places the larger and more difficult pieces among the first twelve items in the *First Booke*, and then progresses to the simpler and more popular ones. The two Allison pieces added to the 1611 edition as numbers 24 and 25 are elaborate and far from simple. The cittern and bass viol books survive only from the 1599 edition. Apart from the lost lute book, copies of the other books (treble viol, bandora, and flute) survive from both editions. About a third of the pieces in *The First Booke* may be completed with lute parts from Holmes's manuscripts (mainly Dd.3.18), including five of Allison's seven.

Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort* (1609) has survived least well of all the sets.<sup>65</sup> Only the flute book has the complete twenty-five lessons. The cittern book has lost sig. C4 which contains nos. 22–5. Of the lute part, six fragments (from C2, D1, D2) have

<sup>62</sup> Allison, *The Solo Lute Music*, pp. ix, x.

<sup>63</sup> *FVB*, no. lxvi.

<sup>64</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck; see critical notes, 181–94.

<sup>65</sup> Ian Harwood, 'Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort* of 1609', *LSJ* 7 (1965), 15–23.

been recovered; C2 from a book binding in 1971. These turned out to contain parts of nos. 5–9. Referring to Morley's set, Rosseter says in his epistle to the reader that:

The good successes and francke entertainment which the late imprinted Set of Consort bookes generally received, hath given mee incouragement to second them with these my gatherings; most of the Songs being of their inventions whose memorie onely remaines, because I would be loth to rob any living men of the fruit of their owne labours, not knowing what private intent they may have to convert them to their more peculiar use. The Authours names I have severally prefixt, that every man might obtaine his right; And as for my industry in disposing them, I submit it to thy free censure.

In naming the authors Rosseter distances himself from Morley, who did not do so. Rosseter claims credit only for the arrangements of 'these flowers gathered out of diuers Gardens, and now by mee Consorted and divulged for the benefit of many'. Three of the pieces are by Rosseter himself. The other authors he names are: Allison (4), Anthony Holborne (4), Morley (3), John Baxter (2), Thomas Lupo (2), John Farmer (2), Dr Thomas Campion (1), Edmund Kete (1). Rosseter mentions in the epistle quoted above that most of the authors were dead by 1609. This is the clearest indication we have that Allison, who is last heard of in 1606, had died by 1609.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the loss of so much of the musical material from Rosseter's collection, both Harwood and Edwards working separately were able to reconstruct a majority of the lessons.<sup>67</sup> Like Morley's book, the pieces are a selection of dance-types, vocal music adaptations, and popular-tune arrangements. The book contains none of the newer dance forms (corantos or voltes), but does contain consort versions of two masque dances and a masque song. While it is difficult to make an assessment based on so little material, it seems that the collection contains fewer of the more elaborate pieces, such as those by Allison in the other sources, and includes more adaptations of popular tunes and songs. It also includes galliards that are musically related to 'Allisons Knell' and 'De la Tromba' pavans, at a time when matched pavans and galliards had ceased to be common.<sup>68</sup>

The existence of the English mixed consort in the period 1570–1610 is of great significance in the development of the lute in England. The lute is central to the ensemble. It is Nordstrom's contention that it was as an extension of lute music, especially of the duet, that an ensemble developed to include viol (or violin), lute, flute (or recorder), bass viol, cittern, and bandora. Membership of the consort was important in the development of other instruments in the sextet. The involvement of the violin may have been the instrument's first separation from its traditional role as the soprano member of the violin consort.<sup>69</sup> The need for a cittern and bandora

<sup>66</sup> Allison, *The Solo Lute Music*, pp. x–xi.

<sup>68</sup> I am grateful to Ian Harwood for this point.

<sup>67</sup> Harwood, 'Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort*', 21.

<sup>69</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 132.

to complete the group would have increased the numbers of them being made, and in the case of the bandora its association as a peculiarly 'English instrument' at this time would have received more prominence.

The ensemble is an important early landmark in the history of instrumentation, since a variety of different but specific instruments were established as a fixed ensemble which composers and arrangers could exploit. Parts written in staff notation were occasionally transferred from one instrument to another—e.g. flute to recorder—but the three parts written in tablature (lute, bandora, cittern) were untransferable. While sets of like instruments may have been the norm throughout the Renaissance, there is plentiful reference to groupings of mixed instruments, especially towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup> As late as 1636 Charles Butler wrote: 'The several kinds of Instruments ar commonly used severally by them selves: as a Set of Viols, a Set of Waits [shawms], or the like: but sometimes, upon some special occasion, many of both Sorts ar most sweetly joined in Consort.'<sup>71</sup> The specific instrumentation of the English mixed consort is strikingly at variance with the principle of like groups or of freely mixed ensembles.

The 'Englishness' of the group of six instruments is important. It was known and admired on the Continent, where English cultural influence was strong. English musicians travelling and living abroad, often as members of theatrical companies, exported the concept of such an ensemble. The Königsberg manuscript contains a significant amount of English lute and bandora music, some of which are consort parts, that may have found its way to the Baltic area through the activities of just such expatriots. There was indeed an English theatrical troupe led by the musician and actor John Spencer based in Königsberg in the years 1604–18. When touring they advertised themselves as 'the Margrave of Brandenburg's servants, the English Comedians', and the Margrave took particular pleasure in Spencer's music.<sup>72</sup> The parallels with Shakespeare's travelling company of players in *Hamlet* are obvious.

Early seventeenth-century depictions and illustrations of the ensemble exist from the Low Countries and Germany (see Table 6.4).<sup>73</sup> The most famous description of an English consort is that given by Praetorius:

several persons with all sorts of instruments, such as clavicymbal or large spinett, large lyra, double harp, lute, theorbo, bandora, penorcon, cittern, viola de gamba, a small descant fiddle, a traverse flute or recorder, sometimes also a quiet sackbut or racket, sound together

<sup>70</sup> Ernst H. Meyer, *Early English Chamber Music* (2nd rev. edn. by Diana Poulton and the author, London, 1982), 142.

<sup>71</sup> Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636), 93; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 131.

<sup>72</sup> Arthur J. Ness and John M. Ward, *The Königsberg Manuscript* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 10–11.

<sup>73</sup> *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Edwards, p. xxii; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 137.



Table 6.4. *British and Continental mixed-consort iconography*

Picture	Date and place	Instrumentation
Painting, <i>Bal Henry III</i> , after Hieronymus Francken	1540–1610, location unknown	lute, harp, bass viol, violin, cornett, violin, violin, flute
Painting by Lodewyk Toeput (Pozzoserrato)	1550–1606, location unknown	lute, virginals, violin, flute, voices
Unton Memorial painting	1596, National Portrait Gallery	lute, cittern, bandora, violin, bass viol, flute
Frieze on wood panel	c.1575, Great Chamber, Gilling Castle, Yorkshire	lute, cittern, cittern, violin, tenor viol, bass viol
Ceiling painting	1599, Crathes Castle, Aberdeen	lute, violin, harp, bass viol, flute, cittern, clavichord
Engraving by Nicola de Bruyn after a painting by David Vinckboons	c.1601, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague	lute, bandora, violin, bass viol
Watercolour	1602, <i>album amicorum</i> of Cellarius of Nuremberg, <i>GB-Lb</i> Add. 27579, fo. 149 <sup>v</sup>	violone, lute, cittern, violin, bandora
Engravings, ‘The Arches of Triumph’, Stephen Harrison	printed London, 1604	Sig. F <sup>v</sup> : harp, violin, bass viol, guitar, small lute, wind band; Sig. G <sup>r</sup> : voice, recorder, cittern, lyre, cornett, guitar, flute, lute, bass viol
Fresco	c.1610–20, staircase well, Knole, Kent	Group of bass viol, lute, cornett, flute, cittern, and music books
Carvings above fireplace	1603–8, Ballroom, Knole, Kent	lute and viol; lute, cittern, and recorders
Engraved frontispiece Nicolas Vallet	<i>Regia pietas</i> (1620),	lute, harp, bass viol, violon, flute, plus boy singer and gentleman obscured by lute

in one company and society ever so quietly, tenderly and lovely, and agree with each other in a graceful symphony.<sup>74</sup>

Praetorius’ description includes the usual six instruments plus several others. He may have got his information second-hand, or heard a continentally based English group. In England, at any rate, the surviving musical sources show that the usual six members (with the possible variation of viol or violin, flute or recorder) were to be expected.

<sup>74</sup> Meyer, *Early English Chamber Music*, 143, trans. from Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1618), iii. 5.

During the period of its popularity the ensemble was known simply as the 'consort'.<sup>75</sup> In his study of the genre, Warwick Edwards adopted the term 'mixed consort' for the group of six. He did so since the term 'consort' came to be generally used after 1600 for any group of instruments or voices, not specifically a mixed group. Edwards also found it preferable to the appellation 'broken consort', which was widely used last century. This term was never in use in Elizabethan/Jacobean times, but was used for an unrelated group in existence at the Restoration. The term 'broken music' was used by Shakespeare, Bacon, and others in the period before 1630, but refers to diminutions or divisions created by 'breaking' up larger notes into shorter ones.<sup>76</sup> As the lute divisions are a prominent feature of the music for the English mixed-consort music, such references may imply the presence of just such a mixed ensemble of six.

On the title-page of *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599) Morley calls for 'the Treble Lute, the pandora, the Cittern, the Base-Violl, the Flute & Treble-Violl'. While the type of cittern, pandora, and flute are not specified, the viols (bass and treble) are, as we would expect, referred to by size. The specification of lute as a 'Treble Lute' is something of a surprise, as in terms of tessitura the music would suggest a 'mean' or 'tenor' lute with a top string at a nominal *g'*. There are indications that in England in the period when mixed consort music and duets were popular, there was a particular type of lute associated with the single-line divisions found in such music.<sup>77</sup> A Hardwick manuscript of 1602 lists 'for a bandora 48s, treble lute 20s, bass vyoll 40s, treble vyoll 20s, for the chest to lay them, in 16s'.<sup>78</sup> This suggests the basis of a mixed consort at Hardwick, and it is interesting to note that the bandora was worth twice as much as the lute. In 1575 Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall wrote 'to know if Mr. Creme [in London] can find him any treble lutes fit for his purpose'.<sup>79</sup> Peter Forrester has suggested that the lute depicted in the painting *Death and the Maiden* at Stratford may be just such a treble lute.<sup>80</sup>

The Stratford *vanitas* (see Pl. 6.1) includes a lute that is similar to the one seen in the Rizzio engraving (see below, Pl. 13.1). Both instruments are small-bodied, with a long neck relative to the body. Indeed the neck/body joint is at exactly the octave position or 12th fret. Such a neck would facilitate the high fret positions required in many duet trebles and mixed-consort pieces. The small body would improve the response of the upper range of the instrument relative to the bass. This again would improve such a lute's audibility within a mixed consort. Treble lutes

<sup>75</sup> *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Edwards, p. xiii. See also Warwick A. Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1974), i. 36–57.

<sup>76</sup> e.g. Morley gives an example of a plainsong 'broken in division'. *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, ed. Harman, 178.

<sup>77</sup> Peter Forrester, 'An Elizabethan Allegory and some Hypotheses', *LSJ* 34 (1994), 11–14.

<sup>78</sup> Hardwick MS, 10a, for July 1602, quoted *ibid.* 13.

<sup>79</sup> *The Willoughby Lute Book*, [p. 2] of the introductory study.

<sup>80</sup> Forrester, 'An Elizabethan Allegory', 13. Doubts remain as to the authenticity of this painting.



PL. 6.1. *Death and the Maiden*, artist unknown. Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust at Hall's Croft, Stratford-upon-Avon

were in use well into the seventeenth century, as there are several references to such instruments being acquired for use in Caroline masques.

All the publications of sacred music with mixed consort presuppose a lute pitched at nominal  $g'$  for the top course, as does the surviving instrumental music. The vocal music with mixed consort is more helpful in establishing an actual workable pitch, and many of the sacred pieces would be unsingable at a pitch much higher than modern pitch (i.e.  $g' = 396$ ). However, Ian Harwood has suggested that the instrumental mixed-consort music, though not the sacred published music, would have been played on instruments pitched significantly higher—something

that may chime in with the specification of a 'treble lute' in the instrumental consort publications. Harwood's contention is that there were two pitch standards used in English instrumental music in the period around 1600, one roughly a tone lower than modern pitch (i.e.  $g' = c.349$ ), and the other a fourth higher than that (i.e.  $g' = c.494$ ).

Harwood bases his argument on inspection of existing instruments from the period, an analysis of the instrumental combinations listed in Tobias Hume's *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke* (1607), and the limitations of gut stringing.<sup>81</sup> Harwood suggests that the John Rose instrument in the possession of the Tollemache family of Helmingham Hall in Suffolk is not an orpharion as previously thought, but a bandora at the higher pitch standard. It seems that viols were made in large and small sizes corresponding to these different pitch standards. He refers to the work of Djilda Abbott and Ephraim Segerman, who concluded that the English cittern should be tuned an octave higher than usual, basing their arguments on the small size of the instrument described by Praetorius,<sup>82</sup> though Harwood only sanctions a cittern a fourth above low pitch. The range of a bass flute at the lower pitch standard would then encompass the lowest notes called for in mixed-consort flute parts.<sup>83</sup> Only three sizes of lute are ever mentioned: mean, treble, and bass. For Harwood the mean corresponds to a normal lute at low pitch, the treble to a smaller one a fourth above, and the bass to one a fourth below the mean.

Many writers on the mixed consort have been preoccupied with the connections between the ensemble and the theatre of the day, Thurston Dart and Sydney Beck particularly so.<sup>84</sup> Certainly the earliest apparent reference to the mixed consort is from the play *Jocasta* (1566) by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwell-marsh. Before the first act there are directions for 'a doleful and straunge noyse of violles, Cythren, Bandurion and such like . . . [to] sounde for the dumme show'.<sup>85</sup> However, as Peter Holman points out, most early references to the mixed consort appear in descriptions of outdoor aristocratic entertainments, several for the queen on her summer progresses.<sup>86</sup> In this context a number of literary accounts survive, the most famous of which are: George Gascoigne's description of a spectacle at Kenilworth in 1575; Bernard Garter's report of a Norwich progress in 1578, part of which is quoted at the start of this chapter; Thomas Churchyard's description of a

<sup>81</sup> Ian Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards? Instrumental Pitch in England c. 1600', *EM* 9 (1981), 470–81.

<sup>82</sup> Djilda Abbott and Ephraim Segerman, 'Strings in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *GSJ* 27 (1974), 48–73; 'Gut Strings', *EM* 4 (1976), 430–7. Abbott and Segerman suggest a cittern tuned an octave above the normal pitch.

<sup>83</sup> Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards?', 478.

<sup>84</sup> Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons of 1599'; *Two Consort Lessons Collected by Thomas Morley*, ed. Thurston Dart (London, 1957); *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck.

<sup>85</sup> Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 22. According to John Stowe's *Annales* (1631), 869, the bandora was invented in 1562 by John Rose. The term 'bandurion' indicates a lack of familiarity with the name bandora, so early in its life.

<sup>86</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 132.

proposed entertainment as part of the same Norwich progress in 1578; and an anonymous description of an ‘Honourable Entertainment . . . at Elvetham’ in 1591.<sup>87</sup> While all accounts point to the usual combination of six instruments being heard, only the last is explicit: ‘After this speech the Fairy Queene and her maides daunced about the Garden, singing a Song of sixe parts, with the musicke of an exquisite consort; wherein was the lute, pandora, base violl, citterne, treble viol and flute . . .’

A musician who seems to have been involved directly or indirectly with several of these early spectacles is Edward Johnson, who is not known to have been related to his famous contemporary John Johnson, but probably was. Edward Johnson was the leading musician employed by the Kytson family at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk in the 1570s.<sup>88</sup> Significantly, the Kytson household acquired a ‘treable violen’ in 1572, most probably for mixed-consort use.<sup>89</sup> It is likely that Johnson, who was paid 10s. in August 1575 ‘for his charge in awayting on my Lord of Leycester’, was loaned to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for the Kenilworth event of July 1575. Two songs composed for the Elvetham entertainment were written by Edward Johnson, though they survive in settings for voices and viols.<sup>90</sup> It is clear from an inventory of Leicester’s household drawn up in 1583 that most of the instruments required for a mixed consort were available to Johnson at Kenilworth.<sup>91</sup>

A section of the famous biographical portrait of Sir Henry Unton’s life, now kept at the National Portrait Gallery, shows a banquet at Wadley Manor, the home of Sir Henry and his wife Dorothy. In front of the costumed masquers is a mixed-consort group sitting around a table (see Pl. 6.2). The picture is the only one from the period with the complete set of six instruments. The painting was commissioned by Dorothy after Unton’s death in 1596, but the Wadley Manor scenes may record domestic events of the 1580s or even late 1570s. Unton was known to have been a competent musician,<sup>92</sup> and it has been suggested that the lute player in the mixed consort and the bass viol player in the viol consort scene are Sir Henry himself,<sup>93</sup> though this is surely unlikely.

The lute player in the Unton painting plays from a folio-sized book (normally 9” × 14”) which is nearly twice the height of the quarto-sized books (normally 6.5” × 8.5”) that all the other players use. This is consistent with the surviving music, where the lute part is normally much the longest, due to the elaborate divisions in

<sup>87</sup> See *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 15–17. The descriptions are from George Gascoigne, *The Princely Pleasures* (London, 1576); Robert Laneham, *A letter* (London, 1575); Bernard Garter, *The Ioyful Receyving of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578); Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Majesties Entertainment* (London, 1579); *The Honourable Entertainment . . . at Elvetham* (London, 1591).

<sup>88</sup> Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 71–9.

<sup>89</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 125.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 133.

<sup>91</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 16 n. 49.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>93</sup> Anthony Rooley, ‘A Portrait of Sir Henry Unton’, in *The Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London, 1992), 85–92.



PL. 6.2. Detail from a painted wood panel depicting scenes from the life of Sir Henry Unton, 1557–96. London, National Portrait Gallery, no. 710

repeated sections. The larger size of the lute book may account for the fact that no lute book survives from the published books, apart from a few fragments of Rosseter's 1609 book that were recovered from bookbindings. In great houses where mixed consorts may have been heard, like Kenilworth, Hengrave, Wadley Manor, Sedbury, and Wollaton Hall, one might have expected servants or family members to have provided the easier parts such as the cittern and bass viol, and professional musicians from within or without the household to have played the more difficult parts, especially the lute part. When sets of books were acquired by households they would normally have bound each book into separate leather covers. The larger lute book may have been more likely to have been retained by professionals who had less money, would have needed more recourse to the music as it is much harder, and who it seems did not normally bind up their music into books. Thus the lute book

may often have remained unbound and folded over, which would have accelerated its deterioration. Interestingly the Rosseter fragments are consistent with damage through folding over.

From its origins in the great houses of England, music for mixed ensembles was taken up by bands of town waits. These municipal musicians had their origin in the medieval bands of outdoor musicians, playing shawms and other 'haut instruments' to sound curfews and alarms, and to perform for civic functions. By the sixteenth century they also played quiet instruments, and augmented their municipal income by hiring their services out for private functions. It has been assumed that the mixed-consort music for the Norwich royal progress of 1578 involved the Norwich waits. There were only five Norwich waits at the time, but with Edward Johnson they would have been six, including a known lute player. When Edward Jefferies, one of the senior Norwich waits, died in 1617, he bequeathed most of the instruments necessary for the consort. Only the cittern was not mentioned in his will.<sup>94</sup>

The waits most associated with the mixed consort were the London Waits, whom Morley had in mind when publishing his *First Booke*. The work is dedicated to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, and includes the following:

But as the ancient custome is of this most honorable and renowned Cittie hath beene euer, to retaine and maintane excellent and expert Musitians, to adorne your Honors fauors, Feasts and solemne meetings: to those your Lordships Waits. after the commending these my Labors to your Honorable patronage: I recommend the same to your seruants carefull and skilfull handling:

The London Waits were available for private hire, and also performed in the play-houses.<sup>95</sup> They played for some of the court events in January 1600/1, which must have included the first performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.<sup>96</sup> Yet the private households were also mentioned by Morley in reference to a gentleman sponsor. The book's title-page states that it was printed 'at the coast & charges of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for divers others his frendes which delight in Musicke'. The reprinting of Morley's collection in 1611 shows that the set of books achieved a degree of commercial success. One can reasonably suggest that there would have been provincial town waits who followed London fashions by adapting themselves into a mixed-consort band, and thus would have wanted to buy Morley's books.

Discussion of the musical activities of the London Waits in plays leads to the use of the mixed consort by English theatre companies. Mention has already been made of the exporting of the consort abroad through theatre companies. Beck's thesis is that, as theatre companies proliferated, and as more public theatre houses were

<sup>94</sup> Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players', i. 237; ii. 734-5.

<sup>95</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 3, 22.

<sup>96</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 138.

opened, companies relied less on musical actors like Will Kemp and Robert Armin, and more on professional musicians who organized themselves into a 'house band' playing as a mixed consort.<sup>97</sup> There is little surviving evidence to support this idea, and some actors certainly continued to play instruments. There are wills and inventories of actors like Augustine Phillips and Edward Alleyn, which include near complete sets of mixed-consort instruments.<sup>98</sup> In 1598 an inventory for the Admiral's Men had a treble viol, bass viol, bandora, cittern, also three trumpets, a drum, sack-but, chime of bells, three timbrels, and two rackets.

While the employment of music and musicians in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre was expected by the audience, the amount varied greatly. The private theatres—like Blackfriars with a tradition of boy players—normally used more music than the public companies, and one report mentions a mixed consort of sorts heard at the Blackfriars in 1602.<sup>99</sup> Schools like St Paul's taught boys to play and sing, and their skills were widely used. In 1609 Philip Rosseter published his *Lessons for Consort*, and became responsible for the troupe, which received a royal patent in that year under the name of 'The Children of the Queen's Revels'.<sup>100</sup> He combined being a royal lutenist (from 1604 to his death in 1623) with an interest in this company in its many manifestations until around 1620. The *Lessons* were dedicated to Sir William Gascoyne of Sedbury Hall, who according to Rosseter had a household which maintained 'such as can lively express them'. In this it seems that Rosseter had private households more in mind for his books, though he clearly had professional interests and connections in the London theatre world as well.

It would be fitting to imagine that Rosseter would have taught his boys to perform mixed-consort music from his books. There are other references that link mixed consorts with children. The Headmaster of the English College of St-Omer, Pas-de-Calais (1600–17) included mixed consorts when describing the musical activities of the school.<sup>101</sup> There are circumstances linking the compilation of the Cambridge consort books with the instrumental tuition of the Christ Church choristers. One must also register that the young Daniel Bacheler (aged 16) spent time in his youth concerning himself with mixed-consort music. And surely he must have played what he arranged and composed.

Public-theatre musicians were usually seated in a special box or music room. In the case of the Globe Theatre it was a rectangular space some 8 by 12 feet on the third stage or tier up—about 23 feet above the stage. The open side of the room facing the audience was crossed by a railing, and was screened by a thin curtain which

<sup>97</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 13.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* A bass viol, lute, cittern, and pandora are among items left to fellow actors by Augustine Phillips of the King's Company. Alleyn's will, bequeathing a lute, pandora, cittern, and six viols, may have been faked (see Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 34).

<sup>99</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 136.

<sup>100</sup> Jeffreys, *The Life and Works of Philip Rosseter*, 27.

<sup>101</sup> John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music* (Gainesville, Fla., 1961), 32.



was usually closed while the musicians performed in the music room. The area could take up to six or eight persons with instruments. On occasion musicians might be needed on stage, in which case they would have to descend, but normally they were used for scene or mood setting, for providing dance music, song accompaniments, or incidental music before or after plays, or between acts—all of which could be done *in situ*.<sup>102</sup>

A rather more unusual venue for the music of the mixed consort may have been on board ship. Musicians were often recruited for long voyages in Elizabethan times. Sir Francis Drake, for example, included nineteen musicians plus sixteen trumpeters among the large fleet of twenty-seven ships and 2,500 men that sailed for the West Indies in 1595. Ian Woodfield suggests that the eleven musicians taken by Drake himself comprised a five-part wind ensemble and a mixed consort of six. A chest of instruments removed from the *Defiance* contained a lute and ‘hobboyes sagbutes cornettes and orpharions bandora and suche like’, suggesting that they probably had the resources to make up a mixed consort.<sup>103</sup>

With information linking the mixed consort to both the public and private theatre, it is frustrating that it is impossible to locate references that specify the instrumentation of consorts used in plays.<sup>104</sup> Shakespeare uses the term ‘broken music’ in several plays, and many authors refer to music from a ‘consort’. Instruments called for in stage directions in the plays of Shakespeare include lutes, viols, fiddles, and recorders. Other instruments are asked for on occasion: shawms, pipe and tabor, cornetts, sackbuts, rustic instruments (e.g. tongs and bones), rebec, fiddle, racket, hunting horn, and trumpets. There are a number of play references to the sounding of instruments with wires, and a few plays by Shakespeare’s contemporaries specifically mention the cittern.<sup>105</sup> The overall impression of Elizabethan and Jacobean stage directions is not that a stable consort of the six instruments of Morley and Rosseter’s books was expected, but that, as today, music and instrumentation were varied according to the needs and budget of each production. Though plays of this period do not contain large amounts of music, at least as compared with the Restoration period, where there is music, it is often crucial to the action. As the theatre developed it seems that theatre music became more important, especially after the setting up of the Blackfriars theatre.

Among composers of English mixed consort Richard Allison is outstanding (see Table 6.5). His pieces are found in all the four mixed-consort sets of books. His role in the development of the genre can be compared to that of John Johnson with the lute duet. Allison’s consort pieces were popular throughout the period from which

<sup>102</sup> Long, *Shakespeare’s Use of Music*, 32.

<sup>103</sup> Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1995), 13.

<sup>104</sup> Ward, ‘Sprightly and Cheerful Musick’, 34.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 7, 35; *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 14.

Table 6.5. *Pieces for mixed consort in the four part-book collections*

*Note:* In general titles and names have been standardized and modernized. I have not indicated the many instances where missing parts can be supplied from among the four collections, or from other sources.  
L = lute, T = viol/violin, F = flute, R = recorder, V =bass viol, B = bandora, C = cittern

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A. WALSINGHAM CONSORT BOOKS

1. The Lady Frances Sidney's Goodmorrow [Richard Allison] (FCV)
2. Sir Frances Walsingham's Goodnight [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
3. Sir Frances Walsingham's Goodmorrow [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
4. The Lady Frances Sidney's Goodnight [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
5. The Lady Frances Sidney's Felicity [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
6. Sharp Pavan [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
7. Phillip's Pavan [Peter Philips] (TFCV)
8. The Lady Walsingham's Conceits [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
9. Delight Pavan [John Johnson] (TFCV)
10. Daniel's Trial [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
11. Pavan Dolorosa [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
12. Mr Allison's Knell [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
13. The Bachiler's Delight [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
14. Daniel's Almayne [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
15. The Widow's Mite [Daniel Bacheler] (TFCV)
16. Mr. Allison's Almain [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
17. Squire's Galliard (TFCV)
18. The Lady Frances Sidney's Almain [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
19. The Queen's Dance (FCV)
20. The Battle Pavan (FCV)
21. Proveribus (FCV)
22. The Spanish measure set by Richard Allison (CV)
23. La Vecchia Pavan [John Johnson] (FCV)
24. The Flat Pavan [John Johnson] (TCV)
25. Passing-measures Pavan (title only)
26. Passing-measures Galliard (title only)
27. The Voyce (TFCV)
28. Primero (V)
29. The Quadro Pavan [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
30. The Quadro Galliard [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
31. Mr Marchant's Paven (TFCV)
32. In Pescod time (CV)
33. Go from my Window [Richard Allison] (TFCV)
34. A Pavan of Mr Byrd's [Richard Allison] (FCV)

B. CAMBRIDGE CONSORT BOOKS

(Numbering based on first appearance in Dd.3.18; followed by pieces without a lute part as they appear in Dd.14.24.)

1. The French Volt (fo. 8<sup>r</sup>) (LRVC)
2. Reade's 7th pavan/Mr Doctor James, Dean of Christchurch's Pavan, made by Mr R. Reade (fo. 12<sup>r</sup>, fos. 28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)

Table 6.5. *cont.*

3. Reade's 2nd Jigge (fo. 15<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRV)
4. Lacrimae [John Dowland] (fos. 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>) (LVFC)
5. Duncomb's Galliard (fo. 17<sup>r</sup>) (LRVC)
6. Holburn's Farewell (fo. 18<sup>r</sup>) [Anthony Holborne] (LRVC)
7. Phillip's Pavan (fos. 18<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>) [Peter Philips] (LTVC)
8. Reade's Almain (fo. 19<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade/Anthony Holborne] (LRVC)
9. Allison's Pavan (fos. 19<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison?] (L)
10. The Earl of Oxford's March (fo. 20<sup>r</sup>) [Byrd? arr. Morley?] (LTR)
11. Johnson's Delight (fos. 20<sup>v</sup>–21<sup>r</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>) [John Johnson] (LRVC)
12. Reade's Galliarde (fo. 22<sup>v</sup>, fo. 38<sup>v</sup> two versions, the second possibly a duet) [Richard Reade] (LRVC, T from a second lute prt)
13. Nightingale (fo. 22<sup>v</sup>) (LTRVC)
14. A Jigg, the first, R. Reade (fo. 24<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
15. Reade's Galliard to the 6th Pavan (fo. 27<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRF)
16. R. Reade's 5th Pavan (fo. 27<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
17. Reade's 6th Pavan (fo. 28<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
18. When Phebus First, Richard Reade (fo. 29<sup>r</sup>) (LRV)
19. Reade's 8th Pavan (fo. 29<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
20. Galliard to the Same [i.e. Reade's 8th Pavan] (fo. 30<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRV)
21. Reade's 9th Pavan (fo. 30<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRFVC)
22. Battel. R. Reade (fo. 31<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (L)
23. A Jigg, R. Reade (fo. 31<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LV)
24. Allison's Knell (fos. 31<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison?] (LVR)
25. Sweet Bryer, A Northern Jigge, R.R. (fo. 32<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
26. Primero (fos. 32<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>) (LRVC)
27. Nutmegs and Ginger (fo. 33<sup>r</sup>) (LTVC)
28. Reade's Fancy (fos. 33<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRC)
29. A Jigg Eglantine (fo. 34<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
30. James Harding's Galliard (appears twice, fos. 34<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRV)
31. Go from my Window, Ri. Allison (fos. 34<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison] (LF)
32. Mousiers Almain (fo. 35<sup>v</sup>) (LTVC)
33. Alfonso's Pavan (fo. 36<sup>v</sup>) [Alfonso Bassano] (LRVC)
34. Reade's 1st Pavan (fos. 37<sup>r</sup>–36<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRFVC)
35. Reade's 2nd Pavan (fos. 37<sup>v</sup>–38<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
36. Reade's La Volta (fo. 38<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
37. Reade's 3rd or Flatt Pavan (fos. 39<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
38. Reades 4th Pavan (fo. 39<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (LRVC)
39. De la Tromba (fo. 40<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison] (LRVC)
40. Go Merely Wheele (fos. 40<sup>v</sup>–41<sup>r</sup>) (LRVC)
41. La Bergera Galliard (fo. 41<sup>r</sup>) [Philip Rosseter?] (LRVC)
42. Bachelor's Delight, Ri. Allison (fos. 44<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison] (LV)
43. De la Tromba, 2nd Treble (fos. 45<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>) (L)
44. Dolorosa Pavan Ri. Allison (fos. 46<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Allison] (LRV)
45. De la Courte, 1st Parte (fo. 47<sup>r</sup>) (LRC)
46. The Jew's Dance, R. Nicholson (fo. 48<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Nicholson] (LR)

47. Porter's Pavan (fos. 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>) [Walter Porter] (LR)
48. Porter's Galliard (fo. 49<sup>r</sup>) [Walter Porter] (LF)
49. Emerald Galliard (fo. 52<sup>r</sup>) (L)
50. My Lady Harcourt's Galliard (fo. 52<sup>v</sup>) (L)
51. All night in Venus' Court (fo. 53<sup>r</sup>) (LV)
52. La Dolce Nenne (fo. 53<sup>r</sup>) (L)
53. Tarlton Jigg (fo. 53<sup>r</sup>) (LRVC)
54. Pavan Dolores (fo. 53<sup>v</sup>) (L)
55. Reade's 10th Pavan (fos. 55<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Reade] (L)
56. Reade's 11th Pavan (fos. 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (L)
57. 3rd Jigg, Mr. Reade (fo. 57<sup>r</sup>) [Richard Reade] (L)
58. Mrs Millicent's Pavan. Ri Allison (fos. 57<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>) [Richard Allison] (LV)
59. Flatt Pavan (fos. 60<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>) [John Johnson?] (LC)
60. La Vecchio Mrs Lee (fo. 61<sup>v</sup>) [John Johnson?] (L)

*Without a lute part:*

61. Stroger's Paven (FVC)
62. The Sprite's Tune (RVC)
63. My Lo. Chaune Pavane (RVC)
64. The Galliarde (TFVC)
65. The Long Pavan, J. Johnson (RVC) [John Johnson]
66. Do Re Ha Galliard (RVC) [John Dowland]
67. Squire's Galliard (RVC)
68. Complaint/Fortune my Foe [John Dowland] (RVC)
69. The French King's Maske (RVC)
70. In Nomine Pavan (FVC)
71. Galliard to In Nomine Pavan (FVC)
72. The New Medley (C) [John Johnson]
73. A. H. Thought (C) [Anthony Holborne?]
74. Captain Pipers Pavan (FVC) [John Dowland]
75. Pavan (C)
76. Dowland's 1st Galliard (RVC) [John Dowland]
77. La Bergera (C)
78. Dowland's Round Battel Galliard (RVC) [John Dowland]
79. Tremento (RVC)
80. Galliard (C)

C. MORLEY'S *THE FIRST BOOKE OF CONSORT LESSONS* (1599/1611)

1. The Quadro Pavin [Richard Allison] (FCBVT)
2. Galliard to the Quadro Pavin [Richard Allison] (FCBVT)
3. De la Tromba Pavin [Richard Allison] (FCBVT)
4. Captaine Pipers Pavin [John Dowland, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
5. Galliard to Captain Pipers pavin [John Dowland, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
6. Galliard, Can she excuse [John Dowland, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
7. Lacrimae Pavin [John Dowland, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
8. Philips Pavin [Peter Philips, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
9. Galliard to Philips Pavin [Peter Philips, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)
10. The Frog Galliard [John Dowland, arr. Morley?] (FCBVT)

Table 6.5. *cont.*

11. Allisons Knell [Richard Allison] (FCVBT)
  12. Goe from my Window [Richard Allison] (FCVBT)
  13. In Nomine Pavin [Nicholas Strogers, arr. Morley?] (FCVBT)
  14. My Lord of Oxenfords Maske [Bryd?, arr. Morley?] (FCVBT)
  15. Mounsier's Almaine [John Dowland?, arr. Morley] (FCVBT)
  16. Michills Galliard (FCVBT)
  17. Joyne Hands [Morley, arr. Morley] (FCVBT)
  18. Balowe (FCVBT)
  19. O Mistresse mine (FCVBT)
  20. Sola Soletta [G. Conversi, arr. Morley] (FCVBT)
  21. La Volta (FCVBT)
  22. La Coranto (FCVBT)
  23. The Lord Souches maske [Giles Farnaby? arr. Morley] (FCVBT)
  24. The Batchelars delight [Richard Allison] (1611 edition only) (FBT)
  25. Responce Pavin [Richard Allison] (1611 edition only) (FBT)
- D. ROSSETER'S *LESSONS FOR CONSORT* (1609)
1. Captain Lester's Galliard [Philip Rosseter] (FC)
  2. Pavan [Philip Rosseter] (FC)
  3. Prannel's Pavan [Anthony Holborne] (FC)
  4. Galliard to Prannel's Pavan [John Baxter] (FC)
  5. Now is the month of May [Thomas Morley] (FCLincomplete)
  6. The Sacred End Pavan [Thomas Morley] (FCLincomplete)
  7. Galliard to the Sacred End Pavan [John Baxter] (FCLincomplete)
  8. [Masque Tune, Shows and nightly Revels] [Thomas Lupo] (FCLincomplete)
  9. Southern's Pavan [Thomas Morley] (FCLfragments)
  10. Infernum [Anthony Holborne] (FC)
  11. Spero [Anthony Holborne] (FC)
  12. Millicent Pavans [Richard Allison] (FC)
  13. Millicent Galliard [Richard Allison] (FC)
  14. Cedipa Pavan [John Farmer] (FC)
  15. Cedipa Galliard [John Farmer] (FC)
  16. A lieta Vita [Giovanni Gastoldi] (FC)
  17. Galliard to del la Tromba [Richard Allison?] (FC)
  18. La Bergere (FC)
  19. The Queen's Pavan [Anthony Holborne] (FC)
  20. Move Now [Thomas Campion] (FC)
  21. Galliard to the Knell [Richard Allison] (FC)
  22. [Time that Leads] [Thomas Lupo] (F)
  23. Barrow Faustus Dream [Edmund Kete] (F)
  24. Jig [Philip Rosseter] (F)
  25. Mall Simms (F)
-

music for the mixed consort survives. It seems he had a continuing interest in the genre throughout his working life. His eighteen surviving pieces include some of the most elaborate and complex in the repertoire. Of these, nine have extant lute parts. Three of them exist as lute duets, and five in solo-lute versions. It is impossible to say in which form the original version of these pieces was conceived. In the Walsingham books there are four pieces 'set' by Allison, suggesting that his role was more as arranger than composer.

We can never be absolutely sure that Allison composed any of his pieces expressly for the mixed consort, though it is likely that he did in some cases, and he was certainly aware of the possibilities of instrumentation within the group. Typical of his longer pieces is the subdividing of the six instruments into quartets, or pairs or trios, which are then contrasted in answering phrases.<sup>106</sup> 'Go from my window' is especially notable in this context. It is unusual for a mixed-consort lesson as it is not a dance form, song, or masque piece, but, like much of the solo-lute repertoire, a set of variations on a popular melody. Luckily the lute part survives in Dd.3.18, so only the bandora part needs to be reconstructed.<sup>107</sup>

There are seven variations in all. Section three opens with lute diminutions with support from cittern and bass viol, while the flute plays the tune. After two bars the treble viol takes the diminutions supported by cittern and bandora(?), with the flute continuing the tune. (See Ex. 6.4.) For the remaining four bars all instruments play: the flute with the tune, the treble viol with a descant, the lute with diminutions, and the rest with harmonic and rhythmic support. The subdivision and answering continues in the next variation with shorter half-bar statements between violin and lute, with the flute taking the tune again. The fifth variation is characterized by triplets in all parts (save the bass and violin, which remain in common time), with diminutions played by flute and lute. In the penultimate section the violin, flute, and lute start in canon, followed by lute and violin in canon. In the last section the violin returns to the tune over fast lute diminutions. This short summary gives an indication of the unusually varied instrumental mixing in this piece, but the same interest in timbre is found in some degree in all Allison's larger pieces for consort.

Of the names associated with the mixed consort, Reade and Bacheler are of importance as composers, and Morley and Rosseter as arrangers, although both these last two may have composed some pieces directly for the consort. Reade is the most prolific, but his music is confined almost entirely to Holmes's manuscripts.<sup>108</sup> One senses that his interest was peripheral, and was maintained only while the Oxford consort was in existence. Only the lute part exists for a number of his consort pieces, suggesting that the Oxford group had other part-books which do not

<sup>106</sup> *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, ed. Beck, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Dd.3.18, fos. 34<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> One of Reade's pavans appears in *D-Kl* 4<sup>o</sup> MS Mus. 125.

Ex. 6.4. Section 3 of Richard Allison's 'Go from my Window' from Thomas Morley's *Consort Lessons* (1599), bars 17–20 with a lute part from Dd.3.18, fo. 34<sup>v</sup>

17

This musical score block covers bars 17 through 20. It features four staves: Flute, Lute, Cittern, and Bass Viol. The Flute part is in the treble clef, playing a simple melodic line. The Lute part is in the bass clef, featuring a complex rhythmic pattern of sixteenth notes with a treble clef for the right hand. The Cittern part is in the treble clef, providing harmonic support with chords and single notes. The Bass Viol part is in the bass clef, playing a simple bass line. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics 'a r r a r e f r e f e r a a r e f e r a r e f r e a r e' are written below the Lute staff.

Flute

Lute

Cittern

Bass Viol

18

This musical score block covers bar 18. It features four staves: Flute, Lute, Cittern, and Bass Viol. The Flute part continues the melodic line from the previous block. The Lute part continues its complex rhythmic pattern. The Cittern part continues its harmonic accompaniment. The Bass Viol part continues its simple bass line. The key signature and time signature remain the same as in the previous block. The lyrics 'a r r a r e f r e f e r a a r e f e r a r e f r e a r e' are written below the Lute staff.

Flute

Lute

Cittern

Bass Viol

19

Treble Viol

Flute

Cittern

Bandora

20

Treble Viol

Flute

Cittern

Bandora



survive. These pieces are identifiable as consort parts, as they have diminutions without supporting harmonies in the repeat sections. While the violin part does not exist for any of Reade's pieces, many of them suggest possible contrapuntal imitation between lute and violin so as to make reconstruction plausible.<sup>109</sup>

Richard Reade's primary interest was not the arrangement of existing music by others, as with Morley and Rosseter, and his music includes only two arrangements of popular tunes. Instead he concentrated on producing pavans (11), galliards (3), and jigs (6), most simply identified by number, rather than given a title. There is also a single fancy, almain, la volta, and an arrangement of a vocal piece. It is likely that many of Reade's consort pieces are arrangements or adaptations of his own music to fit the Oxford consort. The many harmonic discrepancies between the cittern and the lute parts show that in many pieces the cittern part was developed from the bass line in isolation. This fact, plus the rather half-finished nature of many of his lute parts and the clumsiness of his recorder line, suggests that the music was assembled quickly from a variety of sources to suit the mixed consort at hand, then used and discarded soon afterwards without really being sorted out. Pavan 9 is connected to the lute duet 'Drewries accorde', and one of his almains is based on a piece attributed in Dd.2.11 to Anthony Holborne. Perhaps most interesting of Reade's pieces is a long five-part fancy based on the theme of Dowland's most popular solo lute fantasia (*Varietie*, no. 7) in which, almost uniquely, the cittern is given one of the five independent parts. (See Ex. 6.5.)

Reade clearly varied his approach when arranging his music for mixed consort, depending on the type of piece and its genre. Reade's method in pavan 6, for which uniquely we have the model in a five-part version,<sup>110</sup> was only to use the cantus and bassus parts, and most, but not all, of the altus part. An altogether new third part was then created for the recorder, which may on occasion take elements from the tenor and quintus parts (as at the beginning) but most often seems newly composed. This part aims to provide the missing note of the triad at all important points, after looking at the violin and lute top line, and to add rhythmic interest. The part that emerges often seems oddly disjointed and unmelodic, with occasional wide leaps. It uses the very same written range as the violin, and is often the highest written part. The cittern, and we suppose the bandora, was then created from the bass viol part in isolation. This is clear from the many misjudgements that the cittern composer makes in chords, believing the bass viol to be playing the root of the chord when it is actually sounding a first-inversion and vice versa, and minor/major disagreements between the cittern and the rest of the consort. We cannot, of course, be sure it was Reade who made the arrangement; it could have been Holmes himself, or someone else in his musical circle.

<sup>109</sup> Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge Consort Books', 77–9.

<sup>110</sup> *D-Kl* 4<sup>o</sup> MS Mus. 125, no. 39.

EX. 6.5. 'Richard Reade's Fancy' from the Cambridge consort books; lute part from Dd.3.18, fo. 33<sup>v</sup>, bars 1-7

The image shows a musical score for a consort of six instruments: Violin (reconstructed), Recorder, Lute, Cittern, Bandora (reconstructed), and Bass Viol (reconstructed). The score is in 4/2 time and consists of seven bars. The Violin part is in the treble clef and plays a melody of quarter and eighth notes. The Recorder, Lute, and Bandora parts are in the treble clef and play a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bass Viol part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Cittern part is in the treble clef and plays a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The Lute part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bandora part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bass Viol part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The score is written on seven staves, with the Recorder, Lute, and Bandora parts grouped together with a brace on the left. The Cittern part is written on a single staff. The Violin and Bass Viol parts are written on single staves. The Lute part is written on a single staff. The Recorder and Bandora parts are written on single staves. The Bass Viol part is written on a single staff. The score is in 4/2 time and consists of seven bars. The Violin part is in the treble clef and plays a melody of quarter and eighth notes. The Recorder, Lute, and Bandora parts are in the treble clef and play a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bass Viol part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Cittern part is in the treble clef and plays a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The Lute part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bandora part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The Bass Viol part is in the bass clef and plays a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. The score is written on seven staves, with the Recorder, Lute, and Bandora parts grouped together with a brace on the left. The Cittern part is written on a single staff. The Violin and Bass Viol parts are written on single staves. The Lute part is written on a single staff. The Recorder and Bandora parts are written on single staves. The Bass Viol part is written on a single staff.

Ex. 6.5. *cont.*

The musical score is arranged in a system of six staves. The top two staves are for a treble clef instrument, likely a lute or viol. The middle two staves are for a grand piano, with the right hand playing chords and the left hand playing a rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom two staves are for a bass clef instrument, likely a bass viol or cittern. The score is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. It consists of three measures, each with a repeat sign. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'f' and 'a'.

Some of the pieces by Bacheler display a creativity in design and instrumentation akin to those of Allison. In a number of the pieces the treble viol has important diminutions in the repeat sections. The loss of the bandora part is a pity, but it is lack of the all-important lute parts that will always make reconstruction tentative. The opening of 'The Widows Mite' suggests a contrasting of the treble viol, flute, and cittern (plus bandora?) with flute, lute, cittern, and bass viol six bars later.

Answering between violin and lute throughout this piece is suggested by the many silences in the extant treble viol part, as is the contrasting of instrumental groupings. (See Ex. 6.6.)

Allison produced two major publications during his lifetime: *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London, 1599) and *An Homres Recreation in Musicke* (London, 1606). *The Psalmes* are of importance in relation to the mixed consort, as the four-part vocal settings have separate tablature parts for lute (or orpharion) and cittern. The sixty-nine psalm settings are all in simple harmony, and with one note to each syllable. Unlike previous psalm harmonizations, Allison put the psalm tune in the cantus, not the tenor. Each piece is printed on one opening of the book as 'table' music. (See Pl. 6.3). The title-page mentions they are 'to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, severally or altogether, the singing part to be either Tenor or Treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voyce, or for fowre voyces'. No separate part is given for the orpharion, which is presumably mentioned only as an alternative to the lute as in the title-pages of many books of ayres, and would play from the lute tablature. The bass-viol player, who likewise has no separate part, would play from the bass voice line. The lute part does not attempt to double the vocal parts in a strict intabulation. It provides a simple chordal support and largely avoids the psalm tune. A 7-course lute is required with a seventh course at *D*. In the main the chords involved are technically easy and do not go above the fifth fret. Often the cittern part carries the tune, but needs a bass part to complete the chords. Allison's *Psalmes* need only an easily constructed bandora part to accommodate a full consort of six if the flute plays the alto line and the viol/violin the soprano. The music is intended to be serviceable for a variety of combinations, ranging from a full complement of instruments and voices to a single voice and instrument.

The full mixed consort appears in William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule* (1614).<sup>111</sup> Leighton was a Gentleman Pensioner and knight who had been imprisoned for debt. Motives of piety and penitence had subsequently moved him to write a series of 'Himnes and spirituall Sonnets', which he published without music in 1613, promising 'to divuldge very speedely in print, some sweete Musically Ayres and Tunable Accents'. Leighton was as good as his word and the musical anthology appeared promptly the following year. The surprise is the quality and range of the nineteen composers he recruited to set his words, many of the great names of Jacobean music being present, including some normally associated with secular music.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Verna L. Dimsdale, 'English Sacred Music with Broken Consort', *LSJ* 16 (1974), 39–64; also ead., 'The Lute in Consort in Seventeenth-Century England', 3 vols. (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1968), iii. 88–91.

<sup>112</sup> Sir William Leighton, *The Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul*, ed. Cecil Hill (Early English Church Music, 11; London, 1970).

Out of a total of fifty-four songs in the anthology, eighteen have consort parts. Eight of these are by Leighton himself, two by John Bull, and one each by John Dowland, John Milton, Robert Johnson, Thomas Ford, Edmund Hooper, Robert Kindersley, Nathaniel Giles, and John Coprario. As in Allison's book all the parts were printed on a single opening, so that one book placed in the centre of a table would serve for all. The three melody instruments are instructed as follows: 'Cantus with a Treble Violl', 'Altus with a Flute', 'Bassus with a Base Violl'. The tenor part is not doubled by any melody instrument. Though most settings are simple and syllabic, there are some pieces that are longer and less homophonic. Only one verse was printed with the music, the others being supplied by the 1613 book. There are

Ex. 6.6. *Opening of first varied repeat from Daniel Bachelier's 'The Widow's Mite', Walsingham consort books, no. 15. Lute and bandora parts reconstructed, bars 1-7*

The musical score is arranged in a system with six staves. The top staff is for Treble Viol, showing a melodic line in 4/4 time. The second staff is for Flute, with a simple harmonic accompaniment. The third staff is for Lute (reconstructed), which is mostly silent. The fourth and fifth staves are for Cittern and Bandora (reconstructed), both showing rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The bottom staff is for Bass Viol, which is also mostly silent. The score is divided into three measures, with the first measure containing the main melody and the subsequent measures providing harmonic support.

5

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many clashes between the tablature parts (in particular major/minor discrepancies), and one wonders if the plucked instrumental parts were supplied by the authors, by Leighton, or some other. The tablature parts are not difficult, but frequently awkward to play.

In 1615 Robert Tailour published fifty sacred pieces in his *Sacred Hymns* 'to be sung in Five parts, as also to the Viole, and Lute or Orpharion'. The music in this book is not laid out so that all can play from one opening, and at least two, and sometimes three, books would be necessary for full performance with voice, viols, and lute. Only the treble part has words, under which is placed tablature for the bass viol rather than the lute. The lute part follows after the textless lower parts. The

The image shows a page from Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London, 1599), printed in a 'table' format. The page is divided into two main sections: the left page (lute part) and the right page (viol part). The text is in Latin and English, and the music is in tablature and mensural notation.

**Left Page (Lute Part):**

- At the top, there is a large initial 'C' for the word 'CANTUS'.
- The text reads: "One holy Ghost eternall God, proceeding from above: Both from the Father and the son, the God of peace and love. Visite our minds and into vs, thy heauenly grace inspire: That in all truth and godlines, we may haue true desire."
- The music is written in mensural notation on a single staff.

**Right Page (Viol Part):**

- At the top, there is a large initial 'C' for the word 'CANTUS'.
- The text reads: "One holie Ghost eternall God, Proceeding from above, Both from the father and the sonne, The God of peace and loue. Visite our mindes and into vs. Thy heauenly grace inspire, That in all truth and godlynes, We may haue true desire."
- The music is written in mensural notation on a single staff.

The page is printed in a 'table' format, with the lute part on the left and the viol part on the right. The text is in Latin and English, and the music is in tablature and mensural notation.

PL. 6.3. Page printed in 'table' format from Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London, 1599)

lower parts are more interesting than those of typical psalm settings. In this respect the settings are reminiscent of consort songs, and it may be that viols were primarily intended for the lower parts. Both the tablature parts are effectively short scores of the four lower parts. The lute part is more exacting than those of Allison or Leighton's books, and in following the part-writing provides more than mere chordal support. Tailour writes for a 9-course lute with diapasons on *F*, *D*, and *C*. He gives more importance to the viol tablature than the lute, reflecting, as with lute-song publications, the changing fortunes of the two instruments around this time. The term 'lyra viol' implied a viol part which involved the playing of chords and melody from tablature, and which could give the impression of maintaining distinct

polyphonic lines in the manner of a lute. This method of playing the viol became very popular in the Jacobean period.

The popularity of English mixed-consort music is surprising. The three separate published editions would, even on the smallest print runs, have produced many hundreds if not thousands of books. These books, the manuscript collections, and the publications of domestic sacred music with mixed consort, prove that the ensemble, with its seemingly exotic collection of instruments, must be regarded as part of the mainstream of English music in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean age. The lute has a leading role in many consort lessons, and the fast diminutions that characterize repeat sections show the expectation of a high standard of lute playing in England at this time. The interchange of music for solo lute, lute duet, and mixed consort must have been mutually beneficial to all three forms. At least three of Dowland's solo pieces were turned into duets, and at least three others were arranged for mixed consort, apart from his published duet and the four that Morley arranged and published.<sup>113</sup>

There is one further consort combination to which the lute may have regularly contributed, and that was with a whole consort of viols or violins. Mention has been made of the painting *The Courtiers of Elizabeth*, which depicts a lute with a consort of violins, and there is a further representation, dated c.1570, of a lute with a consort of viols, or more likely violins, in an alabaster overmantel of 'Apollo and the Muses' at Hardwick Hall.<sup>114</sup> The combination of lute and viols certainly became common in Jacobean England in the context of song accompaniment. There is one important publication that calls for a lute played with a whole string consort in serious instrumental music: Dowland's *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares Figured in Seaven Passionate Pavans, with divers other Pavans, Galiards, and Almands, set forth for the Lute, Viols, or Violons, in five parts*. The book is unique in being the only published collection in table-book format in which a consort of viols is grouped around a printed tablature lute part. The lute doubles the string texture most of the time, but has figurations and elaborative devices that are found in none of the other parts, yet the viol parts are performable without the lute.<sup>115</sup> The seven passionate pavans that open the book are a thematically linked unity of extraordinary intensity, developed by Dowland from his famous lute pavan that forms the basis of number one of the 'Lachrimae Antiquae'. Of the other fourteen dance pieces most exist in earlier versions (usually for solo lute), but a few were either newly composed, or were reworkings of music by other composers expressly written for the *Lachrimae* publication.<sup>116</sup> The lute parts in this book are important as they had received 'from

<sup>113</sup> Solo made into a duo: 'Lord Willoughby', 'Lady Rich's Galliard', 'Now oh now/Frog Galliard'; solos in MS consort versions: 'Lady Laiton's Allmain', 'Sir John Smith's Allmaine', and 'Fortune my foe'.

<sup>114</sup> I am grateful to Peter Forrester for alerting me to this.

<sup>115</sup> This is in contradiction to Poulton's opinion in *John Dowland*, 345.

<sup>116</sup> Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), 61–74.



me [Dowland] their last foile and polishment'.<sup>117</sup> Clearly they have been arranged to suit a consort setting and are plainly different to the solo versions that Dowland may have played.

The book resembles a typical English lute-song publication in many respects: its table-book format allowing all to play from one large copy; a total of twenty-one items; a prefacing dedication and address to the reader. As Holman points out, however, its real origins lie with Anglo-German instrumental traditions developed in the 1590s by expatriate English musicians working on the Continent, and in particular the cultivation of the serious contrapuntal pavan.<sup>118</sup> Dowland himself states that he began compiling the book in Denmark.<sup>119</sup> The inclusion of violins in the title is important, as professional musicians of the time often played both viols and violins, and varied them according to the occasion. If *Lachrimae* is regarded as more representative of Continental practice, then English evidence that the lute regularly combined with whole consorts of bowed strings for instrumental music in Elizabethan and Jacobean times remains small.

The sacred publications of Allison, Leighton, and Tailour are a testament to the popularity of domestic psalm-singing in Jacobean England. Intended for the homes of the gentry, the inclusion of parts for mixed consorts in these books argues strongly for the continued presence of mixed consorts in the wealthy homes of England from the 1570s well into the Jacobean period. Gradually the mixed consort gave way to consorts of bowed string instruments (viols or violins) with optional support from lutes, theorbos, or keyboard instruments. Whereas in 1590 few great houses had a set of viols, by 1610 many did. Likewise among professional musicians the violin band became ever more popular. The mixed consort with its variety of instruments may have seemed reminiscent of minstrel music and thus archaic. The new types of court string music introduced by John Coprario, and patronized by the Princes Henry and Charles, may have led fashions away from mixed consorts. Certainly by the mid-1620s the musicians of the King's Company at Blackfriars Theatre were employing known violinists.<sup>120</sup> Holman suggests that waits and theatre musicians, who had formerly played mixed-consort instruments, were converting to a four-part string band with theorbos by the 1620s. The new arrangement maintained a six-man line-up. In it the old dual role of the lute, responsible for the alto line with chordal support and single-line divisions in the repeat sections, gave way to that of the more sombre bass line plus sketched-in harmony of the theorbos.

<sup>117</sup> John Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares* (London, 1604), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 160–70; Dowland: *Lachrimae* (1604), 16–17.

<sup>119</sup> Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 141.