

## CHAPTER 2

### THE ENGLISH LUTE REPERTORY

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

*Mary Burwell.*<sup>1</sup>

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SHAPE AND SURVIVAL

GENRES

SOURCES BEFORE 1580

SOURCES 1580-1615

SOURCES AFTER 1615

THE 'GOLDEN AGE'

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> *Burwell*, 43-43v.

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

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

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

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

### §SHAPE AND SURVIVAL

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

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<sup>2</sup> The Paston Manuscripts, *see* Chapter 3, p.82.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRINTED:

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

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

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

PRINTED:

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

<p>Dowland 1610B <i>Varietie of Lute Lessons...</i>  Maynard 1611 <i>The XII. Wonders of the World</i> [all Maynard, mostly transitional tuning]</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>GROUP 3 - SOURCES AFTER 1615</u></p> <p><u>MANUSCRIPT:</u> [All upright folio format except <i>Rowallan</i>]  <i>Rowallan</i> - compiled in two layers, c1605-8 and c1615-20. See also above.  <i>Krakow</i> - small collection, related to <i>ML</i> c1615  <i>Pickeringe</i> - copied by Jane Pickeringe from 1616, with a later section added at the back in transitional tunings, using the book inverted, c1630-50.  <i>Hirsch</i> - currently dated c1595, more likely c1620<sup>4</sup>  <i>ML</i> - not, as previously thought, written by John Sturt, but more probably by the owner, Margaret L., c1620 (and one piece c1630-40), related to <i>Krakow</i>  <i>Trinity</i> - lyra viol and lute in transitional tunings. Probably mostly French music, c1630.  <i>Board</i> - principally the work of Margaret Board, with a later section added by scribes who may have been French, and who used transitional tunings as well as <i>vieil ton</i>, c1620 and 1635.  <i>Northants</i> - two letter fragments, c1625.  <i>Herbert</i> - music both from the 1580-1615 period and after, a great deal of it French, but all in <i>vieil ton</i>. About 200 pieces, written c1630 and 1640.  <i>Edmund</i> - a single bifolium used as a paste-down and guard in Hugonis Grotius <i>Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum</i> (1641). In transitional tuning, c1635.</p> <p><u>PRINTED:</u>  Mathew 1652 <i>The Lute's Apology for Her Excellency</i> [All Mathew]</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>TABLE 5</b>  FOREIGN SOURCES IN FRENCH TABLATURE CONTAINING ENGLISH MUSIC</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>GROUP 1 - EARLY SOURCES 1540-1580</u></p> <p><u>MANUSCRIPT:</u>  <i>Lvov</i> - c1555-1560</p> <p><u>PRINTED:</u>  Phalèse 1546, Phalèse 1547 <i>Des Chansons...</i>  Phalèse: <i>Carminum pro Testudine...</i> 1546  Phalèse: <i>Carminum quae chely vel testudine...</i> 1549  Hans Gerle: <i>Eyn Newes sehr Künstlichs Lautenbuch...</i> 1552  Albert de Rippe: <i>Premier livre</i> 1552, 1553, 1554, 1558, 1562  Phalèse 1552 <i>Hortus Musarum</i>  Phalèse 1563 <i>Theatrum Musicum...</i>  Valentin Bakfark: <i>Premier Livre...</i> 1564  Adrian Le Roy: <i>Breve et facile instruction pour apprendre la tablature....</i> 1565  Phalèse: <i>Luculentum Theatrum Musicum...</i> 1568  Phalèse: <i>Thesaurus Musicus...</i> 1574</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>GROUP 2 - SOURCES 1580-1615</u></p> <p><u>MANUSCRIPT:</u>  <i>Herdringen</i> - c1590  <i>Bern</i> - c1595  <i>Herhold</i> - c1600  <i>Thysius</i> - c1610  <i>Nürnberg</i> - French and Italian tablatures, c1610  <i>Brahe</i> - Per Brahe's <i>Visbok</i>, c1610  <i>Basle</i> - c1610  <i>Montbuysson</i> - from 1611  <i>Vilnius</i> - c1610-20  <i>Schele</i> - 1613-19  <i>Bautzen</i> - Manuscript additions to Besard 1603, c1615</p> <p><u>PRINTED:</u>  Adriansen 1584, Adriansen 1592 <i>Pratum Musicum</i></p>
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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 7.

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

GROUP 3 - SOURCES AFTER 1615

MANUSCRIPT:

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

PRINTED:

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

## § GENRES

### DANCE FORMS

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

**TABLE 6**  
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GENRES IN ENGLISH  
SOURCES

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

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

The pavan<sup>6</sup> and the galliard<sup>7</sup>

**Pavan**  
**Pavane**  
**Pavin**  
**Paven**

both appear to have originated in northern Italy, though not simultaneously, and the earliest printed examples date from the first decade of the sixteenth century. By the late sixteenth century they had become so firmly entrenched in the English dance repertory that, with the almain, they represent just over 50% of the surviving repertory. They are particularly synonymous with English dance and of the two, the sedate duple time pavan seems most to have suited both the English temperament and the requirement of a form that could embrace a relatively strict contrapuntal texture without sacrificing recognisable dance movement. Morley<sup>8</sup> refers to following a point in the pavan

<sup>5</sup> Both simple harmonizations and contrapuntal arrangements, but excluding intabulations.

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

<sup>7</sup> The spellings indicate a two-syllable pronunciation in which the spelling 'Galeryd' seems most accurate for the modern reader.

<sup>8</sup> Morley 1597, 180-181.

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

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

The dance step of the galliard is similar to that of the saltarello, both using variations of the same basic five steps taken in the time of six beats: short-short-short-long-short (cinquepace<sup>10</sup> or cinq pas) and the music is indistinguishable in style. English galliards either overtly follow this rhythmic scheme or virtually ignore it. The galliard, according to Arbeau, was faster and more energetic than the saltarello, the jumps higher and the 'kicks' more vigorous. The music is invariably in triple metre in the lute sources, and the interchange between 6/8 and 3/4 metre hemiola rhythms is particularly characteristic of the English galliard in the approach to cadences, but not exclusively so, since both intermediate cadences and overall melodic figurations make use of the rhythm.

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

**Galliard**  
**Galyard**  
**Gaillard**  
**Galiard**  
**Galyerd**  
**Cinquepace**  
**Sinkapace**

<sup>9</sup> Mace 1676, 129.

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

<sup>11</sup> *Quatorze gaillardes neuf pavennes* (Paris, 1531).

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

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

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

**Almain**  
**Alman**  
**Almane**  
**Allmane**  
**Almond**  
**Allemande**  
**Almayne**

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

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

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

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

**Jig**  
**Giga**  
**Gigue**  
**Jigge**  
**Gigge**  
**Port**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Choice**  
**Chose**  
**Thing**  
**Nothing**

**Toy**

**Delight**

**Jest**

**Lament**  
**Funeral**  
**Funeralls**  
**Finerall**

**Farewell**

**Good Night**

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

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

The transcription or intabulation of music from masks accounts for a number of cryptic titles and oddments such as 'Mad Tom' and 'The Turtle Dove'. Masking dances acted as interludes before, during and after the action of the maske; it was not unusual for members of the audience to participate in these dances with the players, and by drawing the watchers into the action they would become party not only to the overt plot, but are also included in any underlying political or social allegory. By the middle of the seventeenth century the antimaske dances (also known as antics, ante-maske, or antique-maske) had become a series of traditional set pieces depending upon where the maske was to be performed. Sabol<sup>13</sup> lists the dances that were performed at the Inns of Court as a quadran pavan, 'Tinternell', 'The Earl of Essex's Measure', 'Turkeylony' and four almains. Pavans, almains, galliards (later replaced by sarabands), courants, volts and branles were all used for the social dance measures in masks in which members of the audience took part.

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

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

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

their infiltration into the lute repertory, particularly the later Group Two sources (in table 4), and their continued presence in dance music publications well into the eighteenth century. The masques that are represented in lute sources, listed in table 7, are almost exclusively from the more public entertainments rather than private masques performed only once for a special occasion at a private residence, and are concentrated in three sources, *ML*, *Krakow* (two manuscripts that are linked<sup>14</sup>) and *Board*. *Willoughby* proves an exceptionally early lute source of masque dances, with music from the *Nusquam Maske*, performed for the Willoughby household.

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

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

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

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 7 §*ML* and *Krakow*.

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

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

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

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

Music based on grounds accounts for a small but significant percentage of all music written for the lute, perhaps because of its use as a teaching tool, and also perhaps because once a ground was fixed in the listener's ear, it was no longer necessary to do more than sketch a reminder of it now and again, thus allowing the player considerable freedom of melodic detail in spite of the limitations of the instrument. Two types of ground exist in this repertory; the melodic bass line and the harmonic ground; lute grounds are most usually of the harmonic rather than the melodic variety. Variations on grounds such as the passamezzo pervade lute music in England up to about 1575, but despite their continued popularity abroad gradually gave way to native grounds and popular melodies in the duet repertory and, to a lesser extent, imported grounds like the chi passa, Buffoons<sup>16</sup> and Bergamasca. The passamezzo moderno in England had a four-note coda, and the resulting ground was known as quadro or quadran, a title that was also applied to the unaltered passamezzo moderno abroad. This form of the ground survived much longer than the pure antico or moderno grounds in English lute music, and is still found in sources throughout the early 1600s in spite of the decline of the conventional passamezzo in this repertory. About half of the surviving music on grounds is written for equal pitch treble-ground duet lutes, and this is where the majority of the home-grown grounds can be seen. Solo lute grounds are almost invariably chi passa, passamezzo or quadro settings. The continuing currency of passamezzo-based music abroad is not reflected in the contents of English manuscripts, which moved decisively towards a dance repertory that was not constrained by harmonic grounds. The quadro continued to make a decisive mark, but nevertheless the form occupies a noticeably and increasingly insignificant part of the repertory from 1580 on. Anything from 25% to 50% of the solo music in a standard Group One source might be based on grounds, and nearly all of these will be passamezzos, whereas in Group Three sources, solo grounds vary from about 0% to 5% of the contents, depending on the size of the source and quantity of retrospective music it contains. Here, the original purpose of the source in question determines the type of solo repertory it contains.<sup>17</sup>

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

**Passamezzo**  
**Passing measures**  
**Quadro**  
**Quadran**  
  
**Folia**  
  
**Chi passa**  
**Qui passa**  
**Chipas**  
  
**Romanesca**  
  
**Buffoons**  
  
**Bergamasca**  
  
**Ruggiero**  
**Rogeroe**  
**Rogero**  
  
**Sinkapace**

**Canaries**  
  
**Lavecchia**  
**Pavecheo**  
**Leueche**

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

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 3.

England, though noticeably only in sources after 1610.<sup>18</sup> There are numerous variations on a basic melodic shape called 'canaries' which also follows generally the passamezzo moderno harmony. The type is immediately recognisable by the tonic-supertonic-median rising third of the opening which is stated twice. Examples from the sixteenth century are most often in duple time, although in the early seventeenth century triple time examples begin to appear. By the early eighteenth century, however, the movement is frequently triple but is more often in a dotted compound time. Like branles, canaries may appear in groups in the continental sources, but only singly in England.

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

#### FRENCH-INFLUENCED DANCE FORMS

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

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

<sup>18</sup> Board, *ML*, Nn.6.36, *Straloch*, and *Trinity*.

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

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

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

**Courant**  
**Corant**  
**Courante**  
**Currant**  
**Curent**  
**Carranta**  
**Crananta**

The characteristics of the dance are triple metre and an opening up-beat followed by a chord similar to the 'Ballard' type of saraband, and also the occasional use of strummed chords. Regardless of whether the up-beat is followed by a chord, this is probably the only dance in the repertory in which the anacrusis is a definite feature of the dance and is uniformly present. Despite these overlapping features between the courant and the saraband, the two genres are clearly distinguishable by their phrase structures: the saraband uses an almost rigid four-bar phrase structure, while the French courant idiomatically avoids even phrase lengths in favour of a mix of various irregular numbers of bars that seems to be entirely unpredictable. The shared features of the two dances probably gave rise to titles such as 'Courante Sarabande', which finds its way into the English sources, though not always attached to the same piece. Clearly composers deliberately exploited the stylistic overlap to generate a specific type of dance, although the idiosyncrasy of the phrase structures must have made them instantly discrete to players. David Ledbetter<sup>19</sup> identifies the repeated chord at the end of each phrase as a 'typical courant punctuation mark' in the French repertory, but in the English repertory this gesture is also typical of phrase endings in the galliard, and to a certain extent also the pavan.

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

<sup>19</sup> Ledbetter 1990, 36-7.

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

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

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

**Volt**  
**Volte**  
**Volta**  
**Wolt**  
**Lavolta**

**Branle**  
**Bransle**  
**Brawle**  
**Brale**  
**Bralle**  
**Brand**

<sup>20</sup> See table 14 below, page 64.

sources, where branles appear with some frequency and never singly. They seem never to have been performed singly either, but only in groups of about three or more.<sup>21</sup> There are numerous varieties of step and rhythm associated with the dance that originate in the verse types on which they are based and the regional localities where they supposedly developed. They are usually in 6/4 metre, but the 'branle de Poitou' is usually in 9/4, occasionally alternating with 6/4 and making use of rustic drone effects. The possibly rowdy results of a dance that deliberately espoused rustic styles may be one of the reasons why only ten<sup>22</sup> examples survive in the English lute repertory, which showed clear preferences for more sedate music, as well as the inappropriateness of an instrument as subtle and light as the lute for a dance normally accompanied on loud wind instruments.

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

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

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

*Mary Burwell*<sup>23</sup>

#### NON-DANCE FORMS

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

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

<sup>21</sup> See Sabol 1982, 17-18 and Grove: 'Branle'.

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

<sup>23</sup> *Burwell*, 39v.

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

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

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

**Prelude**  
**Preludium**  
**Lesson**  
**Toccata**  
**Ricercar**  
**Fuga**  
**Phantasy**  
**Fantasia**  
**Fancy**

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

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

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

Elias Mertel's exhaustive collection of fantasias and preludes: *Hortus Musicalis* (1615) contains both imitative and improvisatory preludes; 'Prelude 21' appears in Michelagnolo Galilei's 1620 *Primo Libro d'intavolatura di Liuto* as a Toccata (p.38) and also has significant similarities with Mertel's 'Fantasia 1'. As well as concordant sources which use both the titles fantasia or prelude<sup>26</sup> for single pieces, there are instances such as that of Mertel's 'Prelude 166' which exists as Molinaro's (1599) 'Fantasia Quinta' but only from bar 12 onwards, thus further complicating concordancing.

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

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

#### §SOURCES BEFORE 1580

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

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

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

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

There are two printed sources from this period, listed at the end of Group One, both almost exactly similar in contents, and both translations of a French tutor by Adrian Le Roy, originally published in Paris in 1565.<sup>28</sup> They are conservative collections, containing instructions for playing the lute which are followed, in the second edition, by an exhaustive description of how to intabulate vocal models based on music by composers such as Josquin, Sermisy and Lassus.<sup>29</sup> The collection contains no other solo music, and is almost certainly the product of an already existing repertory rather than the genesis of a new one in the manner of the effect that the publication of *Musica Transalpina* in 1588 had on the English Madrigal School.

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

Linking this early group to later manuscripts are *Willoughby* and *Thistlethwaite*. These are both rich in Italian music, particularly *Thistlethwaite* which John Ward<sup>30</sup> suggests may have been compiled in part by an Italian scribe. Tables 9 and 10 list the contents of these manuscripts.

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

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

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

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

<sup>29</sup> Josquin c1440-1521, Sermisy c1490-1562, Lassus c1532-1594.

<sup>30</sup> Ward 1992.

<sup>31</sup> The early sources of English lute music are discussed in Ward 1992.

**TABLE 9**  
 CONTENTS OF *WILLOUGHBY* c1560-85

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

**TABLE 10**  
CONTENTS OF *THISTLETHWAITE* c1575

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

### §SOURCES 1580-1615

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

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

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

The year 1580 marks approximately the point when the contents of English lute sources began to diverge most markedly from the contents of foreign collections, and the number of concordances with foreign sources falls off most dramatically. This period also defines the work of Matthew Holmes, who copied virtually all the extant pieces from this period in his collection of lute books. By following the undoubtedly current copying of Holmes<sup>32</sup> it is possible to gain an excellent overall picture not only of the way in which the repertory developed, but also to appreciate which older pieces were clearly still being played during the most compositionally active era. His lute books are surveyed in Chapter 6<sup>33</sup> in relation to establishing detailed and specific chronology for Group Two repertory.

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

<b>TABLE 11</b>		
CONTENTS OF WILLIAM BARLEY: <i>A NEW BOOKE OF TABLITURE...</i> (London, 1596)		
Source (pagination)	Title (in standardized spelling)	Composer
<b>FOR LUTE</b>		
17.....	The Ten Commandments .....	[?William Barley]
22-23.....	Study .....	[?William Barley]
26-29/1.....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
29/2-32.....	Pavan.....	Francis Cutting
33-36.....	Lachrimae Pavan.....	John Dowland
37-41.....	Captain Digorie Piper's Pavan .....	John Dowland
42-44.....	Almain.....	Francis Cutting
45-46.....	Fortune My Foe .....	John Dowland
47-49.....	Pavan and Galliard.....	Francis Cutting
<b>FOR ORPHARION</b>		
55-56.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (1).....	Philip Rosseter
57-58.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (2).....	Philip Rosseter
59.....	Countess of Sussex's Galliard (3).....	Philip Rosseter
60-61.....	Solus cum Sola .....	John Dowland

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

<sup>33</sup> Page 163ff.

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

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

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

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

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

galliards and almains towards the French dances.

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

The fantasia and prelude were always put in the place of honour at the head of a collection and separated from other solo music by a section of intabulations that frequently dwarfed the solo sections. The intabulations were of sacred motets by Josquin, Sermisy, Lassus and others, and secular vocal music mainly from the four Antwerp anthologies published by Phalèse between 1583 and 1591.<sup>35</sup> The intabulations are not shown in the table above, which concentrates on the emergence of the solo repertory, but this is another apparently anomalous feature of the printed sources in which the inclusion of intabulations persists long after they became virtually extinct in manuscripts, though to some extent vocal music retains its place with the growing number of settings of song tunes and broadside ballads, sometimes in single-strain settings, and sometimes in the complex and artful sets of variations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of all English music to reach the continent, that of Dowland was undoubtedly the most widely known and copied. This must be due to the fact that Dowland spent most of his life travelling in Europe<sup>36</sup> and from 1598 to 1606 was employed by Christianus IV, King of Denmark.<sup>37</sup> Dowland was held in extremely high regard abroad, and was ideally placed, both geographically and politically, for his music to gain the widest possible circulation in mainland Europe. If in doubt about the composer of a piece, a compiler simply ascribed it to Dowland. Quite probably some pieces were misattributed to him since his reputation was such that the mere appearance of his name would guarantee the piece a playing.

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

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

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

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

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

**TABLE 13**  
ENGLISH COMPOSERS WHOSE MUSIC APPEARS IN FOREIGN SOURCES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### §SOURCES AFTER 1615

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

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

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

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

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

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

music from Dowland 1610B.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>40</sup> e.g. Phalése 1552, Phalése 1563, Le Roy 1568 and Le Roy 1574, Adriansen 1592.

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

### §THE 'GOLDEN AGE'

The production of lute music in England from 1550<sup>41</sup> to 1630 was dubbed the 'Golden Age of English lute music' by Richard Newton,<sup>42</sup> a term perpetuated and elaborated by David Lumsden.<sup>43</sup> At face value, there is no reason to argue with his term—the lute clearly enjoyed remarkable popularity among both the nobility and the gentry, and its numerous composers devoted themselves to producing a large repertory of music which catered to the English taste.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>43</sup> Lumsden 1957A.

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

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

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<sup>44</sup> Poulton 1982, 98.

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 3, §Pedagogical Books.

<sup>46</sup> Coelho 1991.

<sup>47</sup> See Spring 1987A.