

### §MYNSHALL AND SWARLAND

RICHARD MYNSHALL'S LUTE BOOK: Private library of Robert Spencer, Woodford Green, Essex. Dating from 1597 (date written on f.5v). Book written almost entirely in the hand of Richard Mynshall (b1582) with three pieces added at the end of Mynshall's section by two further hands.

THE JOHN SWARLAND BOOK OF LUTE SONGS: London, British Library Add.Ms.15117. Signed on the endpaper by John Swarland, but not apparently entirely written out by him. Lute songs interspersed with some solos. c1615.

*Mynshall* was written by a very young scribe in 1595, and was almost certainly prepared under the direction of a tutor.<sup>42</sup> The mature use-hand of the young Richard Mynshall is seen only in the secretary script that he uses when writing out an index to the contents and occasionally in titles within the book. (See table 40 below, p.228.) For his tablature he chose italic which was clearly his second hand, and one he was not entirely comfortable with when he began copying the lute music. (See example 60.)



Because this script is still in a state of evolution during copying, the characteristics of his hand change quite significantly through the book, particularly in the titles of the pieces. Although some titles are remarkably crude, others show more flow and sense of proportion in the duct and demonstrate the emergence of a quite elegant italic hand. Such is the difference in appearance of the better-written examples, which appear irregularly interspersed among the cruder titles, that it is possible the neater ones were written by a scribe more experienced in the use of italic—perhaps Mynshall's teacher. A second scribe copied a single piece at the end of Mynshall's copying, and is followed by a

<sup>42</sup> Spencer 1975C.

<sup>43</sup> Examples 57-9 have been omitted.

third hand contributing the final piece in the book. Spencer believes that the last scribe is the mature form of Mynshall's hand,<sup>44</sup> and it certainly has much in common with the earlier part of the book.

Whether or not the last piece in *Mynshall* is in fact in Richard Mynshall's mature tablature hand is quite significant. It is certainly likely that this is the case, since two similar hands would have been unlikely to appear in the same book unless they were related. The slight angulation to the right in the later hand would be commensurate with faster and more confident copying, and an older scribe would be likely to have dispensed with the flamboyant decoration of his early years. Examples 60 and 61 show folios 7v and 12v from *Mynshall*, the first in the hand of Richard Mynshall, the second possibly Mynshall later in life.



ex. 61 *Mynshall* f.12v, ?Richard Mynshall

The form of the letter 'c' is different, excluding the serif, and the higher letters and flags seem to have settled into a fixed form. The second scribe uses both # and + graces, in a clearly different hand from Mynshall's ornaments, and without the cross-hatch variations of Mynshall earlier in the book. The high letters could have been written by the same scribe, and the flourish on the descender of the 'g' is similar to that tried on some folios by Mynshall. The 'f' and the single flags, on the other hand, use significantly different strokes from those employed by Mynshall. The spacing of the letters is very regular, and many features of the duct have changed, including the addition of hold signs to his copying by *Mynshall* Scribe C, unlike Mynshall. Mynshall may have started to use hold signs as his playing became more accomplished, but scribal practices overall in this repertory show that a scribe either used

<sup>44</sup> In his commentary to the facsimile (Spencer 1975C), he states that 'Piece no. 41 is copied by yet another hand, or perhaps by Mynshall later in life', and in communication with the present writer in 1993 has indicated more decisively that he believes this to be the case. Spencer's long familiarity both with the source, which has been in his possession for some years, and with tablature hands in general gives considerable weight to this opinion.

hold signs or not, and did not change this habit even when learning from a teacher who employed them. John Dowland, who used hold signs in his own copying, added hold signs to the copying of both Margaret Board and one of the *Folger* scribes, both of whom it appears he taught at some time in their careers. Neither scribe, however, picked up the usage from Dowland, and neither use them either before or after Dowland taught them.

*Swarland*, a book of lute songs and solos, is so called because of the inscription 'John swarland / His Booke' written horizontally on a front end-paper (the book is in upright format), although Swarland himself does not appear to have been responsible for the contents.<sup>45</sup> He may have been an owner of the book after the lute music was copied. The back of the (?parchment) wrapper is a will written in the seventh year of the reign of James I, i.e. 24 March 1609 to 23 March 1610 and the back end-paper shows the dates 1630, 1608 and 1633, though all these dates appear to refer to legal cases and seem to be in a later seventeenth-century hand than that in the music part of the book. On the same end-paper is the inscription 'This Booke be...[?...longs to/?...gun by] / Hugh Floyd', also in a mid seventeenth-century hand.

The music in *Swarland* is by two scribes, the second being one who appears in a number of other sources, discussed below as, possibly, Richard Allison, dating from 1588 (*Walsingham*), c1600-1605 (*Dd.9.33*), c1610 (*Sampson*) and c1615 (*Dd.4.22*). The work of these two scribes in *Swarland* seems to have been contemporary and could therefore date from any time in the 30 years spanned by these sources: 1585-1615.<sup>46</sup> Certainly the hand of Allison is clearly recognisable, and does not seem to change a great deal despite the length of time he was active. *Mynshall*, copied from 1597 on, places Richard Mynshall's copying life precisely alongside the activity of Allison.

Example 62 is taken from *Swarland*, and the similarities between this folio and Mynshall's known hand (shown in example 60 above) are very striking, particularly the letter 'c', the shapes of the flags, the overall layout and the double bars and decoration of the final bar. The inaccuracies in barring and rhythm seen in *Mynshall* are also evident, though to a lesser extent, and mostly corrected, in *Swarland*.

Mynshall's ornament signs, though not unusual, are fairly distinctive, partly because he appears to scratch them with the edge of the nib to get the finest line in both directions. They are all variations of the # sign, with varying numbers of crosses both horizontally and vertically, and slightly irregular angulation. They are added liberally to some pieces, and not at all to others; an indication that they may not necessarily have been put in by Mynshall, or that he may have been copying from two exemplars: one heavily graced, and the other not. Example 63 is taken from f.1 of his copying in *Mynshall*. The first piece is ungraced, but the second is liberally decorated with several different forms of the # sign.

<sup>45</sup> Facsimile edition: *British Library Manuscripts, Part I: English Song 1600-1675*. (Garland: New York, 1975).

<sup>46</sup> On f.7 music begun by *Sampson* B is completed by *Swarland* A.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a lute tablature. The notation is organized into ten systems, each consisting of a staff with rhythmic symbols above and letters (representing fret positions) below. The letters used include 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'f', 'g', 'h', and 'i'. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line. There are some annotations and corrections throughout the piece, including a signature 'Richard Mynshall' in the fifth system. The handwriting is in a historical style, consistent with the 16th-century manuscript mentioned in the caption.

ex. 62 Swarland f.8v, Swarland A: ?Richard Mynshall

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as 'ex. 63 Mynshall f.5'. It consists of ten systems of two staves each. The notation is highly rhythmic and repetitive, featuring many multi-measure rests and complex rhythmic patterns. A section of the score is marked 'Preludium'. The notation is dense and appears to be a study or exercise in rhythmic complexity.

ex. 63 Mynshall f.5

*Swarland A* uses the + or x sign grace, which Mynshall uses only once,<sup>47</sup> placed after or beneath their notes. As in *Mynshall*, some pieces are graced, while others are not. The # sign also appears, similar in appearance to Mynshall's sign, but only in the simple form without the additional cross-hatching.

The higher letters (f, g, h, j, k) are usually more distinctive than lower ones in tablature, but because of the state of development of the script, they appear in a number of forms; with descenders sometimes flourished, and sometimes simply curled under. In fact, in this case it is the lower letters (a, b, c, d, e) that are more regular, and are most distinctive. The 'c' is characterised by a small 45° serif on the angle of the vertical and horizontal strokes, visible in example 63. This old-fashioned formation is clearly visible on all the tablature appearances of the letter, but not in the titles where the more modern rounded form of the letter is employed. Almost every internal double bar and all the terminal bars are decorated differently, the only regular feature being that they are all decorated, giving the manuscript an appearance of uncontrolled exuberance.

The inconsistency in Richard Mynshall's writing has been attributed to his youth when he compiled *Mynshall*, and this is not an unreasonable hypothesis. The writing certainly looks as though it was executed by a child, though the secretary script that Mynshall would have learned first in the late 1590s shows that his hand was not lacking in finesse in his formal hand. If the first script in *Swarland* was also executed by Mynshall, then it appears that his italic hand did not undergo much deliberate improvement later in life, although by c1615 (the approximate date for the compilation of *Swarland*) he was comfortable enough with its use to write an index in italic. Mynshall's tablature never seems to settle into the regular form that most hands acquire with time, a form like that of *Mynshall Scribe C*, which is how one might expect the earlier hand to mature. Like Allison, discussed below, Mynshall's hand shows an irregularity related to the types of pen he used. He was probably one of those not particularly highly-taught writers who bought job lots of pens and ink from stationers, and probably did not bother to re-shape or trim the nibs himself. Mynshall's lack of attention to his pens leads to variations in his script, all showing the same overall characteristics, but varying in size and pressure. Like many writers, he probably kept a pot of pens beside him, and when one nib became soggy, he set it aside to dry and harden up, and used another, switching between the two as he went. Because they had not been cut and finished similarly, variations in the hand appear.

Although the flagging in the two sources appears at first glance to lack regularity, closer examination shows that it is surprisingly consistent, and single flags particularly show distinctive and frequently recurring shapes. It is the flags and the style of the tablature letter 'c', as well as some of the terminal bar decorations, that link the two sources.

Both the *Mynshall Scribe C* tablature and that in *Swarland* are for larger lutes than Mynshall was using when he first started playing. Mynshall learned to play with music for a six-course lute.

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<sup>47</sup> Spencer suggests that Mynshall may have meant to write #, as the sign is not used elsewhere in his copying.

*Mynshall C* used a lute with seven courses, and *Swarland A* one with ten, though the tenth course is very rarely used and some of the solo pieces do not use more than the first six courses.

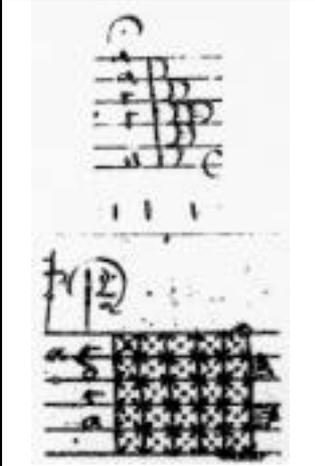
Very few lute sources have an index. *Mynshall* and *Swarland* do, though they use different scripts. Table 40 shows the index from *Mynshall* and a portion of the longer one from *Swarland*. If the scribe is Mynshall, he may have been comfortable enough with his italic hand by c1615 to use it for his index; equally probably, they may not have been written by the same scribe.

Richard Mynshall	<i>Swarland A</i>
Platt canon 2	Comhally quest
Galliard to the Jano 2	O Lord of whom
Quainto canon 2	O Lord Let vs
Scotch gunt 2	in praise thou god
and furo/ob 2	O all ye worke
quason galliard 2	My Soule do
and longstans & joye 2	O Lord Because
Subtiffes danc 2	What man sauer
and dola/ob 2	O Lord turne not
7 foy 2	Our father
7 foy 2	Heard Israel
7 foy 2	Wher Righteousnes

### Conclusion

The strongest arguments against these two scribes being Richard Mynshall are the dates of the two books. The date of the watermark of *Swarland*—in this case reasonably exact—is substantiated by circumstantial evidence that places it undoubtedly in the second decade of the seventeenth century, almost certainly after 1615. The date 1597 was doodled in *Mynshall* at the time of copying, almost certainly by Richard Mynshall himself. Pedagogical books nearly always contain a retrospective repertory, and Mynshall may have been doodling a date from his exemplar, rather than making a point about the year in which he was copying. The absence of deliberate dates from other books (whatever their purpose), and the fact that Mynshall is certainly the youngest scribe known in the repertory if he was copying in 1597, give grounds for suspicion about the date of copying. However, the arms on the cover, the watermark of the end-papers and the 'Essex letter' of 1599 copied at the back of the book place it indisputably late in the reign of Elizabeth, and confirm Mynshall's copying date of 1597. It is quite possible that Mynshall's mature hand did not change significantly from the hand he used in 1597, particularly if he did not write tablature very frequently. However, neither the apparently immature text hand nor the tablature of Richard Allison changed over this period (i.e. c1595-1615), so it is reasonable to suppose that Mynshall's hand also did not change. The activity of the Allison scribe discussed in the following case study shows that it is quite likely that Mynshall's tablature hand remained basically unchanged for some twenty years, arguing strongly for the probability that the hand in *Swarland* did belong to him.

<sup>48</sup> Tables 37-9 have been omitted.

<b>TABLE 41</b> TERMINAL BARS AND OTHER FIGURES IN <i>MYNSHALL</i> AND <i>SWARLAND</i>	
<i>Mynshall</i>	<i>Swarland</i>
	

There are far more similarities between *Mynshall* and *Swarland A* than between *Mynshall* and Scribe C in *Mynshall*. The duct, angulation and detailed characteristics, including the graces scratched with the side of the nib, are virtually identical to *Mynshall*'s current tablature hand, as are the titles. The final bar decoration frequently matches a pattern which *Mynshall* uses more than once, but is not used by *Mynshall* Scribe C, and the occasional caricature face that *Mynshall* doodles by using terminal bar strokes and fermatas is

also to be seen in *Swarland* (see table 41, particularly the lowest of the examples given in each column). Although *Mynshall*'s hand looks irregular, in fact the spacing and angulation of individual letters is very consistent right through his copying in *Mynshall* and is echoed in *Swarland*. The likelihood, therefore, is that the late hand in *Mynshall* on f.12v (shown in example 61) is probably not that of Richard *Mynshall*, but of another scribe, and that *Mynshall* is the principal scribe of *Swarland*.

If *Mynshall* and *Swarland* are linked, then that brings *Mynshall* in turn into the Allison group discussed below. The occurrence of a lute solo scribe who also writes lute songs is very rare—witness the apparent polarization of both printed and manuscript sources into either lute song or lute solo. *Swarland* is unique in that it preserves both types of repertory side by side, and Richard *Mynshall* is therefore significantly one of only two solo lute scribes who are also known to have copied lute songs, both of whom are represented only in *Swarland* as scribes of lute song.

## §RICHARD ALLISON

THE HOLMES BOOKS, Dd.9.33: Cambridge, University Library Ms.Dd.9.33 (c1600-1605). One of the books in the extended solo lute collection of Matthew Holmes, singingman in Oxford and London, and also the compiler of an extensive set of broken consort books.

MANUSCRIPT Dd.4.22: Cambridge, University Library Ms.Dd.4.22 (c1615). A short collection of solo lute pieces compiled by two scribes who appear to have been working together.

THE SWARLAND BOOK OF LUTE SONGS: London, British Library Add.Ms.15117 (c1615). Mixed collection of lute songs and solos in two hands. The cover describes the book as 'Psalms Musicall by Allison'.

THE SAMPSON LUTE BOOK: Private Library of Robert Spencer, manuscript without shelf mark: Sampson lute book (c1610—watermark 1609). The pedagogical book of Henry Sampson, whose copying was corrected and added to by a second scribe.

THE WALSINGHAM CONSORT BOOKS: Beverley (Yorkshire), East Riding Record Office. MSS DD.HO.20/1-3: flute, treble viol and bass viol broken consort part books. The cittern book is in Mills College Library (Oakland, California). Also known as the Beverley and Mills consort books. (1588)

The scribe in these manuscripts was first identified and linked by Robert Spencer, a finding that first appeared in print in the facsimile of *Sampson* in 1974. In his brief note about the scribal concordances, Spencer was not concerned with the implications of his discovery, rather with the postulation of links between *Sampson* and other sources from a similar period. In fact, his simple statement masks what must have been a considerable feat of detection, since this scribe is one whose script changes quite radically. His work in *Sampson* falls clearly into two sections that overlap, but show a hand with significant variation in duct.

Robert Spencer has suggested that the scribe may be Richard Allison, who is known to have been active between 1592 and 1606, and may have been active for longer, as 1606 is simply the date of his last known publication. If this scribe is Richard Allison, then Allison has much in common with Matthew Holmes who also had strong affiliations with consort music, and in spite of a career as a cathedral singingman, a musician unconnected with the lute, was evidently also an accomplished lutenist. Allison, if this is indeed his hand, would be likely to have known Holmes as a colleague and contemporary as well as through their shared interest in consort music, thus accounting for his activity in a book compiled by a professional, and clearly not one of his beginners. Holmes is known to have been singingman and precentor at Christ Church, Oxford from 1588 to 1597, and then to have held the same post at Westminster Abbey between 1597 and his death in 1621. He may originally have been copying music for the Oxford Town Waits. The compilation of *Dd.9.33* dates from the London period of Holmes's working life, and as there is evidence of him using at least this one of the manuscripts in London, it is reasonable to assume that the whole group of MSS travelled with their scribe. It is likely, therefore, that the *Sampson* copyist may be connected with Westminster, and it is known that Allison lived in London in 'the Dukes place neere Alde-gate'.<sup>49</sup>

Allison's publications include *the Psalms of David in Meter* (London, 1599/R1968), *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (London, 1606);<sup>50</sup> and 10 psalm harmonizations in Thomas East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1592). In the psalms of David he was described as a gentleman practitioner of music, and he appears to have been in the employ or under the protection of the Duke of Warwick at

<sup>49</sup> Preface to Richard Allison: *The Psalms of David in Meter* (London, 1599).

<sup>50</sup> ed. E. H. Fellowes: *The English Madrigalists* xxxiii (1924, rev. 2.1961).

that time, possibly as a gentleman in the Warwick household. By the time of his last known publication in 1606 ('apt for instruments and Voyces'), he was clearly under the patronage of Sir John Scudamore, to whom that work is dedicated. Whatever his position, the description of him as a 'practitioner' of music implies more than a gentlemanly interest in the arts. Beck<sup>51</sup> proposed that the gentleman who sponsored the publication of Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* may have been Allison.

**TABLE 42**  
MUSIC BY RICHARD ALLISON IN ENGLISH LUTE  
SOURCES  
(In date order)

Source	date	folio
<i>Dd.3.18</i>	c1585-1600	19v-20/1; 34v-35; 44v/2-45; 46v-47; 57v- 58 (all consort or duet)
<i>Dd.2.11</i>	c1585-95	4v-5/1; 28v (bandora); 71; 75/2; 87v; 97v
<i>Folger</i>	c1590	17v-18 (duet)
<i>Trumbull</i>	c1595	17/2 (duet)
<i>Dd.5.78.3</i>	c1595-1600	32v/1, 33/1
<i>31392 3</i>	c1605	0v-34/1
<i>Herhold</i>	1602	35v-37/1
<i>Euing</i>	c1610	48v-49/1
<i>Sampson</i>	c1610	10 (broken consort)
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	c1615	4v-5v
<i>Montbuysson</i>	1611	1/1
<i>Fuhrmann 1615</i>	1615	59
<i>Pickeringe</i>	1616 <sup>52</sup>	6v-8 (duet); 11v-12; 12/2 (duet)
<i>Hirsch</i>	c1620	3v-4/1; 4v-5/1; 9/2; 63v
<i>ML</i>	c1620	5v-6/1 (duet)
<i>Board</i>	c1620	4v-5/2; 8v-10/1; 10/3; 13v-14/1; 19v-20

Allison's first printed music was published in East's psalter which set the 'church tunes' in the tenor. In the *Psalms of David* he indicates that 'The plaine Song beeing the common tunne to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Bass Violl, Severally or altogether, the singing part to be either for Tenor or Treble to the Instruments, according to the voyce, or for fowre voyces'. That John Dowland and Sir William Leighton contributed laudatory poems indicates the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries, as well as a certain familiarity with them. The copying of this scribe who could be Allison includes quite a significant proportion of Dowland's works, and those that are titled are correctly ascribed to the composer. The *Psalms of David* was the

first published collection of consort lessons, and Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons*, including some of Allison's works, was published in the same year, though the format may have existed in manuscript form before then.

Allison's lute works turn up in many of the solo lute sources, sometimes as non-solo music in an otherwise basically solo source. Regardless of whether this scribe is indeed Allison, the dates currently given for his activity seem to be unnecessarily compressed, since he was clearly composing and having his music copied in the early 1580s. If this is Richard Allison, the dates of his activity should probably be revised to c1580-1620, a not unreasonable period of activity for any professional musician.

Allison signs his name to two pieces (*R Alisoune; mr Richard Allisoun*). These are the only pieces composed by Allison in the sources in which this scribe appears (see table 43). In itself this is

<sup>51</sup> Alison Beck: *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (New York, 1959) [incl. preface].

<sup>52</sup> The part of the manuscript copied c1630 is not relevant here, the same applies to the similar portions of *ML* and *Board*.

not particularly significant. None of the other music in the four sources is by Allison, so it is not possible to see whether Allison might also have added his autograph to copies of his music written out by another scribe. The music in *Dd.9.33* that he appears to correct is not composed by him. The cover of *Swarland* reads 'Psalmes Musicall by Allison' and Allison's interest in the psalms is clear both from his contributions to East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1592 and his own *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599), thus providing another tenuous link between this scribe's work and the composer Richard Allison. Other composers he names are John Dowland (though his name is not attached to every piece by him copied by this scribe: *Jho Dowland; mr Dowland; Jo: Dowland*), Daniel Bacheler (*Dani: Batchi:; mr D: B:;* ), Robert Johnson (*Rob: Jho:; Robart Jhonson*), James Harding (*Jam: Ha:;* ), John Danyel (*Jhon Danniell*) and Mr Marchant (*mr Marchant*).

**TABLE 43**  
MUSIC COPIED BY ?RICHARD ALLISON

*Sampson*

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Original ascription</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>
6/1		Lord Hay's Courant	
6/2		Volt?	
9/1	<i>Packingtoune galiarde</i>	Packington's Galliard	
9/2	<i>preludiume</i>	Prelude	
9v	<i>Leueche pavinn[e]</i>	Lavecchia Pavan	
10	<i>a allmayne by R Alisoune</i>	Almain	Richard Allison
10v-11/1	<i>delatrumba</i>	De la Tromba/The Lady Frances Sidney's Good-morrow, second part of duet	
11/2	<i>i / a fancy for ii lutes by Jhon Danniell</i>	Fancy	John Danyel
11v/1	<i>ii / an allman for ii lutes mr Marchant</i>	Echo Almain, first part of duet	Marchant/Pilkington
11v/2	<i>3 lo: wi=lobies welcom hom. / by Jho Dowland</i>	Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home	John Dowland [No.66a]
12/1	<i>duncomes galiarde for 2 lutes</i>	Duncome's galliard	
12/2	<i>a mery moode for 2 lutes</i>	A Merry Mood	
12v/1	<i>bo peep / &lt;bo peep&gt; an allmane for 2 lutes</i>	Bo Peep/A Toy	Thomas Robinson
12v/2-13	<i>for ii lute[s] 5 / a galiard for ii lutes</i>	Squire's Galliard	
13v	<i>a galiarde by mr Dowland</i>	Earl of Derby's Galliard	John Dowland [No.44]

*Swarland*

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Original ascription</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>
4v-5	<i>Jam: Ha: MiserereB: Da: psalme 5i</i>	Miserere	?James Harding
5v	<i>Deprofundis psalme i30</i>		
6v-7/1	<i>alack, When I look back</i>		William Byrd

*Dd.9.33*

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Original ascription</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>
47		Mounsieur's Almain	John Dowland
65/1		Courant	
86v-87/1	<i>fancy / fancy</i>	Fantasia	
95v/1		[n.t.]	

He also corrects or adds to Holmes's flagging in the following music: 54v, 55v, 56, 56v/1, 56v/2-57/1, 57v/1, 57v/2, 57v/3-58/1, 58/2, 58/3, 58v, 59

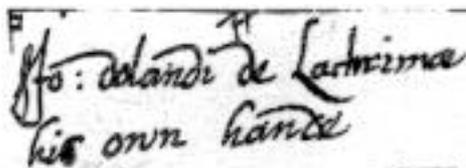
<i>Dd.4.22</i>			
<b>Folio</b>	<b>Original ascription</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>
2/1		Almain, first part of duet?	
2/2		Jig	
2v/1		Passamezzo [Antico] Galliard.	
2v/2		Passamezzo Galliard	
3		Spanish Pavan	Francis Pilkington
3v		Lord Zouche's Maske	
4v-5v	<i>the quadren pavine by mr Richard Allisoun.</i>	Quadran Pavan	Richard Allison
6		Quadran Galliard	Richard Allison?
6v-7/1	<i>a galiard Dani: Batchi:</i>	To Plead My Faith Galliard	Daniel Bacheler
7/2	<i>preludium</i>	Prelude	
7/3		[n.t.]	
7v/1	<i>preludiume</i>	Prelude	
7v/2-8/1	<i>Carrante mr D: B:</i>	Courant	Daniel Bacheler
8/2	<i>preludium</i>	Prelude	
8v-9/1	<i>the noble menes mask tune</i>	The Noble Men's Maske	
9/2	<i>a gig</i>	Jig	
9v	<i>Carrant</i>	Volt/Courant	
10/1	<i>an alman Rob: Jho:</i>	Almain	Robert Johnson
10/2	<i>an allman by mr Robart Jhonson</i>	The Prince's Almain	Robert Johnson
10v/1		Mrs Mary Hoffman's Almain	John Sturt
10v/2		Courant	
11/1		Pavan	
11/2	<i>A Coranta</i>	Courant	
11v	<i>fortune by Jo: Dowland</i>	Fortune My Foe	John Dowland [62]
12	<i>Mounseirs Almayne</i>	Mounseur's Almain	John Dowland

How likely is it that the two attributions in *Sampson* and *Dd.4.22* represent Allison's signature? Some signatures of lute composers and other musicians show a flair and panache that is unmistakable, though some lack the embellishment that marks them out as the work of the composer, nor do they always spell their names the same way. Dowland signs his name with a flourish, but without the artistic flair of John Johnson. Table 44 illustrates the signatures of several known lute composers, or musicians associated with the instrument.

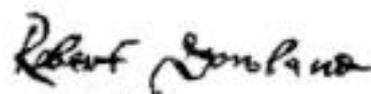
The evidence to suggest this scribe's identity as Allison is very little more than circumstantial, and the scribe could just as easily be one of the many other composers whose work was popular at this time. But it is convenient to be provided with a name to facilitate discussion. Nevertheless, the idea is essentially little more than a likely hypothesis and should be treated as such.

Allison's activity in *Sampson*, although it may simply have been that of a subsequent owner of the book, seems most likely to have been that of Sampson's teacher, particularly considering his appearances in the other sources. If Allison only appeared in this book, the implication would have been that he was a subsequent owner who played Sampson's music, particularly as the original scribe's name was deleted, though it is not possible to say who deleted it or why. However, Allison appears in many other sources in a similar capacity (i.e. as a secondary scribe who corrects the work of the original). In *Sampson*, Allison entered a number of pieces both after and during Henry Sampson's work, adding graces to Sampson's tablature, and changing the cadence of one piece. Sampson's work is exceptionally neat and precise, and extensive correcting was clearly unnecessary.

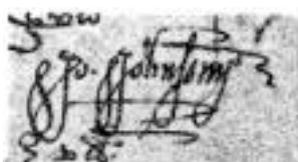
TABLE 44  
SIGNATURES OF LUTE COMPOSERS AND SCRIBES



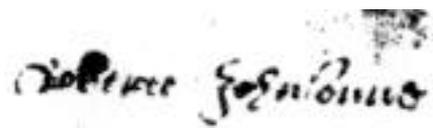
John Dowland



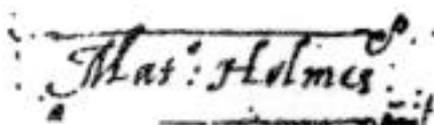
Robert Dowland



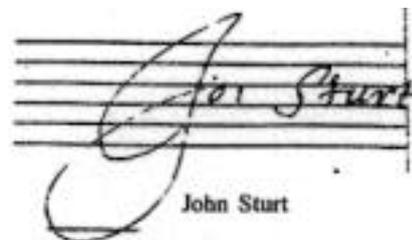
John Johnson



Robert Johnson



Matthew Holmes



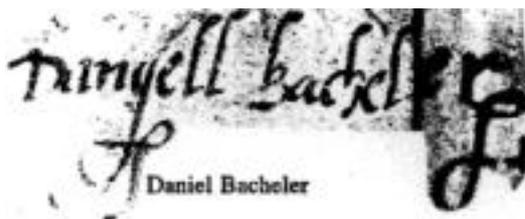
John Sturt



William Corkine



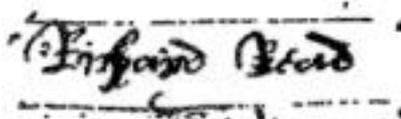
Richard Goosey



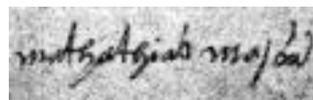
Daniel Bachele



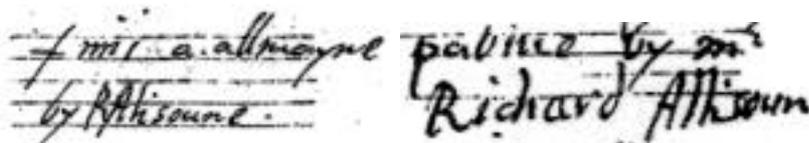
George Handford



Richard Reade



Mathathias Mason



Richard Allison



The image shows a handwritten musical score for a single melodic line, likely a lute or guitar piece. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The music is written in a historical style, with various dynamics and articulations indicated by letters above the notes. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the word 'finito' written in a cursive hand.

Handwritten musical score for Sampson f.10 (c1610) first form. The notation includes various dynamics (p, pp, f, ff) and articulations (accents, slurs) above the notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the word "finito" written in a cursive hand.

ex. 65 Sampson f.10 (c1610) first form

The image displays a handwritten musical score on eight staves. The notation is highly complex and dense, characteristic of early manuscript notation. It includes various rhythmic values such as minims, crotchets, and quavers, often grouped together. The score is written in a single system across the staves. The notation is somewhat difficult to decipher due to its cursive and overlapping nature, but it appears to be a single melodic line. The manuscript is written in dark ink on aged paper.

ex. 66 Dd.4.22 f.5v (c1615)

Handwritten musical score for 'Swarland f.4v (c1615)'. The score is written on five systems of staves. Each system consists of a vocal line (top) and a lute line (bottom). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the vocal line. The music is in a simple, early modern style with a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes. The lute line includes various rhythmic figures and accidentals. The lyrics are: 'Lord whose grace, no hymnes, comprehend, sweet lord. Whos me stands from measure free. to me that grace to me that more and wipe o lord my sinne from sinfull me, o clense o wash away my shauell iniquity. clens still my spottes still wash away my sh'. The score ends with a double bar line.

Lord whose grace, no hymnes, comprehend, sweet lord. Whos me  
stands from measure free. to me that grace to me that more  
and wipe o lord my sinne from sinfull me, o clense o wash  
away my shauell iniquity. clens still my spottes still wash away my sh

ex. 67 Swarland f.4v (c1615)



A clue to the reasons behind the variations to be seen in his script may lie in Allison's social position. He was described as a gentleman, but was certainly one of the working section of that stratum, whose position was probably due to personal advancement through his musicianship and acquisition of certain gentlemanly skills rather than birth. As a result, he probably did not come from the classes who employed a writing master to train a child up to the high standards of the young lady scribes of *Board*, *ML* and *Pickeringe*, and he may either have learned the skill as a privileged servant, or through a period of shared teaching with other boys of his class more cursory than that enjoyed by those of the leisured classes. He may even have picked up the skill later in life as his social standing improved, but his skill would have been specifically directed towards basic practicality rather than adornment.

The *Sampson* source for this hand is the most difficult to assess, as the scribe was clearly alternating between two pens. The result is two very different hands which, although very similar in duct, are affected quite drastically by the different hardness of the pens. Since pens had a very short life, the various forms of Allison's hand would all have been written with different types of pen, and the variations to be seen are the result.

It appears that *Sampson* is the work of two distinct hands (the second with a variable script), with a third who appears only to correct the title of piece 24 on f.12v. The book is written in such a way that its layout, and particularly its blank lines and leaves, suggest some form of pre-determined order or distribution, methodically written from the first folios onwards. This causes the gaps in the compilation to appear enigmatic, since there is sufficient evidence to suppose that there was an intended purpose for the empty pages. The scribal activity is summarized in table 45.

Taken in isolation, the versions of Allison's script give the appearance that there are two quite distinct secondary scribes in the book (i.e. apart from the principal, Henry Sampson). Separating them is not difficult since they use different flagging systems, and different pens. The amount of variation is unusual enough to warrant further examination, since it throws some light on the degree of variation that might be expected from a particular type of scribe. First examination leaves the distinct impression that the two hands must have been written by two different people. In some ways the clear evidence that the two hands were copying music at the same period is another indication that they must belong to different people—if a scribe changed his hand over a period of years, then one might expect a later group of pieces to appear to be written by a different scribe. However, these two hands are linked, not simply through a progression of duet parts, the first two copied by Allison (i), and numbered 'i' and 'ii' by him, the third copied by Allison (ii) and marked '3', but also by the fact that the work of Allison (i) is interrupted by Allison (ii) half way down f.11v, and Allison (i) resumes again halfway down f.12v, without any break between the pieces copied. Neither hand could therefore have been filling in gaps left by the other. Matters are further clouded by the appearance of a further duet, in Allison (i), but marked '5' using the Arabic numerals of Allison (ii) while copying in the duct of Allison (i)—clearly part of the earlier progression of three duets, though not the progression seen in *Sampson* since there are three other duet parts between these numbers three and five. Allison (i) uses Roman 'ii' to

<b>TABLE 45</b>	
SUMMARY OF SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN THE 'ALLISON' LUTE SOURCES	
The two forms of the hand in <i>Sampson</i> are marked (i) or (ii)	
<i>Sampson</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1-1v.....	Blank end paper, some pen-trials in an unidentifiable hand
1a.....	Stub
2-2v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
3-4r.....	Henry Sampson
4v-5v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
6.....	'Richard Allison' (i)
6v.....	Henry Sampson with some corrections by 'Richard Allison'
7-8v.....	Henry Sampson
9-11v.....	'Richard Allison' (i) changing to 'Richard Allison' (ii) from line 5
11v-12v....	'Richard Allison' (ii) changing to 'Richard Allison' (i) from line 6
12v-13v....	'Richard Allison' (i)
14-48v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
<i>Swarland</i>	
Foliation	Hand
2-4.....	Richard Mynshall
4v-5v.....	'Richard Allison'
6.....	Richard Mynshall, text of song appears to be by 'Allison'
6v-7/1.....	'Richard Allison'
7/2-21v....	Richard Mynshall
22-22v.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
23.....	Richard Mynshall
<i>Dd.4.22</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1-3v.....	Scribe A
4.....	Unused music paper, ruled as in the rest of the book
4v-7/1.....	'Richard Allison'
7/2.....	Scribe C
7v-11/1....	'Richard Allison'
11/2-12....	Scribe C
<i>Dd.9.33</i>	
Foliation	Hand
1v-2v.....	Matthew Holmes
3-3v.....	Scribe B
4-46v.....	Matthew Holmes
47.....	'Richard Allison'
47v-54.....	Matthew Holmes
54v.....	Matthew Holmes with flag additions or corrections by 'Richard Allison'
55.....	Matthew Holmes
55v-59....	Matthew Holmes with flag additions or corrections by 'Richard Allison'
59v-64v....	Matthew Holmes
65/1.....	'Richard Allison'
65/2-85v...	Matthew Holmes
86.....	Unused printed music paper
86v-87....	'Richard Allison'
87v-91v....	Matthew Holmes
92/1.....	Scribe D
92/2-92v...	Matthew Holmes
93v.....	Unused printed music paper
94-94v....	Matthew Holmes
95.....	Unused printed music paper
95v/1.....	'Richard Allison'
95v/2.....	Matthew Holmes

indicate 'two' lutes, while Allison (ii) uses an Arabic figure '2', though both scribes use the '-es' contraction when writing 'Lutes'. This is consistent with the numbering of the pieces, so perhaps we could argue that the anomalous Arabic '5' for the last in the sequence was added by the other hand. It can certainly look that way if one is convinced the two hands are not related.

The titles seem to confirm the suspicion that these two hands were either intimately linked or were written by the same person, since all appear to be in the same hand. One could argue, of course that the titles were added by one of the two putative scribes. If they both belong to the same person, as now seems very likely, then the only explanation for the differences in numbering practice must be either that the two samples, despite their dovetailing into each other, were not copied in a short space of time, or that the disparity in practice is deliberate to differentiate between sets of duets from two different exemplars or to reflect practices in two different exemplars.

The answers remain unsatisfactory until the fact that the scribe was deliberately alternating between two pens is taken into consideration. It seems clear from *Sampson* that Allison was simply switching frequently between two quite different pens to avoid either one becoming too soggy to use. The superficial (and sometimes not so superficial) differences between the

hands easily persuades the reader not to look further or deeper to discover more subtle facets of the duct that might make one suspicious of the original decision, and were it not for the obvious appearance of this hand in other sources and in transitional forms between the two seen in *Sampson*, they might have been classified as two separate scribes. The appearance of Allison in *Swarland* is for an instrument with at least 8 courses, and the rhythmic indications are in mensural notation, rather than rhythm-change flagging. This type of notation may have been adopted to conform with that of the lute song which it accompanies. The music by Allison in *Dd.9.33* is written for a lute with at least nine courses, and more probably ten. The appearance of this scribe in *Dd.9.33* on f.65r is also accompanied by the mensural rhythm notation, and on f.47r of the same manuscript replaces the italic letter 'h' with a secretary one which is slightly irregular in form. Folios 4v-11r of *Dd.4.22* form the greater part of the manuscript, and this is the largest single source of this scribe's writing. The scribe uses three forms of flagging here—continuous flagging, rhythm-change flagging and mensural notation—and it is this source that ties together all the different forms that Allison's script can adopt with considerable certainty. Two of the pieces in *Dd.4.22* are concordant with pieces in *Sampson* copied in the hand of Henry Sampson, though the second is only concordant for the statement of the tune, supplying a new set of divisions.

Any doubt that the various sources of this hand were written by the same scribe is confounded by the appearance of the titles, and in particular the ascriptions to the pieces by Richard Allison, shown in examples 65 and 66 above.

Although the features of this scribe's hand are not as predictable as his overall duct, the type of activity he shows in all these sources is surprisingly consistent. Firstly, he is never the primary scribe of a source, even where the pieces copied by him outnumber those by other scribes, making him the main scribe in terms of contribution; secondly, he always appears to be the second scribe to work in a book, and his copying always seems to overlap the activity of the primary scribe, interspersing his work with theirs, and putting markings in the other scribe's tablature. Finally, he often corrects the work of the scribe with whom he overlaps, and this factor, together with other features of his relationship with the other scribes, suggests that he may have been teaching them.

Thus the indications are that, with the exception of *Dd.9.33* in which he came in contact with Matthew Holmes after Holmes had already reached f.47, Allison's work was contemporary with the earliest period of compilation of each source and he probably had a pedagogical relationship with the initial scribe, who is most likely to have been the original owner of the book. His relationship with the scribe is particularly significant in the case of *Dd.9.33*; notably earlier in date than the other four sources, but the only one known to have been compiled by a professional musician, even if not one who made his living by playing the lute. Here, his first appearance is in copying out a piece of Dowland, but shortly after he is to be seen correcting the flags of Matthew Holmes, the principal scribe. The music that Allison copied was undoubtedly added during the latter part of the overall compilation of Holmes (1597-1603), probably from 1600: and this, together with the fact that he corrected and added flags to Holmes's work, suggests strongly that he was teaching him rather than simply using the book after Holmes had discarded it. One final source for this scribe seems to be in

*Walsingham*, dated 1588. This would extend his activity quite considerably, but in fact, his copying here seems to be limited to enlarging on the ascriptions to some pieces (e.g. by adding the name of the composer to an unascrbed piece), and this copying may easily not be contemporary with the initial period of copying of *Walsingham*. Any set of consort books (particularly considering the amount of copying time they represented) is likely to have had a relatively extended active life, and since the composers represented in this collection were still having their music copied into manuscripts around 1615, there is no reason to suppose that the repertory they contain had gone out of fashion by the time the Allison books were being copied.

If Allison was principally a teacher this would imply that all the sources in which he appears are pedagogical sources. However, *Swarland* does not seem to fit these criteria, and indeed Allison's activity here is quite limited (as it also is in *Dd.9.33*) and does not extend to correcting the work of the primary scribe. *Dd.9.33* is certainly a professional book, but since Matthew Holmes was officially a professional singing man, rather than a professional lutenist (though as a professional musician he may easily have been of a professional standard as a lutenist as well), he may have availed himself of the opportunity to take some lessons with Allison while he was still collecting music in this, one of his earlier books. It is clear from the early intrusion of another scribe into Holmes's copying in this book that he permitted experienced copyists to add to his work. Allison's copying in *Dd.4.22*, almost certainly a pedagogical book, has hold signs added to some pieces, though it is not clear who added them—perhaps the third scribe—and his activity in *Sampson* seems to fit the pedagogical framework well. There are no musical concordances between Allison's copying in any of the sources where he is active. There are concordances between *Sampson*, *Dd.9.33* and *Dd.4.22*, despite their being unrelated in other respects. However, the relationship is so vague as to be virtually immaterial. Allison apparently never copied the same piece twice in different manuscripts.

Just as the Holmes books are a highly significant collection of sources, so the secondary scribe of the *Sampson*, *Dd.4.22*, *Dd.9.33* and *Swarland* manuscripts, perhaps the well-known composer of consort music, Richard Allison, is probably the most significant of any surviving from this period, since his widespread activity suggests not only links between a spectacularly large proportion of the extant source, but also indicates a degree of activity that can only satisfactorily be explained as the practice of a teacher. A musician of Allison's stature and reputation would be more likely to have had a sphere of influence as wide as this than someone unknown. The *Sampson*, *Swarland* and *Dd.4.22* manuscripts cluster chronologically around 1610-15, but *Dd.9.33* the earliest (and possibly the most interesting) source was probably begun about 1600, perhaps a few years earlier, and seems to have been completed not many years after 1603. The *Walsingham* consort books are dated 1588. If the dating of these sources is correct, a fact that does not seem to be in dispute at present, then the known activity of this scribe appears to cover a period of about 25-30 years. This would not be an unreasonable working span for any scribe, whatever his purpose in copying, and would certainly be a reasonable working life for a teacher.

The scribe responsible for the samples of tablature discussed here appears to have been active in four otherwise discrete manuscript sources of this period. That he may have been associated with 10% of all the surviving sources of English lute music suggests one of two things: either that he had an exceptionally wide sphere of activity and influence, or that the surviving sources from this period, which had hitherto appeared to be a representative sampling of a generation of books, are in fact not so. The transmission of the contemporary consort repertory through scribal publication may provide some clues to the apparently exceptional connection between so many of the sources, but the indubitably peculiar characteristics of the lute playing and copying community seem to exclude this type of relationship.

The situation of the Allison group is further complicated by the addition of other sources linked by other scribes active in the books. If, as is suggested above, *Mynshall* and *Swarland* are linked by Richard Mynshall's hand, then *Mynshall* must also be brought into the group, as must the other Holmes books which, although normally considered as separate sources, should more accurately be considered as one extended source.<sup>53</sup> If Diana Poulton's comment that *Euing* appears to be closely related to the Holmes books, even to the extent of reproducing some of Holmes's errors, is accurate then this book also enters the discussion. 31392 may be linked to *Dd.2.11* stemmatically, bringing yet another book into the circle. Even *Pickeringe* may find its way into this complex set of books, though through the name of a possible owner, Puckering, rather than one of its scribes, although the relation of his name to Jane Pickeringe is very tenuous to say the least. This brings the total of linked sources to 12 (possibly 13 with *Pickeringe*, though the link is not generic) sources out of only 41. This is over 25% of the surviving sources. If all the Holmes books are considered as one (albeit very large) source, this means that there are only actually eight manuscripts linked to Richard Allison out of a total of 35. However, this is still over 20% of Group Two sources, a spectacularly large proportion of the whole.<sup>54</sup>

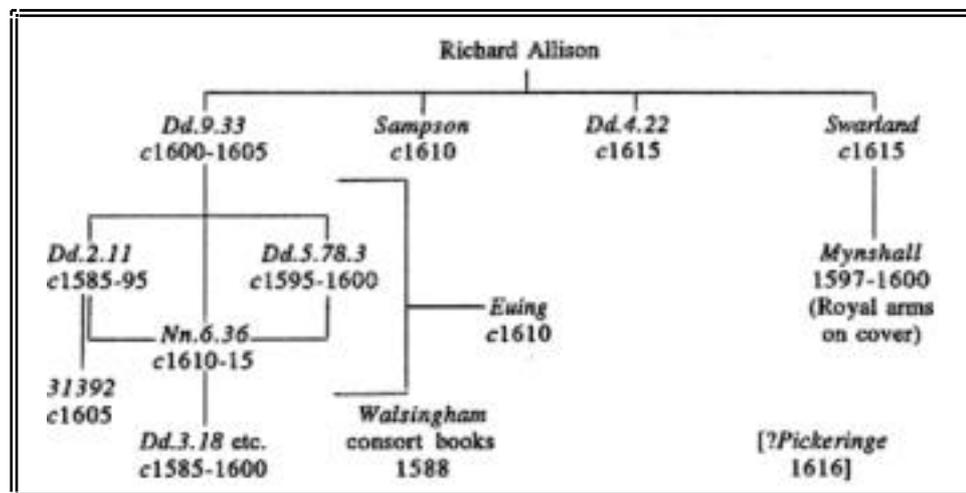
Close relationships between such a significant proportion of the surviving sources suggests that what survives may not be a representative sampling of the sources around at the time. If this were the case, then we should expect to find at least one observable instance in the sources as a whole of a stemmatically provable relationship between exemplar and its copy. However, the only possible case of this type of relationship is between the Holmes books and *Euing*, and even this is not a full case of exemplar and copy. This suggests that all the other sources may have used the same (now lost) exemplar(s). So perhaps what remains is representative of the contemporary corpus. Is it actually so surprising that such a high proportion of books linked with London and possibly the court should come to be connected in such a straightforward manner? It does suggest a sort of lutenist's *atelier* encompassing not only beginners, but also the talented amateur player and the mature professional

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<sup>53</sup> The Holmes books should, in fact, always be considered as a single source, since neither the type of repertory they contain nor the purpose in compiling the books changes between one manuscript and the next. Of course, it is attractive to have five large sources each filled with very mainstream repertory, but in fact it does distort the picture of the surviving repertory that is built up as a result.

<sup>54</sup> See table 4, page 37.

musician. The implication that there should be a vanished exemplar (or exemplars) from which all these pieces were copied is very strong, and supports once again the hypothesis that teachers did not have lute books, but worked from something more ephemeral.



If Allison was a well-known teacher, then perhaps the suspicious number of sources in which he is active is not quite as peculiar as the statistics would seem to suggest. It is clear that he tended to make more than just passing acquaintances with either these manuscripts or their owners, and he may indeed have been a teacher to whom many Londoners gravitated or were directed, suggesting a respectable reputation, particularly as a player of Dowland's reputation seems to have held him in some esteem. John Dowland, where he writes in manuscripts, does not appear to have been a particularly active copyist, perhaps because his hand was often not as neat or legible as that of his pupil. His fame rested on his abilities as a player and a composer though, not as a teacher. The fact that Allison appears in Matthew Holmes's book in an apparently didactic guise is another suggestion that he was considered a fine teacher by his professional contemporaries, though it is equally possible that he was a professional colleague of Holmes rather than his teacher. The Holmes books seem to be the work of a mature player, though he may have 'gone back to school' in the middle of an active performing life if he came into contact with Allison through consort music, particularly as his profession was that of a singingman, not a lutenist.

### Conclusion

Although the evidence pointing to the identity of the scribe in *Sampson*, *Swarland*, *Dd.9.33* and *Dd.4.22* as Richard Allison is undoubtedly circumstantial, it is nevertheless clear that all those factors regarding the activity of the scribe, regardless of his name, remain unchanged. He was clearly a teacher of some reputation, working in London between about 1585 and 1615, and one who had an impressive *atelier* and sphere of influence. The sources that are linked in this small London circle facilitate the understanding of the other very small hints that can be seen as each source in the repertory is examined in detail, allowing the extrapolation of what is probably a reasonably accurate picture for the lute playing world in England during the height of the instrument's popularity.