

The English Solo Lyra Viol
A 21st Century Perspective on a 17th Century
Musical Instrument

A dissertation for the Open University degree of MA in Music
(course A877)

By

Eric Crouch BA, BM, BCh, FRCPsych.

W1307318

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Abstract

The 'golden age' tradition of English Lute music was, by the last years of the 16th century, beginning to decline. At this time a fashion arose for playing polyphonic music notated in tablature on the bass viol, the so-called lyra viol. The history of the lyra viol and its music is examined.

A short history of the viol family is followed by an account of the dispute in the early years of the 17th century between John Dowland and Tobias Hume, in which the latter suggested the lyra viol could supplant the lute.

Discussion of the organological status of the lyra viol is followed by reference to the tablature notation used for its music and the variety of tunings the instrument employed.

A brief account of the first appearance of the lyra viol and its music leads on to an account of extant sources of the music, both printed and manuscript, and the composers who provided music for the instrument. Reference is made to the very extensive lyra viol repertoire which may even rival the golden age repertoire for the lute.

An account is then given of the types of music found with examples illustrating the resemblances with contemporary lute and keyboard music. This is followed by an account of the decline in popularity of the instrument as the 17th century progressed.

A section on modern performance, on lyra viol or other instruments is followed by concluding remarks that reflect on the Dowland/Hume controversy and draw attention to the scope that exists for further study of the rise and fall of the lyra viol.

Two appendices list the printed sources of lyra viol music and provide brief biographical information about the main lyra viol composers.

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Statement:

The contents of this dissertation on the 17th century lyra viol have been discussed in draft only with my Open University tutor, Catherine Wayland. They have not hitherto been read by anyone else. I am the sole author of the words herein save for those items that are given as quotations. I have not submitted any of this work for any other degree, save that my project for the preceding academic year, A871, covered a related topic, namely the issue of attribution in golden age English lute music. Consequently the first paragraph of my introduction contains some material from that project. I have also reused some statistical material (especially that relating to the manuscript Dd 2.11) for purposes of comparison with the lyra viol repertoire and there are two footnotes indicating where I refer to two minor points of argument that appeared in the previous work (23 and 36).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCING THE LYRA VIOL

1.1) Setting the Scene¹

The period between (approximately) 1540 and 1650 is sometimes characterised as a ‘golden age’ in English music. This term is especially applied in describing the proliferation of music for the lute (eg Bream 1993). In the words of Smith (2002 p 245) this was: ‘a “brief florescence” occurring at the same time as the rise and fall of the English madrigal and corresponding in time with the English Renaissance.’

The bulk of solo lute music from this time music is found in manuscript sources; 85 surviving English manuscripts containing a very extensive repertoire of two to three thousand (or so) separate pieces of music (Marriott 1978, Tayler 2005, Craig-McFeely 2000, Chapter 2 pp3-4).

Somewhat later, in the 17th century, as the golden age tradition began to

¹ Note: This work makes frequent reference to 17th century textual material. Where I have referred to, or reproduced, original text I have generally tried to preserve the original spelling and capitalisation of the text and something of the original orthography. In a few cases I have abandoned this for the sake of clarity.

decline (Spring 2001 p205ff) a fashion developed for playing polyphonic music notated in tablature on the bass viol. As I will describe, contemporary writers referred to this musical tradition in various ways. Some wrote of the 'lyra viol' (or variants) as the instrument used, others characterised the viol playing with such terms as 'lyra way'. This tradition is less studied than that of the lute, perhaps reflecting its lesser importance, and less studied than the viol family in general, but has in recent years attracted scholarly attention. A particular champion of lyra viol scholarship is Frank Traficante who, in his PhD thesis on the Mansell Lyra Viol Manuscript (Traficante 1965), comments on the modern revival of lute music and on the difficulty on distinguishing, in manuscript sources, the music that was in fact intended for the lyra viol. His comment that: 'We turn now to the lyra viol with confidence that its time has come' (p 4) is reflected by his continuing interest in the instrument over many years and his much later opinion that: 'Of great historical significance is the position which the lyra viol holds as the connecting link between two aesthetic ideals of instrumental sound and function.' (Traficante (2), accessed 02/01/2012). In his view the instrument is able to: 'approximate to the polyphonic textures and self-accompaniment capabilities' of the harpsichord and lute but also produce: 'a rich singing line, the growing taste for which led to the predominance of the violin and the solo voice by the beginning of the 18th century.' He suggests the lyra viol was popular

because it was able to perform both roles.

The fashion for the lyra viol seems essentially to have been an English phenomenon. There may have been a Continental equivalent in the *viola bastarda*, but little music for this instrument survives whereas there remains an extensive repertoire for the lyra viol (Peart 1967 p16) though, as I will show later, the period during which this music was popular was quite short lasting and confined almost entirely to the 17th century.

The origins and scope of the dissertation

I was led towards the lyra viol and its music by encountering Biberian's (1979) transcriptions of lyra viol pieces for guitar. Later I came across facsimiles of works by Tobias Hume and William Corkine (both discussed below) and started making my own transcriptions. The preparation of this dissertation provided me the opportunity to consider the lyra viol as an instrument and to discover more about its place in 17th century English music making. I have sought to identify the musicians who left evidence of its repertoire (in the form of manuscripts and printed books) and to discover more about the music itself, considering especially the solo repertoire and its relationship with solo lute music. In the concluding chapter I touch on the revival of this repertoire in the present century.

In presenting this topic I first comment (albeit briefly) on the family of instruments we know as viols and their importance in the late 16th and the 17th centuries. I then move on to consider the lyra viol and its relationship to the lute.

1.2) The Viol Family

The viol family has received extensive academic study. The viols may be simply described as: ‘a group of bowed string instruments normally tuned in fourths (Callaghan 2012). Most have six single courses...’.

The history of this family of instruments is described in outline by Woodfield and Robinson (accessed 04/04/2012) and in more detail by Woodfield (1984) and Otterstedt (2002). All agree that much about the origins of the instrument is obscure. The available documentary evidence is fragmentary and though there is much iconography it necessarily provides an incomplete account. Woodfield also comments that philological speculation based on the usage and resemblance of names such as *vihuela*, *vielle*, and *viola* is likely to be misleading (Woodfield 1984) and that even in the heyday of the viol, in the 16th century, the term encompassed

two different instruments, the *viola da braccio* ('arm' viol) and the *viola da gamba* ('leg' viol) (Woodfield and Robinson, accessed 04/04/2012).

Nevertheless the chain of events leading to the development of this and several other stringed instruments may have been initiated by the importation of Arab instruments, both plucked and bowed, by the Moorish population of Spain as early as the 10th century.

Instruments referred to as fiddles and rebecs apparently spread quickly throughout Europe and the *da gamba* playing position, later characteristic of viols, soon appeared for use with larger instruments, only to die out again by the early 14th century, except in parts of what is now Spain (notably Aragon). Within Spain the vihuela, an instrument closely related to the guitar (Poulton & Corona Alcade, accessed 04/04/2012), became important both as the *vihuela da mano* (plucked) and as the *vihuela del arco* (bowed). The *da gamba* playing position was adopted for this latter instrument suggesting that, by the end of the 15th century, the viol had evolved as an instrument via this route. Woodfield (1984) attributes this account to Thurston Dart and suggests other scholars see evidence for an Italian origin for the instrument. Certainly (as he points out) Italian instrument makers became influential in the development of the instrument. He concludes that: 'the viol as we know it originated in the late 15th century...[and]...it was profoundly influenced by plucked instruments

of that period.’ (page 4).

Otterstedt refers to iconographical evidence, but relies more heavily on a detailed analysis of the available documentary sources. Her conclusion (particularly in relation to the viols from 16th century Italian makers) is that:

the viol is a composite mix of three different elements; the particular construction is derived originally from the viola which had perhaps been imported from the north; the tuning and some aspects of construction from the lute; and the playing technique from the rabab.² (Otterstedt 2002, p28).

The viol flourished widely in Europe between the mid 16th century and the mid 17th century. Otterstedt (ibid.) describes the differing fortunes of the instrument in Italy, France, Germany and England. Much of the most complex and brilliant work took place in Italy³. Leading Italian composers became fond of the viol, which was used in ensemble with other instruments, with voices, in the performance of madrigals and in consort with other viols. In France, though the viol appears in early sources, Otterstedt suggests, though Robinson demurs to an extent (Woodfield and

² Otterstedt (2002) explains earlier (p20) that the rabab is a small Moorish bowed instrument.

³ “Italy” is used as shorthand for the collection of independent states that make up modern Italy.

Robinson, accessed 04/04/2012), that there is little of interest until the emergence of the virtuoso bass viol school of Sainte-Colombe, Marais and others in the mid to late 17th century⁴. In Germany, Otterstedt (2002) suggests, there was a preference for wind instruments rather than strings, though Woodfield's (1984) view is that there was plenty of good music and evidence of viol playing, but the practice was not to specify the particular instruments to be used in performance.

However in England (especially during the years 1550 - 1630): '...nowhere else were the viols made as beautifully and played as assiduously, and nowhere else did so many different techniques mushroom.' (Otterstedt 2002 p 39).

In particular, she says, the English viol fantasia developed as a distinctive abstract polyphonic consort style, derived from the sung motet, that: 'never made it to the continent' but provided an important part of the work of a number of musicians who were also among those who composed for the lyra viol, including Alfonso Ferrabosco II (ibid. p43ff), John Coprario (p 46), William Lawes (p52ff), John Jenkins (p57ff) and Christopher Simpson (p60ff). We also find, towards the end of the viol's period of popularity, the

⁴ Music that achieved some renewed popularity with the release in 1991 of the film *Tous les Matins du Monde*, which centres round the lives of Marais and Sainte-Colombe and features the gamba playing of Jordi Savall (Dunford 2004, 1)

beautiful viol fantasias of Henry Purcell (p51). Something of the popularity of the viol (and of the fantasia form) in England is demonstrated by Otterstedt's comment (p118) that: 'An immense number of fantasias for two to seven viols survive. With a few exceptions, this music was never printed, but circulated in handwritten copies.'

1.3) The Lyra Viol – a successor to the lute?

The fashion for viol music in England, established by 1650 (Otterstedt 2002 p 39) persisted for most of the 17th century. Purcell's viol fantasias were composed around 1680 (Holman and Thompson, accessed 20/07/12). However the lute seems not to have fared so well. Spring (2001) divides the 'golden age' of English lute music into two periods, 1580 – 1603 and 1603 –1625 (placing the dividing line at the end of Elizabeth's reign). He says: 'The happy abundance of newly composed English lute music generated in the 1590s began to subside in the Jacobean period' (p205). It was around this time that lyra viol playing became established. According to Traficante: 'Its importance rests on the large, specialised and musically valuable repertory which was written for it.' (Traficante, Accessed 2nd Jan 2012). He goes on to emphasise the resemblance this music bears to the lute repertory in its polyphonic texture, the similar manner in which voice

parts appear and disappear⁵ and the use of tablature notation for both instruments.

There is no date established for the invention of the lyra viol; indeed its debatable organological status (see below) makes it unclear whether it would be possible to establish such a date. Pringle's (1978) paper: *The Founder of English Viol-Making* dealing with two makers, John Rose father and son (the available biographical information being insufficient to distinguish entirely between them) throws possible light on its early days. The elder Rose may have been the inventor of the wire-strung *bandora* and the younger (for whom there is one contemporary reference suggesting he excelled his father as a maker) may have originated the lyra viol. Certainly there is a viol in the Ashmolean collection inscribed 'John Rose 1598' (Whiteley, 2008) that is regarded as an example of a lyra viol (Pringle 1978), its date being consistent with the time lyra viol music began to appear in manuscript and printed sources (see below).

The resemblance between lyra viol and lute music raises the possibility that the lyra viol might in some sense be seen as a successor to the lute⁶, a view promoted at the time by Tobias Hume, one of the most notable of the

⁵ This being, as any player would say, an adaptation to the limitations of instrumental technique.

⁶ At least in Britain; the lute tradition remained much stronger in continental centres, as is illustrated by the work of Sylvius Leopold Weiss in 18th century Germany (Chiesa 1979).

lyra viol composers, (Morrow et al., accessed 27/03/12) who wrote of the instrument that it would: 'with ease yeelde full, various and devisefull⁷ Musicke as the Lute' (Hume 1605). This statement was angrily rebutted by John Dowland in his remarks "To The Reader" in *A Pilgrim's Solace* (1612) in which he attacks: 'young...professors of the lute' (it is not clear who he is referring to) for failing to defend the instrument against the proponents of the lyra viol, citing the words of Tobias Hume in full:

...young men, professors⁸ of the Lute, who vaunt themselves, to the disparagement of such as have beene before their time, (wherein I myself am a party) that there never was the like of them. To these men I say little, because of my love and hope to see some deedes ensue their brave wordes, and also being that here under their owne noses hath beene published a Booke in defence of the Viol de Gamba, wherein not onely all other the best and principall Instruments have beene abased, but especially the Lute by name, the words, to satisfie thee Reader I have here thought good to insert, and are as followeth:

From henceforth the statefull instrument Gambo Violl, shall with ease yeeld full various, and devisefull Musicke as the Lute: for here I protest the Trinnie of Musicke, Parts, Passion and Devision, to be gracefully

⁷ Traficante (1965, p20) suggests that Hume had used the word 'devisefull' to refer to the ability to play divisions.

⁸ Presumably the word 'professors' here refers to those who profess to play the lute, rather than its modern meaning.

united in the Gambo Viol, as in the most received that, &c. Which
Imputation methinkes, the learned sort of Musitians ought not to let
passe unanswered.

(Dowland 1612)

Poulton (1982) comments we might understand Dowland's remarks in view of: 'The great increase in the amount of music for the lyra viol which may be traced from the early years of the seventeenth century' and the possibility that this instrument was: 'beginning to offer itself as a serious rival to the lute among portable solo instruments'⁹

The exchange of views between Tobias Hume and John Dowland is my framework for considering the place of the lyra viol in English instrumental music, especially the solo repertoire. I comment on some of the extant music for the instrument, comparing it with music written for the lute and I discuss the comparative fortunes of the two instruments.

⁹ Interestingly Hume's comment in *The First Part of Ayres...* (1605) appeared in a slightly watered down version referring to 'full, various and devisefull Musicke as any other instrument' in his 1607 publication *Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke*. This is cited by Poulton (1982) who comments that there may have been 'a passage of arms between Dowland and Hume' causing Hume to modify his statement (p75).

CHAPTER 2

TECHNICAL ISSUES – TERMINOLOGY AND TUNINGS

In reviewing sources of lyra viol music and contemporary writings about the instrument we should consider both the terminology used to describe the instrument and the variety of tunings used to express the music.

2.1) Lyra Viol or Lyra Way?

Traficante (2) (accessed 02/01/2012) describes the lyra viol as a small bass viol, commenting that: ‘as an instrument it differed little from the standard consort bass viol.’ On the other hand the author of a recent set of transcriptions of lyra viol music by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (Callaghan 2012) characterises the lyra viol as a style of playing rather than a different instrument. In doing this Callaghan is touching on the puzzle of what is actually meant by the terms *Lyra Viol* and *Lyra Way* that appear (with variant spellings) in accounts of English music making in the 17th century. Seemingly Traficante and Callaghan represent the two sides of the debate, though a careful examination of their words suggests this may be an

example of a distinction without a difference. Nevertheless there does seem to be uncertainty about the organological status of the instrument – as occurs elsewhere in the viol family; Otterstedt (2002) comments, for example, that the viola bastarda may have been, like the lyra viol, either a particular instrument or a specific playing technique (p 130).

Poulton (1982) writing in the 20th century about the quarrel between Hume and Dowland, uses the term *Lyra Viol*, whereas Hume (1605) refers to the *Gambo Violl* and Dowland (1612) to the *Viol de Gamba*. This divergence raises the question whether the term *Lyra Viol* is of recent coinage, or whether it was used in the 17th century. We certainly find Dolmetsch using the term at the end of the 19th century (Dolmetsch 1893), and continuing to use it in his book on the interpretation of 17th and 18th century music (Dolmetsch 1915) and we find it in Trafficante's (2) Grove entry on the instrument (accessed 02/01/2012), together with a number of variant spellings: *Lyra [leero, leerow, liera, lyro] viol*.

However if we look back to the 18th century we find Roger North writing (around 1726) about the 'Antiquitys of Musick':

In this time [referring to the reign of Charles1] Mr. John Jenkins began to be famous, and his compositions much sought after.

He...used the lyra way upon the violl, which followed the manner of

the lute...’

(Wilson 1959 p295).¹⁰

Somewhat earlier Thomas Mace was, in *Musicke’s Monument* (1676), looking back to what he regarded as the great days of English music at the beginning of the 17th century. In chapter 5 he sets out some of his ideas about viol playing and provides a number of ‘lessons’ (studies) to illustrate the manner in which the instrument should be played. He mentions the *plain way* of playing the viol (*viol way*) and the *lute way*, and he discusses the use of what we now call staff notation and of tablature. He deals with one of the variant tunings used for solo music using the term *harp way sharp* to describe it. However, though he is clearly referring to lyra viol music he does not use the term, referring to the instrument itself only as the *viol*.

Further back, in the early part of the 17th century when much of the lyra viol repertory was being composed, we find Thomas Ford in *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607) describing his duets for lyra viol as: ‘...Pauens, Galiards, Almains, Toies, ligges, Thumpes and such like, for two Basse-Viols, the *Liera way*...’

¹⁰ In passing it is worth noting North’s comment that much of Jenkins’ early work (including presumably many lyra viol works) was lost.

On the other hand, if we turn to the two books by William Corkine (1610,1612) we find a very definite distinction between the bass viol and the lyra viol. The two title pages describe what is to be found within:

AYRES TO SING AND PLAY TO THE LVTE AND BASSE VIOLL, With
Pauins, Galliards, Almains, and Corantos for the Lyra VIOLL.
(Corkine 1610)

and:

THE SECOND BOOKE OF AYRES, Some, to Sing and Play to the
Base-Violl alone: Others to be sung the the Lute and Base Violl. With
new Corantoes, Pauins, Almains; as also diuers new Descants vpon
old Grounds, set to the Lyra-Violl.-
(Corkine 1612)

Corkine's works show that the exact term *lyra viol* was in use early in the 17th century and, from the way he uses it, suggests that he had in mind a specific instrument.

This variability in usage poses a puzzle about how the term would have been understood by contemporary musicians and audiences, an issue that is addressed by Traficante (1996). His approach to the problem is to tackle

what he describes as the ‘semantic puzzle’ of lyra viol *music* before considering what this implies about the *instrument* used to play the music. He considers all the available English sources of this music and reviews how the terminology is used in each. He includes an appendix listing references implying organological characteristics (structure) or nomenclature of the instruments specified.

He concludes that the available evidence: ‘may be insufficient to eliminate ambiguity with regard to [the] term’ and: ‘it was not used with dependable consistency, or...its meaning and consequent usage evolved and changed over time’ (p327). This lack of consistency among the contemporary sources leads Traficante to adopt a broad definition of lyra viol music as: ‘any music from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries notated in tablature and intended for a bowed viol with a curved bridge’ (p 327, quoting from his own earlier paper (Traficante 1979)). In another paper Traficante (1966) further illustrates the difficulty of formulating any kind of all-encompassing definition by citing a source (albeit the only one) in which lyra viol music appears in staff notation.

In providing this definition Traficante attempts to encompass a repertory of music that was similar in style to the lute music of the time, generally polyphonic and notated in tablature. Many contemporary writers seem to

have avoided using the term *lyra viol* (or any of its variant forms) for music notated in tablature for a viol in *normal* tuning but rather used it to refer to music in one of the many variant tunings described below. Traficante regards this distinction as unhelpful and includes music in normal tuning as lyra viol music if it otherwise resembles the repertory. He is able to cite a 17th century source in support, namely Sir Peter Leicester (ibid p332). Leicester was a musical scholar with an extensive library (which sadly seems not to have survived) and a composer of lyra viol music. His *Booke of Lessons for the Lyro-Viole* includes an authoritative list of tunings and, as Traficante indicates:

It shows us that the term 'lyra-viol music' as used in the seventeenth century could and did include tablature calling for the normal viol tuning. Those who employ the term broadly in reference to primarily English viol music in tablature notation need not fear they are misusing it by seventeenth-century standards.

(Traficante 1996, p334)

adding that: 'At the same time we must continue to study the evidence indicating more specific and restricted uses at different times and places.'
(ibid. p334)

Traficante includes a contemporary quotation that provides general support for this view that the term was not used consistently, namely Thomas Campion, writing in 1654:

There is nothing doth trouble, and disgrace our Traditional Musitian more, than the ambiguity of the termes of Musick, if hee cannot rightly distinguish them, for they make him uncapable of any rationall discourse in the Art he professeth.

(ibid. p325).

He goes on to say that though the development of this music did lead to some ‘organological experimentation’ contemporary musicians were quite happy to play the music on: ‘any bass viol that happened to be at hand’. He suggests that anyone sufficiently wealthy to own a lyra viol (by which he means: ‘a second bass viol intended specifically for the playing of lyra-viol music’) would have it built smaller than a consort bass viol, with a flatter fingerboard and bridge and strings set closer to the fingerboard to make the playing of chords more straightforward. He speculates too that the owner of such a lyra viol would be likely to keep it tuned in one of the characteristic altered tunings and to play polyphonic music in normal tuning on an ordinary bass viol for convenience (ibid. pp328-329) – a comment that perhaps does go somewhat beyond the evidence

Traficante's appendix lays out available contemporary references to the instrument and my selection below illustrates the varieties of terminology to be found, and the identification of *lyra viol* and *lyra way* with music notated in tablature. Thus we find (in addition to the examples I have given above from Roger North (c1726), Thomas Mace (1676), Thomas Ford (1607) and William Corkine (1610, 1612):

Lessons for the Lyra Violl (Alfonso Ferrabosco, 1609)

Leero Viole or *Leera Viole* (Tobias Hume, 1605)

Lessons to play Lyra-wayes (John Maynard, 1611)

Lessons for the Lyro-viole (Sir Peter Leicester, 1640)

Lessons for the Lira Viol (John Playford, 1651)

Lyra viall and *Lyra vyall* (Samuel Pepys, several diary references 1661 - 6)

The *Base [Violl]* by tabletture after the *leero* fashion (Robert Jones, 1601).
(Summarised from Traficante 1996)¹¹

and we find these descriptive comments in John Playford's publications:

The *Lero* or *Lyra-Viol*, is so called from the Latin word *Lyra*, which signifies a Harp, alluding to the various Tuning, under the name of

¹¹ Italicisation added for emphasis.

Harp-way, Sharp and Flat. This way of playing on the Viol, is but a late Invention, in imitation of the Old English Lute or Bandora, whose Lessons were prickt down in like manner by certain Letters of the Alphabet, upon six Lines or Rules; which six Lines did allude to the six course of Strings upon those Instruments, as they do now unto the six single Strings upon the Viol. (1661)

There are three Sorts of *Basse Viols*, as there is three manner of ways in playing. First, A *Basse Viol* for Consort must be one of the largest Size, and the strings proportionable. Secondly, a *Basse Viol* for Divisions must be of a lesse Size, and the strings according. Thirdly, a *Basse Viol to play Lyra way* which is by Tablature must be somewhat less then the two former, and strung proportionable.’ (1664 and 1665)

Mr *Daniel Farunt*. . . was a person of much Ingenuity for his several Rare Inventions of Instruments, as the *Poliphant* and the *Stump*. . . And also of his last, which was a *Lyra Viol*, to be strung with Lute Strings and Wire Strings, the one above the other...so that by the striking of those Strings above with the *Bow*, a Sound was drawn from those of Wire underneath, which made it very Harmonious. Of this sort of *Viols* I have seen many, but *Time* and *Disuse* has set them

aside.’ (1661)¹²

(Excepted from Traficante 1996)

and this from Christopher Simpson:

I would have a *Division-Viol* to be of something a shorter *sixt* than a Consort-Basse, that so the Hand may better command it. . . The Strings a little bigger than those of a *Lyra-Viol*, must be laid at the like nearness to the Finger-board, for ease and convenience of Stopping. The *Bridge* as round as that of a *Consort-Basse*, that so each several String may be hit with a bolder touch of the Bow. (1659)
(Traficante 1996)

A reading of Traficante’s work on this topic does suggest that he has looked for some kind of trend in the way the way the lyra viol¹³ was referred to through the 17th century without any success, though other authors have come to a different conclusion by considering Playford.

I deal with sources of lyra viol music below, but I note at this point a particularly salient group of sources, the set of publications (excerpted

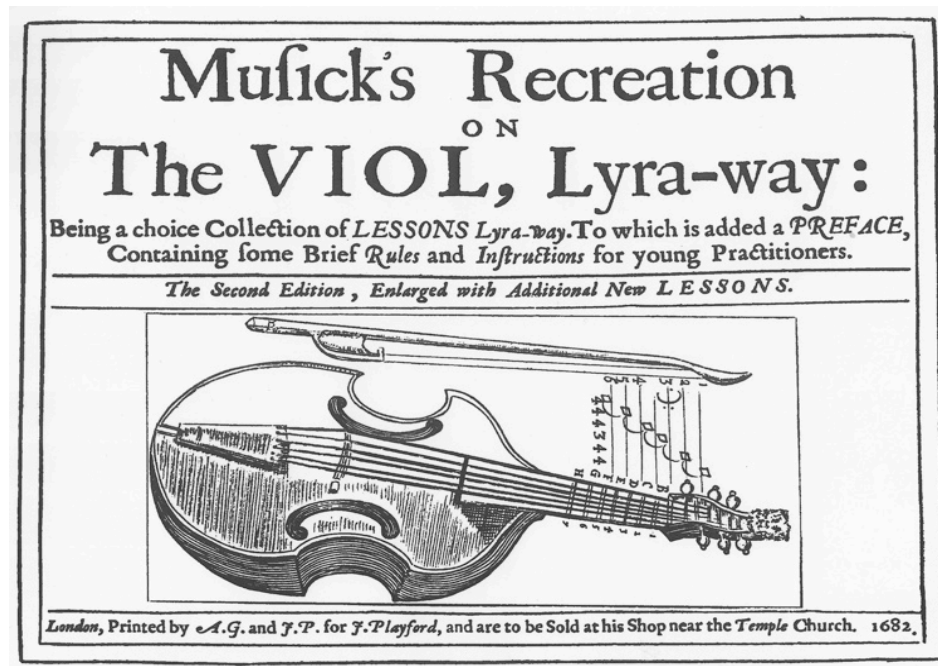
¹² This last extract from Playford refers to a lyra viol with sympathetic strings, a variant that does not seem to have prospered, though it has been suggested that Daniel Farunt may also have been the inventor of a related instrument, the baryton (Pamplin 2000).

¹³ For convenience I will continue to use the term *Lyra Viol* despite the uncertainty of its status that Traficante’s work reveals.

above) by John Playford issued between 1651 and 1682 (Traficante 1966). These are listed in detail in Appendix 1 but as illustration I reproduce below the covers of the 1652 and the 1882 volumes which, as well as serving as a contemporary depiction of the instrument, illustrate that Playford seems to have changed the way he referred to the instrument:



Playford 1652



Playford 1682

Playford explained the distinction between the viola da gamba and the lyra viol in *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655):

The *Viol de Gambo* is so called because his Musick thereon is play'd from the Rules of the Gam-ut, and not by Letters or Tableture, as the Lyra Viol.'

(Traficante 1996)¹⁴

Though this is an explanation we would not now accept, the more

¹⁴ Strictly the term *Gamut* signifies the lowest note of the mediaeval system of notation (Fallows, accessed 30/07/12); presumably it is used here to distinguish notation from tablature.

convincing view being that proposed by Woodfield and Robinson (accessed 04/04/2012) that *viola da gamba* is descriptive of the playing position, the wording does suggest that Playford was making a distinction between the two instruments that he later dropped as is illustrated by the two covers. (In fact it was his 1661 volume that first made the change.)

This change might suggest the term *lyra viol* began to go out of common use as the century progressed and that Playford decided to reflect this. If this were a modern publication one might speculate a change of this nature might merely reflect a change of editor. However, though Playford seems to have been primarily known as a publisher, he does also seem to have been a musician and the available biographical evidence (including Kidson 1918, Squire 1923, Dean-Smith and Temperley, accessed 27/06/12) suggested that he acknowledged the few occasions on which he collaborated with others, and it seems likely that the words are his own.

Hence an alternative to Traficante's view is Beck (1962), reviewing the facsimile edition of *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (1682 version):

That the lyra viol repertory did not remain the exclusive property of the specialists is clearly indicated by the difference in title between the first and subsequent printings of Playford's collection...

And:

...The player is not asked to abandon the tablature notation nor the various special tunings so long identified with the lyra viol, though the number of tunings required was gradually reduced until only one remained...

And:

...Hence the 1682 edition here reproduced does not truly represent lyra viol music at its most characteristic. Though it contains "many excellent and choice Lessons for good Proficients on this Instrument"...the majority of its "Short and easie Lessons or Tunes" are frankly made as palatable as possible for the beginner or amateur.
(Beck 1962)

Beck's suggestion is that the change in terminology reflects a simplification in the later publications so that they become aimed more at beginners than experienced players - a commercial decision perhaps or possibly reflecting a perception that the heyday of the lyra viol was already beginning to pass.

Otterstedt (2002 p51) expresses the same view suggesting that the differences in subsequent editions of Playford indicated that the lyra viol had: '...stepped back into the private sphere of educated dilettanti – or

perhaps not so very educated at all by then’.

It remains difficult to be clear about this issue. Traficante, who has provided more evidence on the topic than any other author, takes the view that the reasons behind the divergence in terminology are unclear.

Other modern writers may be inconsistent in their use of the terms *lyra viol* and *lyra-way*. Amelkina-Vera (2008) uses both without explaining the distinction, reflecting the lack of clarity in the 17th century sources.

Timofeyev (1998) appears to be incorrect in suggesting that the term *lyra viol* was used more in the *second* half of the century. Peart (1967) is more aligned with Traficante in regarding *lyra-way* as a term *more* likely to be found later in the century. The most convincing attempts to find a pattern in the 17th century confusion are the views expressed by Beck (1962) and Otterstedt (2002) that an apparent change in terminology (to *lyra-way*) signified the beginning of the lyra viol’s decline.

2.2) Lyra Viol Tablature and the variant tunings

Playford’s (1652,1682) pictures of the lyra viol, reproduced above, clearly show frets tied round the neck to aid stopping of the strings (characteristic of viols in general, and lutes). Tablature notation specifies the string and fret to be used for each note rather than its pitch. An inspection of

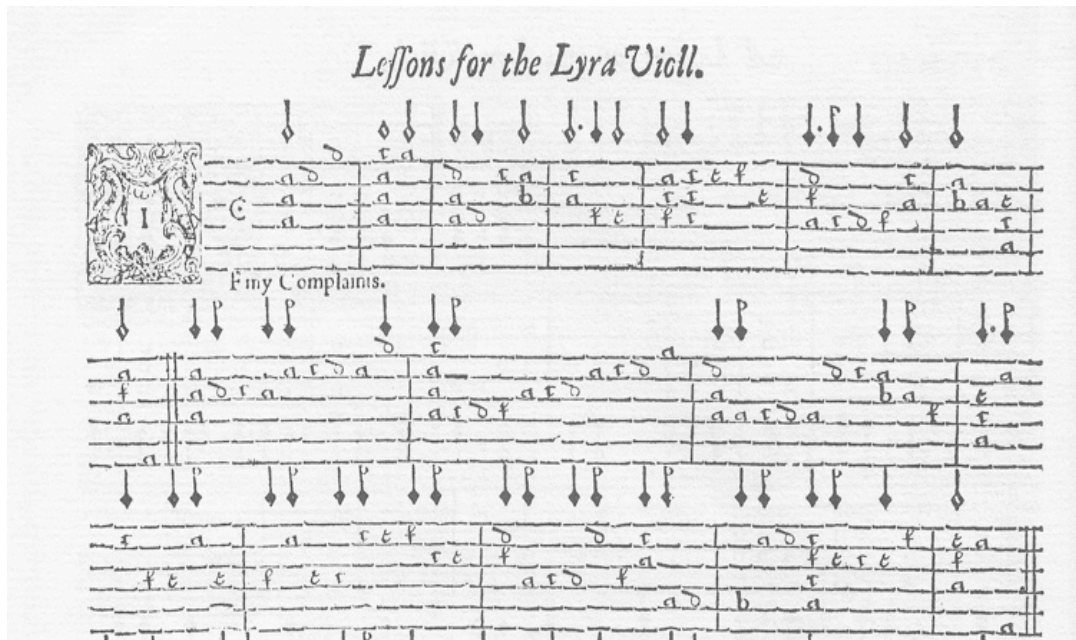
Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612) illustrates contemporary practice in printed books of tablature. The following image shows a section of a song. The vocal line and the bass viol part (Cantus and Bassus) are written in staff notation and there is an accompanying lute part in tablature notation¹⁵:

Section of a song by William Corkine from *The Second Booke of Ayres*:

The image displays a page from a 17th-century music book. At the top, there are two staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'CANTVS.' and the second 'BASSVS.' (written upside down). The music is in a simple, early modern style. Below these staves is a large, ornate initial letter 'W' decorated with floral patterns. To the right of the 'W' is the Roman numeral 'XV.'. Below the 'W' and 'XV.' is a line of text: 'Hen I was borne, Lucina crosse-legg'd fate, The angry starres with'. Below this text is a lute tablature part, consisting of two staves with letters 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'f' and rhythmic markings. Below the tablature is another line of text: 'ommi-nous aspects, frownd on my birth, And the foredooming Fate, ordain'd to'. Below this text is another lute tablature part, also consisting of two staves with letters and rhythmic markings. The page is filled with musical notation and text, illustrating the integration of different instruments and vocal parts in early modern music.

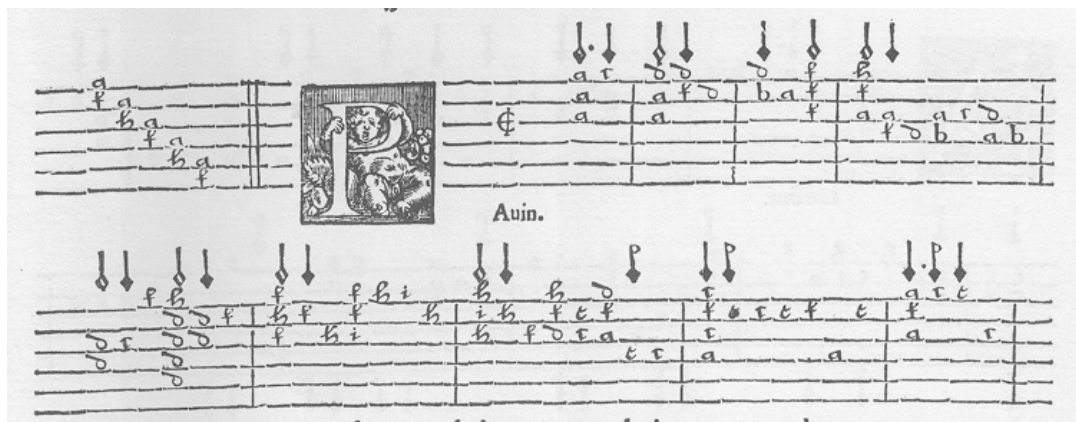
¹⁵ It is notable that the bass viol part is printed upside down to allow the musicians to play from the same copy (and perhaps to allow for the singer and lute player to be one!)

The next image, from the same book, is part of a lyra viol solo. It is notable that the tablature staves for the two instruments are identical. The appearance of a tablature letter *b* below the bottom tablature line at one point betrays the fact that the vocal piece is most likely to be accompanied by a seven-course lute but otherwise (apart from a different time signature) there is no visible difference between the two instrumental staves. I noted earlier Traficante's comment that it is difficult to distinguish music intended for the lyra viol in manuscript sources; the only advantage in some of the printed sources is a title page specifying the instrumentation.



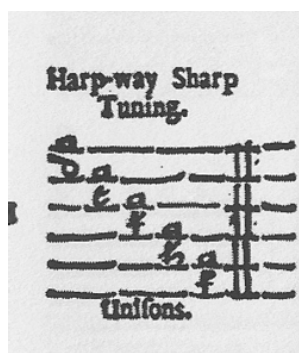
Section of a lyra viol solo by Corkine from *The Second Booke of Ayres* (1612)

What is often missing even in printed sources is any indication of the tuning required, though it is clearly necessary for the player to know this in order to play from tablature. Despite the fact that the lyra viol made use of a wide variety of tunings it is usual to find rather little direction about this in lyra viol music. In the Corkine book there are tuning indications on only two adjacent pages, one of which is reproduced below:



Tuning diagram at the beginning of the tablature staff,
From Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres*, (1612)

This tuning diagram, shown to the left of the decorated initial letter is fairly typical of tablature sources (where there is any such diagram at all). The following similar diagram from Playford (1682) is more informative; it specifies that stopping a string at the indicated fret should produce unison with the next higher string, and it gives the usual name of this tuning:



It is difficult, looking at these printed books with modern eyes, to understand why such basic information as the instrument to be used or the tablature tuning is omitted. With staff notation publications it is perhaps fair to assume that the publisher might have expected to increase sales by implying the music could be played on any suitable instrument. However, though music in lyra viol tablature might reasonably be encompassed on a lute or bandora the player would still need to be aware of the tuning needed especially, as we shall see, variant tunings for the lyra viol were many.

English manuscript collections for lute or bandora used a standard tuning for the top five courses and a small number of variants for bass courses (Spring 2001; Nordstrom 1992, pp120-11). It is characteristic of lute tablature manuscripts that few tuning indications are found, perhaps because renaissance tuning was so standard. That this is so can be judged from an inspection of a facsimile of the Matthew Holmes manuscripts CUL Dd.2.11 (Robinson et al. 2010) one of the largest sources of English renaissance lute music (approx.1590). This contains 324 pieces of music in tablature but not one tuning indication, despite the fact that 52 of the pieces are identified by the editors as being intended for the bandora.

We find the same lack of tuning information in lyra viol manuscript sources though there is some use of the named tunings described below. Many such manuscripts may have been personal collections, where the owner would know the tuning(s) to be used so it was perhaps not thought necessary for the scribe to include this information.

Quite possibly the conventions followed by manuscript scribes may have been transferred wholesale to printed editions and therefore it may not have been conventional to include much tuning information. Though this would suggest there could have been a 'standard' lyra viol tuning Traficante's (1970) paper bearing the graphic title: *Lyra Viol Tunings: "All Ways have been Tryed to do It"* does not lend support to this.¹⁶

Traficante demonstrates that a wide variety of tunings was used and sets out to answer the following questions from the extant 17th century English viola da gamba literature:

- 1) How many tunings were used and what were they?
- 2) What were their characteristics?
- 3) How are they indicated in the sources?
- 4) Can pitch names, if not the actual pitches themselves, be ascertained?
- 5) Why did such variability of tuning arise?

¹⁶ The quotation in the title is from Mace, (1676).

6) How did performers of the time view the situation?

In discussing these issues Traficante adopts the convention in use at the time (and shown above in the illustrated tuning diagrams) in which the normal tuning of the bass viol (generally assigned the pitches d' a e c G D) is expressed as *ffeff*, indicating the frets to be stopped to produce intervals of a fourth between each string except for a third between strings two and three. This is in fact the same as normal lute tuning (though the notional pitches associated with the lute are g' d' a f c G) and this tuning (on the viol) was known variously as *viol way*, *plain way* and *lute way*. In all, Traficante's survey finds 41 different tunings though he remarks that there are likely more to be found. Of the 41 a fairly small number appear to have been commonly used and these were often designated by names. The tuning specified by Playford (1682) *defhf*, above, was generally known as *harp way sharp* (in distinction to *harp way flat*, which was *edfhf*). The tuning specified in the diagram above from Corkine (1612) was known as the *high way*, or *Alfonso eights* (after Alfonso Ferrabosco) and Corkine's "normal" tuning which turns out to be *ffhfh* is *Alfonso way*. Corkine (about whose life and circumstances virtually nothing is known) perhaps assumed that those playing his music regarded Ferrabosco's characteristic tunings as standard, otherwise discovering the tuning of the bulk of his pieces would have been a matter of trial and error (as it was for me when I first transcribed some of his music).

The characteristics of the various tunings (Traficante's second question), such as the intervals between each string and the fact that the top three strings of some of them form a major or a minor triad reflect also on his fifth question as to how these tunings came about. Why is it that there were 41 or more tunings for the lyra viol, but only a single tuning for the renaissance lute?¹⁷

A modern equivalent of this conundrum comes to mind, the *acoustic guitar* (steel strung, used in western folk and popular music) is often tuned in the same way as the (nylon stringed) *classical guitar* (e' b g d A E or e' b g d A D), but players commonly use a small number of altered tunings, such as e' b g d G D, d' b g d G D or d' a g d A D. However it is fairly common to encounter players using a variety of other tunings. It is difficult to find scholarly references on this topic but around 100 acoustic guitar tunings are given in Wikipedia (accessed 28/05/12). To me, as a classical guitar player, the reason for a variety of tunings on the acoustic guitar, as opposed to the classical guitar, is evident. I play chords by plucking them with the thumb and three fingers of my right hand and I can choose which

¹⁷ This statement invites modification. The basic six-course lute began to acquire more courses by the addition of extra basses from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, with some variability in the tuning of bass courses (Smith 2002, p252). Then, during the seventeenth century new French tunings began to appear in England (Spring 2001, p219) and later, in continental Europe at least, a standard baroque lute tuning was established (ibid p303).

strings to pluck. However the acoustic guitarist is likely to play chords by strumming a plectrum across the strings and will therefore find it easier if the notes of the chord are available on adjacent strings¹⁸. So it must also have been with the lyra viol. As Traficante puts it:

The lutanist's plucking technique enables him to choose various combinations of strings at will, while the bowing technique of the violist forces him to produce harmonic combinations on adjacent strings only. Thus composers tried to devise tunings which would offer the crucial pitches in close proximity on adjacent strings. The availability of certain notes as open-string pitches was also an important consideration.

(Traficante 1970 p192)

As to the third question, Traficante reflects on the point I made above that there is very often no indication of how the lyra viol should be tuned.

Where tuning indications do occur then the type of diagram reproduced above (with variants) is fairly common, otherwise the main indications found are the names associates with the different tunings.

¹⁸ A correspondent on the Delcamp guitar forum (<http://www.classicalguitardelcamp.com>) has indicated that my analogy may not be correct. He suggests that variant guitar tunings may have developed first among black American finger picking players, including those who played 'slide' guitar, stopping the strings with a glass or metal slice.

As for the names themselves, there does not seem to have been a definite naming convention. However the terms *way* and *set* are commonly used to name tunings and these names can give indication of how they came about. For example *harp way* and *bandora set* suggest a link with those particular instruments, others such as *Alfonso way* may refer to individual musicians who championed the tunings, and yet other tunings are named as modifications of established tunings. Traficante (ibid p186) cites:

‘Alfonso way onely the treble set one note loer’ and: ‘The t[w]o hier strings violl way [and the] rest 8ts to them.’¹⁹ found in a manuscript source held in a Dublin Library (see Cunningham 2009). More commonly, though, are found simple modifications such as *harp way sharp* or *harp way flat*.

Traficante (1970 p185) describes those as where there is: ‘a major or minor triad among the open strings. "Sharp" is used when the triad is to be major and "flat" when it is to be minor.’

Traficante (ibid p191) suggests his fourth question, whether there was a specific pitch level associated with lyra viol tunings, is answered by the occurrence of ensemble music in which the lyra viol part is accompanied by other parts in pitch notation, together with sources such as the Mansell tablature (Traficante 1965) in which pitch names are given in addition to

¹⁹ In other words, the two highest strings are tuned according to the standard viol tuning. The fourth and sixth strings are tuned octaves below the second, while the third and fifth strings are tuned octaves below the first.

tablature tuning charts. Traficante's view is that *d'* was the standard tuning of the first string, and he points to examples where specific indications were given of tunings in which the first string was retuned (1970 p 191).

Traficante's (1970) paper provides an account of the variety of tunings found in the lyra viol repertoire, but he does not question the evolution of tunings over time, a point touched on by Beck (1962) who suggests (in relation to the succeeding Playford editions) that the number of tunings required was gradually reduced until only one remained. It may well be that the widest variety of tunings was used earlier in the century as the popularity of the lyra viol seemed to be growing and it may also be, as with the modern acoustic guitar, that a small number of the available tunings was particularly popular and the rest were used only occasionally. It has to be said, however, that this is a somewhat superficial conclusion based on the impression conveyed by the published evidence. The lyra viol manuscript sources do not seem to have received much detailed scholarly attention and there are questions of this sort that remain to be answered. The work of the Viola da Gamba Society towards including the lyra viol manuscript sources in its project to compile a thematic index of music for viols will doubtless help this field of research (VdGSA, accessed 22/08/12).

CHAPTER 3

THE COMPOSERS AND THE MUSIC

3.1) *The beginnings of Lyra Viol music*

The earliest printed source of music in tablature for the lyra viol was Robert Jones' *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* printed in London in 1601 (Traficante 1966). As for manuscript sources, dating these is an uncertain art, as few music manuscripts from this time contain direct evidence of their date. The earliest suggested dates (Traficante 1979) are the presumed dates of three of the Matthew Holmes manuscripts that contain some lyra viol pieces. These MSS are held in the Cambridge University Library and are known as *Dd.5.20* (dated by Traficante as: 'early 17th century?'), *Dd.5.78* 'c.1600' and *Dd.9.33*, which is given the very specific date of: 'February 28 1600'. Craig-McFeely (2000) also comments on the dates of the Matthew Holmes manuscripts; she suggests the earliest is *Dd.2.11* (probably substantially complete by 1591) with *Dd.5.78* being the second, perhaps partly copied at the same time as *Dd.2.11*.

What these dates suggest is that earliest lyra viol music may have been composed towards the end of the 16th century, and it is clear from subsequent publication dates that the heyday of the instrument was in the 17th century, with no evidence that its use persisted into the 18th century (though I touch briefly below on the idea that the baryton may have ‘evolved’ from the lyra viol).

However the exact origins of lyra viol playing are obscure. Woodfield (1984) deals in detail with the history of the viol in 16th century England and more recently Amelkina-Vera (2008) cites Woodfield’s work in piecing together a history of the lyra viol itself. She comments that the employment by Henry VIII’s court of two Flemish viol players was probably influential in starting the vogue for the instrument in England (p6) and that it became fashionable outside the royal court when, mid-sixteenth century the viol was introduced into the curriculum of London choir schools such as St. Paul’s and Westminster. She also suggests (p1) that the notion of playing polyphonic music on the viol can be traced back to the influence of the Italian Silvestro Ganassi and that a variety of Italian influences were also responsible for the inspiring the English name *lyra viol* (p7). Amelkina-Vera goes on to outline the development of the 17th century English lyra viol tradition – a tradition reflected in the abundant surviving musical sources.

3.2) Sources of lyra viol music

The extant lyra viol repertoire includes 18 English sources of printed music²⁰ published between 1601 and 1682 (Traficante 1966) and around 70 manuscript sources that include tablature for viol from various countries, some fragmentary, others large anthologies (Traficante 1979). There are pieces for solo lyra viol, ensemble music for two or three lyra viols, for lyra viol with other instruments, and lyra viol accompaniments for songs. Composers represented include some who are known for a range of musical forms: Coprario, Jenkins, Simpson, Charles Coleman and William Lawes (Traficante 1966) and less well known musicians such as Hume (Morrow et al, accessed 27/03/12) and Corkine (Poulton and Greer, accessed 26/04/12).

Though the view expressed by Craig-McFeely (2000) is that the lute repertoire was more extensive than any other solo instrumental repertoire of the time, the (slightly later) lyra viol repertoire may rival it. Most of lute repertoire is in manuscript form, of which there are 85 surviving containing as many as 3300 separate pieces of music (ibid.) though it has been argued that there is a core repertoire of only about 150 pieces (Nolde

²⁰ Music printing appeared relatively late in England and this may be why there is more printed lyra viol music than lute music, though it has been suggested (Nolde 1984, Oswell 2009) that this may have been influenced by the views of Tallis and Byrd who held a monopoly on music printing.

1984). Some of the lute manuscripts are individually quite extensive - for example the Matthew Holmes manuscript CUL Dd.2.11 (Robinson et al. 2010) contains 324 pieces.

Of the 70 lyra viol manuscripts some are only scraps, but there are several substantial volumes, including the Bodleian collection in which there are 256 pieces (Sawyer 1972), the Manchester Gamba Book which contains 258 pieces (Pritchard 2012) and the Mansell tablature, which contains 39 folios (Traficante 1965).²¹ In addition some of the printed sources of lyra viol music are substantial, that of John Moss, for example, containing 104 pieces (Connor 2005).

However neither of Traficante's surveys of English printed sources (1966) and manuscript sources (1979) clarifies the issue of the extent of the repertoire, especially because Traficante's second survey is purely a catalogue of manuscripts, giving the location and presumed date of each, the instrumentation and the names found therein. It is clearly an essential resource for future research, but only a few of the manuscripts have been studied in any detail (notably the Mansell tablature, the Manchester Gamba Book and the Bodleian collection - all mentioned above - and the

²¹ Traficante comments that some of the original folios seem to be missing (1965 p 22) and the number of pieces remaining is not clear from his work. He mentions 9 songs, 6 almaines, 5 corantos, 3 sarabandes, 5 sets of variations and 18 untitled works.

Narcissus Marsh manuscript (Cunningham 2009)). There does not seem to have been an attempt to delineate and catalogue the total number of surviving pieces for lyra viol in the way that Craig-McFeely (2000) has done for English lute music and generally the lyra viol manuscript repertoire is much less studied than the corresponding lute manuscript repertoire. Nevertheless, from Traficante's (1966, 1979) work a figure for the lyra viol composers that can be identified from manuscript and printed sources can be determined and it turns out to be about 170; this compares with around 164 lute composers found in Craig-McFeely (2000, Appendix 3). Of course, the sources contain large numbers of anonymous works and inexact ascriptions (a point discussed further below) so it is not possible to give an exact total in either case. However these figures suggest it is quite possible that the English lyra viol repertoire does indeed rival the English lute repertoire in extent. This point is alluded to by Otterstedt (2002 p 51) who suggests the lyra viol 'outdid the lute for years on end' at the beginning of the 17th century - another issue that bears further examination from a study of the manuscripts.

Printed sources (Traficante 1966)

The 18 printed sources²² are necessarily easier to categorize than the manuscripts. Ten books were printed between 1601 and 1615 and the

²² Traficante commented in his 1979 paper that no further printed sources had emerged since 1966.

other eight between 1651 and 1682. These are listed in Appendix 1.

Of the first ten, the most substantial are a collection of around 130 works by Tobias Hume (including pieces for bass viol in staff notation, songs with lyra viol accompaniment, duets and trios and about 45 solo pieces), 53 works (for 1, 2 and 3 lyra viols) by Alfonso Ferrabosco (the younger), 18 duets by Thomas Ford and collections of accompanied songs and instrumental solos by William Corkine and John Maynard. The second eight include five overlapping collections from John Playford, published between 1651 and 1682, and the collection of 104 pieces, arranged in suites, by John Moss.

Manuscript sources (Traficante 1979)

The 70 manuscript sources are predominantly held in University libraries, a few in private collections; most are in the UK, a few overseas. As well as 17th century originals there are later copies and transcriptions of the music (much from the nineteenth and early twentieth century) where the originals have not survived, and Traficante also lists seven sources that are no longer extant, but cited in detail in other contemporary works²³.

His list suggests the most substantial holdings are at Cambridge University

²³ Traficante does not comment on the quality of evidence that these 'missing' sources provide, or the question of whether later copies and transcriptions can be relied on.

(including a number of lyra viol pieces scattered through some of the Matthew Holmes manuscripts amongst mostly lute music), Oxford University (in the Bodleian and Christchurch Libraries) and the British Library. Another of the largest manuscripts is held at the Manchester Public Library (the Manchester Gamba Book). Traficante attempts, as far as possible, to date these manuscripts and to list the names of the musicians associated with the pieces. Both are uncertain procedures. Inspection of English tablature manuscripts from this period reveals that some do contain date information but its significance is often unclear. In addition the inscriptions next to individual pieces are often fragmentary (or absent) both in naming the pieces of music and in ascribing each to a particular musician. It is also impossible to know whether such ascriptions should be regarded as indicating the identity of the composer; the best that can be said (in most cases) is that the scribe associated the piece of music with a particular musician.²⁴ Of the 256 pieces in the largest of the Bodleian collections (reviewed by Sawyer 1972) only 54 bear the names of musicians, though attributions for another 74 were made by the author on the basis of concordant sources. He notes that the majority of the pieces appear in the manuscripts as both anonymous and untitled.

²⁴ My A871 project entitled: "John Dowland, John Danyel, Daniel Bacheler; the Issue of Attribution in Golden Age English Lute Music" illustrated this point.

A page from the Narcissus Marsh manuscript (Cunningham 2009) illustrates the issue of ascription. This is the second page of a piece headed (on the first page) 'Corant'; it appears to say 'Corrant Mr Laws'. The spelling of the title on this page is corrected for no obvious reason; the music is in 3 and its form is entirely consistent with a corant. The associated name is presumed to be that of the composer. The name 'Laws' leads one to think of William Lawes (rather than his brother Henry, whose name does not seem to be associated with lyra viol music) and this spelling does occur elsewhere. We therefore take this to be a corant by William Lawes. This inscription can be taken as a fairly typical example of the textual information found in manuscript sources.



2nd page of a Corant from the Narcissus Marsh manuscript.

Both Traficante and Sawyer make use of the standard approach of looking for concordances and Traficante also looks for supporting date information from other sources, but the upshot is that we have only a very limited idea of when individual manuscript collections were compiled and partial information about the identity of the originators of the music. On the dates of manuscripts the most that can realistically be said is that:

- 1) The available information pointing to dates supports the idea that all the contemporary manuscripts were compiled *during* the 17th century or some, at the very earliest, in the last decade of the 16th century.
- 2) As with the printed sources, there do appear to have been several in the early century and several in the late century, but these are outnumbered by those whose dates cannot be clearly determined.

Taking together the idea that a surviving viol dated 1598, made by John Rose (referred to above) may have been one of the first lyra viols (based, it has to be said, on very limited evidence), the likely dates of the first lyra viol music appearing in manuscripts and the first appearance of lyra viol music in printed sources we do arrive at the conclusion that the lyra viol was essentially a seventeenth century instrument, though it may have first appeared in the dying years of the sixteenth century.

It is perhaps worth reiterating that the lyra viol manuscripts appear to represent a substantial opportunity for further research in 17th century English music. Traficante's (1979) paper is important as far as it goes, but is essentially a cataloguing exercise. Sawyer's (1972) paper is the fullest scholastic exploration of a lyra viol manuscript I was able to discover but exists only as an unpublished doctoral thesis which, though it includes incipits for all the music contains only selected facsimiles (and those barely legible) and selected transcriptions into notation.

3.3) The Composers of Lyra Viol music

Sawyer (1972) identifies the names of thirty musicians in the Bodleian manuscripts and lists the most important (numerically) as Alfonso Ferrabosco, John Coprario, Tobias Hume, Thomas Ford, Joseph Sherlie, Thomas Gregory and Simon Ives.²⁵ Traficante's (1979) paper indicates that a date of 1673 is written in the Bodleian source, but that an earlier range of dates (c.1622 - c.1639) should be associated with it. The earlier date accords with Sawyer (1972) who identifies the scribe and refers to the date of his will as 1638, so that these names must represent musicians who could be recorded at that particular time as known lyra viol composers. If we look at the names of the musicians listed by Traficante (1979) in his

²⁵ Sawyer did not identify them by first name in his list, but it is clear from other sources who is being referred to.

broader sample of manuscripts we find a total of about 170 names. The fragmentary nature of some of the written text in these manuscripts frequently makes designation of individual musicians difficult. For example, Henrie Read, John Read, Roger Read and Thomas Read, appearing in the same manuscript are more likely to be members of the same family, rather than the same person, but Stephkins, Stifkins and Mr. Steoffkins seem likely to be the same person, as do John Jenkins, J Jenkins, Jenkins, and Mr. Jenkins. Despite these uncertainties we can get a general idea of the importance of each musician by counting the number of different manuscripts in which their name appears. This measure does, of course, neglect the fact that particular musicians may have more compositions than others in each manuscript and we are still left with the mystery of the large number of anonymous compositions. However we can note that 112 names appear only once, and 66 only twice (including some quite well known musicians such as William Byrd) and the most important numerically (judged by listing those whose names appear in five or more manuscripts²⁶) are John Jenkins, William Lawes, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Simon Ives, Thomas Gregory, John Coprario, William Young, Robert Taylor, John Lilly, Robert Johnson, Thomas Ford and John Esto. Some of the others appearing less often in the list may also have been important composers. Certainly Playford (1682) mentions Joseph Sherlie, Charles

²⁶ This is an arbitrary choice.

Coleman and Daniel Farunt as prominent composers for the instrument and it may be that the importance of Dietrich Stöeffken is obscured not only by the variant spellings of his name, but also by the appearance of his work as widely scattered in both English and continental manuscripts (Field (2), accessed 06/07/12; Dunford 2004).

The printed sources give us the following names in addition to those found frequently in the manuscript sources: Robert Jones, Thomas Robinson, William Corkine, John Maynard, John Playford, John Moss, Thomas Mace and Christopher Simpson

I give some biographical details of these musicians in **Appendix 2** and the table below provides a summary:

MS sources (Sawyer)	MS sources (Traficante)	Printed sources
	Charles Coleman	
John Coprario	John Coprario	
		William Corkine
	John Esto	
	Daniel Farunt	
Alfonso Ferrabosco	Alfonso Ferrabosco	
Thomas Ford	Thomas Ford	
Thomas Gregory	Thomas Gregory	
Tobias Hume		Tobias Hume
Simon Ives	Simon Ives	
	John Jenkins	
		Robert Jones

MS sources (Sawyer)	MS sources (Traficante)	Printed sources
	(Robert Johnson)*	
	William Lawes	
	John Lilly	
		Thomas Mace
		John Maynard
		John Moss
		(John Playford)**
		(Thomas Robinson)**
Joseph Sherlie		
		Christopher Simpson
	Dietrich Stöeffken	
	Robert Taylor	
	William Young	

Notes:

*Robert Johnson was probably not a lyra viol player and his name may appear on transcriptions of his lute works for lyra viol.

**John Playford was primarily the publisher of the works appearing in his books.

***Thomas Robinson was primarily a lutenist; there is only brief reference to the lyra viol in 'The Schoole of Musicke

As suggested above, the number of composers associated with the lyra viol may have been similar to (or even more than) the number of English lute composers. It is difficult to make a direct comparison, but Smith (2002) listed just 10 musicians who seem to have been the most important English 16th - 17th century lute composers in terms of numerical representation in the manuscript sources and the total of 164 lute composers given above (derived from Craig-McFeely 2000) is, on

inspection, inflated by the names of 30 continental composers whose works appear in the English sources (reflecting the international nature of the lute repertoire). On the other hand there seem to be around 170 *English* composers of lyra viol music of which my list (Appendix 2) and the table above suggests possibly 15-20 were responsible for the bulk of the extant music.²⁷

Who, then, are these composers of lyra viol music? One thing that is clear from inspecting their names is they are not those primarily associated with the composition of lute music though many of them are known to have been lute players as well as viol players and some of their names do appear in the lute manuscripts (perhaps sometimes attached to unrecognised lyra viol pieces).

It is perhaps worth noting that 17 of the 170 lyra viol composers can be identified as women and 32 as members of the gentry, the nobility or even royalty (including such names²⁸ as King James²⁹, The Prince of Wales, The King of Denmark, the Earls of Essex, Sussex and Salisbury. Perhaps unsurprisingly 10 of the women composers listed are members of the

²⁷ The list of 170 includes only five who are identifiably or probably foreign composers.

²⁸ Spellings modernised.

²⁹ Presumably James 1st; I recall Christopher Page commenting in a Radio 3 programme that Tobias Hume had an association with the Scottish court when James was king of Scotland, but I have not seen this referenced anywhere.

gentry or nobility. There is a contrast here with the lute repertory, where it is not possible to identify any women composers and a majority of the composers whose lives are known in any detail were in the service of royalty or the nobility rather than themselves being members of that class (Spring 2001, Smith 2002) - the best known exceptions being a foreign example, Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse (Fishback and Linfield, accessed 04/08/12) a fairly prolific composer of sacred and secular music, whose name occasionally appears in lute sources, and King Henry VIII whose authorship of pieces in the Henry VIII Manuscript is uncertain (Greer, accessed 04/08/12). It is generally thought that many amateurs among the nobility and gentry, and even royalty were lute players (as supported, perhaps, by the well-known portrait of Elizabeth I playing then lute by Nicholas Hilliard) but in contrast the evidence from manuscripts suggests that not only playing, but also composing music for the lyra viol was popular among these classes. This is not, of course, to detract from the importance of professional musicians in service in shaping the lyra viol repertory.

Appendix 2 provides a list of composers of lyra viol music and some biographical detail where this is known. I have included all those who were the authors of printed sources, those names among the 170 cited by Traficante (1979) that appear in five or more of the manuscript sources

and lyra viol musicians in royal service as an approximate method of identifying the important names.

Musicians in Royal Service

Spring (2001) draws attention (as do others) to the importance of the court in shaping musical life during the 16th and 17th centuries, so any account of musical activity at this time needs to make reference to court musicians. Spring highlights (p205 ff.) the diminishing amounts of newly composed English lute music in the Jacobean period (in comparison with the Elizabethan era) characterising the latter reign as a time of new styles in the arts and new influences from abroad (especially France). He sees Dowland's (1612) complaint in *A Pilgrim's Solace* in the context of these changes.³⁰ Except for Daniel Bacheler and Robert Johnson, all the important lutenist composers of the Elizabethan era were of Dowland's own generation or before suggesting that, with Dowland's death (in 1626) and those of Bacheler (1618) and Johnson (1633) the 'Golden Age' was drawing to a close. Certainly Bacheler and Johnson are the last lutenists in royal employ known for high quality English lute music. Other court lutenists of the Jacobean period include Timothy Collins, Nicholas Lanier, Maurice Webster, John Miners, Jonas Wrench, Thomas Day, Thomas Cutting and John Sturt. Of these, Sturt is known for a few lute solos that are

³⁰ Though, as is well known, Dowland's own appointment to the English court came very late in his life, in 1612. Earlier he had been employed in the court of the King of Denmark (Poulton 1982).

stylistically similar to those of Robert Johnson (Spencer, accessed 04/07/2012) and Lanier is regarded as an important composer of songs³¹ (Spink (2), accessed 04/07/2012) but otherwise none of these names is associated with lasting lute compositions.

However, during this early seventeenth century period the musicians in court service did include Thomas Ford (in the service of Prince Henry, as a lutenist), Alfonso Ferrabosco II (also in Henry's service and likely to have taught both Henry and the future King Charles the viol but not the lute, though he could play this instrument himself) and John Coprario (in the service of Prince Charles). The appearance of these names suggests that the lyra viol may have been gaining popularity at court, perhaps at the expense of the lute.

Moving forward into the Carolingian period we note that John Dowland, Nicholas Lanier, Robert Johnson, Timothy Collins and Maurice Webster remained in post as the *King's Lutes in Ordinary*, to be replaced as they died by Robert Dowland, Lewis Evans and Dietrich Stöeffken and that the title of the post changed to become the *King's Lutes, Viols and Voices*. There were also two new appointments, Jacques Gaultier and John Fox. Robert Dowland was replaced, on his death, by John Mercure.

³¹ He is also known for a variety of other achievements, including his appointment as the first Master of the King's Musick.

Robert Dowland was John Dowland's son and a lutenist and composer of a few lute pieces. He is chiefly known for two important printed collections, *A Musical Banquet* (1610)³² and *A Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1610), the former being a collection of lute songs together with one lute solo piece by John Dowland and the latter a collection of solo lute pieces by a variety of composers (Poulton and Spencer (1), 06/07/12). Lewis Evans seems to have been a lutenist and harp player christened Lewis Williams, who later changed his name (Holman, 1987). Dietrich Stöeffken was a German viol player and composer; his name appears (as Steoffkins, Stephkins and Stifkin) in three of the manuscript sources of lyra viol music (Field (2), accessed 06/07/12; Dunford 2004; see Appendix 2). Jacques Gautier was a French lutenist and composer (Rollin, accessed 06/07/2012).³³ John Fox seems to merit only passing references in academic literature (eg Emden, accessed 6/07/12, p422, where he is described only as 'the King's musician'). Lastly John (Jean) Mercure (c1600 - before 1660) was a French lutenist and composer.

³² Not to be confused with John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651).

³³ Seemingly he left France for England in 1617, having been accused of murder. Some of his music appears in lute sources, but its identification is made more difficult by the large number of pieces attributed to Denis and Ennemond Gautier (or Gaultier) who were themselves cousins, but not related to Jacques.

3.4) *The Music Itself*

The list of musicians in royal service suggests that, as the 17th century drew on, court musical life continued to include lute music though with an increasing influence from continental musicians, and that appointments to royal posts began to reflect an increasing fashion for lyra viol music. We can also note that two at least of the viol players in royal service were also lute players, namely Alfonso Ferrabosco and Thomas Ford. It would therefore be no surprise to find much in common between music written for the lute and contemporaneous lyra viol music. That this is so can be illustrated by the following three versions of this piece:³⁴

Sarabande

Jean Mercure (Balcarres Lute Book)*

*Transcribed from the tablature file at http://www.gerbode.net/ft2/composers/Mercure/pdf/083_Sarabande.pdf

³⁴ Which have been transposed to a common key and each expressed on a single staff.

Mercury

Anon. (Elizabeth Rogers Virginal Book)***

***Transcribed from Cofone (1982)

Sarabande

Dietrich Steffkins (Narcissus Marsh Lyra Viol Book**)

**Reproduced from Otterstedt (2002)

We find what is essentially the same sarabande as a lute piece attributed to John (Jean) Mercure (notated in several manuscript sources; this version from the Balcarres Lute book can be found in Vaccaro and Rollin (1977)), as a lyra viol piece by Dietrich Steffkins (Otterstedt, 2002), and in two keyboard sources, this version from the Elizabeth Rogers Virginal Book (Cofone, 1982).

Mercure and Steffkins would have known each other at the court of Charles I, though it is not clear whose version came first, nor indeed whether either composer was the originator of the piece. These two pieces clearly differ in the way chords are voiced (reflecting the technical realities of the two instruments) and there are harmonic differences at various points (the most extended being the differing harmonic progressions in bars 3 and 4) and different rhythmic figures in bars 7 and 18. The fact that the keyboard version is sufficiently limited in range to be rendered on one staff and the particular voicing of the chords suggests that it is probably a transcription of a lute original; this version is closer to the Mercure version, though with some harmonic differences in bars 14 and 18 and a rhythmic flourish in bar 15 slightly reminiscent of the figure that occurs in bar 18 of the Steffkins piece. The author of the Elizabeth Rogers version is unknown, but the book includes the date 1656 and there is a suggestion that this particular piece was included by a professional scribe or music teacher (Cofone 1982).

This piece can be taken as illustrative of two aspects of the instrumental music of this time, namely the form of the music itself and the occurrence of particular pieces in different instrumental versions.

Musical Forms

Inspection of sixteenth century instrumental sources suggests that it is usual to find collections of individual, fairly short pieces with little, if any, thematic linkage. For example, of the 324 pieces in the Matthew Holmes manuscript *CUL Dd 2.11* (Robinson et al. 2010) some are untitled and some are given titles that are presumably popular songs (eg *My Heart is Surely Set*) but the majority are *pavans*, *galliards*, *almaines* together with a few *corantos*, *jigs* and *preludes* - essentially pieces that derive from dance forms. The only other important musical form found in this and similar sources is the *fantasia* (and the related *in nomine*). The pieces are often of binary or ternary form, often with written out divisions. Though there are many examples in the lute literature of pavans and galliards on the same theme they are not often found paired - there are only two examples of pairs in this manuscript, both by Anthony Holborne. As to length, Dowland's *Monsieur's Almaine*, a set of divisions on a theme looks to be among the longest in the manuscript at 128 bars.

For comparison, the most important keyboard source from this period, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Fuller Maitland and Squire, 1963) contains a slightly broader range of pieces (including, for example, a few ecclesiastical settings) and the length of some of the pieces suggests that keyboard players played (or at least wrote out) more extensive sets of divisions, but

otherwise the form of the music is very similar.

Moving forward to the seventeenth century we find, for example, a lute manuscript source known as the *ML Lute Book* (Spencer, 1985). This contains 89 pieces and, again, they are all short pieces with an admixture of song tunes, dance-based pieces (including other forms such as *ballets* and *canaries*) and, reflecting the popularity at the Jacobean court of the *masque* as a form of entertainment (Walls, 1996), pieces from this genre. A keyboard source from the 17th century, the *Elizabeth Rogers Virginal Book* (it carries the inscription ‘Elizabeth Rogers Hir Virginall Booke, February the 27 1656’) includes a broadly similar range of pieces, except that it also includes an early example of a suite, *The Battaile* by William Byrd, a piece that is first found in *My Lady Nevell’s Book* (1591) (Cofone 1982).

Turning to a selection of the lyra viol sources listed above we find much the same range of musical forms but with some indications of developments in musical form. Looking first at the printed sources, in Ferrabosco’s books we find *almains*, *corantos*, *pavans* and *galliards*. In Corkine we find a similar range of pieces, together with sets of variations on popular tunes.

Indeed Corkine is stylistically somewhat similar to Ferrabosco (raising the question, I suppose, whether he might have been Ferrabosco’s pupil). The

following extracts perhaps serve as illustration of this, a section of an almain by Ferrabosco, followed by the first section of a pavin by Corkine:

The image displays two musical extracts for guitar. The first extract, labeled '6 in D', consists of three staves of music. The notation is complex, featuring many accidentals and fingerings. It includes various fingering numbers (1-4) and some specific techniques like 'V' and 'H'. The second extract, labeled '6th to D', consists of two staves of music. The notation is simpler, focusing on chords and melodic lines. Both extracts are presented as guitar arrangements.

Almain by Ferrabosco and Pavin by Corkine (Extracts: set as guitar arrangements)

Each uses the same tuning, and the original key of each is the same. The approach to rhythm and harmony seems rather similar in both with Corkine perhaps being the more successful in maintaining the impression of three-part polyphony. Both look to me as if they require fairly advanced technique on the lyra viol.

In Playford's volumes we find many very short, simple pieces (mostly in binary form) from a variety of composers (many anonymous), the simplicity of the pieces perhaps reflecting the commercial reality of the market for printed music books at that time. In Hume we again find quite a number of short pieces, a number of *pavins* and *galliards*, but also many pieces with descriptive titles. These appear to reflect aspects of Hume's somewhat eccentric character and his experiences as a soldier - *A Souldier's March*, *An English Frenchman*, *My Mistresse hath a pritty thing*. However we also find among Hume's works one or two longer pieces with contrasting sections and/or contrasting linked pieces. One piece, for example, is entitled *Deth* and is followed by a more cheerful piece called *Life*. Hume does not give much in the way of explanation of his pieces, and it is difficult to judge whether *Deth* is written as a lament or has some other purpose. It does include, however early examples of written directions to the player. One section has the direction 'Play this passionate after every strain' and a later section has the words 'Play this as it stands'. Elsewhere among his works we find other directions such as 'Play nine letters with your finger' (presumably indicating nine pizzicato notes) and 'Drum this with the back of your bow (con legno)³⁵. Another of his works, entitled *Good againe* has a construction of contrasting sections somewhat reminiscent of Telemann's much later violin *Fantasies*. In John Moss's

³⁵ Very early examples of both of these, now familiar, effects.

Lessons for the Basse-Viol we find that the work consists entirely of sets of dance movements arranged in suites of music by key (Hume 1605).

Looking at the Manchester Gamba Book and Sawyer's (1972) selection from the Bodleian manuscripts as representative of the manuscript sources we see, in the former, a collection somewhat similar in format to Playford's printed collections but in the latter some of the more complex polyphonic pieces in the lyra viol repertoire, including works by Ferrabosco, some of Corkine's pieces and other pieces of similar standing by Simon Ives, Thomas Gregory, Daniel Farrant and Joseph Sherlie.

It seems, therefore, that in the printed lyra viol books at least, there is evidence of musicians participating in what might now be seen as the evolution of the baroque suite (Fuller, accessed 12/07/12). There is little indication that English lutenists of the 17th century joined this trend, with the exception of Thomas Mace (already cited for his lyra viol music) whose *Musick's Monument* (Mace 1676) included six *setts* of pieces for the lute, though continental lutenists did follow this trend - culminating in the work of JS Bach's contemporary Sylvius Leopold Weiss (Chiesa, 1979).

Authorship and the variety of versions

The sarabande printed above illustrates the fairly frequent occurrence of related pieces in different settings and with different attributions.³⁶ Other examples include some of Corkine's settings: *Walsingham*, found also in lute versions by (for example) Dowland (Poulton and Lam, 1981) and Collard (Duarte and Pratt, 1978); *Monsieur's Almaine*; Dowland (Poulton and Lam, 1981) and Bacheler (Duarte and Poulton, 1971); *Whoope doe me no harme*, a set of variations also found as a short piece in the Manchester Gamba Book attributed to 'RS'; *Fortune My Foe*; found as a lute piece by Dowland (Poulton and Lam, 1981) and as a piece attributed to 'RS' in the Manchester Gamba Book.-

Here as a further example of the variety of versions is the tune *Walsingham* as set for lyra viol by William Corkine, and as set for lute by John Dowland and by Edward Collard. Reproduced below are the first 16 bars of the three versions:

³⁶ The sarabande, though an accepted part of Baroque suites, was fairly late on the scene as an instrumental form. By the time of Playford's collections it seems to have been fairly common, but the first extant example of a lute sarabande appears to be from the continental lutenist Jakub Polak. The date is uncertain, but must have been before 1605, as this was the year of his death (Poźniak, 1993).

Walsingham

William Corkine

Musical score for Walsingham by William Corkine, in 3/4 time. The score consists of three staves. The first staff shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff begins at measure 9, and the third staff begins at measure 13. The music features a mix of chords and melodic lines.

Walsingham

John Dowland

Musical score for Walsingham by John Dowland, in 3/4 time. The score consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff begins at measure 10. The music is characterized by a steady rhythmic pattern and a mix of chords and melodic lines.

Walsingham

Edward Collard

Musical score for Walsingham by Edward Collard, in 3/4 time. The score consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff begins at measure 10. The music features a mix of chords and melodic lines, with a clear rhythmic structure.

Setting aside the difference in notation between the lyra viol version and the lute versions (I have realised the implied voice leading in the lute versions, but not in the lyra viol version) it is clear that they are all different in detail (and Corkine differs from the other two in launching

straight into divisions, rather than providing a simple account of the theme as the others do) but there are no more differences in character and complexity between the lyra viol piece and the lute pieces than there are between the two lute pieces. This is borne out by the later divisions, though Dowland (at 84 bars) and Collard (66 bars) write out more divisions than Corkine (36 bars).

These examples suggest we need to be cautious about applying our contemporary notion of ‘the composer’³⁷ to this repertoire. The music notated in these manuscripts and printed sources may represent particular musicians’ versions of pieces they chose to play, or wrote down from someone else’s playing, or sometimes notated for didactic purposes. Sometimes these pieces are very clearly versions of, or variations on, what must have been popular tunes and perhaps at times they are versions of a piece that a particular musician has made popular.³⁸ In other cases, as with Ferrabosco’s or Corkine’s *pavins* or with some of Hume’s characteristic pieces, one is much more tempted to see the hand of the individual musician as originator of the piece.

³⁷ A point I also made (in a slightly different form) in my A871 project.

³⁸ Dowland’s *Lachrimae*, for example, is found in many variant versions in numerous manuscripts, both English and continental.

CHAPTER 4

THE FALL AND RISE OF THE THE LYRA VOL

4.1) The Demise of the Lyra Viol

There is a certain neatness to the history of the lyra viol in that it appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century (or at the very earliest in the last years of the sixteenth century) and there is little, if any, evidence that its use persisted into the eighteenth century. From the list of composers given in Appendix 2 and their dates we can glean that the peak period during which lyra viol music was composed must have been the early to mid 17th century. The printed works of Playford form the bulk of later publications and include work by musicians active early in the century as well as works by such as John Moss, who seems to have been active later (Tilmouth and Ashbee, accessed 27/06/12). Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) was a late work but contained little lyra viol music and was, in any case, consciously looking back to an earlier musical period; nothing more appeared after Simpson's 1678 *Compendium* (see Appendix 1). Indeed the writer Roger North was able to write of the lyra viol in about 1726 as being among the 'Antiquitys of Musick' (Wilson 1959 p295).

The lyra viol was one of the instruments in vogue at the court of Charles I, but there little to suggest that it lost popularity in the Commonwealth period. Playford's first two lyra viol books were published in 1651 and 1652. It is also possible to find accounts of puritan music making, such as the virtuoso lyra viol player, Mistress Susanna Perwich, a pupil of Simon Ives, recorded by an anonymous blogger citing a 1934 work of Scholes (Anonymous, accessed 19/08/12) - suggesting the music was not purely a royalist pursuit. However it was following the restoration (and certainly by the time Henry Purcell was established as a court composer) that the viol had begun to be considered an archaic instrument, and Purcell's viol fantasias from around 1680 were among the last of the genre (Holman and Thompson, accessed 28/06/12). Doubtless Charles II's musical tastes, which leaned very much towards the French style of Lully (Otterstedt 2002, p51) strongly influenced English music making and it does seem that the lyra viol's decline was part of a much wider change in music. Otterstedt's chapter on the demise of the viol is entitled *The Decline and Fall in the Roman Empire* (pp 89 - 93) and though it deals primarily with 18th century developments it makes clear that the violin family were taking over generally as part of what we now see as the move towards the modern orchestra. This was despite attempts to 'improve' the viol in ways that would make it louder and despite the continued efforts of individual composers, especially Abel, to espouse the viol.

Though these trends seem fairly clear there appears to be no account of the last appearance of the lyra viol, and there is even a suggestion that the instrument may in a sense have survived for a while in the shape of the baryton. This is an instrument that is associated with Joseph Haydn and the Esterházy court in the 18th century, but its history is traced to 17th century England by Pamplin (2000) in his doctoral thesis. He contends that the baryton, which has two separate fretboards, was conceived by marrying the lyra viol with the bandora. He finds examples of music for the instrument in some of the same manuscripts (and by some of the same composers) where lyra viol music is found.

4.2) Modern Performance

There has been a tremendous vogue for playing lute music on copies of original instruments in recent years³⁹ as part of what has become known as the early music revival (Haskell 1996). A website search of a major record label (Naxos.com, accessed 31/08/12) using the term 'lute' yields 239 hits. By contrast a search on the term 'lyra viol' yields just one hit - music from the Manchester Gamba Book, recorded by Dietmar Berger (Berger 2012). There are, of course, other lyra viol CDs from other record companies, for example a recording of music from Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* (Balbesi and Marin 2011) but the number commercially available

³⁹ Or in the case of Jakob Lindberg on a preserved and restored lute from 1590 (Gottlieb, accessed 04/08/2012).

is very small.

In part this imbalance arises because lute playing prospered in the United Kingdom and over much of continental Europe from the Middle Ages to the Baroque, so there is greater range for the modern player to choose from in the lute repertoire (Smith 2002). Nevertheless the English golden age was a high point, and substantial numbers of commercially available lute CDs are of English lute music. Why, therefore, is it that modern players have not taken up the opportunity to play the lyra viol repertoire given that it is comparable in extent with the English lute repertoire?

This issue is touched on by Amelkina-Vera (2008). Gamba players, she suggests, have been slow to adopt this repertoire because of the unfamiliar notation and the extent to which scordatura is required. Her suggestion about notation I find unconvincing; my impression of early music instrumentalists in general is that they readily adapt to a variety of notations - single staff, grand staff a variety of clefs, figured bass and tablature. More likely the relative inaccessibility of the music, combined with a lack of regard for music of the seventeenth century may have been more potent factors. Whereas facsimiles and modern editions of the lute repertoire have become readily available in print and on line relatively little of the lyra viol repertoire is available in this way though the situation has

changed for the better since Holman commented on it (Holman 1979) in that most of the printed sources are now available, either commercially or via Early English Books OnLine and some of the manuscript sources are (or have been) available in modern facsimile editions.

Amelkina-Vera (2008) points out that lyra viol recordings have begun to appear in recent years, citing especially the work of Jordi Savall. However her main thrust is to suggest that transcription of this music (specifically the works of Tobias Hume) for the modern classical guitar would be a further avenue for its modern performance as well as providing repertoire for the instrument from the transitional period between late Renaissance and early Baroque, an era otherwise under represented in the guitar's repertoire. However she is erroneous in suggesting that 'no transcriptions of the lyra viol repertoire exist for solo guitar' as four of Corkine's pieces, five of Tobias Hume's pieces and one of Ferrabosco's pieces were published by Biberian (1979). More recently, Callaghan's (2012) work in transcribing Ferrabosco for guitar has perhaps followed these leads.

Amelkina-Vera (2008) comments on the transcription process and the choices that needed in adapting the music for a different instrument. These choices are somewhat similar to those required in transcribing the Bach cello suites for guitar (though Hume's music is considerably less complex).

Indeed Amelkina-Vera herself draws attention to this similarity and quotes Yates (1998) whose work draws attention to such issues as inferring polyphonic texture from a melodic line and the judicious addition of bass notes to complement the implied harmony.

The music of some of the lyra viol composers can be transcribed almost unchanged to create workable guitar arrangements, a reflection of the degree to which a satisfactory polyphonic texture can be realised on the lyra viol. Here, as an example, is an almaine by William Corkine, first as a direct transcription into staff notation and then as a guitar arrangement.

Almaine 2.1

William Corkine

The image displays a musical score for 'Almaine 2.1' by William Corkine. The score is written in a single staff using a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 4/4. The music is divided into six systems, with measure numbers 8, 15, 22, 29, and 35 indicated at the beginning of their respective lines. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the sixth system.

Almaine 2.1

Arranged for Guitar by Eric Crouch
from the Lyra Viol tablature

William Corkine

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Almaine 2.1' by William Corkine, arranged for guitar by Eric Crouch. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of six staves of music, with measure numbers 8, 15, 22, 30, and 35 indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks, typical of a guitar arrangement of a historical piece.

Amelkina-Vera's (2008) work draws attention to the fact that the performance of music in transcription is an accepted part of current musical practice. That this is particularly so for the classical guitar is illustrated by considering the career of Andrés Segovia who made a major contribution to enlarging the instrument's repertoire, not only by commissioning new works but also by making a wide variety of transcriptions (Summerfield 2002, p 18). It is also likely that transcription was a common musical practice in the 16th and 17th centuries as is evidenced by the examples given above of versions of the same pieces occurring for lute, lyra viol and keyboard – and by the example of Holborne, some of whose work appears in versions for both lute and

bandora Kanazawa (1967).

A further suggestion might therefore be that this music could (given the renewed popularity of the lute) be realised by modern lute players. Here is part of the same almaine in its original tablature and in transcription for 7-course renaissance lute:

Lessons for the Lyra Violl.

The image shows a page of musical notation titled "Lessons for the Lyra Violl." It begins with a large, ornate initial letter 'A' on the left side. To the right of the 'A' is the first staff of music, which is a tablature. Above the staff are several vertical arrows pointing down, indicating fingerings or plucking directions. The tablature consists of a single line with letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) and rhythmic markings (vertical lines and dots) placed above and below the letters. Below the first staff is the word "Lmaine." followed by several more staves of tablature, each with similar rhythmic markings and arrows. The notation is dense and characteristic of early printed music for lute or similar instruments.

Almaine 2.1

Musical notation for measures 1-4. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 1. d, a, b, d; 2. f, b, d, d; 3. a, c, d, d; 4. a, a, b, d. There are also some lower notes on the staff, possibly indicating a second voice or a specific fingering.

Musical notation for measures 5-7. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 5. d, c, d, c, a; 6. c, d, a, f, d, a, c; 7. d, c, a, d. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

Musical notation for measures 8-11. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 8. c, d, d, e, a, e; 9. a, c, a, d, c, d, d; 10. d, c, a, c, d, c; 11. d, a. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

Musical notation for measures 12-15. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 12. d, c, a; 13. d, a, c, c, e, b; 14. a, d, d, c, a; 15. c, d, b, a, c, a, d. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

Musical notation for measures 16-19. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 16. b, a, d, c, d; 17. d, a, c, e, a, c; 18. f, d, c, e, a, e, c, a; 19. c, d, a, c, d. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

Musical notation for measures 20-23. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 20. d, b, d, e; 21. a, c, d, f, c, a; 22. f, d, c, d, d, e, c; 23. c, a, d, a, d, b, d, e, a. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

Musical notation for measures 24-27. The notation is on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are: 24. d, b, a, a, c, d; 25. d, a, c, d, c, a; 26. c, d, a, c, a; 27. c, d. There are also some lower notes on the staff.

In view of the similarities between the modern guitar and the lute it is perhaps not surprising that, as illustrated by this transcription, performance of much of this music on the lute would be straightforward. It might be hoped that more commercial recordings of lyra viol music will appear in future and that early music specialists will increasingly include some of this repertoire in concert programmes. As I have suggested there is an extensive repertoire and it seems likely that a fair proportion of the music is of considerable quality. Transcription for classical guitar, or even lute, seems a route by which this music could become more widely known and played.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ I have not seen it suggested anywhere that any of this music could be suitably played on the modern cello.

CHAPTER 5

Concluding remarks

This dissertation has dealt with a particularly English instrument, the lyra viol and its solo repertoire. The lyra viol emerged as an important instrument of English music making at a time when the viol itself was popular in England and as the golden age tradition of lute music began to decline. My starting point was the exchange between Dowland and Hume (Dowland 1612) in which it seemed that Hume was contending the lyra viol could take over from the lute as a popular solo instrument.

In considering this issue I have discussed the organological status of the instrument. Was the lyra viol a definable instrument or did the term signify a bass viol played in a particular style - a contention supported by the occurrence of such terms as *lyra-way*? The available evidence seems not to resolve the issue, the likelihood being that the various terms found were used inconsistently, with the possibility that the terminology changed as the century progressed. Nevertheless it is clear that there was an identifiable repertoire of music notated in tablature, most often using a variety of scordatura, that were the defining characteristics of this approach to playing the viol.

I have dealt with the sources of this repertoire and the musicians who were responsible for it. Extant sources include both manuscripts and printed books; none of the sources appeared earlier than the last years of the 16th century and none after the end of the 17th century. The repertoire is considerable in extent, rivaling even the English golden age lute repertoire. The musicians responsible for this music included some who were also known as lute players, but generally not those who were important *composers* for the lute. In common with lutenists a number of these musicians were in royal service. By contrast it seems more common for lyra viol composers (as far as can be judged from ascriptions in manuscript sources) to have been amateur musicians, mostly from among the gentry, the nobility and royalty (and including a proportion of women composers).

In considering the music itself I have drawn attention to the close resemblance between some of the repertoire and the forgoing lute repertoire and to indications that some of the lyra viol musicians participated in some of the changes that were beginning to lead towards baroque style. I have also commented on the revival of lyra viol music in the present time. This has not so far caught up with the modern revival of lute music, but recorded performances are increasingly becoming available and there is scope for performance of the music in transcription.

What then of Hume's contention that the lyra viol could take over from the lute? When we consider the history of the lute as a whole this seems an unlikely proposition. The first words of preface of 'The History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance' (a title that suggests it may merely be part 1) are:

The lute was once called the prince of the king of instruments. It was one of the most important musical instruments of the late Middle Ages, was dominant in the Renaissance, and still widely played in the Baroque.

(Smith 2002)

However, from the perspective of the time and the place – England at the turn of the 16th century, a time when the English 'golden age' style of lute music was beginning to wane in popularity and the viol as an instrument was gaining particular hold it does not seem such a surprising claim. The lyra viol, or playing lyra way, seems to have become popular among professional musicians, to have gained a place at court and to have engaged the interest of amateur players and composers. This popularity seems, though, to have been fairly short lasting. There are indications that professional musicians were moving on well before the end of the century, driven perhaps by the continental tastes of the Restoration court. The

popularity of the instrument may have lasted longer among amateur musicians. Even so the indications are that it did not survive the turn of the century. Nevertheless the considerable extent of the repertoire that developed for the instrument seems an extraordinary phenomenon.

It has to be said that, though the work of some scholars, especially Traficante, has greatly improved our understanding of this instrument and its repertoire there does seem considerable scope for further study, especially in exploring some of the manuscript sources with the aim of discovering more about the music itself and about the musicians responsible for it.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1) The Printed sources of Lyra Viol music

(Derived primarily from Traficante (1966))

- 1) Robert Jones. THE SECONDE BOOKE OF SONGS AND AYRES... (1601). Lyra viol tablature alternatives to lute song accompaniments.⁴¹
- 2) Thomas Robinson. THE SCHOOLE OF MVSICKE... (1603). A didactic work, dealing with playing the lute and other plucked instruments, includes instruction on singing and on reading lyra viol tablature (but no polyphonic lyra viol music)
- 3) Tobias Hume. THE FIRST PART of Ayres... (1605).
- 4) Tobias Hume. CAPTAINE HVME'S Poeticall Musicke... (1607). Hume's two books are the first in which polyphonic solo music for the lyra viol appears; instrumental ayres and dances, ensemble pieces (with both bass viol and 'leero' viol) and songs accompanied by lyra viol or lute.⁴²
- 5) Thomas Ford. MVSICKE OF SVNDRIE KINDES... (1607). Published in two books, the second of which is a set of Lyra Viol duets.
- 6) Alfonso Ferrabosco. LESSONS FOR 1, 2 and 3 Viols (1609). Lyra viol instrumental music (the first publication devoted entirely to the instrument). 53 pieces for solo lyra viol, (almains, corantos, pavans and galliards), 8 duets (similar dance movements), two trios (a pavan and a fancy) and three solo preludes.

⁴¹ The first printed source of Lyra Viol music and claimed (by the author) to be the first use of tablature flags derived from staff notation (set above the stave) as duration signs.

⁴² Traficante (1966) comments that the songs are provided, as was the fashion for lute songs, with a bass viol part in staff notation but that the tablature parts, though quite playable on the lute, were more idiomatic of the lyra viol.

- 7) William Corkine. AYRES, TO SING AND PLAY TO THE LUTE AND BASSE VIOL. (1610). Corkine's first book includes 12 songs with lute and bass viol (staff notation) accompaniment followed by 12 pieces (described as 'lessons') for solo lyra viol. His second book (see below) has 18 songs and 12 lyra viol pieces.⁴³ 12 of these songs are given bass viol accompaniment only (single line, staff notation) one is printed with alternative lute and bass viol accompaniments and the last song is unaccompanied. The lyra viol pieces commence with a duet, otherwise they are solos.
- 8) John Maynard. THE XII WONDERS OF THE WORLD. (1611). Twelve songs with lute and bass viol accompaniment (The 'XII Wonders') followed by six lute solos with bass viol accompaniment and seven pavans for lyra viol with bass viol accompaniment.
- 9) William Corkine. THE SECOND BOOKE OF AYRES... (1612).
- 10) Robert Tailour. SACRED HYMNS. (1615). Metrical settings of psalms to be sung either in five parts or to lyra viol, lute or orpharion accompaniment.
- 11) John Playford. A Musicall Banquet... (1651). Playford's five collections comprise an overlapping set of lyra viol pieces. Approximately 300 separate short pieces attributed to 18 different musicians, including Simon Ives, John Jenkins, William Lawes, John Mosse (sic) and Christopher Simpson. Other lesser known names appear and the majority of the pieces are unattributed.
- 12) John Playford. Musicks Recreation: ON THE LYRA VIOL. (1652)
- 13) John Playford. Musicks Recreation: ON The VIOL, Lyra-way. (1661)
- 14) John Playford. Musicks Recreation: ON The VIOL, Lyra-way. (1669)
- 15) John Playford. Musicks Recreation: ON The VIOL, Lyra-way. (1682)

⁴³ Two of which, oddly enough, he fails to list in his table of contents.

- 16) John Moss. LESSONS FOR THE BASSE-VIOL... (1671). Described as ‘for the use of his scholars’. Two volumes, one being lyra viol music and the other containing thorough-bass parts for all the music. From Connor’s (2005) modern edition, with staff notation transcriptions, we note that there are 104 pieces grouped into 26 suites (each consisting of Alman, Corant, Saraband and Jigg Alman) in ‘all the keys usually play’ed on in the Scale’.
- 17) Thomas Mace. Musick’s Monument... (1676). Subtitled ‘Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick’; a discursive work with sections on church music, ‘The Lute made Easie’ and on the viol (which sidetracks into a discussion of concert hall design). Three pieces for the lyra viol – one being a trio, seemingly for treble viol, lyra viol and bass viol.
- 18) Christopher Simpson. A COMPENDIUM OF Practical Musick... (1678). Simpsons’s name is generally associated with the division viol and the 1659 publication ‘The Division Violist’ (1998) but this later volume includes 6 pieces for lyra viol with bass viol accompaniment.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Traficante references the third edition of this work which must have been published posthumously. Field (accessed 27/06/12) gives the date of the first edition as 1667).

APPENDIX 2) Lyra Viol composers

Composers found primarily in manuscript sources:

John Jenkins (1592 - 1678) (Ashbee (1), accessed 26/06/12). Appointed theorbo player at court (1660), but most of his known compositions form a considerable portion of the English viol consort repertoire. Known to have been a lyra viol player and may well have been England's greatest composer for the instrument, but most of his output for the instrument has been lost. As Ashbee puts it:

Jenkins's great lifespan [...] roughly corresponds to that of the lyra viol's popularity and, as he played the instrument himself, it naturally features prominently in his vast output. The ravages of time have dealt particularly unkindly with this part of his work, and many pieces have come down to us only in a fragmented state...'
(Ashbee 1978)

William Lawes (1602 - 1645). Composer of chamber music (chiefly for viols or violins and continuo).⁴⁵ Played the theorbo but his only known lute music is in consort; wrote both solo and consort music for the lyra viol. His music was never published in printed form and this, together with the loss of his life in the Civil War at the height of his musical powers, means that his music is less well known than it deserves (Pinto, accessed 26/06/12).

Alfonso Ferrabosco (c1575 - 1628). A member of a musical dynasty originating in Bologna (Cockshoot and Field, accessed 26/06/12). His father, also Alfonso, was (among other musical activities) an important composer for the lute (and bandora), but the younger Alfonso does not seem to have composed for this instrument (North 1974). North suggests that the overlapping

⁴⁵ His chamber works include a number for the unusual combination of Violin, Bass Viol, Theorbo and Harp, as is illustrated here, http://mysite.verizon.net/vzepq31c/wm_lawes.html, in a transcription by Arthur Ness.

careers of the two Alfonsos and the ‘vague attributions scattered through various manuscripts’ makes sorting out who wrote what quite difficult, but that there are sufficient differences in style to distinguish between the two. His lyra viol works are established on the basis of his printed volume together with his appearances in manuscript sources. North quotes the contemporary writer Anthony à Wood as saying of the younger Ferrabosco that he was:

...most excellent at the Lyra Viol, and was one of the first that set lessons Lyra-way to the Viol, in imitation of the old English Lute and Bandora.
(North 1974)

making the connection between the lyra viol and the plucked polyphonic instruments.⁴⁶

Simon Ives (1600 - 1662). A London musician with court and ecclesiastical connections; wrote vocal music and viol music (including consort music). His son (also Simon) was responsible for a few pieces appearing in the lyra viol manuscript sources (Holman (1), accessed 26/06/12).

Thomas Gregory (dates uncertain) (Traficante (1), accessed 26/06/12). Known only from his few lyra viol pieces (including six duets).

John Coprario (1570/80 - 1626). Known for viol consort music, vocal music and for lyra viol music (Field (3), accessed 26/06/12).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Though the presumed familiarity that Ferrabosco might have had with these instruments because of his father's work might have been lessened by the fact that he was separated from his parents at an early age when they departed to Italy, leaving him behind on the orders of Queen Elizabeth.

⁴⁷ He was probably born Cooper or Cowper and adopted an Italian version of his name, Giovanni Coprario (sometimes spelled Coperario).

William Young (d1662). Known for lyra viol music, viol consort music and music for violin, bass viol and continuo (Tilmouth and Holman, accessed 26/06/12).

Robert Taylor (aka Tailour) (1610 - before 1637). Responsible for the printed volume *Sacred Hymns* listed above and for some viol music (including lyra viol pieces) in manuscript. Player of plucked instruments and associated with two lute pieces (Holman (2), accessed 26/06/12).

John Lilly (1612 -1678). Theorbo and viol player but his known compositions seem mostly to have been lyra viol pieces (Ashbee (2), accessed 26/06/12)

Robert Johnson (c1583 - 1633). An exception in this list in that he is primarily known as a lutenist and one of the most important lute composers at the turn of the century and a composer of songs and masque pieces. Neither his Grove Music entry (Lumsden et al., accessed 06/06/12) nor the OUP collection of his lute works (Sundermann 1970) make reference to lyra viol works bearing his name suggesting that there may be no other evidence of his interest in this music. An article dealing with a recently explored manuscript (Cunningham 2009) throws possible light on this in that it lists two almans as by Robert Johnson but arranged by Thomas Gregory. It may therefore be that Johnson's name appears in lyra viol manuscripts only because his pieces have been arranged for the instrument by other musicians.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I have not had the opportunity to view the manuscripts concerned; should the works be familiar from Johnson's lute repertoire the matter would be resolved, otherwise not. This factor may also explain the appearance of William Byrd among musicians named in lyra viol manuscripts and illustrates the rather haphazard way the originators of music are identified in manuscripts of this period.

Thomas Ford (died 1648). Court musician, known to have played both lute and viol.

Compositions include lute songs, anthems, viol consort pieces and a set of lyra viol duets (Spink and Traficante, accessed 26/06/12).

Dietrich Stöeffken (died c1673). A musician at the court of Charles 1 and later in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. Greatly admired as a virtuoso lyra viol player; his compositions for instrument were among the most highly regarded by his contemporaries. His works are scattered through English and continental manuscripts and, perhaps for this reason, little known (Field (2), accessed 06/07/12; Dunford 2004).

John Esto; in the preface to *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* we find:

...the excellent Inventions and Skill of famous Masters, viz. Mr John Esto, Mr William Lawes, Dr Coleman, Mr Jenkins. Mr Ives, Mr Hudson, Mr Withie, Mr Taylor, Mr Gregory, Mr Mosse, Mr Wilson and others.

(Playford 1682)

and within the volume itself we find ten pieces attributed to 'Mr. Esto'. However, other than such passing references to his name and examples of his work in modern collections of viol music from the period there is a lack of scholarly references to this musician, apparently only known for lyra viol music.

Of the other musicians mentioned by Playford (1682)⁴⁹:

Charles Coleman was an instrumentalist (lute and lyra viol) and a singer; most of his viol compositions are ensemble pieces rather than lyra viol solos (Spink (1), accessed 04/08/12).

Joseph Sherlie (Holman (3), accessed 04/08/12), is known for 20 lyra viol solos and was also a player of both lute and viol.

Composers found primarily in printed sources:

We note in **printed sources**, the names Thomas Ford, Alfonso Ferrabosco and Robert Tailour, which are all among those that appear with some frequency in the manuscript sources.

The other names are:

Robert Jones (fl.1597 - 1616). Known primarily as a composer of madrigals and lute songs (Brown, accessed 28/06/12).

Thomas Robinson (fl.1589 - 1609). Primarily a player of plucked string instruments (lute and cittern) and composer for them. His *Schoole of Musicke* was important in teaching lute technique and remains one of the most important historical records of the technique of his time (Poulton and Spencer (2), accessed 27/06/12). The references to lyra viol tablature in this work appear very much secondary to its main purpose.

⁴⁹ Some are difficult to trace.

Tobias Hume (c 1597 - 1645), the protagonist of the dispute with Dowland over the importance of the lyra viol. A professional soldier (often serving an a mercenary in foreign armies) and an amateur lyra viol player and composer. Morrow (accessed 27/03/12) summed him up as ‘a composer of talent [with a] reputation as a musical eccentric’. His contribution is contained in his two printed books, though his compositions do make an appearance in three of the manuscript sources.

William Corkine (fl.1610-1617) a somewhat shadowy figure, known only for his two books of songs and lyra viol pieces (Poulton and Greer, accessed 26/06/12) though one of the preludes from his second book does appear in one of the Bodleian manuscripts (Sawyer 1972). Both his songs and his instrumental music are of considerable quality so it seems strange that his music is not found elsewhere.

John Maynard (1577 - after 1614). Lutenist, composer and lyra viol player (Harwood and Spencer, accessed 27/06/12). Other than the *XII Wonders of the World* little of Maynard’s music survives. There is some masque music and four lyra viol pieces in the same Bodleian manuscript where the Corkine piece is found (Sawyer 1972).

John Playford (1623 - 1686/87) dominated the music publishing trade in London, but does not seem himself to have been a composer (Dean-Smith and Temperley, accessed 27/06/12).

John Moss (fl. 1662 - 1684). Viol player and composer cited by Playford (who published his work) for his skill in playing the instrument and his contributions to technique (Tilmouth and Ashbee, accessed 27/06/12). There are 26 suites in *Lessons for the Basse-Viol* and transcriptions

of some of the music are found in one manuscript source, but not known to have composed any other lyra viol music.

Thomas Mace (1612/13 - c1706). A talented musician and an eccentric who, towards the end of his long life, wrote pamphlets on the maintenance of good health and the state of the English roads and well as *Musick's Monument* an extensive work that includes a complete handbook for the lute and six *setts* (suites) of music for the instrument (Tilmouth and Spring, accessed 07/02/12). The last section of the book (pages 247 - 261) provides instruction in viol technique in which he refers to the viol played 'plain-way, viz viol-way' or 'lute-way' and goes on to provide some *lessons* (studies) for the lyra viol (Mace, 1676). Tilmouth and Spring (op. cit.) comment that he promised to publish more music for the viol and point out that there are 15 pieces in manuscript sources that may have been written with this intent.

Christopher Simpson (c 1602 - 1669). Composer and viol player, arguably the most important writer of his time on the viol and its technique though his lyra viol works, found in *A Compendium of Practical Musick* and three of the manuscript sources, are secondary to his extensive ensemble music for viols (most notably sets of divisions on a ground) (Field (1)).

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AFTERWORD

Revision History

This dissertation was submitted to the Open University in August 2012. Minor revisions in layout and minor corrections were made for web publication in January 2012. A further minor revision was made in March 2013 when the figure for the number of women composers given on page 54 was corrected from 14 to 17. A note was added in July 2013 concerning variant guitar tunings (see footnote 18 page 39.)