Viol Consorts and Music Education

in Elizabethan and Jacobean England

(1558-1625)

by

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Abstract

The study focusses on the part played by viol consorts in the musical education of the English under Elizabeth I and James I. Influence of major secular forces and forces related to religious developments are considered insofar as they bear on the central problem of the paper. Little evidence of viol consorts in public schools can be found, but choir schools did provide some instruction. Tutorials and apprenticeships in guilds were other avenues of instruction. Principal conclusion is that viol consorts were an important part of devotional and recreational music in the homes of wealthy amateurs from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Before that time the vehicle was important in the education of professional musicians and child choristers. Recommendations are made for future research.

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Abstrait

Dans cette étude nous faisons l'examen du rôle des consorts de violes de gambe en éducation musicale durant les règnes d'Elizabeth I et de James I. Nous considèrerons les influences des milieux profanes et religieux qui ont trait au sujet. La viole de gambe était rarement enseignée dans les écoles publiques mais se trouvait dans quelques collèges de chant. Les meilleures façons de parfaire ses études de l'instrument étaient d'une part de suivre des cours privés, et d'autre part de s'inscrire dans un corps corporatif. Comme conclusion nous déduisons que l'ensemble des violes jouait un rôle important dans l'interprétation de la musique profane et religieuse dans les maisons des amateurs fortunés à la fin du seizième siècle et au debut du dix-septième siècle. Avant ce temps l'ensemble des violes servait à l'éducation des musiciens professionels et des jeunes chantres. Ce travail ouvre la porte à des études ultérieures.

Foreword

This study was undertaken out of an interest in seeing an early music component develop in Canadian school music programmes. I have relied mostly on secondary sources for my information, books and articles which look at English music education of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a vantage point in the twentieth century. Thus the project does not so much contribute to original knowledge as provide a new synthesis of others' findings.

I would like to express my appreciation to my thesis advisor, Professor Fred Stoltzfus, for his direction and counsel both in and outside the context of this project. Further appreciation is due to Professor Mary Cyr for planting the original idea which led to my undertaking the project, as also for the guidance she has graciously given me throughout my research. Special thanks go to Jacques and Suzanne Bonneville of Ottawa for generous assistance with the word processing of this document. Finally, I am most grateful to Ms. Nicole Paiement of Montreal and Rochester for the kind of support no-one else could have offered.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The twentieth century has seen a sustained growth of interest in what is known as 'early' music, especially music of the Renaissance and Baroque periods of music history. In a sense this growth probably began with the pioneering work of Arnold Dolmetsch in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.1 The success of journals such as The Consort (organ of The Dolmetsch Foundation) and Early Music bear witness to the depth of this interest, as do the burgeoning number of early music performing groups and university programmes devoted to the study and performance of the repertoire.2

More recently the enthusiasm for the music of earlier times has manifested itself at the public school level, especially in Britain.3 In a paper delivered at the 1979 McGill Symposium in School Music Administration and Supervision, Professor Mary Cyr called for efforts on the part of music educators to consolidate the position of early music in our own public schools.4 Professor Cyr argues particularly for a consideration of the viol as a practical alternative to the recorder, ukelele, and traditional band instruments in music education programmes.

Professor Cyr's proposal seems worthy of serious study. A logical place for music educators to begin is to learn how music instruction took place in the periods concerned. Some of the questions that might initially be asked are: What was the

philosophy behind music instruction, and what were the constraints on it? Who was able to take advantage of music instruction and at what personal cost? What were the material and human resources that supported instruction?

An initial search of the literature turns up scattered references to the issue. Walter Woodfill broke a considerable amount of ground with his study Musicians in English Society, which is widely cited.5 But Woodfill's view, it must be said, is trained on the social status of the musicians rather than on their formation; though providing valuable insights, it leaves many questions unanswered.

Lillian Ruff contributed an article wherein she discusses printed works that deal with the theory and composition of music, and that appeared in the period under consideration. Ruff argues that these works were instrumental in the development of a school of competent amateur musicians. However she does not approach questions of formal training.6

Digging deeper, we find an authoritative work by Ernst Meyer, called English Chamber Music.7 Meyer covers some important philosophical issues, mentioning for example the emancipation of secular music from the influence of the church, a result in part of the Reformation and the spirit of humanism. He also documents the development of various forms such as the In Nomine and Fantasia. But Meyer nowhere treats extensively of the education of the musician.

Willi Apel cites the viol tutors of Silvestro Ganassi, Regola Rubertina and Lettione Seconda (Venice, 1542 and 1543), as making

a remarkable contribution to the development of solo instrumental music.8 From this we may infer something of the importance of written instruction manuals. Apel offers little information, though, on the establishment of viol consorts or the training of players.

Another observer, Warwick Edwards, states that amateur participation in consort playing grew during the seventeenth century, and that amateur players favoured the viol.9 But again, little light is shed on how these players came to learn their art.

This list might suffice to suggest what the sources don't tell us about the formation of amateur and professional viol players in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the fog is not really as thick as it might seem. The social histories of music in England can be quite informative. To return to Woodfill, for example, we find him documenting the increasing presence of viol players in the King's Music during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, and during the reign of James, the first Stuart. The number of viol players at court went from two in 1526 to eight in 1540, to twelve in 1612 (listed, however, as players of viols and violins), to nineteen in 1635 (again, listed as viols and violins).10 This continued presence in the royal household must have done much to foster the popularity of the instrument among members of the nobility, at least, in England. It probably also contributed substantially to the favourable reputation enjoyed by English instrumental music abroad.11

Woodfill elsewhere informs us that some church musicians of

the time were expected to provide instrumental instruction to their choristers.12 On the opposite side of the ledger, the same author points up one possible restriction on the availability of music education at the time. This was embodied in the apprenticeship system maintained by the London Company of Musicians. Guild or Company members were restricted by statute as to the number of apprentices they might have at any given time. Part of the intended result was to prevent the wide dissemination of musical knowledge, which the professional musicians of the Company wanted kept as a trade secret.13

Much of the philosophy behind the general educational ideal of the English Renaissance can be grasped by a study of courtly books or courtesy manuals, such as Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour (London, 1531), or Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby as The Book of the Courtier (London, 1561).14 This philosophy placed educational value on the study of all the arts, believing that such study could reveal the "formal law residing in the work of art and in nature."15

We know that this philosophy led to the inclusion of musical study in some formal schools of the time. The English Jesuit College at St. Omer, France, for example, included training of students on the viols as part of its curriculum.16 Richard Mulcaster, a graduate of Cambridge and headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London from 1561-1586, considered that "little boys should learn five things to start with, reading, writing, drawing, singing, and playing an instrument."17

Music had an important part to play in centres of higher learning also. Robert Wienpahl details the position of music in the London law schools, or Inns of Court,18 and Nan Cooke Carpenter writes at length about the formal and informal study of music at Oxford and Cambridge.19

Carpenter writes, "Morley's treatise is significant of one trend with regard to musical studies at Oxford: that one who wished to follow a musical career or to cultivate music as an amateur studied privately with a qualified musician, whether in an academic community or not."20 The treatise here referred to is Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (London, 1597), and it can serve as an example of another source of musical instruction of the period. Whether alone or as adjuncts to studies with a master, theoretical treatises such as Morley's, and vocal or instrumental tutors such as the previously mentioned Regola Rubertina of Ganassi, were available to literate members of society.

Various other questions, of greater and lesser weight, arise. For example, what literature was used in the training of players, whether of professional or amateur stamp? What were the roles played by the Company of Musicians, and other groups such as the actors and waits?

Some of these questions are more susceptible than others of being answered satisfactorily. But if we are to give due consideration to the proposal of Prof. Cyr, that the school music experience should be enriched by the incorporation of an early music perspective, and particularly by the inclusion of viols in

the instrumental programme, then we must ask ourselves the appropriate research questions. This brief literature review is intended to show that a start has in fact been made towards answering the pertinent questions, but the necessary information tends to be scattered quite widely. There is room, indeed need, for a piece of directed research that can consolidate the data, and help focus the efforts of Canadian music educators interested in cultivating the early music perspective in schools.

The Question

The various questions formulated above flow naturally from one key question, which could be framed thus:

> What was the nature of the role played by the viol consort in the musical education of the English during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I?

Method

(a) Definition of terms:

"Viol consort" is defined as a homogeneous grouping of instrumentalists, comprised of players of the viols, whether treble, tenor, or bass.

"Musical education" is defined as training in music literacy and performance, whether by professionals or amateurs, or through manuals, whether intended to develop professional or amateur musicians, or simply educated consumers of music.

(b) Limitations of the study:

Excluded from the main focus of the study will be music and performance of music for solo viol (division, lyra viol, etc.), music and performance of music for the so-called broken consort including viols in conjunction with other instruments, music and performance of music that is intended primarily or in large part for vocal media, such as consort songs, consort anthems, and madrigals, canzonetta, frottola, etc. Any or all of these genre may enter into the discussion, but they will not be treated extensively.

With a few notable exceptions, the focus will be primarily on music education of and by the English, in England. The influence of Italian fashions generally, and of Castiglione's The Courtier and Ganassi's Regola Rubertina in particular, will be considered, and the special case of the English Jesuit school at St. Omer France, will also be looked at, but other situations outside of England will not be examined closely.

The restriction of the time frame to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I should permit the study of the rise to popularity of the viol consort in "private" music, though excluding later stylistic developments which saw the gradual supplantation of the polyphonic consort texture by continuo-supported solo or trio sonata texture. More precisely, the time restriction takes in the popularity of viol consort music responding to the Renaissance ideal, but excludes music of the stile moderno. In isolated instances the impact of individuals or events outside the

delimited time frame may be given special consideration, where it is believed that this will help clarify the picture during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

(c) Procedural

Keeping in mind the primary question--What was the nature of the role played by the viol consort in the musical education of the English during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I?--subsidiary questions will serve to create a focus for successive chapters of the thesis. Attempts will be made to answer these questions with reference to the primary and secondary literature and the music.

Chapter II will address the important social and historical developments in the secular realm that led to the rise in popularity of the viol consort, from its introduction at the court of Henry VIII to its inclusion in the "private" music of cultivated amateurs. The discussion will include reference to the writings of outstanding educational philosophers of the period; the influence of Italians on English fashions; the roles of organized groups such as the waits, the Company of Musicians based in London, and the King's Musick; the introduction of viols into some secular schools; some effects of the economy on the music education of the period, and so on.

Chapter III will focus on the impact of the Reformation in England on the music education of the day, particularly as it affected the opportunities for obtaining training on the viol.

Chapter IV will examine three works which were instrumental

in the education of viol players in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Ganassi's Regola Rubertina, Thomas Robinson's Schoole of Musicke, and British Library Additional Manuscript 15118 will be scrutinized, compared, and contrasted. Ganassi's tutor has already been mentioned as having been of considerable importance in the development of idiomatic instrumental music. It would certainly have been known to the Italian musicians who formed the initial core of viol players at the English court. Robinson's Schoole of Musicke was an instrumental tutor which appeared in print in London at the turn of the seventeenth century. It was addressed primarily to lutenists, but was intended to be of service also to those interested in learning to play the citterne, orpharion, or viol. British Museum Additional Manuscript 15118 contains a number of duets among its contents, such as were widely used throughout Europe as standard fare for students of instrumental and vocal music. The presence of these duets, plus other internal evidence, suggests that the manuscript may have been used for pedagogical purposes.

The three items mentioned will be examined paying special attention to the nature of treatment and order of presentation of technical difficulties and to stylistic considerations of the music. Conclusions will be drawn concerning how this material illuminates the central problem of the paper.

A closing chapter will consist of a summary discussion of the points raised in the body of the thesis. An attempt will be made to frame an answer to the fundamental research question.

Pertinence of the study for current educational practice will be

discussed, and recommendations made for future research.

Notes for Chapter I

1 For an appreciation of Arnold Dolmetsch, see Robert Donington, "Arnold Dolmetsch: A Centenary Tribute," Musical Times, 99 (1959), 74-75.

2 The Consort (Marlborough: The Dolmetsch Foundation, since 1929); Early Music (London: Oxford University Press, since 1973).

3 See for example, Robin Maconie, ed., "The Young World of Early Music," supplement to Early Music, 7/3 (July, 1979), for an account of the phenomenon in British schools; and Mark Steigner, "Consorting with Praetorius: Establishing an Early Music Ensemble," Music Educators Journal, 66/3 (1979), 50-53, for an indication of interest on the North American side.

4 Mary Cyr, "Early Music in the Schools: Some Personal Reflections," in Proceedings of the McGill Symposium in School Music Administration and Supervision, edited by Estelle R. Jorgensen (Montreal: McGill University, 1980).

5 Walter Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

6 Lillian Ruff, "The Social Significance of the Seventeenth Century English Music Treatises," The Consort, 26 (1970), 412-422.

7 Ernst Meyer, English Chamber Music (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1946). Meyer's work has been seminal in the field, and contains a great deal of information useful to the present study. To say that he does not treat extensively of the education of the musician is in no way intended as a slight.

8 Willi Apel, "Solo Instrumental Music," The Age of Humanism--1540-1630, Vol. IV of the New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 705. See also Silvestro Ganassi, Regola Rubertina, edited by Hildemarie Peter (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Robert Lienau, 1972).

9 Warwick Edwards, "Consort," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

10 Woodfill, appendix E.

11 Ernst Meyer, "Concerted Instrumental Music," The Age of Humanism: 1540-1630, Vol. IV of New Oxford History of Music, p.583, writes that English chamber music at the end of the sixteenth century was admired all over Europe, because of "its contrapuntal vitality and ingenuity." Ian Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 228, notes that the greatest contribution of the English probably came after the start of the seventeenth century, when

viol playing on the Continent had faded from popularity somewhat, and "English viol players travelling south...revitalised the traditions of viol playing" in other European countries.

12 Woodfill, p. 144.

13 Woodfill, p. 20.

14 See Wayne A. Rebhorn, Courtly Performances (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), p. 11.

15 John S. White, Renaissance Cavalier (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 34.

16 Warwick Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 97 (1970-71), 113.

17 F.W.M. Draper, Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School 1561-1961 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 24.

18 Robert Wienpahl, Music at the Inns of Court (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979).

19 Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

20 Carpenter, p. 183.

Chapter II

Secular Forces Shaping Music Education in Elizabethan and Jacobean Times

With the ascension of Elizabeth I in 1558 the English saw the last of a line of Tudor monarchs mount the throne.1 The Tudor times were turbulent ones in England as elsewhere in Europe, coinciding with the rise of a merchant class and a new aristocracy.2 In such a situation the state of education was naturally in flux. It will help to bring some order to the picture if we consider separately the religious and secular forces shaping music education. This chapter will concentrate on forces operating in the secular sphere.

1. Secular writers on education

Inasmuch as there was an essentially new governing class in power, there was ongoing debate throughout the Tudor period and into the Jacobean, as to how the governing class should be educated. This debate spawned a whole series of books collectively known by the generic terms "courtesy manuals" or "courtly books".3 From these it is possible to gain some idea of what the current educational philosophy was, at least as far as it

concerned the governing class. This makes a good starting point for considering the relationship of the viol consort to the music education of the period, for as Woodfill has already noted, the lower classes of the day had neither the time nor the money to pursue such a leisure as instrumental consort music.4

Thomas Elyot

One of the first of the new education manuals to achieve widespread attention in England was Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour.5 Elyot favoured the provision of education in the home by a tutor, rather than in a public institution. He wrote in some detail about the various topics that ought to be included in the course of study, but the first discipline he considered was music.6

The tutor, Elyot counselled, should exercise caution,

> that he suffer not the child to be fatigued with continual study or learning, wherewith the delicate and tender wit may be dulled or oppressed: but that there may be therewith interlaced and mixed some pleasant learning and exercise, as playing on instruments of music, which moderately used and without diminution of honour, that is to say without wanton countenance and dissolute gesture, is not to be condemned. 7

A number of examples of the virtuous use of instruments, taken from classical literature, follow, then Elyot lets drop a caveat:

> But in this commendation of music I would not be thought to allure noblemen to have so much delectation therein, that in playing and

> singing only they should put their whole study and felicity.... 8

Rather, the proper course was to use music only for recreation, as a relief from the more serious work at hand.

The noble person was not to put too much stock in his own performance ability, and was not to allow himself to be seen performing in public. Where the student showed too much inclination to cultivate musical skill, the tutor was to gently discourage him, since,

> a gentleman, playing or singing in a common audience, appaireth his estimation: the people forgetting reverence when they behold him in the similitude of a common servant or minstrel. 9

Elyot believed that a perfect understanding of the harmonic aspect of music (i.e. essentially Boethian music) was desirable, but that an overzealous pursuit of practical skill was likely to corrupt the youthful character.10

The tone that Elyot adopted, both with reference to music and arts education in particular, and to the broader aspects of education in general, was echoed by other writers later in the century. He discussed the fine arts and recreational pursuits in some detail, but his real concern was the study of classical literature, moral philosophy, and civil law, and the cultivation of the qualities of character he thought necessary in the governing class. Nevertheless, Elyot did give his blessing to the pursuit of practical music, and specifically of instrumental music, as a form of leisure and respite from the weighty affairs

of state. As The Governour was widely read, going through eight editions before 1580,11 this favourable regard for music education was probably of considerable consequence.

Baldassar Castiglione

One of the most popular and most influential treatises on education to appear in England during the sixteenth century was Baldassar Castiglione's Il Cortegiano (Venice, 1528).12 Though the work actually predates Elyot's Governour, Castiglione's book did not circulate widely in England until an English translation by Sir Thomas Hoby appeared as The Courtier (London, 1551).13 However it seems not unlikely that Elyot was familiar with Il Cortegiano when he set about writing The Boke Named the Governour. Certainly the ideas contained in the two books are very similar.14

Castiglione believed in a classical education, as did Elyot, and he also believed that musical training was an important part of an overall education. His book takes the form of conversations involving several figures at an Italian court. One of these figures, the Count, speaks as follows:

> my Lords (quoth he) you thinke I am not pleased with ye Courtier, if he be not also a Musition, and beside his understanding and cunning upon the booke, have skil in like manner on sundry instruments. For if wee weigh it well, ther is no ease of the labors, and medicines of feeble mindes to be found more honest and more praise worthie in time of leisure than it.
>
> Therefore no marvell, that in olde times and now adayes they have alwaies beene inclined to

> Musitions, and counted this a most acceptable food of the minde. 15

Castiglione's Count bolsters his position with reference to ancient writers, as did Elyot in turn. He finds music study to be a force "inclining to vertue" when taken up in childhood, and a delightful and honest passtime for filling up leisure hours in later life.16

Other parallels to Elyot are to be found. In Castiglione's view the nobleman should not perform in public, and if playing before his familiars should always "dissemble the studie and paines" that go into doing anything well.17 Elyot mentioned instrumental music specifically as a worthy pursuit, and Castiglione was of a similar mind. One of his characters finds "pricksong is a fair musick....But to sing to the lute is much better...."18 Moreover, "the musicke with a sette of Violes doth no less delite a man: for it is verie sweet and artificiall."19

The latter citation is of particular interest for the mention of the music of a "sette" of viols. As will be seen below, Hoby's translation of Castiglione was circulating very widely in England at about the time that viol consorts were beginning to attract sizable numbers of amateur players. Though Castiglione wrote his work between 1508 and 1516, his English audience took his message to heart only after several generations had passed. The full flowering of the English musical renaisssance did not arrive until later in the reign of Elizabeth and the opening decades of the seventeenth

century under James I. By that time the English were fully under the sway of Italian courtly fashions, expressed most cogently, perhaps, by Castiglione.20

Roger Ascham

A prominent English writer on education in the sixteenth century was Roger Ascham.21 His biographer, Lawrenace Ryan, says of Ascham's The Scholemaster (1570) that it "shares with The Governour the honour of being the most influential of Tudor treatises on education."22 Like Elyot before him, Ascham took as his theme the education of the governing class at the hands of private tutors, employed in the home.

Ascham was somewhat equivocal in his consideration of the value of musical training. Though he is known to have studied both vocal and instrumental music privately while at Cambridge, he apparently did not continue to practice in later life.23 He complained at one point of the decline in the ability of college undergraduates to sing, wishing that "prickSong" were studied in the elementary schools of his day as it had been in former times.24 On the other hand he considered that too much study of mathematics and music would spoil the student.25 Here the association of the two disciplines may be significant; Ascham may have had Boethian music in mind rather than practical music. A close reading suggests that Ascham, like Elyot, approved of music as a recreational passtime, provided that it was not pursued too avidly. He included music in a list of suitable exercises:

> Therefore, to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at weapones: to shote faire in boe, or surelie in gon: to vault lustelie: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: to daunce cumlie: to singe and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly...be not onlie cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie for a Courtlie Gentleman to use. 26

But despite the latter words, Ascham evidently did not feel that music education was in any way central to the educational process. It is significant that The Scholemaster was originally conceived by its author as a Latin tutor. Ascham was a proponent of a rigorous classical education, as seemingly were many of the leading thinkers of his time. A good indication of his real concern can be seen in the observation of Joan Simon that Ascham was concerned not so much by a lack of education as by a lack of the right kind of education, "with 'true religion' placed first."27

Richard Mulcaster

Another Elizabethan educator and writer on education of considerable consequence was Richard Mulcaster.28 Mulcaster was headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London from 1561 to 1586, and later headmaster of St. Paul's in London from 1596 to about 1608. Thus he was the only one of the writers so far considered here who actually spent the majority of his working days as a teacher in a school.

Mulcaster favoured a common public schooling for all children, rich and poor alike, excepting to a certain extent the

members of the true nobility. This latter group having special needs, he thought they might best be served by a special education under the guidance of a private tutor at home.29 But he wished to see schools such as Merchant Taylors' serve equally for sons of gentlemen, yeomen, and poor, where they would have an education balanced in terms of scholarly, artistic, and physical activities.30

At the elementary level, Mulcaster wrote, four subjects ought to be studied: reading, writing, drawing, and music.31 He argued that this training ought to be provided to girls as well as to boys, which if not exactly a revolutionary concept, was at least very liberal and certainly not indicative of the general state of affairs in his day.32

We know that the regime at Merchant Taylors' under Mulcaster included music, even though the school's statutes did not require that it be taught.33 A former student of Mulcaster at Merchant Taylors', James Whitelocke, wrote of this part of his training: "His care was also to increase my skill in musique, in which I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments."34

Thus we see that musical education under Mulcaster's watchful eye meant both vocal and instrumental training. He took pains to note in The Elementarie that musical study meant practical study, divisible into two parts: "cultivation of the voice, and the practice of an instrument."35 On the value of the musical training of young people he was very insistent:

> For my own part I cannot forbear to place it among the most valuable means in the upbringing of the young, and in this opinion I have the support of all the best authorities of antiquity. There are so many arguments in favour of the art; it is so ancient, so honourable, so universal, so highly valued in all times and places, alike in church services and otherwise; it is such a calmer of passion, such a powerful influence on the mind, that I must stay my hand in writing about it, lest being fairly embarked I should be unable to stop. It will be enough to say of Music that it is very comforting to the wearied mind, that it is a means of persuasion which all must appreciate who delight in the proportions of number, that it is best and most easily learned in childhood, when it can do least harm, that its harmonies could not have such power to stir emotion if they had not some close natural affinity to the constitution of the body and soul of man.... 36

If this quotation seems somewhat strident, it may be because the idea of including music as part of the normal course of study in the grammar or elementary schools of the day was not commonly accepted. In this, as in the idea of allowing free access to the grammar schools to girls as well as boys, Mulcaster was out of step with his times. Raynor notes that the position of music in schools other than choir or song schools was largely a function of the attitude of the headmaster of the particular school.37 Very few schools other than song schools offered any music during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.38

Since it is known that both vocal and instrumental music played a part in the studies of Mer chant Taylors' scholars, we might ask what instruments they learned. Mulcaster wrote that he favoured the study of the virginals and the lute, "which two

instruments I have chosen because of the full music uttered by them and the variety of execution they require...."39

He would have students advance to the point where they might "play reasonably well on them, though not at first sight, whether by the ear or by the book, always provided that prick song go before playing."40

Thus the music at Merchant Taylors' seems not to have included any viols. But Mulcaster himself must be recognized as a landmark figure in having both striven to provide comprehensive musical training in his schools, and writing eloquently about his reasons for doing so.

Henry Peacham

Henry Peacham is another writer worthy of consideration. He was active during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Peacham published what is perhaps his most well-known work, The Compleat Gentleman, in 1622. After Mulcaster, this will be seen as a kind of return to the themes of Elyot. The Compleat Gentleman was written ostensibly for the boy William Howard, son of the Earl of Arundel. Peacham spoke from the point of view of a tutor, and he believed the tutorial to be the ideal form of education for boys of Howard's station.41

Speaking of music and of people who are not drawn to it, Peacham had this to say:

> ...I am verily persuaded they are by nature very ill-disposed and of such a brutish stupidity that scarce anything else that is good and favourable to virtue is to be found in them. Never wise man, I think, questioned the lawful use thereof, since it is an immediate gift of heaven bestowed on man, whereby to praise and magnify his Creator, to solace him in the midst of so many sorrows and cares wherewith life is hourly beset; and that by song, as by letters, the memory of doctrine and the benefits of God might be forever preserved.... 42

There can be no mistaking Peacham's enthusiasm for practical musical study, even though he felt compelled to offer the usual proviso, that it was to be kept for "private recreation and leisurable hours" and not cause the student or servant of the crown to "neglect his more weighty employments."43

In stating the level of attainment he believes the student should strive for, Peacham gives considerable food for thought:

> I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withal to play the same upon your viol, or the exercise of the lute, privately, to yourself. 44

In using the word "part" here Peacham seems to be suggesting that the gentleman would naturally engage in consort music from time to time, whether in madrigal singing, or in some instrumental group incorporating viols. However, he may mean that the very same part should be both sung and played on the viol, conceivably at the same time. There is general disagreement as to what extent madrigal singing at the time may have been supported by instrumental accompaniment.45 Nor is it very clear whether Peacham meant that the private exercise of the lute should be

considered as an alternative to singing or viol playing, or whether it was something he believed might reasonably be cultivated in addition to these other skills. In any event, it is of considerable significance that he mentions the viol as being a pursuit worthy of the gentleman. This may represent a change in fashion from the time of Mulcaster's writing.46

Putting aside Peacham's rhetorical flourishes, we are left with the impression of a man having a great appreciation of musical study as a means of recreation, in the most positive sense of that word. To be sure, Peacham considers other disciplines more serious and weighty in their relative value to the overall formation of the gentleman. In this he is very much in the tradition of Elyot and the other writers of courtesy manuals. But the "compleat gentleman" was nothing if not refined, and Peacham with his precursors was more than ready to acknowledge that musical accomplishment made a great contribution to the finish of their product.

Other Writers on Education

The writers referred to so far were by no means the only ones to consider education during the period dominated by Elizabeth I and James I. However they have been singled out for special consideration because they have been widely acknowledged by modern writers as having had a considerable impact on the age in which they were active. Nevertheless other writers were also at work, and among these were some who had a less favourable regard for music education.

Representative of the latter group were some writers who contributed to the genre of letters of advice to a son. Price mentions in particular two names of individuals who left such letters of advice in which little or no notice of music education was taken.47 This omission is somewhat surprising in that the men in question, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, were very prominent and powerful courtiers, who must have felt the value of cultural refinement when circulating among the upper levels of society. Simon suggests that of the contributors to the genre of letters of advice, there were a number who showed disaffection with life at court.48 These seem to have felt that the individual should be prepared to survive at court, but would thrive only at a distance from the confined courtly life. This would necessitate the cultivating of practical skills that were thought to be of greater immediate value than facility in playing instruments or singing.

Alongside Mulcaster should be considered two writers who, like him, turned their attention to the problem of educating a broader spectrum of society. William Kempe, writing as a headmaster of a London-area school, produced The Education of Children in Learning (1588). Kempe makes no mention of music education having any place in his curriculum.49 John Brinsley, said by Simon to be the most influential of English writers on education in the early seventeenth century, also ignored music completely in his writing.50

Many scholars have taken notice of the plans drawn up by two of Elizabeth's courtiers for schools or academies which would

provide schooling for her wards. Sir Nicholas Bacon produced the first of these plans in 1561.51 Under Bacon's scheme five tutors were to be engaged, including one full-time music master. Students would receive two hours per day of instruction in music, with a further hour set aside for practicing. Sir Humphrey Gilbert advanced a similar plan in 1579.52 Gilbert received the backing of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was Elizabeth's most powerful minister, for his proposed "Queen Elizabeth's Academy". Gilbert wanted to include among the masters one who would instruct the wards on lute, bandora, and cittern. As it happens neither Bacon's nor Gilbert's plans were to be realized, but the high profile accorded to music tuition in both of their proposed institutions is indicative of the perceived value of musical training in preparing the courtier to serve the crown.

Charlton suggests that both Castiglione's and Elyot's books spawned a variety of imitative works.53 The positions taken by the writers of the latter differed little from their models. Taking their lead primarily from Elyot, in Charlton's estimation, were Ascham and Peacham. Another study in a similar vein is said to be Lawrence Humphrey's The Nobles, or of Nobilitie (1563). Two works patterned after Castiglione and written for an Italian market saw translation into English. These were Della Casa's Galateo (1558, translated by Robert Peterson, 1576), and Guizzo's La Civile Conversazione (1574, English translation by B. Young, 1586). I have not seen these works, but if they were cast very closely in the mould of Elyot and Castiglione, as Charlton says, they presumably condoned or actively promoted the cause of music

education.

Richard Braithwaite was a writer who was active later in the reign of James I and in the early years of the reign of his successor, Charles I.54 In Braithwaite's Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle (1621) appear these instructions as to when the house musicians should play, and on which instruments:

> At great feasts, when the earle's service is going to the table, they are to play upon shagbut, cornetts, shawms, and such other instruments going with wind. In meal times to play upon viols, violins, or other broken music....At great feasts, or in times of great strangers the drum is to sound at dinner time till the ewer be ready to go up with the service, and then to give place to the musicians, who are to play on the instruments.... 55

This citation is useful for showing one occasion, at least, when the music of a viol consort was considered appropriate. It will be noted that the music was to be played in this instance by house musicians, that is, by professionals and not by amateurs. However, Braithwaite also recommended that music tutors be engaged to train the nobleman's children to "singe and play upon the base Violl, the Virginells, Lute, Bandora or Citterne."56

Finally, it is instructive to consider the somewhat conflicting testimony of two musicians as to the state of music education during Elizabeth's reign. Thomas Morley, in the preface to his A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597) wrote that inability to sight sing or carry a part in consort would reflect poorly on one's upbringing.57 This would

seem to suggest that the Elizabethans received music education as a matter of course. However, as will be seen in greater detail below, very little musical training was available in the public schools of the day. Those who did receive music education probably made private arrangements for the most part. Financially, this would have been unfeasible for the great majority. A number of writers, MacKerness, for example, see in Morley's statement an attempt to drum up a market for his work, which is intended to initiate the lay person into the mysteries of music.58 Seen from one angle, Morley appears to be saying that "everyman" should be educated musically. But this may be no more than a salesman's use of the power of suggestion.

A near contemporary of Morley, Thomas Whythorne, suggested in his Autobiography (1571) that music education was in a serious state of decline due to the suppression of the monasteries which had taken place in the 1540's.59 Whythorne saw this decline as affecting all segments of the population, young and old, rich and poor, professional and amateur, in sacred or secular forms of music-making.

Probably the truth lay somewhere between the apparently optimistic outlook of Morley and the pessimistic view of Whythorne. The passage of time undoubtedly had some effect: the appearance of their books was separated by a span of more than twenty years, and an even greater period may have separated the writing of them. If the two are taken at face value, and Morley's statement represents anything like a true reflection of the state of affairs in his day, that is, that music education was becoming

quite common, the passage of time must have brought with it considerable changes. It is well to bear in mind the different contexts within which the two made their observations. Whythorne was acting as a recorder of a social phenomenon, whereas Morley's statement came in the context of a fictional meeting between two men. Whythorne was reporting, while Morley was clearly inventing. At the very least it would be fair to say that Whythorne's plaint was indicative of some serious problems plaguing music education at the time of his writing. What some of these problems were will become apparent in the text below. At this point it need only be remarked that the suppression of the monasteries, which was one of the direct results of the Reformation in England during the 1540's, apparently did have a negative impact on music education in the decades following. Most of the consequences were still being felt during Morley's day.

Summary

The foregoing is meant as a survey only, and not as an exhaustive account, of the views of Elizabethan and Jacobean writers on music education. The texts cited have dealt largely with the education of the nobility and the emergent upper class. This is reflective of the preoccupation of the writers of the period, which was more with the schooling of the governing than the common class. Joan Simon comments that from the time of Henry VIII on there was increased recognition that reorganization of the state would require a literate, well-educated population, particularly in the case of the merchant class.60 It was this

same group who would most benefit from some form of music education, both in terms of the social grace that came with musical ability, and also through the detente that the exercise of musical skill could offer. There was increased concern throughout the period for the education of the common class as well. This was an effect brought on in part by the Reformation: the same pattern was repeated in all the countries of northern Europe which were affected by the doctrines of Luther and Calvin.61 But music training played little part in the schooling to be had in most institutions set up for the benefit of the common folk. Watson wrote of grammar schools in the sixteenth century that they tended towards the elimination of musical studies in favour of greater emphasis on classics.62

Castiglione, Elyot, Ascham, and Peacham all approached education with a special regard for the concerns of a tutor assigned to train one of the sons of the nobility. All seem to have afforded some value to the study of both instrumental and vocal music, with the constant provision that it not be permitted to rob time away from more serious pursuits. Their writing set the tone for a number of imitators--taken together these writers leave the overwhelming impression that the members of the wealthier segments of society were under some pressure to cultivate musical literacy, including the ability to sing and to play instruments in consort.

Mulcaster championed the cause of music training for the broader, and poorer, part of the English social fabric. However he was a somewhat isolated case, and music was not a subject that

was offered in most grammar schools.83

2. Other secular influences

Writers on education were an important influence in the shaping of music education during the period in question, but several other factors, each exerting an important influence of its own, can also be isolated for closer study. Again, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct more than a survey of these forces, and those mentioned here are not presented as an exhaustive list of the forces at play. However, the writer believes that they represent some of the most important elements which combined to determine the texture of the social fabric during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. As such they were also determinants of the nature and function of music education in these periods.

The example of the crown

If the above-mentioned writers' preoccupation was largely with the development of an educated gentry who would be better able to serve at court, it was to the crown itself that the upper classes looked for a concrete example of how they should comport themselves, in education as in all other things. The civilizing influence of the Renaissance tended to operate in this sense at least, from the upper echelons of society down towards the lower.

In the English monarchs from Henry VIII to James I the Italian Renaissance concept of "l'uomo universale," the

well-formed, many-sided individual, came close to finding its personification.64 All members of the royal family in this period had exceptionally full classical educations. In terms of musical accomplishment Henry VIII probably set the standard for all the Tudors after him.65 Under his sponsorship the musical establishment at court was expanded greatly, and through the reigns of his immediate successors the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal came to totally dominate the musical life of England.66 All the outstanding musicians of the country were enticed or pressed into the royal service, virtually without exception.67 Courtiers and members of the nobility and gentry were encouraged by the example of the monarch and the high musical standards at court to both cultivate musical skills themselves, and to set up and maintain their own musical establishments.68

Price gives many examples of families of the nobility and gentry pursuing some degree of musical sophistication after the example of the crown. A couple of these examples may be mentioned here. One of the earliest to be affected was the family of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, brother-in-law to Henry VIII, and later Lord Protector to Edward VI.69 Seymour was paying musicians as personal retainers as early as 1536, bought a variety of instruments towards the end of the 1530's including a full set of viols, and may have played lute himself. Shortly afterward Seymour was paying for music lessons for some of his staff, but it was not until 1570 that evidence was left showing members of his immediate family (here including descendents) taking musical tuition. The distinction is an important one. Henry VIII and the

Tudor monarchs after him were all skilled practical musicians. But the leading members of the upper classes, perhaps mindful of Elyot's caveat against overzealous pursuit of practical skill, seem to have left practical music-making up to servants and minstrels until later in the century.70 By 1582 two of Edward Seymour's grandsons, Edward and Thomas, were studying virginals and viol with a resident music tutor.71 William Lawes benefited from the patronage of the second Earl of Hertford, father of Edward and Thomas. Lawes was apprenticed to Coperario through the intervention of Hertford.72

Another noble who cultivated music after the model of the crown was Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and sometime suitor to Queen Elizabeth.73 His son-in-law, Lord Lumley, inherited Fitzalan's palatial home Nonesuch, and with it Fitzalan's aspirations to greatness as a musical patron. Charles Warren writes, "Several documents suggest that under the aegis of Arundel and Lumley the musical establishment at Nonesuch rivalled the Royal Chapel itself in the richness of its resources and the extent of its reputation."74 These gentlemen built up an extensive library of music in print and manuscript, as well as putting together a vast collection of instruments which, in 1596, included forty-one viols.75

The example of the crown affected music education in a variety of ways during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. Three main influences may be remarked. First, in cultivating practical music skills, the monarch set a personal example whch led others in the nobility and rising merchant class to seek private music

tuition for themselves and their children. Secondly, the formidable King's Musick and the Chapel Royal served as models for the maintaining of private music establishments such as Arundel's. In sponsoring professional or semi-professional music-making in the home, the upper classes were fostering appreciation of music and the cultivation of refined musical taste, itself an aspect of music education. Thirdly, the gentry patterned their behaviour after the crown in arranging for musical training for their servants and in sponsoring professional apprenticeships in the case of some promising young musicians who came to their attention.

The Economy and Music Education

Tracing the influences that governed the social history of music in the period under examination, MacKerness finds that they operated in three main channels.76 These he identifies as the diffusion of humanistic teachings, the Protestant Reformation, and the development of a musical public. The courtesy manuals were infused with the philosophy of the new humanism, so a study of these helps an understanding of the impact of humanism on the popularity of music education. The effects of the Protestant Reformation will be considered in the next chapter of this thesis. To a great extent it is possible to consider the development of a new musical public as a function of the economic well-being of the English in Tudor and Jacobean England.

It has already been noted that there was an effectively new governing class in England at this time. Simon writes that the

turning point came under the reign of Henry VII, the first Tudor.77 Henry VII promoted to positions of power men who were previously of lower or middle rank. The practice continued over succeeding decades and under succeeding monarchs. An overlapping process saw the gradual advancement of leading members of the emerging mercantile class. The two streams joined to create a new gentry. Here was the nucleus of the new musical public remarked by MacKerness.

The homes of the newly emerging gentry developed as cultural centres, gradually displacing the Church and the aristocratic courts as focal points of the cultural life of the English.78 MacKerness and Meyer both stress the point that the thriving commercial economy during Elizabeth's reign created a taste for refined pursuits with which to occupy leisure hours, pursuits which could provide a detente through easing the stress of daily participation in the marketplace.79

The masters of the new gentle class, in their city and country homes, took up patronage of the arts as a passtime affording personal relaxation and greater prestige among friends and neighbours. In Simon's view patronage of the arts by leading citizens was well established by the time of Edward VI, and continued to play a very important role during the reigns of Elizabeth and James.80 She suggests that the nobility vied with each other in the political and religious arenas, as one might expect, but also in patronage of the arts.81 MacKerness confirms, "Patronage...was an essential condition of English music-making in the Renaissance period."82

One of the more visible effects of this interest in patronizing the arts was the engaging of musicians as personal retainers.83 It seems that during the time of Henry VIII there was already a fairly well established practice of noblemen providing some minstrels with their own livery and contracting with the musicians for entertainment to be provided on certain special occasions throughout the year. The rest of the time the minstrels were free to wander and work where they might. Wearing the nobleman's livery, they were generally afforded a cordial welcome where otherwise they might not have found one, and the livery also afforded protection from prosecution under the vagrancy laws.84

The engaging of minstrels who remained for much of the year itinerant can have had but little direct effect on music education. However it soon developed that the lords of the manors began to arrange for musical tutoring for their regular household staff. Price documents this practice as having taken place in the homes of the Manners, the Cavendishes, and the Sir William Petres.85 Similarly, individuals who had already developed musical skills might have been engaged as servants. These would have been given non-musical duties, but would have been expected to entertain as well. Sir Francis Willoughby was one English gentleman who kept musical servants from the 1570's on.86 Retained musicians at times were put to work tutoring children of the manor, or perhaps the lord and lady. Sir John Petre, patron of both Byrd and Coperario, arranged for the latter to teach his son William Petre, in 1601, while the son of Robert Cecil studied

viol with Nicholas Lanier in 1618, during Lanier's employment with Cecil.87

The advance of the new gentry, which was part and parcel of the changing economic scene in Renaissance England, had another interesting impact on the musical life of the country, an impact which had implications for music education. Meyer describes how the rising mercantile class and the new lieutenants in the squirarchy, being but recently risen from lower classes, had popular rather than aristocratic taste when it came to the arts.88 As a result largely of their preferences, instrumental music and particularly dance music began a rapid evolution. Where up to the time of Henry VIII or so serious music meant religious music, Meyer sees the serious cultivation of instrumental music as beginning with the emergence of this new group. By late in the sixteenth century there was great interest among men and women of means in learning to play the lute, virginals, and viols. Meyer notes, "If a man could afford any degree of luxury, musical instruments were among the first things he would acquire."89

The arrival of a new music was thus coupled to the arrival of a new class. The two phenomena together created a new market for music education among amateur gentlemen and gentlewomen. The emergence of the new propertied class meant that people had money in hand to buy something, in this case instruments, books, and the services of musicians as performers and teachers. The new class sought refinement and perhaps also escape through contact with the arts. As a result of their particular tastes a new kind of music emerged, which people wished to hear and ultimately to play.

Music for a consort of viols was among the most refined exemplars of this new kind of music, and accordingly it attracted a number of adherents from among the more refined members of the new class.

Guilds and Related Organizations

(a) The London Company of Musicians

For Elizabethans or Jacobeans one of the most common avenues to a professional education would have been apprenticeship with a member of one of the guilds. The largest such organization which could have provided musical training was the London-based Company of Musicians. By an Act of Common Council of the City of London dating from 1500, this group was properly incorporated and given a monopoly on the right to perform music for profit within the City limits.90 This should have given the organization effective control of the music trade in the capital, but other groups continued to play music professionally in the London area. Notable among these groups were the London waits, the King's Musick, and members of professional theatre companies. Each of these will be discussed below. Despite the activities of other groups who disputed or ignored their monopoly, however, the Company of Musicians was an important force in sixteenth and early seventeenth century London.

Guilds attempted to control access to trade secrets through strictly controlling apprenticeships.91 Thus, ordinary members of the Company of Musicians were originally permitted only one apprentice at a time. Office-holders and former office-holders,

as well as members of fourteen years standing or more, were permitted two apprentices each. From about mid-sixteenth century the quota of apprentices permitted normal members was increased to two, regardless of length of membership within the organization.92

The normal term of apprenticehsip was fixed at seven years by a 1563 Statute of Apprentices, but this probably just confirmed existing practice.93 Other terms of this act stipulated that the apprentice was to live in the house of the master, serving, obeying, and keeping his secrets, while also agreeing to refrain from gambling, matrimony, and fornication. The master in return agreed to feed, clothe, and house the apprentice while instructing him in the secrets of the trade.

Where an apprentice was bound to a master for seven years as his sole professional charge, he should have been guaranteed a reasonably sound education. The Masters and Wardens, who constituted the sole governing body of the Company, sought to ensure that the apprentice was soundly trained by reserving to themselves the right to examine both master and apprentice to determine their fitness to play for profit.94

It is known that some musicians chose to affiliate themselves with guilds other than the Company of Musicians. In part this action may have been motivated by a wish to keep more than the number of apprentices permitted under the charter of the Company. In 1574 the governors of the Company obtained a ruling by the London Aldermen that members of guilds other than the Company of Musicians who were training their apprentices in the craft of minstrelsy should abide by the terms of the Company Charter which

governed the keeping of apprentices. This meant not taking more than two apprentices at a time, and submitting the apprentices to the Wardens for examination before allowing them to play publicly. Woodfill comments that the Master and Wardens succeeded in controlling their own members on this score, but were ineffective when it came to enforcing restrictions on members of other companies.95

Woodfill mentions that we have little evidence to show what kind of training apprentices received.96 This is due in large measure to the practice of guarding trade secrets: there was no written syllabus to follow, each master rather was left to his own means to devise a procedure for imparting the privileged knowledge. We are thus left with the process of deduction for determining what must have been included in the normal apprenticeship.

The members of the Company of Musicians were required to perform at all kinds of social occasions, from the very formal, such as the coronation of a new monarch, to the rather more common, such as weddings, parish suppers or meetings of professional associations.97 Woodfill, again, suggests that in order to be able to fulfill the various functions expected of them, members of the Company would in all likelihood have been trained to sing as well as to play on one, or more, instruments.98

In the early part of the sixteenth century apprentices may have learned their repertoire by ear; by the middle of the century, though, some would have been trained in literacy, and by the end of the century most professional musicians would have had

to be literate musically. This was necessitated by the increasing popularity of music for instrumental ensemble, or consort, as well as by the fashion for part-singing which swept England beginning about the 1590's. In order to take part in such music the musicians would have had to be able to read from notation. Certainly by 1600 or so the better musicians would have been required to play or produce all kinds of music, from traditional dance tunes and ballads to contrapuntal madrigals and fancies.99

As ensembles grew in popularity a distinction was made between loud groups and soft groups on the basis of the instrumentation: loud noises, or ensembles, included wind instruments such as shawms, crumhorns, and sackbuts, soft noises took in flutes, recorders, and string instruments.100 A 1606 Company ordinance stipulated that no member of the Company of Musicians was to play in public in a group of less than four members or members with apprentices. This provides a fairly good indication that by the start of the reign of James I some form of ensemble work made up the bulk of the professional's job.101 Many masters probably trained their apprentices to play on at least one loud instrument, and at least one soft one, so as to fit them to play at as many kinds of occasions as possible. In some instances apprentices would probably have been given some training on viol, despite the contention of many modern writers that the viols were played mainly by amateur gentlemen.

It seems that few centres apart from London were able to support a professional association or guild consisting only of professional musicians operating in the secular realm. An

important distinction should be made here between professional freelance musicians, who were apt to be members of a musicians guild, and other groups such as musicians-watchmen employed by a town (waits), singing men employed by a church (parish clerks), and musician-actors employed by a theatre (often members of the actors guild). Woodfill suggests that York was the only other city with a musicians guild.[102] Raynor indicates that York, Beverley, and Bristol, plus unnamed others, all maintained functional musicians guilds at the time of the founding of the London Company of Musicians, but he may have been referring to waits.[103]

(b) Waits

In other towns where they existed, waits might have amounted to a guild unto themselves, but in London at least they were not accorded this distinction. Crewdson notes that the London waits were theoretically required to be members of some other guild in order to work as waits.[104] They were not recognized as a separate guild in London, then, and such may have been the case in other centres as well.

The London waits resisted joining the Company of Musicians; Crewdson believes this was in order to avoid the harsh restrictions on the number of apprentices allowed members of the Company.[105] Waits outside of London would also have kept apprentices, whether as members of a musicians guild, an association unto themselves, or as members of some other guild. A partial list of towns other than London having waits would include

Dover, Canterbury, Dartford, Beverley, Alnwick, Leicester, Norwich, Bristol, Chester, Lynn, and York.106

The waits were originally a kind of civic guard, but by the sixteenth century they had become a band of municipal musicians whose guard duties were ceremonial for the most part.107 In some cases the waits were given monopolies on performing music for profit in the towns and cities of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.108

During the sixteenth century the municipalities began to purchase instruments for the waits. Woodfill makes the point that the waits would originally have had to provide their own instruments, and that this creates an obstacle to our knowing what they played, and when they might have started to play instruments other than the traditional wait pipes or shawms.109 However, some records of town purchases of instruments are extant. By 1585 the Norwich waits had recorders, cornets, sackbuts, and a lysardine (serpent?), and by 1600 viols and violins.110 The Chester waits had recorders, cornets, and an oboe, plus "violens" (probably viols) by 1590.111 Viols were bought by the City for the London waits in 1561.112

Since we know that the waits hired themselves out as professional musicians and trained their apprentices as musicians, and since we know also that they began to have viols among their instruments by the latter third of the sixteenth century or so, it is safe to assume that some of the waits were training their apprentices to perform publicly on viol.

The London waits began a series of regular public concerts in 1571.113 These were played outdoors, and for this reason they probably tended to play mostly loud (i.e. wind) instruments, but they may have played viols as part of their performance from time to time. Though Crewdson gives the average number of waits maintained by a town at any given time as from six to nine, Woodfill believes that the average was probably lower, and that the ideal number was five.114 He does not explain why five was ideal, but one thinks naturally of the vast body of consort works in five parts. Waits were almost certainly performing some of these by 1600.

(c) The King's Musick

The lines between the various groups who figured in one way or another as professional musicians during Tudor and Stewart times in England were not always clearly drawn. Thus, Crewdson indicates that there was some traffic back and forth between the London waits and the King's Musick at about this time, with some individuals holding appointments in both groups simultaneously.115

The King's Musick was a body of professional musicians who were employed on a permanent basis by the crown, for the purpose of providing music for entertainment and ceremony.116 Their origin is somewhat obscure, but they were already well established in 1469 when Edward IV granted a royal charter to the King's Minstrels, making a guild of the latter group. The charter gave the Minstrels the exclusive right to perform music for profit anywhere in the Kingdom except in the county of Chester.117 The Minstrels were also granted the right to name members of the

King's Musick, subject to approval by the crown.

It is unclear from my sources whether the King's Minstrels continued to function as a separate guild in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the King's Musick successfully invoked the 1469 charter in a legal dispute with the London company when the jurisdiction of the two groups was at issue. The Company in 1500 received from the City of London a monopoly right to perform for profit within the limits of London, and a charter granted the Company by James I in 1604 extended this territorial right three miles beyond the City limits in every direction. As this would have taken in the grounds of the royal compound at Whitehall, the members of the King's Musick challenged the issue in a court of law. The judges found in favour of the King's Musick, and the 1604 company charter was ruled void.118 However this issue was not resolved until the 1630's, well after the death of James I.

To what extent the members of the King's Musick were free to engage in performing for profit away from the court is another point which is not clear. We have seen how noblemen during the time of Henry VIII and before engaged minstrels and gave them livery to wear, while nevertheless leaving them free to seek other employment for much of the year. This example might have been used as a precedent by members of the King's Musick under later monarchs to retain a certain amount of independence from the crown even while receiving regular pay as court musicians. If it is true that some individuals were simultaneously under retainer both to the City of London as waits, and to the crown as members of the King's Musick, then it would appear that membership in the royal

organization was not necessarily a barrier to doing freelance work on the side.

It is certain that members of the nobility would have had frequent chances to see and hear the King's Musick perform, if only at royal functions both at and away from court. In the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal the monarchs maintained the ablest musicians in the land. Performances by these groups were certain to be of the highest calibre, and would have contributed to educating the musical ear and sensibility of the privileged members of the public who attended. This purely informal aspect of educating for music appreciation should not be overlooked in a consideration of the music education of any period. Woodfill believes that the members of the upper classes may have found their true musical vocation, and made their greatest mark on English music, "as admirers and critics of professional musicians and of composers."119

John Stevens, pointing to the exposure of upper class gentlemen to viol music at court during the reign of Henry VIII, suggests it may have been this exposure which caused these same gentlemen to seek training in music literacy for their servants.120 The noblemen's objective was to enable the servants to play in consort for them, the masters, and their guests. Price documents purchases of viols by the Earl of Rutland in 1537 and by the Earl of Hertford in 1538 and 1539, and suggests that it was professional house musicians, or minstrels, who would have played the instruments initially, with servants being trained to do so only some years later.121

A key question is whether members of the King's MusicK would have engaged in tutoring others, be they professional musicians, apprentices, members of the gentry or their families or servants, in viol-playing techniques. It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question, but they may have done a little.

Price cites evidence that a servant of Sir William Petre tooK music lessons from a member of the Chapel Royal during the 1550's.122 He believes that other individuals close to the crown may have had access to members of the royal corps of musicians as teachers for members of their families or household staff.123

Woodfill notes that some members of the King's MusicK served as music tutors to members of the royal household.124 Stevens indicates that members of the King's MusicK also trained apprentices for later service to the crown.125

Members of the Chapel Royal, in all likelihood including the child choristers, began studying the viol during the 1540's.126 Their initial instruction may have come from members of the King's MusicK, though my source does not speculate on this.

Charles Coleman was one viol player who may have done some private tutoring while serving the crown. He is supposed to have been a teacher of John Hutchison while under retainer to Charles I. Hutchison's wife wrote that members of the King's MusicK gathered at Coleman's house to prepare pieces for later presentation before the King, and that the rehearsals attracted appreciative listeners from among London society.127 However, Coleman's name is not among those included in the "Lists of the King's Musicians" from the Musical Antiquary, nor in similar lists

included as an appendix to Woodfill.128

Alfonso Ferrabosco II was appointed viol tutor to Prince Henry in 1604, and may have done some tutoring of Prince Charles after Henry's death in 1612.129 Ferrabosco's name appears among members of the King's Musick from 1602 to 1642.130

From such obscure and widely scattered references it is not possible to conclude that violists within the King's Musick were commonly engaged in tutoring on a regular basis, with the exception of Ferrabosco. Simply from the evidence of the names in the lists of those retained as viol-players by the crown, it seems that appointments were often passed down in a family, suggesting that appointed musicians trained their successors as a matter of course. Lupos, de Comes, and Galliardellos seem to have established dynasties in the ranks of Elizabeth's violists, and if the names become more diversified under James, in 1612 it was still possible to count four Lupos, a Galliardello, and a Comie among the royal violists. Other family names recur with considerable regularity among the various instrumentalists making up the royal corps, and this supports the conclusion that members of the King's Musicke kept apprentices like any other professional musicians of the day, drawing on the pool of their own and their colleagues' children for many of their initiates.

It is more difficult to support the conclusion that the royal violists did much tutoring outside of their own closed circle. They may have done a little in the early years under Henry VIII, for example when the members of the Chapel Royal were first undertaking to learn the instrument, or when servants of the

King's closest friends and supporters needed instruction to start them off. However, in the absence of solid evidence that tutoring did take place on a regular basis, it is as easy to suppose that other musicians, already familiar, perhaps, with the techniques of the lute and the rebec, worked out for themselves an acceptable playing technique. Masters of the Children in the Chapel Royal, and retained house musicians in the manors of the nobility, would not have been long developing sufficient facility on the instrument to start a beginner off in the right direction.

The members of the King's Musick may have been kept busy enough that they did not have time to do much private teaching, and they were fairly secure financially.131 Finally their prime educative function with respect to the general public may have been the somewhat aleatoric one of cultivating discriminating listeners.132

(d) Companies of Actors and Child Actors

It remains here to consider the part played by the actors guild and companies of child-actors. It seems strange at first to think that there could have been an educative function attached to music in the theatre. Nevertheless, music then as now played a large part in theatrical productions and this had large implications for the nature of music education in the centres where there were theatres.

The most striking link between the two arts was inherent in the organization of choristers from leading London choirs as companies of child actors.133 In several modern studies of the

period we read that the Master of the Children, who was at once the head of the choir and the person responsible for the education and well-being of the boy choristers, often sought theatrical outlets for the talents of his charges. Thus, all of the following are named by the Musical Antiquary as leading their boys in, or lending them to, dramatic companies: Richard Edwards (before 1566) and William Hunnis (after 1566) at the Chapel Royal, Sebastian Westcote (1563-1574) and Thomas Giles (ca. 1587) at St. Paul's, Richard Farrant at St. George's Chapel, Windsor (up to 1580), and John Tailour at Westminster Abbey (ca. 1566-67).134 This list probably does not include all the Masters who oversaw choirboy efforts in the theatre, but it probably does include the most important centres of this kind of activity. The Musical Antiquary speculates that the choristers from provincial cathedrals also presented plays, but other sources that I have looked at name only the four choirs here mentioned.135

The Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, evidently had some role to play in overseeing the activities of the Chapel Royal children. He is said to have operated a school of music and drama for them at the old monastery of the Black Friars. The choirboys from St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and St. Paul's may also have studied there.136 In presentations made around the year 1585 children from the Chapel Royal were billed as The Earl of Oxford's Children.137 The Chapel Royal choristers were still associated with a theatre known as Blackfriars in 1602, judging from a contemporary report cited in Woodfield.138

The fact that the children were already being trained in

music in order to sing in the church service meant that their musical training was not entirely the product of their functioning as child actors. However it is not clear that they would have learned as many instruments as they did, nor indeed that they would have mastered secular repertoire to the same degree, if they had only sung in the chapel choirs. Woodfield's reporter, a foreigner impressed by the English capital in a 1602 visit, wrote:

> For a whole hour preceding the play one listens to a delightful musical entertainment on organs, lutes, pandoras, mandoras, viols, and pipes, as on the present occasion, indeed, when a boy cum voce tremula sang so charmingly to the accompaniment of a bass viol... 139

Thus the boys seem to have been trained on a wide variety of instruments, including viols. Conceivably, some of these boys might have been employed by the theatres as actors or resident musicians when their voices broke; they might also have been engaged to teach other actors musical skills.

Raynor believes that the musicians who were employed as adults in the professional theatre must have been very versatile as well: he suggests that they would have had to double on members of the string consort (possibly both viol and violin), recorder consort, and instruments of the brass, woodwind, and lute families.140 Given the popularity of music in the theatre, Raynor notes, each establishment probably retained one or more staff musicians who could coach other actors or boy apprentices in singing or playing instruments.141

Woodfill supports a similar conclusion. He allows that outside musicians would have found some work in the theatre, also:

"The drama gave employment to independent professional musicians during part of the period."142 Among the musicians who might have been tapped for service were those in the London Company of Musicians, the London waits, the members of the King's Musick, household musicians attached to noblemen, singing men and choirboys from the cathedrals. But Woodfill thinks that members of the actors guild would have received training in music almost as a matter of course during their apprenticeship.143

Woodfield also thinks that some, if not all, the actors were cultivating musical skills by the end of Elizabeth's reign. "For some productions the music may have been provided by a consort of musicians hired especially for the occasion," he writes.144 But he finds evidence that many adult actors were trained to sing their own songs and provide their own musical accompaniment. Among their musical accomplishments some of these actors were evidently developing a facility for playing viol. Woodfield cites a reference to a treble and bass viol in an inventory of properties belonging to a London company of actors, the Admiral's Men, in 1598, and a bequest made in 1605 by an actor named Augustine Phillips left a bass viol to his apprentice.145

It seems then that both adult and child actors around the turn of the seventeenth century had access to musical training, including training on the viol. The actors guild was one place musicians might go in order to avoid the restrictions imposed by the London Company of Musicians on the number of apprentices they could keep. Here also was a chance for musicians to augment their teaching income, and another opportunity for the public to hear

sophisticated music including viols in consort.

Summary

Probably the most important single factor in the promulgation of music education among amateurs during the period in question was the constant approval it received from the writers of courtesy manuals. Those who had pretensions to gentility, or those who were truly of the gentle class, were seemingly under considerable pressure to display qualities of fine breeding, including the ability to appreciate and participate in fine music. As the age placed some value on the study of the classics, writers of the etiquette books drew on classical authors to bolster their case that some knowledge of music was indispensable to the refined person. Inevitably there were nay-sayers, who found that the time necessary for cultivating musical skills was wasted, but these seem to have been in a minority.

The example set by the monarchs in the sponsoring of musical activities and in the pursuit of performance skills was one which the privileged circle at court was wont to emulate, and merchants and yeomen farmers in their turn fell into step. As the standard of living rose throughout the Elizabethan age there seems to have been an increasing demand for music to dance to, listen to, sing, and play. While it is no doubt true that the recreational pursuit of music-making skills can not have greatly occupied the labouring class, many members of a growing middle class probably did make some such bow in the direction of refinement.

The question then becomes one of how the professional and amateur musicians went about learning their art. It takes some time and the close supervision of a teacher to achieve a level of even minimal proficiency on an instrument, so the wandering minstrel can have been but of limited value as a teacher. Gradually, though, the minstrels seem to have disappeared, or rather, became more stable as retained musicians in noble houses, or freemen of towns as waits or actors. In some of the larger centres, especially in London, the musicians seem to have organised themselves into guilds. Musicians were thus more likely to stay in one place sufficiently long to be of service as teachers.

Where professional education was at issue, there were restrictions on the number of individuals who could study with any given master at one time. The main purpose of these restrictions was probably to prevent too many people from trying to make a living out of music, thus flooding the market. However, such restrictions seem to have been largely waived where the interests of amateur musicians, especially merchants or gentlemen with thick pocketbooks, were at stake. The latter sort would have had little difficulty in finding a tutor if they were anywhere near a large centre. Towards the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, waits, theatre musicians, musicians attached to the retinue of a nobleman or merchant, underemployed or unemployed parish clerks, possibly even peripheral members of the King's Musick, all would have had skills to pass on in the areas of singing, instrument-playing, and

music-reading, for a fee.

Given the time, energy, and costs that are inevitably involved in becoming truly efficient as a musician, it is probably safe to say that few amateurs ever really excelled. The comment by Woodfill, cited above, that the musical vocation of the gentleman amateur was probably more one of admirer and critic than of performer is no doubt well-founded. The quality of professional performance would have seen some increase over the course of the period, as the musical sensitivity of the public was aroused. The quality of amateur performance no doubt also went up though the curve may not have been as great.

Viols came to be numbered among the instumental resources of professional musicians as the period progressed, probably in response to a certain degree of public demand. However, many writers seem to feel that the professionals tended to prefer wind instruments, and that the viols were more often than not the province of amateurs. These amateurs would have had to avail themselves of the services of professional musicians as teachers, for the nature of consort music demands music literacy, something which the professionals jealously guarded as a trade secret. Having made a beginning in the cultivatiion of reading skills, the amateur probably did a fair amount of floundering around in the company of his fellows! it is safe to assume that the level of amateur performance was not uniformly high.

Amateur performance there certainly was, though, and it remains one of the appealing aspects of the period. Among some members of the upper classes music seems to have become something

of a participant sport, with the amateur aspiring to a place in the consort. From a modern perspective, it is possible to agree with Woodfill, that the contribution of the gentleman amateur was most valuable insofar as his elevated taste called forth the best efforts of composers in the creation of a noble repertoire. Nevertheless, the individual in question, the gentleman amateur, probably would not have seen things this way. There can be little doubt that an amateur playing in an ensemble of viols would have had a valuable experience, irrespective of the critical quality of the music he was able to produce. Meyer finds that participation in a viol consort became "the favourite art of one particular type of cultured and musically educated family."133 Playing in a viol consort may not have been for everyone, but by the turn of the century it probably did form a very significant part of the cultural life of a small group of devoted amateurs, members of the new gentry and the more well-to-do merchant class. For this minority group, the ability to participate in a viol consort would have been one of the central goals of a musical education.

Notes for Chapter II

1 Elizabeth's reign is generally said to have begun with the death of Mary Tudor on 17 Nov. 1558. This date is given as the start of her reign in Paul E. Eisler, World Chronology of Music History (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1972), Vol. I, p.374. However the date of her coronation is given as 14 Jan. 1559 in Rachel and Allen Percival, The Court of Elizabeth the First (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), p. 14.

2 See Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp.64-65. Simon notes that Henry VII, soon after his ascension to the throne, began to rapidly promote men who were not part of the aristocracy to positions of power in the state and church, in part to protect his tenuous claim to the throne. Most of these men were sympathetic to the ideas of the humanist scholars, ideas which were sweeping out of Italy to foment great social and cultural change across Europe at this time. See also Ernst Meyer, English Chamber Music (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1946, rpt. 1951), pp.62-64. Meyer writes that instrumental music began to evolve quickly with the advent to positions of power of "the progressive popular and mercantile classes, the new forces." Meyer sees this development as having taken place in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, particularly as the scions of the merchant class replaced the old power brokers in the feudal nobility and the church hierarchy.

3 Both "courtesy manual" and "courtly book" as well as other similar terms are in fairly general use in the literature. The purpose of these books was to educate the new aristocracy and the upwardly mobile merchant class as to correct forms of behaviour at court or in society. In a broader sense they set out to describe for anyone who needed or cared to know, what it was to be a gentleman.

4 Walter Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p.207. Woodfill characterises as "misconception" the idea that "every domestic hearth was the scene of musical performance of a very high standard." (p.201) Consort music, he maintains, was the province of the upper classes.

5 Elyot's title is to be understood as The Book Named the Governour. A modern edition has been published with this title under the editorship of S.E. Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962). Lehmberg was one of this centuries leading authorities on Elyot's life and work. His introduction provides fascinating biographical details on Elyot. Joan Simon, Education and Society, contains valuable insights into Elyot's ideas and influence (pp.152ff. of her text).

6 Elyot, pp.19-20.

7 Elyot, p.20.

8 Elyot, p.21.

9 Elyot, p.22.

10 Elyot, p.22.

11 Elyot, p.vii.

12 Castiglione can be read in English in Three Renaissance Classics, Burton A. Milligan, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953). The text reproduced in this edition is the translation by Sir Thomas Hoby that was first published in London in 1561. It is probable, according to Simon, Education and Society, p. 151, that copies of the original Il Cortegiano in Italian were available in England soon after its initial appearance in Venice in 1528. She states, p.240, that Il Cortegiano in time became "almost a second Bible for English gentlemen..." but this was much later in the century. Ascham, when writing The Schoolemaster, believed not enough attention was being paid to The Courtier. See Simon, p.340.

13 For Hoby's translation of Castiglione, see the preceding note.

14 Kenneth Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p.83, suggests that where The Governour takes as its principle themes politics and ethics, Castiglione was more concerned with social graces. Charlton indicates that it was The Courtier that exercised the greater influence on later men of letters such as Sidney, Spenser, and Raleigh. It probably was also more influential in the case of musicians and amateurs of music, at least by the end of the sixteenth century.

15 Castiglione, Three Classics, p.320.

16 Castiglione, p.321.

17 Castiglione, pp.349-50.

18 Castiglione, pp.350-351. Hoby's translation may have taken liberties with the original text. Ian Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.182, notes that Hoby has Sir Fredericke say, "But to sing to the lute is much better...." whereas the original Italian gave "viola" in place of "lute". Woodfield suggests that in England at the time of Hoby's writing "vial" "viola" and "vielle" could have referred to the medieval fiddle as well as the viol, but not to the lute. Hoby may have been trying to appeal to the tastes of his coutrymen, who preferred lute to viol at this time, says Woodfield.

18 Castiglione, p.351.

20 See Simon, p.340, and note 12 above. David C. Price, Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.4, writes that the "fashion for all things Italian" held sway towards the end of the sixteenth century. The tremendous impact of Nicholas Yonge's Musica Transalpina (London, 1588) was one manifestation of this fashion. Joseph Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), p.71, reports that the portrait of Dr. Heather, founder in 1626-27 of the Music Lecture at Oxford, depicts him with a copy of Musica Transalpina in hand. To guage the influence of Castiglione, we have to look no further, perhaps, than to the inclusion of The Courtier in a volume with the title Three Renaissance Classics. In his introduction Milligan calls The Courtier one of the most important books to have come down to us from the period. It is mentioned by numerous modern writers on Renaissance culture, and also by some writers contemporary with Hoby. Thomas Whythorne in his Autobiography (ed. James Osborn, London: Oxford University Press, 1962) said the nobility "much follow" Castiglione's counsel (p.205).

21 My most important source of information on Ascham has been his biography by Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford: Stanford University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

22 Ryan, p.251.

23 Ryan, p.18.

24 This sentiment is mentioned by E.D. Mackerness, A Social History of Music (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p.50. The pertinent quote, from Ascham's Toxophilus, is given in Bernard Rainbow, English Psalmody Prefaces: Popular Methods of Teaching 1562-1835 (Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press, 1982), p.2:

> I wish from the bottom of my heart that the laudable custom of England to teach children their plainsong and pricksong were not so decayed throughout all the realm as it now is.

Woodfill, pp.212-214, reproduces the same quote, and discusses Ascham's ambivalent attitude towards music education.

25 Ryan, p.256.

26 Ascham, cited by Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.6.

27 Simon, p.341.

28 Mulcaster's most important work on education was The

Elementarie (1582), written towards the end of his term as headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London. I have referred primarily to the version contained in James Oliphant, The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster (1532-1611) (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1903).

28 Simon, p.353.

30 Simon, p.353.

31 Oliphant, p.43.

32 Oliphant, p.51, and Charlton, p.206.

33 This point is underlined by Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p.338.

34 Carpenter, p.338. James Whitelocke evidently took care to see that his own children received a musical education as well. One of his sons was Bulstrode Whitelocke who rose to prominence in the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, filling important positions in the latter's administration. Percy Scholes in The Puritans and Music (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), pp.164-166, states that Sir James Whitelocke had his two children thoroughly trained in singing, and that Bulstrode later composed a tune for a masque at the Inns of Court. Scholes says that the tune was reprinted in both Burney's and Hawkins's History.

35 Mulcaster, in Oliphant, p.39.

36 Mulcaster, in Oliphant, pp.39-40.

37 Henry Raynor, A Social History of Music (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), p. 138. Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.36, notes that a few of the larger London-area schools, including Eton, Merchant Taylors', Westminster, and St. Paul's, were very much the exception in including some musical tuition among their course offerings. In fact, Price feels, grammar schools were somewhat unique in not generally encouraging and fostering music literacy, at a time when most social institutions did so.

38 See Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.36.

39 Mulcaster in Oliphant, p.42.

40 Mulcaster in Oliphant, p.42.

41 Peacham was writing directly in the tradition of Elyot. In his introduction (p.5) he reveals something of his attitude on current trends in education when he says:

> ...yet, Sir William Howard, at the least let us recover you from the tyranny of these

> ignorant times, and from the common education, which is to wear the best clothes, eat, sleep, drink much, and to know nothing.

The common education of which Peacham spoke can probably be understood as the tutorial, carelessly misapplied in the case of some noble families. Peacham may also have had in mind the Grand Tour of the continent, an event which many thought indispensable as the finishing touch of a young nobleman's schooling.

42 Peacham, pp.108-109.

43 Peacham, p.111. Peacham prefaces these comments by saying,

> I might run into an infinite sea of the praise and use of so excellent an art, but I only show it to you with the finger....

In this can be seen a backward glance at various classical authors, whom Peacham has just cited (shown "with the finger") as having uttered their own "infinite sea of...praise" of music. It almost seems as if Peacham were writing to a formula that had been worked out by Castiglione and Elyot.

44 Peacham, p.112. This quotation is also to be found as a citation by Warwick Edwards under the heading "Consort" (4--Instrumentation) in The New Grove Dictionary. In this same article Edwards suggests that at the time when Peacham wrote, professional musicians were more likely to play violins or wind instruments, while amateur players favoured the viols. For this reason, he says, music intended for use in the home was being composed in "a style idiomatic to the viols," though composers may not have indicated that this was their intent. Curiously, this same writer elsewhere questions the extent of the use of viols in domestic or amateur settings. In his article "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England" PRMA, 98 (1979-71), pp.120-121, Edwards writes,

> Their frequent employment in professional circles, such as at the court, amongst town waits and in the theatre, is beyond doubt, but their use as instruments for amateur recreation may be questioned.

Edwards goes on to say,

> Amateurs rather tended to learn the lute or virginals, or the wire string instruments, the cittern, orpharion and bandora.

This evident discrepancy is cleared up when we consider the passage of time: Peacham wrote nearly twenty years into the Jacobean period. By his time amateurs were cultivating skills on

the viol, though they evidently were not, at least to any great extent, in the greater part of the Elizabethan period.

45 Jack Westrup, "Domestic Music under the Stuarts" Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association (PRMA), 68 (1941-42), 21, points out that performance conventions were flexible. He goes so far as to suggest that where unaccompanied singing was to be found, it was probably more than anything else a reflection of a low economic status on the part of the singers, who may not have been able to afford instruments. But Westrup notes that where many people believe title pages of madrigal publications from the period often indicated that they were "for voices or viols," the phrase used was more commonly "for voices and viols." This designation was virtually unheard of before 1600, but Craig Monson, Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: U.M.I. Research Press, 1982), pp.282-283, gives a list of twenty-three collections appearing in England between 1600-1630 containing some variation on the performance indication "for voices and viols" on the title page.

46 Warwick Edwards, "Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England," p.122, shows that this change of fashion came around the turn of the century.

47 David C. Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.8.

48 Joan Simon, p.352.

49 William Kempe and his work are mentioned in Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.37, and also in Raynor, p.138.

50 John Brinsley is discussed in Simon, p.237, and in Price, Patrons and Musicians, p. 37.

51 Reference to Bacon's scheme is made in various sources, including David Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times," PRMA, 65 (1938-39), 131, and Kenneth Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1965), p.155. Both these writers mention that Bacon's plans, as also Gilbert's, can be seen in Durham Research Review, 5 (1954), 1-9.

52 Gilbert's proposed academy is mentioned by Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.16, and Simon, p.341. See also note 51.

53 Charlton, p.84.

54 David Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.8.

55 Walter Woodfill, p.235.

56 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.8.

57 Morley's tutor is cited very widely. Reference to it can be found, for example, in Ernest Walker, A History of Music in

England (London: Oxford Univerity Press, 1952), p.76, and Edward Lowinsky, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance," first printed in the Journal of the History of Ideas, 15 (1954), reprinted in Renaissance Essays from the Journal of the History of Ideas, eds. P.O. Kristeller and P.P. Wiener, (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p.348. A modern edition of Morley was issued by R.A. Harman, New York, 1952.

58 MacKerness, p.53. See also Jack Westrup, "Domestic Music under the Stuarts" in PRMA, 68 (1942), p.20.

59 Thomas Whythorne, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne (ed. James M. Osborn, London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp.203-207.

60 Simon, p.150.

61 Simon, pp. 125-126.

62 Watson, p.221.

63 Observers agree unanimously that very little music was being taught in the common grammar schools of the day. Notes 37 and 38 above refer to the comments of Raynor and Price on this issue. See also Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1600, p.212. Watson notes that the first book to appear that was evidently intended to be used as a music text in schools was Charles Butler's Principles of Music (1636). But this falls outside the period here under consideration. In any event, Foster Watson notes that Butler was music master at Magdalen college, Oxford, hardly a typical grammar school. Rather Magdalen was the parent institution for one of the song schools that was not suppressed during the 1540's. Watson writes, "The number of schools, outside of cathedral song schools, where such a book could have been used, must have been small." (p.213) Another writer, David Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times," reveals that 2,374 chantries disappeared after the 1547 Chantries Act: "With these went most of the song schools of the land. Most of the affected grammar schools were later reestablished--not so the song schools." (p.113) Subsequent to the enactment of the Chantries Act, only choristers in cathedral song schools received music training for the most part. (p.118)

64 Morris Marples, Princes in the Making: A Study of Royal Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p.17. Marples's book provides a concise account of the education of all the British monarchs from Tudor down to modern times.

65 Henry's musical achievements are legendary, but the legend seems to be well founded. Marples suggests that he was "extremely well-taught musically," skilful as a performer on lute and virginals, capable as an organist, singer, and composer. (p.23)

66 The expansion of the royal musical establishement can be

traced in several sources. Among the most useful are "Lists of the King's musicians, from the audit office declared accounts," The Musical Antiquary I-IV (1909-1912); H.C. De Lafontaine, The King's MusicK (1909); Walter Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (see appendix E which draws on both of the above sources); Alan Smith, "The gentlemen and children of the Chapel Royal: An annotated register," RMA Research Chronicle V (1965),pp.13-46.

67 The dominating position of the royal musical establishment in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods has been widely remarked. See for example Woodfill, p.241: "In the Chapel royal and the King's MusicK the sovereigns supported most of the best musicians of England." Smith, "The gentlemen and children..." (p.13) and other writers note that the Master of the Children of the Chapel royal, effectively the musical leader, was empowered to press singers into service from other choirs, cathedral or private.

68 David Price's Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance provides the most thorough documentation of the establishment of private music, including the engaging of professional musicians and teachers, the purchasing of instruments and music, and the cultivation of performing abilities on the part of the upper classes. His article, "The Elizabethan household and its musical education, "The Consort, 32 (1976), 183-199, summarises many of his more pertinent findings. In terms of the personal example set by members of the royal family, Henry VIII, as already mentioned, played lute, virginals and organ, Edward VI studied lute with Philip van Wilder, Mary Tudor began the study of the virginals at a very early age, later in life she played lute and organ as well, Elizabeth played lute and virginals. But James I is said to have been notoriously unmusical, even though he maintained the royal musical establishment at a level matching its glory under his predecessors. See Marples, pp.23,34,46-48,56, and 72-74.

69 Price mentions Seymour on p.15 of Patrons and Musicians.

70 See Elyot in text above and under note 8. The point is made in several places by Price. See for example p.15 of Patrons and Musicians. In his article, "The Elizabethan household," p.196, Price writes,

> Something happened over the middle decades, inspired by the Court and by foreign example and necessitated by the Reformation--something to encourage musical literacy and, ultimately, a good deal of intelligent, sometimes selfish, patronage of musicians and composers.

71 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.125.

72 Mentioned in Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.128, and also in John Coprario: Fantasia Suites, Musica Brittanica, No.46, trans. and ed. Richard Charteris (London: Stainer and Bell, 1980),

p.xvi.

73 Fitzalan's story is told by Charles H. Warren in "Music at Nonesuch," Musical Quarterly, 54 (1968), 47-58.

74 Warren, p.49.

75 Warren, pp.49-50.

76 E.D. MacKerness, A Social History of English Music (Toronto: Univerity of Toronto Press, 1964), p.48.

77 Joan Simon, pp.64-65.

78 MacKerness, pp.62-63.

79 MacKerness, p.62, and Meyer, p.75.

80 Simon, p.271.

81 Simon, p.348.

82 MacKerness, p.48. The issue of patronage in music during this period is explored thoroughly in David Price, Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance.

83 See Woodfill, "Belonging to any Baron," (chapter three of) Musicians in English Society.

84 The intent and effect of the vagrancy laws are mentioned by Woodfill on p.109.

85 David Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.137,90,86.

86 ibid., p.148.

87 ibid., pp.89-90,175.

88 Meyer, pp.62-67.

89 ibid., p.103.

90 A useful study of the London company is H.A.F. Crewdson, The Worshipful Company of Musicians (London: Charles Knight, 1971). The Act of Common Council of 1500, which formally incorporated the guild, is mentioned on p.28.

91 Crewdson, p.34, Woodfill, p.20. Woodfill mentions that the apprenticeship system may have served as a barrier to the ready access to music education on the part of some who sought training. This was so because masters were restricted in the number of apprentices that they were allowed, and were further sworn not to reveal the secrets of the trade to anyone other than their apprentices. However, a very wide loophole was provided,

whereby gentlemen who wished to learn music for their own entertainment could be taught by any member of the Company. See Woodfill, p.21.

92 Crawdson, p.34.

93 Charlton, p.254.

94 Crawdson, p.34.

95 Crawdson, p.38, describes the efforts of the Master and Wardens of the Company of Musicians to control the training of apprentices in other guilds in the craft of minstrelsy. Despite a ruling by the Aldermen that Masters of other guilds who were training their apprentices in music should submit the apprentices to the Wardens of the Company of Musicians for examination, and otherwise obey the strictures on apprentices laid down in the Company charter, Woodfill believes that members of other guilds were able to carry on unhampered, and ignore summonses sent out by the governors of the Company of Musicians.

96 Woodfill, p.18.

97 Woodfill, p.28.

98 Woodfill, p.18.

99 Woodfill, p.29.

100 Crawdson, p.19.

101 Crawdson, p.18.

102 Woodfill, p.110.

103 Raynor, p.65.

104 Crawdson, p.171.

105 Crawdson, p.171.

106 Crawdson, p.169, Meyer, p.49. Meyer cites J.C. Bridge, "Town Waits and their Tunes, PRMA, 1927-28.

107 Crawdson, pp.164-166.

108 Crawdson, p.168, Woodfill, p.119.

109 Woodfill, p.85.

110 Woodfill, p.85.

111 Woodfill, p.85.

112 Woodfield, p.214. Woodfield suggests that the decision to buy viols for the waits was influenced by the successful performances around mid-century by the St. Paul's choir, playing viols and singing in public.

113 Crawdson, p.171.

114 Crawdson, p.166, Woodfill, p.83.

115 Crawdson, p.171.

116 Woodfill gives a very useful and concise account in chapter eight of his study, Musicians in English Society. His appendix E lists musicians in the organization for selected years. Other useful sources for obtaining names of players are listed in note 66 above.

117 Control over the activities of minstrels and musicians in the county of Chester had been ceded by the crown to a noble in return for services rendered. The full story can be read in Crawdson, pp.105-106. See also Woodfill, p.6.

118 Crawdson, pp.110-118. Compare Woodfill, p.5.

119 Woodfill, p.239.

120 Stevens, p.288.

121 Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.122,136.

122 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.86.

123 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.17.

124 Woodfill, p.189.

125 Stevens, p.306.

126 Woodfield, pp.208-209.

127 "Charles Coleman," in The New Grove Dictionary, and Gordon Dodd, Thematic Index of Music for Viols (London: The Viola da Gamba Society, 1980), p.7.

128 Both these sources have been cited above. Coleman is said in the New Grove article on him to have been noted as a teacher of voice and viols, and as a composer for the voice. He may have been retained as a singer at court, in which case his name might show up in lists of the men in the Chapel Royal.

129 "Alfonso Ferrabosco II," in The New Grove Dictionary. Coperario was Charles I's principal viol tutor. See Duffy, Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1980.

130 Ferrabosco's terms as member of the King's Musick can be determined by studying the "Lists" in Musical Antiquary.

131 Woodfill discusses the pay of members of the royal musical establishment in chapters seven and eight of his study. Salaries are mentioned in the "Lists" in the Musical Antiquary. These varied widely, and at times would not have kept up to inflation--but the royal musicians were well-paid by comparison to what waits, or members of the Company of Musicians or parish clerks could expect. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the more senior viol players, Albert of Venice, Francisco of Venice, Ambrose of Milan, Paul Galliardello and Marc Antonio, were all getting paid 20 pence (20 d) per day. At this rate they seem to have been the highest paid of the members of the King's Musick. Innocent de Comy and George de Comy were receiving 12 pence (12 d) which was closer to what most of the players could expect. The trumpeters were all receiving 8 pence (8d) daily. By 1596, the year of the death of Ambrose of Milan, he was still receiving only 20 pence (20 d) per day, but along with all the other viol players, was receiving an annual clothing allowance as well. The trumpeters by this date were getting 16 pence (16 d) per day. The reign of Elizabeth is known to have been a time of fairly high inflation, so the real value of the musicians' pay had decreased considerably over this period. By 1613 the viol players listed in a group, and thus seemingly part of a consort or consorts, in that year including Joseph Lupo, Thomas Lupo the elder, Thomas Lupo the younger, Anthony Comye, Rowland Rubbish, Jeremy Hearne, Alexander Chesham, Thomas Warren, and Horatio Lupo, were still receiving 20 pence (20 d) per diem. If the rate of conversion was 240 pence per pound sterling and the musicians were paid for 365 days, they were receiving about 30 pounds per year. In that same year Cesar Galliardello, Alphonso Ferrabosco, and Daniell Farrant were also salaried as viol players, and were receiving 30 pounds, 50 pounds, and 46 pounds respectively. For comparison purposes, clement Lanier was receiving 2 pence (2 d) or about 3 pounds per year, and was seemingly the lowest paid among members of the King's Musick. John Lugario, in a class by himself as the Queen's Musician, was being paid 100 pounds per year. Alan Smith, in his article "The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I," PRMA XCIV (1967-68), p.37, states that church musicians at this time were working for very poor pay, with a few exceptions. In Watkins Shaw's article, "William Byrd of Lincoln," Music and Letters XLVIII, p.52, we find that the average pay for organists around 1560 was 8 pounds in old foundation cathedrals, 10 pounds in new foundation posts. Singing men would have been paid considerably less. Foster Watson, in The English Grammar School to 1600 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), p.214, gives the salary of the music master at Christ's Hospital as under 3 pounds from 1552 until a benefactor raised it to 16 pounds in 1609. Woodfill, p.68, cites an early seventeenth century source suggesting that church musicians were leaving their work for private employment at an annual salary of 4-5 pounds plus board. Thus most members of the King's Musick, and the viol

players especially, were quite well off financially compared to what musicians in other posts could expect.

132 Raymond Vaught, writing in his dissertaion, The Fancies of Alfonso Ferrabosco II (Stanford, 1958), p.32, comes to the conclusion that few members of the King's Musick were occupied with teaching. A few had special responsibilities to tutor members of the royal family. A few others evidently received special dispensation to teach in order to augment their incomes. Vaught seems to feel that not all would have kept apprentices, though some would have. He writes:

> Musical instruction occupied only a few of the Royal musicians. Evidently these were special appointments and offered favoured members opportunity to expand their incomes. Ferrabosco was one of Prince Henry's tutors, and each member of the royal family had instructors assigned to them as children. On a less elevated social level was the training of children for professional careers.

133 None of the sources that I have consulted deal with this phenomenon at great length. Nevertheless it is mentioned in passing by most authors who have looked at either English music or education in the period presided over by Elizabeth and James. In Alan Smith's article, "The Genlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: An Annotated Register," RMA Research Chronicle #5, 1965, pp.13-46, the Masters of the Children who worked in the Chapel Royal or at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and who were active in the presentation of the choristers' plays, are named. Richard Edwards was active in this capacity as early as 1564. William Hunnis succeeded Edwards as Master of the Children in the Chapel Royal in 1566, holding the post until his death in 1597. He also is said to have presented plays "at court with the children" but no dates of these presentations are given. Richard Farrant was Master of the Choristers at Windsor Castle from 1564 until his death in 1580 or 1581. He is known to have presented plays at court with the choirboys fom St. George's Chapel and the Chapel Royal in 1577, '78, and '79. Nathaniel Giles succeeded Farrant at St. George's Chapel, and went on to become Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1597. If he presented plays while in these posts, Smith does not say so.

134 "Early Elizabethan Stage Music," The Musical Antiquary I (1909-1910), p.30. The activities of Sebastian Westcote are also mentioned in the article "Master Sebastian of Paul's," The Musical Antiquary III (1911-1912), pp.149-157. The article is signed W.H. Grattan Flood. Westcote seems to have been presenting plays with child actors as early as 1552. On the 13th of February of that year he was reimbursed for expenses incurred when a group of "children...plaiers" under his direction appeared before Princess (later Queen) Elizabeth. It is not certain that the children were from St. Paul's, though this seems likely. See p.150 of Grattan Flood.

135 The speculation in the Musical Antiquary article occurs on p.30. I am relying mainly on Woodfill, Woodfield, and Raynor for information on the child actors. Mention of the Chapel Royal child players also occurs in Percival and Percival. See the citations following.

136 Percival, Rachel, and Percival, Allen, The Court of Elizabeth the First (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), p.80.

137 Percival and Percival, p.80.

138 Woodfill, p.236.

139 Woodfill, p.236.

140 Raynor, p.152.

141 Raynor, p.152.

142 Woodfill, p.29.

143 Woodfill, p.29.

144 Woodfield, p.222.

145 Woodfield, p.222.

Chapter Three

Effects of the Reformation on Viol Consorts and Music Education

There were a number of factors affecting music education during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods which were directly or indirectly connected with the ongoing Protestant Reformation. These influences mostly grew out of events or trends that developed during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. I will focus on four aspects: (i) effects of the dissolution of the monasteries and the adoption of the Chantries Acts during the 1540's on the subsequent status of music in the schools; (ii) maintenance of choir schools by such institutions as the cathedrals; the crown in the Chapel Royal and at St. George's Chapel, Windsor; the divinity colleges within the two universities; and a few isolated parish churches and public schools; (iii) cultivation of psalm singing as an aspect of public worship and domestic devotions; (iv) efforts of Catholic recusants to provide their clandestine gatherings with a musical component.

I--School Music after the Dissolution of the Monasteries

There is an old and well-known maxim to the effect that nothing in life is constant besides death and taxes. Just as taxes are among the affairs of the government, so death might be seen as among the affairs of the church. The connection between the two led to the founding of many hundreds of English chantries. These were places where priests were maintained through private endowments, primarily to sing masses for the founders' souls. In many instances these chantries gave rise to schools. Watson dates the establishment of most chantry schools in England as occurring over a two century span leading up to the Henrician Reformation.1 But he suggests that the association of chantries and schools in Europe goes back to a proclamation by Charlemagne in 787 A.D., that all residents of a parish were to have access to teaching, to be provided by a priest.2

It would seem that the educational efforts of chantry priests in England were loosely organized and overseen by thirty larger monastic foundations, each with an Augustinian or Benedictine affiliation.3 These larger monastic foundations, along with the schools attached to them, were dissolved as a result of Acts of Parliament of 1536 and 1539.4 A few years later it was the turn of the chantries: a Chantries Act of 1545 and a revised Chantries Act of 1547 led to the dissolution of some 2,374 chantries.5

Not all of the chantries would have maintained schools, but many did. In the chantries and the larger foundations alike, there were three kinds of schools, elementary schools, also called A.B.C. schools or petty schools, where students learned basic literacy skills and studied catechism; grammar schools, which were one stage higher than elementary schools; and song or choir schools, where students studied most of what was taught in the elementary schools and also learned how to sing in order to assist the priest at mass.6 One reviewer who has written on music education in the period writes:

> The Song School was probably the most important type of elementary school before the Reformation, taking precedence over A.B.C. writing and reading schools. 7

Whether this is true or not, there were many song schools, and they disappeared without a trace. This led Roger Ascham later in the century to bemoan the fact that students in his day no longer learned to sing in school, as they had used to do.8

It probably goes without saying that the intent of the reformers in drafting the Chantries Act was not to scuttle education completely. When the dissolution of the monastic foundations first got under way, part of the idea seems to have been to use the revenues gained to support the foundation of a system of compulsory schooling.9 As was taking place in all countries of northern Europe affected by the Reformation, the schools were to be reorganized and taken out of the realm of the Church's control. This process had already begun earlier in the century, but was greatly accelerated after Henry's break with the Church of Rome.10 In Simon's view the 1547 Chantries Act was

designed to facilitate the refoundation of grammar schools under the crown where monastic schools had previously existed, and also to found new schools where none had been.11 She cites figures to show that in this respect the Act was fruitful. As its direct result schools were refounded or newly founded in 23 counties. Six of these counties had more than one newly founded school. Of the remaining counties in England nearly all had, or would shortly have, at least one school.12

Little attempt seems to have been made to refound the many song schools that were lost, however, nor to offer music in the schools that were set up. Modern students of the situation agree that apart from the choir schools attached to the cathedrals, divinity colleges, and the Chapel Royal (including St. George's Chapel, Windsor), very few schools continued to offer any form of music training after the Edwardian reform. In Harris's paper, "Musical Education in Tudor Times," GiggleswicK School is mentioned as an exceptional case, where all students were to have instruction in music. But the same author says more typically music was "either relegated to a secondary place, or omitted altogether."13 MacKerness offers Coventry as another example of a grammar school where some music tuition was available, but he feels music teaching other than in the few remaining song schools was something that was left up to chance after the start of the Reformation.14 Watson also finds that the school teaching of music suffered except in cathedrals and a few other isolated cases. "Music...though an educational development," he writes,"was not an outcome of the scholastic institutions of the time."15

One institution that was outstanding for the provisions it made for the teaching of music was Christ's Hospital.16 This school was established in London in 1552. There were really two schools: an elementary or A.B.C. school, and a grammar school. The elementary school had places for 380 students, to be drawn from the poor families of London. Four masters were engaged, among them a full-time music master.17 Thus Christ's Hospital was one place where a poor student could hope to have a music education without having to pay for lessons.

Christ's Hospital may have been the only ordinary school in England at this time to retain a full-time instructor of music. But even here the status of music was insecure. Though at one point the City of London advertised the musical abilities of Christ's Hospital students in an attempt to find appointments for them as domestic servants, a 1569 record shows that the governors of the school were agreed not to apprentice any student to a musician unless the student was unfit for any other kind of work by virtue of an infirmity.18 The job of music master was not well paid, a fact which suggests that the work was not highly valued by the school administrators. At the school's founding the salary for the music master was set at two pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence, and it seems not to have risen above four pounds before 1609.19

In 1609 the fortunes of the music master took a turn for the better. A patron left funds to increase his salary to something in the neighbourhood of sixteen pounds, and another gift provided the school with music books and instruments including virginals and viols. Arrangements were made whereby only ten or twelve of

the more musically talented students would receive instrumental tuition, and of these only three were to be trained on virginals or viol.20 This sounds like a very small number of students, but the inclusion of even this small amount of viol instruction in the Christ's Hospital regime is of considerable importance in the context of the present study: it is the only reference I have seen to the teaching of viols in a school in England, other than a choir school, for the whole of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. In view of the limited number of students who were to be trained on the instruments, they would quite possibly have gone on to an apprenticeship with a musician upon leaving the school, despite the 1569 stricture against channelling the students in the direction of professional music-making.

Some form of musical instruction did take place at a few other schools. As mentioned above, Giggleswick in Yorkshire offered instruction in singing, according to school statutes drawn up in 1546.21 At Westminster Grammar School students were to receive two hours per week of instruction in singing from 1560.22 All students at Blackburn Grammar School were to have a chance to study music and writing, but the instruction was not given in regular class hours. This probably meant that writing and singing were not required subjects, and that they were subject to extra charges to the students.23 At Rivington Grammar School music instruction was available in the form of singing classes, but students had to pay for the class if there was no surplus money in the school's revenues to pay the instructor.24 Penrith Grammar School provided for the teaching of "musick catechism," which probably implied responses to be sung in the course of a church

service. This instruction was to be made available from the date of the school's founding in 1564.25 Merchant Taylors' School in London, founded in 1561 with Mulcaster as headmaster, was the site of regular music classes at least during his tenure, which lasted until 1586.26 All of these schools are named in Harris's account of "Musical Education in Tudor Times."

Watson names several of the same schools, providing the additional information in the case of the Rivington school that the clsses were to be made available according to the school statutes, written in 1566, and that the music classes were held outside of normal class hours as at Blackburn.27 Bridewell school was mentioned along with Christ's Hospital in the City of London's advertisement seeking to place students in homes as domestic servants: the City said the students had been trained in music, evidently a selling feature in a servant.28 Dulwich College is mentioned in various sources as offering both vocal and instrumental classes, but the evidence cited to support this belief is found in school statutes dating only from 1626, when England was already launched into the reign of Charles I.29

In some cases where grammar schools and choir schools were maintained by the same institution, students from the grammar school had regular classes with the master of the choir school. This would seem to have been the case at Westminster, already mentioned, and a similar arrangement prevailed at Eton and St. Paul's.30 A school at Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, was founded for twenty boys in 1569: reading, writing, and singing were to be taught.31 At Bedford school the son of a Knight was able to receive instruction in modern and classical languages and

music.32

This list includes all the schools other than choir schools that I have seen mentioned as offering some form of musical instruction. In all fourteen schools are here enumerated, and of these only Christ's Hospital can be said with certainty to have offered viol instruction during the time frame of this paper. Dulwich was probably also able to offer viol tuition, but not until the start of the Carolinian period. Even then, music, or at least instrumental music, may have been short-lived at Dulwich, since a complaint was lodged in 1633 to the effect that the College organist was incapable of providing instruction in pricksong, viol, and other instruments, as he was supposed to do.33

The number of students who benefited from music instruction in these few schools must not have been more than a tiny fraction of the total population in England at the time, a population that was probably in the neighbourhood of some four million.34 No mention of viol instruction taking place in the elementary or grammar schools before 1609 has turned up in my research, and in the one case where viol instrucion evidently was available after 1609, it seems only three or fewer students were able to take advantage of it at any given time.

That music in the regular schools of Elizabethan and Jacobean England was by all accounts virtually non-existent is of considerable interest. One writer has observed that the grammar schools stand out for <u>not</u> cultivating music when so many other levels of society were doing so.35 There was a great deal of interest in the schools at the time, many individuals and many

associations of merchants and tradesmen seem to have contributed considerable wealth to the founding of new schools. Simon shows that over the years of Elizabeth's reign the merchant-tradesman class gave nearly seventy-three thousand pounds to the foundation and maintenance of schools, about six and a half times the contribution of the gentry.35 Funding of schools increased during the reign of James I, but the major portion again seems to have come from associations of merchants and tradesmen.37 These groups would have been peopled largely by Puritan stock. In her examination of the schools during the Elizabethan age Simon echoes the opinion of Foster Watson that, in education as throughout society, "the influence of puritanism...was epoch-making."38 The Puritans may not have been anti-music, as Percy Scholes has ably demonstrated, but they evidently did not feel that music belonged in schools.39 Raynor suggests that in a few cases individual headmasters may have ensured that some music was made available, as Mulcaster seems to have done at Merchant Taylors', but in most cases music vanished from the curriculum in the face of the puritan ethic and its insistence on learning as a formation towards employment.40

Thus the impact of religion on school music seems to have been almost entirely negative. Most song schools that disappeared as a result of suppression of the monasteries and the passing of the Chantries Acts were not replaced. In most A.B.C. and grammar schools subsequent to these events music was not taught. This may have been a negative manifestation of a conviction rooted in religious beliefs, that education should concentrate on what were considered to be more practical skills.

II--Choir Schools as Sources of Music Education and Viol Instruction

A number of institutions continued to maintain choir schools, or refounded them, after the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries. The most important of these were attached to the Chapel Royal, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the cathedrals, and the divinity colleges within the two universities. A few others were found in association with other schools, such as Eton, and there were some schools for choristers housed in private chapels of noblemen.

The Chapel Royal and St. George's Chapel at Windsor were somewhat unique in that they were maintained in order to service the private devotions of the monarch, who, after the 1534 Supremacy Act and except for a brief period during the reign of Mary Tudor, was the titular head of the Church of England. Peter Le Huray refers to these institutions as "royal peculiars."41 What went on at the two Chapels Royal was thus an example to cathedrals and parish churches of how the figurehead of the Church wanted the service conducted. It was of considerable consequence that the monarchs without exception approved of the cultivation of polyphonic music within the context of the worship service.42

Choir schools were maintained in the leading religious institutions, the cathedrals and the monarchs' private chapels, as also in the divinity colleges in the universities, to educate the choirboys who carried the soprano parts in the elaborate service music. It is possible to know approximately how many boys would

have been in training in these institutions at any given time. In the Chapel Royal there were twelve boys, while St. George's Chapel, Windsor, housed another ten. In a total of fifteen new foundation and fourteen old foundation cathedrals there were some two hundred spots for boys. The divinity colleges added another sixty or so, and in choir schools attached to collegiate shools such as Eton and Winchester, collegiate churches such as Manchester, Ripon, and Southwell Minster, and parish churches at Ludlow and Newark, there were some sixty-two more places for boy choristers.43

This comes to a total of about three hundred and fifty choristers, for each of whom there would have been a place in a choir school. If the average length of service was something like five years for these boys, perhaps the total number of boys who were educated in choir schools during the reigns of Elizabeth and James would have been about five thousand. The quality of training offered these boys would have varied from one place to another, but in all places they would have been trained to sing, in many places they would have mastered "pricksong" or the maintenance of a part in a polyphonic texture from a notated copy, and in quite a number of places they would have had some instrumental tuition.

The boys were supervised by the Master of the Choristers, who was usually the organist of the institution. He was the individual responsible for engaging them, finding them food, clothing, and shelter, and training them in music and usually in other subjects as well.44 Woodfill comments:

> When the masters did their work well, their choristers received broad and thorough training, both in the ordinary studies of schoolboys and in music.
> 45

He cites a modern organist as being of the opinion that England's best musicians almost without exception have begun their training as choristers in a cathedral choir, and as students in the choir schools.46 Against these statements one must balance the many criticisms which were being made of cathedral music at the time, suggestions that the music was in a state of serious decline.

Alan Smith believes that in most institutions where choral music for the Anglican service was cultivated during the century following the Edwardian Reformation, "conditions of residence, pay and performance were of a very low standard indeed."47 A major problem as he sees the situation is that salaries for church musicians did not keep up with the cost of living. Over the course of Elizabeth's reign inflation caused at least a tripling of prices, but in most places pay was not increased.48 Smith cites a figure slightly under seven pounds as the average annual salary of a cathedral singing man, while the Master of the Choristers would have received about ten pounds for himself and half the stipend of a singing man for the maintenance of each of the choristers in his care.49

Needless to say, where pay scales were fixed and the rate of inflation was high, the standard of living of the musicians must have gone down considerably over the whole period. As the standard of living went down, the morale and the standards of

performance probably both suffered. There are various reports of irresponsible conduct on the part of choristers, singing men, and masters throughout the period.

Thomas Weelkes was engaged as organist and choirmaster at Chichester Cathedral from ca.1601; from about 1616 he was repeatedly in trouble with the cathedral administrators for disorderly conduct, and was said by William Lawes in 1619 to be commonly drunk and disruptive during service.50 Morley found that despite a composer's best efforts to write fine music for the church, it rarely was performed effectively, for "most of our churchmen, so they can cry louder in the choir than their fellows, care for no more...."51 Singing men at St. Paul's, by the admission of one of them in 1598, were in the habit of arriving late for service and then leaving early, while many in the choir talked loudly among themselves during the congregational psalm singing.52 Harris quotes a former singing boy on the comportment of his kind:

> It is not so long sens I was one of them myself, but I can remember what shrewness was used among them which I will not speak of now....But I cannot let this pass untouched how boyyshly thei behave themselves in church, how rashly they come into quire without any reverence; never knele down or countenaunce to say a prayer or Pater-noster, but rudely squat down on their tayles and justle myth their felows for a place; a non thei startes me out of the quire agayne and out agayne, and thus one after an other, I cannot tell how oft nor wherfor, but only to gadd and gas abrode, and so cum in agayne and crosse the quere from one side to another an never rest, without any order, and never serve God nor our Lady with mattyns or with evyn song no more than thei of the grammer scoles; whose behaviour is in the temple as it were in ther scole ther master beying absent and not in the Church God being

present. 53

Though Elizabeth and James after her encouraged the cultivation of elaborate service music, many of the bishops within the administrative hierarchy of the Church disapproved. This seems to have led to a situation where in some cathedrals the music was barely tolerated, and then only for the sake of adherence to the monarch's wishes. One anyonymous pamphleteer, looking back on the years of the greatest turmoil, suggested that the ministers communicated their abhorrence of the music to the parishioners, and encouraged them to remain outside during the choral part of the service, only coming in for the sermon and psalm singing.54 By the turn of the century the church musicians were becoming discouraged enough that they were said to gladly "betake themselves to the service of gentlemen for meat and drink and four or five pounds a year."55

If the ambient conditions were so poor, the situation in the choir schools was probably not always conducive to the best training being had by the choristers. Chappell, probably drawing on the anonymous author just cited, speaks of a contemporary assertion that music education was being ignored, and that where there were sixteen, twelve, or ten choristers, possibly four at best could sing.56 However, in some instances the work of the cathedral choirmasters must have been well done, for there are also contemporary descriptions of cathedral music being well performed. Smith suggests that at some parish churches outside of the centres of the strongest Puritan influence, it was also possible to find the music being maintained at a reasonably

satisfactory level.57

Smith has amassed a sizable body of data on personalities and conditions of work in the church music field during the reign of Elizabeth. The following names have turned up in his research as having functioned as choirmaster and song school master:

Walter Cleeson---(Bristol: 1571-93)
William Colbeck--(Southwell: 1586-94)
Thomas Cope------(Ludlow: ca. 1568-78)
John Cope--------(Ludlow: ca. 1578-85)
George Fishburn--(Newark: 1586-1633)
T. Foster--------(Southwell: 1584-86)
John Harrison----(Ludlow: 1585-93)
Robert Kirkby----(Newark: 1541-1573?)
Edward Manesty---(Newark: ca.1590-96)
(Southwell: 1596-1622)
Henry Mudd-------(St. Dunstan-in+the-West,
London: 1580-86)
Peter Newcombe---(Newark: 1590-ca.1595)
Nowell-----------(St. Thomas, Salisbury: 1569-70)
George Pringle---(Ludlow: from 1697)
Anthony Prynne---(out of Bristol St. Ewen, to
Bristol Cathedral: 1572-74)
George Thetford--(Southwell: 1568-82)
John Trueman-----(possible sometime as master,
Ludlow: ca.1561-1576) 58

All these names occur in Smith's article, "Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I." The dates and place names identify their periods of service as song school masters. Bristol is Bristol Cathedral rather than a parish church. Southwell is Southwell Minster Church, later Southwell Cathedral. Ludlow and Newark are the parish churches already mentioned as having maintained choir schools.
St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London, and St. Thomas, Salisbury, evidently are sites of parish choir schools with which Le Huray was not familiar.

To the above list might be added the following names, all

sometime members of the Chapel Royal, and mentioned as having served there or elsewhere as master of the choristers in Smith's article, "The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I":

William Blitheman--(Christ Church, Oxford: 1564)

John Bull----------(Hereford Cathedral: 1582-85)
William Byrd-------(Lincoln Cathedral: 1563-72)
Richard Edwards----(Chapel Royal: 1561-66)
Richard Farrant----(St. George's Chapel, Windsor: 1564-1580 or 1581)
Nathaniel Giles----(Worcester Cathedral: 1581-85)
(St. George's Chapel, Windsor: 1585-1633)
(Chapel Royal: 1597-1633)
William Hunnis-----(Chapel Royal: 1566-97)
Thomas Maddocks----(Hereford Cathedral: 1589)
Thomas Morley------(Norwich Cathedral: 1582-1586)
(St. Paul's: 1586-1600?)
Edward Pearce------(St. Paul's: after 1600)
George Waterhouse--(Lincoln Cathedral: 1588) 59

These lists are not necessarily comprehensive listings of all the church musicians who were engaged at some time as masters of the choir, but they do include all the individuals I have seen named in connection with this line of work. They are given here partly to buttress a point concerning the choirmasters in the period in question. From some of the comments cited above it is easy to get the impression that church music and the choir schools in the period under examination were in a shambles. Looking at the lengths of service of the men whose names appear here, the average in the first list is about 12.6 years, and in the second

list about 15.6. Surely if the work being done was universally unsatisfactory there would have been a more rapid turnover of personnel. If a George Fishburn could work for 37 years as master of the choir at Newark, an Edward Manesty for 26 years at Southwell, William Hunnis for 31 years at the Chapel royal, or Nathaniel Giles for 48 years at St. George's Chapel and the Chapel Royal, their work must have been judged more than satisfactory by their employers.

Records from St. George's Chapel, Windsor show the master of the choristers in 1550 was to teach his charges writing, reading, behaviour, and religion for four hours each day, with the rest of the day being given over to musical study.60 In 1585 Nathaniel Giles was appointed to the job, and his responsibilities included teaching the choristers "the knowledge of music... in singing, prickSong, descant, and such as be apt to the instruments."61 The instruments ordinarily intended in such instances seem to have been the organ or the virginals, but in a number of situations other instruments were also taught, including viol.

Children in the Chapel Royal began studying viol sometime in the mid 1540's. Woodfield says that Thomas Brown, appointed to the King's MusicK for the viol in 1554, probably began his study of the instrument in the Chapel Royal while a boy chorister there, and Thomas Kent, King's Musician for the viol from 1549, also began his study of the instrument in the Chapel Royal.62 Children at the Chapel Royal were joined by those at Westminster and St. Paul's: Woodfield indicates that the instrument was well-established at all three of these institutions by mid-sixteenth century.63

The choir schools at the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey seem to have been the places where the teaching of viol to children was pioneered. It is not clear to what extent the instruments may have been used within the context of the musical service. Le Huray thinks their use would have been very rare:

> Viols may well have been played by cathedral musicians, but rather for their private recreation than for the daily services: certainly there are no instrumental parts in any of the extant pre-Restoration "liturgical" sources. 64

The viol-playing children may have exhibited their instrumental skills in exclusively secular activities, performing for social occasions such as dinners and receptions, and in plays. During the middle years of the sixteenth century they played viols and sung at:

> May Day celebrations, coronation festivities, public pageants, weddings, and above all at the annual election feasts of important City companies. 65

Choristers at Ely Cathedral evidently began to study the viol by 1567 at the latest, and perhaps not too long afterwards their counterparts at Lincoln Cathedral followed suit, judging from a 1594 record of a purchase of viol strings for the chapter at Lincoln.66 The Master of the Choristers of Peterborough Cathedral was teaching viol from 1614.67 Trinity College, supposedly the richest of the divinity colleges, bought a set of viols and strings and had repairs effected to other instruments in its collection in 1595-96.68 Viols may have been used in the training

of the Trinity choirboys, though this is simple conjecture. Viols were reported as an accompaniment to service music at Exeter Cathedral, in 1634-35, and the teaching of viol to the choristers was included among the duties of their Master from 1637.69 It is not fanciful to suppose that the children there may have been learning the instrument some time before it was mentioned as being among the teaching duties of the choirmaster, since the instruments had been heard in the Cathedral already.

Viols may have been taught in other choir schools, but the cases of the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's, and Westminster seem to be unique for the scale upon which this was done. Woodfield feels that the performances of the boys from these schools on viol, starting around the mid-point of the sixteenth century, contributed enormously to the later success of the instrument.70 By the time Elizabeth mounted the throne in 1558, a generation of viol-playing choristers was graduating from the three schools; their public appearances playing the instruments had become fairly common. Undoubtedly these appearances would have had an effect on the public taste--as the taste for the instrument developed, a body of highly-trained players and potential teachers was being cultivated in the choirboys.

Mainstays in the choristers' repertoire were probably In Nomines and consort songs.71 Philip Brett notes that the term "consort song" was not in common use before the early seventeenth century, but the vehicle itself was a feature of the plays and concerts put on by choirboys in the 1550's and 1560's.72 Various explanations have been advanced for the sudden growth of the In Nomine at mid-century, but Woodfield may have as much merit as

anyone in intimating that the needs of the choirboy players motivated a body of young composers who rivalled each others' best efforts to fill the gap.73 As another possible link between the viol and the music education of the period, it is interesting to read suggestions that composers sought to master techniques of polyphonic composition through the cultivation of In Nomines, and that this activity prepared the ground for the flowering of the later Elizabethan and Jacobean fancy.74

III--Psalm Singing and its Influence on Music Education and Viol Playing

One of the most obvious effects of the Reformation on the musical life of the English is the fashion that developed for Psalm singing. Among the early leaders of the Protestant movement Luther was undoubtedly the most favourably inclined towards music.75 Luther's influence on the musical life of the English after the start of the Reformation may have been most evident not in the kind of music that was heard in the service, but in the fact that musical devotions became more and more common as a part of family life. Luther evidently looked on the family as the true seat of education; by extension the family life of the individual was seen as the cradle of the new church and of a new civilization.76 However, it was Calvin who exercised the more immediate influence over the English intellectuals who waited out the years of Mary Tudor's reign in Geneva, and came back to help shape the policies of the Anglican church under Elizabeth. Calvin approved of psalm singing as a musical expression of faith, both in the context of the church service and as an aspect of family

life at home.77

Psalm books became the most common type of music books to be printed in England shortly after the appearance of the first psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins.78 The practice of including a preface with instructions for reading music probably played a very large part in the development of musical literacy among the English.79 In Price's estimation, the impact of the prefaces was greatest among the lower and middle classes, who could not afford private tuition in music.80 From 1572 on a German method of four-note sol-fa replaced a more complicated system of sight-reading which had been described in previous editions.81 By the 1590's harmonised versions of the psalter were becoming common, and these probably represented the initiation of many among the English commoners to singing in consort.82

Admittedly the tradition of psalm singing as it developed in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can have had but an indirect influence on the cultivation of viol-playing skills. However, the singing of psalms, both in unison and in harmonised versions, as an aspect of the domestic life of the English commonality, probably played a role of critical importance in preparing the ground for the later cultivation of the madrigal and the instrumental consort by amateurs.

Congregational psalm-singing seems to have eclipsed the importance of choral music in the church service to a considerable extent, wherever the influence of Calvin and the reformers was greatest, despite the interest of Elizabeth in maintaining a choral component to the service. In this sense the widespread use of congregational psalm-singing obviated the need for a broadbased

system of choir schools after the start of the Reformation. By the same token, as psalm-singing spread the position of the singing men and boys who had provided the church music became more and more insecure. However, here the influence on music education was somewhat mixed: church musicians and former church musicians began looking for other work, either to supplement the dwindling real value of their incomes, or to replace incomes which disappeared altogether with the reorganisation of the service music. Many may have found new work as tutors of music in private homes. Thomas Whythorne complained in his Autobiography of the pitiful state of church music, but indicated that former organists and singing men were being employed by gentlemen who followed the counsel of Elyot and Castiglione in retaining music tutors.83

The popularity of psalm-singing may also have exercised some influence over the development of the sacred consort song and consort anthem beginning about the middle of the sixteenth century, and the devotional songs which were a feature of the collections for voices and viols published after the start of the seventeenth century.84 Price sees domestic music as developing in importance after the 1530's, and absorbing psalm-singing. He seems to believe that the amateur use of instrumental music was not common until relatively late in the sixteenth century, whereas amateurs were singing psalms well before this.85 This would suggest rather that the amateur singing of psalms, common from the middle of the sixteenth century on, was expanded to become the amateur cultivation of instrumental music. Price writes that the viol consort and consort song gained in popularity among private families after the start of the seventeenth century, "perhaps

because the string consort was an ideal way for the gentleman to participate privately in the chamber music of his own household."86 The gentleman and the common man alike may first have participated in domestic music in the context of psalm-singing, condoned by Calvin and popularised in England by the publication of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter. It may have been through the psalter prefaces that the amateur first began to acquire some degree of musical literacy.87

IV--Influence of the Catholic Recusants on Viol Consorts and Music Education

One of the effects of the English Reformation was the drawing together of the remaining Catholic or recusant community into a tightly-knit circle which functioned as a kind of secret society. Members of this group could not practice their religion openly, so they met in secret in each other's homes to conduct their worship services. In many cases they seem to have made special arrangements for the provision of a musical component to these meetings, arrangements which included the patronizing of professional musicians as teachers, composers, and performers. Price suggests that the musical patronage exercised by the recusant community was of an importance far beyond what one might expect, if one considers only their proportional representation among the English population as a whole.88

A number of very prominent musicians and aristocrats were among the recusants, and many of these seem to have been attracted

to the viol. Among recusant patrons might be mentioned Henry Fitzalan, the Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law, Lord Lumley. These two men were successively lords of the manor of Nonesuch, with its vast collection of instruments including forty-one viols. Fitzalan is supposed to have been the leading figure among the members of the nobility who formed a powerful if covert Catholic party in England. A private chapel was maintained at Nonesuch, where the choristers would have been thoroughly trained in music. After the model of the leading London choir schools, their training would probably have included instruction in viol-playing.89

Other recusants who maintained private chapels may be mentioned, including William Howard, the Duke of Norfolk; Sir William Petre; and Sir Thomas Kytson.90 Howard and Petre both obtained sets of viols in 1550, Kytson in 1575.91 Carpenter mentions Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, as another noble who provided choristers with musical training in a private chapel.92 Percy's family had been Catholic, but Simon believes that he had been raised Protestant.93 Kerman, however, refers to Percy as a patron of Byrd, in such a was as to make him appear to be a Catholic.94

Evidence that the recusant community may have regarded favourably the training of children on viols can be seen in a surviving document which describes the education of students at an English Jesuit college in France in the early seventeenth century. Written by the headmaster of the college, Fr. Giles Schondonch, it describes four kinds of music, among which the first to be mentioned is music for a consort of viols, in which young people

"should be carefully trained."95 Edwards believes that the viols were used by the students as a study vehicle for interpreting the polyphonic instrumental repertoire composed about mid-sixteenth century, especially In Nomines. The viols, says Edwards,

> seem to have been used there for the training of young people, the suggestion being that they were the best instruments for the execution of a repertory compiled for educational purposes rather than for display.
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> 96

In Edwards's view the In Nomines were probably used very widely for training for the ability to hold a part in a polyphonic texture. This seems to have been done either by playing them on instruments, which was almost certainly the original intent of the composers, or by solfaing them, which means of realisation seems to have become more and more common as the sixteenth century progressed.97 It will be remembered that the Puritan party was predisposed to unison congregational singing in church, but the Catholic party seems to have retained a preference for polyphonic motets as part of their service music. The Catholic gentlemen may have recognized in the In Nomine a vehicle which could be pressed into the service of the musical needs of their religion, through fulfilling an important educational function. The In Nomine seems to have been cultivated originally as a training vehicle, both for the training of young composers in the writing of polyphony, and for the training of young choristers in the reading of it. In later decades the recusants may have continued to use In Nomines for the purposes of training for the ability to read polyphony. In their case this ability was valuable as a potential adjunct to the worship service.

I have not been able to determine whether the St. Omer college was in any way typical of other Jesuit colleges. A reference in an article on the Schondonch document suggests, however, that St. Omer may have been somewhat of a special case in the extraordinarily high quality of the musical education received by its students. McCabe records an observation made by a member of another Jesuit college in Liege, that after several senior students from St. Omer transferred to Liege, the service music at the latter institution showed remarkable improvement.98

There is some reason to believe that members of the St. Omer community did not normally play viols in the context of the religious service, since Schondonch recommended wind instruments for this function. Curiously, he made specific recommendations for the use of wind instruments and of the mixed consort at receptions of important personages, in the theatre, and in worship services, but did not specify times when the students were to employ their training on the viol.99 This may lend support to Warren's hypothesis that the viol was used primarily for pedagogical purposes, after which the training was turned to other uses and perhaps applied to other instruments.

Just as many of the English gentry seem to have sent their children abroad to be educated in Jesuit colleges, it seems that a number of Jesuit missionaries were active in the closing decades of the sixteenth century on English soil, trying to reclaim the devotion of the nobility to the church of Rome.100 Price offers a special perspective on this activity, suggesting that recusants may frequently have taken refuge in the guise of music tutors, so as to escape prosecution for recusancy or vagrancy.101 It is easy

to picture the development of a self-perpetuating circle, where Catholics who had received particularly full musical training, whether at home or abroad, passed this on to others of their own kind.

Much of the repertoire for viol consort has come down to us in the form of manuscripts, and it is of interest to find that recusants may have been more active in the copying of music in manuscript form than were their Protestant counterparts. One example of activity in this area is the anthology compiled by Francis Tregian. Price believes that Tregian's manuscripts may have been copied for the purpose of recording the musical preferences of the recusant community.102 He sees a mixture of English and Italian madrigals and consort works all occupying important places in the manuscripts, writing:

> Indeed it is this easy co-existence of one musical form with another which so characterised the preservation and composition of both secular and religious music under the grim necessities of Roman Catholic patronage. Few, apart from imprisoned or persecuted recusants, had the patience or the need to anthologise on such a large scale, a scale which gives the impession that there were more Roman Catholic than Protestant musical patrons among the Elizabethan quality.
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> 103

Tregian opened his home to the use of Catholics for their clandestine services, and it is certain that at these regular meetings fine music would have formed part of the proceedings.104

A somewhat similar case is that of Edward Paston. In Brett's estimation, Paston ranks with Henry Fitzalan and William Heather as among the most important of early musical antiquarians.105

Where other collectors such as the Kytson and Petre families were motivated out of a practical interest in the music, Brett writes that Paston differed in his aims to some extent, and made his selections based on a historical interest in the music.106 Nevertheless, Paston was a practising musician who also hosted the recusants for regular meetings at his country home in Norfolk, and his manuscripts probably give some idea of the kind of music that would have been performed there.107 Included among the musicians who may have regularly attended at Paston's: Thomas Morley, Osbert Parsley, Richard Carlton, William Cobbold, and William Byrd.108 Kerman indicates that Paston's collection alone may include about a third of all the surviving manuscripts from the period.109 These leaves contain many compositions for viol consort.

In order to balance the picture somewhat, it is worth mentioning that manuscript copying was going on in Protestant homes as well. One individual who was active as a copyist was Thomas Myriell. In his study of the repertoire for voices and viols of the period, Monson indicates his belief that Myriell was decidedly not a member of the recusant community. In Myriell's monumental Tristitiae Remedium are included several Latin motets. Monson explains these inclusions in the Anglican churchman's manuscript, saying:

> Given Myriell's serious, discriminating musical outlook, he would quite naturally turn to this time-honoured genre, though obviously not from any underlying crypto-Catholic leanings. The Jacobeans' cultivation of the motet does not imply any special liturgical intent, but rather an abiding interest in what was traditionally regarded as the most

elevated musical form. 110

In my statement of purpose at the outset of this paper, I indicated that I would not examine in detail the part played by consort songs and consort anthems, or of madrigals or other vocal genre sometimes realised on viols, in the music education of the period. At this point it is interesting, however, to consider the number of printed volumes of music which appeared in the first three decades or so of the seventeenth century, containing the performance indication that they were for to be performed by voices and/or viols. In the collection published by Stainer and Bell of London under the general heading The English Madrigalists appear the following titles, each of which bears some variation on this theme:

T. Weelkes, Madrigals of 5 and 6 Parts (1600)
M. East, First Set of Madrigals (1604)
M. East, Second Set of Madrigals (1606)
M. East, Third Set of Books (1610)
M. East, Fourth Set of Books (1618)
R. Alison, An Howres Recreation (1606)(for instruments and voices)
R. Jones, First Set of Madrigals (1607)
J. Wilbye, Second Set of Madrigals (1609)
W. Byrd, Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets (1611)
O. Gibbons, First Set of Madrigals and Motets (1612)
H. Lichfield, Madrigals of 5 Parts (1613)
J. Ward, First Set of Madrigals (1613)
T. Bateson, Second Set of Madrigals (1618)
T. Vautor, Songs of Divers Airs and Natures (1619)
F. Pilkington, Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals (1624)

These titles would certainly all have been issued in the hope of attracting a large public, and I do not mean to suggest that they were aimed primarily at a recusant buyership. However, from the dedications it seems that people with sympathies towards Catholics figured largely in the composers selection of recipients

of their dedications, which in itself suggests either that the recusants may have commissioned works from the composers, or otherwise aided them, or that the composers hoped to obtain some form of patronage or protection from their dedicatees. (Incidentally, I am assuming that these volumes form a continuum with other collections which were issued about the same time, but did not contain the performance direction, "For voices and viols." The inclusion of this direction on the title page of the 1600 collection by Weelkes probably just recognized a practice that had already begun among some members of London society, and the absence of the direction from some later collections of madrigals, airs, or more serious songs, in no way suggests that viols might not have been used in the realization of the works in these collections.)

John Wilbye dedicated a set of 1598 to Charles Cavendish, and his Second Set of 1609 to Lady Arabella Stuart, a relative of Cavendish. Both these figures seem to have had ties to the recusant community, and their family had long been Catholic.111 Christopher Hatton, an intimate of Queen Elizabeth, also figured as a recipient of a dedication, by no less a figure than William Byrd in his 1588 Psalmes, Sonnets, and Songs. Hatton was suspected of recusancy throughout his long and convoluted career at court.112 Byrd dedicated his 1589 Songs of Sundrie Natures to Sir Henry Carey, Baron of Hunsdon. While it is not certain that Carey was Catholic, his son, the second Baron of Hunsdon, is said by Price to have intervened in order to prevent the prosecution of Lady Kytson for recusancy.113 This second Baron Hunsdon, Sir George Carey, patronised Thomas Morley and John Dowland, both of

whom Price says leaned towards Catholicism.114 The recipient of the dedication of Byrd's Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets (1611), Francis Clifford, was Protestant, though this in itself would not necessarily have prevented him from intervening on behalf of a Catholic composer at court.115 John Ward's First Set of Madrigals of 1613 was dedicated to Sir Henry Fanshawe, in whose home Ward evidently was retained as a house musician.116 Fanshawe is said to have denied that he was a Catholic before he died, but suspicions had long been roused against him, and his disclaimer probably did little to convince those who would accuse him.117

Perhaps these few references will suffice as examples of the links between suspected recusants or Catholic sympathisers and some of the leading English composers of the period. Certainly there were a number of notable Protestant patrons as well, but it seems clear that the Catholics played a large role in fostering the growth of music for viols and voices. The performance of madrigals and more serious "songs of pietie and praise" to the accompaniment of the consort of viols evidently became a part of the domestic music of a number of families. This was no doubt the result in part of the teaching of viols in certain wealthy homes, and created a great demand for instruction on the instrument on a wider scale. Just possibly, much of the push came through the inclusion of the viols in the devotional music of the recusant circle, or through the training of their children on viols.

The growth of the demand for viols as part of domestic music was undoubtedly due to some other causes as well. One which might be mentioned in passing was the use of viols to interpret Italian madrigals in place of singing them, a practice which seems to have

become somewhat common during the closing decades of the sixteenth century. Kerman writes of this approach:

> The purely musical characteristics of the madrigal, to which Pepys objected, no doubt most fascinated English musicians, and a striking proportion of Elizabethan manuscript copies of them lack words altogether, and were apparently considered "apt for viols."
> 118

This practice would no doubt have been in use to some extent in the home of Nicholas Yonge, publisher in 1588 of Musica Transalpina. Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom Yonge dedicated the anthology, had a collection of viols among his personal effects from at least 1605, possibly from 1590 or earlier.119 Judging from the list of Talbot's personal connections which appears in Price, he may have been part of the recusant community. He married Mary Cavendish, of an old Catholic family, and one of their daughters married the second Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard, grandson of Henry Fitzalan.120 Yonge was a layclerk at St. Paul's, but might he also have been secretly Catholic? The inclusion of two madrigals by William Byrd in Musica Transalpina would suggest that Yonge enjoyed close ties with that noted Catholic composer. It would seem at least possible that the circle who met regularly at Yonge's London home may have been drawn together in part out of religious sympathy.

The mention of Byrd brings us to another likely source of the growing interest in viols at the turn of the century. Byrd had been one of the chief figures in the circle of young composers who cultivated In Nomines at the midpoint of the sixteenth century. He was also active in the composition of consort songs from

mid-century, and may have originated the form of the verse anthem. Kerman writes:

> He found the English song in the 1580's in a dishevelled state and pulled it together to produce a rich and extensive repertory of consort songs, a form that was very personal to Byrd and found no serious imitators. Its influence on the lute air, however, was palpable, and an offshoot of the consort song, the verse anthem, might be said to constitute Byrd's most lasting legacy to English music, in the sense that other composers could and did follow his lead and the music was sung widely during his lifetime and after it.
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> 121

The consort song and the verse anthem were both genres which required cadres of well-trained and well-equipped musicians to interpret them. Musicologists differ on the extent to which verse anthems might have been performed with viol accompaniment in church. However it seems more than likely that where gentlemen maintained private chapels, with trained singers and instrumentalists to hand, verse anthems would have been regular components in the order of service, and consort songs have figured regularly in the secular entertainment. Hearing viols in the context of these formations, the gentlemen and gentlewomen so exposed must have acquired a taste for the sound of the instruments alone in consort. By the turn of the century significant numbers of them seem to have begun seeking personal instruction in playing techniques. Since the chapels where exposure occurred were in many instances bound to be Catholic, again it seems likely that much of the impetus for the cultivation of viol consorts grew out of the recusant community.

Notes for Chapter Three

1 Watson, p.10.

2 Watson, p.11.

3 Simon, p.34.

4 Harris, p.110.

5 Harris, p.113.

6 Watson, p.13.

7 Harris, p.111.

8 Ascham, cited in Woodfill, p.212-214, and in Rainbow, p.2.

9 Simon, p.162.

10 Simon, p.73, tells of the foundation of St. Paul's school in London in the first decade of the century under Colet, who put in place a humanist programme and chose a body of lay administrators rather than clerics, because he felt the former group exhibited "less corruption" than others (presumably including members of the clergy). Lily, both a layman and married, was Colet's choice for the job of head master. St. Paul's was later used as a model for the founding of other leading schools. The administrators were chosen from the members of a City company, the Mercers.

11 Simon, p.223.

12 Simon, p.239.

13 Harris, pp.111,120.

14 MacKerness, p.49.

15 Watson, pp.205,218.

16 The school at Christ's Hospital is mentioned in several sources. I am drawing mostly from Simon, p.239.

17 Harris, discussing the school on pp.121-122, believes that the music master may have taught one or more other subjects besides music.

18 Chappell, p.98, and Harris, pp.121-122.

19 The starting salary I quote is given in Watson, p.214. Watson says the 1609 pay raise put the salary up to 16 pounds. Raynor, p.137, says the initial salary was 4 pounds, the

augmentation in 1608 to 20 pounds. Bruce Pattison, in Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance (London: Methuen and Co.,1970), p.11, gives a figure of two pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence as the starting salary in 1552. He believes the appointment was only for a part-time master.

20 Watson, p.214, says that the gift of books and instruments came shortly after 1608, and doesn't identify the benefactor, though he does give the name of Robert Dow as the source of the funds for the pay raise. Raynor, p.137, indicates Dow provided the pay raise, and also the gift of the books and the instruments. Price, p.37, gives the number of students to be trained on the instruments. With the pay increase, says Price, the school was able to engage John Farrant as music master. Farrant was probably related to Daniel Farrant, who was member of the King's Musick for viols from 1607 to 1642. (Dates are given in the "Lists of the King's musicians" printed in the Musical Antiquary.) Price cites the article by Edwards, "Music at Christ's Hospital," Musical Times XLVI (1905) as his source. I have seen this source and found it disappointing for the little information it contains on the status of music at the school during the period under consideration. The article covers the period from the school's founding up to the start of the twentieth century, but is sketchy on the early days. In the New Grove article on Thomas Brewer, by Ian Spinks, it says that Brewer was a student at Christ's Hospital ca.1614-1626. Brewer was later a composer for viols and a house musician to Nicholas LeStrange. See also Dodd, "Thematic Index of Music for Viols," p.19, for more information on Brewer and his compositions for viol.

21 Harris, p.111.

22 Harris, p.120.

23 Harris. p.121. Some subjects were offered at an extra charge to the student, making them affordable only to the sons of gentlemen or the more wealthy yeomen farmers. Writing here probably meant fine handwriting. Simon, p.364, gives a few of the extra subjects that might be had, and on p.356, note 1, she cites records showing one student at Grays's Inn was paying 10 shillings a month for singing lessons in 1594.

24 Harris, p.121.

25 Harris, p.120.

26 Harris, p.121.

27 Watson, p.215.

28 Watson, p.214, Chappell, p.98.

29 Watson, p.215, Price pp.38-39.

30 Price, p.36.

31 Simon, p.313.

32 Simon, p.364.

33 Price, p.39.

34 Simon, p.385, note 2.

35 Price, p.36.

36 Simon, p.372, note 2.

37 Simon, p.397.

38 Simon, p.398, and Watson, p.350.

39 Scholes, in Puritans and Music (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962). Looking for evidence to support the charge that the Puritans were anti-music, he finds there is "pretty decidedly none!" See p.302.

40 Raynor, pp.138-139.

41 Le Huray, p.16.

42 Le Huray comments that the inner circle who wielded true power during the reign of Edward VI were somewhat ill disposed towards polyphonic music in church, and that in a sense the early death of Edward with its consequent, the passage of the crown to Mary Tudor, may have prevented the eventual destruction of the polyphonic service. See pp.28-29 of his text.

43 Peter Le Huray, pp.14-17. The figures given here for choristers at cathedrals include those at institutions in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as well as England. Of the twenty-nine cathedrals listed in Le Huray, twenty-two were within England's boundaries. Compare Alan Smith, "Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I," PRMA, 94 (1967-68), p.28.

44 For tasks of the Master of the Choristers, see for example Alan Smith, "The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals," pp.40-42.

45 Woodfill, p.144.

46 Woodfill, p.143.

47 Smith,"Cultivation of Music," p.37.

48 Smith, "Cultivation of Music," p.42.

49 Smith, "Cultivation of Music," p.42.

50 Walter S. Collins, "Recent Discoveries Concerning the

Biography of Thomas Weelkes," Music and Letters, 44 (1963), pp.124,130-31.

51 Morley, cited in Le Huray, p.44.

52 Le Huray, p.43.

53 Harris, p.119. Judging from the reference to "Our Lady," the citation may derive from the time of Mary Tudor, or perhaps before the Edwardian Reformation. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of many complaints concerning the behaviour of choristers, both adult and child, from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

54 Cited in Le Huray, p.37.

55 Cited in Woodfill, p.68. He identifies the source as an anonymous church musician from the Jacobean period. Probably the source is the same document cited by Le Huray concerning the ministers' having actively discouraged their parishioners from listening to the choral music. Le Huray gives his source as British Museum, Royal MS. 18.B.XIX. Le Huray gives the cautionary note that the author of the pamphlet "undoubtedly overstated his case."

56 Chappell, p.401.

57 Smith,"Parish Church Musicians in the Reign of Elizabeth I." p.42.

58 This list has been put together using information drawn entirely from Smith's article, "Parish Church Musicians." See the entries under each of the names reproduced here.

59 Smith, "The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal." See the entries under each of the names reproduced here.

60 Woodfill, p.144.

61 Woodfill, p.144.

62 Woodfield, pp.208-209.

63 Woodfield, p.212.

64 Le Huray, p.128.

65 Woodfield, p.214.

66 Woodfield, p.216.

67 Woodfield, p.216.

68 Trinity is said to have been about twice as wealthy as its nearest competitor--see Simon, p.251. For the reference to

Trinity's purchse of viols, Carpenter, p.194.

68 Le Huray cites a description of service music made by a Lieutenant Hammond in the course of a tour of English cathedrals in 1634-35. At Exeter Hammond had high praise for the music, including "viols and other sweet instruments." The reference can be seen on p.120 of Le Huray. Woodfield notes that the Master there was charged to teach viol to the choristers in 1637.

70 Woodfield, p.218.

71 Woodfield, pp.217-219.

72 Philip Brett, ed. Consort Songs, Musica Brittannica XXII (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), p.xv.

73 Woodfield, p.218.

74 Oliver Neighbour, The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p.27, and Raymond Vaught, The Fancies of Alfonso Ferrabosco (Dissertation, Stanford, 1958, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979), pp. 71-72. Neighbour sees strong links between the cultivation of the In Nomine form and the training of young composers of the day. Vaught suggests that the skills they gained through writing In Nomines allowed the subsequent development of the fancy. Meyer, pp. 87-90, thinks the composers turned to writing In Nomines as a creative activity when the market for polyphonic motets dried up as a result of the Reformation. He sees it as a simple step from the In Nomine to the fancy, where the main difference is the lack of a cantus firmus in the latter. Monson, in Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650, pp. 50-52, sees the mid-centiry In Nomine as a kind of challenge piece which young composers cultivated in friendly competition with each other. Of those for three voices he writes, "In England textless 3-part composition was regarded mainly as a vehicle for technical exercise, taking the form of studies in rhythm and proportion for sight-reading practice, or 2-part canons at various intervals upon a cantus firmus, such as composition students were required to construct."

75 Raynor, p.109, quotes Luther: "The noble art of music is, as God's word declares, the highest of earthly treasures. It rules all thoughts and senses, the heart and the temperament."

76 Watson, p.218: "Luther's insistence on family life became a basis of education and was as fruitfully realized in Puritan England as in Germany. The progress of Music as an art, in England, was not scholastic but domestic. Examples of musical practice are therefore not mainly to be found in school statutes and records but in biographies of individuals, and particularly in the families of the later sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries."

77 Scholes, p.xviii.

78 Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.46-47, writes that psalm books were "the most popular musical genre in print in the sixteenth century." Le Huray gives the date of the first Sternhold psalter as 1549, with a re-issue the same year containing some additional psalms translated by Hopkins. (Le Huray, p.372.) Sternhold was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI--psalm-singing was very popular among the circle who exercised power at court during the reign of the young King. Le Huray, also on p.372, notes that the first edition of Sternhold and Hopkins to include music was printed in 1556 at Geneva. Le Huray discusses the numerous editions that flooded the English market over the succeeding decades, on pp.372-385 of his text. On p.376 the following figures are given for the number of editions to appear during particular time-spans, along with the comment that at least one reprint or new edition appeared every year up to 1640: 1560-1579: 20 or more editions; 1580-1599: over 45 editions; 1600-1620: some 65 editions; 1620-1640: something over 100 editions. Many of these would have been reworkings of the same basic material, by other authors or composers. For example Thomas Ravenscroft's 1621 Whole Book of Psalmes was a version containing harmonisations by a variety of composers. See Le Huray, p.382.

79 Many of these prefaces can be found collected in Bernard Rainbow, English Psalmody Prefaces: Popular Methods of Teaching 1562-1835 (Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press, 1982).

80 Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.46-47.

81 Rainbow, p.4.

82 Le Huray says the first harmonised psalter appeared ca.1563, with subsequent versions in 1579 and 1585. A 1592 version included harmonisations by Alison, Dowland, Farmer, and Cavendish. See Le Huray, pp.376-380.

83 Whythorne, pp.204-205.

84 The development of all three genres are traced in Craig Monson, Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650. See also Woodfield, pp.218-221.

85 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.154, remarks upon the intensive development of domestic music after the 1530's, including a comment that domestic music absorbed psalm singing. In his article "The Elizabethan Household and its Musical Education," he indicates that domestic music had assumed a position of primary importance in the musical life of the English by the 1590's, having usurped the place of church music in this regard. But in families where musical patronage was common, it was several decades after a tradition of patronage developed before members of the family began to cultivate instrumental skills. Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.15, mentions the Earl of Hertford, Edward Seymour, and his family as a typical case:

Hertford was paying musician retainers in the 1530's, but records of family members taking instrumental tuition begin only in 1582.

86 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.42.

87 The evident importance of the psalter prefaces in the musical education of the English amateur has been mentioned by many writers, including Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.46; Rainbow, his introduction; Carpenter, p.338; and MacKerness, p.57. Walker, p.76, notes that very little music was printed in England between 1530 and 1588, but over the latter half of this period, at least, the printing of psalters became quite common. It seems, then, that the psalters, with their prefatory instructions for sight-reading, were quite commonly available during a period when there was very little other music in print in England. During this time instrumental music may have been largely the province of professionals, but a great many amateurs were probably developing music-reading skills, however rudimentary, through the medium of the popular psalters.

88 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.108.

89 Carpenter mentions the fact that private chapels were places where music training could be had by the choristers who were maintained there. See p.340 of her text. Both Catholic and Protestant nobles maintained their own chapels to some extent, but this would probably have been more common among Catholics than among Protestants after the start of the Reformation. This was so since the state and the church together put pressure on the nobles to dissolve their chapels, so as to ensure uniformity of religious practice. Obviously Catholics would have found it difficult to conform to this ruling. For the story of Henry Fitzalan and the palatial Nonesuch, see Warren, "Music at Nonesuch," Musical Quarterly LIV (1968), pp.47-57. Figures on the size of the instrumental collection appear on p.50. On p.51 Warren writes that Fitzalan was particularly fond of his chapel choir. A funeral eulogist is said to have praised it for its voices and "Instruments so sweet to hear."

90 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.61.

91 Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol, p.211.

92 Carpenter, p.340.

93 Simon, p.346, note 2, mentions that the eighth Earl, Henry's father, was Catholic, but that Henry was supposedly raised a Protestant.

94 Kerman, "Byrd," in the New Grove Dictionary.

95 These words cited by Warwick Edwards, were originally written by Fr. Giles Schondonch, author of the Custom Book of St. Omer and rector of the Jesuit college at St. Omer during the years 1600-1617. See Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in

Elizabethan England," PRMA, 97 (1970-71), p.113. See also W.H. McCabe, "Music and Dance on a 17th Century College Stage," Musical Quarterly, 24 (1938), pp.313-322, for a closer examination of the St. Omer situation. Edwards finds the latter article "misleading" in parts." (Edwards, p.116.)

96 Edwards, "Performance of Ensemble Music," p.116.

97 A manuscript from the latter part of the sixteenth century titled "A book of In Nomines and other solfaing songs of V; VI; VII; and VIII parts for voyces or Instruments" suggests a didactic function for the In Nomine repertoire was envisioned by the compiler of the manuscript, if not by the composers of the repertoire contained in it. For discussion of the manuscript, see Jeremy Noble, "Le repertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585," in Jean Jacquot, ed., La Musique Instrumental de la Renaissance (Paris: CNRS, 1955.) The manuscript in question is British Museum Add. MS. 31390.

98 William H. McCabe, "Music and Dance on a 17th Century College Stage," p.316.

99 Schondonch, cited in McCabe, p.314, liked winds for the reception of important personages and in the theatre, as also in the church service, and found the broken consort "much more delightful" than the homogeneous consort of viols.

100 Simon, p.324.

101 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.156.

102 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.158.

103 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.159.

104 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.157.

105 Phillip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection," in Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society IV (1964-68), pp.51-69.

106 Brett, "Edward Paston," p.51.

107 Brett, "Edward Paston," p.55.

108 Brett, "Edward Paston," p.55.

109 Kerman, "Byrd," in New Grove Dictionary.

110 Craig Monson, Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650 (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1982), p.41-42.

111 See "William Cavendish," in the Dictionary of National Biography for the recusancy of the family, and Price, Patrons and Musicians for the relationship between Wilbye, Cavendish, Lady

Stuart, and the Kytson household.

112 The article on Christopher Hatton in the Dictionary of National Biography notes that he was suspected of recusancy, but suggests that he kept himself at a distance from the religious controversy of the period.

113 David Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.80.

114 See Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.158-159 for Morley, pp.164-166 for Dowland. In these and in similar situations Price rarely goes further than to say that an individual was suspected of being Catholic, or was sympathetic towards Catholics, or leaned towards Catholicism. It is difficult at this remove to positively identify an individual as Catholic, unless they acknowledged being one in their own day, which few were prepared to do. Dowland, of course, spent a considerable amount of time outside of England, presumably in search of religious freedom, among other things. But Morley continued to work in England, notably for St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, so he was much less likely to acknowledge openly the fact if he was a devotee of the outlawed church.

115 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.164, note 4.

116 John Ward, First Set of Madrigals, The English Madrigalists XIX (London: Stainer and Bell), p.iv.

117 Fanshawe, in the Dictionary of National Biography.

118 See for example, Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal, pp.11-12.

119 Price, Patrons and Musicians, pp.102-104.

120 Price, Patrons and Musicians, p.112.

121 Kerman, "Byrd," in New Grove , p.544.

Chapter Four

Three Manuals for Students of the Viols

In this chapter I will consider three works which would have been used by students of the viols in the period under examination. As has been mentioned above, both professional and amateur students would in most instances have studied with a teacher, and the knowledge passed on was considered in many quarters to be a trade secret, so we are in a difficult position when it comes to trying to determine exactly what constituted an education on the instruments. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century, there were a number of published works which addressed themselves in some measure to the problems of students. From these we can get at least some idea what might have gone into the training of players.

It is a reasonable assumption that many students would have made their own copy-books, especially in light of the fact that before 1588 very few pieces of published music were available in England. The printing and sale of manuscript paper was included under the monopoly shared by Tallis and Byrd, and it may have been the only part of the monopoly that was profitable to them. Students would have had occasion to copy much of their material, either from other manuscripts (especially before 1588), or from printed works. In this sense at least, music students during the

Renaissance were probably somewhat more literate than their modern counterparts. However, inherent in this situation are some problems for the present-day student of Elizabethan England, since comparatively little of this hand-copied material can have survived to modern times.

I will focus on three works. The first is an Italian tutor, Regola Rubertina of Sylvestro Ganassi (Venice, 1542, 1543). The second is an English work aimed at students of the lute family primarily, but also supposed to be of service to those who wished to learn viol. This is Thomas Robinson's Schoole of Musicke (London, 1603). Finally, I will look at British Museum Additional Manuscript 15118. The latter is presumably an example of the commonplace book variety of manuscript, which students of the period would normally have kept.

Each of these works will be considered in general terms, and with reference to specific questions, such as: What kinds of technical information are included for the benefit of a beginning student, including instruction on how to tune the instrument, how to sit, use of the hands and bow, and how to decipher the notation? What kinds of exercises, scales, or etudes appear for the purpose of developing a viable playing technique? What solo and consort repertoire is included? Comparisons of the three will be made in passing, and the question of how they illuminate the central problem of this paper will be considered.

Sylvestro Ganassi's Regola Rubertina

Ganassi's tutor appeared in two installments in Venice, in 1542 and 1543.1 Woodfield finds it to be a very important work:

> It far exceeds all other sixteenth century instrumental tutors in the breadth and depth of its coverage and is thus our primary source of information about the viol-playing techniques of the mid-sixteenth century Italian virtuosi. 2

Nevertheless, he doesn't seem to think that Ganassi would have had much direct impact on the English school of viol playing. Despite the fact that the work probably circulated in Northern Europe soon after its release, Woodfield thinks that direct contact between players of the two nationalities would have been the channel of influence.3 Woodfield's point may be valid, but whether they had the work in their possession or not, Italian viol players who went to work at the English court would have been familiar with the playing techniques described in Ganassi, so it presumably can offer some insight into how English students were trained.

Ganassi includes carefully detailed instructions on the most elementary aspects of playing, beginning from how to hold the instrument, and even including instruction on how to select good strings, string the instrument, and tune it. Each of a variety of technical problems is made the subject of a short chapter, as the following list of the opening chapter headings will illustrate:

Chapter 1: How to Hold the Viol
Chapter 2: How to Move when Playing
Chapter 3: What Makes for Excellence in Playing
Chapter 4: How to Handle the Bow
Chapter 5: How to Use the Left Hand
Chapter 6: How to Move the Hands and Arms
Chapter 7: Introducing the Methods of Tuning the Instrument4

Throughout, the author adopts the tone of a tutor who is fond of both his student and his subject. He is very interested that the student should develop a graceful style of playing. At one

point he warns against a playing posture with the instrument held in more of a horizontal than a vertical alignment, apparently a playing position that lute players favoured.4 (A picture of a player in this attitude is included in a famous mural of the family of Sir Henry Unton, in which a viol consort is included. The picture is widely reproduced, it may be seen in the New Grove Dictionary under "masque". Unton was the grandson of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector Somerset, who was mentioned above.)

The following excerpt from Ganassi's instructions on holding the viol will give some idea of his tone and of his careful approach to teaching:

> First of all, care must be taKen to hold the instrument between the Knees so that it remains firmly in place even without the hands to support it, and also so that your Knees do not get in the way of the sweep of the bow. The viol is not held absolutely upright, but at a slight angle, so that you can sit upright while playing and the various movements you maKe do not cause you to move the upper part of your body. If you wish you may bring the neck of the viol nearer the body or move it further away with a light and relaxed movement of the arm and hand; and in fact, you should set out to play with a light touch Keeping both the hand holding the instrument and the bowing hand completely relaxed. 5

Several points as Ganassi presents them differ slightly from what became common in the English school, and these may be summarised here. As Woodfield points out, he prescribes a bow grip with both the index and the middle finger gripping the wood of the bow, whereas Simpson and later English teachers preferred to have only the first finger on the wood, with the middle finger in contact with the bowhair.6 Woodfield also remarKs upon the

fact that Ganassi's pictorial illustration of the correct posture shows a bow grip at the frog, whereas the English school came to prefer a grip slightly up the stick and away from the frog. Woodfield suggests that the latter grip may have evolved as the bow lengthened during the course of the seventeenth century.7 The first prescribed playing position for the left hand is with the index finger at the first fret: this becomes the first position, but Ganassi notes that if necessary the index finger can be placed at the second fret. In both cases, the other fingers lie on adjacent frets, on the principle of one finger, one fret. Woodfield suggests, however, that in light of the fingerings given in subsequent exercises, Ganassi's basic approach to fingering seems to have favoured the placement of the index finger at the second fret.8 For expressive purposes, Ganassi details the possibilities of fingering with the left hand in positions beyond the frets, but these discussions are reserved for the second installment of the method (Lettione Seconda).9 In the case of bowing, Ganassi articulates an approach in accordance with the nature of the instrument, where a bow stroke leading from the tip towards the frog (poussé) is the attack used for emphasis, and the alternate stroke (tiré) is used for upbeats or for weaker attacks. One point of interest is related to the nature of the tablature as set forth in Ganassi: he places the lowest sounding string as the highest line of tablature on the page, in contrast to the French lute tablature adopted by English lutenists and viol-players. Finally, Ganassi speaks about the necessity of reflecting the mood of the music with appropriate body attitudes and gestures, and apparently condones left-hand vibrato and bow tremolo where these

would serve the best interests of the music.10

Most of Ganassi's first volume is taken up with a detailed explanation of the various possibilities for tuning the instruments. The tuning procedure for a solo viol is as one might expect, with adjacent strings in fourths except for a major third between the third and fourth strings. For a bass or treble viol the normal tuning then becomes (from low to high): D G c e a d' (treble an octave higher). A number of different tunings are then given for the viols in consort, based on three "rules" (regola).11 In the first rule, the bass and treble instruments are tuned an octave apart, with the lowest string of the tenor and alto viols tuned a fourth above the lowest string of the bass viol. The tenor and alto are always tuned in unison.12 In the second rule, the soprano is still an octave above the bass, but the tenor and alto are moved up so as to lie a fifth above the bass. The third rule has the tenor and alto again a fourth above the bass, but the soprano is made to tune a fourth above the tenor and alto, or a minor seventh above the bass. In a final rule, the relationships as described for the first rule are maintained, but all the instruments are pitched a fourth lower.13

Ganassi goes on to differentiate three different orders within each rule for tuning, depending on whether B is natural (the first order), B is flat (the second order), or B and E are both to be made flat by musica ficta. He thus derives the tunings which appear on the following page.14

First Order (in which B is natural)

	Bass	Tenor and Alto	Soprano
1st rule	D G c e a d'	G c f a d' g'	d g c' e' a' d"
2nd rule	D G c e a d'	A d g b e' a'	d g c' e' a' d"
3rd rule	D G c e a d'	G c f a d' g'	c f bb d' g' c"
4th rule	(A) D G B e a	(D) G c e a d'	(A) d g b e' a'

Second Order (in which B is flat)

	Bass	Tenor and Alto	Soprano
1st rule	D G c e a d'	G c f a d' g'	d g c' e' a' d"
2nd rule	D G c e a d'	A d g b e' a'	d g c' e' a' d"
3rd rule	D G c e a d'	G c f a d' g'	c f bb d' g' c"
4th rule	(A) D G B e a	(D) G c e a d'	(A) d g b e' a'

Third Order (in which B and E are made flat by musica ficta)

	Bass	Tenor and Alto	Soprano
1st rule	C F Bb d g c'	F Bb eb g c' f'	c f bb d' g' c"
2nd rule	C F Bb d g c'	G c f a d' g'	c f bb d' g' c"
3rd rule	C F Bb d g c'	F Bb eb g c' f'	Bb eb ab c' f' bb
4th rule	(A) D G B e a	(D) G c e a d'	(A) d g b e' a'

Alternative tuning to the third rule, to avoid open B flats!

Bass	Tenor and Alto	Soprano
E A d f# b e	A d g b e' a'	d g c' e' a' d"

One might well wonder why so many different tuning systems were considered necessary. Apparently the explanation lies in the desirability of using open strings as much as possible, in order to achieve the most sonorous effect from the consort. Yet it is hard to imagine that members of a consort would retune every time they came across a new key signature. Woodfield suggests an alternative explanation, according to which the players would not retune, but would in effect transpose the music.11 This transposition could have been effected before playing, possibly involving the rewriting of the piece in tablature. Woodfield's theory would seem attractive, insofar as it would remove the necessity of retuning, but I don't see how it could have worked in every case. Where the different rules for tuning change the intervallic distance of the instruments one from another within the consort, it is hard to see how they could transpose so as to effectively produce this change without actually retuning. Woodfield's idea would seem viable so long as the change was from one order to another while preserving the rule, or interval separating the instruments from one another, but could not work for changing from one rule to another. Where a change was desirable in order to facilitate the playing of a piece in a different tonality or mode, the change would presumably have been from one order to another, in which case Woodfield's theory seems sound. The effect of a transposition such as he calls for would

avoid the tedious business of retuning, while allowing maximum use to be made of open strings, which seems to be the rationale behind having different orders in Ganassi's system. The rules as Ganassi presents them are not explained with reference to any such practical rationale, though, and they may just have reflected regional differences in technique.

At the end of the first volume of Regola, Ganassi presents some technical exercises and practice pieces.16 All his examples, scales, exercises, and etudes are presented both in standard notation (using a ten line staff with an F clef, usually on the sixth line) and in tablature (wherein the lowest sounding string assumes the topmost position in the schematic rendering). Before the practice pieces he includes a brief explanation of how the different rhythmic values are derived from one another, and how they are represented in the tablature.

The second volume begins with an explanation of how to recognise a good string by the visual pattern it makes in the air when vibrating. The author then goes on to explain in considerable detail how to place the frets on the viol. This is to be accomplished through dividing the string length proportionally, and placing frets so as to obtain perfect fourths and fifths, and true major seconds. The procedure is made reasonably clear through the use of illustrations, and Ganassi advises the student to always check his mathematical precision against the arbiter of his ear. Once the second, fifth, and seventh frets are placed through mathematical division of the string's length (9:8, 4:3, and 3:2 are given as the desirable ratios), other frets are placed with reference to these. An

involved procedure is then described for the precise tuning of the strings, checking open against stopped strings and relying on the accuracy of the second, fifth, and seventh frets.

On top of these explanations Ganassi accounts for his method of showing left hand fingering in the tablature. Mixed in with this are some instructions for right-hand fingerings for students of lute, which makes the whole somewhat confusing. He dismisses the technical difficulties of the fingering, saying that it has been explained in other lute tutors, and is commonly understood. Through cross-reference from the explanations to the examples presented both in standard notation and in tablature, the acute student should be able to decipher his meaning with only moderate difficulty. Foreseeing that some students may have been confused, Ganassi condescends to repeat himself in the tenth chapter, which is headed "Chapter ten: Which Repeats the Instructions Given so Far." Signs are then incorporated into the system to show the student where to lift the fingers of the left hand off the strings in order to avoid dissonances with notes which follow. Several chapters deal specifically with problems of right hand fingering for lutenists.

Chapters fifteen through twenty of Ganassi's second volume explain in some detail problems likely to occupy more advanced students. He speaks about the necessity of accomodating the bow strokes to the nature of the music, and describes a system whereby he shows appropriate bowing in his practice pieces. Similarly, he notes that some pieces will involve shifts of left hand position, even to positions far up the neck above the frets, and these also are demonstrated in the notation with a system of numbers, dots,

and dashes.

Chapter nineteen is a consideration of the niceties of diminutions, in the course of which Ganassi refers the reader to a previous work of his in which the subject is treated more thoroughly. Of interest, he suggests using alternate fingerings in rapid divisions to avoid string crossings, as always providing detailed illustrations to make sure that his point is well taken.

The closing chapter of the method suggests procedures for making do in the event that strings break and one does not have replacements on hand. Specific procedures are offered for tuning the viols in consort using only the four lowest strings of any instrument, or only the three lowest. If the player wishes to tune using only four strings, he is advised to set his two lowest sounding strings a major third apart, with fourths between the other strings. According to this procedure he would finger on the strings remaining to him, assumed to be the four lowest sounding strings, as though they were in fact the four highest sounding strings. In the case of only three strings remaining to him, all the strings are to be tuned separated by fifths.

I have chosen to describe in some detail the contents of the method mainly for comparison purposes. It is easy to see why Woodfield praised the Regola Rubertina as far and away the outstanding instrumental tutor of the sixteenth century. Ganassi's instructions are detailed and are rendered quite clear with reference to many illustrations. The work is somewhat short on repertoire, but is exhaustive in its coverage of technical difficulties. In considering other instruction manuals for instrumental technique, Ganassi might well be used as a standard.

Comparisons will be made between his volume and the other two to be considered here, where this will help to highlight their strengths and weaknesses.

Thomas Robinson's The Schoole of Musicke (London, 1603)17

We have seen how Ganassi included some instruction for lute players in his Regola Rubertina. Robinson's work also includes instruction for both instruments, but in his case the method book is meant primarily as a lute tutor, and only secondarily as an instructional manual for players of the orpharion, pandora, and viol. Obviously this makes it somewhat less useful as an indicator of instructional practices for the viol, even though Robinson's work originated in England, focus of the present study, while Ganassi's Regola came from Italy. Despite its shortcomings as a viol tutor, though, Robinson's work is not out of place in a study of music education and viols in Renaissance England. This is so for two reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it was advertised by its author as being intended in part as a tutor for those seeking to master the viol. Robinson's address to the reader, inluded as a preface to his method, reads in part:

> Right courteous Gentlemen, and gentle Readers, your favourable acceptance of my first fruits from idlenesse, hath eccited mee further to congratulate your Musicall endeavours. And in my conceit, I can no way better fit your good and willing mindes, then in shewing you how you may very soone, and very perfectly instruct yourselves to play (upon your best beloved instrument) the Lute, also the Orpharion, Pandora, and Viol de Gamba, any lesson (if it bee not too too trickified) at the first sight. 18

While the book may have had its shortcomings, many amateur

musicians would have taken Robinson at his word, and sought to extract from the work points germane to their study of the viol. But the work is of interest to this paper for another reason, which is that it shows up the fact that many people who approached the viol may have done so from the vantage point of having already developed a certain amount of playing skill on the lute. By 1603, the date of Robinson's publication, the viol was beginning to have a larger following, but for a number of years the lute had been assiduously cultivated by amateur musicians. The similarities of left-hand technique between the two instruments are such that lute players would have had little difficulty in launching themselves on the study of the viol. It is no doubt for this reason that Robinson addressed himself to more than one target group, namely students of the various instruments named in his preface and cited above. For the same reason, Ganassi included some instructional points for the lute in a study intended primarily as a viol tutor.

One writer to take an early notice of the work was Otto Kinkeldey. In a paper presented to the American Musicological Society in 1935, Kinkeldey described the contents of the work in these terms:

> The book contains thiry-three lute pieces (some for two lutes) and ten pieces for the viol, also intended for the study of sight-singing. Four pieces are variations upon a "ground." About six pieces are song arrangements; the remainder are dances (gigues, pavins, galliards and almaignes) and five "toys" (short genre pieces). Almost all the song and dance arrangements are variations. A short theme of one or two strains is followed by one, two or more variations.

Robinson's arrangements for the viol are all

sacred pieces. 19

This description makes a couple of interesting points with respect to the contents aimed specifically at a viol playing audience. The viol pieces were all for devotional use, and yet they were also serviceable as sight-singing pieces! Few modern students would be inclined to look on sight-singing as a devotional exercise. But this point recalls the double nature of the In Nomine repertoire, mentioned in the course of the last chapter. The viol apparently was used in some instances as a learning tool for music students, in somewhat the same way as a piano is sometimes used in conservatories today. Moreover, it seems to have made a place for itself in the private devotionals which became part of family life in Puritan England, both in the Protestant and Catholic recusant homes.

The pieces to which Kinkeldey refers as for the lute need not concern us here. Most of them are little suitable for the viol because of the presence of full chords which omit some interior strings. It is doubtful that Robinson actually intended these pieces for the use of viol players. I will confine my remarks to the instructions given in the preface, and to the pieces actually designated as for the viol.

Robinson's introduction takes the form of an invented dialogue between a Knight and a musician. The two discuss the nature of music and the desirability of a musician being learned beyond his immediate discipline. The Knight eventually engages Timotheus, the musician, to teach his children the lute. The format adopted by Robinson here is evidently borrowed from Thomas

Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke.

In his summary of the conversation, Lumsden points out several interesting features of the dialogue.20 These are worth commenting upon. First of all, the Knight engages Timotheus as a tutor for his children. Here is an indication that the engaging of private tutors to teach in the home was something of a commonplace at the time of Robinson's writing. The Knight is concerned that his children may not continue in the study of the instrument long enough to reap any real benefit. He himself, he says, abandoned practical study of the instrument, preferring to simply listen to others play. Robinson, in the guise of Timotheus, agrees that many begin study of an instrument, only to abandon it too soon, before having achieved real mastery. He suggests that the student should attain at least to the level of being able to sight-read with reasonable fluency.

A couple of aspects of the musical life of the age can be read into this exchange. Many amateurs seemingly undertook to learn instruments, but left off practical study before advancing very far. Such must presumably always be the case. But Robinson's insistence on the cultivation of sight-reading skills may suggest that much of the music-making of the day was of a recreational nature, where individuals or groups simply read music, whether singing or playing an instrument, as a passtime, without necessarily polishing the pieces. Fluency of reading was considered a primary educational goal. Morley's unfortunate principal was found out to his great shame to be illiterate musically, incapable of keeping a part in a consort in a social situation. Some years later, Peacham was to advise his pupil that

he should proceed so far in music as to be able to read his part sure, and at the first sight. While sight-singing may be an exercise in drudgery to many, I believe that this point is of critical importance for understanding the musical nature of Robinson's age: more-or-less ordinary citizens (albeit of a fairly high social stratum) were strongly encouraged to be musically literate, in the sense of being able to sight-read music. Many seemingly sought to achieve that state.

Another point ought to be remarked in Robinson's opening dialogue. The Knight requests of the musician permission to attend at the lessons, and to put questions to the teacher from time to time. This is presumably a device to permit Robinson to continue imparting instruction in the context of a dialogue: probably he thinks the dialogue will be more interesting for the listener if it takes place between Timotheus and the Knight than between Timotheus and one of the Knight's children. But the suggestion that the Knight should stay with his children for the instruction raises another possibility, which is that some parents of the day may actually have sat in on their childrens' lessons. Music-making was apparently to some extent a social recreation pursued in the home and in the context of the family. There is a reminder here of the modern practice in the Suzuki method of instruction, of having parents attend lessons so as to be able to supervise their children's practice, and encourage the younger students when they encounter difficulty. This practice I believe to be pedagogically sound, and worth bearing in mind where changes in the current school music regime are mooted.

There follow, on plates XXIV through XXXI of Robinson,

instructions towards the development of a rudimentary playing technique. This begins with a listing of the desirable qualities in an instrument; proceeds with a discussion of the correct playing position; names the strings and explains the system of tablature, including the manner of having letters represent the open and fretted strings; and also explains how rhythmical values are derived one from another and represented in the graphic notation. Of passing interest: in the tablature the highest sounding string is represented on the top line, not on the bottom as in Ganassi.

Much of Robinson's instruction is of general relevance, equally valuable to the viol player as to the lutenist. Left hand fingerings are shown by the insertion of the numerals one through four, representing the first through the fourth fingers, under the letters which show the fret positions. A system of dots is incorporated for delineating the various types of attacks possible with the right hand on lute: unmarked notes are to be played with the thumb (a downward attack), and this type of attack is to be considered most natural. Attacks to be played with an upwards stroke, to be executed by the first, second, or third finger of the left hand are shown by the insertion of a single, double, or triple dot directly under the letter representing the fret.

To digress briefly, this system seems somewhat simpler at first sight than Ganassi's. Ganassi showed left hand fingerings by means of a single dot adjacent to the fretting indication. In his case, if the dot was to the upper left, it meant the first finger was to be employed, while a dot to the lower left, upper right, or lower right, meant the second, third, or fourth finger

should be brought into use, respectively. Ganassi also used a dot immediately under the fretting indication, to show lutenists what kind of attack to employ with their right hand. His dot under the fretting indication meant that the attack should be with a finger, while an unmarked fretting indication meant that the attack was to be played with the thumb. Two dots would mean that the second finger was to be called upon to execute the attack, and three dots stood for the third finger. In this his method parallels Robinson's, and both evidently drew on common lute practice. Ganassi adapted the system of indicating right-hand fingering to show viol bowings, such that an unmarked note was to be played as an upbow, while a single dot indicated a downbow. The problem with Ganassi's method is that too much information is to be conveyed by dots. In the first place, the dots are so minuscule as to possibly impede the eye and mind as they attempt to grasp the sense of the fingering indication at sight. Moreover, in a day when printing techniques were still somewhat primitive, there was a great possibility that unwanted "dots" might creep into the music, with the potential for hopelessly confusing the reader.

To return to Robinson: we next find him explaining the use of ornaments in music. In this he is somewhat less clear than in his explanation of basic fingering, and he seems to assume that the reader has a prior knowledge of what constitutes a "fall" and a "relish"--nowhere in his text are these terms properly explained. Finally he describes the procedure for tuning the instrument. He makes no difference between the lute, orpharion, cittern, and viol, so presumably all are to be tuned after the same fashion.

On plate XI of Robinson (and summarised on p. XXXI by Lumsden) we finally come across a few lines of instruction consecrated to the sole use of the student of the viol.

> Now, when you can play upon the Lute, I will (God willing) shew you how your Lute shall instruct you to sing; insomuch that you may be your owne teacher, and save the charge of a singing man, and then what by your skill in playing upon the Lute, and the knowledge you have in the prick-song, you may verie easilie attaine to play upon the Viol de Gambo, either by Tablature or by prick-song notes. For the carriage of your left hand upon the Lute is likewise justly to be observed upon the base Viol, as shall bee more plainely declared in his due place after the Lute lessons.
>
> And thus for a last farewell (for this time) I give you in general charge, to use all instruments with a good grace, comelie play, without anticke faces, or shouldrings, except such (which of necessitie) the nature of the instrument doth require; as, reaching stops upon the Lute, wher you lay your finger along and stretch out your little finger along at length, as from d to b, and in comming from the Trebles of the Viol, to the Base, wher of necessitie you must, somewhat thrust the neck of the Viol from you, and shrink in the bow hand, to come fitly unto it.

In these few lines we have virtually the whole of Robinson's instruction which is specific to the viol alone. The student will look in vain for further explication after the lute pieces: it is not to be found. Robinson expresses the desirability of playing in a graceful fashion, as Ganassi had done, but allows for some extra body movement on the part of the viol player when playing a descending line involving string-crossings that approach the bass strings. This is considered to be in accordance with the nature of the instrument, and Ganassi, incidentally, had condoned the same movement.

A few more instructions for the viol player are to be found in the following pages, under the heading "Rules to instruct you to Sing." Robinson first presents a scale running three octaves, and across three staffs, from G at the bottom of a bass clef staff, through an alto clef staff, to g' at the top of a treble clef staff. These notes are given solfege names as well as their letter names.

A curious quirk inherent in the system of solfaing then in use comes to light here. There was no separate syllable for the seventh note of a scale. The seventh in the present instance was a minor seventh, and coming after the sixth degree which was called la, was called fa, presumably to reflect its being only a semi-tone above the preceding note. Continuing upwards in the scale, the next note was then called sol, followed by la again, and then the names reverted to the normal order of mi, fa, sol, etc. This may be made clearer with reference to the following schematic representation.

Scale degree--	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Letter name---	G	A	B	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c'	d'
solf name----	ut	re	mi	fa	sol	la	fa	sol	la	mi	fa	sol

The system does seem to have some internal logic, but it is hard to see how it was of very great assistance in the learning of sight singing.

Robinson shows how the student is to match these notes to the notes on his viol or lute, with reference to tablature. Again, he makes no distinction between the tuning of the lute and the tuning

of the viol, so presumably the same tuning scheme was to be followed. The strings, from low to high, were to be tuned: D G c e a d'. The student is then asked to practice some technical exercises in order to become familiar with the location of the notes on the strings. These exercises are meant to serve equally the player of the lute or viol; they are prefaced with a comment that the viol player should grasp the instrument between his legs, and use his left hand as on the lute. The bow grip is described as holding:

> hard by the Nut of it, with your forefinger, above the stick, your second and third finger (in the hollow of the Nut) betweene the heire and the stick, and your little finger beneath the heire, slack quite from it. 21

It is interesting to notice the bow grip here prescribed: only the index finger is gripping the wood, in contrast to Ganassi where both the index and the middle finger held the stick. Also, the point of contact is at the nut, not up the stick as came to be the common English practice later in the century.

Plates XIV through XVII contain eight psalms set out to be played on the viol, but presented under the general heading "Rules to instruct you to sing." These are the only pieces designated as for the viol in my copy of Robinson: I am not sure whether Kinkeldey had a copy with more pieces in it, or whether he included the technical exercises as pieces for the viol when he said there were ten pieces. (Incidentally, there is really only one technical exercise, which can be seen on plates XIII and XIV of Robinson. It is an exercise in steps, skips, and leaps,

including leaps up to an octave. Kinkeldey would still seem to be one short in his count, even if he included this exercise as a piece for the viol.)

The pieces for the viol have evidently been ordered with an eye to the presenting of technical difficulties in a logical progression, inasmuch as string crossings constitute a technical difficulty. The first three pieces are fingered only on the first two strings, with most notes to be played on the top string. Subsequently the student is taken into the realm of the inner, lower strings. However, the very first piece involves hand shifts from the fifth down to the second fret and back up, a pattern which is repeated several times throughout the course of the piece. Evidently the student is expected to have some left hand technique before commencing the study of the viol. Robinson's idea of avoiding string crossings as much as possible in the first few pieces was presumably motivated by a consideration of the difficulties of bowing only, he seems to have assumed that the position shifts would create no difficulty for the student.

In the order in which they occur in the book, three pieces are in treble clef, two in soprano clef, and four in bass clef. The tablature is such that a change of clef may imply a change of tuning. This is pointed out by Lumsden (p.XXXI) in his introduction to the manual.22 However it may be also that Robinson simply incorporated a transposition into his transcription of the pieces in tablature form. This is along the lines of what Woodfield thought the Italian consort players would do rather than retune for different key signatures. Possibly the most likely explanation is that the different clefs implied the

use of different viols. If the player took a bass viol where he sees Robinson's bass clef, a treble viol for the soprano clef, and a tenor viol for the music on the treble clef, the open strings would correspond to open strings in Robinson's tablature. It is curious that Robinson makes no mention of the different viols.

The other pieces in the method are all for lute, and as I said above, were probably not intended for the viol player. It is a point of some interest that the only pieces intended for the viol were of a devotional nature, apparently borrowed from the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter. Numerous writers have commented on an apparent change in popular taste at the turn of the century, coinciding with the rise in popularity of the viol consort: a change which has been characterised as towards more sober music. The viols may have been used as a more "serious" instrument than the lute in some quarters. Where all the pieces for viol are serious pieces in this sense, the lute pieces contain numerous (34) dances, toys, and character pieces, with a few (4) psalms and hymns thrown in for good measure. Where the lute was used as an all-around recreational pursuit, the viol seems to have been reserved for more sober moments.

British Museum Add. MS. 15118:[23]

The contents of this manuscript are somewhat variegated, as can be seen by the listings under several headings in the Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum.[24] Listed are lute solos (Catalogue Vol.III, p.67), string duets (Vol.III, p.173), airs for a treble viol (Vol.III, p.159), and songs for a

treble voice and a bass accompaniment (Vol.II, p.470). The Catalogue suggests dates of provenance for most of this material: the lute solos are said to date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. These appear on folios 31-33b. The string duets are divided into two groups, with the first seven believed to date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and the rest said to be in a later, possibly mid-seventeenth century, hand. The airs for a treble viol are said to have originated in mid-seventeenth century. These occur on folios 10b-36. Finally, the songs over a bass accompaniment are ascribed again to the first quarter of the century. These songs occur on folios 2b-7.

In the opening pages the name Richard Chinton (in the Catalogue this name is rendered Shinton) appears several times, in such a manner as to suggest that Chinton was practising his signature. On folio 2 appears the note "Richard Chinton his booke" followed by "Witness Thomas Ffowke (or Hawke?)." Again, on folio 42 verso, appears the note "Richard Chinton this book did one [sic], and John Congrue the same doth know." Alongside this entry is the date 1633. The names Mary, Martha, and John Congreve all appear in the manuscript: they are possibly of the same family as a William Congreve who is described in a separate listing in the New Grove.25 The Catalogue suggests that at some time the book was passed by Richard to his son Thomas Shinton.

In light of the dating information contained in the Catalogue much of the material found in the manuscript postdates the period which I have delimited for my study. I am at any rate not going to concern myself with the material for lute, found on folios 31-33b, for it also falls essentially outside the realm of my

principal focus. I will pass them over, with the comment that, again, it seems that a number of viol players were also students of the lute.

Of the pieces catalogued as airs for treble viol, it is interesting to note that they are listed in the catalogue along with pieces for violin, and many of them may actually have been intended for that instrument. One of the composers whose name appears in the manuscript as the author of a number of these pieces is David Mell, a member of the King's Musick from about 1625 for the violins.26 Mell's dates are 1604-1662. His name turns up in Playford's Musicall Banquet (1662), in a list of competent music teachers in the London area. Another of the composers in this part of the manuscript is George Hudson (ca. 1615-1672), also known principally as a violinist. I have taken the time to transcribe several of these pieces, and they are of some interest. However due to their date of origin being most likely well beyond the death of James I, I am leaving them aside from the present study.

This brings me to the pieces said to be for two viols. These pieces may have been used by a student of the instrument, possibly practising them while a tutor played the alternate part. They are mostly arranged so that the two parts occur on facing pages, aligned so as to be read from opposite sides of the book, that is, each player would sit on opposite sides of the table, with the open book between them. According to the cataloguer, only those appearing on folios 9b-12 date from the period under consideration in my study. Included on these folios are a Galliard and a piece titled Lovolo, plus a number of untitled pieces, all for two

viols, in addition there appear a number of technical exercises. Because of the difficulty of finding these pieces, I include the Galliard and Lovolo as an appendix to the present thesis.

The Galliard is clearly in triple time, includes three repeated sections, has a compass of E-c' in the bass and g'-g" in the treble (or tenor?), and is fairly simple rhythmically. The parts in both pieces are for one bass viol and one treble or tenor viol, being notated on bass and treble clef in the case of the Galliard, and bass and soprano clef in the case of Lovolo. The scribal hand is quite neat. No bar lines are included, and a later (student?) hand, quite roughly, has drawn bar lines so as to divide the treble part of the Galliard into measures of duple time. This has the effect of destroying the clearly dance-like feel of the piece. Lovolo begins in common time, but continues in triple time. It includes a Bb in the key signature, and has a compass F#-g in the bass and d'-eb" in the treble. Lovolo seems less simple rhythmically than the Galliard.

Following on the Galliard, and under the treble part, appear a technical exercise and a scale for the bass viol. The technical exercise resembles a cadential formula, and may have been intended for the practise of string-crossings. The scale is D major for the bass viol, extending from the low open D string to the open A, or second-highest, string.

From this point on the scribal hand in the manuscript changes, and I am assuming that the following material was copied later in the century. The Catalogue suggests that the change took place beginning on folio 15, but the hand seems to change after folio 11. Certainly some of the items are in a different hand,

and the name "Mister [David] Mell" first appears on folio 10, verso, suggesting that these pieces belong to the later period as well. Incidentally, with the first and subsequent occurences of the name Mister Mell there occurs in the manuscript a doodle which resembles a dog's head seen in profile. This may actually be a stylisation of the initials D.M., suggesting that Mell himself may have copied these pages. This he might have done as a tutor to one of the owners of the manuscript. (Or as a student himself?)

The remaining material in the manuscript which evidently falls within my time period consists of six songs for treble voice and bass accompaniment. The titles appear in the Catalogue as follows:

Change thy mynde
Walking alone
My mynde to me a Kingdom is
Sleepe, wayward thoughts
Wilt thou, unKind
What are theis men

Some of these were copied from published works, as detailed in the Catalogue. The first is from Robert Dowland's Musicall Banquet of 1610, "Sleep wayward thoughts" is from John Dowland's First booke of Songes or Ayres of 1597. "My mynde to me a Kingdom is" is said in the Catalogue to be anonymous, with the note "not by Byrd." The poem was evidently a popular text which was set by several composers, including Byrd. The author of the lyric was Edward Dyer. (In the manuscript the name "Thomas HawKe" or possibly "Thomas FfowKe" appears above the piece. The same name also appears on the flyleaf as a witness to the signature of the manuscript's owner, Richard Shinton. Might he have been the tutor

of Shinton, possibly the composer of the setting appearing here?)

The note appended to this body of material in the Catalogue suggests that they are "Compositions for a treble voice, with a bass written underneath [but not in score], and possibly intended for singing." (Vol.II, p.470.) This presumably means that the bass might have been intended for singing, as well as the soprano. Certainly this seems possible. It also seems plausible that the pieces were used primarily as instrumental duets, played by a tutor and student, with the vocal parts being realised only occasionally. This is suggested in some instances, at least, where the text is illegible as it lies under the staff, or where the text does not appear on the same page as the melodies. Instrumental duets were a favourite form of teaching throughout much of the Renaissance, and ever since, often being called by the generic term "bicinia". As a general comment on the six items in this category, they are all quite simple, with a limited range and no complex rhythmic patterns. As a further comment, they are in a very neat hand, suggesting that they were copied by a tutor or an adult, not a child student. They generally do not contain bar lines, unless it be to delimit sections. Accidentals do, however, occur in the parts. I have included the six songs as an appendix to the thesis.

Add. MS. 15118 is probably typical of thousands of manuscripts that exist or have been destroyed, manuscripts which were kept as commonplace books within homes where some family member or members pursued musical studies. In these books it is natural to encounter a number of different hands, since the books were often built up over a period of years, and served any number

of different students. The same book might contain technical exercises mixed up with rough copies or sketches of student compositions, alongside fair copies of works borrowed from other sources and perhaps meant to be performed in the family grouping. All of these aspects appear in the present manuscript. This in itself reveals something of the quality of music education during the period. It is sometimes possible to follow a student as he tackles different instruments, as the present work seems to contain compositions for lute, viol, violin, and voice. Possibly one might see a student go from one tutor to another, as may be suggested by changes in handwriting over the course of the book. Changing tastes may also be reflected; as for example here we find simple songs, probably originally intended as lute airs, being superceded later by rhythmically much more interesting and challenging dance pieces, evidently part of the Carolingian affection for the "newfangled" violins. Perhaps most obviously, the present manuscript underscores what a number of authors encountered during the course of this study have stated, which is that music education during the Renaissance in England, particularly at the end of the Elizabethan period and during the reign of James I, was a domestic affair. The schools were not involved in the musical training of students, unless it be in choir schools where they were of necessity schooled in singing for the church. If parents wanted their children trained in music, they engaged private tutors, and set out to purchase needed manuscript paper, pens and ink, instruments, strings, and books. And if the parents were blessed with good tutors and reasonably tenacious children, the latter pursued the study over the course

of a number of years in the security of the home. In some instances the parents themselves may have taken up the study of the instruments, possibly to gain the much-sought-after social cachet that evidently went with demonstrable musical learning.

By no means all of the material in the manuscript was intended for performance on viol. There is a great deal of lute music, and the material designated as for the treble viol by the British Museum cataloguer may be for the violin instead. For the purposes of my study the most interesting material is that which is clearly instrumental, probably for two viols. A combination of one bass and one treble, or one bass and one tenor viol seems indicated for these works. If the arrangement of clefs in Robinson's psalms for viol indicates a different instrument for each clef, such as his tablature seems to suggest, Add. MS. 15118 probably includes works for both these combinations. The two part pieces which include lyrics, listed in the Catalogue as compositions for a treble voice with bass accompaniement, may also have been used as two-part instrumental pieces. Two-part works would seem a likely vehicle for the private training of a music student, where the student could have played one part and the tutor the other. The addition of bar lines in the Galliard, obviously in a different hand from that of the copyist, and evidently running against the natural grain of the piece, suggest a student who was having some trouble holding fast to his rhythm.

The question of the change in scribal hands is a fascinating one, and one with which I am not really competent to deal. Nor is this thesis the best place to go into such an issue. Nevertheless it is worth mentioning that the handwriting is in some instances

very fine, and in others abominable, suggesting that some of the material was copied by an adult, probably a university man, and some of it copied by a student, evidently a young one. The hand notating the music also changes, and there would appear to be some evolution of the more polished scribal hand which notated the Galliard, for example, and some of the songs: over the course of the pieces which seem to have been copied by this same hand, there is a change from a square notational style to a more rounded, or lozenge-shaped note heads. In fact, these two hands strike me as resembling to a certain extent examples of Thomas Myriell's hand as it is reproduced in Monson's Voices and Viols in England (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1982). Anyone interested in checking this out should see Monson's chapter on Myriell and British Museum Add. MS. 15118.

The manuscript points towards the training of players in the home by well-schooled tutors. Repertoire in these tutorial situations was evidently cobbled together from a variety of sources. Manuscript copying seems to have been a task that was shared by both tutor and student.

Notes for Chapter IV

1 Sylvestro Ganassi's Regola Rubertina and Lettione Seconda were published in Venice in 1542 and 1543. They can be thought of as one continuous volume. I have referred to two translations. The first is by Richard Brodig (hereafter, Brodig), Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America, 18 (1981), 13-66; and 19 (1982), 100-163. In the notes which follow I will refer to page numbers of Brodig's translation without differentiating between the two volumes of the journal in which they appeared. The reader will understand that if the page number mentioned lies between 13 and 66, the citation is from the first part of Ganassi's method, and the reference can be found in volume 18 of J.V.d.G.S.A.. Similarly, if the page number mentioned lies between 100 and 163, the reference is to Brodig's translation of Lettione Seconda, and the source is volume 19 of the journal. The second edition I have used is a translation of a translation. The English rendering is by Daphne and Stephen Silvester (1977) of a German translation by Hildemarie Peter (1972) (hereafter, Peter). Both are published at Berlin-Lichterfelde by Robert Lienau.

2 Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol, p.156.

3 Woodfield, p.181.

4 All chapter headings are as translated in Peter.

5 Peter, p.8; compare Brodig, p.17.

6 Woodfield, p.161.

7 Woodfield, p.161. See also Peter, p.9; Brodig, pp.19-20.

8 Woodfield, p.161.

9 Playing in very high positions is discussed in Ganassi, Chapter 20.

10 Brodig, p.18.

11 Woodfield, p.141.

12 English consorts are thought to have contained only three different sizes of instruments, treble, tenor, and bass. Whether there were really distinct instruments which played the tenor and alto parts in Italy, or whether they were the same size instrument and only distinguishable in terms of the part they took in the polyphonic texture, is a point which is not clear.

13 Ganassi actually says a fourth higher, rather than a fourth lower. But study of his charts suggest that the result intended is transposition a fourth lower. He doesn't actually name the pitches of the various strings, except within the context of a tablature for a scale. From this tablature one can derive the tuning of the strings, from high to low, as a e B G D (A,). No note is played on the tablature on the lowest, or sixth string, so tuning of A is presumed. See also note 14 below.

14 For tuning, see Peter, pp.14-37; Brodig, pp.28-56; Woodfield, pp.142-144. The lowest strings under the fourth rule

for tuning have been bracketed, because they are not used in the examples which demonstrate the use of the tunings, and the tuning rule is said to be suitable for five string viols. It is therefore possible that the strings corresponding to the notes in brackets were not present on the instruments. See Woodfield, p.144. On a separate point of interest, Brodig (p.65) makes Ganassi say that in the fourth rule for tuning there is really no retuning involved, only a change of "key signatures." A better translation in this instance may be "clefs." The Italian word in question is "chiave," which appears in J.E. Wessely, ed.. Handy Dictionary: Italian-English and English-Italian (New York: David McKay Co., no date), p.37, as equivalent to "Key," or, in musical usage, "clef." This may provide a "Key" to the puzzle of Ganassi's system of tuning: rather than tuning all their instruments down a fourth, which would seem to be implied in the rule for tuning as explained in Ganassi's method, what may be implied is that the players effected a transposition through imagining a different clef. This might have worked if, for example, the players were reading from a tenor clef, where the note "a" is found on the third line, and they read the clef as if it were a bass clef, substituting a "d" where they saw an "a". The effect would be the transposition of all notes by the interval of a perfect fourth. In terms of what they were reading, it would be as if the range of their instrument was now a perfect fifth higher.

15 Woodfield, p.142.

16 In Brodig there appears to be an error in the diagram accompanying one of the technical exercises. See p.58 of his text. The error is contained in a leaf that appears to be a photocopy of one of the leaves of Ganassi's book, but similar illustrations in other translations differ in one detail. In the short tablature section which occurs at the head of the first staff the numeral one appears, followed by the numeral three, which would indicate that the player is to finger a note at the first fret, followed by a note at the third fret. However, the notes which are called for in this instance would not include a note played at the first fret. In standard notation the notes to be played are shown as a scale passage from F to d. It appears that the F would be played at the third fret on the D string, with the next note in the scale, the G, coming on an adjacent open G string. If this is so, then the numeral one in the tablature is unnecessary, and the numeral three should be the first to appear on the line. The corresponding leaf in Petre does not show the numeral one, but begins only with the numeral three, indicative of an F on the D string. I have also checked two other editions of the work, both of which only show the numeral three, and not the numeral one. These other editions are Regula Rubertina (Bologne: Forni Editore Bologna, no date), p.XXXXII (This one is in the Italian, apparently a photocopy of the original); and Wolfgang Eggers, ed., Die "Regola Rubertina" des Silvestro Ganassi, Venedig 1542/43: Eine Gambenschule des 16 Jahrhunderts (Basel: Barenreiter Kassel, 1974), p.45. Anyone choosing to check up on this should be aware that the exercise as fingered in Ganassi is meant to be played in the fourth rule of tuning, where the low D is the fifth,

or second lowest string, and not the sixth, or lowest string.

17 My principal source has been Thomas Robinson, The Schoole of Musicke (London, 1603), ed. David Lumsden (Paris: CNRS, 1971). (Hereafter referred to as "Robinson".)

18 Robinson, plate III.

19 Otto Kinkeldey, "Thomas Robinson's "Schoole of Musicke": A Lute Book of Shakespeare's Time ," Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, 1 (1936), 7.

20 Lumsden, in Robinson, p.xxiii. The dialogue in question is on plates IV and V of Robinson.

21 Robinson, plate XIII.

22 Lumsden, p.xxxi in Robinson.

23 A microfilm copy of Lbm. MS. 15118 is avilable from the Library of the British Museum. Prof. Mary Cyr of McGill University kindly lent me her copy of the microfilm during my research.

24 Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum (London: The British Museum, 1909).

25 Background on William Congreve, composer at the time of the Restoration, probably related to the Congreves named in the manuscript, can be found in an article devoted to him in the New Grove. See also the article by S. Lincoln, "A Congreve Masque," The Musical Times, 113 (1972), 1078, for an account of a

performance of one of Congreve's works.

26 Davis, or David, Mell is written up by Norman Josephs in the New Grove. Mell's name appears in the lists of the King's Musick in the Musical Antiquary.

Chaper V

Summary Discussion

and Conclusions

To begin it may be useful to recall the original research question, formulated at the outset of the paper. "What was the nature of the role played by the viol consort in the musical education of the English during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I?"

In chapter two we saw that many forces were operating in the secular sphere which favoured the musical education of the upper class. A number of changes in the social structure accompanied the rise to power of the Tudor monarchs and the beginning of the Renaissance in England. Power and wealth began to change hands, and as the period progressed, a new class began to emerge. This new class seems to have been largely the group responsible for making the age a musical one.

A large number of authors entered the market with published works purporting to tell the new gentry how to educate themselves and their children, and how to conduct themselves so as to bring honour to their names. Included in most of these books was a general approval of music education, running from the lukewarm (e.g. Ascham) to the enthusiastic (Peacham) to the ecstatic (Mulcaster). Few of the works mentioned viols directly, though. Castiglione, widely read in an English translation by Thomas Hoby from about the 1570's on, did mention that viols were a pursuit worthy of the courtier and gentleman, and this mention may have contributed to the growth of interest in the viol consort that developed in the closing years of the sixteenth century and increased throughout the opening decades of the seventeenth century. Though Mulcaster favoured the study of the lute and the virginals around 1570, Peacham specifically commended the viol to his student around 1620. It would certainly seem that there was a change of fashion over the intervening years.

The monarchs from Henry VIII through James I and after all maintained very substantial numbers of musicians at court. This body always included several members whose job was to entertain on the viols. Their continued presence at the very heart of English cultural life must have contributed very greatly to the fondness for the viol consort which the courtiers, and later other members of the privileged classes, came to exhibit. This group can be said to have educated the taste of the English, though they probably did not function as teachers of the instruments except to their own apprentices, and perhaps to a very small number of the inner circle at court. However, professional viol players in the

royal household must have created a demand for repertoire of the highest order, and in this they were exerting a considerable, if indirect, influence on the musical education of those groups of gentlemen amateurs who later came to play the instrument.

Professional musicians in and around the capital, and in other towns large enough to support them, maintained apprenticeship systems for the training of youngsters in their art. The London Company of Musicians and the London Waits were probably outstanding, but other similar groups operated in York, Bristol, Norfolk, and so on. The members of these organizations would have trained their own charges, but would probably have begun training others for a fee as the demand for musical knowledge increased. Even the regulations restricting the number of apprentices a musician was allowed to keep contained a clause which allowed masters to train gentlemen who wished to learn music for their own recreation.

The waits of London and other centres began to play viols towards the end of the sixteenth century. They probably played other instruments more commonly, especially winds, and may have used viols in mixed consorts much more often than homogeneous, or "whole" consorts of viols. But they did begin to play them, and probably also taught the instruments as a sideline. Other groups which contained musicians also began to show some interest in playing viols near the end of Elizabeth's reign. The actors were involved in this activity, as evidenced by the inclusion of viols in the effects of companies of players. A number of writers feel that the actors would have been thoroughly trained in music. They would often have had to play and sing in the theatre, and musical

interludes seem to have been common before, during, and after the plays. Here again, actors with musical skills and knowledge could have functioned as tutors on the side, and some, at least, probably did. Ability to teach an instrument such as a viol could have helped an actor bridge the gap between stage roles. Apprentices in the theatres probably spent some time in playing consort pieces as part of their training.

The Reformation worked a considerable sea change on the conditions of music education in England. Prior to the start of the Reformation children were commonly trained to sing in school, and some probably learned a certain amount of "pricksong", though these may have been confined to a special group of singers designated to aid the priest at mass. The number of students who had access to music training in schools was very severely reduced as a result of the shifting of control of education out of the hands of the church and into the hands of the government and private groups. Indeed, many employed singers in the churches probably found themselves out of work as the congregational singing of psalms took precedence over choral music. These former singing men would have been among the most likely candidates for work as music tutors. Many among them would have begun their musical training as choirboys, and possibly gone on to one of the universities when their voices broke. Later they would have returned to the church as lay clerks or clerics, whose primary function was to sing in the choral service. The fact that many among them would have been quite well educated would have made them attractive to knights such as Robinson's Timotheus, desirous of tutors for their sons.

The choristers in a few select institutions also received training on the viols. The great London establishments at St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal led the way, and some of the provincial cathedrals, notably Ely, followed suit. Choirboys from song schools attached to these establishments began to be trained in viols from about the mid-sixteenth century. They were to be seen singing and playing consort songs and In Nomines, in plays and at social events, especially at dinners for merchant companies.

It is not known for certain who would have been responsible for initiating this activity, but it seems logical to suppose that it began as a result of the influence of the coterie of Italian viol players at court from the 1540's on. Probably the choristers at the Chapel Royal would have been the first to be initiated into playing viols, and since they seem to have been schooled to some extent as a group with the choristers of St. Paul's and the Abbey, all three centres were very quickly implicated.

Individuals who acted as Masters of the Choristers at such leading sanctuaries were also those active in the composition of the In Nomines. Possibly the need for a repertoire prompted this compositional activity. The In Nomine came to have a didactic function, both for the choirboys, who cut their musical teeth on the vehicle, and for the young composers who seem to have honed their skills in the area of polyphonic composition through practising on the plainsong melody. Gentlemen amateurs may have practised sight-singing using manuscript copies of these same works.

The only school in England apart from these few choir schools

where viols were taught seems to have been Christ's Hospital. Music had been taught at the school since its founding, evidently with some success, when Robert Dow decided to sponsor a better-paid music-master and contributed books and instruments, including viols. All this took place early in the reign of James I, by which time the playing of the instrument seems to have been very popular socially.

One other school, located in France but consisting of English Jesuits, also apparently inluded training on the viols as part of its curriculum. St. Omers was possibly quite alone in this activity, and it may be due to the influence of its headmaster that the musical programme was as highly developed there as it was. On the other hand, the recusant population claimed some of England's most prominent and wealthy citizens, and this group had its own reasons for wanting to train its children in music, as also its own very substantial resources. The singing of polyphonic motets, or of such works as Byrd's masses, not to mention his and other composers' verse anthems, probably formed part of the secret worship services that the recusants organized. The same group would probably have met socially for the singing of madrigals and devotional songs, suitable for "viols and voices".

Among Protestants, the introduction and rapid adoption of psalm-singing, both in church and as a domestic activity, probably exercised a very profound influence on music education in England. The fathers of the Protestant church, especially Luther, saw the family as the seat of education and right learning, and they condoned psalm-singing as a profitable recreation for the family. The numerous editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter which

flooded the English market beginning from about mid-sixteenth century allowed many to become musically literate who may not otherwise have done so. Having once acquired some degree of literacy, it would have been a short leap into the realm of instrumental music. Possibly, in light of the instructions in tutors such as Robinson's for "tuning your voice to the instrument," some may have used the viol as a crutch to help them get the sense of the psalm melodies. Conversely, it may have been the familiarity of the psalm melodies which allowed others to develop playing skill, since the tunes occur for instrumental use as well.

Tutors such as Robinson's point up the fact that there was a booming amateur market at the turn of the century. To some extent this market may have been confined to individuals on a social par with his Knight; probably it would not have been as widespread as Chappell, say, believed. But it was a lively market. From all the evidence it would appear that the English gentleman first adopted the lute, possibly tending to leave the virginals to the ladies. Having developed a left-hand technique, the switch from lute to viol was accomplished relatively painlessly. Robinson's tutor was aimed primarily at the lute-playing market, but there was enough of a viol-playing public that he tried to capture some of their interest, too. Ganassi some years earlier had played the opposite side of the same coin. In British Museum Add. MS. 15118 there is further evidence that lutes mixed with viols, and the same individual may have cultivated playing skill on both instruments. Possibly the lutes were called for to execute a repertoire of toys and dances, while the viol was chosen for more

sober-sounding music. Even the fancies, which abounded in the later English viol repertoire, were sober in their original conception. Students of Meyer will recall that he characterised the fancy as a kind of amalgam of the two main streams of influence on music of its day, the polyphonic motet and the dance tune. (Meyer, p.96.) The English gentleman amateur who came to prefer playing fancies in a viol consort as a recreational passtime was evidently a sober-sided individual indeed. But he had his pleasure.

Perhaps now an attempt can be made to frame an answer to the question posed at the outset of this paper. The viol consort seems to have played an integral role in music education in England throughout the period of Elizabeth and James, but a role which evolved considerably. Before mid-century, viol consort music helped shape the tastes of the ministers and advisors to the King. It was probably also one of the motivating factors which led these noblemen to cultivate a domestic musical establishment after the example of the crown.

At about the same time, and possibly as a result of the influence of the same few players, the viol consort as a vehicle became a fixture of the education of the choristers at the leading London choir schools. Composers of the day, centred around the Chapel Royal, began to compose in a style that was idiomatically suitable for viols. This activity may have been considered part of their training in composition, a kind of apprenticeship which prepared the ground for more elaborate efforts a generation or so later.

The viol consort in Italy was very well established at this

time, a fact which is borne out by the high quality of Ganassi's tutor. Englishmen came to emulate the Italians in all things, including the fashion for playing in consorts. It took some time, but the first steps had been taken. The viol-playing children were seen at social events around the London area by members of the merchant class in their annual company dinners, and at entertainments put on for the Queen and her inner circle. Those in attendance were suitably impressed, and though the seed planted at those dinners and socials may have taken some time to sprout and grow, perhaps it was inevitable that the sight of children playing and singing should lead the adults in attendance to want to try their own hand.

Thomas Whythorne was tutoring in private homes during the 1570's or so, and others presumably were as well. It was about this same time that family members in the Seymour household first began to study the viol. It was also about this time that viols first showed up in the homes of the Kytsons, the Howards, and the Petres. No doubt their children were put to the study of the instrument with no delay. These individuals were probably path-breakers in the realm of private families embarking on study of the viols.

In 1588 Nicholas Yonge published his landmark volume, Musica Transalpina. This is among the first pieces of solid documentary evidence showing social gatherings of amateurs for the express purpose of making polyphonic music. Even if some of those in attendance, including Yonge himself, were not amateurs but members of well-established musical organizations such as the St. Paul's choir, Yonge's introduction suggests that the group was mainly

composed of amateurs. These so-called "gentlemen and merchants of good account" may already have included viols among their music-making. It was not very many years later that the English music-publishing industry seized on the phrase "for voices and viols" to introduce a new collection of pieces, and target a certain buyership.

The viol thus became at least one of the instruments of preference of the gentleman amateur, an instrument that was at home in a social context. Assemblies may have sung the English madrigals, or translations of the Italian ones, but in the case of the untranslated Italian madrigals they evidently preferred to sing "only the ditty", that is, not the words, or to play them on the viols. Viol-playing as a form of realising the madrigals seems to have spread through London society something like a slow brush-fire. As noted above, the lute had already been studied by some of these gentle folk for a number of years, and the switch to viol would have been for many just that, a switch, and not a totally new beginning. In any event, the Waits, the actors, and the Company of Musicians were waiting in the wings to serve as tutors, not to mention the parish clerks, who may have already got the jump on the others.

The new King was not supposed to have been very musically inclined, but his young son Henry, the darling of London and of England, was apparently the first member of the royal circle to study the viol with a capable tutor. When Henry died there was a great and sincere outpouring of grief, to which we owe the numerous settings of the Absolom psalm text by Jacobean composers. Quite possibly many of these would have been played, rather than

sung, in private homes, as they appeared in the various printed collections and privately copied manuscripts. But we also owe any number of viol works by Alfonso Ferrabosco II to his having tutored the young Henry. Many of Coperario's works probably owe their genesis to his having tutored Henry's brother Charles, the future King.

The place of the viol consort in the musical education of the English from the turn of the century or so may be surmised from the fact that the consort occupied an ever more central position among the music of preference of the highest levels of English society. Whether for playing of polyphonic psalm settings; for the realisation of verse anthems in a domestic setting, or motets as part of the recusant religious service; for the accompaniment of the singing of the madrigal or its many offshoots, including songs of sober piety (when piety was still considered a virtue); for the recreational reading of the old-style In Nomines or the new-style fantasias; ability to play a viol in consort became something of a social entree, lack of such an ability a regrettable, if forgivable, shortcoming. The education of the upper class Englishman and woman in the ability to play a viol in consort was thus central to the music education of the day.

Suggestions for Further Research

I am inclined to agree with Prof. Cyr that the viol could make a valuable contribution to Canadian school music programmes. This study has shown some of the conditions which contributed to making the viol a popular instrument, at least among a certain

class, in Renaissance England, and has also revealed many of the conditions under which it was presumably taught. Historically this is both of interest and value. However, it does not do a great deal in the way of suggesting how the instruments might be effectively introduced in our schools. One of the findings of this study was that the viol was not commonly taught in schools, at least not ordinary schools. At Christ's Hospital the instrument was taught, but evidently only to a very small number of students at a time. The most common means of teaching and learning the viol in Elizabethan and Jacobean England seems to have been by tutorial, or by apprenticeship, or by transferring technique from the lute. The fact that the consort is a group does not necessarily mean that the instrument lends itself automatically to instruction in a group.

Still, if the viols are to be introduced into schools, it as most likely that it will be into the classroom setting and not into a tutorial situation. I suggest that a promising avenue of research would be in the area of the development of group instructional methods for the instrument. Researchers might profitably filter through the many layers of manuscripts and attempt a systematic classification of the pieces in order of difficulty. I am aware that a start has been made in this direction by organizations such as the London-based Viola da Gamba Society.

It would be of considerable interest to continue the line of research I have followed further into the seventeenth century. Many of the manuscripts seem to have been preserved in locales where they were used over long periods of time for meetings of

amateurs, places such as the Oxford music room. Did the dynamic or chemistry of the ensemble change as it moved more into the realm of the academic community and out of the private home? What kinds of records are there of these meetings, besides Anthony Woods's account?

What were the situations like in the schools or academies where the viol or other instruments were taught in other countries during the Renaissance? I am thinking of academies such as those mentioned in Ganassi, or such as grew up around the French poet Ronsard. Were there strategies worked out in these situations for group instruction that might be transferable to Canadian schools?

In another area, related in a different way to the possibility of the modern cultivation of the consort in a school setting, there would seem to be a need for applied research in the area of developing a suitable prototype instrument for the schools. Again, I am aware that a certain amount of work has been done by private individuals in Britain, in response to public demand. Have there been recent advances in this area? In articles printed in Early Music and other British journals a few years back the use of fiberglass backs in conjunction with wood tops seemed to hold out a considerable amount of promise as a way of reducing the cost of an instrument while still preserving a desirable tone quality. This is one area where instrument makers in North America could do some very valuable work.

I would like to make one final suggestion. Various writers have commented that the playing of viol fancies in consort seems to have been an activity that was engaged in for the personal pleasure of the players, rather than for the benefit of an

audience. This was suggested by Meyer, and more recently turned up in the doctoral dissertation of Raymond Vaught. One of the criticisms that has been commonly levelled against performance based instrumental programmes in North American schools is that students in such programmes often don't grasp the sense of the whole composition, in part perhaps because the part they are given to play may not contain sufficient melodic interest to captivate them and cause them to try to understand something about their contribution to the larger work. In the fantasia repertoire, of course, the player is at an immediate advantage due to the fact that all parts have melodic interest. Moreover, each player is responsible for injecting that melodic interest into the polyphonic texture, for the repertoire is normally performed one to a part. Does playing in this kind of situation, that is, in a polyphonic texture with one player to a part, as compared to playing in a homophonic texture with several players to a part, lead to measurable increments in learning, whether in terms of the achievement of technical mastery of the instrument, or of general musicianship skills? The comparison may be thought akin to comparing apples and oranges, but the suggestion is made in all seriousness that some profitable research could be done in this area. The comparison is really between different methods of structuring performance-based school music programmes. I believe that there are enough parallels between the two situations that a viable experimental research design could be worked out to investigate the problem.

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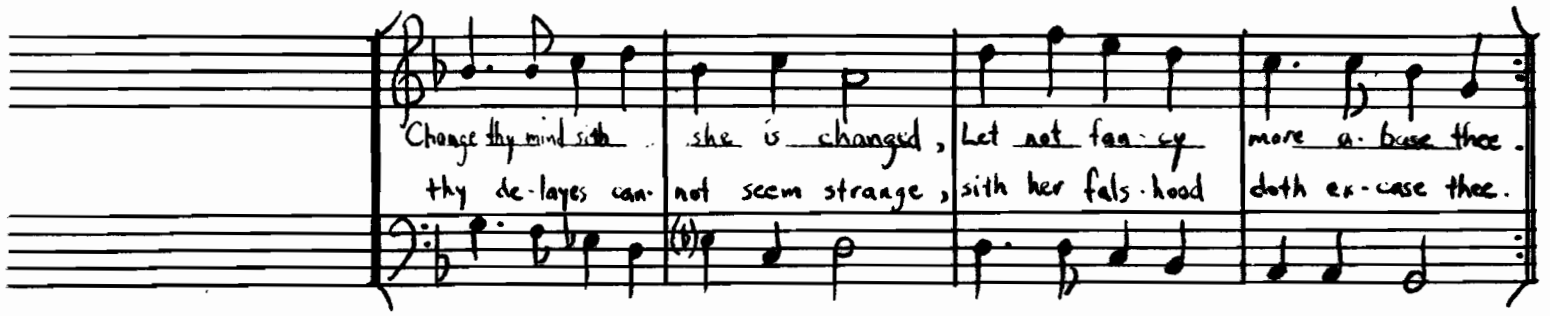
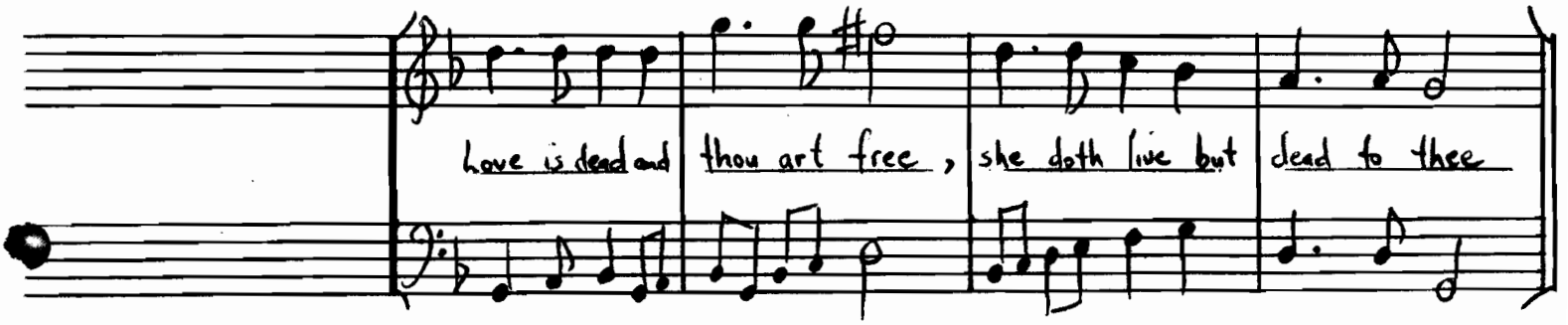
Appendix I





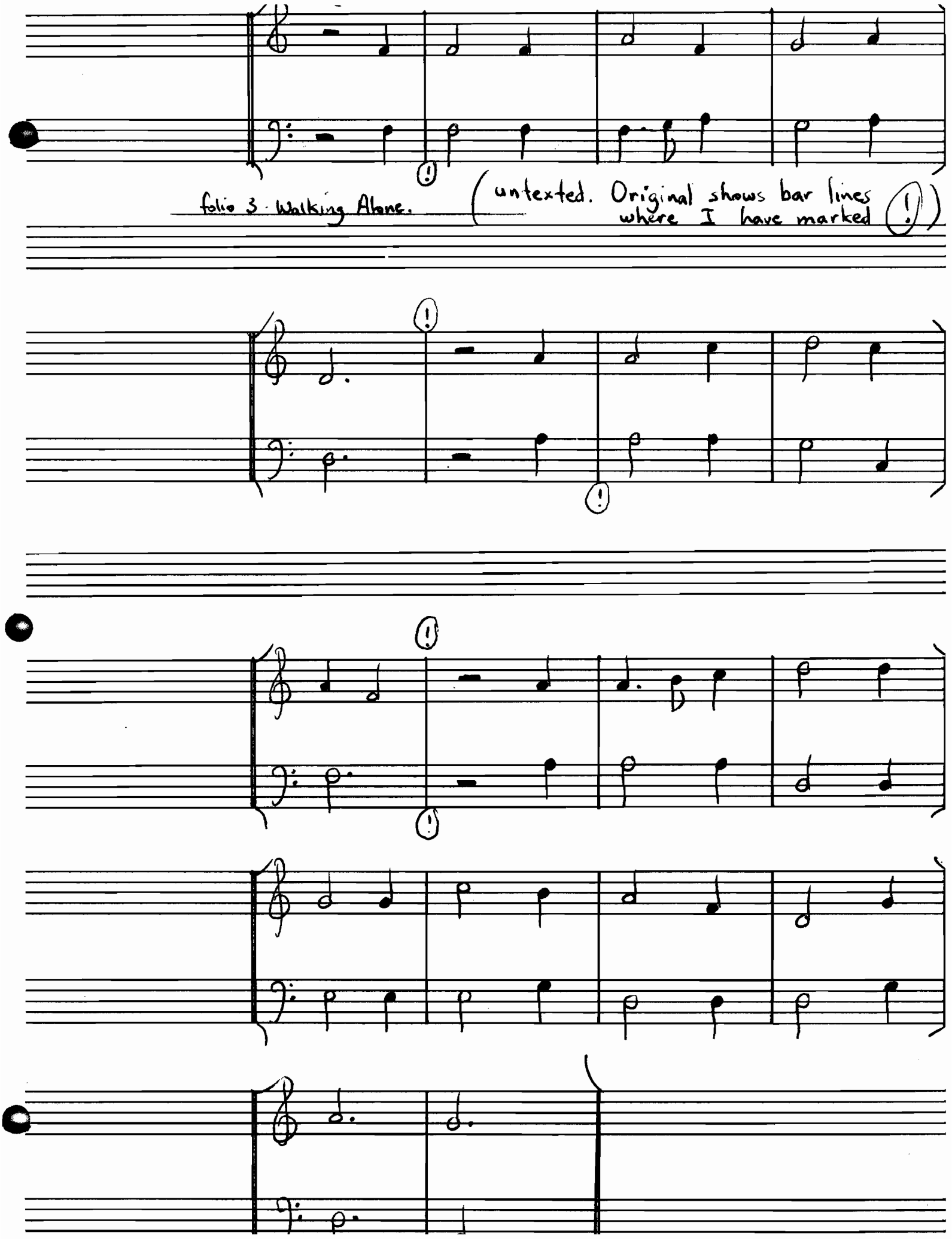
folio 2-b. Change thy mind. (from Robert Dowland's Musical Banquet - 1610)

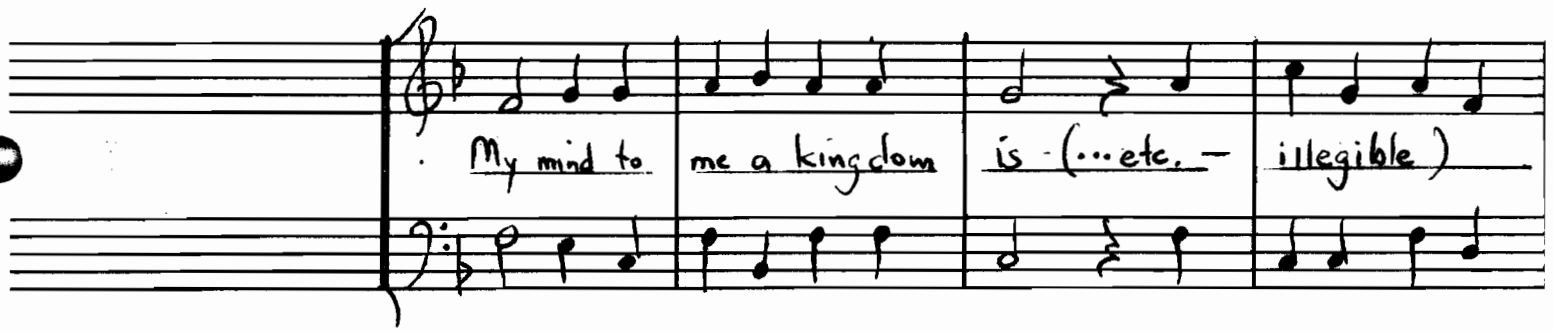
The pieces in this appendix are all from Lbm. Add. MS. 15118. I have scored them and include them for reference.

In most cases the text underlay is my own, and I have corrected what appeared to be rhythmic errors where indicated.

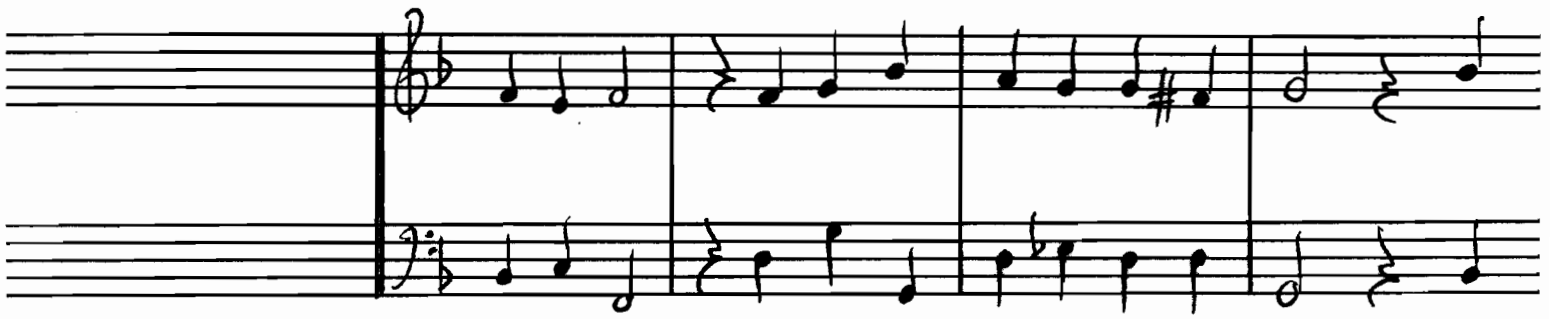
folio 3 · Walking Alone.

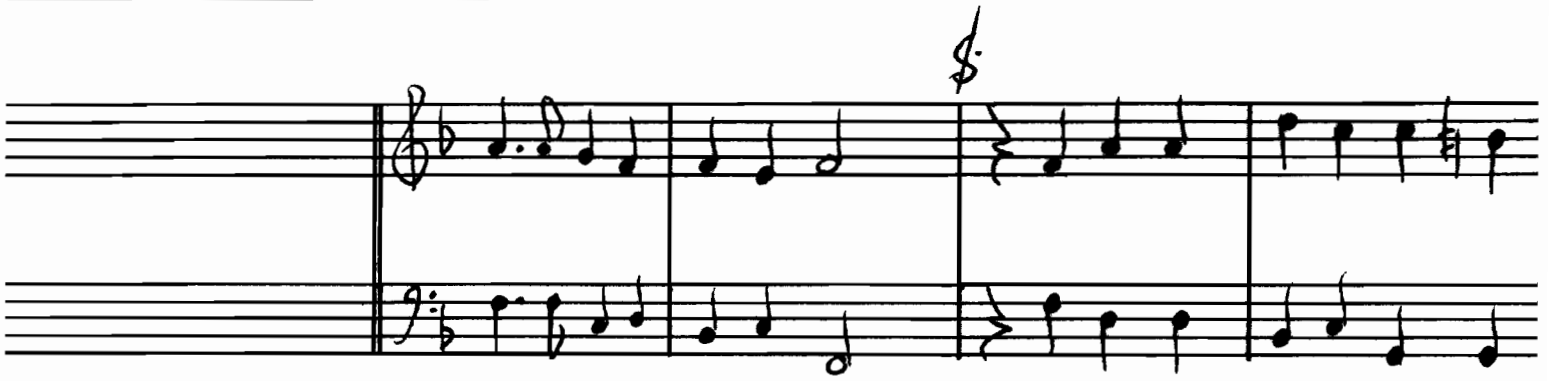
(untexted. Original shows bar lines where I have marked (!))

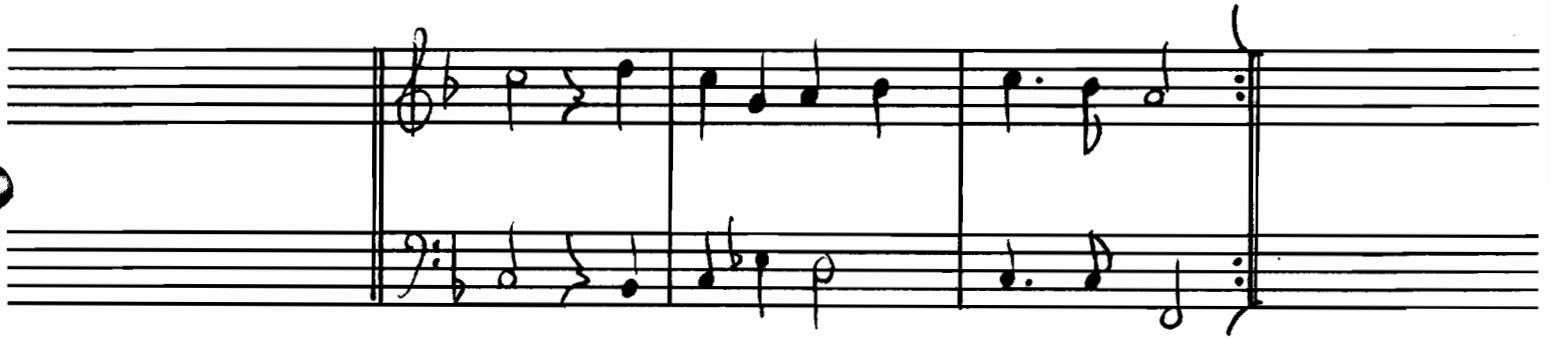




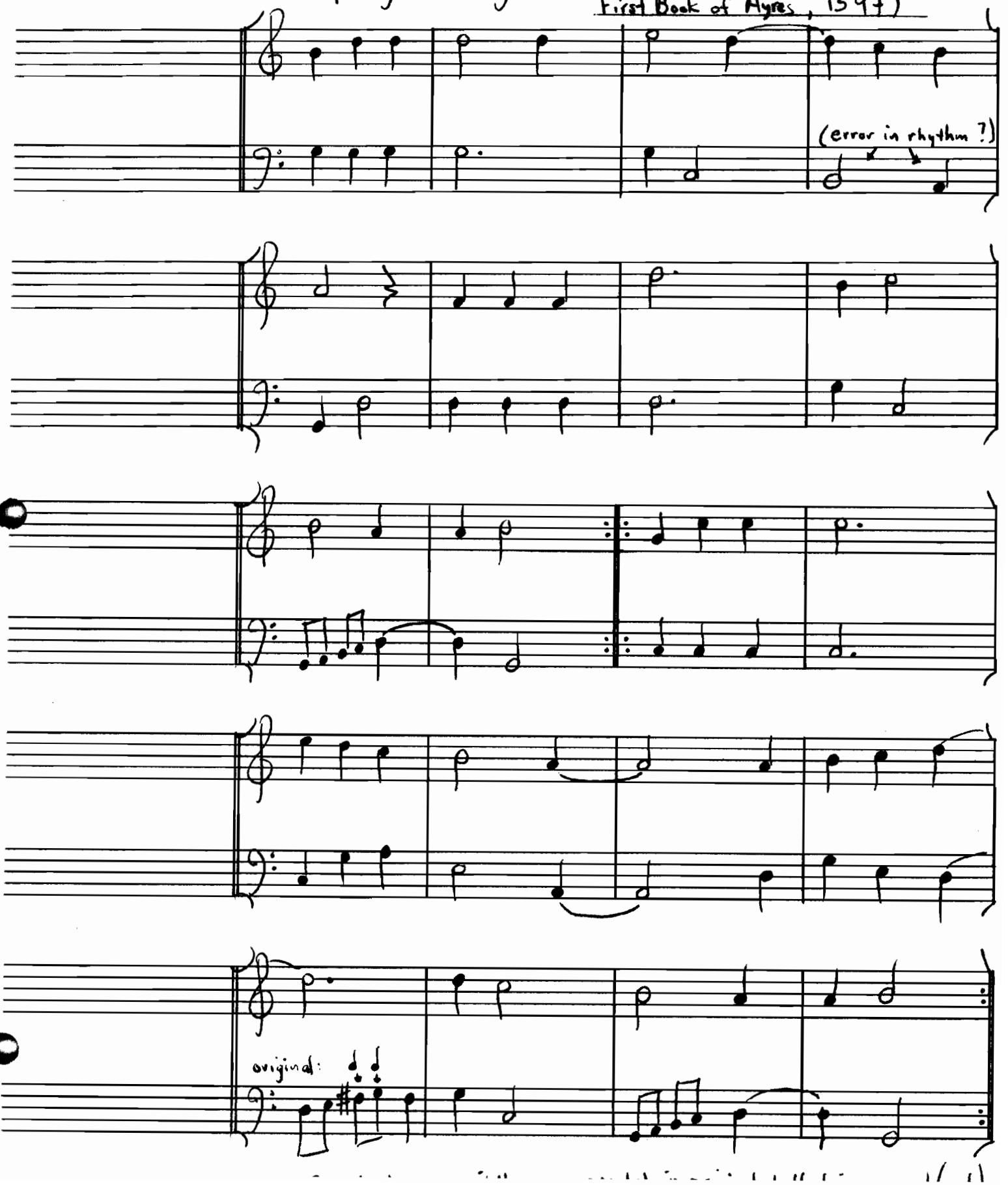
folio 3b. "My mind to me."



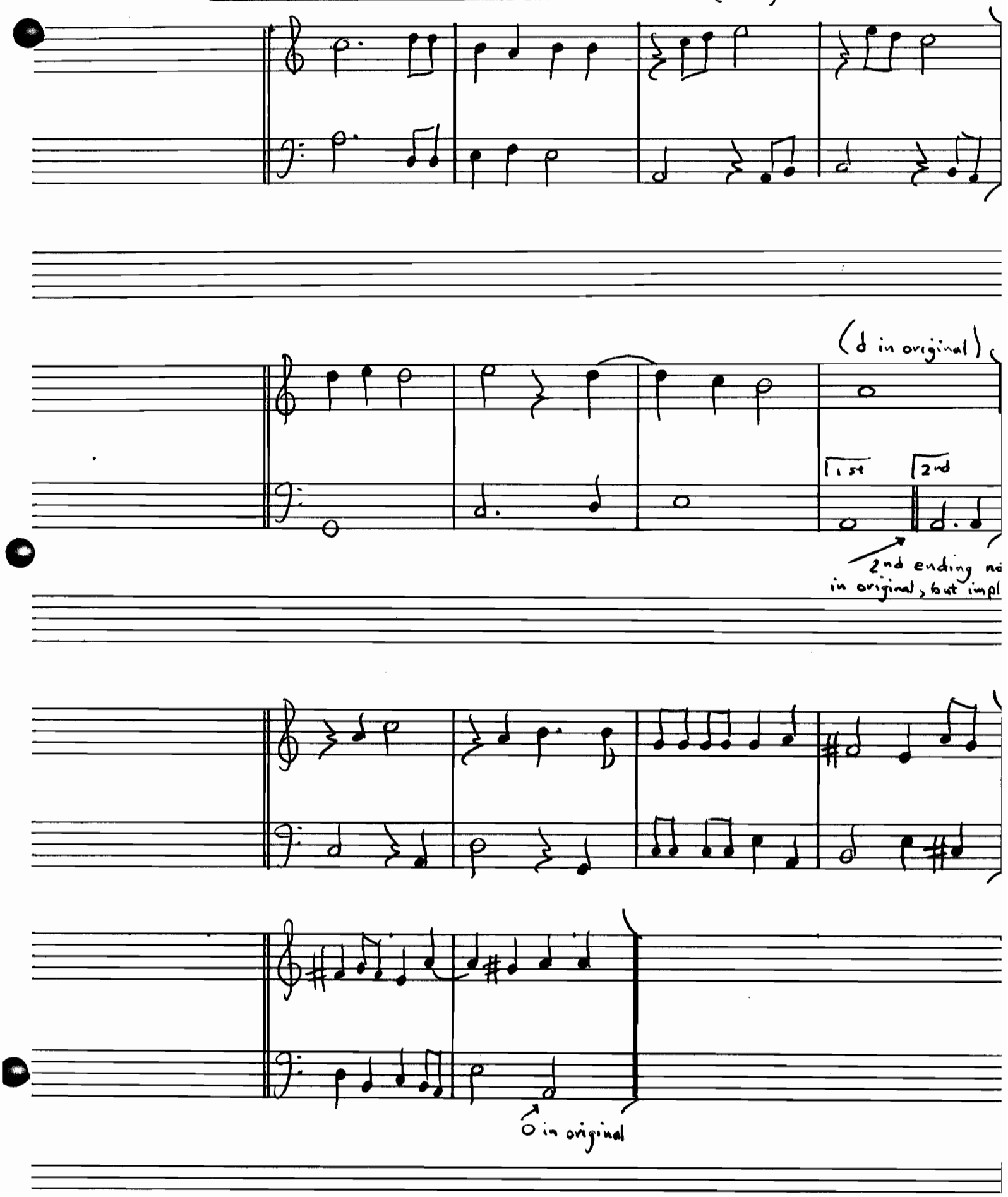


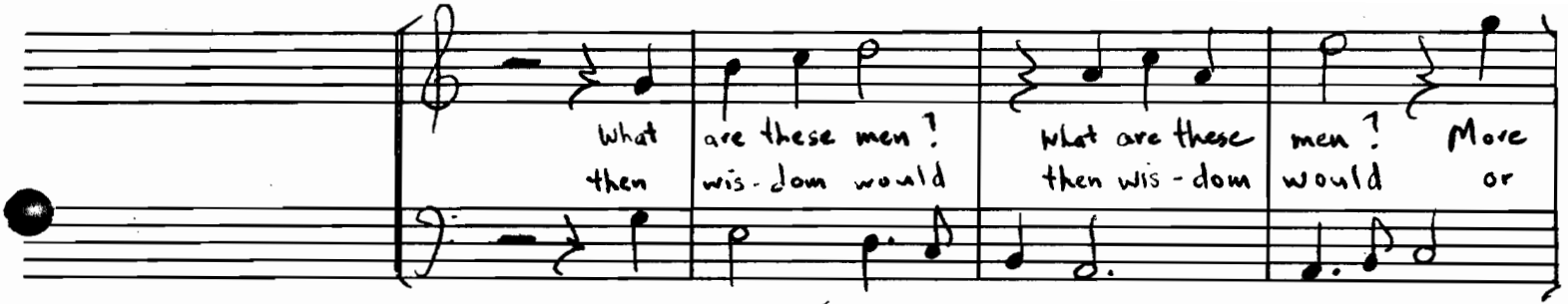


folio 4b. "Sleep way ward thoughts" (John Dowland, First Book of Ayres, 1597)

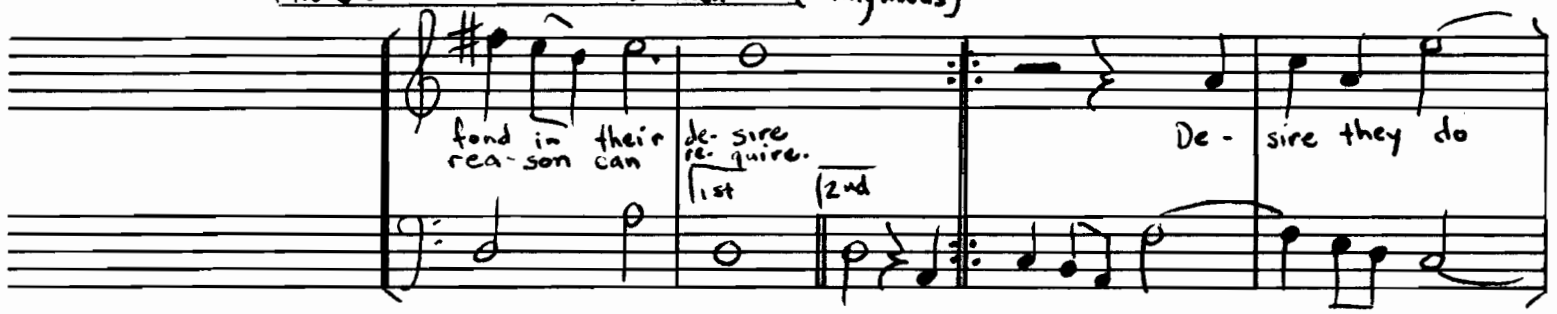


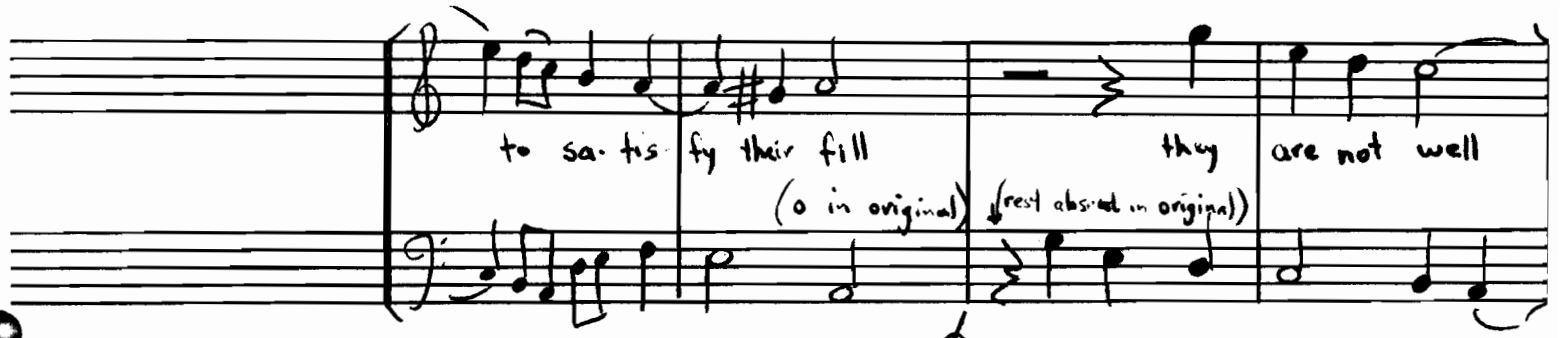
folio 6 - "Will thou Unkind" J. Dowland (1597)

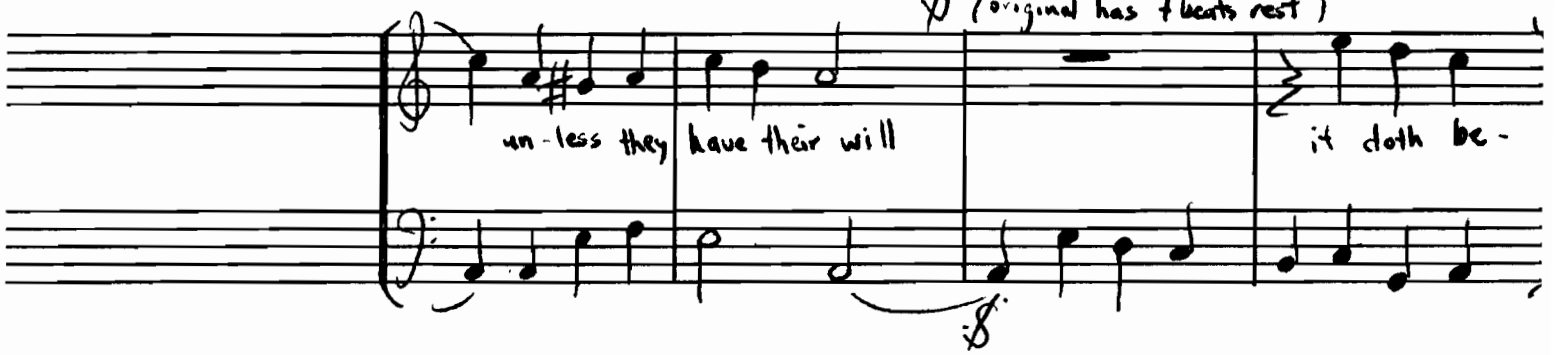


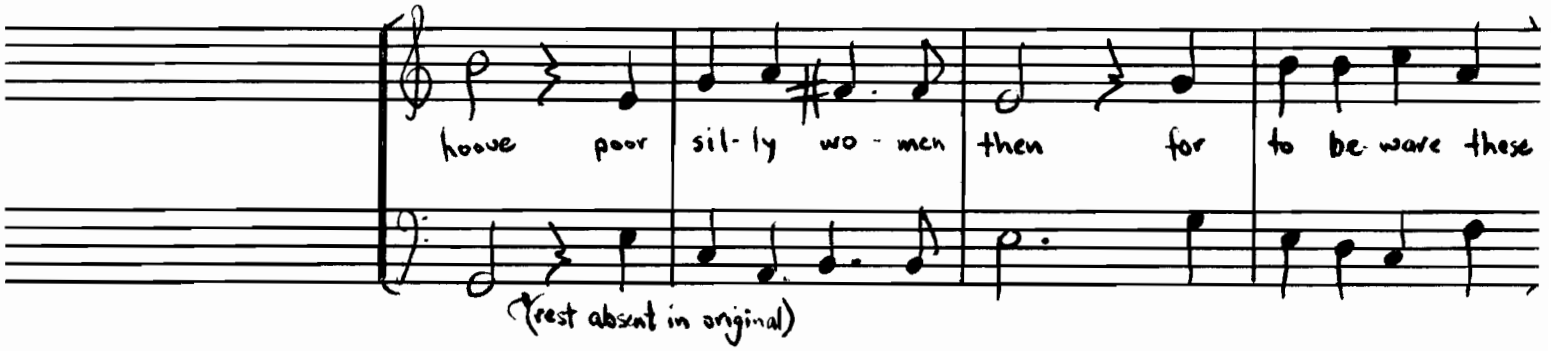


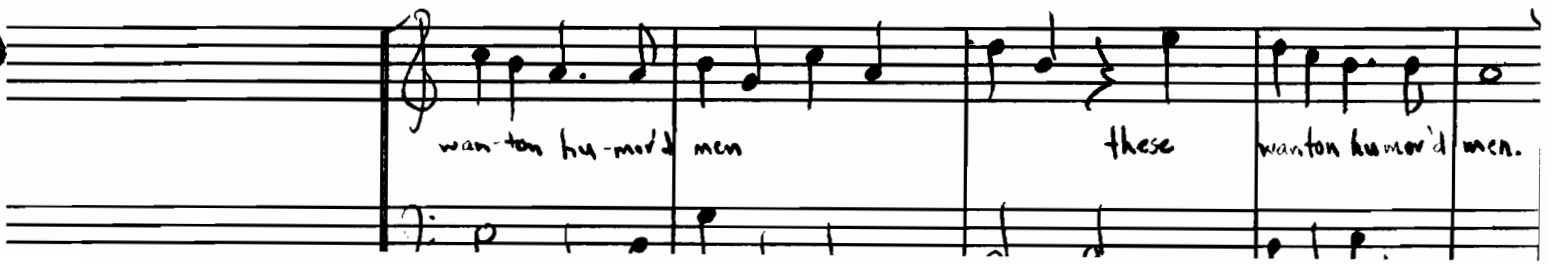
folio 6-6 "What are these men -" (anonymous)







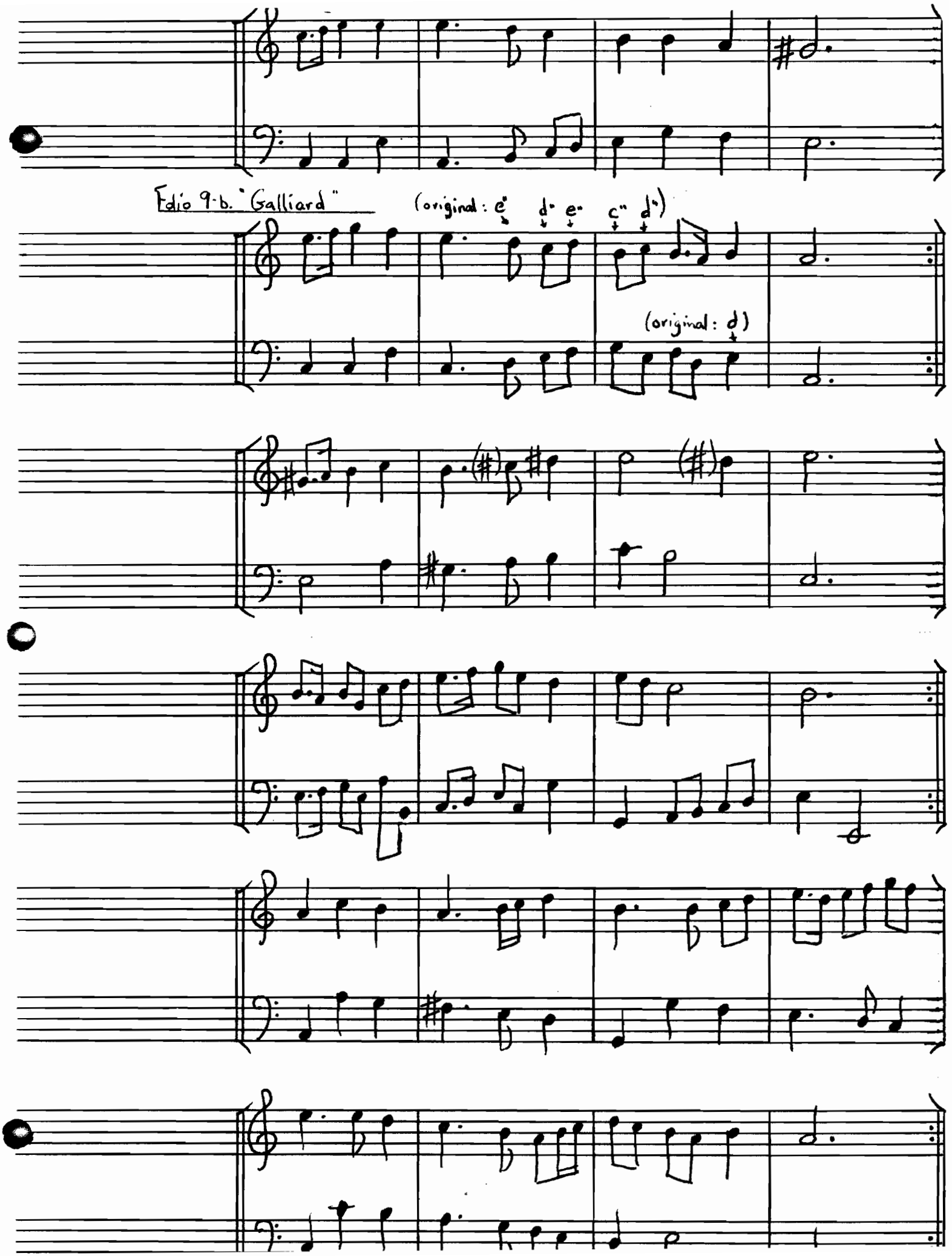




Edio 9-b. "Galliard"

(original: e' d' e' c'' d'')

(original: d)



Lovolo · folio 10