

Lyra Viol Ecclesiastica: A Neglected Manuscript Source in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin

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Founded in 1701, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh's Library was the first public library in Ireland. Located just behind St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, today the library houses over 25,000 items, including over 100 music manuscripts and printed books. Over the last few decades several specialists in seventeenth-century English music have researched parts of the collection;¹ Richard Charteris's published catalogue of the music items will be familiar to many readers.² The main interest among these musicologists has been in the consort music sources, and several important manuscripts in Marsh's Library remain unexplored. One such source is found among the fascicles of a large guardbook, shelved at Z3.4.13. The volume mostly contains miscellaneous consort music (scores and parts) by early seventeenth-century English composers such as William Lawes, Simon Ives, John Coprario, and Christopher Simpson. Some of the Z3.4.13 fascicles have been discussed in print;³ however, one important fascicle, a manuscript containing lyra viol ensemble music, remains relatively unexplored, despite being one of few such sources to have survived.

The lyra viol repertoire is substantial and varied, as even a cursory glance through the *VdGS Index* will demonstrate.⁴ A popular solo instrument throughout much of the seventeenth century, the lyra viol was also used for song accompaniment, and in consort with other lyras or with other instruments.⁵ There are over 75 surviving manuscript sources containing lyra

* I am grateful to Dr Muriel McCarthy, Keeper of Marsh's Library, and the staff of Marsh's Library, for their hospitality during several visits and for permission to reproduce images from the collection.

¹ R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* [RMARC], 13 (1976), 27-63; R. Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Music & Letters*, 61 (1980), 310-317; J. Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts from Oxford and Dublin: Their Copying and a Possible Redating', *The Consort*, 43 (1987), 41-49; R. Charteris, 'New Information about some of the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *The Consort*, 43 (1987), 38-39; R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chebyx*, 24 (1995), 3-18.

² R. Charteris (compiler), *Music in Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clifden, 1982).

³ For an excellent overview of the sources, and a detailed exegesis of several sections of Z3.4.13, see Thompson, 'A Further Look', op. cit.; the George Jeffreys autograph fascicle has been discussed in J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 151-152 and 422.

⁴ *The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd, rev. A. Ashbee (n.p., on-line edition 2008; updated 2009):

<<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicIndex.html>>

⁵ For a succinct introduction to the lyra viol, see J. Jenkins, *The Lyra Viol Consorts*, ed. F. Traficante, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* [RRMBE], 67-68 (Madison, WI, 1992).

viol music, the vast majority of which are English in origin.⁶ In addition, 18 books containing lyra viol music were printed in England in the seventeenth century.⁷ Ten were printed between 1601 and 1615, the rest were printed between 1651 and 1682. Most of the surviving sources contain solo music. After Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* (London, 1609) no lyra viol trios were printed in England. No duets were printed after William Corkine's *The Second Book of Ayres* (London, 1612); after Robert Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (London, 1615) no lyra viol music was printed in England until John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (London, 1651). Thus, from the second decade of the century lyra viol music was disseminated through manuscripts, many of which have not survived or, in the case of ensemble sources, survive incomplete.⁸ Of the surviving manuscripts, only a dozen or so contain ensemble music, and most of these lack at least one partbook. The interrelationships (and lack thereof) between the sources confirm that many more have not survived, a fact frustratingly reinforced by references to lost manuscripts in several auction catalogues from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁹

An important feature of the ensemble lyra viol repertoire is the essentially egalitarian relationship between the parts. In other words, the constituent parts of duets and trios are usually relatively complete harmonically and rhythmically, and are often capable of being performed as solos. This point is aptly demonstrated in the preface to Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (London, 1607), where Ford describes his duets as 'Pavens, Galiardes, Almaines, Toies, Jigges, Thumpes and such like to two Basse-viol, the Lieraway, so made as the greatest number may serve to play alone'.¹⁰ A consequence of this feature of the repertoire is that many constituent parts of lyra viol duets and trios were also disseminated (and survive unidentified) as solos.

⁶ See F. Traficante, 'Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources', *Cheyls*, 8 (1978–79), 4–22. Although in need of updating, Traficante's list is the most complete currently available; see also A. Otterstedt, *Die Englische Lyra-Viol: Instrument und Technik* (Kassel, 1989), 250–267 (largely derived from Traficante's lists).

⁷ Listed in F. Traficante, 'Music for the Lyra Viol: The Printed Sources', *Lute Society Journal*, 8 (1966), 7–24; reprinted in *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America [JVdGSA]*, 5 (1968), 16–33.

⁸ Throughout this article 'lyra viol ensemble' refers to consorts of lyras (i.e. duets and trios), rather than ensembles which include a lyra viol (i.e. lyra consort).

⁹ See H. Playford, 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL' (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419–420); 'Britton Catalogue', reproduced in J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols (1776; repr. 1877 and 1969), ii. 792–793; R. Andrewes, 'Hidden Treasure in Gloucester?', *VdGS Bulletin*, 28 (January, 1968), 13–14. For Playford catalogues, see W. C. Smith, 'Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music', *The Musical Times*, 67 (1926), 636–639, 701–704; L. Coral, 'A John Playford Advertisement', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), 1–12; and R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 605–618. A fairly comprehensive appendix containing a list of references to the lyra viol in English sources 1593–1749 (including sale catalogues) can be found in F. Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Music? A Semantic Puzzle', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 335–351.

¹⁰ The lyra viol duets are edited in *Thomas Ford: Lyra Viol Duets*, ed. O. Timofeyev, RRMBE, 90 (Madison, WI, 1998), which also includes a facsimile of the title page.

It is clear that our understanding of ensemble lute music is greatly hampered by the poor survival rate of the sources. Historical accident has undoubtedly played its part; however, the poor survival of sources may also be explained by the close relationship between the solo and ensemble repertoires. I have argued elsewhere that the lack of sources may be in part an indication that much of the repertoire was improvised or arranged from solo pieces, used as the basis for extemporized or informally composed *contrepartie* settings.¹¹ (The term *contrepartie* is generally used to describe a second lute part added to a pre-existing solo lute piece; most French baroque lute duets were composed in this manner.¹²) Examples of *contreparties* are found in several genres of English music from the first quarter or so of the seventeenth century.¹³ There are several potential examples of *contreparties* in Ferrabosco's *Lessons*, perhaps the most important early printed collection of lute music. As we shall also see throughout this paper, the evidence suggests that *contreparties*—composed and improvised—played a significant role in the development of the ensemble lute repertoire.

The main difficulty with the few surviving ensemble sources is that they are generally incomplete, lacking at least one partbook; this naturally limits the information we can glean from them, and fosters a correlative lack of interest among musicologists. One such manuscript is found among the various sections of Z3.4.13 in Marsh's Library. As noted, Z3.4.13 is a large guardbook; it comprises several miscellaneous leaves and eight distinct manuscript fascicles: Table 1.

| Section | Folios | Description |
|----------------------|---------|--|
| Miscellaneous leaves | 1-4v | Miscellaneous leaves containing consort music parts |
| Fascicle 1 | 5-6v | Miscellaneous keyboard scores |
| Fascicle 2 | 7-12v | Organ part (score): Simon Ives, four-part fantasias |
| Fascicle 3 | 13-32v | Ensemble lute viol [one part only] |
| Fascicle 4 | 33-47 | Continuo parts: four-part pieces by Ives, Jenkins, Ward, Ferrabosco II |
| Fascicle 5 | 47v-59v | Three-part scores: George Jeffreys, fantasias |
| Fascicle 6 | 60-64 | Bass parts: Christopher Simpson's 'Seasons' |
| Fascicle 7 | 64v-71v | Continuo parts: Christopher Simpson's 'Seasons' |
| Fascicle 8 | 72-101v | Organ part (score): Coprario, five-part fantasias |

Table 1. *IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13: outline of the complete guardbook*¹⁴

Referring to the rather random selection of unrelated music in the guardbook, Richard Charteris described it as 'a testament, on the one hand to the skill of

¹¹ See J. Cunningham, "Let *Them* be *Lusty, Smart-Speaking Viols*": William Lawes and the Lute Trio', *JVdGSA*, 43 (2006), 32-68.

¹² See D. Buch, 'On the Authorship of William Lawes's *Suite for Two Lutes*', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 16 (1983), 12-14.

¹³ Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lute Trio', op. cit., 38-40.

¹⁴ For an inventory of the entire guardbook, see Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 112-118.

the binder, and on the other hand to his lack of knowledge about music'.¹⁵ The repertoire preserved in Z3.4.13 as a whole is likely to be representative of the kind of music performed at Narcissus Marsh's weekly music meetings, which he held in Oxford between 1666 and 1678 (see below). If so, it is intriguing to imagine *lyra viol* ensemble music also being performed at such meetings.

The volume was bound in its present form sometime before 1889,¹⁶ presumably with the intention of preserving any unbound miscellaneous music manuscripts that could not be readily identified (and that lacked one or more parts). The *lyra viol* fascicle (the focus of this article) is a large oblong folio manuscript, measuring c286 x 217mm. The watermark is the Norman 'Grapes' type often found in music manuscripts from the first quarter or so of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ The pages are uniformly ruled with a six-line, three-stave *rastrum*: there are six staves per page, with ruled margins on both sides.¹⁸ It is unclear whether one or two companion partbooks are lacking,¹⁹ and relatively few concordances are known to supplement the lost parts. The identity of the copyist is also unknown. However, before exploring the complexities of the *lyra viol* fascicle in more detail, we should perhaps first consider how Marsh obtained such a manuscript. (Although the shelf number Z3.4.13 applies to the guardbook as a whole, in the following discussion it will be used to refer specifically to the *lyra viol* fascicle.)

Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713) was born in Wiltshire, the youngest of five children.²⁰ From the age of 16 he was educated at Oxford University. He received his Bachelor's degree from Magdalen College in 1658, and in the same year was elected to a Wiltshire fellowship in Exeter College. He took his M.A. in 1660, his Bachelor of Divinity in 1667, and his Doctorate of Divinity in 1671. According to his diary, kept between the years 1690 and 1696, Marsh became interested in music during his time at Oxford. Referring to the year 1664 Marsh wrote 'I had before this betaken myself to the practice of musick, especially of the Bass Viol, & after the fire of London [1666], I constantly kept a weekly consort (of Instrumental musick & sometimes vocal) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, & then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford'.²¹ Marsh left Oxford in late 1678 to take up his appointment as provost of Trinity College, Dublin, indicating that his music meetings lasted for about 12 years, although Anthony Wood noted that Marsh held regular meetings at Exeter College from 1658. Whatever the case, Marsh's 'weekly

¹⁵ Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁷ For further information on this watermark (and illustrations), see A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music [IMCCM]*, vol. 1 (Aldershot, 2001), 284-285; R. Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', in *William Laves (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 143-154.

¹⁸ Following the measurement system in *IMCCM*, the *rastral* measurements are 15(17)14(17.5)14.5(17).

¹⁹ The *VdGS Index* describes it as a one partbook of an original set of two: see below.

²⁰ For a detailed biographical account, see M. McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus (1638-1713)', *ODNB* (accessed 28 October 2009).

²¹ *Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638-1696*, ed. R. Gillespie (Cork, 2003), 20. Marsh's diary begins 20 December 1690 and ends 8 December 1696. See also Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., especially 35.

music meeting was the main such gathering at the University from 1666, and the only one after 1670'.²² There were several such music meetings in Oxford, where professional musicians and university graduates gathered regularly to play chamber music. These music meetings appear to have begun on a regular basis around 1642, when the court was disbanded because of the Civil War leaving many musicians without a regular source of income. The meetings were essentially a way for professional musicians to generate extra income, and seem to have continued with occasional interruptions throughout the rest of the century. The best-documented meetings were those held by the organist William Ellis in the 1650s, attended by Anthony Wood. By the time Wood became involved in 1656, Ellis was holding his meetings at his house in Broad Street, on the site of what is now the New Bodleian Library, first on Thursdays then on Tuesdays. Members of the public were charged 6d a time for the privilege of playing with professional musicians.²³ Unlike Ellis's meetings, we have no records of the musicians who attended Marsh's meetings. Although Wood did note that 'some of the company' that attended the Ellis meetings also attended those held by Marsh.²⁴

Marsh's interest in the bass viol roughly coincided with the first Playford publications of lyra viol music in the early 1650s. Indeed, according to Richard Charteris's published inventory of music manuscripts and prints now missing from Marsh's Library, Marsh owned a copy of the 1661 (second) edition of *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way*.²⁵ Although this copy is lost, Marsh's own lyra viol manuscript containing a similar repertory has survived. The manuscript, Z3.5.13, is dated 1666 and contains 60 pieces for solo lyra viol copied by Marsh and an unidentified scribe.²⁶ Marsh was clearly also aware of lyra viol ensemble music; the same list of missing items includes references to lyra consorts by Christopher Simpson and John Jenkins.²⁷ We do not know when Marsh acquired the lyra viol manuscript now bound in Z3.4.13, however, it seems likely that by that time it had become separated from any companion partbooks. If this were true, notwithstanding Marsh's familiarity with the lyra viol as both a solo and ensemble instrument, we should not necessarily assume that he knew that Z3.4.13 actually contained music for two or possibly three lyra viols. Marsh may even have acquired it presuming its contents to be solos. There are no indications in the manuscript about the number of partbooks the

²² Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., 35; see also B. Bellingham, 'The musical circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *JVdGSA*, 19 (1982), 6-70.

²³ See P. Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 29/3 (1996), 257-288, especially 277.

²⁴ See also P. Gouk, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. VI: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 621-640.

²⁵ See Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Marsh's Library', op. cit.. The volume was apparently shelved with William Lawes's 'Musick in 4 parts' [the Royall Consort?] as they shared the same shelf number; see also Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 127-133.

²⁶ Facsimile edition: *Narcissus Marsh's Lyra Viol Book: MS Z3.5.13*, ed. R. Rastall, Musical Sources, 10 (Clarabricken, 1978).

²⁷ Christopher Simpson 'his Lyra Consort in 3 parts'; John Jenkins, 'Ejusdem Lyra Consort'; see Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Marsh's Library', op. cit.

set originally contained,²⁸ and few pieces contain telltale silences usually indicating a missing part; only four pieces begin with rests, and most of the pieces work reasonably well as solos with little or no adaptation. Indeed, as we shall see, several of the pieces in Z3.4.13 were disseminated as solos and are found in solo lyra viol manuscripts with few substantial variants.

Modern assessment of Z3.4.13 is hampered by the way in which it was bound into the guardbook; the late nineteenth-century binding does not preserve the lyra viol fascicle in its original order. The situation is further confused by the presence of two original numbering systems within the manuscript, in addition to the modern foliation of the entire guardbook added by Richard Andrewes in 1968. Both numbering systems were written by the same person, which appears to be the copyist of the tablature. First, there are page numbers at the top centre of most of the pages: Figure 1. For some of the manuscript this pagination also serves as piece numbers, as only one piece (regardless of length) was copied per page. The second group of numbers relate to pieces: Figure 2. However, as we can see from Table 2, neither numerical sequence is complete. There are no page numbers on modern ff. 20-20v and 22-22v, nor are there are piece numbers for ff. 21-32v. The two pieces on the single leaf ff. 22-22v contain neither page nor piece numbers.

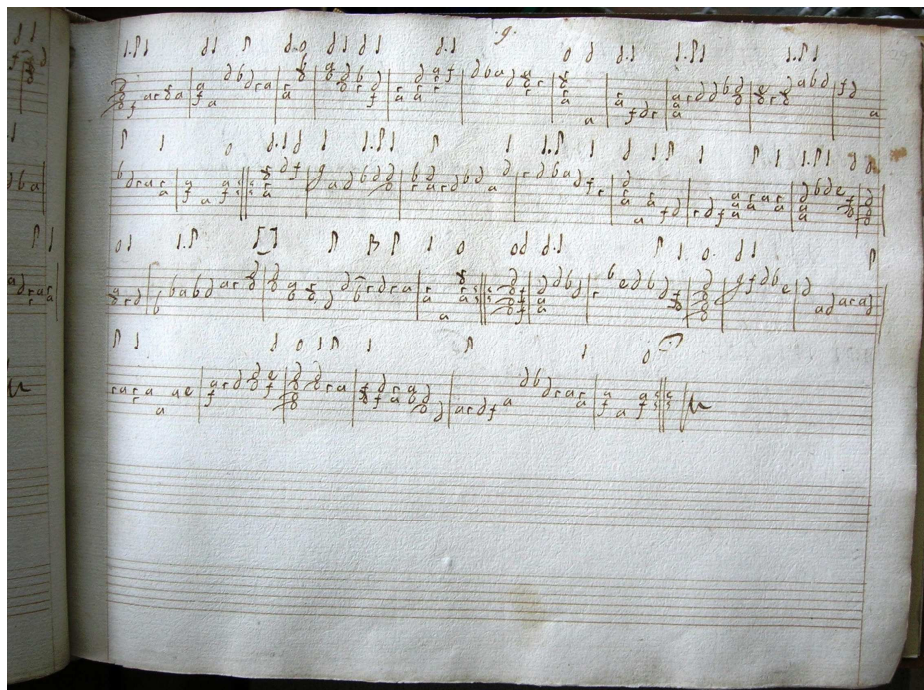


Fig. 1. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 29. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

²⁸ This information could, of course, have been contained on a now lost flyleaf etc.

Table 2. IRL-*Dm*, MS Z3.4.13, ff. 13-32v: Inventory (current order)

| Title | Attribution | Folio(s) | No. | Page | Tuning | VdGS ¹ | Modern | |
|--|-------------------------------------|----------|-----|------|--------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | © = concordance(s) known | +(+) = additional part(s) known |
| <i>Coranto</i> By: S: I: | Ives | 13 | 1 | 47 | fhfhf | 111/142 | © | ++ |
| [Ayre] | [Ives] | 13 | 2 | [47] | fhfhf | 112/141 | © | ++ |
| <i>A Masée</i> By S: I: | Ives | 13v | 4 | 48 | fhfhf | 113 | | |
| [Alman] | [Ives?] | 13v | 5 | [48] | fhfhf | 114 | | |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 13v-14 | 6 | [48] | fhfhf | 115 | | |
| [M ^{rs} Mary Brownes Choyce] By S: I: | Ives | 14 | 7 | 49 | fhfhf | 116/Gregorie 49 | © | + |
| [Ayre] By S: I: | Ives | 14v | 8 | 50 | fhfhf | 117 | | |
| [M ^{rs} Colliers Choice] By S: I: | Ives | 14v | 9 | [50] | fhfhf | 143 | © | + |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By S: I: | Ives | 14v-15 | 10 | [50] | fhfhf | 118/144 | | + |
| <i>See the Buildings</i> By: S: I: | Ives | 15 | 11 | 51 | fhfhf | 119 | © | ++ |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 15 | 12 | [51] | fhfhf | 120 | | |
| [Alman] By S: I: | Ives | 15v | 13 | 52 | fhfhf | 121 | | |
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | Gregorie | 15v | 14 | [52] | fhfhf | 52/Ives 148 | © | ++ |
| [All ye forsaken lovers] By: S: I: | Ives | 15v-16 | 15 | [52] | fhfhf | 150 | © | + |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 16 | 16 | 53 | fhfhf | 122 | | |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 16 | 17 | [53] | fhfhf | 123 | | |
| <i>Alman</i> By R: Jo: | [Robert Johnson?, arr. Gregorie] | 16v | 18 | 54 | fhfhf | 9 | © | |
| <i>M Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols</i> By: S: I: | John Ward, arr. Ives | 16v | 19 | [54] | fhfhf | 124 | © | |
| [The Fancy] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 20 | 55 | fhfhf | 125 | © | |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 21 | [55] | fhfhf | 131/Gregorie 11 | © | + |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 22 | [55] | fhfhf | 126 | | |

¹ VdGS nos. refer to the person listed under 'Attribution'; where two nos. are given this indicates a second part listed in the *VdGS Index* under a different number. For details of concordances, see *VdGS Index*.

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|----|------|---------|-----------------|---|-----|
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | 17v | 23 | 56 | fhfhf | 55/Ives 147 | © | + |
| <i>Coranto</i> By: S: I: | 17v | 24 | [56] | fhfhf | 127 | © | |
| <i>Coranto</i> : By: T: G: | 18 | 25 | 57 | fhfhf | 56 | | |
| [Ayre] | 18 | 26 | [57] | fhfhf | 57 | | |
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | 18v | 27 | 58 | fhfhf | 58 | | |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | 18v | 28 | [58] | fhfhf | 128 | © | |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | 18v | 29 | [58] | fhfhf | 132/Gregorie 10 | © | + |
| <i>Williams bis Maske</i> By: Tho: G: | 19 | 30 | 59 | fhfhf | 59 | © | |
| <i>A Humor</i> by: S: I: | 19v | 31 | 60 | fhfhf | 129 | © | + |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | 20 | 32 | | fhfhf | 130/146 | | + |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G: | 20v | 33 | | fhfhf | 35 | © | |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G: | 20v | 34 | | fhfhf | 48 | © | + |
| [Ayre; fragment] | 20v | 35 | | [fhfhf] | --- | | |
| [Coranto] | 21 | | 46 | ffhfh | 9101 | | |
| <i>M^s Anne Forrist's Choice</i> / S: I: | 21 | 3 | [46] | fhfhf | 145 | | + |
| [Saraband] | 21v | | 45 | ffhfh | 9102 | | |
| <i>Coranto</i> By: W: L: | 22 | | | fhfhf | 541 | | |
| <i>Allman</i> By: S: I: | 22v | | | fhfhf | 149/Gregorie 34 | © | +++ |
| [Pavan] | 23 | | 44 | ffhfh | 9103 | | |
| [Galliard] | 23v | | 43 | ffhfh | 9166 | © | + |
| [Pavan] | 24 | | 42 | ffhfh | 9104 | | |
| [Pavan] | 24v | | 41 | ffhfh | 9105 | | |
| [Alman] | 25 | | 1 | fehf | 115 | © | + |
| [Alman] | 25v | | 2 | fehf | 8221 | | |
| [Galliard] | 26 | | 3 | fehf | 117 | © | + |
| [Galliard] | 26v | | 4 | fehf | 8222 | | |
| [Pavan] | 27 | | 5 | fehf | 8223 | | |
| [Alman] | 27v | | 6 | fehf | 118 | © | + |
| [Pavan] | 28 | | 7 | fehf | 8224 | | |
| [Alman] | 28v | | 8 | fehf | 8225 | | |

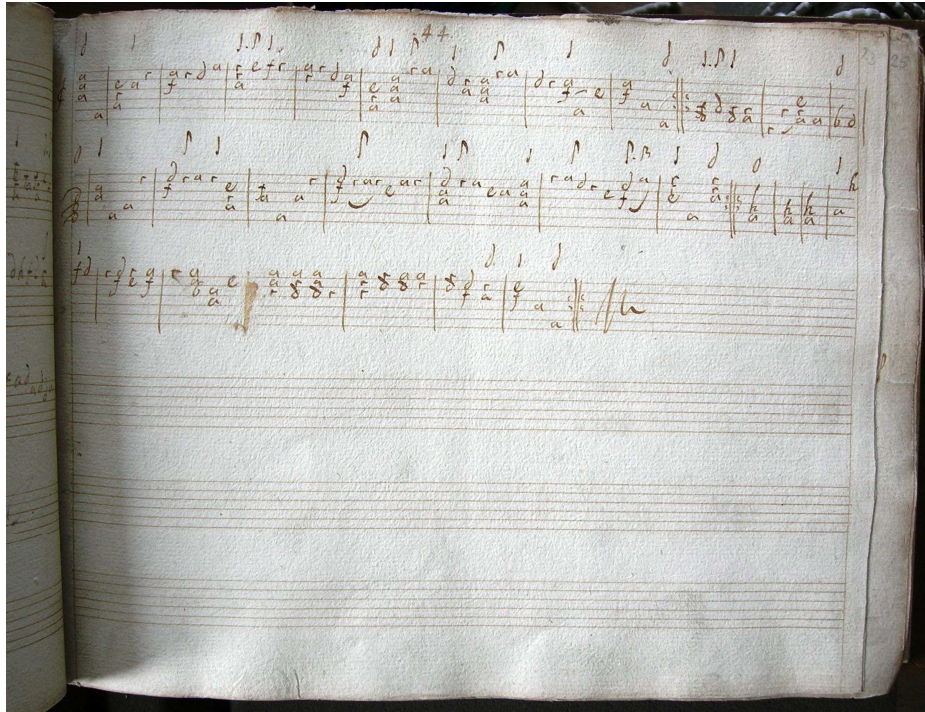


Fig. 2. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 23. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the copyist paginated most of the manuscript before much, if any, of the music was copied. The leaf with neither page nor piece numbers was presumably a late addition and should be appended after p. 60 (modern f. 19v); the continuation of piece no. 31 from p. 60 onto the next unnumbered page (f. 20) shows that the copyist did not paginate after 60, although there were at least two further leaves in the manuscript. By rearranging the manuscript according to these numbering systems we can now see its original order: Table 3. The rather confused present order of the manuscript even led Richard Charteris to conclude that the first folio was missing,²⁹ whereas it was simply misplaced within the modern binding. However, rather than demonstrating the binder's 'lack of knowledge about music', the manuscript was bound within the guardbook in a logical order: first the large section of numbered pieces (nos 1-35), then the section with page numbers, and finally the unused pages.

²⁹ Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 113.

Table 3. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, ff. 13-32v: Inventory (original order)

© = concordance(s) known +(+)= additional part(s) known

| Title | Modern | | | | VdGS ¹ |
|------------|---------------|----------|-----|------|-------------------|
| | Attribution | Folio(s) | No. | Page | |
| [Alman] | [Ferrabosco] | 25 | | 1 | 115 |
| [Alman] | [Anon.] | 25v | | 2 | 8221 |
| [Galliard] | [Ferrabosco] | 26 | | 3 | 117 |
| [Galliard] | [Anon.] | 26v | | 4 | 8222 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 27 | | 5 | 8223 |
| [Alman] | [Ferrabosco] | 27v | | 6 | 118 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 28 | | 7 | 8224 |
| [Alman] | [Anon.] | 28v | | 8 | 8225 |
| [Galliard] | [Anon.] | 29 | | 9 | 8226 |
| [Alman] | [Anon.] | 29v | | 10 | 8227 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 30 | | 11 | 8228 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 30v | | 12 | 8229 |
| [Alman] | [Anon.] | 31 | | 13 | 8230 |
| | [Unused page] | 31v | | 14 | |
| | [Unused page] | 32 | | 15 | |
| | [Unused page] | 32v | | 16 | |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 24v | | 41 | 9105 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 24 | | 42 | 9104 |
| [Galliard] | [Anon.] | 23v | | 43 | 9166 |
| [Pavan] | [Anon.] | 23 | | 44 | 9103 |
| [Saraband] | [Anon.] | 21v | | 45 | 9102 |
| [Coranto] | [Anon.] | 21 | | 46 | 9101 |

¹ VdGS nos. refer to the person listed under ‘Attribution’; where two nos. are given this indicates a second part listed in the *VdGS Index* under a different number. For details of concordances, see *VdGS Index*.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------|----|------|-------|-----------------|---|----|
| <i>M^{rs} Anne Forrist's Choice</i> / S: I: | Ives | 21 | 3 | [46] | fhfhf | 145 | | + |
| <i>Coranto</i> By: S: I: | Ives | 13 | 1 | 47 | fhfhf | 111/142 | © | ++ |
| [Ayre] | [Ives] | 13 | 2 | [47] | fhfhf | 112/141 | © | ++ |
| <i>A Maske</i> By S: I: | Ives | 13v | 4 | 48 | fhfhf | 113 | | |
| [Alman] | [Ives?] | 13v | 5 | [48] | fhfhf | 114 | | |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 13v-14 | 6 | [48] | fhfhf | 115 | | |
| [M ^{rs} Mary Brownes Choyce] By S: I: | Ives | 14 | 7 | 49 | fhfhf | 116/Gregorie 49 | © | + |
| [Ayre] By S: I: | Ives | 14v | 8 | 50 | fhfhf | 117 | | |
| [M ^{rs} Colliers Choice] By S: I: | Ives | 14v | 9 | [50] | fhfhf | 143 | © | ++ |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By S: I: | Ives | 14v-15 | 10 | [50] | fhfhf | 118/144 | © | + |
| <i>See the Buildings</i> By: S: I: | Ives | 15 | 11 | 51 | fhfhf | 119 | © | ++ |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 15 | 12 | [51] | fhfhf | 120 | | |
| [Alman] By S: I: | Ives | 15v | 13 | 52 | fhfhf | 121 | | |
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | Gregorie | 15v | 14 | [52] | fhfhf | 52/Ives 148 | © | + |
| [All ye forsaken lovers] By: S: I: | Ives | 15v-16 | 15 | [52] | fhfhf | 150 | © | + |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 16 | 16 | 53 | fhfhf | 122 | | |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 16 | 17 | [53] | fhfhf | 123 | | |
| <i>Alman</i> By R: Jo: | [Robert Johnson?, arr. Gregorie] | 16v | 18 | 54 | fhfhf | 9 | © | |
| <i>M^{rs} Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols</i> By: S: I: | John Ward, arr. Ives | 16v | 19 | [54] | fhfhf | 124 | © | |
| [The Fancy] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 20 | 55 | fhfhf | 125 | © | |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 21 | [55] | fhfhf | 131/Gregorie 11 | © | + |
| [Alman] By: S: I: | Ives | 17 | 22 | [55] | fhfhf | 126 | | |
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | Gregorie | 17v | 23 | 56 | fhfhf | 55/Ives 147 | © | + |
| <i>Coranto</i> By S: I: | Ives | 17v | 24 | [56] | fhfhf | 127 | © | |
| <i>Coranto</i> : By: T: G: | Gregorie | 18 | 25 | 57 | fhfhf | 56 | | |
| [Ayre] | [Gregorie?] | 18 | 26 | [57] | fhfhf | 57 | | |
| [Ayre] By: T: G: | Gregorie | 18v | 27 | 58 | fhfhf | 58 | | |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | Ives | 18v | 28 | [58] | fhfhf | 128 | © | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-----|----|------|---------|-----------------|---|-----|
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | Ives | 18v | 29 | [58] | fhfhf | 132/Gregorie 10 | © | + |
| <i>Williams bis Maske</i> By: Tho: G: | Gregorie | 19 | 30 | 59 | fhfhf | 59 | © | |
| <i>A Humor by: S: I:</i> | Ives | 19v | 31 | 60 | fhfhf | 129 | © | + |
| [Ayre] By: S: I: | Ives | 20 | 32 | | fhfhf | 130/146 | © | + |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G: | Gregorie | 20v | 33 | | fhfhf | 35 | © | |
| <i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G: | Gregorie | 20v | 34 | | fhfhf | 48 | © | + |
| [Ayre; fragment] | [Gregorie?] | 20v | 35 | | [fhfhf] | --- | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Coranto</i> By: W: L: | Lawes | 22 | | | fhfhf | 541 | | |
| <i>Allman</i> By: S: I: | Ives | 22v | | | fhfhf | 149/Gregorie 34 | © | +++ |

The first folio of the manuscript in its present order (f. 13) is quite badly damaged, with much of the ink on the top half of the page obscured (Figure 3). This suggests that the manuscript spent some time in contact with a floor or some such before being bound into the guardbook. The stave lines on the last leaf (f. 32v) are also quite faded—there is no music entered—and has the same kind of damage as on the first leaf (f. 13): whatever the cause, this strongly suggests that these were the two outer pages of the manuscript for some time. Both of the current outer leaves also have a portion of the top right-hand corner torn away; the dimensions of the torn portions are similar but not identical. The implication is that Z3.4.13 was unbound by at least the late nineteenth century, which also explains why several of the pages—modern ff. 21-24—were bound the wrong way around (i.e. verso to recto; each has an even page number on the verso side). With the exception of f. 21,³⁰ the outer edges of these pages are cut quite close to the ruled margin (see Figure 4, and Figure 2, above); this indicates that they were cut out from another binding, and re-bound in this way because of the wider margin on the outer edge.



Fig. 3. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 13. *With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library*

From the original ordering of Z3.4.13 given in Table 3 we can see that the manuscript was organized by tuning, a common feature of many lyra viol sources (although none are identified in the manuscript).³¹ Only three tunings

³⁰ Folio 21 is also the wrong way around, but the right-side was not cut out: only about two inches at the top of the right-side are torn; however, one can still see the crease of the old binding on the outer edge of the page.

³¹ In some lyra viol sources the tunings are indicated by a table of pitches, an intervallic shorthand (e.g. *febf*) or by a reference to the tuning name (e.g. 'harp way flat' etc.).

are used, the same three needed for Ferrabosco's *Lessons*. The first section is in *febf*, commonly as 'lyra way' or 'Alfonso his first way'. The second section is in *ffbf*, generally known as 'Alfonso way'. The final section is in *fbfb* or 'eights' tuning. The tunings and the style of the pieces suggest that the much of the music dates to before c1625.³²

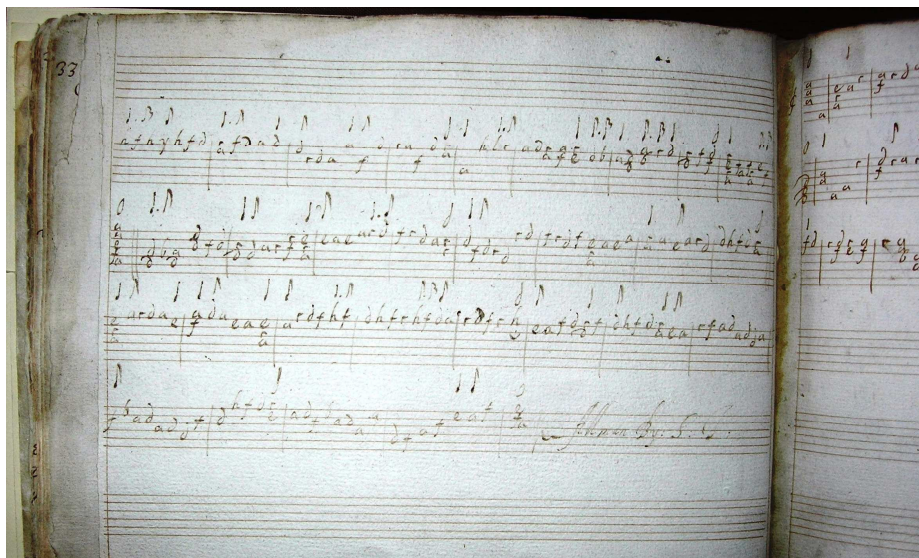


Fig. 4. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 22v. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

Z3.4.13 was copied by a single scribe in at least two distinct phases.³³ The first phase comprises the first two tuning sequences (*febf* and *ffbf*), in which the copyist provided neither titles nor composer attributions. Three of the pieces in the first tuning are also found Ferrabosco's *Lessons* (see Appendix, nos. 1-3); each contains minor variants from the printed versions (e.g. note(s) omitted from a multiple stop; notes played on a stopped string rather than an open one; minor rhythmic variants). The variants suggest that the printed edition was not the copy source, although it was certainly closely related to the print. The remaining ten pieces of the first tuning sequence are unique to Z3.4.13.³⁴ The six pieces in the second tuning (*ffbf*) also appear to have been copied around the same time as the first. These pieces are stylistically similar to those in the first tuning section (*febf*), and all are unique to the manuscript. As can be seen from Figures 1-2, the hand in these two sections is careful but fluent: each piece is finished with a distinctive terminal barline after a repeat sign, usually incorporating a fermata over the double barline or final rhythm sign.

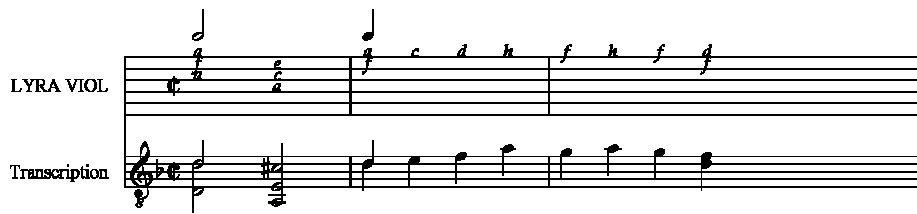
The second copying phase comprises the third tuning section (*fbfb*). This is the largest section of the manuscript, containing 37 pieces, one of which is unfinished (Example 1). With the exception of a corant by William Lawes and

³² For lyra viol tunings, see F. Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Tunings: "All Ways have been Tryed to do It"', *Acta Musicologica*, 42 (1970), 196-204.

³³ These phases denote overall periods of copying activity; there are, for example, several variations in the ink within these phases.

³⁴ None of the pieces in the first tuning section are given a time signature.

an alman by Simon Ives (ff. 22-22v), the pieces are numbered continuously 1-35; the unfinished ayre is no. 35 of this sequence.



Ex. 1. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 20v, no. 35: Anon., [Ayre] (fragment)

The *fb/fb* section appears to have been copied some time after the first two tuning sections and with less attention to presentation. For example, in the previous two tunings only one piece was copied per page, but in this third tuning almost every page is filled with two or three pieces (Figure 5). Furthermore, the ink variations in the third tuning section suggest that it was copied in instalments. The sequence begins on p. 47 (modern f. 13), with nos. 1 and 2. However, the verso side of the leaf contains only nos 4, 5 and 6. No. 3 is actually the piece titled ‘M^{rs} Anne Forrists Choice’ (modern f. 21). As noted (but unexplained) by Charteris, this (duple-time) piece is prefaced by the number ‘3’. The meaning is obvious, however, when the manuscript is presented in its original order. The copyist clearly forgot to add the piece, so did the logical thing and appended it to the end of the previous page (i.e. p. 46; Figure 6). This is of some note, as it suggests that the copyist had a clear order in mind when compiling the manuscript.

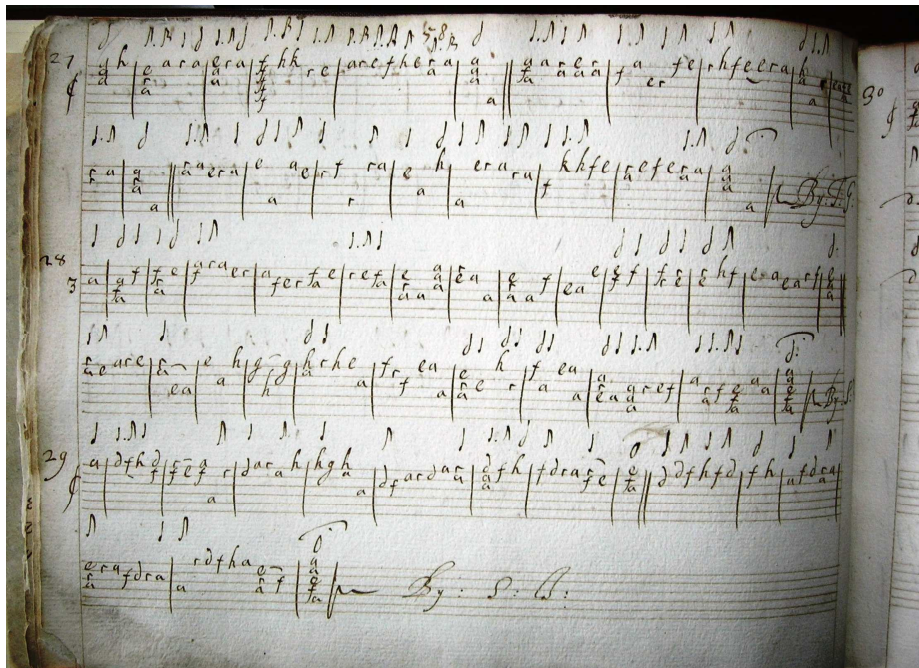


Fig. 5. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 18v. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

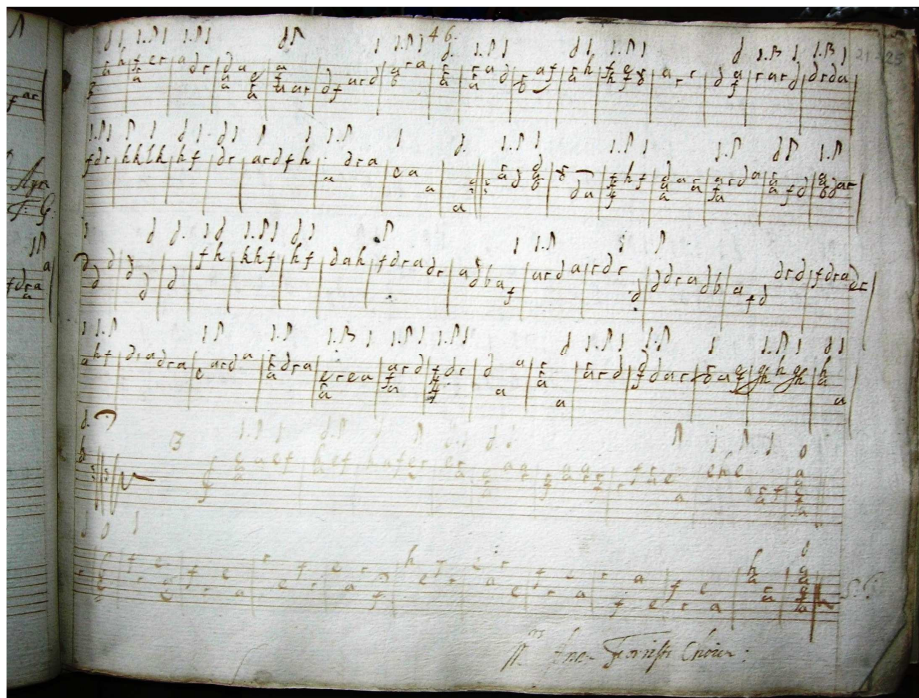


Fig. 6. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 21. *With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library*

32 of the 56 pieces in Z3.4.13 are unique; 23 pieces carry no composer attributions in the manuscript, and many of these are unknown in other sources: this situation is paralleled in many ensemble lyra viol sources.³⁵ There is a single piece attributed to William Lawes ('W: L:'), and another to 'R: Jo:' (see below), and 24 are attributed to Simon Ives ('S: I:'). Seven pieces are attributed to 'T: G:'. This is presumably Thomas Gregorie, the only known lyra viol composer at this time fitting these initials. We know little about Gregorie. No connections have been established between him and the members of the Gregorie family that worked in the Royal Music at the English court during the seventeenth century.³⁶ Gregorie seems to have been active in the first half of the century and composed/arranged much lyra viol music; almost 90 pieces have been attributed to him in the *VdGS Index*, most of which are duets that now lack one part. A significant problem with Gregorie is, however, that few of the pieces attributed to him are uncontested in one way or another, and many are attributed to him by their position in a manuscript. One suspects that he was more an arranger than a composer; as we shall see, however, this distinction is often a difficult one to maintain or even identify in the lyra viol repertoire.

³⁵ For example, four of the five manuscript sources of lyra viol trios (US-CAh, MS Mus. 70; GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3; GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247; GB-Och, Mus. 531-532) contain a high number of unattributed pieces; all pieces in the fifth source, GB-Och, Mus. 725-727, are attributed. There are also remarkably few concordances between these five manuscripts. See also Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lyra Viol Trio', op. cit..

³⁶ See A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, assisted by P. Holman and F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714* (Aldershot, 1998), i. 521-525; F. Traficante, 'Gregorie, Thomas', *GMO* (accessed 6 December 2009).

The pieces in the first two tuning sections are stylistically similar to the three pieces from Ferrabosco's *Lessons* (1609) found in the first tuning sequence. However, perhaps the most interesting piece is the opening alman (f. 25; Ferrabosco VdGS 115). This piece is also found as a duet in another set of partbooks copied by John Merro, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247.³⁷ Merro and our copyist must have taken the piece from sources closely related to the printed edition; all three versions are similar, but with the usual minor variants. The piece is also found in another set of lyra viol partbooks: GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, two partbooks from an original set of three containing lyra viol trios.³⁸ As can be seen from the Example 2a-c, the first strain of the 531-532 version is largely the same as the printed version, although the chordal texture is distributed evenly (in solo lines) between the voices, resulting in fewer chords. Indeed, much of the missing third part of the first strain can be reconstructed from the printed version.

Ex. 2a-c. *Alfonso Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Strain 1 variants*

Ex. 2a. *Lyra viols 1-2: Alfonso Ferrabosco, Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols (London, 1609), no. 26; GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-246 (John Merro partbooks), p. 23; Concordance for lyra viol 2: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 25*

Ex. 2b. *Strain 1: GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, no. 19*

³⁷ For inventory and analysis, see *IMCCM*, vol. 1, 139-166.

³⁸ For 531-2 (including inventory, facsimiles, and transcriptions), see J. Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2007), i. 136-143, ii. 368-384.

Ex. 2c. Editorial reconstruction of Strain 1 for three lyra viols

From this, it seems that Ferrabosco's alman existed as a lyra viol duet and trio. However, the second and third strains of the 531-532 version are significantly different to the duet version.³⁹ The second strain of 531 again begins with a scaled-down version of one of the duet parts, but after the first two bars quickly turns into a different piece (both versions are given in full in the Appendix, nos. 1b and 1b, below). The 531-532 version is stylistically typical of Ferrabosco and retains the overall character of the alman. However, this version is less adventurous harmonically, generally avoiding the extended excursions to flat keys; the overall harmonic scheme is significantly altered between the two versions. Although it is impossible to say with certainty which version came first, one suspects that the 531-532 version predates the printed version. This may indicate that the piece originated as a lyra viol trio (if this was not itself an arrangement) and that Ferrabosco (re-)arranged it as a duet for publication in 1609. The 531-532 version certainly seems musically less mature than the published version; even allowing for the missing third part, the last two strains are quite homophonic which is rare in Ferrabosco's music (adding to the suggestion that it may be an early work).

The six pieces in the second tuning also seem to date to around the first decade of the century; no concordances have been identified, and they are of no particular interest in the current context. The third tuning section is dominated by music attributed to Ives and Gregorie. Of the 42 complete pieces in this section, 24 are attributed to 'S: I:' and 7 to 'T: G:': several more can reasonably be attributed to either man 'by position'. This section seems to have been copied in the early to mid 1630s, although some of the music is much older (e.g. several pieces are associated with court masques from the first quarter of the century). The pieces in this section also demonstrate several—

³⁹ A point not noted in the *VdGS Index*.

often related—issues that one comes across in the lyra viol repertoire generally: (1) cross-attributions, especially where two parts of a duet survive in two separate sources: this occurs in several instances with Ives and Gregorie; (2) the interrelationship between the solo and ensemble repertoires, and the significance of *contreparties* in the development of the ensemble repertoire; (3) the number of arrangements (especially of popular tunes and masque dances), where the distinction between arranger and composer is blurred.

The untitled air by Simon Ives on folio 18v (no. 29) is an arrangement of a piece found in four- and five-part consort versions in two important collections of consort music published in Hamburg by two expatriate English composers. The five-part setting is found in William Brade's *Neue ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (1617), the four-part setting in Thomas Simpson's *Taffel-Consort* (1621).⁴⁰ Like many of the pieces in these publications, this dance may have originally been composed for an English masque.⁴¹ Andrew Sabol suggested that it was performed in George Chapman's *Memorable Masque of the Middle Temple* (1613); however, there is little, if any, evidence to support attribution to this masque in particular.⁴² The Z3.4.13 version is unique, and apparently one part of a duet. It is one of several pieces from Z3.4.13 to be given a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 132, Gregorie 10. The 'other part' of the duet is found in four lyra viol sources, three of which are manuscripts of solo music; three of these sources carry attributions to 'Tho: Gregorye' or 'T.G.'⁴³ The implication seems to be that Gregorie arranged the piece for solo lyra viol, a version that was disseminated quite widely. It was common for masque dances to be arranged in this fashion for amateur consumption on solo instruments such as the lyra viol, lute or keyboard. However, the attribution in Z3.4.13 implies that this additional part was composed/arranged by Simon Ives, presumably a *contrepartie* to the popular solo setting.⁴⁴ The four-part and lyra viol duet versions are given in Examples 3a-b.

⁴⁰ W. Brade, *Neue ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (Hamburg, 1617), ed. B. Thomas, 3 vols. (London, 1974); T. Simpson, *Taffel-Consort* (Hamburg, 1621), ed. B. Thomas, 3 vols. (London, 1988).

⁴¹ We know that masque tunes were composed and disseminated in treble-bass format; the inner parts of these consort arrangements were presumably made by Brade and Simpson. See P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 179-196.

⁴² A. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, RI, 1978), 602. Sabol based his identification on the presence of the piece in a 2-part version in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, where it is titled 'The Second of the Temple' (titled 'Der Irlender Tanz' in Brade's collection). *Taffel-Consort*, no. 44—a 'Ballet'—is also found in 10444 titled 'The third of the Temple'; it is also found in Brade's collection titled 'Auffzug zu Grienwitsch'). Sabol attributes the composition of both pieces to Robert Johnson. Johnson was paid (a substantial) £45 'for Musicke and songes' and Thomas Ford was paid £5 'for setting songes used at the Maske'. The masque was performed as part of the festivities at the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Count Palatine in 1613. See P. Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 38.

⁴³ GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31 (Peter Leycester's *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Virole*, solo), f. 90: 'Tho: Gregorye'; GB-Lam, MS 600 (the John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book; solo), f. 41: 'T. G.'; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221 (incomplete duet), no. 10: 'T: G?'; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247 (of D.245-247, the Merro partbooks; solo), f. 34v: untitled and unattributed.

⁴⁴ D.221 is the sole surviving partbook of what appears to be a set of two, containing lyra viol duets by Thomas Gregorie ('T. G'), John Jenkins and anonymous, see also below. Of

The image displays a musical score for a consort version of 'Mascarada'. It features four vocal parts: CANTUS (soprano), ALTUS (alto), TENOR (tenor), and BASSUS (bass). The score is written in a single system with four staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The piece includes first and second endings, indicated by '1.' and '2.' above the staff lines. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Ex. 3a. *Anon., 'Mascarada': Thomas Simpson, Taffel-Consort (Hamburg, 1621), no. 32;*⁴⁵ for ease of comparison it has been transposed down a 4th

The image displays a musical score for an arrangement of 'Mascarada' for two lyra viols. It features two parts: LYRA VIOL 1 and LYRA VIOL 2. The score is written in a single system with two staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The piece includes first and second endings, indicated by '1.' and '2.' above the staff lines. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Ex. 3b. *Arrangement of the 'Mascarada' for two lyra viols; Lyra viol 1: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 18v, no. 29 ('By: S: I:'); Lyra viol 2: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 10 ('T: G:'); both sources lack the final tripla strain (typical of many masque dances). Cf. lyra viol 2 and the Cantus of the consort version. Lyra viol 1 appears to be a contrepartie*

Similar arrangements of pieces known in consort versions are often found in the lyra viol repertoire,⁴⁶ and many more may yet be identified; there are at least

course, we have no way of knowing whether the Z3.4.13 part is the same as that contained in the now lost companion book to D.221.

⁴⁵ First and second time bars are not indicted in the print. Tenor originally notated in C2 clef; the continuo figures are omitted here.

five such arrangements in Z3.4.13. Another example—again with a probable masque connection—can be found on f. 17 (Example 4). The piece carries no title in Z3.4.13, though the four-part consort version—also by Ives—is known as ‘The Fancy’. It has been argued that this title may indicate a connection with the elaborate Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace* (1633), for which Ives composed some of the music with William Lawes.⁴⁷ ‘The Fancy’ may be the music for the first antimasque, of Fancy, Opinion, Confidence, Novelty, Admiration, Jollity, and Laughter. The tune was evidently popular, and is found in arrangements for keyboard, lute and baryton.⁴⁸

Ex. 4. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17, no. 20: Simon Ives, [*The Fancy*]

Another masque tune arrangement in Z3.4.13 highlights the issue of attribution. ‘Williams his Maske’ is attributed to ‘Tho: G:’ in Z3.4.13, f. 19. The piece is an arrangement of an untitled (and unattributed) masque dance published in a setting for five-part consort in John Adson’s *Courty Masquing Ayres* (1621): Example 5a-b.⁴⁹ Again, the tune was clearly popular. The treble and bass parts of the are found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, titled ‘Williams his Love’; a keyboard arrangement in US-NYp, Drexel MS 5612, p. 159 also carries the same title. Two concordances are known for the lyra viol arrangement in Z3.4.13: both versions contain minor variants, and were disseminated as solo pieces. There is an unattributed and untitled concordance in one of John Merro’s partbooks, D.247, f. 34; another in GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 80 titled ‘A Maske’ (also unattributed). The Z3.4.13 version is ‘by Tho: G:’, suggesting that Gregorie was the arranger. This fits with the wording of the Z3.4.13 attribution to Ives, where we know he was arranging rather than composing (see below).

⁴⁶ For example, in *Lessons* there are nine pieces also found in four- and five-part consort versions; although we cannot be certain of which version came first, Christopher Field has convincingly argued that the lyra viol versions postdate the consort versions: ‘The Composer’s Workshop: Revisions in the Consort Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger’, *Cheyls*, 27 (1999), 1-39. See also A. Ferrabosco (the Younger), *Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. C.D.S. Field and D. Pinto, Musica Britannica, 81 (London, 2003).

⁴⁷ See S. Ives, *The Four-Part Dances* (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18944), ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham (Launton, 2008); the consort version is no. 22. For *The Triumph of Peace*, see Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque*, op. cit., 159-205.

⁴⁸ See Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, op. cit.

⁴⁹ J. Adson, *Courty Masquing Ayres* (1621), 3 vols. ed. P. Walls (London, 1977). I am grateful to Richard Carter for bringing the concordance to my attention.

CANTUS
MEDIUS
ALTUS
TENOR
BASSUS

7
14
20

Ex. 5a. J. Adson, *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1621), no. 13: [*Williams, his masque*]; for ease of comparison it has been transposed down a 4th

LYRA
VIOL

7
14
20

Ex. 5b. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 19: *Williams his Maske* By: Tho: G:'

A similar kind of arrangement can be found on f. 16v where there is an arrangement by Ives of a bass viol duet by John Ward, titled ‘M^r Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I?’ (Z3.4.13, f. 16v). Another version of this piece also circulated as a solo, and was arranged by Ives in a four-part consort setting; Example 6a-c.⁵⁰ As we can see from Example 6a-b, the lyra viol setting is similar to the Altus part of the four-part version, except that the four-part version has an extra bar. In contrast to the previous examples where the consort version is likely to have come first, the lyra viol version of Ward’s tune seems to have preceded the consort version: the extra bar in the consort setting was added to the Cantus part in order to allow for the imitative dialogue between the two upper parts.

Ex. 6a. John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, [*Ayre*] (VdGS 18): four-part consort version (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18944)

⁵⁰ See also Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, op. cit., no. 18.

Ex. 6b. John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, *Ayre* (VdGS 124 / 18): *lyra viol arrangement from IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 16v: 'M' Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I:'); for ease of comparison, top string taken as c' (cf. the Altus part of the four-part version; lyra viol arrangement omits the first (silent) bar)*

Ex. 6c. John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, '*Ayre*' (VdGS 124/18): *solo lyra viol version (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. 87 (inv): 'Almaine by Sy: Ive'); lacks tripla strain; defhf; for ease of comparison, top string taken as g' (ornament signs omitted)*

The untitled ayre 'By S: I' on f. 14 of Z3.4.13 also carries a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 116, Gregorie 49 (see Appendix, no. 8).⁵¹ The Z3.4.13 version is also found (unattributed and untitled) as a solo piece in D.247, f. 30; the two versions are closely related, but include enough minor variants to indicate separate lines of transmission. The Gregorie attribution arises from a second part in D.221, no. 93. It is unattributed, but assigned to Gregorie from its position in the manuscript. D.221 is an important source of additional parts to several of the Z3.4.13 pieces. The manuscript is in two sections. A later section (c1650?) comprises over 70 pieces by Jenkins for 'Lyra with a Continual Basse'. An earlier section contains 95 pieces: 70 are attributed to Gregorie and 25 to Jenkins; most of the pieces in D.221 are not ascribed, with most attributions implied by position or by concordances. A note on the flyleaf indicates that the section is written 'For 2 Basse vialls'; however, Andrew Ashbee has noted that another part may not be needed to complete all of the

⁵¹ Another masque-related tune from Z3.4.13 carries a cross-attribution: Ives 131, and Gregorie 11. This is another example of a piece that circulated as a solo and as a duet. It is found as an unattributed solo piece in US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 31 (anon.), where it is titled 'Rice Davies Maske'. The same part but evidently one of two is found in D.221, no. 11, where it is attributed to 'T. G'. The piece also appears as a duet in the Merro partbooks, where it is again unattributed: D.245, p. 151, and also at D.247, f. 32v; the second part is in D.246, p. 176. It is this second part that is found attributed to Ives in Z3.4.13, perhaps suggesting that Ives added a *contrepartie* to Gregorie's original arrangement. See Appendix, no. 13.

pieces.⁵² But this explanation hardly covers all lyra viol ‘solo’ that also appear to have functioned as a constituent part of an ensemble. Rather, it suggests that such pieces circulated as solos that sometimes acquired a *contrepartie*; in this case the Z3.4.13/D.247 piece is the ‘solo’, the companion part in D.221 the *contrepartie*. In this instance (and several others) we should perhaps not rush to attribute the D.221 part to Gregorie simply by its position in the manuscript.

The Z3.4.13 cross-attributions are not limited to Ives and Gregorie. The alman attributed to ‘R. Jo.’ (f. 16v) also clearly circulated as a solo; it is also found (unattributed) in the Merro partbooks, D.247, f. 33. Another concordance is found in D.221, where it is attributed to ‘T. G.’. It is of course possible that neither of the two ensemble manuscripts—Z3.4.13 and D.221—carried a second part, although in the context of the other solo/duets this seems unlikely. The conflicting attributions suggest that this is an arrangement made by Gregorie of a piece, possibly another masque tune, composed by Robert Johnson (c1583-1633; the most likely candidate for ‘R. Jo.’): it is at Gregorie 9 in the *VdGS Index*. Unlike Gregorie, the court lutenist Robert Johnson does not appear to have been a substantial contributor to the lyra viol: only four other pieces for the instrument are attributed to him.⁵³

A more complex instance of cross-attribution is found on f. 15v, with another untitled ayre, this time ‘By T: G.’ (Appendix, no. 12). Concordances for the Z3.4.13 version appear in five solo lyra viol sources. In three of these it is attributed to Gregorie: GB-Lam, MS 600 (the John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book), f. 41;⁵⁴ US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 25v;⁵⁵ and in GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31 (Peter Leycester’s *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Virole*), f. 90.⁵⁶ It is also found in GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51 (the Manchester lyra viol book), p. 77, attributed to [Richard] ‘Sumarte’, and in Playford’s *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1669), attributed to Thomas Bates. The Merro partbooks have the piece as both a solo and as a duet.⁵⁷ Concordances for the Z3.4.13 version are found at p. 56 of D.245 and at p. 178 of D.246. A second part is in D.245, p. 153: an alternative version of which is given at D.246, p. 56; all are unattributed. The logical explanation is that the version found in Z3.4.13 *et al.* was composed/arranged by Gregorie and disseminated widely as a solo piece; the sources to contain the Gregorie attribution are much earlier than those with Sumarte or Bates. Whether the second part in the Merro partbooks was also by Gregorie is impossible to tell.

⁵² A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, vol. 2: *Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), 218. I am grateful to Dr Ashbee for allowing me access to his book ahead of publication.

⁵³ Robert Jones (fl 1597-1615), who published five collections of lutesongs, is perhaps another (though less likely) possibility; again, he is not known as a significant lyra viol composer.

⁵⁴ For inventory and analysis, see *IMCCM*, vol. 2, 125-130.

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the manuscript (including facsimiles and transcriptions), see F. Traficante, ‘The Mansell Lyra Viol Tablature’, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 1965).

⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion of the manuscript, see R. Carter, ‘Peter Leycester and “A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Virole to play alone in severall Tunings”’, *The Viol*, 2 (2006), 8-15, and ‘Postscript’, *The Viol*, 3 (2006), 9; see also H. Abbey, ‘Sir Peter Leycester’s Book on Music’, *JVdGSA*, 21 (1984), 28-44.

⁵⁷ There are several such duplicate entries in the Merro partbooks.

These few cross-attributions demonstrate the sometimes complex web of attribution in the lyra viol repertoire. Such issues are perhaps inevitable, as much of the repertoire was based on arrangement of songs, popular tunes, and consort pieces; we can presume this to be true even where we cannot identify an ‘original’ source. This also brings into question our rather modern distinctions between composer and arranger. For example, the title page of *Courthy Masquing Ayres* (1621) states that the ayres were ‘Composed to 5. and 6. Parts, for *Violins, Consorts,* and *Cornets,* BY IOHN ADSON’; this of course means that Adson was—in the modern sense—arranging the ayres by the addition of three or four inner parts to the two-part, (treble-bass) ‘originals’: the same is true of Brade and Simpson.⁵⁸ A distinction between composer and arranger was rarely maintained by contemporary copyists. This assumes, of course, that individual copyists knew whether a piece was freshly composed or arranged; however, in at least one instance in Z3.4.13, cited above, the copyist clearly knew the distinction but did not significantly alter his approach to ascription. From the information available, we must conclude that arrangement was understood as another aspect of composition.

From Z3.4.13 a clearer picture of Thomas Gregorie the arranger begins to appear; the manuscript also throws significant light on Simon Ives’s lyra viol music, as it is of particular importance in recovering several of his trios. The *VdGS Index* lists 25 trios composed—or arranged—by Ives. Unfortunately none have survived complete.⁵⁹ As mentioned earlier, a significant problem is that many constituent parts of lyra viol duets and trios survive unidentified as solo pieces (a fact clearly demonstrated by several concordances of Z3.4.13). However, by comparing strain lengths and cadential formulae it is sometimes possible to identify otherwise unknown ensemble parts; the Ives pieces in Z3.4.13 are an excellent example of this technique.

In another important lyra viol manuscript, GB-Och, Mus. 725-727—a set of three partbooks—there is a sequence of ten pieces by Ives.⁶⁰ The Ives pieces are, however, found in only one of the partbooks, 727. The first piece is headed ‘M^{ris} Mary Brownes Choyce by Sy: Iue · for 3 lyros; the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes’ (f. 23v (inv.)). The other partbooks to which the note refers are lost. It is unlikely to refer to 725 and 726, as the sentence implies that that the parts were already copied; 725-726 do not include the other parts nor is there any evidence that any pages were removed. The ten Ives pieces are numbered 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 32, 36 and 37, indicating that the copyist took a selection from a larger collection containing at least 37 pieces; the titles of many of the pieces suggest masque origins. Fortunately, six of the trios can be fully reconstructed from other sources, and one other part has been identified

⁵⁸ ‘Originals’ in the sense that masque dances were composed in two-part versions; see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, op. cit., 186-196.

⁵⁹ The Ives trios survive in two main sources, GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3 and GB-Och, Mus. 725-727.

⁶⁰ In addition, the manuscript contains eight complete trios, six by William Lawes [see W. Lawes, *Lessons for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. R. Carter and J. Valencia (Kritzenorf, 2006)] and two by Robert Taylor [see R. Taylor, *Two Almainses for Three Lyra-Viols*, ed. R. Carter and J. Valencia (Kritzenorf, 2009)]. For 725-727, see Cunningham, ‘Music for the Privy Chamber’, op. cit., i. 146-155, ii. 406-431; Cunningham, ‘Lawes and the Lyra Viol Trio’, op. cit., 44-47.

for the remaining pieces.⁶¹ The concordant parts are found in two main sources: Z3.4.13 and the Merro partbooks mentioned earlier, D.245-247. (It is worth noting that a second part for all ten Christ Church pieces is found in Z3.4.13. However, the numeration does not correspond between the two manuscripts, and there are several variants indicating that the two manuscripts are not directly related.) As we saw with Ferrabosco Alman (VdGS 115) at the start of Z3.4.13, the fact that these pieces have concordances with trios does not necessarily imply that Z3.4.13 originally contained trios; rather, it reinforces the *contrepartie* idea that much of the lyra viol ensemble repertoire was expanded through extemporization and arrangement. One suspects that the ten pieces in 727 were written as *contreparties* to an existing set of lyra viol duets copied into a now lost set of (two) partbooks: all are transcribed in the Appendix (see also Example 7b).

The last Ives piece in 727, ‘All you for saken Louers’, is especially interesting. It is an arrangement of a song of the same title attributed to Alfonso Ferrabosco in two manuscripts.⁶² The same music was used by Ferrabosco for his setting of Ben Jonson’s poem ‘The Hourglass’, first printed in *The Underwood* (1641), which begins with the line ‘Do but consider this small dust’.⁶³ Edward Doughtie convincingly argued that the music is much better suited to Jonson’s text, suggesting that it is likely to be the original setting with ‘All you forsaken lovers’ being the contrafactum.⁶⁴ This is yet another piece with a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 150, Gregorie 36. The lyra viol arrangement in Z3.4.13 has concordances in three other sources, all unattributed and each with only minor variations: GB-Lam, MS 600, f. 38v (solo); US-LAuc, MS M286 M46992, f. 29v (solo); GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 80. The 727 part was clearly intended as a *contrepartie* to this popular tune (Example 6a-b). Once again, we cannot know whether the 727 part is the same as that in the lost companion book to D.221; nor can the attribution to Gregorie from its position in the manuscript be anything more than tentative. The version in 600 is one of a sequence of seven pieces. Peter Holman has convincingly suggested that these pieces have strong connections to the masques staged for Princess Elizabeth’s wedding in 1613, and that the arrangements may have been made for Browne by the court musician Robert Taylor.⁶⁵ It is worth noting that the sequence to which Holman refers is immediately followed by a sequence of five pieces attributed to ‘T.G.’ (ff. 41-41v). One of the pieces is the arrangement of the Brade/Simpson piece mentioned earlier, another piece with masque pedigree; the sequence also includes the remarkably popular tune ‘See

⁶¹ These concordances were identified by Peter Holman, who brought them to my attention.

⁶² GB-Cfm, MS Mu.MS 782 (formerly MS.52.D), f. 111v [compiled c1620 and known as ‘The John Bull MS’]; and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10337, f. 47 [compiled c1656]. The author of the poetic text is unknown.

⁶³ Carlisle, Cathedral Library, MSS Box B1, no. 8, attributed to ‘Alf. Ferrabosco’; only the altus and bassus of an original three-voice setting survives.

⁶⁴ E. Doughtie, ‘Ferrabosco and Jonson’s “The Houre-glasse”’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 22/2 (1969), 148-50; J. Cunningham, ‘Ben Jonson and Music’, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. D. Bevington, M. Butler, I. Donaldson (Cambridge, forthcoming).

⁶⁵ A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *IMCCM*, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2008), 128.

the buildings' (also found in Z3.4.13, attributed to Ives; see Appendix, nos. 11a-b).⁶⁶

VOICE

All you for-sak - en lov - ers, come And pi - ty my dis-tress. I'll tell you why:

CONTINUO

5

All ye be - low - ed Can pi - ty me no less. For love I die,

9

yet hope at last To move pi - ty from her breast. My poor heart may find some rest

13

Which hath no long been paid To show my dis-tress, My faith and love un - feign - ed.

Ex. 7a. Alfonso Ferrabosco, 'All You Forsaken Lovers':
GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10337, f. 47

LYRA VIOL 1

LYRA VIOL 2

7

14

Ex. 7b. Alfonso Ferrabosco, 'All You Forsaken Lovers', arr. Simon Ives. Lyra viol 1: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 15v-16, no. 15 ('By: S: I:'); Lyra viol 2: GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 20 (inv.), no. 37 ('All you for saken Louers. S:I:'). Lyra viol 2 is a contrepartie

⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of this song, see F. Traficante, 'Procrustean Pairing of Sentiment and Tune: A Seventeenth-Century English Strophic Song', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. L. Lockwood and E. Roesner (Philadelphia, 1990), 177-191. Another masque tune arrangement is found on folio 17v of Z3.4.13, the 'Tom of Bedlam' tune, popular in various seventeenth-century settings; the same tune was set by Ives in 727 as 'The Man in the Moon', a popular ballad associated with the *Gray's Inn Masque* (1613), the music for which is presumed to have been composed by Coprario (The piece is also found in staff notation in Nicholas Le Strange's partbooks, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, no. 99, and arranged for solo lute in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 38539 (Sturt lute book), f. 29v. This lyra viol arrangement also circulated as a solo piece: a concordance for the Z3.4.13 version is found in US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 26: 'Tom of Bedlam' 'Mr Thomas Gregories Eights'. The evidence suggests that Gregorie arranged the tune for lyra viol.

This brief discussion of these concordances demonstrate the complex nexus and interrelationships between various aspects of solo and ensemble lyra viol repertoires (and between the duet and trio repertoires), and the significant role played by *contreparties*. As we have seen throughout this paper, masque tunes were especially popular fodder for the lyra viol arrangers. The appearance of so many of these ensemble parts in solo manuscripts can hardly be coincidence; one suspects that a main reason is an overlap between the amateur and professional repertoires. There are rarely signs that the *contreparties* are any more difficult to play than the ‘original’ part, dismissing the idea that the amateur would play the ‘simple’ tune embellished by a virtuoso professional. Of course, this implies that these pieces were played as written, without ornaments, which is a separate matter; however, it is true that we find much fewer ornament signs in ensemble pieces than in solos. The answer seems to be not so much that ‘amateur=simple and professional=complex’, but rather that the main difficulty lay in the execution of a lyra viol ensemble, an ensemble that had the amateur at its heart. It made perfect sense for tunes to be arranged to fulfil multiple functions: one the one hand, the solo amateur; on the other, the potential ensemble of amateur and professional(s). This is not to argue that ensemble lyra viol music was performed exclusively by professionals or by a mixture of amateur and professional. For example, John Merro was an amateur player, yet his partbooks (D.245-247) are one of the most important sources of complete lyra viol duets and trios. We should, however, bear in mind the difficulties involved in keeping any ensemble of viols in tune. This (and a lack of sufficient viols) must have limited the appeal of duets and trios among amateurs, and added to the difficulties of performing ensemble pieces—difficulties potentially alleviated (at least to some degree) by the participation of professional players.⁶⁷

By way of closing we should perhaps examine the role of the Z3.4.13 copyist. Although his identity is unknown, we can assume that he was closely connected to London music circles of the 1630s; he clearly had access to a substantial amount—and variety—of lyra viol ensemble music. The lack of attributions in the first tuning sections (including the three pieces by Ferrabosco) could indicate that he knew the repertoire intimately, although it could equally indicate the opposite. Whatever the case, our copyist was evidently on close terms with Simon Ives, Thomas Gregorie, William Lawes and Robert Johnson, each of whom he identified by initials only. It is, however, the music of Ives that dominates the manuscript, which may suggest a close connection between copyist and composer.

Ives was born in Ware in Hertfordshire in 1600. At the age of eight he seems to have been received into the service of the Cecil family at nearby Hatfield

⁶⁷ This brings to mind Anthony Wood’s comment on his list of students and fellows who attended Ellis’s music meetings, ‘These did frequent the weekly meetings; and by the help of publick masters of musick, who were mixed with them, they were much improv’d’: quoted in Bellingham, ‘The musical circle of Anthony Wood’, op. cit., 40.

House to learn music from the court musician Innocent Lanier.⁶⁸ Little is known of Ives in the years that follow, but it is possible that he returned to his home town and was employed by the Fanshawe family at Ware Park, perhaps as a pupil of John Ward who worked there between about 1607 and 1616. He rose to prominence in 1633 when he was commissioned, with William Lawes, to compose some of the music for the Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace*, performed in February 1633/4. He became a member of the London Waits in 1637 and was also associated with the musical establishment of St Paul's Cathedral. In addition to his consort music, Ives was a significant contributor to the lute repertoire; over 90 pieces for one, two and three lutes have been attributed to him in the *VdGS Index*. Ives was evidently well known to our copyist, who may well have acquired much of his music from him; indeed, it is perhaps significant that John Ward is the only composer in Z3.4.13 to have his name spelt out in full and to be prefaced by the honorific title of 'M^r'. It is tempting to suggest Ives himself as the copyist; comparison of the handwriting in Z3.4.13 with Ives's signature in the Longleat papers relating to *The Triumph of Peace* reveals some interesting similarities, but not enough to advance a convincing argument.⁶⁹

Although the identity of our copyist remains unknown, a preliminary investigation suggests that he may also have been responsible for copying sections of another lute trio manuscript; however, again only one partbook survives. The manuscript is Mus. 70 from the Houghton Library in Harvard University, which also contains 18 pieces copied by William Lawes.⁷⁰ At the start of the manuscript there is a series of eight unattributed pieces, which I provisionally suggest were copied by the Z3.4.13 copyist. The manuscript is bound in reversed calfskin and the covers bear the arms of Charles I; this binding incorporates an original vellum binding. It seems likely that our copyist originally owned the vellum-bound manuscript, which was later acquired—probably in the early 1630s—by Lawes who had it bound by the royal stationer. The anonymous Mus. 70 pieces are 'tentatively' attributed to Lawes in the *VdGS Index*, although there is little reason for doing so beyond their physical proximity to the holograph pieces. Of course, identification of a copyist's hand in tablature can be especially hazardous, given the largely conventional aspects of the notation; in this instance it is exasperated by the small sample of handwriting in Mus. 70 and Z3.4.13.

Although incomplete, the lute portion of Z3.4.13 offers further evidence of the important part played by arrangement techniques in the development of

⁶⁸ See also R. Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605–1613', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), 115–136; L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), 24–40.

⁶⁹ The comparative samples are too few for such an argument; also, the 'S' of Ives's forename is quite distinctive in the Longleat papers and not replicated in Z3.4.13, although a simpler version of the signature is found in Ives's last will and testament from 1661 (GB-Lpro, Prob/11/308; available at <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/>>). Ives's signature from the Longleat papers is reproduced in M. Lefkowitz, 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke: New Light on Shirley's "Triumph of Peace"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 18 (1965), 42–60, Plate I.

⁷⁰ For Mus. 70, see Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lute Trio', op. cit.; J. Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645*, *Music in Britain, 1600–1900*, 5 (Woodbridge, forthcoming).

the lyra viol ensemble repertoire. At least ten of the pieces in the manuscript also circulated as, or form a second part to, solo lyra viol pieces, reinforcing the suggestion that the ensemble repertoire was expanded and developed by *contrepartie*-type arrangements. Z3.4.13 unfortunately sheds little light on the performance of lyra viol ensemble music in Restoration Oxford. Like many of the music manuscripts in Marsh's collection, Z3.4.13 appears to have been copied no later than the middle of the century. The third tuning section (the second copying phase) is likely to have been compiled in the early to mid 1630s. The first two tuning sections (the first copying phase) are likely to have been copied some time earlier, although one is reluctant to give a *terminus post quem* any earlier than c1625. Despite the concordances of several pieces with lyra viol trios, the majority of concordances for Z3.4.13 suggest that the manuscript originally contained duets. Marsh probably acquired the manuscript in the 1660s when he began to play the bass viol. Even by this time, Z3.4.13 may have been separated from any companion partbooks. However, given the retrospective repertoire presumably performed at Marsh's music meeting, lyra viol duets are certainly not out of the question.⁷¹ Although the lyra viol continued to be popular as a solo instrument until towards the end of the seventeenth century, lyra viol ensembles appear to have declined in popularity after the around the middle of the century. One wonders whether the trouble-filled years of the Interregnum contributed to a social breakdown in the suggested amateur/professional nexus at the heart of the lyra viol repertoire; it is perhaps no coincidence that after c1650 we find the repertoire dominated by solo music of the kind published by Playford, a representation perhaps of a fissure between amateur and professional.

The incompleteness of Z3.4.13 is unfortunately typical of most lyra viol ensemble sources, leaving us today with a frustratingly partial glimpse. It is a glimpse that does, however, contribute to our understanding of Ives, Gregorie and the process of lyra viol 'composition/arrangement'. In such light it is tempting to consider Anthony Wood's recollection of Ives: he was 'excellent at the Lyra-Viol, and improved it by excellent inventions'.⁷² Wood was perhaps referring here to Ives's many arrangements, whether *contrepartie* settings or settings of consort pieces etc. If so, it is perhaps only fair to say the same of the little known Thomas Gregorie.

⁷¹ Anthony Wood mentioned one lyra viol player who attended William Ellis's music meetings, a former student of John Jenkins by the name of Joseph Proctor; he died in 1656, so could not have attended Marsh's meetings. See Bellingham, 'The musical circle of Anthony Wood', op. cit., 34-35.

⁷² GB-Ob, MS Wood D19(4); quoted in P. Holman, 'Ives, Simon', *GMO* (accessed 8 December 2009).

APPENDIX

Transcriptions of Z3.4.13 pieces for which an additional part or parts can be established from other sources

- 1a. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 1 [fhfhf]
- 1b. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 2 [fhfhf]
2. Ferrabosco, [Galliard] (VdGS 117) [fhfhf]
3. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 118) [fhfhf]
4. Anon., [Galliard] (VdGS 9166) [fhfhf]
5. Ives, 'M^{rs} Anne Forrists Choice' (VdGS 145) [fhfhf]
6. Ives, 'Coranto' (VdGS 111 / 142) [fhfhf]
7. Ives, [M^{rs} Mary Brownes Choyce] (VdGS 112 / 141) [fhfhf]
8. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 116) / Gregorie (VdGS 49) [fhfhf]
9. Ives, [M^{rs} Colliers Choyce] (VdGS 143) [fhfhf]
10. Ives, 'Ayre' (VdGS 118 / 144) [fhfhf]
- 11a. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119): Staff notation version
- 11b. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119) [fhfhf]
12. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 52) / Ives, [Si^r Will Owens Choyce] (VdGS 148) [fhfhf]
13. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 11) [fhfhf]
14. Gregorie, [The man in y^c moone] (VdGS 55) / Ives (VdGS 147) [fhfhf]
- 15a. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]
- 15b. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]
16. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 130 / 146) [fhfhf]
17. Gregorie, 'Ayre' (VdGS 48) [fhfhf]
18. Ives, 'Allman' (VdGS 149) / Gregorie (VdGS 34) [fhfhf]

In each of the transcriptions Z3.4.13 has been used as a copy-text (even where a more authoritative source is available, e.g. Ferrabosco's *Lessons*), unless otherwise stated; where the other part(s) exist in more than one source the best available was chosen: copy-text is indicated by ♣. Only significant variants between sources have been noted. Minor errors have been corrected without comment. Ornament signs have been reproduced as closely as possible; the sign # usually representing a 'shake' has been represented by * to avoid confusion with a sharp sign. Where available, titles of pieces and ascriptions are given in italics after the source; where the source only is given, it indicates that the piece is untitled and unattributed. Titles are taken from Z3.4.13 (as given in Tables 2-3). Repeat marks have been editorially supplied in many cases.

1a. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 1 [fefhf]

Lessons, p. 26
Z3.4.13, f. 25

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 26: *ALmaine*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 23: *These be Leero sett for tow [sic] Base Violls*

- *Lyra viol 2:*
- ♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 25
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 23: *These bee Leero sett for 2 Bass violls*

Notes: The readings in D.245-246 and *Lessons* are almost identical; some minor variants in Z3.4.13.

1b. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 2 [fefhf]

The image displays a musical score for two violas, numbered 532 and 531, both marked 'no. 19'. The score is written in a single system with two staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music is in a common form, likely a dance. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, and 42 indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the 42nd measure.

SOURCE:

- *Lyra viols 1 and 2:*
GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, no. 19

2. Ferrabosco, [Galliard] (VdGS 117) [fefhf]

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled '2. Ferrabosco, [Galliard] (VdGS 117) [fefhf]'. The score is written for two staves, likely representing the first and second violins. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The tempo and meter are indicated as 'Z3.4.13, f. 26' and 'Lessons, p. 27'. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 5, 11, 16, 21, 25, 31, and 36 marked at the beginning of their respective systems. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
 - ♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 26
 - A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 27: *GAlliard*
 - GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 24
- *Lyra viol 2:*
 - ♣ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 27: *GAlliard*
 - GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 24

3. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 118) [fefhf]

Lessons, p. 28
Z3.4.13, f. 27v

6
11
16
21
25
30
34

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 28: *Almaine*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 25
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- ♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 27v
A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 28: *Almaine*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 25: *Alman A. F.*

4. Anon., [Galliard] (VdGS 9166) [ffhfh]

23.A.13, f. 23v

17795, f. 57v

5

11

16

21

27

33

39

[From here: D.245, p. 47]

45

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 23v
- GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 47
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- ♣GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17795, f. 42v
- (♣)GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 47
- GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 47

Notes: All sources give the same reading; however, bb. 39-59 of lyra viol 2 are taken from D.245: from this point D.246 and 17795 have the lyra viol 1 part. This kind of variant is not unusual in lyra viol ensemble sources.

5. Ives, ‘M^{rs} Anne Forrists Choice’ (VdGS 145) [fhfhf]

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21v (inv.), no. 10: *M^{rs} Anne fforests Choyce S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 21, no. 3: *M^{rs} Anne Forrists Choice: / S: I:*

Notes: The symbols in bb. 1-2 of 727 are not reproduced here.

6. Ives, 'Coranto' (VdGS 111 / 142) [fhfhf]

727, f. 22 (inv.)
 D.245, p. 50
 (Z3.4.13, f. 13)
 D.245, p. 154

8

17

25

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
 GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22v (inv.), no. 4: *Coranto: S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
 ♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 50: *Symon Iuy*
 IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 13, no. 1: *Coranto By: S: I:*
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 180: *Coranto*
- *Lyra viol 3:*
 ♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 154: *Coranto*
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 58: *Symon Iuy*

Notes: Z3.4.13, f. 13 has been quite badly damaged; most of this piece is impossible to make out (see Fig. 3, above). Thus, D.245 has been chosen as the copy-text for lyra viol 2. There is another copy of this part in D.246: there are minor variants between the D.245 and D.246 versions.

7. Ives, [M^{ris} Mary Brownes Choyce] (VdGS 112 / 141) [fhfhf]

727, f. 21v (inv.)
 D.245, p. 155
 Z3.4.13, f. 13

5
 11
 15

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
 GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22v (inv.), no. 2: *M^{ris} Mary Brownes Choyce by Sy: Ive for 3 lyros the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 155: *An Ayre by Sy Iue*
- *Lyra viol 3:*
 ♣IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 13, no. 2
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 179: *An Ayre*
 GB-Cu, Add. MS 9284, f. 2v, no. 3: **not consulted**

Notes: Z3.4.13, f. 13 has been quite badly damaged and some passages of this piece are difficult to make out; where this is the case, D.246 has been preferred with those passages/notes given in small font. D.246 and Z3.4.13 agree closely.

8. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 116) / Gregorie (VdGS 49) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 14
D.221, no. 93

5
11
17
23
31

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
♣ IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 14, no. 7: *By S: I:*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 30
- *Lyra viol 2:*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 93, pp. 78-79

Notes: D.247 has lyra viol 1, bars 1-22 and lyra viol 2, bars 23-39; D.247 agrees closely with the corresponding parts in Z3.4.13 and D.221.

9. Ives, [M^{ris} Colliers Choyce] (VdGS 143) [fhfhf]

Z3.A.13, f. 14v
727, f. 22 (inv.)
D.246, p. 215

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.A.13, f. 14v, no. 9: *By: S: I*
- GB-Cu, Add. MS 9284, f. 2v, no. 4: **not consulted**
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22 (inv.), no. 7: *M^{ris} Colliers Choyce: S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 3:*
- GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 215: *Sy Ives*

10. Ives, 'Ayre' (VdGS 118 / 144) [fhfhf]

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 14v, no. 10: *An Ayre By: S: I*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22 (inv.), no. 8: *The Choyce. S: I:*

Notes: The Z3.4.13 part is mostly compiled from the two treble parts of the consort version (also titled 'The Choyce' (Ives VdGS 2; GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18941, f. 28v: *The Choyce / M^r S. Ives*): see Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, no. 2.

11a. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119): Staff notation version

SOURCE:

- *Treble and bass:*

C. Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (London, 1678), p. 183:
LESSONS by Sundry Authors for the Treble, Bass-Viol, and Harp.

11b. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119) [fhfhf]

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 15, no. 11: *See the Buildings By: S: I:*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 154: *See the Buildings*

- *Lyra viol 3:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 178: *See y^e buildings*

Notes: For other sources, see *VdGS Thematic Index*.

12. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 52) / Ives, [Si' Will Owens Choyce] (VdGS 148) [*fhfh*]

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled '12. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 52) / Ives, [Si' Will Owens Choyce] (VdGS 148) [*fhfh*]'. The score is arranged in four systems, each with four staves. The first system is labeled with '727, l. 21 (mv.)', 'Z3.4.13, f. 15v', 'D.246, p. 179', and 'D.245, p. 153'. The second system is marked with a '3' above the first staff. The third system is marked with a '9' above the first staff. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte).

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21 (inv.), no. 32: *Si' Will Owens Choyce. S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 15v, no. 14: *By: T: G:*
GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31, f. 90: *Almayne per Tho: Gregorye./*
GB-Lam, MS 600, f. 41: *Ayre T. G.*
GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 77: *Alman / M. Sumarte*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 56
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 178
US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992, f. 25v: *M' Thomas Gregories Eights*
J. Playford, *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1669), no. 134:
AYr. / Mr. Thomas Bates.; fdefh
- *Lyra viol 3:*
♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 179
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 56: *Almaine*
- *Lyra viol 4:*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 153

Notes: Although there are several minor and notable variants, the sources for lyra viol 2 agree closely with the reading given in Z3.4.13; only M4 L992 and DLT/B 31 also give the semiquaver figuration in b. 5; there are several minor variants between the D.245 and D.246 versions of lyra viol 2. There are several variants in strain 2 of the D.246 versions of lyra viol 3. The *VdGS Index* lists lyra viols 2 and 3 as a duet, with lyra viol 4 listed as an alternative to lyra viol 3; there are a number of potentially significant similarities between lyra viol 4 and lyra viol 1.

13. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 131) / Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 11) [fhfhf]

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17, no. 21: *By: S: I:*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 176
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- ♣ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 11: *T: G*
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 151
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 32v
US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992, f. 31: *Rice Davies Maske*

Notes: There are several significant variants between the two versions of lyra viol 1; all sources of lyra viol 2 agree closely.

14. Gregorie, [The man in y^e moone] (VdGS 55) / Ives (VdGS 147) [fhfhf]

727, f. 21 (inv.)
23A.13, f. 17v

5
11
17
22
28
34

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21 (inv.), no. 16: *The man in y^e moone S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*
IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17v, no. 23: *By: T: G:*

15a. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 19v

8

13

19

25

29

33

37

41

50

59

66

73

83

SOURCE:

- *Lyra viol (1 and 2):*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 19v, no. 31

Notes: Z3.4.13 contains both parts of the D.245-246 version (Appendix 15b), laid out one after the other, with no indication: to facilitate ease of comparison, the strains are editorially labelled A, B, C, D (and the parts 1 and 2).