

**HOUSE MUSIC FOR RECUSANTS IN
ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND:
PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN THE
MUSIC COLLECTION OF EDWARD
PASTON (1550-1630)**

by

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Abstract

Edward Paston (1550-1630) was very skilled in liberal arts, especially music and poetry. His love of music is reflected in his having gathered one of the largest collections of music manuscripts from Elizabethan and early Jacobean times. The collection is very important as it holds unique copies of many compositions by some of the best-known composers from the Renaissance including Byrd. This thesis investigates the idea of the Paston collection as a performing collection within the historical, cultural, and musical context of 16th century England. The study presents Edward Paston as a personification of some of the ideals in Castiglione's *The Courtier*, and it also discusses Paston's role within his social milieu mostly formed by the recusants' circle. This is followed by a presentation of the musical traditions that Paston presumably knew as well as a study of the collection within this context. By presenting this socio-cultural and musical framework, the intent is to arrive at a better understanding of the collection in relation to house music making in Edward Paston's household and within his circle. The final section of the thesis investigates how the collection was used and how it can be applied to current performance practice.

*Para mi padre, con todo el amor que no nos dimos
Héctor R. Sequera (June 1948 – February 2008)*

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* This volume includes a CD with the recording of the concert **House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England**. The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 15 November 2009, 3pm.

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Notational Conventions

C' – C – c – c' – c''

Middle c

D-lute – E-lute – F-lute – G-lute – A-lute – B-lute – c-lute – d-lute
 Bass Soprano

Abbreviations

Chelmsford, Essex Record Office MSS D/DP Z6/1	1
	2
Harvard University, Houghton Library MS	30
London, British Library Additional MS 4900	Add 4900
	18936-9
	29246
	29247
	29401-5
	Add 29427
	30810-5
	Add 31390
	31992
	34049
	41156-8
London, Madrigal Society MSS G [deposited in the British Library]	27
London, Royal College of Music MS 684	2035
	2036
	2089
Tenbury, St Michael's College MS	340
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Introduction

Edward Paston's collection of music is one of the largest collections from Elizabethan and early Jacobean times, containing some 1350 pieces, and preserving many unique works by some of the most important Renaissance composers, ranging from Josquin to William Byrd. The purpose of this thesis is to study the music manuscripts of Edward Paston as a performing collection in order to reach a better understanding of music making in the Paston household and by extension to similar recusant households. The first two chapters introduce Paston as a personification of the courtly ideals that were so popular in early modern Europe and that are best represented in the work of Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Chapter I presents Paston's activities not related to music such as what is known about his education, his love of poetry, the years overseas, his wealth, as well as two overlooked pieces of evidence significant in reconstructing the life of the East Anglian gentleman. Chapter II presents the evidence of the recusants' courtly pursuits, concentrating specifically on their musical activities and how these may relate to Edward Paston and his alleged collection of musical instruments. Chapter III is a review of the sources on the art of intabulation in order to understand how these sources influenced the creation of the Paston collection, and in particular, how they influenced Paston's art of intabulation. Chapter IV is a study of the Paston collection concentrating on lutebook 29246 and the relationship between this lutebook and its concordances. Chapter V discusses the performance practice implications suggested by the study of the collection in Chapter IV, and presents the various exceptions that occur and that enlighten the current understanding of instruments, pitch, transposition, and other aspects of music making in Paston's circle. Finally, Appendix IV includes an edition of fifty pieces from lutebook 29246 as a means to give a sense of the scope of the collection, and the

pedagogical intent behind this particular manuscript. In addition, since many of the examples throughout the thesis come from this manuscript, it includes the full versions of the pieces for further consideration.

Given the significance of the Paston music collection, it has received remarkably little scholarly attention. There has been some work devoted to it in the past decade, but nobody has tried to look at it as a performing collection since the attempts made by Philip Brett in the early 1990s.¹ Brett struggled to reconcile the lutebooks with the partbooks and could not arrive at a concrete definition of performance practice in the Paston household. Of the other recent works there is Francis Knights' masters dissertation, a catalogue of the Paston music manuscripts with a few omissions and mistakes, but nevertheless an invaluable work essential for those attempting to work with this very large collection.² Also, the doctoral thesis by Samuel Schmitt concentrates on the partbooks in Folger Shakespeare Library MSS V. a. 405-7.³ Lastly, there is Philip Taylor's doctoral dissertation, a great contribution to the understanding of the relationship between Edward Paston and William Byrd.⁴ Although all of these contributions are noteworthy and offer many original ideas, they make only small attempts at introducing issues of performance practice and are very much a repetition of the work done by Philip Brett starting in the 1960s. In fact, the most open attempt to discuss these issues is that of Schmitt as he states that a better understanding can be reached by examining "text underlay, the transposition of certain pieces or voices in a piece, and the inclusion of sections from larger works", but that "this evidence will be shown to be inconclusive with

¹ Philip Brett, "Pitch and Transposition in the Paston Manuscripts," *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections* (1993), 89-118.

² Francis Knights, "The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston." (M. Litt., University of Oxford, 1999).

³ Samuel Schmitt, "The Paston Manuscripts in Context: A Study of Folger Shakespeare Library Mss V.A. 405-7" (The Catholic University of America, 2004).

⁴ Philip Taylor, "Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs" (Lancaster University, 2007).

regard to the discernment of Paston's intention in compilation of his manuscripts." Schmitt's words are echoed by all of the other scholars who have worked with the collection in an effort to answer broader issues of performance practice such as how music was performed in the Paston household or how the transpositions in the collection work; these are some of the questions that will be addressed in the present work.

Chapter I:
Edward Paston as the Courtly Gentleman

The life of wealthy Catholic families in the English countryside in Elizabethan times was incredibly rich and diverse, as suggested by the extant records, which include inventories, wills, payrolls, the surviving music manuscripts, the iconographic sources, and the connections between literary and musical figures with their praises to each other in poems or lyrics set to beautifully composed songs. The many marriages between these families further reinforce this bond. Thus, when considered together, the records of these Catholic families, namely the Pastons, Petres, Kytsons, Cornwallis and Manners among others, reveal a wealth of courtly activities that were no less remarkable than those from similar circles in the rest of Europe. The activities of these families were inspired, at least in part, by the popularity of Castiglione's book *The Courtier*. It is true that Castiglione's book permeated all the realms of European society, but due to the social and religious circumstances of sixteenth-century England, *The Courtier* occupied a very important place in the life of the recusants. At the core of this circle of recusants stands one of the most important music collectors from Elizabethan times, Edward Paston. Paston was one of the descendants of the fifteenth-century Paston family best known for their numerous family papers compiled and known as the *Paston Letters*. The letters give incredible insight into the Paston family's humble beginnings and their social ascent starting from around 1420. As mentioned by Colin Richmond, "they are the richest source there is for every aspect of the lives of gentlemen and gentlewomen of the English middle ages," hence their importance for historians of this period.¹ Unfortunately, the records for the Paston family are not as extensive for the sixteenth century and a reconstruction of the life of Edward Paston must include in part circumstantial evidence and a closer study of his music collection.

¹ Colin Richmond, "Paston Family (Per. C. 1420-1504)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52791>, accessed 14 Dec 2009].

The Paston Family in the Sixteenth-Century

Edward Paston belongs to the third generation of Pastons in the sixteenth century. The story of the old *Paston Letters* comes to an end with Sir John Paston, Edward's great-grandfather, who died in 1503, leaving as his heir his eldest son William Paston.² William Paston achieved a high social status and augmented the family fortunes by marrying Bridget, the daughter of Sir Henry Heydon of Baconsthorpe.³ William was a very influential man in the Norfolk area as demonstrated by the numerous accounts of his doings presented in the Blomefield volumes.⁴ For instance, in 1544 the King sent a written request for help with his French campaign addressed to the more distinguished individuals of the area, namely Thomas, Duke of Norfolk and treasurer of England, Henry, Earl of Surrey, Henry, Earl of Sussex and Mayor of Norwich, and the knights Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Roger Townesend, Sir William Paston, and Sir John Heydon.⁵ The request was answered by sending forty soldiers to the King. Among the soldiers was Thomas Paston, the fifth son of William Paston and father of Edward Paston, and his participation in the campaign earned him knighthood.

William was therefore a very courageous man. He helped to contain several revolts, such as the one led by Robert Kett in 1549, "this Sir William Paston was a brave man, stood by the city and with them almost always; his seat was at Castor by Yarmouth, then a strong

² For more on the fifteenth-century Pastons see among others Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000); Henry S. Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England: Studies in an Age of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

³ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 7-8.

⁴ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Containing a Description of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets.*, vol. 3 (London: W. Bulmer and Co, 1739).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 214.

place, and in some measure fortified; he had a house also in the city, where he reside much.”⁶
The house mentioned was probably the manor in Thorpe by Norwich, which Edward eventually inherited from his father Thomas, along with several other properties.

Sir William died in 1554 having had at least eight children, one of whom, Erasmus, the eldest son, had three sons and several daughters, although he died before his father on 13 November 1538. William, the son of Erasmus, was knighted in 1578 and became a very prominent figure and the heir of the majority of the Paston fortune, and various disputes regarding his fortune started after his death in 1610.⁷ Sir Clement, the second son of William the elder, was also an important figure and was known as a sea admiral who accumulated significant wealth. He became Edward’s protector by making some arrangements for Edward in his own will after the death of Edward’s father in 1550. When Clement died without issue in his marriage with Alice Packington, Edward received some of Sir Clement’s properties, and became one of the three executors of his will. John, the fourth son of William I, was married to Anne Moulton in 1546 and had two daughters Elizabeth and Bridget, of which the latter married the prestigious lawyer and Lord Chief Justice, Edward Coke, who occasionally appears in the correspondence between Edward and Katherine Paston in the settlements of the Paston properties starting in 1618.

Thomas was the fifth son of Sir William I, and the father of Edward Paston. He was a member of the Privy Chamber of King Henry VIII, who knighted him after his service in the French campaign of 1544. There is no doubt then that Thomas Paston was, like his father, a very brave man as he participated in many such campaigns during his lifetime. He thus embodied Castiglione’s idea of the *Courtier* as can be seen in prescriptions such as “but

⁶ Ibid., 236.

⁷ This is apparent in the correspondence with Katherine Paston, and the court cases discussed below.

wherever he be, let him make profession of arms above all other things”,⁸ and “therefore will I have our Courtier a perfect horseman for every saddle”.⁹ In addition, there is the possibility that Thomas was the Paston who taught the virginals to Princess Mary in 1536-7,¹⁰ which further makes him representative of this courtly ideal since he could have been both a man of arms and arts.

King Henry VIII made arrangements in his will to reward the members of his Privy Chamber, and at his death, King Edward VI carried out his wishes. Sir Thomas was awarded many lands, rectories, and manors, including the manors at Binham and Thorpe by Norwich, which were eventually passed on to Edward.¹¹ Sir Thomas married Agnes Leigh, daughter of John Leigh of Stockwell, on 16 January 1540. John Leigh was supposedly one of the informants for Antoine de Noailles, the French ambassador to the court of Queen Mary,¹² and in 1550 he had to be bailed out of prison by his son-in-law, Thomas, for an accusation “of complicity in piracy in the Irish Seas when he was Constable of Dungarvon.”¹³

Thomas and Agnes had three children, Henry, Katherine, and Edward. It appears that Henry died in 1541 during his first year as is confirmed by Sir Thomas surrendering a grant received from Henry VIII because of a lack of heir in his family.¹⁴ The second son, Edward, was probably born at the end of 1549 or at the beginning of 1550 since on 10 February of the latter year the Master of Jewels at the court was given an order to make a gilt standing cup, as

⁸ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier (Il Cortegiano)*, trans. Thomas Hoby (New York: The National Alumni, 1907), 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁰ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 52.

¹¹ E. B. Burnstall, "The Pastons and Their Manor of Binham," *Norfolk Archaeology* 30 (1950): 103-04.

¹² Elmore H. Harbison, "French Intrigue At the Court of Queen Mary," *The American Historical Review* 45 (1940): 540.

¹³ E. B. Burnstall, "The Pastons and Their Manor of Binham", 104.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

a present from the King, for the christening of Sir Thomas' son. King Edward VI was the godfather of the child, and he was thus named after the King. Unfortunately, Sir Thomas died in 1550, and his will was proved on 8 November of that year.

The only information known about Katherine is that she married Sir Henry Newton, and that she appears in Queen Elizabeth's *Roll of New Year's Gifts, 1577-8*. In this list, the first entry itemises a gift for the Queen "by Katheryne Paston, a pettycote of white satten, al over with pasmane of golde and silver, lined with yellow sarcenet." Then in a section entitled 'Gentilwomen' appears Katherine Paston as receiving "in guilte plate, of our store, ut supra 15oz."¹⁵ There are a few considerations with regard to this information. For instance, if Thomas's eldest son died around 1541 and the younger son Edward was born around 1550, this means that Katherine was born between these two dates. Thus, by the time she appears in the Queen's *Roll of New Year's Gifts*, she would have been in her late twenties or early thirties and hence probably already married to Sir Henry Newton. However, the important point is that the record establishes that Edward Paston's line had close contact with Queen Elizabeth, a fact that has gone unnoticed by current scholarship.

Four years after the death of Sir Thomas, his widow Agnes married Edward Fitzgarret, the man who probably raised young Edward. Nothing is known of this relationship, but Fitzgarret's will, dated from 5 August 1589, does not mention Edward though it mentions his three sons, his daughter and his son in law. The obvious reason for Paston not appearing in the will is that he was probably wealthier than his stepfather due to all of the inherited properties from his father Thomas and the further provisions made for him in the will of his uncle Clement. We also learn from Fitzgarret's will that Agnes, Edward's mother, died before

¹⁵ The first entry appears in page 75 and the second one in page 87 in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. II (London: Printed by and for the Editor, 1788).

1589 since the will states that his body should be “buried in Starihall church nere to my deareth beloved wife Agnes late ladie Paston.”¹⁶ The relationship between Fitzgarret and Agnes therefore seems to have been one of sincere love, and of her death we only know that it happened sometime before Paston’s thirty-eighth birthday.

Edward Paston and the Courtly Ideal

[Let us] fashion such a Courtier, as the Prince that shall be worthy to have him in his service, although his state be but small, may notwithstanding be called a mighty Lord.¹⁷

One can only surmise what the lines above meant for the recusants in England. It is true that *The Courtier* permeated every sphere of society; however, to be “called a mighty Lord” even when your “[estate] be but small”, may have appealed to the recusants in their isolation from the court of Elizabeth. Information about Edward Paston’s life is very sparse. Scholars, starting with Brett, have assumed that he spent all of his time in his quiet home.¹⁸ However, the few but diverse documents that survive, along with more circumstantial evidence such as his associations with well-known individuals of the time, reveal an interesting portrait of this Norfolk gentleman that is more dynamic than the scholarship to date has suggested. What appears then is a gentleman versed in foreign languages, a poet, a musician, a collector, and an orator, all of which are indicative of his role as a *Courtier* at home.

This pursuit of the courtly ideal can be seen in both his education and that of his children. Paston was born at the end of 1549 or beginning of 1550, and as mentioned

¹⁶ The will of Edward Fitzgarret Prob 11/75.

¹⁷ Balthazar Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby, 1561, in Mary Partridge, “Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England” (PhD, University of Birmingham, 2008), 47.

¹⁸ This idea was introduced for the first time in Philip Brett, “Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection.”

previously, probably grew up with his mother Agnes and stepfather Edward Fitzgarret. He was educated at least partly in Spain. This is very evident in his music collection that contains many indications of the Spanish tradition, such as the Italian style of tablature that was used in Spain, and the rubrics in Spanish at the beginning of each piece in lutebook 31992 that are very much like the ones in contemporary Spanish vihuela books. There is also a letter that he wrote to one of his acquaintances in Spain and that is discussed below. For now it is sufficient to know that the letter was dated 3 January, and the year was probably 1569 based on some historical events mentioned in the letter.¹⁹

It is very possible that Edward Paston attended one of the Inns of Court since some sort of law education was required from the young gentry in order to manage their fortunes. Many of the young men who attended the Inns never finished their degrees, which may account for the reason why Paston's name does not appear on the Inn's registers. However, they learned enough about the law to be able to participate in litigious processes regarding their possessions. Indeed, that is what occurred with Edward since he had to defend the fortunes of the Paston family during the last two decades of his life. Also, if Paston did indeed study in London, this would explain how he met his first wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Lambert of London. In any case, either the liberal arts education that he probably obtained in Spain and/or the auditing at the Inns of Court were sufficient to allow him to win the cases in court when suits over the Pastons' fortune were brought to the Court of Chancery in the late 1610s.

Edward's second wife was Margaret, daughter of Henry Berney of Reedham, and together she and Edward had three daughters and six sons, the three daughters were Anne, Katherine and Frances, and the six sons were Thomas, William, Clement, Edward, John, and

¹⁹ Ibid., 54.

Wolstan. Three of the children, namely Katherine, Frances, and Wolstan joined the Order of Saint Benedict in Brussels. Thomas married Mary Brown, the granddaughter of Anthony Brown, the first Viscount Montagu, and their daughter married Thomas Talbot, one of the descendants of the Talbots of Shrewsbury. There is also a letter from William to his father sent from the continent that gives some interesting insight.

Sir

I received lately a letter from you, with a bill of exchange for thirty pounds, the which monie I have not as yet received by reason I am not at Paris, but I have taken order that I shall receive it here very shortly. And whear as you are disirus to know whear I would have my money paid which you shall send me, I beseech you to send it as you doe to Paris for you cannot send it unto anny other place so convenient for me, and from thence I canne take order to have it paid me, in anny place so convenient for me, in anny place of France whear I shall be. And las I have written unto you before hand/ I shall ever let you understand whear I amme and where I doe intent to go. I would desire you to give me leave if you and my [m]other might thinke it so convenient I to go in September next into Italie to see that contrie and learne the langauge, and I would not tarry [?] thear but only the winter and in the springe I would return thourouge Germanie to se that contrie and ye cities which by reporte are well worth the seinge. I doe intend very shortly as son as I shall find compagny fitting to goe see divers places and contries in France neither doe I doubt to want compagny for thear is of all sorts which doth undertake that voyage. I shall take care with whome I doe go. Where as I understand that you are unwilling to meddle wit the walnut tree which was blowne downe before my coming frome home. I without knowing whether I be contented thear withall I beseech you to take it and doe thear withall what it shall please you and also with what soever thear is else which doth belong unto me which may doe you have taken in causing the wood and timber to be felled and sould acordinge as I appointed, and in plantine others in ther steads. And soe remembring my mos humble and obedient duty and service unto you most humbly desiringe yower blissing [and] never ceasing to be yower most loving and obediend sonne.

Orleans the 21 of March
1614

William Paston

[On the back]
To the right worth his very loving father Edward Paston Esq
At Appleton give these
Norff.²⁰

²⁰ Letter from William Paston to Edward Paston in British Library Add. MS 27447 fol. 153

To my present knowledge, the letter has gone unnoticed since Brett started his forays into the Paston family in the 1960s. Probably the most important fact revealed by the letter is that Edward Paston can be added to the other English gentry who sent their children for the Grand Tour in order to further their education. As Price writes: “a knowledge of foreign languages was as essential to the prospective diplomat as was a comparative knowledge of political systems or of methods of warfare to the prospective administrator.”²¹ That is precisely the type of knowledge that William was seeking, to go to “Italie to see that contrie and learne the language” and the visiting “divers places and contries in France” where he probably was to learn dancing, music and more in the academies fashioned for this purpose. There is also a sense of respect and reverence for his father in his farewell, “desiringe yower blissing [and] never ceasing to be yower most loving and obediend sonne.” It is very possible that Thomas, the eldest son of Edward Paston, also did the Grand Tour, and that both of them mingled with the recusant gentry and even perhaps with the nobility at court just like their aunt Katherine Paston. Although Castiglione complained that “certain of our Lombards, after a year’s travel abroad, come home and begin by-and-by to speak the Roman tongue, and some time the Spanish tongue, or the French, and God wotteth how. And all this proceedeth of an over-great desire to show much knowledge”,²² there is no doubt that this knowledge of languages and display thereof was a great asset to the young aspiring courtiers since Castiglione’s influence was nowhere as strong as in Elizabeth’s court.²³

A very important endeavour of sixteenth-century gentry was to increase the properties they owned in order to secure the future of their descendants. Edward Paston was no

²¹ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 31.

²² Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier (Il Cortegiano)*, 43.

²³ Raymond B Waddington, “Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 104.

exception and he made sure to either improve or build new manors in the lands he inherited from his father Thomas and his uncle Clement. Thus, Edward planned to build a new manor in Binham, but the attempt was ended after a fatal accident occurred:

Mr Edward Paston many years since was desirous to build a mansion-house upon or near the Priory, and attempting for that purpose to clear some of that Ground, a Piece of Wall fell upon a Workman, and slew him; perplexed with this Accident in the beginning of this Business, he gave it wholly over, and would by no means all his life after be perswaded to re-attempt it, but built his Mansion-house, a very fair one, at Appleton.²⁴

This is a glimpse of Paston as an entrepreneur, taking risks and augmenting the holdings that he later shared with his children. Among the settlements for them, Paston set up trustees to keep the manors at Binham and Barney on 12 January 1608 as a present for the wedding of his son Thomas to Mary Browne, daughter of Sir George Browne and granddaughter of the first Viscount Montague, Anthony Brown.²⁵

Edward died on 24 March 1630. The contents of his will that relate to the “liberal arts” give a remarkable testament of the gentleman’s love for music and poetry; see Appendix 2 for this section of the will. Similarly, the plate on his grave attests to the same sentiment of love for the arts:

To Edward Paston Esq Second son of Sr Thomas Paston Knt one of the gentlemen of Henry the eight His Privy Chamber truly noble no lesse than by stocke then all manner of vertue, most skillfull of liberal sciences especially musicke and poetry as also strange languages, Margaret his most loving wife and daughter of Henry Berney of Redham Esq alwaies mindfull of her most deare husband with whome she lived most sweetly 40 years now alas to her funeral deprived of so great solace of her life hath lamenting caused this howsoever a monument of love to be set up.

²⁴ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 53.

²⁵ E. B. Burnstall, "The Pastons and Their Manor of Binham", 105.

About ten years later Paston's fifth son, John, added this plate in honour to his late mother Margaret.

Mr. Paston's widow was buried 16 January 1640, 75 years old.

Her son, John Paston, devoted a pious monument to perpetuate the fame of the virtuous memory of that pious discrete and charitable gentlewoman Mrs. Margaret Paston whom though God lent unto the world three score and fifteen yeares for ye benefit thereof yet alas he seemed to take her away too soone from her children and country.²⁶

As can be seen, Edward Paston came from a very worthy family that was in very close contact with the English royalty. Their accomplishments are no less remarkable than those of other well-known families that include the Talbots, Petres, Kytsons, Cornwallis, among others, all of which were related by business, marriage, or blood discussed further in Chapter II.

The Poet and Orator

Let us return to our Courtier, whom we would have somewhat more than indifferently learned [...] Let him read the Orators, turn over the Poets, run through the Historians; and let him lastly exercise himself very much in Verse and Prose, especially in the vulgar Tongue.²⁷

Edward Paston's epitaph gives a clear picture of his interests, especially in poetry and music. Since what is known of his education is mostly related to the years he spent in Spain, this is a good place to start this foray. There are several connections between Edward Paston and Spain. The Paston lute books, especially Add. 31992, exhibit great similarities with the Spanish vihuela books both in the type of tablature as well as in the rubrics in Spanish that appear at the beginning of each piece. Even the style of intabulation is more closely related to the Spanish strict transcriptions from vocal models than to the lute songs of Dowland and the other representatives of the lute song in England. The second connection between Paston and

²⁶ Ibid., 106-07.

²⁷ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier*, trans. Robert Samber, copy from the University of Michigan - Google Digital ed. (London: E. Curll, 1724), 76.

Spain appears in Bartholomew Young's prologue to his translation of the *Diana* of Montemayor, where he mentions:

Well might I have [been] excused these paines, if onely Edward Paston Esquier (who heere and there for his owne pleasure (as I understand) hath aptly turned out of Spanish into English some leaves that liked him best) had also made an absolute and complete translation of all of the Parts of *Diana*; the which, for his travel in that Countrey, and great knowledge in that language, accompanied with other learned and good parts in him, had of all others, that ever yet I heard translate these Bookes, proved the rarest and worthiest to be embraced.²⁸

Paston's translations from the pastoral romance the *Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor are indicative of his passion for poetry and the Spanish culture, and it was possibly part of a degree in liberal arts that he may have completed in Spain. Young's testimony is a good indication of Paston's command of the language and his interest in poetry. The translations are unfortunately lost, although the present author would like to suggest that the translations from the *Diana* that survived among Philip Sidney's papers might have come from Paston. The idea that Sidney knew Spanish and therefore probably read the romance in the original tongue has been studied to a certain extent, although the evidence is not very conclusive, and therefore, this hypothesis is not stronger than my contention.²⁹ The translations found in Sidney's papers are very good ones indeed, the kind that only a person with very good command of a language could have created. Since Young states that Paston's translations were the best he had seen to date, the idea that they were Paston's starts to gain strength.

In addition, there is some evidence that Paston belonged to Sidney's circle of friends, and this is especially evident in the emblems published by Geoffrey Whitney in 1586, where Edward Paston is acquainted with Edward Dyers, one of the poets in Sidney's circle.

²⁸ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 54.

²⁹ Oliveira argues in favor of Sidney knowing Spanish on the basis of family connections and other circumstantial evidence. See J. de Oliveira, "Sir Philip Sidney and the Castilian Tongue," *Comparative Literature* 34 (1982): 130-45.

Although naturally there is no doubt that Young's words contain some hyperbole since the only other published translation of the *Diana* that he could have read was Thomas Wilson's,³⁰ it is not unthinkable to assume that the translations found among Sidney's papers could have been made by Paston.

There is yet one other piece of evidence showing Paston's interest in the Spanish culture and his expertise in the language. A letter written by Paston on 3 January 1569 addressed to "Señor don Diego de Carcamo mi Señor en la Corte en Madrid", demonstrates Paston's knowledge of Spanish as well as his understanding of the culture as he writes in a sarcastic style mocking his friend for not writing back to him. The letter is written in a very personal manner, and the contents imply a very close friendship.

Dear Friend

It seems that what you said has not been carried out, that I would receive of you so many letters that in my fatigue at reading them I would burn them. I think that since you do not have that complaint of me you simply do not want to write to me. Do not think that I have this complaint only of you but also of all the friends that I have there, but especially of your part I was expecting to receive [letters]. Even if I do not receive them I will not stop doing what I can to turn your promise around on you, and to the others that are there you can tell them that since they do not write to me I will not write to them from now on. I beg you to do a better job and consider that there is no impossible Godly thing and that perhaps with His favor I could see you sooner than you think. Do not think that I forget what I promised to send you. I promise that I will wait for this month to pass since after that the merchants start to make their journeys to Seville and with them you will see if I lie in my promise as much as you are in yours. No news from here that I could give you but from some ships that the King sent with money for the Duke of Alva that docked at this hour and are detained by the Queen. What would be of them I do not know for now, if something happens I will let you know as long as you do the same there. The prince of Orange [William of Orange] has crossed France and all Flanders, they say that the peace begins although what is new about this I do not know and therefore I beg you to give my chests to the good Juan Maria and my friend Salazar and send regards to the rest of the clan. I finish by begging God to give you as much health as I could wish from London in the third day of January.

First will be firm the fortune
That lives in my appreciation for you

³⁰ Wilson's translation is not very good as Anderson pointed out in D. M. Anderson, "Sir Thomas Wilson's Translation of Montemayor's *Diana*," *The Review of English Studies* 7 (1956): 176-81.

The letter is dated 3 January but no year is stated, but it reveals a couple of important historical events that help place it in time. The first is the detention of the five Spanish ships that sailed away from Spain in November of 1568, and to which Paston refers in his letter.³² There is also the mention of the rebellions by the Prince of Orange that marked the beginning of the eighty years war with the battles of Rheindallen and Heiligerlee fought respectively in April and May of 1568. Those two facts set the date for the letter to 3 January 1569, which means that Edward was writing from home after he had finished his schooling in Spain, assuming he followed the same course as his younger cousin William III, who left home at the age of thirteen for Corpus Christi College in Cambridge.³³ He is also sending gifts to his friends in Spain and suggests that he is considering going back there at some point.

It is possible that the Don Diego de Carcamo referred to in the letter was the one named governor for the province of Maranhão in Brazil on 6 May 1625, a post that he never took up because of health problems.³⁴ The Carcamo family seems to have been an artistic family since there is mention of a Diego de Carcamo in the *Cancionero de San Román o de Gallardo*, a Spanish poetry manuscript that was started in the mid fifteenth century and added

³¹ All punctuation has been standardized. Translated from Spanish from British Library Ms. Harlean 1583 fols. 378-379v. See Appendix 3 for Spanish version.

³² Conyers Read, "Queen Elizabeth's Seizure of the Duke of Alva's Pay-Ships," *The Journal of Modern History* 5 (1933): 443.

³³ Raymond A. Anselment, "Katherine Paston and Brilliana Harley: Maternal Letters and the Genre of Mother's Advice," *Studies in Philology* 101 (2004): 434.

³⁴ Schwartz gives the full document as: Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BNM), 2845, Nominations of the Governor of Maranhão (6 May 1625), f. 125, in Stuart B. Schwartz, "Luso-Spanish Relations in Hapsburg Brazil," *The Americas* 25 (1968): 33-48.

to until the mid sixteenth century.³⁵ Although further research on the Carcamo family would probably increase our understanding of Edward Paston's time in Spain, this area escapes the scope of the current research. Even the very fact that the letter is housed at the British Library might mean that it never made it to the addressee, and that a similar fate might have prevented the letters from Spain reaching Edward Paston. Nonetheless, the letter provides a clear insight into Paston's interest in the culture, and after his sarcastic introduction complaining about not receiving replies to his letters, the letter turns into a pleasant promise of gifts expressing a desire to again reunite with his Spanish friends at the court of Madrid. A last obvious idea that stems from this letter is the fact that Paston's friends were people at court in Madrid, indicating that he was probably a young courtier happily mixing with people who shared his religious faith.

In addition to his years of liberal arts education in Spain, the court cases involving Edward Paston starting in 1618 give a glimpse into how this gentleman in the later part of his life was trying to ensure the future of his family by defending his rights to the Paston fortunes. Edward must have demonstrated qualities of the oratorical abilities favoured in Castiglione's courtly ideal since he was involved in several court cases where he himself had to defend his lands in the high court. As with many of these estate disputes, the roots of these cases began with the preceding generation. At the death of William the elder in 1554, three of his five sons, Henry, Thomas and Erasmus, were already deceased. Of these three sons only Erasmus and Thomas left male heirs, William and Edward Paston respectively. In addition, neither of the surviving two sons, Sir Clement and John, had male heirs, which meant that the Paston line was to be continued by William and/or Edward Paston. The disputes started because of

³⁵ *El Cancionero Del Siglo XV, C. 1360-1520*, ed. by Brian Dutton (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990).

the settlements of the Pastons' fortunes, which were unfair to the line of Erasmus once his son William died in 1610.

Erasmus's son, William, was born in 1528 and quickly rose to be a very prominent man. He was knighted on 22 August 1578, and he was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. He married Frances, the daughter of Sir Thomas Clere of Stokesby, on 5 May 1551. They had three children, Christopher, Wolstan, and Anne. Not much is known about Wolstan, but he is said to have died without issue during the lifetime of his father. Christopher, the eldest son, was the centre of bigger concerns for the family since on 3 September 1611 in an inquisition held in Norfolk he was declared *fatuus et ideota* for the past twenty-four years.³⁶ Nothing of him is known after this date; he was probably secluded from the sight of society, and his family preferred to forget him since the inscription on his daughter Bridget's tomb reads: "Wife of Sir John Heveningham and granddaughter of Sir William Paston."³⁷

At the death of William, Christopher could not become the heir of the family due to his mental state, which resulted in unfair will settlements for his family including his son Edmund. Edmund Paston was probably protected by his grandfather Sir William while he was still alive. However, a letter from 25 July 1611 sent by Edmund Paston to his great-uncle Edward Paston demonstrates that he was already unhappy with the settlements, as the letter is a request for money from the settlement from his great-grand-uncle Clement's will. Sir Clement died in 1597. He had inherited some properties from his father along with the manor of Oxnead where he eventually built Oxnead Hall. He left the majority of his properties to his wife Alice Packington, and the remaining properties to William, Edmund's grandfather. As mentioned previously, Sir Clement was also the protector of Edward Paston after the death of

³⁶ Ruth Hughey, "The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627," *Norfolk Record Society Publications* 14 (1941): 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

Edward's father, Thomas, in 1550. Therefore, apart from the properties left to Edward by his father, Sir Clement made a provision granting all of his properties to Edward and other trustees after the death of his wife Alice if Sir William did not provide a male heir.

Edmond himself was a very successful person who was knighted in 1608, and he was held in high regard in the county of Norfolk. He married Katherine Knivett, the daughter of Sir Thomas Knivett of Ashwellthorpe; she is the Lady Paston of whom so much correspondence has survived, including several letters between her and Edward Paston. Around 1618/19 Sir Edmond was described as being very sick just after the suits were taken to court, and therefore all of the legal matters were put in Katherine's care.

The problem, however, lies not only with Edmond's settlement but with the fact that the different dispositions made by the older generations of the Paston family meant that most of their fortune was starting to go to different hands. This was the reason for the two sides of the Paston family joining forces at the end in order to get rid of all of the different trustees that were profiting from the Pastons' moneys, and more importantly, because of Sir Edward Heveningham who, in his position as the husband of Bridget Paston, William's eldest daughter, wanted to keep the Pastons' fortune. The only option Heveningham had was to try to prove that Edward Paston and family were never meant to be the head of the family, and that they were actually disliked by Sir William the elder. Heveningham presented this case in court: "If doth appeare under Sir William Pastons [the elder] owne hand that Edward Paston & his sonnes should be all omitted in the second Conveyance & it is already proved by severall witnesses that Sir William Paston had such dislike of Edward Paston & his sonnes that he repented him that he had used Edward Paston in the Conveyance of his landes &

intayled the same upon his sonnes”.³⁸ Edward Paston claimed that Heveningham’s statement was false and that his family was a victim of the circumstances since his father predeceased his grandfather, which meant that he was unable to ask his grandfather for provisions for his future, and that he was entitled to the Paston fortunes by blood, although he did not see his cousin William very often. Paston also stated that he “hath produced almost twice as many witnesses that testifie that Sir William Paston [1528-1610] had a very good opinion of him & his sonnes as Sir Iohn hath produced to the contrary and that he hath to shoue three or fower letters very kindly written from Sir William Paston unto him”.³⁹ The decree favored Edward Paston, and consequently the fortune of the Paston family was to be kept under the Paston name.

The many letters exchanged by Paston with the different parties involved in the settlements as well as the success of his defense at court show Edward Paston’s eloquence, oratorical and written skill that he probably earned in Spain and presumably at the Inns of Court in London. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, these were essential qualities for young aspiring courtiers or those who wanted to manage their families’ fortunes. By securing the Paston’s riches, Edward Paston made sure that the Paston legacy could continue, thus embracing the early modern paradigm encapsulated in Castiglione’s work.

There is one more piece of evidence that connects Paston with the circle of poets around Sir Philip Sidney. Although the name of the literary circle, *Areopagus*, might have been fictitious or a mockery, there is no doubt that many of these gentlemen gathered to discuss literary ideas.⁴⁰ As mentioned above, the translations of Montemayor’s *Diana*

³⁸ Ibid., 140.

³⁹ Ibid., 141.

⁴⁰ For the Areopagus and the ideas discussed see S. Heninger, “Sidney and Boethian Music,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 38 (1983): 45.

attributed to Sidney could have been Paston's instead; in fact, it is also possible that Paston introduced the circle to this influential work that inspired Sidney's *Arcadia* through his own translation of the work. In any event, in 1586 Geoffrey Whitney published his *Choice of Emblemes*, a collection of woodcuts with allegorical explanations, sometimes translated from the sources from which he chose them, sometimes annotated with explanatory comments, and at other times originally created for his patrons and friends. The provenance of the woodcuts and their accompanying texts have been explained in detail by Henry Green in his facsimile edition of the work.⁴¹ Our interest in the *Choice of Emblemes* comes from the fact that three of the emblems in the book are dedicated to Edward Paston, and they reveal some information about the man and his circle of friends. The emblems are collected for Whitney's acquaintances as he states that "for my intitulinge them to some of my frendes, I hope it shall not bee misliked, for that the offices of dowie and frendship are alwaies to bee favored." Whitney was then fulfilling his duty to his patrons and honouring his friends with his emblems. It is not clear, however, which of the two, whether patron or friend, Edward Paston was, although he could have been both due to his understanding and command of poetry and his social rank. Of their friendship, we have the following emblem that Whitney wrote as a remembrance of a visit to Edward Paston; figure 1.1 is the facsimile of *Orphei Musica* Whitney's emblems.⁴²

⁴¹ Geoffrey Whitney, *Whitney's "Choice of Emblemes": A Facsimile Reprint* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1866), i-lxxxviii.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 186.

Figure 1.1: Lo, Orpheus, one of the emblems dedicated to Edward Paston by G. Whitney

The poem is typical of the time with its humanistic mythological devices and graphic



LO, ORPHEVS with his harpe, that sauage kinde did tame:
The Lions fierce, and Leopardes wilde, and birdes about him came.
For, with his musicke sweete, their natures hee subdu'de:
But if wee thinke his playe so wroughte, our selues wee doe delude.
For why? besides his skill, hee learned was, and wise:
And coulde with sweetenes of his tonge, all sortes of men suffice.
And those that weare most rude, and knewe no good at all:
And weare of fierce, and cruell mindes, the worlde did brutishe call.
Yet with persuasions founde, hee made their hartes relente,
That meeke, and milde they did become, and followed where he wente.
Lo these, the Lions fierce, these, Beares, and Tigers weare:
The trees, and rockes, that leftie their roomes, his musicke for to heare.
But, you are happie most, who in suche place doe stayer: [playe.
You neede not THRACIA seeke, to heare some impe of ORPHEVS
Since, that so neare your home, Apollos darlinge dwelles;
Who LINVS, & AMPHION staynes, and ORPHEVS fare excelles.
For, hartes like marble harde, his harmonie dothe pierce:
And makes them yeelding passions feelee, that are by nature fierce.
But, if his musicke faile: his curtisie is suche,
That none so rude, and base of minde, but hee reclaimes them muche.
Nowe since you, by deserte, for both, commended are:
I choose you, for a Iudge herein, if truthe I doe declare.
And if you finde I doe, then ofte therefore reioyce:
And thinke, I woulde suche neighbour haue, if I might make my choice.

In sta-

Horat. Art. poet.
Syluestres homines sa-
cer. interpretisq. deorum,
Cedibus & sacro vultu
deterruit Orpheus;
Dicitur ob hoc lenire ti-
gres, rapidosq. leones.

E. P. Esquier.

Propert. lib. 1. de
Lino.

Tunc ego sim Inachio
notior arte Lino.

De Amphione Ho-
rat. in Art. poet.

Dicitur & Amphion
Thebana conditor urbis

Saxa mouere sono te-
studinis, & prece blada

Ducere quo vellet, &c.

descriptions of Orpheus' musical virtues. The side note on line fifteen reads E. P. Esquire, and it is almost unquestionably for Edward Paston, considering the comparison to Apollo, god of music and poetry, and the nearness to home to which the poem refers, which in fact probably refers to Whitney's place of residence in Great Yarmouth around the 1580s.⁴³ Furthermore, there is no other dedicatee in the *Choice of Emblemes* that shares the E. P. initials, and it would not make any sense to put the initials of a person unless his name was already present in the book.

The emblem also refers to Paston as a great entertainer with his music and words, "for why? Besides his skill, he learned was, and wise: and could with sweetness of his tongue, all sortes of men suffice." The last stanzas of the poem talk about the virtues of Edward Paston, speaking of the great qualities of Edward as a host, admitting that if music was not your pleasure, Paston would still make you feel at home. This emblem is a glimpse of Edward Paston as a gentleman in full command of his estate and his guests, a person that would do anything to make one feel welcome and thus a very different person from the quiet figure usually portrayed. Although Whitney suggests three different types of emblems in his book, historical, natural and moral, the place occupied by *Orphei Musica* is not quite as clear. The definitions given by Whitney are "Historicall, as representing the actes of some noble persons [...] Naturall, as in expressing the natures of creatures [...] and Morall, pertaining to vertue and instruction of life, which is the chiefe of the three." The definition that best suits *Orphei Musica* is probably the moral one as it talks about Paston's virtues and how "he learned was, and wise". There is, however, a hint of "representing the acts of some noble persons", and therefore Whitney's historical definition also applies.

⁴³ Ibid., l-li.

The second emblem dedicated to Paston, *In Christall Towers*, is more clearly moral in its contents (see Figure 1.2). The praise in this case is to Paston's wisdom, "which proves: the man was richer in the tone, than was the King, that many lands had won."

Figure 1.2: In Christall Towers, an Emblem dedicated to Edward Paston with the title *Animus, non res* [Mind, not riches].⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Ibid., 198-99.



IN christall towers, and turrets richlie sette:
 With glittering gemmes, that shine against the sonne:
 In regall roomes of Iasper, and of Iette;
 Contente of minde, not alwaies likes to wonne:
 But oftentimes, it pleaseth her to staye
 In simple cotes, closde in with walles of claye.

*Erasmo. Chiliad. 61.
 Centuria 8. de Dio-
 gene, & quid per
 vitam doliatem:
 significatur.*

*Juuenalis:
 Tota domus Codri rheda
 componitur una.*

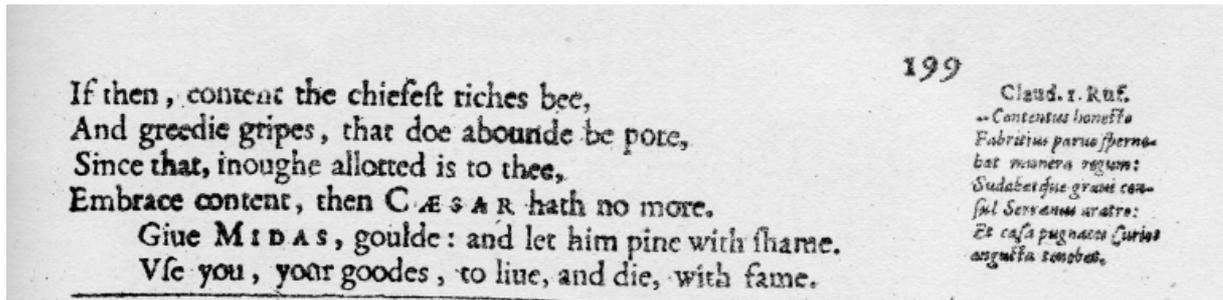
*Horat. lib. 1. epist. 2.
 Qui cupit, aut metuit,
 inuat illum sic domus,
 aut res;
 Ut lippum picta tabula,
 formica pedagram;
 Auriculus orthora sub-
 bella foras detentia.*

*Quis dives? qui nil
 cupiat. quis pauper?
 quicquid.
 Bianis distam per
 Anthonium.*

DIOGENES, within a tonne did dwell,
 No choice of place, nor store of pelfe he had;
 And all his goodes; coulde **B I A S** beare right well,
 And **C O D R V S** had small cates, his harte to gladd:
 His meate was rootes: his table, was a stoole.
 Yet these for witte, did set the worlde to seole?

Who couettes still, or hee that lites in feare,
 As much delight is wealthe vnto his minde,
 As musicke is to him, that can not heare,
 Or pleasante shewes, and pictures, to the blinde:
 Then sweete content, ofte likes the meane estate,
 Which is exempte, and free, from feare, and hate.

What man is ritche? not he that doth abounde.
 What man is pore? not hee that hath no store.
 But he is ritche, that makes content his grounde.
 And he is pore, that couettes more and more.
 Which proues: the man was ritche in the tonne,
 Then was the Kinge, that manie landes had wonne.



There is also the comparison of Paston's humility to that of Diogenes, the stoic philosopher that did not believe in personal possessions, or to the ethical principles of Codrus, who sacrificed himself for his kingdom. Despite the hyperbole of these humanistic devices, they seem to stress Paston's qualities as a courtier at home.

The third and last emblem, a tribute to Edward Dyer, one of Sidney's close friends, is dedicated to Paston and is the one that links him to Sidney's circle of poets together with Spenser, Greville and others. Whitney used a clever play on the words 'dyer' and 'hues' by talking about a 'dyer of clothes' as Edward Dyer, and the hues as colors representing different human qualities as well as the beautiful tones of the poems written by Whitney's friends such as Paston, Dyer and Sidney (see Figure 1.3). The last two stanzas, however, shift their meaning to a defense of the few colors presented by Whitney as examples of the hues found in England, hues produced by a very worthy Dyer. This is a very clever and beautiful device indeed, and the combination of the emblems within the book further support the idea that Paston was part of this circle of poets. There are some other clever ideas employed by Whitney to link Paston and Dyer; for instance, two of the emblems dedicated to Paston have a counterpart for Dyer in the opposite page suggesting a connection and not a coincidence. In addition, just like the emblem dedicated to Paston talks about

Figure 1.3: In colores, an emblem dedicated to Edward Paston by G. Whitney.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ibid., 134-35.



TH E dier, loe, in smoke, and heate-doth toile,
 Mennes fickle mindes to please, with sundrie hues:
 And though hee learne newe collours still to boile,
 Yet varijng men, woulde faine some newer choose:
 And seeke for that, which arte can not deuise,
 When that the outd, mighte verie well suffice.
 And some of them, here brieflie to recite,
 And to declare, with whome they best agree:
 For mourners, *blacke*, for the religious, *white*.
 Which is a signe, of conscience pure, and free.
 The *greene*, agrees with them in hope that liue:
 And ceke to youthe, this colour wee do giue.
 The *yelowe* next, vnto the couetous wighte.
 And vnto those, whome ielousie doth fret.
 The man refus'd, in *Taunye* doth delite.
 The collour *Redde*, let martiall captaine get.
 And little boies, whome shamefastnes did grace,
 The Romaines deck'd, in *scarlet* like their face.
 The martiners, the *Blewe* becometh well.
 Bicause it shoves the colour of the sea:
 And Prophettes, that of thinges deuine foretell,
 The men content, like *Violet* arraic.
 And laste, the poore and meaner sorte prouide,
 The *medley*, *graye*, and *ruffet*, neuer dy de.

Ouid de Trist.
 In facie habitum sem-
 poris huius habo
 Nec se purpureo volens
 vaccinia fisco:
 Non est conueniens
 luctibus ille color.
 Alc:at.
 Nos sperare docet viri-
 dia, spes dicitur esse
 in viris quosius irrita
 cetero cadit.

Loe here

Loe here, a few of colours plaine expresse,
 And eeke the men, with whome they best agree:
 Yet euerie one, doth thinke his hewe the beste,
 And what one likes, an other lothes to see:
 For Nature thought ten thousande colours haue,
 Yet vnto man, more varrijng mindes she gaue.
 Nowe straungers, who their countries still commende,
 And make vs muse, with colours they recite:
 Maye thinke our lande, small choise of hues doth lende.
 Bycause so fewe, of manie I doe write.
 Yet let them knowe, my Authhor these presentes,
 Inoughe for those, whome reason still contentes.
 But saye wee lacke, their herbes, their wormes, their flies,
 And want the meanes; their gallant hues to frame.
 Yet Englande, hath her share of orient dies,
 And seeke therein. a DYER most of fame,
 Who, alwaies hathe so fine. and freshe, a hewe,
 That in their landes, the like is not to see.

Edward Dyer, one of the emblems dedicated to Dyer is a eulogy to Sir Philip Sidney.

All of these connections suggest that Whitney was creating a literary puzzle that involved his circle of friends. However, there is no other firm connection between Dyer, Whitney, Sidney, and Paston, although the associations seem to be too clear and well crafted to be pure coincidence. If Paston was indeed part of this circle of poets, then his knowledge of the *Diana* would have been an inspiration for Sidney, just as Sidney's, Dyer's and Spencer's poetic brilliance would have been an immense source of inspiration for Edward Paston. In regard to the *Courtier* ideal the writer Thomas Nashe (1567-1601) agreed with the idea that the personification of *Il Cortegiano* was an unobtainable ideal, but despite this he nominated

Sir Philip Sidney as its closest mortal approximation.⁴⁶ Additionally, Sidney was very close to the recusants, and although he was not a Catholic “he professed himself convinced, but said that it was necessary for him to hold on the course which he had hitherto followed; yet he promised never to hurt or injure any Catholic.”⁴⁷ All of these connections suggest that Paston was close to Sidney’s circle of poets, and therefore interacting with the man who was the closest personification of the *Courtier*, Philip Sidney. The last and probably more powerful link between Sidney and the recusants is William Byrd’s eulogy for Sidney “Come to me grief for ever”, a fitting farewell to one of England’s most celebrated gentlemen composed by the hand of Paston’s presumably favourite composer since Byrd was the only composer to occupy an entire manuscript in the Paston collection (i.e. lutebook 31992).

This chapter has presented Edward Paston’s life in a different guise, that of the ubiquitous *Courtier* as presented by Castiglione, instead of the pervasive gloomy and quiet figure suggested by scholarship. Not only was Paston a well educated gentleman from a very accomplished family, but he also had a great command of the Spanish language as seen in his work with the *Diana* and the letter to Carcamo, and his music collection suggests an in depth knowledge of the Spanish culture. In addition, his friendship with Carcamo suggests that Paston was probably a young courtier while at the Court of Madrid. Although there is no extant documentation of Edward Paston himself attending the English court, we at least have a court connection involving his sister Katherine and his cousin William (1528-1610). As expected from a gentleman of his time, Paston accumulated more wealth during his lifetime and thanks to his oratorical skills he was able to defend and hence preserve the Paston family

⁴⁶ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow (London: A. H. Bullen [etc.], 1904), 7, in Partridge, *Images*, 51.

⁴⁷ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1991), 125.

fortune. As most of the wealthy recusants did, Paston furthered the education of his descendants by sending them on the Grand Tour. The letter from his son William is a typical account of a young man eager to see and learn new skills that would make him better suited for success in life. Finally, there is the association of Paston with Sidney's circle of poets, with Sidney at the very centre of the *Courtier* idea suggested throughout the chapter.

Chapter II:
Music in the Recusant Circle

The first chapter of the thesis presented the non music related documents concerning Edward Paston along with several accounts pertaining to Paston's family in the sixteenth century, as well as information on some of the members of his circle of acquaintances such as the Count of Carcamo, Sidney and Geoffrey Whitney. The picture that emerges from the evidence is that of a good host and entertainer who was well versed in poetry and foreign languages as stated in his epitaph, as well as a gentleman capable of defending the interests of his family by using his rhetorical and oratorical skills. There are also two pieces of evidence that to my knowledge have gone unnoticed; that is the connection of Edward's sister, Katherine, to Queen Elizabeth, and the letter from William Paston, Paston's second son, to his father talking about his travels on the continent, his interests, and the love and reverence towards his father.

It is time now to deal with the music-related activities in the Paston household, although here the information does not necessarily relate directly to Paston but instead to the idea of the recusant network who shared many interests that are framed around the ideals of Castiglione's *Courtier* presented in Chapter 1. The picture of Paston as a collector of music and connoisseur is once again lessened by the perception presented by Brett in the 1960s that has never been challenged. Brett's narrative of Paston suggests that "judging from what remains of his collection, Paston's taste was definitely conservative, especially in English music", and although true for what survives of the collection, there are a few pieces of evidence that argue against this assumption. For instance, the will of Edward Paston mentions "many lute bookes prickt in Ciphers after the Spanish and Italian fashion and some in letters of A.B.C. accordinge to the English fashion".¹ None of the surviving lutebooks are notated in

¹ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 56.

the “A.B.C.” or French/English fashion. It is very possible that these books contained more current English and/or French music, which made them more attractive to collectors and performers alike.

Thus Brett’s assumption is not necessarily wrong, but it only considered “what remains” of the collection and not what was so popular that it probably disappeared from the collection through years of use. One can only speculate about the contents of the books in French tablature, but it would make sense for these books to contain music written by some of the English lute players who visited so many of the recusants’ homes during Elizabethan and early Jacobean times. It seems quite appropriate that a patron of the arts such as Paston, who probably contributed to the editions of Yong’s translation of the *Diana* and to Whitney’s “Book of Emblems,” would have also supported music making by professional musicians in his home. Moreover, the idea of a relationship between Catholic musicians at court and the recusant families in the country is not new, with the best-known relationship being probably that of William Byrd and the Petre family in Ingatestone. Thus it is very possible that Paston had some of the Catholic professional musicians who worked at court in his estates, and that some of the books “in letters of A.B.C. accordinge to the English fashion” were created by musicians such as John Dowland or other lute players with Catholic sympathies.

There is yet another consideration regarding what survives of the collection. Perhaps what remains of it is what nobody wanted to have precisely because it was ‘old fashioned’. Paston’s will states that the lutebooks came with their respective partbooks; however, there are no surviving lutebooks in French tablature or the accompanying partbooks for these lutebooks, which were lost, given away, or otherwise perished. Furthermore, the survival of the Italian/Spanish tablature lutebooks is due probably to the fact that this type of tablature

notation was not popular in England and therefore these books were of little use to English performers or collectors.

If we assume for now that the music in the Paston collection was meant to be performed, there is a need to investigate the possibilities for instruments, ensembles, and other such considerations in order to have a better idea of the musical life around Edward Paston's Norfolk and the surrounding counties. This task is not easy since the family records are very fragmented, and as David Price points out, we must be cautious about how we judge the records since the appearance of a musician in the family records in the early sixteenth century may be more meaningful than many appearances of musicians in the records of the late sixteenth century.² However, the outcome of such an endeavour can prove to be very rewarding since the information provided by the records of the different families creates a very rich picture of the cultural happenings of this milieu.

In order to build a picture of music making in the Paston household, this chapter gathers information from the surviving records of several of the families related to or connected with the Pastons. The discussion is intertwined with facts and circumstances that relate these families and their musical entertainments. Of special interest are the records of people learning or playing the lute in England as they are an indication of the possible lutes in the Paston household; this is an important consideration since lutes are at the centre of the Paston collection, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The Kytsons' collection of musical instruments is especially important to this argument due to the size and details of the inventory. Therefore, this chapter will discuss first the network of recusants who shared an interest in music and the arts. This is done for the purpose of illustrating the intricate

² David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 67-68.

relationships between these recusant families and how Edward Paston's family probably belonged to this network. Next the discussion moves on to present some of the important evidence of collections of musical instruments in these recusant households in order to shed light on the likely musical resources available in the Paston household.

The recusant circle and The Courtier

Chapter 1 outlined ways in which Edward Paston can be seen to have followed the ideals presented in *The Courtier*, a book that was one of the sources of inspiration for the wealthy recusant families that retired to their country estates to pursue their own idea of courtly life away from Elizabeth's court. However, the fascination with *The Courtier* was not an exclusively recusant matter; instead its popularity went across religious divides and social rank. There were those who probably enjoyed reading *The Courtier* despite not liking Italian culture, as stated Robert Cecil, who gave advice to his son to "suffer not thy Sonnes to pass the Alpes. For they shall learne nothing there, but Pride, Blasphemy, & Atheism".³ Cecil's dislike of Italian culture was more probably a cry against the old religion and not so much about Castiglione's work.

The relationship between *The Courtier* and the recusant families in England is evident even in the dedication to the Latin translation of the book entitled *Balthasaris Castilionis Comitibus de Curiali siue Aulico* made by Bartholomew Clerke in 1571 and reprinted in 1577, 1585, 1593, 1603, and 1612. In it Clerke mentions that he was inspired to do the translation by a suggestion of Thomas Sackville (Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset). Sackville was a wealthy Catholic and a cautious man who stood loyal to the queen but also maintained a status of fairness when asked to act against recusancy. There is a slight connection between

³ See Francis Peck, *Desiderate Curiosa* (London: [n. pub.], 1732), in Mary Partridge, "Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England" (PhD, University of Birmingham, 2008), 48.

the Sackvilles and Edward Paston's family through the Brown family. Sackville's daughter, Jane, was married to Anthony Browne the younger (1574-1626), second Viscount Montague, a union that came from Anthony Brown the elder's first marriage. Edward Paston's eldest son, Thomas, married Mary Brown, the granddaughter of Anthony Brown the elder from his second marriage to Magdalen Dacre.⁴ Therefore, the very influential Brown family with their Montague title serves as an umbrella for the associations between these families. In addition, the marriage between Anthony Brown the younger and Jane Sackville produced a daughter, Mary, who married Robert, 3rd Baron Petre, the son of William, 2nd Baron Petre, William Byrd's patron.

Castiglione published the original *Il Cortegiano* in 1528, and the book was well known in England already in 1530 since Edmund Bonner, later bishop of London under Queen Mary, wrote to Thomas Cromwell to ask him for a copy of "the boke called Cortigiano in Ytalion."⁵ In one of Edward Somerset's 1548 published accounts, he mentions Sir John Luttrell as "both a good Captain at warfare in field, and wurthy courtyar in peace at home", with a note in the margin that reads "I mean suche a one as Counte Balthazar the Italian in his boke of Courtyar doth frame".⁶ Somerset was a conformist to the Church of England, but his family was divided in religious matters for generations after the Reformation; this is obvious from the ties they maintained with the recusants as Somerset's daughter married William, the son of John, 1st Baron Petre.

The Courtier was a fictional character constructed through a game played in the course of four nights at the Gonzaga's court, and it was therefore simply an idealized depiction of a courtly person and an entertainment. The reception of *The Courtier* for the recusants in

⁴ There is more information on the Brown family in the next section.

⁵ Henry Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History* (London, 1824) in *Ibid.*, 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

England had probably more to do with the nostalgic idea of it representing “the preservation of a social memory,”⁷ “the record of a vanished world”,⁸ since it probably was the memory of these wealthy Catholic families in the mainstream of courtly life during the times of the old religion. Despite the success of many of the wealthy recusant gentlemen in court in earlier times, Elizabeth’s Oath of Supremacy meant that any individual taking public or church office had to swear allegiance to her as head of church and state. Those wealthy men who refused to take the oath were barred from office for life, and then left alone as long as they remained silent. And that was the fuel that fired their country-courtly aspirations shaped, perhaps, by this fictional character that represented something they could aspire to conquer, which was the highest degree of refinement achievable by a gentleman.⁹

Perhaps the Catholics were instrumental in the preservation of *The Courtier* as an Italian book instead of pursuing the creation of an Anglicized version with the inclusion of English characters and places, which is the case with the Polish translation by Lukasz Górnicki titled *Sworzanin poliski*, or *The Polish Courtier*.¹⁰ The vogue of Italian culture in England is obvious in the many copies of *The Courtier* that survived and its various translations, in the mandatory visit to Italy during the Grand Tour taken by the gentry, and ultimately in music by the creation of the English madrigal. This vogue was fueled by the constant flow of Italian books into England, especially music books, hence the creation of

⁷ Robert Hanning, and David Rosand, “Castiglione's Verbal Portrait: Structures and Strategies”, *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 132, cited in Eduardo Saccone, “The Portrait of the Courtier in Castiglione,” *Italica* 64 (1987): 2.

⁸ D Rosand, *The Portrait, the Courtier, and Death* (Yale University Press, 1983), 92, cited in Saccone, "The Portrait of the Courtier in Castiglione", 2.

⁹ For a more detailed presentation of these ideas refer to Wayne Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978); Saccone, "The Portrait of the Courtier in Castiglione."

¹⁰ David Welsh, “Il Cortigiano Polacco (1566),” *Italica* 40 (1963): 22-27.

Tallis and Byrd's monopoly to control the business of importing foreign books. Another result of this desire for Italian things was the publication of Nicholas Yong's *Musica Transalpina* in 1588. In fact, although there is no knowledge of what printed books Paston owned, one of the surviving copies of Yong's *Musica Transalpina* is bound in the same style as the books in the Paston collection, probably in line with the instructions that appears in Paston's lutebook 2089:

Willm Corbett. I pray bynd this book in yellow lether double fillytd with sylver, my Mr his Ovell and his name uppon it, the leaves be sprinkled with green & green silke strings; look to fould it very even and cutt it as little as may be.¹¹

Obviously Paston's name does not appear in the binding of the surviving copy of *Musica Transalpina*, but the rest of the binding work is probably very similar to the description above, which suggests that this surviving copy might have been Paston's own at some point.¹² A last point for consideration should be raised before moving forward, and it is with regard to Tallis and Byrd's monopoly on publishing and importing of foreign music books. The monopoly granted by royal decree to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis on 22 January 1575 has never, to my knowledge, been considered as part of a contract to guarantee the acquisition of continental music by the recusant families in England. William Byrd was a favourite musician of many of these families serving as his patrons and fellow recusants. In exchange for the favours received, Byrd could have been the legal link that allowed the Catholic families to obtain the publications that otherwise would have been difficult to obtain. The privilege states that:

“[We] forbid all printers booksellers subjects and strangers, other then is aforesaid, to do any our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, to sell or

¹¹ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 58.

¹² David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 98.

put to sale, uppon paine of our high displeasure, and the offender in any of the premisses for every time to forfeit to us our heires and successors fortie shillings, and to the said Thomas Tallis and William Birde...".¹³

This clause makes Byrd and Tallis the sole importers of continental music in England, which puts them in a very good position to favor their patrons. In this regard the royal privilege could have been an asset for the recusant families despite being considered by scholars a financial flop. This point, unfortunately, is beyond the scope of this thesis and shall be explored at a different time. With this brief exploration of the relationship between *The Courtier* and the recusant families and their relationship to Edward Paston, it is now time to look at how the recusants maintained a network where they cultivated and shared very high standards of music.

Edward Paston and the recusant circle

I stayed openly six or eight months in the house of that gentleman who was my first host. During that time he introduced me to the house of nearly every gentleman in Norfolk, and before the end of the eight months I had received many people into the Church.¹⁴

The above account is that of John Gerard, a Jesuit priest who did much to fulfill the needs of the recusant community, and who relied on these connections to stay free from prosecution in England during the 1590s.¹⁵ The identity of the hosting "gentleman" mentioned above is unknown, although he was probably somebody with a profile very similar to that of Edward Paston, if not the man himself. The interesting fact about this statement is the idea of a network of recusant gentlemen who trusted in each other enough to share their relationship

¹³ Iain Fenlon, and John Milsom, "'Ruled Paper Imprinted': Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 140.

¹⁴ John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: Longmans, Green, 1956), 18.

¹⁵ Philip Taylor, "Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs" (Lancaster University, 2007), 90.

with Gerard, and who celebrated mass together, since in the eight months that Gerard spent in the region, there were many, even perhaps regular, services. The services took place in secret places such as the one belonging to Edward Paston and mentioned in his niece's diary;¹⁶ these places were probably many in number as suggested by Gerard's account.¹⁷ The account is probably as explicit as the times permitted, since the mention of any names or specific places could have cost lives and/or large monetary fines.

It is clear that these recusant families worshiped together, and a glimpse of what remains of their records indicates that music was a very important part of their lives. Although music was used at least sometimes in the secret services, the question remains as to how elaborate and prominent a part music played in these events. The answer may never be completely understood due to the secrecy of these activities, despite the few accounts that survive. High profile recusants like Lord Petre were very cautious about their Catholic sentiments, although his wife was once denounced by a spy for having invited a priest to say mass at their house.¹⁸ There is a more detailed account of the services at the Brown's family estate at Battle Abbey in Sussex, the home of Lady Montague:

She built a chapel in her house (which in such a persecution was to be admired) and there placed a very fair altar of stone, whereto she made an ascent with steps and enclosed it with rails, and, to have everything conformable, she built a choir for singers and set up a pulpit for the priests, which perhaps is not to be seen in all England besides. Here almost every week was a sermon made, and on solemn feasts the sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated with singing and musical instruments, and sometimes also with deacon and subdeacon. And such was the concourse and resort of Catholics, that sometimes there were 120 together, and 60 communicants at a time had the benefit of the Blessed Sacrament. And such was the number

¹⁶ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 53. A more recent and complete account of Paston's secret mass centre is to be found in Philip Taylor, "Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs.", especially in chapter 3.

¹⁷ Philip Taylor has placed this secret gathering place near one of Paston's properties, Appleton Hall, based on a survey map requested by Paston in 1595, the map shows the main Hall and about half a mile west of it a building in the woods surrounded by a moat, very much like the description given by Mary Berney.

¹⁸ Joseph Kerman, "Byrd's Settings of the Ordinary of the Mass," *JAMS* 32 (1979): 411.

of Catholics resident in her house and the multitude and note of such as repaired thither, that even the heretics, to the eternal glory of the name of the Lady Magdalen, gave it the title of *Little Rome*.¹⁹

There is no question that this is probably one of the most sumptuous manifestations of its kind; however, it gives important insights into the power and the size of the recusant network. The Brown family acquired the Montague title through Anthony Brown (1528-1592) who became First Viscount Montague in 1554, a title that was carried forward by his descendants. In addition, this family is very closely related to Edward Paston since his eldest son married Mary Brown, daughter of George Brown the second son of the Viscount Montague. The relationship is also preserved in the song "Though I be Brown", one of Byrd's songs with text by Edward Paston surviving in manuscripts 29401-5 and Harvard 30. The song seems to celebrate the wedding between Thomas and Mary, and Byrd probably composed it for this particular occasion. This connection is furthered by the fact that Thomas More, the chaplain at the Montague's chapel was the brother-in-law of William Byrd's brother, Christopher.²⁰

The account for Lady Montague suggests that the majority of the music in her services was vocal, and on special occasions, instruments were added. The practice was probably different for every household, and this is the case in the Paston household, as suggested by the music collection. The Paston manuscripts contain many sacred pieces that certainly suggest the possibility of music being performed in his secret services as well. Although the only settings of the ordinary of the mass that survive in the lutebooks are the selections from the *Missa Dum Complerentur* by Victoria, the partbooks contain many more mass settings that

¹⁹ Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, C. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 215.

²⁰ Philip Taylor, "Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs", 24.

could have been used for the services; this is without considering what has been lost of the collection. There are, in addition, many settings of motets and other non-liturgical sacred pieces both in the lutebooks and the partbooks that could have been used for specific celebrations in the liturgical calendar. Moreover, many of the settings in the partbooks have no texts, suggesting that instruments were used to perform this music; these performance practice issues are discussed in Chapters IV and V. What becomes evident from a glance at the collection is that Paston was probably very often a participant in music making at his place, and that since the lute was such a central part of his collection, the number of musicians taking place in the performances was probably much smaller.

It is also possible, however, that the sacred music in the Paston collection was to be enjoyed outside the liturgy in the same way as the vihuela intabulations of sacred music were enjoyed in Spain. With the exception of Milan's vihuela book, all of the vihuela publications contain sacred works, sometimes in full, other times only a section of a movement of a mass (i.e. Crucifixus or Et incarnatus est), which is the way pieces appear in the Paston collection. In this case, although in the Spanish vihuela tradition these arrangements were not used in the liturgy, there is the possibility that Paston adapted what he learned in Spain to fit his religious practice. This means that it would have been more practical to have a lute and one or two singers performing the music for the secret services, thus making it easier to hide away all of the paraphernalia before it was discovered by the raiding forces.

With regard to what type of participation professional musicians and amateur musicians had in the services, there is an account by the Jesuit priest William Weston who wrote in his autobiography about a gathering at the home of Richard Bold. In this instance, they:

set aside for the celebration of the Church's offices. The gentleman [Bold] was also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and

female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave of some great feast. William Byrd, the very famous English musician and organist, was among the company.²¹

It is not entirely clear that either Bold or Byrd performed, but the mention that Bold played and had an organ and that Byrd was also an organist suggests that they probably participated in the performances in some fashion, and even perhaps together. Furthermore, there is a clear indication of male and female voices singing together, which is also supported by the music in the Paston collection, and that other instruments apart from the organ were used for such occasions.

In any case, the musical activities of these families were many and varied, and such a community would need music lessons, instruments, music books and more to satisfy their needs. The glimpses that survive of this cultural milieu demonstrate a very rich and unique collection of practices. Thus, the Pastons' social circle was probably formed by those recusant families that had similar interests in poetry, music and other such manifestations. The records and family connections suggest that the network of acquaintances is not necessarily limited to a small geographical area as, for instance, one of the only documents left by Paston, a letter to Roger Manners the Earl of Rutland, is testament to the relationship between the two cousins, one in Norfolk, and the other one at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire.²² Similarly, the Manners were related by marriage to the Talbots of Shrewsbury who in turn were related to the Arundels from West Sussex, and in fact, Edward Paston's granddaughter Katherine, the daughter of Thomas Paston and Mary Brown married one of the Talbots from Shrewsbury.

²¹ Samuel Schmitt, "The Paston Manuscripts in Context: A Study of Folger Shakespeare Library Mss V.A. 405-7" (PhD, The Catholic University of America, 2004), 56.

²² Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 55.

And there is the relationship, mentioned above, between Edward Paston's family and the Brown family with their seat at Battle in Sussex.

There are also the dedications of published works by composers where mention is made of the relationships between families and composers such as John Wilbye, musician in residence at the Kytson's estate, who dedicated some of his works to Sir Charles Cavendish and his niece Arabella Stuart.²³ William Byrd dedicated many of his works to some well-known recusants such as Lord Lumley, Edward Somerset (4th Earl of Worcester), Henry Howard (Earl of Northampton), and John Petre. The Cavendishes were also very fond of Castiglione's *Courtier* since William Cavendish had the book translated into Latin in the early seventeenth century, in addition to buying new instruments and the latest Italian and English music publications.²⁴ Henry Howard was a self confessed leader of the Jesuits in England as it appears in his accounts,²⁵ and the Petre family were the patrons of William Byrd and have been associated with Edward Paston through one of the partbooks, namely Chelmsford 1. In addition, there is another indirect connection between the Pastons and the Petres, namely that Edward, Lord Petre's second son, married one of the descendants of the 1st Viscount Montague's first marriage to Jane Radclyffe, and therefore the Pastons and the Petres were related via the Montague family.²⁶

As suggested above through Gerard's account, the unifying force for these families was their religious belief. Kerman points out that one of the options left for the Catholics by Elizabeth was that they "could hold to the old religion more or less unobtrusively, or

²³ Glenn Philipps, "John Wilbye's Other Patrons: The Cavendishes and Their Place in English Musical Life During the Renaissance," *The Music Review* 38 (1977): 86-87.

²⁴ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 7 and 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

²⁶ Sibbald Scott, "A Booke of Orders and Rules of Anthony Viscount Montagu in 1595," in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, Sussex Archaeological Society (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society & G. P. Bacon, 1874).

surreptitiously, especially if they were persons of some power.”²⁷ This option prompted the retirement of many wealthy Catholics to their country residences where they could, to a certain extent, practise their faith. The result was the interesting development of a courtly-country life, which not only gave them privacy to worship, but also initiated a need to recreate and uphold the most current trends from court. One of the main sources of inspiration for these families probably came from Castiglione’s *The Courtier*, and among the many trends these families endeavoured to maintain, there were many lavish entertainments that included music. In addition, the account of the entertainments that took place during the Queen’s progress of 1578, gives a glimpse into some of the other musical activities organized by the gentry in the area.

Entertainments during Queen Elizabeth’s 1578 Progress through East Anglia

Queen Elizabeth’s 1578 Progress through Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire is one of the best-documented journeys of the time probably because of its political and religious importance as the Queen’s marital status was to soon to be decided, and also because Norwich was a stronghold for the recusants and its dioceses were plagued by leniency, much to the annoyance of the puritans.²⁸ This section is concerned with the entertainments that took place during the progress and briefly illustrates the scope of these celebrations, mostly performed

²⁷ Joseph Kerman, “Music and Politics: The Case of William Byrd (1540-1623),” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 144 (2000): 276.

²⁸ Patrick Collinson, “Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578,” in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 123. There are many hypotheses in regards to the purpose of the progress, many of which are discussed in Jayne Archer *et al.*, *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

by the gentry and orchestrated by Churchyard in Norwich.²⁹ The climax of the festivities was in Norwich, where the townspeople gave incredible displays of creativity with many plays, music and recitations put together to celebrate their ruler. The Queen stayed mostly with the wealthy recusants apparently in order to assert her supremacy and garner their support.

Queen Elizabeth and her entourage were feasted to the highest standards by many of the wealthy recusant families of the area. The accounts by Churchyard and Geldingham state that Norwich put up the best show of all:

For order was taken there, that every day for six days together, a show of some strange devise should be seen. And the mayor and aldermen appointed among themselves and their brethren, that no one person retaining to the Queen should be unfeasted or unbidden to dinner and supper, during the space of those six days: which order was well and wisely observed, and gained their city more fame and credit that they were aware of.³⁰

Once again, the network of families together provided the necessary accommodation and entertainment for the queen's large following. We learn that on one occasion, her Highness dined at my Lord of Surrey's", probably Philip Howard (1557-1595) 13th Earl of Arundel, "where were the French ambassadors also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banquet."³¹ The various celebrations were attended by many of the local recusants, and in fact, William Paston, Edward Paston's cousin was knighted in one of the many feasts that took place during the progress.³² Music was one of the highlights of the celebrations and throughout Norwich "the *waits* of the city were placed with loud musick, who chearfully and

²⁹ Thomas Churchyard (1523?-1604) was a not very successful poet or soldier but he was commissioned to organize the celebrations at Norwich during the Queen's progress. The account of the progress was written and almost immediately published by Churchyard himself.

³⁰ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. III (London: Printed by and for the Editor, 1788), 319.

³¹ *Ibid.* Vol. III, 340. Howard was one of the most stubborn Catholics in England and preferred to lose all of his fortune and die in the tower rather than submit to the Church of England.

³² *Ibid.* Vol. III, 351.

melodiously welcomed her Majesty into the city”.³³ Later on in the same welcoming celebration for the queen “the musicians within the gate upon their soft instruments used broken musick, and one sang...”³⁴ The celebrations obviously reflect the traditions of music making in the Norfolk area, and the accounts also talk about the fact that some of the productions were prepared by the townspeople and not by professional musicians.

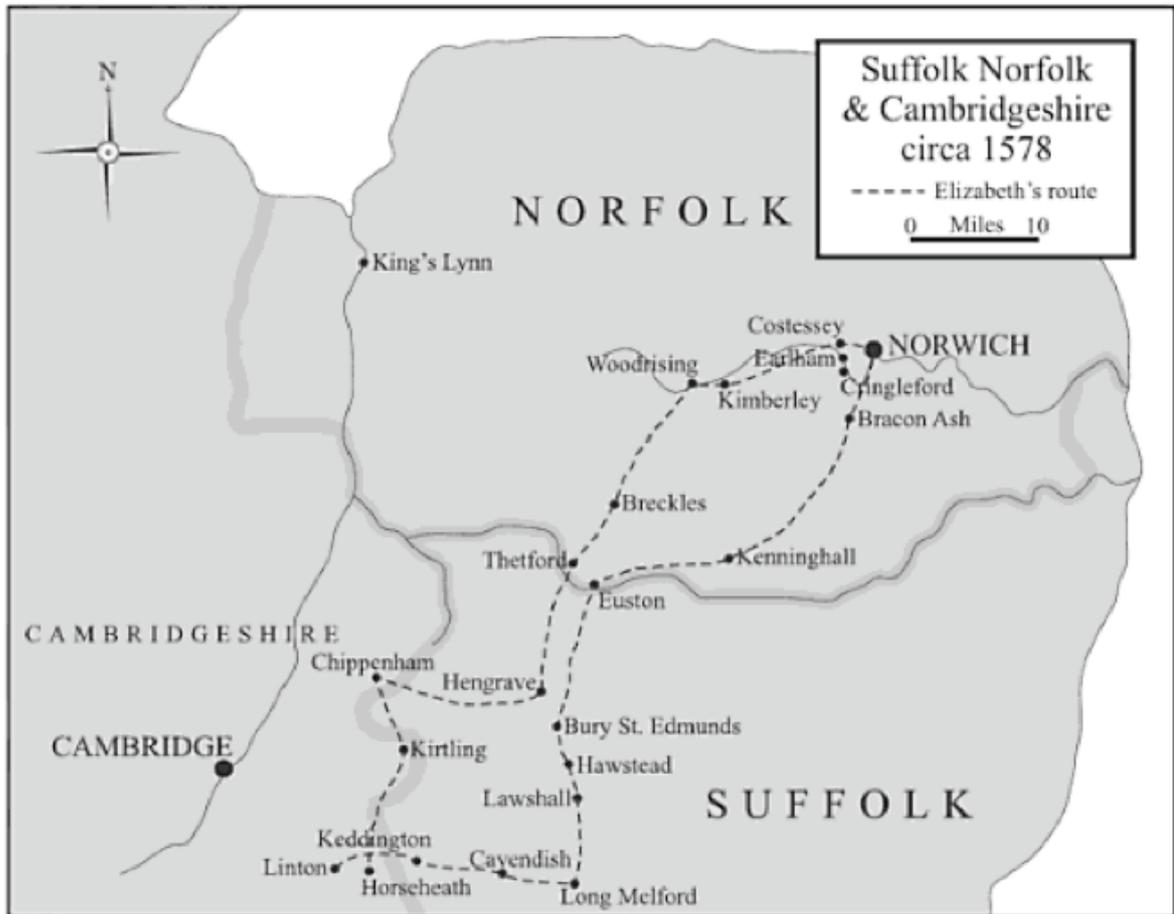
Although there is no mention of the Pastons directly participating in the organization of the many musical entertainments, the accounts are once again a demonstration of the importance and power of the recusants and the importance of the area as a recusant’s stronghold. One of the stopping points during the progress was at Sir Thomas Kytson’s at Hengrave, “where in very deed, the fare and banquets did so exceed a number of other places, that it is worthy the mention. A shew representing the fraries (as well as might be) was there seen, in the which show, a rich jewel was presented to the Queen’s Highness.”³⁵ Since the Kytsons’ home at Hengrave has some of the best records for musical instruments, musician payrolls, and celebrations with friends and family, it is worth having a closer look at their records in order to realize the extent of their fondness for music.

³³ Ibid. Vol. III, 323-24.

³⁴ Ibid. Vol. III, 331.

³⁵ Ibid. Vol. III, 24.

Figure 2.1: Map of Norfolk and Suffolk and Cambridgeshire showing the Queen's 1578 Progress.³⁶



Portraits of Kytson's friends at Hengrave Hall

The relationship between the Pastons and the Kytsons extends for at least four generations before Edward Paston. Isabella and Thomas de Hemegrave [Hengrave] had three children, one of whom, Beatrix, married Robertus de Thorpe having one child by the name of Edmundus de Thorpe who married Joan Banyarde. The couple had two children, one of whom, Joan, married Thomas Gerbridge and had a daughter, Alicia, who married Edmundus

³⁶ The map appears in Patrick Collinson, "Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578," 123.

Berry. They were the parents of Agnes Berry, the wife of William Paston (*haeres unica ob. 1479*), the grandfather of John Paston (d. 1503).³⁷ John Paston was Edward Paston's great-grandfather and the last of the fifteenth-century Pastons. Similar relationships amongst the different families were common, hence the portraits at the Great Hall that relate many of these families. The Hengrave properties were passed to Thomas and Joanna of Hengrave in the fifth year of King Henry V's reign, and after this they passed to William Paston and others. These trustees immediately sold the manor.³⁸ In fact, some of the properties from the fifteenth century passed to the hands of Edward Paston, since one of his properties in Thorpe by Norwich probably belonged at some point to the Thorpe family.

The current Hengrave Hall was built in 1528 by Sir Thomas Kytson (1485-1540), and it was the place where Queen Elizabeth stayed during her 1578 progress and also where all of records presented here were recorded. At the death of Sir Thomas Kytson, his son Thomas inherited the properties and carried on the legacy of his renowned father. Thomas the younger died in 1603, the year when the inventories were requested. It is noteworthy to mention the inventories as they illustrate the close relationships between the different Catholic families in England. They include, among other things, a list of the portraits of Kytson's friends that hung in the Great Hall. Here is the account.³⁹

Of the original portraits preserved here, the following may be mentioned:
Sir Thomas Kytson, the founder of Hengrave Hall, three-quarter length on pannel, by Holbein.
Sir Thomas Kytson the younger, three quarters, on pannel, 1573.
Jane, first wife of Sir Thomas Kytson the younger, daughter of William Lord Paget, three quarters, on pannel, aetatis suae 26.
Elizabeth, second wife of Sir Thomas Kytson the younger, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, full length

³⁷ John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk* (Bury St. Edmunds: John Decker, 1822). A chart titled "Genealogia de Hemegrave" explains the connection between the Hengraves and the Pastons.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

The same lady, three quarters, by Cornelius Jansen.
 Lord Manners, full length
 Lady Manners, full length.
 Thomas, first Lord Darcy of Chich, K. G. aet 49.
 Margaret, Lady Cavendish, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Kytson the younger, three quarters, by Zuccherò
 Mary, Countess of Bath, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, half length, on pannel.
 Henry Jermyn, Lord Dover, half length.
 Sir John Gage, K. G. Lord High Chamberlain, and Constable of the Tower, full length.
 Sir John Gage, first Baronet of Firlè in Sussex, three quarters.
 Lady Penelope, wife of Sir John Gage, Bart. Half length
 Sir Edward Gage, first Baronet of Hengrave, three quarters.
 Sir William Gage, second Baronet of Hengrave, half length.
 Thomas, eldest son of Sir William Gage, half length.
 John Gage, of Coldham Hall, second son of Sir William Gage, three quarters.
 Miss Warmestre, maid of honour to Queen Henrietta, three quarters.
 Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, and Mary Charlotte Bond, a girl, afterward wife of Sir William Gage, half length.
 Sir Thomas Gage, third Baronet of Hengrave, a youth, half length.
 Sir William Gage, fourth Baronet of Hengrave, three quarters.
 The same, when a boy.
 Sir Thomas Gage, fifth Baronet of Hengrave, three quarters.
 Sir Robert Cotton, three quarters.
 There is also a bust, by Negroni, a Roman artist, of the late Sir Thomas Gage.

Several relationships can be established from this list. Elizabeth, the second wife of Sir Thomas Kytson was the daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who fought alongside Edward Paston's father, Thomas, during Kett's revolt in 1549. There are also portraits of both Lord and Lady Manners, who are related to Edward Paston by blood and by correspondence. Margaret, Lady Cavendish, was the wife of Charles Cavendish the dedicatee of Wilbye's "First Set of English Madrigals 1598", and Charles was commended for his musical prowess in the dedication to these madrigals, which must be true as other documents attest that he studied for eight years to achieve perfection on the viol.⁴⁰ The connection between the Gage family and the Kytsons came from the marriage between Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche, and Mary Kytson, the youngest daughter of Thomas Kytson the younger. Their

⁴⁰ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 40 and 81.

daughter, Penelope Darcy, married Sir John Gage of Firle, Sussex. Lady Penelope spent much time with her grandmother Lady Kytson at Hengrave Hall. At the death of Lady Kytson on 2 August of 1628, she stated in her will that “The furniture at Hengrave Hall and the armour, music, and musical instruments, were directed by her to descend, as her looms, to the persons for the time being entitled to the house”,⁴¹ which were her daughter Mary Darcy and her granddaughter Penelope Darcy.

The portraits at the Great Hall in Hengrave are a perfect example of the intertwined web of relationships between all of these families. Other records from Hengrave aid in creating a clearer picture of the entertainments these people held with troops of visiting musicians often performing in addition to the musicians in residence, namely Edward Johnson and later on the celebrated madrigalist John Wilbye.

Records of Payments for Musical Activities at Hengrave Hall

The following records are not only a testament of the musical activities at Hengrave, but also of how the resident musicians patronized by different families travelled to perform in the homes of friends. The records that survive go from 1572 to 1575 and they are very similar from year to year, which makes it hard to measure how different the trends were before and after this period.

1572⁴²

October

In rewarde to Hongson the musician at Hengrave, xs.

To my L. of Sussex's musicians, vs.

To the Quene's players, vjs.

⁴¹ John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, 189.

⁴² The records appear in *Ibid.*, 190-205.

November.

For x yards carsey at ijs. Jd. The yarde, and iiijd. Over in all, gyven by my m^{res} to the musicians at Hengrave, xxjs. Ijd.

In rewarde to Maud of Norwich for amending the virgenalls, iijs. Iiijd.

December

To Meg and Mary to play at maw in Chrystmas time, xs.

For a treble violin, xxs.

In reward to Adams of Bury for playing an interlude before my m^f in Chirstmas, xxs.

January

In rewarde to the musicians at Brome, iijs.

1573

April

In reward among the wayghtes of London for playing at my m^f his house there, vjs.

May

For stringing, tuning, and fretting my m^{res}. Lute, ijs. vjd.

For passage by water, with the musicians, to Mr. groom-poters at Lewisham, js. Vjd.

To Mr. Halle's man for bringing a lute from his m^f to my m^{res}, ijs. vjd.

To the musicians of Swanne Alley for many times playing with their instruments before my m^f and m^{res}, vjs viijd

September

To my Lo. Of Essex's players, vjs.

Dec

For ij dosen di. Mynekens, and ij dosen cattelins for the vialls, vijs. iijd. [the author has a foot note defining them as 'small and large strings']

1574

January

For vij cornetts bought for the musicians, iiijLi.

July

To my Lord of Leyseter's players, vs.

August-September

To my Lord of Sussex's players, vs.

November

For my m^f his soper at a tabling house in London, with Mr. Jernegan, Mr. Cobham, Mr. Whitney, and Mr. Payton, vs.

December

In reward to the musicians at Ware, iijs. For an instrument called a curtall, xxxs.

In reward to the musicians on new year's morning, xls.

1575

January-February-March

Paid to Robert, the musician, as so much by him paid fir a coople staffe torches to alight my m^{res} home on Candlemas night, supping at Mr. Townsend's, ijs, vjd.

For a trumpett, xls.

For a player of virginales, xxxs.

In reward to vj trumpeters at my m^r his comand go sounding before his chamber on twelfth day, xs.

To the Queens Ma^{ties} trumpetters for playing before my m^r his chamber, xxxs.

1575 April-May-June

To one Cosen for teaching the children of the Virgenalls from Christmas until Easter, iijLi.

In reward to johnson, the musician, for his charges in awayting on my L. of Leycester at Kennelworth, xs.

October-November

For a song for my m^r and the ditty to the same, ijs iiijd.

There is also a record of the wedding of Thomas Darcy to Mary Kytson in 1583, and among the items in the records there is an entry "Gyven to the musicians at the marriage, xxxs."⁴³ Once again, the records of musical activities at Hengrave are very impressive with activities registered for almost every month. It also important to notice that the activities recorded are those extraordinary ones like the visits of musicians from different households. The more ordinary activities, such as the daily activities of musicians in residence, were probably recorded on a yearly basis or in a separate account. There are several appearances of the musicians of Lord Sussex, suggesting the 3rd Earl of Sussex, Thomas Radcliffe (1526/7-1583); however, it is possible that the account refers to a different family from the area, namely the Montagues or even more probably the music collector Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel. There is also mention of the musicians at Brome, the seat of the Cornwallis family very near Edward Paston's estate at Thorpe by Norwich.

⁴³ Ibid., 214.

There is also reference to the musicians of Lord Essex, possibly Walter Devereux, the father of Penelope Devereux; she is said to have inspired the character of “Stella” in Sir Philip Sidney’s “Astrophel and Stella.” In addition, Sidney was a friend of the Kytson family as confirmed by a letter he sent to Lady Kytson reassuring her of their friendship.⁴⁴ Also, the musicians of Lord Leicester and Robert Dudley appear in the Kytsons’ records, and in exchange Edward Johnson, a resident musician at Hengrave, was sent to Lord Leicester’s place in Kenilworth to entertain the Queen during a visit. In addition to the different payments to musicians, there is also mention of repairs to the virginals and purchases of strings and other maintenance work for the music collection.

The Kytsons and the Petres were most probably related since they had family ties from their marriages. For instance, the records of the Petre household show some of their guests for meals; they include Lady Talbot, Lady Herbert, the Cornwallis, and Anthony Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague and father-in-law of Robert, 3rd Lord Petre. The main bond comes from the fact that Lady Kytson, the wife of Sir Thomas Kytson the elder, was Katherine Cornwallis, the daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis. However, record keeping in the Petre home was not as detailed in matters of music, despite their being the principal patrons of William Byrd. It is plausible to assume that the entertainments at the Petres’ home were quite similar to the Kytsons’ despite the lack of records to prove it. Moreover, different generations treated music at home in a variety of ways, and there were different approaches to record keeping for musical activities. For instance, Sir William Petre (1505/6-1572) started the family music collection with books, instruments, and lessons, as did many other country noblemen. However, the benefits of his patronage went most probably to his children in the following generation. John Petre (1549-1613) is well known for his patronage of William

⁴⁴ Ibid., 182-83.

Byrd, and his enthusiasm for music is sprinkled in the records of the Petres' household. There is mention of "a cullen lute bought for Mr. John Petre 13s. (1561)", or a payment for "Mr. Lychefeild's man for bringing certain songs for Mr. John Petre 2s (1562)", and then once at law school in Middle Temple, John took a more practical approach to writing music since "a book for the lute and pricking songs therein" was ordered and more expenses for such books and new lutes are recorded in his accounts. The point here is that these two very similar families with very similar backgrounds and affiliations had such different ways of keeping records, and that it took them a couple of generations to build up their collections of music books and instruments. The same could be said about the Lumley/Arundel collection and probably of the Paston collection as well. If true, that would explain Edward Paston's conservative taste in music and his lack of records for instruments, strings and other such items. For now it is necessary to continue looking at the Kytsons' records to create a clearer picture of these families and before clearer conclusions can be reached.

Musical instruments in the Kytson household

Lord Gaspar speaks negatively about music, to which the Count responds: "Speak it not"... "For I shall enter into a large sea of the praise of music, and call to rehearsal how much it hath always been renowned among them of old time, and counted a holy matter; and how it hath been the opinion of most wise philosophers that the world is made of music, and the heavens in their moving make a melody, and our soul framed after the very same sort, and therefore lifteth up itself and, as it were, reviveth the virtues and force of it with music; wherefore it is written that Alexander was somethime so fervently stirred with it, that, in a manner, against his will he was forced to arise from banquets and run to weapon; afterward the musician changing the stroke and his manner of tune, pacified himself again and returned from weapon to banqueting."⁴⁵

Although neither reading the work of Castiglione nor the act of music making at home were purely recusant affairs, there is no doubt that both of these activities struck a chord with

⁴⁵ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier (Il Cortegiano)*, trans. Thomas Hoby (New York: The National Alumni, 1907), 75-76.

the recusant community. As discussed above, the connection between the recusants and *The Courtier* is very evident, with some of the more worthy Catholics commissioning translations, ordering copies from Italy, or simply sharing their copies of the book among themselves. Subsequently, a look at the records of the Kytson family relationships to other recusant families including the Pastons, as well as the records of musical activities in the household, gives an idea of the richness of the entertainments that took place in this circle of families. It is particularly interesting to look at the records of musical instruments in order to have an idea of the scope of these families' interest in music. In the quote above, The Count sings the praises of music after being challenged by Lord Gaspar, since music plays such an important part in the formation of the ideal *Courtier*.

What follows is a list of the music related items in the inventory of Sir Thomas Kytson's belongings. The instrument collection is comprehensive enough to allow performing most genres of soft music; the accounts above suggest that loud music was always hired for a particular occasion. The inventory was taken with all of its items "being appraised and valued the XXIXth, XXXth, and XXXJst days of March, and the first day of Aprill, in the year of our Lord God 1603." An inventory was done at the death of Sir Thomas Kytson, and it lists among other things "Mr. Payne's chamber"; "Sir Thomas Corwalleis, his chamber"; "Mr. Darcey's closet; Mr. Darcey's bed chamber; y^e inner chamber; y^e closett within the saide chamber; y^e next chamber to y^e said chamber; y^e chamber where the musicyons playe; Wilbee's chamber..."⁴⁶, and in the halls the inventories:

*In y^e chamber where y^e musicyons playe.*⁴⁷

Itm, hangings of blewe and yellow saye complete.

⁴⁶ John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, 21-22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

Itm, one long bord with ij tressels.
Itm, one long joyned forme and one playne forme.

Instreuments and Books of Musicke.

Itm, one borded chest, with locke and key, wth vj vialls.
Itm, one borde chest, with six violenns.
Itm, one case of recorders, in nomber vij.
Itm, iiij cornutes, one being a mute cornute.
Itm, one great base lewte, and a meane lewte, both wthout cases.
Itm, one trebble lute, and a meane lute with cases.
Itm, one bandore, and a sitherne with a dooble case.
Itm, two sckboots, wth ther cases.
Itm, three hoeboys, wth a curtall and a lysarden.
Itm, two flewtes, wthout cases.
Itm, one payer of little virginalls.
Itm, one wind instrument like a virginall.
Itm, two lewting books covered with lether.
Itm, vj bookes covered with pchement. cont^g vj setts in a book, with songs of iiij, v, vj, vij, and viij partes.
Itm, v books covered wth pchement. cont^g iij setts in a book, with songs of v ptes.
Itm, vj books, covered wth pchement. cont^g ij sets in a book, with English songs of iiij, v, and vj, partes.
Itm, v books, covered with pchment, wth pavines galliards measures, and country dances.
Itm, v books of le vaultoes and corrantoes.
Itm, v old bookes, covered wth pchment, wth songes of v partes.
Itm, v books covered in blacke lether.
Itm, iiij books covered wth pchment, wth songes of iiij partes.
Itm, v books covered wth pchment, wth pavines and galliards for the consort.
Itm, one great booke w^h came from Cadis, covered wth redd lether, and gylt.
Itm, v books cont^g one sett of Italyan fa-laes.
Itm, one great payer of dooble virginalls.
Itm, one payer of great orgaynes.

Although this inventory is from 1603, already in 1535 there is a payment “to Tome Baratt for mayking iij fagots,” indicating that the interest in music started before the death of Sir Thomas Kytson the elder in 1540. There are many interesting entries in this inventory such as the vialls and violenns that came in sets of six each, the first set probably for consort music in the English fashion and the second set most probably for dance music. It is not possible to know whether the “case of recorders” contained only a set of instruments or if it held many different recorders of different kinds. In addition to the recorders there are some

oboes, sackbuts, flutes, and more, all of which give ideas as to the combinations and genres, both sacred and secular, which could be performed with such a collection.

Then there are the plucked string instruments. There is a set with a bandora and a cittern together in a double-case, and three sizes of lute, a “great base lewte”, a couple of “meane lewte[s]” and a “trebble lewte”. Notice that the inventory is only for the items found at the moment when it was taken, and it is very well possible that some of the instruments were in the hands of the musicians in residence or the descendants of Kytson the younger. In addition, the number of instruments probably varied throughout the years since for instance a payment was registered in May 1573 “to Mr. Halle’s man for bringing a lute from his m^r to my m^{res}”, and the purchasing and exchanging of instruments was a common occurrence. Such a combination of lutes, treble-mean-bass, probably were matched to the viol tunings of either c’-g-d or d’-g-d, which would allow one to play the same single part using the same fingerings.⁴⁸ Alternatively, the different sizes of lutes could be used to transpose by a fourth or fifth depending on the key signature or the original piece. These transpositions imply that there were pieces notated in tablature and that transposition was desired depending on the clefs and ranges; this is explained in detail in the next chapters. The record clearly indicates that there were “two lewting books covered with lether” probably meaning that they were written in lute tablature, very much like the Paston lutebooks. For now it is sufficient to know that there were different sizes of lutes in the Kytson household and by extension probably in other households.

There are a couple of interesting comparisons between Paston and Kytson. For instance, there are no records of Kytson ever attending either University or the Inns of Court,

⁴⁸ For different sizes of viols and lutes in England see Ian Harwood, “A Case of Double Standards? Instrumental Pitch in England C 1600,” *Early Music* 9 (1981): 470-81.

which is not usual for a person of his social standing and influence, and the same can be said about Paston, apart from his education in Spain. Although both men took very different paths, with Paston being a more private figure, they both were very successful in accumulating wealth and served as public figures. It has been suggested that Sir Thomas Kytson the younger was educated at home, but it is possible that both Paston and Kytson attended the Inns of Court but took no degrees from their time there. This seems to have been a common occurrence since young gentlemen went there to learn enough to manage their family fortunes and not necessarily to finish a degree.⁴⁹

Another comparison worth noting is that although it is clear that these two men had great interest in music, only Paston made arrangements for the music related items in his will. It is quite significant that no mention of Kytson's incredible collection of musical instruments nor of any music books was made in his will. It is therefore less surprising that there is no mention of instruments, but only of the music books, in Paston's will. Perhaps instruments were handed over to the descendants, or to the house musicians with a verbal agreement, but this question remains to be investigated. In any case, as the records for the Kytson household contain many details of musical instruments and activities, Edward Paston's collection of music manuscripts is just as impressive despite being incomplete. The point is that neither the records for Kytson or Paston show the full picture of what music making was like in their homes, and therefore in order to make an educated guess of the rest of the picture for each case one has to assume that there was probably a middle ground, meaning in this case that probably Paston did not have as many instruments as Kytson, and Kytson did not have as many music books as Paston. These suppositions are necessary because they fill the many gaps left by the lack of documentation. For example, although we know that Edward Paston

⁴⁹ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 27.

was a lute player, the fact that no records exist of string purchases in his household does not mean that he did not play the lute, and that other instruments probably existed in his household.

Although not part of the recusant circle per se, a similar case occurs in the very musically active household of Robert Cecil, which also lacks an inventory of manuscripts or printed books of music. The only record is for “three great violl bookes” that were purchased by Lanier in 1607.⁵⁰ In addition, there is an inventory from 1614/15 that mentions “diverse bookes of musick and songes”, which is not very impressive considering that Robert Cecil had to have copies of at least the books dedicated to him by none other than Thomas Morley, John Dowland, and Robert Jones. The musicians that appear in Cecil’s records must have had plenty of music to choose from for the household’s entertainments and for didactic purposes. It is obvious that Cecil had music books, instruments and more since he was such an important figure, and the records suggest so. Assuming that there were no instruments or music books because of the lack of records is as irrational as Brett’s assumption that “Paston eventually became more concerned with the size of the collection than with the growth of the musical repertory it contained,”⁵¹ thus indicating that he never managed to understand how the collection worked as a performing collection, as will be explained in subsequent chapters.

There is documentation of a connection between Cecil and Paston. Cecil wanted to move the organ from St. Peter’s Church to King’s College Chapel in Cambridge, but Edward Paston refused to part with the organ since it had been given to his father by Henry VIII.⁵² It

⁵⁰ Lynn Hulse, “The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612),” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 29.

⁵¹ Philip Brett, “Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection”, 62.

⁵² Lynn Hulse, “The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)”, 30-31.

is worthy of note to consider that the organ belonged to Edward Paston, since Cecil had to ask for his permission in order to be able to move it to its new location.

Finally, by presenting the records of the Kytson family and the connections they had with other families in the realm, it is possible to have a better idea of the possibilities for a collection of instruments that might have existed in the Paston household. It is hoped that the subsequent chapters will demonstrate that the music manuscripts suggest that Edward Paston did indeed own different instruments. Since Paston's instrument of choice was the lute, the next section is a brief compilation of facts about lutes in England.

Lutes in England

The lute is central and essential to the Paston collection, but the popularity of the lute in England is not limited to Edward Paston. For instance, there is mention that in 1558, Lady Manners was learning to play the lute, and Dorothy Kytson was learning the lute as early as 1542.⁵³ There are some more extreme or colourful descriptions such as the one about Francis Quarles, the poet, who attended Lincoln's Inn and who was so enthusiastic about playing his lute that he sold his gown to buy a lute case.⁵⁴

In contrast to the German records, English records mention only three different sizes of lute, which is probably a continuation of the Italian tradition of *liuti piccoli*, *liuti mezzani*, and *liuti grandi*.⁵⁵ As seen above, the record of musical instruments in Kytson's home supports this model, which is logical since English lute ensemble music does not require more

⁵³ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 13-14.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁵ Douglas Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," *The Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980), 43.

than three lutes.⁵⁶ This grouping is not as straightforward as it seems, however, since even in Italy there are many more surviving sizes than the three stated. These categories seem to imply that the classification was a loose one, and that for instance any small lute, perhaps those in b c' or d' would fall into the *liuti piccoli* group, with the same occurring for the a and g lutes that were probably considered *liuti mezzani*, and then in similar fashion for the lower lutes. The three-lutes classification probably has some other historical implications that escape our understanding, and therefore, perhaps builders in Italy tended to build sets of three lutes, but had different types of sets to address specific clef arrangements, meaning low sets for low clefs or high sets for high clefs. If the classification was a loose one as suggested here, then perhaps the two mean lutes mentioned in Kytson's inventory could be of different sizes.

These ideas are worth considering since neither the surviving lute literature nor the existing lutes support the classification of only three different lute sizes. Furthermore, the surviving repertory for lute ensemble in the continent requires five different sizes of lute,⁵⁷ the Fugger collection in Germany talks about seven different sizes,⁵⁸ and Paston as a lute player probably had different lutes to be able to perform all of his music with the many different clefs and transpositions that appear throughout the collection. This is actually quite possible since Paston's practice is continental, more specifically Spanish, as the music in his lutebooks is arranged in Italian tablature style as used in Spain and the repertoire is very similar to that

⁵⁶ Ian Harwood, "A Case of Double Standards? Instrumental Pitch in England c. 1600", 477.

⁵⁷ Lynda Sayce, "Lute (li) §5: Tunings," *Groves Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/40074pg5#S40074.5> (accessed 1 November, 2009).

⁵⁸ Ray Nurse, "Design and Structural Development of the Lute in the Renaissance," in *Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium, 1986* (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1988).

of the Spanish vihuela tradition.⁵⁹ In fact, lutebook 31992 goes as far as to have rubrics in Spanish explaining the note the singer has to sing in the exact same fashion as the vihuela books. So how could it be possible that the Paston collection requires six lutes? The possible answer to this question is addressed in detail in the following chapter, and it has to do with the combination of the Spanish way of intabulating music and the addition of other instruments in consort in the English fashion, in other words, a hybrid way of making music with the lute combining both practices.

This chapter introduced the recusant circle and their close connection to the ideals of *The Courtier*. Unlike the puritans like Robert Cecil, the Catholics were very fond of all things Italian and this is manifested in their taste for books of madrigals and other Italian things. The Kytsons' family records give a very good idea of the types of entertainments these recusant families held and the size and scope of their collections of instruments and books. The Paston music manuscripts make more sense in this context, as they enable us to envisage the existence of a substantial collection of musical instruments to bring to life his very impressive body of music manuscripts. Similarly, the way different families exchanged musicians suggests that they also probably gathered to play together; this is further supported by exchanges of manuscripts such as the partbook set that Paston gave to Lord Petre. The discussion will now move on to a more detailed account of Paston's probable educational background in order to be able to understand how his collection works as a performing collection, and why different sizes of lutes and other instruments were needed.

⁵⁹ Although Paston's will mentions that he had music in French tablature that is the standard for English lute music at the time, unfortunately, none of the books in French tablature survive and therefore it is not possible to investigate whether or not his approach was different in those books.

Chapter III:
Contemporary Traditions of Intabulation in the Sixteenth Century

It was customary for wealthy recusants in England to travel abroad in order to cultivate themselves in the many different activities that made up a courtier. These activities included dancing, fencing, foreign languages, tactics of war, and many more, all of which were learned in the course of the travels that comprised the Grand Tour.¹ Chapter I introduced Edward Paston and showed what is known of his education abroad, specifically in Spain, where he most probably learned music and the art of intabulation. In addition, the chapter also included a letter from Paston's son, William, telling his father about the places he was going to visit during his travels in Europe. The duration of the tour and the amount of times such pursuits took place varied significantly, as for instance, Paston probably stayed several years studying in Spain as demonstrated by his command of the Spanish language, his connections in that country, his part translation of Montemayor's Spanish pastoral the *Diana*, and the knowledge of the Spanish musical tradition that permeates his lutebooks.

Since Paston was a lute player, and the lute plays such an important role in his collection, it is now necessary to look at the different traditions of intabulation concentrating, naturally, on the practices from Spain and England, which were the closest to the East Anglian gentleman. This is crucial in order to be able to answer important questions such as how the Paston collection relates to these practices, thus allowing us to create a well-informed opinion of Paston's intention for collecting the music in the first place. Subsequently, this pursuit will allow us to understand whether the collection was a performing collection or simply an anthology of pieces gathered by a collector with no real musical purpose. Although the Spanish tradition of intabulation has very deep cultural roots and was created for the vihuela, which is the equivalent to the lute in the rest of Europe, for this reason, 'lute' and

¹ For more information on the Grand Tour see David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 31.

‘vihuela’ are used interchangeably in this study since the mechanics of intabulating are exactly the same. The discussion begins with a look at the vihuela tradition and the art of creating intabulations based on the contemporary sources.

The Spanish vihuela tradition

The corpus of music for the vihuela is contained in seven books published between 1536 and 1576 in the following order: *El Maestro* by Luis Milan (Valencia, 1536), *Los Seys Libros del Delphin* by Narvaez (Valladolid, 1538), *Los Tres Libros de Música* by Mudarra (Seville, 1546), *Silva de Sirenas* by Valderrábano (Valladolid, 1547), *Libro de Música de Vihuela* by Pisador (Salamanca, 1552), *Orphenica Lyra* by Fuenllana (Seville, 1554), and *El Parnasso* by Daza (Valladolid, 1576). The majority of the repertory includes intabulations of vocal polyphonic works, although some dances and diverse improvised music such as fantasias and *tientos* are also abundant. The notation is in the Italian style of tablature with numbers instead of the French and English style that uses letters. In the Italian tablature the bottom line of the staff has the highest notes as opposed to the French style where the top line contains the highest notes. This is true of all the books except Milan’s which uses numbers, as in the Italian fashion, but with the top line containing the highest notes like French tablature.

The vihuela tradition includes solo repertoire as well as songs. The songs were probably meant to be sung by the vihuela player since many of the singing parts were included within the intabulations and not in a separate staff with regular notation; this means that the singer had to know how to read tablature in order to be able to sing the parts. It is also pertinent to note that in the vihuela tradition, no other instruments are included, unlike the English lute song or the consort song. Since intabulations do not imply actual pitches but only positions on the neck of the instrument, the vihuela could be of any size. However, Milan’s

instructions for tuning give interesting insights. He writes that “for a vihuela to be well in tune, three things are required. Firstly, to give it its true intonation. Secondly, string it without false strings. Thirdly, to tune it according to singing pitches.”² Evidently the relationship between the size and tuning of the vihuela and the singing voice was a very important matter, as is reflected in Milan’s first and third rules. In order to find the optimal place of resonance for the instrument, “its true intonation,” the player had to find the most appropriate set of strings while keeping in mind the requirement of tuning “according to singing pitches.” The implication behind Milan’s declaration is that instrument builders had to carefully plan their instrument sizes to work with the laws of physics; an instrument too large or too small would not approach the nominal range of a choir, G³-g³. In fact, that is probably the reason why most intabulations in the lute tradition were made for G-lutes and A-lutes. Hence, the relationship between vocal music and vihuela sizes cannot be dismissed, a point that will be discussed in more detail later on.

Although the information on vihuela sizes is very scarce, and only three different vihuelas survive, we know that different sizes existed from Valderrábano’s duets, which call for instruments up to a fifth apart. All of the vihuela books except Milan’s include rubrics with information either about the piece or for the performance of the piece (see Table 3.1). The rubrics were practical devices used by the Spanish vihuelists to indicate the mode of a particular piece as well as the level of difficulty. In the songs, the rubrics indicate the starting pitch to the singer based on the pitch level of the instrument, implying that the starting pitch was given to the singer no matter what the vihuela size. Of the seven surviving vihuela books,

² Luis Milán, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano* (1536/R Genève: Minkoff, 1975). In the section “Avisos al lector”, “Y para que una vihuela este bien templada: se requieren tres cosas. Primeramente darle su verdadera entonación. Secundariamente encordarla de cuerdas que no sean falsas. Terceramente temprarla por puntos de canto.”

Milan's is the only one not to include any instructions for the singer. Fuenllana only includes instructions whenever the singing line is written as a separate part. In the songs where the singing line is contained within the intabulation, which is the case in all of Milan's songs as well, Fuenllana simply omits the instructions all together. Of the two hundred and sixty-seven intabulations of vocal works in the six vihuela books, only Fuenllana's 1554 book has fifty-two pieces without a rubric, and Daza's 1576 book has eleven pieces without rubrics. (See Table 3.1 for details on the use of rubrics in seven vihuela books).

Table 3.1: Rubrics in the vihuela books.

Book/Vihuelist	Ex. Fol.	Rubric example	Observation
<i>El Maestro</i> , Milan (1536)	n/a.	n/a	No rubric indicating the starting pitch for the singer
<i>Los seis libros del delphin</i> , Narvaez (1538)	Fol. 1	En la quarta en vazio esta la clave de fefaut. En la tercera en el tercer traste esta la clave de cesolfaut (the open fourth [string] is the note <i>F</i> . The third [string] in the third fret is the note <i>C</i>)	Indication for all of the pieces, although it only gives the <i>claves</i> and not the actual note for the singer
<i>Tres libros</i> , Mudarra (1546)	Fol. 10v	Entonase la vox en la tercera al tercero traste (the voice intones in the third [string] in the third fret)	Rubrics only for the vocal pieces and mode for the solos
<i>Silva de sirenas</i> , Valderrábano (1547)	Fol. 1v	tercera en primero traste, se señala la clave de cesolfaut (the third [string] in first fret denotes the note <i>C</i>)	Indication for all of the pieces
<i>Libro de musica de vihuela</i> , Pisador (1552)	Fol. 4v	Es la clave de cesolfaut. La tercera en primero traste (The note of <i>C</i> is in the third [string] in the first fret)	Indications only for the vocal pieces
<i>Orphenica Lyra</i> , Fuenllana (1554)	Fol. 67	Entonese la voz la prima en vazio (the voice intones in the open first [string])	Only when the vocal part is printed in a separate line.
<i>El Parnaso</i> , Daza (1576)	Fol. 2v	señalase la clave de fefaut quinta en segundo traste (the note <i>F</i> in the fifth [string] in the second fret)	Rubrics for all the pieces but eleven villancicos in book three.

It is important to keep in mind that this vihuela tradition was probably what Paston saw in Spain as a lute player, and this tradition may have inspired him to collect his music manuscripts as there are many features in his manuscripts from this tradition. The importance of the vihuela tradition with its solos and songs, along with the rubrics that accompany the songs and their relationship to the Paston collection will be discussed in Chapter IV. For now it is necessary to introduce certain aspects of the English tradition.

The lute and English song

But singing to the lute with the dittie (me thinke) is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder.³

The popularity of the lute in Elizabethan times is demonstrated in many records that range from household papers to the records from the Inns of Court. We also know that singing to the lute was a very popular way of performing, yet there are not sufficient sources containing lute songs to illustrate the popularity of this art previous to Dowland's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* from 1597. The lack of surviving material has naturally prompted the belief that "singing to the lute was not the most esteemed of musical ensembles",⁴ which does not take into consideration the all important but difficult to document oral tradition, and other factors such as performers getting rid of notebooks or *aide memoires* after the music was learned from memory. Composers during the Renaissance followed a similar approach when they used notebooks or erasable tablets that allowed them quickly to eliminate the evidence of

³ *The Booke of the Courtier*, English translation by Sir Thomas Hoby 1561, Everyman Edition, 101 in Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 183.

⁴ In the preface of Christopher Goodwin's edition, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland: 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* (London: The Lute Society Editions, 1996).

their secret craft,⁵ and thus it seems ludicrous to expect that the notes from amateur musicians who learned a few songs to share with their friends should have survived.

There are a few vestiges of lute song as an oral tradition in the continent that probably shed light on what is likely to have occurred in England throughout the sixteenth century.⁶ For instance, there is a unique notebook with over one hundred songs from the frottola tradition, the so-called Thibault manuscript, which gives a very good glimpse into the work of a musician who used a notebook to intabulate his lute arrangements before memorizing them.⁷ The Thibault manuscript is very obviously an *aide memoire* for a performer who would have collected the pieces during a long span of time. The informal writing in this manuscript where only the titles of the pieces and the intabulations without rhythm signs are included, suggests that the creator knew the verses and melodies from memory and used the notebook only to copy and learn the lute parts; once the pieces were memorized, the paper copies had little value and were probably forgotten or destroyed. This is probably the same approach taken by those who wanted to sing to the lute in England. Sir John Petre was probably a very good lute player himself as there are records of lute lessons in his household at Ingatestone during his upbringing. He continued his lute lessons at the Inns of Court and rewarded the son of a “Mr. Lichfelde” for “bryngyng me a songe for the lute”, and also a “Mr. Petro” for “a bocke for the lute and pryckyng song within”.⁸ Exchanging songs and copying songs in a notebook just like

⁵ This issue has been discussed in more detail in Jessie A. Owens, *Composers At Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁶ Diana Poulton’s discussion of the lute song is a very good place to start reading about this subject as it is more comprehensive and better presented than the article in the New Grove; see chapter III in Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*.

⁷ The manuscript in question is Paris, Rès. Vmd. Ms. 27 from the Bibliothèque Nationale, an anthology of frottole that extends from some very old and archaic strambotti to more sophisticated duets in barzelletta verse style.

⁸ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 28. There is also information about John Petre’s interest in the lute in David Mateer, “William Byrd, John Petre

the Thibault manuscript was probably the way lute songs were learned, and this exchange was probably fuelled by professional musicians who provided materials to their amateur counterparts.

In addition to the oral tradition and the use of *aides memoires* as reasons for the lack of dissemination of the song with lute accompaniment, there is also the consort song, an English genre that was probably present in many of the recusant households. Chapter II showed the Kytson's inventory with their chest of viols and violins that probably were played in consort along with singers and the lute in a fashion brought into print for the first time in John Dowland's *The First Booke of Songes* in 1597. Although the consort song and the lute song are usually considered separate genres, there is a close relationship between the two. As mentioned by Philip Brett, "the four-part 'ayres' [of Dowland] could, and must often, have been performed as solos with viol rather than lute accompaniment in the manner implied by Thomas Myriell's copies."⁹ Hence, the artificial distinctions created by contemporary scholarship should be taken lightly as the evidence suggests that there was much more crossover between these genres.

It is possible that the popularity of Castiglione's *Courtier* encouraged music making and hence may have precipitated the development of the art of intabulation for the recusant families in England inspired by the praises of music throughout the book, one of which is presented in the introductory quote in this section. That the practice was very popular in

Petre and Oxford, Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 23.

⁹ Philip Brett, "Consort Song," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/06325?q=consort+song&hbutton_search.x=0&hbutton_search.y=0&hbutton_search=search&source=omo_t237&source=omo_gmo&source=omo_t114&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed 12 December, 2009).

England is evident from records like that of the Viscount of Chateaubriand talking about Anne Boleyn in his memoires:

Besides singing like a syren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than King David and handled cleverly both flute and rebec.¹⁰

Accounts like this one exist for the different social classes in Elizabethan England, and they beg the question of what kind of music they sang to the accompaniment of the lute. Did they sing strophic songs to simple ground basses? Or perhaps they intabulated the latest madrigals from Italy adding new English texts? The answer is probably all of the above and more, and this is precisely where the tradition preserved by Paston stands. Far from unique, Paston's importance lay in his anthologizing of the music in his collection and not on the actual contents. There is no suggestion in Geoffrey Whitney's emblems dedicated to Paston that his work was unique, despite the hyperbole of the verses. Instead, the praise is for Paston the entertainer, who was doing something that was absolutely commonplace, something that was learned in all the different social circles, from the children of royalty to the peasants and balladeers singing broadside ballads to the accompaniment of a cheaply made string instrument.

The Spanish vihuela tradition and the English lute and consort song traditions were most probably the closest to Edward Paston, and now that they have been briefly introduced, it is time to investigate how intabulations were created in these traditions in order to be able to discuss how they influenced the Paston collection, if at all. In order to understand the art of intabulation, it is necessary to have a close look at Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales*, Osuna 1555, a source that was probably known to Edward Paston during his time in Spain, as well as Adrian Le Roy's "A Briefe and Plaine Instruction to Set

¹⁰ Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 185.

All Musicke of Eight Diverse Tunes in Tablature for the Lute” from 1574. Once stripped of their physical characteristics and cultural underpinnings, both the vihuela and the lute share the same basic elements such as stringing and tuning, which means that the way they are learned is very similar and their music can be played interchangeably on both instruments. Additionally, the methods used to set music upon the two instruments were also very similar as is demonstrated below.

On the Art of Creating Intabulations

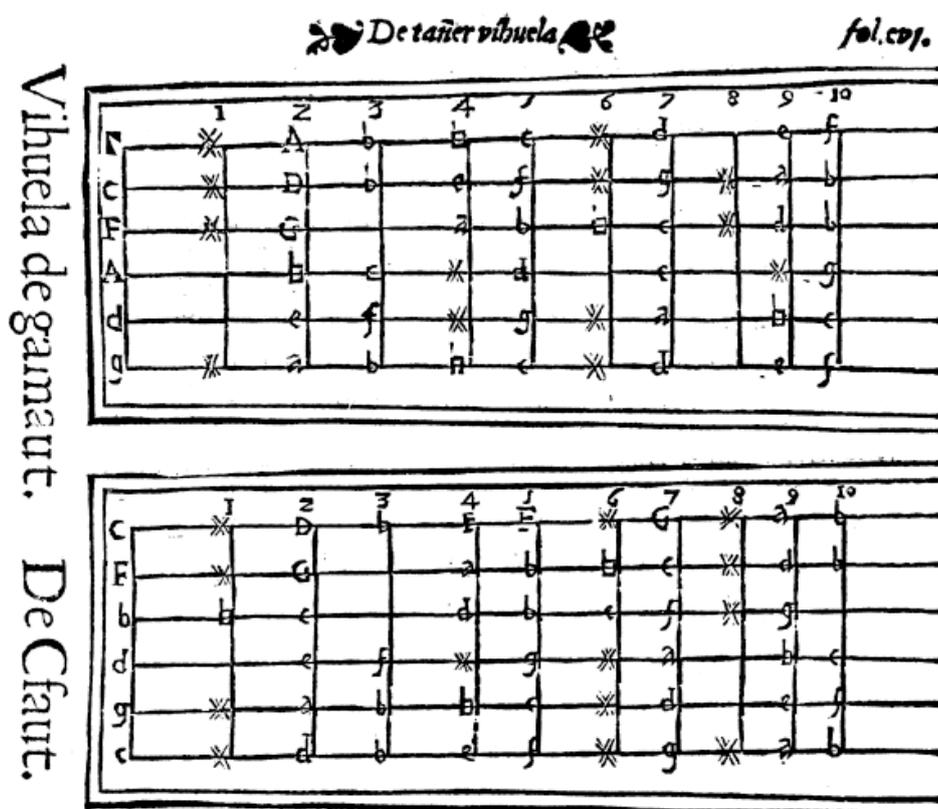
Tablature notation forms the core of the lute repertory in Europe, and therefore it is of essential importance to the lute player. Once the different styles of tablature have been learned (i.e. mostly Italian and French), it is very important to learn how to intabulate vocal polyphony on to the lute. There is no doubt that Edward Paston mastered the craft of intabulating vocal works as this is the form of intabulation that dominates his lutebooks. In order to understand how Paston learned this craft and how it was used in his collection, it is necessary to have a look at the authors that he presumably knew.

Bermudo and the “vihuela pintada”

Juan Bermudo (c. 1510 – after 1559) was a music theorist and mathematician from the order of the Observant Franciscans, who published his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* in Osuna in 1555. Bermudo blended together matters of theory and performance practice mainly regarding the organ, harp, and vihuela. Of the vihuela he wrote about the tuning, fretting, different types, and our main point of interest, the intabulation of vocal works. One of the most important aspects discussed by Bermudo and essential in order to be able to intabulate vocal polyphony is his concept of the “drawn vihuelas” (vihuelas pintadas).

As the name describes, Bermudo's drawn vihuelas are simple drawings of the neck of the vihuelas with the names of each note, with a total of seven vihuelas, one for each note in the diatonic scale. The vihuelist, however, cleverly devised other drawn vihuelas on chromatic notes in order to produce easier to play intabulations. There are only five pieces in the entire repertory that go outside Bermudo's vihuelas, and of these one is probably a mistake. These pieces occur in the books that predate Bermudo's publication (by Narvaez, Mudarra, and Valderrabano), and they will be discussed in detail below. Figure 3.1 demonstrates two of the drawn vihuelas presented by Bermudo, namely the one in G and the one in C.

Figure 3.1: Two of the "vihuela pintada" drawings from Bermudo's *Declaración*. In this case the vihuelas in G and C. Bermudo indicates "where there is no letter or note, there is a fault", meaning a conflict of a mi note on a fa fret or vice versa.



Once the idea of the "drawn vihuelas" as opposed to actual instruments is understood, Bermudo gives some preliminary instructions before starting to intabulate:

When the player wants to begin to intabulate, he should place the music in front of him on one side and on the other the drawing of the vihuela for which he wants to intabulate. He should place the music into a score, marked with [bar] lines, which will divide the measures both in the tablature as well as in the notation.¹¹

Bermudo then suggests that writing the music in score before creating an intabulation is only for beginners, and that with a lot of practice the vihuelist should be able to play polyphony directly from the choirbook. Next, in book IV of his *Declaración*, Bermudo introduces two methods to create intabulations, which are either moving the music for the instrument or moving the instrument for the music. With regard to the first method, Bermudo states the following:

... Thus there are some players who always imagine the vihuela in one way, and when the music does not turn out according to how they imagine it, because it leads beyond the [range of its] frets, they change the music so that it can be played easily. This art of playing the vihuela was formerly used more often than now, and there were players with great facility, even though they weren't as proficient as those who use many vihuelas these days.¹²

Once again, the term “many vihuelas” does not imply actual instruments but the imagined drawn vihuelas created for the purpose of intabulation. The first method was considered old fashioned already in 1555 when Bermudo published his *Declaración*, only five years after Paston's birth. This method was necessary for those who imagined the vihuela to always be in the same tuning (for example in G). Basically, the method implies transposing the scores depending on the key signatures. For instance, a piece with no accidentals could be transposed up a fourth or down a fifth by adding a flat to the signature, or down a step with two flats. This method is very limited because there are only three possible transpositions and they may

¹¹ Juan Bermudo, "On Playing the Vihuela" From *Declaración De Instrumentos Musicales (Osuna, 1555)*, trans. Dawn Espinosa (Lexington, VA: Lute Society of America, 1995), 55-57.

¹² Wolfgang Freis, "Perfecting the Perfect Instrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the Tuning and Temperament of the Vihuela De Mano," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 424.

not fit the instrument anyway. Transposing an intabulation a fourth or a fifth up or down could result in a new intabulation that is always in the high position of the instrument or that goes below the range of the instrument. There is no question then as to why Bermudo wrote that this method was old fashioned and in many cases impractical.

The second method for creating intabulations, where the instrument is moved for the music, implies using Bermudo's drawn vihuelas.¹³ In this method the intabulator looks at the score and finds the vihuela that would best suit the music. The intabulator then imagines or creates a drawing of the chosen vihuela, as shown on Figure 3.1, with the corresponding notes for each fret in every string. A drawn vihuela is then an imaginary device or an actual drawing used to intabulate. Bermudo described it as such:

I said, specifically, *imagine* because one does not draw the vihuelas, guitars, *bandurrias* and *rabeles* because that is how the said instruments *are*, but rather so that one, having the drawings [of the seven vihuelas] and looking at the notes drawn on them, can intabulate easily. This skill, then, is imaginary, so that with it one can come to intabulate easily and accurately, which is what many players want.¹⁴

This is the simplest way of creating an intabulation since one could draw or imagine the best matching instrument for a specific piece, and then produce an intabulation that is in the best position for the instrument while maintaining the key signature of the vocal score. The method works very well for solos, but it can create problems for the songs in the vihuela tradition. Since Bermudo's method is based on drawn or imagined vihuelas, the resulting

¹³ Juan Bermudo, *"On Playing the Vihuela" From Declaración De Instrumentos Musicales (Osuna, 1555)*, trans. Dawn Espinosa (Lexington, VA: Lute Society of America, 1995), ix-xiv.

¹⁴ Juan Bermudo, *"On Playing the Vihuela"*, xi-xii. "Dixe señaladamente imaginar: porque pintar las vihuelas, guitarras, bandurrias, y rabeles, que adelante vereys no se haze porque de parte de los dichos instrumentos ello sea aþi: sino que, teniendo las vihuelas debuxadas, facilmente (mirando a los signos que en ellas estan pintados) pueden cifrar. Es pues este arte imaginario: para por el venir con facilidad y certidumbre a cifrar, que es lo que muchos tañedores deþean."

intabulation would only sound at the written pitch when an actual vihuela is matched to the drawn instrument, which means that an intabulation for a drawn vihuela in G would only play at pitch on a G-vihuela. It would be very impractical for a performer to have to carry as many actual instruments as the drawn instruments presented by Bermudo in order to be able to sing the songs at written pitch. However, having only one instrument could generate problems; for example, if a piece was intabulated for a vihuela drawn in E but the performer only had a vihuela in G, the intabulation would work fine but the singing range would be a minor third higher, which would render the arrangement useless. Naturally, vihuela players probably intabulated the songs that worked best for their instruments or for a drawn vihuela that was not too far off from the pitch of their instrument; however, they might have had problems playing songs intabulated by a different musician if that musician had a vihuela a fifth apart, which is possible as demonstrated by Valderrábano's vihuela duets.

Bermudo's two methods of intabulation work very well but have their limitations. The first method, moving the music for the instrument, required changing the key signature of the vocal polyphonic work in order to be able to create the intabulation within the constraints of only three possible transpositions. This prompted Bermudo to write: "this art of playing the vihuela was formerly used more often than now, and there were players with great facility, even though they weren't as proficient as those who use many vihuelas these days."¹⁵ The second method, moving the instrument to the music, yields intabulations that work very well on the instrument but that might be either too high or too low for the voice.

An example from one of the vihuela books will help clarify how the drawn vihuelas work and their relationship to the rubrics that accompany some of the songs and that were

¹⁵ Wolfgang Freis, "Perfecting the Perfect Instrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the Tuning and Temperament of the Vihuela De Mano", 424.

previously introduced. The rubrics help imply what kind of instrument was envisaged to create an intabulation in relationship with the vocal originals. By using the drawn vihuelas, the vihuelist could create an intabulation that fitted his instrument best while still maintaining the key of the vocal original. Figure 3.2 shows the beginning of a piece with the accompanying rubric. The vocal line on top has a mezzosoprano clef with one flat in the signature and the starting pitch is an *A*. The rubric reads “the voice intones from the third [string] in the third fret” (“entonase la boz la tercera al tercer traste”). In order to produce an *A* on the third fret of the third string, the vihuela needs to be in *E*. This is only in case the performer would want to sing at the written pitch; however, any vihuela could be used.

Figure 3.2: The use of rubrics in the vihuela tradition. This excerpt is from the Third Book fol. 5 in Mudarra’s *Tres libros de musica en cifra para vihuela*, 1546. The rubric reads “entonase la boz la tercera al tercer traste” (the voice intones with the third string in the third fret).



The pitch is of course a nominal pitch, and it is so in two different ways. First, there is the imagined pitch of the drawn vihuelas, and second there is the variable pitch of the real instruments that depended on factors like the quality of the strings and the string length, as

explained previously by Luis Milan. In the Spanish vihuela tradition, an intabulation was a reduction of a vocal polyphonic work that maintained all of its parts as intact as possible. The careful creation of an intabulation would conversely guarantee that the vocal original could be extracted back from the intabulation with all the original parts with the original clefs and key signatures,¹⁶ much like the way a piano reduction works in our time.

The chromatic drawn vihuelas

Although Bermudo proposed the use of seven drawn vihuelas, one for each diatonic note, there are a few pieces in the extant repertoire that go outside this convention. As seen above, the rubrics in the intabulation are the key to matching a specific lute to a specific piece unquestionably. Of the intabulations that have rubrics in the seven vihuela books, over 66% were written for vihuelas in A and G, and 19% of the intabulations are for vihuelas in D and E, which together make the bulk of the repertory, 85%. The rest of the intabulations are for the remaining diatonic vihuelas together with five pieces that were intabulated for vihuelas drawn on a chromatic note, four of these for a drawn vihuela in *F#/G-flat*, and one, probably an error in the rubric, for a drawn vihuela in *G#/A-flat*.

The four pieces for the *F#/G-flat* vihuela are readily explained. The pieces in question are Narvaez's villancico *Ardé, corazón, ardé* (Book V, fol. 80), Mudarra's soneto *Qué llantos son aquestos*, (Book III, fol. 23), and the villancico *Dime a dó tienes las mientes* (Book III, fol.45), and Valderrábano's motet *Tibi soli peccavi* (Book II, fol. 12). All of them are in E-Phrygian plagal or authentic (no alterations in the signature), although only Narvaez added "del quarto tono" to the rubric. It makes sense to transcribe certain E pieces a half a step higher since this avoids *musica ficta* issues such as the G# and D# in the A and E cadences,

¹⁶ Juan Bermudo, *"On Playing the Vihuela" From Declaración De Instrumentos Musicales (Osuna, 1555)*, trans. Dawn Espinosa (Lexington, VA: Lute Society of America, 1995), 72.

where both notes are usually out of tune on a G-lute when using tempered tunings. The process then implies that a vihuela is drawn a half step down in order to create an intabulation a half step up. The result is an intabulation that falls in the *F* position on a G-lute, a very comfortable position on the instrument.

The composers exhibit similar approaches to transposition. The pieces by Narvaez and Mudarra show a practical approach that creates intabulations that play in the position of *F* on a G-lute, avoiding awkward fingerings and transforming the cadential *D*#s and *G*#s into *E*s and *A*s. However, Valderrábano's intabulation on the motet *Tibi soli peccavi* seems hard to justify since it works better as an intabulation in *E* for a G-lute, the exception being in a couple of cadences that include the problematic *D*# and *G*# mentioned above.

Example 3.3: Pisador's intabulation of Gombert's motet *Qui seminant in lachrymis* (Book VI, fol. 79v). The rubric (the note *c* in the third string in the second fret) suggests a *G*#/*A*-flat vihuela, probably an error.



Finally, there is one intabulation allegedly for a *G*#/*A*-flat lute (see Example 3.3 above). The rubric reads “es la clave de cesol faut la tercera en Segundo traste” (the note of *c* in the third [string] in the second fret). The piece in question is Pisador's arrangement of Gombert's motet *Qui seminant in lachrymis* (Pisador Book VI, fol. 79v). The original motet is in high clefs (*G*2, *C*2, *C*3, *F*3) and in *C*-mixolydian (with one flat). The intabulation matches the key signature of the vocal setting when imagined as a *c*-lute arrangement. The contradiction stems then from the rubric suggesting a *G*#-lute but probably meaning the fourth string in the second fret, which yields a *c*-lute, instead of the written third string in the second

fret. Such ambiguities occur several times throughout all of the vihuela books. The seven books use Bermudo's drawn vihuelas in diatonic notes in addition to the chromatic vihuela in F#/g-flat explained above.

The chromatic vihuelas were seldomly used as indicated above; however, they demonstrate the skill of the vihuela composers. As can be seen, Bermudo goes into great detail about the art of intabulation in his *Declaracion*, and therefore it is now time to look at a different contemporary book, this time more related to the English tradition, in order to see whether or not they use a similar approach to Bermudo's and subsequently to Paston's own approach to intabulation.

Adrian Le Roy's "A briefe and plaine instruction"

Apart from probably knowing Bermudo's *Declaración* from his time in Spain, it is very possible that Edward Paston was also familiar with "A briefe and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight divers tunes in Tableture for the Lute."¹⁷ Prepared and printed by the French lute player and publisher Adrian Le Roy in 1557, the only surviving copy is the English version translated by John Kyngston and printed by James Rowbothome in London in 1574. As stated in the title, the book demonstrates in practical terms how to set polyphonic music to the lute using a different method than Bermudo's drawn vihuelas but arriving at the same transposed lute versions as in the *Declaración*. Le Roy's process starts by building a scale for each of the parts based on their ranges. The scales are presented in both regular notation and tablature, and they allow the intabulator to see the overall range of the vocal original in order to choose what kind of lute is required for the intabulation. Afterwards, the

¹⁷ Adrian Le Roy, *Les Instructions Pour Le Luth : (1574)*, trans. Jean Jacquot *et al.*, vol. 1, Corpus Des Luthistes Français Collection Le Chœur Des Muses (Paris: CNRS, 1977)

intabulator is advised to start to intabulate each voice separately starting with the highest voice.

Figure 3.4 illustrates the first example in Le Roy’s publication, an intabulation of Lasso’s *Quand mon mari*, which starts with the creation of the scales. Le Roy advises that “the first note wherof being in *Gsolreut* must be set on the second string of the lute open”. If the second open second course is a g, then the lute should be a c-lute, “although we see in other tunes that the treble open serveth for *Gsolreut*, and sometime for *Ffaut*”, meaning that there are sometimes pieces intabulated for G and F lutes. Unfortunately, this first example has errors, which would have probably confused the novice player trying to master this art. The error is in the scale for the bass part, which appears with the wrong clef (F4 instead of F3), written at the wrong range, and with a flat in the signature; the flat is also on the wrong lines. At first sight it looks like the lowest note of that scale is a G’, until the error in the key signature is spotted.

Example 3.4: The scales that form the first step to create an intabulation in Adrian le Roy’s instructions for the lute.



Notice that the Bass part has a F4 clef and the flat in the wrong notes.

The lute is chosen based on the lowest note in the intabulation as this indicates the lowest “compasse”. The instructions proceed to demonstrate how the top part is intabulated (see Figure 3.5), and then continues to add voice by voice until all of the voices are completed. The problem is that the error in the bass part is not noticed until the intabulator gets to this part. In this stage of the process the clef and key signature errors are mended by the appearance of the right clef (F3), and the one flat in the signature on the right line (see Figure 3.6). It is clear then that the lute chosen to intabulate *Quand mon mari* is a c-lute, despite the fact that the lowest note in the piece is a B[♭]-flat that appears twice in the course of the piece.

Figure 3.5: Intabulating the top line of Lasso’s *Quand mon mari*.



The low B[♭]-flat can be seen transposed up an octave on the sixth bar of figure 3.6. As we shall see in the next chapter and in the accompanying musical examples (appendix IV, vol. II), this is a common occurrence in the Paston manuscripts.

Although Le Roy's method does not require a drawn instrument, the results of his intabulations are the same as with Bermudo's second method. In other words, there is no need to transpose the vocal original but instead Le Roy's scales become the equivalent of Bermudo's drawn vihuelas, which allow for intabulations for lutes in many different tunings. However, it is important to note that like Bermudo, Le Roy does not propose that the instruments are real, and in addition, his intabulations are for solo music and not for songs. This means that Le Roy's method to create intabulations presents the same problems as Bermudo's when creating vocal arrangements, meaning that an arrangement that fits perfectly well on the instrument could be too low or too high to sing with. This is precisely what occurs with Le Roy's first example, the intabulation of Lasso's *Quand mon mari*. If a lute player were to sing the top line of this piece while accompanying himself on the lute, the intabulation would work at the written pitch only if a c-lute were used. This means that if the lute player

Figure 3.6: The final stage of creating an intabulation of *Quand mon mari*. Notice that the bass line has an F3 clef and one flat.

The image shows a musical score for the final stage of creating an intabulation of *Quand mon mari*. It consists of three staves of musical notation and a tablature below. The top staff is in G-clef, the middle in C-clef, and the bottom in F-clef with one flat. The tablature is a six-line system with letters and numbers indicating fret positions.

only owned a lute in a nominal *G*, then the singing part would sound down a fourth, which would mean that a different arrangement would be required.

In this discussion of intabulation traditions, it is necessary to mention also, at least in passing, the work of Vincenzo Galilei. Galilei published a version of his *Fronimo* in 1584. The book is a tutor for the creation of intabulations; however, its aim is more on writing good counterpoint and the instructions on the art of intabulation tend to be more poetic descriptions than actual solid advice as we have seen with Bermudo and Le Roy. With respect to choosing the right position to intabulate he states that “ you must be careful, when you intabulate music according to these positions, to see that their ranges are graceful, and not inconvenient and without beauty”,¹⁸ which although a beautiful piece of writing, does not add much to the current discussion. In any case, *Fronimo* is an essential tool for those wanting to learn counterpoint through the lute, but it is only worth mentioning in light of the current discussion.¹⁹

Finally, the idea of using intabulations as accompaniments for singing was present in all of Europe. From the Italian frottola to the German lieder and the English air, singing to the lute by means of an intabulation was a very important source of music making. It is apparent that the methods to create intabulations varied somewhat from one tradition to another. It is within this context that the Edward Paston collection of musical manuscripts can be presented with the presumption that he learned how to intabulate through these contemporary practices.

¹⁸ Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo (1584)*, trans. Carol McClintock, Musicological Studies and Documents, vol. 39 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hanssler [for] American Institute of Musicology, 1985), 41.

¹⁹ For more information on the purpose of Galilei’s book see Dinko Fabris, “Lute tablature instructions in Italy”, in Victor Anand Coelho *et al.*, *Performance on the Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

The next chapter introduces the Paston collection and investigates the relationship between it and the context presented in this chapter.

Chapter IV:
The Paston Collection: A Confluence of Traditions

The Paston collection of manuscripts was first discovered by Philip Brett and added as an appendix to his PhD thesis.¹ There are forty-five sets of partbooks, which comprise one hundred and fifty-seven bound volumes distributed throughout various libraries in the US and the UK.² The importance of the collection lies not only in its size but also in the combination of genres within it, and the fact that along with partbooks it includes lutebooks that make it a unique collection. Among the books in the collection there are five surviving lutebooks containing over five hundred arrangements of vocal and instrumental works. All of the lutebooks contain similar music with slight variations in the balance of English or continental music and the actual composers in the manuscripts. Lutebook Tenbury 340 has mostly continental Motets and Mass sections, RCM2089 has a considerable amount of Byrd, and Alfonso Ferrabosco, as well as some pieces by Palestrina, Lassus, and others. In lutebook 29247 Byrd features prominently together with Philippe de Monte among other well-known English and continental composers. Lutebook 31992 is unique in the fact that it contains the largest amount of music by William Byrd of any extant manuscript, in fact, more than two-thirds of the manuscript is by the Elizabethan composer. Lutebook 29246 contains mostly English music covering most of the sixteenth century and a few pieces by Lassus, Crequillon, and the less known Fernando de las Infantas. Broadly speaking, the five manuscripts, are, then, quite similar in their makeup.

Due to the magnitude of the collection it is necessary to set a boundary for the amount of music to consider in this study, while maintaining as many features as possible from the collection as a whole. Since Edward Paston was a lute player, it is of paramount importance

¹ Philip Brett, "The Songs of William Byrd" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1965).

² Francis Knights, "The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston" (M. Litt., University of Oxford, 1999), 10.

that the analysis should include music from the lutebooks as they are central to the collection; and because of the way music is notated in the Paston lutebooks (i.e. Italian tablature), a comparison of the relationship between the lutebooks and the partbooks is crucial. Therefore, I have selected lutebook 29246 and its concordances in many of the surviving partbooks as the central point for the analysis of the collection, since together they cover most of the significant aspects of the collection while also having some unique features that reveal Paston's intentions for the collection. In addition, there are examples from the other lutebooks and their concordances, where these address a few considerations that do not appear in lutebook 29246.

One of the interesting features of 29246 is that it is organized by the number of parts in the music, starting with pieces for two parts (one intabulated for the lute and the other one to be sung or played on a melodic instrument), followed by music for three, four or more parts. The great majority of pieces are for three or four parts of which two or three parts respectively are intabulated for the lute and the top part is always left out. It is obvious that unlike its counterparts, 29246 was compiled, at least in part, with the purpose of teaching. The compiler went to great lengths to find pieces or sections of pieces with either two, three or more voices with an increasing degree of difficulty. The selections at the beginning of the manuscript are sections of pieces instead of entire pieces, and as the manuscript progresses the pieces are intabulated in full, with some long works such as the seven section votive antiphon *Ave maris stella* by William Byrd (no. 66). From an analytical point of view, the music in 29246 allows for more transpositions because the majority of the music is for three or four parts, which yields narrower overall playing or singing ranges. Music for five or more parts contains wider ranges and more distant clefs making it harder to transpose.

This chapter analyses the Paston collection departing from the historical context presented in the previous chapters. By looking at the music collection within this context, a better picture of the idea of house music making in the Paston household can be uncovered, providing a better understanding of the role of the music collection. As mentioned above, the bulk of the analysis and examples come from lutebook 29246 together with its concordances from thirty-two different partbooks from the collection. This framework allows an investigation into: the musical instruments used in the Paston household, the performances and the level of the performers; and whether or not music making at Paston's involved unique ways of making music or if it was a practice well within the English idea of house music making. In order to develop these ideas it is necessary first to look at the Paston collection within its context, and then to analyse some noteworthy aspects such as the many transpositions in the collection, the use of clefs in the partbooks and their relationship to the intabulations in the lutebooks, and finally to discuss the necessary types of musical instruments suggested by the manuscripts and the musical context.

A confluence of traditions

As we have seen in the previous chapters there are a number of documents that relate Edward Paston to Spain. The letter to Don Juan de Carcamo from the Court of Madrid shows Paston's familiarity with the language and his close friendship with the Spanish. The preface to Young's translation of the poem *La Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor contains a praise to Paston for translations he did of some of these verses. Young indicates that his own translation would have been unnecessary if only Paston had made a complete translation of the work, and that Paston's translations "for his travel in that Countrey, and great knowledge in that language, accompanied with other learned and good parts in him, had of all others, that

ever yet I heard translate these Bookes, proved the rarest and worthiest to be embraced.”³ However, the most important connection between Paston and Spain is contained in his manuscripts, more specifically in the lute books and their layout, which in some instances is almost identical to that found in the Spanish vihuela books (see Figure 4.1). For instance, all of the Paston lutebooks are copied in Italian tablature, which is the method used in the vihuela books in Spain. This type of tablature was not common in England, and in fact, the only other known source of music in Italian tablature in England, is a single folio from the Arundel/Lumley collection containing a piece intabulated by an amateur musician.⁴ Although the handwriting in the intabulation in the Lumley set does not match Paston’s own, there is a peculiar coincidence since a couple of folios later there is a *cantus firmus* melody with the initials E. P. [Edward Paston?] at the end of it. Whether or not there is a connection between this partbook set and Paston I am not able to verify at this moment.

Lutebook 31992 is the largest collection of William Byrd pieces in a single manuscript, and it contains many of the same features as the vihuela books. As can be seen in Figure 4.1, the introductory rubric typical of the vihuela books is present in this lutebook, and it is even written in Spanish. The rubric reads “La S^{da} al 3.t.”, meaning “the second string in the third fret,” which is exactly the same type of rubric that accompanies the vihuela songs, as discussed in Chapter III. It is obvious then that Paston knew the Spanish method of intabulation very well, and its cultural context. As previously mentioned, this tradition is mostly based on solo performance, with a smaller portion of the repertoire dedicated to songs probably sung by the vihuelists themselves, as the singing line in some of the songs is

³ Philip Brett, “Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 51-69.

⁴ The piece appears in one of the Lumley sets, Royal Appendix 76, fol. 37. See Jane Bernstein, “The Chanson in England: A Study of Scores and Styles” (PhD, University of California, 1974), 163-226.

included within the intabulation and not in a separate stave in regular notation. This is where the relationship between the vihuela tradition and Paston's starts to differ, since although the style and tradition used in the Paston lutebooks is Spanish in origin, the contents in the Paston lutebooks are almost entirely devoted to song with a few intabulations of instrumental pieces and only a very small number of what could be considered solos.

Figure 4.1: The beginning of Byrd's *Ye sacred muses* from fol. 15v in Add Ms. 31992. The bottom line of the introductory rubric reads *La S^{da} al 3. t.* (meaning "the second course in the third fret") to indicate the starting pitch for the singer.



Another similarity is the fact that both the Paston lutebooks and the vihuela books include intabulations of sections of larger works. It was customary for vihuelists to intabulate just a section of a movement of a mass (e.g. the crucifixus or et incarnatus est), since the intent of the music was to entertain and not for liturgical purposes. This might have been different in the context of Edward Paston's England, as short sacred works performed on a lute with a singer would have been much better suited for a secret mass service than the church practice with its choirs and organs.

So far we have been able to see that there are many similarities between the lutebooks in the Paston collection and the Spanish vihuela tradition. However, there are also many differences between them, the most obvious one is perhaps the fact that Paston clearly states in his will that some of his lutebooks come accompanied by their respective partbooks, which is a practice that does not exist in the vihuela tradition. It is therefore necessary to investigate

the relationship between the lutebooks and the partbooks from a different context, that of English music making.

Chapter III argued that the terms “lute song” and “consort song” are categories created by our current scholarship, and that these terms need to be carefully considered depending on the context. As already mentioned, Paston’s library of intabulations and partbooks is simply an anthology of a practice that existed in England long before the creation of this collection and that saw its golden age starting with Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes* of 1597. There are very obvious differences between Dowland’s books of songs and Paston’s collection. The most obvious difference is the origin of their practices, whereas Dowland was influenced by the French *Air de Cour* and English genres such as the consort song, Paston’s influence is decidedly Spanish, since as demonstrated above, it very clearly relates to the vihuela tradition. The French were used to setting texts to well-known dance forms, whereas the Spanish vihuelists were more interested in intabulating the works of the great masters like Josquin and in modal counterpoint.

However, it is the similarities between Paston and Dowland’s practices that help us to understand the Paston collection as a performing collection. Both collections are centred on the lute accompanying the top voice, and both of them make allowances for the other voices and/or instruments to join the performance as appropriate. Although Paston’s separate lutebooks and partbooks versus Dowland’s integrated tablebook format differ, the end product is the same, namely the activity of making music in a social context. Dowland’s text in the title page of his first book of songs states that the songs are “so made that all the partes together, or either of them seuerally may be song to the lute, orpherian or viol de gambo.”⁵

⁵ Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 215.

The instructions are not absolutely clear, as they do not give all of the different possibilities such as using the songs with just voices without instruments, or only as instrumental pieces with the viols and no voices, or the many other combinations between singers and instruments that may come to mind. The reality is that this type of instruction was probably only a suggestion as to the possibilities for performance.

Similarly, when Paston states in his will that he is leaving “lute bookes which have singing pts sett to them w^{ch} must be sunge to the lute and are bound in very good bookes and tied up with the lute parts” the instruction is probably not prescriptive but instead a suggestion of what could be done with his collection. As will be shown below, the Paston manuscripts suggest that there was much more than singing to lute in his collection, the same way as Dowland’s songs could be performed in a dozen different ways. Thus Dowland’s merit lies not in the creation of the lute song, as claimed by some, but instead on his compositional mastery and his visionary approach to designing a tablebook that allows for music making in a social context, in a similar way, Paston’s achievement is not so much in the anthologizing of music in his books but in his ability to combine the knowledge he acquired overseas together with the current practices in his country, all in a very unique way.

Now that the context of music making as it relates to the Paston collection has been introduced, it is pertinent to revise some of the ideas suggested by current scholarship in relationship to the performance practice of the Paston collection. As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, not much research has been done on the Paston collection since Brett’s work in the 1960s. Although all of the contributions are of great quality, with regard to

performance practice all of them seem to restate Brett's findings, most of which are presented in his *Pitch and Transposition* article.⁶

The study of the relationship between the partbooks and the lutebooks in the Paston collection is essential in order to understand how the collection was used in performance. There are many pieces throughout the partbooks that serve as concordances to the lutebooks, many of which appear in different transposed versions with different clefs. Since lute tablature notation represents positions on the neck of the lute and not actual pitches, the relationship between the intabulations and their concordances could yield very insightful answers. Brett understood this relationship when he analysed the Paston collection, and he stated that the features that raise the question of pitch and transposition in the Paston collection are twofold: 1) the collection includes lute books containing intabulations of vocal and instrumental works, and 2) many of the works so arranged are found throughout the partbooks of the collection, often repeated over and over again, sometimes at different written pitches and with different sets of clefs.⁷ Moreover, he states that "it is by means of the lutebooks, however, that some answers can be proposed to the questions raised by the versions in different keys and clefs preserved in the partbooks."⁸ Then he proposes carrying out three different trials, the first two of which involve analysing some of William Byrd's music in the collection. The third trial involves looking at music from lutebook 29246, which according to Brett states it contains "Paston's favourite repertoires: two-, three- and occasionally four-part excerpts from early Tudor polyphonic masses and votive antiphons." Once the three trials are presented, Brett proceeds to establish the framework he employs to

⁶ Philip Brett, "Pitch and Transposition in the Paston Manuscripts," *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections* (1993): 89-118.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

justify his trials, starting by presenting a useful account of how Byrd used clefs in his music, and a simple summary of clef usage in English music based on Byrd and Morley's descriptions. Subsequently, Brett presents the framework he uses to investigate the lutebooks, and thus he states:

Naturally, I have to assume that the same lute in the same tuning was envisaged throughout. This is possibly risky. But if it were otherwise one might expect some notice in a manuscript like Add. MS. 31992, which is thoroughly annotated with Spanish rubrics indicating the opening pitch of the top voice, a pitch usually missing from the tablature and evidently to be given to the singer before starting. Also I write as though the lute were tuned in G, which makes for easier description, though it is as well to bear in mind that the actual pitch was a matter of how high the top string could be wrested without breaking.⁹

The results of his trials are summarized in a table at the end of his article, although Brett struggled to reconcile his findings. Therefore, it is from these results that the discussion is resumed in the context of what the previous chapters here have presented.

Brett tries to match the version in the partbooks with the intabulations in the lutebooks. In his first trial, when analysing the music of William Byrd in the Paston manuscripts, he found that usually the pieces in the high clefs tended to be transposed down a step in the intabulations, the pieces in the partbooks that featured clefs in the Great Compass were untransposed in the intabulations, and the pieces in the low clefs tended to be transposed up a step in the intabulations. This implies that the intabulations and the pieces in the partbooks could not be used together in performance, since all but the ones in the Great Compass were at different transpositions.¹⁰ This prompted Brett to assert that “the simplest conclusion to draw is that the arranger must have been making some concession to the notion of “church pitch”.” But why talk about “church pitch” in the context of house music making? Brett seems to imply that the performers in the Paston household had to transpose at sight,

⁹ Ibid., 96.

¹⁰ See Appendix A in Ibid.

which is fine for singers as they can take any reference pitch, but becomes a problem once instruments are added into the mix. Although transposing at sight was expected from professional musicians, and it is very possible that at least some of the instrumentalists in the Paston household were able to transpose at sight, the many transpositions in the collection would appear to suggest that they were more comfortable playing their parts as written. In fact, it would be hard to justify all of the different transpositions otherwise.

The first problem that can be seen in Brett's argument is that he did not provide a context in relationship to the performance practice in the Paston household, which prompted his "church pitch" conclusion. The type of transposition implied by Brett was necessary in the context of music for the liturgy with organ accompaniment, but makes no practical sense in Paston's milieu. The next arbitrary assumption made by Brett was his choice of a single lute in *G* to carry out his trials. If instead a series of lutes is applied to the same trials, the Paston collection starts to make sense as a performing collection. For instance, the pieces in Appendix A of Brett's article can be seen in a completely new light. The pieces in high clefs that Brett suggested were transposed down by a step, would work perfectly fine if they were played on an *A*-lute. The pieces in the low clefs that were, according to Brett, up a step, would work with the partbooks with an *F*-lute. And the justification for why the pieces in the Great Compass worked fine with the *G*-lute is precisely that those pieces overall range is the Gamut (G^2 - g^2), and therefore they work best on this instrument. In order to better understand the implications behind Brett's ideas and the possible solutions, it is necessary to look at some of the aspects thus far presented in more detail.

Transpositions in the Paston collection

The first step in understanding the transpositions in the Paston partbooks and their relationship to the lutebooks, is to comprehend how clefs were used. Morley mentions the low clefs and high clefs in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* from 1597. As mentioned before Byrd mentions the music of the Great Compass as the music that encompasses the entire Gamut. However, there seem to be at least two other ways composers used clefs, and they are:

Highest clefs	G1 to C4
High clefs (from Morley)	G2 to C5 (F3) or C4
Great compass (from Byrd)	G2 to F4
Low clefs (from Morley)	C1 to F4
Lowest clefs	C2 to F5

These ranges cover the entire range of clefs from F5 to G1 and therefore a range from *D'* to *b'-flat*. As expected, the entire range is covered in the Paston manuscripts since the collection contains music in many different genres and by many different composers. In addition, there is a connection between the clefs in a composition and the lute chosen to intabulate it. This is no surprise since Bermudo's drawn vihuelas are designed to find the most appropriate vihuela for the creation of an intabulation. Thus, one would look at the compass or range of the polyphonic work and then based on the range of the piece a drawn vihuela would be selected. It is important to restate that this method works very well for solo music, but that it creates problems when other instruments are added in performance, which was most probably the case in Paston's household. This is why Paston's method suggested by his collection is a confluence of practices, since he presumably used Bermudo's drawn vihuelas

to create intabulations for consort music. However, once again, although it was customary for professional musicians and some amateurs to transpose at sight, it is not possible to know what type of training the musicians in the Paston household had. The most likely conclusion perhaps is to take the evidence at face value and presume that they performed from the partbooks at written pitch.

The problem is that Paston's intabulations have to work with the music in the partbooks when performing with instruments, and in order to achieve this, it is necessary to have a set of actual lutes, unlike the drawn vihuelas. This implies that if a piece is intabulated for a *c*-treble lute because that is the best fit for the range of the piece, then that intabulation would sound at the written pitch only when performed on a *c*-treble lute, despite the fact that the arrangement could be played on any other lute. I have proposed above that the Paston household possessed multiple lutes. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that it works for the music as it survives in the collection, meaning that the music in the partbooks works with the intabulations, as written, when the set of lutes proposed is present. However, there are other possibilities about how to perform this music that imply melodic instruments transposing at sight, or lute and voices performing without other instruments, in which case many of the transpositions in the collection would be deemed unnecessary and one or two lutes may suffice for a good part of the collection. Nevertheless, there are various instances explained below in which a single lute is not enough when instruments, voices, and lute perform together. This is due to the fact that if a single lute in G or any other nominal pitch is used throughout the collection some of the intabulations suggest parts with key signatures with too many sharps or flats which were virtually non-existent in the music theory or practice of the time. Therefore, although a single lute in G solves certain problems such as bringing extreme ranges closer to performance pitch, it also generates other difficulties such as

intabulations suggesting parts for instrumentalists in key signatures that did not exist at the time. This is the point where Brett’s argument fails, and a musical example is the best way to illustrate it.

The *Gaude gloriosa* by Thomas Tallis is a piece in the low clefs that works perfectly on an *E*-lute, not only preserving the key signature of the original vocal version but also as a good choice from the practical point of view since the low *E*-lute works very well with the low clefs of the vocal original (see Example 4.1).¹¹

Example 4.1: *Gaude gloriosa* by Tallis intabulated for an *E*-lute, which preserves the key signature and range of the original.

52. *Gaude gloriosa* [E lute] Thomas Tallis
29246 fol. 20

If instead of the *E*-lute we think of the intabulation as being for a *G*-lute, then the result is a piece with four flats in the key signature, a key signature that does not exist in the Paston collection. Since the maximum number of flats in the Paston collection is two, Example 4.2 includes a two flat key signature and the other two flats as a sort of *musica ficta*

¹¹ The numbering of pieces in the example below, and in the text, examples and tables that follow is that given below in Appendix I: Table of Concordances for British Library Add. MS 29246.

(see Example 4.2). Let us not forget that Morley complained about music having too many flats when it exceeded more than one flat.

The verie sight of those flat cliffes (which stande at the beginning of the verse or line like a paire of staires, with great offence to the eie, but more to the amasing of the yong singer) make them mistearme their notes and so go out of tune, wheras by the contrary if your song were prickt in another key any young scholler might easilie and perfectlie sing it, and what can they possiblie do with such a number of flat $\flat\flat$, which I could not as well bring to passe by pricking the song a note higher?¹²

Imagine what Morley had thought if he saw a piece with four flats. This is the type of event that puzzled Brett and prompted him to make such out of context conclusions.

Example 4.2: Gaude gloriosa by Thomas Tallis intabulated for a G-lute.

52. Gaude gloriosa [G lute] Thomas Tallis
29246 fol. 20

The image shows a musical score for 'Gaude gloriosa' by Thomas Tallis, intabulated for a G-lute. The score is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with lyrics 'Gau- de,' and a lute tablature below it. The tablature includes fret numbers and a '7' with an 'a)' annotation above it. The piece is in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat).

Occurrences like Example 4.2 abound in the Paston collection, and in fact, all the pieces that are not originally intabulated for *G*-lute in the collection present similar problems when using Brett's theory of a single lute in *G* for the entire collection.

¹² Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: Dent, 1952), 262.

The next question to address is the number of lutes that Paston presumably owned. Lutebook 29246 and its concordances suggest that Paston owned at least six different lutes. This is very possible since a survey of the music for lute ensemble (i.e. lute duets, trios, etc) indicates that the lutes required to perform this repertory are a *d*-treble lute, an *A*-lute, a *G*-lute, an *E*-lute, and a low *D*-lute.¹³ These lutes are ideal as they cover the entire range of the clefs from up to a *b*'-flat in G1 clef, to a low *D*' in F5 clef. The high *b*'-flat is at the eighth fret of the top course of the *d*-treble lute, and the low *D*' is the open sixth course of the low *D*-lute, thus perfectly covering the whole range. The Paston collection suggests an extra lute in order to be able to play all of the intabulations in the lutebooks. The lute in question is a *c*-lute, a very important lute indeed since it is up a fourth from the *G*-lute. In addition to the *c*-lute, there is evidence that the *E*-lute in the Paston set was interchangeably tuned in either *E* or *F*.¹⁴ It is also possible that Paston tuned the presumed *c*-lute to *B*, as there are a few pieces in the lutebooks intabulated for a lute in *B*. This means that the supposed Paston lute set comprised the following lutes: *D*, *E/F*, *G*, *A*, *B/c*, and *d*, which means that Paston possibly owned at least six different lutes.

After having a look at the Kytson's inventories in Chapter II, this idea does not seem so far fetched, and even more for a gentleman like Paston who included his lutebooks in his will. Furthermore, six different lutes are not impossible either, as the Fugger collection in Germany mentions seven different sizes of lutes.¹⁵ There is even room in the lute ensemble literature for all of these lute sizes, since instruments a tone apart, a fourth apart, and a fifth

¹³ Lynda Sayce, "Lute (li) §5: Tunings," *Groves Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/40074pg5#S40074.5> (accessed 1 November, 2009).

¹⁴ This evidence is explained in detail in Chapter V.

¹⁵ Ray Nurse, "Design and Structural Development of the Lute in the Renaissance," in *Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium, 1986* (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1988).

apart are required for duets. Similarly, lute trios require instruments a tone and a fifth apart and a tone and a fourth apart, and lastly the Vallet quartets from 1620 require instruments a fourth, a fifth, and an octave apart from the bass lute. None of the sources prescribe specific lute sizes but instead intervallic distances and ratios, or in some cases, the performer is left to figure out what lutes are necessary. This leaves room for many different combinations, some of which are more likely than others based on hand physiology and physics. For instance, some theoretical combinations such as playing a duet for lutes a step apart using low D and E lutes may not be very practical or even possible depending on the level of difficulty of the music or the sound produced. In a more subjective vein, either very high pitch or low pitch sounding music may not be pleasing to our twenty-first century ears, yet it is not possible to know what kind of sounds were appealing to Paston's contemporaries. Taking all of this into consideration, Table 4.1 summarises the different possible combinations for the lute ensemble literature.

Table 4.1: Possible lute combinations to perform the lute ensemble repertoire. Notice that although the B-lute is theoretically possible, and in fact five pieces in 29246 call for a B-lute, I argue in the next chapter that this instrument was probably not used.

Instruments needed to perform the lute ensemble repertoire	Theoretical possible lute combinations
DUETS	
Tone apart	D-E; F-G; G-A; A-B; c-d
4 th apart	D-G; E-A; G-c; A-d
5 th apart	D-A; E-B; F-c; G-d
TRIOS	
Tone + 5 th apart	D-E-A; F-G-c; G-A-d
Tone + 4 th apart	D-E-G; G-A-c
QUARTETS	
4 th + 5 th + 8ve	D-G-A-d; C-F-G-c
Tone + 4 th + 5 th	D-E-G-A; G-A-c-d

The next chapter discusses the different sizes of lutes and their implications in more detail. It would be unreasonable, however, to assume that the surviving instruments represent

all of the possible lute sizes. In fact, one could look at the vihuela repertoire as an example. There are duets a fifth apart for vihuelas but no instruments a fifth apart survive. In addition, Bermudo mentions many different sizes in his *Declaración*, none of which are accounted for by the surviving instruments. Certainly, iconography and the accounts of some of the contemporary theorists such as Praetorius advocate the existence of more lute sizes that we currently account for. With regard to the low C-lute presented in Table 4.1, there is a surviving 93.7cm instrument that serves as a perfect candidate.¹⁶ There are also a few candidates for the high c-lute, which should be roughly half the size of this large 93.7cm instrument. The resulting instrument should be around 46.8cm, and a few examples still exist in this range. The most obvious choice is a group of three or four instruments built by the Füssen school builder Georg Klemm. The instruments were built ca. 1590 and survive in the Freiber (nr. Dresden) collection. Although they are five course instruments they exist in slightly different measurements ranging from 46cm to 47.5cm. I am unable to inspect or obtain more information on these instruments at this time. However, they are an indication that more instruments in this range, even with six or more courses, existed at some point. Ultimately, the point is not what instruments survive, but what a comprehensive study of the musical, theoretical, and iconographical sources reveals.

In order to better illustrate how the lutes in the Paston household worked, Table 4.2 shows the distribution of pieces in lutebook 29246 according to the lutes.

Table 4.2: Pieces from 29246 and their respective lutes.

Lutes	Piece Numbers with Key Signatures in Brackets
D	13[0], 42[0], 45[0], 58[1],
E	1[1], 5[0], 8[1], 18[0], 50[1], 52[1], 53[1], 54[1], 69[0], 101[1], 102[0],

¹⁶ This instrument is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

F	22[2], 30[2], 34[1], 35[1], 36[1], 37[1], 104[1], [2]
G	14[1], 15[1], 16[1], 19[0], 20[0], 23[0], 24[0], 25[0], 26[0], 27[0], 28[0], 29[0], 38[0], 42[1], 43[1], 46a[1], 46b[1], 47[0], 59[2], 61[?], 62[1], 64[0], 65[0], 66[0], 67[1], 68[1], 78[0], 79[0], 87[1], 88[0], 89[0], 105[1], 106[1], 107[2], 108[1], 109[1], 111[1], 112[?]
A	2[1], 3[0], 4[1], 5[1], 6[1], 7[0], 10[1], 11[1], 12[1], 17[0], 18[1], 44[0], 46a[1-sharp], 46b[1-sharp], 48[0], 51[1], 52[2], 53[2], 54[2], 55[1], 57[0], 59[0], 69[1], 70[1], 71[0], 72[0], 73[0], 74[0], 75[0], 76[0],
B	1[0], 8[0], 9[0], 52[0], 53[0],
c-treble	19[1], 20[1], 23[1], 24[1], 25[1], 26[1], 27[1], 28[1], 29[1], 30[1], 31[0], 32[0], 33[0], 34[0], 35[0], 38[1], 39[1], 42[2], 43[2], 60[1], 62[2], 63[1], 64[1], 65[1], 66[1], 67[2], 68[2], 80[0], 86[1],
d-treble	21[d], 40[0], 41[0], 43[0], 45[0], 46a[0], 46b[0], 49[1], 69[2], 73[1], 74[1], 75[1], 76[1],

Notice that the majority of the pieces in 29246 are intabulated for the *G*, *A*, and *c* lutes. This is not surprising for the very popular lutes in *G* and *A*; however, it seems rather odd for the *c*-lute to be so prominent. The reason for this is that the *c*-lute is a fourth about the *G*-lute and therefore most of the pieces for the high *c*-lute are transpositions from the versions for *G*-lute. It is also worth noting that there are not many pieces for the low *D*-lute probably because of the extremely low range and the difficulty of playing polyphonic music on such a large instrument.

Table 4.3 demonstrates transpositions by a fourth or a fifth, and by the octave together with the key signatures. Note how the *B*-lute versions are simply transpositions up a fifth from the *E*-lute versions with one flat. Only three out of the five pieces for *B*-lute shown in table 4.2 have the surviving concordances in the low range, although they can probably be transposed down a fifth for performance as indicated by the surviving settings.

Table 4.3: Pieces with two different transpositions in 29246.

Transposing Lutes	Pieces following these transpositions (brackets indicate the flats in the key signature for the first and second settings)
D or d [8 ^{ve}]	45[0]
E or B [5 th]	1[1-0], 8[1-0], 52[1-0]

E or A [4 th]	5[0-1], 18[0-1], 54[1-2]
F or c [5 th]	30[2-1], 34[1-0], 35[1-0]
G or c [4 th]	19[0-1], 20[0-1], 23[0-1], 24[0-1], 26[0-1], 27[0-1], 28[0-1], 29[0-1], 38[0-1], 43[1-2], 62[1-2], 64[0-1], 65[0-1], 66[0-1], 67[1-2]
A or d [4 th]	73[0-1], 74[0-1], 75[0-1], 76[0-1]
G or A [major 2 nd]	59[2-0]

The next transpositions involve pieces with three different versions in the partbooks, and with the exception of no. 42, the *Tu nimirum* by Tallis, with versions a fourth apart for *D*, *G* and *c* lutes, they usually involve transpositions by a step. As mentioned above Thomas Morley complained about the use of too many alterations in the key signature when he talks about pieces with two flats; he suggests instead transposing those pieces up a step in order to have a key signature with no flats. It is possible that Paston followed the advice given by Morley since there is evidence suggesting that they knew each other.¹⁷ Paston was probably creating the versions without flats for his family to read from. Although transpositions by step can be justified and the concept is very simple, some of these pieces have further implications and deserve more attention.

Table 4.4: Pieces with three different transpositions in 29246.

Lutes	Pieces transposed in the partbooks (brackets show the key signature for each setting)
D-G-c [4 th and 4 th]	42 [0-1-2]
G-A-d [2 nd and 4 th]	46a [1-1 sharp-0], 46b [1-1 sharp-0]
E-A-B [4 th and 2 nd]	53 [1-2-0]

We have seen how pitch and transposition worked in the Paston collection, and their relationship to the lutes. The transpositions show a very clear distinction between low and high ensembles and a fairly standard concept of pitch in the Paston household that have

¹⁷ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", 55.

performance implications discussed in the following chapter. See Appendix I in order to see many of the different transpositions that appear in 29246. Finally, Table 4.5 demonstrates the relationship between the different clefs used in the Paston concordances and how they are matched to the lutes in such a way that high clef pieces require high lutes and low clef pieces require low lutes.

Table 4.5: The relationship between the clefs and the lutes in 29246.

CLEFS	PIECE NUMBER AND LUTE IN BRACKETS
G1	30[c]
G1-C1-C4	8[B], 21[d], 46b[d],
G1-C2-C4	9[B], 40[d], 41[d], 45[d]
G1-C3-C4	46a[d]
G1-C2-F3	54[A]
G2-C1-C3	38[c], 43[d], 67[c], 68[c], 73[d], 74[d], 75[d], 76[d],
G2-C1-C4	6[A], 46b[d]
G2-C2-	1[B], 38[c],
G2-C2-C3	28[c], 43[d], 59[d], 59[A],
G2-C3-?	69[A]
G2-?-C4	2[A],
G2-C2-C4	6[A], 7[A], 17[A], 19[c], 23[c], 24[c], 25[c], 26[c], 27[c], 29[c], 31[c], 32[c]*, 33[c], 34[c], 35[c], 39[c], 42[c], 46a[d], 51[A], 52[B], 53[B], 60[c], 62[c], 63[c], 66[c], 80[c],
G2-C2-F3	53[A], 38[c]
G2-C3-C4	5[A], 64[c], 65[c], 66[c],
?-C2-C3-C4	80[c]
G2-C3-F3	10[A]
G2-C4-F3	55[A],
G1-C1-C3-F4	20[c]
G1-C2-C3-F4	18[A]
G2 to F4 (Great Compass)	3[A], 4[A], 7[A], 11[A], 14[G], 15[G], 16[G], 35[F]*, 37[F]*, 105[G], 106[G], 107[G], 108[G], 109[G], 111[G]
C1-C1-C4	44[A]
C1-C3	27[G], 59[G],

C1-C3-F3	20[G], 24[G], 26[G], 27[G]
C1-C3-C4	24[G]*, 25[G], 28[G], 71[A]
?-C3-C4	69[A], 72[A]*, 74[A]*, 75[A]*, 76[A]*,
C1-C4-F3	29[G]
C1-C3-C4-C5	43[G]
C1-C3-C3-F4	101[E]
C1-C3-C4-F4	30[F], 104[F]
C1-C3-F4	22[F], 34[F]**, 46b[G], 46b[A], 78[G], 87[G]
C1-C4-F4	29[G], 42[G], 46a[G], 46a[A], 47[G], 52[E], 54[E], 65[G],
C1-F3-F4	46a[A]
?-C3-?	69[E]
C2-C3-F4	8[E]*, 53[E]
C2-C2-C4-F4	36[F]
?-C3-C4-F4	78[G], 79[G],
C2-C3-C4-F4	102[E]
C2-C4-C5-F4	13[D], 38[G]
C3-C5	42[D]
C3-C5-F5*	19[G]
C3-F3-F5	42[D]
F5	5[E], 13[D], 18[E], 45[D],

The clef combinations in this table are not entirely clear because of many reasons. For instance, sometimes a part from a partbook is missing so there is a question mark, or perhaps the intabulated part is only a section of a larger work that only uses, for example, three out of the six parts of a work. Nevertheless, the table gives a good evidence of the care taken by Paston when choosing lutes for his intabulations. There are a couple of interesting conclusions that can be inferred from the tables presented above. The majority of the pieces in the extreme clefs have transpositions either up or down to accommodate a more comfortable singing range, and in fact, twenty-one out of twenty-two pieces that go above g' have transpositions down a fourth.¹⁸ What this suggests is that the very high pieces were probably created for a

¹⁸ This is explained in more detail in CH V.

particularly high instrument, perhaps a sopranino recorder or similar, and that the few pieces in this category that have underlaid text layout were probably used by singers at the low range. In addition, not all the pieces intabulated for the high lutes are very high, with less than half of the pieces in high clefs going above g'. Thus, the use of different lutes does not exacerbate the problems of extreme ranges but instead suggests a wide range of performing possibilities for a variety of combinations of singers and instruments.

It is now time to look at a few pieces that seem to have been favourites in the Paston household if judging by their multiple appearances and transpositions in the collection. The pieces demonstrate many different aspects of the collection and therefore are presented as short case studies. The pieces in question are Byrd's *Infelix ego* (no. 43 and 59), *Tu nimirum* section from the votive antiphon *Salve intemerata virgo* by Tallis (no. 42), and the *Gaude Maria virgo* (no. 46a) and *Gaude Maria Jesu* (no.46b) sections of Taverner's votive antiphon *Gaude plurimum*.

Lute intabulations and key signatures

In order to comprehend the importance and implications of the Paston transpositions and the different lutes proposed in the present work, it is necessary to understand some of the concepts of Renaissance music theory as they relate to lute intabulations. This is of paramount importance since lute notation is graphical in nature and therefore no prescriptions for range or key signature exist within the notation. However, although lute notation allows for different interpretations, it is safe to assume that the intabulator conceived his pieces based on the theoretical framework of early modern music theory, which means using hexachords and their solmization syllables, proportions, different clef groupings, and a limited number of key signatures, among others.

Chapter III introduced Bermudo's method of intabulation that was probably used by Paston himself. Bermudo's method, which he calls the 'vihuelas pintadas', seems to have been used throughout Europe, although in slightly different guises. This is evident since Le Roy and Galilei advocate very similar systems of choosing or imagining the lute that best suits a particular piece of music before proceeding to create the intabulation. Conceptually the combinations between lutes and key signatures have limits dictated by the theory of the time. In practice, however, the performer could select any lute size to perform his/her solo repertoire once the piece was intabulated using the available theoretical tools. Understanding the differences in this duality between theory and practice is essential, although it has been largely neglected by modern scholarship.

Morley's dislike of key signatures with more than two flats has already been mentioned several times in this work. A closer look at the other English music theorists or anonymous treatises reveals a similar attitude to key signatures. Starting with the 1561 anonymous "A Shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke" and the preface "To the Reader," both contained in the *The Whole Books of Psalms*, there is no mention of key signatures of more than two flats.¹⁹ The same occurs with the c. 1592 *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Singing* by William Bathe.²⁰ *The Pathway to Musicke*, an anonymous publication from 1596, usually ascribed to William Barley, does not include any musical examples with unusual key signatures either, and neither does Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture* from

¹⁹ Thomas Sternhold, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London: John Day, 1562).

²⁰ William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Singing* (London: Printed by Thomas Este, 1596).

1596.²¹ Even Dowland's translation of the sizable treatise *Micrologus* by Andreas Ornithoparcus has no mention or musical examples with unusual key signatures.²²

Of these sources, the ones that have the most information about key signatures and transpositions are Bathe's *Briefve Introduction* and Ornithoparcus' *Micrologus*. In the case of the *Brief Introduction*, Bathe simply transposes the hard hexachord in G with no flats to C with one flat, and to F with two flats (See figure 4.2). Bathe states that "there be three places, in one of which the *ut* must always be", and he proceeds to explain how each of the transposed hexachords work. There are only three different key signatures or "places" according to Bathe, and these are the only places where the *ut* can be in a hard hexachord. This suggests that key signatures with more than two flats were not accepted in the music theory of the time. Similarly, the theoretical treatise *Micrologus* never uses key signatures of more than two flats, and Ornithoparcus recommends transposing by a fifth in order to avoid the use of unusual alterations "because they marre the songe".²³ The reason for the limited key signatures in Renaissance music theory relates to the hexachordal system with its mutations and the placement of the *mi/fas* according to the solmization syllables.²⁴ Even the practices that are not as well represented in the treatises, such as the use of a sharp in the key signature, do not justify the use of many flats and sharps as are used in Baroque harmony.

²¹ William Barley, *The Pathway to Musicke* (London: [J. Danter] for William Barley, 1596). See also William Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture Containing Sundrie Easie and Familiar Instructions* (London: for William Barley, 1596).

²² Andreas Ornithoparcus, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, Or Introduction, Containing the Art of Singing*, trans. John Dowland (London: [By Thomas Snodham] for Thomas Adams, 1609).

²³ Ornithoparcus, *Micrologus*, 27.

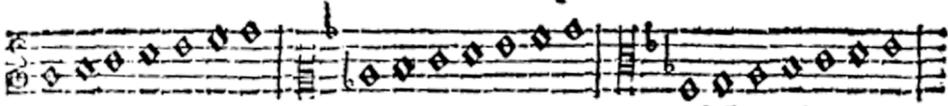
²⁴ Gaston Allaire also presents a couple of practical considerations with regard to the use of hexachords in practice. See Gaston Allaire, "The Forgotten Art of Modulation in Renaissance Polyphony," *Revue de Musicologie* 57 (2003): 5-57.

Figure 4. 2: Bathe's transposed hexachords in Briefe Introduction.

Rules of Song.

which is thus. There be three places, in one of which the *ut* must alwaies be : that is to say, in *G.* which is *Ganvt* and *G sol rept*, when there is no flat in *C*, which is *C fa vt*, *C sol fa vt*, and *C sol fa*, when there is a flat in *b mi*, or *b fa b mi*. In *F* which is *F fa vt*, when there are two flats, one in *b mi* or *b fa b mi*, the other in *E la mi*, or *E la*.

As for example.



Now the *ut* is in *G.* Now in *C.* Now in *F.*

In addition to the information in the music theory treatises, it is also important to note that the present author was not able to find in the contemporary sources any mention of a single lute size for the creation or performance of intabulations. It is customary for modern scholars to assume that intabulations were usually set for a G-lute, hence Brett's supposition. However, none of the contemporary treatises seem to support this premise, and instead a more flexible system of movable lutes as advocated by the likes of Bermudo, Le Roy, and Galilei appears to have been the rule. Once again, it is essential to understand the distinction between the movable lutes technique in theory and in practice. In practice, any lute can be used to play solo intabulations independently from the key signatures, range, and clefs of the vocal original used to create the intabulation. In theory, however, one has to assume that intabulations were created using the music theory of the time while using a system of movable lutes such as the one presented by Bermudo. This implies that if parts were to be extracted from an intabulation

they were probably copied in the common key signatures that exist in the theoretical treatises of the time, and not in the more unusual key signatures with many flats or sharps.

This theoretical framework used to create vocal polyphony together with the system of movable lutes hold the key to understanding how key signatures work in solo lute music.

Thus, pieces in the lute repertoire that seem to have unusual key signatures of four and five flats can easily be explained within the theoretical context of the Renaissance. For instance, Ferrabosco's *Fantasia 5* in the *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1610) is in B-flat with five flats when

Figure 4.3: The beginning of Ferrabosco's *Fantasia 5* from the *Variety of Lute Lessons*.



assuming that it is a piece for G-lute (see figure 4.3 and 4.4). This key signature is obviously outside of the theoretical framework as explained above and therefore the combination of Ferrabosco's *Fantasia 5* and a G-lute is probably not the way the intabulation was conceived by its creator. If instead one imagines that the piece is arranged for an A-lute, the resulting piece will be in C with three flats. Pieces with three flats were rare but started to become more prominent at the turn of the century. (See figures 4.5).

Another possibility is to think of the piece as conceived for a B-lute, in which case the intabulation is in D with one flat, a very common key signature in Renaissance times. This

way of thinking about the repertoire uses both of the original techniques presented above, namely to stay within the key signatures presented in the contemporary sources, and use the movable lutes technique suggested by the lute sources of the time. Thus, figures 4.5 and 4.6 are modern transcriptions of Ferrabosco's *Fantasia* using contemporary key signatures and the movable lutes in order to illustrate this approach.

Figure 4. 4: Ferrabosco's *Fantasia* 5 from *Variete of Lute Lessons* assuming a G-lute. Note the very unusual key signature of the transcription that cannot be justified using Renaissance music theory.

Fantasia 5 [G-lute] A. Ferrabosco
Variete of Lute Lessons

Figure 4. 5: The same Ferrabosco *Fantasia* assuming an A-lute instead for a less unusual key signature of three flats.

Fantasia 5 [A-lute] A. Ferrabosco
Variete of Lute Lessons

Figure 4. 6: Ferrabosco’s Fantasia 5 for a B-lute in D with one flat.

Fantasie 5 [B-lute] A. Ferrabosco
Varietie of Lute Lessons

It seems likely then that Edward Paston was using this system to plan his intabulations, a system that works very well for solo music as one can create intabulations to best fit the instrument regardless of the specific size or tuning. As previously mentioned, the problem is that this method only works for lute solos and arrangements of songs for voices and lute. This is because singers can take any reference pitch as their performing pitch, providing that the pitch is neither too high nor too low for performance. However, once instruments are added, the limited number of key signatures and the resulting performing vocal pitch restricts the possible transpositions. This means that any combination between the lute and instruments where the resulting parts have too many flats or sharps does not appear to be very likely. This could be avoided by simply using a different sized lute to work with the regular key signatures of the partbooks.

Finally, although using Baroque harmony and the system of key signatures might be useful to describe certain occurrences in Renaissance music, there is always the danger of creating more confusion by ascribing theoretical and practical grounds that do not apply to this music at large. Rather than limited, the theoretical framework of the Renaissance simply departs from very different grounds that do not fit many of the concepts of Baroque harmony

and the system of key signatures. By subscribing instead to the early modern sources of music theory and practice we can create a simpler and more convincing method of analysing and performing this music, a method that works accurately with the idea of the movable lutes in the Paston household.

Case Studies

William Byrd's Infelix ego

Byrd's *Infelix ego* was probably a favourite piece for Paston as there are three different intabulations in the lutebooks and many settings in the partbooks with either two flats or no flats in the key signature. The results of this combination of different intabulations and partbook settings are a choice of five different possible lutes and two different transpositions a step apart for the singers or instrumentalists; these different combinations give an insight into the Paston lutes and hence deserve a closer look. The piece is for six voices with five voices intabulated for the lute and the top line left for a soprano or high instrument to sing or play (the soprano range is *c-g'* for the version with no flats). The text is a plea for help in desperate times, which is another one of Byrd's typical settings that rang so strongly in the ears of the recusants. The two settings of *Infelix ego* in 29246 (nos. 43 and 59) are for the top three parts with a narrower range of two octaves; the overall range of the piece is two octaves and a fifth. The first section of the piece is the first section of the prima pars, which is the initial apology before the supplication:

Infelix ego, omnium auxilio destitutus, qui coelum terramque offendi:
Unhappy me, destitute of any help, both heavens and earth I offended:

Only the settings in Tenbury 341-4 and BL 41156-8 are for the whole piece, together with the intabulations in 29247. The settings in 2036 and 30810-5 are for the first part of the poem as shown above, which is the same as the two intabulations in 29246; Byrd starts this section of the piece with the top three parts only. The intabulation in 29247 is of the entire piece including five of the six voices. The different transpositions and intabulations suggest that the intention was to be able to play the piece on as many different lutes as possible, since the versions in the partbooks are only a step apart, which does not make very much difference for the singers. Perhaps musicians in the Paston household favoured the version with no flats in the signature, which follows Morley's suggestion of transposing pieces with two flats up a step. There is also the possibility of the *G*-lute version being created in order to avoid the *F*-lute if the latter were needed to be tuned in *E*, or perhaps the original setting by Byrd was the one with two flats, and the version with no flats was created at a later time. The important point to remember is that the versions in 2036 and 30810-5 were created with the intabulations in 29246 in mind since they are only for the first section of the prima pars. Here is a summary of the different settings of *Infelix ego* in the Paston collection.

Table 4.6: Settings of Byrd's *Infelix ego* in the Paston collection

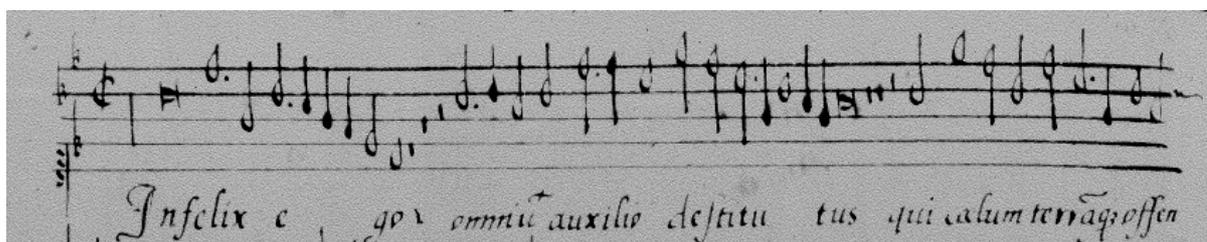
Tenbury 341-4 fol. 56v – Two flats - entire piece
 BL 41156-8 fol. 19 – No flats - entire piece
 29247 fol. 53v-54v – Entire piece
 2036 fol. 48v – No flats, first section of the prima pars only
 30810-5 fol. 28v – No flats, first section of the prima pars only
 29246 fol. 14 – First section of the prima pars only
 29246 fol. 21 – First section of the prima pars only

Notice that both of the abridged partbook settings in 2036 and 30810-5 shown in Table 4.7 have no flats in the key signature and therefore they work only for the *d*-lute in 29246 no. 43, and the *A*-lute in 29246 no. 59 (See editions of these pieces in Appendix IV). This means that there is no short version of *Infelix ego* with two flats, and therefore the two intabulations in

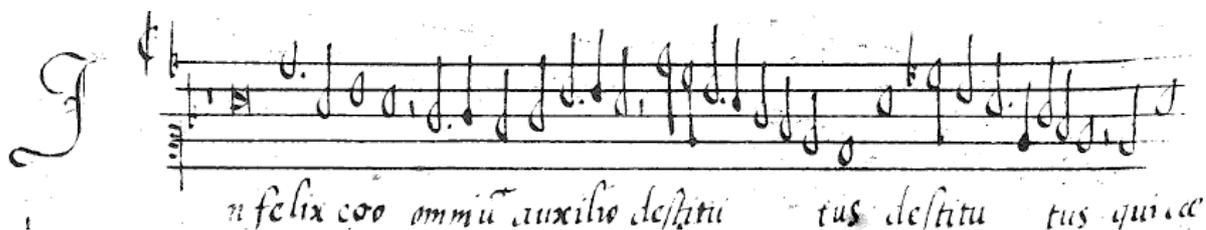
29246 were probably not meant to be performed with the *c* and *G* lutes that match with the two flats setting, unless the full length version in Tenbury 341-4 was used to read only the first part of the prima pars (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.7 The beginning of Byrd's *Infelix ego* from Tenbury 341-4 (the basso part is missing).

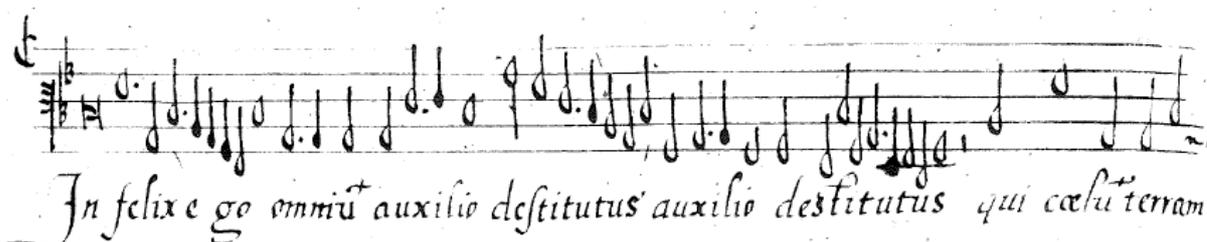
Soprano



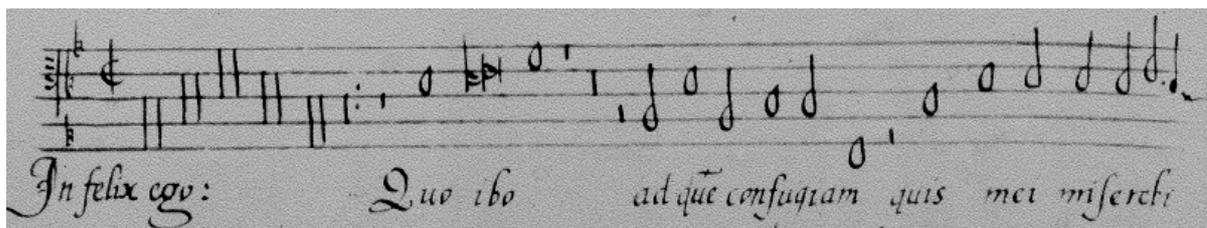
Alto I



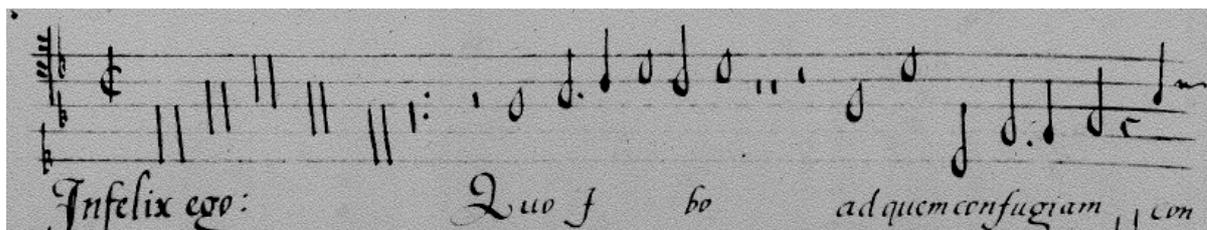
Alto II



Tenor I



Tenor II



As can be seen in Figure 4.3, the setting of *Infelix ego* in Tenbury 341-4 is for low clefs with the soprano in C1 and the tenor II in C5 (the basso book is missing). The overall range of this setting is F' to f' (F' to d' for the five voices in the intabulation), which suits the F -lute very well. The short version in 2036 is in the high clefs (G2-C2-C3) with a range of C to f' (C to c' for the intabulation), which fits the high c -treble lute perfectly. There are two possible transpositions for the intabulation in 29247, one for G -lute (no flats) and one for F -lute (two flats). The two intabulations in 29246 could have two versions each, no. 43 in fol. 14 for d -lute (no flats) and c -lute (two flats), and no. 59 in fol. 21 for A -lute (no flats) and G -lute (two flats). Table 4.8 shows all the possibilities.

Table 4.7: Possible combinations between the partbooks and lutes for the settings of *Infelix ego* in the Paston collection.

Intabulations	29247 fol. 53v-54v Entire piece	29246 fol. 14 First part of the prima pars (up a 4 th from 29247)	29246 fol. 21 First part of the prima pars (up a 4 th from 29246 fol. 14)
F -lute	YES: 2 flats	NO: 3 flats, no pieces with 3 flats in the collection	NO: 4 flats,
G -lute	YES: No flats	NO: 1 flat, the range of the soprano goes up to c''	POSSIBLY: 2 flats, there is no short version in the partbooks
A -lute	NO: 2 sharps, no pieces with 2 sharps in the collection	NO: 1 sharp version of <i>Infelix ego</i> does not survive. The range goes up	YES: No flats

		to d”	
c-lute	NO: 1 flat, the range of the soprano goes up to c”	POSSIBLY: 2 flats, there is no short version in the parbooks	NO: 3 flats, no pieces with 3 flats in the collection.
d-lute	NO: The key signature with 1 sharp is possible although no version survives for this piece. The range goes up to d”	YES: No flats	NO: 1 flat, the range of the soprano goes to c”

The table indicates the resulting partbook setting that should accompany each intabulation and lute combination. The resulting extrapolations give versions that are marked with either YES, NO, or POSSIBLY based on their likelihood; either the key signatures or ranges allow or limit the possible performing versions. Another important point to notice is that the three intabulations are a fourth apart from each other, although only the *G*-lute can play both the version with two flats and the version with no flats.

The case of *Infelix ego* in the Paston manuscripts is unique, although it demonstrates the care and complexity of the transpositions in the collection. In this case the system allows for five different lutes to choose from but only two different ways for performance for the singers or instrumentalists since there are only two versions in the partbooks either with two flats or with no flats. Additionally, the two versions are only a step apart meaning that they were created not so much as transpositions but in order to avoid reading from a version with two flats. The overall range of the short versions with no flats is *C* to *f*, which is a perfect range for the c-lute, but it does not use the sixth course on a *G*-lute.

“Tu nimirum section” of “Salve intemerata virgo” by Tallis (no. 42)

The *Tu nimirum* section from the votive antiphon *Salve intemerata virgo* by Tallis is another interesting case. Unlike *Infelix ego*, this piece has only one intabulation in the lutebooks but three different versions in the part books (two flats, one flat and no flats in the key signature). This time the transpositions are more straightforward since there is no room to

extrapolate for other possible lutes. Instead, there are three possible lutes for three possible versions in the partbooks and each of them is a fourth apart. In fact, that is the unique feature of this piece, the narrow range of the piece allows for three different transpositions a fourth apart. The range of the *Tu nimirum* is of two octaves and a fourth, one octave and a sixth for the two voices in the lute intabulation, which make the three different transpositions possible.

The setting in 29246 is a three-voice section for the lowest voices in this five-voice piece. The lowest version appears in two manuscripts-Tenbury 354-8 and 341-4- with no flats and the following clefs C3-F3-F5 and C3-C5-[F5] respectively; the basso part in 341-4 is missing so the F5 is presumably right as it appears also in Tenbury 354-8. The next setting is up a fourth and it appears in manuscripts 41156-8 and 1469-71 with one flat and clefs C1-C4-F4. The last setting is in 2035 with two flats and G2-C2-C4 again up a fourth. The overall range is *E'* to *a* for the version with no flats, *A'* to *d'* for the version with one flat, and *D* to *g'* for the version with two flats. This means that when performed with a lute and a singer or instrument on the top line the lowest setting is for a low alto range, the second one for an alto and the third one for a soprano covering the whole range of possibilities. However, the range for the entire piece is *E'* to *f'* for the version with no flats and *A'* to *b'-flat* for the version with one flat, making the former the only version that can be sung comfortably by amateur singers. The version with one flat goes up to *b'-flat*, a note that occurs in the concordances with 29246 but only in 2035, a part book that contains various settings in the highest clefs and that may be related to a specific accompanying instrument or set of instruments.

The three settings of this piece suggest that only the version with no flats with the range *E'* to *f'* could be used for a performance of the entire piece; the other versions are too high to be sung comfortably. There is, however, no surviving intabulation of the whole piece suggesting that only the *Tu nimirum* section was performed with the lute.

Taverner's Gaude Maria Virgo and Gaude Maria Jesu from the votive antiphon Gaude Plurimum (nos. 46a and 46b)

These two settings are for two different sections from Taverner's five voice votive antiphon *Gaude Plurimum*. The voices in this section of the piece are the treble, the countertenor and the tenor. Similarly to the *Tu nimirum* setting, there is only one intabulation of each of these two pieces and various versions with three different key signatures in the partbooks, although this time they are not all a fourth apart. Instead, there is a version with one flat, clefs C1-C4-F4, and a range of $G' - d'$, which works with a G-lute. The next version is up a step with one sharp in the key signature, range of $A' - e'$, and clefs C1-C4-F4 for an A-lute. The last version is up a fourth from the latter one with no alterations in the key signature and a range of $D - a'$, the clefs are G1-C3-C4 for d-lute.

As mentioned above, pieces with a sharp in the key signature were more probably created for a transposing set of instruments in the Paston household. The evidence for this comes from the fact that several pieces in the partbooks have versions with one flat for all the voices except the top, which has a sharp instead. This probably means that there was an instrument or set of instruments that sounded a tone lower than written pitch and hence required music with one sharp in order to sound at the pitch of a consort playing music with one flat. In the case of the *Gaude Maria Virgo* and the *Gaude Maria Jesu*, the version with one sharp suggests an A-lute; however, if the set of transposing instruments were true, the proper lute would be a G-lute instead to match the transposing set of instruments. The next chapter talks more in detail about these transpositions and the implications in performance. For now it is important to understand that the evidence in the Paston collection suggests that even sacred vocal music was performed with instruments and voices in the household.

The general rule for this kind of transposition would be that for each version with one sharp there must be a version with one flat, that is, a step apart. With regards to the lutes, the appearance of a version with one sharp in the signature signifies using a lute down a step, meaning that there are really only two different transpositions, one for the d-lute and one for the G-lute.

Taverner's O quam probat from the Sospitati dedit aegros

There are several settings in the Paston partbooks where the top voice has a different key signature from the rest of the voices. This usually occurs in pieces with one flat in the signature and the top voice transposed up a step with a key signature of one sharp. This suggests that there was a transposing instrument that played the top line requiring the part to be transposed by a step. 29246 fol. 2 contains an intabulation of Taverner's *O quam probat* section of the *Sospitati dedit aegros*, a prosa for a responsorial for St. Nicholas. The piece appears in at least four of the Paston partbook sets all with one flat in the signature. However, the setting in MS 1469-71 contains a superius part with one sharp in the key signature (see Figure 4.4). There are several implications behind this type of setting. The first one is naturally the existence of a transposing instrument in the Paston household, but more importantly, this points towards a more stable concept of pitch instead of a movable pitch. It is possible that Paston could have moved the pitch of his lutes and other instruments as necessary and that the transposing instrument was not used all the time; however, the fact that these transposing settings exist speaks for the possibility of a more stable standard of pitch in the household.

Figure 4.8: The beginning of Tavener's *O quam probat* from MS 1469-71 fol. 5. Notice the difference in the key signatures between the cantus and the other two voices indicating a transposing instrument.



Notice that only the incipit is included in MS 1469-71, which also suggests that the setting was meant to be performed by instruments. This also has the interesting implication that sacred works were also performed by instruments. The only version in the Paston partbooks to contain full text is the one in Tenbury 341-4, the single bass book in Chelmsford 1, 41156-8, and 34049 have no text.

We have seen the different types of transpositions in the Paston books. They usually work by fourths or fifths and in some cases they work by step probably in order to avoid having two flats in the key signature or to create new settings for a transposing set of instruments. The transpositions have very practical aims, which is completely opposite to what scholarship has postulated until now. Since singers can usually perform at any pitch

while reading from a specific written pitch, the many transpositions in the Paston collection probably had to do more with the instrumentalists, since the partbooks suggest the need for parts in every transposition. What remains then is to explain more clearly the finer points regarding how music was performed and how these transpositions worked in practice.

Chapter V:
Performing Principles for the Paston Collection

Basic principles for performance

The study of performance practice intersects with cultural or social history whenever it is important to know what music was played at court, in cities or by the peasants in the country, and how performances differed from one social context to another.¹

The cultural context around Paston presented in earlier chapters allows us to look at his collection with different eyes. The fact that no instruments, performance records, or musician's payrolls from the Paston household survive, probably explains why this collection has remained largely unstudied. However, as already mentioned, scholars looking at the collection have proposed the very odd notion that Paston simply collected music for the sake of collecting music,² and this notion has remained unchallenged since it was mooted almost half a century ago. The evidence presented in this thesis in creating a more complete picture of Edward Paston and his socio-cultural context, and the study of the collection suggests a high level of skill and understanding of the music of the time. Suddenly, the multiple transpositions in the manuscripts start to make sense, and the entire collection comes to life before our eyes. Thus, assuming that the Paston music manuscripts were accumulated for the sake of having a sizable collection would amount to assuming that the Kitson's household improvised most of their music since almost no music books exist in their records as compared with the many instruments and payrolls for musical activities. The same could be said about Robert Cecil's household despite his being the recipient of many dedications in some of the more important publications of the time. These isolated instances are much better

¹ Howard Brown, "The Renaissance: Introduction," in *Performance Practice: Music Before 1600*, ed. Howard M. Brown, and Stanley Sadie (N.Y. - London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989), 157.

² Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 62.

served when looked at together with the implication that the activities in one household were likely to have resembled or reflected those in another household of similar constitution.

Once we understand that these recusant families shared their many activities and social expectations, it is easier to create a fuller picture of the way music was treated and appreciated by them. And as the Paston collection can be seen to reveal a well established practice of music making in the household, it is now important to look at how performers today can use the collection through a better understanding of: the different instrument combinations and their sizes; the pitch used for performance; and the many transpositions.

The core of the matter: The Paston lute set and the suggested pitch

The lute is an obvious point of departure when talking about the instruments in the household since it was Paston's instrument. The previous chapter demonstrated how the collection of manuscripts makes sense if we envisage that the music was performed with a set of six different sized lutes; it is necessary now to take a closer look at the sizes and pitch of these instruments. Although talking about the performing pitch and the instruments in the Paston household is essentially a matter of speculation, we can nonetheless arrive at an idea of the different possibilities through a study of the surviving music in the partbooks and the lutebooks, taking into account the other instruments suggested by the collection and the practice of house music itself. Naturally, there are physical limitations to which voices and instruments can be used in particular contexts and to consider carefully, for instance, the practicality of singing continuous high *b*'-flats, or playing extended techniques on a very large lute. Such practical considerations have to prevail as the surviving evidence for instruments and their reference pitch, (meaning their equivalent of our *a*~440), is very sparse and in some instances misleading. This had led to constructions such as Wulstan's, where a method of transpositions at sight is devised from a surviving organ pipe and then applied to the

repertoire as a whole; in fact, some of his examples for transpositions are drawn from the Paston collection.³

As explained in the previous chapter, the relationship between the lutebooks and partbooks in the Paston collection strongly suggests that he owned a set of different lutes, and therefore it is important to address the size of the lutes based on the evidence in the intabulations, the surviving instruments, and the current scholarship. The first point to consider is that although proportions were essential to the way people thought in the sixteenth-century, standard measurements were not, as that is an industrial revolution paradigm. This means that the anthropometrical linear measuring system of feet, inches and such was not exact and thus every mason, blacksmith, builder, or instrument maker could have had a different ruler with subjective but proportional measurements.⁴

It remains to investigate the possibility of custom made instruments that depended on the anthropometrics of a particular person, in other words creating two or more rulers for different sizes of individuals instead of only one ruler, this would have given the makers more versatility while maintaining the Pythagorean proportions intact. The result would be allowing the builder to build a *G*-lute at a convenient size for the player, and then build the rest of the set based on the proportions of the first one. This way of thinking is more in accord with sixteenth-century ideas than our one-size-fits-all twenty-first-century approach, and it is manifested in every realm of Renaissance thought, as is the case with the ubiquitous Vitruvian

³ Wulstan uses many examples from the Paston manuscripts, for instance, White's *Deus Misereatur* that exists in British Library Add. 30810-5 in high clefs and in British Library 17792-6 in low clefs. See David Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966): 99.

⁴ Lundberg describes how these measurements were an integral part of the social development of the time, "and were real measures for the life and times of human beings." See Robert Lundberg, "In Tune With the Universe: The Physics and Metaphysics of Galileo's Lute," in *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, ed. Victor Coelho (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), 224.

Man by Leonardo da Vinci, inspired by the writings of the Roman architect Vitruvius Pollio. Vitruvius' books *de Architectura* state all of his concepts of anthropometrics, symmetry and proportions. In Book III, Chapter I *On Symmetry: In Temples and in the Human Body*, he states:

The design of a temple depends on symmetry, the principles of which must be most carefully observed by the architect. They are due to proportion, in Greek αναλογία. Proportion is a correspondence among the measures of the members of an entire work, and of the whole to a certain part selected as standard. From this results the principles of symmetry. Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relation between its members, as in the case of those of a well shaped man.⁵

The word temple could be replaced with lutes or any other man-made device requiring the rules of proportion. Also notice that “standard” in Vitruvius’ words is a more flexible concept than our current definition of it (simply a starting point from which proportions can be applied). In fact, most writers of the time talk about proportions when choosing instruments, as for instance Mace, who in his 1676 *Musick’s Monument* suggested selecting a large bass viol, a treble that is half its size, and a tenor that is $\frac{3}{4}$ the length.⁶ Once again, Mace does not imply a specific size but instead the proportions between the instruments in a set, and this would give much freedom to the makers, who could build a smaller or larger tenor lute or set of lutes or viols depending upon the needs of a particular client.

A closer look at Ray Nurse’s article on lute sizes and development is necessary in order to illustrate the point of lack of a standard size of lute in Renaissance times. He first states that “a glance at contemporary iconographic sources reveals a myriad of sizes and

⁵ Vitruvius Pollio, “Ten Books on Architecture,” http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20239/20239-h/29239-h.htm#Page_72 (accessed 10 September, 2009), 72.

⁶ Thomas Mace, *Musick’s Monument, or A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick* (London: 1676), 246.

shapes of lutes of which not a trace remains,”⁷ and that the Fugger inventory from the year 1566 lists one hundred and forty-four lutes in seven different sizes. Then he proceeds to select thirty lutes that exhibit very similar characteristics from what he calls the “Füssen school” (lute builders of German origin settled in Padua, Venice, and Füssen-Germany). Nurse continues by saying that lutes were probably built in sets, which is not the way it is done today, and then he states that “despite evidence that larger lutes were preferred in the [sixteenth-century], they enjoy little popularity today.”⁸ The problem is that he fails to give any evidence for this statement. Next, Nurse proposes a 66cm lute in *G* as the standard lute used for solo repertory, and proceeds to match his 66cm instrument with the rest of the thirty lutes he selected by using the Pythagorean proportions (see Table 5.1). The 66cm lute Nurse proposes is the equivalent of our current choice of instrument of between 60cm and 63cm, and Praetorius is more in line with our current use as he suggests the *G*-lute to be around 63cm.⁹

There are a couple of lutes in Nurse’s survey that betray the Pythagorean proportions he uses in his table, namely the lowest and highest lutes in his list. He argues that the tiny Venere lute (Vienna C41) with a string length of 29.5 cm is almost half the size of his 58.7 cm *A*-lute (see Table 5.1), and that therefore it is a octave lute in *A*. It is quite arbitrary to assume that an instrument that is “almost” half the size of another one is simply its octave counterpart, if we take into consideration that Pythagorean proportions are mathematically exact. The ratios in the monochord were not approximations but instead precise illustrations of the

⁷ Ray Nurse, “Design and Structural Development of the Lute in the Renaissance,” in *Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium, 1986* (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1988), 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁹ The 63 cm. *G*-lute in Praetorius is discussed in Robert Lundberg, "In Tune With the Universe: The Physics and Metaphysics of Galileo's Lute", 224.

mathematics of pitch. We cannot undermine the importance of these ratios as they are the foundation of the musical science of the Renaissance. The reality is that this argument can only be settled if someone can find a set of lutes built by the same maker for the same patron, in which case we could argue about the precision (or lack thereof) of instrument makers and their craft. Despite this little 29.5cm lute being only a four-course instrument, and therefore probably an octave lute to double melodies, it would make sense for it to be in *G* instead as this would allow for better tuning in the flat keys. Having such octave lutes was not a standard practice, as the lute ensemble literature never calls for instruments an octave apart with the exception of the *D*-lutes; Praetorius mentions only two octave lutes, one in *d* and one in *c*.¹⁰ It would make more sense, in any case, for the Venere lute to be an octave lute in *G*, in which case the *G*-lute would be a rather small 59 cm instrument. In theory, however, all of these

Table 5.1: Lute sizes for different sets based on the lutes in Ray Nurse’s article and the Pythagorean calculations. All measurements are in centimetres (the numbers in bold are those given in Nurse’s article). The numbers in normal type and the ones in parentheses are the exact hypothetical choices when Pythagorean proportions are applied (although not necessarily representing extant instruments).

Nominal Pitch	Pythagorean Proportion	String Length in Nurse	Praetorius 63cm <i>G</i> -lute	Using 29.5cm as high <i>G</i> -lute	Using common 60cm <i>G</i> -lute	Using 93.7cm as low <i>D</i> -lute	Using 93.7cm as low <i>C</i> -lute
<i>g</i>	2/1 of <i>G</i>	(33)		29.5			
<i>d</i>	Starting point	44	42	39.3	40	46.9	41.6
<i>A</i>	4/3 of <i>d</i>	58.7	55.9	52.4	53.3	62.5	55.5
<i>G</i>	3/2 of <i>d</i>	66	63	59	60	70.3	62.5
<i>E</i>	4/3 of <i>A</i>	78.2	74.5	69.9	71	83.3	70.3
<i>D</i>	2/1 of <i>d</i>	88	84	78.6	80	93.7	83.3
<i>C</i>	3/2 of <i>G</i>	(99)					93.7

instruments are possible in the many different combinations suggested in Table 4.1 in Chapter IV. Table 5.1 shows Ray Nurse’s proposed set along with some other sets based on the thirty

¹⁰ Ibid., 226.

lutes he selected, the Praetorius 63cm *G*-lute, and a set based on our current common 60cm *G*-lute for the sake of comparison.

At the other extreme of the list of thirty lutes there is a very large 93.7cm lute. It is easy to assume that this instrument is simply a low *C*-lute; however, if strict Pythagorean calculations are used the *C*-lute for the set proposed by Nurse (with a 66cm *G*-lute) should have a string length of 99cm. Therefore we have to assume that the 93.7cm is either a large *D*-lute or a smaller *C*-lute from a different set. If we assume that this lute is tuned to *D* then the *G*-lute produced by the calculations is an incredibly large 70.3cm *G*-lute (see Table 5.1). If instead we assume that the 93.7cm lute was tuned to *C*, the resulting *G*-lute would be 62.5cm, which is a common size used today and very close to the 63cm lute in Praetorius writings. The point in question is not what size lute is right or wrong but instead the fact that the information we have can be interpreted in many different ways even when original techniques are used, and that this variety of sizes between different lute sets is probably closer to the reality of the times than our current perception. The intabulations in the Paston lutebooks

Example 5.1: *In nomine* I by Thomas Tallis. Notice the extended technique on bar 27 (in brackets), which is common in other intabulations in the Paston lutebooks and suggests a lute close to 63 cm in length for an average size hand.

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suggest a *G*-lute that should be around 63cm in order to play the pieces in the collection comfortably with average size hands. This goes along with Praetorius' suggestion and therefore works as a perfectly plausible historical choice. Example 5.1 demonstrates some of the common extended techniques used throughout the lutebooks that suggest a smaller lute than the one suggested by Ray Nurse.

Nurse's analysis of thirty lutes is only a very small sample of the very large variety of extant lutes.¹¹ The reality is that the lutes of a particular region and time exhibit as many different sizes as their number, not to mention that, for example, a 62cm lute might be a tenor lute for one chronicler or an alto lute for another. Although these results may be frustrating for twenty-first-century lute makers and performers, it is very possible that this is how lutes were built in the sixteenth century, that is, designing a set of instruments starting from the anthropometrics of a specific client and then employing a very well-established set of proportions to build the instruments. These ideas go better with sixteenth-century humanistic and early-modern discourses than with our post-modern insistence upon exact standards for sizes and pitch. Let us not forget that the writings by contemporary chroniclers such as Praetorius or Juan Bermudo do not seem to call for a single standard of sizes, their work is more a catalogue of some of the different possibilities they were able to compile, hence the inherent contradictions in their writings.

With regard to the issue of the reference pitch used in the Paston household, one again enters into the realm of speculation, as there is no extant definitive proof. However, there is evidence suggesting the existence of a set of fixed pitch instruments in the household (i.e. a

¹¹ It is worth just having a look at the lute database compiled by Klaus Martius, a former conservator with the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg: <http://www.cs.dartmouth.edu/~lsa/associated/index.html#Lautenweltadressbuch>

set of recorders, crumhorns, or similar). This evidence naturally does not define the actual pitch of performance in the household, but instead indicates that the pitch was fairly stable, which is always a consideration when talking about string instruments.

There are many variables at play when discussing the pitch for lutes and other string instruments. For instance, there is the relationship between the size of an instrument and the capacity of the strings to hold tension and yet not break under excessive tension. This subject is still problematic today since even the most experienced gut string makers agree that they do not know everything there is to know about this skill, which means that discussing the possible combinations between lute sizes and gut string gauges yields only partly correct answers due to the technological lacunae.

There is, however, a more scientific method that string makers use to calculate whether or not a lute can be strung at a particular pitch with gut strings. The “breaking index” of a gut string is a constant that depends on the string length and maximum frequency achievable by a string before breaking point; this constant has been calculated at 260Hz. If 260Hz is the breaking point then anywhere between 220Hz and 240Hz is considered to be the optimal constant for a gut string. By dividing this constant by the string length of a lute we can know the optimal frequency for a gut string, for example, Praetorius’ 63 cm *G*-lute. The formula is then $240\text{Hz}/0.63\text{m}=381\text{Hz}$ or $220\text{Hz}/0.63\text{m}=349\text{Hz}$, which is 49 to 200 cents lower than $g\sim 392\text{Hz}$.¹² This means that on Praetorius’ 63cm *G*-lute the first course (*g*) could be tuned from within a $\frac{1}{4}$ tone to a whole tone below $g\sim 392\text{Hz}$, although it is important to

¹² These formulas are used by string makers. For further reading on the subject visit the following link to the website for Aquila Strings:
http://www.aquilacorde.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=41&catid=3&lang=en&Itemid=71

remember that the breaking index calculation is for our current technology, and that string makers agree that there is more research to be done.

Although the above is a more scientific approach to the idea of pitch, it only indicates that a 63 cm *G*-lute could be tuned from very near $g \sim 392\text{Hz}$ to a whole step below that. In terms of our standard of $a=440\text{Hz}$, this translates into an a near 400Hz (the rounded median between $\sim 380\text{Hz}$ and $\sim 428\text{Hz}$) for the performance of this music. This pitch standard ($a \sim 400\text{Hz}$) brings the g' down by a little more than a minor second while not greatly affecting the lower range. Naturally, the evidence in this case is not conclusive, and it only adds to the intricacy of the subject; however, it is a very important consideration to address. Now it is time to look at the evidence in the collection in order to try to glean further insight into the question of pitch fluctuation in the Paston household.

The majority of the pieces in 29246 have a range that goes up to a g' even if some of these pieces exist in the partbooks with different transpositions. Since this notational convention is so important in the collection, one can assume this as the starting point to speculate about the absolute pitch in the Paston household. Current practice seems to agree that (g') is too high for the singing of songs accompanied by the lute, despite the many good recordings that speak to the contrary. The assumption seems to be that it would have been hard for an amateur soprano to be able to hold a g' in a stable manner or repeatedly in order to be able to sing the repertoire at our current standard of $a=440$. This is in part the reason why larger lutes are suggested, with some suggesting transpositions even down a major third from the written pitch.¹³ Although Wulstan's approach applies to a very specific practice, it is definitively not a choice for the Paston collection. The reason for this is that the majority of

¹³ This idea is presented in David Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966-67): 98.

the pieces that go above *g'* have transpositions down a fourth or a fifth that would be too low to sing comfortably if transposed down further by a minor third. It is very clear that the Paston collection is aimed at two different ensembles, a high ensemble that allows for a soprano on the top line and a low ensemble that allows for an alto on the top line. This method of organizing pieces in the Paston collection gives tremendous versatility to the combinations of voices and instruments that can perform the music, and a couple of examples are probably the best way to illustrate this point.

Osbert Parsley's *Conserva me*, is a three-part setting that appears in three of the Paston partbook sets, namely the bass book Chelmsford 1 fol. 9v with C5 clef and no flats (from the Petre set), then in partbooks 344 fol. 87v with no flats and clefs C1-C3-F3, and finally in partbooks 2035 fol. 1 up a fourth with one flat and clefs G2-C2-C4. In addition, there is an intabulation of this piece in lutebook 29246 fol. 9v (no. 24 in Appendix 4). The most obvious way of performance suggested by the collection is with the lute playing the lower two parts (i.e. the intabulation), and a soprano and/or an instrument in the top line. If only lute and a singer are to perform together, then any lute size that suits the singer will do. If an instrument is added then the intabulation has to be matched to the partbooks in order to find a lute that works with the specific keys from the partbooks, that is a *G*-lute for the low version and a *c*-lute for the high version. The range for the low version is *B-e'*, which is in the mean range in either the high or the low pitch. The high version range is up a fourth, *e-a'*, which means that it should be performed at low pitch or as an instrumental version in order to avoid singing a high *a'*. It is then possible that the high version could be sung at the low pitch or performed on an instrument such as a treble viol at either pitch. It is also possible to match the appropriate lutes to a consort of viols or recorders in both the high or low pitch and in both the high or low versions of the piece. Lastly, if the piece is performed using lute, instruments and

voices, then the singers can read from the high clef versions in the 2035 partbook set while singing down a fourth, thus allowing the instrumentalists to play from the low clef version in the other partbooks with the appropriate lute.

Another example is William Byrd's *Ave Maris stella*, a votive antiphon for three voices that exists in two of the Paston partbook sets, 41156-8 fol. 12 with no flats and clefs C1-C3-F4, and up a fourth in 2036 fol. 1 with clefs G2-C2-C4 (no. 66 Appendix 4). The piece has an overall range of *F'-d'* for the low clef version and *B'-flat-g'* for the high clef version. Both versions can be performed in either the low or high pitch; however if the *g'* is to be avoided in the high clef version then the low pitch should be used. This piece is in a more common range and it generates two very useful versions, one for soprano range and one down a fourth for an alto range. These pieces were also performed presumably down an octave for the tenor and bass range with the same combination of instruments. As can be seen, there are various useful combinations that cover the more common singing ranges when performed at the pitch level previously suggested.

In summary, although instruments existed in many different sizes it is safe to assume based on the intabulations in the lutebooks that Paston's *G*-lute was around 63 cm in length and that it was tuned somewhere near $a\sim 392$ to $a\sim 415$ according to the calculations of the current gut string technology. These are obviously approximations to our current pitch levels and need to be taken as such. This is not only historically plausible, based on Praetorius, but also mathematically correct when stringing the lute with gut strings using the current knowledge on the matter. It is also probable that the rest of Paston's set of lutes were constructed based on Pythagorean proportions departing from the tenor *G*-lute. Additionally, the lower pitch in the lutes allows singers to sing the *g'* on the region of half a step to a whole step below our $a=440$, which should be comfortable enough for sopranos. This tuning is also

a good compromise for the singers of the low ensembles, implying that the alto register is not transposed so far down that it would be uncomfortable for an alto to sing the low notes. As can be seen, the transpositions in the collection are key to deducing the pitch used in the Paston household, and the following studies investigate more specific ideas in regard to the pieces with very high clefs, a set of instruments with fixed pitch, and the use of a *B*-lute to clarify and reinforce the information so far presented.

Exceptions: Case Studies

It is now time to look at some of the unusual cases in the Paston collection that aid in our understanding of how the collection works and what instruments, other than the lutes, Paston may have owned. In addition, there is a discussion of whether or not it is practical to use a *B*-lute, and if this is something Paston might have done.

Pieces in the high clefs with ranges above a'

As stated above, the majority of pieces in the Paston collection go as high as *g'*, which is a convention that stems probably from the *gamut*, and that was called the “Great Compass” by William Byrd. This range and the different transpositions in the collection have suggested the performing pitch used in the Paston household. It remains to have a closer look at the pieces that go above *g'* in the collection, in order to assess if the pitch was indeed from around *a*~392 to somewhere above *a*~415.

There are twenty-two pieces in 29246 that go above an *a'* in the soprano part. Of these only one has no transposition down a fourth or a fifth in the partbooks, which strongly suggests that these high pieces were created as instrumental pieces, and their counterparts as the singing sets. The piece in the highest clefs without a lower transposition is John

Sheppard's votive antiphon *Illustrissima omnium*, which exists in 2036 with no flats and clefs G1-C1-C4 and ranges *g-a'*, *B-e*, *E-f* for the soprano, alto, and bass respectively. It is very probable that there was a version of this piece down a fifth with one flat just like the other twenty-one pieces with similar characteristics, although even if this piece did not have a transposed version, over 95% of them do (i.e. 21 out of 22 pieces).

Most of the pieces in the highest clefs come from the partbook sets 2035 and 2036, which probably means that these two sets were conceived as instrumental sets. However, there are some pieces that have text layouts suggesting that they were used by singers, although naturally since singers can take any pitch to be the starting point, they could presumably sing from these partbooks while transposing down to whatever pitch suited best. This leaves several options of how to perform from these sets. For instance, in the case where singers were accompanied just by a lute, any lute size could have been chosen in order to suit the singers. If a lute was to be used along with other instruments, then the transposition was limited to down a fourth or fifth to suit both the singers and the instrumentalists, and the instrumentalists would have performed from the existing transposing sets. This would allow the singers to sing from high settings in 2035 and 2036, and the instrumentalists to play from the other sets transposed down a fourth or a fifth, thus making it more comfortable for the performers. Besides these ways of performing, there is obviously the option of singing a cappella in which case the written pitch in the partbooks is inconsequential.

It is important to notice that there are many pieces in the high clefs for high lutes that do not go above *g'* in the soprano part (see Appendix I for a comprehensive list of these occurrences). For instance, pieces No. 30 through No. 34, No. 38, and No. 39 are a few of the examples that only go up to a *g'*, and even more importantly, some of these pieces do not have transpositions down a fourth or fifth, which probably means that they were sung at pitch

when performed with the lute, instruments, and voices together. What the evidence seems to indicate is that pieces that went above g' had transpositions of a fourth or a fifth down, while pieces that went up to g' did not necessarily require a lower version independently of the lute used for the setting. Ultimately, the lute used to create the intabulation was chosen based not only on the high range but also on the low range of the vocal piece. A treble c-lute could have been chosen instead of a G-lute for an intabulation if the vocal range went down only to a C, thus utilizing the overall range of the instrument much better while creating an intabulation that is more comfortable to play.

Pieces with a sharp in the key signature: The fixed pitch instruments

The pieces with a sharp in the key signature exhibit different behaviours that deserve a closer look. The most important of these behaviours has to do with a fixed pitch transposing set of instruments suggested by these pieces, however, there are some other noteworthy occurrences to examine. There are seven pieces in 29246 for which concordances with sharps in the key signature survive. The pieces in question are summarized in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Concordances to 29246 with one sharp in the key signature.

Piece – Composer	Key signature	Comments
6. O quam probat – Taverner	1 sharp (sop) and 1 flat	Conc. 1469-71 (5). The soprano is transposed up a step with one sharp from the rest of the voices that have one flat.
20. Ave dei Patris – Johnson	1 sharp (sop), w/ two flats for the other voices	Conc. 2035 (33v) The sharp is only a reminder that all the fs need to be sharp, hence the piece is written as if it did not have any alterations in the key signature. In 1469-71 (11v) The sharp seems to be a mistake since there are two different clefs G1 and G2 neither of which works with the bottom parts. There is also a version in 354-8.
39. Anima Christi – Parsons	1 sharp (sop), one flat other voices	This pieces works just like no. 6, the soprano should be played with a fixed pitch instrument that sounds a step below what is written

46 a and b Gaude Maria virgo and Gaude Maria Jesu – Taverner	All voices with one sharp	The version with one sharp in 2035 (39) works on an A-lute, although it is possible to play it on a G-lute to be able to play with the set of transposing instruments.
51. Ave dei patris – Tallis	1 sharp (sop) and 1 flat	Same as nos. 6 and 39
55. Qui tollis II [Gloria tibi trinitas] – Taverner	1 sharp (sop) and 1 flat	Same as nos. 6, 39, and 51

The most unusual of these examples is Robert Johnson's *Ave dei patris* (no. 20 in the edition), more specifically the concordance in manuscript 1469-71 fol. 11v. There are a couple of scribal errors in this piece that are readily explained. The scribe wrote the clef (G2) and a sharp in the signature and then he wrote a new clef (G1) that overrides the sharp in the key signature. It seems like the scribe wanted to create a similar arrangement to pieces 6, 39, and 51 (see Table 5.2 above), which means that the top line is written a step up from the rest of the parts. However, he made a couple of mistakes, first, his starting point is a piece with two flats in the key signature (the setting in 1469-71), and in order to have a similar arrangement as pieces 6, 39, and 51 the soprano should have been written in G2 with no alterations in the key signature, and starting with an *a* instead of the *b* used in 1469-71. Instead, the scribe wrote the soprano in G2 with a sharp and started the piece with a *b*, the wrong note since an *e*' should be the starting note for a version with one sharp. He then tried to remedy his mistake by changing the clef in order to at least have a working version of this top voice up a fourth with (G1). This transposition should have a flat in the key signature, but since all but one of the *Bs* are cadential the *b-flat* in the signature is not required. The result is a top line that does not work with the version with two flats in 1469-71, but instead is a copy of the top line of the version with one flat in Tenbury 354-8. Figures 5.1 a and b show the top voice of Johnson's *Ave dei patris* from manuscript 1469-71 fol. 11, notice the two different clefs and how the third line has a *b-flat* and the sharp in the key signature scratched out

probably by the scribe. Figure 5.1c shows the other two parts from 1469-71 with two flats in the key signature.

Figure 5.1a: Robert Johnson's *Ave dei patris* from manuscript 1469-71 fol. 11. Notice the clefs and different alterations and compare them with the edition (no. 20).

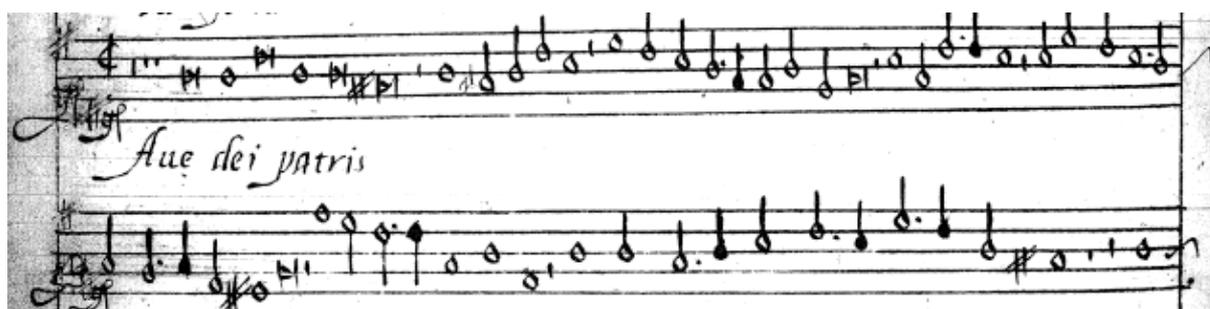


Figure 5.1b: Continuation to Robert Johnson's *Ave dei patris* from manuscript 1469-71 fol. 11. Notice how the sharps were erased and one b-flat introduced at the beginning of the system.

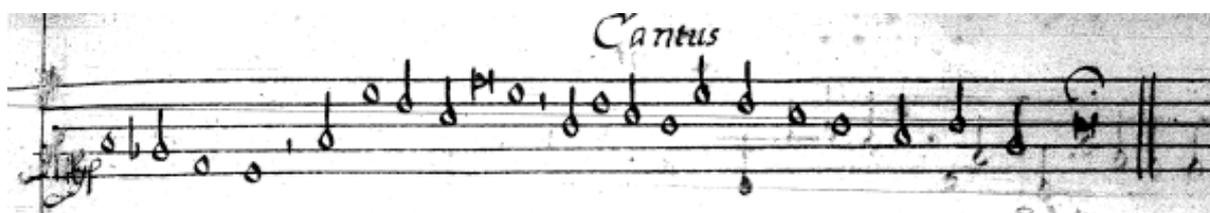


Figure 5.1c: The alto and bassus of Johnson's *Ave dei patris* in manuscript 1469-71 fol. 11 with two flats.



The next four pieces are particularly interesting since they suggest the existence of at least one instrument that played a step below the written pitch. The pieces are the *O quam probat* section from the prosa *Sospitati dedit aegros* by Taverner, William Parson's *Anima Christi*, the votive antiphon *Ave dei patris filia* by Tallis, and the *Qui tollis II* section of Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi trinitas*. All of these pieces have one thing in common, they exist in a version with one flat in the Paston manuscripts but with the top voice having one sharp in the key signature instead. The step apart between the top and the lower parts suggests that there was at least one treble instrument with fixed pitch that sounded a step below the written music. This is not only relevant because of the existence of this instrument or set of instruments, but also because it speaks about the stability of the performing pitch in the Paston household.

Figure 5.2: The beginning of the votive antiphon *Ave dei patris* by Tallis from MSS 1469-71 with one sharp in the soprano and one flat in the lower voices.



It is fair to assume that Paston performed in many of the musical gatherings in his estates and therefore his lutes were probably tuned to the fixed pitch set of instruments in his collection. The reason why there are no more examples of music with one sharp in the key signature in the concordances to 29246 is probably because Paston could accompany the transposing ensemble with a lute down a step from whichever music the transposing ensemble was reading from. For instance, if a piece was intabulated for an *A*-lute, Paston could have played it with a *G*-lute in order to match the sounding pitch of the transposing ensemble, and the same applies to the other lutes in the collection.

The last pieces to be discussed are two sections of Taverner's votive antiphon *Gaude plurimum*. The two sections in question are the *Gaude Maria virgo* and *Gaude Maria Jesu* that appear in 29246 fol. 15. In this case all of the parts have a sharp in the key signature, which is unusual because these are the only two concordances to 29246 to use this key signature. What seems to be implied by these two arrangements is that there was not only one treble transposing instrument in the Paston household but a whole set of instruments. If true, the pieces could be performed in many different ways, for instance, by an ensemble reading from the partbooks with one flat (perhaps a viol consort), then the alleged set of transposing fixed pitch instruments (i.e. the set of recorders, flutes, etc) could perform from the partbooks with the sharp in the key signature, and Paston could play the intabulation in 29246 with his *G*-lute together with voices singing in a range not higher than a *d'*. Any combination of the above would be possible and the different combinations of instruments justifies the existence of these pieces with one sharp in the key signature, which seem always to be related to the partbook set 1469-71.

Although pieces with one sharp in the key signature are rare in the Paston collection, they seem to be related to the transposing set of fixed pitch instruments. Even the pieces where all of the parts have one sharp were probably created for this set of instruments that sounds down a step from the written pitch. Perhaps this was an experiment by Paston in order to have the aforementioned set of instruments perform with other instruments such as viols, but the infrequent use of this key signature made it unpopular for the musicians in the household. It was probably easier to have people play from a version with a familiar key signature and for Paston to perform with a lute a step below the transposing ensemble. Unfortunately, a survey of all of the pieces with one sharp in the collection is beyond the scope of the present work; however, it would probably shed some more light on the function and significance of this trend.

The case of the omitted low F' in the intabulations

The pieces in the Great Compass were not transposed, as previously mentioned, since they covered the entire singing range or Gamut (G'-g') or even lower or higher range. In these cases the intabulations in the Paston lutebooks are left at the original pitch, but in the case where low F's are present, these are either transposed up an octave or simply left out of the intabulation altogether. For instance, Taverner's *Gloria tua* from the *Missa Gloria tibi trinitas* in Add. 29246 fol. 5v is one of the pieces that omits the low F' because it is outside the range of a six course G-lute, which also indicates that Paston's lutes had six courses of strings only. The mass is for six voices, but this section (no. 14 in Appendix IV) is a trio arranged for the lute playing the bottom two parts and the singer on the treble part. The clefs used in this section are G2 (treble part *d – g'*), C5 (tenor part, *A' – d*), and F4 (bass part, *F' – B-flat*), in other words, the extreme ranges of the Great Compass. The overall range of the piece is *D' –*

g', which goes down a fourth below the range of the *G*-lute, although the section intabulated only goes down to an *F'*. If the piece were intabulated up a fourth in order to be able to play the lowest note, then the upper range would go up to an extremely high *c''*. All this shows that it was probably a practical limitation what obliged the intabulator of the *Gloria tua* to arrange it in the original key and omit the low *F*'s.

Example 5.2: *Gloria tua* section from the *Missa Gloria tibi trinitas* (Add. 29246 fol. 5; No. 14 in Appendix 4). The intabulator chose to set the piece for a *G*-lute despite the range of *F'-g'*, which produces the missing *F*'s in the lute part.

14. Gloria tua (Sanctus: Gloria tibi trinitas) [G lute] John Taverner
29246 fol. 4v

The image shows a musical score for 'Gloria tua' by John Taverner. It includes vocal parts for Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus, and a G-lute part. The lute part consists of a six-line staff with tablature (numbers 0-5) and two alternative bass line notations labeled 'a)' and 'b)'. The lyrics are 'Glo-ri-a tu-'.

It is noteworthy that the pieces with the missing *F*'s form an important part of Brett's argument for only using a *G*-lute in the Paston collection. The reality seems to be that this is a very isolated case that is dealt with by the intabulators in a very appropriate way, as it follows Byrd's advice not to transpose music in the Great Compass.

The E/F lute

There are four intabulations in manuscripts 31992 and 29247 that suggest that the *E* and *F* lutes were the same instrument. They include three English sacred five-voice part songs from *Psalmes, sonets & songs...* (1588), namely *O God, give ear* (no. 1), *Mine eyes with fervency* (no. 2), and *Even from the depth* (no. 10), together with the English Anthem *Arise, O Lord*, which survives in at least five of the Paston manuscripts. The intabulations of these pieces were created half a step apart, the one in 31992 was presumably for an *E*-lute and the one in 29247 for an *F*-lute. These two intabulations make no sense as transpositions since it seems rather ludicrous to rewrite an entire intabulation to transpose music by half a step. Moreover, there is no way to create parts transposed by half a step in the limited system of key signatures used in the Paston collection, which can be confirmed, of course, by the fact that there are no versions of pieces a half step apart in the partbooks. Instead, the two intabulations were created to work with the version with one flat in the partbooks allowing the *E/F* instrument to be tuned either way for a particular performance. This implies that the *E/F* lute was sometimes needed in *F* for a specific performance or in *E* for another one. Additionally, the fact that the half-step transposition falls in the *e/f* semitone (or *E* and *F* lutes) instead of any other semitone is very conclusive, and a closer look at one of the four pieces mentioned above, *O God, give ear*, helps us to understand how the *E/F* lute works.

O God, give ear is the first piece in Byrd's *Psalmes, sonets & songs...* (1588), which also exists in two of the Paston lutebooks and in the partbook set at Harvard University, Houghton Library manuscript 30 fol. 7v (Harvard 30 hereafter). The other three pieces in this set of four pieces work in a very similar way. But before we move on to the explanation of the *E/F* lute it is worth revisiting Brett's argument that assumes that a *G*-lute was used for all of

the Paston pieces and apply it to the setting of *O God, give ear*. It is also important to remember the methods to intabulate music presented in the previous chapter; one can either move lutes and retain the key signature of the partbooks, or keep the lute the same and transpose the parts accordingly. Brett adopted the second method and therefore if a *G*-lute is assumed for the intabulation of *O God, give ear* in 31992, the key signature for the accompanying parts should have four flats, a key signature that does not exist in the Paston collection (see Example 5.3). The intabulation in 29247 would have parts with a key signature of one sharp, a key signature used in the Paston collection but not very frequently and usually with other implications that were explained more thoroughly in the previous chapter (see Example 5.4). For now it is enough to know that in the Paston partbooks, arrangements with one sharp are used sparingly in the soprano voice when the other parts have one flat, suggesting a solo instrument that sounds a step lower, or when used for all the parts they also suggest a transposing set of instruments. Most importantly, a version of *O God, give ear* with one sharp does not exist in any of the Paston sets, which highlights the fault behind Brett's *G*-lute argument, the creation of many more implausible versions like the four flats version. This implies that all the pieces that are not for *G*-lute in the collection do not have versions to play with in the partbooks, which is more than half the pieces in 29246. (See Examples 5.3 and 5.4 *O God, give ear* assuming a *G*-lute for both intabulations in 29247 and 31992).

If instead of only one *G*-lute there were lutes in different tunings, as established in this chapter, the resulting relationship between the lutebooks and the partbooks makes sense. For instance, the version with one flat of *O God, give ear* that appears in Harvard 30 would work with either an *E*-lute for the intabulation in 31992, or an *F*-lute for the intabulation in 29247 while maintaining the same key signature in the partbook setting (see Examples 5.5 and 5.6).

Example 5.3 Byrd's *O God, give ear* assuming the intabulation is for a G-lute. The resulting setting would have four flats, a key signature that does not exist in the Paston collection.

O God, give ear [G lute] William Byrd
31992 fol. 5v

31992

O God give ear and do ap- ply, to bear me

The score consists of a vocal line and a lute intabulation. The key signature is four flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat, D-flat). The lute part is written on a six-line staff with a tablature line below it containing numbers 0-7. The music is in 4/4 time and spans four measures.

Example 5.4: Byrd's *O God, give ear* from 29247 fol. 47v. If a G-lute were assumed the parts would have one sharp in the key signature.

O God, give ear [G lute] William Byrd
29247 fol. 47v

29247

O God give ear and do ap- ply, to bear me

The score consists of a vocal line and a lute intabulation. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lute part is written on a six-line staff with a tablature line below it containing numbers 0-7. The music is in 4/4 time and spans four measures.

Example 5.5: William Byrd's *O God, give ear*. The intabulation in 31992 fol. 5v works with an E-lute together with the setting in Harvard University, Houghton Library manuscript 30.

O God, give ear [E lute] William Byrd
31992 fol. 5v

HU MS30

31992

Example 5.6: Byrd's *O God, give ear*. The intabulation in 29247 fol. 47v works with an F-lute and the setting in Harvard University, Houghton Library manuscript 30.

O God, give ear [F lute] William Byrd
29247 fol. 47v

HU MS30

29247

This indicates that the intabulations were created not for the sake of transposing the vocal or instrumental ranges but instead as a means to be able to switch lutes for a particular performance. If this is true, then what was the reason for switching instruments? If the *E* and *F* lutes were different instruments, why would one want to change instruments tuned half a step apart to sound at the same pitch? The most logical answer to this question is that indeed the *E* and *F* lutes were the same instrument and that the intabulations half a step apart were created so that the lute could be used in either tuning depending on the needs of a particular performance. Furthermore, if not all of the pieces for the *E/F*-lute have two intabulations half a step apart is perhaps because these four five-voice part songs were probably in the list of Paston's favorites, first because they were composed by Byrd, let us not forget their possible connection, and second because they were pleas for mercy that were so popular amongst recusants. One final point should be presented before ending the *E/F* lute argument. Another reason why intabulators create different intabulations of a piece is in order to have a version that falls in a better place on the fingerboard and therefore is easier to play than an earlier version. Nevertheless, although the version of *O God, give ear* in 31992 uses a few more notes in open strings, neither intabulation gives any concessions for the performer, thus making this an unlikely idea.

We can summarize by saying that the half a step apart intabulations were created probably for a single lute to be tuned to either *E* or *F* as needed for a particular performance, and this is confirmed by the unique set of five-voice part songs by Byrd that accompany these intabulations. Furthermore, this idea is strongly supported by the fact that because of the limited set of key signatures in the Paston collection, there is no way to create versions half a step apart in the partbooks, and therefore the two intabulations were not created as means to transpose but as means to change the tuning of a lute as required. It also becomes clear that

Brett's *G*-lute argument does not work for either of these pieces or many of the other pieces in the collection, which implies that all the pieces that are not for *G*-lute in the collection simply do not have accompanying sets in the partbooks! Consequently, the use of different lutes becomes evident in order to be able to perform using the music in the partbooks. With regards to the *B* and *c* lutes one can presume that they are the same instrument since the *E/F* lute is almost definitely one instrument. However, because there are only five pieces in 29246 that require the *B*-lute, and as mentioned already, there are many more pieces for the *c*-lute, it is worth having a closer look at the implications behind the use of this lute.

Pieces for the B-lute

As the idea of a *B*-lute seems rather unusual and there are only five pieces for this lute in 29246, it is worth looking at these pieces, their transpositions and other factors (see Table 5.3 for information on these pieces). All of the pieces for *B*-lute have no flats in the key signature and were probably created as transpositions up a fifth from the pieces for *E*-lute with one flat in the key signature. The exception is Mundi's *Igitur o Jesu*, for which a version with one flat does not exist, although it is very possible that such an arrangement with one flat existed at some point. Apart from the key signatures and clefs that define these pieces, the choice of lute seems somewhat odd. None of the intabulations use the open sixth course, and in some cases like in Mundi's *Igitur o Jesu* the sixth course is not used at all. The lowest note in the intabulations is on the first fret of the sixth course that occurs a couple of times in Mundi's *Vox patris caelestis*, and once in Tallis' *Gaude gloriosa*. This means that the intabulation could have been created for an *F*-lute instead of an *E*-lute or a *c*-lute instead of the *B*-lute for the high version, in which case the open sixth course would have been used, and there would be more open courses and more common chord shapes, which makes the

intabulations easier to play. In addition, having the intabulation for an *F*-lute would mean that the transposition up a fifth with no flats would be for a *c*-lute instead of a *B*-lute, the former being a more common type of lute.

Table 5. 3: Pieces for B-lute in 29246.

Piece	Lute	Key signature	Concordances and clefs
1. Ave rosa sine spinis - Tallis	E or B	1 flat or no flats	2035 (24v) sop:G2; alto:C2; up a 5th for B lute, high clefs
8. Vox patris caelestis – Mundi	E or B	1 flat or no flats	C2+C3+F4 in a source different from Paston's. 2035 (28v) sop:G1; alto:C1; bass:C4; up a 5th from ed.
9. Igitur o Jesu – Mundi	B	No flats	E-a'. Also in Lbl Add.4900 (not a Paston MS). 2035 (31v) sop:G1; alto:C2; bass:C4 (votive ant). Note that the intabulation goes down only to the open 5th course (E).
52. Gaude gloriosa – Tallis	E or B	1 flat or no flats	The <i>Gaude virgo</i> (no. 12), which is the second part of the <i>Gaude gloriosa</i> , is intabulated for an A-lute. See 2035 (9v) sop:G2; alto:C2; bass:C4; up a 5th from ed., 18936-9 (10v) [mistitled Qui tollis peccata] sop:C1; alto:C4; bass:F4; same as ed.
53. Manus tuae – Robert White	E, A, or B	1 flat, 2 flats, no flats	C2+C3+C4+F4+F4 intab. uses C3+F4. 2035 (8) sop:G2; alto:C2; bass:F3; up a 4th from ed, (11) sop:G2; alto:C2; bass:C4; up a 5th from ed., 18936-9 (12) sop:C2; alto:C3; bass:F4; same as ed.

In any case, both the *E* and *F* lutes are so close in pitch that either one makes a good choice for an intabulation of these pieces based on the clefs in the partbooks; the same can be said about the *B* and *c* lutes. The intabulations for *E*-lute in this instance seem to suggest that this tuning was the preferred one for the *E/F* lute at the moment of creating the intabulations, let us remember that the *E* and *F* lutes were the same instrument, hence this choice instead of the *F*-lute despite the fact that the intabulation for the *F*-lute would have been easier to play.

This does not mean that the intabulations for these five pieces are hard to play; on the contrary, because the lute plays only one or two voices, they are very accessible despite their odd chord shapes and the multiple appearances of notes in the first fret in all of the courses.

Although the choice of a *B*-lute was probably a conscious decision by whoever intabulated these pieces in the Paston household, this choice is impractical for a couple of reasons. First, the five pieces for the *B*-lute go up to a nominal *a'*, which is an impractical range for sopranos trying to sing this repertoire. This probably means that although the pieces were conceived for a *B*-lute, they were probably performed on an *A* or *G*-lute in order to lower the singing range; this is naturally only possible in the cases where the songs were performed by lute and singers without any other type of accompaniment. Secondly, since the *B* and *c* lutes were probably the same instrument, it would imply tuning the very useful *c*-lute down half a step in order to be able to perform the few pieces for *B*-lute with other instruments. All of this suggests that although the arrangements for the *B*-lute are possible, they were probably seldom used if at all.

There is yet another possibility based on two of the versions in the partbooks. There are two versions in 2035 of Robert White's *Manus tuae*, one with two flats and one with no flats. It is possible that both versions were used together in performance by having a group of instruments perform the version with two flats joined by Paston on an *A*-lute, and then the transposing instruments could have played from the version with no flats to match the pitch of the rest of the ensemble. This results on an *A*-lute instead of a *B*-lute with the two versions being used in performance, and also a piece that goes up to a nominal *g'* that is more comfortable for the singers. However, since versions a step apart do not exist for the other four pieces, it is harder to justify a similar arrangement, although it is not hard to imagine that these versions a step apart existed at some point. The evidence then indicates that although the

B-lute was indeed a possibility, it was not a very practical choice and therefore probably seldom used.

In summary, since the Paston collection suggests that a set of six lutes is needed in order to be able to perform the music while also using the partbooks, this chapter argues that of the possible choices for a set of lutes for Edward Paston, a nominal *G*-lute near 63cm in length would appear to be appropriate. The pitch this lute is tuned to is based on the current knowledge of string construction and it is suggested to be in the region of between $a\sim 392$ and $a\sim 415$. Based on the 63cm *G*-lute, which is the one suggested by Praetorius, one can reconstruct the rest of the lutes in the set by using Pythagorean proportions, which results in a 42cm *d*-lute, a 55.9cm *A*-lute, a 74cm *E/F*-lute and a 84cm *D*-lute. This set is not only plausible but also very practical, as it would suit most players' hands for some of the passages that use extended techniques in the Paston lutebooks. This is apparent in the discussion of how to perform a sample of pieces in the collection while using the different transpositions and other instruments and voices. Such an approach to performing the collection allows for all of the possible singing ranges, and for the pieces that go above g' and up to a b' -flat, instrumental performance is suggested. Since there are many more issues of performance practice to be dealt with, it is hoped that this chapter can serve as a model to open up further discussions and new areas to investigate.

Conclusion

This thesis presents Edward Paston as the personification of the ideals of the *Courtier* that permeated almost all the realms of early modern Europe. A gentleman from the junior branch of the sixteenth-century Pastons, Edward's life had remained that of a quiet and reserved man who succumbed to the fact that he could not practise his religion freely and decided to retire to the countryside. This view of Paston is not entirely wrong but it is only a partial view, and we know that his sister, at least, was in direct contact with the Queen at court. Paston, like his peers, participated in many of the activities involved in being a good *Courtier*. He entertained with his lutes, as is beautifully depicted in one of Geoffrey Whitney's emblems. Like others, he probably undertook the Grand Tour but in addition he received an education in Spain where he acquired a great command of the Spanish language, which allowed him to make a full translation of the Spanish romance *Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor. Indeed it is even possible that he introduced *Diana* to Sidney who, according to Nash, was the closest personification of the courtier; and *Diana* was Sidney's inspiration for his sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*. It is likely that Paston was close to Sir Philip Sidney's circle of friends and poets, which included Edward Dyers, Spencer, and others. Paston also accumulated several properties before he amassed a larger fortune through the court cases brought against him and that started in 1618. He made sure to pass his legacy to his children as he left very clear instructions in his will of what to do with his music collection. In addition, the evidence shows that he sent his second son, William, to Europe probably in order to be educated in the many aspects necessary for becoming a successful courtier.

Chapter II introduced the recusant network formed by many of the wealthy Catholic families throughout England. These families gathered to worship together, some with splendid services such as the ones at Battle Abbey in Sussex, the home of Lady Montague, which included choirs and instruments. All these celebrations and gatherings of recusants took place despite the fact that anti-Catholic sentiments in England were running very high at the time. The network of recusants also featured prominently in Queen Elizabeth's progress in 1578 through Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire where she was hosted to the highest standards by these powerful recusant families. The celebrations reached their peak at Norwich, only a few miles away from Paston's estate at Thorpe, and his cousin William was knighted in one of the many celebrations that took place. The recusant circle thus demonstrates the economic power and political prowess that allowed them to maintain their religious practices without persecution.

The investigation into the Kytson's musical records provides invaluable insight into the musical activities of this family and by extension to some of the other similar families in the realm. Although presumably not all of the households had exactly the same musical forces, the circumstances of their relationships meant that they probably shared not only their musicians in residence but also their household performances and other entertainments. It is against this background of the musical activities of these families that Paston's musical learning was explored. His collection suggests that he had a very good command of the art of intabulation in the Spanish style as well as a keen taste for English-style consort music. While in Spain, he probably learned how to intabulate vocal polyphonic works in the same fashion as that found in the vihuela tradition. His training presumably included learning the methods presented by Juan Bermudo in his *Declaración* from 1555. This probably entailed learning to intabulate using Bermudo's "drawn vihuelas" (vihuelas pintadas), which required imagining

or drawing the neck of seven diatonic vihuelas with all of their notes for the purpose of facilitating the creation of an intabulation.

Chapter IV delved into the confluence of traditions that is implied by the collection. This is one of the main ideas in the thesis since it demonstrates that Paston's achievement is not so much the act of anthologizing but instead of creating a unique collection of music that satisfied both his needs as a lute player and as a consort musician. In order to be able to play in consort, it would seem likely that Paston had a collection of six lutes tuned in diatonic notes, (i.e. D - E/F - G - A - B/c - d) probably inspired by the methods of intabulation that he learned in Spain. The reason for all of these different lutes arose from the need to be able to perform in consort with intabulations that were well suited to the instrument and that also worked with the music in the partbooks.

The partbooks themselves in some cases contain several transpositions of one particular piece, and the relationship between these transpositions and the lutebooks remained unknown until the present work. If the theory of the six lutes is applied to the collection, a very clear idea of the intent behind all of these transpositions begins to surface. It is clear that the transpositions were planned for two different ensembles, a high ensemble with a soprano on the top part, and a low ensemble, usually down a fourth or fifth, with an alto on top. The result is a very ingenious way of encompassing all of the singing ranges by means of transpositions, while still being able to accompany with the lute along with any of the transpositions in the partbooks.

Finally, Chapter V addresses some of the issues of performance practice such as pitch in the Paston household, and suggests that it is likely to have been in the region of between $a\sim 392$ and somewhat above $a\sim 415$. With regard to the size of the instruments in Paston's alleged lute set, the evidence would suggest that the main instrument was a *G*-lute of around

63cm in length and a set built from this size based on Pythagorean proportions. In addition, case studies on aspects of performance practice relating to the collection reveal the likelihood that the *E* and *F* lutes were the same instrument, and that the B-lute was probably not used very often, if at all; the Paston collection also suggests the existence of a fixed-pitch set of instruments, perhaps a set of recorders or similar instruments.

It is my hope that this new reading of the Paston collection will persuade other scholars to continue investigating the intricacies of music making in this very interesting recusant circle. There is still much that needs to be done with the collection before we can fully understand its scope and many of the other aspects that surround house music making, not only in Paston's family circle, but also in the broader realm of sixteenth-century England.

Appendix I:

Table of Concordances for British Library Add. MS 29246

British Library Add. 29246: List of Pieces and Concordances

No.	fol.	Composer	Title	Lute	Flats	Range**	Clefs - Comments
			Duo				LEYEND: For each entry the following are given: Clef-Key signature-starting note for the part
1	1	[Thomas Tallis]	Ave Rosa sine spinis [att. Taverner]	E or B	1 or 0	C-c'	(ii vv). 1 (6) [tacet, F4-1], 2035 (24v) [sop:G2-0-a; alto:C2-0-a; bass:tacet; up a 5th for B lute, high clefs]
2	1	Thomas Tallis	Ave plena gratia [Ave Dei patris]	A	1	D-g'	(ii vv). G2+C3 n.c.e. 1 (4) [bass:tacet; F5-0], 2035 (20v) [iv:sop:G2-1-a; alto:tacet; bass:C4-1-d; same as ed.]
3	1v	John Taverner	Patrem Omnipotentem [Credo - Gloria tibi trinitas]	A	0	C-g'	(ii vv). G2+C4 [great compass].
4	1v	John Taverner	Agnus Dei [III] [Gloria tibi trinitas]	A	1	D-g'	(ii vv). G2+C4 [great compass]
5	1v	Robert Fayrfax	Ave Dei patris [Ave Dei patris]	E or A	0 or 1	C-c'	(iii vv). C4+C5 [lowest clefs with F5]. See 1 (2) [tacet, F5-0, down a 4th], 2035 (21v) [i:sop:G2-1-d'; alto:C3-1-d; bass:C4-1-d; up a 4th from ed.]
6	2	John Taverner	O quam probatum [Sospitati]	A	1	C-f'	(iii vv). 341-4 (38v, 38v, 38v, 38v) [sop:G2-1-c'; alto:C1-0-a; tenor:C4-1-A; bass:tacet, C4-1], 1 (11) [bass:tacet; F4-1], 41156-8 (20) [sop:G2-1-c'; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-A], 1469-71 (5) [sop:G2-1-sharp-d'; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-A; sop has a sharp so probably for a transposing instrument], 34049 (14v) [sop:G2-1-c'; same as ed.]
7	2	John Taverner	Et in terra pax [Gloria - Corona spinea]	A	0	C-g'	(iii vv). C2+C4 [great compass] 344 (97v), [iii], (101v) [iv], (103v) [vii], 2035 (14) [sop:G2-0-d; alto:C2-0-g; bass:C4-0-G; same as ed.]

British Library Add. 29246: List of Pieces and Concordances

8 2v	William Mundy	Vox patris [Vox patris]	E or B	1 or 0	F'-d'	(iii vv). C2+C3+F4. 2035 (28v) [sop:G1-0-a, alto:C1-0-a; bass:C4-0-A; up a 5th from ed.; B lute]
9 2v	William Mundy	Igitur O Jesu	B	0	E-a'	E-a'. 3vv, Lbl Add.4900. 2035 (31v) [sop:G1-0-e; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-A] (votive ant). Note that the intab. goes down only to the open 5th course (E).
10 3v	WilliamMundy	Favus distillans [Vox patris]	A	1	C-g'	(iii vv). 2035 (42v) [sop:G2-1-c; alto:C3-1-A; bass:F3-1-D; same as ed.]
11 3v	John Taverner	Pleni sunt coeli [Sanctus-Gloria tibi trinitas]	A	1	D-d'	(iv vv). C4+C4 [great compass]
12 4	Thomas Tallis	Gaude virgo [Gaude gloriosa]	A	1	A'-g'	(iv vv). The first part (no.52) is for E or B lute.
13 4v	Robert Fayrfax	Esurientes [Magnificat O bone Jesu]	D	0	D'-c'	(iii vv). 1 (1) [bass:F5-0-C; same as ed.], 341-4 (38, 38, 38, 40v) [sop:C2-0-a; alto:tacet, C4-0; tenor:C5-0-C; bass:F4-0, tacet], 34049 (1) [tacet; C5-0]
14 4v	John Taverner	[Gloria tua] [Sanctus-Gloria tibi trinitas]	G	1	F'-g'	(iii vv). [great compass]. Fs are left out. 2035 (45) [sop:G2-1-a, alto:C4-1-F; bass:F4-1-D; same as ed.]
15 4v	Thomas Tallis	Maria stella [Ave Rosa sine spinis]	G	1	G'-g'	(iii vv). 1 (6) [bass:F4-1-D; same as ed.] 2035 (43v) [sop:G2-1-c; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-D same as ed.]
16 5	John Taverner	Ergo laudes [Sospitati dedit aegros]	G	1	F'-f'	(iii vv). C3+F4 F's are left out. 2035 (45v) [i:sop:G2-1-d; alto:C4-1-d; bass:F4-1-G; same as ed.], 34049 (15v) [sop:G2-1-d'; same as ed.]
17 5	John Taverner	Crucifixus [Corona spinea]	A	0	C-g'	(iii vv). 2035 (14v) [sop:G2-0-e'; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.], 344 (103v)

British Library Add. 29246: List of Pieces and Concordances

18	5v	JohnWoode	Effunde quaeso [Exurge Domine]	E or A	0 or 1	E'-e'	(iv vv). C1+C3+C3(taken from a ms w/ one flat. Prob. C4 or C5 in this set)+F5. 1 (48) [F5-0-A; same as ed.], 354-8 (13v) [sop:G1-1-a; alto:C2-1-d'; tenor:C3-1-d; bass:F4-1-D; up a 4th from ed].
			3 Voc.				fols. 6, 6v, 7, 7v, are ruled, blank
19	8	John Taverner	Ave Dei patris [Ave Dei patris] Att. Tallis	G or c-treble	0 or 1	E'-e'	(iii vv). C3+C5 [low clefs w/ F5] The E' is not used in this section. 2035 (fol. 2v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th from ed]; (fol. 22) [i:sop:G2-1-a; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-A same as fol. 2v]
20	8	Robert Johnson*	Ave Dei patris [Ave Dei patris]	G or c-treble	0 or 1-sharp in the sop. and 2 flats for the other voices	A'-e'	5vv. 1 (7v) [tacet, F5-2], 354-8 (27v) [sop:G1-0-d' (the missing flat works); alto:C1-1-d'; quintus:tacet; tenor:C3-1-d; bass:F4-1-D], 34049 (2) [sop:G1-0-d'; up a 4th from ed.], 2035 (33v) [mixed with Tye's Domine Deus caelestis, sop:C1-1sharp-a (the added sharp works); alto:C3-0-A; bass:F3-0-A], 1469-71+H11 (11v) [sop:G1-1-sharp-d'; alto:C3-2-G; bass:F3-2-G; 41156-8 (32v) [There seems to be a mistake by the scribe in 1469-71. The sop has a sharp but the clef is changed from G2 to G1 neither of which works with the lower two parts, see CHV for explanation]
21	8v	John Sheppard*	Ilustrissima omnium	d-treble	0	E-a'	3vv. 2035 (30v) [sop:G1-0-e; alto:C1-0-e; bass:C4-0-A (votive ant)]
22	8v	William Mundy	Dulcior melle	F	2	F'-e'-flat	Dulcior melle, 3vv (textless). See: 18936-9 (16) [sop:C1-2-a; alto:C3-2-c; bass:F4-2-F]

British Library Add. 29246: List of Pieces and Concordances

23 9	John Sheppard*	Singularis privilegii	c-treble or G	1 or 0	D-b'-flat	3vv. 344 (90v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-B; tenor:F3-0-E; down a 4th], 2035 [two versions] (2) [sop:G2-1-e; alt:C2-1-e; bass:C4-1-A], (33v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-B; bass:F3-0-E; down a 4th for G lute] (votive ant)
24 9v	Osbert Parsley	Conserva me [Conserva me]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	A'-e'	(iii vv) [great comp.?] C1+C3+F4 for the intabulation 1 (9v) [bass:C5-E; same as ed.], 344 (87v) [prima pars; sop:C1-0-a; alto:C3-0-A; tenor:F3-0-E; same as ed.], 2035 (1) [sop:G2-1-d; alt:C2-1-d; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th from ed]
25 9v	John Woode	Exurge Domine [Exurge Domine]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	C-e'	(iii vv). C1+C3+C4 [low clef]. 1 (48) [tacet], 2035 (1v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C2-1-d; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th] (34v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-A; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.]
26 10	Robert White	Peccatum peccavit [Lamentations I, a5]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	A'-f'	(iii vv). 344 (89v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C3-0-B; tenor:F3-0-E; same as ed.], 41156-8 (21v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C3-0-B; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.], 34049 (17) [sop:C1-0-d'; same as ed.], 2035 (3) [sop:G2-1-e; alto:C2-1-e; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th from ed.], (37) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C3-0-B; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed]

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27 10	John Taverner	Gaude plurimum [Gaude plurimum]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	A'-e'	(iii vv). 1 (14v) [bass:C5-0-E, same as ed.], 354-8 (31v) [sop:tacet; altus:C1-0-a; tenor:tacet; quintus:C3-0-A; bass:tacet same as ed. although the names for the parts are different], 34049 (18) [sop:tacet], 1469-71 (14) [sop:C1-0-a; alto:C3-0-A; bass:tacet; same as ed.], 344 (82v) [C1-0-a; C3-0-A; F3-0-E, as ed.], 2035 [copied twice] (3v) [sop:G2-1-d; alto:C2-1-d; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th from ed.]; (37v) [sop:C1-0-a; alto:C3-0-a; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.], 18936-9 (10) [sop:C1-0-a; alto:C3-0-A; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.], 41156-8 (22) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C3-0-A; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.].
28 10v	Thomas Tallis	Per haec nos [Salve intemerata]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	C-e'	(iii vv). 341-4 (36, 39v, 36, 38v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:tacet, C3-0, tenor:C4-0-E; bass:tacet, C5-0], 344 (85v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-e; tenor:C4-0-E; same as ed.], 1 (16) [tacet], 34049 (33) [sop:C1-0-e; same as ed.], 354-8 (39) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-e; quintus:C4-0-E; tenor: tacet; bass:tacet; same as ed.], 41156-8 (22v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-e; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.], 2035 (6) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C2-1-A; bass:C3-1-A; up a 4th from ed], (39v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-e; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.], 1469-71 (18v) [sop:G1-0-a; alto:tacet; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.]

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29	10v	Thomas Tallis	Annae mulieris [Salve intemerata]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	G'-f'	(iii vv). See no.28. 1 (16) [tacet], 2035 (5) [sop:G2-1-e; alto:C3-1-e; bass:C4-1-A; up a 4th from ed], (39v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-b; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.] 18936-9 (11v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-B; bass:F4-0-E; same as ed.] 34049 (33v) [sop:C1-0-b; same as ed.], 41156-8 (23) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-B; bass:F3-0-E; same as ed.] 344 (85v) [sop:C1-0-b; alto:C4-0-b; tenor:F3-0-E; same as 2035]
30	11	Robert Johnson*	Ave plena gratia [Ave Dei patris]	F or c-treble	2 or 1	F'-c'	1 (7v) [tacet], 354-8 (10) [sop:C1-2-g; alto:C3-2-d; tenor:F3-2-G; bass:F4-2-D; same as ed.], 34049 (4v) [sop:G1-1-d'; up a 4th from ed.], 1469-71 (11v) [sop:G1-1-d'; alto:tacet; bass:F4-2-D; same as ed.], 41156-8 (32v) [sop:C1-2-g; alto:C3-2-d; bass:F4-2-D; same as ed.]
31	11	John Taverner	Et in terra pax [Corona spinea]	c-treble	0	C-g'	(iii vv). G2+C2+C4+C4+F4+F4 [great comp.] but G2+C2+C4 [high clefs] for intabulation. 2035 (14) [sop:G2-0-d; alto:C2-0-g; bass:C4-0-G; same as ed.]
32	11v	[John Taverner]	Quoniam/Tu solus [Corona spinea]	c-treble	0	C-g'	(iii vv). G2+C2+C4+C4+F4+F4 [great comp.] but G2+C2+C4 (same as 57).
33	11v	John Taverner	Crucifixus [Corona spinea]	c-treble	0	C-g'	(iii vv). G2+C2+C4+C4+F4+F4 [great comp.] but G2+C2+C4 [high clefs] for intabulation C-g'. See 344 (103v) [vii], 2035 (14) [sop:G2-0-e; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-E; same as ed.]

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34 11v	John Taverner	Et incarnatus [Mean mass]	F or c-treble	1 or 0	F'-c'	(iv vv). 2035 (13v) [sop[it is the second part]:G2-0-e; alto:C2-0-e,g; bass:C4-0-G; up a 5th from ed.], 1 (12) [bass:F4-1; same as ed.]
35 12	JohnTaverner	Qui tollis I [Gloria - Gloria tibi trinitas]	F or c-treble	1 or 0	F'-a	(iii vv). [great compass]. In 2035 (8v) [sop:G2-0-a; alto:C2-0-A; bass:C4-0-A; a 5th above ed.]
36 12v	John Taverner	Nam qui corde [Sospitati dedit]	F	1	F'-c'	(iv vv). C3+C4+F4 n.c.e. Check Paston 341-4 (39, 39, 39, 39) [sop:tacet, G2-1; alto:C2-1-a; tenor:tacet, C4-1; bass:C4-1-F;], 1 (11) [textless; F4-1], 354-8 (14v) [sop:C2-1-a; alto:C2-1-F; tenor:C4-1-F; bass:F4-1-F; same as ed.], 34049 (16) [sop:tacet]
37 12v	John Taverner	Agnus Dei [II] [Gloria tibi trinitas]	F	1	F'-d'	(iv vv). Great compass but low clefs section.
38 13	Robert Fayrfax	In Deo - Superbos [O bone Jesu]	c-treble or G	1 or 0	C-f'	The intab is for two 3vv sections of the magnificat. See 1 (1) [tacet; C5-0], 341-4 (37v, 37v, 37v, 37v) [sop:C2-0-a; alto:C4-0-d; tenor:C5-0-D?; superbos tacet; bass:tacet, F4-1], 344 (88v) [sop:C2-0-a; alto:C4-0-d; tenor:F3-0-D; down a 4th], 354-8 (26v) [sop:G2-1-d'; alto:C2-1-g; quintus:tacet; tenor:tacet; bass:F3-1-G; same as ed.], 34049 (1) [sop:G2-1-d'; same as 2035], (23v) [sop:C2-0-a; down a 4th from ed.], 2035 (9) [sop:G2-1-d'; alto:C1-1-g; bass:C3-1-G; up a 4th from ed].

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39	13	[William Parsons] [Anima Christi] Gloria tua [att. Taverner]	c-treble	1	C-g'	2035 (7v) [sop:G2-1-d; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-d], 41156-8 (19v) [sop:G2-1-d'; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-d], 1469-71 (6v) [sop:G2-1-sharp-e'; alto:C2-1-a; bass:C4-1-d]
40	13v	Osbert Parsley* Benedicam Domino [secunda pars - Conserva me]	d-treble	0	D-a'	(arrs. in tablature of 3-pt sections of the psalm). 1 (9v) [tacet], (25), 2035 (25) [sop:G1-0-a; alto:C2-0-d; bass:C4-0-A]
41	13v	Osbert Parsley* Multiplicati sunt [Conserva me]	d-treble	0	D-a'	1 (9v) [tacet], 2035 (25v) [tertia pars:sop:G1-0-e; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-A]
42	14	Thomas Tallis Tu nimirum [Salve intemerata]	D or G or c-treble	0 or 1 or 2	E'-a	(iii vv). [low clefs for this section]. See Paston: 341-4 (35v, 39v, 36, 38v) [sop:tacet, C1-0; alto:C3-0-e; tenor:tacet, C4-0; bass:C5-0-E; missing a bass part, same as ed.], 344 (92v) [iv], 1 (16v) [F5-0-E; same as ed.], 34049 (33) [sop:tacet], 354-8 (36v) [cantus: tacet; alto:C3-0-e; quintus:tacet; tenor:F3-0-E; bass:F5-0-E; same as ed.], 41156-8 (22v) [sop:C1-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-A; up a 4th from ed. for G lute], 2035 (6v) [sop:G2-2-d'; alto:C2-1-a; tenor:C2-2-d; bass:C4-2-D; up a 7th from ed. and with additional alto part], 1469-71 (18v) [sop:C1-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-A; up a 4th]

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43 14	William Byrd	Infelix ego [Infelix ego] [opening]	c-treble or d- treble	2 or 0	C-f', D-g' [range for this section of the piece]	(iii vv). C1+C2+C3+C4+C5+F4 [low clefs] but C2+C3 in the intabulation. d-lute for this arrangement with no flats. See also no.59. Also in full in 29247 fol. 53v-54v a fourth higher [which works on a G-lute for a version with one flat]. Also see: 1 (63v) [tacet; bass:F4-2-B-flat], 341-4 (56v, 68v, 57v, 58v) [sop:C1-2-b flat; alto:C3-2-b flat; tenor:C4-2-tacet; bass:C5-2-tacet] [prima pars, opening], 2036 (48v) [Sop:G2-0-c'; alto:C2-0-f; bass:C3-0-C] 41156-8 (19) [prima pars, opening; sop:G2-0-c'; alto:C2-0-g; bass:C3-0-c; same as ed. for d-treble lute], 30810-5 (28v) [+1 acc. to Brett; instead cantus:G2-0-c'; cantsec:C1-0-g; tenor:C4-0-tacet; bassus:F4-0-tacet; quintus:C3-0-c; sextus:C3-0-tacet; same as ed.]
44 14v	JohnWoode	Perfice illud [Exurge Domine]	A	0	C-f'	(iii vv). C1+C1+C4. [low clefs but high range section] 1 (48) [tacet], 2035 (36v) [sop:C1-0-c; alto:C1-0-g; bass:C4-0-c; same as ed.]
45 14v	JohnWoode	Verbi tui [Exurge Domine]	d-treble or D	0	E-a'	(iii vv). C3+F3+F5 [lowest clefs]. See also: 1 (49v) [bass:F5-0-A'; same as ed., 344 (91v) [alto:C3:0-e; tenor:F3-0-E; bass:F5-0-A'; and 8ve appart], 2035 (26v) [sop:G1-0-e'; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-A; same as ed.]

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46a	15	JohnTaverner	Gaude Maria Virgo [Gaude plurimum]	d-treble or A or G	0 or 1 sharp or 1 flats	D-a'	(iii vv). G2+C2+C4 [High clefs]. 1 (14v) [tacet], 354-8 (31v) [sop:G1-0-e'; quintus:C3-0-e; altus:tacet; tenor:C4-0-A; bass:tacet; same as ed.], 34049 (18v) [sop:G1-0-e'; same as the ed.], 1469-71 (14) [sop:C1-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-D, down a 5th] 344 (82v) [sop:C1-1-a; alto:F3-1-A; tenor:F4-1-D; down a 5th], 2035 (3v, 37v), [i-iii, copied twice acc. to knights, I see (3v) [ii:sop:G2-0-e; alto:C2-0-e; bass:C4-0-A; same as ed.]; (38v) [ii:sop:C1-1sharp-b; alto:C4-1sharp-B; bass:F4-1sharp-E; down a 4th from ed. for A lute] , 18936-9 (11) [ii, titled Sanctus], 41156-8 (24) [sop:C1-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-D; down a 5th from ed.]
46b	15	JohnTaverner	Gaude Maria Jesu [Gaude plurimum]	d-treble or A or G	0 or 1 sharp or 1 flat	D-a'	(iii vv). G2+C3. 1 (14v) [tacet], 354-8 (31v) [cantus:G1-0-d'; altus:C1-0-d; quintus:tacet; tenor:C4-0-d; bass:tacet; same as ed.], 34049 (18) [sop:G1-0-d'; same as ed.], 1469-71 (14) [sop:G1-0-d'; alto:C1-0-d; bass:C4-0-d] , 344 (84v) [sop:C1-1-g; alto:C3-1-G; bass:F4-1-G], 2035 (4v) [copied twice] [iii:sop:G2-0-d'; alto:C1-0-d; bass:C4-0-d, same as ed.] (39) [sop:C1-1sharp-a; alto:C3-1sharp-A, bass:F4-1sharp-A; down a 4th from ed.; probably the high version was created first], 41156-8 (24) [sop:C1-1-g; alto:C3-1-G; bass:F4-1-G; down a 5th from ed.]

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47	15v	William Byrd	Sermone blando I	G	0	E'-d'	(iii vv). Hymn and miserere setting. See 18936-9 (6v) [mistitled Salvatorem]
	16		II				C1+C4+F4 [low clefs] Omits the E', F' and F#'
	16v		III				Reconstructed from intabulation
	17		[ruled, blank]				
48	17v	Orlande de Lassus	Ego dixi Domine	A	0	C-g'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs]
	18	Orlande de Lassus	[Convertere Domine]				
49	18v	Tomas L. de Victoria	Et Jesum [Salve Regina]	d-treble	1	D-g'	(iii vv).G2+G2+C1+C4 [highest clefs]
50	19	Thomas Tallis	Et benedictus [Ave Rosa]	E	1	A'-d'	(iii vv). C4+C5 (or F3). 1 (6) [tacet]
51	19	Thomas Tallis	Ave Dei patris [Ave Dei patris]	A	1	D-g'	(iii vv). See 1 (4) [tacet; F4-1], 2035 (7) [i:sop:G2-1-d'; alt:C2-1-d; bass:C4-1-A; same as ed.], 1469-71 (2v) [sop:G2-1-sharp e'; alto:C2-1-d; bass:not the same as ed.], 34049 (6v) [sop:G2-1-d', same as ed.]
52	19v	Thomas Tallis	Gaude gloriosa [Gaude gloriosa]	E or B	1 or 0	F'-d'	(iii vv). The second part (no. 12) is for A lute. See 2035 (9v) [i:sop:G2-0-a; alto:C2-0-a; bass:C4-0-A; up a 5th from ed.], 18936-9 (10v) [mistitled Qui tollis peccata; sop:C1-1-d; alto:C4-1-d; bass:F4-1-D; same as ed.].
53	19v	Robert White	Manus tuae	E or A or B	1 or 2 or 0	F'-d'	(iii vv). C2+C3+C4+F4+F4 intab. uses C3+F4. 2035 (8) [sop:G2-2-d; alto:C2-2-g; bass:F3-2-D; up a 4th from ed], (11) [sop:G2-0-e; alto:C2-0-a; bass:C4-0-E; up a 5th from ed.], 18936-9 (12) [sop:C2-1-a; alto:C3-1-d; bass:F4-1-A; same as ed.]

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54 20	Christopher Tye	[Domine Deus caelestis] mistitled Crucifixus	E or A	1 or 2	E'-c'	(iii vv). C2+C2+C4+C4+F4+F4 (low clefs). Intabulation uses C4+F4. See 2035 (33) [mixed with Johnson's Ave Dei patris. sop:G1-1-d, alto:C2-1-g; bass:F3-1-D; up a 4th from ed. Note that the version in 2035 is a different section of the piece] 18936-9 (10v) [sop:C2-0-a; alto:C4-0-d; bass:F4-0-A'; same as ed., att. Tallis]
55 20	John Taverner	Qui tollis II [Gloria tibi trinitas]	A	1	A'-g'	(iii vv). C4+C5 [great compass]. See 354-8 (41) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:tacet; tenor:C4-1-A; bass:F3-1-F; same as ed.] 2035 (41) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F3-1-F; down a 4th according to Brett but same as the ed. instead], 1469-71 (9v) [sop:G2-1-sharp-b; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F3-1-F;] [down a 4th according to Brett but same as ed.]. 41159-8 (20v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C4-1-A; bass:F3-1-F; same as ed.]
56 20v	John Taverner	Et incarnatus [Gloria tibi trinitas]				See 354-8 (9) [ii]
57 20v	John Taverner	Quoniam/Tu solus [Corona spinea]	A	0	C-g'	(iii vv). C2+C4 (same as 32).
58 21	John Taverner	Qui tollis I [Gloria tibi trinitas]	D	1	F'-a	(iii vv). C4+F4 [great compass] (same as 35) Probably a transposition up a fifth for an A-lute to raise the vocal range to e'.

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59 21	William Byrd	Infelix ego [Infelix ego] [opening]	G	2	C-f' [range for this section of the piece]	(iii vv). The top line is in the soprano range [c-f']. Same piece as no.43 but transposed. Also in: 1 (63v) [tacet; bass:F4-2-B-flat] 2036 (48v) [Sop:G2-0-c; alto:C2-0-g; bass:C3-0-C] 341-4 (56v, 68v, 57v, 58v) [sop:C1-2-b flat; alto:C3-2-b flat; tenor:C4-2-tacet; bass:C5-2-tacet, G lute] [prima pars, opening], 41156-8 (19) [prima pars, opening; sop:G2-0-c'; alto:C2-0-g; bass:C3-0-c; a step up from ed. for G lute], 30810-5 (28v) [+1 according to Brett] [sop:G2-0-c'; cantussec:C1-0-g; tenor:tacet; bass:tacet], 29247 (53v-54v) all three sections for G lute.
60 21v	John Taverner	Agnus Dei	c-treble	1	C-g'	(iii vv). G2+C2+C4 [high clefs]. Also in 2035 (23v) [sop:G2-1-c; alto:C2-1-f; bass:C4-1-F; same as ed.] , 2036 (7) [sop:G2-1-c; alto:C2-1-f; bass:C4-1-F; same as ed.]
61 21v	Orlande de Lassus	Ave regina	G		?	
62 22v	Orlande de Lassus	Deus tu scis	G or c-treble	1 or 2	A'-d'	(iii vv). C1+C3+F3 [high clefs] A'-d'. Also 2036 (7v) [sop:G2-2-d; alto:C2-2-d; bass:C4-2-G; up a 4th from ed.]
63 22v	Orlande de Lassus	Sacrificate [Cum invocarem]	c-treble	1	D-g'	(iii vv) 2036 (6v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C2-1-d; bass:C4-1-F]
64 23	William Byrd	Fantasia [a3 I]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	G'-c'	(iii vv). C1+C4+F4 [low clefs]. In 2036 (4v) [sop:G2-1-c; alto:C3-1-f; bass:C4-1-F; up a 4th from ed.], Add. 34800.

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65	23v	William Byrd	Fantasia [a3 II]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	G'-d'	(iii vv). C4+F4 [low clefs] 2036 (5v) [sop:G2-1-c'; alto:C3-1-c; bass:C4-1-F; up a 4th], 41156-8 (11v) [sop:C1-0-g; alto:C4-0-G; bass:F4-0-C; same as ed.]
66	23v	William Byrd	Ave maris stella [in 7 sections]	G or c-treble	0 or 1	F'-d'	(iii vv). C1[mezzo range]+C3+F4 [low clefs] F' once. See 41156-8 (12) [sop:C1-0-c; alto:C3-0-c; bass:F4-0-F'], 2036 (1) [sop:G2-1-f; alto:C2-1-f; bass:C4-1-B-flat; up a 4th from ed.]
67	25v	William Byrd	Quem terra pontus [five sections]	G or c-treble	1 or 2	A'-d'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (42) [sop:G2-2-d; alto:C1-2-d; bass:C3-2-B-flat; up a 4th from ed.]
68	26v	William Byrd	O gloriosa Domina	G or c-treble	1 or 2	Bb'-d'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (40v) [sop:G2-2-d; alto:C1-2-f; bass:C3-2-B-flat; up a 4th from the ed.]
69	27	William Byrd	Memento salutis	A or d-treble or E	1 or 2 or 0	C-d'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (39v) [sop:G2-2-g; alto:C1-0-e; bass:C3-2-g; sop and bass are up a 4th for d-treble lute, but the alto is down a 4th with no flats for E lute] [CHECK THE CLEF FOR SOP.] In Gradualia (1610) [C2-1-d'; C3-1-A; C4-1-D; for A-lute]
70	27v	William Byrd	Regina coeli	A	1	A'-f'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 41156-8 (15v)
71	28v	William Byrd	Fantasia [a3 III]	A	0	C-e'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 41156-8 (9v) [somewhat different from ed. sop:C1-0-g; alto:C3-0-c; bass:C4-0-G; same as ed.]
72	28v	William Byrd	Susanna fair	A	0	C-e'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] Also in 30 (33v), 31992 (18)
73	29	William Byrd	When younglings	A or d-treble	0 or 1	C-d'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (34) [sop:G2-1-f; alto:C1-1-c; bass:C3-1-F; up a 4th from ed.]

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29v	William Byrd	[And therefore]				
29v	William Byrd	[But when by proof]				
74 30	William Byrd	Upon a summer's day	A or d-treble	0 or 1	C-f'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (36v) [sop:G2-1-f; alto:C1-1-c; bass:C3-1-c; up a 4th from ed.]
75 30v	William Byrd	The greedy hawk	A or d-treble	0 or 1	C-g'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (38v) [sop:G2-1-c'; alto:C1-1-c'; bass:C3-1-f; up a 4th from ed.]
76 31v	William Byrd	The nightingale	A or d-treble	0 or 1	C-f'	(iii vv). C3+C4 [high clefs] 2036 (35v) [sop:G2-1-c'; alto:C1-1-g; bass:C3-1-c; up a 4th from ed.]
77 32	William Daman ^u	Ut re mi fa sol la	?	?	?	?
78 32v	Tomas L. de Victoria	Senex puerum	G	0	G'-e'	(iv vv). C1+C3+C4+F4 [low clefs]. 405-7 (45v) [alto:C3-0-A; tenor:C4-0-E; bass:F4-0-A'; same as ed.], 41156-8 (26v) [sop:C1-0-e; alto:C3-0-A; bass:F4-0-A'; same as ed.]
79 33	Luca Marenzio	Quem dicunt homines	G	0	C-?	[sop missing in set] 41156-8 (49), 405-7 (47v) [prima pars; alto:C3-0-e; tenor:C4-0-B; bass:F4-0-E,]
80 33v	Tomas L. de Victoria	Ne timeas Maria	c-treble	0	C-g'	(iv vv). G2+G2+C1+C4 [highest clefs] C-g'. 349-53 (25v), 359-63 (23v), 41156-8 (45v) [sec. pars; sop:G2-0-g; alto:C2-0-c; bass:C4-0-C; same as ed.], 405-7 (36v) [sec. pars; alto:C2-0-c; tenor:C3-0-G; bass:C4-0-C; same as ed.], 374-8 (25v), 27 (26v)
81 34	Giovanni Palestrina ^u	Ne impedias				
82 34v	Michel du Buisson ^u	Sint lumbi vestri	?	?	?	?
35	Michel du Buisson ^u	[]	?	?	?	?

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83	35v	Thomas Crequillon	Domine ne mernineris				transposed in 31992 (65v)
84	36	Thomas Crequillon	Nigra sum	?	?	?	1 (52v) [bass:F3-1-F], 2089 (4v) [3(2ndstng) 3(2ndstng) 5(3rd stn)], 29247 (28v)
	36v	Thomas Crequillon	[Posuerunt me]				
85	37v	Fernando de las Infantas	Saepe expugnauerunt	?	?	?	Sacrarum Varii Styli Cantionum Liber 1
	38	Fernando de las Infantas	[]				
86	38v	Tomas L. de Victoria	Salve Regina	c-treble	1	C-g'	(v voc.). G2+C2+C3+C3+F4 [great comp.] but very high C-g' An A-lute would only use one note from the sixth course but the c-treble lute uses all of the 6th course. Clefs work better as: G2+C2+C3+C3+C4 [highest clefs]
	38v	Tomas L. de Victoria	[Et Jesum]				
87	39	Gregor Lange*	Lacta in Dominum	G	1	G'-e'	41156-8 (52v) [sop:C1-1-d; alto:C3-1-G; bass:F4-1-A]
88	39v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [I]	G?	0?	G'-e'	(iv voc.). Seems to be a low clefs piece as suggested by the range. A high clefs arrangement for a c-lute (c with one flat) is also possible.
89	40	William Byrd	Fantasia [a 4 II]	G	0	E'-f'	(iv voc.). Check Brett for concord. The E' appears only once in the piece (transposed up and octave) . 29427, RCM 2093
90	40v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [II]	G?	1?	G-e'?	M.B. 44
91	41v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [III]	?	?	?	M.B. 44
92	42v	William Byrd	Fantasia [a 4 I]	?	?	?	xvii
93	43v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [IV]	?	?	?	M.B. 44

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94	43v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [V]	?	?	?	M.B. 44
95	44v	Robert White ^u	Fantasia [VI]	?	?	?	M.B. 44
96	45	Robert White	Christe qui lux	?	?	?	xvii starting in p. 110.
	45v	Robert White	Christe qui lux				M.B. 44
97	45v	William Byrd	Te lucis [a 4 I]	?	?	?	xvii starting in p. 134
98	47	William Byrd	Christe qui lux [a 4 I]	?	?	?	B ed. 8
99	47v	William Byrd	Te lucis [a 4 II]	?	?	?	B ed. 17. 354-8 (24) [not the same]
100	48v	William Byrd	Salvator mundi	?	?	?	xvii starting in p. 124
	51	[William Byrd]	Salvator mundi				
101	51v	[William Byrd]	Christe redemptor [II]	E	1	F'-c'	xvii starting in p. 118. 354-8 (22) [sop:C1-1-c; medius:C3-1-F; tenor:C3-1-F; bass:F4-0-C;], 29246 (51v) [bars 30-66 only]
102	51v	William Byrd	Miserere	E	0	F'-d'	xvii starting in p. 122. 18936-9 (36) [sop:C2-0-c'; alto:C3-0-C; tenor: C4-0-c; bass:F4-0-F'], 18936-9 (20v) [verse 2], 354-8 (23) [sop:C2-0-c'; alto:C3-0-g; only seconda pars?]
103	52	Robert White	[Christe qui lux]	?	?	?	M. B. 44. Also in 369-73 (10v), 2089 (52v), 29247 (11v)
104	52v	Robert Fayrfax	Laudamus te [Missa Sponsus]	F	1	?	CMM I. 2 (118v)
	52v	Robert Fayrfax	Gratias agimus [Missa Sponsus]				354-8 (1) [sop:C1-1-c'; alto:C3-1-f; tenor:C4-1-F; bass:F4-1-F]
	52v	Robert Fayrfax	[Credo] [Missa Sponsus]				
	53	Robert Fayrfax	Sanctus [Missa Sponsus]				
	54v	Robert Fayrfax	Agnus Dei [Missa Sponsus]				34049 (41v) [donna nobis:sop:G1-0-e']
105	55v	Robert White	In nomine [I]	G	1	F'-g'	Great compassG2-C1-C4-F4, the low F's are omitted. 354-8 (16v) [sop:G2-1-g; alto:C2-2-d; tenor:C3-1-c; bass:F4-1-D; G lute]
106	56	Tomas Tallis	In nomine [I]	G	1	F'-g'	M.B. 44. 354-8 (21v) [Sop:G2-1-g; alto:C1-1-d; tenor:C3-1-c; bass:F4-1-G; G lute]

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107 57	Robert White	In nomine [IV]	G	2	F#'-g'	M.B. 44. 354-8 (18v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C1-1-d; tenor:C4-1-D; bass:F4-1-A'], 2 (1)
108 57v	John Taverner	In nomine	G	1	?	M.B. 44. 354-8 (21v) [sop:G2-1-d'; alto:C1-1-d; tenor:C4-1-d; bass:F4-1-D; G lute]
109 58	Robert Parsons	In nomine [III]	G	1	?	M.B. 44. 354-8 (42v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C1-1-d; quintus:C3-1-e; tenor:C4-1-D; bass:F4-1-D G lute], 29401-5 (51v)
110 58v	Nicholas Strogers	In nomine [I]			?	M.B. 44. 31390, Add. 32377, Obod d.212-6, Och 984-8
111 59	Robert White	In nomine [V]	G	1	?	1 (60v) [bass:F4-1-D], 354-8 (43v) [sop:G2-1-a; alto:C1-1-d; quintus:C3-1-e; tenor:C4-1-A; bass:F4-1-D; G lute], 29401-5 (53v), 34049 (46v) [sop:G2-1-a]
112 59v	John Taverner	Gratias agimus [Gloria-Gloria tibi]	G	?	?	See 2035 (8v) [vi], (23) [v], (41) [iv], 41156-8 (20v) [x, iv]
60v	John Taverner	[Credo] [Gloria tibi trinitas]	G	?	?	In full. See 2035 (46) [vii]

* Only exists in Paston's MSS.

u Unica. Only exists in 29246

** Overall range for all of the parts

Appendix II

Musical Items in the Will of Edward Paston

Item whereas I have many lute bookes prickt in Ciphers after the Spanish and Italian fashion and some in letters of A.B.C. accordinge to the English fashion whereof divers are to bee plaid upon the lute alone and have noe singing partes and divers [contain] lute bookes which have singing pts sett to them w^{ch} must be sunge to the lute and are bound in very good bookes and tied up with the lute parts whereof some have two singinge bookes some three and some fower I will that my sonne William Paston after my decease shall have the keppinge of the said bookes untill my Grand-child Thomas Paston shall come to his age of eighteene yeares And then I doe give and bequeath the same to my said Grandchild Thomas Paston: Item whereas I have [standinge] in my Study next the Parlor at Appleton a Chest wherein there are many setts of lattin, ffrench and Italian songs some of three, foure, five, six, seven, and eithe parts whereof all are pricked and as yet not printed I doe will and my minde is that my said sonne William Paston shall have the keepinge of the said Chest and the bookes therein conteyned untill my said Grandsonne Thomas Paston shall attaine unto his said age of eighteene yeares And then I will and bequeath unto him the said chest and the bookes therein contayned: Item whereas I have divers other singinge bookes at my house at Townebarningham and some at my house at Thorpe by Norwich whereof many are prickt songs and not printed and many songes printed and not prickt, the prickt songes I doe give and bequeath unto my sonnes William and John Paston to bee equallie divided betweene them And whereas I have alsoe many setts of printed songs in the foresaid Study by the parlor at Appleton whereof somme are of lattin and some of ffrench and Italian I doe alsoe will and bequeath the same unto my foresaid sonnes William and John Paston to bee equallie divided betweene them: Item whereas I have in my Study at Appleton and in my Study at Thorpe aforesaid many lattin, Spanish and ffrench bookes all the lattin bookes I doe will and bequeath unto my sonne Wolstan Paston, and the Italian, ffrench and Spanish the one halfe I doe give to my said sonne William Paston, and other halfe to my said sonne John Paston and I doe the like devisioun make of a whole Chest of bookes w^{ch} stand in my great Chamber at Thorpe: Item whereas I have many bookes in Spanish and some in Italian all of singular workes and collections of Italian Poetts written by one Richard ffox and others I doe will and bequeath the same to my sonne William Paston to have the keeping thereof untill my Grandchild Thomas Paston shall come to his age of eighteene yeares And then I give and bequeath the said bookes unto him which I could wish him to make a very good account of: Item whereas Clement Paston my uncle Esq^r deceased did give and bequeath unto mee two Snakes of gold linked together and a faire bowle silver and gilt w^{ch} he had of a noble French Captaine called Baron S^t Bancart whom my said uncle tooke prisoner in a fight at Sea I doe give and bequeath the said Snake & bowle to Clement Paston my grandchild who I hope will keepe the same as a remembrance of my foresaid good uncle who was very bountifull besids the said gift to divers of my sonnes: Item whereas I have lyinge in my Study at Thorpe by Norw^{ch} a goodly auncient faire booke of dauids Psalmes all full of faire letters richly gilded wth gold w^{ch} my foresaid uncle gave me I do will and bequeath the same to my Grandchild Clement Paston willinge him to save and keep it...

Item whereas I have standinge in the Gallery at Appleton where I now dwell fower truncks wherein are conteyned divers setts of lute bookes prickt in Cyphers and divers singinge bookes tyed upp wth the same, And whereas I have alsoe in the Closett next unto the

said Gallery divers lute bookes pricked all in Ciphers according to the Italian fashion, my will and minde is that my sonne William Paston Gent or his assignes shall have the keepinge of the said truncks and bookes untill my Grandchild Thomas Paston shall come to his age of Eighteene yeares And then I will have all the foresaid lute bookes and singinge bookes delivered unto the said Thomas Paston or his assignes to use the same at his will & pleasure And if he die before he come to the foresaid age, Then I will and bequeath All the said bookes to my said sonne William or his assigness...¹

¹ Philip Brett, "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964), 66-68.

Appendix III:

Letter to Don Diego de Carcamo

Amigo Caro

Parece me que se cumple tan mal lo que dezis de que tengo de recibir tantas cartas vuestras que de enfadado de [leallas or maybe te ellas] las avia de quemar que vos creo yo que por no tener tal quexa de mi no me quereys escrevir y no penseys que tengo sola esta quexa de [vdos] mas tambien de todos los amigos que alla tuve pero especial mente como de vuestra parte principal mente yo esperaba recevilas aun que no las reciva no por esso dexaxe de hazer si puedo que por mi se cumplan en quanto [avos] vuestras propias palabras y de los de mas que alla estan podreys los dezir que como no me escriven no les escrivo de qui adelante os ruego que [r]o lo hagays ~~me~~ mejor y considerad que no ay cosa para en quanto adios imposible y que quiça con su favor os podria ver mas presto que vos pensays no penseys que se me olvida lo que prometi de ynbiaros que yo os prometo que solo espero que se pase este mes por que en tonces comiençan los mercaderes a hazer sus ~~p~~ jornadas para sivilla [it is hard to read, sivilla?] y con ellos vereys si soy tan mentirozo en

[fol. 378v]

mi promesa como vos en la vuestra[.] no nuevas de aca de que daros pueda aviso no ay ningunas salvo que unas naves que ymbiarra el rey con dineros para el duque de alva an aporado aeste hora ~~la que da~~ [canceled in the original] y son detenidas de la reyna lo q' dellas se hara yo por agora no se si algo pasare yo os avisare con tal que vos hagays lo mesmo alla el principe de orange sea pasado en francia y toda ~~f~~ flandres dicen que comença aestar em paz mas ~~q~~ desto que de nu[e]vo aya yo no se y por tanto rogando os que ~~dad~~ deys mis [ar]marios al buen Juan Maria y a mi amigo Salazar con [salu]dos los de mas de la camarada acavo rogando adios [os] de tanta salud como yo deseo de londres el tercer dia de ~~Janu~~ enero

Primero sera firme la fortuna q'
~~avime~~ muda en el quereros

[in fol 379v]

Al [some kind of salutation] señor don Diego de
Carcamo mi señor en la
Corte en Madrid¹

¹ British Library MS. Harlean 1583 fols. 378-379v

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