

ARTICLE

# ‘With sound of lute and pleasing words’: The Lute Song and Voice Types in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England

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## Abstract

The Elizabethan and Jacobean lute song (1597–1622) represents one of the most iconic genres of all early music. Although much literature has been dedicated to this repertory, the issue of the voices for which this music was probably intended still remains surprisingly underexplored. This subject has, moreover, acquired greater significance in light of research undertaken by Simon Ravens (2014) and Andrew Parrott (2015), which has challenged the plausibility of the falsetto voice in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, particularly in sacred music.

This paper explores the issue of the types of voices that most likely performed the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute song in three ways. Firstly, contemporary English evidence for lutes and viols is analyzed together with information regarding tuning and transposition. Secondly, the music itself is investigated, including the part names and clefs used alongside the tessitura of the melodic line. Finally, a detailed examination of evidence for the tenor and falsetto voice is presented, including a critical examination of the word ‘faine’ (usually assumed to mean ‘falsetto’). The collective results are then brought together to refine current ideas regarding the voices used in the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute song.

‘... Dowland to thee is deere, whose heauenly tuch  
Vpon the Lute, dooth rauish humane sense:  
Spenser to me, whose deepe Conceit is such,  
As passing all conceit, needs no defence.  
Thou lou’st to heare the sweet melodious sound,  
That Phoebus Lute (the Queene of Musicke) makes:  
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,  
When as himselfe to singing he betakes ...’<sup>1</sup>

‘VVHilst vitall sapp did make me spring,  
And leafe and bough did flourish brave,  
I then was dumbe and could not sing,  
Ne had the voice which now I have:  
But when the axe my life did end,  
The Muses nine this voice did send’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix 2 doc. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Edmund Spenser, ‘Verses upon the said Earles Lute’ [‘Richard Earle of Corke’], *Two Histories of Ireland*, ed. Sir James Ware (Society of Stationers, Dublin, 1633), sig. L4<sup>v</sup>.

Towards the centre of a small anthology of 20 poems about love, published in 1599 and attributed on its title page to none other than William Shakespeare (1564–1616),<sup>3</sup> a verse is found which meditates briefly on the interrelationship between ‘Musicke and sweet Poetrie’ (see the first of the above extracts). Paying homage in its 14 lines to two celebrities of the Elizabethan musical and literary worlds – John Dowland (1563–1626) and Edmund Spenser (1552–99) – and simultaneously reflecting on the close marriage between poetry, singing, and the lute, there can surely be no clearer symbol of the status which this musical combination had attained by c.1600. By this time, the lute had also cemented its reputation as the ‘Queene of Musicke’: it was mentioned in countless contemporary texts, often linked to famous musical figures from antiquity like Amphion and Apollo, and it was even sometimes described in a quasi-religious manner (as a former tree that had acquired a divinely bestowed musical voice in its ‘afterlife’, like in the second extract above by Spenser). Indeed, over the 25-year period of its peak (1597–1622), some 30 different lute song collections appeared in print, amounting to a total of more than 600 songs.<sup>4</sup> After eventually falling out of fashion by the 1630s, this repertory was once again brought to public attention by Edmund Fellowes (1870–1951), whose editions of *The English School of Lutenist Song-Writers* from the 1920s onwards provided the impetus for further scholarly research and helped secure the lute song’s continued presence in modern times, both in commercial recordings and the popular imagination at large.<sup>5</sup>

Yet despite the wealth of scholarship dedicated to this repertory, the types of voices for which it was probably intended has received surprisingly little attention to date.<sup>6</sup> In some respects, this may seem inevitable, since any attempt to establish precise parameters is confronted by the truism that no Elizabethan or Jacobean voices survive and also, as the influential French writer Pierre de La Primaudaye (1546–1619) observed, ‘we seldome see that the speaking and singing of one resembleth the speech and tune of another’.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, singing was a social phenomenon that traversed all strata of English society, and evidence for lute accompaniment occurs quite frequently within this complex web of singing practices, both in amateur and professional music-making.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the earliest surviving English lute music, such as Royal Appendix 58 (after 1551) and Stowe 389 (1558), both held in the British Library, shows a strong connection to the voice via tablature accompaniments to popular songs and solo versions based on them.<sup>9</sup>

The general lack of scholarly interest in the voice types associated with the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute song has nonetheless acquired fresh significance in light of recent research challenging the plausibility of the falsetto voice in this period. In 2015, for example, Andrew Parrott re-examined evidence previously assumed to document the countertenor or falsetto voice in fifteenth- and sixteenth-

<sup>3</sup>This collection is generally accepted to contain pirated texts, with only five poems in the collection securely linked to Shakespeare. The poem in question (no. 8) is thought to be by Richard Barnfield (1574–1627); see Colin Burrow, ed., *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74–82.

<sup>4</sup>For a complete list, see Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 266–7.

<sup>5</sup>See Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, series 1, 16 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1920–32), series 2, 16 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1925–7), rev. R. Thurston Dart, et al., *The English Lute-Songs* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1959–). New recordings and reissues of lute song recordings are released almost annually; see [www.amazon.co.uk](http://www.amazon.co.uk). For examples of the lute song in popular imagination, see Winston Graham, *The Grove of Eagles: A Novel of Elizabethan England* (London: Pan Books, 1963/2016), 366 and 571–2, and Philip K. Dick, *Flow My Tears, the Policeman Said* (Boston: Mariner Books, 1974/2012), 110–11 and 242.

<sup>6</sup>The fullest investigation into this area remains Edward Huws Jones, *The Performance of English Song 1610–1670* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 25–47.

<sup>7</sup>Peter (= Pierre) de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, trans. Thomas Bowes (London: Edmund Bolland, 1586), 22. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), ed. W. Gurlitt, facs. edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), ii, 17–18, noted, after showing how high and low various voices could safely go (‘ohn gefehr’), that no firm conclusions could be reached nor strict limits imposed (‘Wiewol hierin nichts gewisses zu schliessen oder in gewisse terminos zu bringen’).

<sup>8</sup>Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000/2003), 27–31, 41–4; and Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20–1.

<sup>9</sup>John Ward, ‘The Lute Music of MS Royal Appendix 58’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 13 (1960), 117–25.

century sacred vocal music, concluding that terms like ‘fausset’ or ‘falsetum’ had been misunderstood and that modern vocal pitch had also fuelled misinterpretation of the notation.<sup>10</sup> In the previous year, Simon Ravens published a chronological investigation of the falsetto voice (from the Ancient Greeks through to the twentieth century) that also considered aspects like human physiology alongside national and cultural vocal stereotyping. As a result of these independent publications, both scholars concluded that falsetto singing seems not really to have been used in Medieval and Renaissance vocal music.<sup>11</sup>

Yet in spite of this, the idea persists that the lute song was ‘composed in the style of the professional, courtly, countertenor male voice’, which was ‘fashionable throughout the period and commonly developed among male vocalists’.<sup>12</sup> Focussing primarily on the printed lute song collections alongside relevant literary, archival, and iconographical evidence, this article will therefore attempt to refine current knowledge of the performance of this repertory via consideration of the following: (a) an investigation into the instruments used, their tunings, and evidence for transposition; (b) an analysis of the music itself, including the part names, clefs, and melodic writing; and finally (c) an examination of literary, documentary, and musical evidence for the tenor and the falsetto voice and their respective connections to the lute song. The combination of these different research areas collectively indicates that this repertory was primarily conceived for instruments in fixed tunings, with women and children singing the song melodies in the written treble register and men singing them in the octave below in tenor register.

### Instruments and Tunings

Before discussing information relating to singing in late Tudor and early Stuart England, it is worth clarifying the instrument(s) which accompanied the lute song. The title pages and music of the printed collections indicate several possible performing forces, including multiple singers (up to six voices), tablature for lute or orpharion, and additional or substitutional bass viol or lyra viol (or occasionally ‘viols’). Two further printed music books with tablature add six more songs: four with bandora and two with cittern accompaniment (see [Table 1](#)).<sup>13</sup>

A careful examination of the lute tablature reveals that it is primarily intended for the ‘meane lute’ in *g*<sup>1</sup>, tuned *g*<sup>1</sup>-*d*<sup>1</sup>-*a*-*f*-*c*-*G* ([Image 1a](#) to [1c](#)). Since the orpharion ([Image 2](#)) had identical tuning to a mean lute and could thus read the same tablature without affecting the pitch of the voice and viol parts, it is unsurprising that it also appears on certain songbooks as a suggested substitute for the lute.<sup>14</sup> Although largely ignored in modern lute song performances, the orpharion may actually have been the preferred choice of accompaniment for some contemporaries; for example, John Aubrey (1626–97) posthumously recorded his grandfather’s praise for Sir Carew Raleigh (c.1550–c.1625), who apparently ‘had a delicate cleare voice, and played singularly well on the olpharion (which was the instrument in fashion in those

<sup>10</sup>Andrew Parrott, ‘Falsetto Beliefs: The “Countertenor” Cross-Examined’, *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 79–110.

<sup>11</sup>Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014). Both scholars have expressed doubts about the falsetto voice for some time; see Parrott’s correspondence, ‘False Voices’, *Early Music*, 9 (1981), 71–5 (p. 72); Ravens, ‘A Sweet Shriill Voice: The Countertenor and Vocal Scoring in Tudor England’, *Early Music*, 26 (1998), 122–34; and Ravens, ‘Countertenor Counterblast’, *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 507–8.

<sup>12</sup>Scott A. Trudell, ‘Performing Women in English Books of Ayres’, *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Surrey, 2014), 15–29 (pp. 21, 24). This viewpoint has undoubtedly been influenced by the legacy of Alfred Deller (1912–1979) and Russell Oberlin (1928–2016), alongside the continued popularity of the countertenor voice in commercial recordings of this repertory. For a recent example of the opinion that ‘Dowland lute songs’ are ‘monopolised by Oxbridge countertenors’, see Richard Bratby, Opera Review: ‘Ambassador, you are really spoiling us’, *The Spectator Christmas Special* (19 December 2020–2 January 2021), 93–4 (at 94).

<sup>13</sup>William Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture* (London: William Barley, 1596), iii (bandora), sig. C2<sup>r</sup>–D2<sup>r</sup> (4 songs); Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons, With Perfect Tunings of the Same, from Foure Course of Strings to Fourteene Course* (London: William Barley, 1609), nos. 46 and 47.

<sup>14</sup>Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture*, ii (orpharion), sig. a4<sup>r</sup> actually states explicitly that music ‘played vpon the Lute may as well be plaied vpon the Orpharion’.

**Table 1.** Instrumentation in the Printed Song Collections with Tablature

Instruments named to accompany songs with tablature <sup>a</sup>	Printed song collections with tablature (1596 <sup>b</sup> –1622)
Lute	Dowland i (1597); Morley <i>Canzonets</i> (1597) <sup>c</sup> ; Cavendish (1598); Morley i (1600); Dowland ii (1600); Jones i (1600); Rosseter/Campion (1601); Jones ii (1601); Dowland iii (1603); Greaves (1604); Pilkington (1605); Jones <i>Vltmvm Vale</i> [= iii] (1605); Hume i (1605); Danyel (1606); Coprario <i>Fvneral Teares</i> (1606); Bartlet (1606); Campion <i>Lord Hayes</i> (1607) <sup>c</sup> ; Ford (1607); Jones iv (1609); Corkine (1610); Jones v (1610); Maynard (1612); Corkine ii (1612); Dowland <i>Pilgrimes Solace</i> (1612); Campion i & ii (? 1613); Coprario <i>Songs of Mourning</i> (1613); Campion <i>Somerset</i> (1614); Campion iii & iv (c.1618); Attey (1622)
Orpharion	Dowland i (1597); Dowland ii (1600); Jones i (1600); Rosseter/Campion (1601); Dowland iii (1603); Pilkington (1605); Bartlet (1606); Ford (1607); Hume <i>Poeticall Musicke</i> (1607); Campion iii & iv (c.1618)
Cittern	Robinson (1609)
Bandora	Barley (1596)
Bass lute	Dowland iii (1603); Danyel (1606) <sup>c</sup>
Bass viol/‘Viol de gambo’	Dowland i (1597); Cavendish (1598); Morley i (1600); Dowland ii (1600); Jones i (1600); Rosseter/Campion (1601); Jones ii (1601); Dowland iii (1603) <sup>d</sup> ; Greaves (1604); Pilkington (1605); Jones <i>Vltmvm Vale</i> [= iii] (1605); Hume i (1605); Danyel (1606); Coprario <i>Fvneral Teares</i> (1606); Bartlet (1606); Campion <i>Lord Hayes</i> (1607) <sup>c</sup> ; Ford (1607); Hume <i>Poeticall Musicke</i> (1607); Jones iv (1609); Corkine (1610); Jones v (1610); Maynard (1612); Corkine ii (1612); Dowland <i>Pilgrimes Solace</i> (1612) <sup>d</sup> ; Campion i & ii (? 1613) <sup>d</sup> ; Coprario <i>Songs of Mourning</i> (1613); Campion <i>Somerset</i> (1614); Campion iii & iv (c.1618); Attey (1622)
Lyra viol	Jones ii (1601)
No instrument specified	Ferrabosco (1609); Robert Dowland (1610); Mason and Earsden (1618)

Note. The number after the composer’s name indicates the relevant songbook (i.e. ‘Dowland i’ = John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes*). This Table excludes Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London: William Barley, 1599) and Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns Consisting of Fifti Select Psalmes of David and Others* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615), since these are not, strictly speaking, collections of lute ayres, even though they were also printed with tablature.

<sup>a</sup>Instrumentation listed relates only to the songs with tablature included in these collections; i.e. it excludes other pieces that some of these books also contain, such as unaccompanied madrigals, songs with viol consort, instrumental pieces, etc.

<sup>b</sup>The table includes the songs with bandora in William Barley, *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture*, iii (bandora), hence why it starts a year before the first printed collection of lute songs.

<sup>c</sup>Where instruments are named in the music, internal title page or preface (rather than on the main title page)

<sup>d</sup>Title pages of songbooks that specify ‘viols’ in the plural.

dayes), to which he did sing’.<sup>15</sup> Yet could these songs have been accompanied by differently tuned lutes as well?

A bass lute in d’, tuned d’-a-e-c-G-D, could theoretically have been used instead of a mean lute to suit a lower voice, although this was surely not ‘common practice’.<sup>16</sup> Bass lutes are in fact explicitly named only very rarely in surviving English nobles’ and gentries’ wills and inventories of the period (see [Appendix 1a](#)). Collectively, the largest proportion of this information shows typical ownership of only one lute, whilst references that do not follow this trend normally document ownership of only small numbers, that is, between ‘ij Lutes’ and ‘4 lootes’. Clearly, multiples on their own cannot be assumed to indicate contrasting sizes and tunings, irrespective of the possibility that they may have differed from one another in reality – a point which can be usefully emphasized via comparison with other instruments

<sup>15</sup>Andrew Clark, ed., *Brief Lives*, Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between the Years 1669 & 1696 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), ii, 179. See also *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 56 (entry for 26 January 1600).

<sup>16</sup>As claimed by Paul O’Dette, ‘The Lute’, *A Performer’s Guide to Renaissance Music*, ed. Jeffery Kite-Powell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991/2007), 170–86 (p. 172).



**Image 1a.** Anonymous Italian (?Venice) (c. 1630), 11-course Lute with ebony and ivory inlay (Museum No. 1125-1869) (© The Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), London, with permission). No English lutes survive from the period.



**Image 1b.** Anonymous English or Northern Italian (c.1590–1600), Betrothal painting on a copper panel (© Derek Johns Private Collection, with permission).

where variations in sizes and tunings seem unlikely, such as the ‘iij lutes’ with the ‘iij bandoraes’ in Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester’s (1532–88) inventory at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire (c.1578) or the ‘Lutes viii’ with the ‘Vyr gynalles paires v’ in the inventories (1596–1609) of John Lumley, First Baron Lumley (c.1533–1609) at his various residences in Surrey, County Durham, and London.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, with virtually no exceptions,<sup>18</sup> listings that mention lutes alongside songbooks or other ‘lewing books’ provide no details regarding the instrument’s size and most likely relate to typical (i.e. ‘meane’) lutes, like the 1608 will of Godwin Walsall, Hebrew lecturer at Corpus Christi College,

<sup>17</sup>British Library, Add. MS 78176, fol.42<sup>r</sup>; and Lionel Cust, ‘The Lumley Inventories’, *Walpole Society*, 6 (1918), 15–35 (p. 29).

<sup>18</sup>The oft-cited 1603 inventory of Sir Thomas Kytson (1540–1602) at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk precisely lists four lutes in three sizes (see [Appendix 1a](#)) alongside several songbooks, but this represents a rare exception and it is going too far to assume that ‘similar collections [...] must have existed in other households of similar status’, particularly regarding different sizes and tunings of lutes; see Hector Sequera, ‘Practice and Dissemination of Music in the Catholic Network as Suggested by the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630) and Other Contemporary Sources’, *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips’s 450<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachele Taylor (London: Routledge, 2013/2016), 215–30 (p. 223).





**Image 1c.** Isaac Oliver (c.1565–1617), Female figure playing a lute (c.1610), ink drawing, The Courtauld, London (Samuel Courtauld Trust) (© The Courtauld, with permission).



**Image 2.** Francis Palmer (London, 1617), Orpharion, Collection of Musikmuseet, Musikhistorisk Museum & Carl Claudius' Samling, Copenhagen, Denmark Inv. No. CL 139 (© Arnold Mikkelsen, CC-BY-SA, The Danish Music Museum / The National Museum of Denmark, with permission).

Cambridge University, which simply records ‘a lute & a lute case’ alongside ‘Dowlandes songs in 2 volumes. sticht’ and ‘benetes songs in 4. partes. 4<sup>o</sup> sticht’.<sup>19</sup> In addition, only a miniscule number of literary sources connect the bass lute to solo song, and no English iconography convincingly substantiates

<sup>19</sup>See Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Booklists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), i, 559 and ii, 826.

this practice.<sup>20</sup> It seems that the bass lute was primarily used in lute consorts, like ‘the three lutes’ at court in which Robert Johnson (c.1583–1633) and Philip Rosseter (1568–1623) both variously played bass lute (see Appendix 1b), and in larger ensembles with other instruments, like those heard in the 1607 ‘Maske’ in honour of the marriage of Sir James Hay (c.1580–1636), First Earl of Carlisle to Honoria Denny, daughter of the Earl of Norwich.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, printed lute songs which explicitly stipulate a ‘base lute’ are exceptionally rare (just two out of more than 600 songs).<sup>22</sup>

This situation is also similar for lutes in other tunings and sizes. Although other lute tunings existed on the Continent,<sup>23</sup> it is clear that, for contemporary English lutenists with any knowledge of musical notation and theory beyond tablature, the term ‘lute’ generally indicated an instrument with the top string solmised as *g sol re ut*.<sup>24</sup> In turn, the word ‘meane’ generally appears only where it was necessary to distinguish it from the ‘base’ lute.<sup>25</sup> These observations are confirmed by analysis of other contemporary English lute music, such as the surviving corpus of lute duets (c.1570–1610), which are almost always for ‘two Lutes tun’d alike’,<sup>26</sup> save a small number for mean and bass lutes (i.e. tuned a fourth apart) and a tiny handful of Continental pieces for two lutes tuned a tone apart, mostly copied from prints of Pierre Phalèse (1510–73).<sup>27</sup> Similarly, despite its misleading name, the ‘treble lute’ in the English mixed-consort music of Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602) and Rosseter was actually intended for a mean lute in *g*’ (‘treble’ perhaps simply hinted at the way its part was dominated by high fret positions, often on the treble string).<sup>28</sup>

In addition, English evidence for the theorbo – which could theoretically act as a substitute for the mean lute in *g*’ due to its tuning – suggests that it was not really used or even widely known during the heyday of the lute song. Although this instrument was apparently first brought to England c.1605 by Inigo Jones (1573–1652), it is mentioned in very few sources pre-1620, and it also appears to have been seen as distinctly Italianate.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, only one English literary text apparently describes its use to

<sup>20</sup>See Thomas Knell, *An Epitaph, or rather a short discourse made vpon the life & death of D. Boner sometimes vnworthy Bisshop of London* (London: John Alide, 1569), preface, sig. Av<sup>r</sup>, where a man sang ‘some merie vanitie’ about Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London (c.1500–1569) to a ‘dull base Lute’; and John Kennedy, *The Historie Of Calanthrop And Lvcilla* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1626), sig. E8<sup>r</sup>, where a ‘trebble’ sings to a ‘basse Lute’. For English iconographical depictions of lutes, see David van Edwards, ‘The Lute Iconography Database’, <https://lute-images.myjetbrains.com/youtrack/issues/LI?q=country:England>.

<sup>21</sup>See Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music* (Snodland, Kent: Aldershot, 1986–96), iv (1603–25), 87–8, and 101; and Thomas Campion, *The Discription Of A Maske, Presented before the Kinges Maiestie at White-Hall, on Twelfth Night last in honour of the Lord Hayes* (London: John Windet, 1607), sig. A4<sup>r</sup> and B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup>John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* (London: Peter Short, 1603), song 21 (‘Come when I cal’); John Danyel, *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (London: Thomas East, 1606), song 20 (‘Now the earth’). A few additional songs have tablature that is a fourth higher than the cantus, which could seem to suggest a bass lute, but this is unlikely; see Table 2.

<sup>23</sup>Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, ii, 51.

<sup>24</sup>Non-standard tunings for the mean lute are stipulated in only two pieces in the entire printed lute song sources, and both are instrumental pieces; see Danyel, *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice*, no.21 (‘M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Grene her leaues bee greene’) and John Maynard, *The XII. Wonders of the World* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612), no.15 (‘Pauin’).

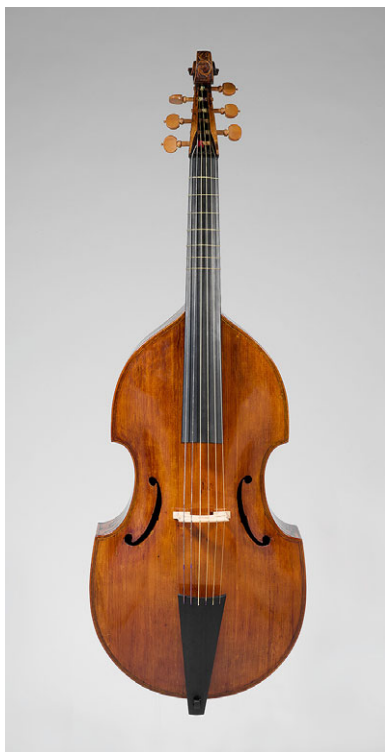
<sup>25</sup>As in Dowland’s *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, which includes a ‘dialogue for a base and meane Lute with fiue voices to sing thereto’.

<sup>26</sup>Lady Mary Wroth, *The Countesse of Mountgomerie’s Urania* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1621), i, 54. See also John Lyly, *Sapho and Phao* (London: Thomas Cadman, 1584), Act 4, scene iii [sig. Fr] (two references to ‘two Lutes tuned in one key’). No contemporary English literary references seem to describe lutes playing together in different tunings.

<sup>27</sup>See Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 150–6. The duets for lutes tuned a tone apart appear in ‘The Dallis Lute Book’ (c.1583), Trinity College Dublin, MS 410; see Linda Sayce, ed., *Duets from the Phalèse Anthologies* (Oxford: Sul Tasto Publications, distributed by The Lute Society, c.1991), i. Spring (p. 153) also lists a duet in ‘Jane Pickeringe’s lute book’, *British Library*, MS Egerton 2046 (c.1616) – ‘the battell for y lutes’, fols. 52<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>r</sup> – as being for two lutes tuned a tone apart, but this is for two equally tuned lutes (both 6-course lutes in *g*’ with the sixth course lowered to F); I am grateful to Christopher Goodwin for his help regarding these lute duets.

<sup>28</sup>Richard Robinson, ‘“A perfect-full harmonie”: Pitch, Tuning and Instruments in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Mixed Consort’, *Early Music*, 47 (2019), 199–223 (pp. 203–7).

<sup>29</sup>According to the posthumous record of Thomas Plume (1630–1704); see Thomas Plume’s Library, Maldon, Essex, Pocket Book no. 25, fol.92<sup>v</sup>. The theorbo is first mentioned in English in the Italian-English dictionary of John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598), 421: ‘Tiórba, a kinde of musicall instrument vsed among countrie people’.



**Image 3.** John Rose (active 1552–61), Bass viola da gamba c.1600 (accession number 1989.44) (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), New York, with permission).

accompany a solo singer and, significantly, this occurs within a deliberately Italianate context; likewise, the only surviving music printed in England pre-1620 to stipulate a theorbo is a collection of monodies and canzonettas by the Italian composer Angelo Notari (1566–1663).<sup>30</sup> Theorboes are also very rare in surviving English inventories and other documents until after 1630,<sup>31</sup> even though one is depicted in the portrait by John de Critz (1551/2–1642) of Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth (1587–1652) from c.1620 held in Penshurst Place.

Lastly, the viol required in these collections appears variously as ‘viol de gambo’, ‘base violl’, or simply ‘viol(s)’ (Image 3). These words are used interchangeably, and there is nothing to suggest that they indicated anything other than an instrument in standardized tuning; indeed, some books explicitly stipulate a bass viol ‘tunde the Lute way’, that is, its normal tuning of d’-a-e-c-G-D (the tuning of the

<sup>30</sup>George Chapman, *Alfooles A Comedy* (London: George Eld, 1605), Act 2, scene i, at sig. E2<sup>v</sup>–sig. E3<sup>r</sup>, where Valerio sings to his own accompaniment on theorbo; and Angelo Notari, *Prime Mvsiche Nvove* (London: Guglielmo Hole, 1613), title page (‘... per Cantare con la Tiorba’).

<sup>31</sup>See the multivolume collections of ‘Records of Early English Drama’ (REED, 1979–), <http://reed.utoronto.ca>; Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*; and ‘British History Online’, [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk). Henry Lord Clifford (1592–1643) – the dedicatee of the second book of lute ayres by Thomas Campion (? 1613), and also named on George Mason and John Earsden’s song collection (1618) – apparently acquired a theorbo in 1611. Theorboes also appear in the 1615 will of Timothy Bright (c.1551–1615), rector of Barwick-in-Elmet; the 1622 inventory of Sir Charles Somerset (c.1588–1665), son of Edward, Fourth Earl of Worcester (c.1550–1628); and in a 1627 payment to court musician John Kelley ‘for a Theorb [...] provided for his Ma<sup>ty</sup> service’; see Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 371–2; Anon., ‘The Will of Timothy Bright, M.D., Rector of Methley and Barwick-in-Elmet, 1615’, *Yorkshire Achaeological Journal*, 17 (1903), 50–4 (pp. 53–4); Michael G. Brennan, ‘Sir Charles Somerset’s Music Books (1622)’, *Music and Letters*, 74 (1993), 501–18; and Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, iii (1625–1649), 138.



tenor viol matches that of the mean lute in g').<sup>32</sup> The lyra viol is also occasionally called for in the lute song books, yet this is not so much a distinct instrument from the bass viol as an alternative manner of playing, using tablature to accommodate chordal accompaniment and different tunings – a point exemplified by the second book of songs (1601) of Robert Jones (*fl.* 1597–1615), which includes two options for the bass viol part: the normal bass line ('the base Violl the playne way') and a chordal part written in tablature ('the Base by tableture after the leero fashion').<sup>33</sup> Only later on was the lyra viol possibly a distinct instrument in its own right.<sup>34</sup>

Significantly, the written pitch of the bass viol part clearly supports the use of a mean lute in g' (or an orpharion): indeed, only four songs out of the entire printed corpus under consideration have viol and lute parts in different keys, and the wording on two of their respective title pages provides a simple solution to this apparent problem by calling explicitly for lute, orpharion, 'or' bass viol.<sup>35</sup>

### Transposition

Having clarified the lute and viol intended in this repertory, it must briefly be investigated whether contemporary musicians ever transposed lute songs to suit their own pitch preferences. At this time, lute- and viol-sounding pitch was not standardized and partially depended on optimal tensile strength of strings.<sup>36</sup> However, it seems that pitch may not have varied as widely as is sometimes claimed, and much evidence also survives of lutes playing in ensembles where they had to play to a given pitch.<sup>37</sup>

English lutenists certainly used transposition, for it is discussed in the English version of the famous lute treatise by Adrian Le Roy (c.1520–98), a work which was even cited in the *Varietie of Lute-lessons* (1610) by Robert Dowland (c.1586–1641).<sup>38</sup> Yet Le Roy's treatise is of suspect relevance for the lute song. Firstly, he discusses transposition of music for solo lute, not lute with other musicians; secondly, he transposes music written in mensural notation – French chansons by Orlando di Lasso (1530/32–1594) – not music written in tablature; and thirdly, despite writing for those 'without great knowledge of Musicke', his apparently easy method includes errors in the transcriptions.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Thomas Ford, *Mvsicke of Svndrie Kindes, Set Forth in Two Bookes* (London: John Windet, 1607), title page; and Maynard, *The XII. Wonders of the World*, title page.

<sup>33</sup>I am grateful to John Bryan for clarifying this point. See Robert Jones, *The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (London: Peter Short, 1601), title page. Viol tablature as song accompaniment also occurs in Tobias Hume's *The First Part of Ayres* (London: John Windet, 1605) and *Captaine Hymes Poeticall Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1607). The lyra viol is named in four other lute songs collections – Thomas Ford (1607), William Corkine (1610, 1612), and John Maynard (1612) – but is only required for instrumental music like pavans and galliards.

<sup>34</sup>See Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist: Or an Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* (London: William Godbid, 1659), i, 2, who states that the viol for consort or division use had strings that were 'a little bigger than those of a Lyra-Viol'.

<sup>35</sup>These occur in Michael Cavendish, *14. Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute* (London: Peter Short, 1598), song '12' (sic =13) ('Everie bush new springing'); Philip Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres* (London: Peter Short, 1601), i, song 9 ('The Syres curten of the night'); and Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres* (London: Thomas Snodham, c.1618), iii, songs 5 ('So tyr'd are all my thoughts') and 10 ('Breake now my heart and dye'). Cavendish and Campion both stipulate lute, orpharion, 'or' bass viol.

<sup>36</sup>See Robinson, "'A perfect-full harmonie'", 199, no. 5–6. The 'high stretcht lute string' is also mentioned in nonmusical sources like Robert Greene, 'The Tale of Peratio', *Greenes Farewell to Folly* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1591), sig. E4<sup>r</sup> and John Donne, *Poems, by J.D. VVith Elegies On The Authors Death* (London: M. F., 1633), 58 and 339.

<sup>37</sup>See David Tunley, 'Tunings and Transpositions in the Early 17th-Century French Lute Air—Some Implications', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 203–9 (pp. 203–4); Robinson, "'A perfect-full harmonie'", 199–203; and Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, 87.

<sup>38</sup>Adrian Le Roy, *A briefe and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight diuers tunes in Tableture for the Lute*, trans. Francis Kinwelmersh (London: John Kyngston, 1574); Robert Dowland, *Varietie Of Lute-lessons* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1610), sig. C2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup>Le Roy, *A briefe and plaine Instruction*, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>. Transposing tablature was much less practicable, as noted by Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, iii, 83. On errors in the transcriptions, see Hector Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 84.

Despite this, the survival of some lute songs in versions using different keys could seem to provide indisputable evidence for transposition, at least in certain cases. A good example is ‘Flow my Teares’ (or ‘Lachrimæ’) by John Dowland, which exists in a five-part instrumental arrangement in the same key as the original song (A minor), a setting for mixed consort a fourth higher (D minor), various solo lute versions written both in the original key and a tone lower (A minor and G minor respectively), and also a setting for bandora (C minor).<sup>40</sup> However, the overwhelming majority of printed lute songs do not survive in such versions; furthermore, rather than indicating possible options for the singer, those few examples of songs that survive in different keys generally suggest that this instead reflected the choice of performing forces (i.e. vocal or purely instrumental).<sup>41</sup> Transposition of the tablature likewise necessitated rewriting it out, but the small number of surviving examples of songs in different keys raises doubts over the frequency of this practice.

In addition, a tiny handful of printed lute songs have tablature in a different key and pitch to the melody it accompanies (see Table 2).<sup>42</sup> These songs therefore do not work if performed as written: seven examples occur in Robert Dowland’s *A Mvsicall Banqvvet* (1610) alone. Several similar examples also exist in certain manuscript sources such as the ‘Dallis Manuscript’, Trinity College Dublin, MS 410/1 (c.1583) and British Library, Additional Manuscript 4900 (c.1604).<sup>43</sup> Yet all these instances can be explained simply through a general desire to avoid ledger lines or too many accidentals in the written vocal part.<sup>44</sup> The lutenist presumably played the tablature on a mean lute in *g*’ rather than retuning or playing another (differently tuned) lute to match the written vocal pitch in these rare cases; the singer thus inadvertently transposed to fit the lute in these few instances, since this was clearly the simplest (and, by proxy, likeliest) solution.<sup>45</sup> It therefore seems that lutenists utilized transposition only in specific cases and thus probably did not transpose lute song tablature on a regular basis, if at all.

With the exception of those few songs just discussed, where a musical analysis makes it clear that the singer had to transpose to fit the lute, written evidence that discusses vocal transposition has similarly questionable application to the lute song. Indeed, music instruction manuals such as *The pathvvay to Musicke* (1596) generally mention this practice in relation to ‘plaine song’.<sup>46</sup> This term means a simple melody, like a metrical psalm tune, and it also frequently occurs alongside the word ‘descant’, in other

<sup>40</sup>John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songes or Ayres, of 2.4. and 5. parts* (London: George Eastland, 1600), song no. 2. For all ‘Lachrimæ’ concordances, see Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, eds., *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (London: Faber Music Limited, 1974), 293–4, no.15.

<sup>41</sup>For an exception, see the manuscript version for voice and lute of ‘Can She Excuse My Wrongs’ by John Dowland in the so-called ‘Turpyn Book of Lute Songs’ (c.1610–5), King’s College Cambridge, Rowe MS 2, no. 1, transposed up a fourth from the original and with much-changed accompaniment.

<sup>42</sup>To these may be added three of the four songs with bandora accompaniment in Barley, *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture*, iii (bandora), sig. C2’–D2’, two of which have the cantus a fourth higher than the tablature (‘Those eies which set my fancie on a fire’; ‘But this & then no more it is my last of all’), and one of which has the cantus a fifth higher than the tablature (‘Howe can the tree but waste and wither away’). See also Edward Filmer, *French Covrt-Aires, VVith their Ditties Englished, Of foure and fiue Parts, Together With That Of The Lute* (London: William Stansby, 1629), which has only two songs (nos. 1 and 9) that have tablature which matches the written vocal pitch.

<sup>43</sup>See Christopher Goodwin, ed., *The English Lute Song before Dowland* (Guildford; The Lute Society, 1996 and 1997), i (songs from the Dallis manuscript, c.1583) and ii (songs from additional manuscript 4900 and other early sources).

<sup>44</sup>See Thomas Morley, *A Plaine And Easie Introdvction To Practicall Mvsicke* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1597/1608), iii, 156.

<sup>45</sup>See Goodwin, *The English Lute Song before Dowland*, i, 7 and ii, 8–9; and Tunley, ‘Tunings and Transpositions’, 203–9.

<sup>46</sup>See anon., *The pathvvay to Musicke* (London: J. Danter, 1596), title page and sig. F<sup>v</sup>–G<sup>y</sup>; William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thomas East, ?1596), sig. B<sup>v</sup>–Biv<sup>r</sup>; Andreas Ornithoparchus, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs, Or Introdvction: Containing the Art of Singing*, trans. John Dowland, (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609), i, 26–8; and John Hopkins and Thomas Sternhold, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre* (London: John Day, 1562), ‘A shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke, made for such as are desirous to haue the knowledge therof, for the singing of these Psalmes’, sig. +ii<sup>r</sup>–[+vii]<sup>r</sup>. Other music instruction books – including those by Thomas Morley (1597), Thomas Robinson (1603), Thomas Campion (1610), Thomas Ravenscroft (1614), and Elway Bevin (1631) – are equally silent regarding transposition of music like lute songs.

**Table 2.** Lute Songs in the Printed Collections (1597–1622) with Pitch Disparity between Voice and Lute Tablature

Composer & Collection	Song	Comments
Thomas Morley, <i>Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Sixe Voices</i> (1597)	1. Fly loue that art so sprightly 4. Loues folke in greene araying 8. Sou'raign of my delight	1: Cantus is a tone higher than the lute tablature 4 & 8: Cantus is a fourth higher than the lute tablature
Michael Cavendish, <i>14. Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute</i> (1598)	'12'. [sic= 13.] Everie bush new springing	Cantus and bassus agree; lute tablature is a fifth lower than the cantus and bears the instruction 'this fift rule is Gam ut'
Philip Rosseter, <i>A Booke of Ayres</i> (1601)	I, 9. The Sypres curten of the night	Voice and bass (viol) agree; lute tablature is a tone lower than cantus
Robert Dowland, <i>A Mvsicall Banqvct</i> (1610)	3. O eyes leaue off your weeping 6. To plead my faith 11. Si le parler et le silence 12. Ce penser qui sans fin 13. Vous que le bon heur r'appelle 14. Passaua amor 15. Sta note mien yaua	3, 6, 11–14: Cantus/canto is a tone higher than the lute tablature; lute and bassus/basso agree 15: Canto is a tone lower than the lute tablature; lute and basso agree
Thomas Campion, <i>The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres</i> (c. 1618)	iii, 5. So tyr'd are all my thoughts iii, 7. Kinde are her answers iii, 10. Breake now my heart and dye	iii, 5: Cantus and bassus agree; lute tablature is a minor third higher iii, 7: Cantus is a tone higher than the lute; bassus and tablature agree iii, 10: Cantus and bassus agree; lute tablature is a fourth higher
George Mason & John Earsden, <i>The Ayres that vvere svng and played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment</i> (1618)	7. The shadowes darkning our intents 9. O Stay! sweet is the least delay	7 & 9: Lute tablature is a fourth higher than the voice

*Note.* The data assume the use of a mean lute in g' for the lute tablature in all pieces. Theoretically, the use of a bass lute in d' resolves the pitch disparity in Campion's *The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres*, iii, song 10; and Mason & Earsden, *The Ayres that vvere svng and played*, songs 7 and 9. However, this solution seems unlikely since it would in turn imply that the remaining pieces in the table also require differently tuned lutes, which is problematic in terms of (a) the miniscule total number of pieces that fit those apparent tunings, (b) the lack of stipulation for such lutes in the respective songbooks, and (c) the lack of evidence for lutes in such tunings in other English sources.

words indicating a tenor or ground upon which polyphonic music is based.<sup>47</sup> Discussions of vocal transposition therefore do not relate to songs accompanied by instruments, particularly those reading from tablature.

There is also nothing in the voice parts of the lute songs that particularly suggests transposition possibilities. For example, an F3-clef or even a C4 or C3-clef in the bass part of around 40 of the printed lute songs could initially imply *chiavette* clef combinations (indicating downwards transposition, typically by a fourth).<sup>48</sup> However, this reading is at best unlikely and in reality unconvincing, since comparison of all the songs in the books where a *chiavette* song seems to occur actually reveals that the

<sup>47</sup>Richard Allison, *The Psalmes Of Dauid in Meter* (London: William Barley, 1599), title page, defines 'plaine song' as 'the common tunne to be sung' (i.e. the metrical psalm tune), whilst Morley uses it simply to mean a basic melody; see Christopher R. Wilson and Michela Calore, *Music in Shakespeare: A Dictionary* (London: Thoemmes, 2005), 337–8. On 'plaine song' and 'descant', see for example George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde vp in one small Poesie* (London: Henry Bynne and Henry Middleton, 1573), 272.

<sup>48</sup>For more on *chiavette*, see Kenneth Kreitner, 'Renaissance Pitch', *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 275–83 (pp. 279–81). Only two printed lute songs have bass parts in C-clefs: Cavendish, *14. Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute*, song '15' (sic = song 16: 'Say shepherds say', C4-clef) and Danyel, *Songs for the Lvte Viol and Voice*, song 19 ('What delight can they inioy', C3-clef). Lute songs with an F3-clef in the bass part occur in the books by Cavendish (1598), John Dowland (1597, 1603, 1612), Robert Jones (1605, 1609, 1610), John Coprario (1606), John Danyel (1606), Robert Dowland (1610), and Thomas Campion (? 1613 [i], c.1618 [iii]).

written cantus ranges do not differ substantially from one another, if at all. A notable exception is John Dowland's *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), which contains eight songs with bass parts in F3-clefs and high cantus parts, but the *chiavette* solution is problematic here for several reasons.<sup>49</sup> Firstly, a bass lute would be required for these potential *chiavette* songs, but nothing in the book suggests this (it calls simply for 'the Lute') – surely an oversight given the apparent rarity of such instruments. Secondly, Dowland's other lute song books (including those with F3-clefs) do not convincingly employ *chiavette*, so their use in *A Pilgrimes Solace* would be difficult to explain; the same is true of the other lute song books produced by the printers linked to *A Pilgrimes Solace*.<sup>50</sup> In fact, the eight songs in question are no higher if performed as written (reaching up to g'' or a'') than a large number of other songs in the printed lute song collections. In any case, the practice seems to have been used in England primarily in sacred, not secular, music.<sup>51</sup>

It therefore seems that, rather than transposing, one was instead expected to 'learne quickly in what cléefe you should take your part'.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, two of the printed lute song books state that they were written for 'all the partes together, or either of them seuerally', clearly suggesting possible solo use of any voice part (irrespective of whether this was primarily a marketing ploy or not).<sup>53</sup> The lute song repertory thus seems to have been printed in a format which was intended to facilitate instant performance. This links more generally to a culture of music-making in which one could 'in short time [...] sing a difficult song of himselfe, without any Instructor',<sup>54</sup> an attitude exemplified by Edward Herbert, Lord Baron of Cherbury (1582/3–1648), who claimed that during his undergraduate days in the 1590s, he had 'attaind also to sing my part at first sight in Musicke, and to play on the Lute with very litle or almost noe teaching'.<sup>55</sup> The lute song books themselves likewise occasionally speak directly to an amateur reader.<sup>56</sup> Thus, in short, there seems little reason to doubt that the obvious solution was the one intended by the composers and printers of the lute songs.

### Voices and the Lute Song: Evidence from the Music

The combination of all the evidence presented above regarding different instruments, transpositions, and pitch possibilities raises important questions in relation to the sung melody, since it seems most likely that these aspects were considered to be reasonably fixed. What, therefore, does this tell us about the voice(s) that sang this repertory?

<sup>49</sup>John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612), songs 3, 4 (also with F4-clef), 6, 13, 17, 18, 20, and 21 (chorus only; the verse is in an F4-clef).

<sup>50</sup>The printers linked to *A Pilgrimes Solace* are Mathew Lowne, Thomas Snodham, John Browne, and William Barley. Between them, they were responsible for printing most of the surviving lute song collections from 1609–22.

<sup>51</sup>See Andrew Johnstone, "'High clefs' in composition and performance", *Early Music*, 34 (2006), 29–53. For an example of Continental usage, see Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, iii, 80–5.

<sup>52</sup>Luigi Pasqualigo, [*Fedele and Fortunio*], trans. Anthony Munday (London: John Charlewood, 1585), Act 3, scene ii, sig. Ei<sup>v</sup>. See also Everard Digby, *Everard Digbie his Dissuasive. From taking away the luyings and goods of the Church* (London: Robert Robinson and Thomas Newman, [1590]), preface, sig. 2<sup>v</sup> (=sig. A6<sup>v</sup>): '... in the eares of some, I may seeme to sing the treble rather than the meane, to misse the moode, and to mistake the figure, and therewith to sound some sharps instead of flattes'.

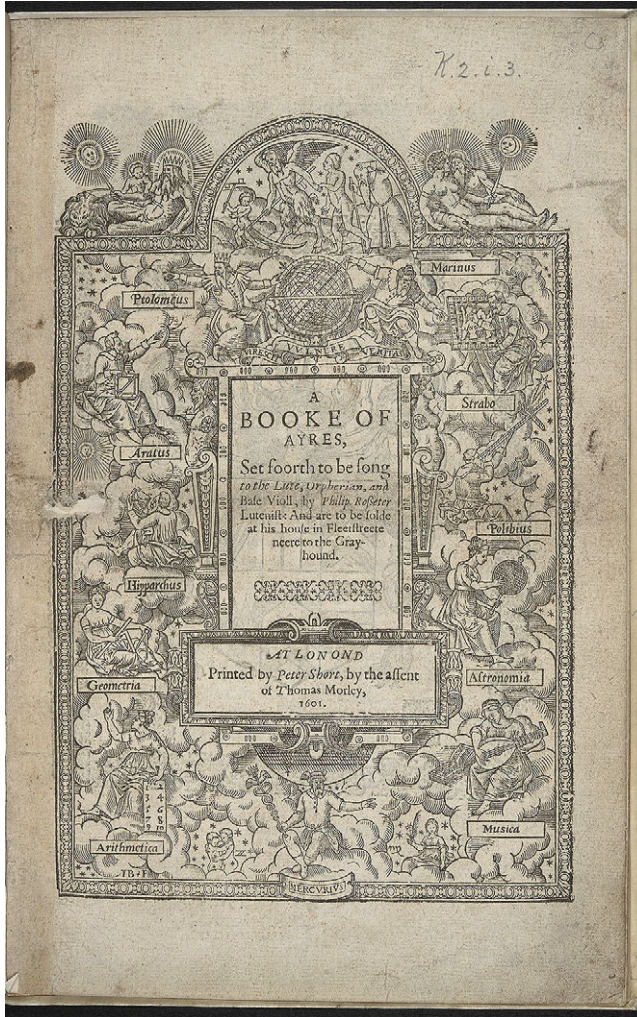
<sup>53</sup>John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London: Peter Short, 1597), title page; and Robert Jones, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London: Peter Short, 1600), title page. Both books were printed by Peter Short, who seems to have recycled the same cover design. The same solution also occurs in Allison, *The Psalmes Of Dauid in Meter*, whose title page notes that 'the singing part' is 'to be either Tenor or Treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voyce, or for foure voyces'. For examples in related repertory, see John Griffiths, 'The Vihuela: Performance Practice, Style, and Context', *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997/2005), 158–79 (p. 166).

<sup>54</sup>Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the skill of Song*, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>–sig. Aiii<sup>v</sup>. See also Le Roy, *A briefe and plaine Instruction*, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup> and Morley, *A Plaine And Easie Introduction*, ii, 115.

<sup>55</sup>J. M. Shuttleworth, ed., *The Life of Edward, First Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 16–17.

<sup>56</sup>For example, see Jones, *The Second Booke of Songs*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup> ('To the Reader'), which includes a brief explanation of 'pricke-song Notes' for the 'better instruction' of the performer.





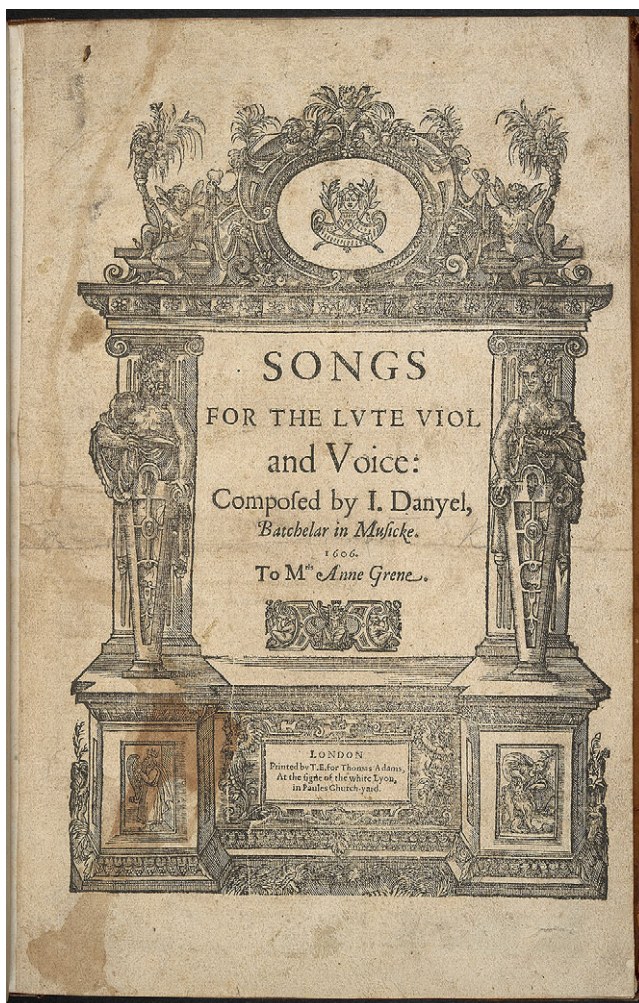
**Image 4a.** Philip Rosseter (1568–1623) and Thomas Campion (1567–1620), *A Booke of Ayres, Set fourth to be song to the Lute, Orpherian and Base Violl* (London; Peter Short, 1601), title page (British Library, Music Collections K.2.i.3.) (© British Library Board, with permission).

The title pages, prefaces and dedications in the lute song collections give almost no clues regarding the intended voice(s); they simply state that it is music ‘to sing’ (or ‘to be svng’) or instead stipulate a ‘voyce’ (or, where applicable, ‘voyses’) (Image 4a and 4b). The only three exceptions to this – *Vltimvm Vale* (1605) by Robert Jones (c.1577–1617), the *Fvneral Teares* (1606) by John Coprario (c.1570–1626), and *A Booke of Ayres VVith a Tripliticite of Musicke* (1606) by John Bartlet (fl. 1606–10) – all indicate a ‘treble voice’ or ‘two Trebles’.<sup>57</sup> An additional hint is provided by Coprario, who also mentions a ‘mean part’ which ‘may be added, if any shall affect more fullness of parts’, yet interestingly, this ‘mean part’ is called ‘alto’ in the music itself.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup>Robert Jones, *Vltimvm Vale, with a triplicity of Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1605), title page; John Coprario, *Fvneral Teares. For the death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Deunshire* (London: John Windet, 1606), title page; John Bartlet, *A Booke of Ayres VVith a Tripliticite of Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1606), title page.

<sup>58</sup>This ‘alto’ part has an overall range g–d’’. Interestingly, Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, 15 translates ‘alto’ in its musical sense as ‘a treble in song and musicke.’





**Image 4b.** John Danyel (1564–c.1626), *Songs for the Lute, Viol and Voice* (London; Thomas East, 1606), title page (British Library, Music Collections K.2.g.9.) (© British Library Board, with permission).

These ‘treble’ and ‘mean’ stipulations probably refer primarily to boys’ voices,<sup>59</sup> even though the word ‘treble’ was also sometimes used to describe a female voice.<sup>60</sup>

Just like ‘treble’ and ‘mean’, the words ‘cantus’ and ‘altus’ are also linked more generally to children.<sup>61</sup> Judged on evidence from contemporary literary sources, it seems that the boys who sang such treble and

<sup>59</sup> A famous example of ‘treble’ and ‘mean’ to describe boys’ voices occurs in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: Volume 6, 1596*, ed. Richard A. Roberts (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1895), 68 (Lord Burgh to Robert Cecil, on the voices of three boys, one as ‘an excellent treble’ and another as ‘a very high mean’). See also John Marston, *The History of Antonio and Mellida. The first part*. (London: Richard Bradock, 1602), Act 5, at sig. H4<sup>r</sup>; John Marston, *VVhat Yov VVill* (London: George Eld, 1607), Act 2, scene i, at sig. D<sup>r</sup>; and George Dobson (att.), *Dobsons Drie Bobbes: Sonne and Heire to Skoggin* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1607), sig. F3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> As in Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The Recouerie of Ierusalem*, trans. Edward Fairfax (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1600), xv, 279 v.62 (‘she warbled forth a treble small’) and Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, *Gerardo The Vnfortunate Spaniard*, trans. Leonard Digges (London: George Purslowe, 1622), i (discourse 2), 72 (‘he ghesstet it vvas a vvoman [...] by the sweetnesse of her trebble’).

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Whythorne, *Cantus. Of duos, or songs for tvo voices* (London: Thomas East, 1590), title page; and Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs*, iv, 83. For representative examples of ‘treble’ and ‘mean’ referring generally to children,

mean parts could have been aged up to 14 or 15 years old and were expected to have ranges from around a, b, or c' up to g'' or a'', which perfectly suits the treble and mean range 'cantus' parts in the lute song collections.<sup>62</sup> Although still relatively uncommon today,<sup>63</sup> performances of lute songs by boy trebles were clearly more widespread c.1600, as substantiated by references in literary sources, noble correspondence, state documents, and also stage productions, particularly those of the children's drama companies.<sup>64</sup> Alongside descriptions of a character like a pageboy singing to a lute or viol, as in two plays by Nicholas Breton (?1545–?1626),<sup>65</sup> boys also played female characters, as documented explicitly in *VVhat Yov VVill* by John Marston (1576–1634), where the schoolboy Holifernes Pippo was granted leave 'to play the Lady in comedies presented by Children'.<sup>66</sup> Unsurprisingly, some of those plays performed 'by Her Maiesties Children, and the boyes of Paules', like John Lyly's (?1554–1606) *Sapho and Phao* (1584) and Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), also included a female character who 'singes to her Lute'.<sup>67</sup>

Turning to the inside of the songbooks and the music itself, the part designations do not really elucidate further the question of the intended voice(s) (Image 5). What at first glance appears to be a correlation between the names 'cantus', 'altus', 'tenor', and 'bassus' and their modern choral counterparts turns out to be rather less clear-cut; indeed, it quickly becomes apparent that these names primarily indicate the hierarchical relationship of one part to another rather than the assignment of each part to an exact vocal type and range.<sup>68</sup> For example, a number of the songbooks include songs with 'cantus' and 'altus' ranges and clefs that are virtually or even completely identical to one another, such as 'Sweet was the song' by John Attey (*d.c.*1640), where both the 'cantus' and 'altus' parts use a G2-clef and have a range of e' to a'', or 'On a time in summers season' by Robert Jones, where both parts use C1-clefs and have a range of d' to e''.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, other songbooks have 'altus' parts that are decidedly 'tenor-like' in register

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see Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London: William Jaggard, 1615), viii, 633; and John Dee (attrib.), *Aristotles Politiques, Or Discovrses Of Government* (London: Adam Islip, 1598), viii, 393.

<sup>62</sup>Scipion Dupleix, *The Resoluer; Or Curiosities of Nature* (London: N. & I. Okes, 1635), 7–8. Several contemporary sources cite Aristotle on this point, like Anon., *The Problemes Of Aristotle, with other Philosophers and Phisitions* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgrave, 1595), sig. M8<sup>v</sup>. See also Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introdvction*, iii, 166, and Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, ii, sig. Cii<sup>v</sup> (=p.20), Tabella iv (Vox viva seu humana). See also Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, viii (1485–1714), 55–6 (entry for 1604, describing how the 'said children, having served three years or more in his Highness' [=James I] Chapel, shall by change of their voice become unmeet for that service').

<sup>63</sup>Most modern commercial recordings of lute songs do not use a boy treble; notable exceptions are *A Quiet Conscience: Songs from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, Connor Burrowes (treble), John Scott (organ), David Miller (lute/theorbo), Guild GMCD 7150 (released 1998); and *Shakespeare's Musicke: Sung in Authentic Elizabethan Pronunciation*, Simon Giles (treble), David Dyer (tenor), Camerata of London, dir. Barry Mason, Meridian CDE 84198 (released 1990).

<sup>64</sup>See Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1992), 12–13, 24, 52–3 and 254–66; and David Grote, *The Best Actors in the World: Shakespeare and his Acting Company* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 11–13.

<sup>65</sup>Nicholas Breton, *The Strange Fortvnes Of Two Excellent Princes* (London: Peter Short, 1600), 38 (a pageboy sings to his lute) and Nicholas Breton, *Choice, Chance, and Change* (London: Richard Bradock, 1606), sig. 12<sup>r</sup> (Lady Lamia's pageboy sings to his 'base violl').

<sup>66</sup>Marston, *VVhat Yov VVill*, Act 2, scene i (sig. D<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>67</sup>Lyly, *Sapho and Phao*, Act 3, scene iii (sig. E<sup>r</sup>–E<sup>v</sup>); and John Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1605), Act 1, scene ii (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>). Incidentally, Thomas Ravenscroft, 'Preface', *A Briefe Discovrse Of the true (but neglected) vse of Charact'ring the Degrees [...] in Measurable Musicke* (London: Edward Allde, 1614), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>–A2<sup>v</sup>, praises a certain Edward Pearce, 'sometimes Maister of the Children of Saint Paules in London' both for 'Educating of Children for the ordering of the Voyce [...] And also in those his Compositions to the Lute, whereof, the world enjoyes many'.

<sup>68</sup>The idea of part names functioning primarily as signposts for the rank order of individual musical lines in a composition can be traced back to the thirteenth-century 'Tenor' (from the Latin 'teneo, tenere', to hold) and via later polyphonic developments, where the 'Tenor' often carried a pre-existent tune or cantus firmus; for example, see Christopher Page, *The Summa Musicæ: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 108–9; and David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 159–60.

<sup>69</sup>John Attey, *The First Booke of Ayres of Fovre Parts* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1622), song 12; and Robert Jones, *A Mvsicall Dreame, or the Fovrth Booke of Ayres* (London: John Windet, 1609), song 7. Further examples of exact or near-identical cantus and altus ranges occur in the other lute song collections.





Image 5. John Dowland (1563–1626), *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of foure partes with Tableture for the Lute* (London; Peter Short, 1597), song 19 (sig. K<sup>v</sup>-K<sup>2</sup>): ‘Awake sweet loue’ (British Library, Music Collections K.2.i.4.) (© British Library Board / Bridgeman Images, with permission).

and also exhibit terminological fluidity between part names, as exemplified via comparison of three songs by Thomas Campion (1567–1620): ‘Vaine men whose follies make a God of Loue’ (‘altus’, C3-clef, range d to f), ‘Harden now thy tyred hart’ (‘contratenor’, yet with identical clef and range as the former example), and ‘Now hath Flora’ (whose ‘Tenor part’ is written in both C2 and C3-clefs with range d to g’).<sup>70</sup> Similar instances between ‘tenor’ and ‘bassus’ parts could likewise be highlighted; for a pertinent example, compare the ‘Basso’ of ‘What delight can they inioy’ (C3-clef, range d to g’) by John Danyel (1564–c.1626) with the ‘Tenore’ of another one of his songs, ‘Now the earth’ (C4-clef, range c to e’).<sup>71</sup> More significantly, in some of the collections for solo voice, like the two books of ayres (1610 and 1612) by William Corkine

<sup>70</sup>Thomas Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres* (London: Thomas Snodham, ?1613), ii, songs 1 and 3; and Campion, *The Discription of a Maske [...] in honour of the Lord Hayes*, sig. E3<sup>v</sup>: ‘A Tenor part to the first Song’ (i.e. ‘Now hath Flora’). For another example of a low alto part (C3-clef, range f# to b), see the dialogue ‘Hvmor say what mak’st thou’ in Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, song 22.

<sup>71</sup>Danyel, *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice*, songs 19 and 20. The argument that song 19 might exploit possible *chiavette* is unconvincing: firstly, this would require a bass lute, yet no such lute is indicated – an odd oversight given that a bass lute is explicitly stipulated in song 20 under the ‘Canto Secundo’. Secondly, the written range of the ‘Canto Primo’ in song 19 (d–f’) closely matches the other cantus ranges in Danyel’s collection. Only songs 4, 18, and 19 have bass-part clefs that could suggest downwards transposition, yet nothing explains why these songs require a lower tessitura than the remaining 18; their clefs also do not match typical *chiavette* found elsewhere.

(fl. 1610–17), the word ‘cantus’ is routinely applied to the texted melody irrespective of its actual written pitch and clef (which sometimes extends down to c and uses a C3-clef).<sup>72</sup> Thus, whilst it would be wrong to claim that the part designations in these lute song collections are completely arbitrary or that they are so broad in application as to be totally meaningless, it is also clear that they are not intended to indicate a precise vocal type or range. Indeed, it is perhaps worth highlighting here that the words ‘cantus’ and ‘altus’ generally seem not to have described a voice type (‘treble’ and ‘mean’ were typically used instead).<sup>73</sup>

In addition, a musical analysis of the sung melody in the printed lute song collections reveals an overwhelming predominance of high clefs and range.<sup>74</sup> This can be explained simply in the songs scored for multiple voices via the ‘familiar and infallible’ harmonic rules which governed the process of writing ‘parts in counter-point’, for the presence of lower voices clearly necessitates a high (i.e. ‘treble’) melody.<sup>75</sup> Yet significantly, of the 322 songs scored for solo voice, only 21 have melodies that exploit lower written ranges and clefs (C3, C4, and F4-clefs, i.e. alto, tenor, and bass-clefs) (see Table 3); in contrast, 232 are in a G2-clef (=treble-clef), 68 are in a C1-clef (=soprano-clef) and one is in a C2-clef (=mezzo-soprano-clef) – that is, a total of 301 ‘high’ solo songs or 93% of the overall total of solo songs (see Figure 1). These solo song melodies generally have a range of around an octave to a minor tenth (see Figure 2), normally somewhere within the compass of d’–g’’ (i.e. the lowest and highest notes within a treble staff without using ledger lines); this incidentally matches the typical upper part of the songs set for multiple voices. Indeed, over 75% of the solo songs reach e’’ or above. The total number of songs scored for a low solo voice can be extended only marginally beyond 21 songs by including the solo parts in the occasional dialogues and ensemble songs from masques that appear in these collections.<sup>76</sup>

It is well known that, alongside evidence for boys singing songs to lute or bass viol accompaniment, many references survive in plays, literary sources and letters which describe a woman singing to a lute or (less frequently) bass viol.<sup>77</sup> Such references can be contextualized within the frequently voiced contemporary opinion that musical skills ranked amongst those accomplishments which were ‘fit for a Lady or Gentlewoman to doe’, and with which she could ‘gette the lyking of any man’.<sup>78</sup>

Yet evidence for performance of songs or ‘ditties’ by a man with a lute in contemporary written sources appears with similar frequency as texts documenting performance by women.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, numerous literary references describe a lovesick suitor trying to woo his beloved or ease his suffering from the ‘straunge effects of loue’ by singing with his lute,<sup>80</sup> whilst other evidence includes references to named male lutenist-singers who were employed at court, such as Guillaume de Vermigny in the early

<sup>72</sup>William Corkine, *Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl* (London: William Stansby, 1610); and William Corkine, *The Second Booke of Ayres* (London: Mathew Lowne, John Browne and Thomas Snodham, 1612).

<sup>73</sup>See Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs*, iv, 83 (‘Of the Discantus’).

<sup>74</sup>The same is also true of lute song manuscript sources; for three notable exceptions, see the ‘Turpyn Book of Lute Songs’ (c.1610–15), King’s College Cambridge, Rowe MS 2, no. 11 (‘Most men do loue the Spanish wyne’), where the sung melody is in an F4-clef; ‘Ann Twice, Her Book’ (c.1620–30), New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4175, no. 21 (‘Why should passion leade mee blinde’), where the sung melody is in a C3-clef; and ‘The Dallis Lute Book’, pp. 204–7 (‘In youthfull yares’), whose sung melody is in a C2-clef and C3-clef.

<sup>75</sup>Thomas Campion, *A Nevv VVay of making Fowre Parts in Counter-point [...] with a briefe method teaching to sing* (London: John Browne, 1610), title page.

<sup>76</sup>Alfonso Ferrabosco II, *Ayres: by Alfonso Ferrabosco* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609), dialogues 26, 27, 28; Ford, *Mysicke of Svndrie Kindes*, book 1, dialogue 11; George Mason and John Earsden, *The Ayres that vvere Svng and Played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1618), dialogues 1 and 2, masque songs 6 and 8 (for large ensemble).

<sup>77</sup>For representative examples, see Robert Greene, *Philomela The Lady Fitzvaters Nightingale* (London: R. Bourne and Edward Alde, 1592), sig. B3<sup>v</sup> (Philomela sings several ‘odes’ to her lute) and Luis Hurtado (attrib.), *The Third and last part of Palmerin of England*, trans. Anthony Munday (London: James Roberts, 1602), iii, p. 119<sup>v</sup> (Laurea sings to her ‘Violl de gamba’).

<sup>78</sup>These quotations are taken respectively from Thomas Nash, *Qvaternio Or A Fovrefold VVay To A Happie Life* (London: John Dawson, 1633), 156; and Austin Saker, *Narbonus. The Laberynth Of Libertie* (London: Richard Johnes, 1580), i, 123–4.

<sup>79</sup>Literary sources frequently describe the performance of ‘ditties’ (presumably songs like ayres) with a lute; see John Bodenham, *Englands Helicon* (London: James Roberts, 1600), sig. X2<sup>r</sup>, who includes three songtexts from Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes* and refers to them explicitly as ‘ditties’.

<sup>80</sup>George Whetstone, *The Rocke of Regard, diuided into foure parts* (London: Henry Middleton, 1576), i, 32–3.

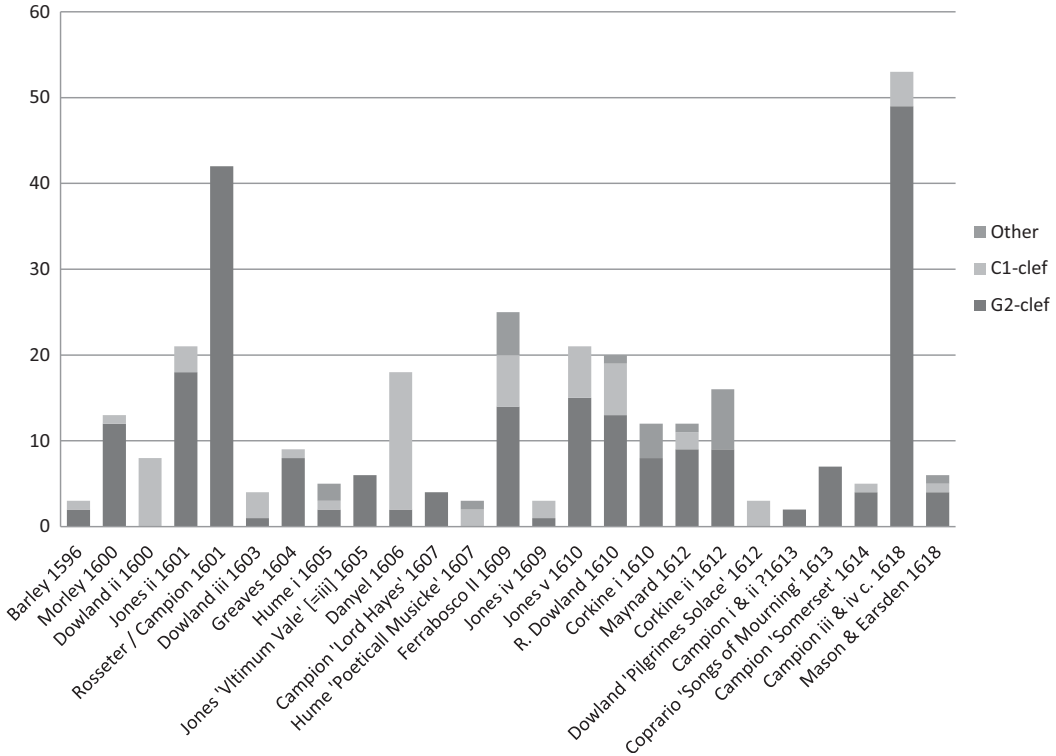
**Table 3.** Songs for Solo Voice Using Low Clef(s) and Range

Composer / Collection	Song	Clef(s)	Range
Tobias Hume, <i>The First Part of Ayres</i> (1605)	1. The Souldiers Song. I sing the praise of honor'd wars	G2, C1, C2 & C3	g–g''
	114. Alas poore men	G2, C1, C3, C4 & F4	F–f''
Tobias Hume, <i>Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke</i> (1607)	'The Hunting Song to be sung to the Bass-Viol' (sig.N <sup>v</sup> –N2')	G2 & C2	g–b''
Alfonso Ferrabosco II, <i>Ayres: by Alfonso Ferrabosco</i> (1609)	14. Third part. Sing the nobles of his race	C4	c–g'
	20. Third part. Yes were the loues	C4	B–g'
	21. So beautie on the waters flood	C3	g–g'
	22. Had those that dwell	C3	f–a'
	23. If all the ages of the earth	C3	g–a'
Robert Dowland, <i>A Mvsicall Banqvct</i> (1610)	17. Se di farmi morire	C4	d–f'
William Corkine, <i>Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl</i> (1610)	1. Sinke downe prowde thoughts	C3	e–ab'
	4. If streames of teares	C3	d–g'
	5. Sweete sweete Let me goe	C3	c–a'
	8. Vaine is all this worlds contention	C3	f–g'
William Corkine, <i>The Second Booke of Ayres</i> (1612)	1. Each louely grace	C3	e–g'
	3. Two Louers sat lamenting	C3	f#–g'
	5. Deere, though your minde stand so auerse	C3	f#–a'
	7. Downe, downe proude minde	C3	d–g'
	12. Man like a Prophet of ensuing yeeres	C3	d–d'
	14. Away, call backe what you haue said	C3	c–g'
	15. When I was borne	C3	e–a'
George Mason and John Earsden, <i>The Ayres that vvere Svng and Played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment</i> (1618)	4. Come follow me my wandring mates	F4	F–c'

1560s, described as 'the singularest player on the lute [...] whereunto he sings very well'.<sup>81</sup> The lute songs themselves add further support to the observation that men and women alike sang these songs since their texts unambiguously express thoughts and desires from both gender perspectives. Yet numerous 'male' and 'female' songs could be cited which show either no or only negligible differences from one another in terms of clef and registral range – an observation that acquires further significance in the songs scored

<sup>81</sup>See Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, iv* (1561–1562) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1866), 155, 330, 343 (entry 568.4). See also Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 198–201.





**Figure 1.** Clefs used in the printed lute songs scored for solo voice. These figures exclude the first song from Campion, *The Description of a Maske [...] in honour of the Lord Hayes* (which has a tenor part at the back of the book) and the incomplete song (no.14) from Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres* (London, 1600). “Other” includes songs in C2, C3, C4 and F4-clefs alongside three songs in the collections of Tobias Hume that use a mix of clefs.

for solo voice, like the male and female character studies (written in the first person from the perspective of the character) in *The XII. Wonders of the World* (1612) by John Maynard (*bap.* 1577–c.1633).<sup>82</sup> This raises the critical question of the register in which men would have performed these songs: the high register as written using falsetto voice (or loft register), or an octave below sung in chest voice (or modal register).<sup>83</sup>

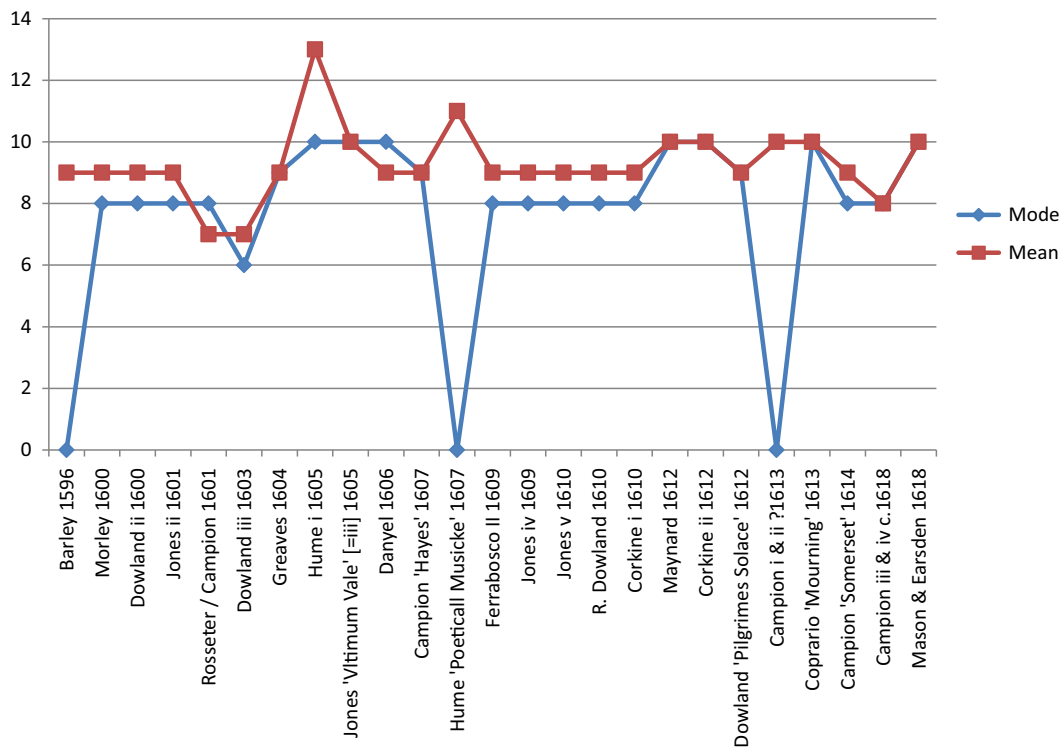
*The tenor voice and the lute song*

Judged purely on the music itself, the ‘tenor’ voice – or, more accurately, a man singing the treble melody down an octave in his ‘natural’ modal register in chest voice (i.e. high tenor, tenor, or baritone depending on the song in question) – clearly represents a plausible solution to the registral ‘problem’ of the male voice.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, most of the songbooks have ranges whose upper notes extend up to g<sup>''</sup>, sometimes

<sup>82</sup>Maynard, *The XII. Wonders of the World*; for example, ‘The Married man’ (song 9, G2-clef, d’–f’’) has a higher range than its paired song ‘The Wife’ (song 10; G2-clef, c’– eb’’). For an example of identical ranges (d’ to d’’) and clef (G2) but different (male v. female) perspectives, see Campion, *The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres*, iii, songs 1 (‘Oft haue I sigh’d for him that heares me not’) and 2 (‘Now let her change and spare not’).

<sup>83</sup>Singers still frequently refer to ‘head’ and ‘chest’ register due to where vibrations are felt in their body; scientifically speaking, however, the changes in sound are to do with vocal fold function; see Christina Shewell, *Voice Work: Art and Science in Changing Voices* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 174.

<sup>84</sup>This follows generic contemporary usage of the term ‘tenor’ as a midrange voice between treble and bass, as in Thomas Granger, *A Familiar Exposition or Commentarie on Ecclesiastes* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1621), 54 (on Ecclesiastes 2:8). The



**Figure 2.** Average written range of sung melody in the printed lute songs for solo voice.

The numbers in the vertical axis relate to the average range in intervals (e.g. 8 = octave; 9 = minor or major 9th, etc.). The mean was calculated correct to the nearest semitone. In the collections with a mode of zero, this indicates that there is no mode (i.e. no clef is more common than any other in the solo songs in this collection). The transposing songs in this collection have been analyzed as written (i.e. the sung melody has not been transposed in the above data); see Table 2.

even a". Important context is provided here by Thomas Morley, who explains in his *A Plaine and Easie Introdvction to Practicall Mvsicke* (1597/1608) that 'all songs made by the Musicians, who make songs by discretion' are set either in the 'high key' or 'lowe key' and have fixed clefs and ranges. Yet crucially, he then discusses 'compositions for men onely to sing' which, he says, 'neuer passe this compasse' – accompanied by written-out ranges for four voices, the highest of which only goes up to g' – and that 'you must not suffer any part to goe without the compasse of his rules, except one note at the most aboue or below' (i.e. a'). In addition, the 'Tenor' of songs 'in the high key' reaches up to a' whilst the 'Tenor secundus' of 'compositions for men onely' extends down to Bb (see Figure 3).<sup>85</sup> Thus, in short, if the lute songs are sung down an octave by a man in tenor register, they match precisely Morley's stipulations as outlined here.

A number of hints emerge from the printed song books with tablature that collectively point towards men singing the melody an octave below the written treble pitches. The first clue comes from the handful of songs with bandora accompaniment in *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture* (1596) by William Barley (?1565–1614).<sup>86</sup> Surviving evidence suggests that the bandora was particularly linked to the adult male voice in solo songs, which perhaps reflects the instrument's 'deepe'- or 'base'-sounding

word 'baritone' was virtually unknown in Elizabethan England and, unlike today, was simply used as another word for a 'bass' voice; see Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs*, ii, 47 and iv, 84.

<sup>85</sup>Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introdvction*, iii, 165–6.

<sup>86</sup>Barley, *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture*, iii (bandora), sig. C2<sup>v</sup>–D2<sup>r</sup>. On the bandora and its meagre surviving song repertory, see Lyle Nordstrom, *The Bandora: its Music and Sources* (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 34, 37–40, 102–4.

## a. Songs 'in the high key'



## b. Songs 'in the low key'



## c. Compositions 'for men onely to sing'



Figure 3. Ranges and clefs stipulated for use when composing 'all songs' in Thomas Morley, *A Plaine And Easie Introdvction To Practicall Musicke* (London; Humphrey Lownes, 1597), iii, 166 (British Library, Music Collections K.3.m.16.) © British Library Board, with permission.

register.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, whereas a number of sources describe men playing a bandora and also singing to it, such as on several occasions in Anthony Copley's *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (1595), women are connected to the instrument only more passively, like listening to 'sweet musicke' on it, and references to a child singing to bandora accompaniment seem to be lacking entirely.<sup>88</sup> Surviving archival listings add further support to this observation, since these typically indicate male ownership of bandoras.<sup>89</sup> However, Barley's sung melodies are all in G2-clefs and C1-clefs with written ranges from d'-f'. Even after the required downwards transposition of the melody by a fourth or fifth to resolve the different written voice and tablature pitches,<sup>90</sup> the melody is still noticeably higher than Morley's suggested male vocal ranges – an observation that is all the more notable given Barley's close professional

<sup>87</sup>Robinson, 'A perfect-full harmonie', 207, no. 42. It was also used as a consort instrument and in solo repertory; see Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 109–11 and 173.

<sup>88</sup>Anthony Copley, *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (London: Richard Johnes, 1595), 68, 69, 71; the quotation concerning women occurs in Joseph Swetnam, *The Araignent Of Lewde, idle, froward, and vnconstant women* (London: Edward Allde, 1615), 38. A notable exception occurs in Cyril Tourneur, *Lavgh and lie dovne* (London: William Jaggard, 1605), sig. C', an exaggerated comical description where a woman 'sings' ('like a Pigge, running to a swill-tubbe') to a 'Bandore', but even here, it is played (or rather 'fumbled') by a man.

<sup>89</sup>See 'Records of Early English Drama'. Two exceptions occur in the will of Susan Jefferies (Norwich, 1619) – who had in fact inherited the instruments from her husband Edward, a musician – and the disbursements for Mary Somerford (Somerset, 1598), later wife of Philippe Oldfield and dedicatee of a galliard by Francis Pilkington (1565–1638) in British Library, Add. MS 31392, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>; see David Galloway, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Norwich 1540–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 157, 160, 192, and Lawrence M. Clopper and David Mills, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 835.

<sup>90</sup>The cantus is a fourth higher than the tablature in 'Those eies which set my fancie on a fire' and 'But this & then no more it is my last of all', whilst the cantus is a fifth higher than the tablature in 'Howe can the tree but waste and wither away'. After

relationship with Morley, having worked as his assign and printer of several of his music collections.<sup>91</sup> Sung as written, the tablature also sounds an octave lower than one might expect (i.e. compared to the voice-tablature relationship in songs with lute accompaniment). Sung down an octave, however, the ranges clearly fit Morley's tenor and bass voice stipulations.

Hints also occur through printed songs that can be connected to known contemporary singers and musicians. Two songs are linked to Robert Hales (*fl.* 1583–1616), a 'Groome of her Maiesties Priuie Chamber' whose singing was admired by a number of contemporaries including Elizabeth I herself.<sup>92</sup> Both songs exploit high clefs and ranges (if sung as written by an adult male voice): 'His golden locks' from John Dowland's *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (C1-clef, range  $f\#'$  to  $d''$ ), which Hales seems to have performed at the Ascension Day celebrations of Elizabeth I in Westminster in 1590;<sup>93</sup> and Hales's own composition 'O Eyes leau off your weeping' in Robert Dowland's *A Mvsicall Banqvct* (1610) (G2-clef, written range  $f'$  to  $f''$ ).<sup>94</sup> Yet the written vocal tessitura in these songs seems much less fixed once the lute tablature in *A Mvsicall Banqvct* is carefully examined. Here, the singer's first note is always given as a cue before each song; this is generally taken from the appropriate note in the lutenist's first chord, often an octave below the singer's written pitch (as in Hales's song). Yet significantly, in two cues in this book, the lutenist has the singer's starting note twice in his first chord (i.e. at written pitch and an octave below), but he chooses to give the singer the note an octave below as a cue, seemingly hinting at performance by a tenor voice.<sup>95</sup> To these two songs may be added a third song, whose cue is not in the lutenist's first chord but which falls easily under his fingers, again suggesting a tenor voice since it would be easy to strike the top string here.<sup>96</sup> Vocal cues also occur in a related collection of songs with lute tablature, arranged by Sir Edward Filmer (1565/6–1629): *French Covrt-Aires, VVith their Ditties Englished* (1629).<sup>97</sup> Like Robert Dowland, Filmer always gives cues an octave below the written pitch of the sung melody. Three of these songs have the starting note twice in the first chord but, like Robert Dowland, Filmer always chooses the lower pitch as a cue (an octave lower than the cantus), again hinting at tenor performance.<sup>98</sup>

Two years after the 1590 Ascension Day celebrations of Elizabeth I, the Queen visited Sudeley Castle whilst she was on progress in Gloucestershire, where entertainments had been organized by Giles Brydges (1548–94), Third Baron Chandos (they were cancelled because of bad weather).<sup>99</sup> Amongst those due to perform in the Shepherds' Entertainment seems to have been John Dowland (identified simply as 'Do.'). who was to accompany the character 'Cut.' – perhaps Cutter of Cotsholde or possibly

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transposition, the sung melodies sound as follows: a to  $bb'$  ('Those eies'), b to  $bb'$  ('How can the tree'), and  $c'$  to  $c''$  ('But this & then'); the remaining song ('One ioy') requires no transposition, so the melody remains  $d'$  to  $f'$ .

<sup>91</sup>See Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley. Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 110.

<sup>92</sup>Diana Poulton, 'The Favourite Singer of Queen Elizabeth I', *The Consort*, 14 (1957), 24–7; and Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1972/1982), 227, 408–9.

<sup>93</sup>Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes*, song 18. See Poulton, *John Dowland*, pp. 82 and 239–40. Although likely, the connection between Hales and Dowland's 'His golden locks' should not be overstated given (a) the minor textual differences between Dowland's song and the verses sung by Hales, particularly the use of first person throughout ('My golden locks'); and (b) because Hales's performance predates the earliest surviving version of Dowland's song.

<sup>94</sup>Robert Dowland, *A Mvsicall Banqvct* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1610), song 3. After downwards transposition to match the lute tablature and bass viol part, the voice part actually sounds  $eb'$  to  $eb''$ .

<sup>95</sup>Robert Dowland, *A Mvsicall Banqvct*, songs 1 ('My heauie sprite') and 17 ('Se di farmi morire').

<sup>96</sup>Robert Dowland, *A Mvsicall Banqvct*, song 18 ('Dourò dunque morire?'). I am grateful to Christopher Goodwin for drawing my attention to this piece.

<sup>97</sup>Filmer, *French Covrt-Aires*, sig. B<sup>r</sup> explicitly mentions these: 'The single Letter before the beginning of the Lute-part giues the Tune that the singing Part, which is ouer it, begins-in'.

<sup>98</sup>Filmer, *French Covrt-Aires*, songs 9 ('Syluia, not long since, halfe-affrighted'), 14 ('Reason! arme thy wrong'd hands') and 17 ('Say then! my hard Jewell').

<sup>99</sup>Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, eds., *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), iii (1579–1595), 609–15. I am indebted to Katherine Butler for drawing my attention to this reference.



**Image 6.** Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger (c.1580–1647), Painting of Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666) holding a lute (1613) (© Private collection, The Weiss Gallery, London, with permission).

Cutty (i.e. Cuthbert) – in the song ‘Hearbes, wordes, and stones’.<sup>100</sup> Maybe these are the same as the two musicians who on the previous day would have stood next to Apollo and performed (‘one that sung [...] one that plaide’, the latter on ‘lute’) ‘My hart and tongue were twinnes’, a song set by John Dowland in his *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612).<sup>101</sup> Yet if the printed song in any way resembles the one intended for the Shepherds’ Entertainment, it would surely have been sung down an octave if performed by an adult male given the clef and range of its cantus part (G2-clef, range *f'* to *a''*).

Two known contemporary singers are also linked to Campion’s ‘single voyce’ lute songs for the masque of the Earl of Somerset (1614). The first four numbers in this collection are respectively described as having been ‘made and exprest’ and ‘sung’ by ‘M<sup>r</sup>. Nicholas Laneir’ (Image 6) and ‘M<sup>r</sup>. Iohn Allen’; yet once again, these songs are written in C1 or G2-clefs and have overall ranges of *d'* to *g''*.<sup>102</sup> Although Lanier’s vocal range cannot be confirmed through external evidence, the likelihood that he sang at tenor range is surely suggested by the description of his co-musician as ‘that most excellent tenor voyce, and exact Singer (her Ma.<sup>ties</sup> Servant, M<sup>r</sup>. Jo. Allin)’ in Ben Jonson’s *The Masqve of Qveenes* (1609).<sup>103</sup> Thus,

<sup>100</sup>The identity of the singing character is disputed; see Goldring et al., *John Nichols’s The Progresses*, iii, 614 no. 61. Poulton, *John Dowland*, pp. 29–30 may overstate the case in claiming ‘there can be no doubt that the contraction “Do.” stands for Dowland himself’.

<sup>101</sup>Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace*, song 18.

<sup>102</sup>Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske [...] At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset* (London: Edward Allde and Thomas Snodham, 1614), title page, sig. C<sup>v</sup> and sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>103</sup>Ben Jonson, *The Masqve of Qveenes*, British Library Royal, MS 18 A XLV, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>. The manuscript can be accessed via: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/autograph-manuscript-of-ben-jonsons-the-masque-of-queenes-1609>. Explicit references to a tenor voice



even allowing for the possibility that these songs could have been published in different versions to those heard in the masque, they clearly provide strongly suggestive evidence for a male soloist singing music written in G2 and C1-clefs down an octave in tenor register.<sup>104</sup>

A further possible hint that men sang from high clefs down an octave can be found in the few songs that exploit unusually large ranges and a variety of clefs. A pertinent example is ‘Robin is a louely lad’ from George Mason (*fl.* 1611–18) and John Earsden’s (*fl.* 1618) ayres performed at the 1618 ‘Kings Entertainment’ organised by Francis Clifford, Fourth Earl of Cumberland (1559–1641) in Brougham Castle, where various characters have solos in different registers (in G2, F4, and C3-clefs) before they join together for a final section and chorus in a G2-clef with a range of  $g'$  to  $g''$  – surely intended to be sung down an octave (or even two) by the singers with F4 and C3-clef solos.<sup>105</sup> Likewise, in the *Ayres* (1609) of Alfonso Ferrabosco II (*c.* 1575–1628), two groups of three songs labelled ‘First part’, ‘Second part’, and ‘Third part’ demand an abnormally large overall range of 2.5 octaves from B $\flat$  or c to  $g''$  reading from G2, C1, and C4-clefs;<sup>106</sup> yet if the songs in G2 and C1-clefs here are sung down an octave, the overall range in each group (c– $g'$  and B $\flat$ – $g'$  respectively) conforms closely to the tenor ranges outlined by Morley.<sup>107</sup>

Three songs using large ranges and different clefs by Tobias Hume (*c.* 1569–1645) – two from *The First Part of Ayres* (1605) and one from *Captaine Hymes Poeticall Musicke* (1607) – also deserve attention here, since they are closely related in style to the repertory under discussion even though they are, strictly speaking, not lute ayres.<sup>108</sup> Unlike the previous examples, the clefs alternate midway through both ‘The Souldiers Song’ (variously G2, C1, C2, and C3-clefs, with range  $g$ – $g''$  and tablature for tenor viol) and ‘The Hunting Song to be sung to the Bass-Viol’ (variously G2 and C2-clefs, with range  $g$ – $a''$  and sporadic tablature for bass viol).<sup>109</sup> Both songs were presumably meant to be sung in their entirety down an octave if performed by a man, since octave downwards transposition of only the passages in G2 and C1-clefs would create odd registral breaks with the passages in C2 and C3-clefs that are surely not intended.<sup>110</sup> When the whole melody is transposed down an octave, it not only brings the songs in line with Morley’s male voice stipulations, but it also resolves the otherwise peculiar incongruity between music (i.e. treble register) and text (i.e. from the soldier’s or huntsman’s perspective).<sup>111</sup> Indeed, it seems unlikely that a

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occur in two of his other masques; see Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two royall Masques* (London: George Eld, 1608), ‘The Queenes Masqvcs. The first, Of Blacknesse’ (1605), sig. A4 $\nu$  and B4 $\nu$ ; and ‘The Second Masqve’ (1608), sig. E $\nu$ , E $\nu$ , and E2 $\nu$ . On Lanier as a tenor, see also Michael I. Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier: Master of the King’s Musick* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 138.

<sup>104</sup>Incidentally, explicit evidence of ‘tenor’ participation in masque songs as a harmony part also exists; see Campion, *The Discription of a Maske [...] in honour of the Lord Hayes*, sig. B2 $\nu$ –B2 $\nu$  (‘a base, Tenor, and treble voyce’ sing ‘Now hath Flora’; the music is on sig. D2 $\nu$ –D3 $\nu$  and sig. E3 $\nu$ ). Campion also describes a dialogue sung by a ‘base & tenor’ (sig. D1 $\nu$ ), but the music is not included.

<sup>105</sup>Mason and Earsden, *The Ayres that vvere Svng and Played, at Brougham Castle*, song vi (described as ‘The Dance’: ‘Robin is a louely Lad’).

<sup>106</sup>Ferrabosco II, *Ayres*, songs 12–14 and 18–20. Voice designations are absent from this collection, save the words ‘Shepherd’ and ‘Nymph’ in the ‘Dialogues’ at the end (songs 26–28). The first group (songs 12–14) has an overall range of c to  $g''$ , with the first two songs in G2-clefs and the last in a C4-clef; song 14 alone has a range of c to  $g'$ . The second group (songs 16–18) has the same wide pitch problem with an overall range of B $\flat$  to  $g''$  in C1 (song 18), G2 (song 19), and C4-clefs (song 20); again, song 20 alone has a range of B $\flat$  to  $g'$ .

<sup>107</sup>Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introdvction*, iii, 166. Perhaps significantly, the edition of Ferrabosco II’s *Ayres* by Fellowes, *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, series 2, vol. 16, puts all three songs in each group into the same octave (i.e. by transposing songs 14 and 20 up an octave), even though he writes in his introductory preface that the two groups ‘each form a single composition, and it is remarkable that in each instance the third section is in the tenor clef and evidently intended to be sung at that pitch.’

<sup>108</sup>Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, songs 1, 114 and Hume, *Captaine Hymes Poeticall Musicke*, ‘The Hunting Song to be sung to the Bass-Viol’ (sig. N $\nu$ –N2 $\nu$ ).

<sup>109</sup>A possible G2-clef omission in the middle of ‘The Hunting Song’ on the words ‘Harke Beuty Dainty’ would actually make the highest note b $\nu$ ; I am grateful to John Milsom for this observation.

<sup>110</sup>A boy treble performance as written is also theoretically possible, given that Philip Massinger, *The Pictvre A Tragæcomædie* (London: I. N., 1630), Act 2, scene ii, sig. E4 $\nu$  describes ‘two Boyes, one with his lute, the other like Pallas’ who sing ‘A song in the prayse of souldiers, especially being victorious’. However, this would require a boy who could go as low as g (i.e. lower than standard treble ranges given by contemporaries, as discussed previously).

<sup>111</sup>Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introdvction*, iii, 166.

man singing the songs as written (in falsetto, reaching up to  $g''$ ) could really convey with any gravitas for contemporaries the 'wel gotten skars' of battle, 'the brauery of glittering shields', and the 'shoutes and soundes of hornes and houndes' mentioned in the songs, particularly given Hume's first-hand experience as a soldier.<sup>112</sup>

The third song, 'Alas poore men' (variously G2, C1, C3, C4, and also F4-clefs, with range F– $f''$  and bass viol tablature), is slightly more problematic, since the F4-clef section would be too low if the whole song is transposed down an octave.<sup>113</sup> As it stands, its three-octave range exceeds by some way any other contemporary English music for solo voice, even outstretching works written several decades after 1650 for the bass John Gostling (1644–1733), who was famed for his low notes and had a range of at least two octaves (D– $d'$ ).<sup>114</sup> Likewise, other songs with large ranges from elsewhere in Europe c.1600 – notably in Italy by composers such as Ottavio Valera (early seventeenth century) and Giulio Caccini (1551–1618) – are markedly different in character and style from Hume's song, instead showcasing vocal virtuosity and utilizing many fast runs.<sup>115</sup> Thus, if 'Alas poore men' really was intended for performance as written by one singer,<sup>116</sup> how was he supposed to convey an appropriately sombre mood in its execution, as befitting the song's accompanying performance instructions which clearly convey its serious nature as an 'Imitation of Church Musicke'?<sup>117</sup> Likewise, given that English theoretical writings on music c.1600 considered the 'naturall compasse of mans voice' to be between 'an *Interuall* by a Fifteenth' and 'xx. notes and no more', how could printing the song have represented a sensible marketing decision, especially from a printer like John Windet (*fl.* 1584–1611) who had an established reputation?<sup>118</sup> Perhaps the F4-clef section was to be sung at pitch whilst the G2 and C-clef sections were to be transposed (as in the previous examples); in any case, the song clearly represents an unusual and exceptional conundrum.

<sup>112</sup>Contemporaries unambiguously convey their unease at the mismatch of (masculine) military service and the (more feminine) art of music-making; for example, see Humfrey Barwick, *A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all manuell weapons of fire* (London: Edward Allde, ?1592), sig. B3<sup>r</sup>, where 'one Cornelius a Gentleman and a Souldiour in the French Kings seruice', despite his facility on the 'Lute' and 'Gitterne', would not even play for the 'best Lord or Lady in Fraunce' for fear of being taken for 'some foolish Musition'; see also Appendix 2 doc. 33. On Hume, see Michael Rossi, "Musical Humors": The life and music of Captain Tobias Hume, gentleman', *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, James Porter, ed. (Oxford, Bern, etc.: Peter Lang, 2007), 155–80. Incidentally, the melody of a textually related song in Maynard, *The XII. Wonders of the World*, song 3 ('The Souldiour') is also written in a G2-clef, with the written sung range  $g'$ – $a''$ . The same problems of textual-musical incongruity occur if it is sung by a man at the written octave; how could this seriously convey for contemporaries a line such as 'My Occupation is the Noble trade, the trade of Kings', etc.?

<sup>113</sup>Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, song 114. See the male ranges in Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, iii, 166. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, ii, 17, notes that 'most basses in the schools' ('Die gemeine Bassisten [...] in Schulen') can rarely descend below F or E (at the bottom of the bass clef) 'in proper natural strength' ('in rechter natürlicher stärke'), although he strangely seems to suggest lower ranges that go beyond C and even reach FF in his 'Tabella' of voice ranges (*ibid.*, ii, p. 20). On modern classical bass ranges, see Dan H. Marek, *Singing. The First Art* (Lanham and Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 117, 120–2.

<sup>114</sup>For example, see 'Music's the Cordial of a troubled Breast' (range D– $d'$ ) from the ode 'Begin the Song!' by John Blow (1649–1708) in *A Second Musical Entertainment Perform'd On St. Cecilia's day. November XXII. 1684* (London: John Playford, 1685), 54–63.

<sup>115</sup>See Ottavio Valera's 'Sfogava con le stelle' in Francesco Rognoni, *Selva De Varii Passaggi* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620), ii, 72–3 (range C– $c''$ ) and 'Io che l'eta solea' and 'Deh chi d'alloro' in Giulio Caccini, *Nvove mvsiche e novva maniera di scriverle* (Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1614), 33–38 (these two songs are specified 'per Tenore, che ricerchi le corde del Basso'). Other Italian evidence documents how bass singers like Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (1515–86) practised 'multi-register' singing, whilst a famous letter of 1562 by Giovanni Camillo Maffei (*fl.* 1562–73) describes how some men could 'very easily sing in the bass, tenor, and any other voice'; see Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007/2016), 181–182, 193–217.

<sup>116</sup>See Fellowes, *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, series 2, xxi, 46.

<sup>117</sup>Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, song 114, sig. Q2<sup>r</sup>. Nothing suggests it is intended as a comical or technical showpiece; note how it is described – with 'melancholy lyrics' and 'sombre minimalist accompaniment' – in the novel by Michel Faber, *The Courage Consort: Three Novellas* (Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2005), 'The Courage Consort', 1–96 (pp. 88–9).

<sup>118</sup>The quotes are taken respectively from Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs*, i, 21–2; and Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, i, 7 and iii, 166. Windet produced other music books including Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1599), John Dowland's *Lachrimæ* (1604), and the lute song books by John Coprario (1606), John Bartlet (1606), and Thomas Ford (1607).

Within the context of all the hints described above in the songbooks for men singing from high clefs an octave below, Campion's observation in his *Tvvo Bookes of Ayres* (?1613) that 'the Treble tunes, which are with us commonly called Ayres, are but Tenors mounted eight Notes higher' surely acquires significance.<sup>119</sup> More crucially, in his singing instruction manual in *The Schoole Of Mvsicke* (1603), Thomas Robinson (c.1560–1610) – after discussing the 'Gam-vt' and its relationship to tablature – explicitly incorporates singing 'eight vnder' into his definition of singing 'with the Lute in the vnison':

'Now you haue gotten the way to tune your voice, (note for note) with the Lute in the vnison, (that is: all in one tune or sound, or eight vnder) then you may rule your voice to the Viol also ...'<sup>120</sup>

Francis Bacon (1561–1626) likewise notes in his *Sylva Sylvarvm* (1627) that the 'Diapason or Eight in Musicke [...] is in effect an Vnison', as in bass courses on lutes tuned 'one an Eight aboue another; Which make but as one Sound'.<sup>121</sup> Additional related evidence further substantiates contemporary performance of lute song melodies an octave below the written pitches by a tenor or baritone voice.<sup>122</sup> Yet what about a man singing the songs at the written pitch using falsetto voice (or loft register) and only occasional modal register for lower notes? (Image 7).

### *The male falsetto voice and the lute song*

According to Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), the 'falsetista' of Continental polychoral music had the same range as the 'Evnuchus' and 'Discantista', that is from b or c' to somewhere between e'' and a''.<sup>123</sup> Praetorius therefore primarily considered the falsetto voice to be a soprano voice (not alto, as it is typically used today). This 'male soprano' range is clearly sufficient to execute the cantus parts of lute songs as written, assuming the full upper range up to a'' is usable (which, incidentally, is usually not the case for modern countertenors or falsettists apart from specialist sopranists).<sup>124</sup> The word 'falsetto', however, appears to have been virtually unknown in England: it only seems to occur in the 1598 and 1611 Italian-English dictionaries of John Florio (1553–1625), who defines it as 'a false treble or counter-tenor in musicke'.<sup>125</sup> Florio's phrase 'false treble' also seems to be absent from other English sources until later on.<sup>126</sup> The Italianate context of this source is

<sup>119</sup>Campion, *Tvvo Bookes of Ayres*, i, 'To the Reader' [sig. A<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>120</sup>Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole Of Mvsicke* (London: Thomas East, 1603), sig. N<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>121</sup>Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarvm: or A Naturall Historie In ten Centuries* (London: John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1626 [=1627]), Century ii, 36.

<sup>122</sup>Several decades later, John Playford (1623–1686/7) explained that he had avoided C-clefs in *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (London: John Playford, 1686) and had instead 'Printed them all in the G, or Treble Cliff, as proper to be Sung by Men or Boys'. He also notes that he could have printed his four-voice Psalms using three treble clefs and a bass clef, since it was 'usual and common for Men to Sing those Songs which are prick'd in a Treble an Eighth lower, where the Parts are so Composed, that they do not interfere with the Bass'; cited in Matthew Locke, *The Present Practice Of Musick Vindicated* (London: N. Brooke, 1673), 86. The opposite solution occurs in Matthew Parker, *The vvhole Psalter translated into English Metre, which contayneth an hundreth and fifty Psalmes. The first Quinquagene* (London: John Daye, ?1567). Here, the nine tunes by Thomas Tallis (1505–85), written in four voice parts, carry the observation (sig. W.iv<sup>r</sup>): 'The Tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other parts, put for greater queers, or to suche as will syng or play them priuatelye'; these tenor parts are all in a C4-clef. 'People' surely includes women and children here reading this clef up an octave; see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 407–8.

<sup>123</sup>Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, ii, sig. Cii<sup>v</sup> (= p. 20), Tabella iv (Vox viva seu humana).

<sup>124</sup>Modern countertenors typically have ranges from around g to d'' or e''. Around half of the entire surviving printed lute songs reach f'' or higher and are therefore problematic as written for countertenors whose highest usable note is e''. Scholars give slight variations for modern countertenor ranges and generally do so within the context of later music, where greater ranges are required; compare John Barry Steane, 'Countertenor', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1992), i, 999 and Marek, *Singing. The First Art*, 123.

<sup>125</sup>Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, 124; John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, Or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Melchior Bradwood and William Stansby, 1611), 178. The phrase 'false treble' seems to have been rare.

<sup>126</sup>See Thomas Brown, *The Whole Comical Works of Mons<sup>r</sup>. Scarron* (London: S. And J. Sprint, 1700), i, ch. ii, 3–4 and ii, ch. vii, 173.



**Image 7.** Anonymous (c.1615), Wall painting of lute player, originally in a bedroom in the west wing of The Swan Inn, No.1 London End, Beaconsfield, now in Aylesbury Museum (© Bucks Free Press, with permission).

thus noteworthy, since falsetto singing seems to have been known in Italy, as famously described by the English traveller Thomas Coryat (c.1577–1617) on his travels to Venice in 1608.<sup>127</sup>

Similarly, the modern association of male falsetto singing with the word ‘countertenor’ (which Florio could appear to substantiate) seems not to reflect general usage in England at this time, which may indicate Florio’s difficulty in finding a clear definition for ‘falsetto’.<sup>128</sup> The word ‘countertenor’ normally occurs alongside various combinations of ‘treble’, ‘mean’, ‘tenor’, and ‘bass’ in contexts ranging from choirs to bell sizes and forest birds;<sup>129</sup> its primary function as a part name is underlined through conflation with terms like ‘contra-tenor’, ‘counterbase’, and ‘counterpoynt’.<sup>130</sup> Only one source – Campion’s

<sup>127</sup>See Parrott, ‘Falsetto beliefs’, 93. Even abroad, falsetto singing was not always mentioned positively, and it may not have been as widely used as is sometimes supposed; see Richard Wistreich, ‘Reconstructing Pre-Romantic Singing Technique’, *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 178–91 (p. 180).

<sup>128</sup>See also Florio’s definition for ‘Mezzano’ as ‘a meane or countertenour in musicke or singing’ in *A Worlde of Wordes*, 225.

<sup>129</sup>For representative examples (many could be cited), see Thomas Adams, *The Happines of the Church* (London: G. P., 1619), ‘Faiths Encovragement’, 413–16 (bells); Thomas Scot, *Philomythie, or, Philomythologie* (London: Francis Constable, 1622), sig. K3<sup>v</sup> (choir); and William Browne, *Britannia’s Pastorals. The first Booke* (London: John Haviland, 1625), i, 65 (birds). A small handful of sources mention ‘countertenor’ on its own, several of which exploit puns on the ‘counters’ of bankers and relate to those residing in prison for debt, like Donald Lupton, *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and quartred into Seuerall Characters* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 42–6 (p. 45).

<sup>130</sup>For example, see Peter Hay, *A Vision Of Balaams Asse* (London: Eliot’s Court Press, 1616), 69 (counterbase); Thomas Becon, *The Reliques of Rome* (London: John Day, 1563), fol. 121<sup>v</sup> (counterpoynt); Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra* (Rouen: John Cousturier, 1633), 146 (counter, counter-alt); Michael Drayton, *Poems: By Michaell Drayton Esquire* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1605), sig. Bb2<sup>v</sup>, Sonnet 6 (counterchime). Incidentally, ‘countertenor’ occasionally meant a lower voice than the tenor;



description of the 1613 entertainment at Reading for Anne of Denmark (1574–1619) given by Lord Knowles – apparently describes a ‘counter-tenor voice’ in music that may have resembled the lute song.<sup>131</sup> Its accompaniment by ‘two vnusuall instruments’, however, may suggest a specific intended effect here; perhaps this ‘counter-tenor voice’ sang a harmony part (like the altus) instead of the melody.<sup>132</sup> More significantly, the only example of a contratenor in Campion’s lute song books is actually written in a C3-clef with the range d to f.<sup>133</sup> This range is not only virtually identical to other tenor parts in Campion’s songs,<sup>134</sup> but it also matches exactly two of the tenor ranges stipulated by Morley in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*: the ‘Tenor’ in the ‘low key’ and the ‘Tenor primus’ in the ‘compositions for men onely to sing’ (both in C4-clef, range d–f’).<sup>135</sup> The ‘counter-tenor voice’ Campion describes in the 1613 entertainment was thus probably a high tenor, not a falsettist.<sup>136</sup> Further support for this reading may be found in Le Roy’s description of lute strings (‘the high Tenour, called in Latine *Contratenor* [...] is nexte to the highest, or Treble’) and Dowland’s translation of *Micrologvs* (‘the high *Tenor*, is the vppermost part, saue one of a Song’), amongst others.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, this meaning of ‘countertenor’ most likely derives from the term’s origins in late medieval music, where the ‘contratenor’ originally occupied a similar range to the ‘tenor’ and was later subdivided into ‘contratenor altus’ and ‘contratenor bassus’ respectively.<sup>138</sup>

Lastly, it is important briefly to address the ‘Evnuchus’ mentioned by Praetorius. Although known to English readers through literary texts, the eunuch represented something theoretical, not real, in English society, as exemplified by those sources that refer to the Biblical passage in Acts 8 where Philip the Evangelist met the Ethiopian eunuch;<sup>139</sup> indeed, actual English contact with eunuchs was seemingly had solely by English ambassadors abroad.<sup>140</sup> Only a tiny handful of English sources mention a eunuch singing to a lute, a character that is primarily used to conjure up exotic authenticity in ancient and foreign settings.<sup>141</sup> Unlike in Continental princely chapels,<sup>142</sup> eunuchs seem not to have been employed in English royal or ecclesiastical choirs, nor are they apparently mentioned in descriptions of actual English music-making – a fact exemplified by the letters of Richard Champernoun of Modbury (c.1558–1622) to Sir Robert Cecil (1563–1612) in 1595, in which he fiercely denied ‘an ydle & vntrew

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see Samuel Purchas, *Pvrchas His Pilgrimes. In Five Bookes* [...] *The Third Part* (London: William Stansby, 1625), i, ch. 10, 181 (from Gaspar da Cruz’s account of his travels in China), which describes an ensemble using ‘two small Bandoraes for the Tenor, a great one for counter-Tenor’, amongst other instruments.

<sup>131</sup>Thomas Campion, *A Relation Of The Late Royall Entertainment Given By The Right Honorable The Lord Knowles...* (London: William Stansby, 1613), sig. B<sup>v</sup> (‘this Song was sung by an excellent counter-tenor voice, with rare varietie of diuision vnto two vnusuall instruments’). See Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, 87–8.

<sup>132</sup>As suggested on the title pages of Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes*, and Jones, *The First Booke of Songes*.

<sup>133</sup>Campion, *Tvvo Bookes of Ayres*, ii, song 3 (‘Harden now thy tyred hart’).

<sup>134</sup>For example, see Campion, *Tvvo Bookes of Ayres*, i, songs 1 (‘Avthor of light’) and 9 (‘Most sweete and pleasing’), whose tenor parts both use a C3-clef and have a range of d to g’.

<sup>135</sup>Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, iii, 166.

<sup>136</sup>Earlier in Campion, *A Relation Of The Late Royall Entertainment*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>, a five-part song is also incidentally described where two characters ‘sing two Countertenors’ (the others sing ‘two Trebles’ and ‘the Base’).

<sup>137</sup>Le Roy, *A briefe and plaine Instruction*, p.6<sup>r</sup>; Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcvs His Micrologvs*, iv, 84. See also John Taylor, *The Nipping Or Snipping Of Abvses* (London: Ed. Griffin, 1614), sig. K3<sup>v</sup> (Epigram 30), where ‘the Tenor’ is linked to ‘the cursed Counter booke’.

<sup>138</sup>See Don Michael Randel, ed., *The Harvard Dictionary of Music: Fourth Edition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986/2003), 212 (‘Contratenor’).

<sup>139</sup>For a representative example, see Lancelot Andrewes, *Scala Caeli. Nineteene Sermons Concerning Prayer* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1611), p.244<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>140</sup>See Agostino Nani’s 1601 (=1602) letter to the Doge and the Senate sent from Constantinople, describing how the ‘English Ambassador’ had presented a note to the ‘Chief Eunuch’ about a Spanish naval attack, in Horatio F. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating To English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ix (1592–1603) (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1897), 495 (entry 1055).

<sup>141</sup>George Whetstone, *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses* (London: Richard Jones, 1582), sig. Ci<sup>v</sup>, sig. Hiv<sup>v</sup>, sig. Miv<sup>r</sup>, sig. Piv<sup>r</sup>, sig. Sii<sup>v</sup>, and sig. Xi<sup>r</sup>; and Gervase Markham, *The most Famous and renowned Historie, of that woorthie and illustrious Knight Meruine* (London: R. Blower and Valentine Simmes, 1612), 65. A couple of other English sources mention a eunuch singing to a harp or unnamed instrument.

<sup>142</sup>See Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, ii, 17 and iii, 82.



report of mee as a gelder of boyes for preserving theyr voyces’, noting that such action would be ‘agaynst reason, & the law’.<sup>143</sup> More importantly, eunuchs were generally believed to represent an odd middle gender (‘lesse then a man, & halfe a woman’),<sup>144</sup> and were seen as ‘vnperfect’, ‘effeminate’, and ‘womanish’.<sup>145</sup> These negative assessments link to more general contemporary suspicion aroused by effeminate men, who were considered to ‘have degenerated into women’ and thus to have transformed ‘from the more perfect to the imperfect’;<sup>146</sup> indeed, he who ‘hath the voyce lyke a woman, is esteemed of the wise to haue litle vnderstanding or knowledge’ – something that the aspiring courtly amateur male musician could hardly think it worth emulating.<sup>147</sup>

On the face of it, therefore, evidence for the falsetto voice in the lute song appears to be absent. Nevertheless, the possibility that contemporary Englishmen used different terminology to ours to mean falsetto singing remains open. Indeed, the vocabulary used c.1600 to describe spoken and sung voices reveals slight differences between Elizabethan and modern English, and careful analysis is required to unravel the subtle nuances and meanings intended. For example, whether spoken, sung, female, or male, a ‘low’ voice often simply meant one that was quiet, weak or submissive (rather than indicating pitch), as in Thomas Ravenscroft’s (c.1588–1635) prefatory singing directions in *The Whole Booke Of Psalmes* (1633), which contrasts ‘low’ with ‘loude’.<sup>148</sup> Likewise, a ‘high’ voice frequently indicated excitement, emotion, or a loud volume rather than exclusively describing pitch per se; this is exemplified by Stephen Batman’s (d. 1584) observation that the ‘perfect voyce’ in music should (amongst other things) be ‘high to bee well heard’.<sup>149</sup> This conflation of ‘high’ and ‘loud’ versus ‘low’ and ‘quiet’ is frequently seen in contemporary descriptions of (loud) ‘treble’ versus (soft) ‘tenor’ and ‘bass’ voices,<sup>150</sup> and it can be traced back through several previous centuries in literary, musical, and theoretical sources from across Europe.<sup>151</sup> Thus, it seems that ‘high’ and ‘low’ often relate only partially or indirectly to pitch except

<sup>143</sup>See John M. Wasson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 288–90.

<sup>144</sup>T. G. (Thomas Gainsford?), *The Rich Cabinet* (London: John Beale, 1616), p.71<sup>f</sup>. An oft-recurring phrase used to describe eunuchs is ‘a man and yet no man’, as in John Case (attrib.), *The Praise of Mvsicke* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586), 82.

<sup>145</sup>Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, 363 (entry for ‘Semiuiro’); Thomas de Fougasses, *The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice* (London: George Eld and William Stansby, 1612), i, 9; Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, iv, 242.

<sup>146</sup>Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that famous Chirurghion Ambrose Parey*, trans. Thomas Johnson (London: Thomas Cotes, 1634), 975. See also William Prynne’s famous *Histrio-mastix. The Players Scovrge* (London: Edward Allde and William Jones, 1633), especially Act 5, scene vi, pp. 178–216.

<sup>147</sup>Ortensio Landi, *Delectable demaundes, and pleasaunt Questions, with their seuerall Aunswers*, trans. William Painter (London: John Cawood, 1566), ii, p.27<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>148</sup>Thomas Ravenscroft, preface ‘To All That Have Skill, or Will vnto Sacred Musicke’, *The Whole Booke Of Psalmes* (London: Thomas Harper, 1633), unpaginated. Other representative examples include Thomas Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankinde* (London: Henry Denham, 1571), p. 134<sup>f</sup>: ‘The voyce decerned small and lowe, doth indicate such a creature to be fearefull, and enuious. By this low voyce, is here ment (sayth the Phisiognomer) the small and faint voyce: and not the bigge, in any maner’; and Gualtherus Bruele, *Praxis Medicinæ, Or, The Physicians Practice* (London: John Norton, 1632), 136: ‘Svch men are sayd to be dull of hearing, who cannot heare a low voyce, and scarce vnderstand loud voyces’.

<sup>149</sup>Stephen Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome* (London: Thomas East, 1582), xix, ch. 134 (‘De musica’), sig. Cccc.ii<sup>v</sup>. Other representative examples include Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankinde*, p. 133<sup>v</sup>: ‘a person which hath a grosse, high, and sounding voyce: is reported to be eloquent, bold, fierce, and valiant in armes, or a warriour’; and Jean de Hainault, *The Estate of the Church, With the discourse of times, from the Apostles vntill this present*, trans. Simon Patrick (London: Thomas Creede, 1602), 480, where a guard on the town gates of Arras ‘vsed customably vpon the wall to sing with an high voyce’ to ‘aduertise the enemies when they should approach’.

<sup>150</sup>For representative examples, see Philemon Holland, *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1603), 69 (the ‘Meane’ is between the ‘height and loudnesse’ of the treble and the ‘lownesse or basenesse’ of the bass); and Josuah Sylvester, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1611), 92 (‘your loud Trebbles help my lowly Bassus’). The word ‘shrill’, meaning ‘loud’ or ‘clear’, also occurs both generally and in relation to treble voices, and could be positive or negative; contrast Thomas Hoby, *The Covrtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castilio* (London: William Seres, 1561), sig.Fiii<sup>i</sup> (amongst other things, a ‘good voyce’ is ‘shrill’) with Thomas Middleton, *The Famelie Of Love* (London: Richard Bradock, 1608), Act 5, ‘scaena vltima’, sig.12<sup>v</sup> (‘your wife makes you deafe with the shrill treble of her tong’).

<sup>151</sup>A pertinent example can be found in descriptions of the so-called ‘alta capella’ or wind band of the late Middle Ages by (amongst others) Konrad of Megenberg (1309–74) and Johannes Tinctoris (c.1435–1511), where ‘alta’ had both connotations ‘loud’ and ‘high’ whereas ‘bas’ instruments were considered to be ‘soft’ and ‘low’; see Herbert W. Myers, ‘Reeds and Brass’,

where musical ‘notes’ or ‘sounds’ are explicitly described, but even here, the terms must be understood in a relative sense and therefore fail to provide clear evidence for falsetto singing.<sup>152</sup> Other words used to describe voices include ‘small’ and ‘litle’ – generally for women, children and eunuchs – or ‘great’ and ‘deepe’ – generally for men. This distinction occurs frequently and was linked to understanding of biological differences between ages and genders;<sup>153</sup> indeed, ‘a great voyce in a woman’ was considered to be ‘an euill sygne’, whereas men who had a ‘small voyce’ were thought to be weak.<sup>154</sup>

Occasionally, specific musical terminology is also used. Several texts mention a man’s ‘treble voyce’, which could initially seem to indicate falsetto singing, although it should be noted that none of these references occur in relation to lute accompaniment.<sup>155</sup> A number of these describe the typical ‘ballad-monger’ or ‘common Fidler’ who, amongst other things, ‘can Match his Treble to the Uioll’.<sup>156</sup> However, these are illiterate singer-sellers who are usually portrayed in unambiguously unflattering terms – for example, as so impoverished that ‘his totall meanes amounts but to fiue markes, which he hath miseraby [sic] beene scraping all his life-time’ and whose best source of income is ‘Drunkards, and such as are lasciuiously inclin’d’ – a somewhat different context, audience, and performer from those of the printed lute song collections.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, the collective references that describe a man’s ‘treble’ voice are not only tiny in number but they also seem to be predominantly metaphorical (meaning ‘at the top of his range’) rather than indicating literal pitches in a G2-clef.<sup>158</sup> The same is true of references to a man singing or exclaiming ‘a note about *Ela*’ (‘*Ela*’ was the highest note in the Guidonian system, i.e. *e*’), where a literal reading is undermined by the existence of similar wording in relation to women’s voices.<sup>159</sup>

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*A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music*, Ross W. Duffin, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 384–98. The phrase ‘alta voce’ also occurs frequently in Medieval texts and replicates this ‘loud’–‘high’ conflation; for a representative example, see Richard Rastall, *Minstrels Playing: Music in Early English Religious Drama II* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), 247–8.

<sup>152</sup>For example, see Robert Robinson, *The Art of Pronuntiatiō* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1617), particularly sig. B11<sup>r</sup>–B12<sup>r</sup>, where the ‘sounds’ of ‘mans voice’ are ‘observed of Musitiāns, by placing higher or lower (as the case doth require) of sundry formed cliffes [...] the *Faut*, *C. solfavt*, and *G solrevt* cliffes, that are chiefly in vse, vpon certaine parrallell lynes drawne one about another to expres the height or depth of their sounds’.

<sup>153</sup>For a pertinent example, see Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarvm*, Century ii, 52 and Century ix, 226. On eunuchs and ‘small’ voices, see Juan Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, trans. Richard Carew (London: Adam Islip, 1594), 279–80.

<sup>154</sup>See Robert Copland (attrib.), *The Shepards Kalender* (London: Thomas East, ?1570), sig. Lvii<sup>r</sup>; and Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: John Hunne, 1577), ii, 36, on the physical characteristics of Richard de Clare, Second Earl of Pembroke (1130–76).

<sup>155</sup>A reference in Marcos Martínez, *The Eighth Booke of the Myrrou of Knighthood. Being the third of the third Part*, trans. L. A. (London: Thomas Creede, 1599), sig. Kk<sup>v</sup>, where Agesilao sings to a lute and ‘did [...] runne vpon the treble with such heauenly melodie’, could initially seem to provide an exception, but ‘treble’ actually refers to the lute’s top string here. The verb ‘runne’ occurs elsewhere in relation to (fast) lute playing, as in Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist’s Tragedie* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1611), Act 4, scene i, sig. H2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>156</sup>The quote is taken from Henry Fitzgeffrey, ‘Notes from Black-Fryers’, *Satyres: And Satyricall Epigram’s: With Certaine Observations at Black-Fryers?* (London: Edward Allde, 1617), sig. F6<sup>r</sup>–F6<sup>v</sup>, at sig. F6<sup>v</sup>. See also Henry Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame* (London: J. Wolfe and J. Danter, ?1593), C2<sup>r</sup> (see also sig. B2<sup>v</sup>); Henry Hutton, *Follie’s Anatomie* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1619), sig. B3<sup>r</sup>–B4<sup>r</sup>, at B4<sup>r</sup>; and Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A Nevv Cast Of Characters* (London: Felix Kingston, 1631), 13.

<sup>157</sup>Henry Parrot, *Cyres For The Itch* (London: J. Haviland and M. Flesher, 1626), sig. A8<sup>v</sup>–B<sup>r</sup>, at sig. B<sup>r</sup>. Various English ballad collections survive from the period, both printed and manuscript – significantly, without music; see *Verse Miscellanies Online*, [www.versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk](http://www.versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk). On the different context of ballad singers, see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 239–42.

<sup>158</sup>For representative examples, see Marcos Martínez, *The sixth Booke of the Myrrou of Knighthood*, trans. Robert Parry (attrib.) (London: Edward Allde, 1598), part 3, i, sig. I<sup>v</sup> (lovesick Torismundo exclaims ‘My wofull selfe will sing or cry the treble’ whilst the ‘still streame’ provides the ‘meane’ and the ‘Wilde Forrest beasts’ the ‘base’); and Girolamo Fracastoro, *The Maidens Blush*, trans. Josuah Sylvester (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1620), sig. B<sup>r</sup> (Joseph calls to his fellow shepherds ‘with his Treble throat, / So loud and shrill’). Some references to a ‘treble voic’d’ man simply mean ‘three-voiced’, particularly in relation to hell’s porter (alluding to Cerberus, the three-headed hound of Hades), as in John Taylor, *The Eighth VVonder Of The VVorld* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1613), sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>159</sup>Examples of men sounding ‘*ela*’ are: John Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (London: Thomas East, 1580), sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>; and Gervase Markham, *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen* (London: W. White, 1598), sig. G<sup>v</sup>. For similar descriptions of women’s voices, see Robert Greene, *Greenes Neuer too late* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1590), 44; and Thomas Dekker, *Blvrt Master-constable. Or The Spaniards Night-walke* (London: Edward Allde, 1602), sig. E4<sup>r</sup>.

Discussions of the voice in contemporary anatomical and rhetorical works and almanacs provide further context here. In his *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), for example, the royal physician Helkiah Crooke (1576–1635) noted that a man might ‘vary’ his spoken voice ‘high, low, or in a middle key, or as we say Treble, Base or Tenor’,<sup>160</sup> whilst others like Robert Robinson (*fl.* 1617) and Richard Mulcaster (?1530–1611) used more generic terminology to describe man’s spoken range (from ‘shrill and lowd’ to ‘base and deep’).<sup>161</sup> Several writers noted that the ‘meane’ was the optimal spoken voice for a man, since a ‘meane voyce in sounde and in greatnes, declareth the man to bee wyse, circumspecte, iuste, and trew’.<sup>162</sup> Clearly, in such passages, ‘meane’ does not indicate the musical pitch associated with the ‘meane’ sung voice of a boy; rather, it relates here to a midrange adult male voice, and such usage was not confined exclusively to ‘scientific’ texts.<sup>163</sup> These writings about a man’s spoken voice in turn contextualize descriptions of a man’s singing voice that imply a similarly large range, like that of Philemon Holland (1552–1637), who noted that ‘Musicians are woont to guide and rule the voice gently by litle and little up and downe, betweene base to treble, according to everie note as they would themselves, teaching their scholars thereby to have a tunable voice’.<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, the general preference for a ‘meane’ (i.e. midrange) adult male spoken voice convincingly explains why some texts that discuss man’s singing actually seem to conflate ‘a Meane, or Tenor’.<sup>165</sup> In any case, the rarity of references to a man’s ‘treble’ voice can be set alongside equally unusual descriptions of female voices that use words such as ‘alt’, ‘tenour’, and even ‘bace’.<sup>166</sup>

Finally, the verb ‘faine’ or ‘feign’ (and its related adjectives) has sometimes been assumed to indicate the ‘falsetto’ voice in scholarship to date.<sup>167</sup> The musical use of this word seems to have been linked closely to its more typical nonmusical definitions: ‘to counterfeit’, ‘to inuent a lie’, ‘to falsifie’, etc., much like the modern ‘feign’. For example, the lexicographers Richard Huloet (*fl.* 1552) and Thomas Cooper (? 1517–94) translate the Latin verb ‘incino, incinere’ respectively as ‘Singe a tryple, properly to fayne a small breast’ and ‘To sing: to feyne a small voyce: to sowne pleasantye and with melodie’, thus equating singing a treble part with imitating or pretending to have a high voice.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>160</sup>Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, viii, 644 (sic. = 640); see also x, 766 and xii, 911.

<sup>161</sup>Robinson, *The Art of Pronuntiacion*, sig. A12<sup>v</sup>; and Richard Mulcaster, *Positions VVherin Those Primitive Circvmstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie For The Training vp of Children* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581), 55–8.

<sup>162</sup>Richard Roussat, *The Most excellent, profitable, and pleasant booke of the famous doctour and expert Astrologien Arcandain*, trans. William Ward (London: James Rowbotham, ?1562), sig. Riiij<sup>v</sup>. See also Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588), ii, sig. H6<sup>v</sup>; and Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankinde*, pp. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup> and p. 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>163</sup>For example, see Nicholas Breton, *I Pray you be not Angry, for I will make you merry* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1624), sig. B3<sup>v</sup>–B4<sup>r</sup>, where Fabiano describes a ‘young man’ whose voice was ‘neyther Treble nor Base, but a good meane’ – clearly a youth of sexual maturity, since he subsequently ‘playes false with my seruant maide’ and ‘steales away my eldest daughter’.

<sup>164</sup>Holland, *The Philosophie*, 122. For similar descriptions, see Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The Second Part Of The French Academie*, trans. Thomas Bowes (London: G. Bishop, Ralph Newbery, R. Barker, 1594), 95; and Brathwaite’s description of a ‘Ballad-monger’ in *Whimzies*, 13.

<sup>165</sup>For example, see Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarvm*, Century ii, p. 51 (‘a Meane, or Tenor, is the sweetest Part’); and de La Primaudaye, *The Second Part Of The French Academie*, p. 95 (a man may ‘open and shut’ his larynx ‘in middle sort either more or lesse to make the tenor or the meane’). See also Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelue seuerall Labours* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1575), 119 (the ‘Marchants keep a mean vnmixt, / with any iarryng part: / And bryng boeth Treble and the Baess, in order still by art’).

<sup>166</sup>Arthur Golding, trans., *The XV. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis* (London: William Seres, 1567), xii, p. 151<sup>r</sup> (Ceny asks to be ‘no more a woman’, which she says ‘in bacer tune [...] and her voyce / Did seeme a mannes voyce as it was in deede’); Kennedy, *The Historie Of Calanthrop And Lvcilla*, sig. B3<sup>r</sup>, on the two ‘Furies’ Megaera and Alecto (the Goddesses of Vengeance): ‘For whilst their Lutes, a Base or Tenour sound, / Their voyce in Alts sweet musicke doe abound’; Purchas, *Pvrchas his Pilgrimes. In Five Bookes*, part 4, vii, ch. 1, p. 1293 (on the ‘Indians of Brasil’: ‘They keepe among themselues differencies of voices in their Consort: and ordinarily the women doe sing the Treble, Counter, and Tenours’).

<sup>167</sup>Unlike today, where ‘faining’ and ‘feigning’ have different definitions, the spellings and meanings are used interchangeably in contemporary sources. See James Stark, *Bel Canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999/2003), 35–6, 58–67. See also Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 132, no. 16; and Parrott, ‘Falsetto Beliefs’, 106, no. 113. ‘Faine’ also occurs as an adverb, meaning ‘willingly’ or ‘happily’, as in Campion, *The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres*, iv, song 24 (‘Faine would I wed a faire yong man’).

<sup>168</sup>Richard Huloet, rev. John Higgins, *Hvloets Dictionarie, newelye corrected, amended, Set In Order And Enlarged* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1572), sig. Qqii<sup>r</sup>, ‘S. ante. I.’; Thomas Cooper, *Thesavrvs Lingvæ Romanæ & Britannicæ* (London: Henry

A famous musical use of 'faine' that might perhaps indicate falsetto singing (possibly for a specific effect) occurs in Thomas Campion's description of the 1613 entertainment cited above, where 'the Robin-hood-men faine two Trebles' in a five-voice song.<sup>169</sup> Yet the idea that this word generally meant falsetto singing at this time is questionable. John Florio, for example, does not link 'faine' to 'falsetto' (or 'false treble'), even though he uses this word in another musical context, in his entry for 'Croma': '... pleasant and delightsome musike with descant, faining or quauering', a description which closely resembles Philemon Holland's definition of 'Chromaticke Musicke'.<sup>170</sup> Other sources also suggest a link between 'faine' and ornamentation, such as Nicholas Breton's *The Court and Country* (1618), which twice contrasts 'faine' with 'sing plaine'.<sup>171</sup>

The word 'faine' elsewhere seems to relate to a soft volume in musical contexts. A pertinent example occurs in Cooper's translation of a Latin quotation of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (c.35–100 AD) ('elisa voce canere, vel loqui'): 'To feygne in singing: to speake in a small feygning voyce: also to speake or singe as one coulede heardely vtter his voyce'.<sup>172</sup> Other musical references appear to conflate 'faine' with 'faint' or 'faintly',<sup>173</sup> recalling in turn the frequently seen link between 'tenor' or 'bass' singing and a 'soft' delivery, as in contemporary translations of the Latin 'succino, succinere' (rendered variously as 'to fain in singing' and 'To make a soft noyse: to sing a base or tenor', etc.).<sup>174</sup> Indeed, in his 1593 translation of a French description of a nightingale's singing, in which the bird traverses different polyphonic voice parts (from treble to bass), John Eliot renders the verb 'contrefaire' in four ways – 'sings', 'counterfeiteth', 'quauereth' and 'faineth' – significantly, pairing 'faineth' with 'the base'.<sup>175</sup>

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Denham, 1578), sig. Qqq2<sup>v</sup>, 'INC': 'incino'. Modern Latin dictionaries translate this word more generally (e.g. to cause to sound, to strike up, to sing, etc.), which may suggest a change in linguistic expression rather than a loss of precise meaning.

<sup>169</sup>Campion, *A Relation Of The Late Royall Entertainment*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>. Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs', 106, no. 112, offers several possible interpretations of this sentence (some convincing, others – like miming to someone else's treble singing – less so).

<sup>170</sup>Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, 92. See Holland, *The Philosophie*, sig. Zzzzz2<sup>v</sup>, 'Chromaticke Musicke': 'soft, delicate and effeminate, ful of descant, fained voyces and quauering, as some are of opinion'. In modern Italian, 'croma' means a quaver (eighth note), which may suggest fast note values here (hence 'quauering').

<sup>171</sup>Nicholas Breton, *The Court and Country* (London: George Eld, 1618), sig. A4<sup>r</sup> and sig. D4<sup>r</sup>. Certain foreign dictionaries replicate this trend, like Mathias Sasbout, *Dictionaire Francoys-Flameng Tres Ample Et Copievx* (Anvers: Jean Waesberghe, 1579), 'FA', sig. Aa2<sup>v</sup>, where 'Faulset en chanterie' is translated as 'De diminueringhe oft de schetteringhe int singhen' – a description which appears almost verbatim in Jean Waesberghe, *Dictionaire Francoys-Flamen Tres-Ample Et Copievx* (Rotterdam: Jean Waesberghe, 1599), sig. X2<sup>v</sup>, this time as a definition for 'Fredon' (in modern French, 'fredonner' means 'hum' or 'croon'). 'Schetteringhe' is translated in its musical sense by Henry Hexham, *Het Groot Woorden-Boeck* (Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1658), 'SCH', sig. Ee4<sup>v</sup> as 'a Quauering in Musick'.

<sup>172</sup>Cooper, *Thesavrvs Lingvæ*, sig. Ttttt3<sup>r</sup>, 'VOX'. Interestingly, this quote also appears in several Continental dictionaries; for example, see anon., *Lexicon Trilingve, Ex Thesavro Roberti Stephani* (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihelius, 1586), sig. SSS<sup>r</sup> ('VOX'), which translates this sentence as 'falsch singen oder reden', whilst Jean Nicot, *Thresor De La Langve Francoyse* (Paris: David Douceur, 1606), 281 ('FA') renders it 'Chanter ou parler en faulset'.

<sup>173</sup>For example, see Richard Capel, *Tentations. Their Nature, Danger, Cure* (London: R. Badger, 1633), 152 ('men faint and sing many a heavy song'). This confusion may stem from French, as in John Cowell, *The Interpreter: Or Booke Containing the Signification of VVords* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1607), sig. Dd4<sup>v</sup>, 'FA', entry for 'Faint and false action': '... For (faint) in the French tongue signifieth as much as (fained) in English'.

<sup>174</sup>John Stanbridge, rev. Thomas Paynell, *Vocabula Magistri, Sta[n]brigij* (London: John Day, ?1560), sig. E4<sup>v</sup>, ('to singe the base'); Peter Levins, *Manipvlvs Vocabvlorum: A Dictionarie of English and Latine Words* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1570), sig. Qiii<sup>v</sup>, 'Ay ante N' ('to fain in singing'); and Cooper, *Thesavrvs Lingvæ*, sig. Fffff2<sup>v</sup>, 'SVC' ('... To make a soft noyse: to sing a base or tenor'). Huloet, *Hvloets Dictionarie*, 'T. ante E.', sig. Vvii<sup>r</sup> translates 'Tenor' as 'he y<sup>t</sup> singeth a tenor. Succentor, ris. m. ge.' (linking to the verb succino), whilst Dupleix, *The Resoluer*, 291, notes that the 'base' is 'the voice the most grosse, and which singeth the most softly'. A tiny handful of texts ascribe characteristics like 'bellowing' and 'roare' to tenor and bass voices, although these generally do so for a specific 'manly', warlike, or bucolic effect; see Brian Vickers, ed., *Oxford World's Classics: Francis Bacon: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996/2002), 416; and Jonson, 'The Second Masque', *The Characters of Two royall Masques* (1608), sig. E<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>175</sup>John Eliot, *Ortho-Epia Gallica. Eliots Frvits for the French* (London: Richard Field, 1593), 150–1. The nightingale is described in several other sources in a similar fashion, singing all the parts in polyphonic music; for representative examples, see Pierre Boistuau, trans. John Alday, *Theatrum mundi, The Theatre or rule of the world* (London: H. D., ?1566), sig. cvi<sup>r</sup>; and Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, 132.



Other examples of ‘faine’ in musical contexts seem to indicate a manner of delivery, such as the use of cunning or pretence, as in *A Midsummer nights dreame* (1600) by William Shakespeare (1564–1616), where Egeus complains that Duke Lysander has stolen his daughter’s heart after having (amongst other things) ‘by moone-light, at her windowe sung, / With faining voice, verses of faining loue’.<sup>176</sup> This may link to nonmusical definitions such as Abraham Fraunce’s (1558–92) explanation of the literary device *prosopopeia* – the ‘fayning of any person, when in our speach we represent the person of anie, and make it speake as though he were there present’<sup>177</sup> – in turn perhaps explaining why some sources appear to distinguish ‘faine’ from ‘sing’.<sup>178</sup>

Whatever ‘faine’ therefore means in any given example from a musical context, it clearly represents problematic evidence for the falsetto voice in the lute song repertory. Moreover, it would appear that it was not always used exclusively to describe male voices, since at least one contemporary literary text – *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (1567) by William Painter (?1540–94) – describes ‘three Amorous Gentlewomen’ who each had ‘a heauenlie voice to faine and sing’.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, almost none of the numerous contemporary English literary references that describe a man singing to a lute use the word ‘faine’, and those that do seem to fall outside the immediate period in which the lute song collections were printed (1597–1622; see Appendix 2). Instead, most sources simply use ‘sing’ or sometimes ‘warble’, or more rarely words like ‘accord’, ‘sought out’, and ‘sound’.<sup>180</sup> The tiny handful of references which mention a man ‘faining’ to a lute are also primarily translations of foreign texts from countries where falsetto singing may have been more known.<sup>181</sup>

In view of all of the above, it therefore seems likely that lute songs were not intended for a man singing in his falsetto voice. Indeed, this manner of singing can only be justified in the lute song repertory by assuming that words like ‘sing’ and ‘warble’ function as generic umbrella terms for any vocal technique or style of performance imaginable. Contemporaries also seem to have favoured a ‘naturall voyce’,<sup>182</sup> and

<sup>176</sup>See William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Nights Dreame* (London: Richard Bradock, 1600), Act 1, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>. Other uses of ‘feigned voyce’ imply pretence or imitation like Abraham Fleming, *A Panoplie of Epistles* (London: Henry Middleton, 1576), 402 (he ‘had spoken his words with a feigning voice like a Gyant’).

<sup>177</sup>Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, sig. G2<sup>f</sup>. See also John Brinsley, *Cato Translated Grammatically* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1612), iii, 21: ‘For the Poets doe sing things to be maruelled at, but not to be beleueed’.

<sup>178</sup>For example, see Barnabe Rich, *Rich his Farewell to Militarie profession* (London: George Eld, 1606), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>, where the ‘commendable qualities’ he needs to impress ‘Gentlewomen’ include ‘sight in Song’ which he calls ‘faining some pretty Ditties’, but he notes: ‘my mouth is so vnpleasant, either to sing, or to faine, as would rather breed your lothing, then your liking’.

<sup>179</sup>William Painter, *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1567), novel 14, p. 89<sup>v</sup>. Painter later describes (novel 24, p. 205<sup>v</sup> [sig. FFf.i<sup>v</sup>]) how, in the city, love songs were ‘more common in eche Citizens mouthe, than the Stanze or Sonnets of Petrarch, played and fained vpon the Gittorne, Lute or Harpe of these of Noble house’ (‘citizens’ presumably includes women). In Robert Greene, rev. John Dickenson, *Greene In Conceipt* (London: Richard Bradock, 1598), 53, Valeria ‘tooke hir Lute, and therto warbled with a fainting voyce’, which may be a conflation with ‘faining’. See also Thomas Nash, *Pierce Penilesse His Sypplication to the Diuell* (London: Abell Jeffes, 1592), sig. B3<sup>v</sup>: ‘the puling accent of her voyce is like a famed treble, or ones voyce that interprets to the puppets’, where ‘famed’ may be a misprint for ‘fained’.

<sup>180</sup>For representative examples, see: Hoby, *The Covrtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castilio*, Book 2, sig. m.iii<sup>v</sup> (sing); Robert Greene, *Perimedes The Blacke-Smith* (London: John Wolfe, 1588), sig. G<sup>v</sup> (warble); Thomas Watson, *The Hekatompathia Or Passionate Centurie of Loue* (London: John Wolfe, 1582), Sonnet XII, sig. B2<sup>v</sup> (accord); Saker, *Narbonus*, ii, 26 (sought out); George Turberville, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (London: Henry Denham, 1567), p. 143<sup>v</sup> (sound); and Thomas Lodge, *An Alarum against Vsurers* (London: Thomas East, 1584), p. 22<sup>f</sup> (recorded).

<sup>181</sup>Desiderius Erasmus, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, trans. Thomas Wilson (London: Richard Grafton, 1553), ii, 72; and Painter, *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure*, novel 23 (The Duchesse of Malfi), pp. 170<sup>v</sup>–171<sup>f</sup> and novel 29 (Dom Diego and Gineira), p. 320<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>182</sup>See Robinson, “‘A perfect-full harmonie’”, 200, no. 20. See also Richard Greenham, rev. Henry Holland, *The Workes Of The Reverend And Faithfull Servant Af Iesvs Christ M. Richard Greenham* (London: Thomas Snodham and Thomas Creede, 1612), 330, which criticizes ‘hypocrites’ who ‘haue not the sweete and naturall voyce, which commeth from a well affected and right ordered minde’; Allison, *The Psalmes Of Dauid in Meter*, who says the ‘singing part’ should be ‘either Tenor or Treble [...] according to the nature of the voyce’; and Robinson, *The Art of Pronuntiation*, whose title page boasts that it is ‘very necessary [...] to know the naturall structure of the voice’. Other texts express negative opinions on singers going beyond a natural range,



even some modern exponents of the falsetto voice do not consider it to be ‘natural’.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers clearly distinguished the sound of a ‘mannes voyce’ from a ‘boyes voyce’,<sup>184</sup> and unambiguous evidence for English men singing in a soprano range to lute accompaniment seems to be similarly absent.

### Conclusions

Having analysed the printed lute song collections alongside evidence both for the lute and also singing in late Tudor and early Stuart England, the following conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, it is evident that all of the lute song collections were printed in a format which was supposed to facilitate instant performance, primarily with a mean lute in *g'* or bass viol (or both together) and, except in rare cases where the voice has to fit the lute’s differently pitched tablature, without the need for any transposition. Secondly, this repertory was intended for singers of all ages and both genders, with women and children singing the song melodies in the written treble register and men singing them in the octave below (excluding the occasional songs that use low clefs like C4 and F4-clefs, which were clearly intended primarily for a male voice at pitch). It also seems very questionable that this performance solution might have changed simply depending on the amateur or professional background or context of the singer.<sup>185</sup> Perhaps more importantly, these specific conclusions about the lute song provide further support for the recent research which has challenged the use of falsetto singing in England more generally at this time (particularly within a sacred context). In short, perhaps the lost soundworld of ‘the sweetest Lute, and best composed song’ in England c.1595–1625 is finally emerging with more clarity via a better understanding of the likely voices which would ‘to the lute full many a dittie sing’.<sup>186</sup>

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like Thomas Adams, *A Divine Herball Together with a Forrest of Thornes* (London: George Purslowe, 1616), 85 (‘forc’d squeaking trebble’).

<sup>183</sup>In a 2004 interview for the *Independent*, the countertenor James Bowman apparently ‘admitted that the countertenor voice could be described as fake: “It’s an acquired technique. Nobody speaks in that register.”; see Michael Church, ‘The highs and the lows’, *Independent* (3 May 2004), <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/the-highs-and-the-lows-58710.html>. See also James C. McKinney, *The Diagnosis & Correction of Vocal Faults: A Manual for Teachers of Singing & for Choir Directors* (Illinois: Genevox Music Group, 1994), 96–7.

<sup>184</sup>Thomas Lupton, *A Moral And Pitiēful Comedie, Intituled, All for Money* (London: Roger Warde and Richard Mundeē, 1578), sig. Di<sup>r</sup> (‘Shall I in my mannes voyce or in my boyes voyce it declare?’); and William Shakespeare, *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice* (London: James Roberts, 1600), Act 3, scene iv, sig. G<sup>v</sup> (‘speake betweene the change of man and boy, vvith a reede voyce’). See also Francis Meres, *Wits Common Wealth The Second Part* (London: William Stansby, 1634), 423 (an ‘old singer [...] leaue the shriller parts of singing vnto youth, who are more sit [=fit] for them’).

<sup>185</sup>For example, see Campion, *The Description of a Maske [...] At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset*, sig. C<sup>v</sup>, sig. C2<sup>v</sup> and sig. D2<sup>v</sup>, where professional musicians like John Coprario and Nicholas Lanier are named alongside several noblemen who participated as ‘Maskers’. Amateur musicians were thus surely influenced by trends in professional music-making.

<sup>186</sup>Quotations taken respectively from George Whetstone, *The English Myrror* (London: John Windet, 1586), 163; and [Appendix 2 doc. 14](#).

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## APPENDIX 1a

## References to Lutes in Noble and Gentry Inventories, Wills, &amp; Other Documents (1585–1635).

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
Bristol	1598	BRO: will William JACY 1598	Will of William Jacy, parson of St Michael's Church, Bristol	'my lute'
	1613	BRO: inventory 1613/37	Inventory of George Lane, Bristol	'a lute with his Case'
	1613	BRO: inventory 1613/51	Inventory of Thomas Saunders, Pinker, Bristol	'ij lutes'
	1634	BRO: will Thomas PRINCE 1634	Will of Thomas Prince, lay petty canon at Bristol Cathedral	'my Twoe Lutes'
Cambridge	1586	CUL: VCcT.Invs 4	Nicholas Abythell, Fellow of Trinity College	'Two old lutes'
	1589	CUL: VCcT.Prob.M.1	Will of Andrew Perne, Master at Peterhouse and Dean of Ely Cathedral	'a lute with a case'
	1591	CUL: VCcT.Invs 5	Will of Thomas Lorkin, Regius Prof of Physick	'a lute with a case'
	1598	CUL: VCcT.Invs 6	Inventory of John Bettis, Fellow of Trinity College	'a lute and lutecase'
	1608	CUL: VCcT.Invs 7	Will of Godwin Walsall, Fellow of Corpus Christi College (Hebrew Lecturer)	'a lute & a lute case'
	1631	CUL: VCcT.Invs 11	Inventory of Thomas Jordan, Regius Prof of Physick	'one lute'
	1635	CUL: VCcT.Invs bundle 2	Inventory of Stephen Mace, lay clerk	'4 lutes'
Chester	1587	CCALS: EDA 2/2	Will of John Coppock, Gentleman, Chester	'my lute and Lutinge booke'
	1597–9	CCALS: DSS 1/7/6/46; CCALS: DSS 1/7/6/45; & CCALS: DSS 1/7/11/22	Disbursements for Mary Somerford, Somerford	'Lute' and 'luttes', also with lute strings & wire
	1608	BI: Probate Register Vol.30	Will of Francis Fitton, Esquire, Gawsworth	'a Lute'
	1612	CCALS: WS 1612	Inventory of John Yardley, Gentleman, Crewe	'one lute with a Case'
	1622	CCALS: WS 1622	Inventory of Richard Heyes, Gentleman, Nantwich	'4 lootes'
	1625–7	CCALS: WS 1625 & CCALS: WS 1627	Inventory of Edmond Myles, Innkeeper (1625) and his	'twoe Lutes'

*Continued*

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
			widow Elizabeth Myles (1627), Nantwich	
	1629	CCALS: DSS 1/4/38/12 & CCALS: DSS 1/4/38/13	Letters of Margaret Lowther to Elizabeth Winnington	'my. lute: and: som strings'
County Durham	1596–1609	P.C.C. 34 Dorset / C.142.311, sec. 109	Inventories of John Lumley, First Baron Lumley, Lumley Castle	'Lutes viii'
	1605	DUL: DPRI/1/1605/S1/1-3	Will of Francis Saire, mercer, Barnard Castle	'my lute'
	1623	DUL: DPRI/1/1623/T8/1-3	Will of Thomas Trotter, gentleman, Esh, Wolsingham	'my Lute'
Derbyshire	1602	Hardwick MS 10A	Accounts of Sir William Cavendish (1597–1602)	'treble lute'
	1603	Hardwick MS 10B	Accounts of Sir William Cavendish (1597–1608), Payments to Thomas Oates, chaplain to Lady Arbella, Hardwick Hall	'nyne knottes of mynikins for the lute'; 'a midling lute of 14 strings'
	1610–14	Hardwick MS 29	Accounts of Sir William Cavendish	'lute'; books for 'three lutes'
Devonshire	1602	Chatsworth, Devonshire MS 23	Payment to Mr Starkey for the transportation of instruments from London to Hardwick	'treble lute'
Dorset	1586	CRO: AR/21/21/2; & CRO: AR/21/22	Will and inventory of Edward Arundell, Lanherne	'my best lute' (made 'of white and blacke bone') with case and lute strings
Essex	1608	ERO: D/DP. E.2.1	Note of Books and Instruments delivered to Richard Mico	'my Lords lute'
	1634	ERO: D/DP. F.224	Inventory of West Thorndon	'a short neckt lute, two long neckt lutes with cases' (these latter two instruments are surely theorboes, but are included here due to the description 'lutes')
Hertfordshire	1608	CFEP: Bills 33 & Accounts 160/1	Endorsements, bills and accounts for Hatfield House, Payments to Nicholas Lanier	'a lute'
Kent	1615	PRC: 10/43, No.44	Inventory of Nathaniel Ely, clerk, Biddenden	'ii lewites'
	1617	PRC: 28/9, fo.446	Inventory of Nicholas Parker, Esquire, Canterbury	'two old Lutes'
	1617	PRC: 28/9, fo.614	Inventory of John Warde, petty canon, Canterbury	'an old Lute'

Continued

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
	1630	PRC: 28/15 No.166	Inventory of William Wentworth, Gentleman, Dover	'old broken Lute'
	1631	PRC: 28/17 No.114	Inventory of George Marson, Master of the Choristers, Organist, and Petty Canon at Canterbury Cathedral	'an old Lute'
Lancashire	1614–15	LRO: WCW 1614	Will and inventory of Edward Stockley, Prescott	'one Lute'
	1621	LRO: DDKs 18/9	Household accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12, Smithills, and Gawthorpe	'a Lute booke' and 'a Lute and case'
	1623	LRO: WCW 1630	Inventory of Thurstan Collinson (schoolmaster), Blackburn	'one lute'
	1625	PRO: PROB 10 Box 439	Will of Richard Fleetwood, Penwortham	'both my lutes'
	1627	Hull Univ. Arch.: U DDEV/69/1	Will of Richard Sherburne of Stonihurst, co. Lancs	'my little Lute'
	1634	LRO: WCW 1634	Inventory of Sir Cuthbert Clifton, Lytham	'one Lute'
Leicestershire	1588	HMC: Rutland MSS, i, 250	Letter from Elizabeth Manners to the Countess of Bedford, Belvoir Castle	'the lute'
	1600	HMC: Rutland MSS, iv, 432	Disbursements for Lady Fraunces Manners, Belvoir Castle	'a lute', 'a lute booke', and lute strings
	1617–20	HMC: Rutland MSS, iv, 513, & 518	Account of William Sexten, Forrend Payments (1617) & London Payements (1620), Belvoir Castle	'his lute'; 'a lute'
Lincolnshire	1583	LA: 2 ANC 14/18	Peregrine Bertie's Household Accounts, Grimsthorpe	'a lute'
	1588–9	LA: INV 75/271	Inventory of Edward Rockadyne, Scrivener, Lincoln	'one old lute'
Nottingham	1601	Nott.U.L.: Mi. I. 15	Inventory of the Willoughby Family, Wollaton Hall	'2 lutes'
Norwich	1587	NRO: DN/INV 3/60	Will of Richard Keye, grocer	'one lute'
	1599	NRO: DN/INV 16/194a	Inventory of Hubert Hacon, gentleman, at Norwich and Wheatacre	Norwich: 'vij Lut[es]' ('whereof ii' belong to John Hacon) Wheatacre: 'ii xiiii stringe lut[es]'



*Continued*

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
	1605	NRO: NCC original will 1605 no. 64	Will of Matthew Wilby senior, tanner, of Diss, Norfolk	'my lute'
	1617	NRO: DN/INV 29/121	Will of Thomas Garneys, gentleman, Norwich Cathedral Precinct	'one olde lute'
	1617–25	NRO: 28/88; NRO: NCC Will Register 304/ Belward; & NRO: 32/ 262	Inventory (1617–18) of Edward Jefferies, musician, and Will (1619) and Inventory (1625) of Susan Jefferies, Norwich	'one ould Lute' and also 'one Lute'; the latter instrument may be the same as the 'one goode Treble Lute' Susan requests in 1619
	1618	Nat. Arch: PROB/11/ 131/656	Will of Sir Edward Blenhaysett of Norwich	'one Lute'
Oxfordshire	1588	OHC: MSS.Wills Oxon. 297/4/19	Inventory of Anthony Hall, gentleman, South Newington	'an old lute'
	1592	OUA: HYP/B/10	Inventory of Francis Betts, fellow of New College, Oxford	'a Lute'
	1594	OHC: MSS.Wills Pec. 48/1/8	Inventory of William Penton, tanner, Banbury	'a lute'
	1594	Longleat, Thynne papers, Box 32 (= vol. lxxix)	Inventory of items left at Oxford by Thomas Thynne of Longleat, Wiltshire	'a lute & a lute booke'
	1602	OUA: HYPO/B/16	Inventory of John Mathew, 'singingman' at Christ Church, Oxford	'Eleven Lutes'
	1608	OUA: HYP/B/10	Chancellor's Court Inventories (Inventory of Nicholas Bond), Oxford	'ij Lutes'
	1610	OUA: HYP/B/10	Inventory of Richard Baylye, fellow of All Souls College, Oxford	'one lute'
	1611	OUA: HYP/B/10	Inventory of William Atkins, butler of Broadgate Hall, Oxford	'a lute'
	1612	OUA: HYP/B/16	Inventory of Robert Mallett, manciple of Edmund Hall and instrument maker, Oxford	'a flatbackt lute & case'
	1616	OUA: HYP/B/14	Inventory of Robert Huniman, 'clark' of Magdalen College, Oxford	'a lute'
	1626–7	QC Library: MS 390	Thomas Crosfield's diary, Oxford	'Lutes'

Continued

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
	1627	OHC: MSS.Wills Pec. 33/1/4	Inventory of Mathew Bentley, mercer, Banbury	'lute'
	1631	Lyte: 'MSS of Earl of Kilmorey'	Inventory of Goods of Robert Needham, 1 <sup>st</sup> Viscount Kilmorey, Shavington	'one lute'
	1631	OUA: HYP/B/12	Inventory of John Dodd, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford	'a Lute w <sup>th</sup> a case'
	1633	OUA: HYP/B/13	Inventory of William Higgins, Christ Church College, Oxford	'One Lute'
	1635	OUA: HYP/B/13	Inventory of William Pickering of Trinity College, Oxford	'a lute and Case'
	1635-6	OUA: HYP/B/13	Chancellor's Court Inventories (Inventory of John Gerrard, university musician), Oxford	'two Lutes'
Plymouth	1598	PRO: C.2/33/96	Legal dispute Richard Drake v Jonas Bodenham, members of Francis Drake's crew, concerning items removed from the ship <i>Defiance</i>	'a lute'
Somerset	1605-6	Dulwich College MS III f21	Letter from John Poyntz to Edward Alleyn asking for return of his lute	'my lute'
	1607-8	PRO: STAC 8/161/1	Examination of William Evans, Schoolmaster, Wells	'the Lute'
	1617	SRO: DD/TMP 8	Court and Tithe Book, Merriott	'his lute', 'my lute'
	1622	PRO: PROB 11/140	Will of Christopher Brice, Woolverton	'my two lutes'
	1626	Register of Dulwich College 1616-1757, Dulwich College MS X	Will of Edward Alleyn, actor, Dulwich	'a Lute'
Suffolk	1603	CUA: Hengrave Hall MS 81	Inventory of Sir Thomas Kytson and Lady Elizabeth Cornwallis, Hengrave Hall	'one great base lewte, and a meane lewte, both w <sup>th</sup> out cases' and 'one trebble lute and a meane lute with cases'
Surrey	1605	Nat.Arch: PROB 10/232	Will of Augustine Phillips, Gentleman of Mortlake, Surrey	'a lute'
Sussex	1627-8	DRO: D/FSI: box 222	Judith Edwards' Cashbook, Fayre Crooch	'the lute' (also referred to as 'a lute') and lute strings

Continued

Location	Year	Repository and Shelf mark	Record details	Lute details
	1634–8	BL Add MS 33145	Sir Thomas Pelham's accounts, Halland Place	'the lute' and lute strings; payments for 'a lute' and also to various lute masters
Warminster	1610–12	Longleat House, MS. 268	Sir Thomas Thynne's accounts, Longleat, Wiltshire	'a lute'; 'the lute'
Warwickshire	1588	Longleat House, Dudley MS X	Inventory of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, Kenilworth	'Three lutes, in leather cases'
	1608–18	WCRO: various B series docs	Household accounts of the Newdegate family	'a lute for Jack' (1608–14) and 'a Lute for Mr John' (1618), together with various payments for repairs and strings
Westmorland	1616–17	CH: Bolton Abbey MS 97	Household Accounts Clifford	'the lute'
Worcestershire	1622	WAAS 008.7. BA3585/1622/166a	Inventory of Stephen Maylard, Chapter Clerk of Worcester Cathedral	'twoe lute'
Wales	1619	NLW: NLW MS 9053E	Sir John Wynn's Instructions for London Purchases, Gwydir	'a Laute'
	1626–7	NLW: NLW MS 9061E	Sir John Wynn's Personal Notes, Gwydir	'his lute' (also referred to as 'a lute')

*Note.* This table aims to give a representative overview (and as comprehensive as possible) of lute ownership across the period in question; it excludes references to lute strings and/or lute books unless these are explicitly listed with a lute, and it also omits the other instruments that are sometimes listed alongside these lutes. The repository and shelf mark abbreviations follow the format used in 'Records of Early English Drama'.

*Source.* In addition to several references generously supplied by Michael Fleming, this list was compiled with the aid of staff in the Hull History Centre, Norwich Records Office, Durham Record Office / Durham University Library, Oxfordshire History Centre, Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service, and Dulwich College. In addition, the following sources were used: the multivolume collections of 'Records of Early English Drama' (REED, 1979–), <http://reed.utoronto.ca>; 'The Henslowe–Allen Digitisation Project', <https://henslowe-alley.org.uk>; Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society*, 6 (1918), 15–35; Michael Fleming, 'Some Points Arising from a Survey of Wills and Inventories', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 53 (2000), 301–11; Michael Fleming, 'Unpacking the 'Chest of Viols'', *Chelys*, 28 (2000), 3–19; Michael Gale, 'Learning the Lute in Early Modern England c.1550–c.1640' (Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 2014); Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland GCB Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1888–1905); Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Lynn Mary Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590–1640' (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 1992); Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*; Teresa Ann Murray, 'Thomas Morley and the Business of Music in Elizabethan England' (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2010); Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher*; David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

## APPENDIX 1b

## REFERENCES to LUTES in COURT RECORDS 1585–1635.

Year	Source details	Lute details
1589	November: A discharge of the two subsidies granted at the last Parliament (VI, 52)	'lutes'
1593	June 27: List of musicians excused payment of subsidies granted on 19 February 1592/3 (VI, 59)	'lutes'
1594/5	January 25: Lease in reversion to Alice Johnson, widow of Robert Johnson (VIII, 46–7)	'the lute'
1598	October 22: Lay Subsidy Roll (VI, 67)	'The Lutes'
1599	June 18: Grant to Edward Collard (VIII, 49)	'the three lutes'
1600–1	Michaelmas 1600–Michaelmas 1601: Payments to musicians (VI, 163)	'Lutes'
1601–2	Michaelmas 1601–Michaelmas 1602: Payments to musicians (VI, 164)	'Lutes'
1602	April 29: Lay Subsidy Roll (VI, 72)	'Luttes'
1602–3	Michaelmas 1602–Michaelmas 1603: Payments to musicians (IV, 73 and VI, 166)	'Lutes'
1603	April 28: Funeral of Queen Elizabeth I at Westminster Abbey; allowances of mourning liveries to musicians (IV, 1, 2)	'the Lute' / 'Lutes'
	May 18: Swearing in of servants of James I by Gentlemen Ushers (IV, 231)	'Lutes'
	July 25: Wardrobe Account for the coronation of James I and Anne of Denmark (IV, 232)	'2 Lutes'
1603–4	Michaelmas 1603–Michaelmas 1604: Payments to musicians (IV, 74)	'Lutes'
1604	November 8: Warrant to Treasurer of the Chamber to pay Philip Rosseter (VIII, 56)	'the lutes'
1604–5	Michaelmas 1604–Michaelmas 1605: Payments to musicians (IV, 76)	'Lutes'
1605–6	Michaelmas 1605–Michaelmas 1606: Payments to musicians (IV, 77)	'Lutes'
1606	June 22: A remission for his Majesty's servants (IV, 13)	'lutes'
1606–7	Michaelmas 1606–Michaelmas 1607: Payments to musicians (IV, 79)	'Lutes'
1607	August 28, September 5, and October 1: Declared Accounts of Sir George Carew, Receiver General to Queen Anne of Denmark, Gifts and Rewards (IV, 198–9)	'a brasse Lute' [sic] / 'the Lute' / 'a little lute'
1607–8	Michaelmas 1607–Michaelmas 1608: Payments to musicians (IV, 80–1)	'Lutes'
1608	April 19: Damaged subsidy lists for the Royal Household (IV, 18, 20)	'The Lutes' / 'The Lute'
1608	June 30: Payment to 'Phillipp Rosseter, one of his Ma <sup>ty</sup> s Musitions' for new lute and lute strings (IV, 81)	'a new lute'
1608–9	Michaelmas 1608–Michaelmas 1609: Payments to musicians (IV, 83)	'Lutes'
1609–10	March 20: Subsidy list for the Royal Household (IV, 26)	'The Lute'
	Michaelmas 1609–Michaelmas 1610: Payments to musicians (IV, 85)	'Lutes'



*Continued*

Year	Source details	Lute details
1610	April 7 and May 10: Warrant Dormant under the Signet to Treasurer of the Chamber (VIII, 63) and payment to Symon Marson (IV, 86)	'lute' / 'a newe Lute'
	December 28: Account of sums paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber (VIII, 64)	'the lute'
1610–11	January 10, 1610 [/11]: Payment to Robert Johnson for lute strings (IV, 87)	'the base Lute'*
	Michaelmas 1610–Michaelmas 1611: Payments to musicians (IV, 87)	'Lutes'
1610–12	1 October 1610–6 November 1612: Privy Purse Accounts of Sir David Murray (IV, 215)	'twoe lutes' / 'Lute'
1611	June 5: Payments to Roberte Johnson for a lute and lute strings (IV, 88)	'a lute' / 'the base lute'
	July 7: Warrant Dormant to Treasurer of the Chamber to disburden the Privy Purse of divers payments (VIII, 65)	'lutes'
1611–12	Michaelmas 1611–Michaelmas 1612: Payments to musicians (IV, 89)	'Lutes'
	January 10, 1611 [/12]: Payment to Robert Johnson for lute strings (IV, 89)	'his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Base Lute'*
1612	April 3: Grant to Thomas Warren (VIII, 66)	'lute-player'
1612–13	Michaelmas 1612–Michaelmas 1613: Payments to musicians (IV, 90–1)	'Lutes'
1613–14	Michaelmas 1613–Michaelmas 1614: Payments to musicians (IV, 93)	'Lutes'
1614–15	Michaelmas 1614–Michaelmas 1615: Payments to musicians (IV, 94)	'Lutes'
1615–16	Michaelmas 1615–Michaelmas 1616: Payments to musicians (IV, 96)	'Lutes'
1616–17	Michaelmas 1616–Michaelmas 1617: Payments to musicians (IV, 98)	'Lutes'
1617	Arrears from 1 October 1617 to 30 September 1623 (IV, 100)	'Lutes'
	December 29: Payment to Phillip Rosseter for lute strings (IV, 101)	'the base Lute'*
1617–18	Michaelmas 1617–Michaelmas 1618: Payments to musicians (IV, 101)	'Lutes'
1618	November 9: Declared Accounts of Adam Newton, Receiver General to Prince Charles, warrant dormant to Thomas Meller (IV, 223)	'his Highness' lutes'
1618–19	Michaelmas 1618–Michaelmas 1619: Payments to musicians (IV, 103)	'Lutes'
	12 February: Receivers General Accounts of Prince Charles, bill of payments to Robert Johnson (IV, 219)	'a Lute' / 'the base lute' / 'the lutes'
1619	Declared accounts of Adam Newton, Receiver General to Prince Charles, payment to Thomas Meller (IV, 222)	'his Highness' lutes'
1619–20	Michaelmas 1619–Michaelmas 1620: Payments to musicians (IV, 106)	'Lutes'
1620	December 28: Payment to Phillippe Roseter for bass lute strings (IV, 109)	'the base lutes'*
	December 28: Payment to Roberte Johnson for lute strings (IV, 109)	'his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes'*
1620–1	Michaelmas 1620–Michaelmas 1621: Payments to musicians (IV, 108)	'Lutes'
1621–2	Michaelmas 1621–Michaelmas 1622: Payments to musicians (IV, 110)	'Lutes'
1621	June 26: Declared Accounts of Adam Newton, payment to Thomas Meller (IV, 224)	'his Highness' lutes'
	December 28: Payment to Phillip Rosseter for bass lute strings (IV, 110)	'the base Lute'*
1622	Declared Accounts of Adam Newton, payment to Thomas Meller (IV, 225)	'his Highness' lutes'

Continued

Year	Source details	Lute details
1622–3	January 6, 1622/3: Payment to Phillip Rosseter for strings and ‘other necessaries’ for the bass lute and Robert Johnson for lute strings (IV, 113)	‘the base lute’ / ‘lutes’*
	Michaelmas 1622–Michaelmas 1623: Payments to musicians (IV, 112)	‘Lutes’
1623	December 30: Payment to Robert Johnson for lute strings (IV, 114)	‘the Lutes’*
	December 31: Payment to Maurice Webster, ‘one of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicons’ for strings for the bass lute (IV, 114)	‘the Base Lute’*
1623–4	Michaelmas 1623–Michaelmas 1624: Payments to musicians (IV, 114)	‘Lutes’
1624	Damaged subsidy list for the Royal Household (IV, 62)	‘The Lutes’
	Michaelmas: Payment to Thomas Meller (IV, 228)	‘his Highness’ lutes’
	April 10 and July 4: Payments to Robt Johnson, ‘Musicon’ for lute strings (IV, 228)	‘his H <sup>es</sup> Lutes’*
	July 13: Privy Seal discharging musicians from paying three subsidies (IV, 61)	‘the Lutes’
	December 3: Warrant to John Dowland for lute and strings (III, 134)	‘a lute’
	December 29: Warrant to Maurice Webster for lute strings (III, 134)	‘a base Lute’*
1624–5	Michaelmas 1624–Michaelmas 1625: Payments to musicians (III, 133)	‘Lutes’
1625	Declared Accounts of Adam Newton, payments ending Lady Day 1625, payment to Thomas Meller (IV, 229)	‘his Highness’ lutes’
	December 22: List of musicians discharged from paying subsidies (III, 9 & V, 1)	‘the Lute’ / ‘lutes’
1625–6	Michaelmas 1625–Michaelmas 1626: Payments to musicians (III, 136)	‘Lutes’
	January 15 1625 [/26]: Payment to Roberte Johnson for lute strings (III, 136)	‘Lute’ / ‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes’
1626	April 16: List of the Royal Household discharged from paying subsidies (III, 14–15)	‘Lutes’
	December 29: Warrant to Exchequer to pay Ann Smith (VIII, 95)	‘a lute’
1626–7	Michaelmas 1626–Michaelmas 1627: Payments to musicians (III, 138)	‘Lutes’
1627	June 25: Payment to John Cogshall for lute strings (III, 138)	‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes’*
1627–8	Michaelmas 1627–Michaelmas 1628: Payments to musicians (III, 139)	‘Lutes’
1628	April 13: Privy Council, a pass (= passport) for Simon de Fillier (VIII, 99)	‘the lute’
	?May: Petition of Robert Johnson, ‘one of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> musitions’ (VIII, 99–100)	‘the Lutes’
	July 2: Warrant ‘for a hayle for y <sup>e</sup> Musitions for the Lutes and voices’ (III, 32)	‘the Lutes’
	July 15: List of musicians discharged from paying the five subsidies lately granted by parliament (III, 33)	‘ye lutes’
	September 28: Subsidy List for the Royal Household (III, 35)	‘Lutes’
	Undated: Subsidy List for the Royal Household (III, 38)	‘Lutes’

*Continued*

Year	Source details	Lute details
1628–9	Michaelmas 1628–Michaelmas 1629: Payments to musicians (III, 140)	‘Lutes’
1629	October 1: Order Book of the Lord Steward (under lists of carriages to be allowed) (V, 6)	‘Lutes’
	December 12: Payment to Robert Johnson for lute strings (III, 141)	‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes’ [sic]*
1629–30	February 21, 1629 [/30]: Payment to Timothie Collins, ‘one of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicōns for the Lutes’ (III, 143)	‘a Lute’
	March 7: Warrant to pay Timothy Collins (III, 50)	‘a Lute’
	Michaelmas 1629–Michaelmas 1630: Payments to musicians (III, 142)	‘Lutes’
1630	April 18 and May 28: Warrant (III, 54) and payment (III, 141) to John Coggeshall for lute and theorbo strings	‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes’ / ‘the four lutes’*
	Accounts of the Receiver of the King’s Revenues as Prince of Wales (V, 6)	‘his Majesty’s lutes’
1630–31	January 10: Warrant to pay John Coggeshall for lute and theorbo strings (III, 57)	‘his Majesty’s four lutes’*
	Michaelmas 1630–Michaelmas 1631: Payments to musicians (III, 144)	‘Lutes’
1631	July 8: Warrant (III, 60) and payment (III, 144) to Robert Johnson for lute strings	‘lute’ / ‘the Lutes’*
	December 21: Warrant (III, 63) and payment (III, 144) to John Coggeshall for lute strings	‘the lutes’*
1632	Wages, salaries, and liveries paid by the Treasurer of his Majesty’s Chamber to the King’s Officers and Servants (VIII, 108)	‘5 lutes’
	June 28: Warrant to pay Robert Johnson for lute strings (III, 66)	‘his Majesty’s lutes’*
	August 9: Signet warrant to provide yearly livery for Henry Lawes (III, 67)	‘the lutes’*
1632–3	Michaelmas 1632–Michaelmas 1633: Payments to musicians (III, 145)	‘Lutes’
1633	April 3 and December 1: Warrants to pay John Cogshall for ‘provyding and maynteyning’ the royal lutes and strings (III, 146)	‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Fower Lutes’
	December 10: Warrant to prepare a bill for the king’s signature granting a patent to Nicholas Duval, wages and lute strings (III, 75)	‘lutes’ / ‘lute’
	December 10: Warrant for a signet to pay yearly livery to Lewis Evans, ‘musician for the lutes’ (III, 75)	‘the lutes’
1633–4	Michaelmas 1633–Michaelmas 1634: Payments to musicians (III, 147)	‘Lutes’
	January 15 and 19, 1633 [/34]: Payment (III, 148) and Warrant (III, 76) to John Kelly and John Lawrence, ‘two of his ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicons for the Lutes’	‘twoe treble Lutes’ / ‘two treble lutes’
1634	July 10: Warrant (III, 79) and payment (III, 148) to John Lanier, ‘one of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicōns for the Lutes and voices’	‘a Lute’ / ‘a new lute’
	November 17: Payment to Maurice Webster, ‘one of his ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicōns for the Lutes’ for lute strings (III, 148)	‘his ma <sup>ts</sup> Lutes’*
	November 21: Payment to John Coggesgall, ‘one of his ma <sup>ts</sup> Musitions for the Lutes’ for lute strings (III, 148)	‘fower Lutes’*
1634–5	Michaelmas 1634–Michaelmas 1635: Payments to musicians (III, 149)	‘Lutes’

Continued

Year	Source details	Lute details
1635	June 11: Payment to Nichās Duvall, ‘another of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicōns’ for a lute (III, 150)	‘a Lute’
	November 5: Payment to John Cogshall ‘one of his Ma <sup>ts</sup> Musicōns’ for lute strings (III, 150)	‘his Ma <sup>ts</sup> 4 Lutes’*

*Note.* This table aims to give a representative overview of references to lutes in court archives. It generally excludes references to lute strings and/or lute books unless these provide more information about the lute’s size, number, or purpose (references marked \*) or unless these are explicitly listed with a lute.

*Source.* The information is taken from the nine-volume collection by Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*; the relevant volume and page number are given in brackets in the source details column.

## APPENDIX 2

### Descriptions of a Man Singing to a Lute in English Printed Literary Sources (1595–1625)

The following list closely follows the date range of the printed lute song collections under consideration. The literary references from this relatively narrow spectrum may be seen as representative in type and in the vocabulary used of earlier and later sources describing a male singer with lute across the period 1550–1650. This table excludes: a) references to male singing and lute with other instruments (i.e. ensemble performance); b) descriptions of a man playing a lute that do not mention him singing to it; c) references that mention a eunuch who sings to the lute; and d) texts that relate generically to singing with lute that do not specify the singer’s gender or where this is unclear.

In the book titles and subheadings, words in capital letters have been rendered with small letters, but capitals have been retained at the start of words as they appear in the original. All letters have been kept as they appear in the original (including ‘u’ and ‘v’). Additions or omissions are indicated with square brackets (i.e. []).



Doc.	Author / Title	Publisher / Year	Page / Folio	Passage / Comments
1	<b>William Bullein, <i>The Government of Health</i></b>	Valentine Sims, London, 1595	6 <sup>v</sup>	Humfrey says to Iohn: 'Upon my Lute some time, to recreate my selfe, I ioine with my simple harmonie, many plaine verses. Among all other one small song of the foure complexions: wilt thou heare it? take that chaire and sit downe, and I I [sic.] will teach thee my song.'
2	<b>Robert Parry, <i>Moderatus, The most delectable &amp; famous Historie of the Blacke Knight</i></b>	Richard Ihones [sic], London, 1595	Ch. 3, C3 <sup>v</sup> –C4 <sup>v</sup> (at C3 <sup>v</sup> )	Priscus '... tooke his Lute in his hand [...and] hauing tuned his instrument, began with musicall and sweete harmonie to warble foorth this ensuing Dittie ...'
			Ch. 4, [D2] <sup>r</sup> –[D3] <sup>v</sup> , (at [D2] <sup>r</sup> )	Priscus '... tooke his Lute in his hand, to see, if with musicke he could moderate his melancholie, and mollifie some of his heauie passions: aud [sic.] so, like the swanne at the point of death, he verie dolefully chaunted ouer this Cansong ...'
			Ch. 5, G2 <sup>v</sup> –H3 <sup>r</sup>	The assembled characters (male and female) take it in turns to sing songs to the lute, like a dialogue; the first man to perform is Cornelius, who '... hauing tuned his Lute, warbled out this ensuing Dittie ...' (sig.G2 <sup>v</sup> ); the second is Moderatus, who '... hauing his Lute ready for the purpose [...] began with a slow and soft voyce, to measure ouer this Cansong ...' (sig.G4 <sup>r</sup> ); and finally, Priscus '... hauing tuned his instrument to his minde, he solemnly descanted vpon this ensuing Ditty ...' (sig.H3 <sup>r</sup> ). Although not stated explicitly, Priscus probably sings to a lute as well given the references to him in chapters 3 and 4.
3	<b>Anthony Copley, <i>Wits Fittes and Fancies</i></b>	Richard Iohnes, London, 1595	Loues Owle, A <sup>r</sup> –D2 <sup>v</sup> .	Loue (who is described on sig.A <sup>v</sup> as a 'wretched boy' by the 'olde man') says at sig.C3 <sup>v</sup> :  '... And now in honour of accord / Vnto this Lute I will record / A hymne of ioyfull lubilie, / To rowse vp thy Senechdochie / to Loues actiuitie.'
4	<b>Francis Sabie, <i>The Fishermans Tale</i></b>	Richard Iohnes, London, 1595	B3 <sup>v</sup>	An 'aged man' (a former Earl, but now a 'Fisherman') '... tooke a twinkling Lute in hand [...] The only ioy of my long-hated life'. His 'kindnes' towards the unnamed male narrator (through whose eyes the reader experiences the passage) is to be remembered in a 'joyfull Ditty where so ere I liue'; perhaps singing with a lute is implied in light of the earlier reference to this instrument.

Continued

Doc.	Author / Title	Publisher / Year	Page / Folio	Passage / Comments
5	Richard Turner, <i>The Garland of a greene Witte</i>	[J. Roberts for] William Kirkham, London, ?1595	B <sup>r</sup>	Solinar, a young gentleman infatuated with Calipolis (the wife of a rich merchant), took 'his Lute, first framed out some dolefull tune, and hauing fitted his purpose, he fingered his pen, and in a perplexed humor he writ this ditty.'
6	Richard Linche, <i>Diella, Certaine Sonnets, adioyned to the amorous Poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura.</i>	[James Roberts for] Henry Olney, London, 1596	[B8] <sup>v</sup> , Sonnet XV	Singing to the lute may be implied here; the verse is from an unknown male perspective: '... I walke to thinke vpon my deere; / VWhere vnder vmbrage of some aged Tree, / with Lute in hand I sit and (sighing) say, / Sweete Groues tell forth with Eccho what you see: ...'
7	Richard Johnson, <i>The second Part of the famous History of the seauen Champions of Christendome.</i>	[?E. Allde for] Cuthbert Burbie, London, 1597	Ch. 15, Aa <sup>v</sup> -Aa <sup>2r</sup> (at Aa <sup>v</sup> )	'The prince [=Pollemus] (who sate vpon the poope of the ship) asked his page [=Mercurtio] for his Lute, the which straight way was giuen him: and when he had it in his hands, he playde and sung so swéetely, that it séemed to be a most heauenly melodie ...'
8	I. T., <i>The Haven Of Pleasvre: Containing a freemans felicitie, and a true direction how to liue well</i>	P.S. [=Peter Short], London, 1597	Ch. 14, pp. 22-3	'Good Orpheus th':nterpretor of all the gods did fear / The sauage men from murdrous facts and liues that filthie were, / And for that cause was Lyons fierce and Tygers said to tame, / And Amphion that builded Thebes hath also had the name, / With sound of lute and pleasing words to moue & stir the stones / And lead the[m] where so ere he wold: ...'
			Ch. 44, pp. 91-2	Pythagoras '... when he vvent to bed, hee vvould quiet his minde vvith his lute, and pacifie his troubled affections. We reade also that <i>Epaminondas</i> Prince of Greece, would sweetlie sing to his Lute, and all Greece, as <i>Cicero</i> witnesseth, did thinke the depth of knowledge to consist in singing and playing on instrumentes: for whosoeuer was not skilful in that art, was accounted most vnlearned.'
9	Thomas Rogers, <i>Celestiall Elegies of the Goddesses and the Muses</i>	Richard Bradocke, London, 1598	[Elegies of the Muses], Qvatorzain. 5. Terpsichore, C3 <sup>r</sup>	Written from an unknown male perspective, this verse asks: 'VVhat dolefull Diapason shall I make, / What mournfull songs of sorrow shall I sing' before then mentioning 'My sacred Lyre that did resound of yore' which is linked to 'Phoebus Lute'.

Continued

Doc.	Author / Title	Publisher / Year	Page / Folio	Passage / Comments
10	<b>Robert Greene, rev. John Dickenson, <i>Greene In Conceit</i></b>	Richard Bradocke, London, 1598	50–1 (at 50)	‘... when after the banquet ended and the table vncouered, taking his Lute, he [=Arthemio] sang to a pleasing note this following dittie, more to crosse his wife, then to content his wanton Mistresse ...’
11	<b>John Marston, <i>The Scovrge Of Villanie</i></b>	I. R. [=James Roberts], London, 1598	Bk 3, Satyre. IX, [G7] <sup>f</sup> –H2 <sup>v</sup> (at [G8] <sup>v</sup> )	‘... What hotchpotch, giberidge, doth the Poet bring? / How strangely speakes? yet sweetly doth he sing. / I once did know a tinckling Pewterer, / That was the vildest stumbling stuttrer / That euer hack’d and hew’d our natiue tongue, / Yet to the Lute if you had heard him sung, / Iesu how sweet he breath’d ...’
12	<b>Marcos Martínez, trans. Robert Parry (attrib.) or Robert Parke (attrib.), <i>The sixth Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. Being The first Booke of the third Part</i></b>	Edward Allde, London, 1598	Ch. 4, F3 <sup>v</sup> –[F4] <sup>f</sup> (at F3 <sup>v</sup> )	Dacian ‘... tooke his Lute, his Lute that many times had yéelded sad sounds to the wofull accents of his voice: and finding his musike in another key, he carroled out this ditty in Loues disgrace ...’
			Ch. 6, N3 <sup>f</sup>	Three princes (Rosicleer, Meridian, and Oristides) are at sea when they approach another boat heading in the same direction with ‘a mightie Knight’ in fine armour:  ‘... he was with a Lute in his hand, as one that was intended to sing and play ...’
			Ch. 15, [Hh4] <sup>f</sup>	The Lord of Dacia ‘... could not forget the beautie of Roselia: yet loath to entertaine loue thoughts, he tooke his Lute, and to the sound thereof sung in thys manner ...’
			Ch. 15, li <sup>v</sup>	‘The amorous <i>Roselia</i> and <i>Arbolinda</i> heard all ioyously, but she was more delighted, when the prince tooke a Lute and thus expressed his loue passions ...’
13	<b>Marcos Martínez, trans. L.A., <i>The Seuenth Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. Being The Second of the third Part.</i></b>	Thomas Purfoot, London, 1598	Ch. 2, E2 <sup>v</sup>	Don Eleno of Dacia ‘... tooke his Lute in hand, and making it sound the repetition of his ioyes, he sung the felicitie that the heauens gaue him in the possession of so rare a Lady [=Rosamond]: in these verses ...’
14	<b>T. Tyro, <i>Tyros Roring Megge</i></b>	Valentine Simmes, London, 1598	Decad 1, Epig. 5, B <sup>v</sup>	‘... <i>Tyro</i> can strike the sittrens siluer string, / And to the lute full many a dittie sing ...’

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15	Henry Petowe, <i>The Second Part of Hero and Leander</i> .	Thomas Purfoot, London, 1598	Bij <sup>v</sup>	‘... Apollo’s Lute bereau’d of siluer string, / Fond Mercury doth harshly gin to sing. / A counterfeit vnto his honney note ...’
16	Jorge de Montemayor, trans. Bartholomew Yong, <i>Diana Of George Of Montemayor</i>	Edm. Bollifant, London, 1598	Pt 1, Bk 3, p. 429	‘For in that happie time, when <i>Marcelius</i> was a sutor to our sister <i>Alcida</i> , he did some nights sing to the tune of his Lute so sweetely, that if <i>Orpheus</i> made so solemne musicke, I did not maruell then if the Birdes, and Beastes did follow him, and that he brought backe his deere wife <i>Euridice</i> from darke hell.’
17	George Peele, <i>The Love Of King Dauid And Fair Bethsabe. With the Tragedie of Absalon</i>	Adam Islip, London, 1599	‘Prologus’ (B’); and Diiij <sup>v</sup>	The ‘Prologus’ (sig.B’) speaks of David as ‘Israels sweetest singer’, upon whose ‘bosome of his yuorie Lute, / The Cherubins and Angels laid their brests ...’ In the play itself, David also says of himself ‘... Let Dauids Harpe and Lute, his hand and voice, / Giue laud to him that loueth Israel, / And sing his praise, that shendeth Dauids fame ...’ (sig.Diiij <sup>v</sup> ).
18	Alexander Hume, <i>Hymnes, Or Sacred Songs, wherein the right vse of Poësie may be espied</i>	Robert Walde-graue, Edinburgh, 1599	His Recantation. I, pp. 2–6 (at p. 6)	‘... Euen on my iolie Lute, by night, / And trimling trible string, / I sall withall my minde and might, / Thy glorie gladlie sing ...’
			<i>Of Gods benefites bestowed vpon man</i> . II, pp. 6–13 (at p. 13)	‘... But now my lips, and thou my Lute ming melodie amang / Againe vnto the mightie God, go sing a newar sang.’
			<i>The triumph of the Lord, after the manner of men</i> . VII., pp. 34–41 (at p. 40)	‘... Nor <i>Orpheus</i> the craftie <i>Thracian</i> , / <i>Phylirides</i> , nor skilfull <i>Arion</i> , / Nor famous lute of cunning <i>Amphion</i> , / Struicke neuer note so pleasant to the eir, / Nor sang sa sweit as they that sall be heir.’
19	William Shakespeare, <i>The Passionate Pilgrime</i>	[T. Judson for] W. Iaggard, London, 1599	Poem 8, [B2] <sup>f</sup>	‘... Dowland to thee is deere, whose heauenly tuch / Vpon the Lute, dooth rauish humane sense: / Spenser to me, whose deepe Conceit is such, / As passing all conceit, needs no defence. / Thou lou’st to heare the sweet melodious sound, / That Phoebus Lute (the Queene of Musicke) makes: / And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd, / When as himselfe to singing he betakes ...’
20	Marcos Martínez, trans. L.A., <i>The Eighth Booke of the Myrror of Knighthood. Being the third of the third Part</i> .	Thomas Creede, London, 1599	Ch. 27, Kk <sup>r</sup> –Kk <sup>v</sup>	Agesilao, ‘famous to be an excellent Musitian’, accepts a ‘Lute to play thereon’ from ‘his Lady’ (Pollinarda) and then ‘began to touch it with more swéeter musicke then hee that descended to the infernall Vaultes to fetch his wife. Then with a cleare voice he warbled forth this Dittie ...’ Agesilao is here described as



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				having 'runne vpon the treble with such heauenly melodie' (n.b. this refers to his lute playing).
			Ch. 27, Kk3 <sup>r</sup>	Agesilao went with two men '... vnder his Ladies [=Pollinarda's] window, where, knowing what pleasure she receiued with his Musicke, he played this Dittie vppon his Lute ...'
			Ch. 29, Mm3 <sup>v</sup>	Florisiano (from whose perspective the text is written) sings and plays to his love interest Pollinarda: '... I tooke my Lute and went to the window, where (not thinking because it was so late any had heard me) I began to sing, and openly to expresse the soueraigne ioy of my heart, in this maner ...'
21	<b>Thomas Nash, <i>A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament</i></b>	Simon Stafford, London, 1600	D2 <sup>r</sup>	Autumne says of Sol: 'He termes himselfe the god of Poetry, / And setteth wanton songs vnto the Lute'.
			H <sup>r</sup>	Summer asks to be entertained (it is slightly ambiguous who Summer is speaking to, but only male characters are present): 'To wearie out the time vntill they come, / Sing me some dolefull ditty to the Lute, / That may complaine my neere approaching death.'
22	<b>Robert Kittowe, <i>Loues Loadstarre</i></b>	Th. Creede, London, 1600	[B4] <sup>r</sup>	'... Hauing thus contemplated with himselfe on the foresaid accidents, to driue off that encreasing melancholy passion, he [=Don Andrea Alizandra] tooke in hand his Lute, and thereon recorded this Dittie ...'
23	<b>Philip Rosseter and Thomas Campion, <i>A Booke Of Ayres</i></b>	Peter Short, Lonond [sic], 1601	Bk 2, Song 8	'... They set the noat then tune the Lute, / harts frame their thoughts then toongs their suit ...'
24	<b>Battista Guarini, trans. John Dymock (attrib.) and Charles Dymock (attrib.), <i>Il Pastor Fido: Or The faithfull Shepheard</i></b>	[Thomas Creede for] Simon Waterson, London, 1602	A Sonnet of the Translator, [A] <sup>v</sup>	The phrase 'his tunes' in this context seems to imply singing, to which 'Tasso'es lute' joins: 'A silly hand hath fashioned vp a sute / Of English clothes vnto a traueller, / A noble minde though Shepheards weeds he weare, / That might consort his tunes with Tasso'es lute ...'

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25	<b>Francis Davison, <i>A Poetical Rapsody Containing, Diuerse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigalls, and other Poesies</i></b>	V. S. [Valentine Simmes], London, 1602	14 <sup>r</sup>	<p><i>Three Odes translated out of Anacreon, the Greeke Lyrick Poet, Ode I.</i></p> <p>‘OF <i>Atreus</i> Sonnes faine would I write, / And faine of <i>Cadmus</i> would I sing: / My Lute is set on Loues delight, / And onely Loue sounds eu’ry string. Of late my Lute I alt’red quite, / Both frets and strings for tunes aboue, / I sung of fierce <i>Alcides</i> might, / My Lute would sound no tune but Loue, / Wherefore yee worthles all farewell, / No tune but Loue my Lute can tell.’</p> <p>This text was reprinted twice during the period in question:            i) <b>Francis Davison, <i>A Poetical Rapsodie</i> (1611)</b>, 157; and ii) <b>Francis Davison, <i>Dauisons Poems, Or, A Poeticall Rapsodie</i> (1621)</b>, Bk 4, 248 (XXVI. Ode)</p>
26	<b>Richard Knolles, <i>The Generall Historie of the Turkes</i></b>	Adam Islip, London, 1603	776–7	This recounts an occasion in Constantinople in the summer of 1559, describing the Turkish forces, their way of life and their discipline. The author fleetingly contrasts the Turks’ lack of drunkenness and card games with ‘a rough Hungarian and his companions’ that he met, ‘... a souldior, who heaueie himselfe, to the Lute rather houled than sung a dolefull dittie, containing the last words of a fellow of his, dying of his wounds vpon the greene banke of Danubius ...’
27	<b>Henoah Clapham, <i>Three Partes of Salomon his Song of Songs, expounded</i></b>	Valentine Sims, London, 1603	156 (Lect. IIII)	‘Ezekiel saith that the people in his time, did heare the Pro[p]hets Lute, as songmen of pleasant voice: that is, did delight to heare, but not to doe. Here the Church is called to doe according to that they heare of these Apostolicall sweete singers of Israel: as before did, and hereafter againe will appeare.’
28	<b>Anon., <i>Englands vwelcome To lames by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &amp;c</i></b>	E. W. and C. K., London, 1603	Canto I, B <sup>r</sup> –[B4] <sup>r</sup> (at B3 <sup>v</sup> )	Written from an unknown male perspective; while ‘modest Muses’, ‘Graces’, and ‘frisking Fayries’ sang and danced ‘God saue the King’: ‘... Amongst the rest, I gladdest of the rest, / Tun’d vp my Lute, and sung amongst the best.’
			Canto II, [B4] <sup>v</sup> –C2 <sup>r</sup> (at C <sup>r</sup> –C <sup>v</sup> )	The writer notes how he had: ‘... carelesly had left vndone, / Those worthy praises, which I ought t’haue done. / Vnto those worthyes, which proclaim’d my King: / Then tooke my Lute, and thus againe did sing.’

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29	<b>John Hind, <i>The Most Excellent Historie of Lysimachus and Varrona, daughter to Syllanus, Duke of Hypata, in Thessalia</i></b>	Thomas Creede, London, 1604	L2 <sup>v</sup> –L3 <sup>r</sup> (at L2 <sup>v</sup> )	Valentine ‘... tooke a Lute in his hand and played a note to a dittie which he sung as followeth ...’
30	<b>Anon., <i>The First and second part of the History of the famous Euordanus Prince of Denmark. With the strange Aduentures of Iago Prince of Saxonie</i></b>	I. R. [I. Roberts], London, 1605	Pt 1, Ch. 2, B3 <sup>r</sup> –B3 <sup>v</sup>	Duke Griffory ‘passed the time in mellancholly humors, somewhiles playing on the Lute some mournfull ditties, otherwhiles, ingrauing in the trees on the ground Verses and Sonnets, feeding his humors with such vaine toies, to the great grieffe of all his subiects ...’ The next day, Martinus once again hears Duke Giffory: ‘... the Duke sate in an Arbor of Baies, beeing clothed all in blacke, signifying his great sorrowe which he sustained, and hauing a Lute in his hand, was playing a mornefull dittie ...’ Although singing is not explicitly mentioned, the word ‘ditty’ suggests that accompanied singing is meant.
31	<b>John Reynolds (attrib.), <i>Dolarnys Primerose. Or The first part of the passionate Hermit</i></b>	G. Eld, London, 1606	C2 <sup>r</sup>	An old hermit, living in the forest and bemoaning his sorrowful life, betrays his noble birth when he takes ‘a faire delicious lute’ which he (misprinted here as ‘she’) ‘touch’d with curious skill’ and ‘nimble hand’: ‘... And with a tune [...] He sadly sigh’d, and song this mournfull dittie ...’
32	<b>Alexander Craig, <i>The Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies: of M. Alexander Craige</i></b>	William White, London, 1606	L <sup>r</sup> –Liif	‘A Shepheard poore with store of pains opprest / Beneath the branches of a leauie tree, / With Lute in hand deliuered his vnrest, / When none was nie but Satyrs, Fauns, and hee: / And hauing tund his base and treble string, / Hee sigh’d, hee sob’d, and thus began ro [=to] sing ...’  ...  ‘And thus poore soule, from out the Groue he goes, / And leaues (allace) both Lines and Lute behind: / Which I (the true Secretar to his woes, / And fellow of his fortunes) did fourth find: / And for his sake I sigh, sing, say, & show them / that cruel she, whō they concern may know thē.’
33	<b>Barnabe Rich, <i>Rich his Farewell to Militarie profession</i></b>	G. Eld, London, 1606	B4 <sup>v</sup>	Accompanied singing is implied in the description of how Duke Sappho had fingers better suited to ‘graspe the Sworde or Lance’ than to ‘strike the Uirginall or Lute’, whilst his ‘voice

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				serued him better to cheare his Souldiers in the field, then either to faine or syng ditties in a Ladies Chamber’.
			D3 <sup>r</sup>	Sylvanus (= Duke Aurelianus in disguise, having been found in the woods) writes verses in praise of his beloved Lady Valerya. He ‘... committed them to memory, and the next day, being in the company of certaine Gentlemen & Gentlewomen in the Court, taking a Lute, whereon he could play very well, & hauing likewise good knowledge in his song, & therewithall a very pleasant voyce, he began to sing this ditty before mentioned ...’ He stops singing when Valerya appears, but she asks him ‘to begin his song againe [...] and taking the Lute [Silvanus] began his song ...’
34	<b>John Hind, <i>Eliosto Libidinoso: Described in two Bookes</i></b>	Valentine Simmes, London, 1606	[Bk 1], 43–6 (at 43)	‘The Queene [...] requested him [=Eliosto], to contriue as cunningly as he could, his fancie in a fiction, willing therefore to shew his Mistresse (for such I must now tearme her) that he was not ignorant in musicke, taking a Lute in his hand, began to warble out this Roundelay ...’
			Bk 2, 77–8 (at 77)	Dihnohin, with ‘a Lute in his hand [...] did in sad melodie sound foorth his sorrowes’ under the window of his beloved, Gatesinea. Her nurse advises against offering her love too easily, so Dihnohin comes oft to win her affections; he waits until she appears ‘... then fingring his Lute, and framing his voice, he vtter’d this passionate Dittie, making euery rest, a deepe-fetched sigh ...’
			Bk 2, 91–3 (at 91)	Eliosto ‘... taking a Lute in his hand, vpon a deep consideration of his former follies, and present fortunes, hee sung this Roundelay, which it seemes his dignitie had borrowed of a worthy writer ...’
35	<b>Henri Estienne, trans. Richard Carew (attrib.), <i>A World of Wonders</i></b>	[Richard Field for] Iohn Norton, London, 1607	Pt 2, Bk 1, Ch. 37, pp. 291–301 (at 298)	Here, Estienne provides commentary on a French work entitled <i>Quadragesimale spirituale</i> (printed in Paris, 1565), ‘Chap. 19’ and ‘Chap. 20’ of which condemn those who turn to profane pleasures instead of saying grace after eating; these include one who ‘takes a lute and playes wanton & lasciuious songs, tousds [=rounds], and horne pypes ...’

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36	<b>Simon Goulart, trans. Edward Grimston, <i>Admirable and Memorable Histories Containing the wonders of our time</i></b>	George Eld, London, 1607	Resemblance, 527–30 (at 529)	Goulart here describes the remarkable similarities between a pair of identical twins ('two Gentlemen Brethren') born in Avignon. Amongst other things, they 'playde both of the Lute, Song their parts' and the 'sound of their voyce' and 'actions were so like, as their Father, Mother, and Brethren were deceiued to shewe the difference'.
37	<b>John Marston, <i>VVhat Yov VVill</i></b>	G. Eld, London, 1607	Act 1, scene i, [A4] <sup>r</sup> –B3 <sup>v</sup> (at B <sup>r</sup> –B <sup>v</sup> )	Iacomo says to Phylus (who earlier entered holding a lute, sig. [A4] <sup>r</sup> ): '... And thou chanst bring Celas head out of the window with thy Lute, well hazard thy breath: looke Sir heares a ditty ...' The song follows along with the stage direction: ' <i>Hee Singes and is answered, from aboue a Willow garland is floung downe and the songe ceaseth.</i> '
38	<b>John Day, <i>Lavv-Trickes Or, Who WOULD Have Thought It</i></b>	[E. Alde for] Richard More, London, 1608	Act 5, [G4] <sup>r</sup> –[I4] <sup>r</sup> (I <sup>r</sup> –I <sup>v</sup> )	Ioculo (a page) proclaims 'I was taught to sing, / Vnto the Lute, and Court each amorous string / With a soft finger' and then confesses his age to be 'Eighteene' (he had thus presumably gone through puberty by this age).
39	<b>George Benson, <i>A Sermon Preached At Pavles Crosse The Seaventh Of May, M.DC. IX.</i></b>	H. L. [Humphrey Lownes], London, 1609	76	Benson fleetingly refers to various cruel deeds of Roman Emperor Nero, who 'plaied vpon his Lute and song verses of <i>Homer</i> , concerning the burning of <i>Troy</i> , comparing the two Cities together ...'
40	<b>Thomas Dekker, <i>Foure Birds Of Noahs Arke</i></b>	H. B. [H. Ballard], London, 1609	Sec. 1, no. 8 (A Prayer for a Marriner at Sea in a storme), 28–31 (at 31)	'... Saue vs, O saue vs, for thine owne sake, for thy Sonnes Sake, for thy glories sake, and wee shall sing Psalmes in thy praises vpon the lute, and vpon an instrument of ten strings.'
41	<b>Nicolas de Montreux, trans. Robert Tofte, <i>Honovrs Academie. Or The Famovs Pastorall, of the faire Shepheardesse, Ivlietta.</i></b>	Thomas Creede, London, 1610	72–3 (at 72)	Alfonso '... called his sad Page vnto him, who, being commanded by him, tooke his Lute in his hand, and with an excellent sweet voyce, vnto a most dolefull tune, sung these verses following, before his weeping Mistris [=Iustina] ...'
			161–2 (at 161)	Don Iohn '... called for pen and Inke, and thereupon composed these sad verses following, which he would oftentimes sing vnto his Lute.'
42	<b>Joannes Boemus, trans. Edward Aston, <i>The Manners, Lauues, And Cvstomes Of All Nations.</i></b>	G. Eld, London, 1611	Bk 3, Ch.21, p. 357	The Galatians '... haue a certaine manner of Poets or Musitions which they call ( <i>Bardi</i> ) that sing vnto Organs and winde Instruments, as others doe to the Harp or Lute, praying some in their songs and sonnets and dispraying others ...' Although this describes musicians in Anatolia (in modern Turkey),



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				Edward Aston has clearly used terminology from contemporary English music-making in his translation.
43	<b>Richard Brathwaite, <i>The Golden Fleece. VVhereto bee annexed two Elegies</i></b>	W. S. [William Stansby], London, 1611	Sonnets or Madrigals; The Epistle Dedicatorie, E4 <sup>r</sup> –[E7] <sup>r</sup> (at [E6] <sup>v</sup> )	‘... Terpnus, who was Neroes musitian, was out of his element when he had not a Lute in his hand, and a wanton song before him ...’
44	<b>Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, trans. Josuah Sylvester, <i>Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated</i></b>	Humfrey Lounes, London, 1611	290–1	This tells the story of how Iubal creates a ‘melodious Lute’ out of an ‘open <i>Tortoise</i> lying on the ground’ that makes ‘woods harken’ and ‘windes be mute’, amongst other things. Iubal is then described singing to it:  ‘... His Art, still waxing, sweetly marrieth / His quauering fingers to his warbling breath: / More little tongues to’s charm-care Lute he brings ...’
			399	The words ‘lays’ and ‘song’ suggest that the soldier sings and plays at the same time, hence why it is included here; accompanied song is not explicitly described, however, and the passage may instead relate simply to instrumental music:  ‘... Another [=one of the Hebrew soldiers], while ingeniously he plays / Vpon his Lute som passing-pleasing Lays, / Sleep sieles his eyes vp with a gloomy clowd; / And yet his hand still quauers light and lowd: / But, at the last it sinks; and, offring fair / To strike the Base, strikes but the empty ayr: / His soule, descending to th’ Infernall Coasts, / Goes to conclude his Song vnto the Ghosts ...’
			811–12	It is not clear if the singing is just to the virginals, or also to the lute, hence why it is included here; the passage as a whole is clearly written from a male perspective.  ‘... One while vpon the Lute, my nimbleioints I plie, Then on the Virginnalls: to whose sweet harmonie Marrying my simple voice, in solemne Tunes I sing Some Psalme or holy Song, vnto the heauenly King ...’
45	<b>Richard Hooker, <i>A Learned And Comfortable Sermon</i></b>	Ioseph Barnes, Oxford, 1612	14	On people comparing themselves to others and thus judging God and his works erroneously through man’s actions (it is implicit

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	<i>Of The certaintie and perpetuitie of faith in the Elect</i>			that 'they' includes men): '... they sing to the lute, and they see their children dance before them ...' This reference is also cited in <b>Bartholomew Robertson</b> , <i>Spiritvall Encrease</i> (1621), 166.
46	<b>Francis Rollenson</b> , <i>Twelve Prophetical Legacies</i>	T. C. [Thomas Creede], London, 1612	92–113 (at 109)	'... Many that are <i>Rich</i> , wil not call vpon their <i>Lutes &amp; Harps</i> , as <i>Dauid</i> did, saying, <i>Awake Lute and Harpe</i> , singing vnto them this Ditie, ( <i>Psal.30.1</i> ) <i>I will magnifie thee O Lorde</i> , for <i>thou hast exalted me</i> ; but they attribute the increase of their wealth to their owne pollicie and indeuour ...'
47	<b>Jean Bertaut</b> , trans. <b>Josuah Sylvester</b> , <i>The Parliament of Vertues Royal</i>	Humphrey Lownes, London, 1614	Bk 3, 120	This describes the appearance and characteristics of a wealthy ' <i>Persian</i> ...proud of th'Imperiall state', whose 'too sumptuous Suits; / His painted Cheeks, his <i>Phrygik</i> Layes & Lutes' (amongst other things) did not 'smock' his 'Manly mind'. Although a description of foreign music-making, the terminology used clearly reflects that used in contemporary English.
48	<b>Luis Hurtado</b> (attrib.), trans. <b>Anthony Munday</b> , <i>The [First-] Second Part Of The No Lesse Rare, Then Excellent And stately Historie, of the famous, and fortunate Prince Palmerin of England and Florian de Desart his brother</i>	Thomas Creede and Bernard Alsop, London, 1616	Pt 1, ch. 18, [F6] <sup>v</sup>	Palmerin enters the castle and is enticed to enter by doleful music he hears, which is played by 'one sitting all in blacke, with a fair long Beard, and a very graue countenance'. Palmerin stops and listens to the man '... singing many sadde Dittyes to his Lute, that himselfe had framed, in the prayse of his Ladie ...'
			Pt 1, ch. 19, [F8] <sup>v</sup>	Floraman, having joined the Turks against his own father (the King of Sardinia) due to the poisoning of his beloved Altea, regularly sings 'her praise, and his owne paine' to her portrait in 'sundry Lamentable Sonnets [...] which to his Lute hee often recorded'.
49	<b>Robert Greene</b> , <i>Alcida Greenes Metamorphosis</i>	George Purslowe, London, 1617	I2 <sup>v</sup> –I3 <sup>r</sup> (at I2 <sup>v</sup> )	Marpesia and one of her gentlewomen hears Eurymachus with 'his Lute in his hand, playing certaine melancholy dumpes... sing to his Lute this mornefull madrigall ...'
50	<b>Robert Greene</b> , rev. <b>Dunstan Gale</b> , <i>The History Of Arbasto King of Denmarke</i>	I. B [I. Beale], London, 1617	Ch. 1, pp. 3–4 (at 3)	An old priest took 'his Lute, plaied a dumpe, whereto he warbled out these words: ...' This is a reprint of <b>Robert Greene</b> , <i>Arbasto</i> (1589), sig.A.iii <sup>v</sup> –sig.A.iii <sup>r</sup> .
51	<b>William Drummond</b> , <i>Forth Feasting. A Panegyricke To</i>	Andro Hart, Edinburgh, 1617	A4 <sup>v</sup>	This poem is addressed to James I of England and VI of Scotland:

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	<i>The Kings Most Excellent Maiestie</i>			<p>‘... With Lute in Hand, full of Cœlestiall Fire, / To the <i>Pierian</i> Groues Thou didst retire: / There, garlanded with all <i>Vranias</i> Flowrs, / In sweeter Layes than builded <i>Thabès</i> Towrs, / Or them which charm’d the Dolphines in the Maine, / Or which did call <i>Euridicè</i> againe, / Thou sungst away the Hournes, till from their Spheare / Starrs seem’d to shoote, Thy Melodie to heare ...’</p> <p>It was reprinted in John Adamson, <i>TA ΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΩΝ ΕΙΣΟΔΙΑ: The Mvses Welcome To The High And Mightie Prince Iames (1618*)</i>, 31.</p>
52	John Moore, <i>A Mapped Mans Mortalitie</i>	T. S. [Thomas Snodham], London, 1617	Bk 2, Ch. 7, p. 145, no.6	<p>Accompanied singing may be implied here in relation to the lute and harp:</p> <p>‘... let vs learne of the Musitian, who (according to the songs that he singeth, or playeth, vpon the Lute, Harpe or Recorder) hath his countenance and passions accordingly framed and affected ...’</p>
53	Thomas Campion, <i>The Third And Fovrth Booke Of Ayres</i>	Thomas Snodham, London, c. 1618	Bk 4 (“The Second Booke”), song 8, H2 <sup>v</sup>	‘To his sweet Lute <i>Apollo</i> sung the motions of the Spheares ...’
54	George Chapman, <i>Tvvo Wise Men And All The Rest Fooles</i>	s. n., London, 1619	Act 6, sc. i, K2 <sup>r</sup>	<p>Furioso (a soldier):</p> <p>‘... It is not long since you were teaching the lute to a pretie wench and wittie, and were fingring her frets vnfit for your dittie ...’</p>
55	Henry Hutton, <i>Follie’s Anatomie</i>	[Nicholas Okes for] Mathew Walbanke, London, 1619	D3 <sup>r</sup> -E3 <sup>v</sup> (at [D5] <sup>r</sup> )	‘... mi[g]hty <i>loue</i> , with <i>Orpheus</i> sweetest hymns, / Aptly concurring to <i>Arians</i> Lute ...’
56	Virgil, trans. John Brinsley, <i>Virgils Eclogues, Vvith His Booke De Apibus</i>	Richard Field, London, 1620	Georgicks: Bk 4, p. 154, Col. 1	<p>‘But yet how <i>Orpheus</i> / himselfe though excee- / dingly bewailing his / deare wife, yet labored / to asswage his sorowful / loue with doleful songs / &amp; with his hollow lute.’</p> <p>(Column 3 on the same page has a slightly embellished variant of the same passage.)</p>

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57	<b>Giovanni Boccaccio, trans. John Florio (attrib.), <i>The Decameron Containing An hundred pleasant Nouels</i></b>	Isaac Iagard, London, 1620	The Tenth and last Day: The Seuenth Nouell, 158 <sup>v</sup> –163 <sup>r</sup> (at 159 <sup>v</sup> –161 <sup>r</sup> )	<p>Bernardo Puccino (a Florentine apothecary) sends for Manutio, ‘a most excellent Musitian, both for his voyce in singing, and exquisite skill in playing on Instruments’, to comfort his daughter Lisana. He ‘... played dexteriously on his Lute, which purposely hee had brought with him, and likewise he sung diuers excellent Ditties ...’</p> <p>Manutio subsequently sings a song in honour of the lovesick Lisana to King Piero, with a ‘dittie’ written by ‘one of the best Poets in the composing of verses’. King Piero commands Manutio, who has matched the text ‘with noates so moouing and singularly musicall’, to ‘vse both his Lute and voyce’. After this, Manutio returns to Lisana, ‘taking his Lute also with him’, where he ‘sung the song to her, in as excellent manner as he had done before’, thus helping to cure Lisana of her lovesickness.</p>
58	<b>Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, <i>Phylaster. Or, Loue lyes a Bleeding</i></b>	Thomas Walkley, London, 1620	Act 3, sc. i, pp. 27–39, (at 35–37)	<p>The ‘Princesse’ is dismayed when the King instructs her to remove from service (‘put away’) her page boy Bellario, who ‘sings, and plaies’ and is assumed to be ‘about eighteene’. When Philaster, her love interest, advises her to follow the King’s instruction, she replies:</p> <p>‘O cruell, are you hard hearted too? / Who shall now tell you how much I loued you? / Who shall sweare it to you, and weepe the teares I send? / Who shall now bring you letters, rings, braslets, / Loose his health in seruice, make tedious nights, / In stories of your praise? Who shall now sing / Your crying Elegies, and strike a sad soule / Into senselesse pictures, and make them warme? / Who shall take vp his lute, and touch it, / Till he crowne a silent sleepe vpon my eye-lids, Make me dreame and crie: / O my deere, deere <i>Phylaster</i>.’</p>
59	<b>Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, trans. Thomas Shelton, <i>The Second Part Of The History Of The Valorous and witty Knight-Errant, Don Quixote of the Mancha</i></b>	[Eliot’s Court Press for] Edward Blount, London, 1620	Ch. 12, pp. 69–74 (at 72–3)	<p>A lovesick ‘Knight of the Wood’ is overheard by Don Quixote and Sancho:</p> <p>‘But harke, it seemes he [=the ‘Knight of the Wood’] is tuning a Lute, or Viall, and by his spitting and cleering his brest, he prepares himselfe to sing [...] and whil’st the two [=Sancho and Don Quixote] were astonisht, he sung as followeth ...’</p>
			Ch. 46, pp. 300–5 (at 301–3)	<p>Don Quixote requests ‘a Lute into my Chamber soone at night’ to comfort Altisidora, an ‘afflicted Damozell’. His request is</p>

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				fulfilled, although the instrument is then described as 'a Vyoll', which after 'ordering it as well as he could, he spit and cleared his brest, and straight with a voyce somewhat hoarceish, though tuneable, he sung the ensuing Romant, which the same day he had composed...' The confusion regarding what instrument is used reflects the original text, which first refers to a 'laúd', then a 'vihuela'. Although 'vihuela' initially indicated all figure-of-eight shaped string instruments (bowed and plucked), it generally means the popular guitar-like instrument; Shelton may have been unfamiliar with it, hence his (mis) translation 'Vyoll'. This also surely explains the passage in Chapter XII ('a Lute, or Viall').
60	<b>Richard Brathwaite</b> , <i>Natvres Embassie: Or, The Wilde-Mans Measvres</i>	Richard Whitaker, London, 1621	Sec. 2, The Eighth Satyre, 119–27 (at 119)	'Terpnus <i>Musician to a tyrant Prince, / Nero by name, did in the funeralls / Which were solemniz'd on his mothers hearse, / Sing on his Lute these wofull tragicalls: ...</i> '  Later on (page 122), Nero requests Terpnus to 'Sing to thy Lute... straines of delight.' Incidentally, a few strophes later, Terpnus is then described as playing a 'lyre' (page 123).
61	<b>Lope de Vega</b> , trans. <b>William Dutton</b> (attrib.), <i>The Pilgrime Of Casteele</i>	[E. Allde for] John Norton, London, 1621	Bk 4, pp. 100–50 (at 134)	Thesander '... taking the Lute from <i>Nisa</i> , answered her with these Verses, which hee had conceiued in his minde the night before ...'
62	<b>William Slatyer</b> , <i>The History Of Great Britanie from the first peopling of this l[s] land to this present Raigne</i>	W. Stansby, London, [1621]	Palae Albion, Ode 1: Canz.4, pp. 10–11 (at 11)  Palae Albion, Ode 1: Canz.10, pp. 16–19 (at 19)	'... faire <i>Sol</i> , at my sute, / Shalt sing them to thy Ebon Lute.'  '... Like Orpheus with his daintie Lute, / The Woods, Fields, Flouds, and Fishes mute, / He held attentiuē, and among, / The sauge Beasts with his sweet song ...'
63	<b>Lady Mary Wroth</b> , <i>The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania</i>	[?Augustine Mathews for] Ioh[n] Marriott and Iohn Grismand, London, 1621	Bk 1, at 53–5	Amphilanthus, leaving behind his beloved Antissia, journeys to Italy and alights in a virtually uninhabited place where he takes refuge in a wood; whilst reflecting on his situation, he hears 'a delicate (yet dolefull) voyce, a Lute finely plaid vpon, giuing musicke to his Song ...' The unnamed voice acts as a mirror of Amphilanthus's thoughts and is 'perceiued' by Amphilanthus to be that of a 'young man'. This young man then passes Amphilanthus towards the river and 'his Lute he held in his



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				hand, till againe hauing some more Verses fram'd in his minde (perfect louers neuer wanting inuention) he againe played, and sung ...'
			Bk 4, at 510–11	The 'Duke of Wertenberg' (=Wartenberg) 'admirably [...] played on the Lute' and hid himself under his lover's window 'going, playing, and singing' and 'spake in great passion these words ...'
64	Robert Burton, <i>The Anatomy Of Melancholy, Vvhat It Is</i>	John Lichfield and James Short, Oxford, 1621	Part 1, Sec. 2, Memb. 4, Svbsect. 4, N3 <sup>v</sup> –[N5] <sup>r</sup> , at N4 <sup>r</sup>	Citing Iovius, Burton discusses 'silly fellowes' via the example of the 'musitian' Tarascomus of Parma: because '... he thought himself to be a man of most excellent skill, (who was indeed a ninny) they [=Leo Decimus and Bibiena] made him set foolish songs, and invent new ridiculous precepts, which they did highly commend, as to tye his arme that plaid on the lute, to make him strike a sweeter stroke, and to pull downe the Arras hangings, because the voice would be clearer, by reason of the reverberation of the wall.'
65	Horace, trans. John Ashmore, <i>Certain Selected Odes Of Horace, Englished</i>	H. L. [Humphrey Lownes], London, 1621	Lib. 3. Ode 30, p. 28	'... And poor in water where old <i>Daunus</i> forth doth shoue / His sun-burnt face to people rude, that I (from lowe / Estate advanc't) was he that first of all did suit / <i>Aeolian</i> Songs and Sonnets to a <i>Roman</i> Lute ...'
66	Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, trans. Leonard Digges, <i>Gerardo The Vnfortunate Spaniard. Or A Patterne For Lasciuios Lovers</i>	[George Purslowe for] Ed. Blount, London, 1622	Pt 1, Disc. 1, pp. 9–11 (at 9)	Gerardo '... falling into his sad Dumpes, and willing to beguile his fancy, he called for a Lute, (which cunningly tuned) with a cleere Voice and pleasing Dittie he mustered vp his lifes former passages, in the insuing Verses ...'
67	George Wither, <i>Faire-Virtve, The Mistresse Of Phil'arete</i>	[Augustine Mathews for] John Grismand, London, 1622	K3 <sup>r</sup> –[K6] <sup>r</sup> (at K3 <sup>r</sup> )	The nymphs secretly listen to Philarete (described on sig.B3 <sup>r</sup> as 'a Shepheards lad...obscure and young', i.e. a mature youth) singing to his 'Lute', who comes 'day by day, / In these Groues to sing, and play'. They are careful not to disturb him, for 'mute / Will his Tougne be, and his <i>Lute</i> ' if he notices 'vnlookt for Company'.
			M3 <sup>v</sup> –[M8] <sup>r</sup> (at M3 <sup>v</sup> )	Philarete '... taking downe a <i>Lute</i> , that neere him hung, / He gau'e't his <i>Boy</i> , who plaid; whilst this, he sung ...' Afterwards, on sig.[M5] <sup>v</sup> , the shepherd is subsequently asked to sing one more song, 'which request, he instantly obaid; / And, this ensuing <i>Song</i> , both sung and plaid ...'

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68	<b>Henry Peacham, <i>The Compleat Gentleman</i></b>	[John Legat for] Francis Constable, London, 1622	Ch. 11, pp. 96–104 (at 100)	This passage—clearly addressed to a courtly male reader—may imply accompanied singing to lute or viol:  ‘I desire no more in you then to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same vpon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, priuately to your selfe.’
69	<b>William Shakespeare, ed. John Heminge and Henry Condell, <i>M<sup>r</sup>. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, &amp; Tragedies.</i></b>	Isaac Iaggard and Ed. Blount, London, 1623	The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eight, Act 3, sc. i, pp. 218–19 (at 218)	The scene opens with Queen Katherine asking one of her women to sing to her lute; her song begins:  ‘ORpheus with his Lute made Trees, / And the Mountaine tops that freeze, / Bow themselues when he did sing ...’
70	<b>Homer, trans. George Chapman, <i>the Crowne of all Homers Workes</i></b>	John Bill, London, ?1624	A Hymne to Hermes, 51–87 (at 53–5 and 77–83)	This lengthy hymn to Hermes tells the story of the god’s birth and childhood. It tells how Hermes makes a lute out of a ‘Tortois’ with ‘Seuen strings, of severall tunes [...] Made of the Entrailles of a sheepe well dried’; when it was finished, he accompanied himself on it (p. 55):  ‘... He toucht it; and did every string extend / (With an exploratorie spirit assaid) / To all the parts, that could on it be plaid. / It sounded dreadfully; to which he sung, / As if from thence, the first, and true force sprung / That fashions Virtue. God, in him did sing ...’  Later (pp. 77–8), Hermes ‘... his Lute tooke; and assaid / A song’ to Phoebus (also called Apollo in the text) with ‘Tunes so artfull clere’:  ‘... O then, his voice would runn / Such points vpon his play; and did so moue, / They tooke Apollo Prisoner to his loue ...’  So ‘heauenly’ is his song that Hermes seems to have a ‘new voice; such as neuer yet came nere /  The brest of any; either Man, or God ...’ (page 79). He later tells Phoebus (=Apollo) to ‘Take thou my Lute’ and ‘Sing; and perfection in thy song command’ (pages 80–81). Apollo (page 82) then ‘tooke / Into his left hand’ his lute and ‘shooke / Delightsome sounds vp, to which God did sing’.
			To Phoebus, 134	‘... Thee, that thy Lute; mak’st sound so to thy Beames. / Thee, first and last, the sweete-voic’t singer, still / Sings; for thy songs-all-songs-transcending skill ...’

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71	<b>Anon., <i>The Tragedy Of Nero, Newly Written</i></b>	Augustine Mathewes and Iohn Norton, London, 1624	Act 3, [D4] <sup>f</sup>	Nero: 'They tell of <i>Orpheus</i> , when he tooke his Lute, / And moou'd the noble luory with his touch: / <i>Hebrus</i> stood still, <i>Pangea</i> bow'd his head, / <i>Ossa</i> then first shooke off his snowe, and came / To listen to the moouings of his song ...'
72	<b>John Penkethman, <i>The Epigrams Of P. Virgilivs Maro, and others</i></b>	G. P. [George Purslowe], London, 1624	9. <i>Vpon Virgil and his workes. By Sextus Propertius in his 2. Booke, Elegy 24, D2<sup>f</sup> –D2<sup>v</sup></i> (at D2 <sup>f</sup> )	Singing to the lute is implied in the description of Phoebus, who 'could sing' and '... if the learned Lute he take / And play thereon, such Musicke thou dost make.'
73	<b>William Jones, <i>A Treatise Of Patience in Tribulation</i></b>	William Jones, London, 1625	no. 7, pp. 41–2 (at 42)	'... It did not with thine actiue spirit suite / To wast thy time in fingring of a Lute, / Or sing mong'st Cupids spirits a puling Dittie / To moue some femall Saint to loue or pittie ...'
74	<b>Anon., <i>The wofull complaint, and lamentable death of a forsaken Louer</i></b>	printed for Henry Gosson, London, c. 1625	Broadside ballad, pt 2, v. 5	'... When he had bewail'd his sorrowes long, / hée tooke a Lute that by him hngg, [=hung] / And on the lute he sweetly plaid, / and vnto it these words he said: / O death, when will the houre come, / that I haue waited on so long?'
75	<b>George Marcelline, <i>Vox Militis: Foreshewing What Perils Are Procvred Where The people of this, or any other kingdome liue without regard of Marshall discipline</i></b>	B. A. [Bernard Alsop], London, 1625	Pt 2, pp. 28–58 (at 31–2)	'And <i>Xerxes</i> being offended with the <i>Babylonians</i> , because they trayterously had shrunke from him: when he had againe brought them vnder, he forbad them to beare any more weapons, & further commaunded them, that they should sing to the Lute, and other Instruments, learne to keepe harlots, and haunt <i>Tauernes</i> , which policy he of purpose prepared, to weaken their courages, whereby he might the better keep them vnder awe.'