

## THE SACKBUT AND PRE-REFORMATION ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC

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In the mid-1530s the household account books of the Royal Court in London showed that as many as twelve trombone players were in receipt of regular fees. If these accounts signify all expenditure on Court music at that time, it can be estimated that an eighth of the wages bill for this part of its activities went to trombone players. The 1530s were something of a high point in this respect, but it remains the case that for the whole of the 16th century a corps of trombonists were, in effect, salaried members of the royal musical establishment.<sup>1</sup> Yet, not a single piece of English music from this period is explicitly linked to the trombone. This in itself is not significant, as the labelling of parts at this time was rare,<sup>2</sup> but the illustration draws historians of brass instruments to a neat focus. Throughout the 16th century trombonists occupied a regular and important place in English musical life. The players were professionals, probably fine and distinguished performers: What did they play and when did they play it? In this article I address some issues concerning the deployment of trombones in the first half of the 16th century.

It is worth stressing that musical practice in England in the 16th century was sufficiently different from the rest of Europe to merit special attention. As I explain below, the accession of Henry VII marks what many historians recognize as a watershed in British history. The death of his son Henry VIII in 1547 marks another. While England was not entirely isolated from the rest of Europe its island existence and its political, religious, and cultural idiosyncrasies made it distinct. For example, the English Reformation had a different impetus, cause, and effect to the wider European movement. It was not, at least not primarily, the product of religious upheaval due to a reinterpretation of theologies. Rather, it was occasioned by political expediencies.<sup>3</sup>

The word "trombone" appears to have been virtually unknown in England in the 16th century. Though there is a tendency in modern times to use "sackbut" somewhat casually to mean any early trombone, it is something of a misnomer. "Sackbut" was used only in England, and even there the spelling "sackbut" was less frequent than its variants "shagbut," "shakbush," "sacbut," and so on. To compound matters further "sackbutt" also had an entirely different meaning. Literally, it was a "butt" (barrel) of "sack" (wine),<sup>4</sup> so scholars researching documents relating to 16th-century revels, for example, should take care that payment notes in account books for "sackbuts" are for musicians and not, as they credibly could be, for wine. This dual meaning was not lost on contemporary writers who contrived puns on it right into the 17th century. For example, Fletcher's *Rule a Wife* contains the line "in th' cellar he will make dainty music among the sackbuts."<sup>5</sup>

While "sackbut," with its variants, is by far the most common name for the early English

trombone, there are two other names that were used less frequently for the same purpose. Sources relating to music in Scotland in the opening years of the 16th century contain references to the *draucht trumpet* ("drawn trumpet"). The Treasurer's Accounts for the Court of King James of Scotland,<sup>6</sup> for example, mention a payment on 6 Nov. 1505 "To the draucht trumpet to fe [*sic*] him a horse to Dunfermline." The player in question may well have been Julius Drummond, one of an important family of Scottish musicians who emigrated to Italy and returned to Scotland late in the 15th century. Indeed, one might speculate that it was the Drummonds who introduced the trombone to Scotland—quite independently of its introduction to England? This hypothesis is not entirely without substance. The Drummonds were briefly in Italy at about the time that the trombone was gaining wide popularity and it seems less likely that the instrument referred to was a Renaissance slide trumpet. The idea that the "draucht" trumpet was a trombone is also given credence in a source dated more than thirty years later when the single slide trumpet, if it was used at all in Scotland, would surely have been something of an anachronism. The source, which describes festivities that greeted the arrival of Marie of Guise to Scotland in 1538, seems to make a clear distinction between the "draucht trumpet" and the "weir [*war*] trumpet"—an instrument, presumably, with a fixed length.

the king resawit [received] the quen in his  
palice to the denner quhair [where] there was  
great mirth schallmes draught trumpattis and  
weir trumpattis witht playing and phrassis  
efter denner <sup>8</sup>

The other term that is linked with the trombone is *tuba ductilis*. This too is found rarely, almost always in documents written in Latin throughout and associated with ecclesiastical foundations. Galpin was the first writer to research the etymology of *tuba ductilis* in an attempt to associate its meaning with the trombone.<sup>9</sup> His famous paper, which forms the basis for a great deal of subsequent scholarship on the instrument, is as helpful in this respect as it is in others. Galpin was unaware, however, of *The Custom Book of St. Omer*, an early 17th-century source which provides a clear indication of what the term was taken to mean at that time. The book is a manual outlining musical practice at the English Jesuit School at St. Omer, France; in it are listed instruments that were taught there and the functions for which their use was appropriate. It is explained that the cornett and trombone required more lung power (*pneumatica plus*) than other wind instruments and leaves no doubt as to what the Latin names mean: *Tuba ductilis (vulgo sacbottom) et Tuba cornea (vulgo cornett)*.<sup>10</sup>

That the English used words similar to the Franco-Portuguese *sacquebote* to mean trombone and not the Italian *trombone* or the Germanic *Posaune* is informative for two reasons. First, it tells us (and this is consistent with other indicators of the English court's cultural history) that it was probably from France or Burgundy that the first players came.<sup>11</sup> Second, it strongly suggests that from the first time that "sackbut" or similar words were used, they can be taken to mean a slide instrument rather than a more general and vague

description of a brass instrument. Whereas *trombone* and *Posaune* have their etymological root in words that mean trumpet—both literally mean a large trumpet—"sackbut" has its origins in words that contain an allusion to a moving, as opposed to a static mechanism. Thus, notwithstanding evidence for the existence of a single-slide trumpet, it seems likely that in England by the last decade of the 15th century, a sackbut was a brass instrument with a double U-shaped slide—the type that we recognise today as a trombone.<sup>12</sup>

The earliest reference to the trombone in an English source is found in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII. It mentions the following payments :

Item.

To 9 Trumpets for their wags	£1 8.0.0
To 4 Shakbushes for ther wags	£7.0.0
To 3 Stringmynstrels for their wags	£0.100.0 (rid) <sup>13</sup>

Henry VII, the first Tudor king, came to the throne in 1485 following the Battle of Bosworth. Henry was not merely a successful warrior, he was a shrewd politician with a refined intellect. Most historians characterise him as the first "modern" English monarch. Through a number of carefully schemed maneuvers he established a dynasty that was to last for more than a century and elevate English political and cultural life out of the prevailing medievalism. He recognized the value of music as an ingredient in a broadly based, sophisticated court culture and its potential as an adjunct to diplomacy. Musicians were occasionally employed from the early years of his reign. Several of them appear to have been from France.

The 1495 reference may not be indicative of the first occasion when trombonists were employed at the English court, but it is doubtful whether they were brought to London much earlier. It is also uncertain whether these payments were for regular wages or fees for casual work. Early in the new century, however, the trombone appears to have been more established as a part of musical life at court. The records of the court of Charles of Austria provide details of a fee paid to two players, Hans Nagel and Hans Broen, who are described as players of the sackbut to the King of England (*jouers de sacqubutes du roy d'Angleterre*).<sup>14</sup> Little is otherwise heard of Broen, but Nagel is, presumably, the same man who is referred to as Han Naille and is one of five trombonists who received livery allowances for the funeral of Henry VII's wife Queen Elizabeth in February, 1503.<sup>15</sup> Also among this five were John de Peler and Edward Peler (father and son perhaps), who are described as "Johannes and Edward shakbotters" in the same year when they received fees and livery allowances for their work at the marriage of Princess Margaret (daughter of Henry VII) to James IV of Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Sources showing payments to trombonists in the reign of Henry VII are not abundant, but this is most probably because comparatively few records from the period have survived, rather than a reflection of the extent that trombonists were employed. An impression of musical life at court, perhaps indicating the instruments that were regularly used there, is found in Stephen Hawes' epic poem *The Passetyme of Pleasure*. Hawes was born in Suffolk in 1475 and died in London in 1523. He was widely travelled and well educated. Around 1500 he joined Henry VII's court as groom to the King, a position which would

have given him intimate contact with all levels of cultural life at court. *Passetyme with Pleasure*, which is dedicated to the King, describes court life in fine, if flowery, detail. It was published in 1509 by Wykyn de Worde and was sufficiently popular to be reprinted by the same publisher in 1517. One verse contains Hawes's description of musical life.

There sate dame musyke/with all her mynstralsy  
 As taboures/trumpettes/with pype melodyous  
 Sakbuttes/organs/and the recordes swetley  
 Harpes/lutes/and crouddes ryght delysyous  
 Cyphars/doussemers/wt clarycymbales gloryo  
 Rebeckes/clavycordes/eche in theyr degre  
 Dyde sytte aboute theyr Ladyes mageste.<sup>17</sup>

Hawes' poem was first published in the year that Henry VII was succeeded by his eighteen-year-old son, Henry VIII. During Henry VIII's reign the court musical establishment grew on an unprecedented scale. Between 1509 and 1519 four, sometimes five, players of the "shawms and sackbuts" were in regular receipt of wages. Distinguishing between shawm and trombone players (or those who played both instruments) is difficult, but it seems likely that in the first part of this period at least two and perhaps as many as four of the group were trombonists. The leading player seems to have been Alexander Massu (or possibly Manseno; both names are given in the account books) who is usually referred to as "Alexander sakbusshe." A sign of the importance and permanence of trombonists in the Royal musical establishment at this time is that they were in receipt of "New Year's Gifts." These "gifts" were additional emoluments provided by the sovereign to those who had shown good, regular, and long service. Between 1509 and 1516 the sum given to "the shakbissches in rewarde" on New Year's Day was always 50s—suggesting that there was little change in the constitution of the group.<sup>18</sup>

There seem to have been two occasions in the reign of Henry VIII when a set of new players were taken into the Court band. In April 1516 appointment warrants were issued for three new sackbut players for the King's Music. The appointees were John van Herten (van Artain), John van Inle, and Nicholas Forcivall (Clays de Forteville).<sup>19</sup> These players, who were almost certainly recent immigrants, subsequently received regular wages for many years; they were certainly listed as "sagbuts" in the 1532 account books. By that time, indeed by the 1520s, another new group of players had arrived from Italy. Among this group were members of the Bassano family who, having emigrated from Venice, settled in London to form one of the most influential musical dynasties of the 16th century." By 1532 the payment books contain the names of players who had been Royal musicians for the best part of two decades and those of the new generation whose offspring were to be in service to Elizabeth I. The King's Boke[sic] of Payments for that year indicate regular outgoings to twelve named players.

Item for John van Vinle sagbut            55s.6d.

Item for Nicholas Forcival sagbut        55s.6d.

Item for John van Harton sagbut	55s.6d.
Item for Lewis van Winkle sagbut	40s
Item for John Antony sagbut	40s.
Item for Mark Antony sagbut	40s.
Item for Peregrine sagbut	40s.
Item for Ipolit de Salvator sagbut	40s
Item for Jasper Bernard sagbut	40s.
Item for Peter Mary sagbut	40s.
Item for Nicholas Bollenger sagbut	40s.
Item for John Bollenger sagbut	40s. <sup>21</sup>

Additionally there are references to New Year's gifts. These gifts show status of the different players.

**Rewardest given on New Years day.**

Item to the kynges olde sagbuttes in rewarde	50s.
Item to the six new sagbuttes in rewarde	£422

While the Royal Court was by far the most important employer of trombonists it was not the only foundation to do so. The London Waits were probably the first organization outside the court to have a trombone player in their ensemble. The Repertory of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London for 1526 (the minute book of the city council) includes the entry

And yt ys agreed [insertion in the same hand:—"at humble petition of the ways of this cite"] that Mr Chamberleyne shall at the coste of the [city] pay for an instrument called a sackbutte for the ways of this cite...."

The scribe made several attempts at penning the name of the instrument. After a number of crossings-out, perhaps indicating that the word was unfamiliar to him, he settled on "sackbutte." David Lasocki has suggested that the London Waits, with just one exception, did not employ foreign musicians.<sup>24</sup> If this is the case the man who performed on this instrument may have been the first native-born English trombone player.

Several provincial cities employed waits, but I know of no waits band other than the London Waits which regularly employed a trombone player before 1550.<sup>25</sup> The only other type of provincial foundation that might have employed trombonists, the cathedrals, did not do so, though some modern scholars have claimed that they did. The use of trombones in English cathedrals in the first half of the 16th century has been the subject of a great deal of confusion and it is worth clarifying the issue here. The first point of confusion may originate in Galpin's claim that the statutes of the Canterbury Cathedral in the time of Henry VIII included a decree to the effect that two cornettist and two trombonists were granted places "in perpetuity." Le Huray infers that Canterbury might have included provision for the employment of trombonists in their statutes in 1532.<sup>26</sup> Other writers have

followed this information unquestioningly. I have been unable to find any primary source to substantiate these references. Cornetts and sackbuts were associated with Canterbury in 1598 and 1634 but not, to my knowledge, in 1532.<sup>27</sup>

The other error stems from Woodfill who, in his excellent book *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth I to Charles I*, infers that the new 1541 statutes of Carlisle Cathedral included provision for the employment of sackbuts.<sup>28</sup> This is entirely wrong. I have been helped greatly by the authorities at Carlisle Cathedral. The 1541 statutes survive intact. I have examined them and they contain no such reference.<sup>29</sup>

There is comparatively little evidence linking trombone playing to the provinces in Henry VIII's reign and none which show that the major provincial institutions employed trombonists regularly. It is true, however, that trombone playing was not restricted to the court and the London Waits. A number of sources illustrate that trombonists were employed in houses of the nobility from time to time. The Seymour family account books show that Lady [Jane] Seymour paid 14s.4d. for the services of the King's sackbuts when when dined at "Master Pages" in May, 1536.<sup>30</sup> A year later the account books of the same family note payments to "Battist and his fellow sackbuts."<sup>31</sup> Similar payments are recorded in documents associated with households at Cambridge, Hertford, and Rutland. The question then remains as to how and when trombonists were used in the first half of the 16th century. There can be little doubt that they were used on ceremonial occasions. Several sources associate trombones with processional music and fanfares. No ceremonial flourishes or fanfares of the type that were probably the staple repertory of the Court trumpet players survive. It is possible that the more stately instrumental "consort" pieces, given appropriate instrumentation, dynamic, and style would have been apt for processional use. There is much to suggest that shawms and trombones played such music outdoors. "Loud" music of this sort may have been heard on the Thames to accompany water processions. An account of the coronation of Ann Boleyn in 1533 by the Tudor chronicler Raphael Holinshed<sup>32</sup> describes such an occasion.

The nineteenth daie of Maie, the maior an [d] his brethren all in scarlet, and such as were knights has collars of SS [sic] and remnant having good chains and the consell of the ci tie with them, assembled at saint Marie hill, and at one of the clocke descended to the new staire to their barge, which was garnished with manie goodlie banners and streamers [sic], and richlie covered. In which barge were shalmes, shagbutthes, and divers other instruments which continuallie made goodly harmonie.

A similar event in 1536 is recorded and refers to a progress of Henry and his new queen Jane Seymour from Greenwich to York Palace.

...his lordes going in barges before him and the Kinge and Queene in a barge togeeter, followinge after the lorde's barges, with his guard following him in a great barge; and as he passed by the shippes in the Thames everie shippe short

gonns, and at Radcliffe the Emperoures Embassidour stooede in a tente with a banner of the Emperoures armes seett in the topp of his tente and divers banners about the same, he himself being in a rych gowne of purple satten, with divers gentlemen standing about him with gownes and cottess of velvett; and when the Beach Kinges [this is probably the master of ceremonies for the aquatic pageants] barge came by him, he sent tow bottes of his servantes to rowe aboute the Kinges barge, one of them were his trumpettters, and another with shalmes and sagebottes, and so made great reverence to the Kinge and Queene as they came by him, and then he lett shott a fortie great gonns, and as the Kinge came against the Tower of London their was shott above Power hundred peeces of ordinance, and all the tower walls towards the water side were sett with great streamers and banners; and so the Kinge passed throwe London Bridge, with his trumpetts blowinge before him, and shalmes and sagbuttes, and dromslawes [drummers] playing also in barges going before him, which was a goodlie sight to beholde.<sup>34</sup>

There is need for more research into the instrumentations and repertoires of ensembles in the early 16th century but there can be little doubt that trombones were employed widely in secular music. The question of their employment in sacred music is, however, more complex. The stringent measures of the Reformation led to restrictions in the use of music in English churches. These prohibitions lasted until after Henry's death. However, the severance of the English church from Rome took place in the 1530's. What of the first thirty years of the 16th century? Instruments were sometimes used to accompany vocal lines in sacred music in some other parts of Europe in this period.<sup>35</sup> Given that there were players in England, it might be reasonable to assume that this practice was adopted in the highest English ecclesiastical establishments, at least on special occasions, before the Reformation. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that cornetts and trombones played in liturgical music in England at this time and some evidence to support the contention that they did not. Relevant sources seem consistent in making a distinction between the liturgical offices of the *mass*, for which organs only were occasionally used to accompany voices, and the non-liturgical episodes such as ceremonial voluntaries and fanfares which called for loud instruments.

It is not uncommon to find records of payments to trombonists in inventories associated with religious occasions. For example, players of "shalmes and sekebuds" received livery allowances and fees at Henry VII's funeral in 1509. However, there is no indication that they performed in the requiem mass; it is most likely that their services were used after the funeral when "all the mauners . . . departed to the palice where they had a great and sumptuous feast."<sup>36</sup> Other sources concerning the use of instruments in churches between the late 15th century and the Reformation are equally inconclusive, but documents pertaining to two events during the reign of Henry VIII are worth special attention. Both of these events might represent a microcosm of what was normal English practice at special occasions—the type of occasion when the most ornate and grand cultural conventions

would have been employed.

The first of these events took place on the penultimate day of the famous meeting between Henry VIII and Francis of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. For three weeks in the summer of 1520 the two kings met, banqueted, jostled, and took every opportunity to outdo the other by the grandness of their ceremony, pageantry, and cultural sophistication. No expense was spared. The English delegation was vast and all preparations were conducted under the personal scrutiny of Cardinal Wolsey, the most senior civil servant and by far the most influential man in England after the King. Such was the importance of the event that Wolsey placed some of the English artisans under pain of death should their endeavours be found inadequate.

On June 23rd, St. John's Eve, the two kings celebrated mass together. It was intended that the celebration of this mass should capture the spirit of co-operation and unity that the conference was meant to symbolize. Thus, there were two celebrants, Wolsey and the French bishop. The ordinaries of the mass were sung by the English and French musicians in turn.

About noon the English legate commenced the high mass De Trinitate. The first introit was sung by the English chanters, the second by the French. They had arranged that when the French organist played, the French chanters should sing, and vice versa."

But it appears that only one set of instrumentalists, the French cornett and sackbut players, were used in accompaniment and that the English sang a *cappella*, or just with organ.

Pierre Mouton played the Kyrie, then the English the Gloria in Excelsis; the Patrem was sung by the French, with the King's band of *cors de sabottes* and fifes, the Sanctus by the English, and the Agnus Dei by the French, who concluded with several motetts."

The evidence is inconclusive, but where there is a specific reference to the music the suggestion is that only one set of instrumentalists was used. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England, described the event in the following terms:

The service of the *mass* was very magnificent. First of all the apparelling of Cardinal Wolsey was performed by bishops, who also placed on his feet a pair of very valuable jeweled sandals. The water for his hands was given him by some of the chief noblemen of England. The French and English singers chaunted, with occasional accompaniments of trombones, comets, and organs."

Thirty of Henry's "minstrels" accompanied him to the meeting as did the usual band of ceremonial trumpeters. The sources do not specify which musicians were in France but it is surely unlikely that the trombonists and cornettists were left behind. There are several

references to trombonists playing at ceremonial events and banquets, but they stop tantalizingly short of saying which delegation they belonged to. If the English players were there, why did they not perform in the mass? The color added to the textures by the French instrumentalists would surely have made the English contribution seem modest.

There are, of course, a number of reasons why two different performance conventions were used, if it is indeed true that the English sang unaccompanied and the French did not. It could be that this particular detail had no importance and little can be drawn from it. The musicians simply decided that the sonorities worked best that way. The music was by Perino, one of the French court composers; perhaps the English players were unfamiliar with it. But the implication that the English instrumentalists were incapable of laying unfamiliar music is hardly convincing. It is unlikely that the sources are inaccurate or grossly misleading; there are several accounts of the event and though they vary in detail they are consistent.<sup>40</sup> I would find it easier to believe that pomp gave way to modesty in the interest of expediency if it were not Wolsey who was in charge of the entire proceedings. He lost no opportunity to exhibit English culture at its most ornate.

Another explanation could be that Wolsey did not anticipate such a move by the French and had no time to match it. It is clear, however, that he was well aware of the French practice. A month earlier Richard Wingfield, the English ambassador to France, had written to Wolsey advising him of the manner in which mass was celebrated at the French Court. Wingfield was an experienced soldier and a senior diplomat. He was well respected by Henry and Wolsey and had been sent to France specifically to negotiate arrangements for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He was also instructed to provide Wolsey with a stream of accurate intelligence of French cultural practice. On May 27 Wingfield reported to Wolsey

The King [Francis] was at mass today at the Jacobins, where high mass was sung by the bishop of Amiens. At the Kings offering, the chapel, with the hautbois and sacbuts, sang and played together, "which was as melodious a noise as ever was heard."<sup>41</sup>

To my mind the most compelling explanation of why the English trombone and cornett players did not accompany the liturgical episodes is that for them to have done so would have required a total departure from the usual English practice. It was well and good for the exhibition of English culture to be as magnificent as possible, but not for it merely to done the French way of doing things.

If this explanation is accurate it would be consistent with descriptions of another ceremony of exceptional importance held in England a year later. In 1521 Henry was formally declared "Defender of the Faith," a title bestowed by Papal edict.<sup>42</sup> The event marked the culmination of seven years' negotiation with Rome. Henry wished to have a title that matched the French King's "Most Christian King" and the Spanish monarch's "Most Catholic Majesty." A number of alternatives including *Apostolicus* and *Protector* were dispensed with before settling on *Defensor Fidei*. The service at which the new title was declared was one of the most important celebrations of English Catholicism prior to the

Reformation. It was held in the King's Chapel and attended by the highest dignitaries, nobles, and foreign ambassadors. As with all occasions of such magnitude the mass was celebrated by Wolsey himself.

There is no doubt that trombone and cornett players were present, but once again the implication is that it was not during the mass that they played but in the fanfares that followed it.

And when his grace had received the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde & published, he went to his chapell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundry princes, the Cardinall beyng reuested to syng masse, the Erie of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gave thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gave unto all them that heard the masse deane remission & blessed the kyng and the Quene and all the people: then was the Bull eftsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggebuttes plaied in honour of the kynges newe style. Thus his highnes went to dinner in the middes whereof the kyng of Heraldes and his compaignie began the larges, cryng Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie, defensor fidei, & dominus Hibemie thus ended the dinner, with muche habundance of vitail and wyne, to all maner of people.<sup>43</sup>

The question of the use of instruments in pre-Reformation English ecclesiastical music is hardly settled by these sources. The evidence remains inconclusive. In the second half of the 16th century there are many indicators, several of them quite explicit, that describe the way that mass was celebrated with the accompaniment of comets and sackbuts. There are others that show it was common for these instruments to be used in provincial cathedrals as well as in London. It is difficult to accept that such a practice could have been common in the first half of the century without some explicit evidence of it having survived.

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## NOTES

1. Calendars of sources concerning payments to musicians in the Royal musical establishments are contained in H. C. de Lafontaine, *The Kings Music* (London, 1909) and in *The Musical Antiquary*, vols. 1-4 (London 1909-1913). Both of these works are likely to be surpassed by volumes relating to the 16th century in Andrew Ashbee's *Records of English Court Music*. Such volumes are under preparation and will be published by The Scolar Press.

2. No English music from the 16th century is labelled for trombones or sackbuts. The earliest printed

source which states that some parts should be played on trombones is John Adson's *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, which was published in 1621.

3. See, for example, G.W.O. Woodward, *Reformation and Resurgence* (London, 1963), *passim*.

4. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "sackbut."

5. Fletcher's play was first performed in London in 1623. This line occurs in act 5, scene 5. Middleton and Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy*, first performed in the same year, has the lines "You shall have your dinner served with trumpets"— "No, no, sackbuts shall serve us."

6. Cited in J.G. Dalryell, *Musical Memoirs of Scotland* (London, 1849), p. 177.

7. *Ibid*.

8. Cited in A.J.G. Mackay, ed., *The Historic and Cronicles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1899), 1: 379.

9. F.W. Galpin, "The Sackbut, its Evolution and History," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 33rd session (London, 1906/07): 1-25.

10. See William H. MacCabe, "Music and Dance on a Seventeenth-Century College Stage," *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938): 313-322; also, A. Warwick Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970/71): 113-123. The primary source is not dated; Edwards suggests the book was compiled in about 1609.

11. Galpin, "Sackbut," p. 4.

12. See also Trevor Herbert, "The Trombone in England before 1800" (PhD diss., Open University, 1984), chapter 2.

13. Accounts of the household of Henry VII, Lbl. Add. MS 7099, p. 23. Add. MS 7099 is a late 18th-century transcription by Samuel Bentley of Henry VII's account book. The version given in Galpin, "Sackbut," p. 13, differs only in minor matters of spelling. Some writers have wrongly dated this source as 1493.

14. *Recette generale de Lille*, 1501, Cited in E. Van der Straeten, *Musique des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1867-1888), p. 272.

15. Lpro. LC/2/1, f.70.

16. Lpro. Exchequer Q.R. Miscellanea (Wardrobe, No 73/23b), cited in Joseph Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* vol. 4, 1357-1509 (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 347.

17. W.E. Mead, *Stephen Hawes' Passetyme of Pleasure* (London, 1928), p. 61. This is a transcription of the 1517 publication. Existing fragments of the 1509 version match it exactly.

18 . Lpro. E 36/215, *passim*.

19 . W. Nagel, "Annalen der englischen Hofmusik von Heinrichs VIII bis zum Tode Karis I, 1509-1649," *Monatshefte flu- Musikgeschichte* 26-27 (1894): 13.

20 . Information on the Bassanos is given in David Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players in England 1540-1740" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1983); and in Roger Prior, "Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court," *Musical Quarterly* 59 (1983): 253-265.

21 . Lpro. E 101/420/11, *passim*.

22 . Ibid., f. 146v.

23 . Lgc. R7, f. 137. No information is given as to where the instrument was bought. The City Treasurer's books do not survive for the period before 1630.

24 . Lasocki, "Recorder Players," p. 220.

25 . The full range of sources relating to provincial waits bands at this time have yet to be investigated. Only the Norwich Waits seem have been the subject of detailed investigation.

26 . Le Huray, *Reformation*, p. 125; he cites Woodfill and Grove for this information.

27 . This matter is difficult to unravel. Galpin, "Sackbut," quotes a source but does not cite it; he dates it as "temp. Henry VIII." Peter Le Huray in *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London, 1967) says that statutes may have been drawn up. He appears to be following an ambiguous reference in W. Woodfill's *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth I to Charles I* (Princeton, 1969), p.149. Woodfill, in turn, seems to have relied on Gal pin, "Sackbut." Galpin, in his book *Old English Instruments of Music* (London, 1965, p. 154), associates trombones with Canterbury Cathedral, but again does not specify the source.

28 . Woodfill, *Musicians*, p. 149.

29 . The only reference to musicians in the 1541 Statutes occurs in Statute 26, which makes provision for an organist.

30 . Longleat, Wiltshire, Seymour Papers, vol. 14, ff. 25, 28. Cited in D. C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 121.

31 . Ibid.

32 . Holinshed did not always have first-hand knowledge of the events which he described. Like other Tudor chroniclers his work is a compilation of the writings of several earlier authors. His most important work, *The First (Lute) volume of the chronicles of Englancl Scotlande and Ireland* (London, 1577) is one of the more comprehensive examples of its type. It was the source for many of Shakespeare's history plays. A summary of the methods and works of 16th-century historians is given

in L. B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (New York, 1958), chapter 9, "The Utility of History."

33. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, ii, p. 930.

34. D. H. Hamilton, *A Chronicle of England during the reign of the Tudors*, by Charles Wriothesly, *Windsor Herald* (London, 1875), pp. 43-44.

35. For a succinct but clear overview of the evidence for the *use* of instruments to accompany sacred music see H. Mayer Brown, "Introduction" (chapter 8), and Christopher A. Reynolds, "Sacred Polyphony" (chapter 10), both in H. Mayer Brown and S. Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice—Music before 1600* (London, 1989).

36. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 800.

36. J. S. Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic in the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 3, 1519-1523 (London, 1867), p. 312.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Rawden Brown, *Calendar of Siate Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and other Libraries in Northern Italy*, vol. 2, 1509-1519 (London, 1867), p. 29.

39. A summary of the sources with their transcriptions is given in Herbert, "Trombone," pp. 63-69.

40. Brewer, *Henry VIII*, vol. 3, pt. II, p. 1533.

41. Henry had been negotiating for the new title since 1514. He retained the style "Defender of the Faith" after the Reformation and British monarchs have inherited it since.

42. Brewer, *Henry VIII*, vol. 3, pt. I, Pp. 291-292.

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