"…men of great perfection in their science…": The Trumpeter as Musician and Diplomat in England in the Later Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

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One of the more emphatic acts of civil disobedience of the early modern period occurred in France in May 1518. The students of the University of Paris were in dispute with the king and the Parlement over a concordance struck between King Francis I and the Pope; it increased the power of the monarch at the expense of the prevailing electoral college in respect of the appointment of religious officials such as abbots and bishops. The entire university was attuned to the longer-term implications of this and quickly denounced it in a petition. There were also street protests by the students. As feelings escalated, the king, in what transpired to be an important error of judgement, intervened directly. He sent a royal trumpeter to proclaim "by sound of trumpet" his desire for order and compliance. The trumpeter duly acquitted his task, but before he could complete a "single step" from the podium from which his utterance had been made, he was set upon by the angry students who "broke his trumpet" and "compelled him to seek safety in flight." To emphasize their disobedience, in an act of obscene cruelty, but replete with symbolic meaning, they "cut off [his] horse's ears."[1]

The next day the mayor "with 400 men at arms came down to apprehend the ringleaders," but was driven back. The day after that, the university's proctor, who, along with other senior figures in the city, sided with the students, marched upon the Parlement house with 4,000 students in train, some wearing armor. He also petitioned the Pope directly. By this time the damage was done as far as Francis was concerned. Diplomats from courts throughout Europe despatched news of these events as evidence of the king's humiliation, the low regard in which he was held by his own people, and the fragility of his authority. The treatment of the royal trumpeter and his hapless steed figured prominently in their rhetoric. In England the news quickly reached the attention of Wolsey, Henry VIII's Chancellor, in a letter from the diplomat Sir Richard Jerningham, Deputy of Tournai (later to be a member of the Privy Council). Wolsey, the English king's closest advisor, was preoccupied with the relationship with France and would have instantly recognized that the students of Paris, hot-headed and delinquent though they were, had a sure grasp of metaphor and the power of symbolism. The fate of the trumpeter and his horse carried a powerful meaning.

This was not an isolated example of a trumpeter being placed in the path of mortal danger. In September 1583, Sir Francis Walsingham, privy counsellor and principal secretary to Elizabeth I, received news of skirmishes in the region of Ypres. The Prince of Parma, who led a Spanish invasion, despatched his trumpeter to the town with an open letter "making them great offers" for their surrender. The captains and magistrates of

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the town defiantly burnt the letter before the trumpeter's eyes and returned him with a message that "if he brought such another they would hang him." The prince resolved to test the threat and the very next day the same trumpeter was "sent with a like letter." The trumpeter, who must have journeyed for the second time with intense apprehension, but perhaps a morsel of hope that his status granted him immunity from serious harm, met the promised fate: his last vision of this world in the moments before he was summarily hung was the letter burning before his face.[2]

These events were shocking because they struck violently and bluntly at one of the essential elements in the fabric of early modern diplomacy. The sight and sound of the trumpet represented something more than itself: it authentically revealed the authority of him or her who was represented. There was, as such, an implicit assumption that rights of passage would be honored for he who carried the trumpet. The status of the trumpeter in this respect was almost certainly drawn from several distant traditions in which he, more than any other instrumentalist, had been routinely used to denote the legitimacy of both sacred and secular authority. Evidence of this abounds from the ancient world and from many cultures. In the Middle Ages the process took on a somewhat more formalized, if not standard, shape in civic societies through the formation of those groups (waits, tower musicians and the like) in which trumpeters were prominent and that had routines that quite literally marked the passing of time. In so doing, by their conspicuous and persistently regular presence, the trumpeters assured all who heard them of the proximity of ordered civic governance that stood in their protection.

The roles and status of the trumpet before 1600 (and in some senses long after) derive from such ideas. This includes the deployment of the trumpet corps as executors of brilliant declamation on behalf of monarchical and aristocratic establishments. Trumpeters functioned prominently in war, in diplomacy, and in the two major forms of ceremony that prevailed in the Renaissance: those associated with special and cyclical celebrations such as coronations, funerals, and religious festivals; and those that were part of strategic large-scale diplomatic events and "progresses"—elaborate species of public pageant intended to impress local people including the lower orders, as well as visiting dignitaries, because the paraphernalia of power contributed substantially to the perception of authority and in a very real sense it generated power. This principle stood for international propaganda too and manifested itself strongly through the exhibition of sumptuousness at the court of Henry VIII, who, quite strategically, deployed a more extravagant style than his dignified but austere father. The effect is described well in a letter of July 1517 from Francesco Chieregato to Isabelle d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua—herself no stranger to the subtleties of propaganda:

> In short, the wealth and civilization of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and very great politeness; and amongst other things there is this most invincible King, whose acquirements and qualities are so many and excellent that I consider him to excel

> all who ever wore a crown; and blessed and happy may his country call itself in having as its lord so worthy and eminent a sovereign, whose sway is more bland and gentle than the greatest liberty under any other.[3]

To a very significant extent the illusion of strength and sophistication often surrogated for real military power, and this was very much the case at this stage of Henry VIII's reign. As Sydney Anglo has pointed out, "The policy was successful—as long as the bluff was not called too seriously."[4]

A watershed of traditions

The key role of trumpeters as part of this expression endured even though the fifteenth century saw a major split in the trumpet playing profession, caused by technological innovations that we now recognize as an early stage in the process that led to the invention of the trombone. It was an important historical moment, and though it is usually thought and written of in terms of the history of the slide trombone, it should more accurately be understood as a stage in the evolution of the trumpet family. Furthermore this change is not just of organological interest; it also had social, economic, and cultural ramifications because for several reasons it caused a structural alteration to a system that had endured for centuries. The application of a single telescopic slide to the S-shaped trumpet to make the "slide trumpet" or proto-trombone, gave rise to what must be seen, and was probably regarded at the time, as a monumental change: a watershed in the trumpet playing profession. It created two discrete sectors, one of which (the slide trumpeters), gave rise to a new type of trumpet player with new musical functions. These players learned and were taught differently than their predecessors, and more importantly for my purpose here, their symbolic and pragmatic functions and the status they held were entirely different from what had previously been the case. They were effectively severed from the very long and unbroken tradition in which musical and symbolic roles were largely fixed and to a large extent sustained by groups of players linked by institutions (such as guilds or civic bands) and often by dynasties.

The change took place within the space of a single generation in the middle of the fifteenth century.[5] By the end of that century the division between the two groups was permanent and defined by distinct spheres of activity: on the one hand there were those who continued to be called trumpeters, and on the other there were those who were referred to by different names such as "trombone" players (or the several other words that denoted the same meaning). The latter group were initially dance band musicians, but they soon absorbed newer and yet more sophisticated roles in sacred and secular music, while the "trumpeters" continued in their more established tradition. There is some evidence that the two groups, trumpets and trombones, also stood alongside each other to perform fanfares early in the sixteenth century—a remnant perhaps of the days when this was the sole ceremonial role of brass instrumentalists. Such may have been the case when Henry VIII was declared *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the Faith) in 1521:

> … 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 Erle 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 cleane 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.[6]

While this form of words is open to interpretation (were the instruments played together or was there a sequence initiated by a trumpet fanfare?), later in the century the information is less ambiguous, as Henry Machyn's account of the celebration of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in London in 1554 shows:

> The viij day of Desember, the wyche was the Conceptyon of owre blessed lady the Vyrgyn, was a goodly prossessyon at the Save be the Spaneards, the prest carehyng the sacrement ryally be-twyne ys hands, and on deacon carehyng a senser sensyng, and anodur the ale-water stoke, and a nombur of frers and prestes syngyng, and every man and woman, and knyghts and gentylmen, bayryng a gren tapur bornyng, and viij trumpeters blohyng; and when they had don plahyng, and then begane the sagbottes plahyng.[7]
> [*On the eighth of December, the day of the Conception of our Blessed Virgin, the Spaniards held a fine procession at the Savoy Palace [originally on a site of what is now the Strand in central London]. A priest carried the sacrament reverently between his hands, one deacon carried a sensor and another holy water implements. A number of friars and priests were singing and all the men, women, knights, and gentlemen carried a burning green taper. Eight trumpeters blew and when they had finished playing the trombones played.*][8]

The musical role and repertoire of the trombone (along with the "slide trumpet") has been well covered in recent scholarship, but the continuous tradition of the trumpet and its players in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries somewhat less so. From this it is possible to feel an implicit sense that the instrument had entered a static phase: that its purpose was to impose little more than an effect based on routine formulaic functions, such as the sounding of fanfares. To an extent and in some instances this may have been the case, but the trumpet corps was the oldest and most enduring group in the musical establishment of the English court and it continued in strength throughout the Tudor period. The idea that the story of the trumpet and its players in this period is devoid of significant content is open to question. Indeed it can be perceived in somewhat different terms: alongside the change that brought about the evolution of the trombone there was

both an important continuity of purpose and a development of the idiom of the trumpet. The continuity was born of necessity because trumpeters had several roles that were essential to the fundamental idea of authority and the various subtleties that contributed to it. The idea of idiomatic development is more difficult to prove, but there are such signs and in any case, to dismiss such a notion one has to believe that the remarkable developments relating to the instrument and its repertoire in the seventeenth century were effectively *ab initio*.

One of the key aspects of this story concerns the lives that trumpeters led and their purpose beyond their purely musical functions, especially as emissaries in times of war and peace. International relations in the Renaissance were conducted on the basis of trade, war, marriage, and various forms of diplomacy. In the absence of standing armies the concept of monarchical authority was, at least in part, a cultural construction based on an array of real and symbolic devices. Trumpeters played a vital role in this complex process. It is not enough to describe them simply as messengers or even heralds (though the link with heraldry is important),[9] for these trumpeters possessed several special qualities which brought them into proximity with the most powerful men and women in Europe. But what do we understand about them? The instrument they carried and played possessed a meaning that was recognized internationally and was probably the most frequently encountered sight and sound in the public musical soundscape: an instrument so familiar that it became ubiquitous in the allegorical language of the visual arts and in the metaphors of literature. But what was the exact cultural and diplomatic role of trumpeters, and how did the complex protocols that governed them work? Musicologists such as Keith Polk have shown beyond doubt that trumpeters, especially those tied to guilds and civic groups, were members of dynasties that guarded the secrets of their trade jealously, but what were those secrets and were they entirely musical? Perhaps more importantly, should we really always regard "trumpeters" as musicians at all, or should they be seen merely as emissaries whose association with a musical instrument was no more than symbolic?

The trumpet as a symbol of authority

The business of playing and making trumpets in England was well established by the thirteenth century, and Richard Rastall has used the range of available sources to identify the many trumpeters who were in receipt of wages from the Royal Court between about 1297 and the accession of Henry VIII in 1509.[10] Not all professional trumpeters are identified in Rastall's lists; for example, he does not include those who performed at court but were members of other noble households or were primarily civic musicians. In the city of London the business of trumpeting and supplying trumpets was sufficiently recognized for it, like so many other crafts and professions, to be enshrined in the name of one of the city's streets: the present tiny walkway known as "Trump Street" near the Guildhall of the City of London was once a much longer road that derives its name from the fact that it was inhabited by the city waits, trumpet makers, and trumpeters. The word "trump" with its variants and augmentations (such as "trompour") was used from at least

the twelfth century to denote the instrument, its player, and apparently also its maker. If the meaning of "trompour" at this time needs any confirmation, it can be drawn from a massive and unusual stone coffin in the possession of the London Guildhall Museum. Around the perimeter of its lid is the inscription *Godferey le Trompour:gist: ci: Deu: ealme: eit: merci* ("Godefrey the Trompour lies here, God on the soul have mercy"), and within this perimeter and covering the full length of the coffin lid is an engraving showing a cross flanked on each side by a trumpet.

Throughout the Renaissance the association of the trumpet with proclamation is persistent, and the idea of proclamation "by sound of trumpet" was well established by the sixteenth century. While "proclamation" was used in common language in the period to mean any formal public announcement that might or might not emanate from the sovereign, in England it could also have a more substantial legal meaning. Proclamations made under the great seal or signet were royal announcements that were usually defined and disseminated in writing, but equally usually consolidated by public announcement—"by proclamation." Historians have argued over the meaning of the term "proclamation" and the process that accompanied it. Early in the seventeenth century John Rastell suggested that proclamation simply meant "a notice publicly given of anything whereof the King thinketh good to advertise [to] his subjects," but some modern historians have offered a more exacting definition of its meaning in the Tudor period: "a royal command normally cast in a distinctive format validated by the royal sign manual, issued under a special chancery writ sealed with the Great Seal, which was publicly proclaimed."[11] For my purpose here I use both meanings, because the practice of conferring the title "proclamation" on public announcements, expediently or otherwise, seems to have been widespread. Formal proclamations followed a process of authorship and approval, but all proclamations received an oral delivery (sometimes accompanied by written notice) in public: the more important and dramatic the announcement, the more ornate the proclamation. The proclamation of the peace with Scotland in August 1534 followed a procession of sheriffs with heralds and trumpets through the streets of London. Trumpet fanfares were sounded at London Bridge, Leadenhall, Cheapside, and Fleet Street. The peace treaty with France in 1546 was similarly conspicuous, beginning with high mass at St Paul's with all the citizens in their best liveries. The heralds and sheriffs of London processed through the city and made proclamations with four trumpets, and the king instructed that proclamations of this treaty in York follow a similar fashion and be made "with sound of trumpeters, procession, making of bonfires and other ceremonies."[12] Proclamations also promulgated the sovereign's will and authority geographically. For example, in 1536 Henry VIII despatched the Duke of Lancaster, one of his officers at arms, to the north of England to quell a rumored insurgency of "rebels lately assembled in Yorkshire." The rebels were said to have been dispersed, but the intelligence was doubted, and Lancaster was told that the king "desires to know whether they have quietly returned to their accustomed occupations or seem to retain some parts of their fury." Lancaster was therefore to go to the towns so affected, "taking with him a trumpet and a certain proclamation under the great seal, devised by the King and Council."[13] The point for notice here is that while the

trumpet was undoubtedly used to attract attention for the proclamation, it also played a part in the legitimization of the process.

The idea of the association of trumpets with authority was helped by the close proximity of trumpeters to the monarch's person in public processions and progresses. So firmly was this association built into the culture of the time and apparently so effective was it that the appointment of trumpeters for official modes of communication became essential. Thus in 1560 from Berwick upon Tweed, England's most northern town, came a petition from Lord Grey to Lord Cecil at the royal court that "it is thought very raw that such a town should be without a trumpet to sound for proclamations [and he] desires that one may be sent."[14] The proximity of the town to the Scottish border may well have hastened Cecil's decision to make the necessary allowance of twenty pounds per annum for that purpose.

The trumpeter and international intelligence

Trumpeters had diplomatic functions. This part of their role became more important and intense as the sixteenth century progressed because the requirement on them to be gatherers of intelligence became greater. Messages were sometimes sent in "open letter" and sometimes in cipher. To understand this part of the trumpeter's function it is necessary to understand the nature of diplomacy in the period more generally, and the elements within it that were residual values derived from older concepts of chivalry.

Despite the complex relationships that prevailed between European countries and states, in the Renaissance the common bond that joined them was Christianity. The dominance of the Christian religion offered a shared point of reference and this stretched (in the broadest terms) to embrace common values and ethics. Even Jews and others of foreign faiths and persuasions resident in Europe "were regarded [by tolerant society] as guests and strangers who were to be preserved until the Second Coming."[15] While this notion of an unified, Christian, pan-European culture may have been tested from time to time—especially in the Protestant Reformation—it was never entirely negated because its strengths and the cultural codes it drew on were so deep, mature, and enduring. Garrett Mattingly makes the point that whatever relatively modern processes were introduced, the raft of protocols that derived from shared understandings and the cultural traditions that underpinned them were the effective adhesive that made diplomacy work in the period:

> [Diplomacy] escapes anything like systematic codification and derived its force not from formal acts, not from statutes or edicts or treaties, but from generally accepted principles and old-established customs.[16]

Among such customs lay the heraldic tradition rooted deeply in the etiquettes of chivalry. Linked to it conspicuously, pragmatically, and inseparably (because of the need to mark the importance of proclamation) was the trumpeter. During the fifteenth century the two roles of herald and trumpet were strongly complementary and possibly indivisible

in practice, each balancing the other and summoning the range of duties associated with their respective offices: proclamations, the bearing of messages, the issue of challenges, and also (a remnant of the heraldic function at tourneys) the settling of matters of dispute. The latter point is especially interesting because it suggests the extent to which we can regard the trumpeter's role as that of a *procurator* as opposed to a *nuncio*. These two words distinguished between two levels of diplomatic status and purpose: the latter was a messenger who spoke on behalf of his principal, while a procurator additionally had the authority to negotiate on behalf of his principal. Trumpeters (and sometimes drummers) were routinely responsible for negotiating the release of prisoners, especially soldiers held in captivity, and as I suggest below, these negotiating skills were deployed at yet higher levels. What is certain is that the oath devised by Nicholas Upton (1400–57), a cleric, lawyer, and writer on heraldry, in his famous treatise *De studio militari* (1447), fits the role of the trumpeter as it can be understood from available sources: "in truth and plainness … so to behave that your lords suffer neither by your indiscretion to others nor your reserve towards him."[17] In the English court in the sixteenth century the oath sworn by all members of the household "to be retained to no manner a person but onlie to the kinge highness" may have been required with added strength for musicians if that set for the members of the Chapel Royal extended to musicians of the court more widely:

> Yowe shall sweare to serve the highe and mightye Prynces Elizabethe … yowe shall not conceale or keepe secrete any treasons comytted or spoken agaynste her hyghnes … but that immedyatlye within xxxiiii hourse after such treasons horde … yow shall reveale and open the same to one of the Counselle....[18]

Notwithstanding the cases described at the start of this article, it is clear that there was an understanding that trumpeters who had taken an oath to a sovereign or noble carried some form of diplomatic immunity. This did not derive from any naive notion that they were impartial—on the contrary, for many of their activities were played out amidst and aligned to armies in times of conflict. The most compelling reason to believe that such immunity did prevail is the sheer frequency with which sources cite the free passage of trumpeters across alien territories and into the hearts of foreign, often enemy, courts. This practice was born of necessity, for the reality is that some mechanism operating within shared understandings of procedure had to exist even between warring factions to facilitate negotiation and to sustain even the barest threads of communication. The protocols and understandings were various, but one of the mechanisms used was to distinguish the trumpeter from the combat soldiers to which he was aligned by the way he looked and by symbolic measures that signified him as a non-combatant and, to all effects, a gentleman. Gervase Markham describes both measures in his *Souldiers Grammar* (1626):

> The trumpet is not bound to any arms at all, more than his sword, which in former times was not allowed, but with the point broken: he shall have a faire trumpet, with cordens suitable to the captaines colours, and to his trumpet

> shall be fast a faire banner, containing the captain's court of armour: he may wear a scarfe and feather, and all ordinary accoutrements of a horseman; and for his horse, it shall be a good hackney with gentleman-like furniture.[19]

More information on the duties of the trumpeter and especially the sergeant trumpeter in time of war is given by Digges in *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise named Stratioticos…* (1590), a work to which Markham may have been indebted. The 1590 edition of this book, first published in 1579 by Leonard Digges, was extended by his son John. It brought together in a single volume the father's considerable expertise in mathematics and matters military. It contains a description of the duties of various military officers and the personal and professional qualities that should characterize them. The 1590 edition includes a section on "The duties of a good Dromme." Despite the heading, it is clear that Digges intended the section also to apply to the trumpeter; indeed while he begins by referring to the duties of the drummer, when describing the personal characteristics and the wider range of responsibilities of his subject he lapses into addressing both drummers and trumpeters in the same terms. The passage reveals much about what was expected of the trumpeter: diplomatic skills, literacy, and even fluency in languages. He must, Digges says,

> …observe uniformley one course in all their companies and Regiments.
>
> He ought to be a soldier of experience and Judgement, that being sent to the Enemies Camp of Message for Prisoners or other occasions, he may be able to note and marke matters of importance to informe his Captaine or Collonell at his returne.
> He ought to have Language as well to understand what is said, as also to deliver such message as he shal be sent withal: this officer being commonly sent for redemption of prisoners, and such like occasions.[20]

He goes further to address questions of ethics and propriety, which, he says, need to be observed even when officers around him reveal less exacting standards:

> He ought to be secret, and therefore no Dronkard nor such other childish or other abject person, as Captains sometimes (that regard not their credit) for lucre will choose or admit, palling boyes or other baddy persõs [*sic*] (that will take least pay) in their musters for drommes, converting the most part of their pay to their own use.
> There ought to be a dromme major of every regiment of such perfection in his Art as all inferior drommes of particular bandes should of him learne their Arte and duties, they are all to be obedient to his directions, and in service to give diligent care to the dromme generall. For it falleth many tunes [*sic*] out (in great encounters) that the commanding officer cannot be heard,

> then must all directions be given by the Dromme or Trompet among both footmen and horsemen.
> This Dromme major, therefore or Trompet major must be men of great perfection in their science, and by them the other Drommes and Trompets are taught: and for lack of good order herein are scarcely one among twenty who know their duties.[21]

These same qualities, as quoted by Grose, are advocated by the early seventeenth-century soldier Ralph Smith:

> All captains must have drums and fifes and men to use the same, who shall be faithful, secret and ingenious, of able personage to use their instruments and office of sundry languages; for oftentimes they be sent to parley with their enemies, to summon their forts or towns, to redeem and conduct prisoners, and divers other messages, which of necessity requireth language. If such drums and fifes should fortune to fall into the hands of the enemies, no gift or force should cause them to disclose any secrets that they know. They must oft practise their instruments, teach the company the sound of the march, alarm, approach, assault, battle, retreat, skirmish, or any other calling that of necessity should be known. They must be obedient to the commandment of their captain and ensign, when as they shall command them to come, go or stand, or sound their retreat of other calling.[22]

The trumpet as emissary

Trumpeters, like all official emissaries, led difficult and challenging lives. They balanced compliance with established protocols and expectations of behavior, and with the equally understood reality that a major part of their task was to gather intelligence. It follows that they trod a thin line between propriety and subterfuge. They were sometimes sent with "false letters" to cover their real purpose of spying.[23] The Duke of Norfolk, like most nobles close to the court, was aware of such conflicts when he wrote to Lord Cecil in 1560 with concerns about a trumpeter sent from Scotland:

> Ye shall receive herewith letters to me the Duke from the Queen Dowager, by one of her Trumpets who arrived yesterday, more to spy than otherwise. I sent him back at once, and to-day have sent an English trumpet to her with my letter, copy whereof is enclosed.[24]

Despite such concerns there was an expectation that trumpeters would behave professionally. Some were rejected from entry into a foreign camp or city because they did not declare their presence by sound of trumpet; it is also clear that others were compromised and put in all but impossible and seriously dangerous positions by employers who asked too

much of them. A general summary ("advertisement") of intelligence from Antwerp to the English court in April 1582 mentions such a case. A trumpeter sent to deliver what appears to have been a false letter was apprehended by the occupying Spaniards:

> This trumpeter being received into town, and "demanded," "said to have" no other letter; but upon search the contrary fell out, and certain letters were found in his saddle, directed it is said by d'Anastro to the brothers of his cashier, who was "seized upon" and with the trumpeter, for his denial, imprisoned.[25]

Recipients of such letters could also contrive mischievously to compromise the messenger trumpeters. An interesting case is recorded of John Baxter, a trumpeter to Lord Willoughby. It demonstrates something of the professionalism that trumpeters attempted to maintain and the trials to which the oath they had taken were sometimes put. In October 1587 Baxter entered a petition of protest to his employer against his treatment by the Marques of Guasto. His only purpose could have been to restore his reputation and credibility. He had been sent to the camp at Turnhout to pay ransom for some prisoners taken by the Marques, who then sought to use Baxter as an intermediary to negotiate for peace. This in itself was not unusual—indeed it was common and expected—but the sources show more than an inference of bribery and threat: "if they accept [the offer] therof though shalt have two hundered crowns, and if not, fifty jerks with a rod." Baxter refused to "adventure his life for the acceptance thereof" but agreed to despatch the offer of a meeting "halfway between Turnhout and Bergen, with no traps or treachery on either side." Baxter said he was sure this offer would be accepted. A Dutchman was acting as interpreter in this exchange, whom Baxter "understood very well." When he returned with the answer that the offer was accepted, the Marques went back on his word and pretended to have misunderstood the trumpeter's original message. Baxter wished "to convey the dishonour thereof" and to assert that the truth was as he—the trumpeter—had communicated it.[26]

Baxter's name does not appear in the list of payments of the English court[27] because he was employed directly by Willoughby. As I have already explained, trumpeters might be employed by civic leaders, nobles, and higher gentry, sometimes with crown subsidies. There was also a secondary market: a freelance business in which some trumpeters appear to have plied their trade. Giving evidence at his trial, Martyn Audins, a suspected spy who kept company with some of the shadier intermediaries in the transit lines between France and England, says he went to Dunkirk "where I bought a trumpet, so that I can sound, and chose that as a good means for me to be the better esteemed."[28]

Such cases were rare, however, and trumpeters more usually acquired positions in the royal establishment through some form of dynastic inheritance and by recommendation from a person of standing. An interesting insight into the recruitment of trumpeters into the English court is found in letters to Sir William Paget from Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, on diplomatic duties in Calais, which gives added substance to the idea that

these men were required to be intelligent musicians and have ability in languages. In March 1546 he wrote concerning

> John Irishe, trumpeter of this town, … arrived from Stables and Hardylowe with intelligence (sent herewith). Commends him (as approved by the Council here) for the room of one Edwarde, one of the King's ordinary trumpets, lately deceased. He is not only a good trumpeter "but also witty, and hath good language."[29]

Irishe was duly appointed trumpet in ordinary in 1557, and in 1558 was issued with liveries and a banner, at which time he was described as "trumpeter of Calace" (Calais).

It was common for trumpeters to be appointed to distant provinces, especially the northern provinces of England, to consolidate the monarch's authority, to retain diplomatic links, and to oversee the border with Scotland. In 1548 the Lord Protector issued instructions that "a trumpet be commanded to attend on the Warden of the West Marches, as there has been great want of such an officer."[30] The Scottish side also saw the need to take precautions for diplomatic channels to be made safe. Thus in 1557 the Scottish Queen (Mary Queen of Scots) declared to the Lords Eure and Wharton,

> The bearer, Dr. Dassonville, has been appointed by the King our husband his ambassador to the Queen Dowager of Scotland. We have entertained him here with courtesy, and we desire that on his coming, you appoint him convenient lodgings, allow him to purchase necessaries, and suffer him to proceed with his train of eight horses, money, &c., and appoint a trumpet for him to declare his coming to the Dowager.[31]

There is little doubt that while spies and spying were a permanent reality of sixteenth-century life, the two features that distinguished trumpeters from other collectors of intelligence were firstly that they could be entirely open about it and secondly that they were able to report their findings quickly and sufficiently accurately for strategic decisions to be confidently based on them. They had to be men of strong disposition. One of their duties was to travel to the sites of battles to assess the level of casualties. One mentions the inspection of "blue carcasses," and another, sent by William Lord Grey in April 1546 to confirm the death of Sir Ralph Ellerker, the Marshall of Boulogne, in a French ambush, also witnessed the bodies of three young noblemen "having their hearts all three cut out of their bellies."[32] In 1544 another was sent to gather intelligence in France:

> Our trumpet is just returned from the French camp with the Admiral's letters to Mons. Darras, who sends word that the Cardinal and his colleagues will be this night at the camp, and at Arde tomorrow before day. Our trumpet says that the soldiers, both Frenchmen, Almains and Swiss, are "marvellous poor and weak," and that this day or to-morrow the camp dissolves and that

> between Licques and Bourdes, where they left the French camp, 5 leagues "sydenhande" of Boulloyn and 4 of Monstroeil, lie above 400 dead horses, and men "by tens and twelves in companies." … and saith the Frenchmen confess to have lost at this voyage above four hundred gentlemen, and that, both at the skirmishes before Boulloyn and Guisnez, there were divers personages slain of greater reputation.[33]

Who were the trumpeters?

The detail and quantity of such intelligence is impressive and must have been invaluable, and there is no doubt that the use of trumpeters as minor but essential officers of royal and aristocratic courts was a common and necessary part of life in the period. The more difficult question concerns the extent to which those who conducted such duties can also be regarded as musicians. Trumpeters were aligned to individual houses of the nobility, but it does not follow that they formed part of their musical establishment. The same could not be said of the trumpet corps at court, an outline impression of the demography of which in the fifteenth and sixteenth century can be explained in the following very broad terms. An ordinance of 1318 made provision for the king to have two trumpeters to serve alongside two minstrels, these to be at his disposal at all times. An additional group of trumpeters were regularly employed by the court through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a further group having more occasional duties.[34] By 1463–65 there were eight trumpeters and in 1466 there were ten.[35] Nine were granted mourning liveries for the funeral of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, in 1502,[36] and nine were in receipt of monthly wages from the court of Henry VIII in 1518.[37] Eighteen are in receipt of payments in the court of Edward VI in 1547,[38] and sixteen receive livery payments in 1557.[39] A foreign visitor noted that twelve trumpets were in attendance at Elizabeth's court in 1598.[40] None of this data should be taken as an indication of the permanent size of the trumpet corps or of the status of individuals who are mentioned by name in the payment records. As anyone who has worked with such material will know, it simultaneously offers fascinating insights into the musical life of the time and a set of frustrations and challenges. But the evidence found in such documents, and indeed a closer examination of the broader range of sources,[41] substantiate the claim made earlier in this chapter that trumpets were a regular feature of the musical life of the English court throughout the period under discussion. The sources also cast light, albeit a slightly dim one, on the extent to which trumpeters whose names appear in administrative documents as court musicians, where they surely would have played in settings that required high levels of musical skill, are the same men who were deployed on diplomatic duties.

Two features are especially striking in the sources: firstly, that many of the court's trumpeters spent time away from court aligned to noblemen distant from London; and secondly, as Theodore Dumitrescu points out, "More than any other ensemble at court, the trumpeters (as far as can be determined from the occasional surviving lists of names) display a constant combination of English and foreign players."[42] At the start of the

seventeenth century, several payments to the trumpeter Humphrey Flood are explicitly given for "taking a letter to France."[43] Earlier sources are somewhat less clear, but the inferences can easily be read. Several of the trumpeters are regularly despatched to sea. For example, Benedicte Browne, who, despite his name, was a native of Pavia, was appointed to court in 1513 and a year later was "goyin wt my lorde steward on see";[44] and Peter Francis, another foreigner, was despatched with Lord Effingham, High Admiral of England, "going presently to our navy on the seas."[45] It is surely no accident that foreigners, probably with bilingual capabilities, would have accompanied such missions, and this is undoubtedly why such a high proportion of them were included in the trumpet corps. John de Cecil, who was previously in the service of Philip the Handsome, was in the trumpet corps at the start of the century and is listed in 1511 as "going to the king of Aragon with Lorde Darcy."[46] Francis Knyfe, who was paid wages as a trumpeter in 1511 as "one of our ffour trumpets of war," was also a foreigner who was despatched with Sir Edward Poyninges into "Gylderland" and served with Henry VIII's army in France.[47] Several of the English trumpeters were despatched to distant parts of the realm, undoubtedly to strengthen the legitimacy of the sovereign's authority. For example, in 1549 Edward Eliot was sent to "attend the Earl of Westmoreland in the north."[48] and in 1563 Henry Hewes (Hughes) was appointed to attend the Earl of Warwick at Newhaven.[49] Both these players were, unambiguously, musicians who held established posts among the trumpet corps of the court. Elliot was in receipt of regular wages and liveries and was in attendance to Elizabeth I at her coronation; his son Edward took his place in the royal music when he died (a good indicator of his status in the court music establishment). Hughes was similarly on full wages from the court and took the place of the aforementioned Peter Francis. The trumpeters who passed between the English and Scottish courts in the early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were particularly distinguished players. On the English side was Stephen Metcalf ("we received your letters by the trumpet 'namyt Midcalf'"),[50] who became sergeant trumpeter. He had been sent previously to sea and had attended on the Duke of Norfolk "in northern parts."[51] On the Scottish side was James Drummond ("I received your grace's letter of 25th by your trumpet James Drummond"),[52] from a dynasty of trumpeters attached to the Scottish court, one of whom, John Drummond (presumably James's father), was probably the player of the "draucht" trumpet (slide trumpet or trombone) at the marriage of Marie of Guise in 1538.[53]

Repertoire and musical practices

Little evidence is available beyond narrative descriptions of what trumpeters played in the fifteenth century. The *Liber Niger Domus Regis Anglia* (the Black Book), compiled in 1471/2 to describe the workings of the royal household, contains little in the sections pertaining to "mynstrelles" and the "wayte":

> MYNSTRELLES, XIIJ, whereof one is veriger that directeth them all in festiuall dayes to theyre stacions, to blowinges and pipinges, to suche offices

as must be warned to prepare for the king and his houshold at metes and soupers, to be the more redy in all seruyces, and all thies sitting in the hall togyder, whereof sume vse trumpettes, sume shalmuse and small pipes. And sume are strengmen, coming to this courte at v festes of the yere, and than to make theyre wages of houshold after iiijd. ob. a day if they be present in court; and than they to auoyde the next day after the festes be don…. Also hauyng into court ij seruantes honest to bare theyre trumpettes, pipes and other instrumentes, and a torch for wynter ny ts, whyles they blow to soupers and other reuills, delyuered at chaundry. And allwey ij of thes persons to continue in court in wages beyng present to warn at the kinges ridinges whan he goith to horsbak, as oft as hit shall require, and by theyre blowinges the houshold many may folow in to the contrez.... And if hit please the king to haue ij streng minstrelles, to contynue in like wise. The king woll not, for his worshipp, that his minstrelles be too presumptuouse nor to familier to aske any rewardes of the lordes of his lond …

A WAYTE, that ny tly, from Mighelmasse til Shere Thursday, pipeth the wache within this court iiij tymes, and in the somer ny ghtes [*sic*] iij tymes; and he to make bon gayte, and euery chambre dore and office, as well for fyre as for other pikers or perelliz...[54]

[*There are thirteen minstrels, one is a verger who directs them in their duties on all festival days. They must be ready to attend the King and his household at all meetings, suppers, and other events. They all sit together in the hall: trumpeters, shawms, and small pipes. There are also string players who perform at five festivals a year and draw wages of four pence a day when they are at court, they do not attend court on the day after festivals. There are also two servants at court to carry trumpets, pipes, and other instruments and hold lights while the players play at suppers and revels at the feast of Candlemas. There must always be two musicians present at court to accompany the King when riding out. Also, if the King pleases he can similarly call on two string players. The King does not want his musicians to be too familiar or presumptuous and they shall ask no rewards of his courtiers.*

There is a wait who nightly from Michaelmas [the end of September] to Shere Thursday [Maundy Thursday – the Thursday before Easter] pipes the watch four times and in the summer three times a night. He must also keep a careful watch of every chamber door for fire, vagrants, and other perils.]

In the sixteenth century the repertoire and the deployment of the trumpet within court was probably more interesting and sophisticated, but the sources upon which judgements have to be made are thin. No written and labeled music for trumpet exists from England before the seventeenth century, and while some notated repertoire[55] from elsewhere predates Cesare Bendinelli's famous and extensive *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614), one is left wondering whether Bendinelli's description of repertoire and style in Italy

reveals much about styles and practices in the sixteenth century more generally. The signaling calls of trumpeters must have been consistent and formulaic —at least within countries and states—otherwise armies, which had to respond to their meaning, would not have understood them. Some such patterns may be construed from Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1589), which explains certain dance formulations by reference to march steps, but they tell us little about instrumental idiom. Kate van Orden has also brought attention to the clues contained in other sources such as Janequin's descriptive songs (for example, *La Guerre*) and the French trumpet calls given in Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1636).[56] It is surely inconceivable that the highly idiomatic and varied styles of trumpet repertoire that are revealed in notated sources in the seventeenth century denote practices that were entirely new, and a number of indicators suggest that the trumpet possessed both a repertoire and a developing idiom in the sixteenth century that was memorized or read from sources that are now lost.

The ability to memorize was a routine requirement for sixteenth-century professional instrumentalists and a fragment of evidence indicates that trumpeters were especially skilled at it. It comes in a Florentine correspondence concerning the decline of improvised song at the expense of composed polyphony. One of the polemicists, employing the *nom de plume* Pasquino Partito Romano, marshals the practices of trombone and trumpet players in support of his argument:

> Do you not play the trombone by ear? Do you not create upon four notes of a cantus firmus via fantasy, an endless stream of notes? Have you not heard four or six trumpeters [*Trombetti*] harmonise, operating without notes or keys [*tasti*], but via breath alone, with admirable sweetness and union, often varying their voices, now high, now low?[57]

Such practices were probably common in Europe more generally, but there is also evidence that trumpeters played from written music. Peter Downey has brought attention to a correspondence between the courts of Denmark and Saxony in the middle of the sixteenth century, concerning the acquisition of trumpet players who could function both as field signal players and performers of music at court: players who could play apparently from memory *and* read notation. The request was for

> Trumpeters, to obtain the Italian-blowing-at-table and cavalry signals, just as Y[our] H[ighness's] trumpeters play them, written down in musical notation.[58]

Italian musicians traveled widely in the sixteenth century and practices in the Italian states must have been very influential. At the end of the century there are English sources that hint that there was a repertoire of ensemble trumpet music. For example, a visitor to the court of Queen Elizabeth noted in 1598 that when the Queen's guard brought

her dinner, "twelve trumpeters and two kettle drums made the hall ring for half-an-hour together."[59]

What the English trumpeters actually played is difficult to determine, but three groups of repertoire might have been known to trumpeters generally: signals performed by individual players in warfare, for lesser proclamations, and the announcement of the arrival of trumpeters on diplomatic missions; more complex ensemble fanfares that might be used at court or for elaborate proclamations and progresses; and perhaps a more subtle, sophisticated, and tuneful group of pieces that were performed at table. It may have been this type of music in the "Italian style" that is hinted at above. The latter two of my categories may be relevant to connections made by several writers between the two English words "tucket" and "sennet" and the terms "toccata" and "sonata" mentioned in the earliest sources of written music for the trumpet. Bendinelli referred to military signals (*Tocade di Guerra*) and sonatas (*sonade*) which are written in both duple and triple meters and for a five-part ensemble. Tarr makes the point that the latter group of pieces could be sounded "in the field," at princely courts, or in other places. Their main use was "at table [and] also for dancing."[60] This idea does not conflict with what we know of the practices of English court trumpeters in the sixteenth century, but unfortunately, neither is it verified by any evidence of the sort that Bendinelli (and Tarr) could provide. It is because of this particular evidential drought that the meanings of "sennet" and "tucket" are interesting.

"Sennet" is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) as "a set of notes on the trumpet or cornet, ordered in the stage directions of Elizabethan plays apparently as a signal for the ceremonial entrance or exit of a body of players." The telling part of the deployment of the word "sennet" is that it is applied not just to trumpets but also to cornets—instruments ill-suited to declamatory fanfares. "Tucket" on the other hand is given by OED as "…A flourish on a trumpet; a signal for marching used by cavalry troops." This word too is deployed in the stage directions of Elizabethan plays and it is important to note that "flourish" actually refers to something that is characteristically decorative rather than austerely functional. At the simplest possible level we must accept that the use of different words to describe two different types of trumpet playing in a single functional setting—the Elizabethan theater—suggests shared understandings of distinct styles suitable for equally distinct dramatic settings or moods. Shakespeare used "tucket" as a stage direction nine times in six works, and "sennet" eighteen times in twelve. Importantly, in three of them, *Henry V*, *Troilus and Cressida,* and *King Lear*, he uses both—clearly an indication of an intent to convey precise and distinct meanings. Most of these citations do what musical stage directions tend to do: they link on-stage narrative to off-stage action by providing aural effects (often coded signals), and they help on-stage action by marking entrances and exits of characters. "Tucket" is used consistently in association with the field calls of war and to summon other military allusions—sometimes these are linked to the spoken text in which the word "trumpet" appears. Thus, in *Henry V* (iv, 2, lines 34–37) we find:

And all is done. Then let the trumpets sound
The tucket sonance and the note to mount:
For our approach shall so much dare the field
That England shall couch down in fear, and yield.

And in *King Lear* (ii, 1, lines 76–84):

O strange and fast'ned villain!
Would he deny his letter, said he? I never got him.
[*Tucket within.*]
Hark, the Duke's trumpets! I know not why he comes.
All ports I'll bar; the villain shall not 'scape;
The Duke must grant me that: besides his picture
I will send far and near, that all the kingdom
May have due note of him; and of my land,
Loyal and natural boy, I'll work the means
To make thee capable.

The deployment of "sennet" is used in a subtly but consistently different sense: whereas "tucket" is always used in association with the military and/or in reference to war and hostility, "sennet" is equally consistently applied to more ceremonial and decorative interludes. So in *Henry V* (v, 2, lines 388–92):

Prepare we for our marriage: on which day,
My Lord of Burgundy, we'll take your oath,
And all the peers', for surety of our leagues.
Then shall I swear to Kate, and you to me;
And may our oaths well kept and prosp'rous be!
[*Sennet. Exeunt.*]

And in *Coriolanus* (ii, 1, lines 157–160):

These are the ushers of Martius: before him he
carries noise, and behind him he leaves tears:
Death, that dark spirit, in's nervy arm doth lie,
Which, being advanc'd, declines, and then men die.
A Sennet. Trumpets sound. Enter COMINIUS the
General, and TITUS LARTIUS: between them CORIOLANUS,
crowned with an oaken garland; with Captains and
Soldiers, and a Herald.

All this, of course, is hardly conclusive evidence of repertoire or idiom, and without additional information we can make little headway in understanding the musical nature of trumpeting in England in the sixteenth century, but it is beyond my purpose in this

article to do more in this regard. However, several themes emerge from the story of the English court's trumpeters in the period that should prompt further questions.

We already know that trumpeters were a substantial and influential group at court for the whole of the period under discussion. The scope of their duties configured the type of men that trumpeters were, and three features are especially noticeable. First, their outlook must have profited from the remarkably varied lives they led, not just in terms of what they did, but because of their itinerant existence—they were among a relatively small percentage of the population below the gentry class who had national and international perspectives. Secondly, they were required to be men of extraordinary accomplishments—articulate, intelligent, diplomatic, deft with languages, fearless, and loyal. And thirdly, for the most part, they really were musicians who could play, for there is clear evidence that those who were despatched on diplomatic errands were also in receipt of payments for playing at court. Those who trod the battlefields to witness the rotting corpses, who captured critical intelligence with what must have often been no more than a few glances around enemy camps, were to a large extent the same players who stood alongside other music makers at one of the most elaborate courts of Europe. But some nagging questions outweigh the certainties. Why do we hear so little about the nature of trumpeting in England in this period? The overwhelming body of evidence records the circumstances in which the instruments were played rather than what was played and how. Furthermore, when we see documentary evidence of reception, such as the accounts of the famous conference at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, it is almost always the effect of an entire occasion that is expressed rather than a discerning comment about the music makers. We do not hear anything about English trumpet playing in the same way as we hear about the playing of the Italians, and above all we hear comparatively little about the musical skills of individuals—unless, that is, the provision made for some to receive special payments and annuities should be seen as a consequence of more than just long and faithful service.[61] Perhaps this is a relatively common feature of sources for English instrumental music of the period more generally, for one reads little of individuals (other than composers) beyond the stark record of their existence expressed as a set of payment inventories, livery allowances, appointments, and eventually deaths. The story of the trumpeters stands as evidence that such records hold only part of the story.

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NOTES

[1] J.S. Brewer, (ed.), "Henry VIII: May 1518, 1–15," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 2: 1515–1518* (1864), 1281–91, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open .ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=90963&strquery=trumpet (accessed 25 November 2010).

[2] Sophie Crawford Lomas, ed., "Elizabeth: September 1583, 1–15," *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 18: July 1583–July 1584* (1914), 100–09, http://www.british-history.ac.uk .libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=78990& (accessed 2 September 2010).

[3] Rawdon Brown, ed., "Venice: July 1517," *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 2: 1509–1519* (1867), 396–410, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report .aspx?compid=94239& (accessed 26 November 2010).

[4] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 123.

[5] For a more detailed explanation of this transition, see Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), chapter 3.

[6] Henry Ellis, ed., *The Union of the two noble and illustre families of Lancastre and Yorke, by Edwarde Hall* (London: J. Johnson et al., 1809), 629.

[7] J.G. Nichols, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London* (London, 1848), 78, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45514 (accessed 25 November 2010).

[8] This is a free précis rather than a literal transcription/translation, as is the text that accompanies the quotation to which note 54 applies.

[9] Similarly inadequate is Suzanne R. Westfall's description of "Heraldic minstrels … whose primary function was, put simply, to make loud, impressive sound, designed to command quiet and to accentuate the arrival of an influential personage or the presentation of a significant event." See Westfall, *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 64–65.

[10] Richard Rastall, "The Minstrels of the English Royal Households, 25 Edward I –1 Henry VIII: An Inventory," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicles* 4 (1964): 1–41.

[11] R.W. Heinze, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 1–2.

[12] Ibid., 28–29.

[13] James Gairdner, ed., "Henry VIII: November 1536, 1–5," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11: July-December 1536* (1888), 378–406, http://www.british-history.ac.uk .libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=75483, (accessed 22 November 2010).

[14] Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 3: 1560–1561* (1865), 401–16, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=71877& (accessed 10 November 2010).

[15] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Peregrine Books, 1965), 17.

[16] Ibid., 19.

[17] Ibid., 30.

[18] Quoted (in full) in Fiona Kisby, "Officers and Office-holding at the English Court: A Study of the Chapel Royal 1485–1547," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicles* 32 (1999): 6.

[19] Quoted in Francis Grose, *Military antiquities respecting a history of the English army from the Conquest to the present time* (London, 1786), 319.

[20] Leonard Digges, *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos … by L. Digges ... Augmented, digested, and lately finished, by Thomas Digges, his Sonne....* (London: Richard Field, 1590), 85–86.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Grose, *Military Antiquities*, 315.
[23] See, for example, J.S. Brewer, ed., "Henry VIII: September 1523, 11–20," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3: 1519–1523* (1867), 1381–93, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=91129& (accessed 02 September 2010). "Sent yesterday his trumpet to La Trymoille with a false letter, to learn what men he has. St. Omer, 12 Sept. Signed: Votre bon pere, Florys."
[24] Joseph Bain, ed., "Elizabeth: March 1560," *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland: Volume 1: 1547–63* (1898), 327–44, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=44057& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[25] Arthur John Butler, ed., "Elizabeth: April 1582, 1–5," *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 15: 1581–1582* (1907), 589-612, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=73545& (accessed 11 November 2010).
[26] Sophie Crawford Lomas and Allen B. Hinds, eds., "Elizabeth: October 1587, 1–10," *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 21, Part 3: April-December 1587* (1929), 344–62, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=75371& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[27] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, ca. 1998), passim.
[28] Mary Anne Everett Green," ed., "Queen Elizabeth—Volume 273: November 1599," *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1598-1601* (1869), 335–55, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=61228 (accessed 10 November 2010).
[29] James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, eds., "Henry VIII: March 1546, 26–31," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21, Part 1: January-August 1546* (1908), 216–51, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80843& (accessed 10 November 2010).
[30] Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., "Addenda, Edward VI—Volume 2: January 1548," *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1601–3: With addenda 1547–65* (1870), 353–7, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=61515& (accessed 10 November 2010).
[31] Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., "Addenda, Mary—Volume 8: December 1557," *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1601–3: With addenda 1547–65* (1870), 462–26, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=61603 (accessed 10 November 2010).
[32] James Gairdner and R.H.Brodie, eds., "Henry VIII: April 1546, 26–30." *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1: January–August 1546* (1908), 334–59, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80848& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[33] James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, eds., "Henry VIII: October 1544, 11–15," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 19 Part 2: August-December 1544* (1905), 234–49, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80340& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[34] Richard Rastall, "The Minstrels and Trumpeters of Edward IV: Some Further Thoughts," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13/3 (2004): 167.
[35] Helen Marsh Jeffries, "Job Descriptions, Nepotism, Part-time Work: The Minstrels and Trumpeters of the Court of Edward IV of England 1461–83," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12/2 (2003): 168.

[36] Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 7:20.
[37] Ibid., 190.
[38] Ibid., 106.
[39] Ibid., 142.
[40] Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 187.
[41] See, for example, Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vols. VI, VII and VIII (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992, 1993, and 1995).
[42] Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 68.
[43] Ashbee and Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1:433.
[44] Ibid., 198.
[45] Ibid., 439.
[46] Ibid., 239.
[47] Ibid., 2:655.
[48] Ibid., 1:387.
[49] Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 5:11.
[50] Joseph Bain, ed., "Elizabeth: March 1560," *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland: Volume 1: 1547–63* (1898), 327–44, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=44057& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[51] Ashbee and Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 2:791.
[52] Joseph Bain, ed., "Elizabeth: March 1560." *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland: Volume 1: 1547–63* (1898), 327–44, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=44057& (accessed 2 September 2010).
[53] Trevor Herbert, "The Trombone in England before 1800" (Ph.D. diss., Open University, 1984), 47 and 89.
[54] A.R. Myers, ed., *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 131-32. For a more detailed analysis of the musical establishment of Edward IV, see Jeffries, "Job Descriptions, Nepotism, and Part-time Work," 165–77.
[55] For example, the *toccata* from Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1609) and the notebooks of the Danish trumpeters Henderick Lübeck and Magnus Thomsen, described by Edmund Tarr in the critical commentary to his translation of Bendinelli's treatise *The Entire Art of Trumpet Playing* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Brass Press, 1975), 10.
[56] Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 20–30.
[57] Quoted in Robert Nosow, "The debate on song in the *Accademia Fiorentina*," *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 188.
[58] Peter Downey, "A Renaissance Correspondence Concerning Trumpet Music," *Early Music* 9 (1981): 326.
[59] Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 187.
[60] Tarr, *The Entire Art*, 12.
[61] Such annuities are featured regularly in the payment lists from court and also from parliament. For example, in 1472 such an annuity was made to the trumpeter John Crowland: "Provided always that this act of resumption, or any other act made or to be made in this present parliament, shall not extend or be prejudicial to our letters patent dated 14 October in the seventh year of our reign [1467] made to our well-beloved servant John Crowland, one of our trumpeters, of an annuity of 10 marks a year to be had and received each year from Michaelmas in the sixth year of our reign [29

September 1466], during the lifetime of the said John Crowland, from the issues, profits, farms and commodities of our county of Lincoln by the hands of the sheriff of the same county at the time, at Michaelmas and Easter in equal portions, as is contained at greater length in the said letters patent: but that the said letters patent shall be good and effectual to the said John after the tenor of them and everything contained in them; notwithstanding this act or any other act made or to be made to the contrary in this present parliament." Chris Given-Wilson, general ed., "Edward IV: October 1472: Second Roll," *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116557& (accessed 23 November 2010).