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The In Nomine of Christopher Tye: Understanding the Cultural Forces that Shaped Tye's Secular Instrumental Musical Expression

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Christopher Tye (c. 1500–1573) was a professional musician, organist, and cleric, whose contributions to church music during the Reformation subsequently earned him the accolade of 'Father of the English Anthem.'[1] Tye wrote a significant body of abstract instrumental music, including twenty-one complete surviving In Nomine that date from the politically turbulent mid-sixteenth century.[2] These works display extraordinary abstract creativity and musical competence. In the absence of new evidence however, the intricate cultural forces at play in mid-sixteenth-century England, coupled with fragmented historical records and biases in biographical accounts, obscure the precise cultural influences that shaped Tye's secular music. While it is reasonable to assume that Tye's professional context was shaped by the social upheaval of political disruptions and emerging religious doctrines, the extent to which these experiences influenced his artistic expression remains unknown.

[1] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of. Music*, Vol III (London, Payne, 1776): 250–9.

[2] Tye's surviving works include three full masses (*The Peterhouse Mass*, *The Western Winde Mass and Missa Euge Bone)*, more than twelve English Anthems, fragments of two Latin Magnificats, a vernacular Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, a *Te Deum,* various motets and psalm setting, twenty-one complete In Nomines, surviving fragments of four other In Nomines, and instrumental works for four or five parts.

Recent research demonstrates the connection between music and socio-political movements and cultural trends. This evidence supports the idea that elite professional musicians like Tye likely had to navigate a new musical identity in response to political discourse and directives about music. In doing so, they may have needed to reconcile personal experiences of musical legacy and nostalgia within their craft.[3] Considering the disruptive societal change that Tye experienced as a young musician during the Reformation, the concept of music as cultural inheritance holds significance as to how we might interpret Tye's In Nomine. Ruth Rehfeldt, Ian Tyndall and Jordan Belisle have argued that musical composition can be a form of relational behaviour that supports a culture's symbolic inheritance system, and that participating in music provides psychological escape for individuals existing in oppressive or challenging circumstances.[4] These authors further argue that music from a specific time and place may have evocative functions that have the potential to communicate emotions derived from a shared cultural environment, and due to common emotional experiences, that music may unify those individuals and create perceptions of shared empathy. The sociocultural contingencies of Tye's professional context therefore renders feasible the idea that Tye and his peers assigned meaning to the different forms of music they created, such that certain music, for example the In Nomine, represented, or was symbolic of, highly abstract ideas, including political ideology and cultural legacy.[5] Significantly, the In Nomine emerged at a time when musicians navigated the dissidence between their Catholic chant-based, polyphonic musical training, and the new directives for greater simplicity of sacred music and syllabic musical settings.

The In Nomine was unique and over 140 instrumental examples survive, by fifty-eight different composers over a period of more than 100 years.[6] These works are loosely categorised into three stylistic phases of development, and surviving sources suggest that John Taverner (1490–1545), Christopher Tye, and Thomas Tallis (1505–1585) were probably the oldest known proponents of the instrumental genre.[7] Oliver Neighbour has argued that because of the generational age gap between Taverner, Tye, and Tallis, and their immediate successors of In Nomine composition, the temporal distance between the early masters of the genre and the next wave of composers might be relatively short.[8] Zoe Weiss has further posited that such temporal proximity, coupled with a shared context of employment at elite sacred musical institutions (with the exception of Ferrabosco I and Edwarde Blankes), suggests a common social and musical network for many early In Nomine composers.[9] Oxford has been proposed as the most likely birthplace of the In Nomine, and London as its subsequent centre

[3] Lisa McCormick, 'Music as Social Performance,' in *Myth, Meaning and Performance* (London: Routledge, 2015), 121–44.

[4] Ruth Rehfeldt, Ian Tyndall, and Jordan Belisle, 'Music as a Cultural Inheritance System: A Contextual-Behavioral Model of Symbolism, Meaning, and the Value of Music,' *Behaviour and Social Issues* 30.1 (2021): 761.

[5] Rehfeldt, Tyndall, andBelisle, 'Music as a Cultural Inheritance System,' 761, 765, 768–69.

[6] Dennis Griffing, 'A Study of Selected In Nomines by English Composers for Consorts of Viols' (Masters diss., University of Wyoming, 1983), 122–31. Appendix A of Griffing's thesis provides a list of composers, primary sources, and dates (where known) of surviving In Nomines.

[7] Although the origin of the In Nomine genre is generally attributed to Taverner, there is no documentary evidence that it was actually Taverner who first extracted the In Nomine from his mass for instrumental use.

[8] Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 31.

[9] Zoe Tall Weiss, 'The Sixteenth-Century In Nomine: Networks of Mobility, Influence, and Intertextuality,' (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2021), 4.

of development.[10] However, these claims are unevidenced as they presuppose that Taverner extracted the instrumental version of his In Nomine himself.

These early In Nomine (c. 1530 to early 1570s) are highly imitative, inventive, and display the scholarly characters of musica speculativa.[11] They exhibit a dependency on the vocal motet,[12] and their contrapuntal voices have a free-flowing form weaving around the cantus firmus.[13] Compositions from the second phase of In Nomine development (c. 1570 to c. 1600) display melodic treatment that departs from vocal traditions to reveal a new instrumental style. The melodies are increasingly extended beyond the comfort range of the voice.[14] However, the date demarcations of the developmental phases should be treated with caution, as exemplified by the non-vocal texture that Robert Parsons (d. 1572) creates, pre-empting the character of the supposed second phase of In Nomine development.[15] By the third phase (post-1600), the mature genre displayed intricate independent melodic lines.[16]

Remembrance and Discourse

The main primary source for Tye's In Nomine offers little evidence regarding their date of composition. GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 was copied in 1578, and although biographical sources agree that Tye ceased work as a professional musician from 1561,[17] he may have continued his musical interests. Previous research has argued that if the biographical claims that Tye was Prince Edward's tutor are true, his In Nomine may have had a didactic function, suggesting a compositional date prior to 1547.[18] However, while the cantus firmus line in early *In Nomine* pieces may have been playable by a beginner student (the young Prince Edward), this alone does not confirm a didactic purpose. The function of the In Nomine might be constructively considered in the broader context of the three diverse, but inter-related, English forms of repertory that emerged around 1550: the consort song, the In Nomine, and the mixed consort.[19] Coelho and Polk claim that 'At some point in the 1540s children in the

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[10] Robert W. Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nomine,' *Revue belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* (1961): 32. Weidner provides evidence that all three composers were associated with the University of Oxford and subsequently the Chapel Royal in London; Tye was also associated with Cambridge and Ely Cathedral.

[11] Ernst Hermann Meyer, 'The In Nomine and the Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style in England,' *Music & Letters* 17.1 (1936): 30–1.

[12] Meyer, 'Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style,' 32–3.

[13] John Taverner, 'In Nomine a4 (c. 1540),' in John Taverner, *In Nomine a4,* performed by Rose Consort of Viols, from *Elizabethan Songs and Consort Music,* Naxos, DDD, 8.554284, 2010, compact disc, https://youtu.be/1-TuRZugo9g.

[14] Alfonso Ferrabosco, 'Six-Part Consorts: In Nomine a6' from *Consort Music To The Viols In 4, 5 & 6 Parts,* performed by Hespèrion XXI, directed by Jordi Savall, Alia Vox, 2003, compact disc, https://youtu.be/v2IAQjFlbZ0. This In Nomine a6 is an example of how the In Nomine departed from the vocal motet and started to display a novel approach to instrumental writing.

[15] Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, 'A Source-Based History of Renaissance Instrumental Music,' in *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 120. These authors document how Robert Parsons and Richard Farrant composed instrumental accompaniment to support a solo voice in the popular genre of the consort song.

[16] Meyer, 'Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style,' 33.

[17] Jason Smart, 'Christopher Tye and the Tye Family of Colchester in the 16th century,' *Early Music* 52.1 (2024): 14.

[18] Robert W. Weidner, 'The Instrumental Music of Christopher Tye,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17.3 (1964): 369.

[19] Coelho and Polk, 'Source-Based History,' 121.

Chapel Royal began to take up the viol … By the 1550s, performances by these children with viols accompanied by a solo vocal line became extraordinarily popular.'[20] Therefore the co-occurrence of instrumental training for the children of the Chapel Royal, and the emergence of a repertory for ensembles of viols, means that a recreational or performative function may also have been possible. Other counterarguments exist for the In Nomine's function, each of which is subject to their unresolved date of composition. Neighbour proposes that initially the genre was only fashionable over a narrow but intensely active period of time, between the late 1550s to mid-1560s, commensurate with the ascension of Elizabeth I,[21] whereas more recently, it has been proposed that Tye most likely composed his In Nomine during the reign of Edward (based on the fact that Taverner's English-texted In Nomine was produced well before 1560, and was already circulating during Edward's reign).[22] Further ambiguity about specific dates stems from the way the early In Nomine circulated in manuscript form, and that the period between composition and compilation of manuscripts is impossible to determine. Given the absence of new evidence, and the gradual development of the genre's musical style, it is impossible to ascertain both the specific dates when Tye composed his In Nomine, and more generally the date demarcations ascribed to the genre's three phases of development. The only research that offers further insight is that of Weiss, who argues that a collection of keyboard In Nomine, Ch. Ch. 371, that was copied in 1560 shares similarities with MS 31390.[23] Weiss argues these similarities between the two manuscripts to be: the prominent representation of Philip van Wilder; the appearance of a madrigal by Giacomo Fogliano; two hexachord pieces presented as a type of 'solfainge' piece; five keyboard In Nomines/Gloria tibi Trinitas settings in Ch. Ch. 371 including a transcription of the Taverner original; three keyboard settings by Strogers; and a two-voice setting of Thomas Tallis' 'ij parts on a rownd tyme.'[24] However, these similarities do not establish a sufficiently strong connection between the two sources that prove an earlier date of composition for Tye's In Nomine.

Pivotal to any consideration of Tye's In Nomine are the two texts of Catholic origin that are common to all In Nomine: the first text relates to the words from the original mass ('In Nomine Domini') of Taverner, and the second text is the antiphon *Gloria tibi trinitas* on which the cantus firmus of the In Nomine is based. Despite their relationship to Sarum chant, these texts were not necessarily considered anti-Protestant, nor were they necessarily offensive to Elizabethan Protestants. Indeed, despite the use of a cantus firmus, it has been argued that the In Nomine was culturally connected to Protestantism,[25] due to its dual associations with presumed Protestant leanings,[26] and the publication of the English text version of Taverner's In Nomine.

The retention of a cantus firmus in the In Nomine is likely to have reflected the legacy of musical training experienced by Tye and his peers. Within the musical memory of this cohort of musicians was a sound world of complex polyphony constructed around an audible plainchant.

[20] Coelho and Polk, 'Source-Based History,' 120.

[21] Neighbour, *Consort and Keyboard Music*, 50. Elizabeth I assumed the throne on 17 November 1558.

[22] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 50.

[23] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 38. The primary source identified by Weiss is Ch. Ch. 371.

[24] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 38.

[25] Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nomine,' 132.

[26] Paul Doe, Roger Bowers, and Hugh Benham, 'Taverner, John,' *Grove Music Online*, 2001. Note that Weidner's original research considerably predates the research of Roger Bower that has modified our present understanding of the nature of Taverner's transitory interaction with evangelism.

Prior to the Reformation, plainchant had been the basis of musical composition, and John Alpin argues that many musicians found the transition away from their training challenging.[27] If so, the In Nomine may have offered a familiar framework for musical expression, made possible via its secular function and dissociation from text. Furthermore, the familiarity of compositional style may have created perceptions of shared empathy between musicians,[28] that potentially offered a form of psychological comfort via an emotional and professional connection with the past. Similarly, the In Nomine potentially had a latent ability to connect the composers' sense of identity to the legacy of their training, and offer a mode of musical discourse that assisted musicians to adjust to their new cultural landscape. The propensity for composers of In Nomine to cite each other's musical material in their works suggests both a sense of sociability between peers, and the existence of a musical form of professional discourse or competition.[29] Musical 'borrowing' was an accepted practice and not restricted to the In Nomine,[30] yet there is no certainty regarding why composers borrowed material from each other, or what it meant to them.[31] Notwithstanding Weiss's theorising on sociability and discourse, other theories suggest that emulating the music of an acknowledged 'master' was a means of claiming one's own legitimacy,[32] a form of competition between professional musicians vying for patronage, a form of pedagogy,[33] or indicative of musical ideas being considered common property. This latter theory would have encouraged a culture of shared musical material where melodies and ideas could be freely adapted and reworked without copyright concerns. However, In Nomine composers may also have sought to emulate the emotions associated with the genre as a form of expressive and symbolic borrowing, as well as musical borrowing. 'Resemblance theory,' proposed by James Young, explains how music is most expressive of emotion when it resembles human expressive behaviour.[34] The English musicians of the mid-sixteenth century would either have been trained in the polyphonic music of the Catholic liturgy, or trained by musicians from this legacy, and therefore their musical expression might reasonably be considered to embody the spiritual behaviours from that previous era. Inherent in resemblance theory is the idea that music best expresses emotions when the music is perceived as a personal expression of that emotion.[35] Therefore, if a piece

[27] John Alpin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32.2 (1979): 248.

[28] Rehfeldt, Tyndall, Belisle, 'Music as a Cultural Inheritance System,' 765.

[29] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 227.

[30] J. Peter Burkholder, 'Modelling,' *Grove Music Online,* 2001; Peter J. Burkholder, 'Musical Borrowing or Curious Coincidence? Testing the Evidence,' *Journal of Musicology* 35.2 (2018): 223–66. This source provides a comprehensive exploration of many of the theories attributed to musical borrowing.

[31] Honey Meconi, ed., *Early Musical Borrowing* (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

[32] Howard D. Weinbrot, '"An Ambition to Excell": The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* (1985): 121.

[33] Howard Mayer Brown argues that techniques of composition included the scholastic 'glossing' of the work of a known 'authority,' or the practice of 'imitatio' that involved the elaboration of a polyphonic model using whatever musical material the composer deemed worthy of emulation. This technique therefore had the potential to elicit both a sense of competition and a means by which to pay homage to a master; Howard Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35.1 (1982): 47; Weinbrot cites excerpts from Ben Jonson's *Timber* (1641) that explores the idea that varying the original is a form of nourishment for the intellect; Weinbrot, '"An Ambition to Excell,"' 121–22.

[34] James O. Young, 'Resemblance, Convention, and Musical Expressiveness,' *The Monist* 95.4 (2012): 587.

[35] Young, 'Resemblance, Convention, and Musical Expressiveness,' 588.

of music expresses a particular emotion to a musician, the emulation of that music might be prompted by a desire to re-experience the emotion connected to that music. In respect of the In Nomine, the possibility of an emotional facet to the musical borrowing is consistent with the arguments Weiss proposes regarding sociability and shared discourse, and with the concept of memorial crisis discussed below. Interestingly, Young's resemblance theory also incorporates the relevance of convention, for example how music with certain formal features (such as a known cantus firmus) is expressive of emotion by convention. Therefore, the knowledge or memory of the convention plays a role in making music expressive of emotion.[36]

The emotional need for people to connect to their past is relevant to our understanding of the cultural forces that may have shaped Tye's secular instrumental music. The experience of cultural grief has been explained by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist as 'memorial crisis,'[37] and they explain how consequential remembrance during memorial crisis typically embodies actions.[38] Therefore, for Tye and his peers, the act of composing an In Nomine had the potential to comprise an action that embodied both a lost tradition and the creation of a new musical form.[39] Interpreting Tye's In Nomine through a lens of memorial crisis implies that the early In Nomine enabled Tye and his peers to navigate the cultural forces at play, whilst still expressing their musical creativity. Weiss frames this phenomenon as having a 'Janus quality,' interpreting the In Nomine as 'facing equally the past-made-present of the Reformation's trauma and the present-made-future of a vibrant invented tradition.'[40]

The idea that prevailing cultural forces prompted professional musicians to build a community of discourse is circumstantially supported by the fact that most composers of In Nomine were employed by either the Chapel Royal or held a significant post within the Church.[41] Therefore the competitive pressure to prove one's social worthiness and performative prowess would have been pervasive.[42] Social constructs of 'manhood' were expressed in part through intellectual engagement, and had to be actively maintained within an individual's social context.[43] As music was both a liberal science and a potentially unruly force, Linda Phyllis Austern argues: 'One way to resolve the potential for musical emasculation among recreational male musicians was to sing and play in the context of single-sex social gatherings, especially from notated parts that further controlled and contained the art.' Consistent with any theory regarding the function of the In Nomine in professional musical contexts, is Austern's theorising on how linguistic discourse amongst peers essentially removed any

[36] Young, 'Resemblance, Convention, and Musical Expressiveness,' 596.

[37] Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist, eds, *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 2–3.

[38] Gordon and Rist, *Arts of Remembrance*, 2–3.

[39] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 52.

[40] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 55.

[41] The most notable mid-sixteenth-century In Nomine composers other than Tye include Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–85), a contemporary of Tye, William Byrd (c. 1540–1623), who wrote five In Nomines in five parts and was influenced by the work of his predecessor at the Chapel Royal, Robert Parsons (1535–1572), and John Bull (c. 1562–1628). The In Nomine of Robert Parsons include two significant seven-part compositions. Warwick Edwards, 'In Nomine,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* second edition, edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001).

[42] Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Domestic Song and the Circulation of Masculine Social Energy in Early Modern England,' in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England* (Routledge, 2016), 121.

[43] Austern, 'Domestic Song,' 121.

threat of perceived effeminacy, as such a theoretical discourse eradicated the sensory aspect of music.[44] Austern's theory aligns with the idea that the In Nomine were shaped by nostalgic cultural influences that connected a community of musicians to a legacy of sacred musical sound and elite pedagogy. The early In Nomine as a secular form had the potential to honour this past, support subjective creativity, and encourage experimentation with a similar intimate expression to that found in continental vocal music.[45]

Cultural Influences

The exact nature of the cultural influences of continental vocal music on the early development of the In Nomine are difficult to specify. Continental secular vocal music became increasingly popular in Renaissance England, which in turn led to both a rise in instrumental accompaniment and the adaptation of vocal forms for instruments. The continental chanson, and later the Italian madrigal, were particularly popular. In addition to the continental chansons that were known to be circulating in the mid-sixteenth century, there is evidence that madrigals were also appearing in manuscript at this time. GB-Y M 91 S was copied in the 1560s,[46] and is the first known English example of the manuscript transmission of madrigals.[47] This manuscript evidences English interest in continental music,[48] and has a wide repertory suggesting that the copyist had access to a range of different sources that would most likely have been available at the royal court.[49] GB-Y M 91 S also contains music by composers represented in MS 31390. Though a full inventory of GB-Y M 91 S is not yet available on the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), John Ross Milsom reports that MS 31390 contains concordances with GB-Y M 91 S, despite MS 31390 having been copied a decade later. Therefore, although conti-nental chansons are generally believed to have been circulating in England before the Italianate madrigal, GB-Y M 91 S evidences that madrigals were in demand by the early years of Elizabeth I's reign,[50] and therefore potentially circulating contemporaneously with the early development of the In Nomine. Additional passing references to possible connections between the madrigal and the development of the In Nomine are made by Joseph Kerman, who suggests that the rhythmic peculiarity in Ferrabosco's madrigals is possibly related to his experience with Elizabethan instrumental music such as the In Nomine.[51] Kerman also draws a parallel between the Elizabethan In Nomine and the manner in which madrigals illustrate competitive behaviour amongst composers as they 'tried to out do each other.'[52] Thus the In Nomine had the potential to operate as a bridge between the embellished glory enjoyed by Henry VIII, and the melodic homophony and vertical harmonies of Purcell.[53]

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[44] Austern, 'Domestic Song,' 122, 125.

[45] Griffing, 'Study of Selected In Nomines,' 149.

[46] 'M 91 S,' c. 1575, Facsimile, (GB-Y), York Minster Library, York, https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2731.

[47] John Ross Milsom, *English Polyphonic Style in Transition: A Study of the Sacred Music of Thomas Tallis*. (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1988), 66, 70, 73–75, diamm.ac.uk/documents/36/Milsom-1.pdf.

[48] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 74.

[49] Milsom, *English Polyphonic Style in Transition*, 66.

[50] Milsom, *English Polyphonic Style in Transition*, 75–76.

[51] Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal, A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), 87.

[52] Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal,* 2020.

[53] Edmund Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and His Family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 35–51.

The turbulent political and social context in which Tye wrote his early In Nomine also influenced the historical biographies about Tye, as they shifted the biographical focus away from the man and his music, and on to the political strife of the times. This is exemplified by the entry for Tye in the 1827 *Dictionary of Musicians*:

> [D]uring the conflict between the zealots of both religions, the changes were so violent and rapid, that great flexibility, or great dissimulation, must have been practiced by those, who not only escaped persecution, but still continued in offices, either of church or state … The few who seem to have been truly pious and conscientious on both sides, suffered martyrdom in support of their opinions; the rest appear to have been either unprincipled, or fluctuating between the two religions.[54]

Relatively little primary source evidence survives about Tye's musical life, although Jason Smart's recent research casts new light on Tye's family background, and the religious and political influences to which he was exposed as a young man.[55] However, despite these new insights, we are no closer to understanding the creative influences that shaped Tye's approach to abstract instrumental music. Tye's biographers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries typically reflect ideals of 'greatness,' nationalism, and social convention in respect of his Church music,[56] however their objectivity is somewhat obscured by their own context.[57] More recent biographies view Tye's life and music through the lens of either pure biographical context, or modern musical appreciation and thought, rather than the philosophical and cultural perspectives of Tudor England.[58] These biographies focus more on linear chronological accounts rather than cultural and emotional experiences, and thus offer modern-day performers little guidance in understanding any meaning Tye sought to communicate, or the sound world he envisaged for his In Nomine.

Exploring Tye's biographical context from a perspective of Renaissance philosophical scholarship, cultural practice, and affective force, offers new lenses through which his In Nomine may be interpreted. Tye experienced a mosaic of musical cultures and religious intolerance: persecution, rigid social divides, superstition, and power politics were all immutable influences on him as a musician. Understanding Tye's life not merely as a linear series of facts, but as a multitude of cultural forces that shaped and inspired his music is essential for a historically informed interpretation of his abstract instrumental works.

Many of the claims made in the older biographies do not withstand evidential scrutiny. For example, Godfrey Arkwright's claim that Tye was recruited as fifth choirboy at King's College, Cambridge in 1511 is unevidenced.[59] There is no evidential proof that 'chorister Tye' of 1511 was

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[54] John S. Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (London: Sainsbury and Company, 1827).

[55] Smart, 'Christopher Tye,' 9–13.

[56] Jolanta Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and its Discontents,' *Journal of Musicological Research* 23.1 (2004): 42.

[57] Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning,' 56.

[58] Nigel Davidson, 'Tye, Christopher (c. 1505–1571), Composer and Poet,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, https://www-oxforddnb-com; Smart; 'Christopher Tye,' 1–9; Linda Phyllis Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind: Thinking About Music in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

[59] G.E.P. Arkwright, 'Biographical Memoir of Dr Christopher Tye,' in *Mass to Six Voices, 'Euge Bone' by Dr. Christopher Tye*, ed. G.E.P. Arkwright (London: Joseph Williams, 1893), 9–34. This biography is still recognised as a key source regarding Tye's musical life. See Smart, 'Christopher Tye,' 15.

the same person as the Tye represented in MS 31390; similar doubts exist regarding the lay clerk at King's College in 1527. Therefore, there is little certainty regarding the nature of Christopher Tye's musical training, only that he received such training.[60] From his estimated year of birth of 1505,[61] it can be deduced that his training was based on the Catholic cathedral tradition, and delivered by teachers who were themselves products of the late-medieval English vocal era. The sound world of Tye's choirboy youth was that of late-medieval, Latin vocal masses and motets, rich in embellished polyphony and amplified by the acoustic resonances found in England's pre-Reformation cathedrals.[62] Yet Tye's surviving oeuvre largely conjures a very different sound world. A sophisticated simplicity is found in much of his sacred music (although not his Latin sacred music) reflective of his Protestant beliefs,[63] yet his secular compositions are by contrast clever, innovative, and look forward in style towards the early Baroque.

All biographical accounts suggest Tye enjoyed an ongoing relationship with King's College Chapel. His supposed payment as one of the 'singing men' in 1527, appointment as clericus (1537),[64] and the wording of the 'Grace for the Degree of Bachelor' (1536) all suggest such continuity.[65] However, there is no documentary evidence (as opposed to biographical claim) that Tye was in Cambridge in 1536, and it should be noted that his degree did not necessarily require residence at the university. Tye earned his Doctor of Music degree from Cambridge University in 1545.[66] Three years later, in 1548, Oxford University recognised this distinction by incorporating his doctorate.[67] These accomplishments demonstrate that Tye attained the highest level of academic recognition available in music during his time, which established Tye's academic reputability.[68] Independent of any ongoing relationship with Ely Cathedral,[69] Tye's doctorate provided a passport to an ongoing association with the musical institutions of the Tudor Court.

Veracity of Courtly Connections

Tye's biographies claim that his association with the Tudor court may also have included the role of music tutor to Prince Edward.[70] If these claims are true (and no irrefutable evidence is known), such an appointment would have required influential patronage and the parallels in life events between Tye and the influential Marian bishop Robert Cox suggest such a

[60] For a review of the limited evidence that does exist relating to Christopher Tye in Cambridge, see Roger Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644', in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2014), 259–83.

[61] Smart, 'Christopher Tye,' 7.

[62] Howard M. Brown and Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999), 228.

[63] Davidson, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[64] Arkwright, 'Biographical Memoir of Dr Christopher Tye,' 9–14

[65] Arkwright, 'Biographical Memoir of Dr Christopher Tye,' 11.

[66] John Venn, ed., *The Grace Book Delta* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1910), 28.

[67] Nan Cooke Carpenter, 'Christopher Tye and the Musical Dialogue in Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*,' *Journal of Research in Music Education* 8.2 (October 1960): 89.

[68] Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England,' *Music and Letters* 76.1 (February 1995): 9–10.

[69] Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth I to Charles I* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 180.

[70] Arkwright, 'Biographical Memoir of Dr Christopher Tye,' 13; Blezzard, 'Christopher Tye: A Quatercentenary Note,' 1052; Smart, 'Christopher Tye,' 9.

relationship.[71] The likely placement of Tye at court is potentially supported from a musical perspective, as the inventiveness and complexity of his abstract instrumental In Nomine would have required skilled musicians capable of reading rhythmically complex, notated ensemble music. However, this is still supposition, as although Tye is now known to have had associations with the Chapel Royal as early as 1542,[72] how regularly Tye was present at court is unknown. Indeed, the plea rolls investigated by Jason Smart and Hugh Benham suggest he was normally resident at Ely between 1547 and 1556, although this residency does not necessarily preclude Tye's presence at court.[73]

Another musical attribute of Tye's In Nomine that might suggest a connection with the Royal Court is the extended pitch range that falls beyond the compass of normal vocal writing and would require more skilled instrumental playing. Whilst it has been argued that some In Nomine were intended for public instrumental performance by wind bands such as the London Waits or household musicians,[74] the extended range and intervallic leaps used are also commensurate with the frets of the new viols that foreign musicians, recruited by Henry VIII, bought with them to court.

Such skilled individuals and technically advanced instruments were only found at either academic institutions, or the Royal Court.[75] More broadly, it has been suggested that the programmatic nature of the In Nomine 'Crye' displays an intimacy of the composer with the cacophony of London street life.[76] However, pivotal to understanding possible cultural forces at play is the omission in the biographies of exactly when Tye composed his In Nomine. Weiss suggests that Tye may have composed them in the period between the ascension of Prince Edward and Elizabeth I (1547–58),[77] whereas the innovative recent research of Smart and Benham reveals that Tye was claiming the status of ' Gentylman of the Kinges Chapell' as early as 1542.[78] Confirmation of this earlier date is not only relevant to the possibility of Tye acting as Edward's tutor, but also suggests that Tye would have interacted with an elite community of musicians, including continental musicians. Whether such interactions had any influence regarding when and why he composed his In Nomine remains open to conjecture. However, if Tye's In Nomine were composed prior to 1560, the likelihood of them being played or sung as musical discourse by elite professional musicians is high.

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[71] For example, Cox was at Cambridge in 1511 when Tye entered as a chorister; Cox was appointed Archdeacon of Ely Cathedral only months before Tye was appointed there as Master of the Choristers; Tye received an Honorary Doctorate in Music from Oxford University the year following Cox's appointment as Chancellor; and Cox was Preceptor of Prince Edward's education at Court in the period 1544–50; Paul Doe and David Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher,' *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

[72] Jason Smart and Hugh Benham, 'Some Legal Actions Involving John Taverner, Rose Taverner and Christopher Tye,' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 53 (2022): 85.

[73] Smart and Benham, 'Some Legal Actions,' 85.

[74] Paul Doe, 'The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians,' in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, edited by Edward Olleson (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1980), 79–92.

[75] Annette Otterstedt, *The Viol: History of an Instrument*, translated by Hans Reiner (London: Barenreiter-Verlag, 2002), 41.

[76] Doe suggests that this In Nomine may have originally included a vocal line imitating London street-cry, the type of which were made by street vendors. Doe also proposes that Gibbons used Tye's In Nomine as a model for one of his In Nomines over seventy years later; Paul Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music: II* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988), xix.

[77] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 49.

[78] Smart and Benham, 'Some Legal Actions,' 85.

Other circumstantial evidence of Tye's presence at court is provided by his 1553 publication of metrical verse *The Actes of the Apostles*.[79] In the dedication Tye publicly identifies himself as a 'Gentylmen of hys graces moste honourable Chappel,' however, it is likely that Tye was only an honorary, or 'associate' Gentleman, which neither confirms, nor refutes the regularity of Tye's interaction with the Chapel Royal.[80] Also, Tye's subject choice of this work, a translation of St Luke's account of the struggles of early Christian faith, is complimentary to King Edward, and infers an understanding of the difficulties the young monarch was experiencing in suppressing unrest across England.[81] Tye was possibly drawing a flattering comparison between the struggles of the Protestant faith in early Reformation England, and the struggles of the early Church described in the Gospel according to Luke. The didactic wording of Tye's dedication also suggests Tye's likely service as Edward's music tutor.[82]

Tye's rhyming verses that follow his dedication to the *Actes of the Apostles* provide insight into his approach towards musical expression, particularly in his sacred music. He advocates for an unembellished musical style and urges a simple relationship between note and text. For example, in verse eighteen Tye refers to the notes of music 'And thoughe they be, not curious but for the letter mete', and in verse eleven warns the reader to avoid 'inkborne terms' which he explains in verse fourteen:

> But he that shal, of scripture treat / If he will please God well:
> Of force he must, such termes forgeat / The truth playnely to tell.[83]

Although these verses suggest a strong philosophical connection to the new directives of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury under Edward's reign, and reflect the sophisticated simplicity of Tye's sacred music, they seem at odds with the inventiveness and experimentation found in the In Nomine.

Tye's presumed presence at court, and appointment as Edward's tutor, is further referenced in Samuel Rowley's play entitled *When you see me, you know me* (1605). In the play 'Dr Tye' performs vocal and instrumental music for Prince Edward, and then presents his *Actes of the Apostles* to the Prince, who in return promises that they will be performed in the Chapel Royal.[84] This literary enactment, however, is not a biography, and although Rowley's words describe a supposed emotional connection Tye may have held towards his music, they remain a work of fiction by a potentially biased author as Rowley was reputed to be Tye's grandson:[85]

> Musicke is heauenly, for in Heauen is Musicke, …
> And if the Poet fayles vs not my Lord,
> The ducet tongue of Musicke made the stones
> to Mooue, irrational beast, and birds to daunce
> And last, the Trumpets Musicke shall awake the dead.[86]

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[79] Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, and dedicated to the Kynges moste excellent Maiestye* (London: Wyllyam Seres, 1553).

[80] Doe and Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[81] Robert W. Weidner, 'Tye's *Actes of the Apostles*: A Reassessment,' *Musical Quarterly* 58.2 (1972): 245.

[82] Weidner, 'Tye's *Actes of the Apostles*,' 245, 249.

[83] Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles,* The Preface, A, iii.

[84] Henry Davey, 'Christopher Tye,' in *Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. XIX (London, 1895): 1339.

[85] Doe and Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[86] Samuel Rowley, *When You See Me You Know Me, or The Famous Chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605).

Historical glimpses such as Thomas Fuller's biography hint at the high regard Tye likely enjoyed as a professional musician during a period of political and religious upheaval[87] and they suggest that his musical expression was accepted within the context of the cultural forces that shaped his musical landscape:

> Music, which received a grievous wound in England at the dissolution of the abbeys was much beholden to him [Tye] for her recovery; such his excellent skill and piety, that he kept it up in credit at court and in all cathedrals during his life.[88]

Collectively, the fragmented historical facts and circumstantially flattering accounts of Tye's music suggest a context of elite professional status, intimacy with the royal court,[89] and broad political acceptance. The regard of the Protestant church is reflected in how biographies claim that Tye was popular during Edward VI's reign and that his hymn-like anthems were suited to Protestant worship. Tye's musical style was consistent with Edward VI's decree that choral contributions to the liturgy of the reformed Church should be in English and use one note to a syllable. Likewise, Tye's close connections to Robert Cox (a Protestant reformer) indicate that he was a practicing Protestant, although his ordination as an Anglican priest in later life may have been motivated more by pecuniary interests than ideology.[90] These elements all combine to suggest that although Tye's In Nomine were based on a Catholic Sarum plainchant, they were not motivated by, or received as, expressions of recusant tendencies.

Tye's likely presence at court from 1537 onwards offers possible insights into the inventiveness and sophistication of his In Nomine. The Tudor court was actively recruiting musicians from the Republic of Venice, and the Low Countries,[91] with over fifty-eight continental musicians and skilled instrumentalists residing at court by 1547.[92] This import of foreign talent represented a turning point in the development of English instrumental music.[93] The immigrant string players included Hans Hosenet, Fraunces de Venice, Marke Anthony Galyardo, and Ambrose Lupo. There were also flute, lute, rebec, and virginal instrumentalists including Peter and Philip Van Wilder, and five members of the Bassano family. These performers held instrumental primacy at the Tudor court,[94] and brought with them a style of instrumental playing previously unheard in England. Exposure to such virtuosity, and access

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[87] Davidson, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[88] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, vol. II first printed in 1662; a new edition with a few explanatory notes, by John Nichols (London, Edinburgh, & Perth: F.A.S., 1811), 112.

[89] A well-cited quote attributed to Anthony Wood in Sir John Hawkins's *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, suggests that Tye neglected his parishes, possibly resulting from his ongoing presence at Court after the ascension of Elizabeth: 'Dr. Tye was a peevish and humoursome man, especially in his latter dayes, and sometimes playing on ye organ in ye chap.[el] of qu. Elizab. wh.[ich] contained much musick but little delight to the ear, she would send ye verger to tell him yt he play'd out of tune: whereupon he sent word yt her eares were out of Tune.' Recent research suggests that the quote is highly anecdotal and should be considered with caution, especially as there is only two years between Elizabeth's accession and Tye's ordination, following which Tye's ongoing involvement with church music is unevidenced. See Smart and Benham, 85.

[90] Doe and Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[91] Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 177.

[92] David Greer, 'Henry VIII, King of England,' *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

[93] Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music:* II, xvii.

[94] John Izon, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court,' *Musical Quarterly* 44.3 (1958): 333.

to new viols,[95] combined with the study of continental musical treatises, may have inspired Tye to explore new means of musical expression.

However, it cannot be dismissed that the most significant surviving source of Tye's abstract instrumental music, GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390, is titled for 'voyces or instrumentes.' Although it is likely Tye played his In Nomine, it cannot be categorically inferred that he was a skilled viol player (or as Paul Doe suggests a woodwind player), for it is equally possible that the In Nomine were performed on other instruments or sung in solfège.[96] Irrespective of the instrumentation used for performance, the predominantly five-part composition of Tye's In Nomine suggests he had access to a skilled group of musicians (instrumentalists or singers) who understood the sound potential of the consort, and were familiar with prevailing continental styles—a concatenation of observations consistent with the musical context of the Tudor court.

Of the many court musicians that may have influenced Tye, most likely was continental import Philip van Wilder. Van Wilder was a composer and lutenist and the most favoured instrumentalist of Henry VIII. He was head of secular music at court, taught lute to the royal children, was 'Master of his Highnes Singing Children,' and curator of the King's private music for over twenty years. If the claims of the biographies are true, Tye would have worked under the broad influence of van Wilder's musical example.[97] Indeed, the experimental nature of Tye's In Nomine,[98] and his use of Netherlandish compositional devices (including the incorporation of musical puzzles such as those found in the In Nomine Trust and Hold Fast),[99] may be considered a form of musical discourse between Tye and the court's prestigious head of secular music. The co-occurrence of seventeen of van Wilder's untexted compositions in GB-Lbl MS 31390, the key primary source for Tye's In Nomine, is also notable.

In mid-sixteenth century England there was great debate about the worth of music versus its use and abuse and early modern thinkers valued wisdom received from scholarship above that of performative virtuosity.[100] In connection with this debate, significant censorious derision existed in London society towards court musicians.[101] If Tye was indeed working in the royal service, he would have been aware of the innuendos aimed at the 'foppish' gentlemen of the court, and in particular the sexualised representation of the viol that rapidly appeared in English literature of the Tudor period.[102] Connotations of 'fiddling,' combined with holding the viol between the thighs, gave rise to slang conceptions of the instrument as a genital surrogate.[103] The practice of viol consort music at court was ridiculed as the domain of 'fops and bourgeois

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[95] David Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family as Instrument Makers and Repairers,' *Galpin Society Journal* 38 (April 1985): 114.

[96] Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 39.

[97] John M. Ward and Jane A. Bernstein, 'Van Wilder [de Vuildre, Vanwilder, Van Wyllender, Welder, Wild, Wildroe, Wylde], Philip,' *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

[98] Such experimental characteristics include the eccentric mensuration of a five-minim cantus firmus tone in the In Nomine 'Trust', rapid repeated notes of the In Nomine ''Crye,'' and a variety of mensuration between parts of the In Nomine 'Howld fast.'

[99] Doe and Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher.'

[100] Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind,* 12–13.

[101] There was increasing antipathy towards the 'fops and bourgeois gentilhommes' who played the bass viol, leading to targeted satirical abuse in theatrical plays of the time; Otterstedt, *The Viol*, 41.

[102] Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: Methuen, 1970), 226.

[103] Loren Monte Ludwig, 'Equal to All Alike: A Cultural History of the Viol Consort in England, c. 1550-1675' (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2011), 226.

gentilhommes,' and attracted satirical abuse.[104] However the formal discourse about music that occupied scholars and clergy is now understood to have been a debate concerning what form of music was performed where, how, and by whom, rather than a war against art music *per se*.[105]

Scholarship and Status

The livelihoods of professional musicians depended on their ability to navigate moral suspicion, especially given the enactment of legislation against musical contractors external to the patronage system.[106] Acceptable musical practice therefore became the domain of wealthy recreational musicians associated with influential patrons.[107] This context highlights the significant cultural forces shaping compositions like Tye's In Nomine. To some extent, their elite, notated form, combined with the composer's connection to influential patrons, shielded these works from the anti-musical criticism exemplified in later publications such as Philip Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583). Stubbes's view of music mirrored some of the earlier accusations of 'foppishness' directed at Tudor court musicians, especially in his claims that music was emasculating and its expert performance was synonymous with whoredom: 'So sweet Musicke, at first delighteth the eares, but afterwards corrupteth and depraveth the minde, making it quasie, and inclined to all licentiousnesse of life whatsoever.'[108] Thus although radicals sought to control secular music and music making, it was only the 'wrong' sort of music (that is, music that pleases the sense too much), in the 'wrong' context (inappropriate public places, times, in church, or performed by women), that was anathema.[109] The scholarly speculative nature of Tye's In Nomine arguably elevated the music away from the senses, and rendered its practice relatively safe from the later claims of Stubbes that 'it [music] corrupteth good myndes, maketh them womanishe, and inclined to all kind of Whoredom and mischeefe.'[110]

Despite the moral debates that raged over music, instrumental music in Tudor England was largely functional and often improvised or based on popular songs.[111] Instruments accompanied dining and dancing as a backdrop to educated society, and visual and auditory spectacle reflected the reputation of its patrons.[112] The abstract and scholarly nature of Tye's In Nomine extends well beyond the boundaries of such social functions, yet even so, there is no evidence that these works existed outside the cultural influences that shaped Tye's context. Modern perspectives suggest Tye's abstract instrumental music arose from his knowledge, culture, and experience. While his training placed music within the Quadrivium and Boethius's philosophy, [113] his compositions likely transcended these formal constraints.

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[104] Otterstedt, *The Viol*, 41.

[105] Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind*, 15.

[106] Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71–106.

[107] Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind*, 16.

[108] Philip Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (London: 1583), fol.109r-v, in Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind*, 65.

[109] For a full discussion on recreational music and society see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 173-224.

[110] Cited in Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'A Critical Edition of Philip Stubbes' Anatomie of Abuses' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1996), 80.

[111] For example, Philip van Wilder's untexted chansons that appear in GB-Lbl MS Add. 31390.

[112] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 108–23.

[113] C.T. Onions, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 944. Calvin Bower, 'Boethius,' *Grove Music Online*, 2001. This treatise was one of the first ever printed in Venice (1491) and espoused the relationship between music and arithmetic, and their relevance to the order and harmony of the universe.

In sixteenth-century England, unlike Europe, the inaudible and audible branches of music, i.e. *musica speculativa* and *musica practica,* became linked through the theoretical study, purpose, and practice of sacred music.[114] For a musician to be recognised as a scholar, he had to hold a bachelor's degree in music. But paradoxically, the pedagogical philosophies of Oxford and Cambridge universities required students to demonstrate their skill in *musica speculativa* by composing a sacred musical work as a pre-requisite for the Grace of their degree. These resultant 'academic' masses established a unique relationship between the Church and the centres of learning at Oxford and Cambridge. This relationship not only allowed musical scholarship (*musica speculativa*) to be recognised through performance of compositions (*musica practica),* but set sixteenth-century English music scholarship apart from other European practices by establishing both the theory and practice of sacred music in the educational institutionalisation of composers.[115]

This merging of the practical and 'scientific' elements of music had significant social relevance for university-educated musicians such as Tye,[116] as is explained in Boethius's treatise:

> There are three classes of those who are engaged in the musical art. Those of the class which is dependent on instruments and who spend their entire effort there … are excluded from comprehension of musical knowledge, … they act as slaves … they are totally lacking in thought.
>
> The second class [consists] of those who compose songs … a class led to song not so much by thought and reason as by a certain natural instinct …This class too, is separated from music.
>
> The third class is that which acquires an ability for judging, so that it can carefully weigh rhythms and melodies and the composition as a whole. This class, since it is totally grounded in reason and thought, will rightly be esteemed as musical …That person is a musician [*musicus*] who exhibits the faculty of forming judgements according to speculation or reason relative and appropriate to music.[117]

Oxford and Cambridge universities were instrumental in establishing an elevated social status for 'academic' composers. Degrees from these universities allowed composers to be recognised for their learning, and the examination process supported composers to demonstrate their understanding of *musica speculativa* through the vehicle of *musica practica*.[118] Consequently, although Tudor musical culture understood *musica speculativa* to be an exercise or display of scholarship not necessarily requiring performance to gain recognition, it could also be expressed through practical means; its written notation and performance became a demonstration of both individual worth and musical scholarship. This emphasis is supported by Thomas Elyot's treatise, *The Boke Named the Gouernour*:

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[114] Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 11–4.

[115] Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 11–4.

[116] Notably, choristers of the Chapel Royal and other richly endowed chapels were frequently sponsored to attend university as a 'reward' for their years of service. This practice effectively created a succession plan for those musical institutions, as a graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge would acquire the social status, recognition, and networks to be associated on a professional level with the leading musical institutions in England; Andrew Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c. 1495-1558,' *Early Music* 25.2 (May 1997): 188.

[117] Boethius, *De institutione musica*, Lib. I, cap. Xxxxiv, trans Calvin M. Bower as *Fundamentals of Music* (New Haven & London, 1989), 51, cited in Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 5.

[118] Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 9.

> And that it sufficed a noble man … only hearynge the contentio of noble musiciens, to gyue iugement in the excellencie of their counnynges … For, as Aristole saith, Musicke in the olde time was nombred amonge sciences, …
>
> And if the childe be … very aptly disposed to this science and ripely dothe understande the reason and concordance of tunes, the tutors ofice shall be to persuade hym to haue principally in remembrance hys astate … Yet natwithstanding he shall commende the perfect understandinge of musicke declaringe howe necessary it is for the better attainynge the knowledge of a publicke weale.[119]

Another important insight into how abstract instrumental music was conceived using theoretical devices is provided by an enigmatic poem dated 1504 by William Cornysh (1465–1523), *A Treatise between Trouth and Enformacion*:

> In musicke I have lernyd iiii colours as this
> Blak full blaake wide, and in likewyse reede
> By thes colours many subtill alteracions ther is
> That will begile one thow in cunnyng he be wele spedde.[120]

This source suggests how early sixteenth-century composers conceived their musical exercises from an abstract, rather than a performative perspective.[121] It may be valid therefore to explore Tye's In Nomine as an epistemic bridge between the 'speculative' and the 'practical.' However, to do so, we need to evaluate the early In Nomine as a genre, and Tye's works as specific examples.

The In Nomine emerged synchronously with the establishment of the viol consort as a uniquely English genre.[122] However, instrument maintenance and the English predilection for vocal music suppressed a broader commercial market for printed instrumental music,[123] so In Nomine were predominantly circulated via privately-owned manuscripts, situating these works in the ownership of professional musicians, noble homes and the royal court.[124]

In Nomine all use the same cantus firmus, a liturgical melody from the antiphon for the second vespers of Trinity Sunday.[125] This Sarum plainchant melody was used by Taverner in his *Missa Gloria tibi trinitas* (c.1530),[126] and subsequently used as the cantus firmus for his transposition of the *Benedictus* for viols.[127]

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[119] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London: 1531), I:41, www.luminarium.og. See, Dietrich Helms, 'Henry VIII's Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children,' *Musical Quarterly* 92 (Spring-Summer 2009): 131.

[120] GB-Lbl RM 18.d.2, f.163.

[121] Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 4.

[122] Gustave Reese, 'The Origin of the English *In Nomine*,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2.1 (Spring 1949): 7–22 at 9.

[123] Otterstedt, *The Viol*, 39-47.

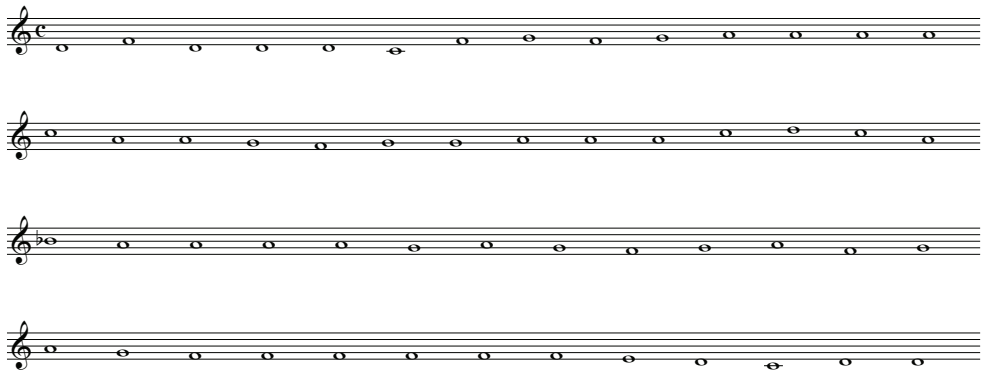
[124] Griffing, 'Study of Selected In Nomines,' 11.

[125] Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nominee,' 32.

[126] Circumstantially dated from the third or early fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

[127] Meyer claims that because the melody used for the In Nomine cantus firmus remained largely unaltered over more than 150 years of compositional activity that it was in some way 'sacrosanct,' and suggests that the melody belonged to the *Introitus* of the Festival of the Holy Trinity and that it was played as an accompaniment to the entrance of the priests. This view is not supported by recent scholarship; Meyer, 'Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style,' 26.

Figure 1. Sarum plainchant: first psalm antiphon at First Vespers of Trinity Sunday. Reese, 'Origin of the English *In Nomine*', 8.



Upon this foundation, polyphonic stylistic characteristics of Taverner's mass became synonymous with the In Nomine, particularly the style of melodic expression, rhythmic variety, scalic passage work, textural variation, and the use of imitation and canon.[128]

From a social and political perspective, the In Nomine developed synchronously with fundamental societal changes that involved the philosophical questioning of truth, the Church, the monarchy, and the government.[129] This context of broadening horizons of knowledge and thought is commensurate with the experimentation and inventiveness found in Tye's In Nomine. The In Nomine offered its proponents both a direct link with the past epitomised by the complex musical glory of the Henrician era, and a culturally safe means of musical innovation and professional discourse that facilitated the exploration of emerging continental musical trends.

The idea of the In Nomine as musical discourse adds to previous debates about its function.[130] Various theories have been mooted previously, including functions related to recreation or didactic models;[131] an audition piece for the Chapel Royal;[132] a didactic tool used by Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal for their proteges;[133] a 'test piece' to demonstrate compositional skill,[134] a solemn and learned musical form for formal or ceremonial purposes,[135] or alternatively just a fashionable cult. More nuanced social functions have also been proposed, exploring how performing the In Nomine in consort allowed social intimacy between men without accusations of homosexuality.[136] This function of providing a vehicle for sociability between elite trained musicians reflects the cultural forces at play for both composer and performer. Homosocial musical gatherings offered the opportunity to display musical taste

[128] Doe, Bowers, and Benham, 'Taverner, John'; David Josephson, 'In Search of the Historical Taverner,' *Tempo* 101 (1972): 139.

[129] This disruption of western European society paved the way for social philosophies of the Enlightenment.

[130] Meyer, 'Birth of Polyphonic Instrumental Style,' 30; Weiss, 'Sixteenth-Century In Nomine,' 4.

[131] Griffing, 'A Study of Selected In Nomines,' 12.

[132] Ernest Hermann Meyer, *English Chamber Music* (London: L. & W. Publishers, 1946), 84.

[133] Griffing, 'A Study of Selected In Nomines,' 11.

[134] Warwick Edwards, 'In Nomine,' *Oxford Music Online*, 2001.

[135] Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music I*, xx.

[136] Ludwig, 'Equal to All Alike,' 216–29.

and skill to one's peers and patrons. These gatherings also enabled professional musicians to display their domination over the publicly censored, undesirable elements of music,[137] securing their professional reputation.

The possible bridge between speculative and practical music offered by Tye's early In Nomine would explain the intention for them to be played, and how the development of the early In Nomine can be correlated to the cultural forces of fashion, culture, and patronage of successive Tudor and Stuart monarchies.[138] Thus, the In Nomine offered composers an opportunity to explore new musical trends that were introduced at court via a musical form that allowed inventiveness without risk, and protected the reputation of professional musicians.[139] Significantly, such abstract music also allowed an emphasis on subjective emotion and consonance—elements that were synonymous with the intimate expression of the Italianate madrigal.[140]

The Primary Source

Tye's intention for the performance of the In Nomine is supported by the layout of one of the most significant primary sources for the genre. His twenty-one surviving In Nomine are found in two primary sources; GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390,[141] a table-book manuscript held in the British Library, and GB-Ob 212-216, a collection of more conventional partbooks. Together these two sources contain seventy-five percent of the extant In Nomine,[142] and therefore provide a sound foundation for analysis.

Most of Tye's compositions in MS 31390 are written for five parts, and the layout of the manuscript (see Fig. 2) prescribes the aural experiences of players by dictating their seating arrangements.[143] This player disposition provides for the two upper and lower parts to be separated, and the inner parts co-located. The players are seated closely together and would have read their music over their right shoulders.[144] This arrangement would therefore support a homogenous sound between the inner and lower voices, and clarify the distinction between the two upper parts.

This seating arrangement allows other insights into the sound world created by Tye's In Nomine: homogeneity would dominate over aural clarity, especially if either a new imitation point started at the same pitch as an adjacent player, the pitch overlapped between parts, or imitation crossed between parts. In contrast, rhythmic differences would be enhanced between

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[137] Austern, 'Domestic Song,' 138.

[138] Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nominee,' 32.

[139] For example, the melismas and embellishment found in early Renaissance masses was thought to obscure the word of God, and Protestant reformers such as Cranmer directed that only one note to one syllable should be used in church music and that texts should be in English.

[140] Griffing, 'Study of Selected In Nomines,' 149.

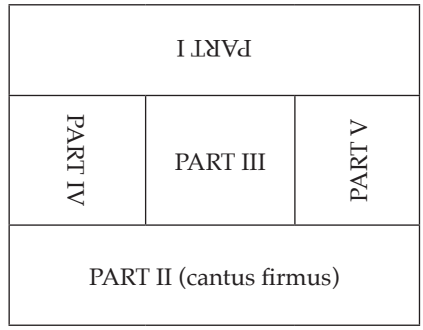
[141] The primary source has been accessed through the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music Manuscripts (DIAMM). This archive describes the provenance of GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390 to be Chichester, the date as 1575-80, the scribe as musician/composer Clement Woodcock, and the physical dimensions of the manuscript to be 56cm x 40.5cm.

[142] Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nomine,' 32.

[143] Richard Rastall, 'Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c. 1560-1605,' *Early Music* 25.2 (May 1997): 277.

[144] Renaissance viols were played with a shorter bow: compared to those in later use for the English Division viol and the French viols, the shorter bow length would have made this seating arrangement more practical.

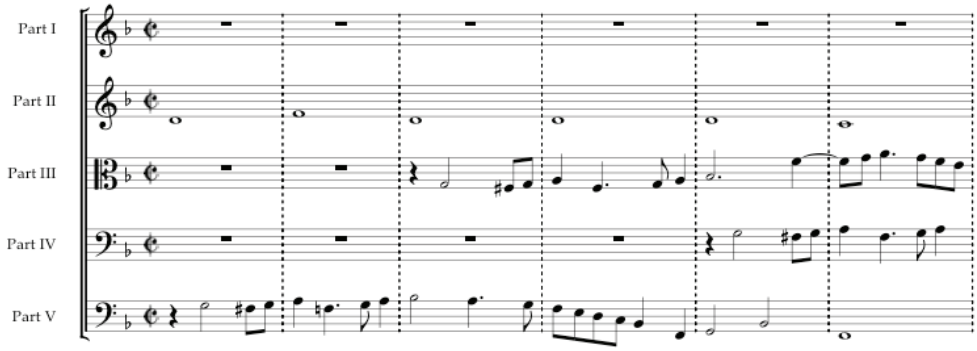
Figure 2. Typical layout of the five parts in table book format, indicating the seating disposition of players around a table.



adjacent players, which would be aurally invaluable if the cantus firmus is placed in the third part.[145] Assuming the specific layout of the parts of the primary source was intentional, and integral to the information Tye sought to communicate, these observations highlight the scope of historical performative information encoded in primary sources and indicate that Tye was communicating the textures and sound colours he sought to create. A thematic analysis of Tye's In Nomine contextualised to the leading treatises of the time provides further insight into Tye's musical intentions, and any underlying meanings.

Tye generally retains the integrity of the Sarum plainchant cantus firmus in all his In Nomine; the tonal centre of D Dorian is preserved, as is the opening rising minor third. The works generally display smooth, arching, equally apportioned polyphony, with overlapping phrases that obscure both the cantus firmus and individual cadences (the cantus firmus is only revealed in the opening of 'Free from all' (see Fig. 3)). Tye often displays a melodic boldness in the tenor and bass as seen in 'Follow me '(see Fig. 4). His polyphony is contrapuntal, and any vertical sonorities result from the process of dissonance or imperfect consonance resolving to a perfect consonance, rather than the tonal harmonic progressions found in later In Nomine.[146]

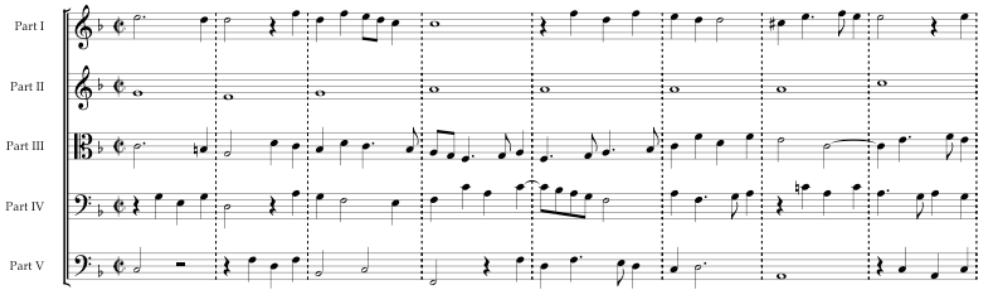
Figure 3. 'Free from all,' opening imitation point. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390, f.26v-27r.



[145] Rastall, 'Spatial Effects,' 279.

[146] Griffing, 'Study of Selected In Nomines,' 13.

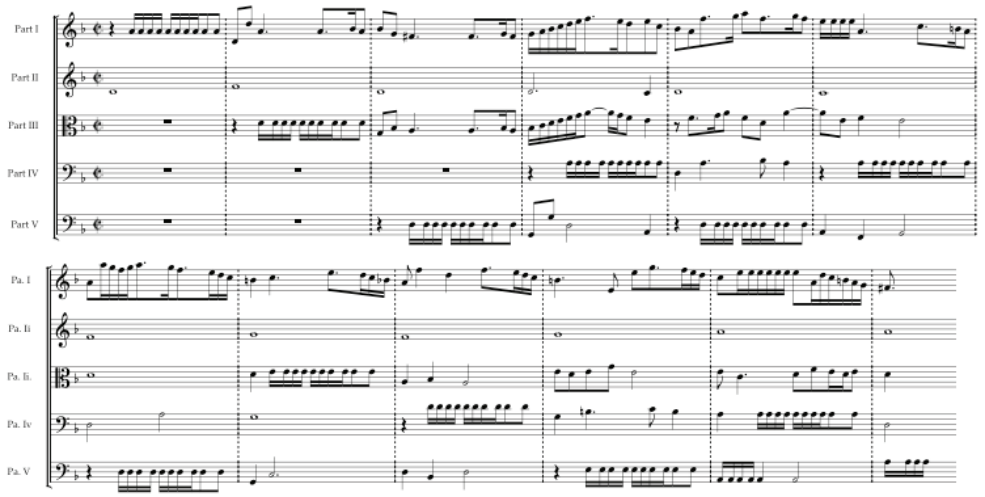
Figure 4. 'Follow me,' tactus measures 8–15. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390, f. 60v-61r.



Although Tye's In Nomine generally sound balanced, with homogenous tone colours and cross-weaving counter-rhythms that obscure the pulse of the cantus firmus breve, he delighted in creating musical diversions. Scattered through the In Nomine are idiomatic motives such as the rhythmic and accented opening point of 'Crye' that supposedly emulates the cries of London street vendors (see Fig. 5); intricate cross rhythms such as the closing ten tactus measures of 'Reporte' (see Fig. 6); and unexpected melodic events such as the upper part in tactus measures 11 to 15 of 'I comme' (see Fig. 7). All these idioms show Tye defying the vocal convention of smooth polyphony and delighting in the melodic freedom offered by the frets of the viol.[147]

Tye's use of imitation defines the different characters of his In Nomine; his imitation displays rhythmic, registral, and melodic inventiveness, exploring melodic possibilities offered by inversion, diminution, or augmentation.[148] Tye frequently introduces motivic fragments that emulate a new imitation point, only for them to disappear before the point is sounded in all four polyphonic parts. The number of imitation points Tye uses varies across the twenty-one In Nomine, creating an impression of variety in form.[149] For example, 'Rounde' feels through-

Figure 5. 'Crye,' tactus measures 1–12. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Ad. MS 31390, f.27v-28r.



[147] Otterstedt, *The Viol*, 39-47.

[148] Weidner recommends that an imitation point has been considered as a 'true' point only when it appears in each of the polyphonic parts; Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nominee,' 45.

[149] Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nominee,' 45.

Figure 6. Closing tactus measures of 'Reporte.' Transcribed from GB-Lbl Ad. MS 31390, f.72v-78r.

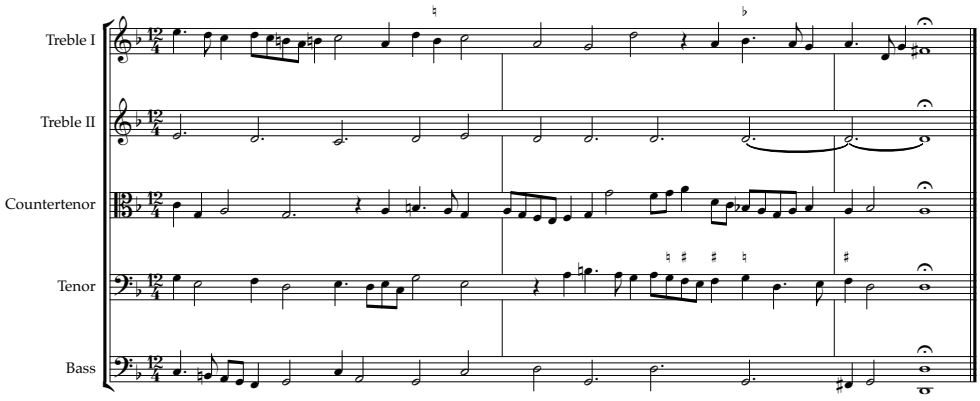
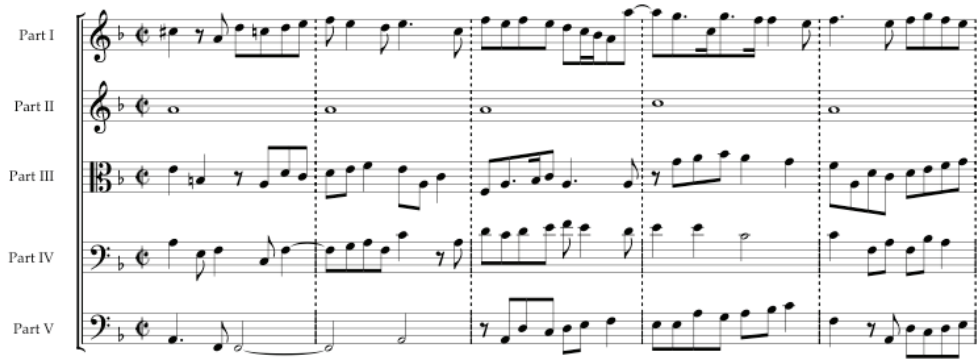
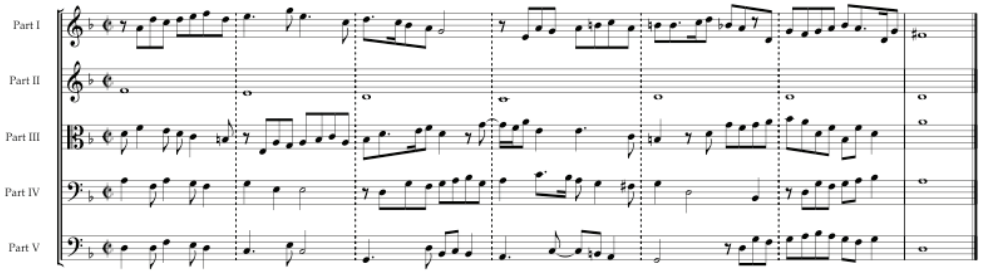


Figure 7. 'I comme,' tactus measures 11–15. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Ad. MS 31390, f.28v-29r.



composed with four distinct points sequentially developed in each polyphonic part, whereas a binary form is implied in 'Rachell's weeping' and 'My deathe bedde' by the two repeated imitation points and the use of recapitulation. Invariably, it is Tye's treatment of imitation points, such as the stretto observed in tactus measures 40 to 46 of 'I comme' (see Fig. 8) and the idiomatic writing of 'Crye' (Fig. 5) that sets the character of the composition.

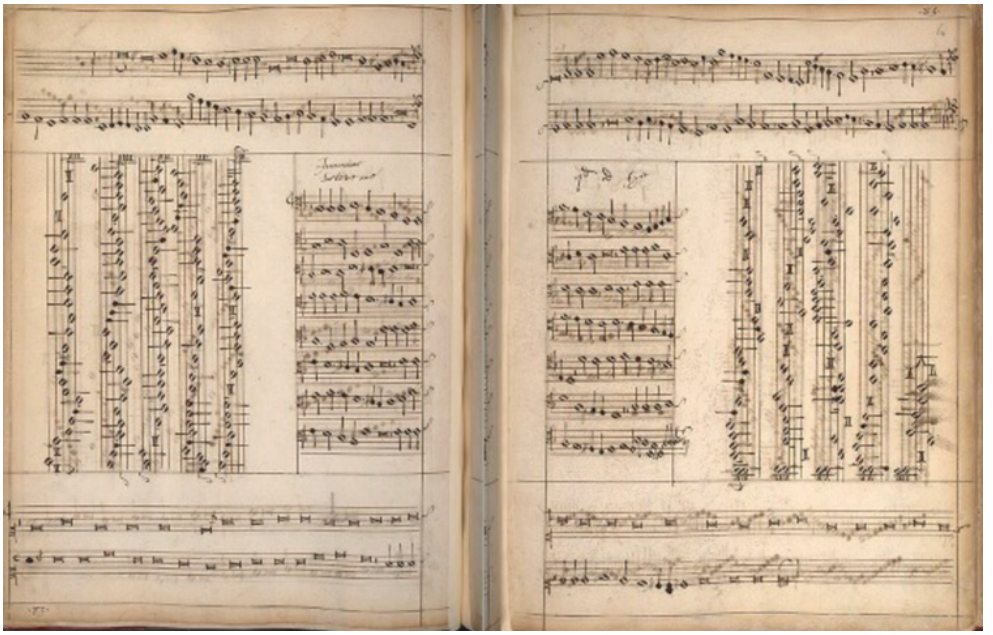
Figure 8. 'I comme,' tactus measures 40–46. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Ad, f. 28v-29r.



Ten of Tye's In Nomine commence each imitation point on an off-beat minim against the cantus firmus breve, five of which display the repeated minim at the same pitch (see Fig. 9).[150]

[150] These In Nomines are 'Crye,' In Nomine a5, 'My deathe bedde,' 'Follow me,' 'Believe me,' Farewell my good, for ever,' 'Re la re,' 'Weepe no more Rachell,' Rachell's weeping,' and In Nomine a4.

Figure 9. Manuscript of 'Believe Me' by Christopher Tye. GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390, f. 63v-64r



Given the prevailing conventions of smooth, arching polyphonic lines, a device introducing sharper rhythmic accents is novel. Tye may have developed this idiom to exploit the expressive articulation available from the up-bow stroke of the new Italian viols belonging to the foreign musicians recruited to court.

The mensuration of the majority of Tye's In Nomines is *alla breve* 𝅜, however the temporal relationships and moods he creates between parts are varied. In particular, his In Nomine 'Howld fast,' 'Trust,' 'Believe me,' 'Seldom sene,' and 'Reporte' introduce mensural proportions that create significant ensemble challenges for players. For example, in 'Trust' (see Figs 10 and 11) each player must maintain their overlapping polyphonic phrases with imitation points entering on arsic minims against a quintuple subdivision of the cantus firmus.[151] 'Believe me' requires players to commit to the double tempo of a 'retorted mood' *alla breve* (the 𝅜 found in the first line of the cantus firmus part, see Fig. 9), whilst 'Reporte' introduces double time signatures between upper and lower parts and dotted minims which develop into compound metrical subdivisions.

The performative experience of Tye's In Nomine suggests that Tye not only expected these scholarly works to be played, but that he actively sought to entertain the players in the process. If so, it would validate the perception in performance that Tye's individual melodic lines intentionally sought to divert the players' attention from maintaining ensemble. Instead, Tye may have been entertaining his consort members by issuing a sort of musical challenge.

If Tye's intention was to provide (homo)social entertainment, the equality between each player carries implications for social interaction between the group of musicians.[152] This

[151] Weidner reports that Nicholas Strogers emulated this device in his In Nomine in quintuple metre; Weidner, 'New Insights on the Early In Nominee,' 38.

[152] Ludwig, 'Equal to All Alike,' 216–29.

Figure 10. In Nomine 'Trust,' tactus measures 33-8. Transcribed from GB-Lbl Add. 31390, ff. 62v-63r.

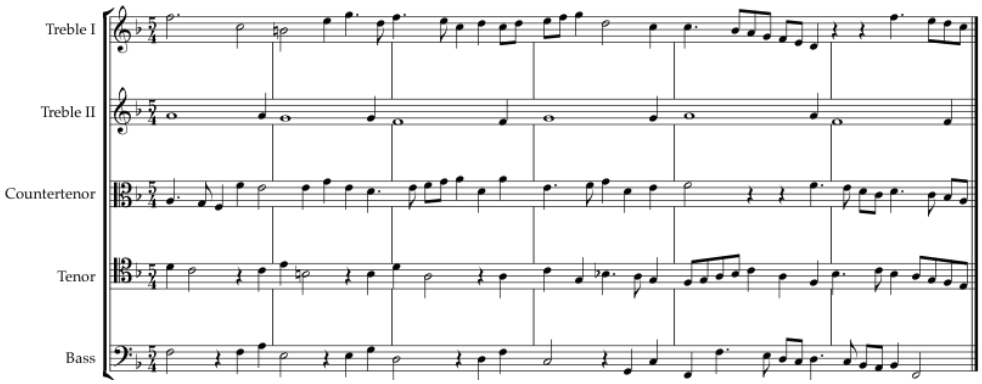
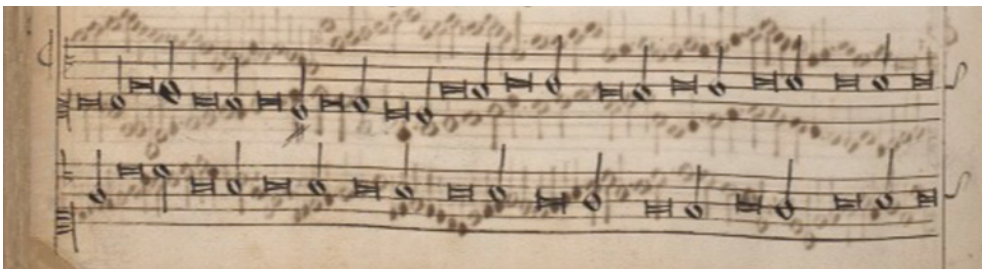


Figure 11. Manuscript of the cantus firmus of the In Nomine 'Trust.' GB-Lbl Add.MS 31390 f. 62v.



interaction is manifest in the democratically shared responsibility to create arch-like melodic shapes over a layered discourse where players imitate each other's voices within the consort. Tye's mensural notation, unencumbered by the metrical structures of later time signatures, may have operated as an intentional encoding of musical communication between the composer and the individual players.[153]

The layout of the primary source is further suggestive of equality between players. Austern argues for a close association between visual and aural perception in the Renaissance.[154] The table book layout reflects this by presenting each player's part horizontally, allowing musicians to focus on their own line while maintaining awareness of other parts' shapes. This format avoids exposing players to potential metrical or harmonic artifacts that might be apparent in a vertically aligned score.

It is possible that composers and copyists of the era may have intentionally used the table book format to encourage players' ears to follow the sound of the other consort voices, given that imitation, rather than vertical harmonies, set the character of these In Nomine. However, even if such musical ensemble benefits are derived from the table book format, they may be incidental as it is equally possible that similar benefits may be derived from separate partbooks, or that the table book format may have been favoured for practical reasons of keeping the collection of parts together in a reliably available and economical manner.

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[153] Paul P. Raasveld, 'Towards a Functional Description of the Ligatures in Mensural Notation,' *Tildschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musziekgesschiedenis (KVNM)* 41.2 (1991): 89.

[154] Austern, *Both from the Ears and Mind*, 176–7.

Common to his period, Tye frequently introduced ligatures in his In Nomines, which along with *musica ficta* pose major interpretative challenges for performers.[155] Although their function appears to extend beyond the text-adjustments first espoused by Zarlino, their purpose in an instrumental context remains elusive.[156] It appears that the ligatures in instrumental manuscripts relate to the inflection placed on the note value, which in turn forms an important component of the rhythmic foundation of the mensural character of the music.[157]

The tempo of Tye's In Nomine appears to be at the discretion of players but most likely with a pulse or tactus of between 60 and 80 beats per minute.[158] However, tempi remain a point of contention for performers of sixteenth-century music. For works denoted 𝔠, the equivalency of the down and up beat of the tactus has been understood to be the semibreve,[159] however Ruth Deford argues that the tactus' equivalence to the semibreve is only applicable in common time, and in 𝔠 denoted works the tactus is the breve.[160] This contention amongst scholars suggests that the crucial consideration amongst sixteenth-century composers may not have been the tempo (speed) *per se,* rather the concern related to the level at which the rhythmic values of the notation and the tactus were understood to be related. If so, then the character of the music itself, as well as the good taste, context, and experience of the musicians would have influenced the agreed pulse of the tactus, as the musicians would determine for themselves (based on their good judgement) the rhythmic level for tactus equivalency. Consistent with this view is the advice from theorists such as Gaffurius, Glarean and Zarlino which appears to specifically avoid determinative statements on tempo; their focus being on rhetorical shape and inflection, with the expectation that players should adjust the tempo according to context and a desire for contrast within a piece.[161] Therefore, even where a single mensuration prevails for an entire work, there is little evidence in the treatises that the speed of the music must remain constant throughout all sections, despite arguments that a change in tempo always required a change in mensuration.[162]

Conclusion

This investigation of the context and cultural forces that influenced Tye's musical life, and the musical character and creative inventiveness of his abstract instrumental In Nomine, suggest that Tye composed his In Nomine for the pleasure or edification of highly skilled players with knowledge of *musica speculativa*, rather than comprising a purely theoretical demonstration of academic skill to other scholars. Tye's In Nomine offered both challenge and recreation to musicians skilled to the highest level of *musica practica*. In the past there had been a clear

[155] Raasveld, 'Towards a Functional Description,' 90.

[156] In 1558 Zarlino wrote, 'Not more than one syllable, and that at the beginning, is to be adapted to each ligature of several notes or figures, whether in figured music or in plainsong'; trans. Raasveld, 'Towards a Functional Description,' 87, 89–90.

[157] Raasveld, 'Towards a Functional Description' 97.

[158] Stephen A. Kingsbury, 'Tempo and Mensural Proportion in the Music of the Sixteenth Century,' *The Choral Journal* 42.9 (2002): 25–26.

[159] Kingsbury, 'Tempo and Mensural Proportion,' 27.

[160] Ruth I. DeFord, 'Tempo Relationships Between Duple and Triple Time in the Sixteenth Century,' in *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, 14 (1995): 3.

[161] Alesandro Planchart, 'On Singing and the Vocal Ensemble II' in *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*, ed. Jeffrey Kite-Powell (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 64.

[162] Kingsbury, 'Tempo and Mensural Proportion,' 25.

divide between *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*, but those boundaries were bridged by the assessment requirements of the two English universities. This research reveals how that bridge between *speculativa* and *practica* was further strengthened by Tye's In Nomines; the performance of such works would have embodied contexts of sociability, thereby facilitating erudite discourse between some of the leading practitioners and musical scholars of the court and cathedrals.

Tye's musical scholarship would have been predicated on the philosophy that skillful demonstration of musical theory was a means to communicate cultural ideas of socio-political order and harmony, which could also lead to elevated social status.[163] As a university scholar, Tye understood that true musicianship transcended sensual and auditory experiences, and was the highest expression of reason and judgement. The pedagogical philosophies that underpinned university musical education would have shaped Tye's belief that, irrespective of whether he engaged in the performance of his In Nomine, his prowess in scholarly composition evidenced his personal worthiness and placed him above the serving class of practical musicians. Tye's demonstration of musical scholarship would have been synonymous with an expression of morality, virtue, and reason, and pivotal to any claim to the status of a gentleman.

The interaction between *musica speculativa* and *musica practica* is evident in Tye's abstract In Nomine. Tye wrote these works at a time when there was no pre-existing tradition of virtuosi, educated, instrumental ensemble players conversant with complex notated music. Given this lack of precedent, the inspiration behind Tye's abstract instrumental music remains open to conjecture. One possibility is that historical musicologists have underestimated the abstract instrumental musical culture of early modern England because so many primary sources were destroyed during the Reformation and Commonwealth. Alternatively, the combination of Tye's scholarship and musical creativity may have constituted a new expression of musical art that nurtured musical discourse and experimentation in a context of imposed musical constraint. If the latter, the fortuitous presence of imported foreign virtuosi and their instruments to the Tudor Court may also have inspired Tye's creativity.

The style of imitation in Tye's In Nomine reflects the Renaissance ideal of proportions, and never assumes the polarity between voices that became associated with the Baroque. Idiomatic compositional devices characterise Tye's In Nomine, suggesting that *musica speculativa* was influential in their conception and that Tye sought to explore, often in a didactic way, the rules, and conventions of counterpoint. Similarly, the proportional and metrical complexity of Tye's In Nomine inferred that improvisation or embellishment during performance was not expected, indeed the metrical tensions in 'Truste,' or 'Reporte,' would render any deviation from the written notation highly unwise.

From a performance perspective, a synthesis of the advice from theorists, combined with the thematic musical and primary source analysis outlined above, should reveal much about the sound world Tye experienced and sought to communicate. As a university-trained music scholar, it is reasonable to assume Tye had knowledge of the advanced teachings of Venetian treatises, such as those by Sylvestro Ganassi, and that they influenced his thought regarding abstract instrumental music.[164] For example, Ganassi's *Regola Rubertina* (1542) stresses the

[163] Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium,' 9.

[164] Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara La qualae insegna a sonare di flauto* (Venice, 1535); Sylvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina. Regola che insegna sonar de viola darcho tasta* (Venice, 1542); Sylvestro Ganassi, *Lettione Seconda* (Venice, 1543).

need for the viola da gamba player to display rhetorical intensity and cause their instrument to emulate the human voice:

> What I have said has as much purpose for a viol player as for an orator, who must be bold enough to express shouts, to make gestures and movements at times, to imitate laughing and crying or to do whatever else seems appropriate, according to the theme.[165]

Through these treatises, Tye would have appreciated that anything expected of a singer could also be expressed by an instrumentalist,[166] and when this knowledge was combined with the melodic freedom offered by the frets of the new viols, there was the potential to create music unfettered by vocal limitations. Similarly relevant to the sound world in which Tye situated his abstract instrumental works was the dry, reedy, sound of the Renaissance viol, and the articulations possible through the chaffing sound when an up bow was initiated.[167] The playing techniques espoused in the treatises clearly aimed to create variety in articulation, as well as encouraging players to use the natural conformation of the body to freely express the implied emotion of the music:

> With sad music, the bow should be drawn lightly and at times, one should even make the bowing arm tremble... and do the same thing on the fingerboard to achieve the necessary effect. The opposite can be done with the bow in music of a happy nature, by using pressure on the bow in proportion to the music. In this manner you will see how to make the required motions and thereby give spirit to the instrument in proper proportion to every kind of music.[168]

Exploring the cultural forces that shaped Tye's musical context and abstract instrumental In Nomine has revealed a form of musical interaction that had the potential to emulate the sociability of a respected gentleman: implicit primary source information empowered participating players to make musical decisions in ensemble that would display the good taste, skill, and judgement expected of a musical scholar.[169] More generally, the early In Nomine had the potential to offer a secular creative outlet that nurtured nostalgic cultural links with the past, and established effective musical discourse between professional peers. The In Nomine's secularity and separation from text provided a means by which these musicians could respond to new cultural forces and experiment safely with the different musical styles of their continental, Catholic peers. The inventive, challengingly interactive style of Tye's In Nomine is suggestive of a function of elite sociability and discourse, rather than the entertainment of an audience. These works embody the same attributes that were to subsequently establish

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[165] Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina*, trans. Richard D. Bodig (Venice, 1542–43; facsimile, Bologna: Forne Editore, 1970); Richard D. Bodig (trans.), 'Ganassi's Regola Rubertina,' *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 18 (1981): 18. See, Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 143.

[166] Smith, *Performance of 16th-Century Music*, 103.

[167] The timbre is created by the absence of a sound post, and the stouter bow design. Iconography of the period shows an underhand bow hold, therefore establishing the up bow as the stronger sound. This is important for articulating the entry of individual imitation points.

[168] Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina*, trans. Bodig, 4.

[169] Theoretically the fretted fingerboard of a viol should make every note sound like an open string, which would contraindicate any use of vibrato. Moreover, the guitar-like construction of a viol sustains the resonance of the note long after the bow is removed from the string, a resonance which would be dampened with the use of vibrato.

chamber music as an enduring genre, representing a form of sophisticated musical-social interaction where players could freely immerse themselves in an inventive blend of intellectual and emotive expression.

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