Exploring Bandora Solos from a Lute Player's Perspective

By Nancy Carlin

Introduction

There are a number of good reasons to compare lute and bandora pieces and for lute players to explore bandora repertoire. Renaissance bandora players probably came to the instrument from playing the lute since the two instruments were part of the same musical world. Lutes and bandoras were played together in "broken consorts," and bandora pieces are found among the lute pieces in a number of manuscripts such as *Dd.2.11*, *Dd.9.33* and *Add. 31392*. By exploring the solo bandora repertoire we can learn what makes it different from the lute solo repertoire.

When pieces exist only as bandora solos, with no concordant lute piece, is it possible to re-arrange them back to into lute pieces, adding to the the lute's repertoire? When this works well, a new lute piece has been "re-discovered." When the transcription is a bit more cumbersome we can try to figure out why. Is the different tuning between the two instruments the cause, or are there stylistic nuances that were used on music for wirestung instruments?

In this article, I am exploring the details — the different ways the chords were broken, the melodies divided,

and all the other nuances that surface when bandora and lute arrangements/transcriptions are compared. A closer look at the music brings up more questions — which pieces are *really* solos and what sized bandora did the composer/arranger have in mind?

Since the lute and bandora are tuned so similarly, bandora pieces can be arranged or transcribed for lute, some of them more easily than others. The bandora pieces that transfer readily to lute might have started out as lute pieces, with their original versions now lost (see the Valentyne "fantasie" following this article). Some take more arranging to make into good lute solos — I suspect they originated in the bandora tuning (the Johnson/Holborne

"Pavan"). Others are not great solos, no matter what instrument, and might have been part of a duet or other ensemble piece.

The Bandora's Relation to the Orpharion

Tuning is the most important difference between these two wire-strung members of the lute family. The idea that the orpharion is the tenor-sized member of this instrument family and should be thought of as a wire-strung lute is not quite right. There were orpharions and bandoras in at least two sizes, and the presence or absence of a slanted bridge does not divide these instruments (compare the pictures of the Barley bandora on the left, the Barley orpharion on page 31 with the pictures in Praetorius bandora — overleaf).

Orpharions are turned using the same intervals as the lute, and do look like bandoras. Both instruments are strung in wire, with flat or mostly flat backs, carved heads and scalloped shaped bodies. Some of them have what we call today "fan-shaped" frets, with the bass strings considerable longer than the trebles, by slanting both the nut and the bridge. These instruments were devised by taking elements from both the lute and cittern families with the added features of being easier to build (the cittern's flat back is less complex than the lute's vaulted back), and hold while playing (because of the flat back and strategically placed scallops for the player's right elbow) and easier access to high frets (with more frets on the neck before it joins the body of the instrument, like the cittern).

With the bandora's different tuning there is no mistaking its music in tablature, while orpharion music in indistinguishable from lute music unless we are told that the music is specifically for orpharion. Music identified for orpharion includes the *Barley* book, the trios (with missing parts) from the *Cambridge* consort collection and one piece in Pilkington's 1624 song book. Some bandora solos are not as interesting as other — and perhaps they originally were parts to ensemble music.

Orpharions are suggested as substitutes for lutes in the accompaniments in quite a lot of English printed song books. In contrast the only printed bandora songs are the four in *Barley*. The bandora seems to have been an important member of "broken consorts," such as the Morley, Rosseter, *Cambridge* and *Walsingham* collections, always reinforcing the bass.

A common misconception is that the orpharion is the tenor-sized member of the bandora family, but there were orpharions tuned a 4th apart used in the orpharion trios in *Dd.3.18*. It is unfortunate that the bandora part book is missing for the these pieces, because it would be interesting to know whether the bass part was for bandora or orpharion tuning. One possibility it that these pieces were for a treble orpharion (similar pitch to a treble lute), a tenor orpharion (like *G* lute), and a low-pitch bandora.

Lyle Nordstrom has explored and indexed the bandora repertoire and lists about 100 pieces that are either solo works or

extant original.

ensemble pieces and grounds that are deceptively interesting enough to confuse this issue. He estimates that about one third of these pieces exist also in versions for lute. Like versions of pieces with the same title found in the lute repertoire, comparisons of these bandora pieces with the corresponding lute peices range from very similar to quite different. Where they are similar, there have been only small adjustments made to accomodate things that are playable in one tuning and do not work well in the other. At the other end of the spectrum, a bandora piece can have divisions and chord voicings that are quite different and is either a new arrangement of the piece or a version based on a no longer

We can study this music and look for what makes it different than the lute music. Wire-strung instruments have more bass sustain, especially on open strings,

> and easier access to the high frets. But a lot of lute music has open bass strings and melodies and chords on the high frets too, making it impossible to divide pieces

> > in lute tuning into music for orpharion rather than lute. Bandora music can provide us with more sources for lute music, and it will be a key to understanding more about the orpharion and Golden Age ensemble music.

A Note About Pitch Standards

Before discussing solo pieces for bandora, it is necessay to undertand a bit about what pitches were writ-

ten down for this instrument, and how these pitches relate to our modern ideas of pitch. Ian Harwood² and others have offered evidence for two different pitch-standards in use in England c.1600,

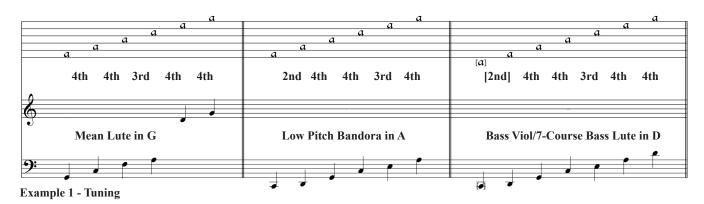
resulting in viols in quite a few different sizes. It is probable that there were also two sizes of bandoras, the bass instrument we now consider to be the standard size (with a range similar to a bass lute in D), and a "high-pitch" bandora a 4th above. Harwood has given a very convincing explanation of the evolution of the instrument and reasons why the John Rose "orpharion" should really be considered a bandora.3 Peter Forrester (see pages 9 and 10 of the interview with Peter in this issue. -ed.) has also been a strong advocate for the fouth-high bandora. Although most of the bandoras played currently are the larger size, the high-pitch instrument solves the balance problems of the consort lesson instrumentation. Using a G lute-sized bandora and moving the other instruments up correspondingly makes it possible for the lute to be easily heard and solves the problem of the flute being in the wrong octave. Played with a low-pitch bandora and the flute and treble part at written pitch, the flute ends up sounding above the melody line.

Praetorius in *Syntagma Musicum* gives tunings for the bass bandora as *C-D-G-c-e-a*, and a tenor bandora a fourth higher as *C-D-G-c-f-a-d*²⁴ It is interesting that William Barley says nothing about exact pitches, but gives a diagram of octaves to be used for tuning. He does say "the manner of tuning doth a little differ from the Lute and Orpharion," probably referring to the location of the 3rd, rather than the instrument's range. The topic is outside the scope of this article, but will need further study.

Arranging Lute Music for Bandora

In comparing bandora arrangements which might have evolved from lute pieces, one of the most interesting things is the relation of key and tablature fingerings. As mentioned above, lutes and bandoras came in more than one size and pitch, but we will assume the standard "mean" lute and bandora at low-pitch in the tuning comparison below.

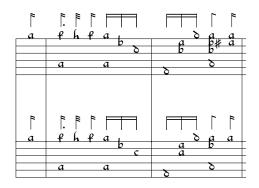
Lute and bandora tunings are close but not interchangeable. It is probable that the bandora's tuning evolved from the lute as a solution to stringing problems. Ian Harwood has described how John Rose, as primarily a maker of bass viols, might have transferred viol tuning (which has the same intervals as lute tuning) to the new bandoras. The wire making technology of the day presented problems with first courses breaking, which results in the low-pitch bandora tuning. One way to compare the two tunings is that the 6-course bandora is like a 7-course bass lute missing its first course. Lutenists who want to explore bandora repertoire can fairly easily read the tablature by shifting one course toward the bass. The third between the 3rd and 4th string (lute) and 2nd and



3rd string (bandora) remains in the same relative location to the other tablature fingerings. Other tuning differences occur with bass notes on the 6th course, a relatively minor problem in most cases.

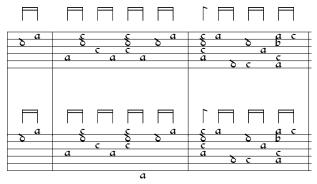
There are two categories of tablature/key relationships between related lute and bandora pieces that can be found in instances where we have extant versions of the same pieces for both lute and bandora.

• Adjusted 3rd Course: Everything is the same in the tablature, except what is played on the 3rd course. Notes on the 3rd course are written 1 fret higher in the bandora version.



Example 2
Bonny Sweet Boy - mm, 1-2
Top: lute - *Dd.2.11* f. 66r
Bottom: bandora - *Dd.9.33* f. 82r

but written one line lower. Drawbacks to choosing this transcription method, of moving that tablature "sideways," are that the total range of the piece is moved lower, and in a lute transcription of a bandora piece there are very few notes that are high enough to be played on the first course. Also the 7th course of the bandora is now lower than the 7th course of the lute, so any open 7th course notes need to be moved up an octave. However, one advantage is that divisions that feature arpeggios and string crossings are preserved most accurately using this method.



Example 3 Quadro Pavan - mm.1-2

Top: Top: lute transcription Bottom: bandora - *Dd.2.11* **f.** 70v

The choice of key among the pieces discussed below show that there was trial and error experimentation going on. The transcription methods listed above were not the only solutions (for instance see the two versions of the Valentyne "Fantasie" below). Composers/arrangers may have been wedded to a particular key (for instance, solo lute versions of "Go From My Window" are almost all in F) or were trying to make the pieces fit better under the fingers.

Choosing the right pitch to make the piece work in a transcription is one of the things the Elizabethans struggled with in the 16th century, not only for bandora, but also for lute. One lute example is "Clarke's Galliard." The piece is in C in *Nn.6.36* and in B-flat in *Wickhambrook.* Perhaps this means that many pieces, for both lute and bandora, came from other sources (keyboard, viol consort etc.) and were not composed originally for these instruments.

The pieces discussed below were chosen to show the problems of transcription. Four are transcribed into lute tablature following this article.

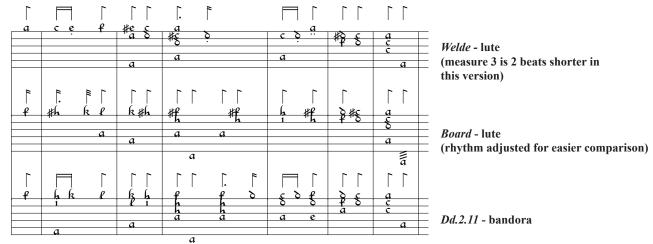
An Arrangement Example: Almain – "The Night Watch," by Anthony Holborne Dd.2.11 f. 36 (bandora)⁸

The multiple extant versions of "The Night Watch" offer an interesting comparison of pitch between lute and bandora.

Lute	Welde	C
	Board	F
Bandora	Dd.2.11	G

The *Welde*¹⁰ lute arrangement, aside from the difference in key which results in completely different tablature letters, is the closest to the bandora version. The *Welde* version is placed much lower on the instrument, using fewer high frets and more bass strings. By measure 4 we see that it is based on the "sideways" transcription style in relation to the bandora version. With almost no notes on the first course and a lot of the melody on the second and third courses, this setting would sound quite different than the *Board*¹¹ version of the piece. It starts with the same tablature letters as the bandora arrangement, but soon moves into distinctly different arrangements, using the full range of the lute from open bass courses to the *h*, *k* and *l* frets. Comparing the Board and bandora versions, the tablature letters on the 3rd course are adjusted for the different position of the 3rd in the tuning (see Example 4 - next page).





Example 4 - Night Watch - mm. 1-6

Quadro Pavan

Dd. 2. 11 f. 70v (Holborne)12

The first two sections of this piece are very similar to the bandora part in the *Morley Consort Lessons*. Measures 3-4, 6-7, 11-12 and part of 15 are identical except for a couple of passing tones. Starting with the third section the piece has a series of variations that are soloistic and also quite different from the many solo lute quadros. Like lute players, perhaps bandora players were used to making pastiches from other arrangements of quadros, and solo lute quadros are notorious for sharing phrases and ideas; however, having 7 out of 16 measures the same seems to be more than just chance. Starting with the third section, the piece has a series of variations that are soloistic and also more interesting than the generic scale passages found in many quadros.

The bandora part for Morley's "Quadro Pavan" stands out because it is longer and more varied than many of the others in his collection, except for the "orchestral" arrangements such as "Go from My Window." Morley's simpler arrangements have bandora parts that are not much more than block chords that might have been improvised from a bass line by a good player. Richard Allison is assumed to be the arranger of the Morley version based on his name being on the cittern part in the *Mills College Cittern Book*. The bandora solo has Antony Holborne's name on it in *Dd.2.11*.

This is a bandora solo that sounds better on a smaller instrument. The low-pitch bandora is not at its best playing fast divisions, especially if they go below the top strings. A fretted bass note on the 7th course (measure 42) is a bit cumbersome on the bigger instrument. The solution chosen for transcribing this quadro for lute is that the tablature letters were moved "sideways," one string lower.

Ground

Dd. 2.11 f. 3v (Holborne)14

Holborne's "Ground" is an interesting piece to look at when considering pitch. It works particularly well on the low-pitch instrument, while some other bandora solos have fast divisions that would sound better on a high-pitch bandora. When compared to other grounds for solo lute, such has Collard's from *Dd.5.78* (ff.

41v-42v) and an anonymous setting from the *Euing* manuscript (f.31v), it is quite a bit simpler and shorter with slower divisions. The other lute grounds are all sets of variations on the same chord progression. This one has two variations on two different chord progressions, similar to some English divisions for viola da gamba. It is hard to decide whether it is an interesting ground, meant to accompany other instruments, or a solo piece.

The lute transcription of this piece, following this article, was made using the "sideways" method. The original version had only four notes on the 6th course, all of which are easily playable on the lute either on an open 7th course or the 2nd fret of the 6th course. While this version of transcription does result in a lute piece with the melody primarily on the 2nd and 3rd courses. The arpeggios in measure 6 are preserved effectively because the fingering is in the same relative postions.

Fantasie by maister Valentyne Dd. 2.11 f. 35. (bandora)¹⁵ Add. 31392 ff. 41v-42 (bandora)¹⁶

Both of the extant versions of this piece are for bandora, but considering that the two versions are in such different keys, perhaps neither of them started out to be played on the bandora. *Add. 31392* is a treasure trove of fantasies for bandora, containg the one by "maister Valentyne" and four by Alfonso Ferraboco. All of the rest of the music in *Add. 31392* is for lute. Lyle Nordstrom has summarized that the extant solos for bandoras can be subdivided into twenty-seven pavans, ten fantasies, fifteen galliards, seven preludes, and three almains. ¹⁷ That means that the *Add. 31392* pieces comprise half of all extant bandora fantasies.

In order to better understand the Valentyne piece, it is necessary to begin by quickly considering the keys and concordances for three of the four Ferrabosco bandora fantasias, which also appear in both *Dd.2.11* and *Add. 31392*.

Fantasia 1 — Nordstrom #69

Dd. 2 11 ff. 27v-28 for bandora - key of G

Add. 31392 ff. 39v-40 for bandora - key of G

Fantasia 2 — Nordstrom #68

Dd. 2.11 f. 28v for bandora - key of C

Add. 31392 ff. 40v-41 for bandora - key of C Board f.29v for lute - key of G Dd. 5.78.3 ff.58v-59 for lute - key of G

Both of the "Fantasia 2" bandora settings are in C and both of the lute settings are in G. The *Dd.2.11* version is attributed to Allison and contains seven measure missing in the *Add. 31392* version. The relation of the tablature letters beween the lute and bandora versions do not correspond to either the "sideways" or "adjusted 3rd course" methods of transcription (see Example 5).

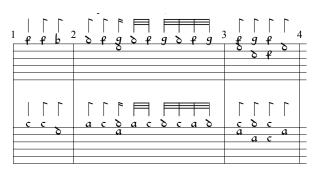
Fantasia 4 — Nordstrom #65

Dd.2.11 f. 8v - for bandora - key of A

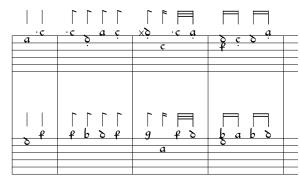
Add. 31392 ff. 43v-44 - for bandora - key of G

This look at the Ferrabosco pieces adds a bit of information to the question of key selection for bandora transcriptions. Since all of the bandora fantasies in *Add 31392* are on adjacent pages and each of them have versions in *Dd.2.11*, two of which are next to each other, we can assume that whoever made these copies and/or transcriptions was working from a common source. With so many different keys it looks possible that these pieces are the result of some experiments transcribing lute pieces for bandora. Matthew Holmes, who wrote out the music in *Dd.2.11*, and the scribe/arranger/composer of *Add. 31392* must have been looking for keys that were more idiomatic for the bandora (see Eamples 5).

By comparison, the Valentyne fantasia in Dd. 2.11 version is in E, and lies well on the instrument, ranging from the lowest note on the open 6th course to the highest notes on the h and i frets of the first course. The Add. 31392 version is in G and uses the sixth course only a few times, but includes the l, m and o frets on the higher strings. The two versions are compared below (Example 6), showing some of the reasons why the Add. 31392 ver-



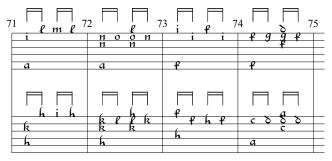
Valentyne fantasie mm. 1-3



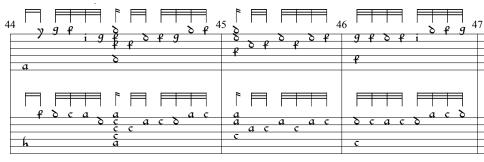
Example 5 - Ferrabosco Fantasia No. 2 mm. 1-4 Top: lute - *Board* f.29v (bar lines adjusted to correspond) Bottom: bandora - *Add. 31392* ff. 40v-4

sion presents the player with more problems than the Dd. 2. 11 version: bar chords on the third and fifth frets, with bass notes that need to be held down while melody notes are being played on the n and o frets. However, measures 71-72 are no easier in the Dd. 2.11 version. Both versions have enough bar chords and difficult stretches to suggest that a high-pitch bandora would work better for this piece than a low-pitch instrument.

In the lute transcription that follow this article, one can see that the piece has many similarities to other lute fantasies. The lute transcription was made preserving the tablature fingerings from Dd.2.11, using the adjusted 3rd course method, raising those notes one fret higher. A few other changes are made to comply with the lute's different tuning of the sixth course. This shows up most often in chords that transcribe to B-flat on the lute (see Example 7 - next page).

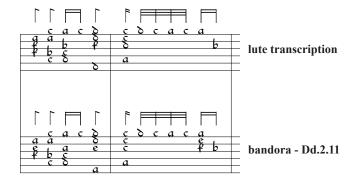


Valentyne fantasie mm. 71-74



Valentyne fantasie mm. 44-46

Example 6 Valentyne fantasie mm. 1-3, 44-46, 71-74 Top: *Add. 31392* - bandora Bottom: *Dd. 2.11* - bandora



Example 7 - Valentyne fantasy mm. 40-41

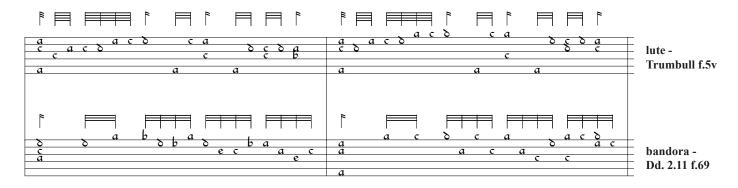
There are two other slighty odd details in the *Dd.2.11* version of Valetyne's fantasy. In measure 51, *Dd.2.11* shows the combination of both the first course open and the fifth fret on the second course. That effect, used for a bit of extra emphasis by composers such as John Johnson, seem a bit out of place here, and the same place in *Add. 31392* shows only a single note. The *f* on the second course is written covering the *a* above it, so the second note might be an intabulation correction. In measure 75 of *Dd.2.11*, there is a # ornament sign, which seems a bit out of style with the rest of the piece. Rainer aus dem Spring, in his Holborne edition, has says that Matthew Holmes uses the # sign to cross out and mark mistakes "and sometimes the ornaments remain a mystery since they do not make sense as real ornaments." In this case it is certainly playable as an ornament, and would be less out of place with a few more ornaments added in by the performer.

Pavan - John Johnson / Holborne Dd. 2. 11, f. 69 - for bandora¹⁹

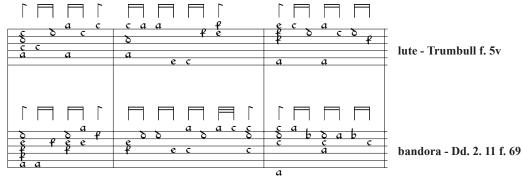
The charm of this piece is the divisons. In addition to the usual fast notes running up and down the scale there are some really interesting places where figures cross strings (see Example 8). While it might have been initially devised as a bandora piece, it works quite well transcribed for lute using the adjusted 3rd course method.

All of the lute versions of this peice are in the key of C. The *Trumbull*²⁰ and *Ochs 1280*²¹ lute versions appear to be the same, but it is difficult to be sure since a lot of the *Ochs 1280* version is missing. Ballet's²² version is simpler, with no divisions and the van den Hove has different divisions for the B and C sections.²³ However none of these have the same divisions as the version for bandora setting. Both Nordstrom and aus dem Spring agree that the bandora divisions in *Dd.2.11* are probably by Holborne.

Since the bandora version in *Dd. 2.11* is in key of C and the lute versions are also in C, that means that none of the chord shapes or fingerings are the same (see Example 9). Unlike the Valentyne fantasie which had very few notes on the 6th course, this pavan presents some transcription challenges. The B-flat notes in the bass of the lute are open strings in the bandora version and fretted in the transcription. There are also several places where the B-flats are on the 3rd course, again requiring fretted notes on the lute rather than an open string. Attempts to use other transcription possibilities for the *Dd.2.11* version resulted in even more cumbersome lute fingerings.



Example 8 - Johnson/Holborne Pavan mm. 22-23



Example 9 - Johnson/Holborne Pavan mm. 1-3

Conclusion

I hope this comparison of music for lute and bandora adds new light on the topic of high-pitch and bass bandoras. Some of the pieces discussed here work better on a higher pitched instrument; fast runs sound a bit out of place too far in the bass. Other pieces are more effective at the lower pitch and feature the bandora's bass, using rich chordal textures.

The lute/bandora comparisons offer a bit of insight into how bandora transcriptions and arrangements might have been made. If one key doesn't work, try another! Both the lute and bandora are at their best with plenty of open bass notes, easpecially at important cadences. The kind of fingerings lute players use for B flat and E flat chords (in G tuning) with the bass held on a *d* fret can be cumbersome on a larger bass-sized bandora. The bandora's tuning, with open *C*, *D* and *G* strings in the bass, is designed to avoid fretting bass notes. A bandora intabulation works best if the piece fits on the instrument with the melody mostly on the first and second courses (though this can also apply to lute music).

Which of the divisions on the bandora pieces "belong" to bandora music and which are just examples of the inventivness of these English lute and wire players? Of the pieces looked at here, the Valentyne "Fantasie" stands out as the most likely to have been a piece for lute that was transcribed for bandora. The transcription fits the lute so well that we may have found a "lost" lute piece.

The "Quadro" and "Ground" both fit on the bandora better than the lute and the "Ground" might even have been one part of an ensemble piece. They are not quite like other lute pieces — with further study of music like this we should be able to understand a lot more about Golden Age ensemble music.

The "Night Watch" and the setting of Johnson's "Pavan," transcribed for lute are new versions of well-known pieces. To-day's bandora players come from playing the lute — this is not the kind of instrument you start as a beginner — and we can surmise that it was the same 400 years ago. Even if the instrument might have been played more in emsembles than solo (as is the case to-day), playing the solo music is a much more rewarding way to learn to play the instrument.

I started this study in hopes of understanding more about what is different about music for wire-strung instruments, but the real difference appears to be some things that sound really nice in one tuning do not work so well in another — something that 17th-century lute players experimented with before the transition to D minor baroque lute tuning.

Looking at the bandora music studied here it is easy to see what a big contribution Matthew Holmes made. All of the pieces were written out by him or, in the case of *Add. 31392* exist in other versions written by him. We may have now found all the English lute manuscripts, with no more left to be discovered, but there is still a lot to be learned from the music we have.

Thanks to Peter Hallifax for the loan of his bandora, to Chris Morrongiello for giving me an oportunity to play his Peter Forrester high-pitch bandora, to Andrew Hartig for to loan of books and music, and to Peter Martin for a chance to see several pages of the facsimile of Dd.2.11, which will be available soon from the Lute Society (U.K.)

Notes

¹ Nordstrom, Lyle, *The Bandora: Its Music and Sources* Detroit Studies of Music Bibliography No. 66 Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press 1992.

²Harwood, Ian "A Case of Double Standards? Instrumental Pitch in England c1600" *Early Music* October, 1981 p.480.

³ Harwood, Ian *The Lute Society Bookets No. 10 Wire Strings at Helmington Hall: an Instrument and a Music Book Library*, The Lute Society 2005 pp. 8-13.

⁴ Praetorius, Michael Syntagma II Teil Von den Instrumenten, Wolfenbuttel, 1618 (Berlin, 1884) p. 28 www.archive.org/stream/syntagmaiiteilv00praegoog#page/ n46/mode/lup

⁵ Barely, William A New Book of Tabliture for the Bandora (London, 1596), p.A3.

⁶ Harwood, *The Lute Society Bookets No. 10 Wire Strings at Helmington Hall: an Instrument and a Music Book Library*, p. 22.

⁷ Robinson, John H. "Galliards by or for Clarke, James Harding, Hawle, Lord Hereford, Edward Johnson, Knowles, Lichfield, Robert Sidney and Squier" *Lute News*, February 1999, pp. vi-vii.

⁸ Lute Society Facsimiles: Dd. 2.11 (Albury: The Lute Society) forthcoming.

⁹ aus dem Spring, Rainer, *Anthony Holborne Music for Lute and Bandora*, Guildford: Lute Society, 2001. Vol. II p.300 & 320.

¹⁰ Lute Society Facsimiles 4: The Welde Lute Book (Albury: The Lute Society, 2004) p. 26.

¹¹ The Board Lute Book (Leeds: Boethius Press, 1976), ff.42r-42v.

¹² aus dem Spring, Rainer, *Anthony Holborne Music for Lute and Bandora*, Guildford: Lute Society, 2001. Music Vol. I pp.172-3 and notes Vol. II p.321.

13 Mills Cittern Book, Mills College: Oakland CA

¹⁴ aus dem Spring, Music Vol. I p.148 and Notes Vol. II p.311.

¹⁵Lute Society Facsimiles: Dd. 2.11.

16 BM Add. 31392, LSA Microfilm Library

¹⁷ Nordstrom, p, 26.

18 aus dem Spring, Vol. II, p. 211.

¹⁹ Lute Society Facsimiles: Dd. 2.11.

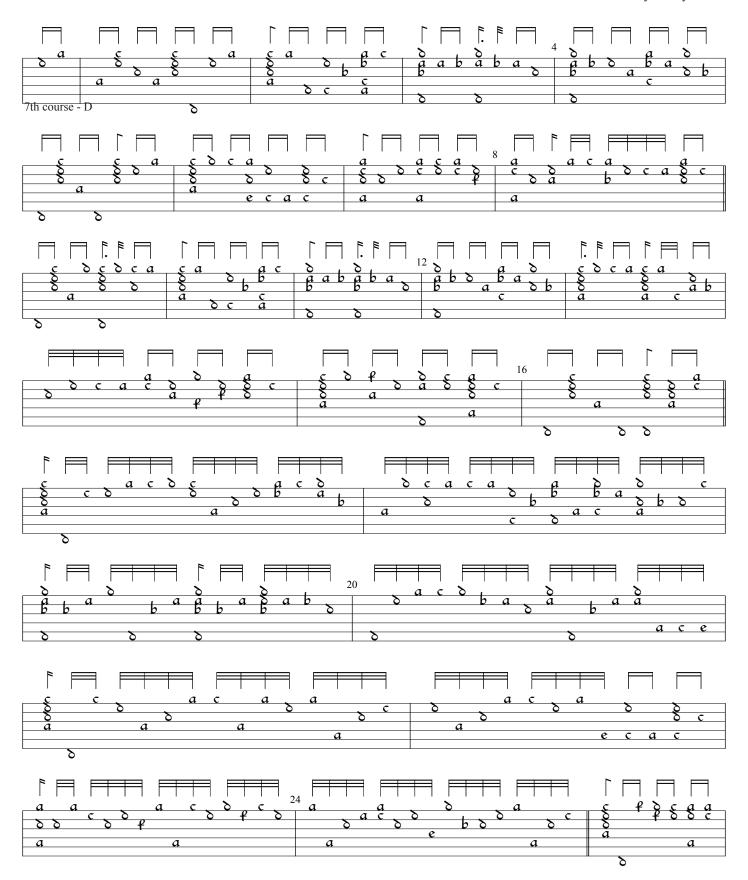
²⁰ The Trumbull Lute Book c. 1595, with intorductory note and guide to concordances by Robert Spencer. Boethius Press, 1989, ff.5v-6.

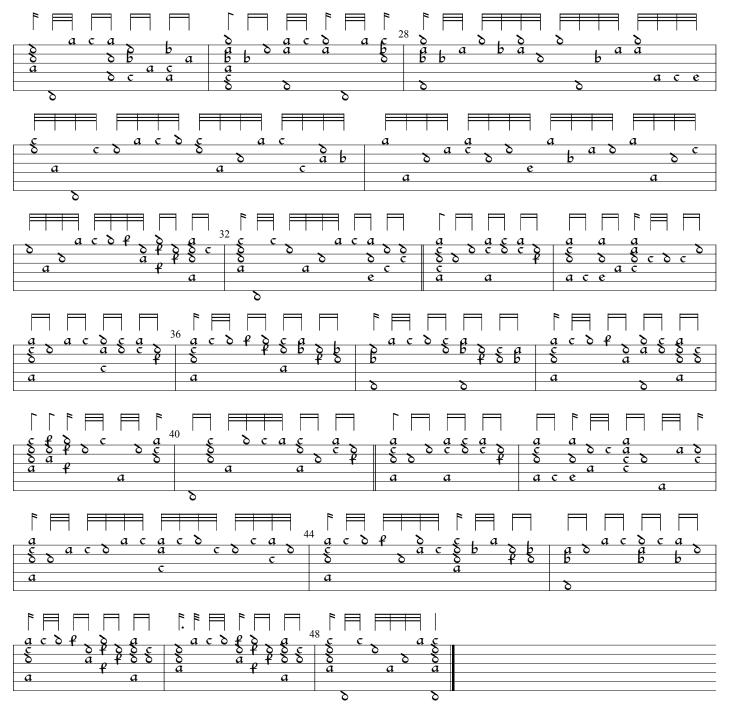
²¹ Craig-McFeely, Julia, "Fragments of English lute music II: Oxford Libraries," *The Lute*, 1992, p. 47.

²² Ballet Lute Manuscript, LSA Microfilm Library p. 100.

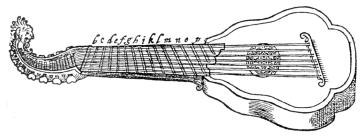
²³ Burgers, Jan W.J. *John Johnson Collected Lute Music*, Lubeck, Tree Edition, 2001, Vol. I p. 247. Comments on van den Hove, *Florida* f. 91r.





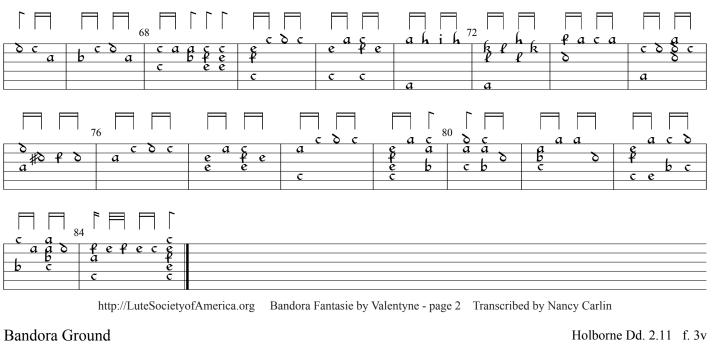


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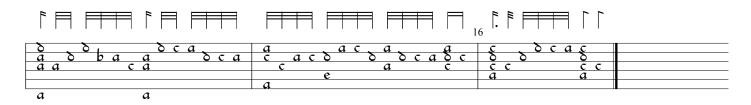


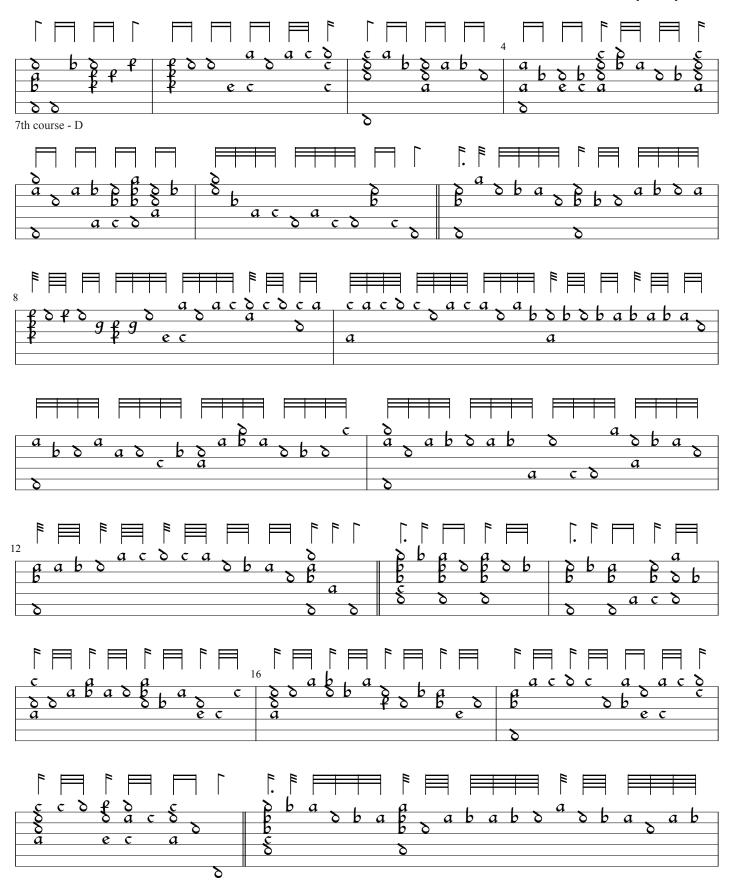














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