

PART II

COMMENTARY

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AIMS AND LIMITATIONS

The subject of this study is the manuscript transmission of Tudor music in Latin. The purpose is to identify and attempt to answer certain questions which may throw some light on a larger question asked by every student of Tudor music. That question concerns the extent to which our knowledge of the music is limited by the nature of the extant sources.

The approach of the present writer to the question is based on an attempt to compare and relate manuscripts, using as a basis for study all the surviving sources of Tudor music in Latin. This approach may be likened to a jigsaw puzzle where many of the pieces are known to be missing but the remaining ones make sense even if there are large gaps in the picture. From the surviving Henrician sources, and also from chapel inventories and church accounts, we learn what kind of sources we might expect to find as the exemplars for later copyists; from a study of the pieces copied in Elizabethan manuscripts we learn what kind of exemplars were probably available; and from the same study we learn how Elizabethan manuscripts may have been associated with each other. The last subject - how the Elizabethan manuscripts were connected - is the central one of this study.

Among the questions raised are the following: Were the Elizabethan writers copying directly from original choirbooks or part-books, or from other collections similar to their own? Which sources were used by more than one copyist? Does the omission of a particular piece in any one manuscript mean that there was no source available, or that there was an available source but the copyist chose not to use it? How many sources were generally known to Elizabethan copyists? Where did the sources come from?

It was important to settle at the outset the criteria by which information could properly be used as evidence. It was also necessary to decide what kind of evidence would have to be excluded from this particular study, in view of the vast field and the impossibility of covering all kinds of evidence adequately at one time. In the end, it was decided to exclude one important category of evidence - that of textual comparison. Obvious variants in concordances are taken into account, but no systematic textual study has been made. Instead, I have concentrated on the evidence of copying methods such as the identical order of a number of pieces, the existence of unusual concordances, identity of handwriting and the date and provenance of the manuscripts. It should also be made clear that systematic use is made only of the Latin contents of manuscripts, even though many manuscripts contain important non-Latin repertoires. Where the non-Latin pieces have some obvious bearing on the argument, their evidence is examined.

I am aware that the use of methods of textual criticism might produce contrary evidence about the association of manuscripts, although I do not know any case where this has happened. What I have tried to do is to concentrate on a kind of evidence overlooked by the textual method, and, as long as the limitations are clear, I believe the kind of evidence I have used to be valid, and the conclusions drawn from it legitimate ones.

I

HENRICIAN AND MARIAN SOURCES1. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

A student of pre-Reformation Tudor church music must, before he has travelled very far along the road, come to the realization that the material he has to work with is only a small part of the original whole. Important manuscripts of polyphonic music have not survived the intervening centuries: we sometimes learn of their original existence from inventories and account books. From a study of the extant sources we begin to realize the extent of the losses. All the surviving choirbooks and partbooks transmit, in addition to the more well-known pieces, music found nowhere else. Relatively few large collections such as the Eton, Lambeth and Caius choirbooks survive, yet we know that there must have been others like them.¹

In the following pages an attempt is made to see how the surviving sources themselves are related to their historical background, and how their evidence modifies our view of that background; to discover, where possible, why particular sources contain the repertory they do; and, finally, to build up a picture of the types of manuscript which were exemplars for later copyists.

In early Tudor manuscripts a division between two types of repertory is discernible. The larger Henrician manuscripts are predominantly made up of antiphons, magnificat settings and masses, a fact which suggests that these manuscripts were designed to suit the needs of choral establishments where polyphony was sung regularly at Vespers for the Magnificat and antiphon, and at Mass on Feasts, but

1. See F.L.Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, (1958).

where the other offices and mass responds were either sung in plain-song or copied in a separate book.

That the two kinds of repertory were often kept separately in early Tudor manuscripts is borne out by the surviving manuscripts themselves: the Eton choirbook contains only magnificats and antiphons; the two partbooks known as St. John's K.31 and Cambridge University Library Dd. 13.27 contain votive antiphons, festal masses and one magnificat (i.e. the same kind of repertory as Peterhouse); the Lambeth choirbook contains festal masses, magnificats, votive antiphons and one liturgical antiphon (*Vidi aquam*) to be sung in the festal Easter season before mass; the Caius choirbook contains only magnificats and festal masses, the Carver choirbook and Add.34191 only magnificats, masses and votive antiphons; Harley 1709 only votive antiphons; Bod.Mus.Sch.e.376-81 only festal masses. The evidence of the various surviving fragments suggests that the same applies to them.¹ The Henrician set of Peterhouse partbooks has concordances with Harley 1709, Add.34191 and Dd.13.27/K.31, but not with Add.17802-5 which is presumably closer in date.² The Peterhouse set, despite the few responds contained in it, is a set of partbooks of a category typified by festal pieces and antiphons in a tradition stretching back to the beginning of the Tudor period.

On the other hand, 'proper' music for the mass and offices was often copied anywhere convenient, such as on the back of the fly-leaf of a book of plain-song, or as part of a book primarily copied for another purpose, as in Lansdowne 462 and Winchester Muniments 12845 in the first case and Add.5665, Roy. App. 56 and 58 in the second.

1. Bod.lat. liturg. a 9, the All Souls/RCP choirbook, etc.

2. See discussion of Add.17802-5 below, p.30.

This may have been because early polyphonic settings of office music and music for the proper of the mass were often based on the skill of the singer in descanting on the faburden or square and remained tied to that tradition in a more conservative way than the Magnificat which was also based on the faburden.¹ Writing down such a piece becomes necessary in proportion to the number of variants from the faburden or square and from well-known musical formulae associated with them. The squares themselves were written down. Several scholars² have called attention to the references quoted from the Magdalen Inventory of 1532,

'Bull, pro le prykyng unam missam et square in
scripto gradali ... vis.iiijd'

and

'Bull et Norwych, pro prykyng of squaris in 12
gradalibus in capella ... xviiis.'

references which support the theory that squares were sometimes deliberately copied into books already in the chapel. The existence of six books of squares in King's College Cambridge in 1529 bears witness to the wealth of its collegiate chapel and to the importance of music there.³

1. See F.Ll.Harrison, "Faburden in Practice", Musica Disciplina, Vol.XV, (1961), p.11. One reason for the development of the polyphonic setting of the Magnificat in a more independent way than the other texts traditionally based on faburdens may have been its association at Vespers with the votive antiphons sung in polyphony afterwards. These would have attracted the most avant-garde style because of their relative freedom in composition, and their sophistication must have contrasted with a simple decorated-faburden Magnificat to the detriment of the latter.
2. F.Ll.Harrison, Jeremy Noble, quoted by J.D. Bergsagel in "An Introduction to Ludford", Musica Disciplina, Vol. XIV, (1960), p.105
3. See below.

But that music for the 'proper' was also composed (as opposed to being improvised) and written in special books is proven by the existence of the fifteenth century manuscript Pepys 1236 and by the sixteenth century Lady-masses with their proper pieces by Ludford, notwithstanding the fact that in both these manuscripts squares and faburdens are common. The first part of Add.17802-5, which Dr. Bray considers to have been copied in the 1540s, is in the same tradition.

Indexes of manuscript collections now lost bear witness to the dichotomy of sources, one kind containing festal masses, magnificats and votive antiphons, the other Lady - and Jesus-masses, short masses, responds, liturgical antiphons and the proper of the mass.

The index belonging to Merton College (Merton 62.F.8) lists masses and votive antiphons:

TRIPLEX

		Masses	
Maria plena	Fairfax	Tecum principium	Ludford (sic)
Altissimi potencia	Cornish	Requiem aeternam	Ludford
Stabat	Hunt	God save Kyng Harry	Ashwell
Lauda vivi	Fairfax	Salve festa dies	-
Eterne laudis	Feyr	Sermone blando	Ludford
Virgo templum	Davy		

In 1529 'An inventarye of the pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys College in Cambryege'¹ lists four sets of books of the 'festal and antiphon' type which contained:

1. printed Harrison, M.M.B. pp.432-3

1. 'the most solemne antems off v partes'
2. 'Cornys and Copers massys'
3. 'Turges massys and antems'. (The contents are listed and are all masses, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis settings, and votive antiphons by Lambe, Horwood, Haycomplaynt, Morgan, Fairfax and Wilkinson - presumably an old book for 1529 and probably partially copied from the same source as pieces in the Eton choirbook).
4. 'a masse of Pygottys a nother off Cornyshys and an anteme off Davys'

The strictly liturgical type of source is represented in the King's College Inventory as follows:

1. 'iii bokys of parchments conteynynge Salve festa dies En rex venit Rex sanctorum. Crucifixum.'
2. 'iiii bokys of papyr havynge Sequenses and Taverners Kyries.'
3. 'vi bokys of squaris off ye wych ii be paper ye reste parchmente.'
4. 'A boke wyth a blake coverynge in parchment havynge Dicant nunc. Laudate pueri. In pace. In manus. Verbum patria refulgens and a masse off Taverners for chylidren.'
5. 'A boke conteynynge thes songys folloynge. Laudes deo. The prose for Christmas day Verbum patris.'

One set of books in King's College seems to contradict the theory that there were two distinct kinds of source: it is described as

'ii Bokys havynge a masse Regale, a nother A dew mes a mowrs, and Taverners Kyries with the Sequensis'.

However, since both the 'Regali' mass and the Taverner Kyries and Sequences were copied again (the mass in No. 3 in the first list, the Kyries and Sequences in No. 2 of the second) the inference may well be that this item was in some way a faulty source. It may be merely that it was incomplete, two books only remaining, but it is interesting that when the pieces were re-copied they were put into separate books.

A contemporary inventory of the books in Winchester College

lists a polyphonic book containing masses, another containing antiphons, and a book with the bass part of hymns. According to an earlier list in 1491, John Cornysh had supplied six new quires of a book for the choristers arranged 'ad cantandum Responsoria et antiphonas'. In this case we may assume that the antiphons in question were liturgical.

The Household Chapel of the Duke of Richmond, established 1519-36, owned 'a boke prykked with keryes' and 'a grete Booke of masses, prykked'.

That none of these books are known to survive today underlines the realization that most of the sources from 1510-50 have been lost or destroyed and with them, much of the music. The 1529 inventory of the books belonging to King's College was no isolated case, though the quantity of books was such as befitted a rich collegiate foundation which had

'not spared to spend much riches in nourishing many idle singing men to bleat in their chapels' ¹

and was no doubt the sort of establishment referred to by Erasmus in his commentary on the New Testament:

'Why will they not listen to St. Paul? In college or monastery it is still the same: music, nothing but music...' ²

Some monastic cathedrals kept a song school to provide for Marian worship. In 1519 Wolsey's Augustinian canon forbade full-time members of the monastic community to sing polyphony, but non-members could be hired to provide it for services normally sung outside the

1. Thomas Becon, The Jewel of Joy, quoted in Le Huray, Music and the English Reformation, (London, 1967), p.12
2. J.A. Froude, The Life and Letters of Erasmus, (1894), p.115

choir. These services included the Lady and Jesus-masses, the antiphon after Vespers - usually but not necessarily a Mary-antiphon - and processions which had their own repertory of psalms and antiphons, such as 'Christus resurgens', the antiphon sung on Christmas Day. On the evidence of Wolsey's canon, a book containing votive antiphons might have come from a monastic foundation as easily as from a collegiate chapel. Secular cathedrals such as Lincoln, York, Salisbury, Wells and Chichester, also provided for the celebration of the Lady-mass and antiphons in the early 16th century.¹

Parish churches too owned books. In 1516 an inventory at St. Laurence, Reading, listed 'A great booke of vellum bound for masses of the gifte of Willm. Stannford. Another booke bound with paper with masses and antempins. An old booke bound with antempins; Anoyther of vellum bordyd with antems & exultavits.'

London churches are of particular interest² because they provided employment for so many composers. St. Mary-at-Hill was probably the most important London church as regards music, numbering among its employees Thomas Tallis, Thomas Mundy, Robert Okeland (whose only known music is in Add.17802-5), John Day, William Mundy and the organist Philip ap Rhys. Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal used to 'visit' on certain days. In 1530 John Northfolke provided 'pricksong books...of the which v of them be with Antemys and v with Massis', and in 1540 Thomas Mundy was paid the not very princely sum of 2d 'for prycking of a song book'.

1. Harrison, op.cit., pp.177-185

2. Information in this and the following paragraphs is taken from Hugh Baillie's article "Some Biographical Notes of English Church Musicians, chiefly working in London (1485-1569)" in RMA Research Chronicle, No.2, (1962), p.18

At St. Benet, Gracechurch Street, the Warden Richard Colson was paid in 1549 'for ye pricking of certeyne songes into the grete song bookes' and again in 1550 'for prycking of certeyne songes in to the ffowre bookes'. Colson is listed in Edward VI's Household Accounts for 1547-9 as 'Songpricker' and paid a fee of £4 a year.

The books copied from 1548-1552 were presumably in English. Not all accounts were as conveniently specific as those of the churchwardens of St. Michael Cornhill who in 1548 paid Richard Jones (a 'Scolle Mr. of Polles' and cousin to Richard Pygott) 5s.9d. 'for wryting of the masse in English & ye Benedictus'. But presumably when Robert Emery was paid in 1552 'for prycking of certayn bokes' for St. Mary Woolnoth, and when the churchwardens of St. Mary at Hill allowed a payment of 6d in 1550 'for papur to Edmond and for prycking thereof', it was the new music in English that was being copied. The same probably, and unfortunately, applies to the books copied by Richard Colson for St. Benet's.

References to books being copied are much more numerous about this time than during the previous twenty years and most of them refer to books in English. A possibly exception is a payment to Thomas Pursset in 1548 by the churchwardens of St. Michael Cornhill for 'vi songes bokes for the Churche'. This may well refer to plainsong books, but it could be polyphonic Latin music, since there is no 6-part music in English extant from this date. Also, it was the St. Michael's churchwardens who ordered music in English in the same year of 1548 and the fact that they found it necessary to specify in their accounts that those books were in English may be evidence that these were not.

The latest definite record of polyphonic Latin music being copied is the one in 1530 for St. Mary-at-Hill. Most references are

considerably older and refer to choirbooks. At St. Thomas of Canterbury's Chapel on London Bridge, where a John Michelson¹ and a John Norman² were employed during the late 1520s and early 30s, choirbooks were being used in 1513 when the Chaplain Sir John Waller provided 'a prycke songebooke of iii masses in paper Royall'. One of the clerks, Reynold Blake, was paid on several occasions during 1513/14:

1513: 'To the said Raynold Blake for an Antyme in prycksonge for the sayd Chapell...iiijd'

1513: 'To hym for a masse of iiij partes of pryksonge for the sayd Chapell...iiijd'

1514: 'To the sayd Raynold Blake for ij processyones in prynt...'

Some of the musicians mentioned above were listed as members of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, the guild of parish clerks in London. Blake, the copyist for St. Thomas's, was a member in 1519. Composers such as John Norman and William Pashe, whose music is in the Peterhouse partbooks, were perhaps contemporaries in 1521. The existence of the guild was a unifying force to the musicians working at the different London churches. It must have contributed, together with the mobility of London clerks and the holding of more than one place at a time, to the circulation of music and the establishment of common styles for certain texts, and the atmosphere of competition which undoubtedly existed.³

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1. The name John Michelson appears in the Eton choirbook.
 2. There is a gap in the biography of John Norman from 1522 when he left St. David's to 1534 when he went to Eton.
 3. See Appendix I.

The division between the 'festal and antiphon' repertory and the strictly liturgical or 'proper' is more important than the division of manuscripts into choirbooks versus partbooks.¹ Choirbooks were still being used in the late 1520s, as we know from the dating of the Lambeth and Caius books.² The earliest reference to partbooks seems to be in New College Oxford where in 1509/10 the informer was paid for binding 'unius magni libri cantici fracti et aliorum quinque librorum cantici fracti'³ which suggests that both kinds of books were being used. At Magdalen in 1522, all the books but one were choirbooks; the Worcester Cathedral accounts for 1521-2 list a payment for 'le prykinge unius liber de prikesong.'

2. 'FESTAL & ANTIPHON' SOURCES

Only five sets of 'festal & antiphon' partbooks have survived, and only one set, Bod.Mus.Sch.e.376-81, is complete.

i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus.Sch.e.376-81

Not only is e.376-81 the only set of Henrician partbooks to survive complete, but it is also the set whose provenance is the

1. The term 'proper' is used here to describe the type of music i.e. responds, Kyries, Alleluias, lessons, hymns, proper of the mass, liturgical settings of antiphons and psalms and ordinary of the mass when it does not seem particularly festal - what Dr. Harrison describes as the 'shorter' mass in M.M.B. The word 'proper' rather than the word 'liturgical' is used to avoid confusion, since 'liturgical' used about a source ordinarily refers to the idea of the source having been written for use in church as opposed to secular use.
2. Geoffrey Chew, "The Provenance and Date of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks", Music and Letters, Vol. LI, (1970), p.107
3. Harrison, op.cit. p.159, n.5

best documented. It was given to the Oxford University Music School in 1627 by Dr. Heather, and has been there ever since. The partbooks have been described by Dr. J.D. Bergsagel¹ who has plausibly suggested that the idea for the set originally came from the composer John Taverner, informer of Cardinal College. Dr. Bergsagel has shown how the repertory of the first part of the set, copied before 1530, includes masses by composers who were associated with Lincolnshire, (Taverner's home county), and who were also associated with Cardinal Wolsey. The suggestion that e.376-81 was designed as 'a sort of musical Festschrift for Wolsey's magnificent new establishment from the best composers of his dioceses'² is made with some diffidence, because the evidence of the binding on e.381 would seem to suggest that the books were copied after 1528, the year Cardinal College was taken away from Wolsey.

An alternative would be that the copying was done late in the period 1526-30, but that the masses copied were still brought to Cardinal College at its foundation for the reason suggested by Dr. Bergsagel: the 'Festschrift' was not to be only on paper, but in the repertory of the college choir. Dr. Bergsagel has suggested that the books were assembled and bound as blank pages 'in anticipation of a large copying project'; one might carry the suggestion further and submit that the books were to be a permanent record possibly intended for presentation, a fair copy made from performance sources in the choir.

However it was, the first eleven masses were in the books by 1530 when William Forrest, a petty canon at Cardinal College, came

1. J.D. Bergsagel, "The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heather Collection of Tudor Masses", Music and Letters, Vol.XLIV, (1963), p.240

2. *ibid.*

into possession of e.376-81. 1530 is the year Taverner left the College. Forrest copied the last six masses into the books during the years the set was in his possession. A clue to the date of his copying activity is given in the reference to Tye as 'Doctor Tye', a form of reference which can only have been used after 1545 when Tye received his doctorate. Forrest was chaplain to Queen Mary, and his own religious convictions would more than justify his copying six masses during the Marian period.

It is interesting that while Forrest copied music by the Chapel Royal composers Sheppard and Tye as the latest items in the books, he followed the original eleven masses with additional masses by Taverner, Ashwell and Aston, composers whose music had been copied in the first part of e.376-81. Thus it is possible that Forrest began by copying from college sources in order to continue the books as originally planned, and that the masses by Sheppard, Tye and Alwood were copied later.

In e.381, the parts for the last three masses are in the hand of John Baldwin, who was a central figure in the circulation of source material used by Elizabethan copyists.¹ William Forrest died c.1581. Dr. Bergsagel suggests that the books 'apparently' then passed to John Baldwin. He also suggests that the books came into the possession of Dr. Heather about 1615, the year Baldwin died and the year that Heather became a member of the Chapel Royal. The inference is that the books passed to Heather on Baldwin's death, and that they could have been in Baldwin's possession from about 1581 until 1615. The date 1581 is earlier than that suggested by Dr.

1. See "Elizabethan manuscripts", pp. 37 ff. below.

Roger Bray in his commentary on Baldwin's set of partbooks,¹ but is concordant with Bray's later findings² and with the evidence described in Chapter II below.³ It is most probable, on the evidence, that Baldwin copied Taverner's mass 'Gloria Tibi Trinitas' from e.376-81 into his own collection Ch.Ch.979-83 in 1581, and it follows that Baldwin probably came into possession of e.376-81 at Forrest's death or shortly before. Baldwin was certainly able to complete the last three masses and thus may have had access to the sources used by Forrest.

ii. British Museum, MSS. Add.34191 and Harley 1709

Harley 1709 is a single 'medius' partbook described in the British Museum Catalogue⁴ as 'Tempus Henry VII', a printer's error for the description in the catalogue of Harleian manuscripts which reads 'fairly written and formerly (as it should seem) belonging to the Chapel of King Henry VIII'.⁵

The last piece is Fairfax's 'Lauda vivi Alpha et O' which contains a prayer for 'Henrico octavo' and, it is suggested,⁶ was written for Henry's coronation. Unfortunately Warren based a part of his chronology of Fairfax's works on the premise that Harley 1709 was written before 1509.

1. Roger Bray, "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83: An Index and Commentary", Musica Disciplina, Vol.XXV, (1971), pp. 179-197
2. Roger Bray, "John Baldwin", Music and Letters, Vol.56, No. 1,(1975), p.55
3. See pp. 39, 76ff.
4. A.Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, Vol.I, (1908)
5. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, (1808)
6. Edward B. Warren, "Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat", Musica Disciplina, Vol.XV, (1961), p.112

A comparison of Harley 1709 with Add.34191, a bass partbook from a different set, leads to the impression that the two books were connected in some way. There are significant differences: while Harley 1709 contains only votive antiphons, Add.34191 begins with masses and continues with votive antiphons including several concordances with Harley 1709. After a few blank pages appear a setting of the 'Asperges' and Fairfax's 'Regali' magnificat, both close enough in function to the antiphons to be put in the same book yet distinct enough to be copied separately. Later additions were made in different hands: Cranmer's Litany, and the English Te Deum and Mass are considerably later than the main part of the book. Considerable care was taken over both books, the practice being to decorate not only the initial letters but to write the title and sometimes the composer of the piece at the top of the page, decorated in red; the same red was used to indicate new sections of vocal scoring in Add.34191. Several pages now missing from Add.34191 were probably cut out because of the decoration, before the book was given to the Mulliner children who drew shooting and fishing scenes in it in the eighteenth century.

An anonymous mass and an antiphon 'Potentia patris', in Add.34191 show signs of having been written in haste: decorations are missing and the hand is untidy. Each was the last piece in their respective section.

The similarities between the two partbooks outweigh the differences. Taverner's 'Gaude plurimum' is the first antiphon in Harley 1709, the second in Add.34191. A confusion over the names of Aston, Ashwell and Pashe arises in both manuscripts, and to go with it, a confusion of pieces: 'Te Matrem Dei laudamus', attributed in Harley 1709 to 'Asshewell' is the setting by Aston whose name in

Add.34191 is spelt 'Assheton'. A setting of 'Sancta Maria' in Add.34191 is attributed to 'Thomas Asshewell' but is identical to the setting in the Peterhouse partbooks ascribed to 'Passhe' or 'W. Pasche', the New College composer. Another remarkably similar though not identical version appears in Harley 1709 where it is unasccribed, possibly because the copyist was aware of the other version. The similarity between the two is such that it is impossible for them to have been written independently, or even to be an example of the 'borrowing' of musical formulae sometimes found in pieces on the same text.¹

A further similarity between the books is the inclusion in each of an antiphon containing a prayer for Henry VIII. In both cases this antiphon is the last piece to be copied, and in Add.34191 'Potentia patris' was written in a hurry, as mentioned above. Thus there might be a possibility that the occasion for which the prayers were written is a terminus ad quem to the dating of the partbooks. But even if 'Lauda vivi' was composed, as Warren suggests, for the coronation of Henry VIII, Harley 1709 could hardly have been written at that time because of the inclusion of Tallis's 'Salve intemerata' and its placing in the middle of the manuscript before 'Lauda vivi' rather than at the end where it could conceivably have been a later addition. Tallis's birth has been conjectured as c.1505, and with a known obit of 1585 can hardly have been born much earlier than the conjectured date. Yet a relatively early date for Harley 1709 is suggested by the inclusion of an antiphon by Thomas Hyllary whose work appears in the Pepys MS.1236, and by an anonymous antiphon

1. see Appendix 1.

'Adoro te Domine Jesu Christe' for which, unusually with anonymous pieces, there is a concordance in choirbook form.¹ And stylistically 'Salve intemerata' must be the earliest of Tallis's antiphons.

The prayer in Add.34191 furnishes independent evidence of date, and in this case the supposition that it was copied into the manuscript not long after being written is borne out by the impression of haste in the copying. Fortunately the words are specific:

'...Henricum octavum Cristianissimum eum qui contra hostium infidias protegat...Et Anglie regnum a malie defendat Amen.'

J.J. Scarisbrick, in his biography of Henry VIII, describes how in 1512/13 Henry had "fought for the Holy See against a schismatic Louis XII and been conceded the latter's title of 'Christianissimus'."² Pope Julius II had conferred this title on Henry in a brief dated 20 March 1512, conditional on Louis's defeat. The title was never confirmed. It is thus likely that the prayer in Add.34191 refers to the French war and to the French army as the 'hostium infidias'. On 30 June 1513 the English army was in France with Henry at its head.

'As soon as he landed, Henry rode on his magnificent charger to the church of St. Nicholas to dedicate himself to God and war. With him had come a huge personal entourage - his almoner (Thomas Wolsey), 115 members of his chapel, minstrels, players, heralds, trumpeters, clerks of the signet and privy seal, over three hundred other members of the Household, two bishops, a duke and a score of other nobles, together with an abundance of royal clothing and jewellery, and a huge bed.'³

1. B.M.MS.Portland Papers Loan 29, Vol.333
2. J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, (1968), p.159
3. *ibid.* p.57

Of the composers represented in Add.34191, both Robert Jones and William Cornysh, as members of the Chapel Royal, went to France in 1513. Richard Pygott, the composer of a mass and antiphon in Add. 34191, and represented also in Harley 1709, was a member of Wolsey's chapel and was to become Master of it three years later. He may well have been among Wolsey's entourage on the French expedition.

The order of pieces in Add.34191 is interesting in the light of what we know of the composers and the existence of a possible connection between the expedition and an antiphon specially composed for it. Add.34191 opens with three masses: the first by Robert Jones, a member of the Chapel Royal, based on the antiphon for Trinity Sunday 'Spes Nostra' - the landing in France took place on 30 June; the second by Richard Pygott, a member of Wolsey's chapel, on the sequence 'Veni sancti spiritus'. The antiphon section in Add.34191 opens with 'Salve Regina' by Cornysh, another senior member of the Chapel Royal, and is followed by 'Gaude plurimum' by Taverner. By 1526 Taverner was to become informator of Wolsey's Cardinal College, but it may be assumed that he was in Lincolnshire in 1513. However, in 1513 Wolsey was trying to be made Bishop of Lincoln, an ambition fulfilled the following year. The inclusion in Add.34191 of music by Lincolnshire composers Aston and Ashwell, as well as Taverner, thus suggests that Taverner's association with Wolsey was at this time a diocesan one. The antiphons by Cornysh and Taverner were very well-known, judging by their frequent occurrence in the surviving sources, and their presence at the beginning of the antiphon section of Add.34191 supports the impression that the manuscript was a special collection of pieces representing the best work of composers connected with the chapels of the King and of Wolsey. Such a form of organization would be

highly suitable in a collection made in honour of the 1513 war.

It has been suggested that Harley 1709 may have been partially copied from Add.34191 or from the same sources. Harley 1709 may have been copied for a college, since it contains Aston's 'Gaude Virgo Mater Christi', whose text includes the prayer '...O virgo sanctissima...ut poscime illic tuo sociari collegio'. The important first place in the manuscript is occupied by Taverner's 'Gaude plurimum'. In Add. 34191, as we have seen, 'Gaude plurimum' was preceded by Cornysh's 'Salve regina'. In Harley 1709 there is no attempt to give 'Salve regina' precedence, although it is included further on in the manuscript. This fact, and the inclusion of Aston's 'Gaude Virgo', suggest that Harley 1709 was not written for the Chapel Royal, although closely connected with Add.34191.

iii. Cambridge, University Library, MS.Dd.13.27 and St. John's College, MS. K.31 (Dd/K)

These two partbooks are the Tenor and Bass parts of a single set. Nothing is known of the set save a name on the cover 'Lancelot Prior', and the inclusion of music by composers completely unknown elsewhere, i.e. Lovell and 'Dominus Stephan Prowet'. Other composers are very well-known - Fairfax, Davy, Aston, Taverner - and the inclusion of their music in the set furnishes no evidence, in this case, of provenance or date. The books cannot date from the 15th century as suggested in the catalogue of St. John's College,¹ but they could be contemporary with Add.34191 judging by the format and the choice of composers.

iv. Cambridge, Peterhouse, MSS.40,41,31,32

This set lacks only the tenor book. Dom Anselm Hughes,

1. M.R. James, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, Vol.I, (1913), p.515

in describing the Peterhouse Henrician set,¹ has suggested that it was copied c.1540-47. It is thus later than the sets discussed in this commentary so far, and closer in date to B.M.Add.17802-5. Yet its concordances are with the earlier sets of partbooks rather than with Add.17802-5,²

The most obvious provenance of the set would be Peterhouse itself, and it is surprising therefore to find so many indications of a connection with Oxford rather than Cambridge. Dr. Harrison has pointed out³ that Taverner's votive antiphon 'Christe Jesu Pastor Bone' must have originally been 'O Wilhelme Pastor Bone', an antiphon to William of York ordained in the Cardinal College statutes, and revised under Henry VIII's new foundation. In the revised form it would of course be suitable anywhere as a Jesus-antiphon. But the other statutory antiphons at Cardinal College 'Sancte Deus' and 'Ave Maria', are also in the Peterhouse books, 'Sancte Deus' as the first piece in the set, and 'Ave Maria' copied before it on the flyleaf, as if it were important that the two antiphons were kept together. An alternative theory is that they were copied from the same source.

Other composers in the Peterhouse books were connected with Oxford in some way. Unfortunately seven composers are unknown outside the compositions in Peterhouse: they are Edwards, Alen, Sturmeý,

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1. Dom Anselm Hughes, Catalogue of Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, (1953). See also Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, p.31, n.4
 2. see below, p.35
 3. Harrison, op. cit. p.341

Dark, Chamberlayn, Erley and Catcott. In the case of the others, one group was connected with the Eton/King's circle, another came from the area around Wells cathedral. Yet some of the composers also prove to be connected with either one of the Oxford colleges or with Wolsey. Several composers were already represented in Bod.Mus.Sch.e. 376-81: in this category are John Norman (Eton 1534-45), Hugh Aston who was to have been informator at Cardinal College instead of Taverner, William Rasar (King's 1509-15), Fairfax who died at St. Alban's in the year Wolsey became Abbot, Marbeck who may possibly have been a pupil of Taverner,¹ and Tye. Another composer under the aegis of Wolsey was Richard Pygott, Master of Wolsey's chapel in 1516. Pygott later worked in Tamworth in the diocese of Wells from 1533. Bramston was a vicar-choral at Wells until 1531, and William Pashe was described in New College as 'of Wells'. Northbroke took a B.Mus. at Oxford in 1531, and Edward Martin, a composer of the older generation, was at Magdalen from 1445-1504.

In view of the fact that Martin's 'Totius mundi domina' is an archaic piece to be in the Peterhouse set and that nothing else by Martin survives, a connection with Magdalen might be a possibility. On the other hand, nothing by Richard Davy, the well-known Magdalen composer, is in Peterhouse, which would be a starting omission if Martin, otherwise unknown, came from Magdalen too. However, there are two more facts which might link the Peterhouse set with someone who knew Magdalen composers: first, that Thomas Applebye spent two years at Magdalen, from 1539-41 when the Peterhouse books may have been begun; secondly, John Mason is referred to in the partbooks as 'Cicerstensis', but there was a John Mason at Magdalen in 1508. It

1. Bergsagel art. cit.

is not entirely clear whether this was the Mason in the Peterhouse set or another.¹ While it is possible that the note in the books is there to distinguish the two Masons, the fact that such a distinction was necessary may mean that the Mason of Magdalen was known to the copyist of the Peterhouse set.

Yet the inclusion of the Cardinal College antiphons and the association of other composers in the Peterhouse books with New College and possibly Merton, suggests that if there was a connection with Oxford, it was of a more general nature. Whitbroke was at Cardinal College in 1525; Thomas Knight, though working at Salisbury by 1545, had taken his M.A. at Oxford in 1534. Pashe, who is confused with Ashwell in other Henrician partbooks, had come from Wells to New College where he took an M.A. in 1506 before going away 'promotus'. Nothing is known of Hunt save that his 'Stabat Mater' in Peterhouse is also listed in the Merton index.

Apart from the seven composers of whom nothing is known, only two others seem to have had nothing to do with Oxford, and both were working in London: Jones was a member of the Chapel Royal from 1512-36; Ludford spent his working life at St. Stephen's Westminster.

An anomaly is the inclusion of the mass and respond by 'Lupus Italus'.² But this only argues a university provenance, where printed books from the continent would be more readily available than at a cathedral or parish church.

1. See Music and Musicians, (April, 1972), p.52: Nicholas Sandon's review of a radio talk by Dr. Bernard Rose; and Dr. Rose's reply in the issue of June, 1972.

2. See Lewis Lockwood; "A Continental Mass and Motet in a Tudor manuscript", Music and Letters, Vol. XLII, (1961), p.336

v. Choirbooks

All the fifteen surviving choirbooks and choirbook fragments are 'non-proper' sources containing festal masses, magnificats and votive antiphons. The major ones have been described in print, and they are the ones where most concordances with the partbooks occur.

The surviving choirbooks are as follows:

- Lambeth MS.1¹
 Gonville & Caius MS.667¹
 Eton College MS.178²
 National Library of Scotland MS.5.1.15 (Carver choirbook)³
 Bodleian Library, MS.Lat.liturg. a 6
 Bodleian Library, MS.Lat.liturg. a 9
 Bodleian Library, MS.e.21
 All Souls College MS.330/Royal College of Physicians MS.246a⁴
 Cambridge University Library MS.Add.2765
 Cambridge University Library MS.Nn.6.46
 Cambridge University Library MS.H.5.39
 York, Borthwick Institute MS.1⁵
 British Museum MS. Add.30520
 British Museum MS. Portland Papers Loan 29, Vol.333
 British Museum MS.Roy.11.e.XI

Cornysh's music was widely copied: in the early books

1. Geoffrey Chew, op. cit.
2. ed. F.Ll. Harrison, Musica Britannica, Vols. X - XII, (1956-8).
3. Kenneth Elliott, "The Carver Choirbook", Music and Letters, Vol. XL, (1960), p.349 and Music of Scotland c.1500-1700, C.M.M. 16, ed. Denis Stevens, (1959), rev. Elliott.
4. I am indebted to Dr. Margaret Bent for her notes in the All Souls Library about her discovery that the fragment in the R.C.P. was from the same choirbook. 100
5. Hugh Baillie and Philippe Oboussier, "The York Masses", Music and Letters, Vol. XXXV, (1954), p.25

such as Eton and as late as the Caius choirbook. It is interesting that his 'Salve regina' is written with two flats in the key-signature in the Carver book while accidentals are written in as they occur in the Eton choirbook, and that the version followed in the partbooks is that of the Carver book rather than the Eton source. On the other hand, the Eton choirbook is the best source of Davy's music; it is the only choirbook source, contains everything known to have been written by him, and the versions in the partbooks correspond to the Eton versions. Thus different patterns of transmission may be seen to have been in operation for music by different composers. Fairfax, the only composer whose reputation survived throughout the 16th century, is an interesting case, since the major choirbook sources of his music, the Lambeth and Caius books, were written after his death. Some of his music does not survive at all in choirbook form, and some would be altogether lost were it not for the much later Tenbury Ms. 1464 and the Paston manuscript Chelmsford 2. However, a suspicion that his music was perhaps more popular after his death than during his lifetime appears to be unfounded. Early choirbooks are fragmentary, but the Eton choirbook contains four antiphons, the Carver choirbook a different one, and the two early fragments in All Souls Library and the Bodleian (Lat.liturg.a.9) contain the mass 'O quam glorifica' and the 'Regali' Magnificat respectively. The variety of pieces is enough to dispel any such suspicion.

The continuity of the repertory is demonstrated by the fact that all the surviving Henrician partbooks contain concordances with the choirbooks, and all also contain pieces by composers represented in Add.17802-5. Add.17802-5, however, contains nothing by any composer represented in the choirbooks. Although the repertory changed slowly, including old-fashioned pieces side by side with modern ones, once a

piece had gone out of the repertory it was likely to stay out. The Henrician and Marian copyists, unlike the Elizabethans, were neither archivists nor music historians.

3. 'PROPER' SOURCES

The theory suggested from the surviving inventories, that 'proper' music¹ was copied either in special books or in convenient places in books intended for other purposes is borne out by the surviving manuscripts. It is striking that remarkably few special books survive, and that polyphonic pieces written in the back of liturgical plainsong books are usually the 'trivia' of the liturgy, with one exception. Five liturgical books contain polyphonic music: three are sources of one short piece each, set to the words 'Deo gratias' in two cases and to 'Amen' in the third.² B.M. Ms. Lansdowne 462 contains settings of 'Stella caeli', a prayer for relief from the plague; Winchester Muniments MS.12845 is unusual in that it contains two-part settings of responds for the Office of the Dead set by Cooper and Pygott. In Cooper's 'Peccantem me quotidie' the choral part of the respond is set in polyphony as well as the solo part, and the repeats fully written out.

Three manuscripts only are specialized 'proper' sources: B.M.Ms. Roy.App.45-8 contains Ludford's Lady-masses,³ and B.M.Ms.Roy.

1. See note 1, p.12

2. Margaret Bent, "New and Little-known fragments of English Mediaeval Polyphony", J.A.M.S., Vol. 21, (1968), p.137, referring to MSS.B.M.Add.17001 (Sarum gradual), Bodl.lat.liturg. b.5 (York gradual), B.M.Cotton Nero E.viii (Sarum gradual).

3. Described and edited by J.D. Bergsagel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, Vol.27, (1963).

App.12-16, owned by Lumley, is an anonymous setting of the Lamentations designed for liturgical use. This set of partbooks, despite an attempt to relate its contents to Byrd,¹ seems to be closely associated with the style and handwriting of pieces in the manuscripts Roy.App.17-22, 23-25 and 25-8 which were copied for the Arundel and Lumley households by Derick Gerard, seemingly in isolation from English musical life.² The third source, Winchester Muniments MS.24614, must once have been a specialised book. It is now a fragment containing the Alto part only of a Kyrie and Gloria, both probably based on squares.

B.M.Add.35087 is the source for one 'proper' piece, a setting of 'Dicant nunc Judei' written in choirbook form at the back of a large book, but the book concerned is not liturgical. It is a collection of French sacred polyphonic music owned by someone with a sense of the antiquarian value of the book itself: on f.75v is written in an English hand 'There be little such parchment now to be had any where for money'. Add.35087 must be a secular source, as are other manuscripts containing 'proper' music. Bodleian Ms.Arch.c.10 is a large copy of Pynson's calendar for 1510 containing an 'alternatim' setting of the mass and the last section of the bass part of an antiphon copied not at the end, but in the middle of the manuscript. Again, the copy can have had no liturgical purpose.

B.M.Roy.App.56 and 58 are probably commonplace books belonging to musicians; the partbook in the Public Record Office which

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1. C.W. Warren, "The Music of Royal Appendix 12-16", Music and Letters, Vol. 51, (1970).
 2. Other sets belonging to Gerard are MSS.Roy.App.31-35, 49-54 and 57.

contains a three-part 'Benedicite Domino' is a secular collection concordant with the Mulliner book.¹ The Latin pieces in B.M.Add. 5665 are supposed to be later in date than the carols, and again the source is a secular collection.

4. CONTINENTAL MUSIC IN ENGLAND

Most books of continental music are not associated with the English style at all. Add.35087 is unusual in transmitting a piece originating in England, even on the flyleaf. The pieces by Richard Sampson in B.M.Roy.11.E.xi are in the Flemish style² and the gorgeous design of the manuscript suggests that it was intended as a showpiece for the court. The association of Katherine of Aragon with the manuscript is echoed in the contents of Add.31992 and also in B.M. Roy.8G.vii which includes a prayer for Katharine among Flemish pieces. RCM.1070 is another, slightly later collection of French and Flemish motets designed for the English court.³ None of the pieces in these books seem to have found their way into the college chapel repertory.

Later collections are similarly isolated. Six sets of books were copied for the Earl of Arundel, whose signature also appears on Roy.8.G.viii. Yet even though Arundel had his own resident Flemish composer, only one of Gerard's pieces ever occurs in an English manuscript, and that much later in Ch.Ch.979-83. However, its presence there could argue that some of Gerard's music was known in the Royal

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1. See Denis Stevens, "A Part Book in the Public Record Office S.P.1/246", Music Survey, (Winter 1950), Vol.II, no.3.
 2. Harrison op.cit. pp.339-340.
 3. Edward Lowinsky, "M.S.1070 of the Royal College of Music in London", Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, (1969), p.1

Chapel at Windsor.

The Scottish set of partbooks MS.E.U.L. D6.1.7., although it contains a fragment of Ashwell's mass 'Jesu Christe', has no concordances with any of the choirbooks, nor does it include any composer in Add.17802-5.¹ Since it is the only set of partbooks of which this can be said, the situation must be attributable to the fact that it is primarily a continental set, even though written in Scotland. The presence of Ashwell's mass in the company of these continental pieces is surprising, and it is the only English piece of the period to survive in a Scottish manuscript. The level of interest in English music seems to have been lower in Scotland than at the beginning of the century when pieces by Fairfax and Nesbett were copied into the Carver choirbook.

The insularity of English music has been related to the characteristic vocal ranges of English choirs. It is interesting that the application of the clef convention² in early choirbooks (such as York.MS.1.) gives a result of identical ranges to those used by Sheppard fifty years later. Equally striking is the fact that continental influence with regard to style is associated with the breakdown of the traditional ranges. Sheppard's 'French' mass for M A T B does not use the whole spectrum of the available Mean range, nor Sheppard's usual Alto range. Tallis's mass 'Puer natus est nobis' which was possibly written for the combined Spanish and English chapels, contains no Treble parts, presumably because the boys of the Spanish chapel sang in the continental Soprano range.³ By the time English

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1. The manuscript is described by Kenneth Elliott, "Church Musik at Dunkell", Music and Letters, Vol. XLV, (1964), p.228
 2. See "Introduction to the Thematic Catalogue", Vol. I. above.
 3. The term 'soprano' is used here and in the thematic catalogue to differentiate between the all-purpose range of the top part and the characteristic ranges of the English 'Treble' and 'Mean'. See "Key to the Thematic Catalogue", Vol. I.

composers began copying the continental style in earnest, the breakdown of traditional ranges had been hastened by the Reformation and the Treble/Mean dichotomy may no longer have been easily available. The question of which came first, continental influence or the breakdown of ranges, is one of the circular variety. But the essays of Johnson and Parsons in setting psalms, according to the continental model, followed by pieces like Byrd's 'Aspice Domine quia facta' plainly demonstrate the crude equation of continental ranges with continental style, grafted onto the traditionally English delight in vocal colour exhibited in early Tudor music.

5. BRITISH MUSEUM, MSS.Add.17802-5¹

Unfortunately the gap between the repertory of the major late Henrician partbooks and the early Elizabethan psalm-settings is filled only by one source, perhaps the most problematic of all sixteenth-century sources. Add.17802-5 is undoubtedly a major source of music by major Tudor composers. The work of composers whose names appear in the partbooks represents more than half the surviving music in Latin over the whole Tudor period 1485-1603, excluding Byrd.

Add.17802-5 has been described by Roger Bray.² Dr. Bray suggests that the manuscript was copied over a considerable period of time, beginning in the 1540s with a section of Kyries and Alleluias. Most of the copying was done between 1545 (the year of Tye's doctorate), and the end of the Marian intervention in 1558. A suspicion 'that

1. The books are named as follows: 17802 = Contratenor; 17803 = Triplex; 17804 = Medius; 17805 = Bassus. The repertory is predominantly but not exclusively for mens' voices.

2. Roger Bray, "British Museum Add.Mss.17802-5 (The Gyffard Part-Books): An Index and Commentary", RMA Research Chronicle, No.7, (1969).

some of the music was composed after the Marian intervention' and the evidence of watermarks and the inclusion of music by John Mundy and 'Mr. Bird', lead Dr. Bray to the conclusion that the manuscript might not have been finished until the 1580s. This is certainly a late dating, and even if the composers concerned are identified as John Mundy the son of William, and William Byrd, the inclusion of music by them need not date the manuscript later than the early 1570s. Unfortunately there is no real evidence for a more accurate dating of Add.17802-5.

Dr. Bray has shown how the organization of Add.17802-5 and the order in which the pieces are laid out within the different sections reflects the order of seniority of the composers. The sections themselves are organized according to a liturgical arrangement although the organization gradually breaks down. The original method would seem to have been as follows:

Kyries and Alleluias
 Masses
 Proper music from All Saints to Easter
 Three-part pieces
 Proper for the Jesus-Mass
 Masses on the square
 Magnificats
 Votive antiphons

At first sight, Add.17802-5 appears to fall into the category of 'proper' sources, even though it contains a few votive antiphons at the end of the manuscript. These antiphons are simpler in style than the highly decorated ones found in 'festal & antiphon' sources, and their relative simplicity may reflect the natural change in style as a result of the Reformation and the influence of continental music. A corresponding simplicity may be found in some of the antiphons in the Peterhouse partbooks. The masses in Add.17802-5 are also generally simpler in structure than those in 'festal & antiphon' sources, in that they do not adhere to tradition in the formal balancing of solo/full

sections. The 'Western Wind' masses and those on the square have their own special formal construction rather than any of the traditional methods of organization, and the other four-part masses are usually chordal and certainly simpler as regards melodic style.

The general repertory of Add.17802-5 is reminiscent of the 'proper' sources described in the Kings College Inventory of 1529.¹ In Add.17802-5 are the 'sequenses', 'Taverners Kyries', masses on the square, the processional psalm 'Laudate Pueri', the Compline antiphons 'In pace' and 'In manus tuas'. It is interesting that at Kings, in the 'boke wyth a blake coverynge in parchment' containing the three last-mentioned items, was copied a mass by Taverner 'for children'. Given the similarity of repertory, it is quite possible that this mass might also have been included in Add.17802-5. The most likely candidate for such a speculative theory would be Taverner's 'Western Wind' mass, which, like the 'Western Wind' masses by Tye and Sheppard, was scored Tr M A B: two of the parts were 'for children'.

Add.17802-5 may thus be seen as a manuscript broadly in the tradition of Mss.Pepys 1236, Roy.App.45-8 and other sources of 'proper' music described in the indexes of manuscript collections now lost. However, it seems unlikely that Add.17802-5 was ever intended as a liturgical source, in the sense of a source having been written for use in church. Dr. Bray has shown that the books were never used in performance - they are too clean, and contain too many uncorrected mistakes, such as the occasional gimell which involves a turn of page for one singer and not for the other. He suggests that they were prepared with performance in mind, but as a presentation copy of books to be sung from. Taken as a whole, the set gives the impression that it is

1. See above, p. 7

a non-liturgical collection, but a deliberately organized collection of 'proper' music: a secular 'proper' source. As such, and in relation to other manuscripts, Add.17802-5 is unique. It is a collection, in the sense that the Elizabethan manuscripts copied by John Baldwin and John Sadler are collections, but Add.17802-5 contains a repertory virtually untouched by the Elizabethan copyists. The retrospective Elizabethan collections are more closely related to the surviving Henrician sources as potential exemplars than to Add.17802-5, even though other work by the major composers represented in Add.17802-5 - Tallis, Sheppard, Tye and William Mundy - was much copied in Elizabethan manuscripts. These composers all wrote 'proper' music which is not in Add.17802-5; they also wrote 'non-proper' pieces in both the 'festal & antiphon' early florid style and the later Elizabethan style.¹ They may be described as the 'mainstream' composers whose music was written over the period of change and whose musical style developed with the times.

It is therefore striking that there should be so few concordances between Add.17802-5 and Elizabethan manuscripts, and equally as striking that there are so few between Add.17802-5 and Henrician manuscripts. Concordances are as follows:

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Concordance</u>	
Johnson	Gaude Maria Virgo	Ch.Ch.31390	5-part version 'Gaude virgo'
Redford	(Christus resurgens)	Tenb.389	
Taverner	Alleluia v.Veni electa	Add.4900	
Taverner	(Dum transisset) Sabbatum	Ch.Ch.979-83 ² Ch.Ch.984-8	5-part version 5-part version

1. See Appendix II

2. A setting of 'Dum transisset' by Barber in Add.17802-5 is evidence of the borrowing of musical formulae. Ch.Ch.979-83, which contains Taverner's five-part version, is also the source of settings of the same text by Strabridge and John Mundy, where a later stage of the 'borrowing' process can be seen. Baldwin appears to have been making his own collection. (See Appendix I)

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Concordance</u>	
Taverner	'Western Wind' Mass	e.1-5 Roy.App.56	Keyboard transcription of 'Agnus Dei'
Tye	'Western Wind' Mass	Add.18936-9	'Agnus Dei', ascr. 'Alphonsus'

The only early concordance is in Roy.App.56, where it is a keyboard transcription of one section of Taverner's mass 'Western Wind'. This suggests that the Taverner mass was by then, and indeed by the time it was copied in Add.17802-5, a well-known piece, since only if a piece was popular would the trouble of making an instrumental version be taken. (Other examples of this practice are found in the Mulliner book, B.M.Add.30513.) Strange, then, that the only other source known to have existed is the one copied by John Sadler in Bod.Mus.e.1-5. The theory that the mass was copied in books belonging to Kings College is still highly speculative.

Since the Taverner mass is the only early concordance, it is interesting to note in passing that in Roy.App.58, which is connected with Roy.App.56,¹ there are pieces by Cooper, a composer represented in Add.17802-5. Taverner and Cooper are, as Bray points out, treated as 'senior' composers in Add.17802-5, and both are listed in the King's College Inventory of 1529.² Cooper seems to have been the earliest composer to set the choral part of a respond in polyphony,³ although it is Taverner who stands identified with the establishment of the form, because of the number and quality of his respond settings.

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1. See John Ward, "The lute music of Royal Appendix 58", J.A.M.S., Vol.XIII, (1960), pp.117-125
 2. The Inventory is printed in Harrison, op.cit. pp.432-3
 3. Winchester College Muniments Ms.12845. See above, p.26

It is extraordinary that there are no concordances at all between Add.17802-5 and the Peterhouse set of partbooks. The existence of two sources of this size and of different provenance dating from roughly the same time should enhance the value of each for purposes of comparison. The lack of concordances cannot be entirely explained by the fact that Add.17802-5 is for four voices while the Peterhouse set is for five, since five-part versions of four-part pieces did exist, and were copied by John Baldwin and Robert Dow. Add.17802-5 is predominantly a source of pieces for mens' voices only, but Peterhouse also contains music for mens' voices, in addition to the full five-part antiphons, so the different purpose of the two sets in this respect does not entirely explain the lack of concordances.

There are similarities to Add.17802-5 in the repertory of the Peterhouse set. Peterhouse contains settings of the texts 'In pace' and 'Sancte Deus' and pieces by composers whose other works are in Add.17802-5. Bramston, Appleby and Knight appear only in Add. 17802-5 and the Peterhouse books. Music by Whitbroke is in both sources and otherwise only in Bod.Mus.Sch.e.423.

The crucial difference is in the 'proper' nature of most of the pieces in Add.17802-5. Both manuscripts contain masses, responds and antiphons, but the settings of the proper of the Mass, processional psalms, Kyrie/Alleluia settings for the Lady and Jesus Masses, and the deliberate organization of into liturgical sections, are missing in the Peterhouse set. Moreover, the fact that both sets contain votive antiphons is misleading if taken at face value, since in Add.17802-5 all the antiphons are in a section at the end, while in Peterhouse the repertory as a whole is predominantly made up of antiphons, magnificat settings and masses, with a very few responds.¹ The Peterhouse set

1. See Dom Anselm Hughes, Catalogue of Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge, (1953)

and Add.17802-5 thus come from different traditions, even if those traditions were in decline by the time both manuscripts were copied. Peterhouse is a 'festal & antiphon' manuscript, while Add.17802-5, as we have seen, is a 'proper' manuscript, but a non-liturgical one. The lack of concordances may be seen as further evidence of the separation of the two kinds of repertory.

The evidence of the surviving Henrician and Marian sources is relevant to a study of Elizabethan manuscript sources of Tudor Latin music. Not often is it possible to suggest that a specific Henrician source was the exemplar for an Elizabethan manuscript. Baldwin's copy of the mass 'Gloria Tibi Trinitas' by Taverner in Ch.Ch.979-83 is a notable exception. But most of the sources used by Elizabethan copyists are now lost. However, the surviving manuscripts, as well as the surviving lists and inventories, give us some idea about the kind of sources probably used by Elizabethan copyists: we would expect to find their exemplars broadly divided into the two categories 'festal & antiphon' or 'proper'. In addition, we would not expect the sources used by Baldwin, Sadler and the other copyists to yield both early antiphons and later psalm-settings at the same time unless these exemplars were themselves retrospective collections.¹

1. See Appendix II.

II

ELIZABETHAN MANUSCRIPTS

The major extant Elizabethan sources of Latin pieces were copied not for liturgical use nor primarily for secular performance, but with the intention of compiling collections of motets or sections of motets. The possibility of performance may or may not have been seriously considered; more important is that the collections were undertaken partly out of scholarly interest and an instinct for preservation, and partly because the 'motet' was regarded as the highest form of musical taste, the form which 'requireth most art and moveth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer.'¹ It was music for the connoisseur: Morley deplored the situation where 'this music (a lamentable case) being the chiefest both for art and utility is, notwithstanding, little esteemed and in small request with the greatest number of those who most highly seem to favour art...'

Little wonder that the major sources of Latin pieces contain strikingly similar repertoires. Pieces grouped according to kind² recur frequently, often in the same order, in different manuscripts.

The chief manuscripts in question are those copied by John Baldwin, John Sadler, and Robert Dow, as well as Tenbury 1464, Bod. Mus.Sch.e.423, Ch.Ch.45, Tenbury 389, Add.32377 and the Paston manuscripts. While Baldwin's and Sadler's manuscripts contain very little besides motets, other sources such as Mus.Sch.e.423 or Dow's Ch.Ch.

1. Thomas Morley, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, (1597), ed. R.A. Harman, (1952), pp.292-3

2. See Appendix II

984-8 combine a genuine collector's attitude towards Latin motets with a more general interest in instrumental and secular pieces. One did not necessarily preclude the other. But not all those who collected the general repertory made a particular effort to copy pieces in Latin. In Add.31390 and Add.22597 there are pieces from the Latin repertory, but they are not differentiated from the other pieces; in these cases the copyists were not particularly interested in music in Latin as a genre.

1. THE COPYISTS

While we may, to some extent, read the character of a copyist through his work, we know only four names.

John Baldwin (d.1615) was a singing-man at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, from 1575, and from 1594 a member of the Chapel Royal.¹ He has left two major collections containing Latin music: the set of partbooks Christ Church Mss.979-83, and the manuscript Royal 24 d.2 (Baldwin's commonplace book). He was also the copyist of My Lady Nevell's Book, the collection of keyboard music by William Byrd.

Baldwin finished My Lady Nevell's Book on September 11, 1591. It is generally accepted that, whoever the book was intended for, the composer and the copyist must have worked together on its production. Verses by Baldwin dated 25 July, 1591, in RM.24.d.2, extol Byrd as a composer and incidentally afford some insight into Baldwin's motivation as a copyist - his concern with 'posterity':

'Yet let not strangers brag, nor they these so command;
For they may now give place and set themselves behind
An English man, by name, William Bird for his skill
Which I should have set first, for so it was my will;

1. See Roger Bray, "John Baldwin", Music and Letters, Vol.56, No.1, (1975), p.55

Whose great skill and knowledge doth excel all at this time
 And for to strange countries abroad his skill doth shine:
 Famous men be abroad, and skilful in the art,
 I do confess the same and will not from it start;
 But in Europe is none like to our English man,
 Which doth so far exceed, as truly I it scan,
 As ye cannot find out his equal in all things
 Throughout the world so wide, and so his fame now rings.
 With fingers and with pen he hath not now his peer;
 For in this world so wide is none can come him near.
 The rarest man he is in music's worthy art
 That now on earth doth live: I speak it from my heart
 Or here to fore hath been or after him shall come:
 None such I fear shall rise that may be called his son.
 O famous man! Of skill and judgment great profound;
 Let heaven and earth ring out thy worthy praise to sound;
 Nay let thy skill itself thy worthy fame record
 To all posterity thy due desert afford.'

The laudatory tone of these verses is not, Baldwin protests, to be taken as mere flattery, nor as the over-enthusiasm of a friend:

'All these things do I speak not for reward or bribe;
 Nor yet to flatter him or set him up in pride,
 Nor for affection or aught might move thereto,
 But even the truth report and that make known to you.'

Roger Bray has published descriptions of both Ch.Ch.979-83¹ and RM.24 d.2.² He has also suggested dates for each of them: RM.24 d.2, he suggests, was compiled over a period of time between 1586 and 1606, while Ch. Ch.979-83 was almost certainly finished by 1586, and the main part probably before 1581. That was the date of John Mundy's arrival at Windsor, and Baldwin copied Mundy's music as a later addition in Ch.Ch.979-83. It is hoped that my findings, presented in the course of this chapter, will provide additional evidence that the dates suggested by Bray are the right ones, and that the year 1581 in particular is likely to be the year when the main part of Ch.Ch.979-83 was completed.

Robert Dow was the copyist of Christ Church Mss.984-8, a

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1. Roger Bray, "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83: An Index and Commentary", Musica Disciplina, Vol.XXV, (1971), pp.179-197
 2. Roger Bray, "British Museum MS. Royal 24 d.2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): An Index and Commentary", RMA Research Chronicle, No. 12 (1974)

large and beautifully written collection of miscellaneous music.

Dow has been identified¹ as the Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, whose father was Warden of Merchant Taylors' School and whose brother Henry died at the age of 21 while at Christ Church. Dow himself died young: his dates are 1554-1588.

Dow was previously thought to be the benefactor of Christ's Hospital in 1606. His new identity sets new limits to the dates within which Ch.Ch.984-8 can have been written. The manuscript was begun in 1581, and cannot, as Dr. Brett points out, have been completed before 1586, because it contains a copy of Byrd's funeral song for Sir Philip Sidney, who died in that year. Two pieces at the end of the manuscript are in a different hand and style from Dow's, and this fact may be indicative that Dow left his manuscript unfinished at this death. In both the later additions, the composers are described in a style similar to that used by Baldwin in Ch.Ch.979-83. There are other discernible links between the two copyists, but it is also clear that, in addition to his interest in motets, Dow kept abreast of the fashion in musical taste for instrumental pieces, consort songs and songs for plays. He was no Oxford recluse, but had access to the latest music of the capital.

Edward Paston (1550-1630), a member of a Norfolk Catholic recusant family, was the owner of ^{at least 45 or more!} (several) sets of partbooks copied for his use. Paston was an enthusiastic amateur musician, a lutenist, and widely travelled. His activities both as a collector of music and as a practising Catholic have been described by Dr. Brett.² It is tempting to suppose that some of Paston's sets of partbooks were

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1. Philip Brett, ed. Consort Songs, Musica Britannica, Vol. XXII, (1967), p.173
 2. Philip Brett, "Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection", Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Vol. IV, (1964), pp.51-69

intended for the services known to have taken place in the Mass-centre near Appleton Hall. But few of the books show any sign of use, and all contain uncorrected mistakes. It is clear on closer inspection that the Paston manuscripts represent the work of a few scribes copying and re-copying from their own previously written sources with little thought of performance. Some of the near-duplicate sets (e.g. Madrigal Society Ms.G.27 and Tenbury Mss.349-53) were probably intended as second copies, for Paston kept part-books in each of his three houses.

Four hands were involved in the copying, and twenty-four sets of partbooks contain music in Latin. Taken separately, they are of little value in determining the relative popularity of pieces by composers such as Tallis, Taverner and Sheppard in the late 16th century, nor as a guide to the general popularity of continental music in England. Taken together, however, they are extremely valuable, both as an example of the transmission of musical texts over a number of years, and in a discussion of the sources of the music.

Although the character of John Sadler can be read, to some extent, from his manuscripts, nothing is known of his life or of the provenance of the two sets of partbooks known to have been written by him. Likely candidates for identity might be among the Wiltshire Sadlers¹ - a secular piece at the end of Bod.Mss.Mus.e.1-5 is by William Parsons of Wells - or possibly the John Sadler of Adderbury, Oxon., who died in 1606.² However, early eighteenth century notes

1. S.A. Smith and E.A. Fry, Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, The Index Library, Vol. IV, 1584-1604, (1912).

2. *ibid.*, Vol.V; Will No.50 Stafforde.

on the covers of the Willmott manuscript read: 'Thomas Chapman His Book 1710' and, at the side of No.25, 'Thomas Chapman His Book 1709 This boke was gave him by Mr. Charles Spirar of Fulsham Inn Norfucked'. A 'summons' to a Cotroon party at the end of the manuscript carries a reference to Kimbolton, the castle on the border of Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, where Katherine of Aragon had spent her last years.

Mus.e.1-5 was copied in 1585, the set now represented by the Willmott manuscript and Tenbury 1486, in 1591. The notes on the Willmott manuscript are thus over a hundred years too late, but they are nevertheless interesting in view of the concordances in the Willmott manuscript with pieces in the Paston manuscripts. Further, it is in Sadler's e.1-5 that 'Conserva me' by Osbert Parsley is dated '1585', and it is again interesting that Sadler is the only other source of Latin music by Parsley besides the Paston manuscripts and Tenbury 1464. In addition, both Morley's early motets in e.1-5 are dated '1576'. This has been taken, no doubt correctly, to mean the date of composition when Morley was a pupil of Byrd, but what is also interesting, since knowing the date of composition might imply special knowledge, is that when Sadler copied the motets in 1585, Morley was choirmaster of Norwich cathedral, a position he held from 1583-7.

A search for Sadler in Norwich records has not so far proved successful, although there were several people of that name in Norfolk, and three, whose wills survive today, who lived in Norwich itself.¹ Professor Joseph Kerman has pointed out that Sadler's e.1-5, dated 1585, contains a repertory 'strikingly concordant' with that of the retrospective collection Tenbury MS.1464.² There are also interesting

1. M.A. Farrow, Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, The Norfolk Record Society, Vol.21, 1550-1603, (1950).
2. Joseph Kerman, "Byrd's motets: Chronology and Canon", J.A.M.S., Vol.XIV, (1961), p.359

concordances between Sadler's other manuscript, Tenbury 1486/Willmott, and the Paston manuscript Chelmsford 1, and between Tenbury 1464 and the Paston manuscripts. Two facts apart from these point to Norfolk or Norwich as a likely provenance of Tenbury 1464. The manuscript opens with music by Osbert Parsley, the singing man of Norwich cathedral, and includes all his known Latin music, some of which is copied nowhere else. A later addition at the end of the manuscript is 'Educes de tribulatione' by William Cobbold, a native of Norwich and organist at the cathedral c.1599-1608.

Two major groups of copyists are thus a possibility; one centred around London and including John Baldwin and Robert Dow, the other active in Norfolk and including John Sadler, the Paston copyists, and the copyist of Tenbury 1464. It is clear that the two groups were not mutually exclusive: while the London copyists do not transmit the local Norfolk music of Parsley, the general repertory of the Norfolk copyists may well have been taken from the same sources as those used by the London copyists. Thus the origin of a common set of sources would probably be London.

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOHN BALDWIN IN THE CIRCULATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

A comparative study of Baldwin's manuscripts, Ch.Ch.979-83 and RM.24 d.2, with other Elizabethan sources of Latin music reveals a striking fact: that in every major Elizabethan extant source, evidence can be found to suggest a connection with Baldwin's manuscripts. With a few exceptions, the connection is an independent one i.e. it is not dependent on the evidence provided by a third manuscript. It is therefore proposed that John Baldwin was the central figure in the circulation of sources to Elizabethan collectors of Latin music. The

remainder of this chapter seeks to present the evidence in detail.

i. Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83

Dr. Bray¹ has shown that the original order of pieces in Ch.Ch.979-83 was such that the manuscript both began and ended with 'proper' music by Sheppard. If, as has been suggested,² the responds and hymns of Sheppard, together with those of Tallis, were designed to form a cycle for the liturgical year, and if, as seems likely, Baldwin was copying from old sources perhaps belonging to one of the Household Chapels, it would be reasonable to expect that the responds copied by Baldwin came from a special book of responds organized liturgically, and that the hymns came from a similar book. Unfortunately we have no extant example of what such a book would like like.³ However, if a hymn and respond cycle existed at all, such special books must also have existed at some time, and the fact that they would have been a 'magnum opus musicum' could well have saved them from destruction. This would explain why so much of Sheppard's music is only in Baldwin's manuscript when Baldwin treats him (as Dr. Bray has pointed out) as a popular and well-known composer. Baldwin, however, approached his task in the role of music collector rather than ecclesiologist, and the sheer number of pieces by Sheppard in the respond and hymn collections was of more interest than the preservation of the correct order.

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1. "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83...". See below, Appendix III, for a check list of Latin music in Ch.Ch. 979-83
 2. Paul Doe, Tallis, (1968), p.34
 3. Add.17802-5 probably comes closest, but it is unlikely to be a liturgical set of books.

An example of Baldwin's attitude can be seen in the way he copied different settings of 'Dum transisset Sabbatum'. Both of Sheppard's settings (Nos. 111 & 150) were probably copied in the normal course of transcribing from the respond cycle. Later, while copying from a source of Byrd, Baldwin came across Strabridge's setting (No. 11) and thought it important enough to copy immediately although this meant an interpolation in the middle of the Byrd motets.¹ The reason for such an interpolation is not hard to find: Baldwin could hardly be unaware of the stylistic similarity of Strabridge's setting to Sheppard's first setting, with its implications of the borrowing of musical formulae.² Where Sheppard's settings had been copied because they were responds, the discovery of Strabridge's setting changed the emphasis to a stylistic one and resulted in a hunt for other settings of the same text for purposes of comparison. This may well be the explanation of the inclusion, as soon as the section of motets by Byrd was finished, of the 'Dum transisset' settings by Tallis and Taverner (Nos. 21-23), and must be the reason for copying the version of Hollander, separated from the others only by an interpolation of pieces for men's voices. As it happened, the continental 'Dum transisset', written in a different tradition, provided no evidence of common musical formulae. But the first piece in the last section of Ch.Ch. 979-83 (the Appendix, c.f. Bray) is John Mundy's setting where the tradition can be seen in decline.

Dr. Bray's very useful conclusions about Baldwin's methods of copying are that

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1. This section of motets was probably copied from a source used by the copyist of Mus.Sch.e.423 where they are in the same order. See below, p. 220
 2. See Appendix I

'the organization is not liturgical but...composers appear in groups, which may reflect the layout of the sources from which these books were copied. In particular, Sheppard and Tallis appear together, as do Parsons, White and Mundy. These groups are noticeably better organized in the sections copied earlier...'¹

Comparison of Ch.Ch.979-83 with manuscripts such as Mus.Sch. e.423 and those copied by Sadler and Dow shows that several groups of pieces in those manuscripts are copied in the same order as they appear in Ch.Ch.979-83.² If this order does indeed reflect the layout of Baldwin's sources, the inference may be that those same sources, or direct copies of them, were available to other copyists.

The following chart will be used for reference purposes in the remainder of this chapter. The chart is based on Bray's analysis with some amendments. The chief difference is that the following

1. Bray, art.cit., p.194
2. Comparison with other manuscripts also vindicates Bray's analysis of the sections of Ch.Ch.979-83 in all but a few cases. In one of these, Tallis's votive antiphon 'Gaude gloriosa' has been counted as the last piece in a section copied from 'a large body of music dating from the end of Henry VIII's reign' (Bray, art.cit., p.196). The rest of the section (Nos.90-118 with interpolations) was the first to be copied in the manuscript and consists of hymns and responds. It is unlikely that 'Gaude gloriosa' was copied from a 'proper' source, and comparison with e.423 shows that it is more likely to have come from the source used for the following section of psalms, antiphons and psalms in antiphon style by Tye, Mundy, White and Parsons.
The copyist of e.423 was interested in six-part pieces in antiphon style: in the six-part section 'Gaude gloriosa' is the first piece in this style as it is in the corresponding section of Ch. Ch.979-83. In e.423 it is followed by mixed psalms and antiphons by Tye, White, Parsons and Mundy, the criterion being, as in Ch.Ch.979-83, one of musical style rather than liturgical considerations. It seems likely on grounds of similar repertory that Nos. 5-10 and 18-25 in the six-part section of e.423 came from one set of sources, and it might be that the section of Magnificats interpolated in the middle, in which Baldwin was not interested, came as a separate item of the same set.

list takes into account the type of source ('proper', 'festal & antiphon', 'psalm': see Appendix II~~4~~) in which groups of pieces might have been found, as in the case of Tallis's 'Gaude gloriosa' described on p. 46 f.n. 2 . Sections are listed in the order in which they were copied, according to Bray's analysis, i.e. Section B1 (Nos.110-132) was copied before Section B2 (Nos.54-7). The groups of pieces in any one section have been kept separate as they are in Ch.Ch.979-83, since it is not necessarily true that all the pieces by, for example, Tye, White, Mundy and Parsons, were copied from one source or set of sources although this may have been the case. In particular, sections C2 and C4 are found together in other manuscripts, and in this case the two sections may have been copied from one source.

SECTIONS OF CH.CH.979-83A. Responds and hymns mainly by Sheppard and Tallis:¹

1. Nos. 90-118
2. Nos. 144-155
3. Nos. 79-89

B. Tye, White, Mundy, Parsons:

1. Nos. 119-132
2. Nos. 134-7
3. Nos. 54-57
4. Nos. 63-67
5. Nos. 71-8

C. Byrd:

1. Nos. 138-143²
2. Nos. 8-20, with interpolation of Strabridge 'Dum transisset'
3. Nos. 31, 35-37
4. Nos. 58-61
5. Nos. 68-70

D. Psalms by Sheppard, Johnson, Van Wilder, Nos. 1-6

E. 'Dum transisset' by Tallis and Taverner. Nos. 21-23

F. Section for men's voices. Nos. 24-27

G. Votive antiphons:

1. Nos. 29-30
2. Nos. 46-51

H. Lamentations:

1. Nos. 33-34
2. Nos. 41-43
3. Appendix Nos. 167b, 168b.

J. Psalms by Mundy, Damon, Tallis, Douglas and Lassus:
Nos. 38-40, 45, 52.

APPENDIX. Nos. 156-end.

Separate interpolationsPossible source

No. 133: Taverner/Mass: Gloria tibi Trinitas	Mus.Sch. e.376-81
No. 7: Sheppard/Laudem dicite	A
No. 28: Hollander/Dum transisset	J
No. 32: J. Mundy/Edes nostra sancta	
No. 44: White/Regina caeli	
No. 53: J. Mundy/In te Domine speravi	
No. 62: Tallis/Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis	A?

1. With interpolations of foreign psalms (from section J?).
2. 'Infelix ego' No.138, is treated in Ch.Ch.45 and the Paston Mss as material for 3-part extracts i.e. as if it belonged with the B set of sources rather than C1.

ii. British Museum MS. Royal 24 d.2

Dr. Bray suggests¹ that Baldwin may not have copied RM.24 d.2 continuously, but may have divided the book into sections into which pieces could be copied at different times. Bray defines three major sections which may be sub-divided as follows:

<u>Section</u>	<u>No. in MS.</u>	
A	1	1-2 'Miserere nostri' by Ferrabosco & Daman
	2	3-17 madrigals by Marenzio
	3	18-74 music in Latin, with interpolations of 'In nomine' and other instrumental pieces
B	4	75-123 2 and 3-part music, including settings of 'Agnus Dei' & 'Dicant nunc Judei', and Byrd's 3-part mass.
	5	124-175 3-part extracts from antiphons
	6	176-202 miscellaneous 3-part pieces, including early 16th century music in Latin
	7	203 canon 'Jesus autem transiens' by Wilkinson

Bray has shown how some of the madrigals by Marenzio were copied from the printed editions of 1588. He also suggests that the pieces by Byrd were copied from the Cantiones Sacrae of 1589 and 1591. He suggests that the section of 3-part extracts from antiphons was a separate section begun when Baldwin began the manuscript c.1586, and finished in 1591. The date of the copying of the Latin music in RM.24 d.2 is then as follows, according to Bray.

c.1586	1	'Miserere nostri'
c.1586-91	5	3-part extracts from antiphons
c.1588-91	3	main section of Latin music
c.1594	7	canon by Wilkinson
before 1597	4	2 and 3-part pieces
before 1597	6	early 3-part pieces

Since it is suggested that the main part of Ch.Ch.979-83 was finished by 1581, it is interesting to find similarities between

1. Roger Bray, "British Museum MS. Royal 24 d.2...". See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in RM.24 d.2.

that manuscript and sections 3 and 5 of RM.24 d.2, copied between five and ten years later. All the major sections of Ch.Ch.979-83 are represented: A1, A2 and A3; B1, B2 and B4; C2, C4 and C5; and G1 and 2. The only sections entirely left out contain mid-century psalms (D and J); pieces for men's voices (E and F); and Lamentations (H).

The order of pieces in section 3 of RM.24 d.2 sometimes, but not always, reflects the layout of the sources according to the evidence of Ch.Ch.979-83. White's 'Deus misereatur' (No.123 in 979-83), is copied next to William Mundy's 'Adolescentus sum ego' (No.125). Pieces by Byrd are sometimes paired in the same way: 'Ne irascaris' with 'Tribulationes civitatum'; 'Omni tempore' with 'Ne perdas cum impiis'.

Section 5 of RM.24 d.2, 3-part extracts taken from the solo sections of votive antiphons, contains music from the G1 and G2 sections of 979-83. Baldwin copied Fairfax's 'Ave Dei Patris' (No.47 in 979-83) next to Taverner's 'Gaude plurimum' (No.48) but there are signs of a different form of organization as well. Sections from 'Ave Dei Patris' are copied alternately with sections from Tallis's 'Gaude gloriosa', which also appears in 979-83 but in a later position than the 'G' section of pieces. The entire set of 3-part extracts in RM.24 d.2 begins with Taverner's 'Gaude plurimum', possibly because Baldwin knew it as one of the most popular antiphons. The fact that sections from 'Gaude plurimum' are copied as far from each other as f.134v and f.157v suggests that the source used by Baldwin was available to him throughout the time of copying the 3-part extracts in RM.24 d.2, and may be evidence that section 5 was copied over a relatively short period of time within Bray's limits of 1586-91. The

inclusion of extracts from Byrd's 'Cunctis diebus' and 'Infelix ego' at the end of section 5 suggests that once Baldwin had established the pattern of copying 3-part extracts from the antiphon sources, he applied the method, where it would work, to music of a different style and period.

The interest of RM.24 d.2 lies also in those pieces, not copied in 979-83, for which there are concordances in other Elizabethan manuscripts. These pieces are particularly significant in that often there is only one concordance. The 'correspondence' between Byrd and De Monte, for example, which Bray dates in RM.24 d.2 between 1589-91, is otherwise found only in Tenbury 389. 'Vestigia mea' by Giles, in the same section of RM.24 d.2, is otherwise found only in Ch.Ch.984-8. It has been suggested above that the copying date of this piece in Ch.Ch.984-8 is shortly after Dow's death in 1588. The preceding piece in RM.24 d.2, 'Vias tuas' by Ferrabosco Senior, is in several manuscripts as the second part of 'Conserua me Domine'. 'Conserua me' does not appear in RM.24 d.2, and the only other manuscript where 'Vias tuas' is found on its own is Bod.Mus.Sch.e.423. In the light of this fact, it is even more interesting to note other concordances with e.423 in the antiphon section of RM.24 d.2. Two pieces by Tye are of particular interest: 'In quo corriget' of which e.423 is the only concordance; and 'Domine Deus caelestis' where only two concordances exist: e.423 and the Paston manuscripts. The piece immediately preceding the two by Tye is an extract from 'Gaude Virgo Christipara' by Sheppard, and the only two concordances for this piece are e.423 and Tenbury 807-11.

Since there is independent evidence of a connection between Tenbury 807-11 and the Paston manuscripts,¹ the possibility of a

1. See below, p. 94

connection between Baldwin and Paston bears further investigation. And at the beginning of the antiphon section of RM.24 d.2 we find two pieces which have survived only through Baldwin and Paston sources. One, an extract from an unknown antiphon by Sheppard (not 'Gaude Virgo') is found otherwise only in Paston manuscripts. The other, 'Exurge Domine' by Wood, is in Paston manuscripts and both RM.24 d.2 and 979-83, but no other manuscript. A connection between Paston and Baldwin would be an important one, as it is likely that Paston copyists made extensive use of a large and important source of antiphons for the copying of Chelmsford 1, a manuscript dated 1591 i.e. the same year as the verses by Baldwin in RM.24 d.2 and the year in which Baldwin completed My Lady Nevell's Book. A possible connection is not hard to find via William Byrd, given that Baldwin knew Byrd and Byrd knew Paston.¹

One other manuscript is interesting from the point of view of concordances with RM.24 d.2. In Ch.Ch.45 we find 'Traditur militibus', a sequence verse by Taverner otherwise known only from RM.24 d.2. The verse is copied twice in RM.24 d.2: near the beginning of the antiphon section on f.142v, and earlier on f.76 for a reason which is not apparent. But given that placing in Baldwin's manuscript, a further concordance with Ch.Ch.45 is interesting: 'Alleluia v. Confitemini', attributed to William Byrd, occurs on f.160v at the end of the antiphon section, between the genuine antiphons such as 'Salve intemerata' and the extracts from 'Cunctis diebus' and 'Infelix ego' already mentioned. This Alleluia is found in three manuscripts:

1. Philip Brett & Thurston Dart, "Songs by William Byrd in Manuscripts at Harvard", Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol.XIV, (1960).

RM.24 d.2, Ch.Ch.45, and Add.18936-9 which is closely linked with Paston sources.¹ We thus find one concordance with Ch.Ch.45 at the beginning of the antiphon section of RM.24 d.2, and another concordance at the end of it. If the two pieces came from the same 'proper' source, that source, like the antiphon source mentioned above, would have been available to Baldwin for the whole time during which the section 5 was copied.

If Baldwin was the focal point for the circulation of source material, it is clear that he was either keeping some choice items to himself, or that he was not in a position to circulate some of the manuscripts he used in RM.24 d.2. The only sections without any concordances with other Elizabethan manuscripts are the pieces by Ferrabosco (f.53v-54v), the group of 2-part settings of 'Agnus Dei' and 'Kyrie', and the last section of 3-part pieces which might well have come from an older 'proper' manuscript. Some pieces were copied for their curiosity value: the 'Miserere Nostri' settings at the beginning, possibly the correspondence between De Monte and Byrd, (Taverner's 'In Nomine' is copied between these two pieces rather than later simply because there was room for it), Byrd's 9-part 'Domine quis habitabit', Wilkinson's canon from the Eton choirbook, and the preceding piece attributed to Henry VIII. These leave very little unaccounted for: the presence of John Mundy's music is not surprising here or in 979-83 since Mundy and Baldwin were colleagues at Windsor. It could be that the version of Phillips's 'Gaude Maria Virgo' attributed to Morley was also copied in full knowledge of the original as an item of curiosity.²

1. See below, p. 113

2. Lionel Pike, "'Gaude Maria Virgo': Morley or Phillips?", Music and Letters, Vol.L, (1969), p.127

To conclude, the evidence of Ch.Ch.984-8 in 'Vestigia mea' by Giles, and the evidence of the concordances with Chelmsford 1, does support the view that the years 1589-91 are the crucial ones as far as RM.24 d.2 is concerned. That being so, the concordances with Bod.Mus.Sch.e.423 and Ch.Ch.45 are also interesting and relevant to the problem of dating those two manuscripts, particularly as separate evidence suggests a connection between them.

iii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Mus.Sch.e.423

If the partbooks to which e.423 belongs were ever to be found, the set would undoubtedly be an invaluable collection of music rivalled in size and importance only by Baldwin's and Robert Dow's collections. The manuscript may be divided into three main sections, each with its own separate system of numbering.¹ First there is a mixed group of consort songs, anthems and instrumental pieces. The second major section contains 5-part pieces in Latin, the third contains 6-part pieces in Latin. Two groups of instrumental pieces are interpolated in the 5-part section, which is particularly rich in concordances with 979-83. One of these instrumental groups consists of 'De la court' by Parsons, 'Browning' by Byrd, 'Sermone blando' by Mundy, and 'Amavit' by Tye; the other of 'In nomine' settings by Taverner, Tye, Byrd and Parsons. Most of these instrumental pieces were common currency in late Elizabethan miscellaneous collections, and the fact that in e.423 they appear among the Latin pieces, rather than in the first section, may suggest that they were associated, in the exemplars themselves, with vocal pieces. There are also a few miscellaneous pieces copied at the end of e.423. Apart from

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of music in Latin in e.423.

these few exceptions mentioned, the second and third sections of the manuscript consist entirely of pieces in Latin.

Comparing 979-83 with e.423, we find a striking number of concordances in the same order. The C2 and C4 sections of motets by Byrd are particularly closely associated. All the sections of Byrd's motets in 979-83 are covered by e.423. It is interesting, though, that the reverse is not the case: e.423 contains a number of pieces by Byrd which are not included in either 979-83 or 24.d.2. Some of them are in Robert Dow's manuscript Ch.Ch.984-8.¹

E.423 also provides copies of a repertory of magnificats wholly untouched in Baldwin's manuscripts. In the five-part section of e.423 there are three (Nos.18-20) - two by Mundy and one by Taverner. The six-part section of e.423 yields no fewer than seven, (Nos.11-17) by Whitbroke, Taverner, Sheppard, William White, Parsons, and two by Tye. The grouping of the magnificats into distinct sections suggests that they were copied from a specialized source of magnificats. Such a theory is supported by the evidence of other manuscripts, notably Ch.Ch.45 (see below). But it is strange that Baldwin's manuscripts should provide no evidence for the existence of such a source. Possibly Baldwin did not know of it, although if the sharing of sources was reciprocal, the evidence of both e.423 and Ch.Ch.45 is that the magnificat source could have been available to Baldwin, since in both these manuscripts it is clear that Baldwin's sources have been copied at some stage. Another possibility is that Baldwin did know the magnificat source, but chose not to copy from it for a reason of his own. A third possibility is that not all Baldwin's manuscripts are

1. See below, p. 59ff and Appendix III

extant. Whatever the explanation, it seems most likely that a special source of magnificats existed and was circulated among Elizabethan copyists, including those copyists who had access to sources used by Baldwin.

iv. Oxford, Christ Church, MS.45

The contents of Ch.Ch.45 are unusual: the manuscript contains only two or three-part music mostly in the form of extracts from longer pieces.¹ The layout is that sometimes described as a 'table book', where the parts are copied on facing pages and arranged so that they can be read by performers sitting around the table on which the book is placed. Baldwin and the Paston scribes were the only other copyists known to have made extracts from longer pieces, but even they did not use the 'table' form of layout.

An anonymous two-part 'Speciosa facta es' at the beginning and the first section of 'Infelix ego' near the end are in a different hand from most of the manuscript and might be later additions. The sections are well defined and music by White is important: the manuscript begins with sections from the Lamentations, 'Manus tuae' and 'Domine non est exaltatum'. This is followed by a large section of excerpts from magnificat settings, a section which appears to be the raison d'être for the manuscript.

The copyist seems to have formed the plan of taking similar sections from different magnificats: 'Sicut locutus' and 'Sicut erat' first, then 'Quia fecit' and finally 'Et sanctum'. He begins with White, Mundy and Sheppard and continually returns to them as though

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in Ch.Ch. 45. The manuscript is described by G.E.P. Arkwright, Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church Oxford, passim.

their works are the most important in the collection. But his plan is disrupted fairly early on. It is possible that Parsons's magnificat, which follows Sheppard's initially, was intended to be part of the original plan, but the 'Quia fecit' section by Parsons is separated from the others by Taverner's 'Sicut locutus' and 'Sicut erat' sections which should have been copied earlier. In their proper place we find instead Taverner's 'Et semini eius' - the only section of its type in Ch.Ch.45, and 'Esurientes'. One might conclude from this that the copyist was anxious to collect as much as possible from Taverner's magnificat and in the course of doing so his system of organization went astray. A 'Quia fecit' section from Tye's magnificat is in its correct place. Sheppard's 'Sicut erat' is a later addition, the omission of which at the beginning was probably an error. Two sections from Stogers's magnificat appear near the end, suggesting that the copyist found it rather late.

All the magnificats except three are in e.423: Stogers's is one, which supports the idea that it came from another source; another is the anonymous magnificat which was the source of an 'Et sanctum' section, again near the end. The omission of William Mundy's six-part magnificat in e.423 is surprising: it may have been caused by the fact that the copyist of e.423 already had two magnificats by Mundy, although both of these were for men.

In Ch.Ch.45, Stogers's 'Sicut locutus' is copied as an afterthought at the end after 'Infelix ego' and a copy, in the original hand, of Sheppard's two-part 'Laudes Deo Dicam' found in Baldwin's manuscripts. There is another large interpolation of music in the middle of the magnificat section, and it is striking that some is congruent with 24.d.2 and some with e.423:

Ch.Ch.45

Tye/Unde nostris	-
Parsons/O quam glorifica	-
Byrd/Alleluia:Confitemini	24.d.2 f.160 v
Taverner/Traditur militibus	24.d.2 f.142v and f.76
White/Manus tuae	e.423 no.27 in 5-part section
White/Lamentations	e.423 no.25 in 6-part section
Tye/Ave Caput Christi	e.423 no.18 in 6-part section
Tallis/Gaude gloriosa	e.423 no.5 in 6-part section
Tye/Tellus flumina	-
Byrd/Sanctus	-

The sections by Tye are verses to the Lady-mass sequence 'Post partum virgo' and as such correspond to Taverner's Jesus-mass sequence verses which are all in 24.d.2 (Nos.137-147 passim.) and one which is here in Ch.Ch.45. The elaborate style of Parsons's 'O quam glorifica' is matched by his 'In manus tuas' (24.d.2. No.135). The ascription to William Byrd in both the Sanctus and the Alleluia has been queried.¹ They probably came from the same source which was clear enough in its ascription, although it may have been wrong, to be copied by both the writer of Ch.Ch.45 and Baldwin. Perhaps the reason why Baldwin did not copy the Sanctus is that he was suspicious of the ascription.

v. Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.984-8

Robert Dow's partbooks, dated 1581, contain a large

1. Kerman, "Byrd's motets: Chronology and Canon", J.A.M.S., Vol.XIV, (1961)

collection of miscellaneous music. All the pieces in Latin appear in the first section of the manuscript¹ and are consecutively numbered 1-54. Dow devoted the first pages of Ch.Ch.984-8 to music by Robert White, the organist at Westminster. Most, but not all, of the pieces in this first group are also in Ch.Ch.979-83.

The placing of concordances with 979-83 is striking. Concordances occur from Nos.1-13 and 26-41 of Dow's manuscript, and there are none after that apart from one important exception in a different hand, 'O bone Jesu' by Parsons (see below). But these concordances are, for the most part, with two main sections of 979-83: Nos.9-20, the C2 section; and Nos.54-78, particularly rich in concordances with Dow, and comprised of sections B3, B4, B5 and C4. Only three concordances do not fall into one of these categories: 'Dum transisset' by Taverner, 'Exsurge Domine quare obdormis' by Byrd, and White's Lamentations.

On the one hand it seems clear that Dow used some different sources from Baldwin. There are large sections of 984-8 with no concordances at all with Baldwin's set. One such group of pieces is discussed below.² Another is echoed to some extent in e.423, particularly in the later part of the five-part section of that manuscript where there are not so many concordances with 979-83. It is interesting that it is also the later section of 984-8 which is concordant with e.423 rather than with 979-83: e.423 gradually seems to take over from 979-83 as Dow's manuscript progresses.

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in Ch. Ch.984-8. The manuscript is described by G.E.P. Arkwright, Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church Oxford, passim.
2. See below where B.M.Add.30480-4 is discussed, p. 78 ff

Other facts are discernible which may have some bearing on the relationship of 979-83, 984-8 and e.423. In e.423, the only pieces seriously out of order, according to Baldwin, are those where there is a concordance with Dow, although the concordances are also out of order according to ^Dow. One of the pieces in question is 'Mirabile mysterium' by Ferrabosco Senior. In 984-8 'Mirabile mysterium' is paired with Byrd's 'Miserere mei' as a deliberate contrast - Ferrabosco is described as 'Italus', Byrd as 'Anglus'. At the corresponding place in e.423, another motet by Ferrabosco takes the place of 'Mirabile mysterium', and is preceded by Parsons's 'Ave Maria' of which 984-8 is the only other source and where it is placed only two pieces away from the Byrd/Ferrabosco combination. The motet which takes the place of 'Mirabile mysterium' in e.423 is 'Vias tuas'. It is the second part of Ferrabosco's 'Conserva me Domine', and in other later manuscripts of pieces by Ferrabosco including major sources of his music, 'Conserva me', with its second part, is often not far away from 'Mirabile mysterium':

	<u>Mirabile mysterium</u>	<u>Conserva me</u>
Tenb. 341-4	f.41v-42	f.43v-44
Tenb. 1018	f.17-18v	f.19-20
Ch.Ch.463-7	f.7v	f.4v-5v
Egerton 3665	p.114-7	p.106-9

It is interesting, however, that only in one place does 'Vias tuas' appear, as in e.423, on its own: in Baldwin's 24.d.2, where it precedes 'Vestigia mea' by Giles. This suggests that even where there are no actual concordances between 979-83 and 984-8, Baldwin may well have known Dow's sources. For the only other source

of 'Vestigia mea' is 984-8, where it appears with 'O bone Jesu' by Parsons in a different hand from the rest of Dow's manuscript, and accompanied by the type of rubric found in 979-83: 'Mr. Giles Mr. of the children of the kings chappell'. This is unusually explicit for Dow's manuscript, but normal for Baldwin's.

vi. Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.389 and its 'Superius' partbook

Like e.1-5 and e.423, Tenbury 389 begins with pieces by Byrd found in the C4 section of Ch.Ch.979-83. 'Audivi vocem' and 'Apparebit in finem' (Nos. 91 & 92 in Tenbury 389) are copied together as they are in other manuscripts. As a source of Byrd, the status of Tenbury 389 has dropped from being as good as autograph to 'unusually bad',¹ but there are other indications besides the Byrd motets which suggest that the copyist had access to sources used by Baldwin. The only 'proper' pieces in general circulation were the hymns by Tallis and Sheppard, and Tallis's 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' which had been printed in 1575. Tenbury 389, however, transmits responds: 'Libera nos' by Sheppard, 'Peccantem me quotidie' by Parsons, 'Sint lumbi vestri' by Redford. All are in Ch.Ch.979-83 and no other Elizabethan manuscript. De Monte's 'Super flumina' and Byrd's reply 'Quomodo cantabimus' are in R.M. 24.d.2, and Professor Kerman has suggested that the only other extant version, copied by John Alcock in the eighteenth century, was taken from Tenbury 389. A further indication that Tenbury 389 may have been copied from sources connected with Baldwin occurs in the style of ascription found in the recently-discovered 'Superius' volume. On the last page, two settings of

1. J. Kerman, "Byrd's Motets: Chronology and Canon", J.A.M.S., Vol. XIV (1961), p.359

'Miserere' are ascribed in a way reminiscent of Baldwin's style in Ch.Ch.979-83, to "Mr. More of the Queenes Chappell". This evidence, slight if taken on its own, becomes more significant when added to the facts mentioned above.

A major difference between Tenbury 389 and other Elizabethan manuscripts is that it alone contains a sizable group of motets by Ferrabosco¹ and this might suggest that it was copied in London. The repertory as a whole includes a mixture of fashionable consort songs, continental and instrumental pieces, including Sheppard's 'Esurientes', found in sources like Dow's Ch.Ch.984-8 which is known to be a modern amateur collection.

Given an association with Baldwin's sources, it is interesting that near the end of Tenbury 389 is a concordance with Add.17802-5 in Redford's 'Christus resurgens', since Add.31390, which is also associated with proper sources used by Baldwin, contains another concordance: Johnson's 'Gaude Maria virgo' is in five parts in Add. 31390 and four parts in Add.17802-5. Clearly the version in Add. 31390 was not copied from Add.17802-5, but since both Add.31390 and Tenbury 389 seem to have been partially copied from a common 'proper' source, it might be that 'Christus resurgens' and 'Gaude Maria Virgo' similarly came from a common source or set of sources, since concordances with pieces in Add.17802-5 are few and far between in Elizabethan manuscripts. And by implication this would be a source known to Baldwin. Another possibility, though, is that Redford's 'Christus resurgens', which is copied after anthems by Weelkes in Tenbury 389, came from the same source as the setting by William Parsons in Tenbury 807-11 which is also associated with an anthem by Weekles. The two possibilities are however not mutually exclusive.

1. Discussed in Chapter III below.

However careless the scribe of Tenbury 389 may have been in matters of ascription, it seems likely that his sources were no better and no worse than those used by the other copyists who had access to the common group of sources. His manuscript is a variation on a by now familiar theme.

vii. British Museum MS. Add.32377

Add.32377 is a single surviving partbook from a set now lost. A margin note provides the information that it belonged to Hugh Geare in 1585.¹ There are two clearly defined sections: an instrumental group at the beginning containing the same kind of repertory as Add.31390,² and a section of pieces in Latin with words underlaid.³ It is interesting that Sheppard's 'Esurientes', as in Tenbury 389, is in the instrumental section. Two instrumental pieces are interpolated near the end of the manuscript, but apart from these, the whole book is devoted to Latin music from f.25v on. At f.32 is a blank page, and the following section begins in a different hand from the original. The first Latin group, in the original hand, are all in 979-83 except for a setting of 'Haec Dies' attributed to Tallis. This is found nowhere else, and there seems no reason why it should not be a lost piece by Tallis. The other pieces are found in several sections of 979-83:

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1. Add.32377 is described by A. Hughes-Hughes: Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, Vols.I-III, (1906-9), *passim*.
 2. See below, p. 67ff
 3. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in Add.32377.

<u>Add. 32377</u>		<u>979-83</u>
(Christe qui lux)	(White?)	B5?
Plorans ploravit)	Tallis	H2
Incipit lamentatio)		
Deus misereatur	(Sheppard)	D3
(Aeterne rex)	(Sheppard)	A3
(Quod chorus vatum)	(Tallis)	A3
Sive vigilem	(Mundy)	B5
Ne irascaris	(Byrd)	C4

There are other independent links with 979-83 further on. Baldwin is the only other source of White's setting of 'Domine quis habitabit', the only other source of Daman's music except in the special case of his canon 'Miserere mei', which was copied in Jacobean manuscripts, and a source of Ferrabosco's 'Da pacem Domine', one of the very few of Ferrabosco's motets to be copied in sources containing sections of English music. The only manuscript of this type containing a large group of Ferrabosco's motets is Tenbury 389, and it includes this setting of 'Da pacem Domine'.

Few of the pieces which appear later in Add. 32377 could not have been copied from the sources listed above. Four are grouped together in 979-83 in the section B1: White's 'Domine quis habitabit III', Mundy's 'Domine quis habitabit', Parsons's 'Credo quod redemptor' and White's 'Deus misereatur'. 'Solemnis urgebat' (Iam Christus astra) by Tallis is in the same A3 section as the other hymns, and this is interesting in view of the fact that it is also the A3 section which provides hymn concordances in Tenbury 1464.¹ The unascribed 'Precamur' (Christe qui lux) of which only the top part in plainsong is extant,

1. See below, p. 91 and Appendix III

is probably one of those by White. Two versions with the plainsong in the top part are copied in the B5 section of 979-83, and these could match the two versions in Add.32377. Byrd's 'Domine praestolamur' is in the C4 section already mentioned in connection with 'Ne irascaris', and his Lamentations are copied near Tallis's set in 979-83 as they are here. Other pieces are in different sections of 979-83: 'Cunctis diebus' in the C5 section, 'Retribuere servo tuo' in B3 and Tallis's 'Dum transisset' in its special section. Sheppard's 'Haec Dies', copied here with a Kyrie, is discussed below.¹

This leaves unaccounted for a group of continental pieces and some which are unidentified. 'Libera me Domine' (f.66v) and 'Domine non est exaltatum' (f.73) may well be English in origin from one of the B sources. The continental pieces 'Confitemini Domino', 'Jerusalem/Gaude et laetare' and 'Omnia quae fecisti' are all by Lassus, printed for the first time in 1562.² All appeared a second time in 1571,³ but it is interesting that two other pieces by Lassus circulating in Elizabethan manuscripts were also from the 1562 edition: 'Angelus ad pastores' in Add.22597 and Tenbury 1464 and 'Veni in hortum meum' in Ch.Ch.984-8, where 'Angelus ad pastores' was copied next to it. All these pieces were printed again in 1582.⁴

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1. p.74
 2. Sacrae Cantiones, Nuremberg 1562. A description appears in Orlando di Lasso: Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Haberl, (Leipzig, 1894-1926), Theil II, Foreword, p.vii.
 3. Secundus liber modularum, quinque vocibus, constantium, Orlando Lassus auctore, Le Roy & Ballard, (Paris 1571).
 4. Orlandi Lassi...Fasciculi Aliquot Sacrarum Cantionum, Gerlach, (Nuremberg 1582).

There is no direct evidence that Baldwin knew any of these printed editions, but a familiar pattern of Latin pieces in Add.22597 shows that a piece from this group of pieces by Lassus was in circulation with manuscripts known to Baldwin.

viii. British Museum MS. Add.22597

The main contents of Add.22597¹ are anthems and instrumental pieces, with again several concordances in Add.31390. A few Latin pieces, mostly continental, are scattered through the manuscript:

f.16v	Angelus ad pastores	(Lassus 1562)
f.17	Ubi est Abell	(Lassus 1567)
f.22v	Salvator mundi	(Tallis)
f.25v	Aspice Domine	(Van Wilder)
f.37	O salutaris hostia	(Tallis)
f.43	In convertendo	(Douglas)

Here is another of the motets from the 1562 print (the same one is copied in Tenbury 1464) next to a Lassus motet which both Baldwin and the copyist of Add.31390 ascribed to Douglas and near a piece by Douglas which must have been in the same manuscript source as 'Ubi est Abell' and the cause of the mistake. The Lassus/Douglas manuscript was surely the one that was used as copy by Baldwin.

It is interesting that Tallis's 'O salutaris hostia' is the only English piece apart from the later addition of 'Salvator mundi'.² 'O Salutaris' is unusual in that it is never found in a collection unless the collection concerned also includes instrumental and

1. Described by Hughes-Hughes, op.cit., passim.
2. Later because it is a later addition in the index and occurs at the end of a section.

continental pieces, and it is rarely included in a group of pieces by English composers such as those represented in the B sources of 979-83. Tenbury 1464 transmits it with other pieces by Tallis i.e. grouped by composer, but in Tenbury 389 'O salutaris' appears on its own after a section of 'In nomine' settings. In Ch.Ch.984-8 it is again not far away from Sheppard's 'Esurientes' and also with Lassus's 'Angelus ad pastores' which appears here in Add.22597. It is copied as a manuscript addition in a volume of madrigals by Aurelio de la Faya.¹ And that Baldwin never copied it is perhaps significant.

The other 'Latin' piece in Add.22597, 'Aspice Domine', precedes 'In convertendo' and Hollander's 'Dum transisset' in Add. 31390. The association of Van Wilder's piece with either continental or Scottish motets is a recurrent pattern in manuscripts of the period and is discussed separately below.² For the purposes of the present study it is worth noting that the same tripartite association exists in 979-83 in the association of Douglas and Lassus and the fact the Johnson's 'Domine in virtute' is next to 'Aspice Domine'.

ix. British Museum MS. Add.31390³

A positive connection with Ch.Ch.979-83 occurs at the beginning of Add.31390 with the copying of two responds by Sheppard in the reverse order from their position in Ch.Ch.979-83. Dr. Bray has suggested they were copied from a common source.⁴ The same is probably true of Mundy's 'Domine non est exaltatum' which precedes the

1. B.M. Printed Book K.3.b.15.

2. p. 85, f.n.1

3. Described by Jeremy Noble, "Le repertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585", La Musique instrumentale de la Renaissance, ed. J. Jacquot, (Paris, 1955), pp.91-114

4. "The Part-books Oxford, Christ Church, Mss.979-83"...M.D. Vol.XXV, 1971, p.195.

responds in Add.31390. Add.31390 thus confirms patterns which have emerged from studying later manuscripts. In general, associations in Add.31390 are still in evidence in later manuscripts, while solitary pieces often remain solitary or in some way special. Tallis's 'O sacrum convivium' and 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' are both examples of 'solitary' pieces in Add.31390 and both are special in that they are found in the only Elizabethan manuscripts which may have been used liturgically: in Shrewsbury 2 and Kings 316 where in both cases they are copied next to each other. In the case of 'Dum transisset', there was also a musical or textual reason: Baldwin seems to have copied Tallis's and Taverner's versions of the respond together without association with any other piece, so that it is interesting to find both Tallis's and Taverner's settings copied separately and again without other association in Add.31390, especially since the copyist of Add. 31390 who made such a point of copying all the versions by Tye must, by the time he wrote 'Dum transisset once agayne' on f.35v, have realised that the cantus firmus was a minor celebrity eclipsed only by the 'In nomine'.

Byrd's 'O salutaris', solitary in Add.31390, is in 979-83 and Tenbury 389 attached in each case to a different set of motets. Alone among its fellows, it never appeared in print: Professor Kerman has suggested that it was one of Byrd's earliest surviving motets.¹

Another solitary Byrd motet, 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer', is a later addition. It is interesting that with the exception of 'Ad Dominum' of which there is no source for comparison, all the Latin

1. Kerman: 'Byrd's Motets...'

pieces in Add.31390 appear to be written according to the clef convention¹ at the same pitch and in the same clefs as in the later sources used for singing, rather than at secular pitch. 'Ad Dominum' itself appears, in default of evidence other than that of the ranges, to be at secular pitch. It therefore seems that the Latin pieces in the main part of the manuscript were copied from sources written at church pitch, i.e. texted sources rather than instrumental versions. That this was so is discussed in connection with Add.47844.²

Jeremy Noble has pointed out that the latest compositions in Add.31390 are those with words, and suggests that just after the Reformation large numbers of Latin pieces entered the instrumental repertory and that the words were forgotten.³ This may be true in the case of the 'Dum transisset' and 'Christus resurgens' settings by Tye, Mundy's 'O admirabile' and 'In aeternum', and must be true in the case of Tye's 'Amavit eum Dominus' which lacks a Latin text but has an English one 'I lift my heart to Thee' (Mulliner book). But apart from these, the Latin pieces in Add.31390 are all found in later manuscripts with texts, and all are related to patterns found in sources on the copyist's 'circuit' of the 1580s.

There are thus two 'layers' of Latin pieces in Add.31390: where there are concordances with 979-83 and other manuscripts the

1. See Introduction to the Thematic Catalogue, Vol. I. of this study.
2. See below, p. 73ff.
3. Noble, art. cit. p.95

pieces are in the first stage of transition from texted sources at church pitch; the others, none of which except 'Amavit' are in the sources of the 1580s, may represent a further stage of transition where the piece is copied from an instrumental source. This presupposes, however, that a transition was necessary, i.e. that the pieces in question were originally for voices, which is not necessarily the case.¹

x. British Museum MSS.Add.30480-4 and Add.47844

These two sources are non-liturgical miscellanies which include, among other things, textless versions of Latin pieces. Add.30480-4 is a set of five partbooks owned in 1615 by Thomas Hamond.² It was originally an unfinished set of services and anthems, but later copyists have made corrections and additions to the original layer. One of these copyists was also the writer of Add.47844, a single contratenor partbook from a set now lost.³ Since little attention has previously been paid to these two inter-related manuscripts, the manner of their association deserves discussion here.

In the last twenty folios of Add.30480-4 there are several distinguishable hands. Pieces were added on blank pages in any convenient order. The section of pieces beginning with Tallis's 'Sermone blando' and ending with Parsons's 'De la court' is the first section

1. See Appendix II.
2. See below, Appendix IV for an index of music in Latin in Add. 30480-4 and a study of the different hands involved in the copying.
3. Described by Judy Pistor, unpublished B.Litt. thesis, "Nicholas Stroger, Tudor composer, and his circle", in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See below, Appendix IV, for a checklist of Add.47844.

after the original layer where the pieces are kept in the same order in all the partbooks. Byrd's 'Ne Irascaris' is a part of this section, but is copied first in three partbooks and last in the others.

One of the hands in this section (called the 'Q' hand in Appendix IV below) is the same as the hand used in Add.47844, where there are three concordances with this section of Add.30480-4. In Add.47844 there is also a round musical notation which is in the same hand i.e. Q/round and Q/diamond are the hands in Add.47844. The characteristic decorations at the end of pieces in 47844, the use of capital letters for some of the composers' names, the habit of writing a comment such as 'very good' at the end of the piece are all reproduced in Add.30480-4. The resemblance between the two manuscripts is most marked in Add.30481, the 'contratenor' book and the counterpart of Add.47844 which is also a counter-tenor book. As it happens the concordances are all in Q/round in Add.47844, whereas it is the diamond hand which appears elsewhere in 47844 which is so characteristic and recognizable when it appears in Add.30480-4. A textual comparison of the concordant pieces showed the following:

White: Precamur Sancte Domine (Christe qui lux)

Add.47844

No. 1. Peccamur. v.voc. 5. finis quod Mr. Whighte

(Q/round)

Add.30481

f.72. Peccamur. no.ascr. (Q/diamond)

The texts are the same note for note including accidentals as follows:

- B 7th note from the beginning
- C 8th note from the beginning of section 3.

Sheppard: Kyrie/Haec DiesAdd.47844

No.3. Kiri. vi voc. 9. finis quod Mr. Shepparde

Good. (Q/round)

Add.30481

f.72. Kiri. very good Mr. Shepparde. (Q/diamond)

Neither manuscript mentions the 'Haec Dies' but both include it. The same decoration appears at the end of each copy of the piece.

The text is the same - note for note - including the one accidental: a retrospective[†] at the end applying to C the third note from the end.

Byrd: Ne IrascarisAdd.47844

No.5. Ne Irascaris/Civitas. v.voc. 8. 1581 finis quod Mr. Birde (Q/round)

Add.30481

f.74. Ne Irascaris. v.voc. BIRDE (Hand E)

The text is the same note for note except for two instances of accidentals; rests are written identically (on the same lines in the same form) except in one case.

Accidentals: <u>1st part</u>	B ^b	bar 11	both Mss
	E ^b	bar 15	both Mss
	B ^b	bar 41	both Mss
	F [‡]	bar 45	both Mss
	B ^b	bar 51	47844 only
<u>2nd part</u>	F [‡]	bar 26	both Mss
	C [‡]		47844 only

'Ne Irascaris' is one of several pieces dated '1581' in Add.47844. This could be taken to mean either that Add.47844 was

copied in 1581 or that all the pieces which bear that date were copied from a common source dated 1581. The date cannot in this case be the date of composition (as in Bod.Mus.e.1-5 where it is clear that Sadler intends dates to be the composition date) since it appears on Sheppard's respond '(Libera nos) salva nos'.

What does seem clear is that the pieces in Hand Q in Add. 30480-4 were copied at the same time as their counterparts in Add. 47844, because of their similarity in presentation and decoration. Any significant lapse of time between the two sources would mean that the copyist was consistent beyond the bounds of probability.

If Add.47844 was copied in 1581, the appearance of Hand Q in Add.30480-4 would in its turn be dated very conveniently, and this would have some bearing on the dating of the original layer of Add. 30480-4 as well as on the dating of the other additions to the set. But if Add.47844 was itself copied from a source dated 1581, the terminus a quo of Add.30480-4 would not be fixed. A comparison of these two sources with other manuscripts brings to light interesting but not necessarily conclusive evidence.

Hand Q and other manuscripts

There are no words to any of the pieces in Add.47844. The possibility that they were arranged as consort songs with the words in a missing partbook does not hold since full and exact copies of three of the pieces are in Add.30480-4 without words. It is clear that the parts in Add.47844 are instrumental versions. The question then arises: did Hand Q make the collection himself from vocal sources or did he copy pieces such as the Sheppard and Johnson responds from versions which were already intended for instruments?

It is noticeable that Hand Q was not only careless but

ignorant of liturgical correctness. He wrote 'Peccamur' for 'Precamur' and 'Salva me' for 'Salva nos', and he was unaware of the fact that he had included a version of 'Haec Dies' under the title of 'Kiri'. This might suggest that he was copying from an instrumental source, perhaps the same as that which yielded Tye's 'Amavit eum Dominus', Parson's fancy and Strogers' 'In Nomine'. It is interesting that in Add.31390 is just such a group of pieces: three responds by Sheppard followed by two 'In nomines', the second of which is the one by Strogers copied in Add.47844, which is followed by the fancy by Parsons called in Add.31390 'Mr. Parsons his Songe'¹ and which is also in Add.47844.

However, there is contrary evidence that both the writer of Add.31390 and Hand Q were copying from texted sources. It has been suggested² that the writer of Add.31390 was copying the Sheppard responds from the same archetypal source used by Baldwin in 979-83. If this was the case, the writer of Add.31390 was making his own instrumental version, since the archetypal source used by Baldwin was probably an old Chapel Royal 'proper' source with words.

The only sources where Sheppard's Kyrie and Gradual are copied together are the Hand Q sources and Add.32377. In Add.32377 they appear the other way round with words. It is likely that both versions of the Kyrie/Haec Dies came from the same source not only because of their unusual association with each other but because in the same section of Add.32377 are two concordances with Add.47844:

1. It is also in Tenbury 389 called 'Lustie gallant' and in 979-83 as 'The songe called Trumpetts'.
2. Bray: "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979-83..."

White's 'Deus Misereatur' and Lassus's 'In te Domine speravi'.¹

It seems possible then that Hand Q was making his own instrumental version from the same Chapel Royal 'proper' source as that used by the copyist of Add.32377. The Kyrie would have preceded the gradual in the manuscript which must have been organised along the same lines liturgically as Add.17802-5. The only other source of the 'Haec Dies' is Baldwin's 979-83, No. 146, in the same section as that which contains the responds copied in Add.31390. This suggests that the source used for Add.31390 was the same as that used for Add.32377 and the Hand Q manuscripts. Baldwin alone out of the copyists of the Haec Dies had the presence of mind not to confuse it with the preceding Kyrie. But if the source used was an archetypal 'proper' source, the date 1581 in Add.47844 would be likely to refer to the date of copying and not to the date of the source. Moreover, the pieces in Add.47844 bearing that date 1581 are too varied to have come from a single archetypal 'proper' source: they are Sheppard's respond '(Libera nos), salva nos', White's 'Deus misereatur', Byrd's 'Ne Irascaris' and three of the seven anonymous introits. These introits are an enigma: they were presumably copied from one source, but whether they are continental or English in origin is unknown, and if they are English, it is not clear whether they would have come from a 'proper' or a 'psalm' source, although on grounds of style the latter would be more likely.

If we are right in postulating a 'proper' source as the source used for the Sheppard responds in Add.32377 and Add.47844, then

1. 'In te Domine' was printed in Thesaurus Musicus...Montanus & Neuber, (Nuremberg, 1564).

⇒ 1564³ N.13

by
C. and
P. 1564
1566

it seems we are right to interpret the date 1581 as the date when Add.47844 was copied. But there is an alternative theory which would postulate a non-liturgical source dated 1581 as the source of both Add.47844 and Add.32377. There is evidence for this hypothesis in Add.47844 in the application of the date 1581 to 'Deus misereatur' and '(Libera nos) salva nos': since in Add.32377 we find 'Deus misereatur' and the other Sheppard respond 'Haec Dies', as well as Lassus's 'In te Domine speravi' which appears, undated, in Add.47844. The hypothetical exemplar dated 1581 would have been a non-liturgical collection, and, as we have seen, a texted one which included both vocal and instrumental pieces. It would have been known to Baldwin, the main source of the Sheppard responds. In that case, the exemplar for Add.31390 could equally have been such a source rather than the archetypal Chapel Royal source postulated by Dr. Bray. It has already been suggested that Baldwin knew the source of the Sheppard responds in all three manuscripts Add.31390, Add.32377 and Add.47844, and the similarity of a varied group of pieces in Add.31390 to another group in Add.47844 has also been noticed. Was there then a non-liturgical collection dated 1581 which was the source of all three manuscripts, a source either known to Baldwin or even collected by him?

A further question is the nature of such a hypothetical source. Was it a collection in the sense that 979-83 is a collection - or was it merely a bundle of miscellaneous manuscripts - proper, non-proper, instrumental, vocal - circulated by Baldwin? The latter hypothesis would explain the different choices made by each copyist within certain well-defined limitations. It could also explain how Add.31390, a manuscript dated 1578, could have been copied from this hypothetical source: apart from the argument that Add.31390 must have taken some time

to compile, the manuscripts in the source collection must have existed before 1581 and might have been drawn together as a formal collection for circulation only at that date, after Add.31390 had been copied. The date of the 1581 collection coincides with the date suggested as the most probable for Baldwin to have finished copying his own manuscript 979-83.¹ In this case, Bray's original hypothesis of an old Chapel Royal source known to Baldwin as the exemplar of the two Sheppard responds in Add.31390 would still stand, and Sheppard's music in Add.30480-4 and Add.47844 would have been copied from that source, which could have been included among a number of manuscripts circulated in a bundle dated 1581.

This is a frankly speculative theory, but an attractive one because it does fit the known facts. Nor is it inconsistent with what we know already about the variety of Baldwin's sources and the way in which they were used by Robert Dow and other copyists. As far as the significance of the date 1581 in Add.47844 is concerned, the adoption of the 'source collection' theory would favour the hypothesis already suggested above, that 1581 is neither the date of composition nor the date of copying, but the date of a source or set of sources used for both Add.47844 and Add.30480-4.

Turning away from speculation, we find corroborative evidence in another direction altogether. 1581 was also the year in which Robert Dow began his manuscript Ch.Ch.984-8, and this date appears on Dow's copy of 'Ne irascaris' by Byrd. Hitherto the date has been taken to mean the date of copying, but it is interesting that in Add.47844 too, 'Ne irascaris' is one of those pieces dated 1581.

1. Bray, "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83...". See also above, p.39

We already know that Dow had access to some of Baldwin's sources. It is true that 'Ne irascaris' is in virtually every Elizabethan manuscript, and other pieces in both Hand Q and Ch.Ch.984-8, such as 'De la court' by Parsons and Strogers's 'In nomine', are found in a number of other sources as well. But what is interesting in the case of 'Ne irascaris', besides the concordance of the date, is that there are very few textual variants between the Hand Q sources and Dow's manuscript. This is interesting because it is unusual: in general, although there are several important concordances between 984-8 and the Q hand manuscripts, the variants are so great that it is doubtful whether the concordant pieces can have been copied from the same source. And yet it is clear that there is an independent connection - a connection other than through the Baldwin sources - between 984-8 and the Q hand manuscripts.

The situation is a complicated one. There are two pieces in 984-8 of which the only other surviving sources were written by Hand Q. One is Byrd's 'Triumph with pleasant melody'.¹ The other is Johnson's 'Dum transisset Sabbatum', which copyists had good reason to confuse with other settings of the same text.² It is noticeable that both Dow and Hand Q in Add.47844 did in fact show confusion over the authorship of this setting. Dow attributed it to 'Johnson' and 'Tallis alias Johnson', and Hand Q attributed it to 'Taverner'. But it is clear, from the number of significant textual

1. There is in fact one other source of this: Bodl.Mus.f.20-24, owned, like Add.30480-4, by Thomas Hamond, and written by him. The piece was probably copied in f.20-24 from Hamond's earlier manuscript.
2. See below, Appendix I

differences, that Hand Q was not copying from the same source as Dow.

At one stage the order of pieces in 984-8 strongly suggests a connection with the Q hand manuscripts, while a detailed study of the texts seems to deny it. The pieces in question are as follows:

No. in 984-8

17	Angelus ad pastores	Lassus	(pr.1562)
18	Veni in hortum meum	Lassus	(pr.1562)
19	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	
20	Salvator mundi	Tallis	(pr.1575)
21	Candidi facti sunt	Tallis	(pr.1575)
22	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Johnson	

In both Add.30480-4 and Ch.Ch.984-8, 'O salutaris hostia' is associated with continental pieces, but there are two different versions of the piece: one (in Add.30480-4) with an opening full chord, the other (in 984-8) without it. In Add.30480-4 it is the only Latin piece by an English composer in the Hand R section¹ apart from the psalms by Johnson and More, which are themselves usually associated with continental pieces.² In 984-8 the continental pieces in question came from the Lassus print of 1562. In Add.30480-4 they are by Clemens non Papa, 'Venit vox de caelo' and 'Cecilia virgo' from the Montanus edition of 1558.³ Neither is ascribed to Clemens in Add.30480-4, and as far as is known there are no other copies of these pieces in English manuscripts. Yet it is certain that Dow knew the Montanus print, because he copied and made puns on the motto from the title page: 'Vinum et musica laetificant cor'.

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1. See below, Appendix IV, for a discussion of the hands in Add.30480-4.
 2. See below, p. 85, f.n. 1.
 3. Novum et Insigne Opus Musicum... Montanus & Neuber, (Nuremberg, 1558).

'Candidi facti sunt', No.17 in 984-8, is also in Add.

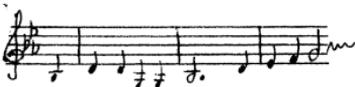
30480-4, where it is copied not at the same time as the other pieces from the 1575 Cantiones Sacrae, but added later next to them in Hand C. This could be purely coincidental, but it is strange that 984-8 and Add.30480-4 are the only sources besides the printed edition, and, as in the case of Johnson's 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' the copies of 'Candidi facti sunt' in 984-8 and Add.30480-4 were not taken from one source. Dow may have been copying from the 1575 print and copied Johnson's piece next to Tallis's because they were both responds. We know that Dow had a copy of the Cantiones Sacrae because he copied the motto 'Tallisius magno dignus honore senex' in Ch.Ch.987. But two pieces of evidence suggest that Dow was not copying 'Candidi facti sunt' from the printed edition: there are several variants, and the fact that Dow wrote in Ch.Ch.988 the note 'printed' on his copy of 'Candidi facti sunt' could suggest that he was making a reference to the printed edition but not copying from it in this case. What he had was perhaps a source of Tallis which included the respond by Johnson, and this was the reason for his confusion and the ascription 'Tallis alias Johnson'.

'Dum transisset Sabbatum' is one of the later pieces in Add. 47844. The pieces in Hand Q in Add.30480-4 concordant with Add.47844 are all copied early on in Add.30480-4. If, as seems likely, the manuscripts were copied at roughly the same time, the Hand Q pieces were already in Add.30480-4 by the time 'Dum transisset' was copied into Add.47844. We have seen that in Add.30480-4 the later hands succeeded each other over a short space of time, since Hand Q is associated with Hand E, Hand E is associated with Hand P, and P and R

are contemporary.¹ It is likely, then, that by the time Johnson's piece was copied into Add.47844, the copying of the later part of Add.30480-4 was under way. At this point 'O salutaris hostia' and some continental pieces were copied into Add.30480-4 in Hand R, and 'Candidi facti sunt' was copied in Hand C as close as possible to the other pieces from the Cantiones Sacrae of 1575. This may have been the result of contact with Dow.

The evidence of 984-8 and the Q hand manuscripts suggests that the copyists of Add.30480-4 knew Dow's manuscript and were deliberately trying to make a similar collection, but using different sources. On the whole they were more dependent on Baldwin's sources than Dow was: for example, 'Precamur sancte Domine' in Add.47844 follows Baldwin's version rather than Dow's different one.² Byrd's 'Peccavi', copied in Add.47844, appears in 979-83 but not in Dow's manuscript. White's 'Deus misereatur', one of the pieces dated 1581 in Add.47844, was not copied by Dow but was by Baldwin. But Dow, with his predilection from White's music, would surely have copied 'Deus misereatur' had he known of it. That he did not copy it suggests that he did not have access to it - yet he seems to have had access to the source of 'Ne irascaris' dated 1581. If the evidence of 'Ne irascaris' in 984-8 is to be trusted, the hypothetical 1581 source must indeed have been a set of manuscripts rather than a large volume newly copied.

1. See below, Appendix IV

2. 

The accuracy of Hand Q as a copyist may be judged from his own version of 'Peccamur', where his one mistake (E for D at 'Tua protegat') was transmitted faithfully in both Add.47844 and Add.30480-4.

xi. Add.30480-4 and British Museum, MS.Harley 7578

One of the enigmas in Add.30480-4 is the anonymous 'Deus in nomine tuo'. At first sight the piece looks as though it belongs with Crecquillon's 'Cor mundum crea', since it has the same psalm-verse 'Averte mala', and is next to 'Cor mundum' in Add.30480-4, but it is not in the Susato print of 1553¹ which is the most likely source of Crecquillon's piece.

It is curious that wherever a foreign piece in Latin is found in Add.30480-4, there is a psalm-setting by Robert Johnson next to it. All the foreign pieces, and all the settings by Johnson, are in either Hand R or Hand P, i.e. copied in the 1580s.² All the psalm-settings in Add.30480-4 are either foreign or by the Scottish composers Johnson or William More. Only one other Elizabethan manuscript, Harl.7578, ^{MS. 627} contains anything by More, and this piece is another psalm-setting with verse and Gloria, 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer'. It appears next to Clemens non Papa's 'Erravi sicut oves' which had been printed by Susato in 1553 in the same collection as Crequillon's 'Cor mundum'. This is too peculiar a set of circumstances to be coincidental.

Harley 7578 is an octavo Superius partbook described by Jeremy Noble as 'mid-sixteenth century',³ and by Edward Ritson as 'a Collection of old Songs, etc., used within and about the Bishoprick of Durham'.⁴ In modern times the pages have been separated

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1. Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant... Susato, (Antwerp, 1553).
 2. See below, Appendix IV
 3. Noble, *op.cit.*
 4. In the manuscript.

and bound in a folio book with unrelated miscellaneous manuscripts. At the end of the book is written the name 'Thomas Awdcorne'¹ and the same hand was used to copy a song on f.115v 'Houghe the tankard'. The contents are a mixture of service music, metrical psalms, archaic-sounding carols, secular pieces and three pieces in Latin.² Several hands were involved in the copying of the manuscript, and the styles of handwriting are so different that one is tempted to suggest that Harley 7578 was not copied as a single book but was compiled in separate sections and bound later. There is, however, a watermark which is found in nearly all the possible sections. It is a common enough mark of a hand with star, but is not positively identified with any of those printed by Briquet³ or Heawood.⁴ It most closely resembles Heawood No.2533, a watermark used in England in 1553. Two other similar ones printed by Heawood are No. 2542, used in England before 1560, and No. 2505, used in London in 1555. The only section of Harley 7578 without a watermark is that containing the Latin pieces. These, which are in a hand not used in any other part of the manuscript, could possibly have been written separately. The handwriting, which is very small and cramped, and the fact that the copyist had to rule extra staves at the bottom of the page, suggest that he had not enough

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1. A search of records for information about Awdcorne has not so far proved successful.
 2. Clemens non Papa, 'Erravi sicut oves', and 'Jesus Nazarenus'; More, 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer'.
 3. C.M. Briquet: Les Filigranes, Paris, 1907.
 4. E. Heawood: Watermarks, Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae, Hilversum, 1950.

room to finish. The pieces concerned are written on two leaves, ff.104-105, and on f.105v is a song, 'If I be wanton I wot well why', copied in a format familiar in the unrelated manuscript Roy.App.58, where the first verse of the song is written out and the remaining verses written underneath with two verses to the width of a page. Again, this is the only song in the book with this format.

It is clear that, whenever the book was begun, most of the copying was done after 1561. The oldest hand ends on f.89 with Aston's macaronic carol 'Ave domina sancta Maria', and a new hand continues on the same page with three metrical psalms by Sheppard based on texts similar to those published by Sternhold and Hopkins in 1561-2.¹ The only named composers besides Aston are 'Robart Johnson' and 'Mr. Heath', both at the end of secular pieces, and 'Wylliam Mundy' at the end of 'Prepare you, prepare you, time weareth away'. This, the last piece in the book and copied in a later hand than Thomas Awdcorne's, is the only other source besides Add.30480-4. It is, however, a different version, possibly for men.

There is in any case a possibility that the Latin pieces were not part of the original manuscript. They were bound into the middle of Harley 7578, and their counterparts are in the section of Add.30480-4 copied in the 1580s. Mundy's piece 'Prepare you, prepare you', was probably copied after 1591 in Add.30480-4,² and in Harley 7578 it is the last piece, copied after the book was bound.

1. 'Why did the gentiles fret and fume', 'Ponder my words O Lord', and 'Give to the Lord ye potentates', all found in B.M.MS.Add. 15166.

2. See below, Appendix IV.

The close connection in the minds of English copyists between Scottish and continental composers is reflected by the association of Johnson's psalm-settings with continental pieces in Add.30480-4, by the association of More with Johnson and by More's separate association with the Susato print of 1553 in Harley 7578.

3. NORFOLK MANUSCRIPTS

At the beginning of this chapter it was suggested that Norfolk was the most likely origin of a group of important manuscripts. There is no conclusive evidence that Tenbury 1464, Tenbury 807-11 and Sadler's manuscripts were written in Norfolk, but the inclusion of pieces by locally-known Norfolk composers Osbert Parsley and William Cobbold, the popularity of music by White, and the number of concordances of these manuscripts with each other and with the Paston

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1. The association of Scottish composers with continental ones was not confined to Johnson and More, nor to Add.30480-4 and Harley 7578. 'Ubi est Abell' by Lassus is often transmitted with 'In convertendo' which is by a composer described by Baldwin as 'Mr. Patricke Douglas Priste scotte borne', and the Lassus piece is ascribed to Douglas in two manuscripts. The Johnson/continental pattern is repeated in Tenbury 1464, Add.31390 and Ch.Ch.979-83. Johnson's five-part version of 'Gaude Maria Virgo' in Add.31390 seems to be copied on its own, but is separated by only three 'In nomine' settings from Crequillon's 'Deus virtutem' which had been printed by Susato in 1555 (Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum...)

Van Wilder, although he worked in England, is clearly a continental composer from the point of view of the copyists: in Thomas Wode's partbooks, which contain only music by Scottish and continental composers, Van Wilder's 'Aspice Domine' was the first Latin piece to be copied. In its later career, 'Aspice Domine' is usually associated with other continental pieces or with Scottish ones: in 979-83 with Johnson, in Add.31390 with Douglas, in Add.22597 with Douglas and continental pieces, in Tenbury 1464 - a secular version - with continental pieces, and in Tenbury 389 near Gombert's 'Vidi civitatem' as in Tenbury 1464. In e.1-5 it is copied among English pieces but near 'Job tonso capite' by Clemens non Papa.

manuscripts make it likely that they were in fact of Norfolk origin. At the same time each manuscript shows signs of an association with Baldwin's sources.

i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS.Mus.e.1-5

Mus.e.1-5 is a set of five partbooks copied by John Sadler and bearing the date 1585. E.1-5 opens with the same section as e.423: pieces by Byrd concordant with the C4 section in 979-83.¹ In the first part of his manuscript, Sadler seems to have been copying from the sources in the same order as Baldwin: sections C,F,G and H in that order, but with interpolations of section D. Tallis's 'Dum transisset' is an unknown quantity as far as Baldwin is concerned, since its placing in 979-83 probably does not reflect any layout in an exemplar, but was made for musicological reasons.²

Pieces by White in e.1-5 do not follow Baldwin's order and are scattered throughout the later part of the manuscript. They are also associated in e.1-5 with music by Parsley and Morley rather than with Parsons and Mundy as is the case in 979-83. Thus it seems likely that Sadler's source of White's music was different from Baldwin's, and may have come directly from Norwich where White had held the place of organist until his death in 1574, where Parsley had been a singing man, and Morley was organist at the time Sadler was copying e.1-5. A comparison of the later part of e.1-5 with 979-83 supports the theory of a separate Norfolk exemplar. All the pieces after No.23 in e.1-5, except for those by White, are either found in the sections of 979-83 already drawn on by Sadler in the earlier part of e.1-5,³ or are from

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of e.1-5

2. See p. 45 and Appendix I.

3. 'Ne irascaris', 'Mater Christi', 'Tribulationes civitatum'.

the 1575 Cantiones Sacrae, or are pieces with a possible Norfolk origin.

It seems likely that Sadler had access both to Baldwin's sources and to another source or other sources circulating in Norfolk. The Norfolk source must have been available by the time Sadler copied No.18, Parsley's 'Conserua me Domine'. In this connection it is interesting that No.24, which immediately precedes Parsley's Lamentations and the group of pieces by White, is 'Maria plena virtute' by Robert Fairfax. 'Maria plena virtute' is also in 24 d.2, but of the two sets of extracts copied there, the one attributed to Fairfax is a different version of the piece, while the one in e.1-5 is attributed by Baldwin to Taverner. There is therefore a possible inference that Baldwin was not familiar with the works of Fairfax except 'Ave Dei Patris', which was probably in the same source as Taverner's 'Gaude plurimum'.

Thus the possibility is raised of the existence of a 'festal & antiphon' source other than Baldwin's. Such an exemplar might have been Sadler's source of the antiphons by Aston and Merbeck in e.1-5. It is interesting that 'Domine Jesu Christe' by Aston and 'Te Deum laudamus' by Aston are found only in e.1-5,¹ and that the only other surviving sources of Aston's 'Gaude mater', besides e.1-5, are Henrician ones. All this suggests that there was an independent 'festal & antiphon' source circulating in Norfolk - a hypothesis supported by the evidence of the Paston manuscripts and by the presence of more music by Fairfax in Tenbury 1464.

The question whether Baldwin ever had access to this

1. There are several sources of 'Te matrem Dei laudamus', the Marian version of Aston's setting of the 'Te Deum'.

hypothetical source then arises, and there is evidence to suggest that he may well have had access to it or to copies from it by the time he came to write 24 d.2. Certainly he did copy an extract from 'Maria plena virtute', even if he was mistaken in the ascription. Another possible connection would be through 'Ave Dei Patris filia' by Johnson. The evidence for such a connection is circumstantial at best, because we know that a source of Johnson's antiphon was copied by Robert Dow. However, that Baldwin did not copy it in 979-83, but did in 24 d.2, might suggest that his source of 'Ave Dei Patris' had become available to him only after 979-83 was finished.

But a comparison of e.1-5 with Tenbury 1464 produces contrary evidence. The question revolves around the nature and contents of the 'festal & antiphon' source or sources (G1 and 2) available to Baldwin when he copied 979-83. A group of pieces in Tenbury 1464 echoes the order of a similar group in e.1-5 and 979-83 so exactly that there can be little doubt that the order in Tenbury 1464 does indeed reflect the layout of the source from which the pieces were copied:

		<u>1464</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.1-5</u>
Taverner	Mater Christi	f.27	G2/50	No.37
Fairfax	Ave Dei Patris	28	G2/47	10
Taverner	Gaude plurimum	30	G2/48	11
Taverner	Ave Dei Patris	31v	G2/49	13
Johnson	Ave Dei Patris	33v	-	14
Tallis	Salve intemerata	35v	G2/46	15

The missing number 12 in e.1-5 is 'Job tonso capite', attributed to Thomas Crecquillon, which appears further on in Tenbury 1464. One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the above evidence is that Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris' was included in Baldwin's G2 source, but that he chose not to copy it in 979-83.

ii. Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.1486, and the Willmott MS.

An analysis of Sadler's manuscript written in 1591 clearly shows that Sadler had access to sources used only by other Norfolk copyists.¹ Nos. 8 and 9 in 1486/W are Tallis's 'Ave Dei Patris' and an anonymous 'Ave regina caelorum' found otherwise only in Paston sources.² Tallis's 'Ave rosa sine spinis', No.19, also otherwise only in Paston sources, is followed by a setting of 'O salutaris hostia' which is unique to Sadler.

At the same time Sadler copied from sources he had already used: at the beginning of 1486/W, three antiphons from e.1-5 are re-copied in reverse order:

		<u>1486/W</u>	<u>e.1-5</u>
Tallis	Salve intemerata	1	15
Johnson	Ave Dei Patris	3	14
Taverner	Gaude plurimum	7	11

Byrd's 'Ne irascaris' and 'Tribulationes civitatum', Nos. 4 and 5, are in the same order as in e.1-5 and 979-83 (C4/59 and 60).

Towards the end of 1486/W are pieces by Mundy which had so far been missing from Sadler's canon; however, Sadler has not copied

- Two partbooks only remain: Tenbury 1486 and the Willmott manuscript, both described in Tudor Church Music, Appendix. A partial transcription by E.H. Fellowes (Tenbury 1474) and a photocopy of the Willmott MS. are in the Tenbury library. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in the mss.
- Printed in TCM, Appendix. 'Ave regina' is ascribed to Byrd in all the Paston sources, which admittedly are not of the greatest reliability, but this ascription is more convincing than that advanced in TCM where 'Ave regina' is ascribed to Taverner. I have been unable to find such an ascription in the Willmott MS. See 'Anonymous' in the Thematic Catalogue.

the more modern psalms, but the antiphon 'Vox Patris caelestis' and one of the psalms in antiphon style, 'Miserere mei Deus'. They are in the same order in e.423, Nos. 21 and 22. The possibility that Sadler was at this late date copying from a source previously used by the copyist of e.423 is made more likely by the inclusion in 1486/W of 'Anima Christi' by William Parsons, of which e.423 is the only other source. The order of pieces is significant:

		<u>1486/W</u>	<u>e.423</u>
Mundy	Vox Patris	19	21
Mundy	Miserere mei Deus	20	22
Parsons	Anima Christi	21	9
Bonus	Domine quando veneris	22	-
Tallis	Absterge Domine	23	-
Anon	Quare tristis es	24	-
White	Domine quis habitabit II	25	8

Nos.22-24 are evidently an interpolation: the continental pieces are also found in Paston manuscripts. It is then likely that 'Anima Christi' and 'Domine quis habitabit' (which was not in e.1-5) were taken from the source of the versions in e.423. Sadler's note suggests a respect for White unsurprising in the light of the amount of music by White in e.1-5: 'Bachelor of musicke cuius anime propriocietur Deus/1591'.

The confusion in 1486/W of Byrd's 'Laetentur caeli' with 'In resurrectione tua' is an enigma; although both motets appear in e.423 they are separated by other pieces there as in the printed edition. 'Laetentur caeli' was a favourite with Paston copyists because of the three-part verse 'Orietur in diebus'; 'In resurrectione' was to become popular with Jacobean copyists. Nowhere are the two pieces as closely related as in 1486/W. Although it is possible that lack of space was the cause, that does not explain why the verse 'Orietur' is called the '3a pars' in the Willmott MS., as though 'Laetentur caeli' were the 'secunda pars' of 'In resurrectione'. Possibly the note is merely

a mistake written when Sadler had forgotten why he had copied the motets so close together.

iii. Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.1464

Tenbury 1464 is a single Bass partbook, undated, from a set now lost.¹ The similarity of Sadler's repertory to that in Tenbury 1464 has been noted, as has the presence in the manuscript of music by Osbert Parsley and William Cobbold, both of Norwich. It is most likely that the inclusion of music by these composers points to a Norfolk provenance, particularly since music by Parsley occupies the important first place in Tenbury 1464.

Association with Baldwin's sources occurs in two places. The use of Baldwin's antiphon source G2 has been noted above.² A group of hymns by Sheppard and Tallis may all be found in the A3 section of 979-83. The hypothetical A3 source is the one thought to be a large 'proper' source containing a cycle of hymns and responds, and probably belonging to the Household Chapel. Interestingly, the copyist of Tenbury 1464 got the hymn titles right, even though the polyphonic text begins with the second verse of the hymn. His system of underlining the title probably reflects the style of his exemplar. The fact that all the hymns in Tenbury 1464 are congruent with one single section of 979-83 would seem to indicate that Tenbury 1464 was copied from Baldwin's source of hymns.

A third possible connection with Baldwin, although a tenuous one, occurs at the beginning of Tenbury 1464 where there is a section of pieces which probably came from a secular London source: the

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Tenbury 1464.

2. See p. 88

section contains the fashionable 'Amavit' and Lassus's 'Angelus ad pastores' (The Lassus piece is in Add.22597), and also a secular Latin version of Van Wilder's 'Aspice Domine' ascribed to 'Phillipes the Italian'. In Tenbury 1464 this secular version, 'Plangete vivos', precedes Johnson's 'Domine in virtute tua', while in 979-83 the sacred version and the piece by Johnson are found together. As far as is known, the secular version is found in no other source.

Turning to concordances with e.1-5, we find in Tenbury 1464 a group of pieces by White reflecting the order of e.1-5 more closely than that of 979-83: it has been suggested above that Sadler used an independent source of music by White. Further concordances are found in the presence of 'Job tonso capite' in 1464, and a group of pieces by Tallis. Two are found in e.1-5, one in 1486/W and the other is unique to Tenbury 1464.

Yet there is a common factor between all three manuscripts 979-83, e.1-5 and Tenbury 1464. This has been pointed out above in connection with the G2 section of antiphons in 979-83. The presence of 'Miserere mei Deus' by Tye may be further evidence of common sources in all three manuscripts. The proposed connection would seem to suggest a later date for Tenbury 1464 than 1570, which is the date suggested by the editors of Tudor Church Music. Undoubtedly the manuscript contains an old-fashioned repertory, and is written in an archaic style. However, it may be that the copyist was merely following the style of the sources available to him. In early sixteenth century sources, particularly the 'festal & antiphon' sources such as Harley 1709, Add.34191 and the Forrest-Heyther partbooks, the title of each piece usually appears as an underlined heading at the top of the page on which the piece begins; this practice contrasts with most

Elizabethan miscellaneous collections where pieces are transmitted without introduction. (There are exceptions, such as Add.31390). However, in Tenbury 1464, both systems are used. The first pieces, those by Parsley and the ones presumably copied from an Elizabethan miscellaneous source, are untitled, but as soon as the copyist came to the pieces by Fairfax he began to give the pieces titles and ascriptions in the old-fashioned way. The inference is that he was then copying from a 'festal & antiphon' source where the pieces were written in that way. As the manuscript continues, the sources used are also of the 'festal & antiphon' type: the Fairfax source giving way to Baldwin's G2 source, followed by a source of masses by Taverner and Tallis. A little later comes the source of hymns, where, as we have seen, the titles were all copied correctly. Some later pieces in Tenbury 1464, as far as the group by White, are also given titles; this might also reflect the style of the exemplars, or, by that stage, be done for the sake of consistency. However, it is interesting that Parson's magnificat, the last piece in the original hand, is given no title, and this again may reflect the style of the source from which it came.

iv. Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MSS.807-11

Although given a date of c.1610 in the Tenbury catalogue,¹ Tenbury 807-11 shows signs of having been copied from a combination of sources used in e.423 and by Baldwin. The first eight pieces are from Byrd's 1591 Cantiones Sacrae in the same order as in the print. The first piece after that is the ubiquitous 'Manus tuae', followed

1. E.H. Fellowes, The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College Tenbury, (Paris, 1934), p.168. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in Tenbury 807-11.

by a section of votive antiphons and magnificats by Parsons, White and Taverner, all pieces which appear in the six-part section of e.423, and by Sheppard's 'Gaude Virgo' (no.15). On the other hand, Tye's 'Peccavimus' (No.16) is otherwise only in 979-83, and Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris' (No.18) was in the G2 source of antiphons although it does not appear in 979-83. 'Christus resurgens' (No.13) is the only surviving Latin piece by William Parsons besides 'Anima Christi', which is in e.423, 1486/W and the Paston manuscripts. It is these circumstances which raise the question of a Norfolk connection for Tenbury 807-11, since William Parsons seems to be associated with Norfolk manuscripts - an odd association in view of the fact that he worked in Wells. However, additional evidence of a link with Norfolk occurs in the treatment of Parsons's magnificat. We have already seen that it is copied in Tenbury 1464, and while we might think it no more than coincidence that the copyist of 1464 should have chosen this magnificat out of all those available, to find the same care taken over it in Tenbury 807-11, where it is copied twice, must amount to more than coincidence.

There is also a probable connection between Tenbury 807-11 and the neighbouring county of Suffolk, in the inclusion in Tenbury 807-11 of two pieces in a more modern style than the others. Both are found only in Tenbury 807-11. George Kirbye's 'Vox in Rama' is modelled on continental settings, and Weelkes's 'Laboravi in gemitu meo' is similar stylistically to a setting by Morley:

Philippe Rogier
attr. Morley.
arr.

Handwritten musical notation for Philippe Rogier's 'Laboravi in gemitu meo'. The notation is on a single staff in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The melody begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. The lyrics 'la - bo - ra - - - - - vi in ge - mi - tu' are written below the notes.

WEELKES

Handwritten musical notation for George Morley's 'Laboravi in gemitu meo'. The notation is on a single staff in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The melody begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. The lyrics 'la - bo - ra - - - - - vi in ge - mi - tu' are written below the notes.

MORLEY

Morley's setting was copied by Thomas Hamond out of Kirbye's 'Blacke bookes'.¹

v. The Paston manuscripts

The sources available for the copying of the Paston manuscripts must have included 'festal & antiphon', 'proper' and 'psalm' sources, manuscript sources of Byrd's Latin music as well as the printed editions, and several continental prints. The lists in Appendix VI below show the contents of the Paston manuscripts according to their possible sources, and according to the four Paston copyists. Some of the categories may overlap. It is not axiomatic that Byrd's motets from the 1589 and 1591 Cantiones Sacrae were copied from the printed editions. Psalms in antiphon style may have come from 'festal & antiphon' sources or from 'psalm' sources, or from other collections.

The extent of Paston's music library may be seen from his will:

"...Item whereas I have standinge in my Study next the Parlor at Appleton a Chest wherein there are many setts of lattin, ffrench and Italian songs some of three, four, five, six, seaven and eight parts whereof all are pricked and as yet not printed...
 ...Item whereas I have divers other singinge bookes at my house at Townebarningham and some at my house at Thorpe by Norwich, whereof many are prickt songs and not printed and many songes printed and not prickt...
 ...And whereas I have also many setts of printed songs in the foresaid Study by the parlor at Appleton...
 ...And whereas I have standinge in the Gallery at Appleton where I now dwell fower trunckes wherein are conteyned divers setts of lute books prickt in Cyphers and divers singing books tyed up with the same, And whereas I have alsoe in the Closett next unto the said Gallery divers lute bookes pricked all in Cyphers according to the Italian fashion..."²

1. See below, p. 157

2. Consistory Court of Canterbury, Scroope 43, quoted in Brett, art. cit.

It is interesting that while lute books were kept in the Gallery convenient for playing, singing books were kept in the study, as though for reference purposes, or for the purpose of making a fine display in the book-shelf, or because they were not yet finished. It is also striking that all the surviving lute books are in 'Cyphers according to the Italian fashion', but none of the 'singing books tyed up with the same' have survived, unless RCM.2041, an ^{Mean}~~Attio~~ partbook slightly larger than the usual size of partbooks in the Paston collection, is the singing part of a lost lute source.¹ NO

Paston went into some detail over his lute manuscripts; he described the pieces

... 'whereof divers are to bee plaid upon the lute alone and have noe singinge partes and divers other lute bookes which have singing pts sett to them which must be sunge to the lute and are bound in very good bookes some three and some 1.'²

All the surviving lute books are of the type requiring singing parts. The writer of the lute manuscripts can be identified as an employee of Paston's, possibly his secretary.³ Since he knew how to write the ^{Spanish}~~Italian~~ lute hand (using numbers or 'Cyphers' rather than the alphabetical system commonly used in England) he may have accompanied Paston on his travels through Spain. Two of the most important sets of partbooks are also in his hand: Tenbury 341-4 and Essex County Record Office D/DP.26/1. (Chelmsford 1). The latter

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1. ~~Unfortunately RCM 2041 is missing;~~ ^{← found in 1985} Dr. Watkins Shaw has made an ingenious photocopy reconstruction of the partbook from a microfilm in his possession; it has 6 staves instead of the usual 4 to a page and may well have been the same size as the lute books.
 2. Paston's will, quoted Brett art. cit.
 3. see Brett, art.cit. Paston himself was not the writer of the lute hand, which appears in RCM 2089 in a note to the binder.

is the most valuable single source. While the name 'Edwardus Paston' is written on the cover of Tenbury 341-4, Chelmsford 1 bears the name 'Petre', referring to John, Lord Petre of Writtle, to whom Byrd dedicated his second book of Gradualia. Chelmsford 1 was most probably a presentation volume, and the contents represent the best selection of pieces available to Paston at a certain date.

The contents of Chelmsford 1 and 2¹ are paralleled in the other manuscripts: the group of pieces by Byrd has its counterpart in Tenbury 340, the continental pieces in Add.31992, the 'festal and antiphon' repertory in Tenbury 341-4 and Add.29246. This suggests that the Chelmsford manuscripts presented to Lord Petre were compiled as orderly copies of pieces already in Paston's collection.

It is striking that Tenbury 341-4 and Chelmsford 1 are the only sets of partbooks in the lute hand, since the connection between them is very close, particularly in the 'festal & antiphon' category. It seems clear that Tenbury 341-4 was Paston's own set of partbooks containing the same repertory as Chelmsford 1 which was intended for presentation.

In addition to the manuscripts in the lute hand, there are also sixteen separate sets of partbooks in Hand A, and evidence of a seventeenth has come to light in King's College, Cambridge.² Hand B, which copied sets of consort songs and madrigals for the Paston households, took no part in copying music in Latin, so far as we know. There are, however, six sets of partbooks containing Latin music in Hand C, which also copied Chelmsford 2. Other sets of partbooks have

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1. Contents listed in T.C.M. Appendix. See below, Appendix III, for checklists of Latin music in Chelmsford I and Tenbury 341-4.
 2. See below, Appendix VI, 'Paston Copyists', for a list of the relevant mss.

since been lost.¹

Sources available to Paston copyists

It is not hard to suggest a personal connection between John Baldwin and Edward Paston via William Byrd; given the association of Byrd with Baldwin during the copying of My Lady Nevell's Book, and the likelihood of a personal connection between Byrd and Paston.² The internal evidence of the manuscripts is also illuminating.

Chelmsford 1 bears the date 1591, which is the year Baldwin finished copying My Lady Nevell's Book. Given the similarity of the repertory of Tenbury 341-4 to Chelmsford 1, and the likelihood that Paston's manuscript was intended for his personal copy from sources used for the presentation volume, the evidence of both manuscripts becomes important. It is interesting therefore that Tenbury 341-4 contains a section of hymns reminiscent of the A3 section of 979-83, particularly since the hymn source has already been mentioned in connection with Tenbury 1464, another Norfolk manuscript. It may be significant that the hymns were left out of Chelmsford 1: Paston apparently considered them, as 'proper' music, unsuitable for presentation to Lord Petre.

A probable link with Baldwin's 'festal & antiphon' sources occurs in Chelmsford 1, which contains four out of the five pieces Baldwin copied from the G2 source, as well as Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris filia', a piece included in the G2 source but not copied by Baldwin in 979-83.³ The fifth piece, Taverner's 'Ave Dei Patris

1. See the catalogue of Edward Taylor's sale, quoted below, p. 165
2. Brett and Dart, "Songs by William Byrd in Manuscripts at Harvard", Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol.XIV, (1960).
3. See above, p. 88

filia', was known to Paston copyists, although it was not included in either Chelmsford 1 or Tenbury 341-4. In fact the same copyist who was responsible for those two manuscripts (lute hand) included an extract from the Taverner piece in Add.29246.

Chelmsford 1 also shows signs of contact with Baldwin's G1 source, in that 'O splendor gloriae' by Taverner and 'Exurge Domine' by Wood are copied next to each other in both 979-83 and Chelmsford 1.

The organization of pieces in Chelmsford 1 follows a pattern not always strictly adhered to but nonetheless discernible:

1. Festal & antiphon
2. Byrd
3. Miscellaneous pieces
4. Continental motets

Tenbury 341-4 is no less organized, but the sections occur in a different order.¹ Tenbury 341-4 begins with a section of pieces by Byrd, including an interpolation of Tallis's 'Laudate Dominum'. This piece occurs in a similar place in Chelmsford 1. In the last part of Tenbury 341-4 is a section of pieces by Ferrabosco which, like the section of hymns, was left out of Chelmsford 1. Between the Byrd and Ferrabosco motets is a section of pieces which correspond to the 'festal & antiphon' section in Chelmsford 1, with a few of the miscellaneous pieces which also appear in the Chelmsford manuscript.

Extracts from pieces from the 'festal & antiphon' repertory were repeatedly copied in Paston manuscripts and provided the copyists with a fair percentage of their employment. Most of the 'festal & antiphon' extracts found so copiously in Paston manuscripts come from pieces copied in their entirety in Chelmsford 1 or Tenbury 341-4.

1. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Latin music in Chelmsford 1 and Tenbury 341-4.

And it is possible, from our study of other manuscripts, to form some hypotheses about the sources used for these two Paston manuscripts.

In Chelmsford 1 the 'festal & antiphon' section, as in Tenbury 1464, was copied in a style similar to that in Henrician sources. It is noticeable that in other sections of Chelmsford 1, pieces are not usually titled, while in the first section the title is written over the piece at the top of the page. As before, this may well be evidence that the section was copied directly from Henrician or Marian sources. The twelve pieces in question are:

<u>979-83</u>		
Fairfax	Magnificat 'O bone Jesu'	-
Fairfax	Ave Dei Patris filia	G2/47
Tallis	Ave Dei Patris filia	-
Tallis	Ave rosa sine spinis	-
Johnson	Ave Dei patris filia	[G2]
Parsley	Conserva me Domine	-
Taverner	Sospitati dedit aegros	-
Taverner	The Mean mass	-
Taverner	Gaude plurimum	G2/48
Tallis	Salve intemerata	G2/46
White	Miserere mei Deus	-
White	Lamentations (Heth)	-

A few other pieces are given titles later in the manuscript:

Tallis	Lamentations	-
Taverner	Mater Christi	G2/50
Taverner	O splendor gloriae	G1/29
Wood	Exurge Domine	G1/30
Byrd	Ad punctum in modico	-
Byrd	Infelix ego	-

In Tenbury 342 is a section of extracts from the same 'festal & antiphon' repertory as in Chelmsford 1; this is the only set of extracts in the lute hand and presumably was the model for the later Paston copyists. The extracts are from the following pieces:

Taverner	Gaude plurimum
Tallis	Salve intemerata
Parsley	Conserva me
Fairfax	Magnificat 'O bone Jesu'
White	Lamentations
Sheppard	unknown antiphon 'Singularis privilegii'
Wood	Exurge Domine
Johnson	Ave Dei Patris filia
Tallis	Ave Dei Patris filia
Byrd	Infelix ego (ascr. Taverner)
Taverner	Mass 'Gloria tibi trinitas'
Taverner	Mass 'Corona spinea'
Tallis	Ave rosa sine spinis

The use of Baldwin's sources G1 and G2 has already been discussed. But connections with other manuscripts, notably the Norfolk ones, are also striking.

The Fairfax source

A group of pieces by Fairfax in Tenbury 1464 led to the hypothesis that the copyist of that manuscript had access to a special source of his music, a source not widely circulated except to other Norfolk copyists such as Sadler. The fact that Chelmsford 1 opens with the 'O bone Jesu' magnificat might suggest that the Fairfax source was also available to the Paston copyists, and this hypothesis is supported by the evidence of Chelmsford 2.

Chelmsford 2 is of a similar size to Chelmsford 1 and is written in Hand C. The contents are wholly continental except for the first piece, a complete copy of Fairfax's mass 'Sponsus amat sponsam'. Why the mass should have been copied in this position instead of in Chelmsford 1 is a mystery. A possibility is that the two manuscripts were copied simultaneously and that each manuscript, designed for presentation, was to begin with music by Fairfax as the representative of tradition.¹

1. cf. Thomas Morley, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, p.255

Antiphon source known to Sadler

In the discussion of e.1-5 above¹ it was suggested that Sadler had access to a festal & antiphon source which contained pieces by Aston and Merbeck and was not circulated by Baldwin. The possibility was also raised that this source was in fact identical with the Fairfax source, but there is no conclusive evidence either that it was or that it was not.

Further evidence, however, of a source containing pieces by composers other than Fairfax, and independent of Baldwin, is found in Sadler's later manuscript 1436/W, which contains two pieces by Tallis, 'Ave Dei Patris filia' and 'Ave rosa sine spinis'. That the source was available to Paston copyists is suggested by the inclusion of these two piece in Chelmsford 1, and the likelihood of their having come from one source is increased by their placing next to each other. Additional evidence that Sadler's source was the one used for Chelmsford 1 may be found in an anonymous 'Ave regina caelorum', which is placed next to Tallis's 'Ave Dei Patris filia' in 1486/W. This piece is otherwise found only in Paston sources, where it is attributed to Byrd.

The Taverner source

It is not really clear whether there was a separate source of masses by Taverner or whether the organization by Elizabethan copyists merely makes it look as though there was. However, a source of Taverner seems again to have been available to the Norfolk copyists: to Sadler who copied the 'Western Wind' mass, to the copyist of Tenbury 1464 for his copies of the Mean mass and the mass 'Small [In all] devotion', and to the Paston lute hand who copied

1. p.86ff.

the Mean mass in Chelmsford 1 and extracts from the masses 'Gloria tibi trinitas' and 'Corona spinea' in Tenbury 342. The lute hand actually copied the complete mass 'Gloria tibi trinitas' in Add. 29246.

However, we do not know enough about the source containing masses by Taverner to know if it was primarily a source of masses (like the Forrest-Heyther partbooks) or a source of music by Taverner. If it was the latter, it might also have contained 'Sospitati dedit aegros' which is found only in Paston manuscripts; if the former, it might have yielded masses by other composers, such as Tallis's mass 'Salve intemerata' found next to the Taverner masses in Tenbury 1464. And once it could be shown that the source was primarily a mass source, the theory that it also yielded the problematic mass by Tallis on 'Puer natus est nobis' would be an attractive one. What does seem likely, at least, is that the masses by Taverner in Sadler's manuscripts, Tenbury 1464 and the Paston manuscripts, came from one source.

The Norfolk source of Parsley and White

The treatment of Parsley's 'Conserva me' and of White's Lamentations in Tenbury 342, as material fit for making three-part extracts, is reflected in their inclusion in the 'festal & antiphon' section of Chelmsford 1, where they are given titles as though they came from a 'festal & antiphon' source. In Chelmsford 1, White's 'Miserere mei Deus' and Tallis's Lamentations are also given titles. The inference is that these pieces were probably associated in a single source, possibly an archaic-looking one.

Here again Sadler appears to be the central figure. It was suggested above¹ that Sadler's source of music by White was

different from Baldwin's and probably came from Norwich. That Parsley's music came from a Norfolk source is also most likely. The evidence of the Paston manuscripts, taken with that of Tenbury 1464 and Sadler in e.1-5, suggests that the contents of the Norfolk source were as follows:

		<u>e.1-5</u>	<u>1464</u>
Parsley	Conserva me	18	f.58
Tallis	Lamentations	19 & 20	59v
White	Lamentations	21	77v
Parsley	Lamentations	25	2
White	Miserere mei Deus	26	74v

In this connection it is significant that although the sets of Lamentations by Tallis and White are separated in Chelmsford 1, the order of pieces in Tenbury 341-4 is as follows:

Tallis	Lamentations
White	Lamentations
White	Miserere mei Deus

The Sheppard source

Paston manuscripts contain several three-part extracts from antiphons by Sheppard; the full texts of the antiphons are unfortunately not extant. All three extracts are in both the lute hand (Add.29246) and Hand A (RCM.2035). The lute hand is significant because the writer was the copyist of Chelmsford 1 and Tenbury 341-4. The fact that he copied one of the extracts, 'Singularis privilegii', in Tenbury 342 is strongly suggestive that the text of all the antiphons was available to him at the time that Tenbury 341-4 was copied. It is therefore probable that the antiphons by Sheppard were included in one of the sources already discussed, unless there was a separate source of Sheppard's music.

Two facts point to Baldwin's G1 source as the likely exemplar.

Baldwin himself copied two extracts by Sheppard in 24 d.2. 'Inclina Domine' is unique to 24 d.2, but the other, 'Illustrissima omnium', is one of the extracts found in Paston manuscripts and in no other manuscript. A mistake made by Hand A in RCM.2035 provides a further clue: in RCM.2035 the copy of 'Igitur O Jesu' is attributed to Wood, the composer of 'Exurge Domine'.¹ Wood's antiphon came from the G1 source, and, it has been suggested, was copied from that source into the Paston manuscripts. It is likely that the mistaken attribution in RCM.2035 came about through confusion of two pieces in the same source.

The magnificat source

A pattern emerges in consideration of a group of magnificats by Tye, Taverner, Parsons and White, which were copied neither by Baldwin nor in the Paston lute hand, but which are all in Tenbury 354-8. The settings by White, Tye and Taverner are in e.423. Parsons's magnificat, not in e.423, could have been copied from the source used for Tenbury 1464, since a connection between the Paston manuscripts and Tenbury 1464 has already been suggested. 'Anima Christi' by William Parsons and 'Miserere mei Deus' by William Mundy are both in e.423, and 'Anima Christi' appears next to White's magnificat in Tenbury 1469-71, another Hand A source. Both pieces also appear in Sadler's 1486/W and could have been taken from Sadler's sources which were not necessarily different from those used for e.423.

Music by William Byrd

It is now well-known that much of the music by Byrd in the Paston manuscripts probably came from sources other than the printed editions.² The treatment of 'Infelix ego' in Tenbury 342 as material

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1. See below, Appendix VIII, for a discussion of sources of 'Igitur O Jesu'.
 2. Kerman, "Byrd's motets: Chronology and Canon", J.A.M.S. Vol.XIV, (1961)

for a three-part extract corresponds to Baldwin's similar treatment in 24 d.2. Baldwin copied the opening sections of 'Infelix ego' and 'Cunctis diebus' at the end of the section of extracts in his commonplace book, and in the opinion of Dr. Bray, Baldwin's source was probably the printed edition.¹ But in Chelmsford 1, 'Infelix ego' is associated with an unpublished piece, 'Ad punctum in modico', known otherwise only from e.423. This suggests that the two pieces possibly came from one source, and that this source was used for making the extract. There is no evidence that it was also this source which was the one used by Baldwin for his three-part extract, beyond the fact of a likely association already existing between Baldwin and the Paston copyists in the matter of the extracts from antiphons by Sheppard; in that case it seems probable that both the method and the source were common to both copyists.

The search for unknown works by Byrd in Paston manuscripts is complicated by the fact that his music is often transmitted in the company of continental pieces. This habit reaches nothing like the same proportion as in the case of Ferrabosco, who in the eyes of Paston copyists remained a continental composer and whose music was nearly always transmitted in the company of pieces by Lassus² to whom Ferrabosco owed much stylistically. The same fate overtook Parson's 'Credo quod redemptor' which was modelled on Ferrabosco's version.

In Tenbury 379-84, Byrd's 'Circumspice Jerusalem' and 'Aspice Domine' appear in the middle of a section of continental

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1. Bray, "British Museum MS.Royal 24 d.2..."
 2. In Add.31992, RCM.2041, Add.29388-92.

pieces. The same two pieces recur in RCM.2041, again followed by continental pieces, and this time surrounded by a small clique of Byrd 'favourites', but including one anonymous piece:

Memento homo
 O lux beata trinitas
 Beata es virgo
 Aspice Domine
 Attolite portas
 Circumspice Jerusalem

"Beata es virgo" is not the version printed in the first set of Gradualia, nor has it been identified elsewhere.

In RCM 2089 and Tenbury 369-73, a setting of 'Ave regina caelorum'¹ appears in the middle of a section of motets by Byrd. This is the piece edited in the Appendix to 'Tudor Church Music' from Tenbury 1486/W where according to the modern edition it is ascribed to Taverner. I have not been able to find the ascription to Taverner in 1486/W, but in RCM 2089 there is an ascription to 'Mr. Byrde'.

An index of Folger 460328 made by Professor Thurston Dart and included in the microfilm copy in the Pendlebury Library, Cambridge, suggests that all the pieces in the manuscript are by Byrd; in support of this he has identified one piece, 'Ecce quam bonum' which was published in the First Set of Gradualia, and he cites the rubric on the cover which reads 'Lauda anima mea Byrd'.

Two fantasias are also ascribed to Byrd in the manuscript. An unascribed Kyrie is, he says, 'evidence that Byrd was planning the composition of a fourth mass'. He does not, however, cite the only other ascription in the set which is to 'Luca Merenzio' at the end of 'Quem dicunt homines' in the Bassus book, f.48. The next piece

1. Catalogued here under 'Anonymous Pieces'

has also been identified as by Victoria.

It is clear from the order of pieces in other Paston manuscripts that the Paston scribes often included a few pieces by Byrd in the middle of sections of continental pieces. Unfortunately the ascription on the front cover, which Dart took to apply to all the pieces in the book, applies only to the first piece, according to the common practice of the Paston scribes. Nor is the inscription necessarily correct in this case, since Folger 460328 is written in Hand A. Wherever an inscription appears on the cover of a Hand A volume it is wrong or else does not refer to the contents of the books at all. RCM 2036 bears the inscription 'Preciosas Margaritas' which Dr. Brett has suggested is a reference to Paston's wife Margaret. The other case is the confusion of the Cantus book of one set with another set altogether in Add.34000-2. This was done by Hand C, for whom the rubric on the front cover was a normal means of identification in Add.30810-5, Tenbury 385-8 and 379-84. In the case of his own sets the inscription is correct and refers to the first piece in the book.

Some of the pieces in Folger 460328 are found in other Paston manuscripts, notably Add.41156-8 where they could as easily be continental as English. While it is then not necessarily the case that all the pieces in Folger 460328 are by Byrd, it is still possible that some of them are, and that further identifications will bring about that situation described by Professor Kerman and frequently entertained as the pious hope of students of Byrd's music: 'After all the Continental music has been filtered out of these sources, unsuspected works by Byrd and other Englishmen may perhaps be identified in the residue.'¹

1. Kerman, art.cit. See below, Appendix III, for a checklist of Folger 460328.

Transposition in Paston manuscripts

In several sets of partbooks pieces are transmitted at a different written pitch from the usual one. Why this should be remains obscure in many cases, but it is clear that two systems of transposition are in operation in Paston manuscripts, one for pieces by Byrd and another for the 'festal & antiphon' repertory. In the first case, some of Byrd's pieces are merely written differently, i.e. at a different pitch in a different configuration of clefs which in fact works out at the same concert pitch as the printed version.¹ No such system operates in the case of Latin antiphons, but there are still definite patterns of transposition which are related to the clef configurations found in earlier manuscripts.²

For each printed edition of Byrd's motets, there are corresponding Paston sources which might be termed the usual sources: e.g. usual Paston sources of the 1589 Cantiones Sacrae are Tenbury 341-4, 369-73, RCM.2089 and Add.29247.³ These are all either in the lute hand or Hand A. In addition, individual pieces are copied in other sources by both Hand A and Hand C. When this happens, it is often the case that the unusual source contains a transposed version of the piece in question. Some sources, such as Add.30810-5 and Mad.Soc.G.27, contain so many transposed versions that it is unusual to find a version at the written pitch there.⁴

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1. See Introduction, Vol.I of this study.
 2. See below, Appendix VII: 'Transposition in Paston manuscripts'.
 3. See the table of Byrd's motets in Paston sources below, Appendix IV.
 4. 'Vigilate nescitis enim' is untransposed in G.27.

This suggests that pieces were copied from the printed editions into the usual sources, and from there copied into the less usual sources and transposed. A difficulty, however, is that pieces which were never printed (e.g. 'Audiui') are not only in Chelmsford 1, but in the four sources mentioned above as the usual sources for the 1589 Cantiones Sacrae. This raises a question as to whether the pieces were necessarily copied from the printed editions at all.¹

A rubric in Tenbury 379-84 over 'Cunctis diebus' reads 'C.S.II No.30'. The omission of pieces from either the print of 1575 or the two sets of Gradualia in Chelmsford 1 suggests that Paston was to some extent dependent on the printed editions. On the other hand, individual pieces may well have been copied from manuscript sources rather than the prints. A set of three-part hymns printed in 1605 was copied in Mss.2035, 2036 and Add.41156-8, and included in Add.29246, which could mean that they were copied from a manuscript circulating privately, before the date of publication.

Dating the Mss.

It has been suggested that some of the Paston sets such as RCM 2035 were copied as late as 1615.² Add.29246 is given a date about 1610, Tenbury 1469-71 about 1600 and Tenbury 340 in the 1620s. The dates are defined on the grounds of the contents of the manuscripts,

1. See Kerman: "Byrd's motets: Chronology and Canon" where it is shown how few of the motets in the 1589 and 1591 prints were not circulated before publication.
2. Brett & Dart, "Songs by William Byrd in Manuscripts at Harvard", Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol.XIV, (1960).

and in the case of RCM 2035 because a sharp sometimes appears as a key-signature. Yet sharps also appear as the key-signature in the top part of Tenbury 1469-71. The inclusion of pieces by Byrd printed in late editions is not conclusive evidence that the manuscript is late since Professor Kerman has shown how many of Byrd's pieces were circulating in manuscript prior to being printed and Dr. Brett has pointed out the likelihood of a personal connection between Paston and Byrd.¹ Paston manuscripts would be, in the circumstances, the most likely place to look for early copies of the Gradualia, and also for unknown pieces by Byrd.

When Paston made his will in 1630, several sets of part-books were begun but not complete. If as seems probable Chelmsford 1 was begun in 1591, it is most likely that the copying of the other manuscripts was a continual process going on over a number of years. In fact, the exact dating of Paston manuscripts does not matter as much as it would if the Chelmsford manuscripts did not exist, for the sources available at that time were still the models for later manuscripts.

For instance, in the case of the antiphons, the order of pieces at the beginning of Tenbury 1469-71 and Add.34049 corresponds to the order of the same pieces in Chelmsford 1. Tenbury 354-8 is divided into two sections: the first four-part section contains a mixed group of antiphons; the second five-part section contains only antiphons from Chelmsford 1 and Tallis's 'Blessed are all they' which is also in Chelmsford 1. In Tenbury 369-73, Tallis's 'Laudate Dominum' appears in the middle of a section of pieces by Byrd, as it does in Chelmsford 1.

1. Brett & Dart, art. cit.

Add.34049 also contains the only Paston source of Tallis's mass 'Salve intemerata', as well as the antiphon which is in other Paston sources. It also contains the Fairfax mass 'Sponsus amat sponsam' and Tallis's 'Euge caeli porta' which, perhaps, came from sources used by the writer of Tenbury 1464. The 'Salve intemerata' mass is also in Tenbury 1464. This is again a set of sources which was available relatively early in the Paston chronology.

In the case of continental pieces, the Montanus print of 1564¹ was used in the Chelmsford manuscripts and was still being used by the time Tenbury 340 was written. Some printed editions went out of use: only two pieces were copied from the Montanus/1558 prints² after Chelmsford 2 was copied, and both were in circulation in other English manuscripts. Conversely, the fact that the three-part pieces by Lassus printed in 1577³ are only in Add.29246 and RCM 2036 may be evidence that these two sources are late ones, or merely that this was the first opportunity to copy three-part pieces. The Lindner/1590 print⁴ was copied only by Hand C.⁵ It is likely that Hand C was given one set of printed sources to copy while Hand A was given another. Most of the pieces by Victoria are in Hand A, and the vogue for his masses was something which probably developed relatively late.

1. Thesaurus Musicus...(Nuremberg, 1564).
2. Novum et Insigne Opus Musicum...(Nuremberg, 1558).
3. Premier livre de meslange des pseames et cantiques a trois parties recueillis de la musique d'Orlande de Lassus... (Geneva, 1577). Also Second Livre...
4. Corollarium cantionum sacrarum...(Nuremberg, 1590).
5. I am indebted to Mr. Parkinson of the British Museum who has identified many of the continental pieces, for making available to me his lists of identifications in the Madrigal Society partbooks G.9-15, 16-20, 21-6, and 27.

If those manuscripts where a relationship with Chelmsford 1 is visible can be supposed to be the earlier ones, an outline of their chronology, at least for beginning the manuscripts, can be built up. Tenbury 1469-71 and 354-8 should be the earliest Hand A sources, Add.34049 the earliest Hand C source. RCM.2035, although it contains extracts from antiphons, is organized in a special way according to the clef in the top part rather than according to the kind of pieces it contains. This system divides RCM 2035 into six sections where the top clefs are respectively G2, G1, C1, C3, C1, G2. The pieces by Victoria appear at the end of the manuscript.

Later Hand A sources are Add.41156-8, RCM 2036 and 2041 and Tenbury 359-63 and 349-53 which contain continental pieces and second copies of Byrd motets. Tenbury 369-73, as the major source of Byrd's motets, may be the earliest of its type.

All the later Hand A sources contain pieces by Victoria. A 'Benedictus' section is the only Latin piece in Egerton 2009-12, which later belonged to the same owner as Add.18936-9.

British Museum, MSS. Add.18936-9

The connection between Add.18936-9 and the Paston sources is described by Dr. Brett.¹ In 1669 it belonged to Stephen Aldhouse of Matlask, Town Barningham, where Paston had built his third house. Aldhouse was one of the witnesses of Paston's will. Dr. Brett suggests that 'it is possible that the set was compiled by a younger member of the family, or by a musician in attendance, for his own private use.'

It remains only to suggest that the presence in Add.18936-9

1. Brett, "Edward Paston..."

of pieces which are not in Paston sources can nevertheless be explained by the Paston connection. The extracts from Victoria's masses represent an extension of the interest in Victoria development relatively late in Paston sources. The only Latin pieces which are not in the Paston style are the three by younger composers: Morley's 'Heu mihi Domine' of which Add.18936-9 is the only source, Wilby's 'Ne reminiscaris Domine', and John Tomkins' 'Cantate Domino', copied later than the rest of the manuscript.

It seems likely that Paston sources were at some time available to the composer George Kirbye, whose 'blacke bookes' were used as a source for Thomas Hamond's partbooks Bodl.Mus. f.1-6.¹ It is probable that the connection between Kirbye and the Pastons was not all one way, and that Kirbye copied Paston sources of Ferrabosco and continental composers and lent in return sources of modern English composers. Mus.f.1-6 contains Wilbye's only other known Latin piece, 'Homo natus de muliere', copied from Kirbye's sources. Add.18936-9 is the only source of Morley's 'Heu mihi Domine'; Kirbye was the source of 'Laboravi in gemitu meo' in f.1-6 and, it has been suggested, in the Tregian sources as well.² And he may well have been the source of Hamond's copy of John Tomkins's 'Cantate Domino' in Bodl.Mus.f.25-8.

4. LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

We are dependent for our knowledge of Elizabethan music in Latin on the collections already described. There is little

1. See p. 156

2. See p. 149

separate evidence of Elizabethan practice in the performance of music in Latin in churches and chapels. We know that the Marian period must have been in some sense the watershed of composition in Latin. During the five years since Edward's accession and the prayer book of 1549, the florid pre-Reformation style and the implications of texture and formal balance which went with it and had been the tradition for more than fifty years suddenly became archaic. In response to the exigencies of the Reformation, composers such as Tallis, Sheppard and Tye must face problems of form and style different from familiar ones. Such a stylistic revolution was a necessary corollary of the reform of the Chapel Royal implied in a letter of the Protector Somerset to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University,

'that you and everyone in your colleges, chapels and other churches use one uniform order, rite and ceremonies in the mass, matins and evensong and all divine services in the same to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the king's majesty's chapel, and none other...'

4th September 1548¹

and in obedience to the injunctions decreed by Royal Visitors of which those sent to Lincoln Cathedral in 1548 have been considered characteristic:

'...shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one; they shall sing them and none other.'²

In the Wanley partbooks, (Bod.Mus.Sch.e.420-3) similar

1. Quoted in Peter le Huray, Music and the English Reformation, (1967) p.9.
2. *ibid.* p.9

injunctions were taken literally in the case of two masses which were 'turned into English' with varying degrees of success. 'Englished' versions of Latin pieces, particularly those by Tallis, are found in the anthem sources from about 1560 onwards.¹ But it is interesting that two Elizabethan sources, one definitely liturgical, the other possibly so, contain pieces in Latin as well as in English. It is also interesting that they contain strikingly similar repertoires.

The contents of Shrewsbury Record Office 356, Mus.MS.2, are as follows:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1	[Dum transisset]	[Tallis]	lacks beginning
2	O sacrum convivium	Tallis	
3	Beati immaculati in via (sic)	Tallis	English text, title only in Latin
4	Of all strange news	Sheppard	
5	[Benedicite]		
6	Benedicite		

The manuscript is a Treble partbook from a set of six, copied between 1570 and c.1610.² It is one of a group of manuscripts written for St. Laurence's Parish church, Ludlow. Alan Smith has suggested that 'because of its tenuous connection with the royal authority, through the Lord President, Ludlow church may conceivably have arrogated to itself privileges of the Chapel Royal'.³ These privileges included the performance of music in Latin in place of the English anthem. At Ludlow, the use of music in the services was set out in 1581 by order of the Lord President:

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1. See R.T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660, (1972)
 2. Alan Smith, "Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow", Music and Letters, Vol. XLIV, (1968), pp.117-118.
 3. *ibid.*

'That the Antheses be in pricksonge as they hav byn used to be songe. And yf Mr. Person be present such anthe me shalbei songe as Mr. Person shall appoincte, soe that he appoinct suche A songe as is in the churche.'¹

The six Ludlow manuscripts contain a repertory made up of music by local composers such as 'Smith of Salop' and George Pringle, mixed with music by the most well-known composers, many of whom were connected with the Chapel Royal. The pieces by Tallis and Sheppard in MS.2 may then reflect the choice of 'Mr. Person', and in that case it is likely that these were pieces sung in the Chapel Royal.

It is interesting that 'O sacrum convivium' should still have been sung in the original Latin despite the existence of versions in English. The use of a Latin title to head a piece with English text, as in 'Blessed are they' by Tallis, may indicate that the use of Latin was considered fashionable.

Kings College, Rowe MS.316 resembles Shrewsbury 2 in its use of Latin titles where possible, even when the piece concerned has an English text. The similarity of the repertory of these two manuscripts has already been mentioned, but it is possible that Rowe 316 confirms the suggested Chapel Royal origin of the sources used for Shrewsbury 2. In the middle of Rowe 316 is a group of four pieces concordant with Shrewsbury 2 and including the two Latin pieces in the same order:

Beati in maculatie (sic)	Tallis	(English text)
Of all strange news	Sheppard	
[Dum transisset] Sabbatum	Tallis	
O sacrum convivium		

This order of pieces suggests that Rowe 316 was copied from the same source as Shrewsbury 2. Further on in Rowe 316 is another

1. Alan Smith, "Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow", Music and Letters, Vol.XLIV, (1968), pp.117-118.

group of pieces in Latin - and again a Chapel Royal connection is suggested by the presence of three Latin psalm-settings by Sheppard and one by Tallis:

O salutaris hostia	Tallis
Deus misereatur	Sheppard
Inclina Domine	Sheppard
Judica me Deus	Sheppard
Domine quis habitabit	Tallis
Pater peccavi	(Clemens non Papa) (ascr. Orlando)

Two of Sheppard's three psalm-settings were included in the opening section (section D) of John Baldwin's 979-83, and Roger Bray has suggested that they were copied from a Household Chapel or Chapel Royal source.¹ The Latin pieces in Shrewsbury 2 and Rowe 316 are thus, all things considered, likely to reflect Elizabethan performance practice in the Chapel Royal.

A further consideration is the relationship between these two manuscripts and the non-liturgical Elizabethan collections. There is no definite evidence of a connection, but several points, while admittedly speculative, are interesting. One wonders, for instance, if 'O salutaris hostia', by Tallis, was popular with the Elizabethan copyists because it was part of the Chapel Royal repertory. We are not surprised to find psalm-settings by Sheppard copied by Baldwin, but it is intriguing to find a possible connection with Norfolk sources in Rowe 316: Sheppard's 'Inclina Domine' was not copied by Baldwin in 979-83 but is found in Sadler's e.1-5 and the Paston manuscript Chelmsford 1; Pater peccavi (not by Lassus but Clemens non Papa) was also copied in Paston manuscripts. It is likely however that the Paston copyists took it from the Montanus print of 1564, ascribing it, as Montanus did, to Crecquillon. But we do not know why the copyist of Rowe 316 ascribed

1. Bray, "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83..."

the piece to Lassus; did he also copy it from Montanus and 'correct' the ascription? A further, and admittedly tenuous, connection with the Norfolk manuscripts may be found in the inclusion in Rowe 316 of an 'Englished' version of Aston's 'Te Deum laudamus': Sadler's e.1-5 contains the only Elizabethan copy of the Latin version, and it has been suggested that Sadler copied it from a source independent of Baldwin. Baldwin, however, knew the piece, and copied extracts from it in 24 d.2, but he ascribed it to Taverner.

5. CONCLUSION

It seems that John Baldwin was directly or indirectly involved in every major secular source of Elizabethan Latin music extant today. The most likely hypothesis is that a large and varied set of sources, probably bearing the date 1581, was circulated by Baldwin after he finished 979-83. These sources were available to copyists until at least 1591 when Chelmsford 1 was compiled, although they were not necessarily continually out of Baldwin's possession. Baldwin made use of the set again when he compiled 24 d.2, and in that manuscript signs of contact with the Paston copyists support Roger Bray's dating of 24 d.2 and suggest that the peak of activity in its compilation took place around 1591, the year of Baldwin's poem at the back of the manuscript.

The common set of manuscripts circulated by Elizabethan copyists implies that our knowledge of Elizabethan music in Latin, and of its popularity in its own time, is limited, with few exceptions, to the music contained either in Baldwin's sources or the few independent sources circulating in Norfolk. It is clear that although

the miscellaneous collections reflect to some extent the fashion of the privileged in the contemporary church, they reflect to a far greater extent the fashion of the copyists themselves - a mixture of personal taste with the availability of musical sources circulating in social rather than professional circumstances.

III

JACOBAN AND CAROLINE SOURCES

Elizabethan copyists had developed types of source which might be distinguished by intention: some deliberately set out to collect Latin music, while in others sections of English anthems, consort songs, madrigals, chansons and instrumental pieces were of at least equal importance. The same distinction existed in the early 17th century, but the emphasis shifted from the type of source copied as a labour of love by those who could still remember the old regime. Only one set of partbooks, Tenbury 807-11, remains as the successor to Baldwin's and Sadler's collections. More usual was the miscellaneous type of anthology characterised in the 1580s by Robert Dow's Ch.Ch.984-8 and in the early 17th century by Thomas Myriell's 'Tristitia Remedium' of 1616. A dozen sets of partbooks of a similar miscellaneous type are extant. The practice of making three-part extracts, so beloved by the Paston copyists with the precedent of John Baldwin and the writer of Ch.Ch.45, fortunately died out: the sole survivor is B.M. Add.4900, a manuscript for solo voice with lute accompaniment.

This section is now superseded.

1. THE PETERHOUSE CAROLINE PARTBOOKS

The occasional Elizabethan liturgical source such as Shrewsbury MS.2 is paralleled only by the Peterhouse Caroline set of partbooks. The Peterhouse set far surpasses the Shrewsbury partbook in the variety of its repertory and the effort that has been made to search out old pieces such as Knight's 'Propterea Moestum'. On the other hand, important works which had been circulated widely by the

least, Smart admitted, the liturgy was not sung in Latin. It must have been Cosin's influence and interest in music which were behind the broad scope of the Peterhouse Caroline music which ranged from the Henrician English composers to the most modern English and continental music in Latin.

2. MANUSCRIPTS ASSOCIATED WITH JOHN MERRO

i. British Museum, Mss.Add.17792-6 and New York, Public Library, MSS. Drexel 4180-5

Miss Pamela Willetts¹ has identified the hand of Add.17792-6 as that of John Merro whose initials are engraved on the covers. Merro is known to have copied other sets of instrumental music, one of which was presented by William Isles to "Dr. Fell Deane of Ch:Ch: for the use of the publicke musick scoole at Oxford." Add.17792-6 was also used in Oxford in the 1660s by Dr. Matthew Hutton, a friend of Anthony Wood. It contains corrections in Hutton's hand. Merro used both italic and secretary scripts for the word texts, and the first word is often written larger and blacker than the remainder of the text. The set of partbooks in the New York Public Library, Drexel 4180-5, is in the same hand and contains a similar repertory. The suggestion that Merro was connected with Gloucester² is supported by the evidence of Drexel 4180-5 where ascriptions reading 'Mr. Smith of Gloster', 'Mr. Tomkins of Woster', 'Mr. Hugh Davis of Herforde' and 'Mr. Smith of Salop' suggest a local knowledge of the composers working in the West Midlands.

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1. "Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford", British Museum Quarterly, (1961).
 2. Ibid.

Add.17792-6 is clearly organized into three sections:

1. Instrumental and secular pieces:

- three-part instrumental pieces by Tomkins numbered I - XII
- an interpolation of four-part anthems by Amner
- twenty-five four-part instrumental pieces by Ferrabosco, many familiarly ascribed to "A.F."
- an interpolation of "Mr. Luges short service"
- a section of 'Pavins' by various composers
- miscellaneous secular pieces
- sections of fantasias arranged according to composer:
 - 10 by 'Mr. White', 6 by 'Mr. Deering',
 - 6 by 'Mr. Lupo', others by 'Mr. Simon
 - Ives', 'Mr. Okar' and 'Mr. Warde'.
- Dering's "Country Cry", Gibbons's "London Cry" and an anonymous "second London Cry".

2. Anthems by East, Tomkins, Hooper, Byrd, Palmer, Tallis, Giles, Amner, Weelkes, John Mundy and 'Mr. Randall'.

3. Latin pieces in a separate section at the end and all in secretary script:

In resurrectione	Byrd
Dum transisset	(Roose?)
Cantate Domino	Nicolson
Veni in hortum meum	(Lassus)
Angelus ad pastores	(Lassus)
Deus misereatur	(Sheppard)
Deus misereatur	(White)
Adolescentus sum ego	Mundy
Laudate pueri	Byrd
Domine non est exaltatum	Mundy
Jerusalem plantabis vineam	?
Incipit lamentatio	Tallis
Lamentations II	White
O quam gloriosum	Byrd
Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd

Drexel 4180-5 is a larger manuscript containing more secular pieces. However, the repertory is recognizably Merro's:

1. A section of four-part anthems including those by Anner copied in Add.17792-6. Five English versions of madrigals by 'Luca Marenzo' are interpolated. Another interpolation is an anonymous textless piece with a Latin title, 'Circumdederunt/Quoniam tribulatio'.
2. Five-part anthems, including some concordances with Add.17792-6.
3. Fantasias by Lupo and Dering.
4. Miscellaneous secular pieces: some English versions of Italian madrigals, some English consort songs much as 'Abradad'.
5. Anthems by Tomkins, East, Wilbye, Anner and Byrd.
6. Latin pieces.
7. Instrumental pieces: 'In nomine', 'De la court' and pieces called 'Itallian' numbered 1-6.
8. English versions of Italian madrigals.
9. Latin pieces.
10. English instrumental pieces: 'Sermone blando', 'Johnson's knell'.
11. Anthems by Byrd.
12. Madrigals from John Wilbye's "First Set" (1598).
13. Anthems by Smith, Giles, Hooper, Davies, Byrd and Weelkes.
14. Dering's 'Country Cry', Gibbons's 'London Cry' and the 'Cry of London'.
15. Morley's 'O amica mea', without words.
16. Madrigals by Weelkes.
17. Anthems by Randall and Ford.
18. Madrigals by Tomkins from 'Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts', (1622).
19. Italian madrigals without words.
20. 'Orianas': Nos. 1-6 from 'The Triumphs of Oriana' (1603).
21. Anthems by Anner, Bateson, Byrd, Jeffreys, Davis, Tomkins and Weelkes.
22. Fantasias by Bull, Simon Ives, John Jenkins and Ferrabosco Jr.

23. Three-part fantasias by Orlando Gibbons.

The only Latin pieces not included in the two main sections (Nos. 6 and 9 above) are the anonymous 'Circumdederunt' and Morley's 'O amica mea'. While the pieces in the main sections are texted, these are without words, as though Merro intended them to be played as consort music. This and the fact of their separation from the other pieces suggests that they were copied at a different time and probably from different sources.

The two main sections of Latin pieces are as follows:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 6. | Salvator mundi | Tallis |
| | Absterge Domine | Tallis |
| | Incipit lamentatio | Tallis |
| | In resurrectione | Byrd |
| | Adolescentus sum | Mundy |
| | Jerusalem plantabis | ? |
| | Credo quod redemptor | Parsons |
| | O sacrum convivium | Tallis |
| | (Quidam fecit) cenam | Tallis |
| 9. | Laudate pueri | Byrd |
| | Deus misereatur | (Sheppard) |
| | Deus misereatur | (White; ascr. Mundy) |
| | Domine non exaltatum | Mundy |
| | Libera nos (salva nos) I | Sheppard |
| | Libera nos (salva nos) II | Sheppard |
| | Dum transisset Sabbatum | (Roose?; ascr. Tallis) |
| | Jerusalem surge | Clemens non Papa |
| | Veni electa mea | Clemens non Papa |
| | Cantate Domino | Nicholson |
| | Blessed art thou that fearest God | |
| | Veni in hortum meum | (Lassus) |
| | Angelus ad pastores | (Lassus) |

In view of the number of concordances between the Latin sections of the two manuscripts and the clearer form of organization in Add.17792-6, it is probable that Add.17792-6 was partially copied from Drexel 4180-5. Some pieces were left out, while the three copied first (Byrd's 'In resurrectione', Roose's 'Dum transisset' and Nicholson's 'Cantate Domino') may well be evidence of contact with other sources discussed below.

In Add.17792-6, Lassus's 'Veni in hortum' and 'Angelus ad pastores' are in the same order as in Drexel 4180-5, since there they are separated from 'Cantate Domino' only by the anthem 'Blessed art thou' which may be there either by mistake or because at the time Merro thought he was not going to copy any more Latin music. In Add.17792-6 he continued to copy from section 9: the two settings of 'Deus misereatur' in the same order as before. He then copied Mundy's 'Adolescentus sum ego' from section 6 in an attempt to bring more order into his work, because he thought that White's 'Deus misereatur' was by Mundy. Returning to section 9 he looked to see what he had left out of his new manuscript and copied 'Laudate Pueri' from the beginning, inadvertently destroying his system of organization, then Mundy's 'Domine non est exaltatum' which followed next after the pieces already copied. Presumably he did not want the pieces by Sheppard and Clemens non Papa, and so reverted to section 6. Copying from the place he had left, he took the anonymous 'Jerusalem plantabis vineam'. The placing of this in both manuscripts after psalms by Mundy might suggest that it too was by Mundy, but in Add.17792-6 at least the fact that it is next to a piece by Mundy is the result of Merro's system of copying from Drexel 4180-5 and is thus fortuitous.

Nothing else was copied from section 6, either because Merro became more interested in another source or for specific reasons: it is clear that his reason for not copying the two settings of 'Liberanos' and the 'Esurientes' gímel was not so much a dislike of music by Sheppard as an unwillingness to include responds in Add.17792-6, since he also left out Tallis's 'Homo quidam'. Nor did he want Tallis's pieces from the 1575 Cantiones, although he copied Byrd's 'Laudate Pueri'. Possibly the deciding factor was that he did not want so much old-fashioned music in Add.17792-6 as had been included in Drexel

4180-5. This did not stop him copying the two versions of 'Deus misereatur' but, as has been pointed out, he thought one setting was by Mundy, not White, and may not have known the other was by Sheppard.

The three pieces copied at the end of the Latin section in Add.17792-6 were copied from another source. White's Lamentations were presumably copied as a contrast to Tallis's setting, as they were in Elizabethan manuscripts. Both the pieces by Byrd came from the 1589 Cantiones Sacrae which also contained 'In Resurrectione'. While it is possible that they were all copied from the print, it is worthwhile checking the major Elizabethan collections to see if there were any which included both 'O quam gloriosum' and 'Tristitia' as well as White's Lamentations.

Three sources, Chelmsford 1, Ch.Ch.979-83 and Ch.Ch.984-8, contain them all:

	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>984-8</u>
Lamentations	f.20	No. 33	No. 1
O quam gloriosum	f.35	No. 9	No. 30
Tristitia	f.35v	No. 69	No. 31

Ch.Ch.984-8 clearly makes the most sense as a possible source for Merro. Other evidence supports the possibility of such a connection: the two pieces by Lassus in Merro's collections are found in the same order in Ch.Ch.984-8, Nos. 17 and 18, preceded by Sheppard's 'Esurientes' at No. 16. The two pieces by Clemens non Papa in Drexel 4180-5 are from a printed edition by Montanus which Dow knew.¹

There is thus a possibility that Merro had access to sources

1. Montanus 1558.

used on the Elizabethan copyists' 'circuit'.

ii. San Marino, Huntingdon Library, MS.461

Other traces of the sources used for Ch.Ch.984-8 are found in a small single partbook whose contents are as follows:

Halleluia Salvation and Glory	Weelkes
(One blank page)	
O give thanks unto the Lord	[J. Mundy]
(Miserere mei) Deus	J. Munday
In manus tuas	Tallis
Christus resurgens	(Taylor)
Dum transisset	Mr. Tallis
In Deo salutare meum (sic)	
When David Heard	
Cease now delight	Mr. T. Weelkes
(one page missing)	
Cantate Domino	Mr. Nicholson

This source is particularly valuable in that it transmits an otherwise unknown piece by John Mundy, 'Miserere mei Deus'. 'In Deo salutare' is similarly unique to HM.461. The only other source of Taylor's 'Christus resurgens' is Ch.Ch.984-8, where it precedes Byrd's 'O quam gloriosum' which was copied by Merro. It is striking that two of the pieces copied at the beginning of the Latin section in Add.17792-6 are also in HM.461: Nicholson's 'Cantate Domino' is one; the other is a setting of 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' ascribed in both Drexel 4180-5 and HM.461 to 'Mr. Tallis' but ascribed in Ch.Ch.984-8 to a 'Mr. Roose'.

The hand of HM.461 is unidentified: it is in a fine italic script not unlike Thomas Myriell's hand, although it is not his; it is even more like the hand of a copyist associated with Myriell in Add.29427, but again not identical with it.¹

iii. British Museum, MSS.Add.34702-6

A set of partbooks which contains the same kind of repertory

1. I am indebted to Miss Pamela Willetts for this information.

as Merro's sources is Add.34702-6. Fantasias by Lupo are named in a way characteristic of Merro: 'Lupo the seconde' and 'Lupo the thirde'; there is a section of pieces copied from 'The Triumphs of Oriana' as in Drexel 4180-5; of the few Latin pieces, all without words, 'Dum transisset' (by Roose?) is also in Merro's repertory, and 'Decantabit', attributed here to Byrd, is found in Ch.Ch.984-8 with no ascription. A 'Libera' attributed to Tallis is a short piece based on a cantus firmus; there is some possibility that it was originally for voices in the fact that the ranges correspond to normal vocal ranges if the clef convention is applied. The only other Latin piece is 'Timor et tremor' by Lassus.

iv. British Museum MS.Add.17797

This manuscript contains only one piece in Latin: 'Cantate Domino' by Nicholson. His presence is to be expected in a manuscript almost wholly devoted to Nicholson's music, but it is worth noting that the only other sources extant are HM.461 and those copied by Merro.

3. MANUSCRIPTS ASSOCIATED WITH THOMAS MYRIELL

Thomas Myriell was a clergyman, author of The Devout Soul's Search, a sermon published in 1610.¹ He was Rector of St. Stephen's Walbrook, London, from 19 September 1616 - the year which appears as a date in 'Tristitiae Remedium' - until his death in 1625. He was also one of the chaplains to the Archbishop of Canterbury from about 1616.

i. British Museum MSS.Add.29372-7: 'Tristitiae Remedium'

Myriell's set of partbooks is dated 1616. It is a large

1. P.J. Willetts, "The Identity of Thomas Myriell", Music and Letters, Vol. LIII, (1972), p.431.

and important collection of anthems but includes several pieces in

Latin:

Ferrabosco Sen.	Fuerunt mihi lachrymae
Morley	Eheu sustulerunt
Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris
Ferrabosco Jun.	Quare dereliquerunt me
Wilbye	Ne reminiscaris
Ravenscroft	Ne laeteris
Lupo	O vos omnes
Daman	Miserere nostri
Morley	O amica mea/Dentes tui
Lupo	Miserere mei Domine
Byrd	In resurrectione
Byrd	Ne irascaris
Lupo	O vos omnes (in another key)
Lupo	Miserere mei Domine (in another key)
Ferrabosco Sen.	Peccantem me quotidie
Ferrabosco Jun.	O nomen Jesu
Ferrabosco Jun.	Ego dixi Domine
Lupo	Salva nos Domine
Lupo	Heu mihi Domine
Morley	De profundis
Milton	Precamur sancte Domine
Morley	Laboravi

The extent to which Myriell's taste differed from Merro's is considerable. Where Merro copied a retrospective selection of pieces which had circulated in Elizabethan manuscripts, Myriell was more interested in pieces from the printed editions and in the specialised, and more modern, Italian repertory represented by Ferrabosco and Thomas Lupo, and including pieces by the Netherlander William Daman. The only pieces by Byrd are the ubiquitous 'Ne irascaris' and 'In resurrectione tua', both probably taken from the 1589 Cantiones Sacrae. The only pieces by English composers which must have been taken from manuscripts are those by Wilbye, Milton and Ravenscroft, and some by Morley.¹

1. Myriell copied from printed editions in another manuscript owned by him, now MS.II.4109 in the Belgian Royal Library. The manuscript contains madrigals and Latin pieces which could all have been copied from various English printed editions: 'Eheu sustulerunt' and 'O amica mea' from Morley (1597); 'Deus venerunt gentes', 'Ne irascaris' and 'In resurrectione' from Byrd's Cantiones Sacrae (1589); 'O sacrum convivium', 'In manus tuas', 'O nata lux', 'Salvator mundi' by Tallis, and 'Emendemus in melius' and 'Libera me Domine' by Byrd, from the Cantiones Sacrae (1575).

ii. British Museum MS.Add.29427

Add.29427 as a whole must be regarded in the light of its connection with Myriell and the compilation of 'Tristitiae Remedium'. There are, however, three different hands used in the copying of Add.29427 and each is connected in some way with other manuscripts containing music in Latin. Thus, although Add.29427 contains only four Latin pieces: three motets by Lupo and 'In resurrectione' by Byrd, the manuscript may be seen as pivotal in considering relationships between the various extant Jacobean manuscripts.

The first hand has copied most of the manuscript; the second is Thomas Myriell's; the third is identical with that used in Egerton 3512 (the earliest known copy of Tallis's 'Spem in alium') and Egerton 995.

In the first part of Add.29427 there is a collection of settings on the text 'When David heard' and its second part 'O my son Absolon', by various composers such as Bearsley, Ramsey, Farnaby, Milton and Weelkes. The setting by Tomkins, interestingly, does not appear. Tomkins's setting was printed in 1622 in the Songs of 3,4,5. and 6, parts, where it was dedicated to Thomas Myriell. Myriell's copies of anthems in Add.29427 - the second part of the manuscript - are held to be extra copies of material used in 'Tristitiae Remedium', which is dated 1616.¹ This suggests that the setting by Tomkins was written for Myriell because Tomkins knew of Myriell's interest in the text, and in this case the original copyist of Add.29427 would have been connected with Myriell from the time the manuscript was begun. This is interesting because the general repertory of the first part of Add.29427 is

1. P.J. Willetts, "The Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell", Music and Letters, (1968).

strikingly similar to the repertory of John Merro.

The manuscript begins, as does Add.17792-6, and as Drexel 4180-5 ends, with a section of three-part instrumental pieces. Four-part instrumental pieces by Ferrabosco and other Italians are in a separate section. Favourite anthems of Merro's, and secular pieces copied in Drexel 4180-5, are found here: Dering's 'Country Cry', Gibbons's 'Cryes of London' and a setting of 'The Cryes of London' by Weelkes are all copied together as Merro copied them. 'In resurrectione', copied by Merro in both his manuscripts and opening the section of Latin pieces in Add.17792-6, is one of the four Latin pieces in Add.29427.

The copy of 'Cease now delight' by Weelkes in Add.29427 is set out in a very similar way in HM.461. It has been pointed out that the handwriting of HM.461 is very similar to, though not identical with, the first hand in Add.29427, and the impression of similarity is increased by the form of layout. 'Cease now delight' is also found in Drexel 4180-5. The presence of an anonymous 'When David Heard' in HM.461 is interesting in view of the number of settings of the text in Add.29427.

Myriell, at St. Stephen's Walbrooke, was in a position to be informed of contemporary musical fashion in London, and his manuscripts, as well as his association with Thomas Tomkins, confirm that he was in touch with the trends current among London musicians. The presence of the third hand in Add.29427 is additional proof that music circulated freely in this circle.

iii. British Museum, MS.Egerton 995

The third hand in Add.29427 is identical with that in Egerton 995. Only two Latin pieces are found in the manuscript, but both are

interesting. One is White's 'Christe qui lux es et dies I', which is in Drexel 4302 as well as Ch.Ch.984-8, and the other is a fragmentary copy of 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer' by Ferrabosco Senior, a piece found in Egerton 3665, the companion volume to Drexel 4302.

iv. British Museum, MS. Egerton 3512

Egerton 3512 is also in the hand of Egerton 995 - the third writer in Add.29427. Egerton 3512 is the copy of Tallis's 'Spem in alium' which became the model for later 18th and 19th century copies of the piece.¹ It is interesting that this piece, which, it is suggested,² was adapted to English words for the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales in 1612, should be written in a hand associated with a manuscript which contains a collection of pieces supposed to have been written as laments for the death of that same Prince later in the year, and which also contains samples of Myriell's hand. Egerton 3512 contains references to Henry's younger brother Charles who was created Prince of Wales in his stead in 1616, the year of Myriell's "Tristitia Remedium".

The origin of the English adaptation is in doubt. The eighteenth-century copyist John Immyns thought that it was made by Orlando Gibbons;³ the historian Sir John Hawkins wrote the following about the organist and composer Thomas Warwick:

1. See below, p.170ff.

2. B. Schofield, "The Manuscripts of Tallis's Forty-Part Motet", Musical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, (1951).

3. See p.172.

'This person, as Tallis had done before him, composed a song of forty parts, which was performed before King Charles I about the year 1635, by forty musicians, some the servants of his majesty, and others, of whom Benjamin, afterwards Dr. Rogers, was one.'¹

This story was discounted by Thomas Oliphant, the nineteenth-century music collector who edited and performed 'Spem in alium':

'Hawkins says that Mr. Thos. Warwick, Organist of Westminster Abbey, composed a 40-part song, which was performed before Charles I. It is however much more likely to have been this song of Tallis's with the English adaptation, as it is improbable that an obscure musician like Warwick should have attempted anything of this kind.'²

Although Oliphant is undoubtedly right, the mention of Thomas Warwick in connection with 'Spem in alium' is interesting. Egerton 3512 is the earliest known manuscript: the copyist also copied music by Ferrabosco Senior and was associated with Myriell, who knew and copied music by both Ferraboscios. Ferrabosco Junior was Prince Charles' music teacher, and Add.29366-8, a source of Ferrabosco Junior's music said to be in his hand,³ contains an anthem 'I life my heart to Thee' by this 'obscure Musician' Thomas Warwick. While this does not suggest that Warwick was necessarily the adaptor of the words, it underlines once again the interdependence of London musicians.

1. History, Vol. IV, p.65
2. Note in Oliphant's Sale-Catalogue, Puttick & Simpson, April 24 1873.
3. The book was probably owned by John Brown whose initials appear on the covers: he was the publisher of Tomkins's 'Songs' (1622) and Ferrabosco Junior's 'Ayres' (1609). The description in the B.M. Catalogue reads 'apparently in the hand of Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder whose monogram appears at the end of his own compositions'. See Cockshoot: "The Sacred Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco..." for a description of the way in which the identity of the two Ferraboscios has been confused.

The repertory of Add.29366-8 is similar to that copied in Add.29427. A set of fantasias by Dering appears at the beginning of the manuscript, with an interpolation of Wilbye's 'Ne reminiscaris' of which the only other extant source is Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium'. There is a section of settings of 'When David Heard' and 'O my son Absolon', as well as other well-known anthems such as William Sims's 'Rise O my soul'. The pieces by Ferrabosco Junior are all in a section at the end of the manuscript, together with a copy of 'Cantate Domino' by John Tomkins. These are both discussed below.¹

4. MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS

i. Copies from printed editions

Myriell was unique in copying pieces from the 1589 Cantiones Sacrae² with the exception of 'Ne irascaris' and 'In resurrectione'. These two pieces were universally popular. But on the whole Jacobean copyists preferred the 1575 Cantiones and Morley's Introduction, as we have seen in the sources copied by Merro and in A.H.461. In Add. 29996, an organ score, there is a single copy of Byrd's 'O lux beata trinitas' (1575) possibly made when Tomkins owned the manuscript. Another organ score owned in 1635 by Robert Creighton (now Paris Conservatoire, MS. Res.1186) transmits Latin pieces from both the Introduction and the 1575 Cantiones.

Add.17786-91, a manuscript from Oxford,³ contains a textless version of Byrd's 'Laudate Pueri' (1575); however, since this

1. pp.150, 151 and 158

2. See above, p.131 , f.n.1

3. Dart, "Two English Musicians in Heidelberg in 1613", Musical Times, Vol.CXI, (January, 1970).

piece was originally for instruments¹ its presence in a predominantly instrumental manuscript is not necessarily evidence that a source for voices had been the exemplar.

Add.34000, a set of three partbooks, contains madrigals, more of the common repertory of three-part fantasias, and textless versions of some of Byrd's three-part hymns from the first set of Gradualia (1605). They are copied with instrumental pieces by Morley and Edward Blakes; a hand in another part of the manuscript is similar to that used in Add.17786-91.

ii. British Museum, MS. Add.4900

The repertory of Add.4900 is interesting in that the copyist had access to sources of Tudor music not usually copied in Jacobean manuscripts. It is also interesting in that it comes from Gloucester, where Thomas Tomkins was precentor. It has been suggested earlier that John Merro, who may have had access to sources used by Robert Dow, also came from Gloucester.²

The Latin contents are as follows:

Alleluia	Mr. Taverner
Igitur O Jesu	Mr. Sheperde
Benedicam Domino	Mr. Johnson
Domine Jesu	(Anon)
In nomine	Mr. Taverner
Tu nimirum	Mr. Tallis

The manuscript is described in the British Museum Catalogue³ as a copy of Francis Godwin's 'Catalogue of the Bishops of England'

1. Kerman, "Byrd's motets: Chronology and Canon", J.A.M.S., (1960).
2. See above, p. 123
3. Hughes-Hughes, Vol. I, p.425.

printed in 1601. It is thought to have been copied after the death of Queen Elizabeth because where the Queen was mentioned in the original 'The King' has been substituted. The names Richard Bradgate, Ellis Bradgate, William Jennings and Martha Jennings appear scattered through the manuscript. On f.3 is a translation of Latin verses 'now Englished by me Henry Sutton for the use of Mr. Richard Bradgate'. At the bottom of the page is the signature 'Richard Bradgate S'.

The provenance of the manuscript came to light through internal evidence: it is so arranged as to place the list of the bishops of Worcester and Gloucester immediately after the general historical introduction, before the lists of Canterbury, York and London which would normally take precedence. Additions made to this section suggest local knowledge of the Worcester/Gloucester area, and on f.19v is the addition 'Wyllyam Jennings the last prior of St. Oswaldes in Glocester was the first Deane of this new erected Cathedrall church of the holy and indivisible Trinitie in Glocester'. Provenance is further established by the addition on f.49v of a list of the 'Precentor, petticanons, organists & singinge men of the Cathedrall Church of Gloucester...Anno Domini 1612'. The first name on this list is that of 'Thomas Tomkins, Precentor'. Richard Bradgate's name is eighth on the list. A further addition in the margin in the hand of Henry Sutton reads

	Gloster
6	Prebendarys
6	Canons
6	Singing Men
8	Choristers

The musical additions at the end of the manuscript are written on the same paper as that used for the main part of the book, and are, therefore, likely to date from the same time, although the

repertory suggests an earlier date.¹ The variety of pieces, ranging from Taverner's 'In nomine' with words added, and the 'Alleluia' copied in Add.17802-5, to popular songs and 'Madonna', suggest that at the time of copying the book was regarded as a musical commonplace book. The singing parts are copied on the verso side of the page, the lute parts on the recto side of the following page.

Sources for the Latin pieces would have included an antiphon source (for 'Tu nimirum' and 'Igitur O Jesu') and a liturgical source (for Taverner's "Alleluia"). Taverner's 'In nomine' is unusual in that words are underlaid, but this would not have been hard to do given an untexted source. Such a source must have existed in order for the instrumental pieces to be copied. 'Domine Jesu', while the title suggests that it is an extract from a votive antiphon, is instrumental in style. While it is possible that 'Igitur O Jesu' and 'Tu nimirum' were copied directly from an antiphon source, it is interesting that both these three-part sections are in Paston manuscripts and have been associated with the Elizabethan copyists 'circuit'. It is also interesting that the extracts given in Add.4900 could not have been performed without correction any more than those in Paston sources could have been. It is unlikely that the copy of 'Igitur O Jesu' in Add.4900 has anything to do with the Paston copies.²

5. SOURCES OF MUSIC BY THE FERRABOSCOS

The major sources of music by Ferrabosco Senior contain

1. Stevens, in "A Part-Book in the Public Record Office..." suggested that it was contemporary with S.P.246/1, (c.1545-60).
2. See below, Appendix VIII.

virtually no Latin music by English composers. Most Jacobean sources of Latin music contain something by him, but he was rarely associated in the manuscripts with any English composer of his own generation except Byrd. It is no coincidence that the most important Jacobean sources of Elizabethan music in Latin, Tenbury 807-11 and the manuscripts copied by John Merro, contain no music by Ferrabosco. Yet his Latin music was more popular with Jacobean copyists than with the Elizabethan ones. The sources of his music and that of his son are a specialized group of manuscripts overlapping in some cases with manuscripts associated with London copyists such as Thomas Myriell.

i. Major sources

Dr. John Cockshoot in his dissertation "The Sacred music of Alfonso Ferrabosco Father (1543-88)"¹ has described in detail the three manuscripts he considers to be the major sources of Ferrabosco's Latin music. They are

Oxford, Christ Church MSS.78-82

A set of partbooks "written in Italy during the first half of the XVIIth century"²; they contain only music by Ferrabosco Senior, unascrbed.

New York, Public Library, MS. Drexel 4302 and British Museum, MS. Egerton 3665:

Scores copied by Francis Tregian, during his imprisonment in the Fleet, some time between 1608-1619 and probably after 1612. Words are underlaid in the Bass part only and are sometimes omitted altogether except for the incipit. Egerton 3665 contains 5-part music

1. Unpublished dissertation for the degree of D.Phil. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library.
2. Prof. Foligno in G.E.P. Arkwright; A Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church Oxford, Vol. II, (1923), p.30.

with a few 3- and 4-part pieces; Drexel 4302 contains 6-part music. The two volumes are clearly intended as a set. It is striking that they contain very little Latin music by Englishmen and none at all by Byrd. Latin pieces by William Daman and Thomas Lupo find a place, as do pieces by Peter Phillips which may have been copied from the printed edition of 'Cantiones Sacrae', 1612. The only properly English piece is Morley's 'Laboravi in gemitu meo', a possible origin for which is discussed below. *by Philippe Rogier*

It is striking that the major sources of Ferrabosco Senior's music are little connected with the mainstream of English music and that they were copied at least thirty years after Ferrabosco left England. Other fairly major sources show similar characteristics:
Oxford, Christ Church MSS.463-7

'Lattin & Italian songs of 5 voc. unprinted'¹ The whole manuscript is devoted to motets and madrigals by Ferrabosco Senior except for Ferrabosco Junior's set of Lamentations which is the only piece to bear any sort of ascription. It is an early 17th century manuscript. Since the initial 'F' appears on all the spines, it may be that the books belonged to Ferrabosco Junior.

Yale, University Library, Filmer set of partbooks:

An early 17th century set of books containing secular and sacred music by Italian, French and English composers, among whom are William White, Thomas Holmes, Richard Portman, John Wilson, 'Mr. Woodson' and 'Mr. Harknall'. A sextus book is missing.

There are several hands: one in particular is used for

1. On the cover.

pieces by Ferrabosco Senior. There are a good many other Latin pieces by continental composers such as Lassus and Clemens non Papa, and Anglicised composers such as Damon, who is again associated with Ferrabosco. The only English composer of Latin music is Byrd, and then only by one piece 'In resurrectione tua'. This was popular in the early 17th century, to judge from Myriell's and Merro's collections.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, Ms.1018

A score containing Latin music by Ferrabosco Senior and masque songs by Ferrabosco Junior, written in the early 17th century. Words are underlaid only in the cantus part.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.c.45-50

Described as 'paper, written in the second half of the 17th cent.'¹ It begins with twelve Latin pieces by Ferrabosco Senior followed by Byrd's 'In resurrectione' and 'Laetentur caeli'. A section of instrumental pieces by Lupo (including one anthem) is followed by an unpaginated section of Latin pieces by Ferrabosco Junior. The rest of the manuscript consists of fantasias and Italian madrigals without words: Ferrabosco Junior's 'Lamentations' are found in the middle of this section.

E.M. Add.31417

Two partbooks from an incomplete set exclusively devoted to Latin music by Ferrabosco Senior. It contains several pieces not found elsewhere, and like Ch.Ch.78-82 is a reliable guide to the correct order in pieces which are comprised of several sections.

The manuscripts listed above contain very little Latin music

1. Madan, op.cit. Vol. V, p.216.

beside that by the two Ferraboscos. Other sources contain a more general repertory which is discussed elsewhere:

Paston sources:¹

Tenbury Mss.340, 341-4, 369-73, 379-84, 1469-71, 29247.

R.C.M. Mss.2041, 2089.

B.M.Add. Mss.29388-92, 31992, 30810-5, 30361-6.

King's College Cambridge Ms. Rowe 314.

B.M. Madrigal Society Mss. G.21-6.

Hamond: Bodl. Mss. Mus.f.1-6

Myriell: B.M. Add. Mss.29372-7

Add.29366-8

Mss. B.M. Add.37402-6 and Ch.Ch.880 both contain partial copies of 'Fuerunt mihi lachrymae'. Both are 17th century English manuscripts with a bias towards Italian music: in Add.37402-6 instrumental versions of madrigals by Marenzio and Monteverdi open the manuscript, and Ch.Ch.880 contains the basso continuo parts of pieces by Richard Dering and Walter Porter alongside some by various 17th century Italian composers.

ii. The circulation of the music of Ferrabosco Senior

Little music by Ferrabosco Senior, and of course none by Ferrabosco Junior, was copied in the major Elizabethan collections. The most extensive Elizabethan source, not counting the Paston sources, is also the latest, Tenbury 389. It contains thirteen pieces. Most of the pieces in other Elizabethan manuscripts are included in this list. 'Da pacem Domine II' is in Tenbury 389, Add.32377 and Ch.Ch.979-83;

1. See list of Ferrabosco's pieces in Paston manuscripts, Appendix VI below.

979-83 also contains the 4th set of Lamentations. Ch.Ch.984-8 contains 'Tribulationem et dolorem' and 'Mirabile mysterium'. Both are in Tenbury 389 and the latter is in Mus.Sch.e.423 as well. Only three pieces are not included in Tenbury 389; 'Vias tuas', the second part of 'Conserva me Domine', is copied on its own in e.423 and RM.24.d.2. Baldwin is also the source of the other two pieces, and both are special cases. He began RM.24.d.2. with settings of 'Miserere nostri' by Ferrabosco and Damon, and presumably considered the contrast of the two canons a good enough reason for taking Ferrabosco's setting out of its proper context of the psalm 'Ad te levavi oculos'. On the other hand, no manuscript transmits the psalm in the proper context, so it is possible that Baldwin never knew it. Instead, he was probably familiar with the contrast between Ferrabosco and Damon which occurs in the same instance in the Yale Filmer books and in another in Drexel 4302.¹

The last piece under consideration is 'Salva me Domine' which is found in no other source except RM.24.d.2 where it appears without words. The ascription to Ferrabosco thus depends on Baldwin.

It is clear that, aside from the six or seven pieces in Elizabethan manuscripts of the 1580s and 90s, the earliest substantial sources of Ferrabosco in England are Tenbury 389 and the Paston sources, i.e. at least ten years after Ferrabosco's death. The major sources were written still later, and some of it at least by those intended in the epigram:

1. The 'virtuoso' pieces which were probably the result of 'friendly competition' are Ferrabosco's piece for 6 basses and Damon's for 6 'soprani'.

'Inglese Italianato
e un diavolo incarnato'¹

Yet it has been suggested² that all Ferrabosco's Latin music was written before he left England at the age of 35 in c.1578.

If this was the case, all the early sources of his music have been lost, except possibly one which was used by all the Elizabethan copyists.³ Another alternative presents itself in Baldwin's verses at the end of R.M.24.d.2 where Ferrabosco is described as the most important of the foreigners working in England:

'A strainger borne he was in ain Italie as I here
Italians saie of him in skill he had no peere'.

This could be taken to mean that Baldwin himself did not know Ferrabosco's music, or did not agree with the Italian opinion of his reputation.

Bearing in mind that the chief sources of Ferrabosco's music are a manuscript written in Italy and two scores written by an Italianicised recusant Englishman, the possibility that the surviving Ferrabosco sources in England were copied not from lost English sources but from lost Italian sources cannot be dismissed out of hand; nor can it be taken for granted that the whole Ferrabosco canon was composed in England.

1. Quoted by Elizabeth Cole in "L'Anthologie de Madrigaux et de Musique Instrumentale pour ensembles de Francis Tregian", La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance, ed. Jacquot, (1955), p.119.
2. Cockshoot, op.cit.
3. Add.32377, Tenbury 389 and Baldwin's collections. For the connection between these manuscripts see Chapter 3 above.

Two sorts of evidence would seem to be valid: that of the manuscripts themselves, and stylistic evidence. Stylistically Ferrabosco's chief model was Lassus.¹ Some pieces were themselves a model for Byrd and these were presumably composed in England: Ferrabosco's hymn's 'Aurora lucis rutilat' and 'Ecce iam noctis' were imitated respectively in Byrd's 'O lux beata trinitas' and 'Siderum rector', both printed in 1575.²

Evidence provided by vocal scoring is secondary: although it is true to say that Ferrabosco favours the continental 'terraced' scoring rather than the traditional English partative scoring, few pieces would have been difficult for an English choir to sing, and the tendency among English composers was increasingly to write in the terraced scoring. Occasionally the ranges of Ferrabosco's pieces correspond to the traditional Mean, Alto, Tenor and Bass ranges as understood in England. 'Ingemuit Susanna' which is in Tenbury 389 is scored for MAATB; 'Nuntiam vobis' for MMATB. The sets of Lamentations, which may well have been part of a cycle, correspond to the English ranges with a high Mean added. Two sets are in Tenbury 389, so if a cycle was intended the other two sets were probably also composed in England.

The pieces in manuscripts copied in the 1580s, such as Add.32377, Ch.Ch.984-8 and Mus.Sch.e.423, must have been composed before Ferrabosco finally left London in 1582, irrespective of whether

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1. See Cockshoot, *op.cit.*, where pieces by Ferrabosco are compared with settings on similar texts by Lassus.
 2. Kerman, "The Elizabethan Motet: a Study of Texts for Music", Studies in the Renaissance, Vol.IX, (1962).

any connection exists between these and the ones copied by Baldwin and those in Tenbury 389. The fact that the pieces copied in the 1580s appear with others by Ferrabosco in later manuscripts is not really evidence that the others were also composed in England, since it is clear that Jacobean copyists liked to make collections of Ferrabosco in the same way that they and the Elizabethans liked to make collections of Byrd. The origin of the popularity of Ferrabosco in the early 17th century may be due in quite a large measure to the popularity and importance in court circles of his son, and it may well be that the sources used by the major copyists of Ferrabosco Senior came either from Ferrabosco Junior or from that group of Italians mentioned by Baldwin. One such manuscript is Tenbury 1018 which contains seven of Ferrabosco's Latin pieces along with a group of songs by Ferrabosco Junior and a few other Latin motets by continental composers.

None of the major sources of Ferrabosco Senior, Ch.Ch.78-82, Add.31417 or the Tregian sources are dependent on each other. Ch.Ch.78-82 can be virtually discounted since it was written in Italy. Add.31417 contains several 'unicae': 'Deus misereatur', 'Jerusalem plantabis vineam' and 'Plorans ploravit', as well as 'Credo quod redemptor' which is not in either of the other two major sources. Ch.Ch.463-7 contains pieces which are in Ch.Ch.78-82 and Egerton 3665, while the Yale Filmer set contains only pieces which are also in Egerton 3665. The remaining contents of the Filmer set have much in common with the continental sections of the Paston manuscripts, and an interesting factor is the relationship of the Tregian manuscripts to the Paston sources.

Three pieces in the Paston sources are found only there: 'Benedicam Dominum/Gustate et videte', 'Da pacem Domine 3', and 'Agimus tibi gratias'. Leaving these aside, it is noticeable that all the pieces in Tenbury 341-4, the first Paston manuscript to be copied, are also in the Tregian manuscripts, although the reverse is not the case. Most are in Egerton 3665, only the six-part pieces appearing in Drexel 4302. Later Paston sources transmit mainly 6-part pieces by Ferrabosco and so the concordances are mainly with Drexel 4302. In the case of the second set of Lamentations, the only sources are Drexel 4302 and Tenbury 341-4. Similarly, 'In monte Oliveti' is only in Drexel 4302 and seven Paston sources. Dr. Cockshoot noted that Drexel 4302 was the only source of 'Tibi soli peccavi'. Thanks to the discovery of the fragment Rowe 314, it is clear that there was another source of this piece, again a Paston one. A common source shared by Tregian and Paston, both of whom were recusants, would not be unusual. But neither Tregian nor Paston copied from only one source. Paston copied directly from printed editions, as we know from other continental pieces in his manuscripts, while as far as we know Tregian did not.¹ The Paston scribe probably copied 'O vos omnes' from Lindner's 'Harmoniae Miscellae' of 1585 and might well have taken 'In monte Oliveti' from the same source. He also copied 'Credo quod redemptor' which is not in Tregian's manuscripts, but which is in Add.31417, the only other source of 'O vos omnes'.

1. B. Schofield & T. Dart "Tregian's Anthology", Music and Letters, Vol. XXXII, (1951), pp.205-16.

A further connection with the Paston sources appears to exist in Bodl.MS.Mus.f.1-6 which was copied by Thomas Hamond from books belonging to Kirbye.¹ In this collection are five pieces by Ferrabosco. Two, 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer' and 'Judica me Domine', are in the major sources of Ferrabosco such as Ch.Ch.78-82 and the Tregian manuscripts, and in Paston sources. 'Mirabile mysterium' is in all the major sources and Paston sources, but was also a favourite of Elizabethan copyists and consequently of little value as evidence here. The only sources of 'Nuntiam vobis' are the major sources Ch.Ch.78-82 and Egerton 3665, and Hamond's manuscript. However, a similar hymn, 'Ecce iam noctis', which appears in the same two major sources, is in Tenbury 341-4.

It would be possible for Kirbye to have copied from the sources available to Paston (and since they lived so near to each other, likely that they should do so) provided that it is possible to conjecture a lost Paston source. Such a source exists in Rowe 314, which has already been mentioned in connection with Tregian, and in the manuscripts described in Edward Taylor's sale-catalogue.² Other factors support the Hamond-Kirbye-Paston theory: two of the continental pieces in Mus.f.1-6, 'O bone Jesu' by Philippe de Monte and 'Diligite justitiam' by Massaini, appear in the Paston sources Tenbury 340 and 379-84. Also in f.1-6 is a copy of 'Laboravi in gemitu meo' by Thomas Morley, which is unusual in that it is one of the few pieces

1. See below.

2. See below, p.165

by English composers copied in Drexel 4302. It is likely that both Kirbye and Tregian copied music from sources available to Paston scribes, and this is the explanation of the Ferrabosco pieces in Hamond's manuscript and of Morley's piece in Tregian's. That Paston himself did not copy Morley's piece is explained by the fact noted by Dr. Brett¹ that Paston's taste was archaic as far as English composers were concerned, and excepting Byrd.

There is, however, evidence that Kirbye was independently connected with a source of Ferrabosco's sacred music, in the fact that John Tomkins's B.Mus. exercise 'Cantate Domino' is copied in a set of books belonging to John Brown, the publisher of Alfonso Ferrabosco Junior.² It has been suggested³ that the other two sources of this piece were related via Kirbye. Interestingly, one was a late Paston source, the other copied by Hamond. It is thus possible that it was Kirbye and not Paston who had the direct connection with sources of Ferrabosco. Either way, it looks as though the connection was with sources directly associated with the circle of Ferrabosco Junior.

iii. Music in Latin by Ferrabosco Junior

Only Tregian's manuscripts contain all the Latin music by Alfonso Ferrabosco Junior now extant. All the sources of his music except Add.29366-8 contain music by his father as well. Add.29366-8 is as far as we know the source most closely associated with Ferrabosco Junior himself.

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1. Brett, "Edward Paston...", T.C.B.S., (1964).
 2. Add.29366-8.
 3. See above, p.114 . The sources are Add.18936-9, and Bodl. Mus.f.25-8.

The three pieces by Ferrabosco Junior in 'Tristitiae Remedium' are all in Add.29366-8. Myriell made no distinction between pieces by Ferrabosco Senior and Ferrabosco Junior. All Ferrabosco's pieces in Add.29366 are also in Bodl.Mus.Sch.c.45-50 except 'Quare dereliquerunt me' which was probably omitted because it is a four-part piece. The two pieces by Ferrabosco Senior in 'Tristitiae Remedium' also obey this rule: 'Peccantem me quotidie' is in Mus. Sch.c.45-50; 'Fuerunt mihi lachrymae', another four-part piece, is not. It would have been possible for Mus.Sch.c.45-50 to have been copied from the same source as Add.29366-8 and 'Tristitiae Remedium'. Later, Ferrabosco Junior's set of Lamentations were added in Mus. Sch.c.45-50 in the middle of a section of instrumental pieces, and since they are not in Add.29366-8 they must have been copied from another source. If Add.29366-8 is the autograph of Ferrabosco Junior and was used as a source for Myriell and Mus.Sch.c.45-50, it is clear that the most likely source of the pieces by Ferrabosco Senior copied in Mus.Sch.c.45-50 and Myriell's compilation was Ferrabosco Junior himself. And if Ferrabosco Junior was the owner of Ch.Ch.463-7 which has the initial 'F' written on all the spines, that manuscript could have been the later source used for the set of Lamentations in Mus. Sch.c.45-50.

It seems likely then that there were several collections of Latin music by Ferrabosco Senior stemming either from Italy or from the circle of Italian musicians in London. So long as they remained in that closed circle they were not much copied, and Ferrabosco Senior was better known by Jacobean copyists, as in his lifetime, as a composer

of madrigals. Either Paston or Kirbye obtained a source which probably came from the Italian circle or from Ferrabosco's publisher John Brown. Tregian, in London and with ample time on his hands, went further in his association with the Italians, and if Ferrabosco Junior was, as seems likely, a good source of his father's music, it is possible that Tregian knew him personally. It certainly seems clear that the Latin music by Ferrabosco Senior available today survives not because it was popular with Elizabethan copyists, but because of the interest and position of his son.

6. MANUSCRIPTS COPIED BY THOMAS HAMOND

Six sets of partbooks owned by Thomas Hamond are kept in the Bodleian Library.¹ Most were written by Hamond and contain a mixed selection of madrigals, anthems and Latin pieces. All the books are small quarto size labelled partitively:

Mus.f.1-6: Cantus/Quintus/Altus/Sextus/Tenor/Bassus
Written by Hamond

Mus.f.7-10: Cantus/Altus/Tenor/Bassus
Written by Hamond

Mus.f.11-15: partly in the hand of Edmund Stapley who wrote the words in the first part of the books and labelled them

Superius/Contratenor/Medius/Tenor/Bassus.

Hamond wrote all the musical notation and later took over the copying of the text; he also used his own system of labelling:

Cantus/Quintus/Altus/Tenor/Bassus

1. M.C. Crum, "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond", Bodleian Library Record, IV (1957).

- Mus.f.16-19: Quintus/Altus/Tenor/Bassus. One book missing
Written by Hamond
- Mus.f.20-24: Cantus/Altus/Sextus/Tenor/Bassus
Written by Hamond
- Mus.f.25-28: Cantus primus & Cantus secundus/Altus & Septimus/
Sextus (or Tenor primus) & Tenor secundus/Bassus
primus & Bassus secundus
Written by Hamond

Mus.f.7-10 contains pieces by Hamond himself, and since the writing is less practised than in the other sets, it is held to be the earliest.¹ This set, Mus.f.11-15 and Mus.f.20-24 contain no Latin music. Mus.f.20-24 contains the well-known 'Englished' versions of Tallis's 'Mihi autem nimis' (Blessed by thy name) and 'O sacrum convivium' (I call and cry). Hamond knew the Latin versions: a note by his copy of the second piece reads 'O sacrum convivium pag. 9th', a reference to the printed edition of 1575 where however 'O sacrum convivium' is No. 9 rather than on page 9.

Hamond's predilection for writing explanatory and commonplace-book notes stems from the fact that these were recreational books copied for himself and his family. In 1661, the year before his death, Hamond valued all the music-books he owned and in a note in Mus.f.1-6 made his reason for copying them clear:

'Italain & Latten Songs of 5 & 6 parts valued 20ss. at the least.

He that buy paper & write & pricke songs, & value them at so low a rate as I have set them downe, will begg his bread if he have no other meanes to maintaine him selfe withall. But these & all my other books with Songs & Lessons for Instruments or voyces, which I with much cost, trouble & Labour have collected & written out, were done for recreation & to prevent Idlennesse. In witness whereof I have heere unto set my hand.
December Ao.1661.

1. M.C. Crum, "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond", Bodleian Library Record, IV (1957).

The cost and labour hitherto was mine,
The gaines & pleasure henceforth will be thine.

The plowman is rewarded: only wee
That sing, are paid with our own melodie.¹

The person who was to enjoy the 'gaines and pleasure' was Hamond's son John, to whom in his will he left 'my bookes of songes for four, five or six voices'.²

Hamond was no exception to the rule that old habits die hard. In Add.30480-4³, the first set of books he owned in 1615, he had gone through the same ritual of 'setting his hand' in witness, and, his father being dead, had called on his uncles George and Philip to testify that the books were his. A brief resumé of the biographical information available about Thomas Hamond may be appropriate here.

The Hamond family was at Cressners in Hawkedon, Suffolk, from 1561 when the owner John Cawston assured the property to his daughter Anne who was married to a Thomas Hamond. Anne Hamond bore seven surviving children of whom the eldest, Thomas, was the father of the Thomas Hamond who copied the music books. Thomas II inherited Hawkedon in 1586, but at his death in 1595 it presumably reverted to Anne, who left it in her will, proved in 1611, to her remaining children and the children of her dead son:

1. Mus.f.1-6.

2. J.J. Muskett, Suffolk Manorial Families, Vol.I, (1897), p.254.

3. See above, p. 70ff, and Appendix IV below.

'To Thomas Hamond eldest sonne of Thomas Hamond my eldest sonne the remaining third part of these lands. To Robert Hamond and John Hamond the younger sonnes of said Thomas Hamond my sonne. To George Hamond my sonne and Robert Hamond my sonne...To Thomas Hamond sonne of Philipp Hamond my sonne...' ¹

Of the several Thomas Hamonds, we know that it was Thomas III who copied the music books because they are mentioned in his will, proved in 1662. The only book Hamond did not copy himself was Add.30480-4, and it is tempting to suppose that this might have been left to him as part of his grandmother's bequest, and that it therefore might have been owned earlier by his grandfather Thomas Hamond. Nothing is known of the Hamonds before 1561, and it is clear that the name was a common one. Nevertheless, taking due care to observe the dangers implicit in a search to prove identity ², two points may be noted. There was a Thomas Hamond who leased a property in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrooke and who was no longer living there by 1567. ³ Secondly, a Thomas Hamond appears in a list of names as a conduct employed at St. Mary-at-Hill in 1547-8. ⁴ The possibility that Thomas I was perhaps a professional musician in London is commensurate with the facts that the original layer of Add.30480-4 seems to have been written in London about the 1560s but was never finished, and that nothing is known of Thomas Hamond in Suffolk prior to 1561.

1. Quoted in Muskett, op.cit.
2. Dartand Fagan: "'The Name's the Same' or: A Warning to Searchers", R.M.A. Research Chronicle, No. 2, (1962).
3. Madge, S., ed.: "Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the City of London", Part II, 1561-1571. The Index Library, 1901, pp.74,77,91,135.
4. Baillie, H: "Some Biographical Notes of English Church Musicians..." R.M.A. Research Chronicle, No. 2, 1962.

Whatever the origin of the Hamond interest in music, the third Thomas was an amateur to whom music and the copying of music were a continual source of pleasure, however much he might complain about the 'cost and labour', from 1615 when he owned Add.30480-4 until the last year of his life when he valued all his books. He was still copying new books in the 1650s: Mus.f.16-19 was described as

'Songs of 3 4 & 5 pts. English & Lattin, composed by severall Authors Newly Collected & finished and sowne together in the years 1655 & 1656'.

This represents a period of twenty-five years since Mus. f.7-10 were copied, since if these books were the first set they must have pre-dated Mus.f.1-6 where two more convenient notes tell not only the date of copying but the source:

'Tho: Hamond of Cressners in the parish of Hawkdon in the Countie of Suffo: owneth these bookes to 5 & 6 voc: written by the said Tho. in the yeare of our Lord 1631'

(in the Bassus book)

'Etalian & latin songs to 5 & 6 voyces, Collected out of Master Geo: Kirbies blacke bookes, which weare sould after the decease of the said Geo: to the right worthy Sir John Holland in the year 1634.

And he paid
kirbies Maid
as twas said 40ss'

(in the Sextus book)

'Kirbies maid', Agnes Seaman, was left the books in Kirbye's will.¹ These notes show that Hamond knew Kirbye personally, since Mus.f.1-6 was copied in Kirbye's lifetime. The lost exemplar

1. Crum, art.cit.

belonging to Kirbye may have accounted for the entire contents of f.1-6 with the exception of the pieces by Byrd which are all from the Second Set of Gradualia and were probably copied directly from the printed edition. Notes on most of the pieces read 'W. Birde' - or 'Gulielmus Birde', as he is styled in the prints - 'Gradualia 1610 Lib.Secundus'.

The possible Latin contents of Kirbye's 'blacke books' are as follows:

<u>Five parts</u>	Mirabile misterium	Ferrabosco
	Deus qui beatam Mariam	Phillips
	Nuntiam vobis	Ferrabosco
	Sancta Nicholae	S.Felis
	Gaudeamus omnes in Domino	Phillips
	Cum jucunditate	Phillips
	Respice in me	S.Felis
	Vide Domine afflictionem	S.Felis
	Miserere mei fili David	S.Felis
	In diebus illis	S.Felis
	Ad Dominum cum tribularer	Ferrabosco
	Ad Dominum cum tribularer	S.Felis
	Tanto tempore	S.Felis
	Sancti mei qui in carne	Phillips
	O Maria mater	Phillips
	Judica me Domine	Ferrabosco
	Domine ne in furore	S.Felis
	Ave verum corpus	Phillips
<u>Six parts</u>	O crux benedicta	S.Felis
	Da pacem Domine	S.Felis
	Cantate Domino	Fabritio
	Dilectus meus mihi	Victoria
	Exaudi te Dominus	Fabritio
	Diligite justitiam	Massaini
	Anima mea liquefacta est	Massaini
	Gaudent in caelis	Fabritio
	Exultet omnium turba	Fabritio
	Alma redemptoris	Fabritio
	Beati omnes	Rinaldo del Mel
	Hodie rex caelorum	Fabritio
	Deus canticum novum	Fabritio
	O bone Jesu	de Monte
	Credo quod redemptor	Fabritio
	Homo natus de muliere	Wilbye
	Levavi oculos	Fabritio
	O sacrum convivium	Fabritio
	(Magnificat)	Croce
	Tu solus creator	Fabritio
	Scio quod redemptor	Fabritio
	Laboravi	Morley
	Ad te levavi oculos	Fabritio
	Ascendit Deus	Fabritio
	Benedictus Deus et Pater	Fabritio

To this list might be added some of the pieces in later manuscripts. Only Mus.f.16-19 and Mus.f.25-28 contain Latin pieces; most again came from printed editions. In Mus.f.16-19 Hamond copied the three and four-part pieces from the Second Set of Gradualia and again noted that they were from 'Gradualia Lib.Secundus'. The three and four-part masses appear with the note 'Birde Kyrie Eleison to 3 voc.' and 'Mr. Birds Kyrie eleison to 4 voc.', practical titles for works which appeared without a title page. The three pieces published by Morley in A Plaine and Easy Introduction... appear too, but no other pieces by Morley, so that one might infer that these were also copied from the printed edition. Later pieces such as those by Ravenscroft and Pearson are outside the scope of this study. The only relevant Latin piece not copied from a printed edition was 'Quare tristis es' by George Kirbye, and since Hamond's is the only extant source it is quite likely that his copy was obtained from Kirbye himself.

Only two Latin pieces appear in Mus.f.25-28. Byrd's canon 'Diliges Dominum' bears a note in the Altus Secundus part: 'This out of Bird & Tallis set 8 pts in 4 recta et retro pa.25th (Ao.1575)' and here again, as with the reference to 'O sacrum convivium' in Mus.f. 20-24, the page number given actually refers to the number of the piece in the printed edition.

The other piece in Mus.f.25-28 is 'Cantate Domino' which is described as 'Jo: Tomkins Comenchantment Song of 7 pts'. There is no reason to suppose that this piece alone came from a manuscript source other than Kirbye's. The manuscript sources of Kirbye's books have been discussed above in connection with the Paston manuscripts (p.114)

and the pieces by Ferrabosco (p. 149). It is striking that pieces by composers who were not of special interest to Kirbye in the sense that Felis, Phillips and Fabritio obviously were, are nearly all found in surviving Paston manuscripts. Equally interesting is the association of Wilbye and Morley with Italian composers, and of course, Kirbye's own interest in relatively little-known Italian compositions. This suggests that the better-known continental music was available to him through printed editions, and given a connection with Edward Paston, it may well be that Paston's copies of pieces from the continental prints were taken from books owned by Kirbye.

The specialised repertory of Hamond's manuscripts reflects the isolation in which he worked; in this sense he was the opposite of John Merro who, despite the fact that he too was a provincial copyist, was in close association with London musical fashion and sources. Merro's provincialism is reflected in the omission in his manuscripts of any Latin music by Ferrabosco; Hamond's by his dependence on Kirbye's sources and printed editions.

IV

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY TRANSCRIPTIONS

A. Hyatt King's study of collectors¹ has been a continual source of information and ideas on this subject, which I have limited to 18th and 19th century copies of pieces in the Thematic Catalogue, that is: pieces copied from the English printed editions or from Tudor manuscripts or from later copies of Tudor manuscripts. Continental printed editions from the Tudor period, although well known to the collectors, are not included since they are outside the scope of this study. Nor are manuscripts containing English adaptations of Latin pieces discussed; they are listed in the Key to the Thematic Catalogue.

The attitude of later collectors towards Tudor manuscripts is of interest, however, and the evidence of the sale-catalogues is important as it sometimes provides a possible source for eighteenth-century copies of unpublished pieces.

The seventeenth century does not seem to have taken seriously the idea that the old manuscripts could mean much. Matthew Hutton and Narcissus Marsh, it is true, owned manuscripts which were performed from during musical afternoons at Oxford², but their manuscripts were not particularly ancient. Thus Burney, describing the partbooks Mus.Sch.e.376-81:

'Anthony Wood says, they were thought illegible by the Musicians of his time.'³

By the mid-eighteenth century, copies of pieces from

1. Some British Collectors of Music c.1600-1960, (1963).
2. P.J. Willetts, "Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford", B.M. Quarterly, (1961).
3. Burney: History, p.150.

Elizabethan and Jacobean manuscripts were becoming more common.

1. THE ACADEMY OF ANCIENT MUSIC

Most of the surviving scores are associated with members of the Academy of Ancient Music, and by inference with Dr. Pepusch.

'There seems little doubt that the primum mobile, the great impetus to collecting on a large scale and to the related growth of musical scholarship, came from Pepusch. Though he wrote little himself, his influence on a younger generation must have been powerful. His long direction of the Academy of Ancient Music must have made his followers aware of the inexhaustible treasures of a rich musical past that cried out for exploration.'¹

The identification of manuscript sources used by Henry Needler, John Travers, John Immyns and Ephraim Kelner furnishes more information about the contents of Dr. Pepusch's famous music library, for which no catalogue exists. Hawkins tells us:

'About the year 1740 the Doctor's wife died... his evening amusements were the game of chess, and the conversation of a few select friends, of whom Mr. John Immyns, the lutenist... Mr. Travers, one of the organists of the royal Chapel, and also organist of St. Paul's Covent-Garden; and Mr. Ephraim Kelner, of the band at Drury-Lane theatre, were the most intimate.'²

and

'Mr. John Immyns, an attorney by profession, was a member of the Academy, but meeting with misfortunes, he was occasionally a copyist of the Society, and amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch.'³

Hawkins devotes considerable space to Henry Needler

1. Hyatt King, *op.cit.*, p.31
2. Hawkins: History Vol.V, p.401.
3. *ibid.* Vol.V, p.349.

who

'Being an excellent penman...in his leisure hours employed himself in putting into score the works of the most celebrated Italian masters, with a view to improve himself, and enrich the stores of the academy.'¹

i. Paston manuscripts

Three scores by Needler, Add.5054, 5058 and 5059 are in the British Museum, and another is in the library of York Minster, Ms.M.112. The York manuscript contains three Latin pieces: William Damon's 'Miserere nostri' scored with continuo, and two unascribed four-part pieces which appear also in Add.5054: 'Quem dicunt homines' and 'Et Jesum' (Salve regina). In York these two are separately headed: 'From an ancient Manuscript out of Dr. Pepusch's Library'.

The juxtaposition of these 'ancient' pieces, which are by Marenzio and Victoria respectively, is familiar, and suggests that they were copied from the set of Paston partbooks now known as Folger 460328, before the Cantus book was lost.² A comparison with Add. 5054 supports the theory: there the three pieces from the York manuscript are copied in the same order, followed by more four-part pieces from Folger 460328:

Responsum accepit Simeon
Senex puerum portabat
O Domine Jesu Christe

In all cases the clefs used by Needler are the same as those in the three surviving partbooks.

1. Hawkins: History, Vol.V, p.125-6
2. See checklist of pieces in Folger 460328, Appendix III below.

There is other evidence that Pepusch, or the Academy, owned Paston manuscripts. Needler's score Add.5058 contains a selection of pieces found in Tenbury 369-73 and nothing else. A score by John Imyns in the Fitzwilliam Library (MS.112) contains pieces from Folger 460328; Fitzwilliam 178, dated 1730 and signed by Ephraim Kelner, contains only pieces from Tenbury 379-84, sometimes in the same order, and with the same incomplete version of Byrd's 'Circumspice Jerusalem'. B.M.Add.34726, in the hand of John Travers, contains three extracts from antiphons transmitted in the unusual pitches and clef combinations of RCM.2035, and a copy of 'Euge serve bone' which could have come from either Tenbury 374-8 or Tenbury 349-53.

Dr. Brett¹ gives information about the survival of Paston sources: he says

'the earliest owners that can definitely be associated...are nineteenth century collectors,'

and he lists the manuscripts owned by Joseph Warren, Stephen Groombridge, Frederick Lygon, C.F. Williams, Reekes, Carr and Thomas Oliphant. But it would appear that the collective evidence of the scores by Travers, Imyns and Needler is enough to associate the Paston manuscripts with Pepusch in the eighteenth century.

What happened to the manuscripts after Travers and Kelner 'divided the library into moieties',² according to the terms of Pepusch's will is undocumented in the case of Travers. Kelner's

1. Brett, "Edward Paston..." Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, (1964).
2. Hawkins, History p.402.

'books and manuscripts to the amount of two cartloads'¹ were sold partly privately and partly by auction in 1763. The sale catalogue is unfortunately not extant. However, they were owned shortly after by Dragonetti who arrived in England in 1794. He gave the volumes of scores belonging to Kelner to Novello, who gave them to the Fitzwilliam Library, where they now are.

Dragonetti is known to have given Novello a number of manuscripts: some were sold in 1852, others were given later to the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam library. Unfortunately the British Museum copy of the Novello sale catalogue has been mislaid.

When Thomas Oliphant's library was sold in 1873 some scores in Immyns' hand were in the sale catalogue, and with them Paston Mss. Add.34000-2 and 29388-92, and Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium' which according to a note in the British Museum's copy of their catalogue of manuscript music, must have been owned by Pepusch.² It would be interesting to know whether Oliphant bought any of these from Novello.

Some of the manuscripts have now been lost. Puttick's sale catalogue of Edward Taylor's music library, 30th November 1863, lists nine sets of partbooks. Some were definitely Paston sets; others, since all the partbooks are alike, may have been Paston books too. The catalogue lists the name of each book and the title of the first piece in the set. It is striking that (unless the titles are wrong

1. Hawkins, History p.402. Mr. Cooper sold the books at Paterson's, Essex St., 26 May 1763.
2. Hughes-Hughes, Vol.I, p.10; handwritten note in B.M. copy.

and lot 470, for instance, refers to Tenbury 341-4) the only sets of motets now extant are those bought by Joseph Warren.

<u>Lot</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Title of first piece</u>	<u>Buyer</u>
465	Madrigals, French & Italian Alto/Tenor/Bassus	Madonna	Whittingham
466	Madrigals Cantus/Alto/Tenor/Bassus	Entre vous	J.E. Taylor
467	Motets (24) including the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Bassus part c.1600	Incipit lamentatio	'P'
468	Madrigals & Part Songs, Italian & French Countertenor/Tenor/Bassus c.1600	Sa beaute	J.E. Taylor
469	Motetts, a Collection Cantus/Altus/Bassus/Quintus/Sextus	Agnus Dei	Shore
470	'Edward Paston' Motetts Superius/Countertenor/Tenor/Quintus/Sextus	Tristis es anima	Davies
471	Motetts & English Anthems Cantus/Altus/Bassus (now Tenbury 1469/71)	Et exultavit	Warren
472	Motetts: Cantus/Altus/Bassus (now Add.41156-8)	Benedictus	Warren
473	Motetts Altus/Tenor/Bassus/Quintus/Sextus	Dum complerentur	Davies
474	Le belle ninfe: Madrigali a sei voci Cantus/Secundus/Altus/Bassus	Stella crudel	J.E. Taylor
475	Italian a 3 Superius/Altus/Bassus	?	J.E. Taylor

'All the preceding are written in the fine Italian hand prevalent during the reign of Elizabeth, and the earlier part of that of James I'.

Another eighteenth-century Paston connection is the last part of R.M.24.h.11, a section of three-part extracts from antiphons.

Because the section from Fairfax's Magnificat 'O Bone Jesu' is titled 'In deo superbos', there is a likelihood that the source was a Paston one, since the Magnificat is treated in a similar way there. RCM.2035, already used as a source by Travers, must have been the source here too. All the pieces in RM.24.h.11 are to be found in RCM.2035 in the same clefs, at the same unusual pitches and sometimes in the same order.

This raises doubts about the source of the fragment in Vienna which according to Charles Warren was copied from RM.24.d.2.¹ The grounds are that it is at the same pitch, a 4th higher than usual. But it is also at this pitch in RCM.2035. Hawkins knew RD.24.d.2, but he was the only one who copied from it as far as we know, and it seems as though he also knew RCM.2035.

ii. 'Tristitiae Remedium'

To return to what Burney called the 'vortex of Dr. Pepusch'²: the discovery that 'Tristitiae Remedium' was owned by Pepusch³ explains the presence of Damon's 'Miserere' in Needler's scores. It was probably picked out because of its canonic style and because Damon's books of psalms were known already. Burney, discussing the psalms,⁴ adds a footnote:

'I am in possession of a Miserere, composed by William Daman; it was lent to me by Dr. Pepusch about the year 1746'.

1. Robert Fairfax: Collected Works, Vol.II, critical commentary.
2. Burney op.cit. Vol.III p.74.
3. See above, p. 164
4. Vol.III, p.54.

It was also lent to Hawkins who, when he copied pieces from the 1575 Cantiones in RM.24.c.11, added four pieces: 'Non nobis Domine', (which enjoyed a tremendous vogue in the 18th and 19th centuries and was copied from Playford, as Hawkins and Burney freely admitted¹) and three presumably from 'Tristitiae Remedium':

Morley/De profundis	
Byrd/Civitas sancti	'Isias c.64'
Damon/Miserere nostri	

In RM.24.h.11 the same pieces are transmitted: 'De profundis' first this time, separated from the others by a section of madrigals; then 'Non nobis Domine' and a section of pieces from the 1575 Cantiones followed by 'Civitas sancti tui' and the Damon 'Miserere'. And in RM.24.d.15, 'De profundis' is again the first piece.

iii. Early Tudor choirbooks

Travers and Needler both copied from the Eton choirbook. In RCM 660, at the end of which a note reads 'transcribed by John Travers, Organist of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, & St. Paul's Convent Garden', Travers copied two four-part pieces:

Cornysh/Ave Maria mater Dei	'From an old manuscript in the library of Eaton Colledge'
Horwood/O clemens (from 'Salve Regina')	'From Eaton library'.

In Add.5054 Needler copied Fairfax's 'Ave lumen gratiae', an incomplete piece extant only in the Eton choirbook. Needler

1. cf. Burney Vol.III p.92: 'The canon Non nobis Domine appears in none of his works published by himself or collected by others, before the year 1652; when Hilton inserted, and prefixed the name of Bird to it, in a collection of Catches, Rounds and Canons'.

copied the same section which exists today; in other words, the pages missing from the choirbook now were missing then. An unnamed, textless piece which precedes 'Ave lumen gratiae' in Needler's score is identified as Cornysh's 'Ave Maria', the same piece copied by Travers.

Other pieces copied by Needler were probably taken directly from the 1575 Cantiones: Tallis's 'Miserere nostri' because it was a canon, and 'O Sacrum Convivium' because the English version was known.

Another early choirbook, B.M.Roy.8.G.viii, was the source for Travers in RCM.660 where he copied 'Ave sanctissima Maria' with a note 'From the Cotton or Kings Library'. Again, Hawkins used the same source in RM.24.d.15 where he copied 'Adiutorium nostrum' with a note 'from the fine manuscript in the Kings library, the author unknown'.

iv. Marian and Elizabethan partbooks

Two other important manuscripts must have been known to the Pepusch circle, and may well have been owned by Pepusch since there is no explanatory note on any of the copies to say otherwise: the copyists were careful to record the sources of pieces in manuscripts belonging to other libraries.

Needler's score Add.5059 contains a mixed selection of Latin pieces by English composers. All, except Byrd's 'Attolite portas' which could have been copied from the printed edition, are five-part pieces, and the only other thing they have in common is that they are all in Bodl.Mus.e.1-5, in the same clefs. This could have been the source also of the copy by Thomas Barrow of Tallis's Lamentations in Travers's score Add.34726.

Hawkins, describing the Academy of Ancient Music, says:

'Sig. Antonio Lotti presented them with a madrigal & mass; they in return sent him, as a specimen of the English music, two motets, the one "Domine quis habitabit" for five voices, by Tallis, the other "Tribulationes Civitatum", also for five voices, both of which were thankfully received.'¹

A footnote explains that while the second was printed as one of Byrd's Cantiones Sacrae, the first 'is not in print'.

It was, however, in Mus.e.1-5. If the Academy were choosing 'as a specimen of English music', samples from their best Elizabethan manuscript and a major printed source of their most illustrious composer, they could hardly have chosen anything more representative.

John Immyns, who copied from Paston manuscripts in the scores in the Fitzwilliam library, also copied a set of partbooks BM.Add. 29382-5. It contains copies of Blythemans's 'In pace' and Ensdale's 'Haec Dies', and it is difficult to imagine that the source was anything other than Add.17802-5. 'Haec Dies' is in score, with the rubric from Add.17802-5 'In die Pasche'. The note 'Mr. Blythman, Mr. to Dr. Bull', probably explains why 'In pace' was copied: John Ward had catalogued all the pieces by Bull in Pepusch's library for his 'Lives of the Professors of Gresham College'.² The mistakes in Add.17802-5 at the words 'somnum oculi' are faithfully transmitted by Immyns.

Immyms seems to have copied from the printed editions of Byrd's pieces: the 3-part mass was copied in Add.29382-5, Fitzwilliam 112 and 179, and in 179 the beginning only of 'Defecit in dolore' probably came from the 1589 Cantiones. He also copied Tallis's 'Spem in alium' in 1751, presumably from the copy in Pepusch's library mentioned by Burney.³

1. Hawkins, op.cit., Vol.V, p.348.

2. London, 1740.

3. Burney, op.cit., Vol.III, p.74, footnote.

2. 'SPEM IN ALIUM'

The antiquarian interest in the curious is characterised by the history of 'Spem in alium' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The earliest copy known is B.M. Egerton 3512, written in a hand associated with Thomas Myriell in the early seventeenth-century manuscript Add.29427.¹ Dr. Schofield has pointed out² that Egerton 3512 was the model, directly or indirectly, for all other known copies, of which he lists three: the seventeenth-century copy in Gresham College, MS.420;³ John Immyns's score, now lost;⁴ and a copy belonging to Robert Bremner, now British Museum RM.4 g.1, where the Latin word underlay has been reconstructed.

Burney describes the copy he knew as the 'original' which was given by James Hawkins to the Earl of Oxford through the offices of Thomas Tudway, and, Burney continues,

'After being in the possession of the Earl of Oxford, it was attracted into the vortex of Dr. Pepusch; but is, at present, the property of Mr. Robert Bremner, Music-printer, in the Strand.'⁵

Dr. Schofield points out that RM.4 g.1, the copy known to have been owned by Bremner, is later than the 'original' and also

1. See above, p.132
2. B. Schofield, "The Manuscripts of Tallis's Forty Part Motet", Musical Quarterly, Vol.XXXVII, (1951), p.136.
3. Gresham 420 does not seem to have been known to later copyists.
4. The description in Dr. Schofield's article is taken from the preface to A.H. Mann's edition of 'Spem in alium', (1888). Mann had seen Immyns's copy and described it as 'the oldest and most beautiful in existence'. (Mann did not know the 'original' described by Hawkins and Burney.) In 1888 Immyns's score was the property of the Madrigal Society. Thomas Oliphant made his scores from Immyns's copy and a note to that effect appears on the title page in Oliphant's hand.
5. Burney, Vol.III, p.74, f.n.

later than Immyns's copy. However, there is evidence that Burney was right.

Egerton 3512 has Tudway's handwriting on the back and is thus definitely the copy from the Earl of Oxford's library. But the sale catalogue of Burney's library¹ explains the confusion over Bremner's copy:

'Lot 405. Tallis. (Thos.) Song of 40 parts, original ancient score, MS.'

(Bought for 5/- by Mr. Triphook)

'Lot 406. A fair modern copy of the do. MS'

(Bought by Bartleman for £1. 1. 0.)²

In lot 406 the auctioneer added the words 'in Latin'. This must be the Bremner copy, now RM.4 g.1, and suggests that Burney bought both the 'original' and Bremner's own copy from Bremner after the History of Music was written. In this case lot 405 bought by the mysterious Mr. Triphook, would have been identical with Egerton 3512, which came to light again in 1946.

There is also a copy in the Tenbury Library, MS 1270, which must have been copied from Egerton 3512 directly. The score is arranged in the same way, the parts set out according to range rather than to choir, and numbered as in Egerton 3512, and the title page bears similar notes: the Latin words written out at the top and the usual historical explanation:

'This Song in 40 parts was first composed to the above Latin words by Mr. Thomas Tallis Gentleman of King Henry the 8ths Chappell King Edward the 6th Queen Mary and of her Majesty that now is Queen Elizabeth.'

1. White, 8 August, 1814.
2. The British Museum copy of the sale catalogue of Bartleman's Library has unfortunately been mislaid.

The inclusion here of the words 'that now is', which were left out of the Gresham copy, are evidence that the Tenbury copy was taken directly from Egerton 3512. A different hand has written

'Mr. Hawkins Organist of the Cathedral Church of Ely presented the late Lord Oxford with the Original and the same was deposited among his Lordship's M.S.S.'

This later note sounds as though it were written shortly after Oxford's death which occurred in 1724. Tenbury 1270 is thus the third oldest source available and written some time before Immyns's copy. It is no doubt the one which belonged to the Rev. Canon Sir F.A. Gore Ouseley, who wrote to A.H. Mann:

'The copy of Tallis's forty part song in my Library was bought in London about the year 1820 by my father, the late Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley Bart. It is not known where he bought it.'¹

It may well have been the copy sold in 1820 at the sale of the Library belonging to G.E. Williams:

'Lot 400: A curious MS Motett of 40 parts by Tallis, fitted to English words by O. Gibbons, a scarce copy from the original in Lord Oxford's collection.'²

It is unusual that the idea about Gibbons is transmitted here when it does not appear in Tenbury 1270. But if the copy sold in 1820 was not after all Tenbury 1270, it is difficult to see where the Tenbury copy came from and what it was that was sold in 1820. It can hardly have been Immyns's copy, the source of the Gibbons story,³ since that seems to have been the property of the Madrigal Society from 1764.⁴

1. Mann, op.cit.
2. White 8 June 1820.
3. Mann, op.cit.
4. *ibid.*, quoting Oliphant, A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society, M.S. copy on loan to the British Museum.

Eighteenth century collectors regarded 'Spem in alium' as a musical curiosity, but as far as we know they never performed it. It was perhaps given no performance until 1835 when Thomas Oliphant organized one by the Madrigal Society. Oliphant made three scores using Immyn's copy as a source.¹ Only one is extant: Add.29968, the conductor's score (arranged in 8 choirs according to Immyn's system rather than according to the 'original') and several sets of parts with the names of the singers: 'Canto: Miss Wallis', 'Miss Hewison' etc. Five copies each of the 'Ist Canto' and 'Ist Basso' remain: however, the choir was 100 voices rather than the 200 syrong suggested by these figures. Oliphant's note on Immyn's copy reads

'N.B. This Motett was performed in the Freemasons' Hall on 15th January 1835, by the Madrigal Society and their friends, comprising 100 vocalists, besides 40 non-singing visitors'.²

A note in Oliphant's sale-catalogue reads

'It was performed by the Madrigal Society and their friends, assisted by the young gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey at their Anniversary Festival on the 15th January 1835...'³

It is interesting that the nineteenth century readily accepted the story that the English adaptation had been made by Gibbons. The source of the story seems to have been Immyn: neither Burney nor Hawkins mention it. Hawkins, indeed, wrote

1. Mann, op.cit.
2. ibid.
3. Puttick & Simpson April 24 1873.

'In the reign of the first or second Charles some person put it to certain English words, which are neither verse, nor prose, nor even common sense...'¹

Egerton 3512, presumably the source used by Immyns, says nothing about the adaptor. The relatively early Gresham 420, far from naming Gibbons, denies knowledge in a note ascribing the original Latin version to Tallis

'...but who put in the English words I am altogether ignorant of.'

So we are left with Immyns as the source of the Gibbons story, and with a rumour about the organist Thomas Warwick which was discounted fairly readily by Oliphant.²

3. DR. BURNEY, SIR JOHN HAWKINS AND JOHN ALCOCK

Burney and Hawkins make it quite clear which manuscripts and printed books were known to them. In the case of Burney, the notes and transcriptions in the History of Music correspond to the surviving manuscript transcriptions B.M.Add.11582-7. His manuscript sources were all major ones: Bodl.Mus.Sch.e.376-81 and the two sets of Elizabethan partbooks in Christ Church Library, bequeathed by Dr. Aldrich.³ He was particularly enthusiastic about Ch.Ch.984-8, 'which has more beauty and accuracy of penmanship that I have ever seen elsewhere.'

1. Hawkins, History, Vol.III, p.262.

2. Mann, op.cit., quoted above, p.135.

3. Burney, History, Vol.III, p.85; RCM.2125, a catalogue of Aldrich's library made in 1787 by J.B. Malchair, does not mention Ch.Ch.984-8; it is Burney who says the set was given by Aldrich. Ch.Ch.979-83 is in Malchair's catalogue.

Burney scored 'an entire mass by Taverner, Fairfax and Tye' from Mus.Sch.e.376-81, the set which Anthony Wood had thought illegible. It is clear that Burney did not consider them easy: '...by dint of meditation and perseverance, I have arranged the parts under each other' ...only to find that '...with respect to invention, air and accent, the two first are totally deficient'.¹ It is curious however that no complete transcription of the 'two first' masses by Taverner and Fairfax exists; only Tye's 'Euge Bonae' mass is scored completely.

Burney could hardly help knowing the Fairfax book which had recently been described in detail by Hawkins,² and in a passage intended to demonstrate the superiority of Burney's good taste over the vulgarity of Hawkins in printing the texts of songs by Cornysh, he says

'I have met with none of their names except that of Fayrfax, among those for the Church: Cornyshe seems a more secular Composer than the rest; and...he may be supposed to be a man of no very refined morals or delicacy of sentiment.'³

Had Burney known the Eton choirbook, he would surely have revised this paragraph, if not his opinion. It might be inferred from the fact that he did not know any church music by Cornysh that he did not know the choirbook either, a curious oversight in view of the fact that it was known to Needler and Travers.

1. Burney, *ibid.*
2. Hawkins, History Vol.III, p.1-30.
3. Burney, History Vol.II, p.551.

The Hawkins manuscripts, as we have seen, contain much that was probably copied from Needler or Pepusch; in the History, Hawkins refers to a manuscript for which none of his own manuscript transcriptions exist: Baldwin's RM.24.d.2 is described in detail and transcription of the three-part pieces printed.

Two other Elizabethan manuscripts were copied around the 1770s. John Alcock, the organist of Lichfield, copied a score now known as B.M.Add.23624. It seems to have been partly taken from the 1575 Cantiones and partly from a complete set of partbooks of which Tenbury 389 and its recently discovered companion partbook are now the only survivors.¹ The pieces by Tallis are copied separately from those by Byrd, so that 'O salutaris hostia' from Tenbury 389 is transmitted at the end of a section of pieces by Tallis from the printed edition. All the transcriptions were given a figured bass, and the original clefs were edited so that C3 and C4 were substituted for C4 and C5, and G2 for the occasional G1 clef.

B.M. Add.31226 is an anonymous 18th century score of pieces from Add.30480-4. The transcriber copied the English anthems by unknown composers - Bullman, Francting and Feryng as well as 'When Jesus went', the little-known early English version of Tallis's 'Salvator Mundi', the Latin pieces 'Levavi oculos' by William More, Byrd's 'Jesum Nazarenum' attributed as in Add.30480-4 to Tye, and Sheppard's 'Kyrie/Haec Dies'. Here the 18th century copyist did not

1. See Kerman, "Byrd motets...", J.A.M.S., 1960, for a discussion of Alcock's notes to 'Domine tu jurasti' and the De Monte/Byrd correspondence.

know what he was copying any more than the 16th century scribe: the 'Haec Dies' section, as in Add.30480-4, is not acknowledged, and in Add.31226 the copyist has written the words 'Kyrie eleison' under the music of the respond.

Both Burney and Hawkins mention all the printed editions of Byrd, and the 1575 Cantiones. For the next hundred years, the printed editions were to be the main sources for copyists.

4. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRINTED EDITIONS

In the 1770s, several editions were published which were the sources of late 18th and 19th century copies. Morley's Plain and Easy Introduction was printed by William Randall in 1771, together with A Collection of Motetts, Canzonets &c in Score. Selected from that Celebrated work called Morley's Introduction to Practical Music.¹

A preoccupation with the theoretical or the curious is demonstrated by the pieces chosen for reprint:

'Diliges Dominum Deum. Canon recte et retro, for 8 voices, Revived and published by J. Alcock, Doctor in Music, London 1770'.

'Observations of Composition, with plain, easy and familiar rules to learn that art by numbers, to which is added the Manner of Composing the...Canon of Non Nobis Domine...by W. Bird. 1770 Mr. Oates, Westminster.'

'Canon of 8 voices. Composed by Mr. William Bird ...1570 (sic)'.²

One other 'Latin' piece was popular in the nineteenth century: in 1808 Tye's 'When that the people' from the Actes

1. Randall, London 1771.

2. Croft: Six Anthems, London 1771.

of the Apostles, (1553), was translated and published in the Latin version 'Laudate nomen Domini'¹ and in this version it became far better known than in the original English text. However, the musical text of the Latin version differs considerably from the English. In 1837 Thomas Oliphant published an alternative translation 'Sing to the Lord', and in his preface gave what could have been the original reason for translating it at all:

'Dr. Tye's version...borders too closely upon the ludicrous, to make it desirable that it should be perpetuated in connection with his exquisite harmonies'.²

Possibly the Rev. Heathcote shared his opinion. Oliphant, however, continued:

'the adapter of the words (the Rev'd G. Heathcote) has towards the conclusion taken great liberties with the original...'.¹

This was unfortunately true, but it was Heathcote's version and not Oliphant's which stayed in the repertory, and it was this version which was published in the Musical Times of 1852, with yet another set of English words, 'O come ye servants of the Lord', as alternatives to the Latin ones. No acknowledgement was given to Heathcote: the ascription was simply to 'Dr. Christopher Tye. Ad.1553', giving the impression that Tye had written the piece as it then stood.

1. Webb, Richard: A Collection of Madrigals for three, four, five and six voices selected from the Works of the most Eminent Composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, (London 1808). The translation was made by the Rev. G. Heathcote.
2. Motetts for four voices by Christopher Tye adapted to modern Paraphrases of Scripture, with a Piano Forte Accompaniment by T. Oliphant, (London 1837).

5. MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTIONS 1770-1880

Until A.H. Mann and G.E.P. Arkwright began to make systematic transcriptions of Elizabethan manuscripts, and Sir George Grove began his Dictionary in the 1880s, manuscript transcriptions were taken from the relatively accessible printed editions. There were a few notable exceptions: Oliphant's 'Spem in alium' was one. Another was W.H. Husk's late score of 'De profundis' by Morley, taken perhaps from Hawkins's manuscripts, perhaps directly from 'Tristitiae Remedium'.¹ A third, Joseph Warren's transcription of 'O salutaris hostia' (Tenbury 717), was made in 1873 from Tenbury 359-63. Warren's happily ingenuous theory of pitch is demonstrated in a note on the manuscript:

'scored from the separate parts. Temp. of Mary. Joseph Warren Feb.14th 1873. The pitch of this is just a whole tone too high, which proves that the pitch of that period was a tone lower'.

Two nineteenth century scores contain copies of Wilbye's 'Ne reminiscaris', which was in 'Tristitiae Remedium' but not printed until its appearance in the Old English Edition.² Add.17802-5 and the Eton choirbook were the sources for the copyist of RCM.4076 and 4077, again nineteenth century scores. Add.34070, dated 1839, contain two sets of Lamentations, one by Tallis and another from a source 'formerly in Dr. Pepusch's library'. This might indicate that the Tallis Lamentations were from the same source, possibly a copy of that used by Barrow in Add.34726. A score belonging to Rimbault,

1. An 18th century score, RCM 1090, is the only other transcription of Morley's 'De profundis' besides those in the Royal Music Library and Husk's transcription. Husk wrote the article about Morley in the first edition of Grove, A Dictionary of Music and Musicians AD.1450-1880 (1880). He mentions that 'a Motet "De profundis", 6 voices, also exists in MS'.
2. G.E.P. Arkwright, ed.1889. The scores are RCM.4080 and Ckc.111.

formerly in the Oxford Music Faculty, MS.1 f. but now unfortunately mislaid, contained a copy of 'Quia fecit' from Sheppard's Magnificat, probably copied from the Mulliner book which Rimbault owned.

All other manuscript scores seem to have been copied from printed editions or eighteenth century publications. A brief description is given here.

Complete copies of Tudor printed editions

1575 Cantiones

Bodl.Mus.d.101	Partbooks copied in 1762; owned by John Aubery 1763.
RM.24.f.10-15	Partbooks; eighteenth century
RM.g.22	Partbooks; eighteenth century
Edinburgh D.1.32	Score, undated but probably eighteenth century
Tenbury 905	Score, eighteenth century

1589 Cantiones Sacrae

RM.24.d.1	Score belonging to Sir John Hawkins
RM.24.f.16-20	Partbooks belonging to Sir John Hawkins

Gradualia I 1605

RM.24.c.13	Score belonging to Sir William Boyce and Sir John Hawkins, copied from the lost print bought by Hawkins in 1779.
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Gradualia II

Fitzwilliam 114	Score; eighteenth century
RM.24.f.4-9	Partbooks; eighteenth century, copied from the 1610 edition.

It is striking that there are no copies of the 1591 Cantiones Sacrae, and that the 1575 set was more highly prized by eighteenth century copyists than by sixteenth century ones who preferred the Latin pieces printed in 1589 and 1591.

- B.M.Add.14398 Score: written by E.T.Warren-Horne, 1770,
with later notes by Novello.
- The first twenty pieces are from the 1589
Cantiones Sacrae, numbered and in the same
order. Some of the pieces are transposed
up a minor third.
Latin pieces by Phillippe and continental
composers
'Morley 1600': O amica mea
'Thos. Tallis 1570': Miserere nostri¹
Byrd: Diliges Dominum
- Mad.Soc.A.52-56 Partbooks: belonging to 'John Newman, Born
1719 Died 1790'
Byrd: Three-part Mass.
- York, YML.M.5/2 (5) Partbooks: eighteenth century. A Basso
Continuo volume is provided.
Pieces by Tallis and Byrd, dated '1575'
Pieces by Morley: 'from the Introduction
1597' 'Petro Phillipi Anglo Antwerpi 1617':
Disciplinam et sapientiam.
- Edinburgh,
EUL.R.6 Score: eighteenth century
Tye: Laudate Nomen Domini
- RCM.1065 Score: late eighteenth or early nineteenth
century
'A Cannon of 6 voices by Mr. William Bird':
Miserere mihi Agnus Dei: 'by an anonymous
Author, transcribed from an obsolete into
the modern Character from Morley's: with
some small alterations'.
- Mad.Soc.C.12 Score: in the hand of John Parker (d.1813),
later owned by Stephen Groombridge²
Madrigals
Byrd: O quam gloriosum

- The date corresponds to that given by Croft in Six Anthems (1771)
- A sale was held at White's on 16 February 1813, of 'the Music Library of the Rev. John Parker, Late Record of St. George, Botolph Lane'.

	<u>Buyer</u>
Lot 123 Latin Motetts and Italian songs, MS	Groombridge
Lot 120 Motetts, etc. MS	Groombridge
Lot 119 Motetts by Tallis, 1575, and Bird	J.S. Smith
Lots 203-5 and 210, bought by Groombridge 'for the Madrigal Society'	
Lot 229 A Curious Collection of 139 Madrigalls and Mottetts, for 5 & 6 voices, by the Old Masters, copied from the Vatican or Pope's Library at Rome, a large folio volume containing 1060 pages, beautifully written - A MOST RARE AND INESTIMABLE BOOK. (Sold to an unnamed buyer for £10.10.0).	

- Mad.Soc.C.8 Score: in the hand of John Parker, later owned by Novello
Madrigals
Byrd: Laudate pueri, Siderum rector
- Mad.Soc.B.1-10 Partbooks: late eighteenth century
Madrigals
Byrd: O quam gloriosum
- Mad.Soc.A.22-27 Partbooks: late eighteenth century
Madrigals
'Wm.Byrd 1575': Emendemus in melius
- Mad.Soc.A.6-11 Partbooks: late eighteenth century
Madrigals
Tallis: In manus tuas
- B.M.Add.35001 Score: in the hand of Samuel Wesley, 1812 f.86-133 contains copies of pieces from Gradualia II
Also:
'No.20. Versus 3 de Psalmo CXXXVI': Quia illic (Victoria)
'No.21. Quotiescunque manducabilis': (Gradualia II)
- RCM.1196 Partbooks: owned by Joseph Gwilt (d.1863)
'Dr.C. Tye': Laudate Nomen Domini
'B. Rogers': Te Deum Patrem Colimus¹
- Tenbury 711 Score: in the hand of Edward Taylor²
Tye: Laudate Nomen Domini
Tallis: Gloria tibi Domine (Last verse of 'Sermone blando', printed 1575)
Tallis: O omnes gentes plaudite manibus³

1. A copy of 'Te Deum Patrem Colimus' in the Arkwright papers in the Bodleian library is erroneously ascribed to Tallis.
2. Edward Taylor (1784-1863) was Gresham Professor of Music, and the owner of several sets of Paston MSS, see above. He was also President of the Purcell Club at the time of the hoax perpetrated by one of its members in 1840 about the discovery in a cellar of important Tudor and Jacobean printed and manuscript music, described by Hyatt King, op.cit., pp.39-42.
3. Is this another Latin adaptation?

) See Ten vol.

B.M. Add.31415	Partbooks; in the hand of Thomas Oliphant 'Motet 4 v.Dr.C.Tye 1553': Laudate nomen Domini
RCM.1066	Score: in the hand of W.H. Husk Morley: De profundis Byrd: Non nobis Domine
RCM.667	Score: in the hand of Sir George Grove Byrd: Non nobis Domine
RCM.1061	Score: in the hand of Sir George Grove Tallis: Miserere nostri
RCM.1062	Score: 'Grove March 25 1842' Byrd: Non nobis Domine

It is curious that so few important scores were written by the great nineteenth century collectors, without whose activity far more of the Elizabethan manuscripts must surely have disappeared. Only one piece remains in the hand of Joseph Warren, and no manuscript copies by Novello, Stafford Smith, Julian Marshall or Edward Rimbault, and besides the massive task of producing three scores of 'Spem in alium', a feat which can hardly be described as trivial, only 'Laudate Nomen Domini' is in Oliphant's hand and that in a version of which he disapproved.

It was not until G.E.P. Arkwright began the Old English Edition and H.E. Wooldridge began collecting material for the Oxford History of Music¹ that manuscript copies made from manuscripts began to appear again. These transcriptions, together with the scores made by H.B. Collins now in private ownership, and those by A.Ramsbotham and E.H. Fellowes in the Music Library of London University, are as invaluable to the twentieth century student as those of the Pepusch circle must have been to the eighteenth century one.

1. MSS. copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Mus.c.25, Mus.c.76, Mus.c.78 (Arkwright) and Mus.d.183, Mus.d.186-7, Mus.d.201-4 and Mus.e.28 (Wooldridge).

APPENDIX ITHE USE OF COMMON MUSICAL FORMULAE

Elizabethan composers sometimes deliberately copied each other's settings of particular texts. One result of this was that the scribes were uncertain of the authorship of the piece they were copying. The Easter respond 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' is an example. In Ch.Ch.984-8 one of the settings is ascribed to 'Johnson' and 'Tallis alias Johnson'. In Add.47844, the same piece is ascribed to Taverner. Stylistically it has much in common with a setting of the same text by Sheppard, in Ch.Ch.979-83. It has been suggested that John Baldwin was aware of the musical similarity of the 'Dum transisset' settings, which is most striking in the opening lines of the five-part settings by Strabridge, Sheppard (First setting) and Johnson. (See attached example 1). Certain elements near the beginning can be traced back to Taverner's settings for four and five voices. The four-part settings by Robert Barber and Robert Johnson, both composers of the older generation of those in Add. 17802-5, also seem to be modelled on Taverner's setting, and this may suggest that Taverner's four-part setting is earlier than his five-part version of the same piece. (See example 2).

If the primum mobile was Taverner, the unusual opening melodic line in the Treble part of Sheppard's second setting could be interpreted as an inversion of the bass line of Taverner's setting which was the model for other composers; Barber also borrowed this bass line. (See example 3). It might then follow that it was Sheppard who initiated the 'borrowing' trend, possibly as a tribute to Taverner. It is striking that both his settings are related stylistically to others, and even more striking that the only settings

completely unrelated to the 'Dum transisset' convention are Tallis's and the one ascribed to Roose in one manuscript and to Tallis in another. The settings by Tye in Add.31390 are discussed in Appendix V.

Other evidence of melodic 'borrowing' occurs at the words 'ungerent' and 'aromata'. (See example 4).

As we have seen, certain elements of the early settings by Taverner became common property, so that by the time John Mundy was writing it is impossible to tell if he had a particular setting in mind or if, as in Elizabethan lyric poetry, there was a common store of phrases proper in certain situation.¹ Mundy's piece is deliberately archaic and his treatment of words like 'aromata' is repetitious to the point of parody. (See example 5).

A similar process took place in the case of sections of the Magnificat, with the same distress to the copyists. The 'Esurientes' section from Tye's Magnificat is attributed to Parsons in Tenbury 354-8 because Parsons wrote a very similar setting. Common melodic formulae and common structure can be seen in the opening phrases and the entry of the top voice at 'Implevit bonis'. (See example 6).

Both are Magnificats for six voices. The melodic formulae are familiar because they occur in one of the best-circulated pieces in Elizabethan manuscripts: Sheppard's five-part 'Esurientes' from the six-part Magnificat. Yet this is also related to Sheppard's own four-part setting. (See example 7).

Again, Sheppard seems to have been a central figure. On the other hand, the 'original' may have again been a piece by Taverner,

1. See C. Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics, (1951).

the six-part Magnificat. (See example 8). The six-part Magnificats so far discussed are all in Mus.Sch.e.423. Another example of common musical formulae occurs in the section 'Et sanctum nomen' by Sheppard, Parsons and Tye in the Magnificats mentioned above. Other participants were Whitbroke, in his Magnificat in Mus.Sch.e.423, and William Mundy, in his second Magnificat for men in Mus.Sch.e.423 and the six-part Magnificat left out of that manuscript. The omission was noted in Chapter 2 as unusual. These similarities are so striking that it is worth quoting for the sections in detail. (See example 9).

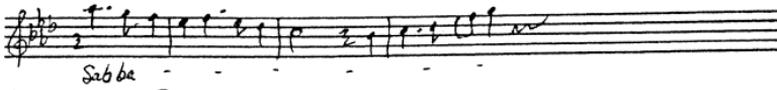
'Definite types of thinking and expression, certain turns and formulas, assert themselves in the taste of a period, the style of an epoch.'¹

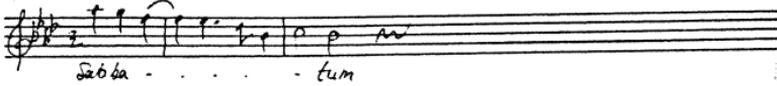
The examples quoted are more deliberate than this; at the same time they are not plagiaristic in the sense of trying to pass off as one's own the work of another. Too many composers were involved for that to be the case. The type of 'borrowing' described here differs in that sense from Morley's version of Phillippe's 'Gaude Maria Virgo',² and is closer to the medieval idea of representation in art according to a fixed ideal pattern. In such a situation, Tallis's independence of the trend, among a highly competitive circle of composers, reflects his originality.

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1. Szabolcsi, "Folk Music - Art Music - History of Music", Studia Musicologica, Vol.VIII, (Budapest, 1965).
 2. Pike, "Gaude Maria Virgo: Morley or Phillips?", Music and Letters, Vol. L, (1969).

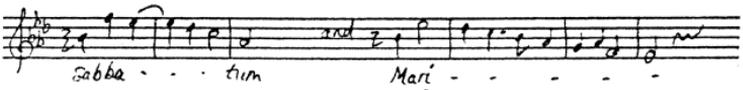
Example 1

Strabridge: 
Sab-ba - - - Sabba -

Sheppard I: 
Sabba - - -

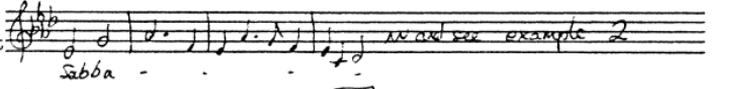
Johnson: 
Sabba - . . . - tum

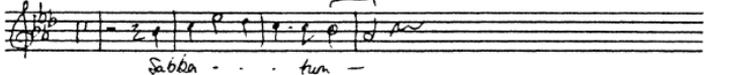
Example 2

Taverner: 
Sabba - . . . tum Mari - - -

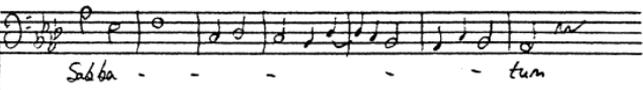
Johnson: 5 part setting 
Sabba - . . . tum Mari - - - a

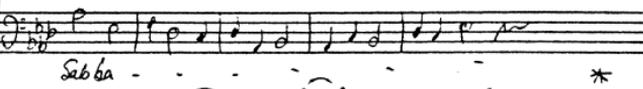
Barber: 
Sabba - - - Sabba -

Taverner: 4 part setting 
Sabba - - - and see example 2

Johnson: 4 part setting 
Sabba - . . . tum -

Example 3

Taverner: 
Sabba - - - - tum

Barber: 
Sabba - - - *

Sheppard II: 

* see also Strabridge, e.g.1

Example 4

Taverner: *A: a-ro-ma-ta Tr: a-ro-ma-ta*
B: a-ro-ma-ta M: a-ro-ma-ta

Johnson a 4: *M: e-ne-runt a-ro-ma-ta* Barber: *e-ne-runt a-ro-ma-ta*

Johnson a 5: *a-ro-ma-ta a-ro-ma-ta*
a-ro-ma-ta

Sheppard 1: *M: a-ro-ma-ta*
A: a-ro-ma-ta B: a-ro-ma-ta

Sheppard 2: *e-ne-runt a-ro-ma-ta, a-ro-ma-ta*

Taverner: *Tr: Ut ve-nien - - - - - les un - ge - rent Je*
A: Ut ve-nien - - - - - M: Ut ve-nien - - - - - un - ge - rent Je - - - - -

Johnson a 4: *M: Ut ve-ni-en-tes un - ge-rent, 'ut ve-ni-eg-tes*
A: Ut ve-ni-en-tes un - ge-rent 'ut ve-ni-entes

Barber: *A.1. Un - ge-rent Je - - - - - sum un - ge-rent Je - - - - - sum*
A.2. - - - - - un - ge-rent Je - - - - - sum

Johnson a 5: *M: un - ge-rent Je - - - - - sum Tr: un - ge-rent Je - - - - -*
A: un - ge-rent Je - - - - - sum

Sheppard 1: *A: Ut ve-ni-en-tes un - ge-rent Je - - - - - un - ge-rent Je - - - - -*

Example 4 contd.

Sheppard II:

A1: un - ge - rent Tr: un - ge - rent ve -

B: ungerent ve - - - - - sun

Example 5

John Mundy:

Tr: a - ro - nata, a - ro - nata, a - ro - nata a - ro - nata, a

A: Ta. ro. na. ta, a. ro. na. ta, a. ro. na. ta a - ro - nata, a - ro -

B1: a - ro - nata, a - ro - nata a - ro - nata, a - ro - nata a - ro -

B2: a - ro - nata, a - ro - nata a - ro

Example 6

Tye:

Alto Gmel:

E - su - ri - en - - - - -

Implevit bo - - - - -

Parsons:

Mean gmel:

E - su - ri - en - - - - -

Implevit bo - - - - -

Alto E - su - ri - en - - - - -

Bass Gmel: E - su - ri - en - - - - -

Implevit bo - - - - -

implevit bo - - - - -

Example 7

Sheppard: 6
part setting

M q u i n e l :
I m p l e v i t b o - - -

E - s u - r i - e n - - -

A m b :
E - s u - r i - e n - - -

B q u i n t :
I m p l e v i t b o - - -

E - s u - r i - e n - - -

Sheppard: 4
part setting

E - s u - r i - e n - - - x e s I m p l e v i t b o - - -

E - s u - r i - e n - - - x e s

E - s u - r i - e n - - - x e s I m p l e v i t b o - - -

Example 8

Taverner:

I m p l e v i t b o - - -

E - s u - r i - e n - - -

I m p l e v i t b o - - -

E - s u - r i - e n - - -

Example 9

Sheppard:

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Mundy: 6 part setting

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - - et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - - et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - - et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Mundy: 5 part setting

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - - nos et sanc-tum no-

Whitbroke:

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Example 9 contd.

Parsons:

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

Et sanc-tum no-

Et sanctum no-men e - - -

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et sanc-tum no-'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et sanc-tum no-'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et sanc-tum no-'. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'Et sanctum no-men e - - -'. The music is in a key with two flats and a 3/4 time signature.

Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -

men e - - -

men e - - -

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et sanc-tum no-men e - - -'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'men e - - -'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'men e - - -'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'men e - - -'. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line. The music continues from the first system.

APPENDIX IIEXEMPLARS FOR ELIZABETHAN COPYISTS

The purpose of the tables in Appendix II is to show what kind of sources - 'proper', 'festal & antiphon', and 'psalm' - were available to Elizabethan copyists for the copying of music by Henrician and Elizabethan composers excluding Byrd. Manuscripts associated with the Jacobean copyist John Merro are included because Merro's repertory was a retrospective one. Manuscripts appear in the following order:

Ch.Ch.979-83
 RM.24 d.2
 Mus.Sch.e.423
 Ch.Ch.984-8
 Tenbury 389
 Add.32377
 Add.30480-4
 Add.47844
 Add.31390
 Mus.e.1-5
 Tenbury 1486/w
 Tenbury 1464
 Tenbury 807-11
 Ch.Ch.45
 Drexel 4180-5, Add.17792-6 and HM.461

In the case of Tallis, the lists do not include pieces printed in 1575. Unless one could be sure which of the Cantiones in manuscript sources were copied from the printed edition, and which from independent and possibly earlier sources, their inclusion here would be misleading.

A more detailed analysis of the Paston manuscripts is given in Appendix VI and the manuscripts are therefore omitted here.

In general the distinction between types of source is clear, but there are a few exceptions. Pieces which originally had a

'proper' use may have been performed either as votive antiphons or, in Elizabethan times, in place of the English anthem, e.g. 'O salutaris hostia' by Tallis¹ and 'Aspice Domine' by Van Wilder.² Another exception is Sheppard's 'Esurientes', which was copied in a number of sources without words and had presumably become dis-associated from the five-part magnificat by that time. It belongs, like Tye's 'Amavit eum Dominus', with that class of pieces no longer regarded as vocal pieces and of which Jeremy Noble wrote 'On commenca simplement part omettre les paroles et on finit par les oublier'.³

A study of the tables brings to light some interesting facts. In the case of Sheppard, the 'antiphon' and 'psalm' categories are never found in one manuscript, with the single exception of 24 d.2 which contains 'Inclina Domine' as well as extracts from antiphons. Some sources of Sheppard contain both 'proper' pieces and one of the other two categories: e.423 and Paston 342 contain 'proper' and 'festal & antiphon' pieces; Ch.Ch.979-83, Add.32377 and Drexel 4180-5 contain 'proper' and 'psalms'.

1. 'O salutaris hostia' is in the following sources: Ch.Ch.984-8, Add.30480-4, Tenbury 389, Rowe 316, Add.31390, Add.22597, Tenbury 1464, Chelmsford 1 and the Paston manuscripts Tenbury 341-4, Add.34049, Tenbury 1469-71 and RCM 2089. Although it is, strictly speaking, a liturgical antiphon, the number of sources suggests either that it was revived and became fashionable in the secular sources of the 1580s, or that it was written to be performed non-liturgically. Only three of these sources contain other 'proper' pieces by Tallis. See also p.118
2. 'Aspice Domine' is a respond, and strictly speaking belongs in the column headed 'proper'. But the respond is set according to the continental model i.e. non-liturgically, and is found in English sources containing music of both 'proper' and 'psalm' categories. Stylistically it belongs to the latter.
3. "Le repertoire instrumentale anglais...", p.95.

In sources of Tallis, as in sources of Sheppard, the categories are divided. It is striking that this division occurs even in the Paston manuscripts; except for Tenbury 341-4 which contains the whole range of pieces, the sources of antiphons and of psalms are different: antiphons in 342, 354, 1469, 2035, 29246, 34049, and 41156; psalms in 2089, 29247 and 369. The Lamentations are in one manuscript from each group as well as the main Paston source of Tallis (341-4). It is noted that the Paston copyists had access to at least one Tallis source which escaped everyone else, since they are the sole sources of the "Puer Natus" mass and the sequence 'Euge Caeli Porta'. For the rest, only Tenbury 1464 and Ch.Ch.979-83 contain the whole range; Chelmsford 1 and e.1-5 contain nothing 'proper' but everything else; Peterhouse 40 and 24.d.2 'proper' and antiphons; 4180 and 32377 'proper' and Lamentations.

The transmission of pieces by Taverner is also interesting. There are no Paston sources of any 'proper' pieces, and the only antiphons not in any Paston sources (Ave Maria, 'Christe Jesu,' Fac nobis secundum, Sancte Deus and Sub tuum praesidium) are all in Peterhouse and only there with the exception of Christe Jesu which is also in 979. On the other hand, 'Sospitati dedit' occurs only in Chelmsford 1, a Paston source. Only two antiphons are not in Peterhouse: 'Sospitati dedit' and 'O splendor gloriae' which was written jointly with Tye according to Baldwin. Peterhouse sources of Taverner were then completely independent of any available to Paston.

The absence of any piece by Taverner in the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks is strange; one would have expected to find some-

thing by him in books copied in the 1520s, since his entire output must, if he really did write nothing after 1530, have been in circulation by 1529 when the Lambeth and Caius books were finished.

In the case of Tye, e.423 is the only source containing the whole range of pieces; 984 unusually contains nothing 'proper'; 45 contains pieces from 'proper' and 'antiphon' sources, 18936 from 'proper' and 'psalm' sources. It is interesting that there are several sources which contain only pieces from 'psalm' sources, particularly when they do contain other kinds of pieces by other composers: e.1-5, 1464, 807 and 979 are examples. The Paston sources are also of this type with the exception of an extract from the magnificat which however is wrongly attributed to Parsons i.e. the Paston copyist did not know that it was by Tye.¹

All this argues that Tye's earlier pieces were little-known compared to his later psalm-settings and miscellaneous pieces. The number of surviving pieces in each of the three categories (6 'proper', 8 'Festal and Antiphon', 8 'Psalm' and other) corresponds roughly to the output of William Mundy rather than to Sheppard or Tallis whose psalm-settings (in manuscript) are few relative to their output of liturgical pieces. This in itself is odd seeing that Tye was a much older man than Mundy and would be expected to have composed more in the older tradition. Since he took his doctorate in music in 1545 it cannot be argued that he took up composition late in life. But there is more to it. We are dependent for much of our knowledge of hymns, responds and antiphons on Baldwin's

1. But see Appendix I.

collections R.M.24.d.2 and Ch.Ch.979-83, and it is these two crucial manuscripts which are missing from the list of sources of Tye. The inference must be that pieces by Tye were not copied in the Chapel Royal books which were probably the sources of Baldwin's collections. (See p.44f.) The source e.423 is the best source of Tye in the sense that it is most representative, and it looks as though for some reason of his own the writer of e.423 deliberately set out to copy as much of Tye's music as possible. The Easter antiphon 'Christus resurgens' found in e.423 is unique not only in the sense that it is a 'unica' but in that no other 'proper' piece by any other composer is copied in e.423.

The argument that Tye's earlier Latin music was not widely known is supported by the evidence of the Sadler partbooks (e.1-5 and 1486/W), both good sources of antiphons by other composers but containing only psalms by Tye. The Peterhouse Henrician partbooks are another case. One mass by Tye is copied there, but no antiphons, and the Peterhouse set is the only surviving source of the mass. To compare with Tallis, the nearest composer to Tye in age and importance: Tallis's antiphon 'Salve intemerata', the mass based on it, and another antiphon 'Ave rosa sine spinis' are in Peterhouse. 'Salve intemerata' was widely copied in other sources; there was at least one other source of the mass (copied by the writer of Tenb.1464) and 'Ave rosa' was known to at least Sadler and Paston, though possibly from one source. The reason why 'Salve intemerata' is in so many sources is presumably because it was an early piece and widely copied during the 1530s and 40s as Tallis's reputation grew. According to this argument, the mass and 'Ave rosa' ought to be relatively late pieces since there are fewer sources, and the 'festal

and antiphon' pieces by Tye later still. One might argue that the mass by Tye in Peterhouse is an early work, and that the 'Euge Bonae' mass, the antiphon 'Ave caput Christi' and the Magnificats are late works written in the 1540s. But this would not account for Tye's reputation as a composer transmitted by the late Elizabethan tradition, nor for his alleged employment as music teacher to Prince Edward, nor for the award of the D.Mus in 1545. These are signs of recognition, not of encouragement. It could be argued though that the mass 'Euge Bonae' was Tye's doctoral mass.

Another possibility is that the scribe of Peterhouse chose not to copy Tye's music. It has been noted that the antiphon 'O splendor gloriae', composed jointly by Tye and Taverner,¹ is one of only two antiphons by Taverner not in Peterhouse. Even if Taverner had not repented the 'Popish ditties' composed in his youth quite as vigorously as John Foxe supposed² and had written 'O splendor gloriae' and 'Sospitati dedit aegros' later than 1530, he could hardly have written them too late to be included in the Peterhouse books.

The most natural explanation, however, remains that the Peterhouse scribe did not know Tye's music except for the one mass. Neither was it known in the Chapel Royal. Since Baldwin is now the sole source of so much music, and copied nothing of this period by Tye, the possibility that Tye wrote many more pieces than now survive is stronger in his case than in that of any other composer.³

1. According to Baldwin: see Thematic Catalogue Vol.I.
2. John Foxe: Actes and Monumentes 4th rev.ed. London 1583 ii 1032.
3. The possibility that settings of 'Dum Transisset' and 'Christus resurgens' in Add.31390 are instrumental versions of originally vocal pieces is discussed in Appendix V.

<u>Baldwin:</u> <u>Ch. Ch. 979-85</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
Douglas	-	-	Converteri Domine
Fairfax	-	Ave Dei Patris; Maria plena virtute	-
Giles	-	-	Vestigia mea dirige
Johnson	Lesson	-	Domine in virtute B
W. Mundy	Hymns & responds	Maria virgo sanctissima; Vox patris caelestis	all psalms except 'Miserere mei Deus'
J. Mundy	respond + Dum transisset	-	Edes nostra sancta In te Domine speravi Lamentations
R. Parsons	Hymns & responds	-	all psalms except 'Magnus es Domine'
Sheppard	Haec Dies Te Deum Hymns & responds Liturgical antiphons	-	all psalms except 'Inclina Domine' (e. 1-5) and another fragment of the same title in 24.d.d.2
Redford	respond	-	-
Tallis	Hymns & responds	Gaude gloriosa; Salve intemerata	both psalms & Lamentations
Taverner	Te Deum Lesson R.: Dum transisset a6	Mass: Gloria tibi Trinitas Ave Dei Patris; Gaude plurimum; Mater Christi; Christe Jesu; O splendor gloriae	-

<u>Baldwin:</u> <u>Ch. Ch. 979-82</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
R. White	Tota pulchra es 3 settings of 'Christe qui lux' with words	Regina coeli	both sets of Lamentations; All psalms except Appropinquet deprecatio Exaudiat te Dominus Justus es Domine
Wood	-	Exurge Domine	-

Baldwin: R.M. 24.d.2	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalms & other</u>
Aston	-	Te matrem dei laudamus	-
Cooper	O crux gloriosa Stella caeli	Ave dei patris; Maria plena virtute	-
Fairfax	-	-	-
Johnson	Lesson Dicant nunc Judei	-	-
J. Mundy	-	-	Dominus illuminatio mea Judica me Deus
W. Mundy	-	Maria virgo sanctissima; Vox patris caelestis	3 psalms (979)
Sheppard	Haec Dies (as in 979)	Gaude virgo Christipara; fragment 'Illustrissima'	Inclina Domine (fragment)
Tallis	respond 'Loquebantur in variis linguis' (979)	Gaude gloriosa; Salve intemerata	-
Taverner	verses of sequences & tracts	Mass: Gloria tibi Trinitas Gaude plurimum; O splendor gloriae; fragment 'Virgo pura'	-
White	-	-	Deus misereatur; Manus tuae (both in 979)
Wood	-	Exurge Domine	

<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm</u>
Aston -	Gaude mater matris Christi	-
Fairfax -	Ave Dei Patris; Maria plena virtute	
Johnson -	Ave Dei Patris	Domine in virtute B
Sheppard -	-	Inclina Domine
Parsley -	-	Conserva me Domine
Tallis -	Salve intemerata	Domine quis habitabit Lamentations
Taverner Mass: Western Wind	Ave Dei Patris: Gaude plurimum; Mater Christi; O splendor gloriae	-
Tye -	-	Miserere mei Deus
R. White -	-	Domine non est exaltatum, Exaudiat te, Justus es, Manus tuae, Forcio mea, Miserere mei, Lamentations 2.

<u>Tenbury 1486/W</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm</u>
Johnson	-	Ave Dei Patris	-
W. Mundy	-	Vox Patris caelestis	Miserere mei Deus
R. Parsons	-	-	Retribue servo tuo
W. Parsons	-	Anima Christi	Laudate Dominum
Tallis	-	Ave Dei Patris; Ave rosa sine spinis	
Taverner	-	Gaude plurimum	-
White	-	-	Domine quis habitabit 2 Miserere mei Deus
Anon.	O Salutaris hostia	Ave regina caelorum	-

<u>Mus. Sch. e. 423</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Antiphon & Festal</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
W. Mundy	-	Magnificat Gaude virgo Vox patris caelestis	Adolescentus sum ego; Eructavit cor meum; Miserere mei Deus; Sive vigillem
R. Parsons		Magnificat Ave Maria	
W. Parsons		Anima Christi	
Sheppard	-	Magnificat Gaude virgo	
Tallis	-	Gaude gloriosa Salve intemerata	
Taverner		Ave Dei patris; Gaude plurimum Mater Christi; Magnificat a 6	
Tye	Te Deum Christus resurgens	Magnificat Ave caput Christi	In quo corriget Miserere mei Domine Deus meus
White	-	Magnificat	Deus misereatur; Manus tuae; Domine non est exaltatum; Domine quis habitabit 2 Lamentations 1

MS. B. 202-11

<u>Tenbury 807-11</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Antiphon & Festal</u>	<u>Psalms & other</u>
Johnson	-	Ave Dei Patris	
R. Parsons	-	Magnificat	
W. Parsons	Christus resurgens	-	
Sheppard	-	Gaude virgo	
Tallis	-	Gaude gloriosa Salve intemerata	
Tye	-	-	Peccavimus cum patribus
White	-	Magnificat	Manus tuae
<u>Ch. Ch. 45</u>			
W. Mundy	-	Magnificat	
R. Parsons	-	Magnificat	
Sheppard	Lesson	Magnificat	
Tallis	-	Gaude gloriosa	
Taverner	sequence v. 'Traditur militibus'	Magnificat a 6	
Tye	sequence verses for 'Post partum virgo'	Magnificat	
White	-	Magnificat	

Tenb. 1464

	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm</u>
Fairfax	-	Aeterne laudis lillium; O Maria Deo grata Lauda vivi alpha et O Gaude flore virginali Maria plena virtutis Ave Dei Patris filia	
Johnson	-	Ave Dei Patris filia	Domine in virtute B
R. Parsons	-	Magnificat	
Parsley	In nomine Jesu	-	Conserva me
Sheppard	Hymn: 'Aeterne rex'	-	-
Tallis	all hymns O salutaris hostia	Mass: Salve intemerata Salve intemerata	Lamentations
Taverner	-	Mass: Small Devotion Mass: Gloria tibi Trinitas Mater Christi	
Tye	-	-	Miserere mei Deus
White	-	-	Lamentations 2 Domine non est exaltatum

<u>Ch. Ch. 984-B</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
Giles	-	-	Vestigia mea dirige
Johnson	respond: Dum transisset	-	-
Mundy	-	-	Sive vigilem
R. Parsons	-	Ave Maria O bone Jesu	Retribue servo tuo
Roose?	respond: Dum transisset (non-liturgical)	-	-
Tayler	respond: Christus resurgens (non-liturgical)	-	-
Tallis	O salutaris hostia	-	-
Taverner	respond: Dum transisset	-	-
Tye	-	-	Omnes gentes plaudite Ad te clamamus
White	4 settings of 'Christe qui lux' with words	-	Appropinquet deprecatio mea Exaudiat te; Manus tuas; Justus es Domine; Miserere mei Deus Lamentations 2

ABB. 20480-4

<u>Add.</u> 30480-4	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & Antiphon</u>	<u>Psalms & Other</u>
Johnson Sheppard Tallis White	- Kyrie/Haec Dies O salutaris hostia Christe qui lux 2 (no words)	- - -	all psalms - -
<u>Add.</u> 47844 Johnson Sheppard White	respond: Dum transisset Kyrie/Haec Dies Libera nos Christe qui lux 2 (no words)	- -	- - Deus misereatur
<u>Add.</u> 31390 Douglas Johnson W. Mundy Sheppard Tallis Taverner	- - - 3 responds (979): Filiae Jerusalem Dum transisset Spiritus sanctus O salutaris hostia respond: (979) Dum transisset	- - - Gaude Maria virgo - -	Converteri Domine - - Domine non est exaltatum - -

Tenbury 389	Proper	Festal & Antiphon	Psalm & other
Johnson	-	-	Domine in virtute B
R. Parsons	respond: Peccantem me	-	Credo quod redemptor Retribue servo tuo
Redford	respond: (979) Sint lumbi vestri	-	-
Sheppard	Haec Dies (as in 979) Libera nos 2 (979)	-	-
Tallis	O salutaris hostia	-	-
White	Christe qui lux 4 (no words) Tota pulchra es	-	-
<u>Add. 32377</u>			
Mundy	-	-	Domine quis habitabit (979)
R. Parsons	Hymn: Jam Christus astra respond: Libera me Domine	-	Credo quod redemptor Retribue servo tuo
Sheppard	Kyrie/Haec Dies Hymn: Aeterne rex	-	Deus misereatur
Tallis	Haec Dies Hymn: Quod chorus: vatun	-	Lamentations
White	-	-	Deus misereatur Domine quis habitabit 3

	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
J. Mundy	-	-	Miserere mei Deus (C)
W. Mundy	-	-	Domine non est exaltatum (AB)
Parsons	-	-	Credo quod redemptor
Roose?	Dum transisset (ABC) (non-liturgical)	-	-
Sheppard	Libera nos, both settings (A)	-	Deus misereatur (AB)
Tallis	respond: Homo quidam (A)	-	Lamentations (AB)
Tayler	Christus resurgens (C) (non-liturgical)	-	-
White	-	-	Deus misereatur (AB) Lamentations 2 (B)

Drexel 4180-5 = A
 Add. 17792-6 = B
 HM.461 = C

<u>Add. 18936-9</u>	<u>Proper</u>	<u>Festal & antiphon</u>	<u>Psalm & other</u>
Mundy	-	Magnificats (fragments) Vox patris caelestis	
Tallis	-	Salve intemerata	
Taverner	Christe Leroy	Magnificat fragments Gaude plurimum Mass fragments?	
Tye	Mass: Western Wind: Agnus ascr. Ferrabosco	-	-
White	-	-	Manus tuae Lamentations 2

ADD. 18936-9

APPENDIX IIICHECKLISTS

The following checklists of music in Latin are given for easy reference to the commentary. In some cases, full indexes have been published elsewhere. In the following pages, the number of the piece in the manuscript, or the folio number, is followed by the title and composer. Concordances with Ch.Ch.979-83 are shown according to the sections outlined on p.48.

Checklists are given for the following manuscripts:

Ch.Ch.979-83
 RM.24 d.2
 Mus.Sch.e.423
 Ch.Ch.45
 Ch.Ch.984-8
 Tenbury 389
 Add.32377
 Add.31390
 Mus.e.1-5
 Tenbury 1486/W
 Tenbury 1464
 Tenbury 807-11
 Chelmsford 1
 Tenbury 341-4
 Folger 460328

Checklists of the Latin contents of Add.30480-4 and Add.47844 may be found in Appendix IV.

Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83¹

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
1	Judica me Deus	Sheppard	D
2	Beati omnes qui timent	Sheppard	D
3	Deus misereatur	Sheppard	D
4	Confitebor tibi Domine	Sheppard	D

1. See Bray, "The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.979-83: An Index and Commentary", Musica Disciplina, Vol.XXV (1971).

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
5	Domine in virtute	Johnson	D
6	Aspice Domine	Van Wilder	D
7	Laudem dicite Deo nostro	Sheppard	separate; from F?
8	Domine Deus omnipotens	Byrd	C2
9	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2
10	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2
11	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Strabridge	separate
12	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2
13	Levemus corda nostra	Byrd	C2
14	Peccavi super numerum	Byrd	C2
15	Memento Domine	Byrd	C2
16	O Domine adiuva me	Byrd	C2
17	Domine exaudi	Byrd	C2
18	Omni tempore	Byrd	C2
19	Ne perdas cum impiis	Byrd	C2
20	Sacris solenniis juncta	Byrd	C2
21	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Tallis	E
22	Dum transisset Sabbatum I	Taverner	E
23	Dum transisset Sabbatum II	Taverner	E
24	Spiritus Sanctus procedens	Sheppard	F
25	Laudem dicite Deo nostro	Sheppard	F
26	Te Deum laudamus	Taverner	F
27	Miserere mei Deus	Tye	F
28	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Hollander	separate; from J?
29	O splendor gloriae	Taverner & Tye	G1
30	Exsurge Domine	Wood	G1
31	Vide Domine/Sed veni	Byrd	C3

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
32	Edes nostra sancta	J. Mundy	separate
33	Lamentations II/Heth	White	H1
34	Lamentations/Beth	Byrd	H1
35	Exsurge Domine quare	Byrd	C3
36	Benigne fac Domine	Byrd	C3
37	Circumdederunt me dolores	Byrd	C3
38	Beatus et sanctus	W. Mundy	J
39	Confitebor tibi Domine	Damon	J
40	Laudate Dominum	Tallis	J
41	De lamentatione	Tallis	H2
42	Incipit lamentation	Tallis	H2
43	De lamentatione	Ferrabosco	H2
44	Regina caeli	White	separate
45	In convertendo	Douglas	J
46	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2
47	Ave Dei Patris filia	Fairfax	G2
48	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2
49	Ave Dei Patris filia	Taverner	G2
50	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2
51	Christe Jesu pastor bone	Taverner	G2
52	Ubi est Abell? [ascr. Douglas]	[Lassus]	J
53	In te Domine speravi	J. Mundy	separate
54	O bone Jesu	Parsons	B3
55	Portio mea	White	B3
56	Retribue servo tuo	Parsons	B3
57	Beati immaculati	W. Mundy	B3
58	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
59	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4
60	Tribulationes civitatum	Byrd	C4
61	Aspice Domine de sede	Byrd	C4
62	Latin Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis	Tallis	separate
63	Manus tuae fecerunt me	White	B4
64	Confitebor tibi Domine	Anon	B4
65	Adhaesit pavimento	W. Mundy	B4
66	Noli aemulari	W. Mundy	B4
67	Domine quis habitabit	Tallis	B4
68	Cunctis diebus	Byrd	C5
69	Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd	C5
70	Reges Tharsis	Byrd	C5
71	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5
72	Memor esto verbi tui	Mundy	B5
73	Sive vigilem	Mundy	B5
74	Peccantem me quotidie	Parsons	B5
75	Videte miraculum	W. Mundy	B5
76	Christe qui lux III	White	B5
77	Veni Creator	W. Mundy	B5
78	Christe qui lux II	White	B5
79	Aeterne Rex altissime	Sheppard	A3
80	Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptor	Sheppard	A3
81	Deus tuorum militum I	Sheppard	A3
82	Christe Redemptor	Sheppard	A3
83	Deus tuorum militum II	Sheppard	A3
84	Quod chorus vatum	Tallis	A3
85	Iam Christus astra	Tallis	A3

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
86	Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum	Tallis	A3
87	Salvator mundi Domine	Tallis	A3
88	A solis ortus cardine	W. Mundy	A3
89	Libera me Domine de morte	Parsons	A3
90	Justi autem in perpetuum	Sheppard	A1
91	Impetum fecerunt unanimes	Sheppard	A1
92	Sancte Dei preciose	Sheppard	A1
93	Homo quidam fecit cenam	Tallis	A1
94	Non conturbetur cor vestrum I	Sheppard	A1
95	Christi Virgo dilectissima	Sheppard	A1
96	Non conturbetur cor vestrum II	Sheppard	A1
97	Reges Tharsis et insulae	Sheppard	A1
98	Gaude Maria Virgo cunctas	Sheppard	A1
99	Sint lumbi vestri	Redford	A1
100	Ad te levavi oculos	White	A1
101	Da pacem Domine II	Ferrabosco	J?
102	Ecce nunc benedicite I	Anon	J?
103	Ecce nunc benedicite II	Anon	J?
104	Praedicabo laudes	Damon	J?
105	Omnis caro gramen sit	Damon	J?
106	Loquebantur variis linguis	Tallis	A1
107	Beata nobis gaudia	Sheppard	A1
108	Sacris solenniis juncta	Sheppard	A1
109	A solis ortus cardine	Sheppard	A1
110	Te Deum laudamus	Sheppard	A1
111	Dum transisset Sabbatum I	Sheppard	A1
112	Iam Christus astra	Sheppard	A1

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
113	Ave maris stella	Sheppard	A1
114	Adesto Sancta Trinitas I	Sheppard	A1
115	Hostis Herodes impie	Sheppard	A1
116	Martir Dei qui unicum	Sheppard	A1
117	Adesto Sancta Trinitas II	Sheppard	A1
118	Media vita in morte	Sheppard	A1
119	Gaude gloriosa	Tallis	B1
120	Peccavimus cum patribus	Tye	B1
121	Quaesumus omnipotens	Tye	B1
122	Cantate Domino	Tye	B1
123	Deus misereatur	White	B1
124	Domine quis habitabit I	White	B1
125	Adolescentulus sum ego	W. Mundy	B1
126	Tota pulchra es	White	B1
127	Domine quis habitabit	Parsons	B1
128	Domine quis habitabit	W. Mundy	B1
129	Domine non est exaltatum	White	B1
130	Domine non est exaltatum	W. Mundy	B1
131	Domine quis habitabit II	White	B1
132	Credo quod redemptor	Parsons	B1
133	Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas	Taverner	separate
134	Domine quis habitabit III	White	B2
135	Eructavit cor meum	W. Mundy	B2
136	Vox Patris caelestis	W. Mundy	B2
137	Maria Virgo sanctissima	W. Mundy	B2
138	Infelix ego	Byrd	C1
139	Deus in adiutorium	Byrd	C1
140	Domine ante te	Byrd	C1

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Section</u>
141	O salutaris hostia	Byrd	C1
142	Descendit de caelis	Byrd	C1
143	Afflicti pro peccatis	Byrd	C1
144	Verbum caro factum est	Sheppard	A2
145	Spiritus Sanctus procedens	Sheppard	A2
146	Haec dies quam fecit Dominus	Sheppard	A2
147	Videte miraculum	Tallis	A2
148	Sive vigilem sive dormiam	Gerard	A2
149	Filiae Jerusalem	Sheppard	A2
150	Dum transisset Sabbatum II	Sheppard	A2
151	Salvator mundi Domine	Sheppard	A2
152	Jesu salvator saeculi, verbum	Sheppard	A2
153	Iam Christus astra	Parsons	A2
154	Libera nos salva nos I	Sheppard	A2
155	Libera nos salva nos II	Sheppard	A2
156	Dum transisset Sabbatum	J. Mundy	Appendix
157-159	textless pieces		Appendix
160	Quemadmodum (textless)	Taverner	Appendix
161	Redime me Domine	Baldwin	Appendix
162	Pater noster	Baldwin	Appendix
163-5	instrumental pieces		Appendix
166	Christe qui lux I	White	Appendix
167a	Laudes Deo dicam	Johnson	Appendix
167b	Lamentations	J. Mundy	Appendix: H3
168a	Ecce mater nostra	Taverner	Appendix
168b	Lamentations I/Heth	White	Appendix: H3

British Museum, MS. Royal 24 d.2¹

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
1	Miserere nostri	Ferrabosco	
2	Miserere nostri	Damon	
18	Super flumina Babylonis	De Monte	
21	Quomodo cantabimus	Byrd	
22	Peccantem me quotidie	Byrd	
23	Aspice Domine quia facta	Byrd	
24	Attollite portas	Byrd	
25	Vias tuas	Ferrabosco	
26	Vestigia mea	Giles	
27	Tibi soli peccavi	Giles	
29	Domine quis habitabit	Byrd	
30	Amavit eum Dominus	Tye	
31	Memento Domine	Byrd	
32/3	Tristitia et anxietas/Sed tu Domine	Byrd	C5/69
34	Ultimi me	Verdelot ascr. 'Ferrabsoco' ²	
35	Salva me Domine	Ferrabosco	
36	Christe redemptor	Ferrabosco	
37/8	Deus misereatur/Laetentur	White	B1/123
39/40	Adolescentus sum ego/Tribulatio	W. Mundy	B1/125
41	Judica me Deus	J. Mundy	-
42	Haec Dies	Sheppard	A2/146

1. See Bray, "British Museum MS. Royal 24 d 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): An Index and Commentary", RMA Research Chronicle, No. 12.

2. I am indebted to Professor Kerman for this ascription.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
43	Et expecto (Gloria tibi Trinitas)	Taverner	No.133
44	(Loquebantur) variis linguis	Tallis	A1/106
50/51	Gaude Maria virgo/Virgo prudētissima	Phillips ascr. 'Morley'	
52/3	Ne irascaris/Civitas	Byrd	C4/59
54-6	Tribulationes/Timor/Nos	Byrd	C4/60
57/8	Omni tempore/Memor esto	Byrd	C2/18
59/60	Ne perdas/Eripe me	Byrd	C2/19
61	Traditur militibus (sequence verse, Jesus-mass)	Taverner	
62/3	Libera me Domine	Parsons	A3/89
64/5	Aspice Domine de sede	Byrd	C4/61
66/7	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2/9
68	Deus omnipotens	Bull	
77	Dicant nunc Judei	Byrchley	
78	Agnus Dei (Te Deum mass)	Aston	
79	Dicant nunc Judei	Johnson	
80	Dicant nunc Judei	Gore	
81	Ego sum panis	Anon	
82	Sancti spiritus	Anon	
83	Jesu salvator mundi	Anon	
84	Laudes Deo dicam	Johnson	
85	Dicant nunc Judei	Johnson	
86	Agnus Dei	Anon	
87	Agnus Dei	Bar [ber]	
88	Agnus Dei	Anon	
89	Agnus Dei	Anon	
111	3 Kyries 'of 3 voc.'	Anon	

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
123	Mass for 3 voices	Byrd	
124	Gaude plurimum (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	G2/48
125	Eundem igitur (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
126	Illustrissima omnium (?)	Sheppard	
127	Genitum non factum (Mass)	Anon	
128	Dominus illuminatio mea (?)	J. Mundy	
129	Exsurge Domine (Exsurge Domine)	Wood	G1/30
130	Noli aemulari (Noli aemulari)	W. Mundy	B4/66
131	Vox patris (Vox patris)	W. Mundy	B2/136
132	Maria virgo (Maria virgo)	W. Mundy	B2/137
133	Quis est homo (?)	Giles	
134	Esto pater (Exsurge Domine)	Wood	as above
135	In manus tuas (O bone Jesu)	Parsons	
136	Perfice illud (Exsurge Domine)	Wood	as above
137	Traditur militibus (sequence verso: Jesus-Mass)	Taverner	
138	Ex quibus personis (Maria virgo)	W. Mundy	as above
139	Adhaesit pavimento (Adhaesit)	W. Mundy	B4/65
140	Surge propera (Vox patris)	W. Mundy	as above
141	Tam peccatum (sequence verse: Jesus-Mass)	Taverner	
142	Verbi tui (Exsurge Domine)	Wood	as above
143	Virgo pura(?)	Taverner	
144	Magnus es Domine	Parsons	
145	Rex amabilis (Maria plena)	Fairfax ascr. 'Taverner'	
146	Et cum pro nobis (O splendor)	Tye ¹	G1/29

1. 'Taverner et Tye' in Ch.Ch.979-83.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
147	Jesu spes penitenti- bus (sequence verse: Jesus-Mass)	Taverner	
148	O splendor glorie (O splendor)	Taverner	G1/29
149	Gloriosa Domina (O splendor)	Taverner	
150	Prudens Virgo (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
151	Tu ad liberandum (Te matrem)	Aston ascr. 'Taverner'	
152	Te angelorum (Te Matrem Dei)	Aston ascr. 'Taverner'	
153	Ergo Sathan (Gaude Virgo)	Sheppard	
154	Domine Deus caelestia (Domine Deus)	Tye	
155	Da Illi Domine (Domine Deus)	Tye	
156	In quo corrigit (In quo corrigit)	Tye	
157	In corde meo (In quo corrigit)	Tye	
158	Manus tuae (Manus tuae)	White	B4/63
159	Ut te laudare (?)	Anon	
160	Quare pro nobis (?)	Anon	
161	Maria plena virtute (Maria plena?)	Fairfax (?)	
162	Rex amabilis (Maria plena?)	Fairfax (?)	
163	Gaude gloriosa (Gaude gloriosa)	Tallis	B1/119
164	Ave summe (Ave Dei Patris)	Fairfax	G2/47
165	Gaude virgo Maria (Gaude gloriosa)	Tallis	as above
166	Ave Dei Patris (Ave Dei)	Fairfax	as above
167	Gaude Maria Virgo (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
168	Gaude Maria Jesu (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
169	Inclina Domine (Inclina?)	Sheppard	-

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
170	Tu nimirum (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	G2/46
171	Annae mulieris (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	as above
172	Per haec nos (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	as above
173	Alleluia: Confitemini	Byrd	
174	Cunctis diebus (Cunctis diebus)	Byrd	C5/68
175	Infelix ego (Infelix ego)	Byrd	C1/138
176-9	Stella caeli	Thorne	
180-4	Stella caeli	Cooper	
185	O crux gloriosa	Cooper	
186	Gloria laus et honor	Moorecock	
187	Ad lapidis (Christus resurgens)	Dygon	
188	Rex benedicte	Dygon	
189	Quam pulchra es	Henry VIII	
203	Jesus autem transiens	Wilkinson	

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus.Sch.e.423Five-part pieces

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>Dow</u>
1	Aspice Domine	Byrd	C4/61	-
2	Ne irascaris/Civitas	Byrd	C4/59	-
3	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58	-
4	Levemus corda nostra	Byrd	C2/13	-
5	Ne perdas cum impiis	Byrd	C2/19	-
6	Sive vigilem	W. Mundy	B5/73	37
7	O Domine adiuva nos	Byrd	C2/16	-
8	Memento Domine	Byrd	C2/15	-
9	Omni Tempore	Byrd	C2/18	-
10	Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd	C5/69	31
11	Domine exaudi	Byrd	C2/17	-
12	Mirabile mysterium	Ferrabosco	-	51
13	Peccavi super numerum	Byrd	C2/14	-
14	Tribulationes civitatum	Byrd	C4/60	-
15	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2/50	-
16	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46	-
17	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2/48	-
18	Magnificat for men I	W. Mundy	-	
19	Magnificat for men II	W. Mundy	-	
20	Magnificat	Taverner	-	
21	Gaude virgo mater Christi	W. Mundy	-	
22	Miserere mei Deus	Tye	F/27	
23	Ave Dei patris filia	Taverner	G2/49	
24	Tribulatio proxima	Byrd	-	27

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>Dow</u>
25	^K ecordare Domine	Byrd	-	-
26	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2/9	30
27	Manus tuae	White	B4/63	6
28-31	De la court, Browning, etc.			
32	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2/10	32
33	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2/12	33
34	Haec dicit Dominus	Byrd	-	-
35	Domine tu jurasti	Byrd	-	40
36	Exsurge Domine	Byrd	C3/35	41
37	Laetentur caeli	Byrd	-	46
38	Sponsus amat sponsam	(Byrd?)	-	-
	Circumdederunt me dolores	Byrd	C3/37	
39	Vide Domine afflictionem	Byrd	No.31	
40	Benigne fac Domine	Byrd	C3/36	
41	In resurrectione tua	Byrd	-	34
42	(Christe qui lux)	Byrd	-	45
43	Amavit eum Dominus	Tye	-	-
44	Ad punctum in modico	Byrd	-	-
46 (sic)	Domine secundum multitudinem	Byrd	-	-
47	Deus venerunt gentes	Byrd	-	39
48-51	In nomine settings			
52	Ave Maria	Parsons	-	48
53	Vias tuas	Ferrabosco	-	-
54	Miserere mei	Byrd	-	52
55	Vigilate nescitis enim	Byrd	-	-
56	Salve regina	Byrd	-	-
57	Quis est homo	Byrd	-	-

Six-part pieces

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u> (none in Dow)
1	Infelix ego	Byrd	C1/138
2	Cunctis diebus	Byrd	C5/68
3	Afflicti pro peccatis	Byrd	C1/143
4	Descendit de caelis	Byrd	C1/142
5	Gaude gloriosa	Tallis	B1/119
6	Gaude virgo	Sheppard	-
7	In quo corriget	Tye	-
8	Domine quis habitabit II	White	B1/131
9	Anima Christi	W. Parsons	-
10	Exultavit cor meum	W. Mundy	-
11	Magnificat	Whitbroke	-
12	Magnificat	Taverner	-
13	Magnificat	Sheppard	-
14	Magnificat	White	-
15	Magnificat	R. Parsons	-
16	Magnificat	Tye	-
17	Magnificat	Tye	-
18	Ave caput Christi	Tye	-
19	Domine Deus caelestis	Tye	-
20	Domine non est exaltatum	White	B1/129
21	Vox patris caelestis	W. Mundy	B2/136
22	Miserere mei Deus	W. Mundy	-
23	Te Deum laudamus	Tye	-
24	Christus resurgens	Tye	-
25	Lamentations I	White	Appendix 168b
24	[sic] Adolescentus sum ego	Mundy	B1/125
25	[sic] Deus misereatur	White	B1/123

Oxford, Christ Church, MS.45

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.423</u>
2	Speciosa facta es	Anon	-	-
2v	O vos omnes (Lamentations II)	White	H1/33	-
3v	Veniant mihi (Manus tuae)	White	B4/63	27 a5
4v	Sicut ablactatus (Domine non est exaltatum)	White	B1/129	20 a6
5v	Domine non est exaltatum (Domine non est)	White	as above	as above
6v	Sicut locutus est (Magnificat)	White	-	14 a6
7v	Sicut locutus est (Magnificat)	W. Mundy	-	?19 a5
8v	Sicut locutus est (Magnificat)	Sheppard	-	13 a6
9v	Sicut erat (Magnificat)	Parsons	-	15 a6
10v	Sicut locutus (Magnificat)	Parsons	-	as above
11v	Sicut erat (Magnificat)	White	-	as above
12v	Et semini ejus (Magnificat)	Taverner	-	20 a5
13v	Esurientes (Magnificat)	Taverner	-	as above
14v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	W. Mundy	-	?19 as above
15v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	Sheppard	-	as above
16v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	Tye	-	16 a6
17v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	White	-	as above
18v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	Taverner	-	as above
19v	Unde nostris (Post partum virgo)	Tye	-	-
20v	O quam glorifica (instrumental?)	Parsons	-	-
21v	Alleuia: Confitemini	Byrd	-	-
22v	Traditur militibus	Taverner	-	-
23v	Manus tuae (Manus tuae)	White	as above	as above
24v	Peccatum peccavit (Lamentations I)	White	Appendix 168b	25 a6

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.423</u>
25v	Ave caput Christi (Ave caput)	Tye	-	18 a6
26v	Gaude gloriosa (Gaude gloriosa)	Tallis	B1/119	5 a6
27v	Tellus flumina (Post partum virgo)	Tye	-	-
27v	Sanctus	Byrd	-	-
28v	Sicut locutus (Magnificat)	Taverner	-	as above
29v	Sicut erat (Magnificat)	Taverner	-	as above
30v	Quia fecit (Magnificat)	Parsons	-	as above
31v	Et sanctum nomen (Magnificat)	W. Mundy	-	?19 as above
32v	Esurientes (Magnificat)	Strogers	-	-
33v	Sicut erat (Magnificat)	Sheppard	-	as above
34v	Et sanctum nomen (Magnificat)	White	-	as above
35v	Et sanctum nomen (Magnificat)	Anon	-	-
36v	Infelix ego (Infelix ego)	Byrd	C1/138	1 a6
37v	Laudes Deo	Sheppard	-	-
39v	Sicut locutus (Magnificat)	Strogers	-	-
39v	Ego sum vestra redemptio	Anon	-	-

Oxford, Christ Church, MSS.984-8

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.423¹</u>
1	Lamentations II	White	H1/33	-
2	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71	-
3	Christe qui lux I	White	Appendix 166	-
4	Christe qui lux II	White	B5/78	-
5	Christe qui lux III	White	B5/76	-
6	Manus tuae	White	B4/63	27
7	Portio mea	White	B3/55	-
8	Justus es	White	-	-
9	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4/59	-
10	O Domine adiuva	Byrd	C2/16	-
11	Tribulationes civitatum	Byrd	C4/60	-
12	Domine exaudi	Byrd	C2/17	-
13	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58	-
14	Ad te clamamus	Tye	-	-
15	Omnes gentes plaudite	Tye	-	-
16	Esurientes	Sheppard	-	-
17	Angelus ad pastores	Lassus	-	-
18	Veni in hortum meum	Lassus	-	-
19	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	-	-
20	Salvator mundi I	Tallis	-	-
21	Candidi facti sunt	Tallis	-	-
22	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Johnson	-	-
23	Exaudiat te Dominus	White	-	-
24	Tribulationem et dolore	Ferrabosco	-	-

1. Concordances occur only with the five-part section of e.423.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.423</u>
25	Non me vincat	Strogers	-	-
26	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Taverner	E/22	-
27	Tribulatio proxima	Byrd	-	24
28	Appropinquet deprecatio mea	White	-	-
29	Christus resurgens	Taylor	-	-
30	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2/9	26
31	Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd	C5/69	10
32	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2/10	32
33	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2/12	33
34	In resurrectione tua	Byrd	-	41
35	Retribue servo tuo	Parsons	B3/56	-
36	Fac cum servo tuo	Byrd	-	-
37	Sive vigilem	W. Mundy	B5/73	6
38	Christe qui lux IV	White	-	-
39	Deus venerunt gentes/Posuerunt	Byrd	-	47
40	Domine tu jurasti	Byrd	-	35
41	Exsurge Domine quare	Byrd	C3/35	36
42	O scarum convivium	Tallis	-	-
43	Salvator mundi II	Tallis	-	-
44	Effuderunt sanguinem (Deus venerunt)	Byrd	-	47 as above
45	Christe qui lux	Byrd	-	42
46	Laetentur caeli	Byrd	-	37
47	Facti sumus opprobrium (Deus venerunt)	Byrd	-	47 as above
48	Ave Maria	Parsons	-	52
49	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Roose	-	-
50	Decantabat populus	Anon	-	-

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>	<u>e.423</u>
51	Mirabile mysterium	Ferrabosco	-	12
52	Miserere mei Deus	Byrd	-	54
53	O bone Jesu	Parsons	B3/54	-
54	Vestigia mea	Giles	(24 d.2)	-

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.389¹ and its 'Superius' partbook

<u>Page</u> ²	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
1; 1	Aspice Domine/Respice	Byrd	C4/61
2; 2	Ne irascaris/Civitas	Byrd	C4/59
4; 4	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58
15; 15	Christe qui lux IV	White	-
17; 17	Esurientes	Sheppard	-
19; 19	Quis te victorem dedit		-
23; 24	Qui consolabatur me?	(Clemens non Papa)	-
25; 25	Non te hostis		-
46; 40	Salva nos Domine	Ferrabosco	-
47; 41	Da pacem Domine II	Ferrabosco	J7/101
48; 42	Timor et tremor/Exaudi Deus	Ferrabosco	-
51; 44	Heu mihi Domine II	Ferrabosco	-
53; 47	Domine non secundum peccata	Ferrabosco	-
55; 49	Afflictus sum/Ne derelinquas	Ferrabosco	-
58; -	Credo quod redemptor	Ferrabosco	-
59; 61	Domine in virtute tua/Magna gloria	Johnson	D5
79; 81	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	-
80; 82	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Tallis	E/21
81; 83	Tota pulchra es	White	B1/126
84; 85	Sint lumbi vestri	Redford	A1/99
88; 89	Peccantem me quotidie	Parsons	B5/74
89; 90	Veni sponsa Christi		-
91; 93	Deus in adiutorium	Byrd	C1/139
104; 105	O quam gloriosum/Benedictio	Byrd	C2/9
109; 109	In resurrectione tua	Byrd	-
111; 112	Super flumina Babylonis	de Monte	-

1. A full checklist may be found in E.H. Fellowes, The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, (1934), p.68
2. The page number of Tenbury 389 is given first, then the page of the Superius book.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
114; 114	Quodmodo cantabimus/\$i non	Byrd	-
117; 117	Sana me Domine/Ne derelinquas	Ferrabosco	-
119; 119	Tribulationem et dolorem	Ferrabosco	-
120; 120	Incipit lamentatione	Ferrabosco	-
124; 123	De lamentatione	Ferrabosco	H2/44
127; 126	Mirabile mysterium	Ferrabosco	-
129; 128	Ingemuit Susanna	Ferrabosco	-
131; 53	Sponsus amat sponsam	Byrd	-
132; 55	Domine tu jurasti	Byrd	-
134; 56	Vide Domine/Sed veni	Byrd	C3/31
136; 130	Exsurge quare obdormis	Byrd	C3/35
139; 132	Daec dicit Dominus/Haec dicit	Byrd	-
141; 134	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2/12
142; 135	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2/10
144; 136	Fac cum servo tuo	Byrd	-
146; 137	Laetentur caeli	Byrd	-
148; 139	Circumdederunt me	Byrd	-
150; 142	Vide Domine/Quoniam	Byrd	-
152; 143	Domine exaudi orationem	Byrd	-
153; 144	Tribulationes/Timor/Nos	Byrd	C4/60
157; 148	Tristitia/Sed tu Domine	Byrd	C5/69
160; 151	Deus venerunt/Posuerunt	Byrd	-
163; 153	O salutaris hostia	Byrd	-
164; 154	Omni tempore/Memor esto	Byrd	C2/18
166; 156	Domine quis habitabit	Parsons	B1/127
168; 158	Credo quod redemptor	Parsons	B1/132
169; 159	Haec dies quam fecit Dominus	Sheppard	A2/146
170; 160	Spem in alium		-

also in Thomas 1464

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
173; 163	Vidi civitatem	(Gombert)	-
177; 167	Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit	Phillipa ^(vnu witten)	-
180; 168	Verbum caro factum est	Blankes	-
181; 169	Libera nos, salva nos II	Sheppard	A2/155
182; 170	In manus tuas	Morley	-
183; 172	Peccavi super numerum	Byrd	C2/14
185; 174	Retribuere servo tuo	Parsons	B3/56
188; 177	Facti sumus opprobrium (Deus venerunt)	Byrd	-
189; 178	Infelix ego	Byrd	C1/138
216; -	Christus resurgens de mortuis	Redford	-

British Museum MS. Add.32377

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
23	Esurientes	Sheppard	-
25v	Haec dies quam fecit Dominus	Tallis	-
26	Christe qui lux	(White)?	
26v	Incipit lamentatio	Tallis	H2/42
27v	Deus misereatur	(Sheppard)	D/3
29	Aeterne rex altissime	(Sheppard)	A3/79
29	Quod chorus vatum	(Tallis)	A3/84
29v	Sive vigilem	(W. Mundy)	B5/73
30v	Ne irascaris	(Byrd)	C4/59
32v	Cunctis diebus	Byrd	C5/68
35v	Sponsus amat sponsam	Byrd	-
36v	Domine quis habitabit III	(White)	B2/134
40v	Beati omnes	Damon	-
41v	Domine quis habitabit	W. Mundy	B1/128
46v	Da pacem Domine II	(Ferrabosco)	J7/101
47v	Credo quod redemptor	Parsons	B1/132
48v	Haec dies quam fecit	Sheppard	A2/146
49	Kyrie Paschali	Sheppard	-
49v	Iam Christus astra	(Parsons)	A2/153
51v	Deus misereatur	(White)	B1/123
55v	In te Domine speravi	Lassus	-
59v	Spiritus ubi vult	Anon	-
60v	Retribue servo tuo	Parsons	B3/56
62v	De lamentatione	Tallis	H2/41
65	O rex gloriae Domine virtutem	Anon	-
66	Omnia quae fecisti	(Lassus)	-

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
66v	Libera me Domine de morte	(Parsons)	A3/89
68v	Confitemini Domino/Narrate	(Lassus)	-
69v	De lamentatione	(Byrd)	H1/34
71v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	(Tallis)	E/21
72v	Christe qui lux	(White)?	?
73	Domine non est exaltatum	Anon	-
73v	Hierusalem plantabis vineam/ Gaude et laetare	(Lassus)	-
74v	Omnia quae fecisti	(Lassus)	-
76v	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58

British Museum, MS.Add.31390¹

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
2v	In aeternum ²	W. Mundy	-
3v	Vidi civitatem (ascr. Phillips)	(Gombert)	-
4v	Domine non est exaltatum	W. Mundy	B1/130
5v	Dum transisset Sabbatum II	Sheppard	A2/150
6v	Filiae Jerusalem	Sheppard	A2/149
7v	Spiritus Sanctus procedens	Sheppard	A2/145
11v	Quemadmodum	(Taverner)	Appendix 160
17v	O salutaris hostia	Byrd	C1/141
44v	Gaude Maria virgo	Johnson	-
48v	Et perface (Deus virtutem)	Crecquillon	-
49v	Deus virtutem	Crecquillon	-
52	Laudes Deo	Tye	-
61v	Esurientes	(Sheppard)	-
61v	O salutaris hostia	(Tallis)	-
74v	O lux	Tye	-
75v	Christus resurgens	Tye	-
79v	Ubi est Abell?	(Lassus)	-
83v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Tallis	E/21
86v	Plorans ploravit (Aspice Domine)	Phillips	-
87v	Aspice Domine	Phillips	-
88v	Converteri Domine (In convertendo)	Douglas	J/45
89v	In convertendo	Douglas	as above
90v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Hollander	J?

1. For a full index see Jeremy Noble, "Le repertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585", La Musique instrumentale de la Renaissance, ed. Jacquot, (1955).

2. Some of the textless pieces in Add.31390 are discussed below, Appendix V.

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
94v	Qui consolabatur me	Clemens non Papa	-
103v	O admirabile	W. Mundy	-
104v	Absterge Domine	Tallis	-
106v	Dum transisset Sabbatum II	Taverner	E/23
107v	Ascendo	Maillart	-
111v	Amavit	Tye	-
113v	O sacrum convivium	(Tallis)	-
125v	Heu mihi Domine (Ad Dominum cum tribularer)	Byrd	-
126v	Ad Dominum cum tribularer	Byrd	-

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. e.1-5

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Ch.Ch.969-83</u>
1	Aspice Domine	Byrd	C4/61
2	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58
3	Benedictus	John Sadler	
4	In nomine	John Sadler	
5	Miserere mei Deus	Tye	F/27
6	O splendor gloriae	Taverner	G1/29
7	Inclina Domine	Sheppard	-
8	Domine Jesu Christe	Marbeck	-
9	Te Deum laudamus	Aston	-
10	Ave Dei Patris filia	Fairfax	G2/47
11	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2/48
12	Job tonso capite	Crecquillon	-
13	Ave Dei Patris filia	Taverner	G2/49
14	Ave Dei Patris filia	Johnson	-
15	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
16	Gaude mater	Aston	-
17	Aspice Domine	Van Wilder	D6
18	Conserva me Domine	Parsley	-
19	Incipit lamentatio	Tallis	H2/42
20	De lamentatione	Tallis	H2/41
21	Lamentations II	White	H1/33
22	Dum transisset	Tallis	E/21
23	Domine in virtute	Johnson	D5
24	Maria plena virtute	Fairfax	-
25	Lamentations	Parsley	-
26	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71
27	Exaudi te Dominus	White	-

Tallis
Domine
2015 1.6.17.43

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Ch.Ch. 979-83</u>
28	Domine non est exaltatum	White	B1/129
29	Manus tuae	White	B4/63
30	Domine Dominus noster	Morley	-
31	O sacrum convivium	Tallis	-
32	Salvator mundi	Tallis	-
33	Attollite portas	Byrd	-
34	Domine non est exaltatum	Morley	-
35	Absterge Domine	Tallis	-
36	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4/59
37	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2/50
38	Tribulationes civitatum	Byrd	C4/60
39	Justus es Domine	White	-
40	Mass: Western Wind	Taverner	-

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.1486 and the Willmott manuscript

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
1	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
2	Laudate Dominum	(Tallis)	J/40
3	Ave Dei Patris filia	Johnson	-
4	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4/59
5	Tribulationes/Timor/Nos	(Byrd)	C4/60
6	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71
7	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2/48
8	Ave Dei Patris filia	Tallis	-
9	Ave regina caelorum	-	-
10	Infelix ego	(Byrd)	C1/138
11	Deus venerunt gentes/ Posuerunt/Effuderunt/ Opprobrium	(Byrd)	-
12	Petrus beatus	Byrd	-
13	Cunctis diebus	(Byrd)	C5/68
14	Retribue servo tue	(R. Parsons)	B3/56
15	Domine quis habitabit	(Tallis)	B4/67
16	O quam gloriosum	(Byrd)	C2/9
17	Ave rosa sine spinis	(Tallis)	-
18	O salutaris hostia	-	-
19	Vox patris caelestis	(W. Mundy)	B2/136
20	Miserere mei Deus	(W. Mundy)	-
21	Anima Christi	(W. Parsons)	-
22	Domine quanda veneris	(Bonus)	-
23	Absterge Domine	Tallis	-
24	Quare tristis es	-	-
25	Domine quis habitabit II	White	B1/131
26	In resurrectione tua	(Byrd)	-
27	Laetentur caeli	(Byrd)	-

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MS.1464

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
2	Lamentations	Parsley	-
3v	Plangete vivos/Eheu ploremus ¹	Van Wilder	D6
5	Domine in virtute tua	Johnson	D5
12v	Alma redemptoris mater	-	-
13	Angelus ad pastores	(Lassus)	-
15v	Amavit eum Dominus	(Tye)	-
16	Aeterne laudis lilium	Fairfax	-
17v	O Maria Deo grataa (<u>or</u> Albanus)	Fairfax	-
20	Lauda vivi Alpha et O	Fairfax	-
22	Gaude flore virginali	Fairfax	-
24	Maria plena virtute	Fairfax	-
27	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2/50
28	Ave Dei Patris filia	Fairfax	G2/47
30	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2/48
31v	Ave Dei Patris filia	Taverner	G2/49
33v	Ave Dei Patris filia	Johnson	-
35v	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
37v	Miserere mei Deus	Tye	F/27
39	Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas	Taverner	133
46	Vide civitatem	Gombert ^(<small>very little!</small>)	-
47	Mass: In all devotion ²	Taverner	-
51v	The Mean Mass	Taverner	-
54v	Mass: Salve intemerata	Tallis	-
58	Conserva me Domine	Parsley	-
59v	De lamentatione	Tallia	H2/41

1. A version of 'Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit'. Tenbury 1464 ascribes the the piece to 'Phillippes the Italian'.

2. Title given as 'Small devotion'.

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
61v	Salvator mundi (Hymn)	(Tallis)	A3/87
62	Jesu salvator	(Tallis)	A3/86
62v	Iam Christus astra ¹	(Tallis)	A3/85
63	Aeterne rex altissime	(Sheppard)	A3/79
63v	Deus, tuorum, militum II	(Sheppard)	A3/83
64	Quod chorus vatum	Tallis	A3/84
64v	In nomine Jesu	Parsley	-
65v	O sacrum convivium	Tallis	-
66	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	-
66v	Absterge Domine	Tallis	-
67v	Domine quis habitabit	Tallis	B4/67
69v	Job tonso capite	(Crecquillon)	-
71v	Manus tuae	White	B4/63
73v	Domine non est exaltatum	White	B1/129
74v	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71
77v	Lamentations II	White	H1/33
80	Magnificat	R. Parsons	-
82v	Educes de tribulatione	W. Cobbold	-
83	Ave terrarum Domina (Post partum virgo)	-	-
83v	Jesus tecum virgo serena (Ave Maria gratia plena)	-	-
84	Mariam concrepando symphonia (Hac clara die)	-	-
85	O sancta Trinitas unus Deus	-	-
85v	Ave virgo singularis (Ave mundi spes Maria)	-	-

1. Title given as 'Jesu Christe'.

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MSS.807-11

<u>Folio:</u> <u>807</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
1	Descendit de caelis	(Byrd)	C1/142
1v	Domine non sum dignus	(Byrd)	-
2	Infelix ego	(Byrd)	C1/138
3v	Afflicti pro peccatis	(Byrd)	C1/143
4	Cantate Domino	(Byrd)	-
4v	Cunctis diebus	(Byrd)	C5/68
5v	Domine salva nos	(Byrd)	-
5v	Haec dies	(Byrd)	-
6	Manus tuae	White	B4/63
7v	Gaude gloriosa	Tallis	B1/119
10	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
11v	Magnificat III	Taverner	-
12v	Christus resurgens	W. Parsons	-
20	Gaude virgo Christipara	Sheppard	-
21	Peccavimus cum patribus	Tye	B1/120
22v	Ave Dei Patris filia	Johnson	-
24	Laboravi in gemitu meo	Weelkes	-
24v	Voxin Rama	Kirbye	-
25	Magnificat	R. Parsons	-
26v	Magnificat	White	-
29	Magnificat (another copy)	R. Parsons	-

Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office, MsD/DP.Z6/1Five-part pieces:

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
1	Magnificat: O bone Jesu	Fairfax	-
2	Ave Dei Patris filia	Fairfax	G2/47
4	Ave Dei Patris filia	Tallis	-
6	Ave rosa sine spinis	Tallis	-
7v	Ave Dei Patris filia	Johnson	-
9v	Conserva me Domine	Parsley	-
11	Sospitati dedit aegros	Taverner	-
12	The Mean Mass	Taverner	-
14v	Gaude plurimum	Taverner	G2/48
16	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
18	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71
20v	Lamentations II	White	H1/33
23	Exurge quare obdormis?	Byrd	-
23v	Levemus corda nostra	Byrd	C2/13
24	Ad punctum in modico/In momento	Byrd	-
25	Circumdederunt me dolores	Byrd	C3/37
25v	Aspice Domine/Respice	Byrd	C4/61
26v	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58
28	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2/12
28v	Haec dicit Dominus/Haec dicit	Byrd	-
29v	Vide Domine/Sed veni	Byrd	C3/31
30v	Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd	C5/69
31v	Effuderunt sanguinem (Deus venerunt)	Byrd	-
32	Deus venerunt/Posuerunt	Byrd	-
33	Domine secundum multitudinem	Byrd	-
33v	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2/10

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
34	In resurrectione	Byrd	-
34v	Domine tu jurasti	Byrd	-
35	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2/9
36	Laudate Dominum	Tallis	J/40
36v	Tribulationes/Timor/Nos	Byrd	C4/60
37v	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4/59
38v	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2/50
39v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	(Roose)	-
40	Inclina Domine	Sheppard	-
41	Domine quis habitabit	(Tallis)	B4/67
42	Lamentations	Tallis	H2/42 & 41
44v	Sub tuum praesidium	Crecquillon	-
45	Domine quis habitabit	Gombert	-
46	O splendor gloriae	Taverner	G1/29
48	Exsurge Domine	Wood	G1/30
50v	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	-
52v	Nigra sum sed formosa	Crecquillon	-
53v	Beati qui habitant	De Monte	-
54v	Domine in virtute	Johnson	D5
56v	Deus misereatur	Crecquillon	-
58v	Beati omnes	Phillips	-
59	Pater noster	Sheppard	-
59	Amavit eum Dominus	(Tye)	-
60	O mater mundi	Mundy	-
<u>Six-part pieces</u>			
61v	Aspice Domine	Vaet	-
62	Benedixisti Domine/Converte	Meiland	-

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
63	Ave regina caelorum	Lassus	-
63v	Infelix ego	Byrd	Cl/138
65	Domine da nobis auxilium	Crecquillon	-
66	Fuit homo missus	De Bachi	-
67	Vias tuas Domine	De Rivulo	-
67v	Miserere mei Deus	Formellis	-
68	Deus, Deus meus	De Monte	-
68v	Ego sum panis vivus	De Rivulo	-
69v	Huc me sidero (secular)	Vaet	-
70v	Ante venio virides rario (secular)	Vaet	-
71v	Quemadmodum	(Taverner)	Appendix 160

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College, MSS.341-4

<u>Folio:</u> <u>341</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
-	Tristis es anima ¹	Lassus	-
-	Benedixisti Domine/Converte	Meiland	-
-	Ave Regina caelorum	Lassus	-
1v	Emendemus in melius	(Byrd)	-
2	Deus venerunt/Posuerunt/ Effuderunt/Opprobrium	Byrd	-
3v	Miserere mei Deus	Byrd	-
4	Circumdederunt me dolores	Byrd	C3/37
5	Memento Domine	Byrd	C2/15
5v	Domine praestolamur	Byrd	C4/58
6v	Tristitia et anxietas	Byrd	C5/69
7v	Aspice Domine/Respice	Byrd	C4/61
8v	Petrus beatus	Byrd	-
9v	Apparebit in finem	Byrd	C2/10
10	Domine tu jurasti	Byrd	-
10v	In resurrectione	Byrd	-
10v	Vigilate nescitis	Byrd	-
11v	Audivi vocem	Byrd	C2/12
12	Vide Domine/Sed veni	Byrd	C3/31
13	Haec dicit Dominus/Haec dicit	Byrd	-
14	Domine secundum multitudinem	Byrd	-
14v	Laudate Dominum	Tallis	J/40
15	Fac cum servo tuo	Byrd	-
15v	O quam gloriosum	Byrd	C2/9
16v	Tribulatio/Timor/Nos	Byrd	C4/60
17v	Ne irascaris	Byrd	C4/59

1. The first three pieces are not in Tenbury 341; they are found at the beginning of 342-4, ff.1-3.

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
18v	Domine quis habitabit	Tallis	B4/67
20	Derelinquat impius	Tallis	-
20v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Tallis	E/21
21	O salutaris hostia	Tallis	-
21v	Salvator mundi (Hymn)	Tallis	A3/87
22	Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum	Tallis	A3/86
22v	Quod chorus vatum	(Tallis)	A3/84
22v	Iam Christus astra	Tallis	A3/85
23v	Deus tuorum militum II	(Sheppard)	A3/83
24	Sermone blando (vv.6 & 8)	(Tallis)	-
24v	Amavit eum Dominus	(Tye)	-
25	Domine in virtute	Johnson	D5
26v	Lamentations	Tallis	H2/42 & 41
29	Lamentations II	White	H1/33
31v	Miserere mei Deus	White	B5/71
34	Mater Christi	Taverner	G2/50
34v	Dum transisset Sabbatum	Roose	-
35v	Salve intemerata	Tallis	G2/46
37v	Magnificat: O bone Jesu	Fairfax	-
38v	Sospitati dedit aegros	Taverner	-
39v	Musica laeta (secular)	Ferrabosco	-
39v	Draco iste (Benedic anima mea I)	(Ferrabosco)	-
40	Benedic anima mea I	(Ferrabosco)	-
40v	Qui emittis fontes (Benedic anima mea I)	(Ferrabosco)	-
40v	Ingenuit Susanna	Ferrabosco	-
41v	Qui fundasti terram (Benedic anima mea I)	Ferrabosco	-
41v	Mirabile mysterium	Ferrabosco	-

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
42v	Cantate Domino	Ferrabosco	-
43v	Conserva me Domine	Ferrabosco	-
44v	Peccantem me	Ferrabosco	-
45	Benedic anima mea II	(Ferrabosco)	-
45v	Heu mihi Domine	Ferrabosco	-
45v	De lamentatione	Ferrabosco	-
46v	Ecce iam noctis	(Ferrabosco)	-
47	Aurora diem nuntiat	(Ferrabosco)	-
47v	Ad Dominum cum tribularer	Ferrabosco	-
48	Surge propera	Ferrabosco	-
49	In die tribulationes	Ferrabosco	-
50	Virgo per incertos (secular)	Ferrabosco	-
50v	Inclina Domine	Ferrabosco	-
50v	Benedicam Domino	Ferrabosco	-
51v	Da pacem Domine III	Ferrabosco	-
52	Incipit lamentatio II	Ferrabosco	-
53	Salve regina	Vaet	-
54	Memento homo quod cinis est	Byrd	-
54v	Attollite portas	Byrd	-
56v	Infelix ego	Byrd	C1/138
59v	Ego flos campi	Clemens non Papa	-
60v	Qui tollis, miserere (Mass: Puer natus est nobis)	Tallis	-
61	Benedictus (Mass: Puer natus est nobis)	Tallis	-
61v	Suscipe quaeso Domine	Tallis	-
62	Et expecto/Et vitam (Mass: Puer natus est nobis)	Tallis	-
62v	Decantabat populus	Lassus	-

Tenbury 342: a section of extracts from longer pieces

<u>Folios</u> <u>342</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
81v	O lux beata trinitas (O lux beata)	Byrd	-
82v	Gaude plurimum (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	G2/48
83v	Gaude Maria virgo (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
84v	Gaude Maria Jesu (Gaude plurimum)	Taverner	as above
85v	Annae mulieris (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	G2/46
86v	Per haec nos (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	as above
87v	Conserva me Domine (Conserva me)	Parsley	-
88v	In Deo/Superbos (Magnificat: O bone Jesu)	Fairfax	-
89v	Peccatum peccavit (Lamentations I)	White	Appendix 168b
90v	Singularis privilegii (?)	Sheppard	-
91v	Verbi tui (Exsurge Domine)	Wood	G1/30
92v	Tu nimirum (Salve intemerata)	Tallis	as above
93v	Ave Domini filia (Ave Dei Patris)	Johnson	-
94v	Ave Dei Patris (Ave Dei Patris)	Tallis	-
95v	Ave Domini filia (Ave Dei Patris)	Tallis	-
96v	Infelix ego (Infelix ego; aser, Taverner)	[Byrd]	C1/138
96v	"Que sapientissime" [O splendor gloriae]	Taverner	
97v	Qui tollis, miserere (Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas)	(see vol. I under Tav.) Taverner	133
97v	Quoniam/Tu solus altissimus (Mass: Corona spinea)	Taverner	-
98v	Qui tollis, suscipe (Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas)	Taverner	as above
98v	Gloria tua (Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas)	Taverner	as above

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>979-83</u>
99v	Maria stella (Ave rosa sine spinis)	Tallis	-
99v	Qui jurat (Domine quis habitabit II)	White	B1/131
100v	Qui tollis, miserere (Mass: Corona spinea)	Taverner	-
100v	Crucifixus (Mass: In all devotion)	(Taverner)	-
101v	Esto nobis (Ave Dei Patris filia)	Tallis	-
101v	Ergo laudes (Sospitati dedit)	Taverner	-
103v	Domine Deus/Gloria tua (Mass: Corona spinea)	Taverner	-
103v	Crucifixus (Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas)	Taverner	as above
104v	Laus Deo pax vivis	Clemens non Papa	-

WASHINGTON, FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY MS.460328

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>
1	Lauda anima mea Dominum	Byrd (?)
2v	Recordare Virgo mater	
3v	Sancta Trinitas unus Deus	
4v	Bonitatem fecisti	
5v	In nomine Jesu omne genuflectatur	
6v	Ecce ego mitto vos	
7v	Salve regina	
8v	Jesu nostra redemptio	
9v	Tu esto nostrum gaudium	
10v	Bonitatem fecisti	
11v	Psallite Domino sancti eius	
12v	Sanctificavit Dominus	
13v	Dum transisset Sabbatum/Et valde mane	
15v	Adiuro vos filiae Jerusalem/ Dilectus meus	
17v	Simon Petre antequam	
19v	Recordare Domine	
20v	In omnem terram exivit sonus	
21v	Pax vobis ego sum	
23v	Ecce quam bonum	(Byrd)
24v	Surrexit pastor bonus	
25v	Sint lumbi vestri/Vigilate	
27v	Ibant Apostoli gaudentes	
28v	Sanctificavit Dominus	
30v	Derelinquat impius	
31v	Hodie beata virgo Maria	

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>
32v	Responsam accepit Simeon	
33v	In te confidit anima mea	
34v	Deus adiutor meus	
35v	Kyrie eleison	
36v	Ne timeas Maria	
37v	Voca me et respondebo tibi	
38v	Tollite Jugum meum	
39v	Misericordias Domini	
40	Fantasia	Mr. Bird
40	Fantasia	Mr. Bird
40	Memor fui dierum antiquorum	
44v	O Domine Jesu Christe	
45v	Senex puerum portabat	
46v	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	
47v	Quem dicunt homines	Luca Marenzio
48v	Et Jesum benedictum	(Victoria)

Thematic incipits of the unascrbed pieces listed here are
in the checklist 'Foreigners', Vol.II.

APPENDIX IVBRITISH MUSEUM, MSS.ADD.30480-4: A STUDY OF HANDWRITING

There are five partbooks described as 'Elizabethan; paper oblong octavo'.¹ The covers are not original, but the endpapers bear the date '1615' and the name of the owner Thomas Hamond. The books were bound in vellum by then and are named on the covers as follows:

Add.30480	Cantus
Add.30481	Contratenor
Add.30482	Tenor
Add.30483	Bassus
Add.30484	Quintus

Hamond's unusual attention to the rights of ownership caused him to inscribe at the beginning or end of each partbook the following or similar rubric:

'Octavo die octobris 1615

'In that I Thomas Hamond of Hawkdom in the countie of Suffolk is the true owner of these bookes In witness whereof I have heare unto put my hand the day and yeare first above written by me Thomas Hamond.'²

Hamond was the owner of later sets of partbooks now in the Bodleian Library.³ He died in 1662; the earliest Bodleian set is dated 1631. Add.30480-4 is therefore the first set of partbooks known to have belonged to him. This no doubt explains why he wrote his name wherever he could and called George and Philip Hamond to witness his ownership.

Add.30480-4 differs from the Bodleian sets in that it was not written by or for Hamond. Most of the contents were written

1. Hughes-Hughes, op.cit., p.3 & p.265
2. At the end of Add.30480.
3. Described M.C. Crum: "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond" Bodleian Library Record, VI: 1 (1957).

earlier in several different 'layers', and it is possible that Hamond was the third or fourth owner. One section must have been copied in the 1580s, but this is not the original layer which must be earlier. The original layer is in three sections separated by what were blank pages which were filled in by a later copyist.¹ Section one (ff.1-38v) consists of service music and anthems in four parts; section two (ff.47-51v) of five-part anthems; section three (ff.54-63v) of more four-part anthems. It is interesting that three secular consort songs, possibly from plays, are included; 'Defiled is my name' by Robert Johnson, in the original hand in section 3, and 'O death rock me asleep' and 'Come pale-faced death' at the end of section one in a second hand. This second hand is also used for the 'Benedictus' and 'Gloria' which precede the secular pieces.

Nothing is known of four of the composers: in the case of Partyne such knowledge would be valuable as his music occupies the important first place. Fering, Franctinge and Barick Bullman are also unknown. Robert Adams was a member of the Chapel Royal in 1553. The names of the other composers, the inclusion of pieces which are also in the Wanley partbooks, and the presence of the secular songs from plays suggest a London-based provenance. The inclusion of an Englished version of the Taverner 'In nomine'² also suggests London, since the other Englished version, 'In trouble and adversitie' was printed by Day in 1560. Whitbroke's magnificat, Sheppard's 'I give you a new commandment' and the three pieces by

1. The following composers are named: Robert Adams, Barick Bullman, Thomas Causton, Ferying, Franctyng, Johnson, Mundy, Parsley, Partyne, Sheppard, Tallis, Taverner, Tye, Whitbroke, White, Van Wilder.

2. 'O give thanks unto the Lord'.

Causton were also printed by Day and could have been copied from the print, but it is unlikely that they were. Apart from textual variants, Whitbroke's magnificat in Certaine notes... is followed by a Nunc Dimittis which is different from that which follows it in the Wanley partbooks. That neither setting of the 'Nunc dimittis' is copied here may be an indication that the copyist was aware of both version and did not know which to follow, or that he was using yet another source in which the Magnificat was separate.

Add.30480-4 has been dated as a late Elizabethan source of anthems.¹ Evidence for this is based on the inclusion of Tallis's 'Wipe away my sins' and 'With all our hearts and mouths', and of 'O praise God in his holiness' which Dr. Le Huray attributes to William White (fl.1600).² But his opinion was not shared by the editors of Robert White's music who wrote

'Though attributed to "William White" by Durham C.4 and all the York partbooks save the Bassus Decani, there is, in the opinion of the Editors, no doubt but that O Praise God in his holiness is by Robert White. The lay-out of the parts and the construction of the opening with its pairs of five-semibreve measures (cf. Deus misereatur, Domine quis habitabit i & iii, Miserere mei Deus and Ad te levavi) are so characteristic of his method as to be a better guarantee of authorship than any MS. attribution.'³

In the opinion of the present writer, the attribution to Robert White given in Ch.Ch.1220-4 and by the editors of T.C.M. is likely to be correct, because it is likely that some additions to Add.30480-4 were made in the 1580s.⁴ It may also be the case that

1. Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660, (1967), p.98.
2. R.T. Daniel & Peter Le Huray, The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660, (1972). There are two versions of the piece: a four-part version, the one in Add.30480-4, printed by James Clifford in The Divine Services and Anthems, (1663), and an eight-part version attributed to Robert White in Ch.Ch.1220-4.
3. Tudor Church Music, Vol.V, Preface, p.xxvi
4. See below, p. 255, and above, pp. 73 ff.

the presence of 'Wipe away my sins' is not necessarily evidence of a late dating because the piece is included in Rowe 316, a manuscript probably contemporary with Shrewsbury 2 and therefore possibly written as early as the 1570s.¹

In dating the original layer of Add.30480-4, there is a red herring in the form of the signature in Add.30483 at the end of Causton's Benedictus. This clearly reads 'finis Thomas Hamond', and the word 'Hamond' is crossed out. This does not indicate that Thomas Hamond had anything to do with the copying of Causton's piece or any other in this section: it happens at another place in the manuscript in Add.30484 at the end of Byrd's 'Triumph with pleasant melody', and has been described by the modern editor as an 'imitation of the original hand'² in that context. In the case of the Benedictus it is the same joke.

There are however other considerations. In the last twenty folios of Add.30480-4 there are several distinguishable hands.³ Study is complicated by a factor of varying untidiness in the writing: some of the pieces were carelessly written by the same copyist as before with the result that it is sometimes difficult to tell if two pieces are in different hands or if one is merely a less tidy version of the first using a different pen and ink, or a diamond-shaped instead of round musical notation. Nevertheless, one of the very characteristic hands is important in dating the original layer.

Additions and corrections have been made to the original layer of Add.30480-4 and pieces added on blank pages in any convenient order. One of the hands in this section (called the 'Q' hand

1. See above, p.114 ff.

2. Philip Brett The Collected Works of William Byrd Vol.XIV, p.171.

3. See table of additions below, p.256.

in the table of additions) is the same as the hand used in Add.47844, and it has been suggested that pieces in the 'Q' hand were copied from a collection of sources dated 1581 and circulated between 1581 and 1591.¹

The original layer of Add.30480-4 was never finished: the last piece 'O Lord rebuke me not' lacks music in three of the part-books. Nor does the set bear signs of use apart from the fact that some pages are missing at the beginning and one page in the middle. One writer was responsible for the annotations and corrections to the original as well as for copying extra pieces into the blank pages: his hand is called Hand B in the table of additions. B found the partbooks in bad condition with several pages missing. He left the first pages as they were with the result that the Service by Partye is still incomplete. He copied into 30480 the beginning of 'Defiled is my name' as far as the place where the original hand takes over at the top of the next page. He also copied 'Deliver us Lord both night and day' in 30482; he filled in the words of 'My trust O Lord' which in the original were left to repeat marks, and he copied additional pieces into blank pages: Parsons' 'Ut re mi' and the anthem 'Save me O God', and Tallis's 'When Jesus went' and Mundy's 'Prepare you, prepare you'. Right at the end of f.62v (in 30480) he copied Weelkes' 'Lachrimae' in the same brown ink as that used for 'Save me O God'. It is difficult to conjecture a date for Hand B before the 1590s. And it is possible that B, in copying the 'Lachrimae' in each partbook on the folio before Edward Johnson's pieces, intended Weelkes' piece to be associated with Johnson's.

1. See above, pp. 73 ff.

Johnson's two pieces, 'Eliza is the fairest queen' and 'Come again' were written in 1591 for the entertainment given before the Queen at Elvetham.¹ They are in the same hand as the anonymous mass fragments at the end of Add.30480-4, called Hand D in the table of contents. These fragments were copied after the main body of the manuscript was completed. It is clear that the layer of the manuscript beginning with the section in Hand Q discussed above and ending with Byrd's 'O Lord turn not away thy face' is fairly homogeneous, i.e. the pieces are for the most part in the same order in each book and although four different hands are involved they follow on one from another. (For Hand R to end with an English version of the piece which begins the section in Latin - 'Ne irascaris' - is a nice touch). The Q/diamond hand identical with Add.47844 is associated with Hand E; Hand E is associated in More's 'Levavi oculos' with Hand P; Hand P precedes and follows a section of pieces in Hand R. A chronology of Add.30480-4 could thus be suggested:

Original	up to 1580 or earlier
Hand Q and Hand E	early 1580s
Hand P and Hand R	taking over from E; up to 1591
Hand D	shortly after 1591
Hand B	after Hand D; the 1590s?
<hr/>	
Hand Y	possibly before D but after P and R
Hand X	Thomas Hamond's hand
Hand C	contemporary with P and R

1. Described in "The Honorable Entertainment given to the Quene's majestie, in Progresse at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honourable the Earle of Hertford 1591", Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, (1823)

Add.30480-4: Table of additions

The original layer of the manuscript containing services and anthems is omitted.
 In this table, folio numbers are listed first under each heading, followed by the hand.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>30480</u>	<u>30481</u>	<u>30482</u>	<u>30483</u>	<u>30484</u>
Prepare you, prepare you	(Mundy)	38v B	42v B	39v B	42v B	-
When Jesus went into Simon the Pharisee's House	Mr. Tallis	40v B	42 B	41 B	45 B	
Ut re mi fa	Mr. Parsons	57v B	63v B	59v B	66 B	-
Save me O God	-	57v B	45 B 'A godly anthem of 4 partes'	41v B	52 B	-
Jesum Nazarenum 'a songe 3 parts'	(Byrd)	58v X	65 X	61 X	-	-
Triumph with pleasant melody	Mr. Byrd	60 Q/diamond?	67 Q/diamond	62 Q/diamond	65 Q/diamond	9v Q/diamond Mr. Thomas
Alone in care I do lament		-	-	-	-	10 D
Susanna faire	(Ferrabosco S.)	62 D	-	-	-	-
Lachrime	Mr. Weelkes	62v B	68 B	63 B	65 B	10v B
Eliza is the fairest queen	Mr.E.Johnson	63 D	68v D	63v D 'fines Mr.Phillipus a fine setter of songes'	65v D	10v D
Come again	Mr. Johnson	63v D	68v D	63v D	65v D	10v D

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>30480</u>	<u>30481</u>	<u>30482</u>	<u>30483</u>	<u>30484</u>
(Candidi) Facti Sunt	(Tallis)	63v C	68v C	63v C	65v C	11 C (following this is a short score of musical exercises)
Ne irascaris (no words)	BIRDE/ Mr.Birde	65v E 'good'	74 E	69 E 'good songe'	70 E 'O Lord turne thy wrath away from us for thy mercies sake	9 E
Illae dum pergunt (no words)	(Tallis)	66v E	70v E	65v E	67v E	5v E
In manus tuas (no words)	(Tallis)	66v E	70v Q/diamond	65v E & Q/ diamond	67v E	6 E
O sacrum convivium (no words)	(Tallis)	67 E	71v Q/diamond	66 E	68 E	6v E
Emendemus/Secunda pars (no words)	(Byrd)	67v E	71v Q/diamond	66v E	68v E	7 E
Peccamur (sic) (no words)	(White)	68 E 'superius 3 tymes'	72 Q/diamond	67 E	69 Q/round	7v E
Kyrie/(Haec Dies) (no words)	Mr.Shepherde	68v E. 2 parts 'finis the best songe in England Mr.Shepherde'	72 Q/diamond 'very good'	67 E	69v Q/diamond 'KIRI'	8 Q/round 'a good songe excellent good sing fyne'
Delacourt	Parsons/ PARSON	69v E	72v E	67v E	70 E	8v E 'Good'

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>30480</u>	<u>30481</u>	<u>30482</u>	<u>30483</u>	<u>30484</u>
Precamur	Mr. Bird	70 P/round	74v P/round	69v P/round	71v P/round	-
("a galliard of v.voc" - Stafford Smith's hand)	(anon)	70 Q/diamond	74v Q/diamond	70v Q/diamond	72 Q/diamond	11v Q/diamond
Perslis Cloke	Persleye	70v P/round	75v P/round	70v P/round	72v P/round	11 P/round
Deus misereatur (no words)	Robart Johnsonne	71 P/round	76 P/round	71 P/diamond	73 P/round	-
Levavi oculos (no words)	William More	72 P/round	77 P/round	64 E	74 P/round	-
In nomine (unidentified)		73 P/diamond 73 R/diamond	78 P/diamond 78v R/diamond	72 P/diamond 72v R/diamond	75 P/diamond 75v R/diamond	- 12 R/diamond
Non neamo (?) (no words)		73v R/diamond	78v R/diamond	72v R/diamond	75v R/diamond	12 R/diamond
O salutaris (words in 30483)	Tallis	74 R/diamond	79 R/diamond	73 R/diamond	76 R/diamond	12v R/diamond
Without redresse (no words)		74v R/diamond	79v R/diamond	73v R/diamond	76v R/diamond	-
Cor mundum crea (words in 30483)	(Crecquillon)	75 R/diamond	80 R/diamond	74 R/diamond	76v R/diamond	-
Deus in nomine tuo (words in 30483)		76 R/diamond	81 R/diamond	75 R/diamond	77v R/diamond	12v R/diamond
Domine in virtute tua (words in 30483)	Mr. Johnson	76v R/diamond	81v R/diamond	75v R/diamond 'Deus in virtute'	78v R/diamond	13 R/diamond

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>30480</u>	<u>30481</u>	<u>30482</u>	<u>30483</u>	<u>30484</u>
A my tute planis (words in 30483)		78 R/diamond	83 R/diamond	77 R/diamond	80 R/diamond	14 R/diamond
Vostre jamais per heritage (words in 30483)		78 R/diamond	83 R/diamond	77 R/diamond	80v R/diamond	14 R/diamond
Dung nomean dont je suis frappe (words in 30483)	(Peter Phillips)	87v R/diamond	83v R/diamond	77v R/diamond	81 R/diamond untidy	14v R/diamond untidy
Dung nomean dont je suis (another version; words in 30483)	(Peter Phillips)	79 R/diamond	84 R/diamond	78 R/diamond	82 R/diamond untidy	14v R/diamond untidy
Venit vox de caelo (words in 30483)	(Clemens)	79v R/diamond	84v R/diamond	78v R/diamond	82 R/diamond	15 R/diamond
Dum transisset Sabba- tum (words in 30483)	(Hollander)	80v R/diamond	85v R/diamond	79 R/diamond	83R/diamond	15v R/diamond
Cecilia virgo (no words)	(Clemens)	81v R/diamond untidy	86v R/diamond untidy	80v P/round	84 P/round	-
Domine in virtute	Johnson	82v R/diamond	88 R/diamond	81v R/diamond	85 R/diamond	16v R/diamond
Quel foco che (no words)		85 P/round	90 P/round	83v P/round	87v P/round	-
Or il ne m'est possible (no words)		85v P/round	90v P/round	84 P/round	87v P/round	18 P/round

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>30480</u>	<u>30481</u>	<u>30482</u>	<u>30483</u>	<u>30484</u>
Se je me plains (no words)		86 P/round	91 P/round	84v P/round	88 P/round	-
A che chercher (?) (no words)		86v P/round	91v P/round	85v P/round	88v P/round	19 P/round
O Lord turne not away thy face (no words)	(Byrd)	87 R/diamond	92 R/diamond	85v R/diamond	89 R/diamond	-
Mistruste		87v Y	92v Y	86 Y	89 Y	-
Cum sancto/Et vitam/ Et expecto (no words)		88 D	92v D	86 D	89 D	-

B.M.Add.47844

This manuscript has been described by Judy Pistor in her B.Litt.thesis "Nicholas Stroger, Tudor composer, and his circle" in the Bodleian library. A checklist of the contents is nevertheless given here for the purposes of comparison with Add.30480-4. The hand, the use of capital letters, the comments at the end of the pieces and the habit of noting musical instructions (cf. no.9) are all features shared by Add.30480-4. Add.47844 is written all in one hand corresponding to 'Hand Q' of Add.30480-4, and using both round and diamond-shaped musical notation. The significance of the Arabic numerals which appear at the beginning of each piece and which are listed here after the number of voices remains a mystery. There are no words except the titles listed.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Comment in 47844</u>	<u>Hand</u>	<u>Editorial comment</u>
1.	Peccamur	v voc. 5. finis quod Mr. Whighte	round	(Christe qui lux) II
2.	In nomine	vi voc. 8. finis quod Mr. Stogers Good	round	
3.	Kiri	vi voc. 9. finis quod Mr. Shepparde Good	round	with 'Haec Dies'
4.	Laudate	vi voc. Mr. Birdi 8. Mr. Birde Good	round	Laudate pueri pr.1575
5.	Ne Irascaris/ Civitas	v.voc. 8. 1581 finis quod Mr. Birde	round	
6.	Gaude/Rectos/ Sicut	v.voc. 5. finis Good	round	introit with psalm verse and Gloria for alter- natim perform- ance. Anonymous.
7.	Statuit/Et/ Sicut	v.voc. 0. 1581 finis Good Songe	round	" ^{=Pont}
8.	Vooc/La/Sicut	v voc. i. Good 1581 finis	round	"
9.	Mihi/Tu/Sicut	v voc. 9. 1581 finis/ sing minim for crochet	round	"

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Comment in 47844</u>	<u>Hand</u>	<u>Editorial comment</u>
10.	In medio/Et/ Sicut	-	diamond	Anonymous. = Poulton
11.	Egredimini/ Quia/Sicut	v voc. 0. finis	diamond	"
(12)	Dilexisti/ Dico/Sicut	v.voc. 8. finis Ad	diamond	"
13.	Sabbatum	v.voc. 8. Good finis Mr. Taverner	diamond	Johnson
14.	Amavit	v.voc. 8. Goode finis	round	Tye
15.	LIBERA/ SECUNDA/ PARS DIES	v.voc. 5. finis quod Mr. Byrde	round	pr. 1575. These capitals are similar to those of the ascription on the copy of 'Ne irascaris' in Add.30481
16.	PECCAUI	v voc. 5. Mr.Birdi Tener secundus/Good finis quod Mr.Byrde	diamond	
17.	In te Domine	vi voc. 15. Secundus Triplex finis quod Harlando	diamond	pr. Montanus 1564
18.	Secunda pars quoniam	"	diamond	
19.	Salva me	vii voc. 15. 1581 finis Mr.Shepparde	diamond	(Libera nos) Salva nos
20.	Da mihi	vi voc. 12. finis quod Mr. Byrde Good	round	Da mihi auxilium pr.1575
21.	Deus	vi voc. 5. 1581 Good good finis quod Mr.Whighte	round	Deus misereatur
22.	O lux beata	vi voc. 8. Good finis Quod Mr. Birde	round	pr.1575
23.	A fancy	vi voc. M. PARSONE/ Mr. Parsonne	diamond	'Mr. Parsons His Songe' in 31390.

APPENDIX V

ADD.31390: 'INSTRUMENTAL' PIECES WITH LATIN TITLES

'Amavit eum Dominus' is found everywhere without words, but in the Mulliner book it is given the English title 'I lift my heart to thee O Lord'. This is presumably an 'Englished' version of a once-texted Latin piece. Dr. Harrison has convincingly reconstructed a text for Mundy's 'In aeternum'. But it could be argued that Tye's 'Christus resurgens' and 'Dum transisset' settings in Add.31390, and the 'Libera (me Domine)' attributed to Tallis in Add.34702-6, are merely extensions of the instrumental practice usually reserved for the 'In nomine' and 'Miserere' plainsong melodies. Unfortunately it is difficult to judge solely on grounds of musical style¹ because of the idiosyncrasies of Tye's musical expression which can be studied in his texted Latin pieces, and because vocal music could be extremely florid e.g. White/Magnificat, 'Quia fecit' section. A further difficulty is that if the pieces were originally for voices, the versions now extant are at least once removed from the texted versions and may have been edited to suit instruments, much as Taverner's 'In nomine' was provided with written ornaments in the Elizabethan organ manuscript Ch.Ch.371.

In all cases the words can be made to fit the music without a travesty of style. In the case of Tye's 'Dum transisset' and 'Christus resurgens' settings, the fact that the plainsong is decorated rather than monorhythmic might indicate instrumental origin:

1. As is suggested by W.A. Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England", Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, Vol.97, (1970-71).

on the other hand, the decoration often bears some relation to the accentual qualities of the text. Also, some though not all of the melodic formulae in the free parts are in the tradition of the 'Dum transisset' style, (See Appendix I) although it would be natural that familiar melodic phrases should be reproduced even in an instrumental setting of a well-known plainsong usually set for voices.

Another possible test is the range of parts. The ranges of the English Treble, Mean, Alto, Tenor and Bass are astonishingly consistent in Latin church music. The pieces in question, if they were originally for voices, must be either at church pitch needing transposition according to the clef convention¹ or at secular pitch as possibly 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer' is in Add.31390. It might be expected that if the pieces were originally for voices, the ranges of the parts would correspond to the usual ranges in one of the two available pitches.

In 'Libera [me Domine]' attributed to Tallis in Add.34702-6, there is a satisfactory result where in normal transposition the ranges correspond to those used for scoring Tr M A T B. In Add. 31390, Mundy's 'In aeternum', written in the low clefs, provides a transposed result of Tr M A A T B, with a short treble range and an extra note used freely at the top of the range in Alto 1. Mundy's 'O admirabile', when subjected to normal transposition, also corresponds perfectly to the vocal ranges of S M A T B. Tye's 'Lawdes Deo', copied in Add.34702-6 and Add.31390 in a clef configuration which implies secular pitch, corresponds to the ranges of M A T Bar B. Taverner's 'Quemadmodum', in the low clefs, corresponds at the

1. See Introduction to the Thematic Catalogue, Vol.I., and the music examples attached here.

transposition of a 4th to S M A A T B, an unusual set of ranges for Taverner. Since transposition at the 6th is less satisfactory, producing an Alto range of a type Taverner never used, it may well be that 'Quemadmodum' is a genuinely instrumental piece.

In the 'Dum transisset' and 'Christus resurgens' settings by Tye, the ranges are much larger than usual. A possible exception is the setting on f.33 where the ranges, transposed normally, correspond to the scoring Tr M A T B. The Alto range, corresponding to Mundy's in 'In aeternum', includes a top c', and the Treble matches it with c'' an octave higher. Treble c'', although unusual, is not unknown in pre-Reformation music. A further point is that the normal range of the treble voice balances that of the normal alto range at the octave - in Sheppard's music, for example, the repetition of the top notes b'' and b' is stylistically important. If Tye is using an alto range which includes a top c', the top note in the treble should also be c'' an octave higher. This would theoretically apply whether the piece is vocal or instrumental. However, 'Amavit eum Dominus', which is known to have been written for voices, includes the top c' in the alto range while the treble stops at a', and the same is true of Mundy's 'In aeternum'. It cannot be easily argued that either of these is at secular pitch in Add.31390, because the ranges of the bass part would then be too low, and both pieces are written in the low clefs. In 'Amavit eum Dominus', the ranges apart from the bass would undoubtedly be more convenient for singing if the piece was written at secular pitch: the voices used would then be M A A Bar B instead of Tr M A A/T B. But there is no evidence that the bass range ever extended as low as E'.

Given the case where in a piece written for singing the range of the treble is shortened even at the cost of losing the traditional balance between Alto and Treble, it might be argued that Tye, in 'Dum transisset' and 'Christus resurgens', could keep that balance with the extended alto range only because the pieces were not intended to be sung. Then, if they were instrumental there is no reason for them to be transposed according to church pitch, and the ranges need not correspond to vocal ranges at all. However, it is striking that at their written pitch they do correspond, with the exception of the bass parts, a good deal better than they do in the transposed versions.

At this point the argument appears to be completely circular: however, there are really only two alternatives:

1. If 'Amavit eum Dominus' is at secular pitch, a very low bass range is implied, and the 'Dum transisset' and 'Christus resurgens' settings could also be for voices at secular pitch with an extremely low bass.
2. If 'Amavit eum Dominus' is to be transposed, the fact that the treble range is shortened implies that the other pieces were originally for instruments.

A point to be reiterated is that whatever the original purpose of the pieces they are, in their present form in Add.31390, versions for instruments. The difficulty of the low bass range is then not insuperable, since the bass parts could have been adapted so that the lowest string of the viol could be used. And a further possibility is that in the course of making an instrumental adaptation the clefs have been changed. Add.31390 contains textless pieces copied from texted sources and there the clefs and pitch are

written according to the clef convention used in the texted source. But the pieces by Tye discussed here are at least one stage removed, and it is noticeable that the pieces which do not respond to the clef convention are those with a bass clef F4. For the copyist to discard the clef convention (in the case of these pieces by Tye, an original clef implying downward transposition?) in a piece about to be adapted for instruments would have been as logical a procedure as the re-arrangement of the bass part to suit the instrumental range.

APPENDIX VIPASTON COPYISTS

The Paston manuscripts are the work of four copyists, but only three of them copied music in Latin. The manuscripts concerned are listed as follows:

Lute Hand

B.M. Add.29246	lute manuscript
B.M. Add.29247	lute manuscript
B.M. Add.31992	lute manuscript
RCM. MS.2089	lute manuscript
Tenbury 340	lute manuscript
Tenbury 341-4	partbooks: Superius/Quinta et Sexta pars/Contratenor/Tenor Bass partbook missing. The name 'Edwardus Paston' is engraved on the covers.

Essex County Record Office, Ms.D/DP. Z6/1 (Chelmsford 1)	Bass partbook
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Hand A

Tenbury 349-53	partbooks: Cantus/Cantus 2/Altus/ Tenor/Bassus
Tenbury 354-8	partbooks: Cantus/Quintus/Altus/ Tenor/Bassus
Tenbury 369-73	partbooks: Superius/Medius/ Quintus/Tenor/Bassus
Tenbury 359-63	partbooks: Cantus/Quintus/Altus/ Tenor/Bassus
Tenbury 1469-71	partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Bassus
RCM.2035	partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Bassus on the cover: 'Trium vocum'.

- RCM.2036 partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Bassus on the cover: 'Preciosas Margaritas 3 voc'. This ought to refer to the first piece in the book but does not; no piece with this text appears in RCM 2036.
- RCM.2041 'Medius' partbook.
- B.M. Madrigal Society G.16-20 partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Tenor/Quintus/Bassus.
- B.M. Madrigal Society G.21-6 partbooks: Cantus/Sextus or Quintus/Quintus, Sextus or Altus/Tenor/Bassus/Altus or Quintus.
- B.M. Add.29388-92 partbooks: Altus/Tenor/Bassus/Quintus/Sextus
- B.M. Add.34001-2¹ partbooks: Cantus Secundus/Tenor. Five books missing.
- B.M. Add.34050 Tenor, four books missing
- B.M. Add.41156-8 partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Bassus
- B.M. Egerton 2009-12 partbooks: Superius/Altus/Medius/Bassus
- Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library 460328.² partbooks: Altus/Tenor/Bassus. One book missing. On the cover: '4 vocum Lauda anima mea Byrd'

Hand C

- B.M. Madrigal Society G.27 Tenor partbook of 5-part pieces.
- Tenbury 379-84 partbooks: Cantus/Altus et Cantus/Quintus/Sextus/Tenor/Bassus. On the cover: 'Domine da nobis'. This is the title of the first piece.

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1. B.M. Add.34000 appears to be a part of the same set as Add.34001-2 but in fact is not: it is the Cantus book of Madrigal Society G. 9-15. The contents of these two sets are comparable for the first few pieces and this may have been the cause of confusion of the Paston scribe (Hand C?) who, perhaps when the books were being catalogued, linked Add.34000 mistakenly with Add.34001-2 and who wrote on the covers of all three the name of the first piece 'Beata es'. This was a normal means of identification used by the Hand C copyist.
 2. Microfilm in the Pendlebury Music Library, Cambridge.

Tenbury 385-8	partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Tenor/ Bassus. One book missing. On the cover: 'Latin songs - Haec est virgo'. This refers to the first piece.
B.M. Add.30810-5	partbooks: Cantus/Cantus secundus et Altus/Tenor/Bassus/Quintus/Sextus. On the cover: 'Salve regina' re- ferring to the first piece.
B.M. Add.30361-6	partbooks: Cantus/Altus/Tenor/ Bassus/Quintus/Sextus.
B.M. Add.34049	'Cantus' partbook.
Essex County Record Office MS.D/DPZ6/2	'Bassus' partbook.

Another Paston source has come to light in the Rowe music library, King's College, Cambridge. This manuscript, MS 314, is a set of fragments taken from the binding of a set of 17th century English partbooks. There were originally two manuscripts used for the binding of which the fragments seem to be the only survivors:

1. an organ score, 17th century, with incipits of an English magnificat. Not a Paston source.
2. fragments of three partbooks (Cantus, Altus and Bassus) cut into strips approximately 7" long and 1½" wide, either vertically or horizontally in relation to the original partbooks. In one case the fragment is larger, and it is possible to see the original size of the page, which corresponds to that of the Paston sets in Tenbury, the British Museum and the Royal College of Music.

There are eleven pieces of which it has been possible to identify five:

			<u>Concordances</u>
Palestrina	O beata et gloriosa Trinitas	Cantus	374, 385
Victoria	(Ascendi)t Deus in jubilatione - second part of 'Ascendens Christus'	Cantus	374

		<u>Concordances</u>	
Ferrabosco	<u>Ecce enim/Tibi soli peccavi</u>	Bassus	no Paston concordance: Drexel 4302 (R.M.24.d.2)
Merulo	<u>Lux fulgebit hodie</u>	Altus	G.21-6
Massaini	<u>Exultate Deo</u>	Altus	G.16-20

The manuscript is in Hand A. . If the three partbooks were originally part of the same set, they are not the missing parts of any of the manuscripts already listed in Hand A. The fact that they were used for binding one set of partbooks suggests that they were from the same set, but that there are pieces for 5, 6 and 7 voices suggests that they were not; in general the Paston scribes did not copy five-part and seven-part pieces into the same book.

Other sets of partbooks have since been lost.¹

The following lists show which pieces were copied by more than one Paston scribe, which sections of the pieces were copied and in which manuscripts. Where extracts from a piece have been made, they are listed under the main title which is underlined; an underlined source indicates that it contains a complete copy. The Chelmsford manuscripts are in the lute hand and Hand C respectively but they have been listed in the column headed 'Other' because they were not part of Paston's own collection.

Pieces are listed under the following headings:

- Festal & Antiphon
- Psalms in Antiphon Style
- 'Proper' Music
- Lamentations
- Psalms and Other Texts
- Ferrabosco

1. See the catalogue of Edward Taylor's sale, quoted p. 165.

- 1575 Cantiones, 1589 Cantiones I, 1591 Cantiones II,
Gradualia I, Gradualia II
- Manuscript Sources of Byrd
- Continental Printed Editions

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Late hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Fairfax	<u>Mass: Sponsus amat sponsam</u> Gratias agimus Et in unum Et resurrexit Dona nobis pacem	29246	- 354 354 354 354	- 34049	<u>Chelmsford 2</u>
Fairfax	<u>Magnificat: O bone Jesu</u> In deo Salutare meo Et exultavit Superbos Et in saecula Esurientes	341 342, 29246 342, 29246 29246	2035, 1469 354, 1469 354, 1469 2035, 1469 354, 1469	34049 34049 34049 34049 34049	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Fairfax	<u>Ave Dei patris filia</u> Ave dei patris Ave Jesu Tui filii O gloriosissima	<u>29246</u>	2035 354, 1469	34049 34049	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Johnson	<u>Ave Dei Patris filia</u> Ave dei patris Ave dei subiectissima Ave domini filia Ave plena Tui filii	29246 342	354 1469 2035 2035, 1469 354, 1469 1469	<u>34042</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>

Paston Copylists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
W. Mundy	<u>Magnificat II</u> Sicut erat	-	-	-	18936
W. Mundy	Dulcior melle	29246			18936
W. Mundy	<u>Vox Patris caelestis</u> Vox patris Fevus distillans Surge propere	- 29246 29246	- 2035 2035 2035	-	- 18936
R. Parsons	<u>Magnificat</u> Et exultavit In Deo Sicut erat	-	- 1469 1469 354	-	-
W. Parsons	<u>Anima Christi</u> Anima Christi	-	- 2035, 1469, 41156	- -	-
Sheppard	<u>Magnificat</u> Et sanctum	-	-	-	- 18936, titled 'Agnus Dei'
Sheppard	Igitur O Jesu	29246	2035		

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Sheppard	Igitur O Jesu	29246	2035		
Sheppard	Illustrissima	29246	2035		
Sheppard	Singularis privilegii	29246, 342	2035		
Tallis	<u>Mass:Puer Natus</u> <u>fragments</u>	- 341-4	G. 16, G. 21	-	G. 9 (Hand B)
Tallis	<u>Mass:Salve intemerata</u> <u>Ave Dei Patris filia</u> <u>Ave Dei patris</u> Ave Domini filia Ave plena Ave Jesu Ave Virgo foeta Esto nobis O gloriosissima Amen (short)	- 342, 29246 342 29246 342	- 2035, 354, 1469 2035, 1469 1469 1469, 354 1469, 354 1469	34049 34049*	- <u>Chelmsford 1</u>

* complete except for 'Ave plena'

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tallis	<u>Ave rosa sine spinis</u> Ave rosa Maria stella Et benedictus Dominus tecum	- 29246 29246, 342 29246	- 2035 2035, 354 2035	<u>34049</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Tallis	<u>Gaude gloriosa mater Dei</u> Gaude gloriosa Gaude Maria virgo Gaude virgo	- 29246 29246	- 2035 354 *	-	- 18936 titled "Qui tollis"
Tallis	<u>Salve intemerata virgo</u> Salve intemerata Annse mulieris Per haec nos Tu nimirum	<u>341</u> 342, 29246 342, 29246 342, 29246	<u>354, 1469</u> 2035 2035, 41156 2035, 41156 2035, 41156	<u>34049</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u> 18936
Tallis	Rex sanctorum	-	-	-	18936

* a different version from the usual one.

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Taverner	<u>Mass: Corona spinea</u> Et in terra Domine Deus Quoniam/Tu solus Qui tollis Patrem Crucifixus	- 29246 342 342, 29246 342 29246 29246	- 2035 2035 2035	-	-
Taverner	<u>Mass: Gloria Tibi Trinitas</u> Et in terra Quoniam/Tu solus Qui tollis, miserere Qui tollis, suscipe Et in unum Et incarnatus Crucifixus Pleni sunt Gloria tua Agnus II Agnus III	<u>29246</u> 342, 29246 342, 29246 342, 29246 29246 342, 29246 29246 29246	- 1469, 2035, 4 1469, 2035, 4 41156 1469, 2035 1469, 2035, 41156 1469 354 2035 1469, 2035, 41156 354	-	-
Taverner	<u>Mass: Small Devotion</u> <u>Crucifixus</u>	- 342	-	-	-

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Taverner	<u>The Mean Mass</u> Et in terra Et incarnatus Agnus Dei	- 29246	354 2035 2035, 2036	-	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Taverner	<u>Magnificat</u> Et semini eius Et nunc et semper	-	354	-	-
Taverner	<u>Ave Dei Patris filia</u> <u>Ave Dei patris</u>	- 29246	2035	-	-
Taverner	<u>Gaude plurimum</u> <u>Gaude plurimum</u> Vaude Maria virgo Gaude Maria Jesu Gaude sacratissima Gaudeamus itaque Eundem igitur	342, 29246 342, 29246 342, 29246 1469	354 2035, 1469, 41156 2035, 1469, 41156 2035, 1469, 41156 1469 1469	<u>34049</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u> <u>18936</u>
Taverner	<u>Mater Christi</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>354</u>	<u>34049</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Taverner	<u>O splendor gloriae</u> quae sapientissimae	- 342	-	-	-
Taverner	<u>Sospitati dedit aegros</u> Sospitati dedit O quam probatum Ergo laudes Nam qui corde	341 29246 29246, 354 29246	1469 2035, 41156 2035, 41156 2035, 354 354	<u>34049</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Taverner	Christe Leroy				18936
Tye	<u>Mass:Western Wind</u> Agnus Dei	-	-	-	18936
Tye	<u>Magnificat II</u> Esurientes	-	- 354	-	-
Tye	<u>Domine Deus caelestis</u> Domine Deus caelestis	29246 ¹	- 2035	-	18936

1. Called 'Crucifixus'

Paston Copyists: Festal & Antiphon

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
R. White	<u>Magnificat</u> Et exultavit Quia fecit Fecit potentiam Sicut locutus		1469 1469, 354 1469 354	34049	
Woods	<u>Exurge Domine</u> <u>Exurge Domine</u> Verbi tui Effunde quaeso Perfice illud Esto pater	- 29246 29246, 342 29246 29246	- 2035 2035 354 2035 2035	-	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Anon	<u>Ave regina caelorum</u>	2089 ¹	369		

1. Ascr. "Mr. Bird"

Paston Copyists: Psalms in Antiphon style

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Parsley	<u>Conserua me Domine</u> Conserua me Benedicam Domino Multiplicati	- 29246, 342 29246 29246	- 2035 2035 2035	-	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
W. Mundy	<u>Miserere mei Deus</u> Miserere Quoniam praeuaricationes Purifica me Cor mundum Docebo praeuaricationes Domine labia		2035 2035 2035 2035 2035 354		
W. Mundy	<u>Eructavit cor meum</u> Eructavit Audi filia		2035 2035		
R. Parsons	<u>Retribue servo tuo</u>		<u>354</u> ¹		
R. White	<u>Domine non est exaltatum</u> Domine non est Sicut ablactatus		354 354		

Paston Copyists: Psalms in Antiphon style

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
R. White	<u>Domine quis habitabit II</u> Qui Jurat	342		34049	
R. White	<u>Exaudiat te Dominus</u> Exaudiat te Exaudiat illum		2035 ¹ 354		
R. White	<u>Manus tuae</u> Veniant mihi Manus tuae	29246	354 2035		

1. Called "Cantate Domino"

Paston Copyists: 'Proper' Music

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Sheppard	Aeterne rex	Hymn	341			
	Deus tuorum militum	Hymn	341*			
Tallis	Iam Christus astra	Hymn	341			
	Jesu salvator	Hymn	341			
	Quod chorus vatum	Hymn	341			
	Salvator mundi	Hymn	341			
	Euge caeli porta	Sequence		354		34049
White	Christe qui lux III	Hymn	2089, 29246, 29247	369, 1469		

* Ascr. "Tallis"

Paston Copyists: Lamentations

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tallis	<u>Lamentations</u>		<u>341</u>	<u>369, 1469</u>		<u>Chelmsford I</u>
White	<u>Lamentations I</u> Omnes populus Peccatum peccavit		342, 29246	354 2035, 41156	34049	
White	<u>Lamentations II</u> De excelso O vos omnes		<u>341</u>	<u>369, 1469</u> 354		<u>Chelmsford I</u> <u>18936</u>

Paston Copyists: Psalms and Other Texts

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Daman	Spem in alium	31992			
Johnson	Domine in virtute B	341			Chelmsford 1
R. Parsons	Credo quod redemptor		2041	30361	
Roose?	Dum transisset Sabbatum	341			Chelmsford 1
Sheppard	Inclina Domine				Chelmsford 1
Tallis	Domine quis habitabit	341, 2089, 29247			Chelmsford 1
Tallis	Laudate Dominum	341, 2089	369		Chelmsford 1
Tallis	O salutaris hostia B	341, 1469, 2089		34049	Chelmsford 1
J. Tomkins	Cantate Domino				18936
White	Deus miseretur			30810	
White	Miserere mei Deus	341			Chelmsford 1
Wilbye	Ne reminiscaris				18936

Paston Copyists: Ferrabosco

<u>Title</u>	<u>Iute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>
Afflictus sum/Ne derelinquas	-	29388 (1st pt.)	-
Agimus tibi gratias	340	-	-
Ad Dominum cum tribularer	341		
Aurora diem nuntiat	341		
Benedic anima mea I	341, 2089		
Benedic anima mea II	341		
Benedic Dominum	341 2089	29388	379
Cantate Domino	341, 2089		
Conserva me Domine	341		
Credo quod redemptor	340	29388	
Da pacem Domine II	-	2041	-
Da pacem Domine III	341		
De profundis clamavi	340		
Domine non secundum	31992		
Ecce iam noctis	341		

Paston Copyists: Ferrabosco

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>
Heu mihi Domine I	341		
Inclina Domine	341, 2089, 340	29388	
Ingemuit Susanna	341		
In monte Oliveti	31992	G.21, 29388	379, 30810
Judica me Domine	31992	2041	30361
Lamentations II	341	2041	
Lamentations IV	341, 29247	369, 1469	
Mirabile misterium	341, 2089	369	
O vos omnes	31992, 2089	G.21, 2041, 29388	30361
Peccantem me quotidie	341, 2089	369	
Surge propera	341, 340		
Tibi soli peccavi	-	314	
Timor et tremor	31992	2041, 29388	

Paston Copyists: 1575 Cantiones

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tallis	Derelinquat impius	341			
	Dum transisset Sabbatum	341, 29247			
	Mihi autem nimis	29247			
	O sacrum convivium	29247			
	Salvator mundi I	29247			
	Sermone blando Suscipe quaeso	341 341, 29247	G.16, G.21, 2041		
Byrd	Aspice Domine quia facta	340, 29247, 2089	2041	379, 30810	
	Attolite portas	341, 340, 29247, 2089	2041	30810	
	Emendemus in melius	341	369		18936
	Gloria patri	340			
	Memento homo	341, 29247, 340	2041, 1469	30810, 379, G.21	
	O lux beata trinitas	340, 342, 29247, 2089	2041	30810	

Paston Copyists: 1575 Cantiones

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Byrd	Te deprecor supplico	340			
	Tribue Domine	340		379	

Paston Copyists: 1589 Cantiones I

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Aspice Domine de sede	341	369		Chelmsford 1
Defecit in dolore	2089	369		-
Deus venerunt gentes	341	369		Chelmsford 1
Domine praestolamur	341	-	30810	Chelmsford 1
Domine secundum multitudinem	341, 2089, 29247	369	G.27	Chelmsford 1
Domine tu jurasti	341, 2089, 29247	369		Chelmsford 1
In resurrectione	341	369, 1 ⁴ / ₆₉		Chelmsford 1
<u>Laetentur caeli</u> <u>Orietur</u>	<u>2089</u> -	- 2036	-	- -
Memento Domine	341, 29247	-		-
Ne irascaris	341, 2089, 29247	369		Chelmsford 1
O quam gloriosum	341	369, 349, 359	374	Chelmsford 1
Tribulationes civitatum	341, 2089, 29247	369		Chelmsford 1

Paston Copyists: 1589 Cantiones I

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tristitia et anxietas	341, 2089	369		Chelmsford 1
Vide Domine/Sed veni	341, 2089, 29247	369		Chelmsford 1
Vigilate nescitis enim	341, 2089, 29247	369	G.27	-

Paston Copyists: 1591 Cantiones II

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Apparebit in finem	341, 29247, 2089	369		Chelmsford 1
Circumdede runt me dolores	341	-		Chelmsford 1
Cunctis diebus	340	2035	379	-
Domine non sum dignus	-	-	30810	-
Domine salva nos	340	-	30810	-
Exurge quare obdormis	-	-	-	Chelmsford 1
Fac cum servo tuo	341, 2089, 29247	369	-	-
Haec dicit Dominus	341, 2089, 29247	369	-	Chelmsford 1
<u>Infelix ego</u> <u>Infelix ego</u>	<u>341, 340, 29247</u> <u>342, 29246</u>	2036, 41156	<u>30810</u>	<u>Chelmsford 1</u>
Levemus corda nostra	-	-	-	Chelmsford 1
Miserere mei Deus	341	-	-	-
Quis est homo	-	369	-	-
Recordare Domine	2089	-	-	-
Salve regina	-	369, 349	G.27	-

Paston Copyists: Gradualia I

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Adoramus te Christe	-	369	-	18936
<u>Alma redemptoris</u> Alma redemptoris	-	2036, 41156	-	-
Ave Maria gratia plena	-	369	-	-
Ave Maris stella	29246	2036, 41156	-	-
Ave verum corpus	-	-	-	18936
Beata es virgo Maria	-	369, 349	34049	-
Beata viscera Mariae virginis	-	369	-	-
Beati mundo corde	-	369	-	-
<u>Diffusa est gratia</u> <u>Propter veritatem</u>	-	369, 2036	-	-
Ecce quam bonum	-	460328	-	-
Ecce virgo concipiet	-	369	-	-
Gaude Maria virgo	-	369	-	-
Gaudeamus omnes/Assumpta est	-	369	-	-
Gaudeamus omnes/Exultate	-	369, 359	374	-
Memento salutis	29246	2036	-	-

Paston Copyists: Gradualia I

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Nunc dimittis	-	369	-	-
O gloriosa Domina	29246	2036	-	-
Optimam partem	-	369	-	-
Florans ploravit	-	369	-	-
Post partum virgo	-	369	-	-
Quem terra pontus	29246	2036	-	-
Regina caeli	29246	41156	-	-
Rorate caeli	-	369, 2035, 2036, 41156	-	-
Salve sancta parens	-	369, 2035, 41156	-	-
Salve regina mater	-	41156	-	-
Suscipimus Deus	-	369, 2035, 2036, 41156	-	-
Timete Dominum	-	369, 2036, 349, 359	374	-
Tollite portas	-	369	-	-
Virgo dei genetrix	-	369	-	-
Vultum tuum	-	369	-	-

Paston Copyists: Gradualia II

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
Alleluia/Ascendit	-	349	-	-
Ascendit Deus	-	349	-	-
Dominus in Sina	-	349	-	-
Psallite Domino	-	349	-	-
Viri Galilei	-	349, 359	-	-
<u>Paston Copyists: Manuscript Sources of Byrd</u>				
Ad punctum in modico	-	-	-	Chelmsford 1
Alleluia/Confitemini/Laudate	-	-	-	18936
Audivi	341, 2089, 29247	369	-	Chelmsford 1
Circumspice Jerusalem	340	2041	379	-
De lamentatione	-	369	-	-
Ne perdas cum impiis	2089	-	-	-
Peccavi	29247	-	-	-
Petrus beatus	341	369	-	-
Quomodo cantabimus	-	-	-	G.9 (Hand B)

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Susato 1546</u> Crecquillon Sub tuum praesidium				Chelmsford 1
<u>Susato 1552</u> Clemens non Papa Dicite a me Clemens non Papa Quis te victorem dedit* Crecquillon Nigra sum sed formosa	2089 2089 2089, 29246, 29247			Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 1
<u>Susato 1555</u> Clemens non Papa Sancta Maria succurre Hollander Dum transisset Sabbatum				Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2
<u>Montanus 1558</u> Clemens non Papa Ave martyr gloriosa Clemens non Papa Caeleste beneficium Clemens non Papa Ego me diligentes Clemens non Papa Hierusalem surge Clemens non Papa Hoc est praeceptum meum Clemens non Papa Innuebant Patri				Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2 Chelmsford 2

* Also in Montanus 1558

Paston Copyists: Continental Printed Editions

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Montanus 1558</u>				
Clemens non Papa Mulierum fortem				Chelmsford 2
Clemens non Papa O magnum mysterium				Chelmsford 2
Crecquillon Venite et videte				Chelmsford 2
Gombert In illo tempore				Chelmsford 2
Gombert Quem dicunt homines				Chelmsford 2
Jachet Aspice Domine quia facta	31992			Chelmsford 2
<u>Montanus 1564</u>				
Clemens non Papa Ego flos campi	340, 341, 29247	G.16, G.21		G.9 (Hand B)
Clemens non Papa Pater peccavi	340			Chelmsford 1 & 2
De Bachi Fuit homo missus	340, 31992			Chelmsford 1 & 2
De Rivulo Ego sum panis vivus	340, 31992			
De Rivulo Gloria tibi Trinitas	29247			
De Rivulo Sic Deus dilexit	340	G.16	379	Chelmsford 1 & 2
De Rivulo Vias tuas Domine	31992			Chelmsford 1 & 2
Formellis Miserere mei Deus	31992			
Lassus In te Domine speravi	29247			
Meiland Benedixisti Domine	340, 342, 29247	G.16, G.21		

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	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Montanus 1564</u>	Andreas Christi	340, 29247	2041		G.9 (Hand B) Chelmsford 2
Vaet	Dixerunt impii				
Vaet	Aspice Domine quia facta			379	
<u>Uttendal 1571</u>					
Uttendal	Levavi oculos meos			385	
<u>Lechner 1576</u>					
Lechner	In convertendo	340			
Lechner	Paratum cor meum	340			
<u>Lindner 1583*</u>					
Baccus ^v	Aspice Domine	340, 31992, 2089	G.21	30810	Chelmsford 2
De Monte	Adiutorium nostrum (2nd part of 'Ad te levavi')	31992			Chelmsford 2
De Monte	Beati qui habitant	31992, 29247			Chelmsford 1 & 2
De Monte	Deus Deus Meus	31992, 2089	2041	379	Chelmsford 1 & 2

*Also contains Ferrabosco's "O Lux beata"

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	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Lindner 1583</u>					
Guami	Miserere nostri Domine			374	
Lassus	Veni Domine et noli	31992	349	374	
Palestrina	Haec Dies				Chelmsford 2
<u>Lindner 1585</u>					
Lassus	Domine Jesu Christe	29247			
Palestrina	Dum complerentur dies	340	29388, 2041	30810	
Zallamella	Foderunt manus meus	2089	369		
Guami	Jubilate Deo omnis terra	340	G.16		
Lassus	Mors tua, mors Christi				
Merulo	O rex gentium			379	
Pennequin	Quem vidistis pastores	340			
Palestrina	Stella quam viderant			385	

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<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Lindner 1590</u>				
Rinaldo del Mel Angelus Domini descendit			30361	
Palestrina Hierusalem cito veniet			30361	
Palestrina Hodie beata virgo			374	
Del Mel Hodie Christus natus est			30361	
Corsini Surrexit pastor			30361	
<u>Gabrieli 1597</u>				
Gabrieli Diligam te Domine		G.16		
<u>Vincenti 1599</u>				
Schietus Hic est vere martyr		2041		
<u>Schadeus 1611</u>				
Gabrieli Iam non Dicam				G.9 (Hand B)

Paston Copyists: Continental Printed Editions

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Lessus 1568</u> Locutus sum in lingua mea Veni creator spiritus	2089 2089, 31922	29388 29388, 2041	379, 30361 379, 30361	
<u>Lessus 1577</u> Ave regina caelorum Convertere Domine Deus tu scis Ego sum resurrectio Ego Dixi Domine Hierusalem quam aedificatur Laetatus sum Sancta et immaculata Sicut ablactatus (2nd part of 'Domine non est exaltatum)	29246 29246 29246	2036 2036 2036 2036 2036 2036		
<u>Lessus 1582a</u> Anima mea liquefacta est Respexit Elias		349	374	
<u>Lessus 1582b</u> Ave regina caelorum Ave verum corpus	340, 341, 31992	1469, 2041, G.21 G.16	30810	Chelmsford 1
<u>Lessus 1582c</u> Confundantur superbi Omnia quae fecisti* Sacrificata (2nd part of 'Cum invocarem') Veni in hortum meum*	29246	Harvard 30 2036 Harvard 30	379	

* First printed in 1562.

Paston Copyists: Continental Printed Editions

	<u>Title</u>	<u>Lute Hand</u>	<u>Hand A</u>	<u>Hand C</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Victoria 1572</u>	Salve regina		2041	379	
<u>Victoria 1576</u>	Mass: Ave Maris stella Mass: Dum complerentur Mass: Gaudeamus Mass: Simile est regnum	340	2036, 41156 2035, 2036, 2041, 41156, 359, 2009 2041, 359 2036, 41156		
<u>Victoria 1583</u>	Mass: O quam gloriosum Mass: Quam pulchri sunt		2036 2036, 41156		
<u>Victoria 1592</u>	Mass: O magnum mysterium Mass: Quarti toni Mass: Salve Mass: Trahe me post te Mass: Vide speciosam Mass: Ascendens Christus		359		18936 18936 18936 18936 18936 18936

APPENDIX VIITRANSPOSITION IN PASTON MANUSCRIPTS

The major Henrician and Elizabethan sources of the 'festal and antiphon' repertory rarely disagree about either written pitch or the configuration of clefs used which dictates the interval of transposition necessary. In the following pages the term 'written pitch' is used to mean the usual written pitch of a piece as it appears in the major sources.

Although Paston manuscripts transmit transposed pieces, they also transmit the same pieces at the usual written pitch, i.e. the transpositions were made by the Paston scribes who were well aware of the 'correct' written pitch.

Festal & Antiphon pieces

The manuscripts which contain transposed extracts from pieces are RCM.2035, Add.34049, Tenb.354-8, Add.41156-8 and Tenb.1469-71. The latter set usually transmits the top part of any three-part section in a different key while leaving the other parts at the written pitch. Nevertheless a kind of system operates: extracts where the top part is transposed a 5th higher than written pitch come from pieces usually written in the low clefs (F5 in the bass); those where the top part is a tone higher than written come from pieces subject to normal transposition (F4 in the bass):

Tenbury 1469-71Top part only a 5th higher:Usual configuration

Fairfax/Magnificat: O bone Jesu

Low clefs (F5)

Fairfax/Ave Dei Patris

low clefs

Johnson/Ave Dei Patris

low clefs

<u>Top part a tone higher:</u>	<u>Usual configuration</u>
Parsons/Magnificat	normal clefs (F4)
W. Parsons/Anima Christi	normal clefs
Tallis/Ave Dei Patris	normal clefs
Taverner/Mass: Gloria tibi trinitas	normal clefs
Taverner/Sospitati dedit	normal clefs
White/Magnificat	normal clefs

Two other intervals of transposition are used in Tenbury 1469-71: in White's Lamentations, usually subject to normal transposition, the top part is transposed a 4th higher than the others; in Tallis's Lamentations, the top part is a third higher than the others. The latter can be explained: Tenbury 369-73 transmits the Lamentations a fifth higher than usually written, and the version in Tenbury 1469-71 is basically the same version as in Tenbury 369-73. The additional third in transposition of the top part is made by substitution of a G2 clef for C1 and is possibly a mistake.

Tenbury 1469-71 is a special case because so many of the extracts are written in two keys at once. Other Paston manuscripts at least transmit extracts in one key at a time. Here again the interval of transposition appears to be related to the usual clef configurations.

The most usual Paston transpositions of antiphons are a 4th and a 5th higher than written pitch. There is also a section of pieces in RCM.2035 where the G1 clef is used in the top part.

RCM.2035: Section in the G1 clef

The extracts prove to be from pieces normally written in the low clefs (F5 in the bass) and here transposed up an octave from

written pitch, or from pieces usually subject to modern transposition down a tone where the original clef is in any case G1 - these are transmitted at written pitch in RCM.2035. Such a case is Parsley's 'Conserva me Domine'.

An interesting example is the top part of Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris filia' which is confused with two parts from Tye's 'Domine Deus caelestis' in RCM.2035. Usually 'Ave Dei Patris' is written in the low clefs, but the RCM pitch, in a G1 clef a 5th higher than written, is the same as that in Tenbury 354-8 where 'Ave Dei Patris' is copied a 5th higher than usual in a clef configuration implying modern transposition down a tone i.e. in RCM.2035 it was treated as a genuine 'down a tone' piece like 'Conserva me Domine'.

A reliable text indicating the correct interval of transposition is not known for some of the extracts in this section of RCM 2035, because the parts are incomplete.

<u>Section</u>	<u>Piece</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Paston transposition relative to written pitch</u>	<u>usual clefs</u>
Benedicam	Conserva me	Parsley	at pitch	C5 + G1
Multiplicati	Conserva me	Parsley	at pitch	C5 + G1
Esto pater	Exurge Domine	Wood	8ve higher	F5
Verbi tui	Exurge Domine	Wood	8ve higher	F5
Docebo	Miserere mei	Mundy	?	?
Vox Patris	Vox Patris	Mundy	5th higher	F4
Miserere	Miserere	Mundy	?	?
Illustrissima	?	Sheppard	?	?
Igitur O Jesu	?	Sheppard	?	?
Domine Deus	Ave Dei/Domine Deus	Johnson/ Tye	at pitch	C5 + G1 in 354.

The only other case of Paston transposition at the octave is the first section of Tallis's 'Salve intemerata' at f.5 of RCM 2035 where the usual clef configuration is again F5 in the bass.

Transposition in Paston Mss. other than Tenb.1469-71 and the G1
section of RCM 2035

<u>A 4th higher than usual written pitch</u>	<u>Usual clefs</u>
Fairfax/Magnificat: O bone Jesu	F5
Fairfax/Ave Dei Patris filia	F5
W. Mundy/Eructavit cor meum	F5
Tallis/Salve intemerata	F5
Taverner/Ave Dei Patris filia	F5
White/Lamentations 1	F5
Wood/Exurge Domine	F5
Parsley/Conserva me Domine	C5 + G1
Taverner/Gaude plurimum	C5 + G1
White/Manus tuae	F4

'Manus tuae' is also transposed up a 5th in RCM.2035, which is the more usual Paston transposition for pieces written in the normal clefs. (See below). In this extract transposed at the 4th, the lowest part is given an F3 clef. Since the meaning of the F3 clef is to imply modern transposition down a tone, the discrepancy of pitches is resolved by reference to the clef convention where

$$F4 = F3 \text{ a min. 3rd higher}$$

The two exceptions in the following table may be similarly explained:

<u>A 5th higher than usual written pitch</u>	<u>Usual clefs</u>
Fairfax/Ave Dei Patris filia	F5
Johnson/Ave Dei Patris filia	F5
Mundy/Vox Patris caelestis	F4
Tallis/Ave Dei Patris filia	F4
Tallis/Gaude gloriosa	F4
Tallis/Lamentations	F4
White/Exaudiat te Dominus	F4
White/Manus tuae	F4

Here Fairfax's 'Ave Dei Patris' is in a set of clefs (C5 in the bass) which means modern transposition up a semitone: i.e. F5 = C5 a 5th higher. Johnson's setting is found complete in Tenbury 354-8 in the clefs F3 + G1, i.e. if modern transposition at the 4th rather than the 6th was originally intended,

$$F5 = F3 + G1 \text{ a 5th higher.}$$

A few other intervals of transposition are used for individual pieces, presumably for some specific reason:

<u>Paston transposition relative to written pitch</u>		<u>Usual clefs</u>
Up a tone	Johnson/Ave Dei Patris	F5
Down a tone	Taverner/Mass: Corona spinea	F4
Down a 5th	Tallis/Ave Dei Patris filia	F4
	Taverner/Gaude plurimum	C5 + G1
Up a 7th	Tallis/Lamentations: this applies only to the top part in Tenb.1469; see above. Tallis/Salve intemerata: 'Tu nimirum' in RCM 2035 is a 4th higher than the version in Add.41156-8 which is it- self a 4th higher than usual	
Down a 4th	Taverner/Gaude plurimum	C5 + G1

Although some kind of pattern emerges, it is difficult to see why these particular intervals of transposition were chosen. Some of the extracts, especially in Tenbury 354-8 and RCM 2035, are found in alternative versions at pitch and in a transposed version. Since the resulting vocal ranges are diverse it cannot be argued that they were designed for a particular combination of performers available, and indeed it is difficult to imagine in what circumstances such extracts would ever have been performed. In addition, there is the unreliability of the manuscripts.

It is clear that Tenbury 1469-71 could never have been performed from by singers, although texts are underlaid. Mistakes in RCM.2035 such as the combination of Tye's 'Domine Deus' with Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris' go uncorrected in the partbooks.

One use of the analysis of the Paston transpositions is in finding the correct pitch and voice parts of pieces for which there is no reliable source.

William Mundy's 6-part psalm 'Miserere mei Deus' survives in a fragmentary state although with the help of extracts transmitted at various pitches in the Paston manuscripts much can be reconstructed. Unfortunately none of the complete surviving parts include either the treble or bass. If the intervals of transposition were known it would be clear which voice parts are represented in the Paston sources. However, it is possible to deduce the necessary information by comparing the Paston sources with the others.

The two manuscripts containing complete parts are both reliable regarding the usual written pitch of a piece. Tenbury 1486 is usually a Tenor book; the Willmott manuscript contains Mean parts with a few Alto parts. Mus.Sch.e.423 is unambiguous: the manuscript has a rubric by Mundy's piece which says '2nd contratenor vi voc.' Since the clef in e.423 is C4, it is likely that the first alto part is also a C4 clef. The clef in the Willmott manuscript is C3 and that in Tenbury 1486 C5, so these should be the Mean and Tenor parts.

In RCM 2035 the three-part extract of the first section is an octave higher than the Willmott manuscript. In all other cases where a reliable source can be compared, octave transposition applies to all parts of an extract, not just the top part. Transposing down an octave, it is clear that the two additional parts in RCM 2035 are the first Alto and Bass parts in the written pitch, the first Alto range corresponding to that in e.423, and the range of the Bass lower than Tenbury 1486. The same transposition is used for the same combination of parts at 'Cor mundum' and 'Docebo praevaricatores' in RCM 2035. The other sections are transmitted either at pitch or

a 4th higher than written pitch. Tenbury 34049 and 35408 provide a range for the treble part in 'Domine labia' which when compared with e.423 and Sadler's manuscript turns out to be at written pitch in the Paston manuscripts.

There is then the question of the correct interval of transposition. There is no possibility that modern transposition up a semitone was intended because the range of the bass part

— 7 —

cannot be written in the F3 or C5 clefs. In addition, it would be highly unlikely to find a Bass part written in the same clef as the Tenor which is a known factor. For the same reason of range, downward transposition is out of the question. The alternatives left are thus normal transposition or modern transposition up a 4th or 6th.

It is noticeable that the kinds of transposition used in Paston sources are related to the clef configurations and that Paston transposition at the octave or 4th higher is usually used when a piece is written in a reliable manuscript in the low clefs or in 'down a tone' clefs. Pieces written in normal clefs tend to be transposed in Paston sources a 5th higher than written. There are thus two factors which suggest that the correct transposition of Mundy's 'Miserere' is up a 4th or 6th: that 'Purifica me' is transmitted a 4th higher than written pitch, and that two sections are transmitted an octave higher than written. In this particular case, transposition at the 4th gives better ranges than at the 6th.

Three extracts from unidentified antiphons by Sheppard seem to follow the same pattern. 'Illustrissima omnium' is found in Add.29246, a lute arrangement which is no help in determining pitch, and in RM.24.d.2 which sometimes but not always transmits extracts at the written pitch in the correct clefs. The clefs in RM.24.d.2 are, if they are correct, the low clef configuration, and since the version in RCM 2035 is an octave higher than that in RM.24.d.2, the likelihood is that the clefs in RM.24.d.2. are correct and the usual transposition should be a 4th or 6th higher than written and the vocal parts Mean, Alto and Bass, or two unequal Means and Baritone.

'Singularis privilegii' is in Tenbury 342, which is again sometimes reliable regarding the correct clefs and where most of the extracts are at the correct written pitch. Here the clef configuration suggests either 'up a semitone' 'down a tone', depending on the clef of the treble part which, if the range is correct, is not present. The Tenbury 342 extract is scored for Mean, Tenor and Bass. In RCM.2035 are two versions of the extract, one at the same pitch as Tenbury 342, and one a 4th higher. The existence of these two versions supports the idea that one of them is correct since transposition at the 4th in the Paston sources is usually based on correct written versions rather than an already transposed version. There is an exception, however; in RCM 2035 'Tu nimirum' is a 4th higher than in Add.41156-8 which is already a 4th higher than usually written. This could be the case here i.e. Tenbury 342 could be at "concert" pitch, a 4th higher than a lost original. The alternative is that the version in Tenbury 342 is at the original written pitch which implies modern transposition down a tone, since this would bring the version in RCM.2035 in line with cases such as 'Conserva me Domine'

and 'Gaude plurimum'.

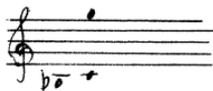
There is not even an occasionally reliable manuscript on which to base an argument for the correct pitch of 'Igitur O Jesu'. A version in Add.29246 and a second version in Add.4900 are the only other sources.¹ However, the extract in RCM 2035 is in the "G1" section of clefs, and in Add.4900 the singing part is written out an octave lower than in RCM 2035. This suggests that the correct transposition is again based on a 'low clef' configuration. The version in Add.4900 is thus at the written pitch, and the lute arrangement bears this out. The version in Add.29246 is in a different key and notation from that in Add.4900. Lutes were usually tuned so that the lowest string sounded G or A. It is interesting that if the 'Igitur O Jesu' fragment in Add.29246 is transcribed according to the G tuning, the result is a version a 6th higher than the written pitch, i.e. concert pitch.

This raises the question of whether lute arrangements were in any way related to the written pitch or whether they were made according to the convenience of the singer. In general the lute arrangements in Add.29246 bear no constant relation to the written pitch. Some of the extracts were transcribed, if the lute was tuned to G, at written pitch, others at concert pitch. Some pieces work out at written pitch if the lute is tuned to A. Others must be transposed at either a 4th or 5th (and in individual cases a 6th or 7th) higher than written pitch, depending on the tuning. If the lutenist was expected to re-tune, one would expect to find a rubric

1. Add.4900 and the different versions of 'Igitur O Jesu' are discussed on p.137 and in Appendix VIII.

to that effect somewhere in the manuscript. No such marking exists in Add.29246. In Add.31992 and Add.29247 there is a marking which looks as though it might have been intended as a reminder to the lute-nist to tune in A. It appears at the end of some of the pieces in Add.29247 after the 'Finis' sign, and at the beginning of some of the 6-part pieces in Add.31922 where it takes the form of a sharp written on the middle space of the stave. It is the only discernible sign which could be of significance, but on examination it is clear that whatever the sign means, it does not refer to tuning, since to tune the relevant pieces in A (or in any other one key) does not result in either written or concert pitch.

The idea that the lute arrangements should be related to written pitch at all is clearly illogical. No optical transposition takes place when playing the lute, and so if any relationship can be expected it should be that of lute pitch to concert pitch. In Add. 29246 such a relationship is as hard to discern as the non-existent one of written pitch. Instead, what the lute arrangements have in common is the missing singing part, which is always in the mean range or the extended range of the late Elizabethan Mean. i.e.¹



The only exception is the 'Et incarnatus' from Taverner's 'Mean Mass' where the singing part is for Tenor. In other words, a

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1. This range was arrived at by collating the missing singing parts (found in other sources) with the pitch of the lute extracts if the lute is tuned in G or A.

** This is common after 'Finis' in most lute MSS.*

piece is transcribed in the written pitch when the singing part is a treble which would normally be transposed up. When the singing part is for Mean, the version for lute is usually at concert pitch.

Some system which can relate the lute pitch to written pitch does exist then, but it is a 'rule of thumb' system which is unreliable because the transposition used in the lute arrangement does not always compare exactly with the usual transposition, and there is no reason why it should. To approach the problem from the standpoint of written or concert pitch is to get things the wrong way round, because any relationship between the lute pitch and any other sort of pitch is coincidental.

Byrd: Transpositions in Paston manuscripts

<u>Title</u>	<u>modern usual trans- position</u>	<u>Paston Ms.</u>	<u>Transposition in Paston Mss relative to the usual written pitch</u>
<u>1575 Cantiones</u>			
Aspice Domine quia facta	normal	30810	up a 4th, C4
Attolite portas	normal	30810	up a 4th, C4
O lux beata trinitas	normal	30810	up a 4th, C4
Memento homo	normal	30810	up a 5th, C4 Top part only a 4th
Tribue Domine	normal	379	up a tone, F4
<hr/>			
<u>1589 Cantiones Sacrae</u>			
Domine secundum multitudinem*	high clefs	G.27	down a tone, C5
O quam gloriosum est*	down a tone	374	down a 4th, F4
Tribulationes civitatum	normal	369, Chelmsford	up a tone, F4

<u>Title</u>	<u>modern usual trans- position</u>	<u>Paston Ms.</u>	<u>Transposition in Paston Mss. relative to the usual written pitch</u>
<u>1591 Cantiones Sacrae</u>			
Cunctis diebus	normal	379 2036	up a tone, F4 up a tone, C4 (but bass missing)
Domine non sum dignus*	normal	30810	up a 5th, C4
Domine salva nos*	normal	30810	up a 4th, F3
Infelix ego	normal	30810	up a tone, F4
Salve regina*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3
<hr/>			
<u>1605 Gradualia I</u>			
Alma redemptoris mater	normal	2036	up a 4th, C4 (but bass missing)
Ave maris stella	normal	2036	up a 4th, C4
Gaudeamus omnes	down a tone	374	down a 4th, F3
Memento salutis	high clefs	2036	up a 4th, C3
O gloriosa Domina	high clefs	2036	up a 4th, C3
Quem terra pontus	high clefs	2036	up a 4th, C3
Timete Dominum*	down a tone	374	down a 4th, F4
<hr/>			
<u>1607 Gradualia II</u>			
Alleluia/Ascendit Deus*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3
Ascendit Deus*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3
Dominus in Sina*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3
Psallite Domino*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3
Viri Galilei*	normal	349	up a 4th, F3

<u>Title</u>	<u>modern usual trans- position</u>	<u>Paston Ms.</u>	<u>Transposition in Paston Mss relative to the usual written pitch</u>
<u>Manuscript</u>			
De lamentatione ¹	normal	369	up a 5th, C4

*Asterisked pieces are those where the transposition in Paston manuscripts corresponds to that in the printed edition but in a different set of clefs. 'Cunctis diebus' and 'Tribulationes civitatum' are exceptions in manuscripts other than Paston ones.²

1. The check for 'De lamentatione' is Ch.Ch.979-83.

2. see Introduction, Vol. I.

APPENDIX VIII'IGITUR O JESU'

Two problems are involved; one, that 'Igitur O Jesu' is ascribed in different manuscripts to both Sheppard and Wood, the other, that there are two versions of the piece.

It is a three part piece for Mean, Alto and Baritone, presumably extracted from a large antiphon. The text is in the form of a prayer to Jesus not to abandon the human race to the 'inveterati malitie tiranni Sathani'. This of course suggests a link with Sheppard's 'Ergo Sathan' copied by Baldwin, but it is a link which turns out to be misleading since 'Ergo Sathan' is from 'Gaude Virgo Christipara'.

There are two sets of sources: Add.4900 and two Paston copies R.C.M. 2035 and Add.29246. There is no known connection between Add.4900 and the Paston sources except that all the sources are late to include either Sheppard or Wood and are thus retrospective. It is puzzling that R.C.M. 2035 carries the ascription to 'John Woode' while Add.29246 clearly says 'Mr. Sheparde', since these two manuscripts, while not in the same hand, are from the same 'house'. Add.4900 ascribes the piece to 'Mr. Sheppard' three times. Since two independent sources ascribed the piece to Sheppard, it would seem that the ascription in RCM 2035 is a mistake, unless it can be shown that the version in RCM 2035 was from a different antiphon. This is not the case: a collation of sources shows that while the last section of the Mean part in 2035 differs considerably from that in Add.4900, it is basically the same piece which has been copied.

Briefly the differences are as follows:

- the Alto and Baritone parts are transcribed for lute in Add.4900 at the same pitch as in RCM 2035 and there are no variants except those usual in lute transcriptions where dotted repeated notes are sometimes left out, producing d for $\text{d} \cdot \text{d}$. The Mean part in Add.4900 is an octave lower than RCM 2035 and this is probably the correct written pitch. There are other examples of this clef configuration in RCM 2035 in three-part extracts from antiphons where the original clefs are known.¹
- In Add.4900 rests are missing in two places in the Mean part which, uncorrected, make it impossible for the piece to have been performed with the lute accompaniment.
- Apart from this, and the appoggiatura figure in bar 7 (see example) which replaces the minim in RCM 2035, the Mean parts are identical up to bar 45. From there to the end they are different but with snatches of the same melodic line occasionally.

Add.29246 unfortunately does not include a 'singing part'. The Alto and Baritone are transcribed at secular pitch in the G tuning. While the lute part in Add.4900 agrees well with RCM 2035, there are variants in Add.29246. On the face of it one would expect the reverse to be the case because of the connection between the two Paston manuscripts, but as we have seen these two Mss. carry different ascriptions. The inference is that they were copied from different sources. However an analysis of the variants in Add.29246 suggests that the singing part was the same version as that in RCM 2035. All the variants are slight except for that in bar 61 where there is a concert A for concert F in the 2nd note of the Alto part, which corresponds to the concert A

1. See Appendix VII, 'Transposition in Paston manuscripts'.

in Add.4900, Mean part, at this point. This suggests that all four parts were known to the copyist of Add.29246 and that he considered the A more important to the harmony than the concert F which is duplicated in the Baritone part. The most likely solution to the problem of the two Mean parts is that they were both right i.e. a gimel which began at the words 'quos tui in salutarem'. Precedents for adding another part half-way through a section are widespread.

But here are unlikely clashes between the two mean parts in bars 56 and 57 and to a lesser extent in bars 59 and 62. It is possible that these are mistakes in copying or merely the result of careless partwriting, for which there is also precedent. We are then left with two theories based on the idea that there was a gimel at 'quos tui...'. Either the two Mean parts are the original gimel parts, one copied in Add.4900 and the other in RCM 2035; or they represent two different attempts to condense two parts in one. If this is so, the Mean parts become alternatives and the clashes non-existent. But whether they were alternatives or were intended to be performed simultaneously in the original piece still remains in the strictest sense a problem, although it seems evident that neither the Paston nor the Gloucester copyist cared too much about this, and that having begun what they thought was a three-part piece, thought it worth copying to the end even when it became apparent that some mental activity in the form of either choice or adaptation was necessary.

'Igitur O Jesu' - Bar 44 - ena.

44

ni quos tu-i in sa-lu-ta-ta-mm Chri-sti vic-ti - -
 ma ob-la - - tus pre-ci-o-sis-si-mo

50

ma ob-la - - tus pre-ci-o-sis-si-mo im-macu-la-ti
 agni san-gui-ne tam ca-re-re-de-mi - - sti

60

re-de-mis-ti re-de-mis-ti re-de-mis-ti
 car-ni re-de-mis-ti re-de-mi - - sti

65

re-de-mis-ti re-de-mi - - sti

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