JOHN SADLER &
THE 'SADLER' PARTBOOKS
(Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Mus. e. 1–5)

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ABSTRACT

The so-called 'Sadler partbooks' (*GB-Ob* Mus. e. 1-5), owned and probably produced by the Anglican priest, schoolmaster and translator John Sadler (*b*.1513), are a prime musical source. All five of its volumes survive complete (but for one folio in one partbook, that did not ec, and its pages contain Latin-texted motets, a Mass setting, part-songs, and a textless *In nomine*. The paratext to Sadler's partbooks is also unusually rich: scattered among their musical contents are numerous inscriptions and illustrations. This study seeks to examine who John Sadler was; how he went about producing his music manuscripts, and why; and what has happened to his partbooks since.

Part One concerns John Sadler and his context. Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 re-examine the evidence for his identification: they seek to verify the known facts of his biography, and supplement them with new information in order to amplify our knowledge and understanding of his life. Chapter 5 summarises the evidence for and against whether Sadler actually produced the partbooks himself, or whether they were copied for him. Chapter 6 discusses Sadler's *In nomine*, and what we can learn from it: what distinguishes it from other settings, its general effectiveness, and the implications that Sadler's musical abilities might have had for the music in his partbooks.

Part Two deals with the partbooks themselves. Chapter 7 introduces the partbooks and their contents, and explores how they compare with other Elizabethan partbooks sets in terms of size, scope and represented composers. Chapter 8 considers how the partbooks themselves were assembled, from what sort of paper, how this was fashioned into booklets, and how pages were then pricked, ruled with frames and staves drawn in preparation for copying. Chapter 9 examines some of the partbooks' key attributes: aspects of their notation, ascriptions, titles, numbering systems and other finding aids. Chapter 10 considers how the partbooks were originally bound.

Part Three concerns the afterlife of Sadler's partbooks. Chapter 11 surveys the later owners of the volumes, the marks they made to them, and the sale history of the set. Chapter 12 examines how the partbooks came to be acquired by the Bodleian Library. Chapter 13 explains how the partbooks were re-bound and re-backed, and Chapters 14 and 15 deal with the volumes' subsequent restorations, reclassifications, and photographic history.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Alumni Cantabrigienses	Venn and Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1751* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922). Unless otherwise indicated, information is drawn from http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/acad/2016/search-2016.html [accessed 6 June 2016].
AS 1519	*Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, politissimis imaginibus decoratum. Pars Hyemalis* (Paris: impressum…per Wolffgangum hopylium, impensis Francisci Byrckman, 1519)
AS 1520	*Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum: vulgo pars Estivalis nuncupata* (Paris: impressum ... per Wolffgangum hopylium, impensis Francisci Byrckman, 1520)
Brev. Sar.	*Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum,* ed. by Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879–86)
Clergy Database	*Clergy of the Church of England Database.* Online resource at http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/ [accessed 6 June 2016]. References to the records of individuals are provided via a numeric person or location identifier (i.e. person 12345, or location 12345)
CS1575	Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575)
CS1589	William Byrd, *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (London: Thomas East, 1589)
DIAMM	*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*, online resource at www.diamm.ac.uk [accessed 6 June 2016]
EECM	*Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 1963–)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online resource at http://www.oxforddnb.com/ [accessed 6 June 2016]
STC	*English Short Title Catalogue*, online resource at estc.bl.uk/ [accessed 6 June 2016]
TCM	*Tudor Church Music*, 10 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, for the Carnegie Trust, 1922–9)

LIBRARY SIGLA

CH-SGS	St. Gallen, Switzerland, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen
CZ-Ps	Strahov Monastery Library, in the Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library, Prague, Czech Republic
D-Rp	Regensburg, Germany, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
GB-Au	Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library
GB-CF	Chelmsford, Essex Record Office
GB-Cgc	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library
GB-Cjec	Cambridge, Jesus College Library
GB-Cp	Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library
GB-Ctc	Cambridge, Trinity College Library
GB-Cu	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
GB-Eu	Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library
GB-Gu	Glasgow, Glasgow University Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Lghl	London, Guildhall Library
GB-LIcro	Lincoln, Lincolnshire County Record Office
GB-Llp	London, Lambeth Palace Library
GB-Lpro	London, Public Record Office
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Lv	London, National Art Library
GB-Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey Library
GB-NHro	Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office
GB-NWr	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
GB-Omc	Oxford, Magdalen College Library
GB-WIs	Winchester, Winchester College, Warden and Fellows Library
GB-WOKhc	Woking, Surrey History Centre

GB-WRec	Windsor, Eton College Library
GB-Y	York, York Minster Library
IRL-Dtc	Dublin, Trinity College Library
US-DAVu	California, University of California, Davis Library
US-LAuc	Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
US-LAur	Los Angeles, University of California, Special Collections Dept., University Research Library
US-NYp	New York, New York Public Library
US-PHf	Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia
US-PHu	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Libraries
US-Wgu	Washington, D.C., Georgetown University, Joseph Mark Lauinger Library
US-Ws	Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Original written sources have been transcribed without changing spelling, capitalisation or punctuation, apart from the spellings of names, which have been regularised. Expansions to abbreviations and contractions in Latin are signalled by the use of round parentheses; editorial additions to text are shown in square brackets. The spelling of composers' names is generally that preferred by *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edition, 2001); only when ascriptions are the focus of discussion are they rendered in Sadler's original orthography. The contemporary distinctions between italic, black letter and roman type in printed documents have not been retained.

Since the year in England began officially on 25 March (Lady Day) until the Calendar Act of 1752, dates which fall between 1 January and 24 March have been rendered with both the old and new year where necessary (i.e. 21 February 1556/7). All musical examples are given in original note-values and at original pitch; modern clefs have been used. Superscript horizontal brackets indicate ligatures. For purposes of brevity, voice-parts have been labelled with a single arabic number in order to indicate from which partbook they come.

Italic font has been used for the titles of individual works, including for Sadler's *In Nomine* (despite the fact that it is not actually given this title); this convention has been adopted so that readers may distinguish more clearly between the titles of specific pieces and textual quotations from them. Specific works are referred to with their standard title (even though the majority of works in the partbooks do not bear titles) and with a sequence number: these run from 1 to 42, and reflect the present position of a work in the volumes. However, some – but not all – pieces were allocated Roman numbers by Sadler, or by somebody acting on instructions: these run from 1 to 35, and begin at item number 4, and end at item number 38. The actual sequence number is always provided first, and followed by the Roman number where appropriate: i.e.: Tye's *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i).

The collective shelf-mark for the 'Sadler partbooks' is *GB-Ob* MSS Mus. e. 1–5; individual partbooks ought to be referred to in similar style (i.e. *GB-Ob* MS Mus. e. 1 for the first partbook, *GB-Ob* MS Mus. e. 2 for the second, etc.). For the sake of brevity, however, both the set and its individual partbooks are usually referred to by the shorter form of 'Mus. e. 1–5', or 'Mus. e. 1', 'Mus. e. 2' etc., without the prefix of the Bodleian Library siglum or the contraction 'MS'. Translations from Latin into English have been provided by Mr Tristan Franklinos, Trinity College, Oxford, unless otherwise indicated. The few transcriptions of material from the mundum books of King's College, Cambridge, were kindly supplied by Magnus Williamson, Newcastle University. All references to folios are given in terms of the foliation provided by the Bodleian Library; no original or other foliation exists.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My original research proposal for this project aimed to examine several Tudor manuscript sources. However, after reading David Mateer's article on John Sadler and his partbooks,[1] it became clear that Sadler's volumes had been the elephant in the musicological room for too long. As will be seen in the pages that follow, not a single image from the volumes was to be found online or in print; nor, it seemed, had the partbooks received more than a fleeting mention in any literature (Mateer's article excepted) – apparently because the partbooks had received restorative work in the 1970s, and had been generally off-limits to hands-on access ever since. It was David Mateer's work on Sadler and his books, then, that altered the course of my project at an early stage, and I am deeply grateful to him for his initial work. Moreover, many of the hares chased in my own work arose from Mateer's original readings of Sadler's biography and the volumes he is thought to have produced.

My second vote of thanks must go to Bruce Barker-Benfield, Early Modern Manuscripts Curator at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for granting me access to Mus. e. 1–5 when others were refused: without this access my work would have been impossible. I am also grateful to Dr Barker-Benfield for spending several days with me assisting in my examinations of the partbooks, and for patiently verifying my codicological (and other) observations.

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Few aspects of Sadler and his partbooks have escaped discussion with Julia Craig-McFeely, Katherine Butler and Christopher Ku, and I am grateful to all three of them for reading through drafts of my work at various stages; Julia Craig-McFeely even read through an entire draft shortly before submission. The Brudenell family allowed me to visit Deene Park (the home of Sadler's

[1] David Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', *Music & Letters*, 40 (1979), 281–95.

former patron, Sir Edmund Brudenell) to examine various documents, and I also record my thanks to James Lower for providing transport and hospitality on that day. Julia Craig-McFeely has hosted me on numerous occasions, and in good humour. I am also grateful for financial support I received from The Queen's College, Oxford (both in the form of a Hastings Senior Scholarship, and in the form of various travel grants), as I am to the Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, the Musica Britannica Trust, the Royal Musical Association, and the Walter Hussey Bequest.

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INTRODUCTION

The so-called 'Sadler partbooks' in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MSS Mus. e. 1–5) are one of the most important English sources for sacred Latin-texted music that survive from the latter half of the sixteenth century. Dated between 1568 and 1585, they comprise one of only a handful of sixteenth-century partbook sets that have not been depleted by the loss of one or more of their constituent volumes:[1] all five of Sadler's volumes survive together, and each is also internally complete. They contain 43 pieces of predominately Latin-texted music from some of Tudor England's greatest composers, ranging in date from Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521) to Thomas Morley (*c.* 1557–1602). Their contents include 38 Latin-texted motets, a setting of the Mass, three secular part-songs (two in English, one in Latin), and a textless *In nomine*.

Unusually for an English production, the paratext of Sadler's partbooks is particularly rich. Most volumes begin and end with some sort of ornamental page, and many pieces begin with a decorative initial. Sadler's pages are also peppered with inscriptions, the majority of which appear mounted in polychrome and often flamboyant banderoles, and there are also a number of illustrations. Sadler's volumes are therefore as important for their extra-musical contents as for the music they contain.

In contrast with the large number of sixteenth-century scribes and owners about whom nothing is known, John Sadler, whose name appears in various guises in each partbook, is a traceable individual. Information about his education and later career as a schoolmaster, priest, and as a published translator are recorded in a number of contemporary sources that enable us to form more than a basic impression of his life. His partbooks therefore provide an additional window not only onto his musical tastes, but his artistic and literary interests. The volumes also contain an *In nomine* ascribed to Sadler; this work tells us that he had more than a basic literacy in music. This has important implications for the efficacy of his partbooks as a musical source – especially given that they are generally considered to provide viable (but not necessarily authoritative) versions of the works they contain.

Despite their complete state, rich paratext, and connection to a traceable and musical individual, Sadler's volumes are blighted by the fact that many pages have suffered from the deleterious action of acidic ink. This has had disastrous consequences for many pages. At best, it has caused show-through from one side of a leaf to another, substantially hampering legibility; at

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[1] The other sixteenth-century partbook sets which survive complete – i.e. with all volumes extant, though not necessarily internally intact – are *GB-Lbl* Add. 17802–5 ('Gyffard'); *GB-Lbl* Add. 30480–4 ('Hamond'); *GB-Lbl* Roy. App. 12-16; *GB-Lbl* Roy. App. 45-8; *GB-Ob* Mus. Sch. e. 376–381 ('Forrest-Heather'); *GB-Ob* Tenbury 354–8 (Paston); *GB-Ob* Tenbury 369–74 (Paston); *GB-Och* 984–8 (Dow), *US-NYp* Mus. Res. [1-4] (Chirk Castle); *US-NYp* Mus. Res. Drexel 4180–5 (Drexel); and *GB-WIs* MS 153 (a set of four parchment partbooks under a single shelf-mark). This list is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

worst, the paper has entirely disintegrated, leaving holes. The partbooks are therefore in a generally very poor condition. Today, they sit closely guarded in the Bodleian Library, and are notoriously hard to access. Until very recently, the only way of viewing them was via an incomplete set of negative photostats, or a very poor quality negative microfilm. Because of this, Sadler's volumes have not yet been the subject of the type of more detailed study that has been made of many other partbooks of comparable date and musical content.[2] They therefore rank among the most neglected of music manuscripts from this period, instead of the most important.

Previous Scholarship

Unlike some partbook sets, Mus. e. 1–5 does not appear to have been examined by any of the early English antiquarians or music historians (they were not mentioned Burney or Hawkins,[3] so the owners of the partbooks in the 1700s were presumably not known to them). Everything written about Sadler's volumes, excluding the catalogues in which they were listed for sale, in fact postdates their acquisition by the Bodleian Library in April 1885. The first published account of the set was a short description and list of contents which appeared anonymously in *The Monthly Musical Record* of November 1885, though this was probably written by Falconer Madan.[4] Sadler and his volumes were then mentioned several times in Henry Davey's *History of English Music* (1895).[5] It was Davey who first pointed out that the ascription to a motet by Thomas Morley in Mus. e. 3 includes information that allows for the composer's year of birth to be conjectured –

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2 Detailed studies exist for the Forrest Heather, Peterhouse, Gyffard and Dow partbooks. See John D. Bergsagel, 'The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses', *Music and Letters*, 44 (1963), 240–8 and John Milsom (ed.), *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Music School e. 376–381 ('The Forrest-Heather part books')*, Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 15 (New York: Garland, 1986); Nicholas Sandon, 'The Henrican Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge (Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse Manuscripts 471–474): A Study, with Restorations of the Incomplete Compositions Contained In Them', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Exeter, 1983); Roger Bray, 'British Museum Add. MSS. 17802-5 (The Gyffard Part-Books): An Index and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), 31–50; David Mateer, 'The "Gyffard" Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 28 (1995), 21-50; David Mateer, *The Gyffard partbooks I & II*, EECM, 48 & 51 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007 & 2009); David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8: An index and commentary'. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 20 (1986–7), 1–18; John Milsom (ed.), *The Dow Partbooks: Introduction and Facsimile Edition* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010).

3 John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* 5 vols. (London: T. Payne, 1776); Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1776–1789).

4 [Falconer Madan?], 'An Interesting Relic', *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 (November 1885), 244.

5 Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1895), 57, 100, 106, 109, 114, 135, 150, 206. J. H. Mee mentioned the set in 1887, but only fleetingly, finding in the volumes 'a composition in this [madrigal] style, called "Good fellows must go learn to dance" by William Parsons, of whom I can find no certain information, but whom I conjecture, from the date of the writing and from the known dates of the other composers who appear in this MS., to have been a contemporary, possibly a relative, of Robert Parsons'. See J. H. Mee, 'Points of Interest Connected with the English School of the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 14 (1887), 145–72 (161).

something that was previously unknown;[6] Davey also observed that Sadler's set includes pieces by Tallis, White and Byrd, as well as music by much older composers such as Fayrfax and Aston, commenting that the volumes 'must have been the last case of the pre-Reformation composers finding a place in partbooks'.[7] In 1905 the volumes received coverage in the fifth volume of the Bodleian Library *Summary Catalogue*,[8] and further cursory mention of them was made in Stanford and Forsyth's *A History of Music* (1916).[9] The set was then quarried by various editors for the *Tudor Church Music* Series of editions, for which negative photostats of some pieces were produced,[10] and from the 1970s onwards nearly every work in the partbooks appeared in printed editions (though it is for the most part unclear as to whether the editors responsible for these volumes used the actual partbooks, the *TCM* photostats, or the microfilm of the set that was produced in the 1970s).[11] The various illustrations in the partbooks earned them a brief entry in *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (1973),[12] and another brief account of the set appeared in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources* (1979);[13] but detailed coverage of the volumes has been generally lacking.

Only one journal article deals specifically with Sadler and Mus. e. 1–5 at any length: it was written by David Mateer, and published in *Music & Letters* in 1979.[14] Mateer identified the Sadler named in the partbooks as a graduate of the University of Cambridge, a fellow of Jesus College, and then a Northamptonshire schoolmaster, translator, and priest. However, although Mateer's article is a mine of biographical information on Sadler, a number of gaps and overlaps between one phase of his career and another raised doubts as to whether the various achievements attributed to him were his alone, or whether they belonged severally to more than one person of the same name. Also problematic from a musicological perspective was that evidence of musical education, activity and contacts were conspicuously absent.

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6 The ascription to Morley's motet *Domine, non est exaltatum* (no. 34/xxx) at fol. 60v of Mus. e. 3 contains the words 'T. Morley aetatis suae 19 an^{o} domini 1576', thus enabling a birth year of *c.*1557 to be conjectured.

7 Davey*, History of English Music,*135.

8 Falconer Madan (ed.), *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 648–649.

9 Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth, *A History of Music* (London Macmillan and Co., 1916), 167.

10 The *Tudor Church Music* series of editions was published in 10 volumes by Oxford University Press for the Carnegie Trust between 1922 and 1929.

11 Only Hugh Benham is known to have personally examined the partbooks when preparing his various Taverner editions: see, for instance, Hugh Benham (ed.), *John Taverner: Four and Five-Part Masses*, EECM, vol. 35 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1989).

12 Otto Pächt & Jonathan James J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), no. 1202.

13 Herbert Kellman (ed.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, 5 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler Verlag, 1979–1988), vol. 2, 289.

14 David Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', *Music & Letters*, 40 (1979), 281–95.

Mateer's article did include some important information about the partbooks themselves: he described their physical characteristics (their dimensions, watermarks, etc.), suggested a chronology for their copying, and transcribed some of the inscriptions. But much of his focus was directed towards Sadler's potential reasons for producing the volumes. He suggested that the 'guilt-ridden and penitential tone' of many of the inscriptions in the volumes may portray Sadler's 'remorse at having abandoned the faith of his youth',[15] concluding that 'Sadler may well have asked to be received back into the Catholic faith'.[16] Some of these claims were later repudiated by John Milsom,[17] but many aspects of Sadler's volumes – the collation of the partbooks, the preparation of their pages for copying, Sadler's 'house-style' as a copyist, – have received little or no analysis.[18]

Although Mus. e. 1–5 is certainly linked in some important way to a John Sadler, doubts linger as to whether he produced the partbooks himself, whether they were produced under his direction, or whether he simply ended up owning or decorating them. David Mateer has already put on record that the Latin inscriptions on some decorative flyleaves might have been added by somebody other than Sadler, on the grounds that they contain a number of omissions and elementary spelling errors – mistakes that Sadler, who was educated in Latin and a published translator – would seem unlikely to have made.[19]

Other attributes of the partbooks also sustain similar questioning. Although the on-stave notation and underlay is generally consistent throughout the set, the partbooks are otherwise a mix of various clef designs, styles of item numbering, and scripts for ascriptions. Moreover, the generally neat notation appears on staves that are poorly drawn; but the polychrome banderoles into which many of these staves have been transformed are drawn and coloured with close attention to detail. In fact, many features of the partbooks raise doubts as to whether they were created by a single set of hands, or by several scribes acting in close collaboration. This possibility has only been raised in so far as the decorative material in the volumes, however, possibly because the disparity between some of these features can only be detected via hands-on time with the partbooks, and not via monochrome microfilm.

The partbooks also contain a number of marks that were clearly not coeval with their copying. These were most likely added by later owners of the partbooks; yet there has been no

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15 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 289.

16 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 289.

17 John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–79.

18 The placement of underlay in some sixteenth-century sources (including Mus. e. 1–5) has been considered in Christopher Ku, ''Aptlie framed for the dittie': a study of setting sacred Latin texts to music in sixteenth-century England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 2014). For the section on Sadler's volumes see pages 166–184.

19 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 287.

attempt to chart these later owners, or their interests, despite the fact that they have clearly had a bearing on the partbooks' present state. Some leaves are even in the wrong place, not only within each constituent partbook, but across the set as a whole. These marks, and the apparent disruptions to the volumes, suggest that a far more complex history than has yet been noticed underscores not only their compilation in the sixteenth century, but also their subsequent afterlife.

The only way of addressing the issues surrounding Sadler's identity and the questions of the partbooks' authorship is to start afresh on his biography, and to re-examine the context into which he fits. Other aspects of the partbooks – whether they were the work of more than one person, and what happened to them after Sadler's death, will have to await a future study. This dissertation therefore has three broad aims: to address who John Sadler was; how he went about producing his music manuscripts; and what has happened to his partbooks since.

Exclusions

This dissertation does not on the whole attempt to analyse the compositional procedure or merit of individual pieces contained in Mus. e. 1–5, except for Sadler's own *In nomine*, and occasionally other *unica*; for the most part, music is considered only as 'data'.

At the outset of this research project, it was envisaged that it would cover Sadler's second set of partbooks: a set probably originally of five volumes, of which only two survive: a *Medius* book, known as the 'Willmott' manuscript (privately owned), and a *Tenor* book, known as the 'Braikenridge' manuscript (now *GB-Ob* Tenbury MS 1486). These volumes, which are dated 1591, transmit a similar repertoire to Mus. e. 1–5, and their notation appears to have been copied by the same hand. They similarly contain a number of decorative initials and illustrations, but these are of a much higher quality. It became apparent that a survey of these volumes and the issues it would raise would require a whole dissertation in its own right, and not a mere chapter. I have therefore reserved substantive discussion of these volumes for a later date, though I do refer to these partbooks when necessary.

It was also intended that this study would compare copies of pieces in Mus. e. 1–5 with those that survive elsewhere, in order to ascertain (as far as practicable) the extent to which Sadler may have edited the music he copied. This would have necessitated discussion of a large number of works, as well as comparison of those works with several copies in other sources – including pieces which Sadler copied twice (both into Mus. e. 1–5 and into the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts). Because of constraints of space, this study has not been included here. Also excluded is much detail concerning the various initials, incipits, inscriptions and illustrations in the partbooks. A table of initials and inscriptions has instead been provided in the Appendix.

The saddest exclusion is a chapter concerning Sadler's motivations for copying his partbooks, and the contexts in which they might have been used. Unusually for an Elizabethan

partbook set, Sadler's books are littered with evidence of use – despite claims to the contrary.[20] Various marks in the volumes include numerous instructions to performers (apparently in Sadler's hand), as well as various small markings which indicate rhythmic divisions; numbers that explain ligatures; and numbers above large blocks of rests that were clearly added to assist singers in counting (if these were not added in the sixteenth century, then they must have been added by later users). Unfortunately, the section that dealt with these markings, and the ecclesiastical, school, or chamber settings in which the volumes could have been used demanded lengthy explanation in order to do them justice. Including that survey here would have inflated the work to unimaginable proportions. This work is reserved for a later date.

Much of the work done for this study had to be undertaken from poor quality photographs, taken with a handheld camera without the use of a tripod. Hands-on time with the actual partbooks was extremely limited. Now that the partbooks have been photographed at high resolution by the Bodleian Library photographic studios, under the aegis of the *Tudor Partbooks* project, it will be possible to examine Sadler's pages in far more detail than was possible for this study. Moreover, the digital reconstruction of ink-damaged folios will allow for even closer study of the set and its scribe(s), unhampered by show-through. I am therefore conscious of the fact that study of Sadler and his volumes will almost certainly begin rather than end with this dissertation, since the availability of these images via DIAMM and in print will invite closer palaeographical study of the set, and it is likely that new information will be forthcoming.

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[20] Hugh Benham claimed in 1981 that 'The partbooks [Mus. e. 1–5], which were carefully done with many attractive decorative features, show no signs of practical use'. However, the various marks in the volumes that demonstrate either that they were copied with performance in mind (assuming that the marks were provided when the volumes were copied), or that the books were later used (if the marks were added *following* performance), are not immediately obvious. They are also difficult to see on the Tudor Church Music photostats, which are in negative format, and almost impossible to detect via the very poor microfilms of the set. See Hugh Benham (ed.), *John Taverner II: Votive Antiphons*, EECM, 25 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), xiv.

Part 1

JOHN SADLER AND HIS CONTEXT

1. IN SEARCH OF SADLER

That a John Sadler is closely connected with *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 1–5 is immediately obvious to anybody who should turn through the partbooks' pages. The same name appears numerous times, and in various guises. It is a feature of the decorative leaves that flank the musical text in each volume (where it typically appears in a gothic *textualis formata*, in both Latin and English), which in one conspicuous case is given in a large majuscule script, coloured in a striking red. It also appears in a decorative cursive, sometimes with gold initials, in conjunction with the textless *In nomine* (no. 3) in the partbooks – the single piece ascribed to John Sadler – which originally had pride of place at the start of the volumes as a title page. The name is written at the head of some pages in a small secretary script; elsewhere it is inscribed on small banderoles beneath floral illustrations. The initials 'I. S'. are also depicted on bells which serve as a decorative letter 'M', and the letters of the name 'Sadler' have even been wrought into a monogram which for some pieces serves as a decorative letter 'A'.

Figure 1.1 Various forms of the name John Sadler: in full (*textualis formata*,[1] and in decorative and ordinary secretary script); as small initials on a bell; as a monogram (black and gold) in an abbreviated latin form 'J(o)h(a)n(ne)s'; and as an ascription to the *In nomine* (no. 3).



[1] It is not entirely clear whether this version of Sadler's name is intended to read 'Iohn' or 'I(o)h(a)n(ne)s': the mark above the letter 'N' may be a mark of contraction, or it might simply be decorative.

Although this same name in its various forms is to be found in the partbooks a total of 24 times,[2] the majority of these inscriptions give no details about who this John Sadler was. The several dates in the volumes (most of which appear to have been contemporaneous with the copying of the musical text) do at least indicate that we are dealing with a person who was alive between 1568 and 1585, and the single textless *In nomine* in the books, which is ascribed to John Sadler, suggest that we must be dealing with somebody educated to a reasonable extent in music.

Unfortunately this date range eliminates one John Sadler who would have been an immediately attractive candidate were it not for the fact that he was dead in 1564.[3] His pedigree is so tempting that it warrants summary (he is also a person to whom we return in the following pages). He was born in 1524 in Whitacre, Warwickshire, and would have been raised as a Catholic. Although he does not appear to have been a chorister,[4] from 1534 to 1538 he was a King's scholar at Eton College,[5] where he would have been in the company of ex-choristers from King's College, Cambridge and St George's Chapel, Windsor,[6] and where he would doubtless have heard Latin-texted music sung by the college choir (directed by the then *Informator Choristarum* Walter Ditty).[7] In 1539 this Sadler was admitted to a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, and in 1541 he was appointed to the fellowship; he then proceeded to take his BA in 1542/3 and his MA 1547.[8] Almost certainly he would have heard polyphony sung from the stock of 'pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys College in Cambryge';[9] perhaps he also knew Christopher Tye, who from March 1537 was a lay clerk at at King's (and who remained there until Michaelmas 1539).[10] This Sadler was then ordained subdeacon, deacon and priest on 19 April 1554,[11] and was

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2 The name appears five times in Mus. e. 1; seven times in Mus. e. 2; five times in Mus. e. 3; once in Mus. e. 4 (possibly a further time if the frontispiece to this volume was not lost); and six times in Mus. e. 5.

3 His death is confirmed in the register of Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, which records that the rectory of Dunton Wayletts, Essex (where this Sadler had been Rector since 1556) fell vacant by death of the incumbent on 18 April 1564. See *GB-Lghl* MS 9531/13.

4 Whether or not he was a chorister at Eton is uncertain: although some King's scholars were choristers, the college chorister lists for 1534–6 are missing, and this Sadler is not mentioned in the incomplete lists which survive for 1536–1538. See *GB-WRec* ECR 61/NR/8.

5 Wasey Sterry (ed.), *The Eton College Register, 1441–1698* (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1943), 291.

6 Choristers from King's College, Cambridge, St George's Chapel, Windsor (and elsewhere) were typically sent to Eton once their voices had broken. See Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010), 8.

7 Nicholas Orme, 'The early musicians of Exeter Cathedral', *Music & Letters*, 59 (1978), 395–410 (409); Williamson (2010), 11.

8 *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* person SDLR538J.

9 'An inventarye of the pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys College in Cambryge', produced in 1529, lists over twenty manuscripts including 'solemne antems off v partes', 'Sequenses and Taverners Kyries', and various other 'massys and antems', none of which are now known to survive. For a partial transcription see Frank Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1958), 431–3.

10 Nigel Davison, 'Tye, Christopher (*c.*1505–1571)', in *ODNB.*

11 *GB-Lghl* MS 9535/1–2 [Bishop of London Ordination registers, 1550–1628], unfoliated.

appointed rector to the parish of Dunton Waylletts, Essex, on 10 November 1556.[12] This would have placed him eight miles from Ingatestone Hall and only four miles from Thorndon Hall, the homes of the musical Petre family. Sir William Petre (*c.*1505–1572) had connections to the choristers of St Paul's Cathedral,[13] and his son, John Petre (1549–1613), was a supporter of William Byrd throughout his career, and his 'very good friend' by the early 1580s.[14] The Petres collected and maintained instruments and employed musicians; but they also had music copied for them and accrued other manuscript and printed music.[15] This Sadler would therefore have been in easy reach of potential exemplars for his partbooks – belonging both to the Petre family and possibly to their associates – as well as nearby singers and instrumentalists.[16]

Thanks to the research of David Mateer, we know that the John Sadler inscribed so variously and colourfully in the partbooks' pages was a man with a career as a schoolmaster and priest. He was educated in the University of Cambridge (he supplicated for a BA in 1537/8 and an MA two years later), and from 1539 he was a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1546 he was nominated to the fellowship of the newly-founded Trinity College, Cambridge, but instead took up a career as a school teacher, and by 1548 he was schoolmaster of Fotheringhay grammar school, Northamptonshire. In 1554 he took up a similar position at Oundle grammar school, less than four miles away, and in 1556 he became the first headmaster of the re-founded 'Free Grammar School of Sir William Laxton, Knight and Alderman of London' (commonly known now as Oundle School). Like the Sadler of King's, this Sadler was also a priest, though an Anglican one:[17] in 1568 he was instituted as rector to the parish church of Sudborough, Northamptonshire (some eight miles from Oundle), a position he held until 1584. This Sadler was also learned in Latin: he was responsible for the first English translation to appear in print of Vegetius' *De re militari* – a Roman treatise on warfare, published in 1572.[18]

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12 *GB-Lghl* MS 9535/1/12 [Bishop of London Institutions], fol. 468v.

13 C. S. Knighton, 'Petre, Sir William (1505/6–1572)', in *ODNB*; F. G. Emmison, *Tudor secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London: Longmans, 1961), 42.

14 Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 219.

15 See David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 83–91; John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 198–201; David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E. 423', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996), 21–46. For an inventory of Petre's music made in 1608 see *GB-CF* D/DP E2/1. John Petre also owned *GB-CF* D/DP Z6/1 and D/DP Z6/2.

16 The Petres, for instance, were connected by marriage to Lord Edward Somerset (*c.*1550–1628), Earl of Worcester, and the patron of Byrd's 1589 *Cantiones*; he, with his son, accumulated 'one of the best music libraries in England' at their house in London (where Byrd had a 'private lodging'). See McCarthy, *Byrd,* 236, and Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection', in *William Byrd and his Contemporaries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 31–59 (54).

17 Assuming, of course, that this Sadler was not ordained a Catholic priest and was later conforming; the Sadler of King's, however, was doubtless ordained (in 1554) under the Latin rite.

18 John Sadler, *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1572). This was not the first English translation: a manuscript English translation was made *c.*1408 by a John Walton (*c.*1483–*c.* 1485). See *GB-Lbl* Royal 18 A XII.

It was this translation that first caused the key details of Sadler's biography to be established in *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (1861). This summarised his two degrees from Cambridge, his fellowship of Jesus College, his nomination to the fellowship of Trinity College, his appointment to the parish of Sudborough, and his translation of *De re militari*.[19] These details were then repeated in the first edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1897),[20] and in shorter form in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1898).[21] In 1958, the full extent of Sadler's teaching career – his tenure as schoolmaster of Fotheringhay grammar school, Oundle grammar school, and then the re-founded Oundle School – was revealed by G. W. Walker,[22] even though Sadler had been known, at least in name, to military historians for decades through his translation.[23] It was only in 1979, however, that David Mateer connected the John Sadler of Oundle School with Mus. e. 1–5. This connection hangs on a single inscription on a banderole beneath a floral illustration in the left-hand margin to fol. 32v of Mus. e. 2. It reads 'iohn sadler grocer', in small script.

Figure 1.2 Detail of floral illustration in the left-hand margin of fol. 32v of Mus. e. 2, bearing the words 'iohn sadler grocer' at its base.



[19] Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1861), 203. Sadler's entry cites Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, vol. 15 [1543–86] (London: A. & J. Churchill: 1713), 108 and John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, vol. 2 (London: Thomas Payne, 1791), 255, presumably because these volumes already list some Northamptonshire clergy among whom Sadler is mentioned.

[20] Thompson Cooper, 'Sadler, John', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 50 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1897), 104.

[21] John Venn & J. A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part 1, vol. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1927), 2.

[22] G. W. Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools* (London: The Grocers' Company, 1953), 21–4.

[23] Mentions of Sadler's translation appear to date back as far as the seventeenth century, though none of the authors that refer to it attempt to ascertain who Sadler actually was. For a summary of publications in which Sadler's translation is mentioned see David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603–1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 38, 44.

The post-nominal designation of 'grocer' tells us that this John Sadler must have been associated in some way with the Worshipful Company of Grocers, London. Although no records of his admission as a member or liveryman to that company can be found,[24] only the John Sadler of Oundle School can be connected with it, albeit obliquely, in the sixteenth century. This connection concerns the re-founding of Oundle grammar school in 1556 by the bequest of Sir William Laxton (*d.*1556), a prominent member of the Grocers' Company. Laxton's will stipulated that the new school was to be administered by the Grocers' Company in perpetuity. Since Sadler served the re-founded school as its first headmaster for some 18 years from 1556 to 1575, he was probably admitted to the Grocers' Company out of recognition for his service to the school.

Mateer's connection of the partbooks with this John Sadler appears to make absolute sense. The will of Sir William Laxton states clearly that the headmaster of the re-founded Oundle school was to be 'an honest, vertuous, and learned schoolmaster, being a Master of Arts',[25] and only the John Sadler who had gained an MA from Cambridge in 1540/1 was qualified and old enough to take the job.[26] The fact that this Sadler appears to have spent his entire working life within the same six square miles of rural Northamptonshire also helps to account for the presence of music in his partbooks by Osbert Parsley and Thomas Morley – music which in the sixteenth century appears to have been restricted almost entirely to circulation in East Anglia and its neighbouring counties.[27]

However, some aspects of this Sadler's biography are less than secure. *Athenae Cantabrigienses* claims that he supplicated for his BA in 1535/6 as a member of Corpus Christi College; the printed edition of *Alumni Cantabrigienses* claims that he supplicated for it in 1536–7, but questions his college membership, suggesting that he was possibly a scholar of Christ's College. Further confusion is added by the third edition of *Athenae Oxonienses* (1815), which claims that the Sadler responsible for translating *De re militari* in 1572 was 'educated for a time in Oxon, in grammar and logic', making no mention of Cambridge at all.[28] These inconsistencies

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24 A James Sadler, former apprentice of Hugh Morgan (1584), and a Thomas Sadler, former apprentice of William Abbott (1598), were the only Sadlers who are known to have been appointed to the Grocers' Company in the sixteenth century. See *GB-Lghl* Grocers' Company Index to Freemen, 1500–1600.

25 A transcription of Laxton's will may be found in Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 54–8.

26 The Sadler of King's died in 1564, and is therefore eliminated. The next John Sadler to enter Cambridge was admitted to Magdalene College in 1564; therefore he cannot have been headmaster of the new Oundle school from 1556. In Oxford, the earliest John Sadler to receive a degree supplicated for a BA from Magdalen College on 8 February 1620/1. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* person SDLR564J and *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1297–1322 [accessed 21 January 2015].

27 May Hofman, 'The survival of Latin sacred music by English composers, 1485–1610', vol. 2 (unpublished doctoral, University of Oxford, 1973), 43.

28 Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses: an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, third edition, ed. by Philip Bliss (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1813), 408–9.

raise doubts as to whether all of the achievements attributed to this John Sadler – not an uncommon name in the sixteenth century – were his alone, or whether they belonged severally to more than one person of the same name.[29]

Even though Mateer's findings on Sadler's life were subsequently refined in an entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,[30] several questions remained unanswered. There were no records of his birth, ordination, or death. There were also some glaring gaps between one phase of his career and another. For instance, Sadler was apparently nominated to the fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1546, but appears not to have taken up his place there; he is next to be found as a schoolmaster in Fotheringhay in 1548, with no clues as to his whereabouts in the intervening two years. Sadler was also appointed rector of Sudborough in 1568, while simultaneously holding the full-time job of headmaster of Oundle School until 1575, despite the fact that Sudborough and Oundle are some eight miles apart. This is no short journey – especially given that the rectory of Sudborough, in the reign of Elizabeth, would presumably have required the incumbent to be resident (this is discussed more fully below). This overlap of posts and the distance between them further undermined confidence in whether the Sadler credited with both of these positions was in fact the same person.

More troublesome was that, unlike the Sadler of King's, this Sadler's biography included no *prima facie* evidence of musical education or activity other than the presence of the *In nomine* in the partbooks which is ascribed to him. Not one of his biographers offered any suggestion that he was exposed to music as a child, or in later life. Evidence of proximity to musical individuals, through whom exemplars might have been obtained, and/or with whom performances might have been mounted, was also conspicuously absent. By the standard of existing biographical accounts, Sadler lived in a musical vacuum.

The following pages consequently view John Sadler's biography afresh. Biographical sources are re-examined (and where possible reproduced); some claims made in existing commentaries are corrected, as well as augmented with new information. Particular attention is paid to Sadler's likely day-to-day existence and connections, since evidence of these in previous accounts was penumbral. Reference is also made at various stages to Sadler's implied conformity to England's doctrinal oscillations, since his partbooks have been referred to as a 'recusant

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29 No less than 632 genealogical events are listed for the name John Sadler between the years 1500 and 1600 on https://familysearch.org [accessed 21 January 2015]. John was the most popular christian name throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; nor is the matter of identifying the right John Sadler assisted by the Elizabethan propensity for fathers naming their sons after themselves, and for giving the same name to living siblings (see Scott Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming Patterns in England, 1538–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 56–60; 191–6). Any attempt to link a John Sadler to the man of that name who is connected to the production of Mus. e. 1–5, without some firm evidence to place him or his family in a specific location, would be rash.

30 N. P. Milner and David Mateer, 'Sadler, John (b. 1512/13, d. in or after 1591)', in *ODNB*.

manuscript',[31] and because certain illustrations and inscriptions have been construed variously as reflective of his 'remorse at having abandoned the faith of his youth',[32] or as symptomatic of his desire to be 'received back into the Catholic faith'.[33] One commentator went as far as to say that Sadler might indeed have returned to the Catholic faith, despite retaining his job as an Anglican priest, and that this apparent smokescreen put him beyond suspicion.[34] Charting exactly how John Sadler might have come to convert from the Roman Catholic faith of his birth to a priest of the reformed Protestant church by 1568 is therefore vital in building up a panorama of his life and career, and an important part of the context into which he and his partbooks fit.

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31 Hilary Gaskin, 'Music Copyists in Late Sixteenth-Century England, with Particular Reference to the Manuscripts of John Baldwin', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1985), 28.

32 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 289.

33 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 289.

34 Judith Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages: The Willmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts of Latin Tudor Church Music, 1591', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 75 (1995), 311–38 (333).

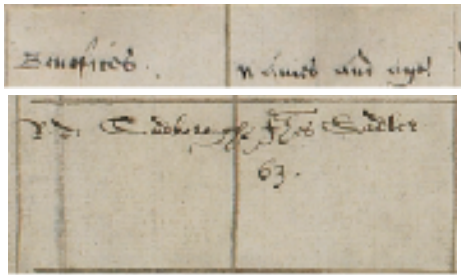
2. EARLY YEARS & CAMBRIDGE

Birth and formative years: *c.*1513–1534

Almost everything about Sadler's early years remains shadowy. No records of his birth or baptism can be found: the registration of natal events in England did not begin till *c.*1538 at the earliest, and the parish registers of Fotheringhay, Oundle and Sudborough (the three locations in which Sadler worked and where he may have been born) survive only from 1557, 1626, and 1661 respectively. Nor do we know anything of his family,[1] their background, or their location. The fact that Sadler attended university should not necessarily signal that he was from a wealthy or well-connected family: a large number of university students in the early sixteenth century were apparently 'from a low and base parentage'.[2]

It was David Mateer who first conjectured an approximate year for Sadler's birth. He has drawn attention to an episcopal survey of the Oundle deanery, of which Sudborough was part, and which is thought to have been produced in 1576. It lists John Sadler ('Joh(ann)es' Sadler') as priest of the parish of Sudborough, and gives his age as 63 years.[3] Assuming that the information contained in the survey is accurate, we can deduce that he was born in about 1513.

Figure 2.3 Part of the episcopal survey of the Oundle Deanery, diocese of Peterborough, *c.*1576 (*GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r) listing John Sadler, priest of Sudborough, as 63 years of age.



G. W. Walker expressed scepticism at this year of birth. He reckoned that Sadler must have been born somewhat earlier than 1513, on the grounds that he retired as rector of Sudborough in February 1584, when, according to Walker, he would have been only 62.[4] Opposing concerns are

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1 A John Sadler of Benefield, a village some three miles from Oundle, paid 20s. in lay subsidies for the year 1525. This cannot be the John Sadler of Oundle School, since he would have been too young; whether he was any relation to this is not known. See *GB-Lpro* E 179/155/134.

2 John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), 89.

3 *GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r, cited in Mateer 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 281.

4 Walker does not give reasons for this assertion, though it presumably stems from his belief that Sadler must have been older than 62 in order to retire when he did. Walker had sight of *GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, since he refers to 'the visitation of 1576 [which] he [Sadler] was reported to aged sixty-three'. See Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 83.

raised by the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts (also copied or owned by Sadler): they contain initials and illustrations of much higher quality than those encountered in Mus. e. 1–5, but are dated 1591 – at which point Sadler would have been about 78. If Sadler produced these books himself, then they therefore suggest a birth later than 1513. In fact the survey which gives Sadler's age as 63 is not itself dated: its approximate date of 1576 was provided by Lambeth Palace,[5] but this appears to be accurate. Robert Linacre, who is listed in the survey as rector of Southwick, was instituted to that parish only on 2 August 1576;[6] and Robert Hicks, rector of Tansor, is listed as being 41; this is commensurate with the fact that his will, dated May 1601, gives his age as 66.[7] Possibly Sadler gave the wrong age to whoever compiled the survey;[8] or perhaps the compiler of the survey made a mistake (it is too neat to have been taken round every one of the 38 parishes of the Oundle deanery and filled in, and is likely to be fair copy). But in the absence of any firm competing evidence, a birth year in or around 1513 is the best for Sadler that can offered. The salient point to be made, however – even if he was born as many as ten years either side of 1513 – is that Sadler would have been raised in the Catholic faith.

Searches for evidence of Sadler's schooling fare even worse than for evidence of his birth. No records of his attendance at a chantry or grammar school can be found, and we can only guess at the extent of Sadler's formative education because the general curriculum of early sixteenth-century schooling beyond Latin and literature is poorly documented.[9] The music tutor Thomas Whythorne (1528–1595) claimed that he learned to read, write, and 'also to sing Muzik' in his local elementary school,[10] but whether this was a common practice in elementary schools, or whether the same was true of Sadler we cannot tell. The possibility that he received any private musical tuition at home also remains a mystery.

BA, University of Cambridge: 1534–1537/8

Only in 1537/8, when Sadler would have been 24 years of age, do we reach documentary *terra firma*. The Grace Books of the University of Cambridge record that he supplicated for a BA there

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5 The survey was originally assigned a date of 1591, but this was revised to 1576 on the rather unclear basis that 'John Sadler had resigned Sudborough by 1584; Edmund Brucknell [sic?]] was dead by 1585'. See the *Lambeth Palace Database of Manuscripts and Archives* online at http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk [accessed 21 January 2015].

6 See *Clergy Database*, person 143929.

7 See *GB-Npro* prob/11/99. It is not possible to work a date *before* which the survey was completed, since all of the priests listed appear to have served their parishes for several years afterwards.

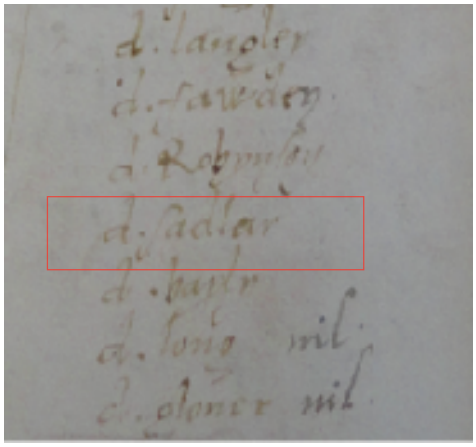
8 William Byrd is thought to have given the wrong age in his will of 15 November 1622, which states he was 80 (three years older than in fact he was), despite claiming the putative 'perfect memory'. See Harley, 213. Elizabethans are not in any case renowned for knowing their ages: birthdays (except for the Queen's) did not carry the personal importance that they do today.

9 Rosemary Day, *Education and Society, 1500–1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982), 3.

10 James M. Osborn, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 7.

that year. Grace Book **Γ** reveals that Sadler was permitted take his degree after twelve terms of study,[11] from which we can deduce that he would have been admitted to the university in 1533/4 at the age of about 20 years.[12] This is a little later than the typical early Tudor matriculation age of 15–17.[13] The Proctors' accounts in Grace Book β tell us that Sadler supplicated in the Lent Term of 1537/8,[14] in a cohort of 35 'determinatores' (some of whom were later to distinguish themselves in state or ecclesiastical careers).[15] These persons together paid a total of 58s. 4d. to the University Chest for the privilege; Sadler presumably paid a share of 20d. in order to supplicate.[16]

Figure 2.4 The name 'd[ominus] Sadlar' among the list of 35 'determinatores' in *GB-Cu* Grace Book β, 584, who supplicated for the BA in the Lent Term of 1537/8.



[11] *GB-Cu* Grace Book **Γ**, 323.

[12] This is the only document that enables us to calculate when Sadler would have arrived in Cambridge, since University matriculation registers were not instigated until 1544 (correspondence with Jacqueline Cox, Archivist, University of Cambridge).

[13] Alan Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 20–21. A matriculation age a little later than the Tudor norm should not necessarily suggest some sort of evidential or conjectural error: John Sheppard (*c.*1515–1558) is likewise thought to have matriculated at the University of Oxford at about the same age. See Magnus Williamson (ed.), *John Sheppard: Hymns, Psalms, Antiphons and other Latin polyphony*, EECM, 54 (London: Stainer & Bell. 2012), xi.

[14] *GB-Cu* Grace Book β, 584. This supplication date is correctly transmitted in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and by David Mateer, but the year is incorrectly cited as 1534/5 in *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*. See Venn and Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses* … part 1, vol. IV, 2; Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 283; Milner and Mateer, 'Sadler, John' in *ODNB*; Cooper and Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2, 203.

[15] Sadler's cohort included Edmund Grindal (*d.*1583), who would become Bishop of London, Archbishop of York and Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Elizabeth I, and Walter Haddon (1514/5–1572), the humanist and reformer who was heavily involved in church and university affairs under Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Elizabeth I. See Patrick Collinson 'Grindal, Edmund (1516x20–1583), archbishop of York and of Canterbury' and Gerald Bray, 'Haddon, Walter (1514/15–1571)' in *ODNB*. Haddon would also examine a student with Sadler, as will be seen in the pages below.

[16] After about 1501, the Proctors' accounts do not specify the sum (or 'communae') paid by each individual in order to supplicate; instead they indicate only an aggregate sum paid by the entire cohort. See Mary Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book B: Containing the Proctors' Accounts and Other Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1488–1511* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vii.

Unfortunately the Grace Books do not indicate Sadler's college. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* record that he was 'perhaps' a scholar at Christ's College in 1536, and that he may have supplicated for his degree as a member of Corpus Christi College.[17] However, no college records exist in Christ's College for the 1530s to corroborate whether Sadler was ever a scholar there,[18] and neither does any evidence exist to suggest that he later supplicated as a member of Corpus Christi College.[19] It has been claimed elsewhere that BA supplicants were listed in the Grace Books by college:[20] if this was the case with Sadler's cohort, then it would seem that he was a member of St John's (Fawden and Bayly, the names which appear either side of him bar Robynson, were members of that college).[21] But no evidence survives in that college to show that Sadler was ever a student there – despite the fact that St John's records survive from the early sixteenth century onwards.[22]

As a BA student, Sadler would have followed the arts course: this comprised the subjects of the *Trivium* – a series of lectures and exercises in the rudiments of grammar, logic, and rhetoric.[23] In 1534, this included study of works of classical literature; in the third year students moved on to logic, and in the fourth year philosophy.[24] Sadler cannot have been in Cambridge longer than a year, however, before his course was altered to a theological syllabus inspired by Christian humanism – a result of the initial phases of the Reformation. Injunctions issued in 1535 called for the study of Greek and Hebrew, and for theology based on the Bible, and medieval

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17 Venn and Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*… part 1, vol. 4, 2; Cooper and Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2, 203. This information was also reported in turn in Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 281.

18 Records for Christ's College date only from 1560 (correspondence with Dr E. S. Leedham-Green, Archivist, Christ's College, Cambridge). This erroneous information has also contaminated John Peile, *A Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 22, in which Sadler is likewise listed as a scholar for 1536/7.

19 No records for Corpus Christi College exist prior to 1544 (correspondence with Dr E. S. Leedham-Green, Ancient Archivist, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge).

20 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (Yale University Press, 1997), 20.

21 'Langley' probably refers to Thomas Langley of Jesus College (later priest); 'Fawden' must refer to Thomas Fawden, who in 1537 was elected to newly-founded St John's College; 'Robynson' is probably William Robinson (college not known); 'Bayly' is Thomas Bailey, Fellow of St John's College in 1538; 'Long' is John Long of King's and fellow there from 1536; 'Glover' is Robert Glover of King's. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, persons LNGY535T, FWDN537T, RBN537W, BLY543T, LN533J and GLVR533R respectively.

22 Various documents for St John's survive from 1511 onwards, including registers of membership, but these do not list John Sadler. Absence of evidence should not be taken as evidence of absence, however. The copyist Robert Dow (1553–1588) was apparently a student of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; although he is not to be found listed in any of that college's documentation (even though this survives from the start of the sixteenth century), one of three letters that he wrote to Lord Burghley, dated 1573, is signed 'Oxoniae in Collegio Corporis Christi', suggesting that he was a student of that college. See *GB-Lbl* MS Harely 1234, fol. 12, and James Burke, 'Dow, Robert', in *Grove Music Online* [accessed 12 June 2016].

23 J. Bass Mullinger, *A History of the University of Cambridge* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), 87.

24 MacCulloch, 20.

scholastic textbooks, which had been used by students since the start of the sixteenth century, were cleansed in favour of contemporary humanist texts.[25] The new syllabus of 1535 included instruction in logic, arithmetic, geometry, and philosophy.[26]

Sadler's arrival in Cambridge in 1534 also coincided with a number of watersheds in England's religious doctrine. In 1531, the convocations of Canterbury and York had granted Henry the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church of England', and in the spring of 1533, his marriage to Katherine of Aragon was annulled; Anne Boleyn was then crowned queen in June. From July 1533, bishops, courtiers, members of parliament, and London clergy were required to swear an oath that accepted the King's supremacy.[27] Little of this can have affected Sadler. But on 2 May 1534, Cambridge University signed a declaration which decreed that the bishop of Rome has no greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop. All members of the University were then required to give oaths of succession to the mayor of Cambridge and to the Bishop of Ely; this presumably included Sadler, who must have been in Cambridge from the Lent term of 1534.

A few months later, in November 1534, parliament passed an Act of Supremacy which confirmed that Henry was 'the onely supreme [head] in erthe of the Churche of England callyd Anglicana Ecclesia'.[28] A new profession was then sought from the University. Only the profession made by Gonville Hall (dated 9 March 1535) survives,[29] but it is enough to show that colleges were required to reject papal authority, swear the oath of succession, and make their institutional professions, which included an acknowledgment of Henry's supremacy. At the visitation of 1535, in which the Cambridge syllabus was altered, another oath – this time with new clauses concerning sovereignty of the King over the Church rather than the pope – was sought from the University itself, from each college, and from each individual scholar.[30] Thus Sadler, despite being

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25 The 'approved' authors specified were George of Trebizond (for Greek grammar), Philipp Melanchthon (Latin grammar), Rudolf Agricola (1444–1485) (rhetoric) and Aristotle (philosophy). Books banned by the Injunctions were scholastic commentaries by Duns Scotus, Walter Burley, Antonio Trombetta (*d.* 1518), Thomas Bricot and Stephan Brulifer (*d.c.*1499). James Heywood (ed.), *Collection of Statutes for the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1840), 201.

26 F. Donald Logan, 'The First Royal Visitation of the English Universities, 1535', *English Historical Review,* 106 (1991), 861–888 (863). Logan also lists music as a subject studied for the BA after 1535, but it has not been possible to find any evidence that corroborates this claim.

27 For full account of these oaths see Jonathan Michael Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 102–20.

28 Stat. 26 Hen.VIII c. 1.

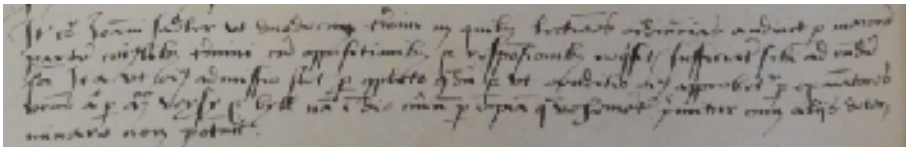
29 The University's original profession is *GB-Lbl* Additional Charter 12827 (a copy of it is *GB-Lbl* Harleian MS 7041, fol. 193). The profession of Gonville Hall was printed in Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, and of Waltham Abbey with the Appeal of Injured Innocence*, ed. by James Nicols (London: Thomas Tegg, 1840), 164–6.

30 It pledged never to: give faith or obedience to the pope despite any earlier profession; enter into a treaty with anyone who was attempting to restore papal jurisdiction; appeal to the pope' reveal any letters they received from him to the king; send letters to the pope in return without the consent of the king; seek or consent to any papal bulls or dispensations, etc. See Gray, 102–20.

raised in the Catholic faith, would have been required to renounce papal jurisdiction probably three times within a few months of his arrival in Cambridge.

Sadler eventually came to supplicate for his BA in the lent term of 1537/8 (this would have required the administration of a further oath, bringing the count up to four). Grace Book **Γ** reveals that his supplication was not entirely straightforward, since he was permitted to supplicate for his degree only by virtue of a special resolution. Sadler, it would seem, did not have enough money to pay for his supplication, and could not be examined on Ash Wednesday.[31]

Figure 2.5 *GB-Cu* Grace Book **Γ**, 323, recording Sadler's BA supplication in the lent term of 1537/8.



It(em) co(nceditu)r Joan(n)i Sadler ut duodecim t(e)rmini in quib(us) lectio(n)es ordin(a)rias audiuit p(er) maiore(m) parte(m) cui(us)lib(et) t(e)rmini cu(m) oppositionib(us) (et) respo(n)sionib(us) requisit(is) sufficia(n)t sibi ad r(espo)nd(end)u(m) q(uesti)o(n)i ita vt ei(us) admissio stet p(ro) (com)pleto g(ra)du (et) vt eruditio ei(us) approbet(ur) p(er) exa(m)i(n)atores v(est)ros a(u)t p(er) m(agistro)s Veysy (et) Byll na(m) i(n) die cin(eru)m p(er) i(n)opia(m) q(ua) veh(e)m(e)nt(er) premitur cum aliis determinare non potuit.[32]

Whether or not Sadler was ordained by the time he progressed to his BA is uncertain: none of the University's documentation refers to him as a priest,[33] and nor is his name listed in any ordination registers for the diocese of Ely.[34] Also unclear is whether Sadler spent any time in Oxford while reading for his degree. Philip Bliss, Keeper of the Archives in the University of Oxford from 1826–1857, claimed that the Sadler who translated *De re militari* was 'educated for a

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31 Ash Wednesday was the usual time at which supplicants would be examined in the Lent term; see Damian Riehl Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge,* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 100. On the poverty of students in sixteenth century universities see Cobban, 29–30.

32 'Likewise it is granted to John Sadler that the twelve terms in which he heard the ordinary lectures through the greater part of each term with the required oppositions and responsions should suffice for him to respond to the question, so that his admission should stand for the whole degree, and also that his erudition should be appraised by your examiners or by masters Veysy and Byll since he could not determine on Ash Wednesday through lack [of money], in which he is strongly pressed'. 'Veysy' must refer to John Vesey (*d.*1567), who received a BA in 1532/3, an MA 1536, and who from 1532 was a fellow of Pembroke College (he is the only man of that name in the Grace Books). The 'Byll' listed almost certainly refers to the William Byll, or Bill (*d.*1561) who received a BA in 1532/3 and an MA 1536. From 1535 he was a fellow of St John's College, and went on to a distinguished career as Master of St John's from 1547–51, Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1548–49, Master of Trinity College from 1551–3 and again from 1558–61, and Provost of Eton and Dean of Westminster in 1559.

33 The Grace books typically refer to candidates who are ordained with the word 'presbitero'. See, for instance, the BA supplication of William Bowghe in 1542/3, where the candidate is referred to as 'Gulielmo Bowghe presbitero'. *GB-Cu* Grace Book Δ, fol. 2r.

34 Confirmed in correspondence with Peter Meadows, Keeper of Ely Diocesan Records, Cambridge University Library.

time in Oxon. in grammar and logic',[35] without specifying supplication for any degree there. Although the notion that a Cambridge student might spend some time in Oxford is a credible one,[36] in Sadler's case this seems unlikely: he was apparently hard pressed financially, and had difficulties finding the money to pay for his supplication. Nor has it been possible to locate the evidence on which Bliss based his claim.[37]

MA: University of Cambridge: 1537/8–1539/40

The next fact of which we can be certain is that Sadler proceeded to supplicate for an MA in 1539/40. The MA syllabus, untouched by the visitation of 1535, followed the *Quadrivium*. This comprised the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.[38] It is not clear exactly what form this music instruction took, but it is thought to have been mathematical:[39] it apparently included 'notational practice…and rhetorical practice in the lists of rhetorical devices', but not any practical instruction or training in composition.[40] Therefore Sadler's musical abilities, as demonstrated by his *In nomine*, cannot be attributed to this training alone.[41] However, Sadler must have been aware of, if not involved with, musical activities in Cambridge while a student.[42] Although we have no way of proving that Sadler was ever exposed to Latin-texted sacred music in his childhood, almost certainly he would have encountered it in Cambridge while a student.

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35 Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses: an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, third edition, ed. by Philip Bliss, vol. 4 (Oxford: Lackington, Hughes, et al., 1820), 407.

36 The process of 'incorporation' was designed specifically to allow those who had been educated elsewhere to enter the University of Oxford at the same rank; nor was it unusual for students to spend time in both Oxford and Cambridge, whether it be for a couple of weeks or several terms (this was often done both by English students and foreign students in England). See Hilary Perraton, *A History of Foreign Students in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 30.

37 Oxford's matriculation registers were not instigated until 1564, and registers of subscription at graduation were begun only in 1660 (correspondence with the Archives of the University of Oxford).

38 The requirements of the MA are outlined in Leader, 102–70.

39 N. C. Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958), 189–90. Cambridge does seem to have been ahead of Oxford in awarding music degrees: the first reference to the MusB is in *c.*1546, and by this time there was apparently a 'separate [music] faculty… with its own personnel'. But nothing further is known about these personnel, nor does Cambridge appear to have offered lectures in music. See Carpenter, 197, and John Caldwell, 'Music in the Faculty of Arts', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3, ed. by James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), 210–12 (205).

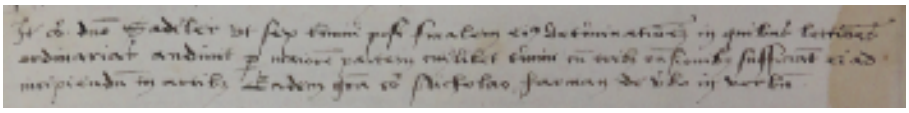
40 Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', *Music & Letters*, 76.1 (1995), 1–18 (2).

41 Leader, 143. Whether or not Sadler excelled in music while a student is unclear. There is no evidence to show that he supplicated for any of the higher (music) degrees: he was what Thomas Whythorne called an 'uncommenced' musician – a musician without a BMus or DMus. See Osborn, 302.

42 Evidence of music provision in specific colleges at the start of the sixteenth century is regrettably scarce, but the larger colleges certainly had choirs, some of which, like King's, would have sung Latin-texted polyphony of the sort found in Mus. e. 1–5. See Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music in Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1546–c. 1646* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993). Christopher Tye was resident in Cambridge in the 1530s (he supplied for the degree of BMus in 1536, and in 1537 took up a position as a lay clerk at King's college, as already indicated), but whether Sadler ever heard his music, or met him, we do not know.

Although no evidence of Sadler's individual assessment survives, we can assume that he kept residence in Cambridge following his initial supplication for the BA in order to attend the further lectures of the *Quadrivium,* and that he duly completed assessment for the degree in order to supplicate. Grace Book β confirms that Sadler supplicated for the MA in the Lent term of 1539/40, and therefore six terms after he supplicated for his BA, in a group of 20 students who together paid £5 to the University.[43] We can therefore assume that Sadler paid a share of 5s. in order to supplicate. Grace Book **Γ** provides a further record of Sadler's supplication:

Figure 2.6 *GB-Cu* Grace Book **Γ**, 169a, recording Sadler's MA supplication in the lent term 1540/1.



It(em) co(nceditu)r d(omi)no Sadeler [sic] ut sex t(e)rmini post finalem ei(us) determinatio(n)em in quibus lectio(n)es ordinarias audiuit p(er) maiore(m) partem cui(us)libet t(e)rmini cu(m) tribu(s) re(spon)sionibu(s) sufficia(n)t ei ad incipiendu(m) in artibus…[44]

Unlike the supplication for his BA, Sadler's MA supplication required no special pleading owing to his financial situation. But it would have required another oath attesting to the King's supremacy; therefore Sadler would have been required to refute papal authority possibly for a fifth time.[45] How seriously such oaths should be taken as indicative of one's religious stance is of course uncertain: Sadler might have acquiesced simply in order to avoid punishment.[46] But nearly everything about the climate in 1530s Cambridge suggests that he would have been immersed in Protestant thinking. Lectures on the Lutheran movement in favour of Protestantism were held regularly in the town as early as 1525 (despite the 'strenuous' initial efforts of the University to suppress them),[47] and in 1534 the Vice chancellor of the University, Dr. Haynes, and Dr. Skyp,

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43 *GB-Cu* Grace Book β, 326–327.

44 'Likewise it is granted to Mr. Sadler that the six terms after his final determination in which he heard the ordinary lectures through the greater part of each term with the three responsions should suffice for his inception in arts…'

45 One contemporary commentator, John Bradford (1510–1555), documents the various oaths he took in his career: 'Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors cam thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death.' See George Townsend (ed.), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, vol. 7 (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1963), 151.

46 Sir Thomas More was famously arrested and imprisoned for refusing to take a similar oath in April 1534. See Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 27. On those who swore the oath despite harbouring Catholic sympathies see Ethan H. Shagan, 'Confronting Compromise: the schism and its legacy in mid-Tudor England', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 49–68.

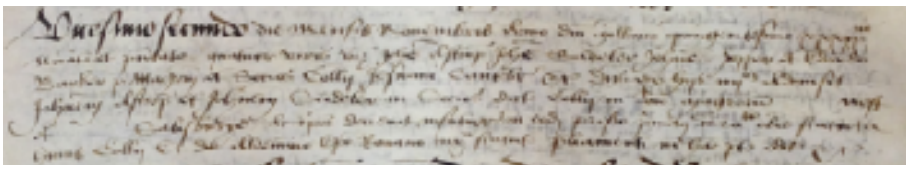
47 C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 311.

later Bishop of Hereford, were dispatched from the court to Cambridge in order to preach in favour of the King's supremacy.[48] There then followed a series of occasions on which he was to essentially deny the Roman Catholic faith of his birth. The circumstantial evidence surrounding Sadler's student days in Cambridge is therefore heavily tilted in the direction of conversion to the Protestant church.

Fellowship: Jesus College, Cambridge: 1539–1546?

About six months before he supplicated for his MA, Sadler was elected to a fellowship at Jesus College, Cambridge.[49] An entry in the register of Thomas Goodrich (1494–1554), Bishop of Ely from 1534, and patron of the college,[50] yields more detail about the election than has hitherto been reported. It certifies that Sadler was admitted to the fellowship of Jesus College on 22 November 1539 in place of a Robert Salisbury, who appears to have resigned his position to seek ordination.[51] November 1539 therefore marks the earliest date at which Sadler's college can be ascertained; if he was previously a student at St John's, then he must have migrated to Jesus.

Figure 2.7 *GB-Cu* Ely Diocesan Records G/1/7, fol. 127r, recording the election of John Sadler to the fellowship of Jesus College, Cambridge, on 22 November 1539.



Vicesimo secundo die mensis Novembris Anno d(o)m(ini) mill[es]imo quingentesimo xxxix^{mo} No(m)i(n)at(is) et prefat(is) quatuor viris viz Joh(ann)e Astrop Joh(ann)e Sadeler [sic] Joh(ann)e Hopper et Edw(ar)do Barker per Mag(ist)r(u)m et Socios Coll(eg)ii Jesuani Cantebr(igiae) et d(omi)n(u)s ex hiis iiii^{or} Admisit Joh(an)nem Astrop et Joh(an)nem Sadeler in Socios dict(i) coll(eg)ii in loco mag(ist)roru(m) West et Salisburye…[52]

Jesus College, like other Cambridge colleges, was originally an academic chantry. Founded in 1500 by John Alcock (*c.*1430–1500), Bishop of Ely from 1486 to 1500, it occupied the site of a derelict Benedictine nunnery and consisted of a master, six fellows and several

48 This letter is transcribed in Cooper, 366.

49 This cannot be the John Sadler of King's: he was a scholar of his college in 1539 and was appointed to the fellowship there only in 1541; the Sadler at Jesus was on the books there until 1546, as will be seen.

50 The Bishop of Ely, as patron of the colleges of Peterhouse, Jesus and St John's, was required to give his assent to the elections of fellows.

51 Robert Salisbury was appointed an acolyte in 1529/30, and in 1541 become Rector of St Peter & St Paul, Olney, Buckinghamshire. It seems that he was ordained some time between 1539 and 1541; he is not described as a priest in any surviving University or college documentation. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person SLSY518R.

52 '22 November 1539: John Astrop, John Sadler, John Hopper and Edward Bishop, having been nominated and proposed by the Master and Fellows of Jesus College for admission to Fellowships, the Bishop admitted John Astrop and John Sadler to be instituted as fellows of the said college in place of [Richard] West and [Robert] Salisburye…'

scholars. In return for board, lodging and sometimes a stipend, they were to celebrate Masses and other services for the benefit the King and other members of the royal family, and for the Bishop of Ely and his successors (under whose aegis the college functioned). Unusually for a Cambridge college, Jesus had inherited parochial responsibilities: its large chapel served not only as a centre for collegiate worship, but also as parish church. Part of the nave was reserved for the use of parishioners, and a curate was chosen from the fellowship to look after them.[53] From 1507, the college also incorporated a grammar school that taught four boys.

Although it was founded in 1500, Jesus College's first statutes were issued only in 1515, by James Stanley (*c.*1465–1515), Alcock's successor, and Bishop of Ely from 1506 to 1515. These statutes include some provision for music. Services were sung by four boys (*pueri*), who were to be under the age of 14, and who attended the college grammar school; they were supplemented with four older students who were already trained in singing (*juvenes*), one of whom acted as organist.[54] Unfortunately these statutes changed prior to Sadler's arrival. Nicholas West (1461–1533), Stanley's successor, and Bishop of Ely from 1515 to 1533, issued new statutes apparently in 1517:[55] these replaced the four *pueri* and four *juvenes* with eight *discipuli* (university students trained in basic singing); there was no longer any provision for an organist. Thus the standard of music at the college may have deteriorated before Sadler arrived.[56]

Although they may have sapped singing provision, West's statutes did stipulate that fellows were to be 'adequately instructed in singing' (*in cantu competenter instructos*), prior to their admission,[57] though this presumably referred to an ability sufficient for singing chant, not necessarily polyphony. Therefore Sadler must have had some singing ability, and could presumably read plainsong notation by the time he was admitted to Jesus College as a fellow in November 1539 – even though no evidence his education in music can be found beyond his study of the *Quadrivium*. Whether polyphony was ever sung at Jesus in Sadler's time is not known: the earliest reference to polyphonic musical material at the college dates only from 1557/8, when a small set of partbooks was procured for the chapel at a cost of 10d.[58]

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53 For the foundation of Jesus, and on its parish, see Arthur Gray and Frederick Brittain, *A History of Jesus College Cambridge* (Cambridge: Silent Press, 1988).

54 Ian Payne, 'Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, c.1557–1679', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 76 (1987), 97–103 (97).

55 The statutes are undated, but a date of *c.*1517 was put forward in Gray and Brittain, 21–36.

56 Payne, 97.

57 John Lamb, *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge,* vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 98, 104.

58 Payne, 97. After 1557, the college also acquired psalters, a communion book, Mass books, antiphoners, books of pricksong and sheets of blank (though presumably ruled) manuscript paper. See Lyndan Warner, 'Fellows, Students, And Their Gifts To Jesus College Library, 1496–1610', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11.1 (1996), 1–48 (7).

West's statutes required that the fellows, students, and boys of Jesus College should attend chapel on Sundays and feast days when present in Cambridge (*pueris Collegii in villa presentibus*),[59] but everything else about Sadler's time at Jesus is a matter for speculation. Sadler's name does not reappear as a supplicant in the University Grace Books, and nor would he have been required to be ordained in order to take up a fellowship. The letters patent that founded Jesus College restricted its fellowship to five 'priest fellows' and a Master – all of whom were to be ordained prior to their admission;[60] but the configuration of the fellowship was altered by Bishop West: his revised statutes allowed for five 'priest fellows' and three lay fellows; thus the original requirement that fellows were to be ordained was relaxed.[61] The fact that Sadler's predecessor, Robert Salisbury appears to have resigned *his* fellowship in order to seek ordination suggests that Sadler's fellowship might have been a lay fellowship. Sadler is never described as a priest in any college or university documentation.

There is no evidence to suggest that Sadler was ever involved with the Jesus College grammar school, which was functioning from 1507 onwards, even though he would later adopt a career as a schoolmaster. According to West's revised statutes, the Jesus schoolmaster was to be 'an honourable man of good morals ready to impart his knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, logic, the oratorical arts, the poetical arts and mathematics' – very similar qualities to those that were expected of the headmaster of Oundle school at its re-foundation in 1556.[62]

A record of Sadler's involvement in the assessment of a degree examination is to be found in Grace Book Δ, however. It lists a 'Master Sadler' as the determinator for the BA examination of William Bowghe, who supplicated in 1542/3. Whether this record refers to the John Sadler of Jesus is uncertain, since no Christian name or college is stipulated. Bowghe's supplication does at least date from a year after which Sadler had received his MA, however, which would have qualified him to teach in college, give lectures in the University, and presumably examine degree candidates (the Sadler of King's did not receive his MA until 1547).[63] Further credence is supplied by the fact that William Bowghe was also a member of Jesus College; his eventual will describes him as a 'priest and pencyonary of Jesus'.[64] This suggests that the determinator in his assessment may have been the John Sadler of Jesus; perhaps he came to examine Bowghe as a senior member of the college to which they both belonged.

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59 Payne, 97.

60 A. Gray (ed.), *The Earliest Statutes of Jesus College, Cambridge issued by James Stanley, Bishop of Ely A.D. 1514–1515* (Cambridge: n.p.,1935), 61–2.

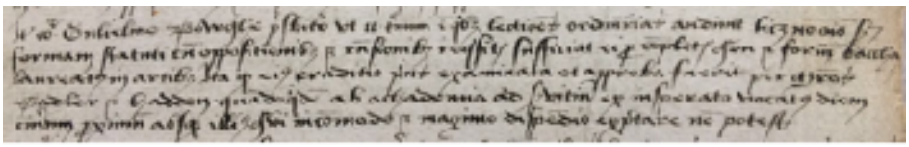
61 Cooper, 247–8.

62 *GB-Cjc* MSS STA 1.1 'Statuta Collegii Jesu Cantabrig'. See the sections 'De preceptore gramatices et eius hostario' and 'De pueris collegij exhibendis'.

63 Bass Mullinger, 25.

64 *GB-Cu* Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court, Will Register I, fol. 66: Will of William Bowghe, 1543.

Figure 2.8 *GB-Cu* Grace Book Δ, fol. 2, listing Sadler as the examiner to William Bowghe, 1542/3.



It(em) co(nceditu)r Gulielmo Bowghe p(re)sbit(er)o ut 11 termini in q(ui)b(u)s lectiones ordinarias audiuit lic(et) no(n) o(mn)i(n)o s(ecundum) formam statuti cu(m) oppositionibus et r(espo)nsionib(us) req(ui)sit(is) sufficiat ei p(ro) co(m)plet(is) g(ra)du (et) forma bachalaureat(us) in artib(u)s ita q(uod) ei(us) eruditio p(ri)us examinata et approba(ta) fuerit per m(agis)tros Sadler et Haddon…[65]

The Jesus College rent accounts reveal hitherto unnoticed information about Sadler's residence in college. Completed probably in July each year,[66] and expressed usually in negative terms (i.e.. 'not received') since lodging was presumably included in a fellowship,[67] they show that Sadler originally occupied a room to the east of cloister court, usually at a rate of 10s. per annum. This is certainly the case for the year 1539–40. But the rents for 1540–1 record that Sadler continued to occupy a room at the same rate, and also state that he was himself responsible for the rent of an additional 'lower' room beneath it, at a cost of 3s. 4d. A year later this use of a single 'lower' room increased in price to 6s. 8d. for the year, and was also supplemented by the use of a 'middle' room at the same price, though Sadler apparently retained his 'upper' room at a cost to the college of 10s. The rolls for 1542-3 show that this lower room was for the use of a 'student of Master Sadler', while at other times Sadler may alternatively have used these additional rooms for teaching.

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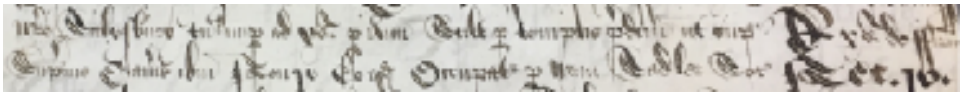
65 'Likewise it is granted to William Bowghe, priest, that the eleven terms in which he heard the ordinary lectures, although not altogether according to the letter of statute, may, with the requisite examinations and answers, thus suffice for him in the fulfilment of the degree and of the status of a Bachelor of Arts, once his knowledge has first been examined and deemed suitable by Masters Sadler and Haddon…' The Haddon listed here is probably Walter Haddon (1515–1572): BA 1537/8 and MA 1541 – a civil lawyer who would serve under Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Elizabeth I. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person HDN533W. Walter Haddon was also in Sadler's cohort of 35 'determinatores' who supplicated for a BA in the Lent Term of 1537/8.

66 The Bursar's rolls for each academic year are undated; this estimate was provided by Mr Robert Athol, Archivist of Jesus College, Cambridge.

67 Negative amounts received simply allow for the accountant to show his discharge from all potential as well as actual income.

Figure 2.9 Rents paid for John Sadler's rooms at Jesus College, Cambridge, 1539–1546.[68]

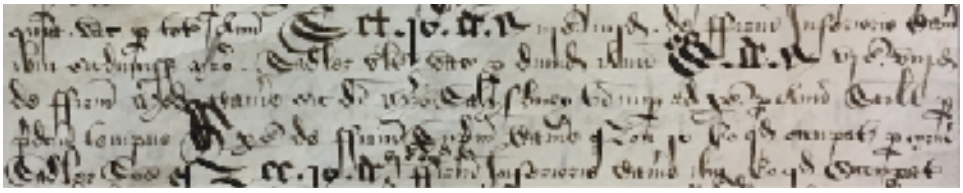
1539–40



…x^{s} de ffirma sup(re)me cam(er)e ib(ide)m non r(espondet) eo q(uo)d occupat(ur) p(er) m(a)g(istru)m Sadler soc(ium)…

…he does not account for the rent of 10s. for the upper room there because it is occupied by Master Sadler, fellow…

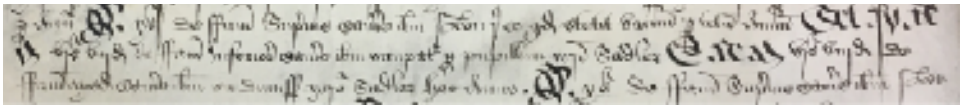
1540–1



… set r(espo)n(det) de iii^{s} iiii^{d} de firm(a) inferioris cam(ere) ib(ide)m sic dimiss(um) m(agist)ro Sadler st(eti)t uac(uum) p(er) dimid(ium) anni …
… x^{s} de firm(a) sup(re)m(e) cam(er)e non re(spo)n(det) eo quod occupat(ur) p(er) m(agist)r(u)m Sadler soc(ium)…

…he does not account for the payment of 3s. 4d. for the rent of the lower room there thus let to Master Sadler; it stood empty for half of the year …
… he does not account for the payment of 10s. for the rent of the upper room, because it is occupied by Master Sadler, fellow…

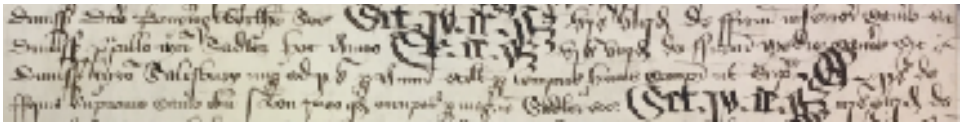
1541–2



… set r(espo)n(det) de vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) inferior(is) cam(er)e ib(ide)m occupat(ur) p(er) pupillum m(a)g(istr)i Sadler [et?] vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) med(ie) cam(er)e ib(ide)m sic dimiss(um) m(a)g(istr)o Sadler hoc anno [et?] x^{s} de firm(a) sup(re)me cam(er)e ib(ide)m non r(espondet) eo q(uo)d occupat(ur) p(er) m(a)g(istru)m Sadler soc(ium)…

…he does not account for the payment of 6s. 8d. for the rent of the lower room there, occupied by a student of Master Sadler; [and?] for 6s. and 8d. for the rent of the middle room there thus let to Master Sadler for the year; and he does not account for the payment of 10s. for the rent of the upper room there, because it is occupied by Master Sadler, fellow…

1542–3



…set r(espo)n(det) de vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) inferior(is) cam(er)e sic dimiss(um) pupillo m(agist)ri Sadler hoc anno. et de vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) medie cam(er)e sic dimiss(um) m(agist)ro Salisbury nup(er) ad x^{s} p(er) annu(m) scil(ice)t p(er) tempus huius comp(ot)i ut sup(ra) (Et) x^{s} de firma supreme cam(er)e ib(ide)m non r(espondet) eo q(uo)d occupat(ur) p(er) mag(ist)r(u)m Sadler soc(ium)…

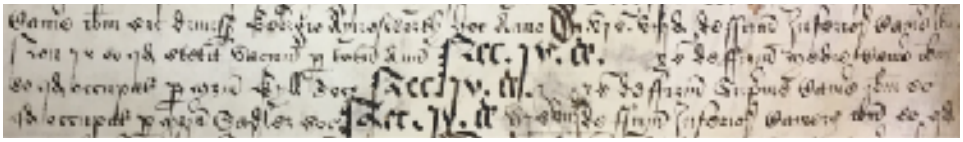
…he does not account for the payment of 6s. 8d. for the rent of the lower room thus let to a student of Master Sadler for the year; and for the rent of the middle room thus let to Master Salisbury recently for 10s. a year, naturally for the period of his possession as above; and he does not account for the payment of rent for the upper room there, because it is occupied by Master Sadler, fellow…

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[68] The Leonard Gyll who is mentioned in the rent accounts was a fellow of Jesus College *c.*1535-47. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person GL522L.

1543–4 [Roll Missing]

1544–5 [Roll Missing]

1545–6 

…vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) inferior(is) cam(er)e ib(ide)m non r(espo)n(det) eo q(uo)d stetit vacuu(m) p(er) totu(m) ann(um). nec r(espo)n(det) de x^{s} de firm(a) medie cam(er)e ib(ide)m eo q(uo)d occup(at)ur p(er) m(agist)r(u)m Gyll soc(ium). nec r(espo)n(det) de vi^{s} viii^{d} de firm(a) sup(re)me camere ib(ide)m eo q(uo)d occupat(ur) p(er) m(agist)r(u)m Sadler soc(ium)…

…he does not account for the payment of 6s. 8d. for the rent of the lower room there, because it stood vacant for the whole year. He does not account for the payment of 10s. for the rent of the middle room there, because it is occupied by Master Gyll, fellow. He does not account for the payment of 6s. 8d. for the rent of the upper room there, because it is occupied by Master Sadler, fellow…

1546–7 [Roll Missing]

1547–8 [Roll present, but **no mention of Sadler**]

Other documentation that sheds light on Sadler's time at Jesus College now resides in the Cambridge University Archives, though the information it contains is purely anecdotal. William Bowghe, the man whom Sadler almost certainly examined in 1543, died in September that year, and bequeathed money to Jesus College. His will, dated 25 September 1543, left 3s. 4d. to the 'poore pupils' in Jesus college, to be 'dealt amongst them'. Every scholar received the sum of 4d., and every fellow, the sum of 8d.[69] Since Sadler was a fellow of the college in 1543 he was presumably a beneficiary (though he is not listed by name in Bowghe's will).

Additionally, Sadler is named in the probate inventory of Oliver Ainsworth, a fellow of Jesus College who had been appointed in 1530, and who died in 1546.[70] Sadler appears in a list of 'Credita' along with John 'Astrope' (who had been admitted to the Jesus fellowship on 22 November 1539, with Sadler) and a Hugh 'Benyngworth', both of whom had occupied adjoining rooms to Sadler on the eastern side of Cloister Court.[71] Sadler appears to have owed Ainsworth 13s. 11d. at his death in 1546.[72]

This list also reveals that Sadler had three further students (none of whom are listed in the Jesus College rent accounts, perhaps because they lived in hostels rather than in the college

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69 *GB-Cu* Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court, Will Register I, fol. 66: Will of William Bowge, 1543.

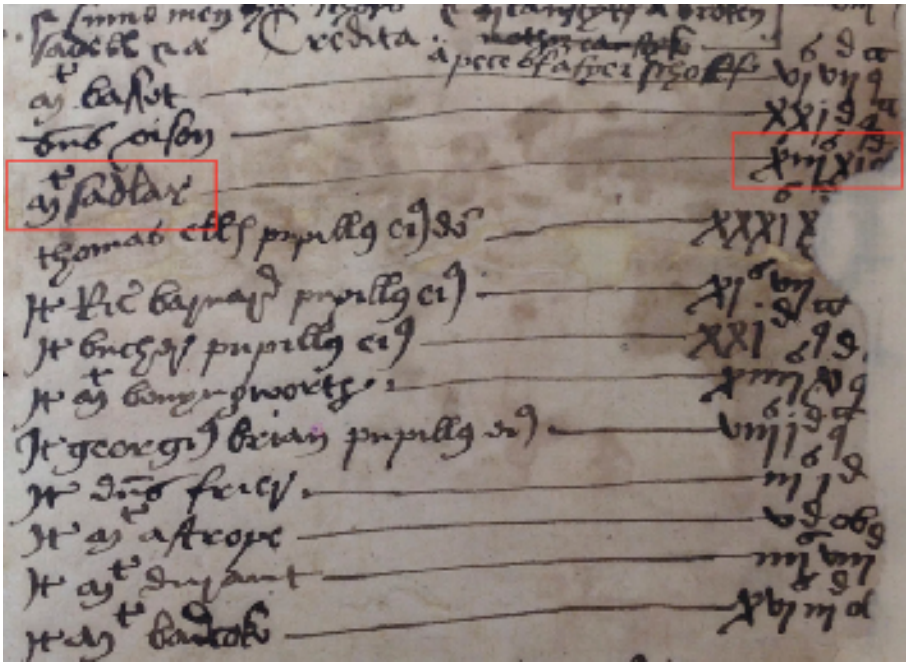
70 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person ANST529O.

71 *GB-Cjec* Bursar's rolls, 1542–43. On John Astrope and Hugh Benyngworth see *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, persons ASTP533J and BNNT541H respectively.

72 'Credita', here, presumably means money owed to Ainsworth, and not vice versa, which would be 'debita' (I am grateful to Elisabeth Leedham-Green for her guidance on this matter). The fact the Sadler had borrowed money from Ainsworth is of course correlate with the fact that he had supplicated for his BA with an apparent financial shortage.

precincts).[73] Their names appear to be Thomas Ellis and Ric[hard] Barnard, and possibly Bucher (without Christian name); each of these names is followed by the words 'pupillus ei(us)de(m)' or 'pupillus ei(us)', in order to indicate that they are pupils of Sadler's. Thomas Ellys matriculated as a pensioner of Jesus at Easter 1545;[74] Richard Barnard may be the person of that name who was, like Sadler, listed in the 1546 Charter of Foundation for the newly established Trinity College;[75] and Bucher is probably the Richard Boercher [sic.?] who matriculated as a sizar from Jesus in the Michaelmas term of 1546.[76] None of these persons appear to have supplicated for a degree, however, and neither can any of them (except for Barnard) be traced in their subsequent careers.

Figure 2.10 A list of *Credita* from the probate inventory of Oliver Ainsworth (*GB-Cu* Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court, Probate Inventories, Oliver Ainsworth, 1546, listing Sadler as owing him 13s. 11d.



Westminster Studentship: 1539–1545

Although the Jesus College Bursar's rolls (and Ainsworth's probate inventory) contain important information about Sadler's accommodation and reveal that he had several students, they tell us nothing about his stipend. Other fellows seem to have received an emolument of 8s. per quarter (£1. 12s. per annum) – a very small amount, since the value of a fellowship consisted mainly of the right to occupy a room in college and an allowance for commons. But Sadler's name is absent

73 Leader, 45–8. See also Cobban, 10–11.

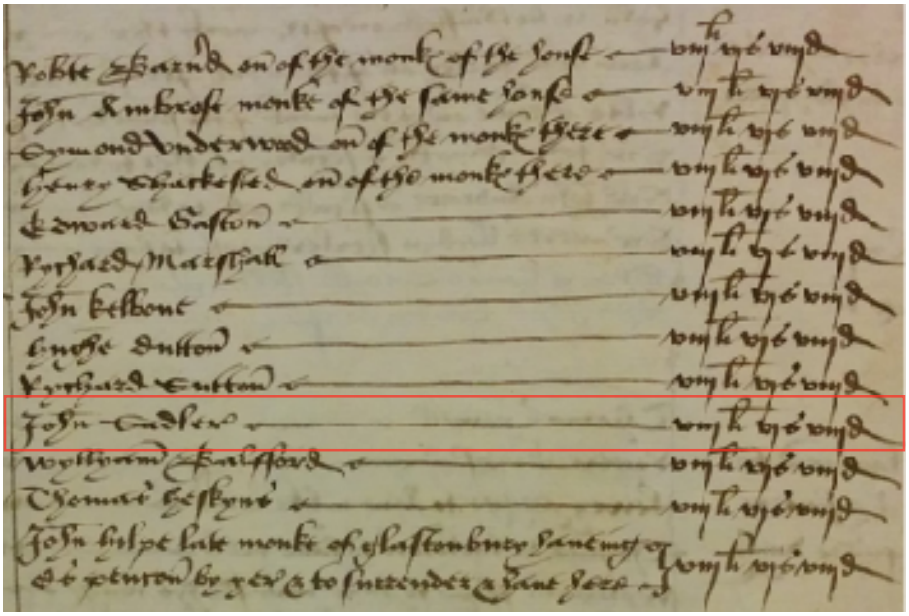
74 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person ELS545T.

75 *GB-Ctc* Charter of Foundation [without shelfmark]: see 'Ric(ardu)m Barnarde'.

76 This is, at least, how the name is spelt in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person BRCR546R.

from these payment lists.[77] The name John Sadler is to be found listed as the beneficiary of a studentship that started shortly before the dissolution of Westminster Abbey in 1540, however. A list of accounts, entitled 'The allowances to the collegiate Church of Westminster',[78] lists a John Sadler as one of 'XX students to be taught and found at Oxford and at Cambridge', each of whom were to receive a large annual stipend of £8. 6s. 8d. The accounts are undated, but probably date from late in 1539.[79]

Figure 2.11 Part of fol. 3r of *GB-Lbl* MS 40061, listing a John Sadler as one of 'XX students to be taught and found at Oxford and at Cambridge'.



These studentships were a result of Henry VIIIs dissolution of the monasteries, at which many monastic institutions were re-founded as cathedrals with secular chapters. Each 'new' cathedral was endowed with funds to provide a grammar school (if it didn't already have one), and to support a certain number of students at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[80]

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77 See the Bursar's rolls at *GB-Cjc*. Jesus College stipends are also discussed in Gray and Brittain, 74.

78 *GB-Lbl* add. MS 40061, fols. 1–6 [this collection of documents is known as the 'Redgrave Hall Papers'].

79 *GB-Lbl* add. MS 40061, fol. 3r. Date of document provided in private correspondence with C. S. Knighton, on the basis that they were drawn up in preparation for the dissolution of the Abbey.

80 The move to endow funds for these purposes was apparently owed to the expectation that the dissolution of religious, collegiate and chantry foundations begun by Henry VIII 'would provide considerable resources for social and educational advancement'. The circumstances are set out in detail in C. S. Knighton, 'The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII', in *Close Encounters: English Cathedrals and Society, 1540 to 1640*, ed. by D. Marcombe and C. S. Knighton (Nottingham: University of Nottingham Press, 1991), 18–42. The Abbey already had some interaction with the Universities at the start of the sixteenth century. In 1503 Margaret Beaufort had endowed the Abbey with estates for the purposes of funding the Lady Margaret praelectorships and readerships in each University (and subsequently the Lady Margaret preachership in Cambridge). In 1504 Henry VII provided for three graduate monks to serve his chantry foundation and for three others to be maintained on exhibitions of £10 a year at Oxford. See Cooper, 271–2; G. Dyer, *The Privileges of the University of Cambridge,* vol. 1 (London: Longman & Co., 1824), 103–4.

Westminster Abbey was re-founded as a cathedral church with a bishop (Thomas Thirlby), a dean and twelve prebendaries, and provision was made for the support of twenty university students. Whether or not the John Sadler listed as one of these students is the John Sadler of Jesus College is debateable, since the accounts in which he appears do not specify his college. Indeed, the Sadler of King's would seem a more likely candidate. In 1539 he had not yet received any degrees, whereas the Sadler of Jesus had already supplicated for his BA (1537/8). The statutes which governed the studentships also stipulate that they were to be awarded only to 'poor scholars' who were between the ages of 15 and 20.[81] In 1539, the Sadler of King's was about 19; but the Sadler at Jesus, if he was indeed born about 1513, would have been about 26. The fact that Sadler was a fellow of Jesus in 1539 would also seem to make him an unlikely beneficiary.

The statutes for these scholarships were in fact delivered late to the re-founded institutions that awarded them. They were issued only in 1544 or 1545, by which time the scheme had been running for some five years; meanwhile a number of awards had been made to individuals who were more senior in age or status than the statutes had in fact envisaged. By the time the scheme started in 1539, three of the Westminster beneficiaries were already BAs, and six were MAs.[82] The fact that Sadler held a fellowship at Jesus from November 1539 does not rule him out either: although sponsored students were not supposed to be fellows of colleges, at least two other men listed (Richard Marshall and John Hilpe) were.[83] In fact, for reasons to be outlined more fully below, only the John Sadler who would later be appointed to the fellowship of Trinity College can have been the beneficiary of the Westminster scholarship, and only the Sadler of Jesus College can have been appointed to the fellowship of Trinity College because he was the only man of that name with an MA at the time.[84]

The fact that Sadler was nominated for a studentship from what became the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's obviously begs the question of how he came to be selected for it, since no obvious connection between Westminster and Jesus College or its fellows in the 1540s can be found. Candidates for studentships were typically selected from those who had some association with the institution that sponsored them; in the case of Westminster Abbey, they were drawn from departing or former members of the almonry grammar school, or from the monastic foundation itself.[85] The most obvious inference to be drawn here is that Sadler may have been educated at

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81 Knighton, 26.

82 Only two graduated BA and three MA before the scheme was cancelled in 1545: see C. S. Knighton, 'Collegiate foundations, 1540 to 1570, with special reference to St Peter in Westminster' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1975), 408–10.

83 Richard Marshall was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1538; John Hilpe *alias* Markes, was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford from 1538. See C. S. Knighton, 'The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII', 39.

84 Two documents dating from the foundation of Trinity college in 1546 refer to Sadler as having an MA: see below.

85 Knighton, 'The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII', 26.

Westminster's almonry grammar school – a possibility made all the more tempting given that nothing certain is known about his origin or schooling. No evidence survives to attest to any prior relationship between Sadler and the Abbey, however, and exactly how he came to be selected as beneficiary for the studentship remains open to speculation.[86]

Even though Sadler is likely to have had some sort of connection with Westminster Abbey in order to be nominated for his studentship in 1539,[87] he may not have maintained it. Students are not thought to have kept in touch with their paymasters, despite the largesse from which they benefited: when the Dean and Chapter were invited in 1545 to report on the operation of their university studentships, they admitted that 'what every of the said scholars do profess the said Dean and Chapter cannot tell'.[88] Thus there is no proof that Sadler maintained contact with Westminster later in life, even though it had a choir school from 1560, and Robert White was choirmaster there from 1570 – music by whom appears in Mus. e. 1–5. Therefore the nature of Sadler's connections to Westminster must remain a mystery, as must the possibility that he ever obtained exemplars from that institution.

Fellowship: Trinity College, Cambridge: 1546–1548

All existing accounts of Sadler's career agree that in 1546 he was elected to the fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge, which was founded on 19 December that year by Henry VIII. A 'Joh[ann]em Sadler' is indeed listed among 60 *socii et scolares* in the college's Charter of Foundation,[89] and Sadler's migration to that college is supported by the Bursar's rolls of Jesus

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86 Sadler's possible (though unprovable) presence at the almonry school is especially attractive given the musical activities of Westminster Abbey's Lady Chapel Choir. The choir originally consisted only of singing-men, but from 1480 they had been permanently supplemented with five boys: the obvious source for these boys was the almonry school. If Sadler ever was a student at the almonry school, then it is tempting to speculate that he might have been in the choir also. This would have provided him with a comprehensive education in music (which included training in the techniques of improvised descant, as well as the reading of music to a degree that enabled the boys to sing extended and elaborate polyphony), and this would have ensured that he was *in cantu competenter instructus* ('adequately instructed in singing') prior to his admission as a fellow of Jesus College in 1539, as required by the college statutes that were then in force. Any lists of the Abbey's almonry school pupils have perished, however; nor is there any documentation to show that Sadler was ever a member of the Lady Chapel choir. For further on the Abbey, its choir, and the methods by which its members were (sometimes forcibly) recruited see Fiona Kisby, 'Music and musicians of early Tudor Westminster', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 223–40 (236–7), and Bowers (2003), 55–56.

87 Only one of the Westminster students listed in the accounts of 1539 seems not to have had any connection with the Abbey in advance of its dissolution: Richard Marshall. He apparently wrote to Thomas Cromwell seeking financial assistance to continue his studies, and ended up becoming one of the 20 Westminster students at the end of 1539 (there is no evidence to show that Sadler did the same). See A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford: A.D. 1501–40* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 380–1.

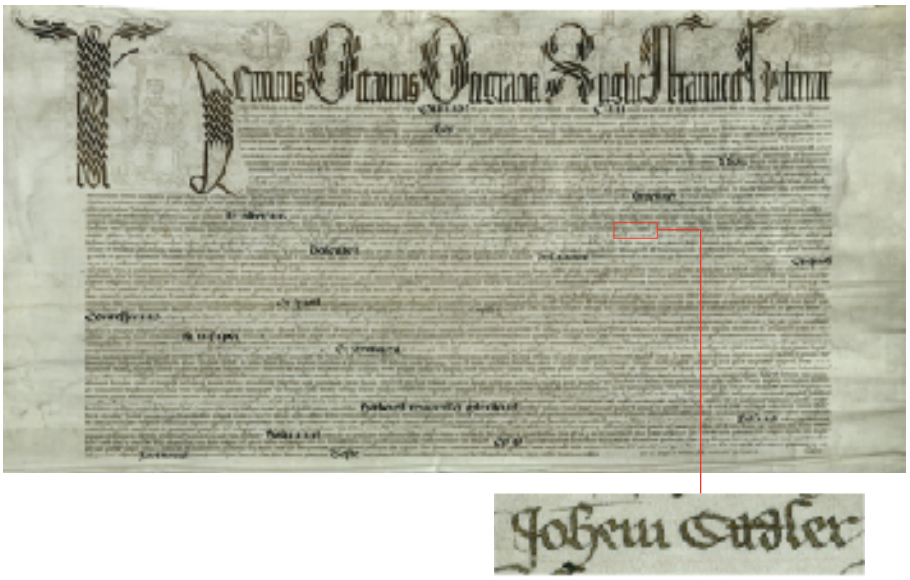
88 *GB-Lwa* Muniments 43048, cited in Knighton, 'The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII', 31.

89 *GB-Ctc* Charter of Foundation.

College, which do not list him as occupying a room there for the year 1547–8 (the rolls for 1546–7 are missing).

The charter, which appears to list Sadler's name in relative obscurity among numerous others, in fact lists names according to seniority. The King is mentioned first, and then comes John Redman, who was the first Master of Trinity (and who, incidentally, is listed in 'The allowances to the collegiate Church of St Peter's Westminster' as a priest and a doctor of divinity).[90] Fellows are then ranked in *ordo senioritatis* by academic degree, and within each degree according to how long they had held that degree. The first fellows listed held doctorates, followed by those with higher bachelors degrees; next come the 25 fellows who were already MAs by 1546. This section is headed by Sadler, since of the other MA students listed, he had been awarded his MA first (1540/1).[91]

Figure 2.12 The Charter of Foundation for Trinity College, Cambridge (without shelfmark), listing 'Joh(ann)em Sadler' as a fellow.



Sadler is also listed in a 'Proporcion divised for Trinite College', which is a forecast of the college accounts that was drawn up in advance of the foundation of the college, probably in July 1546.[92] It lists John Sadler, 'm[aste]r of arte' with a forecast salary of £8 per annum – the amount that was to be paid to all the other fellows with an MA.

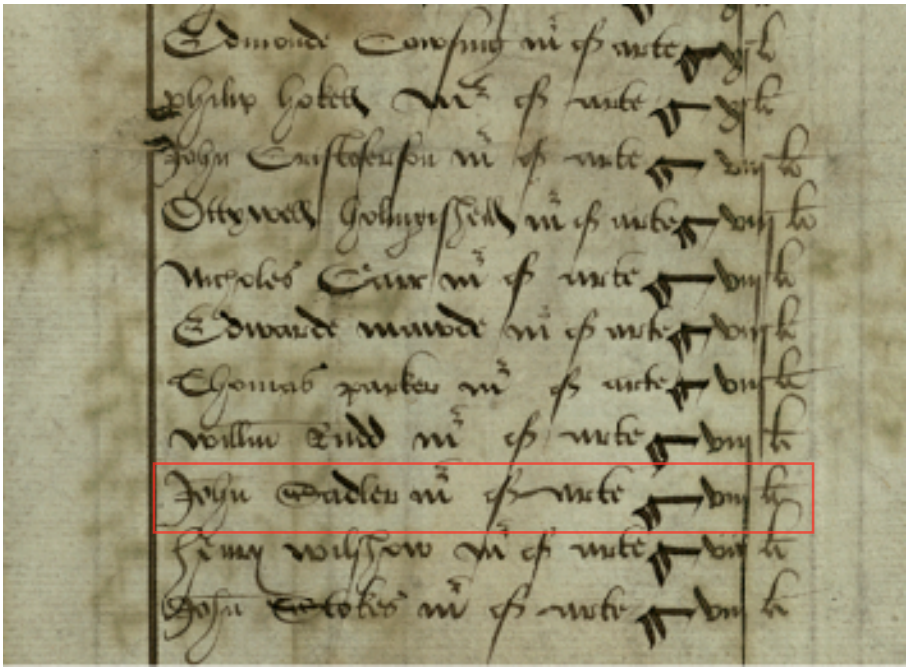
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90 *GB-Lbl* add. MS 40061, fol. 2r.

91 The name that comes immediately after Sadler's is Edward Maude, who had also held a Westminster studentship, and who also supplicated for his MA in 1540/1. The names that follow are Edmund Cosin and Thomas Parker, who had supplicated in 1541 (after 25 March), and John Christopherson, who had supplicated in 1543. Why Maude should come listed after Sadler is not certain; possibly he was misplaced as a result of scribal error.

92 This document, sometimes called the 'Distribucio Collegii', is not dated; July 1546 has been conjectured in a forthcoming publication on Trinity's early finances by David McKittrick. I am grateful to Trinity College, Cambridge, for allowing me access to the unpublished typescript of this volume.

Figure 2.13 The lower section of fol. 1r of the 'The proporcion divised for Trinite College', (*GB-Ctc* Muniments Box 29.199a), listing John Sadler, m[aste]r of arte viij li'.



Sadler's nomination to Trinity was a direct consequence of his Westminster studentship. The studentship scheme was then abolished in 1545; thereafter the monies that had maintained them were channelled into the two institutions that had been founded by Henry VIII in the 1540s, Trinity College, Cambridge, and the (re-founded) Christ Church, Oxford. The cathedral students were elected to fellowships of the new foundations.[93] Thus only the Sadler who was a student of Westminster can be the Sadler who was nominated to the fellowship of Trinity College; and he must have been the Sadler of Jesus College because only the Sadler of Jesus College had an MA in 1546.[94]

Almost everything about Sadler's expected responsibilities as a fellow of Trinity College, like his responsibilities at Jesus College, are uncertain. He does not appear to have been involved with the grammar school of Trinity College, which was to cater for the teaching of 40 'grammarians': the college accounts show that the 'scolemaster' was a Richard Harman, and the usher a William Bonde. Nor is there any evidence to show that Sadler would have encountered Latin-texted sacred music between Trinity's walls. Although Trinity would later serve as a satellite

93 The reasons for the scrapping of the scheme are not exactly clear, but thought to have been the result of difficulties that arose between Thomas Cranmer and his own new Chapter at Canterbury. See C. S. Knighton. 'King's College', in *Westminster Abbey Reformed: Nine Studies, 1540–1640*, ed. by C. S. Knighton & Richard Mortimer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003),16–37.

94 The King's Sadler is also ruled out by the fact that he retained his King's fellowship until his ordination as acolyte, deacon, and priest on 19 May 1554: the record for these events refers to him as a 'Perpetual fellow of King's College of St Mary and St Nicholas' – the full name of King's College, Cambridge. See *GB-Lghl* MS 9535/1, fols. 30r–33v.

to Mary I's Chapel Royal (this makes Trinity College an especially attractive as a conduit through which music exemplars might have been obtained in later years),[95] no provision was made for music at the foundation of the college. Nor are any of the names found in the college's early documentation listed as having musical responsibilities (it was not until November 1554 that music was provided for in draft Marian statutes, though these were not adopted).[96]

Although Sadler appears on the Charter of Foundation, and was forecast to be paid as a fellow of Trinity, his name is absent from the college accounts (i.e. records of *actual* expenditure as apposed to drafts of predicted expenditure). Doubts have consequently circulated as to whether Sadler accepted his nomination to the fellowship.[97] The 1547 Trinity accounts are not ideal documents for the purposes of deducing who was paid and who was not, since many stipends are bundled together under aggregate ledgers (e.g. 'expendyd by our maister and other of the fellowes'; 'payed to the fellowes and scolers and other officers for their stipendes the first quarter after the ereccion'; or 'payments for 20 fellows not otherwise listed').[98] However, Sadler does not appear in the accounts of 1548, in which individuals tend to be mentioned by namBut there is a possible explanation for Sadler's absence. After 'The allowances to the collegiate Church of Westminster' was drawn up in 1539, presumably in preparation for the dissolution of the Westminster Abbey, subsequent accounts for the year 1541 (produced in 1542) show that payments were issued to 'xx Studentes in divinite to be founde x att Oxford and x att Cantabryge', not for the £8. 8s. per capita that had originally been envisaged, but for an increased payment of £10 per student per annum.[99] These payments were not made by 'St Peter's Collegiate Church of Westminster', as the re-founded Abbey was then known, but by the Court

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95 During Mary's reign, Robert White was first a senior chorister and then a clerk in the new polyphonic choir established at Trinity under the Queen's patronage; its Master was then the Queen's favourite John Christopherson (*d.*1558), her privy chaplain. He was responsible for restoring musical liturgies at the college: it is likely that music was provided for Trinity from St Paul's Cathedral, London, which had a central place in the Marian Counter-Reformation (evidence of one source that may well be a result of musical borrowings and interactions between these two institutions is *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 29996). Similar source migrations may have occurred between St Paul's and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which in 1559 onwards had as Master the Marian precentor of Saint Paul's, Henry Harvey (*d.*1585). See Daniel B. Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996). 238, 347 and David Mateer, 'Further Light on Preston and Whyte', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 1074-1075.

96 Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, *c.*1594–*c.*1615: Archival and Biographical Evidence', *Music & Letters*, 68 (1987), 128–40 (128).

97 H. McLeod Innes, *The Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 20, cited in Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 281–2.

98 *GB-Ctc* Senior Bursar's Book, 1547.

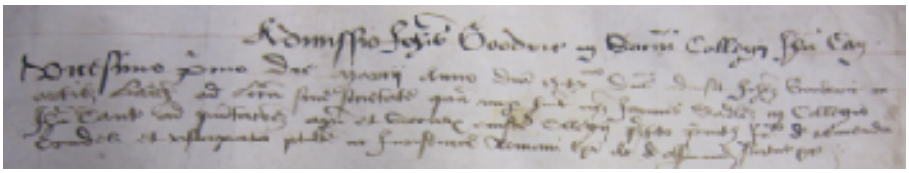
99 *GB-Lpro* E 315/24, fol. 5r: 'Item xx Studentes in divinite to be founde x att Oxford and x att Cantabryge every one of them x^{li} by yere'. Transcribed in Henry Cole, *King Henry the Eighth's Scheme of Bishopricks* (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1838), 5. By this time the payments on behalf of Westminster were issued to 'Studentes in divinite', but they could in fact pursue any course (some, in fact, were lawyers). See Knighton, 'The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII', 39.

of Augmentations. The Abbey was surrendered to the crown on 16 January 1540 and re-founded in December 1540, but the new establishment was not endowed until August 1542 – more than 18 months later. The payments to the Westminster students were consequently made by the Court of Augmentations in the interim. It is possible that Sadler and his cohort of Westminster students were paid directly by the court of Augmentations, instead of Trinity College.

This possibility that is supported by the absence of another name from the *actual* accounts of Trinity College: that of Edward Maude. He, like Sadler, had been the beneficiary of a Westminster studentship, and was nominated to the fellowship of Trinity in 1546. Moreover, other students that were maintained by different cathedrals and who were also nominated to Trinity are absent too: Henry Wilshaw, Philip Huckle, Christopher Ratcliff, John Stokes, William Rogers and John Caldwell. It seems unlikely that all these men should shun a generous Trinity stipend of £8 a year and perform a mass exodus (even if this was less than the £10 per annum they were receiving in 1541), and the matter is clouded further by the fact that none of these men can be traced to any other institution between 1546 and 1548. Possibly the stipends of these men were handled and paid directly by the Court of Augmentations rather than the college (as they had been in the case of St Peter's Collegiate Church, which was endowed late), but it has not been possible to prove that this was the case. Why the Trinity stipend offered only £8 in 1546, given that the Westminster stipend had been £10 per annum in 1541, is not clear.

One further obstacle stands in the way of Sadler having actually accepted his nomination to Trinity College. A hitherto unnoticed entry in the register of John Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, contains a record for the appointment of Sadler's successor at Jesus College, a certain John Goodric[h] (possibly a relation to the Bishop), who was appointed in January 1547/8. The record states clearly that Sadler's fellowship had become vacant only 'recently', which implies that he is unlikely to have resigned Jesus College for Trinity College more than one year previously. That Sadler's fellowship might have remained so long vacant seems unlikely.

Figure 2.14 *GB-Cu* Ely Diocesan Records G/1/7, fol. 186r, recording the election of John Goodric[h] in place of John Sadler on 21 March 1547/8.



Vicesimo p(ri)mo die Marcii Anno D(o)m(ini) 1547mo D(omin)us admisit Joh(annem) Gooderic in artibus Bacc(alaureum) ad soc(i)u(m) sue societati(s) qua(m) nup(er) fuit Ma(gistri) Jo(h)annis Sadler in Collegio Ih(es)u Cant(abrigie) ad pr(ese)ntac(i)o(n)em M(agist)ri et Socior(um) eiusd(em) collegii p(re)fato…[100]

[100] '…21 March 1547 the Master admitted John Goodric[h] BA to a fellowship of his society which recently was Mr John Sadler's in Jesus Coll. Cambridge on the presentation of the Master and Fellows of the same college aforesaid …'

The one document that might have confirmed whether or nor Sadler remained at Jesus College in 1546 – the Bursar's rolls for 1546–7 – are sadly missing; had Sadler appeared as a tenant for that year, without any suggestion that he had at some point vacated his accommodation, then we would have clear proof that he remained at Jesus College. In the absence of any firm competing evidence, it must be accepted that the Sadler of Jesus, and the beneficiary of a Westminster studentship, was nominated to the fellowship at Trinity College; but the notion that he accepted this fellowship can be accepted only tentatively. Sadler is not to be traced anywhere else between 1546 and the March 1548 (when he began working as schoolmaster at Fotheringhay) and, as will be seen below, there are reasons for suspecting that Sadler had connections with that college. One of the persons who contributed commendatory verses to his published translation of 1572 was at the time an undergraduate of Trinity college, and Sadler's successor as headmaster of Oundle school, a certain 'Wilkinsone doctor of fysick', for whom Sadler wrote a letter of recommendation, was also a member.

3. FOTHERINGHAY, OUNDLE & SUDBOROUGH

Fotheringhay grammar school: 1548–1555

Sadler is next found as the schoolmaster of Fotheringhay grammar school, Northamptonshire. Exactly what caused this career change is uncertain, but it may have been a result of him getting married. As will be seen in Chapter 3, Sadler is listed in the 1568 survey of priests in the Oundle deanery (mentioned already at the start of Chapter 1) as 'nuptus': married. Although there is no evidence to show exactly when Sadler was married, let alone the identity of his wife, it is well known that fellows of Cambridge colleges were permitted only to be single.[1] Marriage may therefore explain why Sadler should resign a fellowship at Trinity college, or indeed Jesus College, in order to take on a provincial position – as might the fact that the position at Fotheringhay carried as higher salary of £13. 6s. 8d. per annum (more than than Trinity stipend of £8).

Fotheringhay grammar school was formed following the dissolution of Fotheringhay College, a chantry that was founded by Edward, Duke of York in 1411 to pray for the souls of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and the Yorkist founders.[2] This development in Sadler's career was first ascertained by Arthur F. Leach, who observed that he received £13. 6s. 8d. for his work as 'Ludimagistro [schoolmaster] in Foderinghaye' in the accounts of the Court of Augmentation, apparently for the year 1550–1551.[3] He also recorded that Sadler subsequently received several back-payments for teaching, claiming that his next payment was made in 1552, and was for the sum of £43. 6s. 8d. This amount allegedly comprised his salary for 1551–1552, which had increased by £6. 13s. 4d. to a total of £20 per annum, and also included four years' worth of this additional increment, back-paid from Michaelmas 1552. By Leach's reckoning, Sadler was in employment at Fotheringhay from Michaelmas 1548. Leach's observations were clearly not known to G. W. Walker, since he claimed that Sadler started teaching at Fotheringhay in 1550, and that he resigned his Trinity fellowship that year – even though no records survive to show that Sadler actually accepted his Trinity fellowship, let alone his resignation from that college.[4]

Mateer established that John Sadler must have arrived at the school prior to Michaelmas 1548. He has drawn attention to a document that was produced in 1604 in respect of Thomas Hurland (a later successor to Sadler at the school), which, as well as revealing that Sadler occupied

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1 Only Masters of colleges were permitted to be married, and only after the Reformation (they lived in quarters separate to their respective colleges). See Leader, 43.

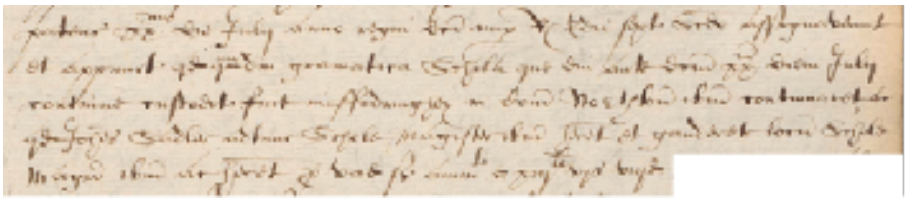
2 The most recent account of Fotheringhay College is David Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', in *The Late Medieval College and its Context*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), 253–75.

3 *GB-Lpro* Exch. Mins' Accts. 4–5 Edw. VI, no. 87 (now SC6/5–6 Edw VI/718, fol. 42v), cited in A. F. Leach, 'Schools', in *A History of Northamptonshire*, The Victoria History of the Counties of England, vol. 2, ed. by R. M Serjeantson and W. Ryland D. Atkins (London: Archibald and Constable, 1906), 223–4.

4 Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 23.

the room of schoolmaster, shows that he was certainly teaching at the grammar school by 20 July 1548 – and therefore two months earlier than Leach had initially suggested.[5]

Figure 3.1 *GB-Lpro* I R/1/137, fol.184r, recording Sadler's payment for 20 July 1548.



…patenc(es) XX^mo die Julij anno regni d(omin)i nup(er) R(egis) Edw(ardi) sext(i) s(e)c(un)do assignaverant et appunct(averant) quod q(ua)mdiu gramatica Schola que diu ante d(i)c(tu)m XXum diem Julij continue custodit(a) fuit in Fodringhey in Com(itatu) Northh(ampto)n ibid(em) continuaret, ac q(uo)d Joh(anne)s Sadler ad tunc Schole magister ibid(em) ha(ber)et et gauderet locu schole magister ibid(em) ac ha(ber)et p(ro) vad(ius) s(uu)s annuat(im) a xiij l(ibr)o vj^s viij^d.[6]

Mateer also points out that Sadler's first recorded salary payment appears in the Court of Augmentation's accounts for the year 1549–1550, not 1550–1551 (thus one year earlier than Leach originally claimed),[7] and argues that Sadler was paid three years worth of arrears in Michaelmas 1551, not 1552. Mateer reckoned that this brought Sadler's employment at Fotheringhay back to the 25 March 1548, though this reaches back only to Michaelmas day.[8]

A reassessment of the accounts shows that Sadler must indeed have been in employment from Fotheringhay from Lady Day (25 March) 1548. A payment issued to him on 4 February 1553 comprised his additional salary of £6. 13s. 4d. for *four complete years* (Michaelmas to Michaelmas): *i.e.* for the years 1548-9, 1549-1550, 1550-1, and 1551-2; this was increased with six months worth of this salary – the arrears for the half-year between Lady Day and Michaelmas 1548 – at £3. 6s. 8d..Then, for 1552-3, he received the full salary of £20 (i.e. his base salary of £13. 6s. 8d, plus his additional increment of £6. 13s. 4d. Sadler must have been paid a total of £50 as a result of his appeal,[9] though this amount is not actually specified in the record of the payments.

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5 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 282.

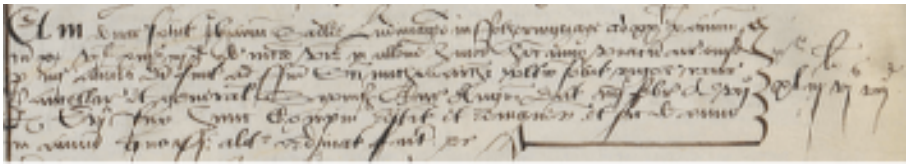
6 'Letters patent of the 20th day of July in the second year of the late king Edward VI [1548] assigned and agreed that the grammar school, which had been kept for a long time before said 20th day of July in Fotheringhay in the county of Northampton, should continue in the same place, John Sadler, at that time a schoolmaster there should also have the position and enjoy the room of schoolmaster there, and should have for his wages£13. 6s. 8d. annually'.

7 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 282; N.P. Milner and David Mateer, 'Sadler, John' in *ODNB.*

8 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 282.

9 £6. 13s. 4d. x 4 = £26. 13s. 4d.; + £3. 6s. 8d. = £30. £13. 6s. 8d. + £6. 13s. 4d. = £20. Therefore a grand total of £50.

Figure 3.2 *GB-Lpro* SC6/5–6 Edw VI/718, fol. 42v, recording the back-payment of Sadler's stipend to 25 March 1548.



Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Johanni Sadler Ludimag(ist)ro in Fotheringhaye ad xx$^{li'}$ p(er) annu(m) cu(m) [x *deleted*] vj$^{li'}$ xiij^{s} iiij^{d} de incr(ement)o vi(delicet) in allo(catio)ne h(uius)mo(d)i hoc anno vna cu(m) acr(etionibus) eiusd(em) p(ro) iiij^{or} annis [et] di(midio) finit(is) ad F(estu)m S(an)c(t)i mich(ael)is arch(angel)i vlti(m)o solut(is) vigore war(raunto) Cancellar(ii) et general(is) Supervis(ionis) Cur(iae) Augm(entationis) Dat(o) iiij^{to} Febr(uarii) Anno vij^{o} Regis E(dwardi) vj^{ti}…[10]

Although a start date at Fotheringhay on 25 March 1548 corresponds neatly with the fact that Sadler's successor at Jesus College was appointed on 21 March 1547/8 (further clouding the question of whether Sadler ever accepted his nomination to Trinity College, and, if he did not, why he was not living at Jesus College in 1547–8), doubts again surface as to whether the Sadler listed in the Fotheringhay accounts is the Sadler of Jesus College.This Sadler had no obvious connection to Fotheringhay, and nor does he appear to have been involved with the grammar schools of either of his Cambridge Colleges (had he been, then his apparent transfer to a teaching position at a grammar school might have seemed a more predictable career move).[11] It cannot have been the Sadler of King's who went to Fotheringhay,[12] even though King's did have connections with Fotheringhay both in terms of impressing former choristers,[13] and in terms of adult personnel.[14] For reasons that become clearer below, it was surely the Sadler of Jesus College

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10 'And in money paid to John Sadler schoolmaster in Fotheringhay at £20 per year with £6. 13s. 4d. of increment, that is in the allocation of this sort [i.e. the base salary] in this year, together with the accretions of the same for four and half years finished at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel last, paid out by the authority of the warrant of the Chancellor and of the surveyors general of the Court of Augmentations; the increase given on the 4th of February of the 7th year of King Edward the VIth…'

11 Such a move is not entirely without precedent. John Tucke (*c.*1482–after 1539) resigned his fellowship at New College, Oxford, some time before 22 June 1507 in order to take up a teaching position at Higham Ferrers College, Northamptonshire. See Ronald Woodley (ed.), *John Tucke: a Case Study in Early Tudor Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 17–20.

12 He remained a fellow of King's until 1556: the record of his ordination as acolyte, deacon and priest on 19 April 1554 states that he was still a 'Perpetual fellow of King's College of St Mary and St Nicholas'. See *GB-Lghl* MS 9535/1–2 [Bishop of London Ordination registers, 1550–1628], unfoliated.

13 In 1506–7 and 1507–8, King's impressed some choristers from Fotheringhay. See *GB-Ckc*, KCAR/4/1/1/10 Mundum Book, 1507–8, under *Custus equitantium*: 'Item xiiij die Aprilis [1508] pro expensis Bourman [college servant] equitant' ad Fodringay pro quadam cantu ex mandato magistri prepositi, ix d'; and *GB-Ckc*, KCAR/4/1/1/9 Mundum Book, under *Custus equitantium*: 'Item pro expensis eiusdem [John Goderiche, college servant] equitan' odryngay pro M. Russell, Coterell & iiij chorustis & redemitis cum iiij equis & adducent' predictos chorustas ad seint Nedes ut patet per billam, ij s xj d...Item pro expensis M. Russell equitan' Godmanchestre cum le placard'. Transcriptions provided by Magnus Williamson.

14 John Russell, the last master of Fotheringhay College, had been educated at both Eton and King's, and was a fellow of King's from 1502. By 1512 he was precentor of Fotheringhay, and he became Master in 1522 – a post he held until the college's dissolution. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, RSL499J.

who arrived at Fotheringhay in 1548: a neat succession of subsequent jobs show that the schoolmaster of Fotheringhay and Oundle schools, then the re-founded Oundle school were the same person, and, by 1556, we learn that this person must have been an MA. Again, the Jesus Sadler was the only man of that name with an MA at the time.[15] The means by which Sadler obtained this position at Fotheringhay, however, and his whereabouts immediately before he arrived, are not at all clear.

Sadler's employment at the Fotheringhay from 25 March 1548 has important implications for the copying of his partbooks, though these were not noted by Mateer. The school was founded at the dissolution of Fotheringhay College, a chantry which had comprised a master, eleven fellows, eight singing clerks and thirteen choristers.[16] Mateer assumed that the college was abolished under Henry VIII's first Chantries Act of 1545, positing that the establishment dissolved some time in 1546.[17] But it in fact fell victim only to Edward VI's Chantries Act of 1547,[18] and the college continued to function until 25 March 1548 – the same
date to which Sadler was back-paid in 1552, and when his employment there presumably began.

The accounts of Fotheringhay College's last master, John Russell, show that the college was a vibrant and musically active institution. On the Feast of the Epiphany 1545, a clerk came from Ely bringing with him 'certain songs',[19] and on 12 August 1545, an unnamed singing man came from St Albans, bringing with him two Masses for the choir and a song for Lady Mass.[20] Hugh Aston even visited the college on 14 September 1546, bringing music with him (for which he was paid 5s.),[21] and on 12 August 1547, Aston was paid by the college for songs made 'ad laudem dei omnipotentis' (to the praise of almighty God).[22] Fotheringhay College was therefore actively involved in the acquisition of music and certainly had contact with at least one composer

15 From November 1556 until his death in 1564 the Sadler of King's was serving the parish of Dunton Wayletts, Essex, as rector – almost 100 miles away. See *Clergy Database*, person 62522.

16 R.M. Stevenson and Hamilton Thompson, 'The statutes of the college of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', *Archaeological Journal*, 75 (1918), 241–309.

17 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 282.

18 *GB-Lpro* Chantry Certificate 35, no. 40,

19 *GB-Lpro* E 315/146, under *regarda*: 'item solutum vj^{to} ianuarij clerico de ely cantanti in choro et danti cantus collegio – xijd', cited in Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 261. Skinner has suggested that this clerk may have been Christopher Tye, who is known to have been Master of the Choristers at Ely cathedral from 1543.

20 *GB-Lpro* E 315/301, under *regarda*: 'item solutum xij^{mo} augusti ... clerico xijd' de villa sancti albani afferenti duas missas pro choro et etiam cantandum ad missam beate marie si placet', cited in Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 261.

21 *GB-Lpro* E 315/310 (1545–6), under *solutiones forinsece*: 'item solutum xiiij^{mo} septembris magistro hugo assheton de Lecestre venienti ad magistrum collegium a decano collegij ibidem pro negocijs collegij et portanti cantus ad collegium – vs', cited in Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 261.

22 *GB-Lpro* SC 6/EDWVI/352 (1546–7), under *solutiones forinsece*: 'item solutum xijmo augusti magistro hugo assheton de Lecestre pro labore suo capto in divino servicio et pro cantilenas factas ad laudem dei omnipotentis – iijs iiijd', cited in Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 262.

represented in Mus. e. 1–5. Since Sadler must have arrived at Fotheringhay just as the college members were preparing to vacate (though they may have remained at Fotheringhay a month beyond the dissolution of the college), Skinner has suggested that Sadler might have acquired some of his exemplars from the college library or from the singing men themselves.[23]

This is a particularly tempting possibility because the first seven pieces that were copied into Mus. e. 1–5 are by older composers: Tye, Taverner, Sheppard, Merbecke, Aston and Fayrfax. It is music by these older composers that would have been sung at Fotheringhay, as intimated by the accounts of John Russell. One of the early pieces in Sadler's volumes is a votive antiphon by Hugh Aston which in other sources has the text *Te matrem dei laudamus.*[24] This text was probably set by Aston for use at his own college of St Mary Newarke, Leicester.[25] In Mus. e. 1–5, however, the same music appears underlaid with the text of the *Te Deum* (no. 8/v): the numerous references to Mary have been exchanged with references to Jesus, in order to make it in to a 'Jesus antiphon'.[26] Skinner has suggested that this adaptation may have been made for use at Fotheringhay College.[27]

Sadler's exact responsibilities at Fotheringhay grammar school are not documented,[28] but they doubtless involved the teaching of reading, writing and numeracy to a small number of students that is unlikely to have exceeded 20 boys. Sadler probably used Lily's *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar,* which was declared the only authorised text-book for the teaching of Latin in

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23 The last record which pertains to the college shows that the singing men received their final payments in April that year. See *GB-Lpro* E 315/145, cited in Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 261.

24 See *GB-Lbl* MS Harley 1709, *GB-Cu* MS Dd. 13. 27, and *GB-Cjc* MS K. 31.

25 See Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook*, 6.

26 Nick Sandon (ed.), *Hugh Aston: Te matrem dei laudamus* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2001), iii.

27 Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation…', 262.

28 A list hanging at Fotheringhay Church purports that Sadler was 'vicar' of Fotheringhay Church from 1550 onwards. This list is not contemporary, however, and is executed in a nineteenth or twentieth-century imitation of gothic script (it also contains some errors, claiming that Fotheringhay College was dissolved in 1553 instead of 1548, and that Fotheringhay grammar school was founded in 1553, rather than 1548). The possibility that Sadler did serve the church as vicar is not trounced by any competing evidence: the Fotheringhay parish registers survive only from 1557, and the earliest appointment of a priest to Fotheringhay church dates from the same year. No record of Sadler's ordination can be found, but this does not preclude him from having acted as vicar: in the 1550s it was possible for a layman to enter into possession of a benefice simply by taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (though Sadler would have had to be ordained by the time he was instituted as priest at Sudborough in 1568, since Elizabeth I imposed stricter regulations on clergy, discussed below). While the possibility that Sadler was appointed vicar of Fotheringhay does at least correspond with the fact that masters of Fotheringhay College were historically appointed as priest to the church, no evidence can be found to corroborate that this was the case. See J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the Town, College, and Castle of Fotheringhay* (London: J. Nichols, 1789), 6; J. J. Cox, 'The College of Fotheringhay' in *A History of Northamptonshire*, The Victoria History of the Counties of England, v. 2, ed. by R. M Serjeantson (London: Archibald and Constable, 1906), 176; *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (London: Societatis Stationariorum, 1649), 66, and Francis Young, *Inferior Office?: A History of Deacons in the Church of England* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2015), 7.

grammar schools by Henry VIII in 1542 – a stipulation that was repeated by Edward VI.[29] No documentation survives from Fotheringhay grammar school to shed light on what else Sadler's students might have studied, but, to judge from the statutes of some other grammar schools, pupils studied classical texts as they became more advanced. The 1529 statutes of Ipswich grammar refer to the works of Aesop, Terence, Virgil, and Horace's *Epistles,* among others;[30] possibly Sadler made use of similar volumes.

Given that Sadler was himself able to sing by this point (he was required to be competent in singing in order be admitted as a fellow of Jesus College), and that he may have obtained some music from the departing musicians of Fotheringhay College, there is a strong possibility that music was part of Sadler's Fotheringhay curriculum – even though it is not listed in any of the extant statutes for grammar schools that functioned under Edward VI (though it was of course taught at choir schools). Although the school doubtless ended up catering for the children of parishioners, eleven choristers were on the books of Fotheringhay College at its dissolution in March 1548.[31] None of these boys can be traced in the first few years that followed 1548, and only two can be traced afterwards.[32] But since they would have been of grammar school age when the college ceased to function, it is entirely plausible that they remained to be taught by Sadler at Fotheringhay grammar school, and, if they did, that Sadler capitalised on their musical abilities.

Sadler held the post of master of the grammar school at Fotheringhay for some six years – a surprising amount of time, given that in 1547 the Crown had granted the college's buildings to a John Dudley in advance of the formal dissolution, who 'immediately pulled down the quire of the great church … and unroofed the college buildings for the value of the lead'.[33] Sadler's

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29 A text in William Lily, *A Short Introduction of Grammar* (London: R. Wolfe, 1548) states that it 'shuld be openly and priuately red to al kynd of lerners in euery grammar schole, and other places of techyng, and the same and none other to bee vsed.' On the required use of this volume from 1542 onwards see Hedwig Gwosdek, *Lily's Grammar of Latin in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9–10.

30 See Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 12–16.

31 These were: William Browne, Thomas Dodson, Francis Dyxon, Anthony Elys, John Goburne, Robert Hicks, John Nooke, John Osbourne, John Pollard, John Warde, Thomas Wellys and Robert Wryte. In addition to the choristers, the singing men Richard Ball, Thomas Hoys, William Humfreys, William Perkyns, John Robynson, and John Walklas were present at the dissolution of the college. Most appear to have found employment elsewhere. See list provided in Skinner,, 'Music and the Reformation…', 266–74.

32 The chorister William Browne *may* have been the person of that name who was the organist of Durham Cathedral from 1576–88 and 1598–1607; see Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 380. The chorister Robert Hicks (listed erroneously a Thomas Hicks at the dissolution of the college) went on to follow a very similar career to Sadler's: he entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1552, supplicated for a BA in 1556/7, was admitted to the fellowship of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1558. He supplicated for his MA in 1560, was ordained on 17 September 1557, and served the parish of Tansor (a mile from Fotheringhay) from 14 March 1560 until his death. See *Clergy Database*, person HKS552R.

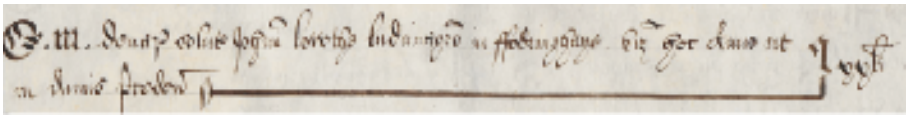
33 Cox, 'The College of Fotheringhay' , 176.

final stipend (at the higher rate of £20 per annum) is recorded for the year 1554–5, and his departure is confirmed by the accounts for the ensuing year, which show that a John Lowthe had been appointed as his successor.

Figure 3.4 *GB-Lpro* SC 6/PHIL&MARY/492 fol. 6v, recording Sadler's salary of £20 for the year 1554–5; and *GB-Lpro* SC 6/PHIL&MARY/493, showing a payment of the same amount made to his successor, William Lowthe, for the year 1555–6.



Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Joh(ann)i Sadler Ludimag(ist)ro in fothringhaie hoc a(nn)o ut in pre(ce)den(tibus): 20li.[34]



Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Joh(an)ni Lowthe Ludimag(ist)ro in Fodringhaye viz hoc anno ut in annis pre(ce)den(tibus): 20li.[35]

Oundle grammar school: 1556–1568

Sadler's departure from Fotheringhay at the end of the 1554–5 year was apparently the result of his appointment to the position of headmaster at Oundle grammar school, less than four miles away – a development that was first established first by W. G. Walker in *A History of the Oundle Schools.*[36] Like Fotheringhay grammar school, Oundle's grammar school had originally started life as a chantry: the 'Guild of our Lady of Oundle'. It existed to 'fynde certen prestes' and 'kepe iiij yerlie obytes and to distribute a certen sum to poor people'.[37] One of the chantry priests, William Ireland, acted as teacher. On 20 July 1548, the Guild was re-founded as a free grammar school, and Ireland continued to teach at the school, having lived and worked there for 40 years.[38]

The circumstances surrounding Sadler's appointment to Oundle grammar school are unclear. As with his appointment at Fotheringhay, the main records of his tenure there are financial; and the picture these records paint is convoluted, probably because of the turmoil that ensued after the death of a monarch (Edward VI died in 1553; Mary I in 1558), and because the Court of Augmentations, which was responsible for paying the stipends of schoolmasters, was absorbed into the Court of the Exchequer at the start of the reign of Elizabeth I. However, a clearer picture than has been given elsewhere can be sketched.

Following the dissolution of the Guild of our Lady in 1548, William Ireland continued to teach at Oundle's free school. He remained there until the end of 1554: this is the last year for

34 'And in money paid to John Sadler schoolmaster in Fotheringhay in this year [1554–5]: £20.'

35 'And in money paid to John Lowthe schoolmaster in Fotheringhay in this year [1555–6]: £20'.

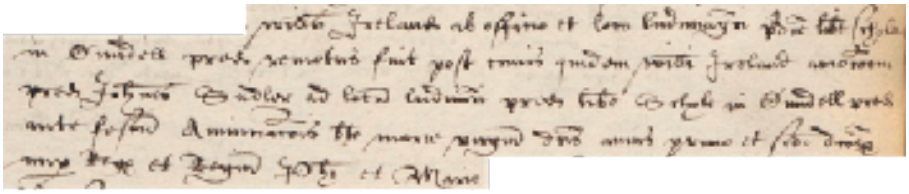
36 Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 31.

37 *GB-Lpro* E/319/15 no. 15.

38 Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 12.

which he was paid.[39] No contemporary record of Sadler's actual appointment to the free school in Oundle survives, but some details of it are mentioned in the 'letters patent of John Sadler for the School in Oundel', dated 5 February 1564 – a retrospective document that was produced in the reign of Elizabeth I. Referring to the Annunciation of 'the first and second years of the recent King and Queen, Philip and Mary.' (i.e. 25 March 1555 – the first year of Philip's reign and the second year of Mary's) it records that William Ireland was 'remotus' ('removed') and replaced with Sadler.[40] The Schools Continuance Warrant for Oundle, issued in 1548, gives Ireland's age at the time as 78;[41] this would have put him at about 84 in 1554. It is likely that he was 'removed' because he was old and ripe for retirement.[42]

Figure 3.5 *GB-Lpro* LR/1/134, fol. 105r, recording the removal of William Ireland and the appointment of John Sadler.



…Will(iam)us Ireland ab officio et loco lud(i) mag(ist)ri p(re)d(i)c(ta)e lib(era)e schole in Oundell pred(icto) remotus fuit post ter(mi)nis [?] quidem Will(iam)i Ireland amoc(i)o(n)em pred(ictus) Joh(ann)es Sadler ad locu(m) lud(i)ma(g)is(tr)i pred(icte) lib(er)e schole in Oundell pred(icto) ante festum Annunciac(i)o(n)is B(ea)te Marie Virgin(is) dictis annis primo et secundo d(i)c(t)o(rum) nuper Reg(is) et Regin(e) Phi(lippi) et Marie…[43]

Mateer has flagged the further complexities of Sadler's circumstances at Oundle.[44] He was not paid any salary until 1560, despite having taught there for four years. This was probably because in 1554 the Court of Augmentations was incorporated into the Exchequer.[45] Sadler eventually appealed to the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, and, by a decree dated 29 October 1560, they confirmed that his annual salary was to be £5. 6s. 8d. They also declared that he was to be paid the arrears that he was due; this was presumably for a total amount of £21. 6s. 8d., though this is not actually specified in the minutes of Sadler's appeal.

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39 *GB-Lpro* E/319/15 no. 15.

40 Queen Mary married Philip in the second year of her reign (and the first year of his reign): *i.e.* 1555. The start of the year until the instigation of the Calendar Act was 25 March (the Annunciation).

41 *GB-Lpro* E/319/15 no. 15.

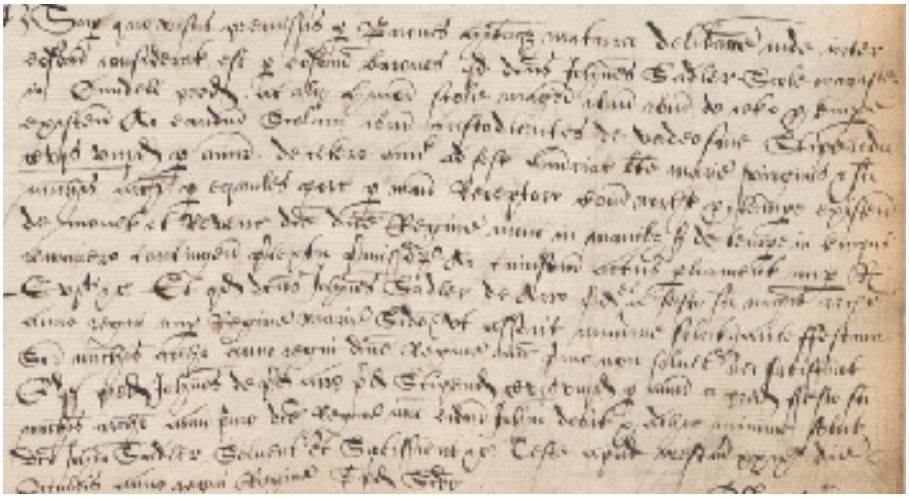
42 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 282.

43 'William Ireland was removed from the office and post of teacher at the aforementioned free school in the aforementioned Oundle. After... the dismissal of William Ireland, the aforementioned John Sadler was admitted to the post of teacher at the aforementioned free school in the aforementioned Oundle before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the said first and second years of the recent King and Queen, Philip and Mary.'

44 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 283.

45 Walter G. Richardson, 'Records of the court of augmentations', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 1.6 (1957), 159–168 (159).

Figure 3.6 *GB-Lpro* LR/1/130, fol. 174r, recording Sadler's payment appeal.



Sup(er) quo uisus [should read 'uisis'] premissis per barones h(abi)taque matura delib(er)a(t)i(o)ne inde inter eosd(e)m considerat(um) est per eosd(e)m barones q(uo)d d(i)c(t)us Johan(n)es Sadler scole magister in Oundell pred(icto). ac alii h(uius)mo(d)i scole mag(ist)ri ib(ide)m de cet(er)o pro tem(por)e existens. ac eand(e)m scolam ibid(e)m custodientes de adeo siue stipendio v li vis viiid p(er) annu(m) de cetero ann(ua)l(iter) ad fest(os) Ann(un)ciac(ionem) B(ea)te Marie Virginis et S(anc)ti Mich(ael)is Arch(angel)i p(er) equales part(es) per man(us) Receptori(s) Com(itatus) Nor(t)h(an)t(oniensis) p(ro) temp(or)e existens de monet(a) et reuenc(ibus) d(i)c(t)e D(omi)ne Regine nunc in manib(us) s(iue) de temp(or)e in tempus remaner[e?] contingens p(re)textu p(rae)miss(arum). Ac cuiusd(e)m actus p(ar)liament(i) nup(er) R(ememoratoris) ex p(arte) [et] c(etera). Et q(uo)d d(i)c(t)us Joh(an)nis Sadler de arr(is) p(re)d(ictis) de die festo S(anc)ti Mich(ael)is Arch(angel)i anno regni nup(er) Regine Marie s(e)c(un)do <ut asserit minime solut(us)>[46] ante festum S(an)c(t)i Mich(ael)is Arch(angel)i anno regni Domine Regine nu(n)c p(ri)mo non soluet(ur) nec satisfiat. Quodque pr(a)ed(ictus) Joh(an)nis de p(re)d(ictis) arris p(re)d(icti) stipend(ii) vli vis viiid p(er) ann(u)m a pred(icto) festo S(anc)ti Mich(ael)is Arch(angel)i anno p(ri)mo d(i)c(t)e Regine nu(n)c eid(e)m Joh(an)ni debit(o) [et] adhuc minime solut(o) d(i)c(t)o Joh(an)ni Sadler Soluent(ur) et satisfient [et] c(etera). Teste apud Westm(onasterium) xxixmo die Octobris anno regni Regine s(upra) p(re)d(icte) s(e)c(un)do.[47]

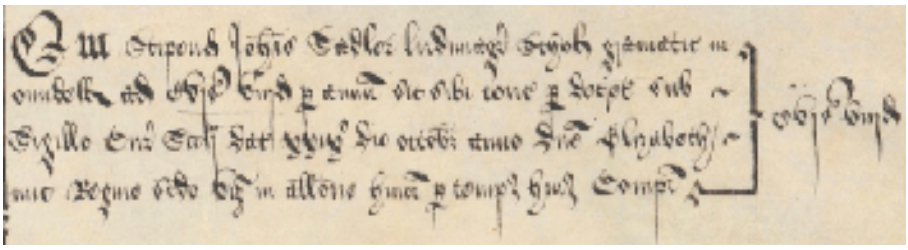
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[46] Round parentheses in the original text have been rendered here as chevrons, to distinguish them from the round parentheses that are used, in transcriptions, for expanded contractions and abbreviations.

[47] 'Concerning whom [Sadler], when the propositions had been seen by the barons and after accustomed and mature deliberation among themselves, it was hence agreed by the selfsame barons that the aforementioned John Sadler was a school master in the aforementioned Oundle; and, as for the rest, other teachers of the same school [confirm that] he has been in that very same place for some time. And they, overseeing the same school in the very same place by way of surety or stipend of £5. 6s. 8d. per annum. Henceforth, annually on the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25th March] and of Saint Michael the Archangel [29th September], in equal portions from the hand of the Receiver of the County of Northamptonshire, as has been the case for some time, from the monies and revenues of the said Lady Queen, now into his hands or rather from this time onward(/for the duration on time) to remain as it is by virtue of the aforementioned propositions. And an act of the same recent parliament on behalf of the Remembrancer, etc. And that the said John Sadler, from the aforementioned pledge, on the aforementioned feast day of Saint Michael the Archangel in the second year of the reign of our recent Queen Mary (as he says, he was not paid) before the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the first year of our present Lady Queen was not paid nor satisfied. And that they may pay and satisfy the aforementioned John, regarding the aforementioned pledge of the aforementioned stipend of £5. 6s. 8d. per annum, from the aforementioned feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the first year of our present Queen, with the money owed and hitherto not paid to the same John, etc. Witnessed at Westminster, the 29th day of October in the 2nd year of the reign of the aforementioned Queen.'

Confirmation of Sadler's stipend is then found in the accounts for the year 1560, which record that his annual Oundle emolument was to be £5. 6s. 8d.

Figure 3.7 *GB-Pro* SC6/1–2 Eliz 1/1613, fol. 9r, recording Sadler's payment of £5. 6s. 8d. authorised on 29 October 1560.



Qui stipend(ium) Joh(ann)is Sadler ludimag(istri) schole gramatic(e) in Oundell ad 5^{li} 6^{s} 8^{d} per annu(m) sic sibi conc(essum) per decret(um) sub sigillo Cur(ie) S(ca)cc(ar)ii datum xxix[mo] die Octobri anno D(omi)ne Elizabeth(e) nu(n)c Regine s(e)c(un)do vi(delicet) in all(egati)one h(uius)mo(d)i per temp(us) hui(us) comp(ot)i.[48]

Sadler's Oundle salary of £5. 6s. 8d. was less than a quarter of the £20 per annum he had received as schoolmaster at Fotheringhay, but almost certainly this amount would have been supplemented with a payment from Francis Russell (*d.*1585), second Earl of Bedford. He succeeded to the earldom following the death of his father on 14 March 1554/5 – a title which also incorporated the Lordship of the Manor of Oundle. At the time Bedford inherited his father's responsibilities, it seems likely that Sadler was brought to Oundle in order to replace Ireland, and that Bedford made up the shortfall in his salary. A note in Sadler's translation of *De re mililatri* (1572) records that he had received 'now many yeares latelye passed…a liberall annuitye or stipend of your honoure', referring to Bedford, to whom the translation was dedicated.[49] It has been suggested elsewhere that this 'annuitye or stipend' was for scholarship in divinity, which Bedford, a devout Protestant, supported;[50] but it was more than likely a top up payment that was made to Sadler so that he was no worse off for having moved from Fotheringhay.

Nothing else is known about the materials Sadler might have employed in teaching at Oundle since nothing from the grammar school survives other than payment records. Sadler's responsibilities must have been similar to those at Fotheringhay: to teach reading, writing and numeracy. As in the 1540s, Latin was the main language studied in grammar schools: boys spent their time translating Latin into English, English into Latin, reading and analysing Latin texts.[51]

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48 'John Sadler, master at the grammar school in Oundle was permitted a stipend of £5. 6s. 8d. per annum for himself thus, by decree under the seal of the Court of the Exchequer, dated the twenty-ninth day of October in the second year [of the reign] of our present Lady Queen Elizabeth, through a plea of this kind during the time of this account.'

49 Sadler, unpaginated. This point was first made in Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 31.

50 G. S. Thomson, *Two Centuries of Family History: a Study in Social Development* (London: Longman, 1930), 210.

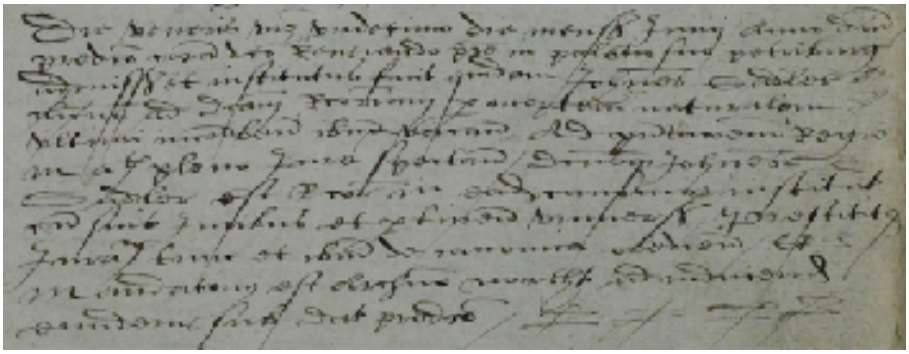
51 Freyja Cox Jensen, 'Intellectual developments', in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London: Routledge, 2011), 511–530 (513).

The standard textbook for Latin grammar remained Lily's *Grammar of Latin in English*.[52] As in the 1540s, there is no reference to the teaching of music in grammar school in the 1550s and 1560s,[53] though this need not have precluded Sadler from teaching music himself.

Rector of Sudborough Parish Church: 11 June 1568

The next trace of Sadler comes on 11 June 1568, when he was 'admitted and licensed as priest' to the parish church of Sudborough, Northamptonshire (some eight miles from Oundle). The record of Sadler's appointment states that he was instituted to the benefice by the Bishop of Peterborough, having been presented 'by the monarch'; his licence – presumably a licence to preach and to administer Holy Communion – was issued by the Archdeacon of Northampton. The record also states that Sadler 'swore the oath of canonical obedience then and there' before the 'said Reverend Father at his palace in Peterborough'. This wording appears to be a standard formula for institutions in the Peterborough diocesan records in the 1560s, however, so Sadler may not have made the 15 mile journey to Peterborough on the day in question.

Figure 3.8 *GB-NHro* Peterborough Diocesan Records, Institutions I (1541–73), fol. 113r, recording the institution of John Sadler as rector of Sudborough, 11 June 1568.



Die ueneris viz. undecimo die mensis Iunii anno D(omi)ni pred(ic)to coram d(i)c(t)o Reuerendo p(at)re in palatio suo Petriburg(ense) admiss(u)s et institutus fuit quidam Joh(an)nes Sadler cl(er)icus ad d(i)c(t)am r(e)c(t)oriam p(er) mortem naturalem ultimi incu(m)ben(tis) ibi(de)m uacan(tem). Ad p(rese)ntac(i)o(n)em Regie m[aiest]atis pleno iure spectans d(i)c(e)nsq(ue) Joh(an)nes Sadler est r(e)c(t)or in ead(em) canonice institut(us) cu(m) suis iuribus et p(er)tinen(tibus) uniuersis prestititq(ue) iura(mentum) tunc et ib(id)em de canonica obedien(tia). Et mandatum est arch(idiaco)no North(an)t(oniensi) ad inducendum eundem sub dat(o) pred(i)c(t)o.[54]

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[52] *Injunctions Geven by the Quenes Maiestie* (London: Rychard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1559), no. 39: 'every schoolmaster and teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by King Henry VIII of noble memory, and continued in the time of King Edward VI, and none other'.

[53] Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 205–221.

[54] 'On Friday, that is the eleventh day of the month of June in the aforementioned year of Our Lord [1568], in the presence of the said Reverend Father at his palace in Peterborough, one John Sadler, clerk, was admitted and instituted to the said rectory [Sudborough], there vacant, through the natural death of the previous incumbent. At the presentation by the Royal majesty with full authority, John Sadler, looking on and speaking, was canonically instituted as rector, with his rights and all things appertaining thereto and swore the oath of canonical obedience then and there. And the Archdeacon of Northampton was mandated to induct the same man on the aforementioned date.'

Although the Oundle-grammar-school Sadler continued to draw his schoolmaster's stipend of £5. 6s. 8d. from 1568 onwards,[55] there is no doubt that this priest of Sudborough was the same man. The survey of priests in the Oundle deanery made probably in 1576 (previously mentioned) states clearly that the Sadler at Sudborough was an 'Arti[bus] Mag[iste]r': he held an MA. No other John Sadler with an MA was alive in 1576, nor in 1568 (the Sadler of King's had died in 1556), and so only the John Sadler of Oundle School can have been appointed rector of Sudborough on 11 June 1568.

Exactly how Sadler came to be appointed rector of Sudborough while he continued as master of Oundle grammar school is not documented, but it was probably the result of the clerical shortage which gripped England in the 1560s. Plague, influenza and poor harvests wiped out large numbers in the 1550s,[56] including priests, and some were also weeded out for refusing to accept Elizabeth I as the head of the church: this left many parishes without priests (Northamptonshire had over 350 parishes).[57] Those priests who did survive were also half-educated men: they generally had a grammar school education, and therefore a little knowledge of Latin, but had not attended university. In order to improve this situation, Elizabeth's *Injunctions* of 1559 preferred that priests should have an MA. Those without one had to provide 'the New Testament both in Latin and in English, with paraphrases upon the same'.[58] When the parish of Sudborough became 'vacant, through the natural death of the previous incumbent', as the record of Sadler's institution states it was, it is likely that the Sadler of Oundle, eight miles away, was an appealing candidate for the position. He already held an MA, and was thus exempted from further scriptural study.

That Sadler was known as a qualified and presumably suitable individual to take over the Sudborough rectory is also supported by the fact that he must have known those involved in this appointment. In 1568, the Bishop of Peterborough, who instituted Sadler, was Edmund Scambler (*c.*1520–1594). The Archdeacon of Northampton, who had induced Sadler, was William Binsley (*d.*1569). Scambler had been an undergraduate student at Jesus College while Sadler held his fellowship there (Scambler supplicated for a BA in 1542),[59] and William Binsley, though he was

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55 *GB-Lpro* C6/Eliz 1/1622–9.

56 Stephen Porter, *The Plagues of London* (Stroud: History Press, 2005), 12.

57 Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion 1558–1603* (London: Routledge, 1994), 64.

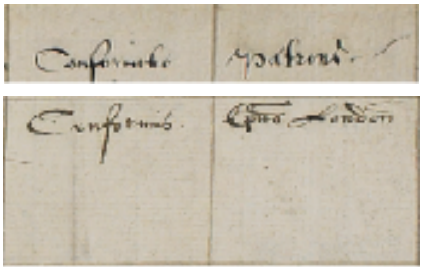
58 *Injunctions* (1559), no. 16: 'Also, that every parson, vicar, curate, and stipendiary priest, being under the degree of a master of art, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament both in Latin and in English, with paraphrases upon the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and other ordinaries by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of Holy Scripture.'

59 Scambler is held – along with several other distinguished clergymen – to have been a student at Jesus College. See Thomas Wright and Harry Longueville Jones, *The Universities. Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. 1 (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1841), 14.

educated at Oxford, had been rector of St Peter's Church, Deene, for nine months from January 1554.[60] St Peter's was the parish and family church of Sadler's patron Sir Edmund Brudenell – the person for whom he originally translated *De re militari* (discussed below).

The possibility that Sadler was drafted into a vacant parish as a result of the clerical shortage also appears to be supported by the fact that his institution to Sudborough was made in somewhat unusual circumstances. The advowson of Sudborough (the right to present candidates) had belonged to the Bishop of London since 1551.[61] In 1568 the Bishop of London was Edmund Grindal (*c.*1519–1583), another man who Sadler may have known. Both had supplicated for their BAs and MAs from Cambridge at the same time (1537/8; 1540/1), and both had been fellows of their respective colleges in the early 1540s (Sadler was at Jesus from 1539 probably until December 1546; Grindal was a fellow of Pembroke Hall from 1538 to 1545). Accordingly, the entry for Sudborough in the 1576 survey of priests in the Oundle deanery bears the words 'Epis[copus] London' under the 'patrons' field.

Figure 3.8 *GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r, showing part of Sadler's entry as rector of Sudborough (bisected).



However, the actual record of Sadler's institution to Sudborough (see Figure 2.8) clearly states that he was presented to the benefice 'by the monarch' – 'Ad p(rese)ntac(i)o(n)em Regie m(aiest)atis – and not by the Bishop of London. Usually, the monarch intervened in presentations that otherwise ought to have been made by a bishop only if a see was vacant, but this was not the case in 1568: Edmund Grindal was Bishop of London until 1570. But an episcopal advowson would lapse to the crown if, for whatever reason, the Bishop failed to institute a priest after a period of six months.[62] It is impossible to tell when the former rector of Sudborough died since the earliest record of an institution to that parish is Sadler's, but, if there had been a protracted vacancy (possibly because of the clerical shortage in England) then it would explain why Sadler was presented by the monarch in 1568, and why the 1576 survey of priests states that the parish

60 *GB-NHro* Peterborough Diocesan Records X956/1 (Institution Book), unfoliated. He was instituted to the church on 25/1/1554; he was replaced by Robert Willanton on 12 September that year.

61 'Parishes: Sudborough', in William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Northampton*, vol. 3 (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1930), 246.

62 See Usher, 'New wine into old bottles: the doctrine and structure of the Elizabethan church' in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by Susan Doran and Norman Jones (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 203–221 (214).

was nevertheless under the patronage of the Bishop of London. Possibly Sadler was an appealing candidate for a position that Grindal had struggled to fill.

Whatever the case, Sadler's institution to Sudborough tells us that he was 'admitted and instituted as rector': this suggests that he must have been ordained on or before 11 June 1568,[63] even though at Fotheringhay it would have been possible for him to serve as incumbent simply by swearing the Oaths of Uniformity and Allegiance. Sadler must have been ordained first as a deacon, then as priest; each of these events ought to have been separated by the distance of one year, although this regulation could be relaxed if 'for reasonable causes, it bee otherwise seene to his Ordenary',[64] and in Elizabeth's reign they often occurred on the same day.[65] Exactly when and where Sadler was ordained is uncertain, however: the only Sadler to be found listed in any ordination registers for any diocese between the years 1520 and 1570 is the Sadler of King's.[66] If Sadler was filling a position that for some time had been vacant, then it may be that he received an express ordination as both deacon and priest on the same day as his institution; but there is no evidence to show that this was the case.

Mateer has suggested that Sadler added an inscription to one of his partbooks in order to reflect his new status as an ordained priest. It appears in the left-hand margin of fol. 31v of Mus. e. 4, and reads 'senior sum ego incipiam' ('I am elder, I begin'), words which do not appear in this formula in any contemporary literary sources – biblical or otherwise. According to Mateer, Sadler is using the word 'senior' ('elder') in its New Testament sense, in order to refer to a priest.[67] The fact that the inscription in question appears at the end of Osbert Parsley's *Conserva me*, the copy of which in Mus. e. 3 ends with the date 1568, suggests that Sadler's ordination might indeed have been in that year. The ink of the inscription also matches that of the musical text: if Sadler's ordination had been earlier than 1568, we might ask why he did not add these words at an earlier stage, closer to the front of his volumes. This inscription would therefore appear to support the notion that Sadler's ordination was 'late' – i.e. in preparation for the vacancy at Sudborough.

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63 Although it was possible for deacons to hold benefices in Elizabeth's reign (a rank in fact held by many schoolteachers), they could not celebrate communion.

64 See 'The Forme and manner of Ordering of Deacons' in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*.

65 In reality, numerous 'batch' ordinations to both orders on a single or on consecutive days became the norm in the 1560s, because of the clerical shortage. See H. G. Owen, *The London Parish clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, 1957), 56.

66 He was ordained subdeacon, deacon and priest on 19 April 1554. See *GB-Lghl* MS 9535/1–2 [Bishop of London Ordination registers, 1550–1628], unfoliated.

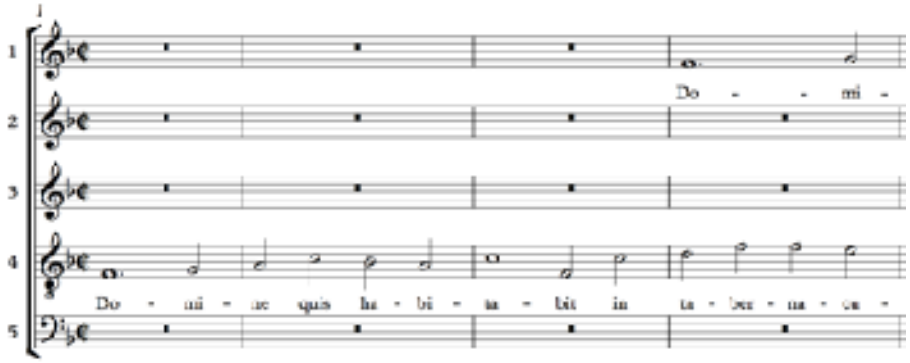
67 Mateer 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 285–6.

Figure 3.9 Fol. 31v of Mus. e. 4, showing the inscription 'senior su(m) ego incipia(m)' in the upper left-hand margin.



However, an altogether more promising possibility is that this inscription refers to the start of the next piece, Tallis's *Domine, quis habitabit* (no. 24/xx), which starts on the same folio. This pieces begins with the Tenor part, which bears the cantus firmus, unaccompanied for three bars. Given that the Tenor part was typically sung by adult males, and not by children, it may be that Sadler's inscription of 'senior su(m) ego incipia(m)' refers to the fact that an older singer begins this Tallis piece.[68]

Figure 3.10 The opening bars to Tallis's *Domine, quis habitabit* (no. 24/xx), with the initial entry in the Tenor part.



[68] The words of the inscription may even refer to *cantus firmui* as being the conceptually senior part, since it is 'quoting a chant melody, the compositional equivalent of quoting Scripture'. See Jennifer M. Bloxham, 'Obrecht as Exegete: Reading Factor orbis as a Christmas Sermon', in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 169–92 (171).

Whatever the meaning of this inscription may be, and regardless of the precise circumstances of his ordination and institution, Sadler's institution to Sudborough as rector certifies beyond doubt that by 1568 he was a serving member of the Anglican Church, and that he must have accepted Elizabeth as 'Supreme Governor' of the Church of England rather than the pope. This is also signalled by the word 'conformis' in the 'conformitie' field in the 1576 survey of priests (see Figure 3.8), which presumably indicates that Sadler had sworn the Oaths of Supremacy and Uniformity,[69] and that he carried out his work as a priest according to the tenets of Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559.

Sadler's responsibilities at Sudborough must have involved the usual round of services: recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer (publicly at least every Sunday), celebrations of Holy Communion, the baptism of infants, and officiating at marriages and funerals. Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559 also required that

> Every parson, vicar, and curate shall upon every holy day, and every second Sunday in the year, hear and instruct all the youth of the parish for half an hour at the least before evening prayer, in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, and in the Lord's Prayer, and diligently examine them, and teach the Catechism set forth in the book of public prayer.[70]

Sadler must have had to spend a good deal of time in Sudborough, despite his continued employment at Oundle grammar school – assuming, if course, that he did not employ an assistant curate. Sadly no evidence survives to attest to any of his specific activities as rector, nor of any curate, because Sudborough's early parish records have not survived (they date only from 1584).

Apart from being the year in which he commenced his new responsibilities at Sudborough, 1568 is also an important date in the chronology of Mus. e. 1–5, since this is the first date that appears in the partbooks (it is written alongside the ascription to Osbert Parsley's *Conserva me* on fol. 31r of Mus. e. 3, as previously mentioned). However, this date comes only just before the half-way point in that volume, so Sadler is likely to have started copying the volumes at an earlier stage in the 1560s. Therefore they were probably started at Oundle, and copying must have been still in progress when in 1568 he was instituted to Sudborough.

Translation of Vegetius' *De re militari:* 1572

It was while Sadler was apparently serving as both schoolmaster of Oundle grammar school and rector of Sudborough that his translation of Vegetius' *De re militari*, a Roman treatise on military warfare, was published. This appeared under the title of *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus*,

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69 Any priest who refused to acknowledge Elizabeth, rather than the Pope, as head of the church was suspended from all ecclesiastical functions and deprived of his preferments. See Usher, 207.

70 *Injunctions* (1559), no. 44.

printed by Thomas Marshe in 1572.[71] Sadler's was not the first English translation of the work: a manuscript version had been produced by a certain 'Walton' in the 1480s,[72] but Sadler's was the first English translation to appear in print, even though the work had appeared already in other languages. *De re militari* was considered a major text in the academic study of military arts throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the work was constantly quoted by Tudor and earlier Stuart writers.[73] Since he was responsible for the first accessible English translation of the work, Sadler has had some status among military historians, at least in name.[74]

Sadler dedicated the work to Francis Russell (*c.*1527–1585), second earl of Bedford. From 1565, Bedford was lieutenant-general in the north of England, responsible for the military in Northumberland, Westmorland, and Durham,[75] and seems an appropriate dedicatee for a work on the tactics of war. It is Sadler's address, dated 'From Oundell the first daye of October 1571', that confirms he has:

> …nowe manye yeares lately passed … received a liberall annuitye or stipende of youre honoure…whereby I have bene the better able to expresse suche poore knowledge as I had . . . not only in setting forth of this presente worke, but also in that trade, which I have professed a long time, as I trust to the honour of Almightye God, and also to the benefite and profit of my country.[76]

The 'trade, which I have professed a long time' is almost certainly a reference to Sadler's career as a schoolteacher (curiously there is no mention of Sadler being a priest), and the 'liberall annuitye or stipende' is most likely a reference to the additional emolument Bedford probably paid Sadler as schoolmaster at Oundle, in order to boost his rather meagre salary (as already mentioned). The fact that Sadler has signed his address 'From Oundle' suggests that he was not in Sudborough on 1 October 1571.

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71 Sadler, unpaginated.

72 For Walton's translation see *GB-Lbl* Royal 18 A XII.

73 Lawrence, 38.

74 Mentions of Sadler's translation appear to date back as far as the seventeenth century, though none of the authors that refer to it attempt to ascertain who Sadler actually was. See Lawrence, 49–56.

75 Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)' in *ODNB*.

76 Sadler, unpaginated.

Figure 3.11 Anonymous portrait of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, in the Woburn Abbey Collection, reproduced by permission of His Grace the Duke of Bedford.



Although Sadler's publication was dedicated to Bedford, the text of the dedication itself reveals that the translation was originally produced for the 'priuate vse and readinge' of Sir Edmund Brudenell (*d.*1585). Sadler goes on to acknowledge the assistance he received from Brudenell throughout the project 'not onlye wyth his good advyce, but also wyth Bookes which elsewhere I could not have had for the accomplishment of the saide translation'. This presumably refers to the loan of at the least a Latin copy-text for *De re militari*, from which his translation was made (assuming that Sadler did not possess one himself). Possibly there were other items loaned also, since Sadler refers in his 'Preface to the Reader' to Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Homer; he also comments on the importance of 'readinge … the best historicall writers both in

Greke and latine, wherin most noble actes of famous Captaynes are liuely set forth as notable examples to be followed'. Sir Edmund Brudenell was a wealthy landowner who lived at Deene Park, Northamptonshire. Unlike Bedford, who must often have been hundreds of miles from Sadler, Deene Park was only five or so miles from Oundle. Exactly how Brudenell came to know Sadler is not known; but he must have been aware that Sadler was the local schoolmaster at Fotheringhay and then Oundle, and that he must have been able to understand Latin.

Figure 3.12 Anonymous portrait of Sir Edmund Brudenell in the collection at Deene Park, Northamptonshire, reproduced by permission of Mr and Mrs Edmund Brudenell.



Whereas Bedford had a career as a politician, Brudenell did not. Little is known about him, but he was praised as an antiquarian in William Camden's *Britannia*.[77] It was probably out of an interest in antiquarianism that he asked Sadler to provide a translation of *De re militari*.

77 William Camden, *Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum* (London: Georg. Bishop, 1594), 396.

Brudenell cannot have moved entirely outside of royal circles: he was twice High Sheriff of Northamptonshire and once of Rutland, and was knighted in 1565. Moreover, on 12 August 1566 he played host to the Queen at Deene Park, since she had cancelled her arrangements to stay at Burghley House, the home of Lord Burleigh, because of an outbreak of smallpox.[78] The Queen's visitations were typically accompanied with music, although at the smaller houses of less exalted noblemen it was often the Queen's own musicians who provided it.[79] Indeed, the last minute change of arrangements may have prevented musical arrangements being put in place. Whether Sadler was ever involved in music for the Queen's visit to Deene is therefore uncertain.

Sadler's dedication text also records that it was Brudenell who 'did afterwarde purpose to cause the sayde worke to be printed'. The translation was printed by the London publisher Thomas Marshe (*fl.*1554–1587), who in 1572 occupied premises 'in Fletestreate, neare to Saint Dunstones Churche'. Marshe had 'a great licence for latten bookes used in the grammar scoles of englande the which was the generall livinge of the whole companie' – i.e. a monopoly for the printing of scholastic books in Latin.[80] The fact that Sadler's work was a translation from Latin into English may explain why Marshe printed it. Sadler must have been in touch with him several months before 1 October 1571, the date of Sadler's dedication, since the translation itself would have had to be submitted to Marshe in manuscript. This would then have to be set by compositors, and then the proof of each sheet checked against Sadler's manuscript copy and corrected before the main run was printed.[81] Sadler must have had some contact with London.

Sadler's translation was never entered in the register of the Stationer's company, and so its exact date of publication is uncertain.[82] But it was certainly available for purchase by May 1572 because one extant copy bears an acquisition note of this date on its front cover.[83] Marshe must also have sent Sadler at least one copy of his translation in advance of 1572, since a copy that was once owned by Sir Edmund Brudenell, now in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, has on

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78 See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Northamptonshire,* (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1974), 178.

79 As at Cowdray in 1591, when 'her Highnesse musicians' accompanied the nymph's song 'Behold Her Lockes' – although this is the only progress entertainment at a nobleman's house where the Queen's musicians are recorded as playing. See Anonymous, *The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montacute* (London, 1591), 3, cited in Katherine Butler, 'Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), 27.

80 *GB-Lbl* MS Lansdowne 48, fol. 180.

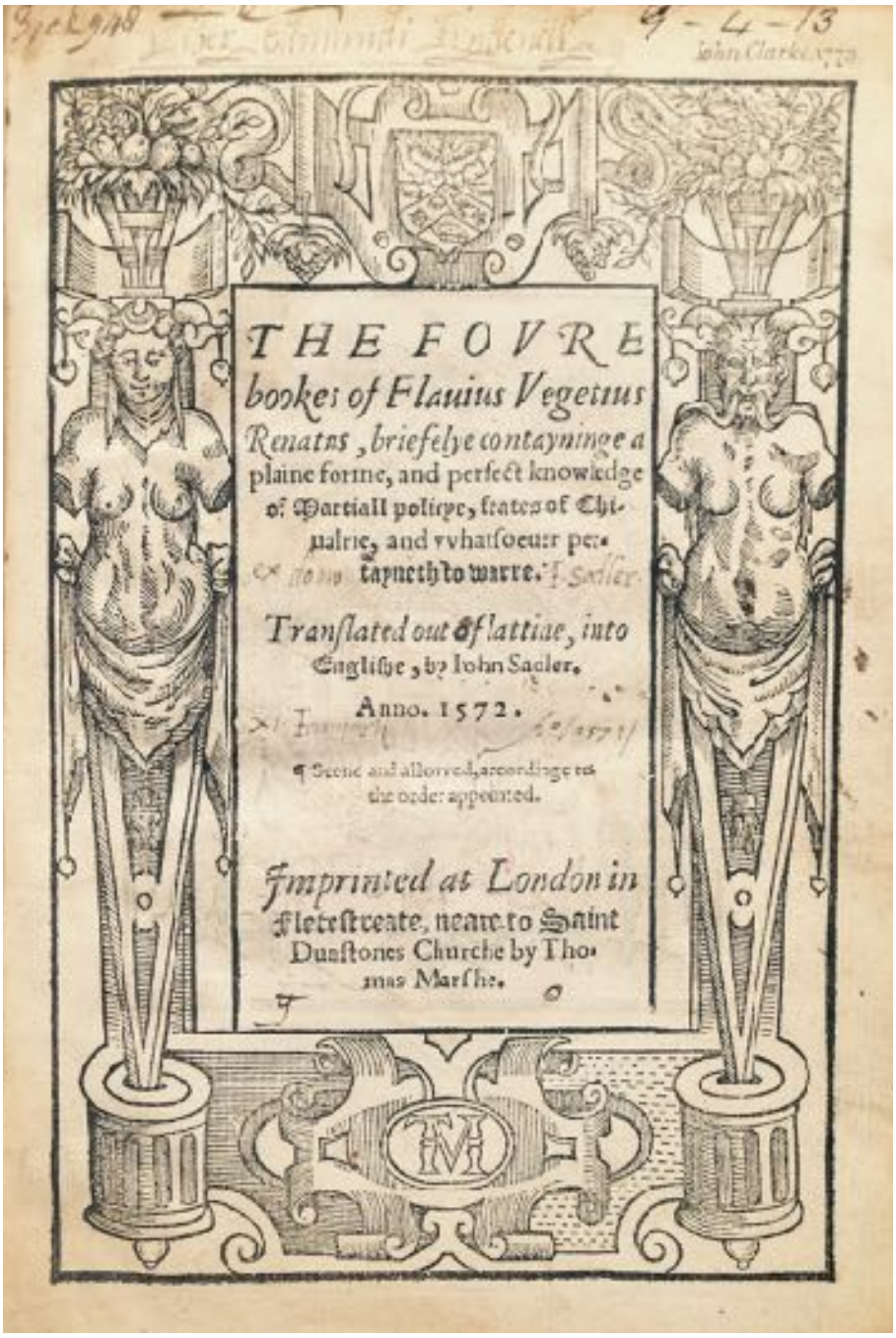
81 See Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) and Fredson Bowers, 'Elizabethan Proofing' in *Essays in Bibliography, Text and Editing* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1975), 241–242.

82 Entry in the register would have provided a certain date of production; it would also have prevented other stationers from printing the work, though it was not obligatory. See C. J. Sisson, 'The Law of Elizabethan Copyright: the Stationers' View', *The Library*, 15 (1960), 18.

83 One copy is annotated on its front cover by a Hugo Baskafilde with the words 'ætate mee 25: maii 26: 1572.' See no. 305 in Albert Myers, *An Illustrated Catalogue of manuscripts and Rare* Books, no. 251 (London: Myers & Co., n.d.), 86.

its title-page the words 'Liber Edmundi Brudenell' at its head; at the centre are the words 'ex dono I. Sadler' and the date of 'XI Ianuarii 1571 Aº 1571'.

Figure 3.13 Title-page to Sir Edmund Brudenell's copy of *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus,* now in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge (*GB-Cjc* G.4.13).



The title-page of Sadler's translation bears the words 'Seene and allowed, accordinge to the order appointed'; these words regularly appeared on printed material after 1559, and show that the publications on which they appear had been judged not to be 'untruthful, vain and infamous', as laid down in article 51 of Elizabeth's *Injunctions* (1559). Sadler's translation contains a

few woodcut illustrations: these seem to be modelled on those that appeared in an earlier translation (into French) of the same work, printed in Paris in 1553.[84] This means that Sadler needed at least two documents: a copy of the Latin Vegetius text for translation, and presumably a copy of the 1553 French translation from which woodcuts could be emulated – although the illustrations in Sadler's book are more likely to have added on the initiative of the publisher.

Apart from the important information Sadler's printed translation contains – without it we would have no record whatever of his connection to the Earl of Bedford or to Sir Edmund Brudenell – that fact that Sadler was a published translator is itself important. Although Sadler begins his dedication with a characteristically humble denial of the considerable skill involved in producing the work (he claims he has only a 'simple wit and knowledge', and that the work has been translated 'rudelye'), he must have had some fluency in Latin. This is obviously a valuable skill for a copyist of Latin-texted music. Moreover, his achievement of having a translation published does not appear to be matched by any other Elizabethan music scribe.

Like many other Elizabethan publications, Sadler's translation is prefaced by commendatory verses from various individuals: in Sadler's case they are from the pens of Christopher Carlile, Thomas Drant, William Jacob, William Chark, William Bulleyne, and John Higgins. Exactly how these men came to contribute material is not known. However, although all of them appear to have had Protestant or puritan affiliations, like the Earl of Bedford,[85] none of them mention Bedford or Brudenell by name in their offerings. Nor, as far as can be ascertained, did they have any personal connection to them. Instead, the verses of these men praise Sadler's skill as a translator.[86]

Commendatory verses were usually sought by the author (in this case the translator) from their friends and acquaintances,[87] or sometimes by the publisher from well-known personages in the hope that the inclusion of their material would boost the sales of a book.[88] Three contributors who probably fall into this latter category are William Bulleyne (also spelt Bullein) Thomas Drant, and John Higgins. Bulleyne was the author of several books on medical matters that were published in the 1550s and 1560s;[89] Drant translated Horace's *Satires* into English in a

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84 *Fl. Vegetii Renati, De Re Militari libri quatuor. Sexti Julii Frontini … de Stratagematis libri totidem. Æliani de instruendis Aciebus liber unus. Modesti de vocabulis rei militaris liber unus* (Paris: Charles Périer, 1553).

85 John Fines, *A Biographical Register of Early English Protestants and Others Opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, 1525–1558* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1981).

86 The following samples are typical: 'Warre faughte right is good, such warre doth Sadler tell, the fact he doth is right, the worke he wrytes is well' (Drant); 'And learnes himselfe a language straunge, he erst ne wist before, Thus he by Sadler taught, of warre doth teache and learneth more.' (Higgins).

87 Albert Charles Hamilton, *The Spenser Encyclopaedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 291.

88 Franklin B. Williams, 'Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing', *Studies in Bibliography*, 19 (1966), 1–14.

89 STC 4033, 4035, 4036, 4042 and 6905.

publication that was issued in 1566, also by Thomas Marshe.[90] Higgins, who was educated in Oxford rather than Cambridge, was published by Marshe in mid 1572.[91] These men would almost certainly have been known to Marshe, either from their existing publications, or because their work was in preparation with Marshe himself. Therefore they must have carried some existing or foreseeable literary cachet. The other contributors, however, were not published authors: they had varied careers as students or fellows of Cambridge colleges.

Figure 3.14 Table of Careers of commendatory contributors to Sadler's translation of 1572.[92]

Person		***career***
Christopher Carlile (*d.* by1589)	1538:	BA, Cambridge
	1538:	Fellow, Clare College, Cambridge
	1541:	MA,Cambridge
	1541:	Master, Jesus College grammar school, Cambridge
	1548:	Proctor, University of Cambridge
	1552:	BTh, Cambridge
	1571:	Rector of Hackney, Middlesex
Thomas Drant (*c.*1540–1578)	1561:	BA, Cambridge
	1561:	Fellow, St John's College, Cambridge
	1564:	MA, Cambridge
	1560s:	Chaplain to Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London
	1566	Published translation of Horace's *Satires* [Marshe]
	1569:	collated to vicarage of St Giles Cripplegate, London
	1569:	BTh, Cambridge
	1570:	Rector of Slinfold, Sussex
	1570:	Prebendary of Firle, Chichester Cathedral
	1570:	Archdeacon of Lewes, Sussex
	1575:	Rector of East Hatley, Cambridgeshire
William Jacob (*b.* 1555?)	1571:	matriculated sizar, Trinity College, Cambridge
	1575/6:	BA from Trinity College, Cambridge
	1583:	MA from Jesus College, Cambridge
William Chark[e] (*c.*1545–1617)	1562/3:	BA, Cambridge
	1566:	MA, Cambridge
	1566:	Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge
	*c.*1575	lecturer at Gray's Inn, London

90 Thomas Drant, *A Medicinable moral* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1566), STC 13805.

91 See STC 507814, STC507816, and STC 510767.

92 This information is largely drawn from *ODNB*.

	1580	published *An answere to a seditious pamphlet*
	1593:	suspended from lectureship by Archbishop Whitgift
	1597:	lectured at St Mary, Aldermanbury
William Bulleyene (*c.*1515–1576)	1550:	Rector of Blaxhall, Suffolk
	1554	resigned living to practice medicine
	1558:	published *The Government of Health*
	I560:	leased house near St Giles Cripplegate, London
	1561:	imprisoned because of debt in London
	1562:	released from prison; published *Bulwarke of Defence*
	1562:	published *A Comfortabk Regiment…*
	1564:	published *Regiment against the Fever Pestilence…*
John Higgins (*c.*1544–1602)	1565:	student at Christ Church, Oxford?
	1568–	taught Grammar
	1572:	published *Huloet's Dictionarie* [Marshe]
	1574:	vicar of Winsham, Somerset
	1575:	published *Flowers, or Eloquent Phrases of the Latine Speach* [Marshe]

Christopher Carlile almost certainly would have known Sadler: he was master of Jesus College grammar school from 1541 onwards,[93] while Sadler was still a fellow. The fact that Carlile seems to have remained at the college, while Sadler moved elsewhere, may be important. In the 1550s (presumably in the reign of Mary I rather than of Edward VI and Elizabeth I), Jesus College's chapel was a hub of 'ritual magnificence' (presumably between 1553 and 1559, in the reign of Mary).[94] Although Bishop West's statutes allowed for only limited music provision, music was certainly procured for the college later on: the Bursar's rolls for 1557/8 list the purchase of a set of partbooks for the chapel at a cost of 10d.,[95] and between 1557 and 1559 the college also acquired Mass books, antiphoners, books of pricksong, psalters, a communion book, and sheets of blank manuscript paper.[96] It seems likely that some polyphony (presumably Latin-texted polyphony in the reign of Mary) was performed at Jesus in the 1550s, even if this was not strictly envisaged in West's statutes. However, by 1562, provision in the chapel was reduced 'at one plunge into the chillest of Puritanism';[97] and Ian Payne has shown that the college consequently acquired

93 See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person CRLL538C.

94 Gray and Brittain, 16–7.

95 Ian Payne, 'Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, c.1557–1679', 98.

96 Warner, 7.

97 Gray and Brittain (1988), 52–3.

various 'Geneva psalmes in meter' throughout the 1560s.[98] The musical materials that were used in the 1550s, whatever they were, were presumably made redundant. Since Carlile was still a fellow in the 1560s, did he supply Sadler with unwanted Latin-texted polyphonic music from the chapel of his old college?

Similar hypotheses cannot easily be made about William Jacob. Trinity College had apparently had a 'highly Protestant pattern' of worship since 1558,[99] and Jacob was a mere undergraduate in 1572; as such he may not have been well positioned to pass redundant music to Sadler. However, the fact that an undergraduate was approached to offer verses for Sadler's 1572 translation suggests that Sadler may himself have known Jacob personally. Sadler must have maintained at least some contact with Trinity College, either personally, or through his students.

Most interesting of all the contributors is William Charke, a religious controversialist and eventually one of the examiners of Edmund Campion. He was only published in 1580,[100] so can have offered no pecuniary advantage to Marshe in 1572; there is therefore a possibility that Sadler knew Charke himself. From 1566, Charke was a fellow of Peterhouse. Although there survives no evidence of music provision for that college for the whole of the sixteenth century,[101] it is known that Charke was a serious collector of books.[102] More importantly, he also owned music. It has so far been possible to trace only one item from his library: Lassus's *Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus,* published in London in 1570,[103] of which two partbooks survive: each bears the tiny signature 'Sn Gul: Charci'.

Figure 3.15 Charke's name on the front cover to two partbooks of his copy of Lassus' *Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus,* now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.[104]



98 Payne, 98.

99 Payne, 99.

100 William Charke, *An answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Iesuite, with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect* (London: Christopher Barker, 1580).

101 The Henrician partbooks now at Peterhouse were not produced for that college: they were mostly copied from manuscripts at Magdalen College, Oxford, probably in 1539–40, intended for use at the new foundation cathedral at Canterbury. The volumes are not thought to have arrived at Peterhouse until 1630, and can therefore be excluded as evidence of music provision there. See Sandon, 'The Henrican Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge', vii.

102 Some of these books are now in the special collection of the University of Aberdeen. For a list see http://www.abdn.ac.uk/library/provenance/owners/195 [accessed 21 January 2015].

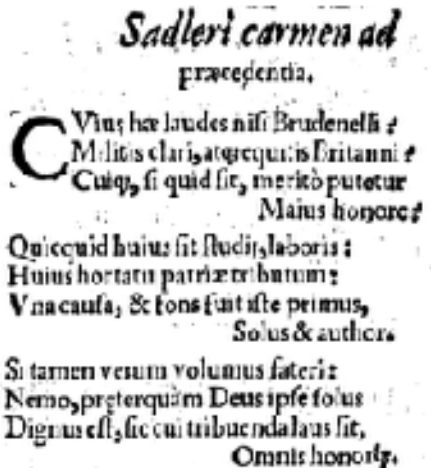
103 Orlando de Lasso, *Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1570).

104 *GB-Ob* Vet. A1 e.99 (Quintus partbook) and *US-Ws* shelfmark STC 15266 (Bassus partbook).

There is no evidence to show that Sadler ever received music from any of the men who contributed verses to his translation – even though Charke stands out as the only one who actually owned music himself. But since only William Bulleyne, Thomas Drant and John Higgins are likely to have been approached by Thomas Marshe, it seems likely that Jacob, Charke and Carlile were known to Sadler, and that he solicited verses from them himself. If so, then Sadler must have maintained at least one friendship from his student days (Carlile), and been able to forge new ones with men who were too young to have crossed paths with him in the 1540s (Jacob and Charke) – possibly as the result of return visits to Cambridge that are undocumented.

A further facet of Sadler's abilities is to be found in the few sapphic stanzas, in Latin, that he provided in his translation himself. Apparently written in response to the verses of the other contributors (which come before it), Sadler's main purpose seems to be that of shifting the praises of the preceding poetic material on to Sir Edmund Brudenell, for whom the work was originally translated (and who is not mentioned in the lines of any of the guest contributors). The fact that Sadler composed sapphic stanzas of his own tells us that he had a sensitivity to classical metre and syllabic stress: a sapphic line consists of five equal beats, of which the central one alone is of three syllables, while the others consist of two each.[105] Possibly Sadler learned about these from classical writers he had studied as a student himself, or from works that he taught to the boys at his own schools in Fotheringhay and Oundle.

Figure 3.16 'Sadleri carmen ad praecedentia' ('Sadler's poem for the foregoing'); transcription and translation kindly provided by Leofranc Holford-Strevens.


Sadleri carmen ad
præcedentia.

CVius hæc laudes nisi Brudenelli?
Militis clari, atq; equitis Britanni?
Cuiq; si quid sit, merito putetur
Maius honore?

Quicquid huius sit studij, laboris:
Huius hortatu patriæ creatum:
Vna causa, & fons fuit ille primus,
Solus & author.

Si tamen verum volumus fateri:
Nemo, præterquàm Deus ipse solus
Dignus est, sic cui tribuenda laus sit,
Omnis honor.

Sadler's poem for the foregoing.

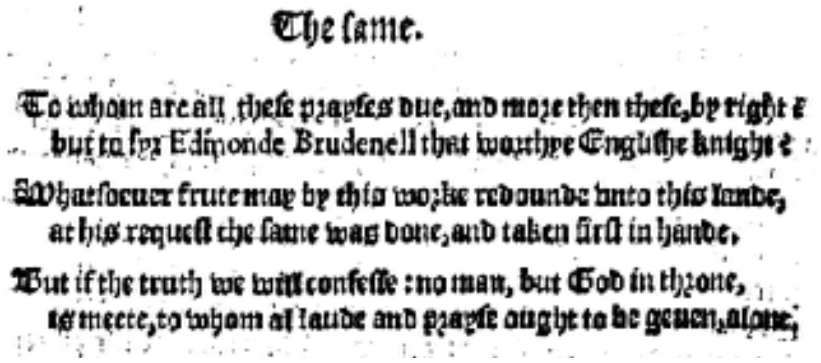
Whose are these praises but Brudenell's,
the renowned soldier and British knight?
And for whom, should there be anything,
would a thing greater in honour
be deservedly thought?
Whatever there may be to this study and labour
It has been offered to the country at his urging;
he was the one cause and first fount,
and the onlie begetter.[106]
But if we will confess the truth,
no-one but God Himself alone
is worthy of being thus accorded praise and
all honour.

[105] Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 129.

[106] Leofranc Holford-Strevens has rendered the words 'Solus et author' as 'the onlie begetter', a phrase used by Shakespeare in the publication of his Sonnets, since it is the nearest English equivalent; the Latin word 'author' does not mean the same in English, but rather the person who causes something to be done.

A further few lines then follow, this time in English. They reiterate that the translation of *De re militari* was done at Brudenell's request ('at his request the same was done, and taken first in hande'), but then direct all praise towards God ('to whom al laude and prayse ought to be geuen, alone'). This short poem is an assembly of six 'fourteeners', disposed in rhyming couplets: long-line couplets in iambic heptameter, called 'fourteeners' because there were fourteen beats per couplet.[107]

Figure 3.17 Sadler's English poem, 'The same' , disposed in three 'fourteeners'.[108]


The same.

To whom are all these prayses due, and more then these, by right:
but to sir Edmonde Brudenell that worthye Englishe knight:

Whatsoeuer frute may by this worke redounde vnto this lande,
at his request the same was done, and taken first in hande.

But if the truth we will confesse: no man, but God in throne,
is meete, to whom al laude and prayse ought to be geuen, alone.

Oundle grammar school and the Grocers' Company: 1556–1575

When Sir William Laxton (*c.*1500–1556), 'Grocer and citizen of London' and a native of Oundle, died, a codicil to his will dated 22 July 1556 left money to found a 'free school at owndell'. This school was intended to replace the grammar school at which Sadler had been teaching since 1555 (previously known as the Guild School, which Laxton himself had attended as a boy). The school was to be maintained by the Worshipful Company of Grocers, who were to act as its governors. Laxton's will specified that the headmaster of the re-founded school was to be 'an honest, vertuous, and learned schoolmaster, being a Master of Arts'.[109] John Sadler, since he had an MA, was suitably qualified for the job, and was presumably elected headmaster of the new school because he was already schoolmaster of the existing grammar school.

Due to various complications in the administration of Laxton's will,[110] the Grocers' Company did not proceed to take possession of the grammar school for several years. When, in 1573, they eventually visited Oundle with a view to enacting the Laxton bequest, it transpired that Sadler had in fact been absent from the school for some time. Moreover, he had placed a deputy in his schoolroom, apparently without permission. Surely this explains how Sadler managed to serve Sudborough as priest, eight miles away.

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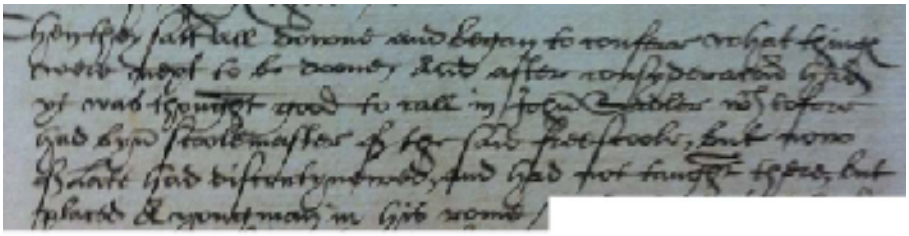
107 Dinah Birch, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). 388.

108 See Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 48–59.

109 A transcription of Laxton's will may be found in Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 54–8.

110 For details see Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 48–59.

Figure 3.18 *GB-Lghl* MS 11588/1, fol. 238v: Grocers' Company Orders of Court of Assistants, recording the minutes of the meeting held in Oundle on 3 May 1573.



Then they satt all downe and began to conferr what thinges were next to be doone And after consyderacion had it was thought good to call in John Sadler who tofore had byn scoolemaster of the said freescoole, but now of Late had discontynewed, and had not taught there, but placed a yong man in his rome.

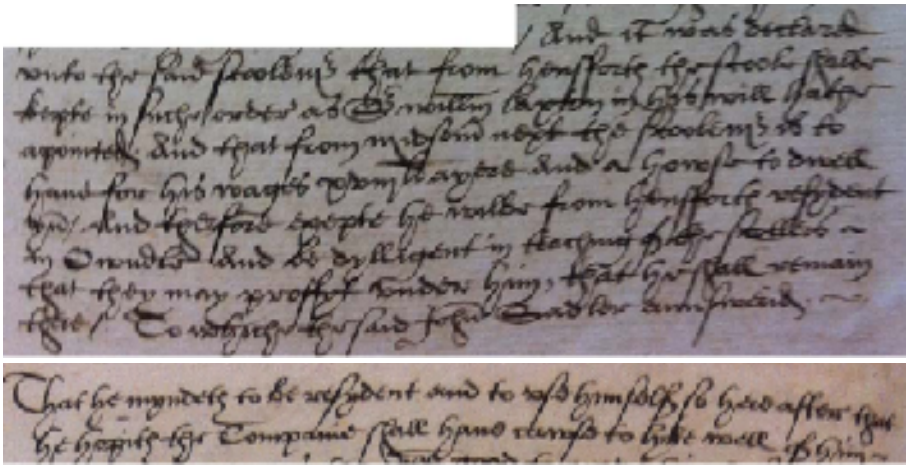
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Exactly how long Sadler had been absent is not specified. However, the same record of the Grocers' visitation later reveals that Sadler's apparent deputy was a man called Robert Linacre. He matriculated as a sizar at Clare College, Cambridge, in the Michaelmas term of 1568,[111] but does not resurface in Cambridge until 1576. It seems likely that Sadler somehow enlisted the services of Linacre sometime after he began his studies in Cambridge, a few months after he had been instituted as rector of Sudborough, possibly so that he could focus on preparing his translation of *De re militari* for Sir Edmund Brudenell.

Sadler cannot have been away from Oundle continuously from 1568 because the dedication to his translation ends with the words 'From Oundell the first daye of October 1571'. Yet the Grocers' Company nevertheless deemed Sadler's absence from the school unsatisfactory, and decreed that he was to be 'from hensforth resydent in Owndle And be dylligent in teaching of the scollers that they may proffyt under him'. Sadler apparently agreed to these terms, since he declared that he was 'myndeth to be resydent'. It was also agreed that Sadler's salary for teaching was to be £18 per annum, an amount that was specifically stipulated in Laxton's will.

[111] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person LNCR568R. A sizar is an undergraduate who receives financial help from his college, having formerly had certain menial duties.

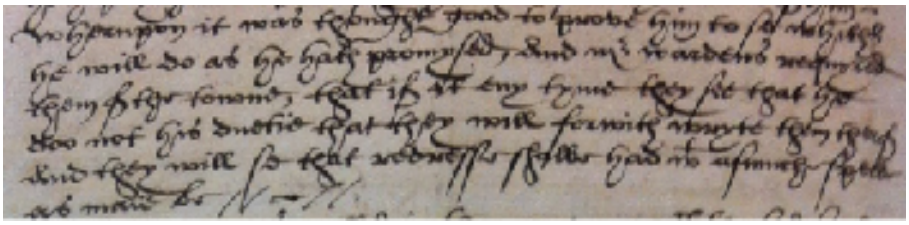
Figure 3.19 *GB-Lghl* MS 11588/1, fols. 239r–239v: Grocers' Company Orders of Court of Assistants, recording further minutes of the meeting held in Oundle on 3 May 1573.



And it was declared unto the said scoolem[aste]r that from hensforth the schole shalbe kepte in suche order as S[i]r Will[ia]m laxton in his will hathe apointed. And that from Midsomer next the scoolem[aster] is to have for his wages xviij[li] ayere And a howse to dwell yn. And therfore expecte he wilbe from hensforth resydent in Owndle And be dylligent in teaching of the scollers that they may proffyt under him, that he shall remain there. To whiche the said John Sadler aunswered That he myndeth to be resydent and to use himself so here after that he hopith the Companie shall have cawse to lyke well of him.

As a precaution against Sadler again leaving the school without permission, the Grocers' Company also charged the locals of Oundle to 'forwith wryte' to them if Sadler should be absent:

Figure 3.20 *GB-Lghl* MS 11588/1, fol. 239v: Grocers' Company Orders of Court of Assistants, recording further minutes of the meeting held in Oundle on 3 May 1573.



Wherupon it was thought good to prove him to se whither he will do as he hath promysed, And M[r] wardens requyred them of the towne, that if at any tyme they see that he doo not his duetie that they will forwith wryte them therof And they will se that redresse shalbe had w[i][t][h] as muche speed as maie be.

Sadler must have complied with the orders of the Grocers' Company, since his name does not reappear in the Orders of the Company of Assistants for some ten years. The accounts of the Court of Augmentations also show that Sadler continued to draw his 'state' stipend of £5. 6s. 8d. for teaching at Oundle,[112] and this was supplemented with the generous Grocers' stipend of £18 per annum,[113] as agreed at the visitation of May 1573.

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112 *GB-Lpro* C6/Eliz 1/1622–9.

113 Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 83.

The records of the visitation in 1573 reveal that the grammar school had 48 students, but no mention is made of any specific syllabus. However, the gist of Sadler's likely day-to-day activities may be gleaned from some school statutes that were issued in 1575. Admittedly, these date from shortly after Sadler had resigned the position of schoolmaster (discussed below); but they cannot have been entirely revolutionary because Sadler appears not to have blotted his copy book with the Grocers' Company any further.

Figure 3.21 Some of the statutes from the 'Table of Orders' for Oundle School, issued by the Grocers' Company in 1575.[114]

1	Election of a School-master	First that Mr. Wardens of the Grocers do from time time provide a good School-master whole of body, of good report and in degree a Master of Arts… [who] shall move move and stir his scholars and also shall prescribe to them such sentences of Holy Scripture as shall be most expedient to induce them to godliness and shall teach the grammar approved by the Queen's Majestie and the accidence and English Rules being learned in the first form, to teach in second Mr Nowell's little Catechism and in the third form his large Catechism.
11	Absence of them twenty days	Item neither the Master nor Usher absent themselves above twenty working days in the year from the school…
14	Admission of Scholars	…the scholar before his admission into the Grammar School [shall] be able to write competently, and to read both English and Latin…
18	Prayers in the school	Item acknowledging almighty god to the author of all good knowledge and virtue the Master and usher of the said school with their Scholars at seven of the clock in the morning shall kneeling upon their knees devoutly pray to Almighty God in such form as the master shall think best
19	Continuance in the School	Item that after prayer the Schoolmaster and Usher do remain in the School diligently teaching, reading, and interpreting unto eleven of the clock in the forenoon, and not to depart without a reasonable cause but in any wise one of them to be always present

[114] These statutes are reproduced in full in Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 86–90.

20	Return after Dinner	Item that by one of the clock in the afternoon they both resort eftsoons [soon afterward] to the School, there to remain with their scholars, until five or six of the clock at night according to the time of they year, at the discretion of the Master and then devoutly kneeling on their knees to pray in such a form as the Master shall prescribe and making mention in their prayers always of the Church, the Queen's Majesty, the Realm, the Lady Laxton, and the Company of Grocers' of London, their Governors
21	Latin Speaking	Item that the Master and Usher do usually speak in the Latin tongue to their scholars, that do understand the same, and likewise, one scholar to another as well in the school, as coming and going to and from the same.
22	Examining the Usher's Scholars	Item that the Master twice a month at the least examine those that be under the Usher's hand to understand how they profit and go forward in their learning.
24	Remedy for playing	Item that the Master or in his absence the Usher shall not give remedy, or leave to play, above one afternoon in a week unless the said Wardens, or some honourable or worshipful person present in the School shall require it.
25	Coming to Church	Item that all the Scholars upon the Sabbath and Holy-days resort to the Parish Church of Oundle in the time of common prayer, the Master and Usher or one of them being present to oversee them that they do not misbehave themselves and that each of them have a prayer book, either in Latin or English as the Master shall appoint.

It is clear from these statutes that there was a strong devotional bent to Sadler's responsibilities: he was to 'move and stir his scholars and … induce them to godliness (order 1); mornings and evenings were also to be spent in prayer (orders 18 and 20); and students were to be escorted to St Peter's Church, Oundle, on Sundays and Holy Days to attend services (order 25). Curiously, St Peter's Church only had a curate in Sadler's time: a John Choone, who served the parish from 1563–1583.[115] Apparently, the parish of Oundle had no priest of its own 'because the lyving is so small'.[116] Since there was no parish priest in Oundle for almost all of the 1560s, and all of the 1570s (and no record of any curate), this begs the question of who would have

[115] *Clergy Database*, person 138870. The first priest was a Leonard Greaves, who was instituted on 7 November 1583. See *Clergy Database*, location 9974.

[116] *GB-Lghl* MS 11588/1, fol. 239v.

officiated at eucharists attended by Sadler's students. An obvious candidate is of course Sadler himself, who by June 1568 was ordained, if not before. There is no evidence to support this possibility, but if Sadler did officiate at the parish church of Oundle, then this would add a further potential dimension to his activities at Oundle school, and also a further context in which the music in Mus. e. 1–5 might have been used.

The orders of the school also reveal that the basic syllabus was built around certain core textbooks. Predictably, Sadler was to 'teach the grammar approved by the Queen's Majestie', most likely Lily's *Grammar of Latin in English,* which had remained the standard grammar text.[117] This book was also supplemented with 'Mr Nowell's little Catechism and in the third form his large Catechism' (order 1),[118] the use of which had been prescribed in Archbishop Parker's canons of 1571.[119] Predictably for the statutes of an Elizabethan grammar school, the orders contain no specific provision for music; but the fact that students were required to be 'able to write competently, and to read both English and Latin' (order 14) even before admission to the school suggests interesting possibilities about the potential use of Mus. e. 1–5 in the classroom of the re-founded Oundle School.

The orders also specify that students were to have 'a prayer book, either in Latin or English as the Master shall appoint' (order 25). If Sadler opted for a Latin prayer book, which given his taste for Latin-texted music he may well have done, then this can only have been the *Liber Precum Publicarum*. First published in 1560, this was the only authorised Latin prayer book: it contained the Morning and Evening prayers, the Litany, the Catechism, and the Collects.[120] It is commonly held that the book was produced for the exclusive use of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge and the colleges of Winchester and Eton, since these institutions are named in the preface to the volume.[121] However, the rubrics of the various editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* had always allowed for services in languages other than English, given the proviso that the language used was understood by all.[122] Given that students at Oundle School were required to

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[117] *Injunctions* (1559), no. 39: 'every schoolmaster and teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by King Henry VIII of noble memory, and continued in the time of King Edward VI, and none other'.

[118] Alexander Nowell, *Catechismus, sive, Prima institutio disciplinaque pietatis Christianae* (London: Reginald Wolf, 1570); Alexander Nowell, *A catechism, or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (London: John Day, 1570).

[119] *A booke of certaine canons, concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Churche of England* (London: John Daye, 1571), under 'Scholmasters': 'Scholemaisters shall teach no Grammer, but onely that, which the Queenes Maiestie hath commaunded to be read in all Scholes, through the whole Realme, neyther any other Latine Catachisme, then that which was sette'.

[120] *Liber Precum Publicarum, seu ministerii ecclesiasticae administrationis Sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum et caeremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana* (London: R. Wolf, 1560). The book was a revision by Walter Haddon of the *Ordinatio ecclesiae* published in 1551, which was a translation of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer; presumably the revision brought it into line with the 1559 version.

[121] John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 169.

[122] Norman L. Jones, 'Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560', *Church History,* 53.2 (1984), 174–186 (177).

have some knowledge of Latin even before they were admitted, almost certainly they would have been able to understand the Latin of the prayer book.[123] The *Liber* also happens to contain some texts, fragmentary or whole, that appear in Mus. e. 1–5, in which they are either set to music, or that appear in inscriptions. Although these texts sometimes appear in variant forms,[124] the fact that some of them may have formed the basis for schoolboy prayers creates a connection between Sadler's volumes and the devotional and liturgical activities of the boys of Oundle School hitherto unsuspected. If such texts were sanctioned for use at school and their services, then might some of Sadler's music have been used devotionally or liturgically?

The orders of the school also present problems. The boys were to have a maximum of one afternoon off per week (order 24), and Sadler, as schoolmaster, was not to be absent from the school for more than 20 days per year (order 11). This commitment must clearly have conflicted with his responsibilities as rector of Sudborough, eight miles away, especially since the boys of Oundle School were also to be chaperoned to St Peter's Church for service every Sunday (order 25) – though this church had no priest or curate (as fas as is known). Moreover, most likely as a result of the clerical shortage of the 1560s, canons issued by Archbishop Parker in 1571 stipulated that parish priests were to:

> …returne euery one to theyr parishes, and diligently teach the gospell, according to theyr liuing to keepe house, to helpe the poore by hospitalitie, and there to be resident euery yeare no lesse than Ix [60] dayes.[125]

Sadler was therefore required to be at Sudborough for at least 60 days per year, but at Oundle School for no less than 345, given that he was only permitted 20 days absence per annum. Since Sadler was not permitted to appoint any deputies, unauthorised or otherwise, his duties at Sudborough must have been performed by a curate. There is no evidence to suggest who this curate was, but an attractive candidate for him is Robert Linacre, whom Sadler had appointed as his deputy at the Oundle School without permission. The minutes of the Grocers' meeting held in 1573 go on to mention that Linacre, having being found to be teaching at the school without permission, was offered the position of Usher at the school – a position he apparently accepted (see Figure 3.22 below).

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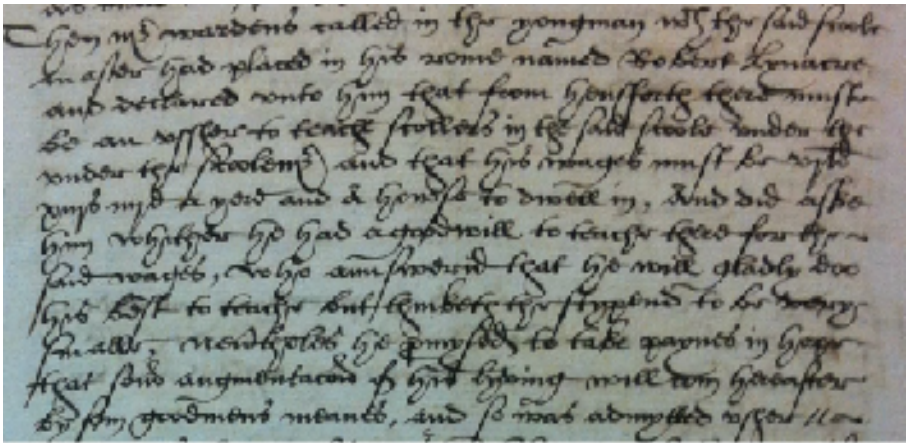
[123] St Peter's Church, Oundle, can probably be ruled out as a venue in which the *Liber* was used, since services there were presumably attended by lay persons who could not understand Latin; services there are likely to have been performed in English.

[124] For instance, the text to *Salvator Mundi,* a setting of which by Tallis appears in the partbooks (no. 31/xxvii). However, the text in the 1560 prayerbook gives a variant version: 'salvator mundi salva nos, qui per crucem et preciosum sanguinem redemisti nos; adiuva nos te rogamus, O Deus'. See William Clay (ed.), *Liturgical Services: Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1868), 403.

[125] *A booke of certaine canons, concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Churche of England* (1571), under 'Residences'.

However, no payments were ever made to Linacre as Usher,[126] and it may be that he assisted Sadler at Sudborough for some other emolument. There is no evidence to show that this was the case, but the notion is supported by the fact that Linacre was eventually ordained deacon on 24 June 1576 and priest on 21 September the same year.[127] There was no requirement for clerical assistants or curates to be ordained provided that they did not celebrate Communion; but they did require a licence to serve from the bishop.[128] There is no record of any such license being issued; but the possibility that Linacre assisted Sadler at Sudborough would have prepared him for some aspects of the priesthood. Nor is Linacre to be traced elsewhere in the period in question: he did not return to supplicate for his degree at Clare College, Cambridge, until 1577/8,[129] which infers re-entry to the university in about 1573/4 – a year or so before Sadler eventually retired as headmaster of Oundle.[130]

Figure 3.22 *GB-Lghl* MS 11588/1, fol. 239r: Grocers' Company Orders of Court of Assistants, recording further minutes of the meeting held in Oundle on 3 May 1573.



Then m[r] wardens called in the yongman w[hi][ch] the said scoole master had placed in his rome named Robert Lynacre and declared unto him that from hensforth there muste be an ussher to teache the scollers in the said scoole under the under the [sic.] scoolem[aste][r] and that his wages must be 6[li] 13[s] 4[d] a yere and a howse to dwell in, And did aske him whither he had a good will to teache there for the said wages, who answerid that he will gladly doo his best to teache but thinketh the stypend to be very small, nevertheless he promysed to take paynes in hopes that some augmentacion of his lyving will com hereafter by som goodmens means, and so was admytted usher.

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126 Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools*, 82.

127 *Clergy Database*, person 143929.

128 *A booke of certaine canons, concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Churche of England* (1571), under 'Preachers': No man shal openly preach in his pairish, but being licenced by ye Bishop, neyther hereafter shall be so bold, as preach out of his own cure & church, except he haue obtayned licence so to preach, eyther of the Queenes Maiestie, ouer all her realme: eyther of the Archbishop, through hys prouince: or of the Bishop, in his dioces.'

129 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, person LNCR568R.

130 Linacre supplicated for the BA on 24 January 1577/8 apparently after 12 terms of study; therefore he cannot have retuned to Cambridge until January 1573/4 – assuming, of course, that his terms were consecutive. See *GB-Cu* Grace Book Δ, fol. 121b.

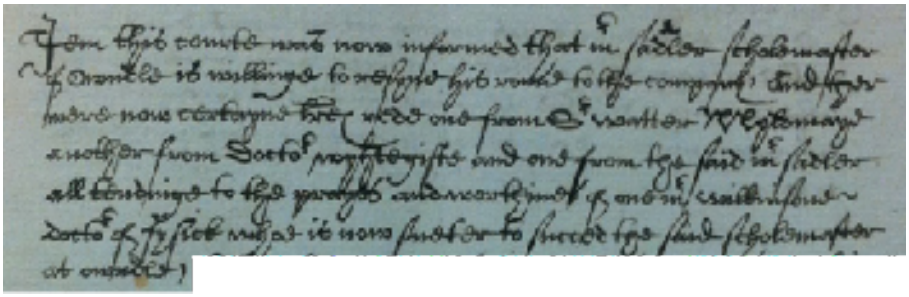
4. RETIREMENT & FINAL YEARS

Resignation from Oundle School: 18 March 1575

Less than two years after Oundle school had been visited by the Grocers' Company, Sadler resigned the position of headmaster. A record of his resignation survives in the Grocers' Orders of the Court of Assistants, dated 18 March 1575, at which point Sadler would have been aged about 62. This document does not state the reasons for Sadler's departure, but possibly it was the result of Robert Linacre's return to Cambridge in 1573/4 in order to pursue ordination and his degree – assuming that he was engaged by Sadler to cover for him at Sudborough. Without a curate, Sadler would not have been able to perform his duties as priest *and* teach at the school.

The record of Sadler's resignation reveals that his successor was a certain 'mr Wilkinsone doctor of fysick'; it also reveals that Sadler, along with John Whitgift (1530/31?–1604),[1] then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Sir Walter Mildmay (1520/21–1589),[2] who since April 1566 had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, had each written a reference for him. Sadly none of these references have survived, but the fact that Sadler wrote one at all indicates that he must have known his successor reasonably well.

Figure 4.1 *GB-Lghl* Grocers' Company Orders of the Court of Assistants, dated 18 March 1575, recording Sadler's resignation.



Item this courte was now informed that mr Sadler scholemaster of Owndle is willinge to resygne his rome to the company. And there were now certayne lettres redd, one from Sr Walter Myldmaye, another from doctor whytegifte and one from the said mr sadler all tendinge to the prayes and worthines of one mr Wilkinsone Doctor of Fysick whoe is now sueter to succed the said scholemaster at owndle…

Only one 'Wilkinsone doctor of fysick' can be traced in the sixteenth century: he is the Ralph Wilkinson (*d.*1609) who was born in Essex, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a scholar of that college in 1560, supplicated for his BA in 1562/3, and was appointed to the fellowship in 1563; he then supplicated for his MA 1566, was Junior Bursar in 1570–1, and took the higher degree of MD in 1572.[3] Exactly how Sadler came to know Wilkinson is not

1 William Joseph Sheils, 'Whitgift, John (1530/31?–1604)', in *ODNB.*

2 L. L. Ford, 'Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21–1589)', in *ODNB.*

3 *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* person WLKN579R2.

documented, but that fact that he was a member of Trinity College strongly suggests that Sadler maintained contact with the college to which he was nominated as a fellow in 1546 – even though hard evidence of the continued cultivation of this connection cannot be found.[4]

Membership of the Grocers' Company: 1575?

It must have been as result of Sadler's tenure at the re-founded Oundle School that he was made a freeman or member of the Grocers' Company, London – a status certified by the discreet floral illustration in the left-hand margin to fol. 32v of Mus. e. 2, which bears the words 'iohn sadler grocer' (see Figure 1.2). This illustration bears no date. David Mateer reckoned that this status was awarded to Sadler in May 1573,[5] when the Grocers' Company visited Oundle to at last take possession of the school. But there is no record of Sadler's induction to the Company either as member, freeman or liveryman,[6] nor is Sadler referred to as a 'grocer' in any of the Grocers' paperwork that concerns the school. A more likely scenario is that Sadler was awarded the status following his resignation from the school in March 1575, and that Sadler had succeeded in his ambition for the Company to 'lyke well of him' (see Figure 2.19).

David Mateer has also suggested that Sadler's election to the Grocers' Company was marked by the addition of two sorts of illustrations in the partbooks: swine, which appear in lieu of decorative initials for Morley's *Domine, non est exaltatum* (no. 34/xxx) and bells, which appear in lieu of decorative initials for Taverner's *Mater Christi* (no. 37/xxxiii).[7] As Mateer has pointed out, both the pig and the bell are symbols of St Antony of Coma, patron saint of the Grocers' Company.[8]

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4 John Whitgift clearly wrote on behalf of Wilkinson since he was then Master of Trinity College; Walter Mildmay more than likely wrote because he was a local dignitary (he lived at nearby Apethorpe Palace – only six or so miles from Oundle).

5 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 286.

6 *GB-Lghl* Grocers' Company Index to Freeman, 1500–1600.

7 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 287.

8 Saint Anthony (sometimes called Saint Anthony of Egypt) was said to be a swineherd, hence his association with the animal. His swine usually wore bells around their necks, but the symbolism of the bell as a representation of the saint seems to have become established in its own right. See Fernando Lanzi and Gioia Lanzi, *Saints and Their Symbols: Recognizing Saints in Art and in Popular Images* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004), 102.

Figure 4.2 A swine on fol. 57v of Mus. e. 4, and the bell on fol. 63v of Mus. e. 3.



But whether these illustrations were actually intended to be a reference to the Saint, and therefore the Company, is uncertain. The cross of Tau (τ), the symbol with which St Anthony is most strongly associated, is conspicuously absent from the volumes; nor do the words 'God Grant Grace' – the motto of the Grocers' Company – appear in any one of the inscriptions, where they might easily have been accommodated. Although there can be no doubt that the swine are swine (they are conveniently marked 'sus', indicating that they are indeed depictions of swine and not some other member of the *suidae* family), it seems unlikely that Sadler should commandeer the

bells with his own initials of 'I. S' (small though they are) if they were in fact intended to be the symbols of St Anthony.

Whatever the case, Sadler's preferment to membership of the Grocers' Company must have been something of a boon, even if the single inscription in the partbooks which makes it explicit appears – compared to some other inscriptions – with minimal fanfare (see Figure 1.2). The importance of this membership also seems to have been overlooked. Membership of the Company was ordinarily limited to those who traded as grocers; but like other London companies, the Grocers' appointed honorary members to its ranks. Typically these were drawn from the Royal family, the aristocracy, or were distinguished senior statesmen or priests.[9] However, they sometimes included those involved in politics or the arts. Sir Philip Sydney (1554–1586), who lay at the centre of a complex web of manuscript exchanges for much of his life,[10] was apparently a freeman of the Company (though no record of his appointment can be found either).[11] William Hunnis (*d.*1597), a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1567, was admitted to the freedom of the Grocers' Company on 11 November 1560.[12] Thomas Morley (the composer of *Domine, Dominus noster* and *Domine non est exaltatum,* works that are unique to Mus. e. 1–5), dedicated his four-voice *Canzonets* to 'maister henry Tapseld Citizen and Grocer of the Cittie of London', thanking him for the 'divers and many curtesies, from you to my selfe and my friends often received'.[13] Professional musicians and actors were also freemen of livery companies, and the companies even 'played a crucial role in the economics of the professional theater'.[14] Sadler may well have rubbed shoulders with some composers as a result of his membership of the Company.[15]

Moreover, the Grocers', like other London companies, put on musical entertainments of their own. Numerous plays were mounted for them between 1567–1575 and 1580–1584 by the

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9 William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, vol. 1 (London: William Herbert, 1837), 298.

10 H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

11 The basis for Sydney's connection to the Grocers' Company as a freeman is an engraving by Theodor de Bryon entitled 'An account of Sydney's funeral at St Paul's Cathedral on 16 Feb. 1587', which states that his cortege was followed by the 'Company of Grocers of which he was free'. See Jan Adrianus van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, Arthur F. Kinney (eds.), *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1986), 51–52.

12 C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis and the revels of the Chapel Royal* (Vaduz: Kraus, 1963), 123.

13 Thomas Morley, *Canzonets. Or little short songs to three voyces* (London: Thomas East, 1593), cited in John Harley (2010), 64. On Morley and Tapseld see Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 190.

14 David Kathman,'Grocers, Goldsmiths and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55.1 (2004), 1–49 (2).

15 For further on some musical entertainments of the Grocers' Company, see the various entries in Anne Lancashire (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama*, 3. vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015).

Children of the Chapel Royal, directed by their then master and freeman of the Grocers' Company, William Hunnis (*d.*1597).[16] Between 1575 and 1580, the boys were directed by Richard Farrant (*c.*1528–1580), who was acting as Hunnis' deputy.[17] If Sadler was involved with the Company from 1575 onwards, while the copying of his partbooks was still in progress, did he attend any of these plays? And did he encounter any of the professional musicians – Hunnis, Farrant, or even Morley – that were in some way associated with the Company?

One piece in Sadler's volumes does appear, superficially at least, to have some affinity with the Grocers' Company. It is the anonymous *Cony skines* (no. 41) – one of the few pieces in the partbooks for four voice-parts, and one of the three secular part-songs copied on the final pages. Added probably sometime after 1580, its poetic text, of unknown origin, is similar to the texts of the various settings of the *Cries of London*. They evoke the cries of a market salesman, selling coney (rabbit) skins, tape, points, laces pins, etc. – a theme which is clearly appropriate to the Grocers' Company, who were essentially in charge of the import and wholesale of household goods. The earliest use of a similar (but not an identical) text is found in Robert Copland's *The hye way to the spyttell hous* (1536) a dialogue in verse between Copland and the porter of St Bartholomew's hospital;[18] but a similar text was also used in a play: Anthony Munday's *The downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (1601).[19] Did the *Conye skins maydes* in Sadler's volumes derive from a Grocers' Company musical production?

There is no evidence to show that Sadler ever attended any of the Grocers' Company entertainments, met any the musicians involved in those entertainments, or met any of the musicians or other persons who were otherwise involved with the Company. Nor is there anything to show that he ever travelled to London. But Sadler's status as a 'grocer' does at least create a connection between him and the musicians of the Chapel Royal, however tenuous it might seem. The Chapel Royal was one of the few choral foundations in England that probably continued to hold its services in Latin rather than English after 1559, and it is entirely possible that the choir sang music in Latin also.[20] Might Sadler somehow have been able to access the music used by that choir, through some fellow grocer? No such link between Mus. e. 1–5 and the repertoire of Elizabeth I's Chapel can be proved because of the loss of all materials used by that choir in the Tudor era. But Sadler's likely involvement with the Grocers' Company in the 1570s and 1580s may well have facilitated the purveyance of exemplars – especially given that he was

16 Andrew Ashbee, 'Hunnis, William (*d.*1597)', *ODNB*.

17 Roger Bowers, 'Farrant, Richard (*c.*1528–1580)', *ODNB*.

18 Robert Copland, *The hye way to the spyttell hous* (London: Robert Copland, [1536]).

19 Anthony Munday, *The downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (London: William Leake, 1601), sig. F4v.

20 See Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 162; John Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, EECM, 56 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2014), xi. Opposing views on the use of Latin-texted music by the choir of Elizabeth's chapel Royal are discussed in McCarthy, *Byrd*, 55–6.

not an unknown: his translation of 1572 must have given him at least some importance in literary circles.

Final years at Sudborough: 1575–1584

Having resigned from Oundle school in 1575, Sadler returned to his parish church in Sudborough and presumably continued his duties as priest. The parish registers of Sudborough survive only from 1661, so we have no way of ascertaining any specifics regarding his activities there; but he was certainly resident at the church in 1576 because the survey of the Oundle deanery made that year lists him as the 'presbyter' ('priest'). The survey also records under the 'knowledge and preaching' field that Sadler was 'bone erudicionis in lingua latina et theologia' ('well educated in the Latin language and theology') – no great surprise, given his 1572 translation of *De re militari*. It is also the only document which confirms that he was 'nuptus' (married). If it was not marriage that caused Sadler to resign his fellowship at Cambridge, then he may have been married at any point thereafter, regardless of the fact he was a priest.[21] But everything about Sadler's marriage – its date, location, and the identity of his spouse – remains uncertain.[22]

Figure 4.3 *GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r, showing Sadler's entry as rector of Sudborough (vertically bisected).

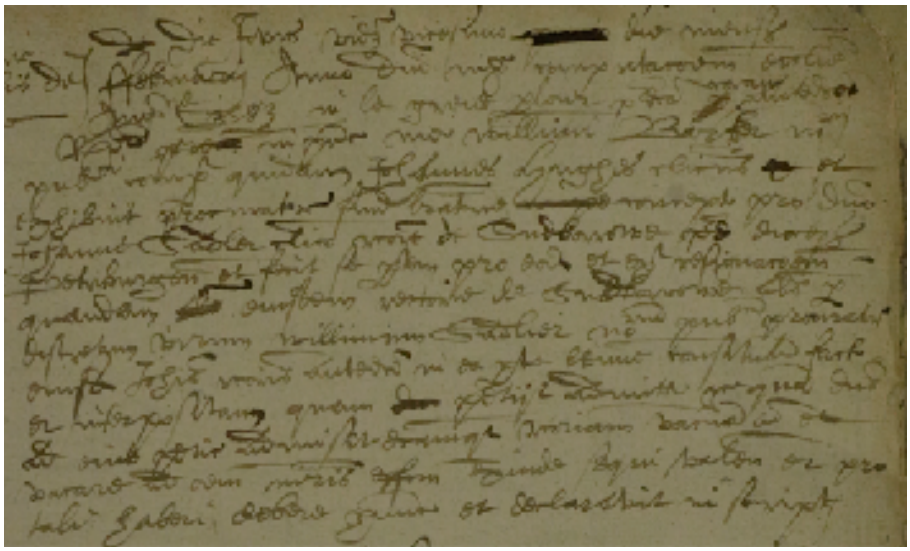


[21] The law on the prohibition of clerical marriage was repealed by Edward VI. Sadler would have been permitted to be married from 1547 onwards.

[22] A John Sadler married a Margaret Gilder in an unspecified church in the diocese of Norwich on 25 November 1555 (see *GB-NWr* MS PD 100/1 [unfoliated]). Some Norwich parishes are, and were, reasonably close to Oundle and its environs; but whether this was the John Sadler in question is uncertain.

Nothing further is known about Sadler's life at Sudborough until his resignation as rector on 20 February 1583/4. The record of this resignation does not cite the reason for the cessation of Sadler's duties, but by 1583/4 he would have been about 71 – an old age, given that the average life expectancy in the reign of Elizabeth I barely exceeded forty.[23]

Figure 4.4 *GB-NHro* Peterborough Diocesan Records, II, fol. 77r, recording Sadler's resignation as rector of Sudborough on 20 February 1583/4.



Die Jouis uid(elicet) uicesimo die mensis Februarii anno D(o)m(in)i iuxta computac(i)o(n)em eccl(es)i(a)e Ang(liae) 1583 in le grene parlour p(rae)d(i)c(t)a coram anted(i)c(t)o R(euerendo) P(at)re in p(raese)nt(ia) mei Willi(a)mi Barcker no(tarii) pub(lici) comp(aruit) quidam Johannes Hughes cl(er)icus et exhibuit procurator(ium) suu(m) l(itte)ratorie concept(um) pro d(omi)no Johanne Sadler cl(er)ico r(e)c(t)ore de Sudborrowe p(rae)d(ictae) dioce(s)is Petriburgen(sis) et fecit se p(ar)tem pro eo(dem) et ex(hibuit) resignat(i)o(n)em quandem eiusdem rectori(a)e de Sudborrowe abs(entis). p(er) discretum uirum Willi(a)mum Sadler [sic.: ought to read Barker] no(tarium) pub(licum) procurator(ium) eiusd(em) Joh(ann)is r(e)c(t)oris anted(i)c(t)i in ea p(ar)te l(egi)time constitutu(m). fact(am) et interpositam quam peti(cion)em admitt(endam) [et caetera]. qua(m) d(omi)n(u)s ad eius petic(ionem) admisit d(i)c(t)amq(ue) r(e)c(t)oriam uacan(tem) ei(us)? et vacare ad o(mn)em iuris eff(ect)um. exinde [a]equiualen(tem) et pro tali haberi debere h(abuer)unt? et declarauit in scriptis.[24]

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[23] Alexandra Shepard,'Family and household' in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London: Routledge, 2011), 352–71 (360).

[24] 'On Thursday, that is the twentieth day of the month of February in the year of Our Lord 1583 (according to the calculations of the Church of England) in the aforementioned green parlour before the aforesaid Reverend Father in the presence of William Barker, a public notary, a certain priest, John Hughes appeared and produced written evidence of his appointment as the proctor to act on the behalf of John Sadler, priest and rector of Sudborough of the aforementioned diocese of Peterborough, and he made himself party on his behalf and produced the resignation of the absent man [*sc.* J.S.] of the same rectory of Sudborough. By the discreet man, William Sadler [sic.: ought to read Barker] the public notary, the proctorship on the behalf of the same John, the aforesaid rector, was in this matter legitimately ratified. The appeal was made and introduced that it might be accepted. The lord [*sc.* bishop] accepted his appeal and his said rectory fell vacant and, was vacant at all intents and purposes of the law. Thereafter, that it ought be corresponding with and in accordance with such things he wrote and declared in writing.'

Retirement and Death: 1583/4–1596?

Exactly what happened to Sadler after he resigned his Sudborough rectory is entirely a matter for speculation. He might have returned to Oundle, where he would have been near to the boys of the grammar school, with whom performances of music in his partbooks might have been attempted, but no evidence survives to show that Sadler returned there. Possibly he went to Deene Park to serve Sir Edmund Brudenell in some capacity, though he died in September 1585; therefore any accommodation arrangement may not have lasted for long.

The last trace of Sadler appears to come in his Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, both of which are dated 1591 (David Mateer has consequently put on record that Sadler was 'seemingly alive and well' at this date).[25] However, although the notation of these partbooks is identical to that in Mus.e. 1–5, and was thus copied by the same person, the illustrations and initials in these two volumes are immeasurably superior to those of Sadler's complete five-volume set, and may have well have been provided by a professional limner. Thus the date of 1591 in these volumes may not be so helpful for establishing whether or not Sadler was still alive in that year. Similarly, the latest date in Mus. e. 1–5, 1585, which appears on the frontispiece to the first partbooks, might also have been added by a person other than Sadler since his Latin is sometimes erroneous (see Appendix). If this date was indeed added by somebody else, presumably acting on Sadler's instructions, then the assertion that Sadler was *himself* alive in 1585 may not be so sure. The last documentary trace of him, beyond the partbooks, is in fact his resignation from Sudborough in 1583/4.

Exactly when Sadler died is therefore unknown. Thomson Cooper's entry on Sadler for the original *Dictionary of National Biography* gives an approximate year of 1595 for his death.[26] The basis for this suggestion was probably Bridges' *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (1791), which correctly lists Sadler as rector of Sudborough from 1568, but states that his successor was a Robert Greene, appointed in 1596.[27] Cooper probably assumed that Sadler remained in Sudborough in an unofficial capacity, even though he recognised that Sadler had officially resigned the living in 1583/4. However, the Diocese of Peterborough's Institution Books record that Sadler's direct successor was in fact a man called John Hughes; he was instituted to Sudborough on 21 February 1584 – only one day after Sadler had resigned.[28] Therefore Sadler cannot have remained in his Sudborough rectory after his resignation, and may not even have been alive in 1596 (by then he would have been 83).

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25 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 285.

26 Thompson Cooper, 'Sadler, John', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 50 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1897), 104.

27 John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (Oxford: Clarendon,1791), 244.

28 See *Clergy Database*, person 142781.

The matter of Sadler's survival or location after 1583/4 is not assisted by any lay or clerical taxation records that survive for the period 1568 to 1600: none of these mention Sadler – he is not even mentioned in the documents that survive for the years in which he was functioning as priest of Sudborough.[29] Moreover, no will can be found for Sadler: he apparently died intestate, despite the fact that he held an important office at Oundle School and was a published translator.[30] The wills of sixteenth-century parish priests usually provide that they are to be buried in the chancel of their church,[31] but Sadler is not buried at Sudborough, and he had in any case resigned his rectory in 1583/4. Nor is it possible to prove that any John Sadler buried elsewhere is the John Sadler in question. It was usual for the death of members of the Grocers' Company to be recorded in the archives of the Company; but, just as there is no record of his induction to that Company, nor is there any record of his death.

According to the verifiable facts of Sadler's biography, Sadler spent almost all of his working life (that is to say from 1548 onwards) in the same square six miles of Northamptonshire, centred around Oundle. Even if he was born somewhat earlier or later than the conjectured birth year of 1513, Sadler's life straddled the reigns of four monarchs: Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. Although in previous accounts of his life Sadler was apparently without musical acquaintances, he must have come into contact with the departing musicians of Fotheringhay College, from whom he may have obtained exemplars. He clearly maintained contact with Cambridge because he secured the services of Robert Linacre; and he must have maintained contact with Trinity College in particular, the college to which he was appointed a fellow in 1546, since he wrote a reference in support of his successor at Oundle, Ralph Wilkinson.

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29 I am grateful to Dr Nick Barratt of the Medieval and Early Modern Records department at the National Archives for confirming this, following a thorough search of various documents in the E 179 database.

30 No will for Sadler can be found listed in the Court of the Archdeacon of Northampton (which span 1510 to 1652); nor can his will be found in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, or any other consistory court.

31 J. Charles Cox, 'The Parish Churches of Northamptonshire: Illustrated by Wills, Temp. Henry VIII', *Archaeological Journal*, 63 (1901), 113–32 (130).

Figure 4.5 Detail of Saxton's Map of Northamptonshire, showing Fotheringhay, Oundle, Sudborough ('Sudboro') and Deene ('Dene') in red boxes. From Christopher Saxton, *Atlas of the Counties of England & Wales* (London: Thomas Seckford et al, 1579).



5. SCRIBE, ILLUSTRATOR OR OWNER?

However attractive Sadler's potential connections to musicians and other individuals through whom exemplars might have been obtained might seem for the apparent copyist and compiler of Mus. e. 1–5, doubts have circulated as to whether he produced the partbooks himself, whether they were produced for him, or whether he simply acquired them and decorated them (or commissioned their decoration) himself. The fact that Sadler's name, in its various guises, is found in the volumes some 24 times offers clear proof of ownership, but not of production: there are no inscriptions that tell us Sadler actually copied them, though such evidence in Elizabethan partbooks is admittedly scarce.[1] However, many – but not all – of the forms of Sadler's name were added in the same ink(s) as the musical text, and were clearly contemporaneous with it. Therefore we cannot be dealing with partbooks that were commandeered by Sadler.[2] This assertion is supported by the presence of Sadler's own *In nomine* originally as the first item in the partbooks (though it is now the third item in the set). The notation of this piece matches that found throughout the volumes, and the position of this work as a sort of instrumental title page to an otherwise vocal collection, as David Mateer has suggested,[3] intimates that we must be dealing with volumes that Sadler produced himself, or that were copied for him.

The consensus of earlier scholarship was that the volumes belonged to and were probably produced by John Sadler.[4] These hypotheses were probably made on the basis that the notation and underlay in the partbooks are consistent,[5] and because the partbooks evidently took several years to copy. The earliest date in the volumes is 1568; the latest (excluding the date of 1585 on the frontispieces to Mus. e. 1) is 1581. All of these dates are copied in the same ink as the music they accompany, and indicate that the music in the partbooks had a gestation of at least 13 years. This protracted production time is too long for a commission; and the numerous versions of

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1 Only Thomas Hamond, in his partbooks, includes a note which confirms beyond doubt that he produced his books himself: it reads 'I wt much cost, trouble & labour haue collected & written out, ware done for recreation & to prevent Idlenesse. In witnesse whereof, I haue heere unto set my hand. December. Ao 1661 per me Tho: Hamond'. See *GB-Ob* MS Mus. f. 3, fol. 2r.

2 There is a precedent for a later owner adding their name to volumes: Robert Dow's partbooks were later owned by Giles Thomson, Dean of Windsor, who added the initials G. T. to the bindings, though he is not thought to have marked any pages. See David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8: an Index and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 20 (1986–7), 1–18 (4–5).

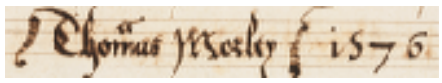
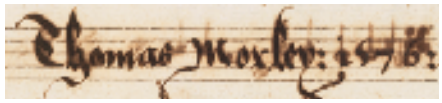
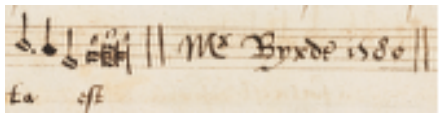
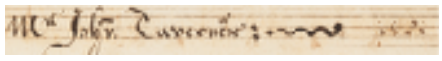
3 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 285.

4 [Falconer Madan?], 'An Interesting Relic', 244: 'belonged to, and [were] probably written by, John Sadler'; Davey, *History of English Music,* 124: 'John Sadler probably wrote these five books himself'; Falconer Madan (ed.), *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* vol. 5, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 649–50, nos. 29582–86: 'made for, and probably by, John Sadler, whose name and devices frequently occur'.

5 I signal here Julia Craig-McFeely's suspicion that the underlay may be the work of more than one pair of hands, due to what she perceives as clear inconsistencies in the style of elisions and slant. These concerns are reserved for future assessment, to be made via restored images of Mus. e. 1–5.

Sadler's name in any case render the possibility that the partbooks were produced by Sadler for presentation to somebody else very unlikely.

Figure 5.1 Various dates in Mus. e. 1–5, arranged in chronological order (1568–1580).

No.	*work/composer*	*date*	*folio*
17/xiv	Osbert Parsley *Conserva me*		34v, Mus. e. 3
30/xxvi	Thomas Morley *Domine, Dominus noster*		57r, Mus. e. 1
			56v, Mus. e. 2
			57r, Mus. e. 3
			55r, Mus. e. 4
			52r, Mus. e. 5
34/xxx	Thomas Morley *Domine non est exaltatum*		60v, Mus. e. 3
35/xxxi	Tallis *Absterge Domine*		62r, Mus. e. 2
36/ xxxii	Byrd *Ne irascaris*		63v, Mus. e. 2
37/ xxxiii	Taverner *Mater Christi*		58v, Mus. e. 5

However, whether Sadler actually copied the partbooks himself is less certain. The notation hand in Mus. e. 1–5 – that is to say the hand responsible for the underlay, notes and rests – is consistent throughout the set, and it matches that of the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts (though the underlay in these later volumes is sometimes executed in a more formal chancery script). But any attempt to prove that this handwriting is in fact Sadler's meets with

failure: although Sadler is traceable as an individual, not a single document survives in his holograph beyond the partbooks that bear his name.

Figure 4.2 The opening of the Medius part to Byrd's *Ne irascaris* (no. 35/xxxii) on fol. 62r of Mus. e. 3, and the opening of the same part as copied on fol. 8r of the Willmott MS.



One small additional sample of what is presumably Sadler's own handwriting is to be found on a fragment of the original covers to Mus. e. 1–5, which are now bound under a separate shelfmark of *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21, though this has previously gone unnoticed. Fragment 2v bears the ownership inscription 'Joh(a)n(nes) Sadler' in a medium-size gothic script, executed in heavy black ink; beneath it is the word 'Possessor', in a smaller secretary style.[6] Although the word 'Possessor' is rather rubbed, it is similar in style to some – but not all – of the letter forms in the underlay of Mus. e. 1–5.

Figure 5.3 'Joh(a)n(nes) Sadler possessor', perpendicular to the lower left-hand edge of fragment 2v (rotated right by 90°), and sample letter forms on fol. 17v of Mus. e. 1, fol. 17v of Mus. e. 1, fol. 73r of Mus. e. 1, and fol. 29v of Mus. e. 1.



[6] The use of the word 'Possessor' might today imply that Sadler only owned the partbooks, without having actually produced them. Although no sixteenth century dictionary exists to tell us definitively what the word 'possessor' meant in Tudor parlance, its general meaning can be gleaned from other sources. It is to be found inscribed on some printed partbooks, and well as on a handful of manuscripts; it each case it appears to have been deployed by later owners rather than scribes. However, for reasons to be outlined in Chapter 10, almost certainly these words were applied to the choirbook that was cannibalised by Sadler into makeshift bindings, and do not denote ownership of the five volumes of Mus. e. 1–5 themselves. For instances of the word 'possessor' on manuscripts see *CH-SGS* MS 462; *CH-SGS* MS 464; *D-Rp* C 120; *GB-Lbl* Harley 2951. On its use in inscriptions to printed partbooks see David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). 95.

There is also a similarity in the calligraphy of the 'John Sadler' ownership inscription above to other versions of the same name found on non-musical leaves in the partbooks. One of these, located on a test page at the rear of Mus. e. 3, bears similar, though not identical, notation to that of the music in the partbooks. Any slight variation may be attributable to the fact that a different sort of quill was used.

Figure 5.4 'John Sadler' on fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3 (stave 3), and on fol. 6r of Mus. e. 2.

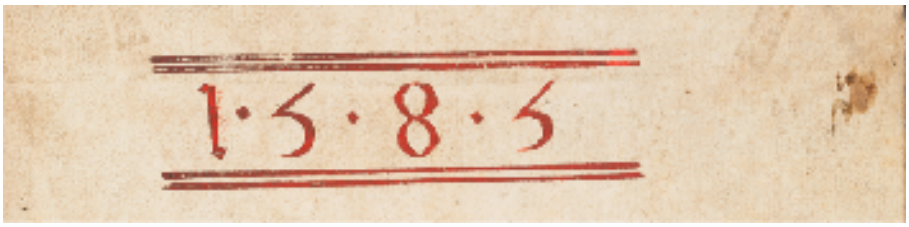


David Mateer, writing in 1979, expressed concerns that some of the extra-musical material in the volumes might have been provided by somebody other than Sadler. He reported that:

> Some of the preliminary and final leaves were later decorated with inscriptions and geometrical patterns, but a number of omissions and elementary spelling errors in the Latin make it doubtful that Sadler was responsible for them. The desire to use designs more intricate than he himself was capable of executing may have necessitated the assistance of another scribe, who, though working to Sadler's specifications, was perhaps Latinless.[7]

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the illustrative material on these pages is considerably better executed than many of the stave-lines in the volumes. Moreover, the style of the arabic numbers for the date of 1585, which appears on the frontispiece to Mus. e. 1, does not match any of the arabic numbers found elsewhere in the volumes (as shown in Figure 4.1).

Figure 5.5 The date of 1585 as it is given on for. 5v of Mus. e. 1 (rotated clockwise by 90º).



7 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 287.

Hugh Benham, writing in 2003, wagered that Sadler 'probably' produced the volumes himself, but thought it odd that the underlay in at least one of the pieces in the volumes contained a basic error in its Latin:

> Sadler himself probably copied the partbooks (he was a proficient musician, who composed his own *In Nomine*) but it is strange that someone who published a translation of Vegetius' *De re militari* should allow the nonsensical 'te puer mundum cantibus' to stand for 'te pure manducantibus' in [Taverner's] *Mater Christi*.[8]

Benham's point is an important one: basic errors in Latin are something we do not expect to find in a document produced by a teacher and published translator. Similar concerns have been expressed about the Gyffard partbooks, which contain a number of 'grotesque spelling errors' (blasphomame for blasphemavit, Iracl for Israel, osum for eum, mumquid for numquid etc.): Kerry McCarthy has asserted that these mistakes are uncharacteristic for a fellow of Merton and All Souls', Oxford.[9] The same would appear to be true of Sadler, who was a Cambridge fellow, and who, by his own admission, was 'bone erudicionis in lingua latina et theologia'.[10] With Gyffard, however, we have the advantage of other documents in his handwriting to prove he did not copy his partbooks himself (the script of these volumes does not match samples of his handwriting elsewhere). With Sadler we do not have the same luxury.

Errors in Sadler's volumes should not necessarily eliminate him as the scribe responsible for copying them. Even the most accomplished scribes were prone to error, and, as will be seen in Chapter 9, there are compelling reasons for believing that Sadler showed absolute, even blind, fidelity to his exemplars. Any errors in these exemplars may thus account for errors in his copies. Mistakes in the Latin of the decorative pages which begin and end the partbooks are less easy to explain, since, although the text on these pages typically derives from devotional or biblical sources (see Appendix), these pages, with their neatly-drawn geometrical patterns, appear to have been designed specifically for Mus. e. 1–5, and not copied from some other source.

Any errors in these pages can be explained by the fact that Sadler was not infallible. One important point to be made about Sadler's translation of *De re militari* – one that will probably not be known to musicologists – is that the work, though published, was not without its errors. A later edition of the work, translated by the historian John Clarke (*d.*1778), states in its introduction that Sadler has 'often mistaken the Original', adding that his work has 'little Value but that of Antiquity.'[11] Philip Bliss also stated that the commendatory verses to the 1572

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8 Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 26.

9 Kerry McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135.2 (2010), 405–411 (408–9).

10 *GB-Llp* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r.

11 John Clarke, *Military Institutions of Vegetius, in Five Books, Translated from the Original Latin* (London: printed for the author, 1767), xvii.

translation, which Bliss believed Sadler translated from English into Latin himself, are rendered 'in a style that does not reflect much on his prose.'[12] Having a translation published therefore offers no guarantee of accuracy in other endeavours; and thus any errors in Sadler's volumes do not eliminate him as our scribe.

Due to the paucity of independent samples of handwriting with which Sadler's volumes might be compared in order to be positively identified, and, given the protracted production time of the volumes (at least 13 years), Sadler must be tentatively accepted as the person who not only owned but also produced Mus. e. 1–5. This should not assume that he produced the volumes alone, however. As will be seen in the following pages, more than one pair of hands may have contributed to their production. The notation and underlay are almost certainly the work of a single scribe; but some of the extra-musical material in the volumes may well have been provided by somebody else. Other features of the partbooks arouse similar suspicions: the incipits which open each work are copied in a variety of different font types, and the style of clefs and *custodes* in the volumes also vary. Sadler either had a protean (and perhaps experimental) hand – not an unknown attribute among Elizabethan scribes – or the partbooks were produced by more than one pair of hands acting in collaboration.[13]

What is clear, regardless of how many hands were responsible for their production, is that work on Mus. e. 1–5 must have been overseen by Sadler himself. The dates in the partbooks (reproduced in Figure 4.1) broadly correlate with the verifiable facts of Sadler's biography. The first date in the volumes, 1568, corresponds with Sadler's appointment as rector of Sudborough, after which we know he absented himself from teaching in Oundle school, probably so that he could translate *De re militari* for Sir Edmund Brudenell and presumably copy his partbooks. Since the dates in the musical contents extend on to 1576 and then 1581, the partbooks must have been produced in Oundle, possibly at Deene Park, the home of Sir Edmund Brudenell, and in Sudborough. Since Sadler may have obtained some exemplars from the departing singing men of Fotheringhay College, there is also a possibility that production of the partbooks started when Sadler was in Fotheringhay.

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12 Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses: an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, third edition, enlarged with additions by Philip Bliss, vol. 4 (Oxford: Lackington, Hughes, et al., 1820), 407.

13 John Baldwin, for example, was able to change his handwriting according to the task in hand: a sample of his more formal hand survives in 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' (*GB-Lbl* Mus. 1591); radically different, and less formal, are the 'Baldwin partbooks' (*GB-Och* 979–83). A variety of different styles of writing are also to be found in the 'Hamond partbooks': *GB-Lbl* Add. 30480–4.

Figure 5.6 Summary of John Sadler's Career, shown with the various dates in Mus. e. 1–5.

Date	*event*	*partbooks*
c. 1513	Born	
1534	Begins BA (Trivium of 1500) at University of Cambridge, possibly as student of St John's College	
September 1535	Visitation of Cambridge by King's commissioners: BA altered; all members of University required to take oath of supremacy	
[1537	Sadler spent some time in Oxford? (Bliss)]	
Lent term 1537/8	Sadler appears on list of derterminers for degree of BA: records that he had studied for 12 terms, though he could not be examined on Ash Wednesday for 'want [of time] which was strongly pressing'	
November 1539	Sadler appointed fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; ensuing room rents show that Sadler had a room in the cloisters, to the east of the coal house; he sometimes rented room for a student	
November 1539	A John Sadler appears listed as beneficiary of studentship in accounts drawn up for Westminster Abbey, in receipt of £8. 8s. per annum	
1541	Studentship increased to £10 per annum, paid by Court of Augmentations	
1542–3	Sadler rents room for a student, identity unspecified	
1542–3	Sadler examines the BA of William Bowghe (with Master Haddon)	
November 1546	John Sadler listed as foundation fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, as result of closure of studentship scheme. Absent from college accounts, possibly because paid by Court of Augmentations	
January 1547/8	Sadler's fellowship at Jesus College, 'recently resigned', filled by John Goodrich	
21 March 1548	Sadler begins as schoolmaster at Fotheringhay grammar school. Fotheringhay College dispersed upon his arrival; obtained exemplars from departing singers?	**Start of copying?**
1550	Sadler listed as Rector of Fotheringhay, but no contemporary evidence to support this	

1553	Sadler moved to Oundle grammar school, four miles away, possibly following contact by Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford and Lord of the Manor of Oundle from 1551	
1556	Oundle school re-founded by will of Sir William Laxton, under charge of Grocers' Company, London	
1568	John Sadler appointed rector of Sudborough	
1568	**First date in Mus. e. 1–5**	**reached no. 17/xiv**
1572	Sadler's translation of *De re militari* is published by Thomas Marshe, dedicated to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, but originally prepared and subsequently published at suggestion of Sir Edmund Brudenell	
1573	Sadler admonished for absence for Oundle School, having placed Richard Linacre in his room. Informs Grocers' company that he will from now on be resident. Linacre crated Usher.	
in or before 1574	Sadler pens letter of recommendation for Ralph Wilkinson. Similar letters received from Archbishop John Whitgift and Sir Walter Mildmay	
18 March 1575	Sadler tenders resignation to the Grocers' Company, and ceases Oundle schoolmastership; retires to Sudborough to continue as Rector	
1576	**Second date in Mus. e. 1–5**	**reached nos. 30/xxvi and 34/xxx**
1580	**Third date in Mus. e. 1–5**	**reached no. 36/xxxvi**
1581	**Fourth date in Mus. e. 1–5**	**reached no. 37/xxxiii**
20 June 1583/4	Retires as Rector of Sudborough (probably aged 79)	
1585	**Fifth date in Mus. e. 1–5** (fol. 4r of Mus. e. 1)	**date of Frontispiece**
1591	Year inscribed in both Willmott and braikenridge MSS	

6. SADLER'S *IN NOMINE*

A further facet of Sadler's abilities is to be found in the single piece in Mus. e. 1–5 that he composed himself: a textless *In nomine*, for five voice-parts.[1] This work tells us that Sadler must had some proficiency in counterpoint – even though, as already shown, no specific evidence of any tuition in composition can be found.

Sadler's musical abilities, as shown in his *In nomine*, have major implications for his partbooks. A capable musician would have been able to make a discriminating (rather than arbitrary) selection of music to include in his compilation; therefore Sadler's musicianship might have had a bearing on the contents of his volumes. It is also a scribe's musical ability that invites our confidence in his transcriptions,[2] as well as the singular attribute that enables him to make changes to the music that he copied. Sadler's musical literacy, as evinced by his *In nomine*, may therefore have coloured his copies – however neutral we may assume them to be.[3] This is a luxury among Elizabethan partbook sets, the majority of which are not known to contain any music composed by their apparent scribes.[4]

David Mateer evidently examined Sadler's *In nomine* in preparation for his 1979 article on Mus. e. 1–5, since he reported that it 'is by no means an incompetent piece; Sadler was capable of manipulating imitative points skilfully and to good effect, with few of the solecisms and harmonic asperities one might expect to find in the work of an amateur'.[5] But Mateer did not elucidate any further upon how he came to this conclusion, and nor did he attempt to place Sadler's setting in the wider context of the *In nomine* genre. The following pages therefore consider some salient features of Sadler's *In nomine*. The content and structure of the work is compared to those of some other settings, in order to indicate how Sadler's *In nomine* differs from those of his contemporaries.The general effectiveness of the piece is also considered in light of contemporary compositional procedure as laid down by Thomas Morley in his *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* of 1597 (though it was published some time after Mus. e. 1–5 was

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1 The work occupies the following leaves: fol. 8r in Mus. e. 1; 6r in Mus. e. 2; 6r in Mus. e. 3; 5r in Mus. e. 4; and 6r in Mus. e. 5.

2 Proficiency in composition implies that a scribe copying music is more likely to produce a more accurate version than a non-musical scribe copying mechanically. One possible example of mechanical transcription by a non-musical scribe may be found in *GB-Lbl* MSS 30480–4 and *GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 1464 – manuscripts that provide some reliable readings but are hampered by poor note spacing, varying stem lengths and mis-aligned (and therefore ambiguous) underlay. Work is currently underway on the former, at the hands of Katherine Butler.

3 The same point has been made in Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: the Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), 1.

4 Of all Elizabethan partbooks sets, only John Baldwin's are known with certainty to contain music that was composed by the scribe responsible for them. See *GB-Och* Mus. 979–83, which contain his compositions *Cuckoo as I me walked*, *Fancy*, *Pater noster* and *Redime me Domine*.

5 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', 294.

copied),[6] in order to assess the degree of Sadler's musical literacy. The date of the setting is also debated in a bid to determine when and where it might have been composed. A transcription of Sadler's *In nomine* is to be found in the Appendix.

Sadler's *In nomine* and the *In nomine* genre

Sadler's *In nomine* is a textless contrapuntal composition that uses as a cantus firmus the Sarum antiphon for the first Vespers on Trinity Sunday, *Gloria tibi Trinitas.*[7] Sadler has not given his composition a title of 'In nomine', but the cantus firmus part in Mus. e. 1 bears a title of 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Amen'; and the words 'In nomine domini' act as incipits for each of his voice-parts – though the work is otherwise textless.

Sadler does not make mention of Taverner's work as progenitor (settings that do are in fact rare),[8] and nor does he include anywhere the words *Gloria tibi Trinitas.*[9] While this may suggest that he did not encounter Taverner's Benedictus (even though it had must have circulated widely in the sixteenth century),[10] Sadler must have laid eyes on one of its cognates, since he uses the same cantus firmus and pairs this with incipits of 'In nomine domini'. This is important, since Mus. e. 1–5 does not contain any *In nomine* settings by other composers – an unusual fact in itself, since a great number of Elizabethan partbook sets contain at least one (Dow, in his partbooks

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6 Although published in 1597, Morley's *Introduction* provides a valuable guide to the methods of instruction that must have been current half a century earlier: Morley was taught by Byrd; Byrd, his senior by only 14 years, presumably had fresh memories of his own education. See Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), and Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press,1978), 27.

7 For a summary of the *In nomine* genre and its origin – the 'In nomine' section of the Benedictus to Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* mass, based on the plainsong of the same name – see Warwick Edwards, 'In nomine', in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13804 [accessed 21 January 2015]. For an edition of Taverner's mass, see Hugh Benham (ed.), *John Taverner: Six-Part Masses*, EECM, 20 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1978).

8 One version that does is the contrafactum 'In trouble and adversity', arranged by Thomas Caustun (*d.* 1569), and headed in the Bassus part as 'In nominee of Master Tauerners', with no reference to the arranger; this suggests that he (or John Day, in whose printed collection it appeared) was aware of the work's origin. See John Day, *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts* (London: John Day, 1560). A similar alteration to the medius part of the same arrangement was made by a manuscript copyist, who reattributed it to 'Mr Taverner'. See *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15166, fol. 88v.

9 There are some exceptions. In the Mulliner Book, for instance, works specifically for keyboard are given the title 'Gloria tibi trinitas' whereas arrangements of consort or vocal pieces are entitled 'In nomine' (see *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 30513). By the end of the sixteenth century these titles seem to have become synonymous: this is certainly the case in *F-Pn* MS 1122, a manuscript copied in the 1640s, in which four pieces are labelled 'Gloria tibia trinitas' while several others are simply entitled 'In nomine'.

10 This is implied by Morley, who advises his readers to 'look in the mass of Master Taverner, called Gloria tibi trinitas'; see Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke,* 175. *In nomine* settings must have been in circulation in Sadler's vicinity, since several are found in *GB-CF* D/DP Z6/1, *GB-CF* D/DP Z6/2 and *GB-Ob* Tenbury 1464 – manuscripts of almost certain East Anglian provenance (the *GB-CF* manuscripts are sometimes referred to as *Chelm1* and *Chelm2*). On these MSS see Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161-79 (167, 168, 173).

found room for 13).[11] Therefore Sadler must have had access to at least one work – an *In nomine* – that was not entered into his collection.

Figure 6.1 The cantus firmus to Sadler's *In nomine* on fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1, showing the incipit (which appears in all five parts) and the title only in this single voice-part.



Like the majority of other settings, Sadler's *In nomine* consists of five voice-parts – the cantus firmus plus four composed parts. It is cast in *tempus imperfectum* (¢), and is disposed in clefs G2, C1, C3, C4 and F4. But unlike most other settings that place the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* cantus firmus in the altus part beginning on D (as Taverner had done in his Benedictus), Sadler places his in the Superius part (voice-part 1) beginning on G – something found in only a handful of other settings.[12] Most *In nomines* also follow Taverner's lead in casting the cantus firmus almost entirely in equal breves; Sadler does likewise for the majority of his cantus firmus, but three notes are rendered as *longae*.[13] The duration of Sadler's *In nomine* is therefore 56 rather than the expected 52 bars (see figure 5.1 above). The notation of cantus firmi is discussed further in Chapter 9.

Structure and Content

As in many other settings, Sadler's *In nomine* comprises a series of *fugae*: in this case, nine collocated imitative expositions (their subjects are listed below, labelled A to I). In contrast with other *In nomines*, which are characterised by jocund or 'instrumental' textures,[14] Sadler has restricted the rhythm of his *fugae* entirely to breves, minims, and semi-breves and semiminims. Its long note values are similar to those employed in Taverner's original – a style emulated by some of the earlier composers of *In nomines*.[15]

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11 Dow's volumes contain *In nomine* settings by Parsons, Strogers, Byrd, Bull, White, Tye, Woodcock and Brewster. See *GB-Och* Mus. 984–8.

12 These include the settings by Robert Johnson (*c.*1500–c.1560); Robert Parsons (*c.*1530–1571/2); Robert White (*c.*1538–1574); John Eglestone (n.d., but most likely late 16th century) and Clement Woodcock (*fl.*1575). See Noreen Derringer, 'Instrumental Settings of In nomines composed in England, 1550–1650' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1991).

13 They occur at bars 12–13, 14–15 and 55–6.

14 Exemplified best in several *In nomines* by Tye, a recurring feature of which are rapid repeated notes.

15 Some of the earlier *In nomine* composers, notably Preston and Points, preserve the same sort of texture in their four-part pieces. See Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 29.

Figure 6.2 Main *fuga* subjects in Sadler's *In nomine* (capital letters refer to the chronology of the entries; arabic numbers refer to voice-part in which the subject first enters).



Warwick Edwards has identified two motifs that typically open the initial expositions of *In nomines*: a rising minor third motif (probably intended to prefigure the same interval which begins the cantus firmus, possibly as a tribute to Taverner's Benedictus, which begins with the same interval) followed by a descent of three notes; and an ascending leap of a minor third (again, to imitate the cantus firmus), followed an ascent of three notes to the fifth degree of the scale.[16] Sadler has eschewed both of these options, however, choosing instead to begin his *In nomine* with an ascending five-note figure made up of dotted breves, breves and minims, beginning on the tonic of G minor.[17] The subject is stated first in voice-part 5, and the answer is given in voice-part 2 after the duration of a breve. The next answer appears in voice-part 4, but only after a distance of five breves, before it is given in voice-part 3. This distance between answers is representative of most of the *fugae* in Sadler's *In nomine*: they are protracted. Whereas Tye, for instance, would write subjects that are typically four minims long and begin on the weak beat of

16 The figure is used as an opening contrapuntal subject in settings by Thorne, Strogers, Bevin, Parsons and Byrd. See Edwards, 'In nomine', *Grove Music Online.*

17 The opening of Sadler's setting is similar to Tallis' *In nomine* I. Both pieces begin with the same ascent of five notes of the G minor scale, though Sadler uses double Tallis' note values. This resemblance has been observed by John Bryan, who has noted that Sadler's setting begins with a similar 'slow burn based on rising scale patterns that extend in range', but it would be dangerous to assume any sight of or homage to Tallis on the basis of a rising scale – a musical commonplace. See John Bryan, 'In Nomine Settings for Consort: A very roughly chronological checklist', *The Viol*, 6 (2007), 4–5. I have reserved the (potentially controversial) discussion of the possible rhetorical features in Sadler's setting for a later date.

the bar (his *fugae* are short, and enable him to provide a new entry for nearly every breve of the plainsong),[18] Sadler's subjects, and the intervals at which his answers enter, are longer.

Figure 6.3 The opening bars of Sadler's *In nomine*, showing *fuga* A.



Sadler's counterpoint also itself differs from that of other settings in that it bears no clear resemblance to plainsong. Most *In nomines*, though they may not include specific quotations of plainsong, include counterpoint that incorporates chant-based figures, usually in diminution, in order to give the impression that the plainsong is a significant feature of the setting. This lends them 'a coherence that can sometimes be lacking in the more sprawling sections of large-scale polyphony.'[19] Sadler includes no obvious reference to plainsong other than than presence of the cantus firms itself; nor is his counterpoint modal. The nearest Sadler's *fugae* come to evoking plainsong is their predominantly step-wise motion; though the use of slower note values is allied to Taverner's original,[20] much of Sadler's counterpoint in fact derives from tonal (rather than modal) scales.

Most *In nomines* also comprise strict *fugae:* series of entries which are wholly identical to one other in terms both of interval-content and rhythm. Sadler, however, has opted to write 'free' *fugae:* imitative counterpoint in which the pitch and rhythm of his subjects are flexed as they pass from voice to voice. This is exemplified in bars 12 to 15, in which *fuga* B begins with a dotted subject in voice-part 2. The first answer comes in voice-part 4 after the duration of a breve, and maintains canon at the octave for 8 notes. The third answer then enters in voice-part 5, but it abandons strict imitation after only five notes; and the answer which ought to have subsequently appeared in voice-part 3 is entirely absent. In other words, Sadler's *fugae* give the initial impression that they are strict: some answers initially maintain canon at the octave, but this never extends beyond the first few notes, and Sadler soon resorts to approximation. He flexes the intervals and adjusts the rhythm of his answers.

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18 Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd,* 30.

19 John Bryan, 'Not unlike a confused singing of birds in a grove': An Introduction to the In nomine', *Viol*, 6 (2007). 15–19 (15). This lack of plainsong is commonly encountered in the vocal works of Robert White and his contemporaries, who apparently drew little of their melodic inspiration from chant. See David Mateer (ed.), *Robert White: Six-Part Latin Psalms*, EECM, 29 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1983), xvi.

20 Minims are the shortest note values in the original, except in the last phase of the piece.

Figure 6.4 Bars 12 to 15 of Sadler's *In nomine*, *fuga* B.



That Sadler does not write strict *fugae* should not necessarily signal that he was an embryonic composer. Free *fugae* is by definition less steadfast in its rules than is strict counterpoint (Morley wrote that 'in Fuge wee are not so straitly bound'),[21] and even Taverner, in his Benedictus, uses approximate imitation for some of his entries. Strict *fugae* is clearly more difficult to composer than free *fugae,* however, especially when set against a fixed cantus firmus, and Joseph Kerman has drawn attention to the lengths to which one composer – William Byrd – went in order to hone his abilities in writing it (strict *fugae* was a skill which burgeoned on the continent earlier than it did in England).[22] The majority of *In nomine* composers rose to the challenge of writing strict *fugae,*[23] but they were predominantly professional musicians.[24] Though Sadler appears from his setting to be a competent composer, he may not have been able to compete with the finely wrought – and strict – compositions of his professional contemporaries.

Some of Sadler's answers appear to have been flexed not because he was unable to find a successful 'interlock' with his cantus firmus, but in order to avoid parallel fifths. A clear instance of this comes at *fuga* H, where the subject is given in voice-part 2 on the second beat of bar 45. It begins with a semitone oscillation of D–E♭–D, a feature that is maintained in the answers of voice-parts 4 and 3. At the answer in voice-part 5, however, the first D has been lowered to a B♭. This alteration was clearly made to prevent parallel fifths occurring between voice-parts 5 and 4 on the last beat of bar 45 and the first beat of bar 46 (it also remedies what would otherwise have been a poorly respond dissonance). Composers were advised by Morley to assiduously avoid

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21 Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall* Musicke, 77.

22 These are summarised in Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd, Tallis, and the art of imitation', in *Write all these down: Essays on Music*, ed. by Joseph Kerman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 90–105.

23 John Milsom, 'A Composer's-Eye View of the In nomine', *The Viol*, 6 (2007), 12–16 (12).

24 Oliver Neighbour has pointed out that number of *In nomines* had connections with the 'professional musician's schoolroom', and Paul Doe has observed that In nomine composers up to 1575 were principally church musicians: they include William Byrd, Robert Johnson, William Mundy, Osbert Parsley, Robert Parsons, Thomas Preston, Henry Stonings, Nicholas Strogers, Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, Robert White, William Whytbroke and Clement Woodcock. See Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd,* 27, and Paul Doe, 'The Emergence of the In nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians', in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, ed. by Edward Olleson (Boston: Oriel Press, 1980), 79–92 (84).

placing 'perfect chords of one kind together [i.e. parallel fifths and octaves]', [25] and it would seem that Sadler had a similar care for his part-writing, as well as an appreciation for the precepts of harmony and counterpoint.

Figure 6.5 Bars 45–47 of Sadler's *In nomine*, showing the adjusted answer in the Bassus at *fuga* H (shown in red).



Procedural errors

Sadler's *In nomine* contains no egregious errors or obvious instances of awkward part-writing, but a few technical solecisms spoil its flow. The most readily identifiable of these are the cadences which end some *fugae*. Most *In nomines* give the aural impression that they are continuous from beginning to end: except for some settings by Tye (which include some absolute *caesurae*),[26] *fuga* cadences are often elided with the entry of a new *fuga* subject, in order to give the effect that expositions are seamlessly woven together. Sadler has included some cadences in this category, for instance towards the end of *fuga* A. This exposition appears to comes to a close at bar 10: there is a clear return to the start position of G minor at the first beat of the bar. However, the *clausula basizans* (II–I in the Bassus, voice-part 5) which straddles the bar line is accompanied by a new and imitative entry on the penultimate beat of bar 9. This entry is the first of four, in a short stretto-like codetta that lasts for two bars; it serves as a transitionary episode which transports the work from G minor to the relative major of B♭. The anticipatory entry in voice-part 3, at the end of bar 9, essentially disguises the cadence. At the end of bar 11, however, the cadence is left bare: all of the voice-parts break into stasis on the chord of B♭ at the first beat of bar 12. *Fuga* B begins only on the second beat of bar 12; this makes the cadence that closes the extension to *fuga* A sound quite disjunct from the ensuing *fuga* B – one concludes before the other begins (although this does serve to provide some variety, and emphasizes the key-change). Such 'exposed' cadences occur at the end of five *fugae* in the *In nomine*:[27] they make the pieces sound more like an

[25] See Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 180.

[26] i.e. where all parts come to a halt.

[27] 'Disjunct' cadences fall between *fugae* B and C; E and F; F and G; G and H; and H and I.

assembly of different *fugae*, cobbled together into something that lacks coherence as a musical whole.

Figure 6.6 Bars 9–12 of Sadler's *In nomine*, showing the end of *fuga* A, its ensuing *codetta*, and its respective 'disjunct' cadence which leads on to *fuga* B.



Obvious though some of these cadences are, they alone are not enough to sully what is otherwise an effective piece of music. But more conclusive evidence of Sadler's abilities as an amateur composer are to be found in a some harmonic errors that lie within his *In nomine*. Bar 39 contains an unprepared dissonance: voice-part 3 enters on a G, after a rest; this clearly clashes with the harmony of the other parts (C, A, E♭). Unprepared dissonances were of course condemned by Morley: he castigated them as 'fetters of rusty iron' that are 'offensive to the ear'.[28] The entry in question cannot be the result of misplacement: it descends by three notes in bar 40 to a D (as the mediant of B♭), and would therefore seem to be the result of a procedural rather than a scribal error.

Figure 6.7 An unprepared distance at the last beat of bar 39 (shown in red).



A further possible fault occurs at the final beat of bar 51. All four of Sadler's composed parts play a unanimous C; they sound in combination only with an A in the cantus firmus, and this causes a significant degree of harmonic instability. The ensuing resolution to the dyad C–G at the first beat of bar 52, also sounds somewhat unsatisfactory.[29]

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28 Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 214.

29 Paul Doe, in his edition of Sadler's *In nomine* for *Musica Britannica*, also signalled that voice-part 5 contains an error at bar 49 because he notes it as 'sic' in the critical commentary; but he does not stipulate the fault. See Paul Doe (ed.) *Elizabethan Consort Music II,* Musica Britannica, 45 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1988), 149.

Figure 6.8 Bars 51–3 of Sadler's *In nomine*, showing the unstable C at the fourth beat of bar 51 (shown in red).



The very final bars of Sadler's *In nomine* are also of interest. He concludes with a plagal cadence (IV–I) that incorporates a 'tierce de Picardie' on its final chord. However, the last two bars see a protracted E♭ in voice-part 2; this is sustained even when the tonic chord of G (major) is reached at the first beat of the final bar 56. This clash causes a significant degree of tension. This E♭ then becomes part of a ♭6–5–4–5 succession: the penultimate note C audibly jars with the B♮ of voice-part 3, at the interval of a second.[30] Possibly this cadence is evidence of Sadler being daring and experimental: dissonances at cadences were condoned by Morley ('Dischords mingled with concordes not onnlie are tollerable, but make the descant more pleasing if they be well taken'),[31] but a clash between the C and B natural in voice-parts 2 and 4 is unlikely to have been considered good practice. Morley in fact stipulated that 'the lesse offence you giue in the discord the better it is, and the shorter while you staie vpon the discord, the lesse offence you giue'.[32] Though the discord in question only lasts for the duration of a semi-minim, a clash of a second in this context is unlikely to have been deemed permissible.

Figure 6.9 Bars 54–56 of Sadler's *In nomine*, showing the protracted E♭ in voice-part 2, leading to ♭6–5–4–5 counterpoint that clashes with the b♮ of voice-part 4.



[30] Again, it is unlikely that these notes have been misplaced on the stave: the same pattern, a third lower, would have produced a similar clash with the B♮ of voice-part 4 on the first beat of bar 56.

[31] Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 73.

[32] Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 81.

The conclusion to be drawn from Sadler's *In nomine* is that his setting is an amateur effort: its few awkward features might have been handled more successfully by a professional composer. This is not to say that he was a novice. Sadler has written *fugae*: this tells us that he had more than a crude understanding of fugal composition, defined by Morley as 'when one part beginneth and the other singeth the same, for some number of notes (which the first did sing)'.[33] Writing five-part counterpoint is surely a more difficult task than writing in two, three or four parts (accordingly, some contemporary treatises advocate beginning composition with two-part works, working upwards),[34] and it is almost inevitable that Sadler must have had composed other works (probably for fewer voice-parts) that have not survived. Although the work contains a few errors – the harmonic clashes, the exposed cadences that portray mixed achievements in maintaining structural coherence – which might have been ameliorated in the hands of a professional musician, Sadler was nevertheless a competent composer.

Context and Date

As has been seen in Chapter 1, whether Sadler ever received any tuition in composition remains uncertain (the MA is not thought to have involved any actual tuition in composition, nor is there any documentary evidence to show that Sadler received tuition from any of the musicians resident in Cambridge between 1535 and 1548;[35] and he certainly never received a music degree).[36] Sadler was too young to have benefited from the treaties of Bathe (*c.*1584) and Morley (1597);[37] such books, though they teach the theory of counterpoint, rarely deal with the actual process of composition;[38] Jessie Ann Owens has in fact argued that composers chiefly learned their craft not from rule-books but from studying other works.[39] This prospect therefore raises several important but ultimately unanswerable questions. Were any of Sadler's compositional techniques gleaned from other sources? Did these sources include other *In nomines*, from which

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33 Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 76.

34 Morley, for instance, set out his *Introduction* in order of difficulty: for composition, he begins with two and three-voice discant before moving on to polyphony in three and more voice-parts. Even Morley resorts to generalisations when he discusses musical genres, however, and it is likely that Sadler received at least some instruction in musical forms.

35 Christopher Tye, who composed no less than 24 settings, was in Cambridge until 1539; he then moved to nearby Ely, but this is some 40 miles from Oundle. See Nigel Davison, 'Tye, Christopher (*c.*1505–1571)' in *ODNB.*

36 For a list of music degree awarded by the University of Cambridge see W. J. Smith, *Five centuries of Cambridge Musicians, 1464-1964* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1964). Martin Holmes has compiled an (unpublished) inventory music degree awards for the University of Oxford, but this does not list Sadler.

37 William Bathe, *A Briefe Introductione to the True Arte of Musicke* (published in London by Abel Jeffes in 1584, but now surviving only manuscript at *GB-Au* MS 28) and *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thomas Este, n.d.); Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke.*

38 Julian Grimshaw, 'Morley's rule for first-species canon', *Early Music*, 34. 4 (2006), 661–6 (661).

39 Jessie A. Owens, *Composers At Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 14–15.

he lifted the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* cantus firmus? If so, then why are other *In nomines* not included in his collection?

Exactly when Sadler composed his *In nomine* is also uncertain. None of its parts bears a date, though if they did we would have no way of knowing whether it refers to the date of copying or the date of composition.[40] Chronological inferences must not be drawn from the fact that the work was originally the first (unnumbered) piece in the partbooks. As will be shown in Chapter 8, the rectos upon which it is copied were probably left blank when copying began; the first numbered item in the volumes, Tye's *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i), was started on the versos of the same leaves, and copying presumably ensued in chronological order. Therefore the *In nomine* might have been added at the front of the books only once the initial collection of 35 motets had been committed to paper – a notion supported by the use of the 'square' G clef which only appears again in Taverner's *Mater Christi* (no. 37/xxxiii).

Taverner's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* Mass is thought to have been composed by 1530;[41] but it was apparently not until the 1550s that musicians first started making use of the same *Gloria tibi Trinitas* cantus firmus for their own compositions.[42] It was only the 1560s that the *In nomine* began to become something of a rite of passage for composers,[43] and that settings in five voice-parts became the norm for consort music.[44] Moreover, it was only in the 1570s that *In nomines* began to be attempted by amateur composers.[45] A date of composition for Sadler's *In nomine* sometime after 1550 but before 1585 is therefore the best that can be suggested (John Bryan hazarded a guess for the work of somewhere about 1550, possibly for the same reasons).[46]

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40 Baldwin's In nomine for instance, is dated 1592; but it is unclear whether this date refers to copying or composition. See *GB-Lbl* RM 24 d 2, fol. 123v.

41 This supposition is based on the fact that Taverner arrived at Cardinal College, Oxford (later to be re-named Christ Church) to take up his new duties as Master of the Choir in 1526. The presence of a chant dedicated to the Trinity suggests that Taverner's Mass was originally composed to be sung on Trinity Sunday (unless it was written for a foundation dedicated to the Trinity). Taverner worked at two institutions dedicated to the Trinity prior to 1530: Tattershall Collegiate Church and Cardinal College (later Christ Church) Oxford. Since the setting is the first item in the Forrest-Heyther partbooks (*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. e. 376–381), which have always been associated with Cardinal College, it seems likely that Taverner composed his Mass there. For a full biographical account see Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 5–18.

42 Warwick Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1974), 4–5.

43 Byrd wrote 6; White wrote 7; Tye had composed more than twenty by the time he retired from music in 1561. For *In nomine* editions and a list of sources, see Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music II*.

44 Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', 5.

45 Cantus firmus composition by amateurs was not entirely unknown before this date: George Waterhouse (*d.*1602) turned out more than a thousand canons on the plainsong *Miserere* – Morley refers to this him as 'my friend and fellow M. George Waterhouse, vpon the same plainsong Miserere, for varietie surpassed all who ever labored in that kinde of studie'; see Morley (1597), 183. See also Denis Collins, "Sufficient to quench the thirst of the most insaciate scholar whatsoeuer': George Waterhouse's 1,163 Canons on the Plainsong Miserere", in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. by Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 407–20.

46 Bryan, 'In Nomine Settings for Consort: A very roughly chronological checklist', 4–5.

Since the *In nomine* genre has an apparent terminus post quem of 1550, Sadler's setting cannot be an early work, composed as a chorister (even though cantus firmus composition was a staple of a choristers education).[47] Instead, it must postdate his time at Cambridge, and was almost certainly written while at Fotheringhay, Oundle or Sudborough. This is the only oblique evidence of musical activity beyond the copying and performance of music in his partbooks that can be surmised with any confidence.

[47] See Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180–99.

PART TWO

THE 'SADLER PARTBOOKS'

(*GB-Ob* Mus. e. 1–5)

7. CONTENTS, STRUCTURE & COMPOSERS

Although its format is somewhat larger than those of other Elizabethan music manuscripts, in terms of extent, the 'Sadler partbooks' (*GB-Ob* Mus. e. 1–5) are not the largest of post-reformation partbook sets that survive from the sixteenth century. With a total of only 43 works, most other partbook sets – including those compiled by Robert Dow (*GB-Och* 984–8) and John Baldwin (*GB-Och* 979–83), the collections with which Sadler's volumes are often associated as 'the great Elizabethan antiquarian sources' – positively dwarf it.[1] But in terms of their combination of predominantly Latin-texted sacred music with both illustrations and inscriptions, Sadler's volumes are unmatched by any contemporary English music manuscript that survives from the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The chief importance of Mus. e. 1–5 lies in its value as a musical source. Unlike many Elizabethan partbooks sets that have been depleted by the loss of one of their constituent volumes, all five books of Sadler's set survive together; there are no missing volumes and no missing pages – at least not any that contain music. Sadler's partbooks consequently offer complete copies, for all voice-parts, for each of the 43 works they contain. Some of this music is unique to his volumes, either entirely or in part. Moreover, in contrast with other later-sixteenth century sources that preserve only certain sections of longer works,[2] Sadler's volumes also offer works in their entirety: each of the pieces in his partbooks is full rather than fractional; complete rather than wanting one or more voice-parts.

The presence of decorative initials, inscriptions and illustrations in Sadler's volumes is also something to be celebrated, since any trend for decorating music manuscripts in England, to judge from what survives, appears to have died out in the reign of Henry VIII.[3] Mus. e. 1–5 does not compete in aesthetic terms with the carefully copied manuscripts produced by Dow and Baldwin, however: Sadler's calligraphy and notation are clearly inferior. But Robert Dow and John Baldwin were engaged to some extent in professional writing or copying (Dow taught penmanship to a young Philip Sydney;[4] Baldwin was paid for copying music at St George's,

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1 McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', 406.

2 By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it had become common practice to copy only a section of a larger work, often for reduced parts. Tallis's *Ave dei patris filia,* for instance, does not usually appear in its entirety in manuscript sources, but circulated as up to 8 separate sections. For an inventory of the extant sources for this work see https://eecm.tcd.ie/titles_incipits/3479 [accessed 12 March 2016].

3 The nearest comparable source in terms of pictorial and verbal contents, other than the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, are the volumes copied by the priest and copyist Thomas Wode (*d.*1592), known collectively as the 'Wode Partbooks'. These volumes are undoubtedly of Scottish provenance, however, and contain mostly English-texted music; therefore they are discounted from discussion here.

4 The accounts of Philip Sydney show payments to 'Sr. Dow for teaching him to write.' See *Report on the manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, preserved at Penshurst Place*, vol. 1, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77 (London: HM Stationary Office, 1925), 268–9.

Windsor),[5] Sadler appears to have been an untrained amateur. Even though the initials and illustrations in his volumes are unlikely to rank highly among art historians (they do not vie with the professionally illuminated manuscripts produced by the Alamire scribes, for instance), Mus. e. 1–5 offers a window not onto the copying and collecting activities of a professionally trained scribe, exquisitely produced, but onto the musical and extra-musical interests of a provincial schoolmaster and priest – possibly self-taught. Were it not for their damaged state, inflicted by the use of at least three batches of overly acidic ink and exacerbated by at least one restoration attempt, Sadler's mix of music, words, and pictures, in polychrome, and the connection of his partbooks to a traceable and demonstrably musically proficient individual, ought to have earned his volumes something of an iconic status – at least by the standard of other English partbook sets of comparable date and contents. Instead his volumes sit in the Bodleian Library, rarely seen.

Figure 7.1 Comparison of principal post-Reformation partbook sets.[6]

Set	*Volumes*	*Dimensions (mm)*	*Contents*	*Unica*	*Inscriptions*	*Illustrations*
'Sadler' (*Ob* Mus. e. 1-5)	5 / 5	205 x 280	43	7 (6)	✓	✓
'Dow' (*Och* Mus. 984-8)	5 /5	150 x 200	137	8 (4)	✓	
'Baldwin' (*Och* Mus. 979-83)	5 / 6	150 x 205	169	34 (4)		
'Gyffard' (*Lbl* Add. 17802-5)	4 /4	210 x 138	94	45 (1)		
Hamond (*Lbl* Add. 30480-4)	5 /5	150 x 200	87			
'Braikenridge' (*GB-Ob* Tenbury 1486) and 'Willmott' (privately owned)	2 /5	205 x 272	27	6	✓	✓

The original collection of 35 works and the later additions

Although some post-reformation partbook sets are more than three times the size of Mus. e. 1–5, Sadler's volumes were originally even smaller. In their first incarnation, they contained only 35 works, each of which was allocated a Roman number running from I to xxxv – presumably by Sadler himself or somebody working to his specifications. The numbering begins at Tye's *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i) and extends to White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/xxxv): all of these works have sacred texts in Latin. Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) was then added at the start of this sequence, without a

[5] Baldwin was paid 'pro scriptione sacrarum cantionum' at Windsor in 1586. See Gaskin, 'Music copyists in late seventeenth-century England,…', 177.

[6] Dimensions cited are approximate; *unica* numbers refer first to entire *unica* then to partial *unica* in round parentheses (see below for explanations of these terms); inscriptions refer only to paratextual inscriptions, and not to ascriptions and titles etc.

Roman number, probably to serve as an instrumental title-page to an otherwise exclusively vocal collection.[7]

At a later date, however, presumably when the copying of these 36 works had been started but perhaps not finished, the collection was supplemented with six further works. Two pieces were added at the front of the volumes and four at the back, on empty pages that were already *in situ* (these works are not numbered, and lie either side of the 35 numbered works, prefaced by Sadler's *In nomine*). These additions comprise two Latin-texted motets by Byrd at the front, and two Latin-texted works at the rear: Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) and Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43). Also added at the rear were two works in the vernacular: William Parsons's *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (no. 41), and the anonymous *Cony skines* (no. 42). With these additions, the partbooks now contain 43 pieces of music.[8]

Some works, such as the settings of *Ave Dei patris* by Fayrfax (no. 9/vi) and Taverner (no. 12/viiii) are prolix pieces, totalling 334 and 253 bars in modern transcription. These require substantial reserves of stamina for a successful performance, assuming they were sung complete. The secular pieces at the rear of the volumes could probably be described as miniatures: *Cony skines* (no. 41) and *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (no. 40) total only 33 and 46 bars respectively. Other works are of average duration. The partbooks therefore contain a variety of works, both long and short; some with sacred texts in Latin, some with secular texts in English, and one, Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3), with no words at all.

Figure 7.2 Table of contents for Mus. e. 1–5, in order of sequence (a dotted line delineates the works in the original collection from the later additions at the front and back of the volumes).

No.	***composer***	***work***	***voice-parts***
1	William Byrd	*Aspice Domine de sede*	5
2	William Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	5
3	John Sadler	*In nomine*	5
4/i	Christopher Tye	*Miserere mei*	5
5/ii	John Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*	5
6/iii	John Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*	5
7/iv	John Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*	5
8/v	Hugh Aston	*Te Deum*	5
9/vi	Robert Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*	5
10/vii	John Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*	5
11/viii	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	*Job tonso capite*	5

7 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 285.

8 Strictly speaking, the number of works in Mus. e. 1–5 should be 44. In some sources, Tallis's *Incipit Lamentatio* and *Lamentations* are transmitted as separate pieces; but in Mus. e. 1–5 they are aggregated into a single work, with a single Roman number (no. 19/xvi–20), despite the fact that the two works are in different modes.

No.	*composer*	*work*	*voice-parts*
12/ix	John Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*	5
13/x	Robert Johnson	*Ave Dei patris*	5
14/xi	Thomas Tallis	*Salve intemerata*	5
15/xii	Hugh Aston	*Gaude virgo mater matris*	5
16/xiii	Philip van Wilder	*Aspice Domine*	5
17/xiv	Osbert Parsley	*Conserva me*	5
18/xv	Thomas Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*	5
19/xvi	Thomas Tallis	*lncipit Lamentatio*	5
20	Thomas Tallis	*Lamentations*	5
21/xvii	Robert White	*Lamentations*	5
22/xviii	Thomas Tallis	*Dum transisset*	5
23/xix	Robert Johnson	*Domine in virtute*	5
24/xx	Robert Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*	5
25/xxi	Osbert Parsley	*Lamentations*	5
26/xxii	Robert White	*Miserere mei*	5
27/xxiii	Robert White	*Exaudiat te*	5
28/xxiv	Robert White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	5
29/xxv	Robert White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	5
30/xxvi	Thomas Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*	5
31/xxvii	Thomas Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*	5
32/xxviii	Thomas Tallis	*Salvator mundi*	5
33/xxix	William Byrd	*Attollite portas*	6
34/xxx	Thomas Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*	5
35/xxxi	Thomas Tallis	*Absterge Domine*	5
36/xxxii	William Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	5
37/xxxiii	John Taverner	*Mater Christi*	5
38/xxxiv	William Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*	5
39/xxxv	Robert White	*Justus es Domine*	5
40	John Taverner	*Western Wind Mass*	4
41	William Parsons	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*	4
42	[anonymous]	*Cony skines*	4
43	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	*Musica laeta*	5

Number of voice-parts & gimels

Almost all of the works in the partbooks are for five voice-parts: this is the standard number of voice-parts found in English sources of the sixteenth century, whether printed or manuscript.[9]

[9] The main exceptions are the Wanley partbooks (*GB-Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. e. 420-22), which preserve vernacular anthems, communion services, canticles, Psalms, and responses for four voice-parts, and the Gyffard partbooks (*GB-Lbl* Add. 17802-5), which also contain chiefly Latin-texted music, predominantly for four voice-parts.

Only the few works that were added later to the rear of the volumes – Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) and the two secular part-songs (nos. 41 and 42) – are for four voice-parts, although the very last work (no. 43), Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* is again for five. One work, Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/xxix) is for six voice-parts, but it is found in the section works for five voice-parts. This piece has two voice-parts in Mus. e. 1, on facing pages of a double-page spread, therefore eliminating the need for a sixth partbook.

Figure 7.3 The two voice-parts to Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 32/xxix) on fols. 58v and 59r of Mus. e. 1.



Some pieces include gimels or double gimels: these temporarily double the number of voice-parts in a single partbook either to six, or in the case of Robert White's *Exaudiat te* (no. 27/xxiii), to seven; this work ends in seven-voice polyphony, with concluding gimels in both the Medius (Mus. e. 2) and Contratenor (Mus. e. 3).[10] Works with gimels have implications for the potential performance of music from Sadler's volumes, since they require more than one singer for the voice-part in question.

Figure 7.4 Works with gimels in Mus. e. 1–5.

No.	***composer***	***work***	***gimel(s)***
12/ix	John Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*	Mus. e. 1
27/xxiii	Robert White	*Exaudiat te*	Mus. e. 1; Mus. e. 2; Mus. e. 3
28/xxiv	Robert White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Mus. e. 4 (x2); Mus. e. 5
29/xxv	Robert White	*Manus tuae fecerunt*	Mus. e. 1; Mus. e. 2; Mus. e. 3
39/xxxv	Robert White	*Justus es Domine*	Mus. e. 2

[10] See fols. 52v and 53r of Mus. e. 2 and fols. 53v and 54r of Mus. e. 3 (there is also an intermediate gimel on fols. 52v and 53r of Mus. e. 1).

Arrangement of the pieces

Works in the partbooks are arranged primarily according to number of voice-parts: first the five-part pieces then the four-voice pieces. This structure is signalled clearly in each volume with the words 'Here endeth the songes of fyve partes', or similar, at the end of Robert White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/35). This inscription is also given on fol. 66r of Mus. e. 4, even though this volume contains no four-part works (the texts of these inscriptions are given in the Inventory, in Appendix D).

Figure 7.5 The inscription denoting the end of the section of works for five voice-parts, at the conclusion of White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/35), on fol. 67r of Mus. e. 3.



Sadler clearly sought to maintain this arrangement when he added works to the volumes, since he placed the two extra Byrd pieces for five-voice parts, *Aspice Domine* (no. 1) and *Domine praestolamur* (no. 2) at the front of the volumes rather than at the rear; by the time these works were added the music for four-voice parts must already have been begun, or perhaps the inscriptions which mark the end of the five-part section (shown above) had already been entered. The only exceptions are Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/xxix), which is for six voice-parts but which falls in the five-voice section, and Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43), which is for five voice-parts, but falls in the four-voice section. The placement of *Attollite portas* in the five-part section makes sense, since a sixth partbook that accommodated only a single voice-part would have been a waste of resources. But the fact that Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* could not be fitted into the five-part section suggests that the partbooks may already have been bound by the time that Sadler came to copy this piece: this would have prevented additional fascicles from being added (see Chapter 11).

The frontispieces and endpieces

That Sadler clearly distinguished between the works for five and four voice-parts, even though only three works fall into this latter category, suggests that he may have anticipated the addition of further works for four voice-parts at a later date. If so, then this would have necessitated the insertion of supplementary gatherings to the text blocks, since there are not more than two blank

leaves at the rear of any partbook (assuming that leaves have not been removed).[11] Apart from the fact that the volumes may well have been bound at an early stage, any ambition to add extra pieces would seem to have been abandoned since decorative frontispieces and endpieces were filled in at the front and back of each volume (there is no longer any decorative page at the front of Mus. e. 4, which is presumably lost). These pages signal that the musical text of the partbooks was probably considered complete by the time they were added; the fact that the frontispiece on fol. 5r of Mus. e. 1 is dated 1585 also confirms that these leaves were among the last additions to the volumes. Since each of these decorative pages originally faced inwards towards the musical text (although some are now in the wrong position – see Chapter 9) it is likely that they were intended to serve as paste-downs to the bindings (see Chapter 11).

Figure 7.6 Frontispieces and endpieces is Mus. e. 1–5 (the inscriptions on these pages, with translations and possible sources, are provided in the Appendix).

Fol. 5r of Mus. e. 1:



A black twelve-point star in a rose circle, surrounded by concentric black circles, surmounted with a fleur-de-lys. A further concentric circle bears black Roman numerals separated by rose diamond shapes, creating a sundial. The sundial is circumscribed with the words 'Qui vult venire post me dicit dominus abneget semetip(s)um & tollat cruce(m) sua(m) & sequatur me' in a *textualis*, in black ink. The year 1585, in Arabic numbers, appears perpendicular to the sundial at the left-hand edge of the folio, facing inwards.

Fol. 76r of Mus. e. 1:



A roundel design, with the words 'D(omi)ne Jh(e)su Christe fili dei vivi miserere mei Ame(n)' at its centre, in a black *textualis* with some red initials. The roundel is circumscribed with the words 'Beat(us) vir qui in lege D(omin)i, meditabitur voluntas eius p(er)manent die ac nocte voluntas eius et omnia qu(a)ecu(m)q(ue) faciet se(m)p(er) p(ros)perabu(n)t(ur)', also in a *textualis*. The name 'John Sadler' appears in an arc shape, perpendicular to the roundel at the right-hand edge of the folio, facing inwards.

[11] There are two unused pages at the rear of Mus. e. 1 (fol. 75r is ruled with unused staves); one in Mus. e. 2 (fol. 75v is ruled with unused staves); two at the rear of Mus. e. 3 (fol. 74v is ruled with unused staves); one in Mus. e. 4; and one in Mus. e. 5.

Fol. 3r of Mus. e. 2



A roundel design, with the words 'A porta inferi erue d(omi)ne a(n)i(m)as m(e)as' at its centre, in a red *textualis*; in two banderoles with pointed volutes. The name 'John Sadler' also appears perpendicular at the centre, in a black *textualis* with red initials. The roundel is circumscribed with the words 'Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris sed habebit lumen vite dicit dominus deus noster', also in a black *textualis*.

The name 'John Sadler' appears in red ink in a red arc-shaped banderole with pointed volutes, perpendicular to the roundel at the right-hand edge of the folio, facing inwards.

Fol. 76r of Mus. e. 2



A geometric roundel design, incorporating concentric squares and circles, decorated in rose and black. Inscriptions at various positions read 'Deus unus in trinitate', 'Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanct(us)', 'Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram ut inhabitate(m) i(n) dom(in)u(m) d(omi)ni om(n)ib(us) dieb(us) vit(a)e me(a)e', and 'Initium Timor sapientiae domini timor fons domini vite', in a black *textualis.* The permitter of the design is formed from a series of circles in an octofoil pattern.

Fol. 3[bis]v of Mus. e. 3



A roundel design with a black circle and eight-point star in rose at its centre. Several concentric circles create banderoles, circumscribed with the words 'Meme(n)to me(i) D(omi)ne in regno cæloru(m)', 'Qui semina(n)t in lacrimis, i(n) exultacione mete(n)t', 'Qui no(n) a(m)bula(n)t in luce ambulant in tenebris', and 'Du(m) lucem habetis, ambulatis in luce' in a black *textualis formata*, sometimes with red initials. Each banderole features pointed volutes which protrude both inwards and outwards.

Fol. 76r of Mus. e. 3



The name 'Iohn Sadler' (or 'I(o)h(a)n(ne)s Sadler) in a large majuscule *textualis formata*, coloured red (the red appears to have been painted over a base coat of black ink). Some ascenders and descenders are ornamented. Some pigment from the top-coat of red ink appears to have been smudged.

Fol. 67r of Mus. e. 4



A roundel design with a rose-coloured centre. Within this centre is a concentric banderole with crossed pointed volutes; the banderole is circumscribed with the words 'Ad te domine clamabo et ad deu(m) meu(m) deprecabor', in a black *textualis* with a single red initial. An outer concentric banderole is circumscribed with the words 'In caelestibus regnis sanctorum habitatio requies enrum alleluya', in a black *textualis*.

Fol. 3v of Mus. e. 5



A roundel design with a Sadler monogram in black at its centre. The name 'John Sadler' also runs horizontally across the centre, in a black *textualis* with rose initials. A series of concentric circles in black and rose form a banderole around the permitted of the roundel, which bears the words 'In conspectu angelorum Psallam tibi deus meus: Gaudete iusti in domino' in a black *textualis.* The banderole has a black fleur-de-lys shape at its apex.

Fol. 70r of Mus. e. 5



A roundel with a rose centre. Two intwined circular banderoles with inward pointing volutes bear the words 'Ego dixi D(omi)ne miserere mei sana ani(m)am meam q(uoni)a(m) peccavi tibi' and 'Suavis D(omi)n(u)s universis et miserationes eius super omnia opera ei(us)' in a black *textualis*. Each begins with a rose initial. A banderole around the permitter, outlined in red, is circumscribed with the words 'Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo qui est in celo'. The name 'John Sadler' also appears in red ink over a black background in an arc-shape banderole with pointed volutes, perpendicular to the roundel at the right-hand edge of the folio, facing inwards.

Designation of voice-parts

Sadler's volumes themselves do not bear part designations, but the fragmentary remains to their original limp-parchment bindings do. Once proudly emblazoned on the front cover of each volume in a large script, probably in red ink, they are now almost invisible to the naked eye; but they are discernible under ultraviolet light as Triplex (Mus. e 1), Medius (Mus. e. 2), Contratenor (Mus. e. 3), Tenor (Mus. e. 4), and Bassus (Mus. e. 5).[12] Few Elizabethan partbook sets bear explicit part-designations, and therefore it is difficult to place Sadler's part-designations in context;[13] these designations were standard in the *earlier* part of the sixteenth century, however, and each pertains to a distinctive range and tessitura.[14] Triplex and Medius are the usual part-designations for the upper-most parts: Triplex was associated with high (and often virtuoso) treble lines sung by boy choristers; Medius parts were sung by boy (rather than adult) altos.[15] These were known respectively as 'trebles' and 'meanes' – terms that Sadler himself uses in the various instructions to performers that are found throughout his partbooks.[16]

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12 The original limp-parchment bindings are discussed further in Chapter 12.

13 The few sets that do bear explicit part-designations (excluding Baldwin, discussed below) are *GB-Cjc* K31, a single partbook marked Bassus on its front cover, in very similar style to the letters on the original bindings to Mus. e. 1–5 (another partbook from the same set is *GB-Cu* MS Dd. xiii. 27); the Gyffard partbooks (*GB-Lbl* 17802–5), designated as Medius, Triplex, Contratenor, Bassus respectively; *GB-Lbl* Harley 1709, a single partbook marked Medius; the Lumley partbooks (*GB-Lbl* Royal app. 74–76), marked Triplex and Tenor (one partbook is missing from this set, and the original cover to the other volumes that survives is now absent). The Hamond partbooks (*GB-Lbl* 30480–4) once had part-designations, but only the word 'Bassus' is visible today.

14 Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 287.

15 Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet' in *English Choral Practice*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 1–47 (35).

16 Discussion of these marks, and various others which prove that the partbooks were actually used, have been reserved for a later date.

Distribution of voice-parts

Nearly all of the voice-parts for the contents of Mus. e. 1–5 fall neatly into the category of each respective partbook (the Bass part is in the Bassus partbook, the Tenor part is in the Tenor partbook etc.). There are only two exceptions. Sheppard's *Inclina Domine* (no. 6/iii) has three voice-parts in the 'wrong' partbook, presumably because this how the parts of this piece were disposed in Sadler's exemplar.[17]

Figure 7.7 Abnormal distribution of voice-parts in Sheppard's *Inclina Domine* (no. 6/iii).

Partbook	***expected distribution of voice-parts***	***actual distribution of voice-parts***	***clef***
Mus. e. 1	Triplex	Contratenor	C4
Mus. e. 2	Medius	Medius	C2
Mus. e. 3	Contratenor	Tenor	C4
Mus. e. 4	Tenor	Triplex	G2
Mus. e. 5	Bassus	Bassus	F4

The only other work with an abnormal distribution of voice-parts is Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43), since Mus. e. 5 contains both the Bassus and the Tenor parts to this work, on facing pages. This was evidently done because Mus. e. 4 had – and has today – no remaining blank pages at its rear on which the Tenor part could be copied.

Figure 7.8 Fols. 68v and 69r of Mus. e. 5, showing the Bassus and Tenor parts of Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43), labelled 'Bassus' and 'Tenor' respectively, on facing pages.



[17] This apparent mis-arrangement of voice-parts is found elsewhere: the Medius part is found in *GB-Ckc* Rowe 316, fols. 38r–39r. *GB-CF* ERO D/DP Z6/1, fols. 40r–40v, a Bassus partbook, does have the Bassus part.

Contents and their functions

Nearly all of the 43 works in Mus. e. 1–5 would today be categorised as 'motets' – settings of sacred texts in Latin; the only exceptions are Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) and the three part-songs at the rear of the volumes (nos. 41–3). The word motet does not seem to have been common in Tudor parlance, however,[18] and Sadler in fact describes the contents of his volumes as 'songes': this is made plain in the inscriptions which end the original collection of 35 works, each of which bears the words 'Here endeth the songes off fyve parts' (see Figure 7.5 above). This appellation is similar to that used by Byrd and Tallis in their *CS1575*: *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* ('songs which on account of their subject matter are called sacred').[19] But, whereas they use the Latin word for 'songes' (almost certainly because all of the 27 works in this publication have sacred texts in Latin), Sadler has opted for the English version the word.

Although gathered into Mus. e. 1–5 as 'songes', some of the works in Mus. e. 1–5 were composed before the Reformation (a good number of them are in fact Henrician – a point first made by David Mateer),[20] and must have been conceived with liturgical or ritual use in mind. Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) clearly sets text from the Ordinary of the Mass; a couple of works, like Philip van Wilder's *Aspice Domine de sede* (no. 16/13),[21] are responds that were probably written for use in the Office. Others, such as Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute* (no. 24/20) were composed as votive antiphons, addressed either to the Trinity, Jesus, Mary, or Anne (the mother of Mary); these works sat outside the observances of the Office as an extra-liturgical act of devotion, usually following Compline.

Ordinarily when dealing with 'Elizabethan' partbook sets, we would expect any original liturgical functions of their contents to have been lost at the passing of the 1559 Act of Uniformity, which prohibited the use of Latin in all but a handful of institutions.[22] However,

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18 John Milsom has pointed out that the term 'motet', although it was used on the continent, seems to have been used first in England in Orlando de Lasso, *Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1570), where Vautrollier refers to 'un motet musical' in his dedication to Lord Arundel (without explanation). The term was later defined by Morley in 1597 as 'properlie a song made for the church, either vpon some hymne or Antheme, or such like', though this tells us little about the function of the genre. See Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, xv.

19 This title has been translated in various ways; see Milsom, xii. The choice of words has also been described as 'a strange and somewhat evasive title' in McCarthy, *Byrd*, 55 – perhaps because not all the pieces in *CS1575* had borne Latin words to begin with.

20 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 286.

21 This work is of particular interest because van Wilder was chief musician at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and was therefore active as a composer before the Reformation. One other source for this piece, copied by the Scottish priest Thomas Wode, is inscribed with the words 'an Italian song, set thre or four yeir befor reformation'; but whether or not these words refer to the English reformation (instigated *c.*1546) or the Scottish reformation (instigated *c.*1560) is uncertain.

22 The institutions that were permitted to continue using Latin were the chapels of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, some cathedrals, and the Chapel Royal; see Milsom, xi.

whereas most Elizabethan partbook sets were produced in the reign of Elizabeth I,[23] the compilation of Sadler's volumes may well have started before it. The first date in the partbooks is 1568, but this occurs only at Osbert Parsley's *Conserva me* (no. 17/14); if Sadler did obtain any exemplars from Fotheringhay College in 1548 – which given the presence of certain works by Hugh Aston he almost certainly did – then the first few works in the original collection of motets'(nos. 4/1–16/13) may have served an extra-liturgical function before the Elizabethan settlement, either under the terms of the 1549 Act of uniformity in the reign of Edward VI (so long as Latin could be understood by the congregation),[24] or in the brief Marian restoration of 1554–8, when the liturgy returned to the Use of Sarum.[25]

Although the liturgical use of Latin was generally prohibited after 1559, works with Latin texts could still be used in certain circumstances under the terms of Elizabeth's *Injunctions* of 1559. One of these catered for 'the comforting of such that delight in music', and allowed for 'an Hymn, or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God' to be sung 'in the best sort of melody and music that may conveniently be devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understanded and perceived'.[26] This injunction was clarified further by Archbishop Matthew Parker, who wrote that works performed should be 'modest and distinct, so devised that the ditty should be plainly understanded'.[27] Therefore the less melismatic music in Mus. e. 1–5 that was originally composed for use in services might have served a legitimate extra-liturgical function as 'motets' after 1559 – even in services conducted in English.

Not all of the works in Mus. e. 1–5 would have been suitable for this adaptation. Some of the votive antiphons would surely have been too florid to 'be plainly understanded'; and Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) is unthinkable in any ecclesiastical context after 1559. Works that were rendered obsolete in the reign of Elizabeth instead found a new lease of life as

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23 The partbooks copied by Robert Dow (1553–88) and John Baldwin (*d*.1615) were most likely started in 1575 or later, since both sets use sheets of paper printed with black staves, of a type issued by Tallis and Byrd under the conditions of their 1575 royal patent. Their volumes are therefore firmly 'Elizabethan', even if later additions were made to them after the death of the Queen in 1603. See Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, "Ruled Paper Imprinted': Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 139–63, and Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 11–12.

24 Latin could be used for prayers from 1549 onwards in Matins and Evensong so long as 'they [the congregation] do understand.' For the full text of the 1549 *Act of Uniformity*, see A. G. Dickens and D. Carr, *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I* (London: Arnold, 1967), 135.

25 Although she ordered a full Catholic *Requiem* to be celebrated in the Tower for her dead half-brother before her arrival in London on 3 August 1553, only in December 1553 did Mary begin the process of returning the Church to the jurisdiction of Rome, and only on Palm Sunday 1554 was the change made legally substantive. Thereafter, see Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)', 24–5.

26 See *Injunctions* (1559), article 39.

27 Walter H. Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 3, 1559–1575 (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1910), 91.

'motets' (a genre which, according to Morley, remained 'chiefest both for art and utility'),[28] as an essentially secular or devotional form of chamber music in a performance context John Milsom has called 'sacred songs in the chamber'.[29] Nearly all of the works in the partbooks could have been copied and used in devotional or convivial music making at home, or perhaps at school.

Other works in Mus. e. 1–5 occupy a more curious status, since it is not clear whether they were composed to serve a liturgical function, an extra-liturgical function, or whether they were simply penned for domestic consumption. Some works in the volumes are today called 'Psalm motets': settings of Psalms, either in full or selectively, to music.[30] But this term, like that of 'motet', would have had little if any meaning in sixteenth-century England. Possibly those 'Psalm motets' by William Byrd were originally composed for use at the Chapel Royal (they are typically less melismatic than votive antiphons and could presumably have been used under the terms of Elizabeth's reforms as 'motets'), or possibly they originated at the mid-century based on the devotional use of Psalms in English Primers (and not on any Continental model, or as a scion of the earlier votive antiphon).[31] Almost all of them were produced by composers whose lives straddled the Reformation, or whose careers flowered after 1559, however; therefore the original function of these works is uncertain. But in Sadler's volumes they could have been used for extra-liturgical or domestic devotional use.

Other works in Mus. e. 1–5 are potentially misleading because, although they were presumably *composed* to fulfil a liturgical or ceremonial function – such as Tallis' *Dum transisset* (no. 22/18), a respond – they were later *published* in the reign of Elizabeth I with a modified function as *Cantiones…sacrae*. These works (shown in Figure 7.11 below), although they were in manuscript circulation before they were published,[32] had their purpose adapted from use in an ecclesiastical setting specifically to suit devotional or convivial music making at home. Similarly, some of the works in Mus. e. 1–5 set texts that appear in the Sarum breviary as responds, but these works were composed after the Reformation had started, and cannot have been used as

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28 Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke,* 179.

29 Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 161–179.

30 A number of works in Mus. e. 1–5 set only selected rather than all of the Psalm verses in question (see Figure 7.11 below). Therefore they would probably not qualify as 'Psalm-motets' under the received definition of the genre: 'complete psalms (or complete sections of Psalm 118) without doxology'. See Owen Rees, 'The English Background to Byrd's Motets', in *Byrd Studies*, ed. by Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 24–51 (24).

31 Rees, 24–51. For the possibility that Psalm-motets were composed as a replacement for the votive antiphon see Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 345.

32 Although it is generally difficult to date partbook sets, that some of Byrd's works were in general manuscript circulation before his *CS1589* were published in provided in his address to the reader, which states that he is having the works published in part as a correction to 'farrago' of erroneous copies in circulation. The only work in this collection that does not appear have been in pre-publication circulation is *Defecit in dolore*, the opening work: this seems to have been written specially as an introduction to the book. See McCarthy, *Byrd*, 105.

such in the Office except in the reign of Mary. Instead, these works found modified use as 'respond-motets': works based on responds but intended for extra-liturgical use (a large number of Byrd's motets in fact fall into this category, even though some of them include their proper plainsong).

One peculiarity is William Byrd's *Tribulationes civitatum* (no. 38/xxxiv). This work appears to set a liturgical text, but its words are not to be found in any service books – at least not in the same order. Depending whose interpretation of this work one reads, Byrd has either set a composite of four Sarum responds, also incorporating words from Deuterocanonical II Maccabees 7:32,[33] or his text paraphrases words from the Book of Judith – words that had liturgical usage only in the Roman Rite.[34] In either scenario, this piece cannot have been intended for *liturgical* use even in the reign of Mary (at least not in England), and therefore it was probably conceived only as a 'respond-motet'.[35]

A hint at the apparently liturgical pedigree of one 'respond-motet' is found in Sadler's copy of Byrd's *Aspice Domine de sede* (no. 1) – one of the few works that was added to the front of the partbooks once the original collection of 35 motets was complete and numbered. The text of this work, though it comes originally from the Book of Lamentations 1:5, also served in the Sarum (and Roman) rite as the third respond at Matins on Sundays in November in weeks before Advent.[36]

Figure 7.9 The original text of the respond *Aspice Domine de sede.*

Sign	***Original text***	***use in setting***
℟	*Aspice, Domine de sede sancta tua, et cogita de nobis; inclina, Deus meus, aurem tuam et audi; aperi oculos tuos et vide tribulationem nostram.*	Prima Pars
℣sus	*Respice Domine, de sanctuario tuo et de excelso caelorum habitaculo*	Secunda Pars

33 Joseph Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet: a Study of Texts for Music', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 273–303 (293–4).

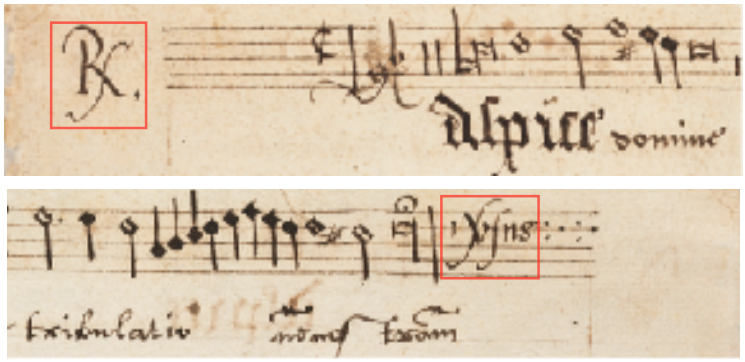
34 The text matches that for the Responsory after the Book of Judith (cf. Psalm 106/7 v.6?) in the pre-Vulgate *Vetus Latina*. For a summary of these alien liturgical texts see John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 229.

35 David Wulstan, 'Byrd, Tallis and Ferrabosco', in *English Choral Practice*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 109–39 (113).

36 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 1, mccclxxvii.

In all five parts of this work in Sadler's volumes, the opening is marked with an '℟' (for response),[37] and a '℣sus' (for versicle), just before the beginning of the *secunda pars*, 'Respice domine'. The same markings are also to be found in three other sources for this work.[38]

Figure 7.10 ℟ and ℣ marks in Byrd's *Aspice Domine de sede* on fols. 6r and 6v of Mus. e. 1.



But whether these marks are relics of this work's ceremonial use is doubtful. Although Byrd's *Aspice Domine de sede* certainly circulated in manuscript versions prior to its publication in *CS1589*, Byrd was composing primarily after the Reformation; therefore this work can only have been used as an actual Respond in the reign of Mary – and Byrd was not even 19 years old by the time she died in 1558 (Byrd was born *c.*1540). Moreover, the setting of the work as it appears in Mus. e. 1–5 also gives a slight variant of the official Sarum text: it correctly has the words 'aperi oculos tuos' in the *prima pars* (some sources give this as 'aperi oculos meus'), but 'de excelsis caelorum habitaculis' in the *secunda pars* part 2 – words which, according to the Sarum Breviary and Antiphonale, ought to read 'de excelso caelorum habitaculo'.[39] These altered words appeared in some earlier versions of the work,[40] and a correction to these variant words was added to some copies of *CS1589*.[41] Therefore this work was most likely composed by Byrd as a 'respond-motet', for extra-liturgical use, or as a devotional work for use at home, making use of a slightly altered liturgical text (e.g. 'habitaculis' rather than 'habitaculo'), but nevertheless incorporating the proper plainsong as a cantus firmus.[42] The work was probably annotated with ℟ and ℣ signs by a later copyist, not to appropriate it for liturgical use, but simply to signal that the text it uses once

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37 The ℟ on fol. 6r of Mus. e. 3 is, uniquely, coloured red.

38 *GB-Ob* Tenbury 341–4 and *GB-Lbl* RM 24 d. 2 (Baldwin's commonplace book) have the same markings as shown above; *GB-Ob* Mus. Sch. e. 423. has a ℣ mark before the *secunda pars* (on fol. 63r). Curiously, Baldwin did not include the same marks in his partbooks (see *GB-Och* Mus. 979, no. 2.

39 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 1, mccclxxvii; *AS1520*, fol. xlviii.

40 For details see See Alan Brown (ed.), *William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae I (1589)*, The Byrd Edition, 2 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1988), 252.

41 This rendered the words as 'de excelsis…caelorum habitaculis, except in voice-part III, which gives 'de excelso caelorum habitaculo'. See Brown, *William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae I (1589)*, 252.

42 *AS1519*, Temporale, fol. xlviii.

functioned as a response in the Sarum rite – even though this text differs is small details to the official text.[43]

Also misleading in their original purpose are the three settings of the *Lamentations* by Tallis (nos. 19–20/16), White (no. 21/xvii) and Parsley (no. 25/xxi). The texts of these works derive from Scripture, but certain verses were a part of the *Triduum Sacrum* (the three days preceding Easter) of Holy Week, as lessons during the Office of Tenebrae in the Sarum Rite. Parsley's setting even makes use of the proper plainsong in its uppermost part, the *tonus lamentationum*, although not as a cantus firmus.[44] None of the Lamentation texts set in Mus. e. 1–5 correspond *exactly* with the texts for the *Triduum s*ervices in the Sarum breviary, however: there are slight omissions, divergences and additions.[45] These seem to suggest that these works were composed as 'independent motets for use in Holy Week rather than part of any ritual office'.[46] It may even be that the various settings of the Lamentations were composed simply as exercises in musical expressivity – contributions to a genre that was probably brought to England by Ferrabosco.[47] Therefore it is an extra-liturgical or domestic function, rather than liturgical use to which these works lay a greater claim.

Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43) is also anomalous. It appears to be a secular work, since it sets an apparently secular text (though of unknown origin) in which 'the speaker, returning to his homeland, bids a surprisingly affectionate farewell to a patron'.[48] This work has been called a 'secular motet' by Joseph Kerman, however,[49] presumably because the text of the

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43 H. K. Andrews has suggested that the two sections of this work cannot originally have been composed as a single piece, since the endings of the *prima* and *secunda pars* are in different modes ('Aspice Domine' ends on a D in the Aeolian mode; 'Respice Domine' ends on an F in the Ionian mode); Andrews has instead proposed that the work could be performed liturgically by repeating the latter part of the *prima pars* (from the work 'Aperi') after the *secunda pars* – a possibility was that was later criticised by Alan Brown. See H. K. Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 261; Brown, *William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae I*, 252.

44 *AS1519,* Temporale, fol. cxcix.

45 Tallis, for instance, has set words that appear in the first and second lessons read on Maundy Thursday in the Sarum rite, but he omits the words 'viae Syon' from the text of the second lesson, and 'lugent' has been changed to 'luget'. He has also added the conventional exordia which appear in Continental settings of the Lamentations, but which are absent from the Sarum antiphonary and breviary (as they are too from settings by Osbert Parsley and Robert White). Parsley's setting uses text from the first lesson of Holy Saturday: it sets the correct scriptural acrostics as they appeared in the Vulgate, but not in the printed Sarum Breviary. For further on these differences (and given the lack at present of a good scholarly edition of the settings in question) see David Timothy Flanagan, 'Polyphonic settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah by sixteenth century English composers', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1990), 68, 89.

46 Paul Doe, *Tallis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 39. For the view that small 'irregularities' in the text may not necessarily rule works out of liturgical performance, see Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 169.

47 Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, xv.

48 Joseph Kerman, 'An Italian Musician in Elizabethan England', in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music*, ed. by Joseph Kerman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 139–152 (142).

49 Kerman, 142.

work is rendered in Latin and not in Ferrabosco's mother-tongue of Italian.[50] The original function of this work is uncertain.

Because their original functions are so varied, a modern-day label of 'motets' is an inappropriate and misleading description for the 43 works in Mus. e. 1–5. Although Sadler has gathered them into his partbooks as a collection of 'songes', many of the works (by Taverner, Aston, Fayrfax etc.) were composed before the Reformation and would certainly have been composed for liturgical or ritual use. Others set texts that suggest liturgical or ritual use, but were almost certainly composed after the Reformation, and were probably envisaged only for extra-liturgical purposes. The original and modified functions of these works have implications for the contexts in which they might have been performed: either in the chamber, church, or even in the schoolroom.

Figure 7.11 Original functions of works in Mus. e. 1–5 (Psalm references are those adopted first by the Vulgate, and then by the *Book of Common Prayer;* responsory references pertain to the Use of Sarum).[51]

No.	***Composer***	***Work***	***Original function(s) of text***	***Print***
1	Byrd	*Aspice Domine de sede*	Respond (Sundays in November)	1589
2	Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	quasi-Respond⋆	1589
3	Sadler	*In nomine*	Consort work	
4/i	Tye	*Miserere mei*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 56/7, vv. 1-4, 6-12, 14)	
5/ii	Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*	Trinity antiphon?	
6/iii	Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 85/6, vv. 1–6 + Amen)	
7/iv	Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*	Jesus antiphon	
8/v	Aston	*Te Deum*	Jesus antiphon	⋆⋆
9/vi	Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*	Mary antiphon	
10/vii	Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*	Mary antiphon	
11/viii	Clemens	*Job tonso capite*	Motet [Job 1:20]	1549
12/ix	Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*	Mary antiphon	
13/x	Johnson	*Ave Dei patris*	Mary antiphon	
14/xi	Tallis	*Salve intemerata*	Mary antiphon	
15/xii	Aston	*Gaude virgo mater matris*	Anne antiphon	⋆⋆⋆
16/xiii	van Wilder	*Aspice Domine de sede*	Respond (Matins in November)	
17/xiv	Parsley	*Conserva me*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 16/7, vv.1–5)	
18/xv	Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 14/5, vv.1–3)	

[50] Musica laeta suum to gaudet habere patronum; O mihi praecipuos inter habende viros; Jam patriam redeo, te dulcis amice relinquo; patria vix ista conditione placet. Kerman translates the latter words as 'I return home, leaving you, dear friend; in these circumstances, home is scarcely pleasing' (Kerman, 151).

[51] As this table shows, five pieces in Mus. e. 1–5 are also found in *CS1575*. One of them,Tallis' *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (no. 21/18), is in a different version to that of the print (this is discussed later). But the presence of this work in the 1575 publication nevertheless serves to explain its modified status as one of the 'cantiones sacrae' rather than a respond.

19/xvi	Tallis	*Incipit Lamentatio*	Motet	
20	Tallis	*Lamentations*	Motet	
21/xvii	White	*Lamentations*	Motet	
22/xviii	Tallis	*Dum transisset*	3rd response at Matins, Easter Sunday; on each day in Easter Week, on 1st to 5th Sundays after Easter.	1575
23/xix	Johnson	*Domine in virtute*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 20/1, vv. 2–8)	
24/xx	Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*	Mary antiphon	
25/xxi	Parsley	*Lamentations*	Motet	
26/xxii	White	*Miserere mei*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 50/1, vv. 3–21)	
27/xxiii	White	*Exaudiat te*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 19/20, vv. 3–10)	
28/xxiv	White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 130/1, vv. 1–3)	
29/xxv	White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 118/9, vv.73-80)	
30/xxvi	Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 8/9, v.2, first half)	
31/xxvii	Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*	Magnificat antiphon, 2nd Vespers, Corpus Christi.	1575
32/xxviii	Tallis	*Salvator mundi*	Matins antiphon, Exultation of the Holy Cross	1575
33/xxix	Byrd	*Attollite portas*	Psalm-motet (Ps.24/5, vv. 7, 8 & 10	1575
34/xxx	Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 130/1, vv. 1–3)	
35/xxxi	Tallis	*Absterge Domine*	Motet (text of unknown origin)	1575
36/xxxii	Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	Motet (Isaiah 64: 9-10)	1589
37/xxxiii	Taverner	*Mater Christi*	Mary antiphon	
38/xxxiv	Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*	Responsory, *Responsoria de Judith*★★★★	1589
39/xxxv	White	*Justus es Domine*	Psalm-motet (Ps. 118/9, vv.137–144)	
40	Taverner	*Western Wind*	Mass	
41	W. Parsons	*Good fellows must go*	secular part-song	
42	Anonymous	*Cony skines*	secular part-song	
43	Ferrabosco	*Musica laeta*	'secular motet'★★★★★	

Key:

1549	published in *Il primo libro di motetti a sei voce* (Venice: Scotto, 1549); *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci da diversi excellentissimi musici composti* (Venice: Scotto, 1549) and *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri excellentissimi musici*…(Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1549).
1575	published in *CS1575.*
1589	published in *CS1589*
★	Text to the *prima pars* is of unknown origin; text to the *secunda pars* is similar but not identical to a Respond for 4th Friday in Advent, Sarum Rite
★★	addressed here to Jesus; but a Mary antiphon in other sources (see below)
★★★	addressed here to Anne, mother of Mary; but a Mary antiphon in other sources (see below)
★★★★	Responsory after the Book of Judith (cf. Psalm 106/7 v.6?) in the pre-Vulgate *Vetus Latina*.
★★★★★	Described as such by Joseph Kerman (see above).

Entire *unica*

Seven works in Mus. e. 1–5 are entirely unique: they are not to be found in any other contemporary manuscript or printed sources, either in full or fragmentary form. But for the survival of Sadler's volumes, these pieces would be lost. These are 'entire' *unica*.

Figure 7.12 'Entire' *unica* in Mus. e. 1–5.

No.	***Composer***	***Work***
3	John Sadler	*In nomine*
7/iv	John Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*
17/xiv	Osbert Parsley	*Conserva me*
30/xxvi	Thomas Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*
34/xxx	Thomas Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*
41	William Parsons	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*
42	[anonymous]	*Cony skines*

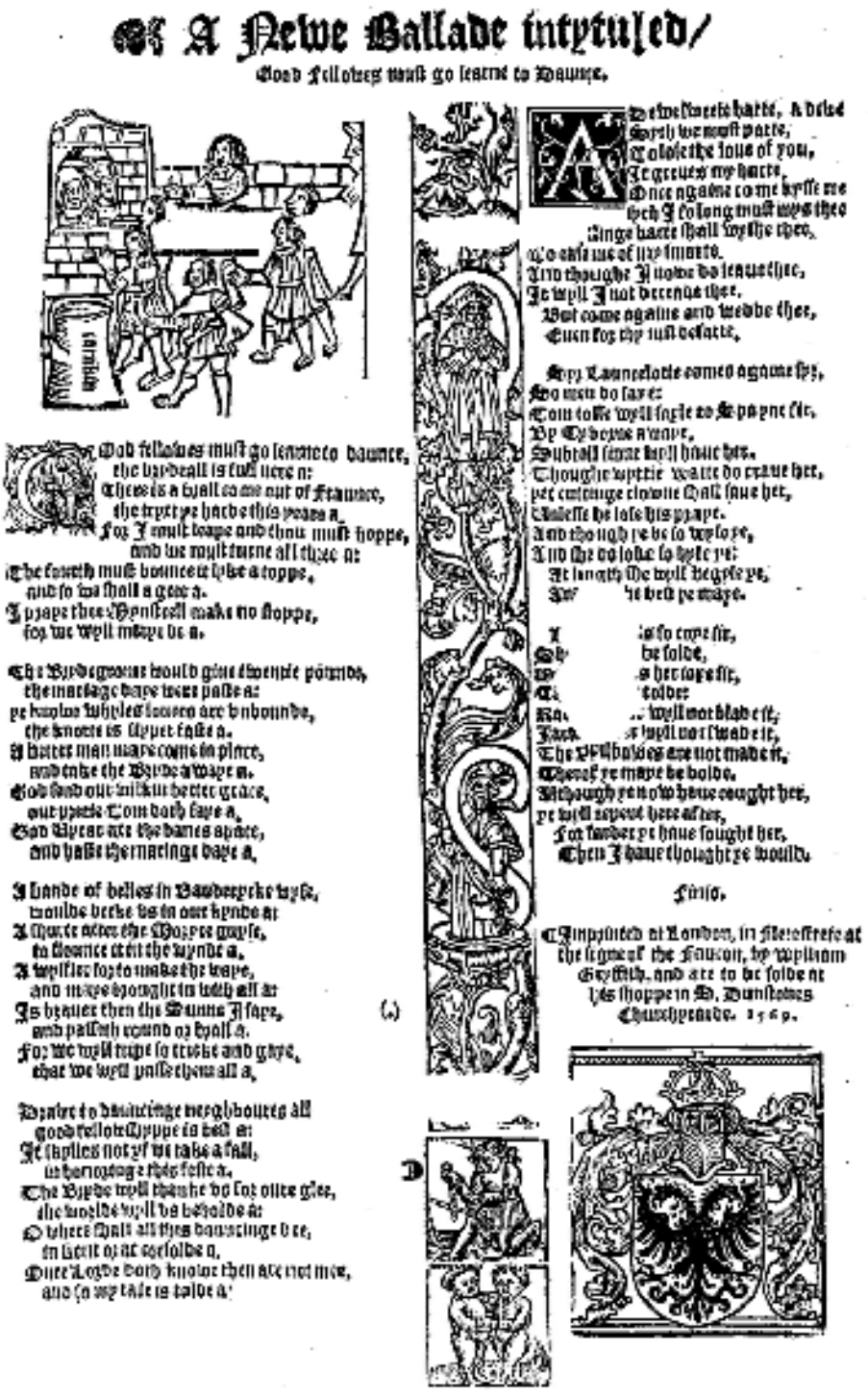
Most of these unique works have been edited and published, but two have not. They therefore warrant individual mention. *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (no. 41) is a secular part-song which sets an anonymous text from a broadside ballad that was published in 1569 by William Griffith 'at the sign of the falcon in Fleet-street', London.[52] The ballad tells the story of a wedding. The French 'brawl' (spelt 'brall') is referred to in the third line (the brawl was a 'cotillion-like dance with fancy footwork and regimented movements for couples'),[53] and the motion of jigging is referred to explicitly in the text of the second verse: the 'inclusive' nature of the text, encouraging singers to dance, is explicitly referenced in the words of 'I', 'we', and 'fourth'.[54] This is unusual, since despite the conventional associations between ballads and dancing, surprisingly few of them invoke dance in their texts.

52 Griffith was known as a printer of Ballads: he registered 79 ballads with the Stationers Company. See Tessa Watt, *Print Cheap and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 75. As is usual with ballads, the author of the text is not specified in the print (they were generally left anonymous, though they were usually male). See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 228.

53 Bruce R. Smith, 'Putting the "Ball" Back in Ballads', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016) 323–38.

54 Smith, 337.

Figure 7.13 *A Newe Ballade Intytuled Good Fellowes Must Go Learne to Daunce* (1569); image reproduced from the copy at *GB-Lbl* Huth 50 (66).


A Newe Ballade intytuled/
Good Fellowes must go learne to Daunce.

Good fellowes must go learne to daunce,
the bardeall is full here a:
There is a ball come out of Fraunce,
the tryst ye harde this yeare a.
For I must hoppe and thou must hoppe,
and we must turne all three a:
The fourth must bounce it like a stoppe,
and so we shall agree a.
I pray thee Hynstrell make no stoppe,
for we will merye be a.

The Bridegroome would giue twenty pounds,
the marriage daye were paste a:
ye knaues whyles louers are vnbounde,
the knotte is slypper faste a.
If better man maye come in place,
and take the Bryde awaye a.
God send our wiues a better grace,
our pypes Tom doth laye a.
God blesse me the dames aparte,
and haste the marriage daye a.

A bande of belles in Bandeyrke wyse,
woulde becke vs in our kynde a:
A chaunce after the Hoppes guyse,
to daunce at the wynde a.
A wyfe is for to make the wape,
and make thought in with all a:
Is better then the Maunts I saye,
and pallath round or shall a.
For we will hope so trusse and gaye,
that we will passe them all a.

Praier to dauncinge neighbours all
good rellow Hyppe is hell a:
Ie shyldes not yf we take a fall,
in hieringe this feste a.
The Bryde will thanke vs for our olde glee,
the worlde will be beholde a:
O where shall all this dauncinge bee,
in Lent or at ester folde a,
Quite Lorde doth knowe theil are not mine,
and so my tale is tolde a.

Finis.

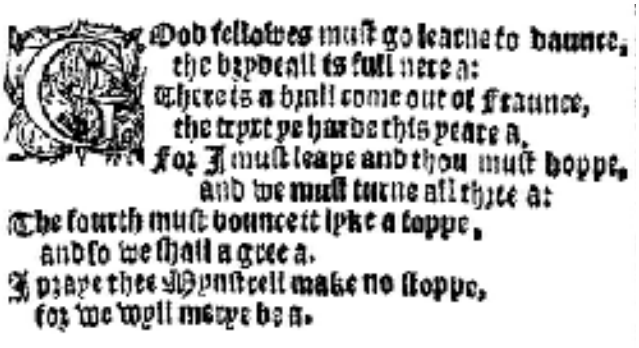
Imprinted at London, in Fletestreete at the signe of the Faucon, by William Griffith, and are to be solde at his shoppe in S. Dunstones Churchyearde. 1569.

The setting of the ballad in Mus. e. 1–5 utilises only the first stanza of this printed version. In its published form, the suffix of 'a' was applied to the ends of text lines in alternation: in the sixteenth century this signalled a dance step in its own right.[55] Set to music in Mus. e. 1–5,

55 Cécile Banke, *Shakespearean Stage Production: Then and Now* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 223.

however, this suffix has been removed. This omission essentially transforms the work from a dance into a part-song.[56] Some other words also appear in a modified state.

Figure 7.14 The first stanza of the ballad as printed in 1569, and the slightly altered version as set to music by William Parsons, copied in Mus. e. 1–5.


Good fellowes must go learne to daunce,
the brydeall is full neere a:
There is a bull come out of Fraunce,
the tryst ye harde this yeare a.
For I must leape and thou must hoppe,
and we must turne all thyre a:
The fourth must bounce it lyke a toppe,
and so we shall a gree a.
I praye thee Mynstrell make no stoppe,
for we wyll merye be a.

Good fellows must go learne to darnce,
the brydall ys full neare:
ther ys a rounde come out of Frannce,
ye tryciest[?] you save [?] to heare.
For I must leape and you must hoppe,
and we must turne all three:
the fourth must bounce it lyke a toppe,
And so we shall agree.
I pray the mynstrell make no stoppe
for we must merry be.

*Good fellows i*s ascribed to W[illia]m Parsons. Almost certainly this is the composer and copyist William Parsons (*fl.*1545–1563) from Wells, Somerset.[57] Few polyphonic compositions by this Parsons are known to survive: only a 'Flatt Service' and two Latin-texted motets, *Christus resurgens* and *Anima Christi*, are extant,[58] although he is thought to have composed 81 out of 141 settings in John Day's *The Whole Psalmes in Foure Parts* – a publication he may have been involved with in an editorial capacity. [59] Apart from being unique to Mus. e. 1–5, *Good fellows* is Parsons's only known contribution to the ballad genre. Moreover, if he composed *Good fellows* after the broadside ballad was published in 1569, then he would appear to have been alive in 1569. The last trace of him otherwise is Day's 1563 *Whole Psalmes in Foure Parts.*

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56 A (rather strange) single-melody version of this work appears in Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1999), 182.

57 His name appears in the register of vicars-choral at Wells in 1555, and he appears to have been employed as a composer and copyist by the cathedral between 1552 and 1556: payments to Parsons are recorded in the Cathedral Communar's Paper Book: on 11 February 1552 he was paid 16s. 4d. 'for divers songs and books by him made and to be made'; in 1553 he was paid 5s. for '15 books containing 3 masses and a primer'; in 1560 he was paid 20s. for 'making and pricking off certayne songes in Englisshe'. See Philippe Oboussier, 'Parsons, William', in *Grove Music Online,* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20962> [accessed 16 March 2016].

58 For a list of Parson's sacred compositions see <eecm.tcd.ie/composers/726> [accessed 12 March 2016].

59 John Day (ed.) *The Whole Psalmes in Foure Parts* (London: John Day, 1563).

Cony skines (no. 42), the other secular part-song in the volumes with an English text, is the only work in Mus. e. 1–5 that does not bear any ascriptions. It is cast in the first person, and emulates the cries of a peddler selling cony (i.e. rabbit) skins, Spanish gloves, silk ribbons and gold rings. Its text is similar in style to the various settings of the *Cries of London*.

> Cony skines maydes for tape pointes lacis and pynes
> This pretye pedler hath in his pretie packe prety things for fayre ladyes
> come bye come bye
> what do you lack
> Spanishe gloves silke rebandes and goldinge ringes.

This text is not to be found *verbatim* in any other source, but a number of similar versions which mention cony skins were certainly in circulation. The earliest in print appears to be Robert Copland's *The Hye Way to the Spyttell Hous* (1536),[60] and various later versions also appear with a similar theme, often in plays.[61] However, although similar texts were clearly popular in the sixteenth century,[62] the version in Mus. e. 1–5 is the only known musical setting.[63] Moreover, *Cony Skines* also appears to be the earliest English example of a *Cries of London* text set to music: all of the English settings – by Orlando Gibbons, Richard Dering, Thomas Weelkes and William Cobbald – date from at least the very end of the sixteenth century.[64]

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60 Robert Copland, *The Hye Way to the Spyttell Hous* (London: Robert Copland, [1536]), unpaginated: 'And with them comes gaderers of cony skynnes / That chop with laces / poyntes / nedles / & pyns'. The earliest manuscript version that includes the same themes dates from during or before 1450, and is called *London Lackpenny*; it was penned by Dom John Lydgate (1370–1450), a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds and friend of Geoffrey Chaucer. See Charles Hindley, *A History of the Cries of London: Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1881), 2.

61 In Anthony Munday, *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (London: William Leake, 1601), there is a similar verse at fol. 4v: 'What lacke ye? What lacke yee? What ist ye wil buy? Any points, pins, or laces, any laces, points or pins? Fine gloves, fine glasses, any buskes, or maskes? Or any other prettie things? Come chuse for love, or buy for money. Any cony cony skins, For laces, points, or pins? Faire maids, come chuse or buy. I have prettie poting sticks, And many other tricks, come chuse for love, or buy for money.' Literary mentions of 'cony skins' are to be found in the *Union First Line Index of English Verse*, at http://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php?val1=cony+skins#results [accessed 12 March 2016].

62 For a study of these various texts see Eric Wilson, 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries: Sounding out Society and Space in Early Modern London', *Modern Language Studies*, 25. 3 (1995),1–42.

63 Only one reference to a musical setting can be found: a manuscript version of the second edition of John Mennes and James Smith *Wit restored* (London: R. Pollard, N. Brooks, and T. Dring, 1658), which provides a song with the words 'Though Murray be undoubtedly his country's chiefest wit', which directs the reader to sing the song 'To the tune of Cony skins'; see *GB-Ob* MS Malone 13, 42. The music to which this direction refers is not known.

64 See Frederick Bridge, 'Musical Cries of London in Shakespeare's Time', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 46 (1921), 13–20; and John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1999), 150–1. Similar settings. such as *Voulez ouyr les cris de Paris,* were produced in France by Claude de Sermisy (*c.*1490–1562) and Clément Janequin (*c.* 1485–1558), somewhat earlier, however. See Evelyn Welch, 'The Senses in the Marketplace: Sensory Knowledge in a Material World', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, ed. by Herman Roodenburg (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 61–86 (75). The work was mentioned very briefly in 1919 by the folk song collector Lucy E. Broadwood, but otherwise this work appears to be little commented upon. See Lucy E. Broadwood, 'Some Notes on London Street Cries', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society,* 6.22 (1919), 43–47 (44–45).

Partial *unica*

Mus. e. 1–5 also provides voice-parts to some works that survive incomplete elsewhere (usually because concordant sources are missing one or more of their constituent partbooks). Sadler's volumes consequently allow these otherwise incomplete works to be restored. These are 'partial' unica.

Figure 7.15 Partial *unica* in Mus. e. 1–5.[65]

No.	*composer*	*work*	*parts not found elsewhere*
5/ii	John Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*	Tenor
6/iii	John Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*	Triplex; Medius; Altus; Tenor
12/ix	John Taverner	*Ave Dei Patris filia*	Tenor
15/xii	Hugh Aston	*Gaude virgo mater matris*	Triplex
24/xxi	Osbert Parsley	*Lamentations*	Triplex; Medius; Altus; Tenor
36/xxxiii	John Taverner	*Mater Christi*	Tenor

Variant versions

Several works in Sadler's volumes are to be found in other sources, but Mus. e. 1–5 offers variant versions that differ substantively from those that survive elsewhere.[66] Hugh Aston's Mary antiphon *Te matrem dei laudamus,* incidentally the only setting of this text by an Englishman,[67] is thought to have been composed for Aston's BMus degree in the University of Oxford in 1510.[68] In Mus. e. 1–5, however, the work exists as an antiphon *Te deum laudamus* (no. 8/v): an altered version of the text exchanges the numerous references to Mary to Jesus, in order to make it in to a Jesus antiphon.[69]

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65 Clemens' *Job tonso capite* (no. 11/viii) is excluded from this list because, although the Bassus part is to be found in another relevant MS source (*GB-Ob* Tenbury 1464, fols. 69v–70r), this work appeared in continental printed editions from the 1549 onwards, as mentioned in Figure 7.11 above.

66 No attempt is made to list all of these differences, since the majority of them are identified in published editions. However, some chief differences are surveyed below simply to outline how works in Mus. e. 1–5 differ form those in concordant sources.

67 The *Te matrem dei laudamus* text itself is thought to be a paraphrase of the *Te deum*. It is of unknown authorship. See Bonnie Blackburn, 'Te Matrem Dei laudamus: A Study in the Musical Veneration of Mary', *The Musical Quarterly*, 53 (1967), 53–76 (53).

68 See John Bergsagel, 'Aston, Hugh', in *Grove Music Online.*

69 Nick Sandon (ed.), *Hugh Aston: Te matrem dei laudamus* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2001), iii. For the view that the text may have been altered in order to make the work a Trinity (rather than a Jesus) antiphon see Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 151, and John Bergsagel, 'Aston, Hugh', in *Grove Music Online*. For the view that this work may in fact be a Trinity antiphon, even though its text never actually refers to all three persons of the Trinity, see Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 105.

Figure 7.16 The verbal text of *Te matrem dei laudimus*, modified as it appears Mus. e 1–5, as antiphon *Te deum laudamus*.[70]

Te deum laudamus.	*We praise thee, O God.*
Te dominum confitemur	*We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.*
Te eternum patrem omnis terra veneratur.	*All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.*
Tibi omnes angeli et archangeli:	*To thee all Angels and Archangels:*
Tibi omnes principatus humilati serviunt.	*to thee all Principalities humbly pay their service.*
Tibi omnes potestates et supernæ virtutes:	*To thee all Powers and supernal Virtues,*
Tibi omnes cælorum dominaciones obediunt.	*to thee all Dominations of the heavens arc obedient.*
Tibi omnes throni cherubin et seraphim: exsultantes assistant.	*To thee all Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim joyfully bid welcome.*
Tibi cuncta angelica creatura: delectabili voce proclamat:	*All angelic creatures with delightful voice proclaim thee:*
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth.	*Holy , holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.*
Pleni sunt cæli et terra: majestatis gloriæ tue.	*Heaven and earth arc full of the majesty of thy glory.*
Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus: omnipotentum deum collaudat.	*The glorious company of the Apostles praises thee, almighty God.*
Te laudabilis numerus prophetarum: hominem redempturum predixerat.	*The goodly fellowship of the Prophets foretold that man would be redeemed.*
Te martirum cetus beatorum: deum sempiternum glorificat	*The blessed body of Martyrs glorifies thee, the everlasting God.*
Te gloriosus exercitus confessorum: eternum trinitatem appellat.	*The glorious amy of Confessors calls thee the eternal Trinity.*
Te sanctissimam Trinitatem in unitate et unitatem in Trinitate cuncta creatura tua adorat.	*All thy creatures worship thee, most holy Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity.*
Tu tota celestis curia: celorum factorem honorat.	*All the court of heaven honours thee, the maker of heaven.*
Te per universum mundum: sancta ecclesia invocando celebrar patrem immense majestatis.	*The holy Church throughout all the world in calling upon thee celebrates the Father of an infinite majesty.*
Tu rex gloriae Christe,	*Thou art me King of Glory, O Christ,*
Tu victor mortis dire,	*Thou art the conqueror of cruel death,*
Tu decus regni celestis,	*Thou art the jewel of the heavenly kingdom,*
Tu patris sempiternus es filius,	*Thou art the Son of the everlasting Father,*
Tu fons pietatis et gracie,	*Thou art the source of devoutness and grace,*
Tu vitis es misericordie,	*Thou art the vine of mercy,*
Tu refugium peccatorum,	*Thou art the refuge of sinners,*
Tu salvator seculorum.	*Thou art the Saviour of ages.*
Tu ad liberandum exulem hominem non horruisti virginis uterum.	*For the freeing of banished mankind thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.*
Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris.	*Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father.*
Tu patrem pro nobis roga, O domine, qui nos ad judicandum es venturus.	*On our behalf, O Lord who art to come to judge us, entreat the Father.*
Salvum fac populum servorum tuorum domine,	*Save the host of thy servants, Lord, so that we may be*
ut simus participes hereditatis tue.	*partakers of thine inheritance .*
Miserere nostri, domine, miserere nostri.	*Have mercy upon us, Lord , have mercy upon us.*
Fiat misericordia tua magna nobiscum,	*Let thy great mercy be with us,*
quia in te confidimus.	*for we trust in thee.*
In te, domine, speramus,	*In thee, Lord, do we hope,*
ut nos defendas in eternum.	*hat thou wilt protect us for ever.*

70 Transcription and translation taken from Sandon, *Hugh Aston: Te matrem dei laudamus*, x.

This work, in its original format, survives in four other sources;[71] but Mus. e. 1–5 is the only source which transmits the altered version. Given Sadler's connection to the dissolved Fotheringhay College, his exemplar for the work could well have come from there.[72] Why Fotheringhay should have possessed the Jesus antiphon version is not clear, since Fotheringhay had a dual dedication to St Mary and All saints, and the statutes of the college make no specific references to Jesus antiphons – at least not to any that were to be sung by a choir of men and boys (as opposed to just boys). [73] Whatever the case, because the text to this work is a substitute for the original, and possibly because the setting may be one of Aston's early compositions, some of its elements have been judged to be somewhat unsuccessful: the text is not a terribly good fit to the music, described as being 'even clumsier textually' than the original Marian version.[74]

Aston's Mary antiphon *Gaude virgo mater Christi* appears in Sadler's volumes as *Gaude mater matris Christi* (no. 15/xii). Mentions of the Virgin have been supplanted with references to Anne, the mother of Mary, and the entire text is also supplemented with an additional stanza in her honour.[75] The work is therefore an Anne antiphon. Unlike Aston's *Te deum*, *Gaude mater matris Christi* is found in two other sources; but Mus. e. 1–5 is the only source in which it survives complete.[76] It is unclear which of the *Te matrem* and *Gaude virgo* compositions was written first; unlike Aston's *Te Deum*, there are no awkward instances where the text does not appear to be a good fit to the words (chiefly because both texts are similar in scansion and metre).[77] It is likely that the work was composed by Aston while he was employed as *magister choristarum* and keeper of the organs at St Mary Newarke Hospital and College, Leicester, where he worked from 1525 (at the latest) until the dissolution of the college in 1548. The additional stanza of text in honour of Anne, which concludes with the words 'ut possimus illuc tuo sociari collegio' ('So that there we may join your retinue [in heaven]') may be an allusion to the collegiate context in which

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71 The Medius, Contrantenor and Bassus parts are preserved in *GB-Lbl* MS Harley 1709; *GB-Cu* MS Dd. 13. 27, and *GB-Cjc* MS K. 31. *GB-Lbl* RM 24 d. 2 (Baldwin's 'commonplace book') though in score, has only sections of the Triplex and Tenor parts in two three-part extracts.

72 Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', 262.

73 At Fotheringhay College, after compline, antiphons to St. John Baptist and St. Edward the Confessor were sung in the quire; these were followed by a Mary antiphon, sung by the whole choir grouped around the high altar. Jesus antiphons were then sung on the steps to the altar, but only by boys. See A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Statutes of the College of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', *Archaeological Journal,* 75 (1918), 241–309 (262). At Salisbury Cathedral, Henry VIII changed the terms of an endowment for a Mary antiphon into one for a Jesus antiphon; but similar evidence of alterations to Fotheringhay statues cannot be found. See Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 86, 84.

74 Sandon, *Hugh Aston: Te matrem dei laudamus*, iii.

75 On this text see Noël Bisson, 'English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: the Votive Antiphon, 1430–1500' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1998), 103–04.

76 The other sources for this version of the work are *GB-Lbl* MS Harley 1709, *GB-Cp* MS 471–74. The single source for the *Gaude virgo mater Christi* version is *GB-Lbl* Add. 34191 – a single Bassus partbook probably from a set originally of five volumes, produced in the 1530s.

77 Nick Sandon (ed.), *Hugh Aston: Gaude Virgo Mater Christi* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2005).

Aston worked.[78] These words would also have been appropriate for the resident singers of Fotheringhay College, if indeed Sadler's exemplar for this work did come from there.

Figure 7.17 The text to Aston's *Gaude mater matris Christi* (no. 15/xii).[79]

Gaude, mater matris Christi,	*Rejoice, mother of the mother of Christ,*
que per aurem concepisti,	*who conceived through hearing*
dei patris nuncio.	*a message of God the father*
Gaude, quia concepisti	*Rejoice, for you conceived,*
Sterilisque tu fuisti,	*and you were the barren*
Joachim conjugio.	*wife of Joachim.*
Gaude, quia tua nata,	*Rejoice, for your child*
In te clausa sit mundata,	*enclosed within you was made clean*
Pari tali vitio.	*from such a like sin.*
Gaude, quia vas virtutis	*Rejoice, for you brought forth*
Peperisti et salutis	*the vessel of virtue and salvation*
Castitatis lilio.	*by the lily of chastity.*
Gaude, quia mundi stellam	*Rejoice for with joy*
Atque summi regis cellam	*you nourished the star of the world*
Lactasti cum gaudio,	*and the shrine of the supreme king,*
Per quam late vultus tui	*Through her let it be given to us,*
Semper nobis detur frui	*always to delight in your countenance*
In celi palatio.	*in the palace of heaven.*
O Anna, mater matris redemptoris nostri:	*O Anne, mother of the mother of our saviour:*
O Anna, matrona nobilissima,	*O Anne, most noble woman,*
que jam regnas cum angelis,	*you who now reign with the angels,*
coronata in gloria: ibi nostri memor esto.	*crowned with glory: there be mindful of us.*
O Anna sanctissima, funde preces tu pro nobis,	*O most holy Anne, pour out prayers for us,*
ut possimus illuc tuo sociari collegio.	*So that there we may join your retinue.*
Amen.	*Amen.*

Exactly why this work should exist with a text honouring Anne is uncertain. Settings of the *Te matrem* text were popular in the fifteenth century, but pieces dedicated to Anne are less common.[80] The purpose of such a work is also open to question, since a piece in honour of the Virgin Mary is surely of greater utility than one to her mother. Devotion to St Anne was unusually strong in East Anglia, but there is no mention of St Anne in the statutes of Fotheringhay college; nor is the college thought to have had any connection to the cult of St

78 The Peterhouse source for this version was also connected to a collegiate foundation: those books are thought to have been produced for Magdalen College, Oxford. See Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook*, 69.

79 Translation derived from Sandon, *Hugh Aston: Gaude Virgo Mater Christi*.

80 See Michael Anderson, 'Symbols of saints: Theology, ritual, and kinship in music for John the Baptist and St Anne, 1175–1563' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 2008), 738–41.

Anne.[81] Possibly the work existed simply to serve an extra-liturgical function on the feast day of St Anne (26 July, and the Sunday before Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 September), though in Sadler's volumes it has surely been copied with general devotional or even convivial domestic use in mind.

Sadler's copy of Tallis's *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (no. 21/xviii) also differs from those that survive elsewhere.[82] The *Dum transisset Sabbatum* text is based on Mark 16: 1-2; but before the Reformation, it was sung as the third respond at Matins on Easter Day, on each day in Easter Week, and on the first to fifth Sundays after Easter.[83] Accordingly, Tallis's setting has the proper plainsong as a cantus firmus, unusually in the Superius part, in equal notes. The original liturgical version of the work no longer survives complete, but it can be reconstructed from the few (incomplete) manuscript sources in which its parts are scattered.[84] The original version was composed for plainsong and polyphony in alternation, using the text below in the sequence A B C D E C D F D (see Figure 7.18 below). It begins with a chant incipit, 'Dum transisset', and thereafter choir and soloists sing in alternation, with further chant to be inserted between segments of the polyphony, as well as at the end.

Figure 7.18 Original structure of Tallis' *Dum transisset sabbatum*, as a Respond for plainsong and polyphony.

Segment	℟ / ℣	***sung by***	***form***	***text***
A	℟	soloists	plainsong	*Dum transisset*
B		choir	polyphony	*sabbatum: Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata.*
C				*Ut venientes ungerent Jesum.*
D				*Alleluia alleluia.*
E	℣	soloists	plainsong	*Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum: orto iam sole.*
C	℟	choir	polyphony	*Ut venientes ungerent Jesum.*
D				*Alleluia alleluia.*
F	℣	soloists	plainsong	*Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui Sancto.*
D	℟	choir	polyphony	*Alleluia alleluia.*

[81] At least 40 medieval churches and chapels were under her patronage in England by 1540. See Gail Gibson, 'The Religion of Childbed: Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans', in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, USA: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 95–110. On Sarum devotions to Anne see Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 432.

[82] See fols. 43v, 42v, 43v, 40v and 39r of each respective partbook.

[83] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 1, dcccxiv. The English version of the respond text, its liturgical form, is: ℟ When the sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint Jesus. Alleluia. ℣ And very early in the morning on the first day of the week, they came to the sepulchre at sunrise.

[84] For these sources, which are variously texted and textless, see Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, 222.

The version of the work in Mus. e. 1–5 utilises only segments B, C and D of the text shown above. The opening words of the initial ℟ are also rearranged so that they read not 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' but 'Sabbatum dum transisset'; therefore the need for a plainsong intonation at the outset of the work is eliminated (this slightly modified ℟ is shown below as ℟', with the rearranged text in bold). The segments that follow are also set for five-part polyphony throughout, without the need for plainsong in alternation.

Figure 7.19 The structure of Tallis' *Dum transisset sabbatum* (no. 22/xviii) in Mus. e. 1–5.

Segment	℟ / ℣	*sung by*	*form*	*text*
B	℟'	choir	polyphony	***sabbatum dum transisset*** *Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata.*
C	℣	choir	polyphony	*Ut venientes ungerent Jesum.*
D	℟	choir	polyphony	*Alleluia alleluia.*

This reduced version of the text, for polyphony only, and with the modified text-underlay for the opening (allowing for it to be sung as a motet without the need for a plainchant incipit), also appeared in Byrd and Tallis' *CS1575*. Sadler's copy, however, is slightly different to this published version. Many of the differences are slight: they generally have to do with divergences in texting and the odd accidental. But, in summary, voice-parts 1 and 5 are more similar to the original version of the work that was designed for liturgical use; and the remaining voice parts, 2, 3, and 4, are more akin to the revised version that was published in *CS1575*. Sadler's version therefore corresponds predominantly neither to the original version (in so far as in can be reconstructed), nor to the published version: it instead occupies a position somewhere between the two,[85] but was clearly *not* intended to be sung with *alternatim* plainsong. What is more important, however, is that Sadler's copy of this work survives in a similar state nowhere else. Nor can it have been copied from the *CS1575* print, even though four other pieces in the partbooks did appear in this print, and could have been copied from it. Instead, this work must have been copied from a manuscript exemplar.

Sadler's copy of Byrd's *Tribulationes civitatum* (no. 38/xxxv) is also of interest because it is written a tone higher than in almost all other sources, whether printed or manuscript (on A with no signature flats, instead of in G minor with a two-flat signature).[86] Whether Sadler made this transposition himself is uncertain: although there are precedents for scribes changing the pitches

[85] These are paraphrases of John Milsom's analysis of this work, as given in Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, 222–41.

[86] The only other source which gives this work at the same pitch is *GB-Ob* Tenbury 369–7.

of works,[87] if Sadler was responsible we might have expected some change to be made to Tallis' *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii), the notated pitch of which in Mus. e. 1–5 is exceptionally high (as it is in other sources).[88]

Composers

Mus. e. 1–5 contains the work of eighteen composers. The majority are English, but two were continental émigrés who worked in England. Philip van Wilder (1500–1554) was a Netherlander, but was living in England by 1522, and was 'Keeper of the Instruments' (effectively head of the Court's instrumental music) to Edward VI by 1547. Alfonso Ferrabosco I (1543–1588) was an Italian, but from 1562 to 1578 found employment with Elizabeth I. Only Clemens non papa (*c.* 1510–1556), apparently from Flanders, did not work in England; but his music certainly circulated here (as well as Germany, France, and Spain) after his death.[89] Why Sadler's volumes do not contain more music from the pens of continental composers is uncertain, but may be related to the fact that printed repertories from abroad became increasingly available in England during the sixteenth century – and cheaply.[90] Alternatively, the paucity of continental music in manuscript sources may derive from that fact that English copyists may have preferred to compile works from their own native tradition.[91] But whether or not Sadler excluded certain foreign works that were

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87 The reasons for the transposition of this work, and indeed some others, may have to do with the preference of sixteenth century musicians to eliminate 'difficult' signatures. See, for instance, Byrd's *Gloria Patri*, part 3 of *Tribue Domine*,which appears in *GB-Lbl* Add. 30810–6 a tone higher (in C) than it does in *CS1575*; and Byrd's *When first by force*, which also appears a tone higher (in D minor rather then in C minor dorian) in some sources. Examples cited in Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 72.

88 This work uses clefs G1, G2, C2, C3 and F3. David Wulstan interprets use of a F3 clef for the Bassus in this work as having implied the shift of a fifth down in performance. See Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 35.

89 Perhaps the best, and most famous, example of the proliferation of Clemens' music in England comes from the inventory of the Library of the Earl of Arundel at Nonesuch, which contained numerous printed partbooks. See Charles W. Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', *The Musical Quarterly*, 54 (1968), 47–57 and John Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on The British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London: The British library, 1993), 146–82. William Byrd is even thought to have derived some of his texts from Clemens' settings (including his *Tristitia et anxietas* and *Tribulationes civitatum*); see David Trendell, 'Byrd's Masses in Context', in *A Byrd Celebration: Lectures At The William Byrd Festival*, ed. by Richard Turbet (Richmond, Virginia: Church Music Association of America, 2008), 95–102 (97).

90 For a discussion of the limited circulation of continental sacred music in Elizabethan manuscript (as opposed to printed) sources, see John Milsom, 'English polyphonic style in transition: a study of the sacred music of Thomas Tallis', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1983), 68–9.

91 Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 172.

in his exemplars, or whether the copyists of his exemplars had themselves excluded foreign works from their copies is unknown.[92]

Sadler does not seem obviously to have favoured any particular composers. Tallis predominates, but only just; he is followed closely by White. Next come Byrd and Taverner; thereafter are various other composers, represented by only one or two pieces (see Figure 7.20 below). It was Henry Davey who first observed that the chronological sweep of the composers represented in Mus. e. 1–5 is rather wide, writing that Sadler's volumes 'must have been the last case of the pre-Reformation composers finding a place in partbooks'.[93] The rationale for this assertion is obvious: Mus. e. 1–5 contains music by Sadler's contemporaries – Thomas Tallis (*c.* 1505–1585), John Sheppard (*c.*1515–1558), Robert White (*c.*1538–1574), Osbert Parsley (1511–1585), Christopher Tye (*c.*1505–before 1573) and John Merbecke (*d.*1585) – all of whom, like Sadler, were born in the first decade or two of the sixteenth century, and whose lives spanned the reigns of four monarchs. Two composers, William Byrd (1540-1623) and Thomas Morley (*c.* 1557-1602), were a whole generation younger than Sadler, and their careers did not begin to blossom until Sadler was nearing retirement. Others represented in his volumes were older: Hugh Aston (*c.*1485-1558), Robert Johnson I (*c.*1500–*c.*1560), and John Taverner (*c.*1490–1545) were all born at or prior to the turn of the sixteenth century; and Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521) was long dead before copying began. Mus. e. 1-5 therefore preserves the music not only of composers who were active in Sadler's lifetime, but music from composers who grew to musical maturity in the latter-half of the sixteenth century as well as from some of the English polyphonic tradition's elder statesmen. Mus. e. 1–5 therefore offers a panorama of polyphonic achievement that spans almost the entire range of the sixteenth century.[94]

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92 Foreign music certainly was copied in to manuscript collections, but it is generally scarcer than English music. The most famous exponent for the collection and copying of foreign music is Edward Paston and his various partbooks; see Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550–1630): a Norfolk gentleman and his musical collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964–8), 51–69. For inventories of his manuscripts, see Francis Knights, 'The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston' (unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Oxford, 1999).

93 Davey, *History Of English Music,* 135.

94 Curiously, music by Robert Parsons and William Mundy is absent; if Sadler did indeed have access to Chapel Royal repertoire (via Trinity College), then we might have expected to see these composers represented.

Figure 7.20 Composer representation in Mus. e. 1–5, in descending order (counting Tallis' *Incipit Lamentatio* and *Lamentations* as a single piece, as they are in the partbooks). Dates for composers are those given in *Grove Music Online*.

Composer	***dates***	***number of works***
Thomas Tallis	(*c.*1505–1585)	8
Robert White	(*c.*1538–1574)	6
William Byrd	(*c.*1539/40–1623)	5
John Taverner	(*c.*1490–1545)	5
Hugh Aston	(*c.*1485–1558)	2
Robert Fayrfax	(1464–1521)	2
Robert Johnson I	(*c.*1470–after 1554)	2
Osbert Parsley	(1511–1585)	2
Thomas Morley	(1557 or 1558–1602)	2
John Sadler	(*c.*1513–*c.*1591)	1
Christopher Tye	(*c.*1505–before 1573)	1
John Sheppard	(*c.*1515–1558)	1
John Merbecke	(*c.*1510–*c.*1585)	1
Jacobus Clemens non Papa	(*c.*1510 or 1515–1555/6)	1
Philip van Wilder	(*c.*1500–1554)	1
Alfonso Ferrabosco I	(1543–1588)	1
William Parsons	(*fl.*1545–1563)	1
[Anonymous]	?	1

8. ASSEMBLY & PREPARATION

Mus. e. 1–5 is a set of five paper partbooks in oblong quarto format.[1] Each volume consists of sheets of laid paper that have been folded once along their horizontal axes and once along their vertical axes, and cut in order to create four-leaf booklets. Several of these booklets have been placed inside each other to form a gathering; and groups of these gatherings have then been collocated into text blocks in order assemble each volume.

The partbooks are at present disbound, with their sewing threads pulled: this allows for the gathering structure of each volume to be examined fairly easily. But although each partbook has a generally straightforward gathering structure, there are some disruptions to the positions of non-music-bearing leaves that have hitherto gone unnoticed. These misplacements are not always immediately obvious, since disrupted leaves appear to be in the correct position: some have even been joined together artificially with tissue paper, and give the impression that they were originally conjugate. The watermarks of the original sixteenth-century paper, though its pattern was identified by David Mateer,[2] are also more complicated than has yet been recorded: their positions, apart from revealing information about Sadler's paper stock, in fact shed light on the method by which Sadler went about turning his sheets of paper into partbooks. The following pages summarise how Sadler's volumes were assembled, with what sort of paper, and how the partbooks, once formed, were then pricked and ruled with pencil guide-lines, before their pages were ruled with stave-lines in preparation for copying.

Original and later leaves

Today, each partbook is made up of original sixteenth century leaves and later endleaves. Some original leaves were evidently left blank by Sadler at the front and rear of each partbook; but further blank leaves were also added to the volumes when they were re-bound (possibly twice) in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. These later leaves are of different types. Two-ply endleaves of plain brown paper lined with white are found at the front and back of each volume: the brown paper of these leaves matches the brown paper that has been used to line the boards of the Russia leather bindings (now detached), and must have been added to the text blocks when the volumes were re-bound. There are also two endleaves of laid paper, of a different type. The first of these leaves is fol. 77 of Mus. e. 2, and the other accompanies fol. 3r of Mus. e. 3; this leaf does not have its own foliation, however (it is referred to as fol. 3[bis] in the Bodleian foliation, since it accompanies fol. 3 in that partbook); it is also considerably flimsier than the one in Mus. e. 2, and was probably some sort of repair leaf. These leaves may have been added on separate occasions.

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1 Quarto is a format of book that results from folding each sheet of paper to produce four leaves (eight pages). Mus. e. 1–5 is usually large for a quarto production, however.

2 Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 285.

A total number of 360 leaves of original sixteenth century paper survive across all five partbooks. Each volume is presently configured as follows:

Figure 8.1 Current leaf-totals in Mus. e. 1–5 (Roman numbers denote later leaves, though the partbooks are foliated only in Arabic).

Partbook	*total no. of leaves*	*total of modern and original leaves*
Mus. e. 1	78	iii + 74 original (fols. 4–77) + i leaves (fols. i, ii, and iii are today pasted together at the gutter, in the order 2, 1, 3)
Mus. e. 2	78	i + 75 original (fols. 2–76) + ii leaves
Mus. e. 3	78	i + 75 original (fols. 2–76) + ii leaves (+ 1 further later repair-leaf, fol. 3[a], lining the original fol. 3[bis])
Mus. e. 4	69	i + 66 original (fols. 2–67) + ii + i leaves (fol. [70] is a modern endleaf formerly pasted to fol. 69)
Mus. e. 5	72	i + 70 original (fols. 2–71) + i leaves

Dimensions and trimming

Although the volumes give the impression of being the same size, the leaf sizes in fact vary from partbook to partbook. Those in Mus. e. 1, 2 and 5 range from 205-210 x 275-282 mm, and have a median height and width of approximately of 207.5 x 280.5 mm; those in Mus. e. 3 are slightly taller, with a height that ranges between 207-210 mm; and those in Mus. e. 4 are slightly less broad, with a width that ranges between 275-277 mm.

Figure 8.2 Present approximate leaf dimensions for Mus. e. 1–5.

Partbook	*height range (mm)*	*width range (mm)*	*median dimensions (mm)*
Mus. e. 1	205-210	275-282	207.5 x 280.5
Mus. e. 2	205-210	275-282	207.5 x 280.5
Mus. e. 3	207-210	275-282	208.5 x 278.5
Mus. e. 4	205-210	275-277	207.5 x 276
Mus. e. 5	205-210	275-282	207.5 x 280.5

The reason for this variety in size is that the outer edges of the folios have been trimmed. Trimming to the horizontal edges may only have been minimal, since fol. 37 of Mus. e. 2 retains a fraction of its untrimmed deckle edge at its foot,[3] and this measures about 1 mm larger than other folios. Trimming to the fore-edge appears to have been more severe, resulting in width disparities of up to 6mm between the volumes. Nevertheless, trimming has not severely compromised any of the partbooks' contents: a marginal illustration of an owl on fol. 35v of Mus. e. 1 has lost only the

[3] The rough (untrimmed) edge to paper – a natural result of the paper-making process in which sheets were made individually on a deckle.

very edge of the banderole below which it is perched, and the initial letter N on fol. 62v of Mus. e. 2 shows how close the trimming came to material on the page.

Figure 8.3 Detail to left-hand margins of fol. 35v of Mus. e. 1 and fol. 62v of Mus. e. 2.



Only six leaves appear to have been cancelled in the process of copying: these were cut from their bifolio conjugates and removed from their constituent quires, probably because of scribal error (see Inventory in Appendix A); one frontispiece leaf is also missing. Therefore the copying project must have required at least 367 leaves of original paper, 360 of which are extant. An English quire in the sixteenth-century contained 24 sheets;[4] each of these, once folded, would have produced four partbook leaves. A whole quire would therefore have yielded a total of 96 partbook leaves. Sadler must have acquired four quires of paper: this would have produced a total of 384 leaves, leaving a residue of some 4.5 sheets (or 17 leaves) for other purposes.[5] If we are to assume maximal dimensions of 210 x 282 mm for each leaf, then Sadler's original sheets must have had dimensions of at least 420 x 564 mm – possibly these were as large as 450 x 600 mm if we are to allow for subsequent trimming. Thus Sadler's sheets of paper, before folding, were at least 'Royal' size (*c.*570–600 x 440 mm) – a little larger than A2 paper of today's standards – though the sizes of paper sheets varies considerably as the paper market expanded in the sixteenth century.[6]

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4 A standard quire in the sixteenth century was 24 sheets in England and the Netherlands, and 25 sheets in France and Italy. See Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 331.

5 This paper was *not* used for the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts: they contain a different watermark of *raisins* surmounted with the letters 'A G', and have different distances between the chain lines, despite the information given in *CCMS*, which claims that the paper is of the same type as Mus. e. 1–5. See *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 1, Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler Verlag,1988), 136 [information also accessible at www.diamm.ac.uk].

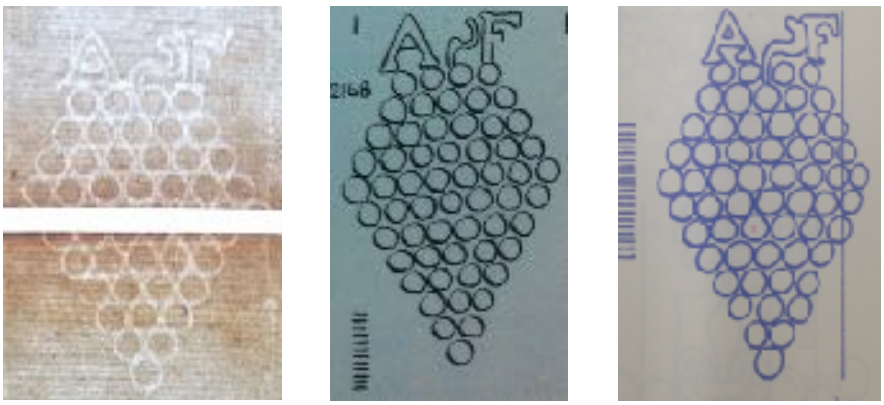
6 Paper sizes sold in the sixteenth century were pot (*c.*400 x 310mm), foolscap (*c.*420 x 320mm), crown (*c.*450 x 350mm), demy (*c.*500 x 350mm), and royal (*c.*570–600 x 440mm). These dimensions are translated from those given in imperial measurements in John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in *Cambridge History of the Book IV*, ed by. Barnard, McKenzie and Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 583–601 (590). A2 paper has fixed dimensions of 420 x 594mm.

Chain-lines & watermarks

Seven chain-lines are typically discernible on each folio (these are generally visible only over a cold-light sheet), which run vertically at approximate intervals of 40mm; numerous wire lines can also be seen, running horizontally. Sadler's original paper sheets must have been produced in a mould that accommodated at least 14 chain-lines.

The paper bears one watermark pattern: a formalised bunch of grapes, or *raisin*, surmounted with the letters 'A F', separated by a curved stem. This pattern was first identified by David Mateer in 1979: he recorded that it is similar to Heawood's watermark no. 2168,[7] but it also corresponds to watermark no. 13160 in Briquet's *Les Filigranes.*[8]

Figure 8.4 A complete watermark pattern from Mus. e. 1–5, shown with corresponding watermark patterns as identified in Heawood (no. 2168) and Briquet (no. 13160).



An entire watermark never appears on a single folio. Where a watermark is present, it appears bisected: half on one folio, and half on another. Within each gathering it is usual to see one half of a watermark on one leaf that is conjunct to a leaf that carries none. Typically, these bisected watermarks always appear on the *lower* part of a part of a folio: the only exception is Mus. e. 3, in which all of the watermarks appear in the *upper* half of a folio (for reasons to be outlined below).

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7 Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950), 113, cited in Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 285.

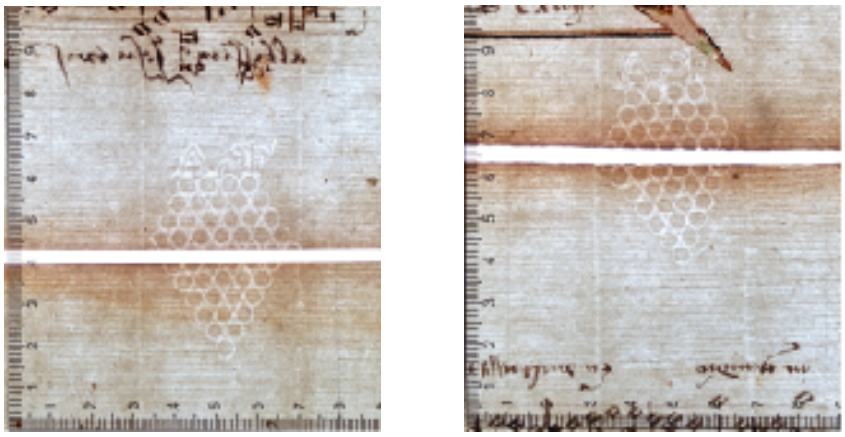
8 Charles-Moïse Briquet, *The New Briquet: Les Filigranes*, vol. 4, ed. by A. Stevenson (Amst: Paper Publications Society, 1968), no. 13160 [unpaginated].

Figure 8.5 Fol. 58r of Mus. e. 1, showing the 'upper half' of the watermark at the lower edge, and fol. 57v in the same partbook showing 'lower half', at the lower edge.



Scrutiny of these watermarks over a cold-light sheet reveals that two moulds are clearly discernible: one mark runs vertically between the paper's chain-lines; the other is noticeably skewed, although both patterns are the same size (approximately 47 x 35 mm). These two patterns are the result of twin moulds used in the production of the partbooks' paper.[9] The screens of each mould bore duplicate wire images that produced near-identical watermarks: one of these wire images appears to have been slightly rotated clockwise, however, which has resulted in a slight anti-clock-wise rotation of the watermark on some folios.[10]

Figure 8.6 Fol. 62r of Mus. e. (lower half of page; upper part of watermark) and 63v (upper half of page, showing lower section of watermark; inverted), of Mus. e. 5.

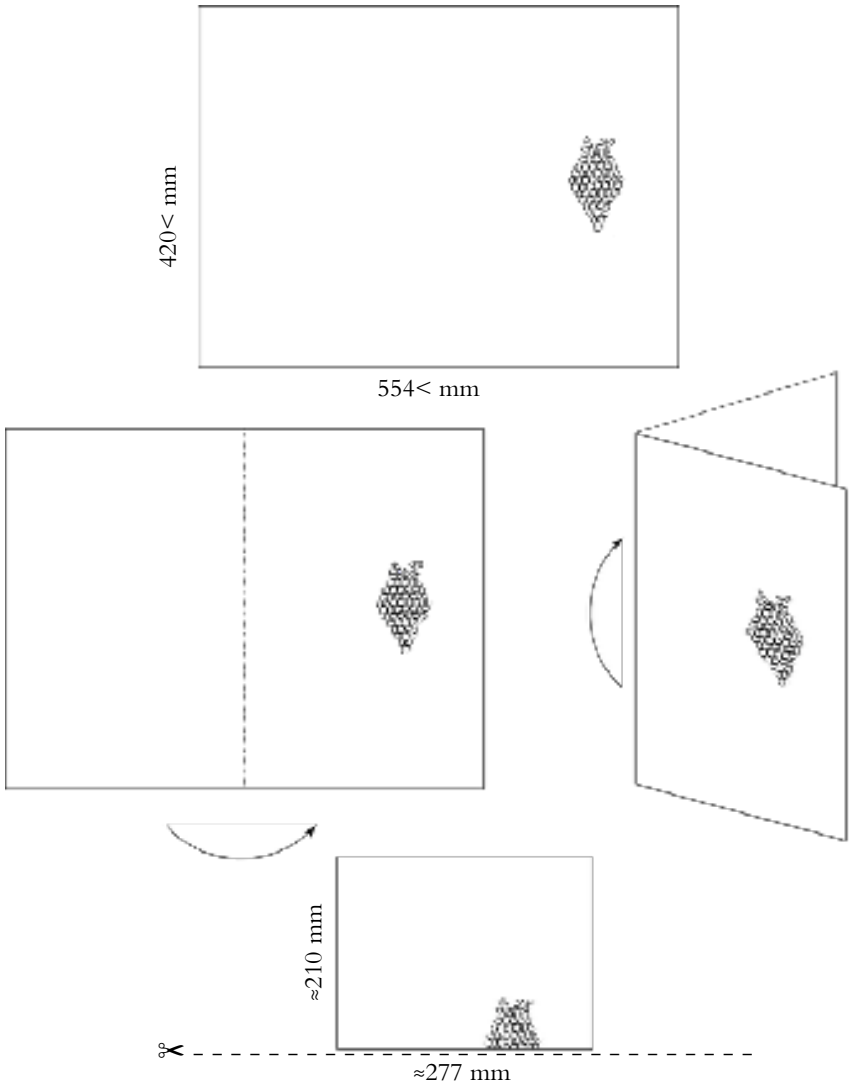


9 Two workers produced paper in tandem: as the screens were used the wire figures would suffer distortion, and so a stock of paper would typically contain two different, but nevertheless similar marks.

10 It was not possible to examine Mus. e. 1–5 with a raking light in order to discern the difference between mould/felt side; therefore it has not been possible to establish whether the watermarks are respectively in the left/right hand sides of the original mould.

The information assembled so far prompts the following hypotheses. Sadler set about producing his volume by acquiring a substantial batch of plain laid paper with the 'A F' *raisin* watermark, either straight or skewed. Each original sheet had dimensions of at least 420 x 554 mm. These sheets were then folded to produce four leaves each (as shown below). Half of the watermark is now visible either at the lower right-hand edge (Mus. e. 1, 3, 4 and 5) or at the upper right-hand edge (Mus. e. 2) of a partbook leaf; leaves with half-watermarks are conjoint with leaves carrying no watermarks. Therefore Sadler's original sheets, before folding or cutting, bore a watermark near the centre of one half of the sheet, with no countermark in the other.[11]

Figure 8.7 Sadler's folding process for producing a four-page booklet, beginning with an original sheet of paper with an 'A F' watermark in the centre of the right-hand half [not to scale].



[11] Paper produced in the sixteenth century usually does not bear a countermark; only paper produced at Lake Garda, Italy, sometimes has a countermark, but in the lower opposite corner. Information supplied in private correspondence with Neil Harris.

Paper

The *raisin* watermark surmounted with the initials 'A F' identifies Sadler's paper as of French manufacture.[12] A stock of this French paper clearly made it to London because Heawood lists the same watermark present in a Bishop's Bible published in London in 1572,[13] and in Saxton's *Atlas of the Counties of England & Wales*, published in London in 1579.[14] Although the 'A F' watermark does not allow for the paper to be assigned an exact date of production, Sadler's use of it, even if he did start copying the partbooks as late as 1568 rather than in or shortly after 1548, would appear to be the earliest example of its use identified so far.

The fact that the same paper was used in Saxton's *Atlas* suggests that Sadler's paper is of good quality. Publishers usually used cheap paper with a rough surface,[15] but this publication was a luxury item: it contains hand-coloured engravings, and was considered to be 'both artistically and cartographically a masterpiece'.[16] The paper is therefore of a higher grade than that typically used by publishers, and this assertion is supported by its thickness and weight – even though today much of the paper in Sadler's volumes is slightly discoloured.[17] The paper of Mus. e. 1–5 is not the best that would have been available, however, since it still has a rough texture; but this may have been a practical consideration. Peter Bales advocated against paper that was too rough or too smooth, since 'for being too rough, it mareth your pen; and being too smoothe, it will be too slipperie, that you cannot write steadily thereon.[18] Therefore Sadler's good quality but nevertheless slightly textured paper may have lent itself ideally to hand copying.

The exact source for Sadler's paper is uncertain, but it is possible that he obtained it from Fotheringhay or Oundle grammar schools, depending when the project was started.[19] Otherwise it might have been purchased from merchants in Oundle,[20] or acquired from Edmund

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12 See Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, 113, which also cites similar patterns in documents produced in Lyon from 1558-63, Bourg in 1568, Narbonne in 1575 and Autun in 1580.

13 *The Holie Bible* [Bishop's Bible] (London: Richard Iugge, 1572), cited in Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th* centuries, 113.

14 Christopher Saxton, *Atlas of the Counties of England & Wales* (London: Thomas Seckford et al, 1579).

15 James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 35.

16 Alfred L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 69, and Edward Lynam, *British Maps and Map-Makers* (London: W. Collins, 1944), 20.

17 The best paper was creamy coloured; inferior grades were brown or grey. See Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, 2011), 224.

18 Peter Bales, *The Writing Schoolemaster* (London: T. Orwin, 1590), sig. Q4v.

19 Good quality paper was not deemed to be too good for the use of children in school: in fact, one commentator recommended that for schoolboys: 'the whitest, finest, and smoothest [paper] is best'. See Francis Clement, *The Petie schole* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1587), 57.

20 After paper was brought to England, the main conduits for provincial paper distribution were paper fairs, where it would have been purchased for resale by haberdashers, drapers, tailors, fishmongers and stationers. A 1565 survey of Oundle by Thomas Austell, lists street by street all the properties in the town; these include the premises of all these merchant types. See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988), 17, and *GB-NtsRO* MS R.H. 20.

Brudenell,[21] or Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford.[22] Since Sadler must have had his paper in hand by 1568 at the very latest (the first date in his partbooks), his stock was almost certainly *not* supplied to him by the London printer Thomas Marhse, who published Sadler's translation of *De re militari* in 1572.

The cost of Sadler's paper is difficult to assess. If it was school stock, then perhaps it cost him nothing; if purchased, then he might have paid in the region of 3d. per 24-sheet quire – the approximate cost for good quality paper in about 1560 (a four-quire supply at this price would have cost 12d.).[23] Until 1568, Sadler earned a maximum of £5. 6s. 8d. per annum (notwithstanding the annuity he received from Francis Russell, value unknown); therefore the paper for his partbooks might have cost him almost four day's wages.[24] Paper pre-printed with staves would certainly have been cheaper because it used lower-quality paper (a four-quire supply might have cost about 10d. rather than 12d.),[25] but this pre-printed paper would have brought

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[21] Brudenell was acquiring books from as early as 1551. His copy of Jean Froissart, *Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of Sr John Froissart* … (London: R. Pynson, 1525) is signed 'Edmund Brudenell precj 8s Ao 1551'. Brudenell also had an agent acting for him to purchase books in Paris – a tempting connection, given that Sadler's paper is of French manufacture. See Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2005), 86–9.

[22] Bedford seems an unlikely candidate for having supplied paper to Sadler, since he was often away on campaigns rather than in Oundle (as pointed out in Chapter 2).

[23] Paper used for publishing was apparently extremely cheap, at as cost of about 3s. per ream (and therefore as little as 1s. 8d. per quire); see Bidwell, (2004), 585. But higher grade paper, preferred for writing, was more expensive: it was made with better quality rags to produce a brighter colour and a smoother surface. The price of better quality paper is difficult to assess, since although several accounts list the purchase of paper, they almost never stipulate its type. Between 1558 and 1561, the Earl of Leicester purchased 'i quire browne paper and one white vid.', apparently at a cost of 3d. per quire; between 1561 and 1569, sheets of the larger royal size paper cost 20s. per ream (and therefore about 1s. per quire, though this is approximately a third larger than crown size). See Simon Adams (ed.), *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558–1561, 1584–86*, Camden Society, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 43, and James Edwin Thorold, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: 1401–1582* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), 593.

[24] A salary of £5. 6s. 8d. (a total of 1280d. per year) equates to a daily income of 3s. 5d. Philip Gaskell has reckoned that paper might have cost as much as 75% of the total cost in producing a book, though this rule presumably does not apply to a manuscript that it is coloured; nor, of course, does money compensate for time spent in production. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 164. This is not the place for an estimate of the overall costs associated with the production cost of Mus. e. 1–5, suffice to say that the most expensive materials were probably the pigments used to colour a number of banderoles, illustrations, initials, and some final notes (ink probably cost nothing since it was used at schools, and may have been mixed by Sadler himself).

[25] This estimate is based an inventory of the books and other property of Henry Bynneman (1500–1583), which was valued in 1583. It includes 'Item twenty foure Remes of ruled paper iiij^{li} xvi^{s}'. A cost of £4 16s. (a total of 1140d.) equated to about 4s. per ream (480 sheets); therefore a 24-sheet quire must have cost in the region of 24d. (four quires would have been some 96d.). This conjectured price is cheaper than that which was sent by the bookseller Richard Chard to Cambridge in 1583, which comprised '10 Quier of Ruled paper of 6 (5s.)' (the meaning of 'of 6' here is uncertain), which equates to a cost of 6d. per quire, but possibly he was supplying better quality paper. See Mark Eccles, 'Bynneman's Books', *The Library,* 5.12 (1957), 87, and John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): A Preliminary Survey', *Publishing History,* 29 (1991), 5-46, and Robert Jahn, 'Letters and Booklists of Thomas Chard (or Chare) of London, 1583-4', *The Library*, 4.4 (1923-4), 224 and Woudhuysen (1996), 46.

limitations. It would not have allowed Sadler (or some assistant) to plan out his own staves and margins, which compared to other manuscripts are generous.

Gathering structures

Once four-page booklets had been formed by folding and cutting each sheet of paper, these would have been inserted one into another in order to form gatherings. Each of the five partbooks consist of gatherings of four or three bifolia, which respectively yield eight or six leaves. Because four folios have been formed from each original sheet of paper, it is usual, though not invariable, to find the 'upper half' and 'lower half' of one of the watermark's moulds – either straight or skewed – adjacent to each other. This suggests that each pair of quarto bifolia found in the same quire were often – but not always – folded and cut from the same folio sheet.[26] The gathering structure for each partbook is shown in the Inventory (Appendix A).

Disruptions

An inspection made of the partbooks in February 2013 revealed that some leaves in Mus. e. 1–5 had been falsely joined together into bifolia with tissue paper, in the process of paper conservation that was undertaken in the 1970s.[27] This emerged clearly when the two leaves that had been artificially joined each carried a watermark, or each carried none. Other symptoms of disruption were also detected. The roundel on the endpiece at the at the rear of Mus. e. 2 (fol. [76]r) has a Maltese cross in its banderole; on other decorative leaves, similar symbols appear at the apex rather than at the base of the banderole. The first words of the inscription in this banderole, 'Unam petii a Domino, hunc requiram…', also appear to start at the foot of the page (making it difficult to read), whereas other circular inscriptions on these pages begin at the top and read clockwise. This folio therefore appears to be upside down. The leaf in question also bears the impressions of binding clasps down its present left-hand side; these suggest that it was originally at the front rather than the rear of a volume (the misplacement of this leaf was evidently obvious to whoever foliated the partbooks after their arrival at the Bodleian Library in 1885, since, although the folio was allocated a position in the foliation sequence of Mus. e. 2, its foliation number was not actually entered onto the leaf).

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[26] For a clear exception, see Mus. e. 2, quire II (fols. 9–16) in the Inventory (Appendix A), which comprises four consecutive lower-half watermarks.

[27] Some of these falsely joined bifolia were separated back into singletons in March 2013 by Marinita Stiglitz, the Bodleian Library's Paper Conservation Supervisor. See Chapter 14.

Figure 8.8 Fol. [76]r of Mus. e. 2, apparently upside down (start of main inscription and clasp impressions highlighted in red).



Some misplacements emerged simply from observing the presence (or absence) of offsets. Fol. 75v of Mus. e. 1 was found to bear a faint offset from a folio that must originally have faced it; but the leaf that was facing it was entirely blank (but for a small pen trial at its head). This offset in fact comes from the large gothic-style inscription that reads 'Iohn Sadler' on fol. 76r in Mus. e. 3: both of these leaves must have originally formed a double-page opening, but now they occupy positions at the rear of different partbooks.

Figure 8.9 Fol. 76r of Mus. e. 3, with faint corresponding offset on fol. 75v of Mus. e. 1.



Fol. 3r of Mus. e. 4 also carries an offset of a red letter I (though this is smaller than in the example shown above), but was also found to be facing a blank leaf. No other leaves in the partbooks bear a similar I in red except for that at the end of Mus. e. 3; since this leaf does not correspond to any others in the volumes, it was clear that this offset was produced by a decorative leaf originally at the start of Mus. e. 4 which is now lost. This is why there are only 9 decorative

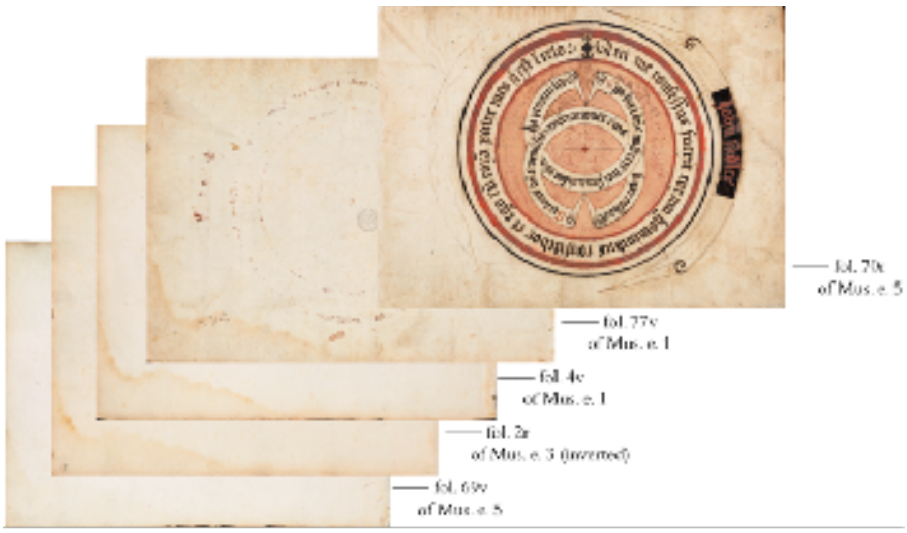
frontispieces and endpieces in Mus. e. 1–5, rather than 10. This missing leaf may have borne another version of the name 'Iohn Sadler'.

Figure 8.10 Fol. 2v and 3r of Mus. e. 4, conjoined with Japanese tissue paper, but with an offset apparently generated by a blank leaf.



Further disruptions were also revealed by matching water stains to the corners of several leaves. These leaves must once have occupied collocated positions, although they are now at either end of various volumes. Two once-adjacent leaves were found to occupy positions at opposite ends of Mus. e. 1 (as fols. 4r and 77r), and another leaf carries the same water stain at its corner, but this is now fol. 2r of Mus. e. 2. The water stain to this folio also appears in the upper rather than the lower corner, which suggests that this leaf has at some point been inverted. Another leaf, fol. 77v of Mus. e. 1, though it does not show a water stain at its corner, bears an offset that can only have been produced by fol. 70r of Mus. e. 5, which *is* water stained. Therefore this leaf was at some point in a collocated position with the various leaves with water stains (in order to acquire its offset), but must have been moved to some other location *before* the other leaves, still collocated, were stained with water and dispersed to various positions elsewhere. This suggests that there were at least two incidents of disruption rather than just one.

Figure 8.11 Leaves which are stained at their corners with water, and the roundel-bearing leaf which was once *in situ* with them (this leaf is not stained).



Other water stains, different to those shown above, were also found on other leaves. They all bear the distinctive pattern of the decorative initial M on fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3, which is an apparently redundant copy of Tye's *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i), discussed below. Some notation from this leaf has also left a mark on other leaves, following contact with water.

Figure 8.12 Leaves stained with the pattern of the letter M from fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3.



The stains on these leaves indicate that they must once have had colocated positions in Mus. e. 3, even though they are now scattered across three different volumes. Additionally, the initial M on fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3 must at one time have been in an inverted position to that which it is now found: only when the music on this leaf appears upside down could its initial have permeated once-neighbouring leaves. This is confirmed by fol. 74r of Mus. e. 3: this is a music-bearing leaf, in its correct sequence for that partbook. Thus it is without doubt the 'right' way up, but it nevertheless bears an initial M that is upside down.

Reconstructed leaf sequences and collations

The corrected leaf sequences for each partbook are shown in the Inventory (Appendix A), but a summary is given below: this summary shows that leaves have been disrupted not only within each specific volume, but across all five partbooks.

Figure 8.13 Reconstructed original leaf totals in Mus. e. 1-5.

Shelf-mark	*Restored sequence of original leaves*	*original leaf total*
Mus. e. 1	fols. 5-75 of Mus. e. 1; fol. 76 of Mus. e. 3	72
Mus. e. 2	fols. 76, 4-75, 3 of Mus. e. 2	74
Mus. e. 3	fols. 3[bis], 4-75 of Mus. e. 3; fol. 2 of Mus. e. 4; fol. 71 of Mus. e. 5; fol. 76 of Mus. e. 1	76
Mus. e. 4	fols. 3-67 of Mus. e. 4 [missing 1 frontispiece leaf]	65
Mus. e. 5	fols. 3-69 of Mus. e. 5; fol. 2 of Mus. e. 3; fol. 2 of Mus. e. 5; fol. 4 of Mus. e. 1; fol. 2 of Mus. e. 2; fol. 77 of Mus. e. 1; fol. 70 of Mus. e. 5	73

The original collation formula for each partbook, given the revised sequence of original leaves, is as follows.

Figure 8.14 Collation formulae for Mus. e. 1–5.[28]

Shelf-mark	*Restored sequence of original leaves*	*Total original leaves*
Mus. e. 1	$I^{[4]}$, II-III^{8}, IV$^{8-2}$,V-VI^{8},VII-IX^{6}, X^{8}, XI^{4}	72
Mus. e. 2	$I^{[6]}$, II-VI^{8},VII-VIII^{6}, IX$^{8-1}$, X^{6}, XI$^{[?4-1]}$	74
Mus. e. 3	$I^{[4]}$, II-VII^{8},VIII$^{[6-1]}$, IX-X^{6}, XI$^{[?4-1]}$, XII$^{[4]}$	76
Mus. e. 4	$I^{[4-1]}$, II-VI^{8},VI^{4},VIII$^{[?6+1]}$, IX^{6}, X$^{[?6-1]}$	65
Mus. e. 5	$I^{[6]}$, II-V^{8},VI^{6},VII$^{6-1}$,VIII$^{[6]}$, IX^{6}, X$^{[8]}$, XI$^{[4]}$	73

The test-page

Once the text-blocks of the partbooks were assembled, Sadler would have begun preparations for copying. The first stage of this process was the production of a test-page, which is now fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3. It is this leaf which has the start of the Contratenor part to Tye's *Miserere* though the notation only proceeds as far as the third stave;[29] the fourth and fifth staves are left empty.

The page has been carefully planned out. The bank of five staves has been ruled, line by line; pencil guide-lines are visible between the staves, running horizontally, on which the underlay has been placed; the first stave has also been indented, and a decorative initial inserted. This leaf seems to have served as a dry run not only for music and text, but for the general mise-en-page that is adopted throughout the partbooks. It also contains two types of script. Apart from the underlay, the name 'John Sadler' appears in a secretary script at the head, and elsewhere are the words 'and' and 'from') in a rose-coloured *textualis*.

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[28] I am grateful to Dr Barker-Benfield for producing this table, and for verifying various observations.

[29] The music goes as far as bar 41 in modern transcription. See Nigel Davison (ed.), *Christopher Tye: Ritual Music and Motets: III*, EECM, 33 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1987), 24–8.

Figure 8.15 The test-page on fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3, giving the opening of Tye's *Miserere.*



It is this leaf which, according to the once-neighbouring water-stained leaves that bear the pattern of its initial M, was once upside down. This is particularly clear when this leaf is viewed in isolation with the last music-bearing leaf of Mus e. 3, the Contratenor part to Ferrabosco's *Musca Laeta* (no. 43). Cleary the test-page was upside down, since the water stains to these leaves are obvious.

Figure 8.16 Fol. 74r of Mus. e. 3, bearing the Contratenor part to Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43), shown in conjunction to fol. 75r of Mus. e. 3.



The reason for this is that the test-page originally appeared at the *front* of the text-block for Mus. e. 3, and not at the back. Once the test-page was finished, Sadler inverted and reversed the *entire* text-block: this left a clean series of pages at the front, on which he could start the copying proper, and put the test-page at the back, now upside down. When the leaves at the end of this volume came into contact with water, the pattern of the initial M of the test-page permeated other leaves in its reversed position. Reversing and inverting the entire text-block also caused the watermark patterns in Mus. e. 3 to appear at the head of folios in that partbook, rather than at the foot as they do in the others.

The test-page was not the original first leaf of the text-block to Mus. e. 3, however. According to the restored sequence of leaves for this volume (see Inventory in Appendix A), Sadler left a couple of leaves blank before he ruled the test-page on what was the verso of the third leaf. Also ruled was the leaf that faced this verso (the recto of the fourth leaf). Today, this leaf is fol. 74r of Mus. e. 3: consequently, the staves on this folio, though they are unused, appear inverted in relation to the other ruled leaves in that volume.

Today, the test-page is again the 'right way' up. Almost certainly this is because Sadler reached the end of Mus. e. 3, having copied Ferrabosco's *Musca Laeta* (no. 43), the last piece, and was faced with his original test-page, upside down. At this point he probably pulled it from the text-block, creating a loose leaf, and inverted it; he then added the word 'finis' (end) to this page, in a crimson *textualis*, apparently to indicate its new position at the end of Mus. e. 3. Probably at the same time, and in the same ink, he added another version of his name, 'John Sadler', followed by an ascent of five notes.

Pricking and ruling

Once the test-page in Mus e. 3 was complete, and that partbook reversed, the initial pages of each text-block were then pricked and ruled in preparation for copying (it remains uncertain why Mus. e. 3 was used for the test-page, and not some other volume). Several leaves were left blank in each partbook: one in each volume was reserved for a frontispiece, to be added later, and some leaves were left blank. It is these endleaves that later facilitated the addition of the two motets by Byrd at the front of the volumes (nos. 1 and 2), as well as Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3), although the fact that copying of Tye's *Miserere* begins on a verso in each partbook,[30] and not a recto, suggests that the addition of this work might have been envisaged from the outset (the *In nomine* occupies a complete recto towards the front of each volume).[31]

Each music-bearing folio, like the test-page, bears a bank of five staves. The planning of these staves would have started with the pricking of a number of fine holes through several folios;

30 On fols. 8v, 6v, 6v, 5v and 6v of each partbook respectively.

31 The *In nomine* is On fols. 8r, 6r, 6r, 5r and 6r of each partbook respectively.

these holes map out the parameters of each page, and assist in achieving consistency of layout. Two columns, of five holes each, were pricked: each hole is separated by a vertical distance of about 32mm, and by a horizontal distance of about 215mm (these holes are normally visible only when folios are examined over a cold light sheet). Each of the two series of holes were then joined vertically with a pencil line (many of these lines are still visible, although some have worn away) in order to mark out the vertical boundaries of the stave-bank and the margins at the gutter and fore-edges. Then each pair of holes was joined horizontally in order to form the top line of each stave, allowing for the remaining stave-lines to be drawn. Each stave has an approximate height of 14mm, and the interstitial space between each stave is 18mm. This space has been ruled with a further pencil line, equidistant between the final line of one stave and the first of the next. These lines serves as guides for the underlay.

Indented staves

The first few pieces in the partbooks, starting at Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i), begin on indented staves: these allow for decorative initials to flourish in their own space, detached from the musical text. The indentations themselves are not consistent: some copies of a single work have indentations, while the same work in another partbook does not. Indentations to staves also cease entirely after Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* (no. 9/vi). Thereafter, 'on-stave' indentations are made for almost all pieces; these allow for an initial to be accommodated on-stave (see Chapter 9).

Figure 8.17 Indented staves by piece, showing the various inconsistencies laterally across each specific piece, and vertically in each individual partbook.

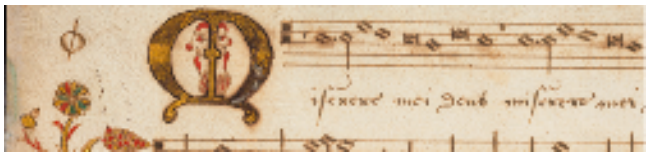
Work	***Mus. e. 1***	***Mus. e. 2***	***Mus. e. 3***	***Mus. e. 4***	***Mus. e. 5***
Tye, *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i)	✓ (fol. 8v)	✓ (fol. 6v)	✓ (fol. 6v)	✓ (fol. 5v)	✓ (fol. 6v)
Taverner, *O splendor gloriae* (no. 5/ii)	✗ (fol. 10r)	✓ (fol. 8v)	✓ (fol. 8v)	✗ (fol. 7r)	✗ (fol. 8r)
Sheppard, *Inclina Domine* (no. 6/iii)	✗ (fol. 12r)	✗ (fol. 10v)	✓ (fol. 10v)	✗ (fol. 9r)	✗ (fol. 10r)
Merbecke, *Domine Jesu Christe* (no. 7/iv)	✗ (fol. 13r)	✓ (fol. 11v)	✓ (fol. 11v)	✗ (fol. 10r)	✗ (fol. 11r)
Aston, *Te Deum* (no. 8/v)	✗ (fol. 15r)	✗ (fol. 13v)	✗ (fol. 13v)	✗ (fol. 12v)	✗ (fol. 13r)
Fayrfax, *Ave Dei patris* (no. 9/vi)	✓ (fol. 17v	✓ (fol. 16v)	✗ (fol. 16r)	✓ (fol. 14v)	✗ (fol. 15v)
———-*No indentations thereafter* ———					

The size of the indentations is also inconsistent: they are on average 33mm wide, although their width is by no means standard – neither vertically in a single partbook from piece to piece, nor horizontally across the partbooks for a particular work. But the fact that there are

indentations at all suggests that the partbooks were initially custom rather than batch ruled: only by drawing up each page individually and filling it, or by carefully allocating stave space when pre-ruling a few pages at a time, could indentations have been made to a stave for the start of a new work. The indentations to the first work of the original collection, Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i) demonstrates the lack of uniformity in the size of indentations.

Figure 8.18 Indented initials for Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i) with smaller indentations in Mus. e. 1 and 5 and larger indentations in Mus. e. 2, 3 and 4.

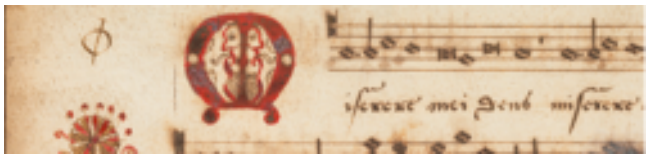
fol. 8v, Mus. e. 1



fol. 6v, Mus. e. 2



fol. 6v, Mus. e. 3



fol. 5v, Mus. e. 4



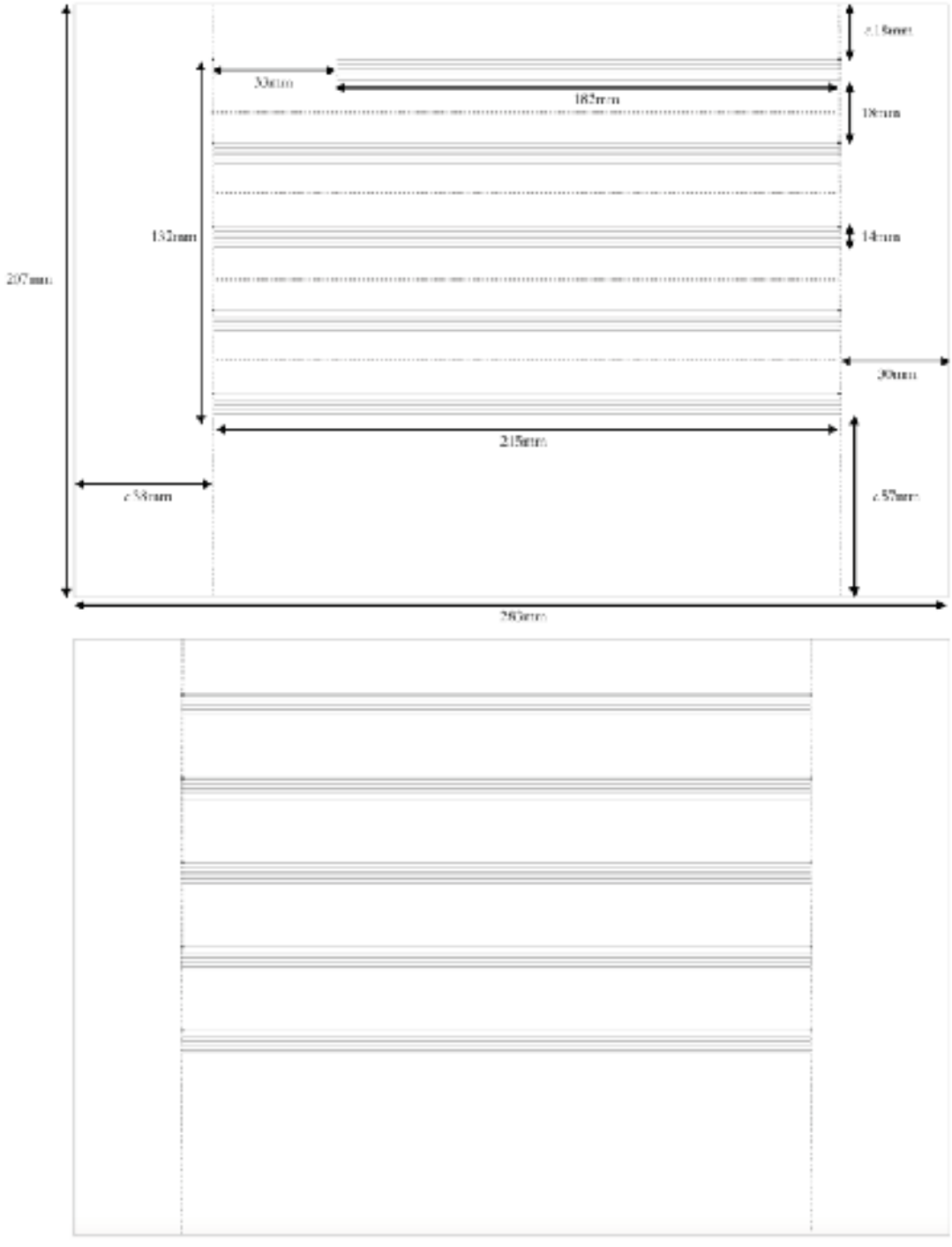
fol. 6v, Mus. e. 5



Figure 8.19 below shows the general plan for each leaf. The first folio depicted is a representation of a verso, with an indented space for a decorative initial; the second is a plan of a recto, without an indentation. Each stave-bank is surrounded by generous margins: these allow for the musical text to be bordered with marginal illustrations – a luxury that would not have been available had Sadler opted for cheaper (and probably rougher) paper pre-ruled with staves. The largest margins are at the foot of a folio, followed closely by those at the fore-edge; those at the gutter and head are smaller. The outer margins also vary from partbook to partbook because of the degree to which they have been trimmed.

The only music-bearing folios that have not been fully ruled with text guide-lines are those on which Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) was copied. This work is textless; therefore the text guide-lines only extend as far as the incipits of 'In nomine domini' (elsewhere these guide-lines extend across the entire width of the stave-bank).

Figure 8.19 A plan of the layout for fol. 8v of Mus. e. 1, with an indented first stave for a decorative initial; and the layout for fol. 9r of the same partbook, without an indentation, but otherwise a mirror image of the verso.



Straight & skewed guide-lines & staves

The inconsistency in the indentations also sets the tone for the general efficacy of the pricking and ruling of the folios. Pricking ought to have ensured some uniformity in layout: all the holes should have ended up in the same position on each folio, and the guidelines that were drawn between them should have produced almost identical layouts on each page. Instead, the partbooks are a mess of skewed guidelines and skewed staves. In some cases, although folios were pricked, the vertical frames that were drawn failed to meet the hole; on others, it seems that the pricking itself was to blame, and that a distorted rectangle shape was achieved – even though the frames and staves that were subsequently ruled faithfully followed the plan of these holes.

Figure 8.20 Staves 2 and 3 on fol. 5v of Mus. e. 3 and fol. 57v of Mus. e. 1, showing that the uppermost stave-lines sometimes do and sometimes do not meet the pricking holes.



Because of this apparent carelessness, almost every folio in Mus. e 1–5 bears staves that are at a gradient. The gradients involved are admittedly slight: they are usually only 1° or so rotated away from 90 or 180°. But this difference is enough to impart a sense of mal-de-mer to readers as they turn the pages of each partbook: instead of forming a perfect rectangle, stave-banks often take the shape of an irregular quadrilateral, with no matching angles. These inconsistencies are not simply visual illusions that are the result of trimming: in each case the gutter edge of a folio appears absolutely straight.

Figure 8.21 Fol. 55v of Mus. e. 1, showing skewed vertical guide-lines and horizontal stave lines, producing a skewed stave-bank of an irregular quadrilateral shape.



The worst affected folios are those at the very rear of the partbooks, on which Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass and the three secular part-songs were added (nos. 40–3). The frames and staves for these works are consistently skewed, and seem to have been drawn without the aid of pricking holes – even though guide-lines were ruled with pencil (these are still visible).

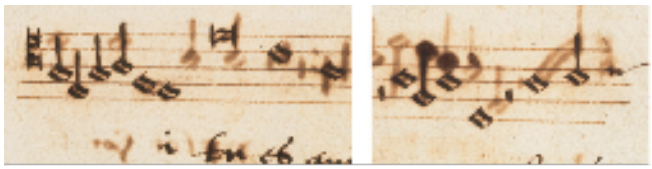
Figure 8.22 Fol. 71r of Mus. e. 2, with extremely skewed guide-lines and staves.



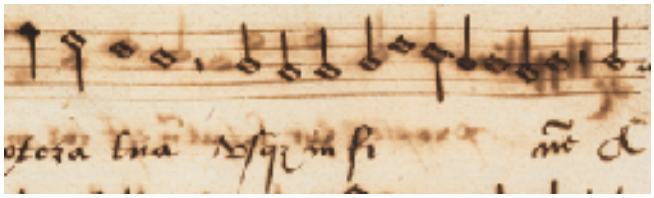
Even if we are to ignore the strange gradients on which they appear, the execution of the stave-lines themselves is sometimes poor. Many stave-lines protrude beyond the vertical pencil lines that demarcate the stave-bank; although this is useful for showing that the staves in Mus. e. 1–5 were drawn individually with a pen rather than with a rastrum, many folios are consequently untidy. These unequal stave-line endings usually – but not always – appear in the right-hand margin of a page rather than the left, suggesting that staves were generally drawn from left to right. Occasionally, a stave has been drawn probably with some object inadvertently beneath the leaf; this has caused a slight but unanimous rise and fall in the stave. Moreover, in a few instances, the pen either left the folio while the stave was being drawn, or the nib split; these accidents have produced a number of ugly deviations from the general direction of the other stave lines.

Figure 8.23 Specimen stave-line faults in Mus. e. 1–5.

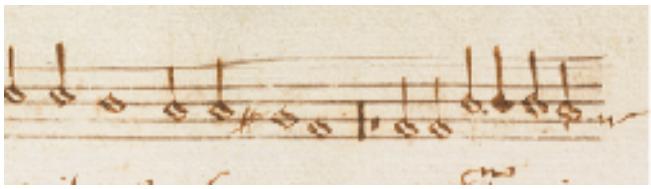
fol. 30r, Mus. e. 4, stave 4 (with protruding stave lines at either end)



fol. 35v, Mus. e. 1, stave 1 (with unanimous rise and fall in the stave-lines)



fol. 45v, Mus. e. 5, stave 1, (where nib of the quill inadvertently left the ruler)



Student amanuenses?

The various inconsistencies in the pricking of folios and the placement and ruling guide-lines and staves begs the question of who was responsible for preparing Sadler's pages for copying. In the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, we encounter staves of an altogether more sophisticated sort. They are much more carefully drawn: many pieces begin with an elaborate initial, each of which is given generous amounts of blank space in which to flourish; staves (sometimes several) are neatly indented so that an initial can engross to almost the full height of a page. Even the ends of pieces are usually ruled with only the requisite number of staves for a piece to run its course, so that there are no superfluous stave-lines; and some staves are also bevelled at the end in order to produced a smart finish that is pleasing to the eye. These are staves that were carefully planned, measured and drawn with a ruler. Nearly everything about the staves in these partbooks suggests that they were drawn by a different person.

Figure 8.24 Fols. 4r and 29r of the Willmott manuscript, showing carefully planned and ruled staves.



What was behind this disparity? One promising but ultimately unprovable possibility is that Sadler had the staves of Mus. e. 1–5 pricked and ruled by his students, while he ruled the staves of the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscript himself. This possibility is particularly tempting given that ruling was an essential part of learning to write – and that writing was of course taught at schools. By the end of the sixteenth century paper could be purchased that was pre-ruled 'with all manner of lines, in any colour or distance'; this was essential for 'Yoong

Schollers, which learne to write, and helpfull for such as would pen any Bookes faire and euen'.[32] But prior to the wholesale availability of this pre-ruled paper, students ruled their paper themselves, by hand. Richard Mulcaster (1531?–1611), the first Master of Merchant Taylors' School, included 'penne and penknife, incke & paper, compasse & ruler' among a list of essential schoolboy equipment;[33] John Brinsley believed that every child should have the use of a 'rular, plummet, ruling-pen', in order that their paper should be 'kept faire' and be 'strait ruled';[34] Peter Bales promoted straight and regular writing by ruling paper with lines to guide ascenders and descenders.[35] Possibly, then, Sadler had his boys rule his French paper with tools that were readily available at school for daily use. Perhaps they are even the product of an early form of pupils 'writing lines'.[36]

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32 Anonymous, T*he Orthographiall Declaration: Containing, a Briefe Aduertisement of Two New Inventions, Called, Lineage and Fortage, Whereby Writing-paper and Parchment, Are Decently Ruled and Inlined*…(Southwark: n.p., 1616). This pamphlet advertised two new inventions called Lineage and Fortage, 'whereby parchment and paper are decently ruled and inclined, for to grosse or write upon, after a more dexterous and beneficial manner than is done or performed by the ordinary way of hand-ruling with plummet, ruler, or brass pen'. This implies that ruling paper by hand was usual, rather than the exception. See Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing: With the Progress of Literature*…(London: H. Johnson, 1839), 460.

33 Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circvmstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie For The Training Vp Of Children* (London: Thomas Vautrollier for Thomas Chare, 1981), sig. Eiv.

34 John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: or, the Grammar Schoole* (London: n.p., 1612), sig. F1v,

35 Peter Bales, The *Writing Schoolemaster* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1590), sig. R2r.

36 This point was originally quipped by Julia Craig-McFeely in jest, but now seems to be a viable – though ultimately unprovable – possibility.

9. SADLER'S COPIES & HIS 'HOUSE STYLE'

Despite the disruptions to the positions of some leaves, Mus. e. 1–5 does not otherwise give the initial impression of being a particularly complicated set of manuscripts: all five partbooks survive together, and their pages have been prepared with a generally consistent *modus operandi*, on the same batch of French paper – even though the precise mise-en-page of each leaf has been subject to flux through faulty pricking and ruling. Sadler's copies themselves, which is to say the musical text (the notation and the underlay) also appears to have been produced by a single person: note-heads are predominantly diamond-shaped, and the secretary script of the underlay has a general uniformity. But lurking beneath this apparent uniformity is a more complicated story. Closer inspection of Sadler's copies reveals both subtle and substantive differences in incipits, clef-style, use of signature and on-stave accidentals, coloration, notation for cantus firmi, directs, finding aids, and ascriptions – the variety of which appears to have been missed by previous commentators. The following pages chart the main characteristics of Sadler's copies in order to determine the extent to which he may have had his own 'house style' as a copyist, and consider whether any divergences in style may suggest changing copying policies (not an unlikely possibly in an enterprise that may well have run more than twenty years), or whether the partbooks are in fact the work of more than one pair of hands.

Titles

Only three works in the partbooks bear titles. Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) has a title of 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Amen', in secretary script, but only for the Superius part on fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1.[1] Tallis's *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii) bears a title of 'Dum transisset' in each partbook,[2] even though Sadler's version of this work does not begin with these words (the words 'Dum transisset' appear only after 'Sabbatum', as pointed out in Chapter 7). This may suggest that Sadler's exemplar had the same title, or that he was sufficiently familiar with the work – or its liturgical text and/or its cantus firmus – and knew its genuine title. The only other work which has a title is Taverner's *Western Wynde* Mass (no. 40): this is headed 'The Westerne Wynde', in all four volumes where it appears.[3]

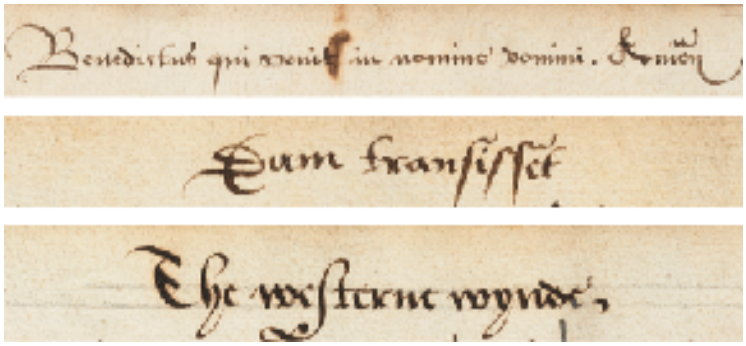
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1 As already pointed out in Chapter 6, these words have almost certainly been included because the *In Nomine* genre has its origins in the Benedictus of Taverner's *Gloria tibi trinitas* Mass (as pointed out); Sadler's exemplar for the cantus firmus either had this title, or he added it himself because he recognised that the words of the *In nomine* (the first few words of which serve as incipits, even though this work is otherwise textless) derive from the Benedictus of the Ordinary of the Mass.

2 Fols. 43v, 42v, 43v, 40v and 39r of each respective partbook.

3 See fols. 68r, 68r, 67v and 62r, of each respective partbook excluding Mus. e. 4, since this is a composition for four voice-parts.

Figure 9.1 Titles on fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1; fol. 43v of Mus. e. 1; fol. 62r of Mus. e. 5.



Labels

In two works, inscriptions have been provided which act as labels. Tallis's *Incipit lamentatio* and *Lamentations* (no. 19/xvi and no. 20), which are treated as a single piece, have in all five partbooks a banderole that bears the words 'The Lamentacyons off Hieremye' (though sometimes with some variant of this, e.g. 'lamentacion' in the singular). These banderoles are either perpendicular to the staves in the left-hand margin, in an arc-shape, or in a v-shape in the upper margin. Their text is executed in black *textualis*, sometimes with red initials; the banderoles themselves are variously uncoloured, sage, rose, or red, with gold or sage volutes, and sometimes outlined.

Figure 9.2 Labels to Tallis's *Incipit lamentatio/Lamentations* on fols. 37v, 36r, 36v, 33v and 33r of each respective partbook.



Tallis's *Domine quis habitabit* (no. 18/xv) has been given a label of 'Psalm(us) XVth' in each partbook. In Mus. e. 1, 2, 3 and 5 this label appears perpendicular to the staves in the left-hand margin, facing outwards; in Mus. e. 4 it is placed in the upper margin, since the left-hand margin is occupied by another inscription which must already have been in place. The script is a *textualis* alternating in red and black, with the ordinal letters 'th' in superscript. Sadler has opted for the

Hebrew numbering of this Psalm (no. 15) rather than that of the Vulgate (no. 14).[4] Other works which use Psalm texts are not labelled.

Figure 9.3 Specimen labels from Tallis's *Domine quis habitabit* on fol. 35v of Mus. e. 1 and fol. 34r of Mus. e. 2 respectively (rotated anti-clockwise by 90º).[5]



That this piece is the 15th item in the original collection of 35 works as well as a setting of the 15th Psalm should not necessarily signal that Sadler placed it where he did deliberately, as has been intimated elsewhere.[6] If it was Sadler's aim to position settings of Psalms within his partbooks according to their Hebrew numbering, then we might expect to find other works in similarly corresponding positions: for instance Parsley's *Conserva me*, which sets text from Psalm 16/17, vv.1–5, as the 17th item, and Johnson's *Domine in virtute*, which uses words from Psalm 20/21, vv. 2–8, as the 21st. Instead these works are the 14th and 19th items respectively, according to their Roman numbers. The fact that the partbooks were copied over decades rather than in a single stint also militates against the possibility of an overarching contents plan for the volumes: Sadler must have had access to presumably different sources over a protracted period of some 20 years or more.

Roman numbers

As discussed above, all of the 35 works in the original collection of 'songes' have been allocated Roman numbers running from 1–35. The only exception is Tallis's *Lamentations* (no. 20), which follows on immediately from his *Incipit Lamentatio* (no. 19/xvi) without its own number; these works were evidently considered to count as a single piece, as already mentioned. The two copies

4 The same is true of the labelling of works in the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, in which the numbering of Psalms corresponds to that of the *Book of Common Prayer* rather than the Latin Vulgate. See Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages: The Willmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts', 313.

5 These inscriptions are located on fols. 35v, 34r, 34v, 31v and 31r of each respective partbook.

6 Ku, "Aptlie framed for the dittie': a study of setting sacred Latin texts to music…', 173. Similar claims have been made about the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, in that 'the compilation of the volumes seems to have been predetermined from start to finish', possibly for symbolic reasons. See Blezzard, 312. Curiously, the same work, Tallis's *Domine quis habitabit,* also appears in these volumes as the 15th work, and is labelled 'psalmus XV' or 'psalm[u]s XVth'; but White's setting, also in these volumes as item no. 25, is not labelled. See fols. 29v and 46r of the Willmott manuscript, and fols. 27v and 43v of the Braikenridge manuscript (*GB-Ob* Tenbury 1486).

of Robert White's *Justus es Domine* in Mus. e. 4 – the only work in the partbooks that has a voice-part copied twice (excluding the Tye *Miserere mei* test page) – has a Roman number only for the second copy: this suggests that it was this copy, rather than the first, that was intended to be used (the differences between these two copies are discussed below).

The Roman numbers are initially written in a gothic *textualis*, executed in thick black ink with a broad-nibbed pen;[7] they are entered onto vertical guide lines, drawn in pencil, that mark out the baseline and meanline of each numeral. In the first work, they were applied to each and every recto (regardless of whether a new piece was starting on it or not), presumably so that they could serve as a finding aid.[8] This system seems to have been abandoned by the second original piece, however: Roman numbers thereafter appear only at the head of the folio on which a new piece starts. Numbers then appear in the left-hand margin, beside the stave upon which a new piece begins, or in the space between two staves rather than at the head of a leaf. The script of the numbers also becomes inconsistent: the tittles, which were initially s-shaped, become curved, then ticked; the gothic *textualis* script is soon replaced by a humanistic script with otiose strokes. Pencil guide-lines are used inconsistently, and some numbers have ordinal letters (th') while others do not.[9]

Figure 9.4 Roman numbers i–xii on fols. 8r–31r of Mus. e. 1: consecutive (redundant) numbering of every folio ceases after number 2; placement at the top of the page ceases at number vii in favour of placement above the first stave of a new work; ordinal letters are unsystematic throughout, as is script and tittle style.



Some numbers are also flanked by diamond dots. Their use is also inconsistent, however, since they are found only in Mus. e. 3, 4 and 5, though not for all of the 35 numbered works.[10]

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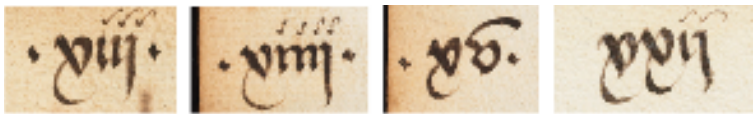
7 The Roman *textualis* numbers (as opposed to the Roman humanistic numbers) of the motets match exactly those on the sundial at the front of Mus. e. 1, and were presumably added by the same person.

8 Presumably a piece could be identified via its number simply by flicking through a partbook from front to back.

9 Ordinal letters appear next to the following Roman numbers: Mus. e. 1: 8, 9, 10. 18, 30, 31; Mus. e. 2: 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31. There are none in Mus. e. 3, 4 and 5.

10 Diamond dots flank Roman numbers 7 to 31 in Mus. e. 3; numbers 10, 11, 17–20, 23, 25–27 and 30–1 in Mus. e. 4; and numbers 4–17, 20–7 and 29–31 in Mus. e. 5. There are none found in Mus. e. 1 or Mus. e. 2.

Figure 9.5 Roman numbers flanked with diamond dots on fols. 31v, 32v and 34v of Mus. e. 4, but not, for instance, on fol. 46v of Mus. e 4.



Despite their varying styles and positions, the numbering in the volumes is contiguous for the 35 works that have them (this is not the case in Dow or Baldwin's partbooks).[11] Not all of them seem to have been added at the same time a work was copied however, since although some are clearly in the same ink as the musical text they accompany, others are not.[12] Yet even if some numbers were not directly coeval with the copying of their music, they were presumably in place by the time the additional works were added to the front and rear of each partbook, since these works are unnumbered. It is thanks to these numbers that the original 35-work campaign can be separated from the unnumbered additions at the front and back of the partbooks.

Arabic numbers

In addition to the Roman numbers i–xxxv, one piece has an Arabic number, though in only one partbook. It appears in conjunction to the opening to Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/xxix) on fol. 56v of Mus. e. 4. Whether or not it was envisaged that all pieces would eventually bear Arabic numbers is uncertain; perhaps this was the beginning of a finding aid that would have allowed pieces to be identified simply by flicking through the partbooks while waiting for the desired number to appear at the fore-edge margin (rather than at the head, as may originally have been the case with Roman numbers). Alternatively, this number might have been added by an unidentified hand at a later date, although, like some of the Roman numbers, it is flanked by diamond dots. Nor is this number a substitute for a Roman number, since a numeral also appears on the same page, though above the fifth stave rather than in the margin (this work begins on the fifth stave in Mus. e. 4).[13] This single Arabic number is therefore an anomaly.

Figure 9.6 The single Arabic number 29 in the left-hand margin to fol. 56v in Mus. e. 4, the start of Byrd's *Attolite Porta*s (no. 33/xxix).



11 On the inconsistencies in numeration of works in these volumes, see John Milsom's entries in the *Christ Church Music Catalogue*, available online at http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/ [accessed 21 March 2015].

12 See Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 8.

13 Arabic numbers are used in the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts, and in the same position, but these are different in style. See the number '2' in Figure 8.24, for instance.

On-stave indentations

Even though only a few staves are themselves indented for a decorative initial (as pointed out in Chapter 9), most – but not all – others begin with an 'on stave' indentation of up to 60mm.[14] This indentation, the size of which varies from piece to piece, allows for a decorative initial to be detached from the musical text, even though it appears on stave-lines; consequently any clefs, mensuration signs and signature accidentals that follow are also indented.

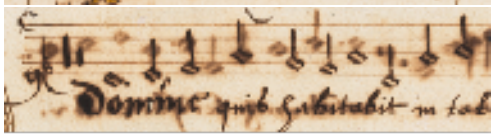
The end of an indentation is sometimes signalled by a vertical line that runs the entire height of the stave; this is sometimes incorporated into the brace of a C or F-clef (though not a G-clef, which almost always has a protruding descender that extends out towards the left). Only very occasionally does a clef appear to have been written without an indention: these have either been deleted and re-issued after an indentation has been made, or they have been re-issued after indenting, but without deleting (and therefore duplicating) the clef.

Figure 9.7 Specimen indentations, both with and without a dividing line, and examples of deleted and duplicated clefs before and after indentation.

fol. 10r, Mus. e. 1
(with indentation)



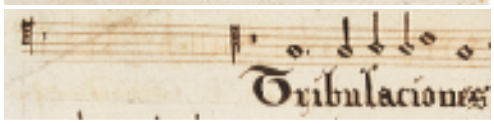
fol. 35v, Mus. e. 1
(without indentation)



fol. 57r, Mus. e. 1
(clef entered before indenting; first clef erased and clef re-issued)



fol. 64v, Mus. e. 3
(clef entered before indenting; clef not erased, and re-issued)



Initials and incipits

Almost all of the works begin with a decorative initial, some of which are followed by an oversized incipit. Detailed discussion of these features is reserved for another occasion, but the short version of the story is that initials are either placed in an indentation made to the first stave of a work, or, more usually, on an on-stave indentation as described above. Some pieces lack initials entirely, despite the fact that an on-stave indentation has been left for them; thus, although

[14] The only pieces which begin without an indentation are Tallis' *Domine quis habitabit* (no. 18/xv) in all five partbooks; Tallis's *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii), in Mus. e. 1, 3, 4 and 5; Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi) in Mus. e. 2, and 5; White's *Manus tuae* (29/xxv) in all five partbooks; Morley's *Domine Dominus noster* (no. 30/xxvi) in all five partbooks; and Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* (no. 31/xxvii), in Mus. e. 5.

the partbooks are musically complete, from a decorative perspective they are unfinished (see the table of initials in the Appendix for easy identification of which works have initials and which do not).

Incipits usually consist of the first few words of a work. However, if a particular voice-part begins with a block of rests, and it then enters singing different text to that sung at the start of other voice-parts, then the first few words of the work proper will nevertheless be used as an incipit – even if they are not sung by the voice-part in question. In these cases an apparent incipit serves as an identity tag.

The incipits, like the decorative initials which sometimes precede them, are some of the partbooks' most striking features. They use a variety of scripts. Some are formed with majuscule letters, including a Roman-style *capitalis monumentalis*; these contrast strongly with the secretary script of the underlay. Others use a gothic-style *textualis*, in two different grades: one with hairlines; the other generally without hairlines, but with splayed ascenders and descenders. Various other sorts of scripts are also employed, but these do not lend themselves easily to categorisation: they could all be described as humanistic cursives, but none of them conform readily to the scripts that were used as models in writing copybooks. No attempt is made to describe these scripts here, but some examples are shown below; otherwise, the gist of their variety can easily be gleaned from turning through the pages of each partbook. The most important point to be made about them, however, is that incipit scripts are consistent for each work, horizontally across all volumes; but there does not otherwise seem to be any scheme to the scripts used vertically from work to work. Sadler was either attempting to vary the scripts of his incipits deliberately, or they were added by another (or more than one other) person acting in collaboration.

Whether the initials were added before the incipits or vice versa is not clear. Some incipits *segue* straight on from an initial; other works lack an initial, but the incipit omits the initial in question, as if it were anticipated that an initial would at some point be added. Elsewhere in the volumes an initial is present, but this initial is also given – and therefore duplicated – in an incipit. Additionally, some incipits are clearly in an entirely different ink to their musical text, and were clearly added at a different stage.

The incipits also pose other problems. Some initials and incipits do not align with their musical text, usually when a work begins with a single-letter syllable, when this is given as a decorative initial rather than duplicated in an incipit (e.g. 'A–ve'). There are also two errors. Tallis' *Salve intemerata* (no. 14/xi) has an incipit of 'Salve intimerata' in all five partbooks; Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi), has an incipit that clearly gives 'Men' rather than 'Mem', again in all five partbooks.[15] Sadler was either following his exemplars to the letter, including errors (even though

[15] This setting utilises words from Lamentations 2:13: 'MEM. Cui comparabo …'.

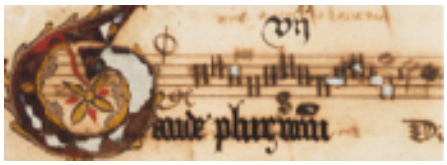
he was apparently learned in Latin), or these incipits were added by somebody else acting in concert with Sadler, or under his supervision – though without the errors being detected by him.

Figure 9.8 Sample incipit styles in Mus. e. 1–5, in various scripts and with varying degrees of capitalisation and duplication.

fol. 15r, Mus. e. 1
(*capitalis monumentalis;* incipit is sung; same ink as underlay)



fol. 19r, Mus. e. 1
(textualis; incipit is not sung; different ink to underlay)



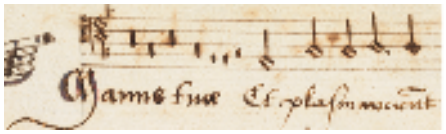
fol. 26r, Mus. e. 1
(textualis; initial not placed under music; same ink as underlay)



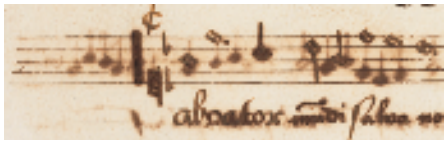
fol. 28v, Mus. e. 1
(textualis; incipit is not sung; same ink as underlay 'intimerata' rather than 'intemerata')



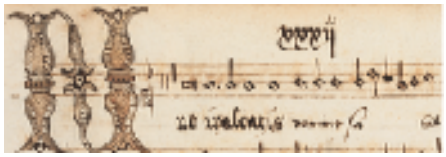
fol. 53v, Mus. e. 4
(exaggerated initial M, with incipit in humanistic cursive)



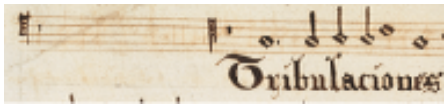
fol. 58r, Mus. e. 1
(without initial, and without incipit, in ordinary enlarged secretary script)



fol. 63r, Mus. e. 1
(textualis; incipit is sung; same ink as underlay; initial N duplicates that of the incipit)



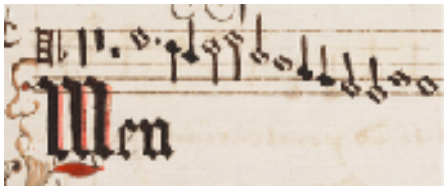
fol. 64v, Mus. e. 3
(no initial; incipit in textualis)



fol. 57r, Mus. e. 1
(no decorative initial; no incipit; O given in ordinary secretary script)



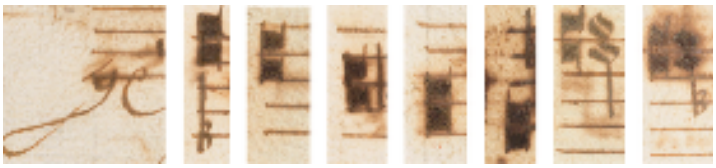
fol. 47r, Mus. e. 2
(textualis; incipit is sung; 'Men' rather than 'Mem')



Clef styles

The partbooks contain various styles of clef. The original collection of 35 Latin-texted works, which begins at Tye's *Miserere mei* (no. 4/i) use a G-clef similar to a lower-case 'g' in secretary script, with a descender that protrudes to the left; a black full C-clef, formed from two filled breve-shaped compartments, braced with a side-bar to the left; and a black full F-clef that is the same shape as the C-clef, but which appears with the requisite note-heads at its right-hand side in order to mark out where F lies. These accompanying note-heads are usually black void, but from fols. 12v to 17r of Mus. e. 5 they are full black. The reasons for the difference in colour is not clear – especially since the change from void to full black occurs in the middle of a single piece.[16]

Figure 9.9 G-clefs and 'black full' C and F-clefs used from Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i) to Aston's *Gaude virgo* (no. 15/xxii).



The use of black full C-clefs is also inconsistent, since a void version of it sometimes appears in isolation within a single piece, as in the Mus. e. 1 copy of Clemens' *Job tonso capite.* (no. 10/vii).

Figure 9.10 Staves 3–5 of fol. 22v of Mus. e. 1, showing both black full clefs and a single void clef in Clemens' *Job tonso capite.* (no. 10/vii).

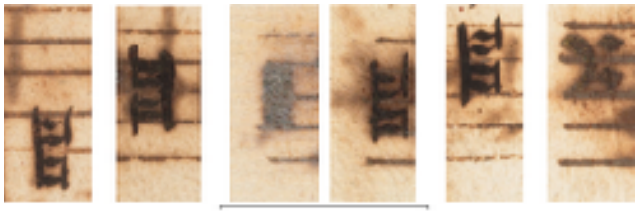


Although the C and F-clefs up until Aston's *Gaude virgo* (no. 15/xii) are predominantly black full, the style of these clefs change at Philip van Wilder's *Aspice Domine* (no. 16/xiii). Black full clefs become void; the first 'curled' F-clefs also appear in Mus. e. 5 (similar to the modern F-clef), in the form of a half-circle accompanied by a colon of two diamond shapes. The transition is not entirely smooth, however, since in Mus. e. 3 the changeover from full black to void clefs

[16] The change to full black occurs in Merbecke's *Domine Jesu Christe* (no. 7/iv), on fol. 12v of Mus. e. 5; the usual full black F-clefs, with void notes to indicate F, resume at Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* (no. 12/ix), on fol. 20v of Mus. e. 5.

happens *during* Philip van Wilder's *Aspice Domine*, rather than at the start of it, as in the other partbooks.

Figure 9.11 The new style of void C-clefs and curled F-clef used at the start of Philip van Wilder's *Aspice Domine* (no. 16/xiii), except in Mus. e. 3



At Tallis's *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii), the style of C-clef shown above, with two clearly distinguishable breve-shape compartments, changes to one of three equal sized compartments with a brace running down both the left and right-hand sides. The change occurs at the start of this work in all volumes apart from Mus. e. 1,[17] since the voice-part in this volume uses the secretary-style G-clef. The new style of C-clef in Mus. e. 1 is seen at Johnson's *Domine in virtute* (no. 23/xix), on fol. 44r, however. The only anomalous clef within this new style of C-clef is in the Mus. e. 3 copy of this work, where fols. 44v to 45v have void clefs with the interstitial space between them filled with black ink – again, for reasons that are unclear. Thereafter, C-clefs are formed of three equal compartments, but now with a descender on its right-hand side.

Figure 9.12 Void C-clef, with braces at either side for Tallis's *Dum transsisset* (no. 28/xxiv), the anomalous version of this clef used from fols. 44v to 45v of Mus. e. 3, and the void C-clef with a descender used from Johnson's *Domine in virtute* (no. 23/xix) onwards.[18]



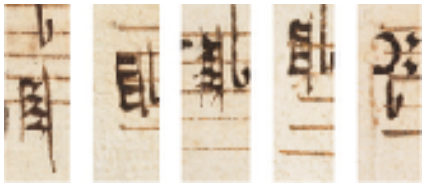
This style of C-clef, usually with a descender on the right-hand side, remains in use up until *Byrd's Ne irascaris* (no. 36/xxxii). Here, however, another variant C-clef is introduced, though only in Mus. e. 3 and Mus. e. 5. This is comprised of void compartments with a braces on both sides that span the entire height of the clef; but the compartments are created with a zig-zag series of joined strokes. These clefs are short lived, since the more usual style of void C-clef returns at the *secunda pars* of *Ne irascaris*, 'Civitas sancti tui', on fol. 63v of Mus. e. 1, and on fol. 62v of Mus. e. 3, though before the 'Civitas sancti tui' section starts.

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17 See fol. 43v in Mus. e. 2; fol. 43v in Mus. e. 3; fol. 40v in Mus. e. 4 and fol. 39r in Mus. e. 5

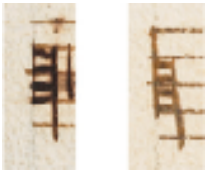
18 See also the copy of Tallis' *Salve intemerata* on fols. 1r–2r of the Willmott MS for the same sort of C-clef.

Figure 9.13 Clefs at the opening of Byrd's *Ne irascaris* (no. 36/xxxii) on fols. 62r, 62v, 62r, 60v, and 57r of each respective partbook.



After *Ne irascaris* (no. 36/xxxii), C-clefs are consistently void, without the zig-zag formation; but the precise style of these void clefs differs from piece to piece: braces appear in a number of positions, and ascenders and descenders also appear in different places, apparently unsystematically. Only at William Parson's *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (no. 41), does the style of C-clef unanimously return to two void compartments braced with a downward descender, though only on its right hand side; but the C-clef changes again in anonymous *Cony skines* (no. 42) to one of void compartments with a single ascender on the left-hand side and a descender on the right-hand side. The same clefs are also used in Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43).

Figure 9.14 C-clefs used in Parson's *Good fellows* (no. 41); and the C-clef used in the anonymous *Cony skines* (no. 42) and in Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43).



Although the style of C-clef is subject to change throughout the volumes, the predominant type of G-clef is the secretary-style 'g' with the descender protruding towards the left-hand side. Only two works use a different G-clef: this is of a 'square' type, more akin to a capital 'G' in secretary script. It is used only in the Superius part to Taverner's *Mater Christi* (no. 37/xxxiii) and in Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3). The fact that these clefs are of the same style seem to suggest that Sadler's *In nomine* was copied soon after Taverner's *Mater Christi,* on rectos near the start of each partbook that had been left blank.

Figure 9.15 Square G-clefs used in Taverner's *Mater Christi* (no. 37/xxxiii) on fol. 64r of Mus. e. 1, and Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3), on fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1.

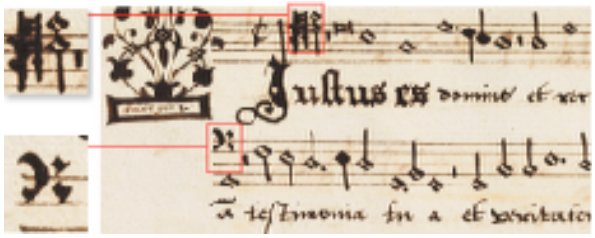


Exactly what led to these changes in clef style is uncertain. Possibly the black full clefs are a relic from sources which were copied in black full notation, with clefs to match, but this is likely

to apply only to works from composers who were active before *c.*1525,[19] when the *principalis color* of notation was black rather than white.[20] They are unlikely to have been added on Sadler's initiative in order to signal that a work is by an older composer, since the same clefs do not appear in Johnson's *Domine in virtute* (no. 23/xix) and Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute* (no. 24/xx) –, both of which use void C-clefs.

In the Dow partbooks, different clef styles appear to reflect the chronology of the copying of the volumes.[21] Any chronological inferences cannot so easily be drawn from the clef styles in Sadler's volumes, however, since the transition from black full to void C-clefs occurs in one partbook in the middle of Philip van Wilder's *Aspice Domine* (no. 16/xiii), and this piece is copied in the same batch of ink. Therefore the folio on which the clef changes (fol. 32v of Mus. e. 3) is unlikely to have been left blank and completed later, when a new fashion for a different style of clef may have been in force. Yet the situation is clouded by a correction to a clef in the Bassus part to White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/xxxv). Here, a void compartment F-clef was used on line 5, but this was then erased and exchanged for a curled F-clef on line 4. The fact that the wrong style of clef was entered here may suggest that the exemplar for this work had void compartment clefs rather than those of the curled variety, and that the scribe responsible for copying it changed the type of clef himself – even though they changed the position of the clef also. But equally it may suggest that more than one person was responsible for entering these clefs. This would explain why the style of clefs is so inconsistent across the volumes, and why they can change style even within a single copy of a single piece – even though they are written in the same ink as the musical text they accompany.

Figure 9.16 Change of clef with correction on fol. 60v of Mus. e. 5, showing where a void compartment clef was drawn instead of a curled F-clef.



19 Taverner (*c.*1490–1545), Aston (*c.*1485–1558), Fayrfax (1464–1521), and Robert Johnson I (*c.*1470–after 1554).

20 It is impossible to assign an exact date to when notation changed from black full to black void, except to say that it happened in England late in the fifteenth century (later than it did on the continent). Black full notation did persist, however, since it is used is some manuscripts which were produced in the 1520–30s: these include the Eton, Lambeth and Caius choirbooks. See Benham (1973), 27–8, and Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1982), 94–6.

21 A curled F-clef is used for layer 1 motets, the first eight *In nomine* settings in layer 2, and all the layer 3 consort songs; this gives way to a variant of the 'curled' F-clef with a tail that descends vertically, and a third form of this clef, resembling the modern shape, is used in the final stage of the compilation. See Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks,* 7–8.

Clef changes and leger lines

Occasionally a clef (i.e. its position as opposed to its style) changes within a work – sometimes as many as four times in a single voice-part.[22] These changes of clef were probably intended to reduce the number of leger lines. This was clearly the aim in the Mus. e. 3 copy of Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1), where a clef change was made at the fifth stave of fol. 4r. The clef was originally entered as C4, but this was erased (this erasure is clearly visible) and substituted with a C3 clef, so to accommodate the high Fs and Gs of the first four notes. The clef was then changed back to C4 mid-stave, after only 11 notes. A similar scenario is found on fol. 62r of Mus. e. 1 (Tallis's *Absterge domine*, no. 35/xxxi), where a C4 clef has for one stave been changed to C3 in order to accommodate a high C. Neither of these clef changes are to be found in the two printed versions of these works, *CS1575* or *CS1589* (which use leger lines); nor do they appear in any extant manuscript versions.[23] Since leger lines seem to have been disliked by sixteenth century singers and were usually eschewed (despite the fact they appeared in contemporary publications),[24] it would seem that Sadler may have introduced these changes of clef himself, to circumvent the use of leger lines.

Figure 9.17 Changes from a C4 to C3 clef on fol. 4r of Mus. e. 3, Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1), and on fol. 62r of Mus. e. 1, Tallis's *Absterge Domine* (no. 35/xxxi).



[22] See, for instance, the copy of Byrd's *Aspice domine* (no. 1) in Mus. e. 3, which uses the clefs C3/C4/C3/C4; and the copy of Tallis' *Salve intemerata* (no. 14/xi) in Mus. e. 3, which uses the clefs C4/C5/C4.

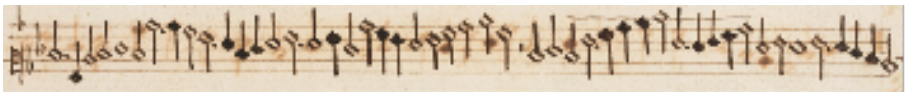
[23] For a list of extant sources for these works see https://eecm.tcd.ie/titles_incipits/803 and https://eecm.tcd.ie/titles_incipits/3474 [accessed 12 May 2016].

[24] This is implied by Morley, who advises his student that he ought to have 'altered your [his] cliffes', when having 'gone out of the compasse of my [his] lines'. See Morley (1597), 146. See also 'Leger line' in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16296> [accessed 12 May 2016].

But whether these changes were commissioned by Sadler is uncertain, since elsewhere in the volumes there are numerous leger lines – including in Sadler's own *In nomine* (no. 3). Usually these lines are short, and accommodate only one or two notes that lie beyond the stave; perhaps in such instances an entire change of clef was thought unnecessary. But sometimes, as in William Parsons' *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (no. 41), an extended leger line is used: this spans 11 notes, only three of which fall outside the parameters of the five-line stave. Occasionally, an entire sixth line has even been added to a stave: as on fol. 5v of Mus. e. 3, where the Contratenor part of Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1) has an entire sixth line aded – even though it is used only for four notes (strangely, it was the copy of this piece in Mus. e. 1 that seems to have had a clef change introduced in order to *prevent* leger or additional lines). The same is true of the Medius part to White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/xxxv), where a sixth line has been added to the top of stave 1 on fol. 66v in Mus. e. 2, in order to accommodate only two As. Sadler's volumes are therefore inconsistent in their use of clef changes (which can occur not only at the start of a new stave, but also in the middle of it) as well as in the use of leger lines and additional stave-lines.

Figure 9.18 Leger lines and additional stave-lines in Mus. e. 1–5.

A. fol. 6r of Mus. e. 2, stave 4, with short leger line (1 note)



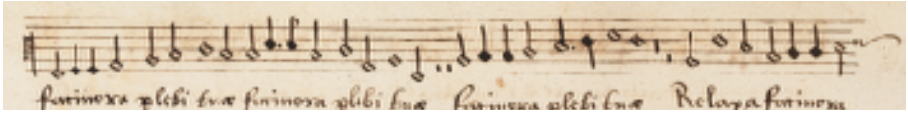
B. fol. 30r of Mus. e. 1, stave 1, with short leger line (1 note)



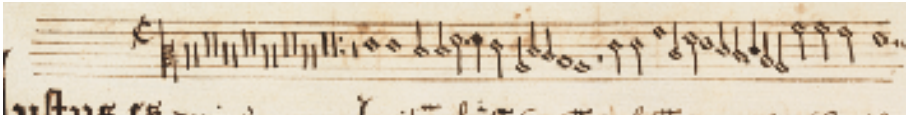
C. fol. 72r of Mus. e. 3, stave 4, with extended leger line (3 notes)



D. fol. 5v of Mus.e. 3, stave 1, with a sixth stave-line (4 notes)



E. fol. 66v of Mus. e. 2, stave 1, with a sixth stave-line



Mensuration signs

Mensuration signs are usually placed after the clef, although they sometimes appear before the stave in the margin, in an indentation to a stave, in an on-stave indentation, or above the stave. On fol. 6v of Mus. e. 2 the mensuration sign has been duplicated. Sometimes a sign is present in one partbook but missing in others, though only when a piece is in ¢.[25] Where a sign is absent from a work, it can be assumed that this is the prevailing mensuration.

Several pieces in the partbooks by the older generation of composers (Aston, Fayrfax etc.) begin in ϕ and proceed to ¢, although there are some instances of sign omission between parts of the same piece. Clemens' *Job tonso* (no. 11/viii), is the only work in the partbooks which does not have any mensuration signs at all, though this is in ¢ throughout.

Figure 9.19 Various positions of mensuration signs in Mus. e. 1–5.

fol. 8v, Mus. e. 1
Tye's *Miserere me* (no. 4/i)
(in margin)



fol. 6v, Mus. e. 2
Tye's *Miserere me* (no. 4/i)
(in margin **and** in indentation)



fol. 10r, Mus. e. 1
Taverner's *O splendor gloriae* (no. 5/ii)
(in on-stave indentation)



fol. 19r, Mus. e. 1
Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* (no. 10/vii)
(above on-stave indentation)



fol. 22r, Mus. e. 1
Clemens' *Job tonso* (no. 11/viii)
(absent)



Sometimes different mensuration signs are used simultaneously. Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* (no. 9/vi) opens in ϕ in Mus. e. 1, 3 and 4, but in ○ in Mus. e. 2 and 5; the work then proceeds to a section in ¢ in Mus. e. 1 and 5, but in ○ in Mus. e. 2, 3 and 4. Similarly, in Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* (no. 10/vii), Mus. e. 1, 2 and 5 open in ϕ, but Mus. e. 2 and 3 open in ○. This suggests

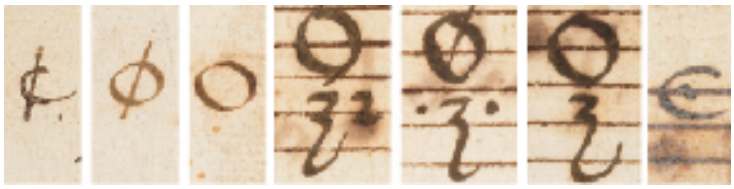
[25] Taverner's *Mater Christi* (no. 36/xxxiii), for instance, has a ¢ only in Mus. e. 1, and no signs in the other four partbooks. See fols. 64r, 63v, 63v, 62r and 58r of each partbook respectively.

that Sadler, or rather the scribe(s) of his source(s), did not differentiate between ¢ and C, or between ¢ and O, since these signs can appear in different voice-parts simultaneously.[26]

Only Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) has a particularly esoteric use of mensuration signatures. The signs ϕ3, O3 and ϕ3:2 are used simultaneously in the Gloria, while the signs ϕ, ϕ3 and O3 are used simultaneously in the 'dona nobis' section of the Angus dei; but in the Gyffard partbooks (the only other complete source for this work) these sections are rendered in ϕ3 throughout, in all four voice-parts. The exact meaning and interpretation of these signs remains a topic of debate.[27]

Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* (no. 12/ix) has an Amen that uses *prolatio perfecta* – a sixteenth-century equivalent of six-eight time with three minims to the perfect semibreve, and the signature C only in the Tenor partbook (all others use ¢). This has spurred the suggestion that the Amen to this work may have originally been notated in C throughout, and that it was subsequently replaced by the more straightforward ¢.[28] But there is no evidence to show that Sadler re-notated any sections of this work himself, or indeed any others, and the presence of C only in Mus. e. 4 probably tells us more about his exemplar for his piece than it does about his own mensural or notational policies.

Figure 9.20 Sample mensuration signs used in Mus. e. 1–5.



Perfect modus

Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* (no.12/ix) also has other mensural challenges. This work has a *Te Deum* cantus firmus in the Tenor part. In two sections (bars 52–113 and 184–213 in modern

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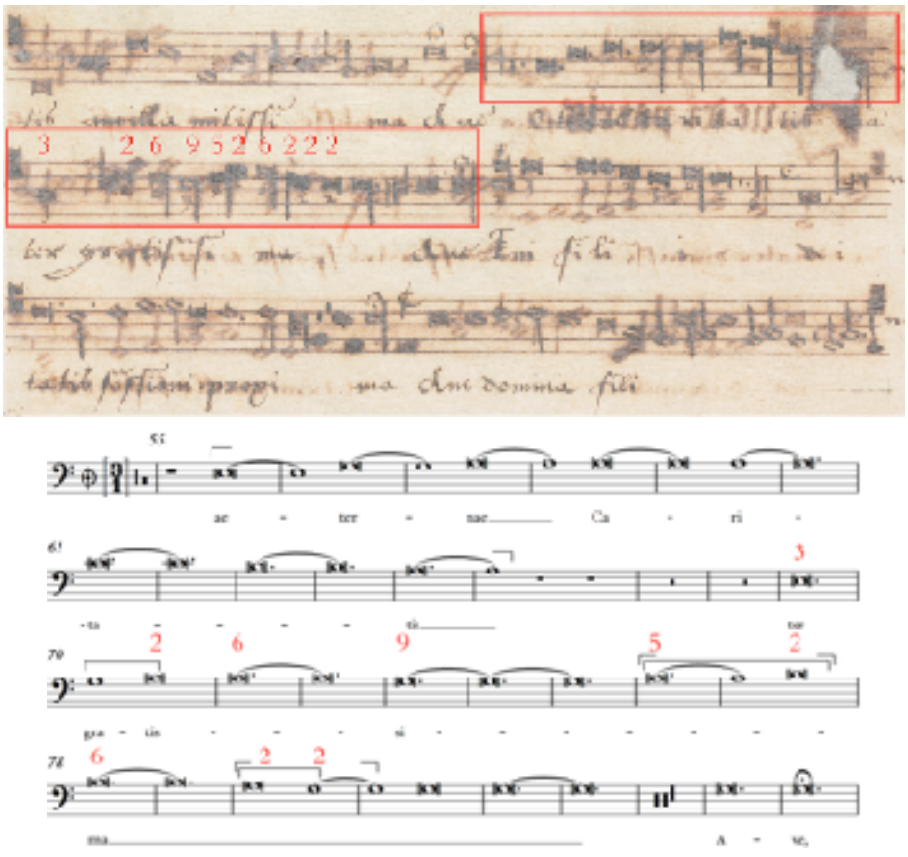
[26] The move from O to either C or ¢, with no explanation given as to the relationship between these mensurations, is also an old occurrence. An early and notable example is found in Du Fay's *Virgine bella*, which has outer sections in ϕ, and an inner section in O, apparently without any change of tempo; it is also a feature of some early Mass cycles. See Ruth de Ford, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 123.

[27] See Bernard Rose, [Review of several items], *Music & Letters*, 44 (1963), 88–91 (88–9); John Caldwell, correspondence in *Music & Letters*, 44 (1963), 208; Paul Doe and Nigel Davidson, correspondence in *The Musical Times,* 113 (1972), 768; Philip Brett, correspondence in *The Musical Times*, 113 (1972), 971; Hugh Benham (ed.), *John Taverner: Four and Five-Part Masses*, EECM, 35 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1989), 146; and Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 40. The various other differences between the Sadler and Gyffard readings of Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass – which chiefly concern accidentals – are explained fully in Benham. Davidsons' review of Benham's edition posits that Mus. e. 1–5's reading of the Mass, which is 'much superior to the Gyffard set', is probably a result Sadler adding 'what he considered to be desirable accidentals, on his own initiative'. See Nigel Davidson, 'Four-and Five-Part Masses by John Taverner; Hugh Benham', *Music & Letters*, 71. 4 (1990), 621–623 (622).

[28] Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 170.

transcription), this may originally have been written in *perfect modus*. Usually this is signalled by rests that cover three spaces on the stave instead of two; but in Mus. e 4, Sadler has indicated it by spelling out primarily perfect breves in ϕ, grouped in threes, and by grouping semibreves under ¢ in sixes.[29] Coloration is then used for emphasis at bars 200–1 and 212–3, even though this is essentially redundant (these are not the only instances of unnecessary coloration, as will be seen below).[30] Numbers have also been added above some notes: a 9 has been added above an undotted long to show that it is worth 9 rather than 6,[31] and various other numbers have also been applied to other notes in order to explain their values. Clearly these numbers were added in anticipation of performance or as a teaching aid; but whether it was Sadler that re-notated any of this Tenor part, or added the numbers on his own initiative, is impossible to say without knowing the exemplar from which he was copying (this part is unique to Mus. e. 1–5 – it survives nowhere else – and so comparisons with other sources cannot be made).

Figure 9.21 Staves 1–3 of fol. 20v of Mus. e 4. showing black coloration for certain notes, with numbers above, and bars 55–86 of the Tenor part to Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* (no. 12/ix) in modern transcription.



[29] For other methods of indicating (or not indicating) *perfect modus* see Ruth de Ford, 37–42.

[30] These observations are primarily those of Hugh Benham, though he only identified the number 9 in the example shown above, when in fact there are several others. See Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 159–70; 185–6.

[31] Benham, *John Taverner: Four and Five-Part Masses*, 170.

Sesquialtera / triplets

Temporary *sesquialtera* is signalled by making void note-heads black full (coloration is discussed below),[32] and is usually used to compel triplet groups of minims. It is accompanied by a '3' or '3 2' proportional sign, sometimes – but not always – punctuated with a dot at either side. The difference between the use of these different signs is not clear, and it would seem that both are used interchangeably, and the dots are purely decorative.

Figure 9.22 *Sesquialtera* in John Taverner's *Western Wind* mass (no. 40) marked on fol. 72r of Mus. e. 1 with a '3', and in Osbert Parsley's *Lamentations,* marked on fol. 49r of Mus. e. 3 with a '3 2'.



Signature flats

Signature flats (there are no signature sharps) come in two forms: one is single lobed, for use on stave spaces; the other is double-lobed, which is usually used on stave lines (the dip assists in showing that a flat pertains to a line, and not to one of its neighbouring spaces). However, occasionally a double-lobed flat has been used on a stave space and vice versa. The use of the double-lobed signature flat can also cease within a single piece. In the Mus. e. 2 copy of Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute* (no. 24/xx), for instance, a double-lobed flat is used in the signature for the first two staves, after which only single-lobed flats are used. Yet the double-lobed flats return on fol. 53v of the same partbook, in White's *Domine non est exaltatum* (no. 28/xxiv). The use of these flat signs is therefore inconsistent.

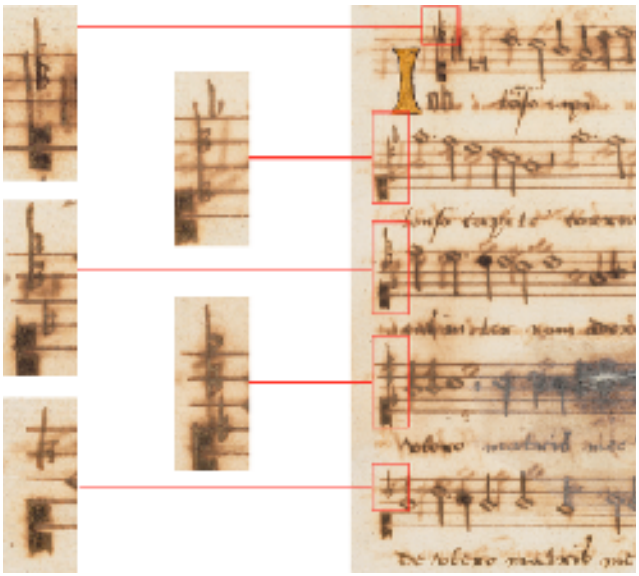
[32] See Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke,* 32–4. The matter is also mentioned on 54: 'because those three blacke minimes, be sung in the time of two white minimes, they were marked thus 32. signifieng three minimes to two minimes.'

Figure 9.23 Signature flats used on fols. 45v and 53v of Mus. e. 2, using single and double-bowed flats apparently interchangeably.



Signature flats are usually placed to the right of the clef; where two or more flats are involved, these are placed at the side of the clef, or sometimes above or below it. Occasionally, if a compartment F-clef is being used, a B-flat may be placed directly underneath it, giving the impression that the clef and flat are a single symbol (this sort of combined F-clef with low B flat is not uncommon in the 16th century). Some signatures also place flats on top of one another: this gives the impression that their stems are vertically conjoined and continuous ('braced'). This aggregation of flats is by no means consistent, however, since it is usual to find both braced flats and a single flat in the same signature, in various combinations.

Figure 9.24 Various formations of signature accidentals in Clemens' *Job tonso* (no. 11/viii), both braced and single.



The above example also serves to illustrate that the number of flats in a signature is subject to change within a work, and even from stave to stave (this is something encountered in others manuscripts). Sometimes a flat seems to have been omitted from a signature because the note to which it applies does not appear on the stave in question; therefore it would seem that they have been omitted in the interests of economy. But there are various examples of signature flats being omitted from staves (when they are present in others), and on-stave flats being applied when a signature flat would have sufficed.

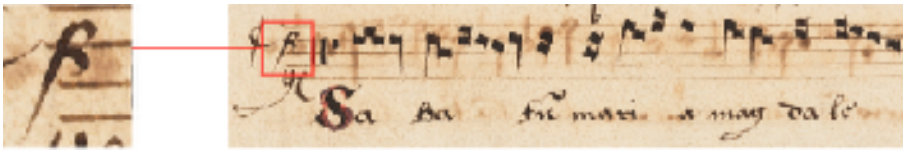
Errors in signature flats (i.e. misplacements of flats rather than their omission or commission) are few. Here, in the Mus. e. 2 copy of Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i), the signature ought to consist of a single B-flat; but on the fifth stave of fol. 8v both a B-flat and a D-flat have been entered. There are no D-flats in the piece: sometimes on-stave accidentals have been entered extremely close to the signature accidentals, but that is not the case here. This is clearly an uncorrected error.

Figure 9.25 Staves four and five on fol. 8v of Mus. e. 2 showing a signature B flat, then an erroneous signature of both a B and D flat.



Only one piece in Mus. e. 1–5, Tallis' *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii), has the somewhat unusual signature of a stylised F-sign that has been deployed throughout all five voice-parts: this serves as a cautionary F natural, since Fs in this work are not to be sharpened.[33]

Figure 9.26 Detail of stave 5 to fol. 43v of Mus. e. 1, showing the F-sign in the signature to the cantus firmus of Tallis' *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii).



On-stave Sharps & flats

As with signature flats, on-stave flats are either single-bowed, for use on a stave space, or double bowed, for use on a stave-line – although the usage of these two signs is not always consistent. Sharps are spidery and lack uniformity: some of them look as if they might have been added after

[33] Again, the high 'f' clef (sometimes interpreted as 'fa', but perhaps added simply for purposes of orientation when the g clef is on the first or second line), is often found in sixteenth century English sources.

the main musical text, since they appear to be much finer than the notation, though this may be the result of a different quill or pen angle being used. Flats are generally more consistent in their execution; but sometimes the lobe of the single-lobed flat is not sufficient to meet its stem, creating a hook-like form rather than that of a b.

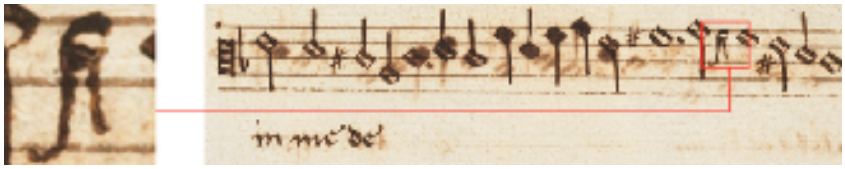
Figure 9.27 Sharps and flats taken from fols. 16r and 27v of Mus. e. 2.



Almost all of the on-stave sharps and flats in the partbooks are pre-placed: they anticipate the note in question by one or more notes. Although this means they can sometimes be missed by modern-day eyes, this was almost certainly done to offer advance warning to singers that an inflection is imminent. Occasionally a flat or sharp has not been pre-placed, but this is usually because it applies to the first note of a stave (and therefore cannot be pre-placed), or because a preceding flat or sharp appears in close proximity.

As is customary in Elizabethan music manuscripts, a sharp in Mus. e. 1–5 is used to cancel a flat, and a flat is used to cancel a sharp:[34] there are no naturals.[35] Only in White's *Miserere mei* (no. 26/xxii) is a Fa-sign used to cancel an F-sharp: this is of an entirely different style to the F-sign that is used as a natural in the signature to the cantus firmus of Tallis's *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii).[36]

Figure 9.28 A Fa-sign used to cancel an F-sharp on stave 1 of fol. 51r of Mus. e. 3.



Sadler's own accidental policies

Mention of the cancellation of sharps and flats raises the question of Sadler's own accidental policies. The only work in which we can observe these policies is his *In nomine* (no. 3), since this

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[34] This function is explained by William Bathe (1564-1614), but not by Thomas Morley, who does not refer to the functions of flats and sharps at all. See William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thomas Este, [1596?]), sig. Biii^{r}. For a modern transcription of this work, see Kevin C. Karnes (ed.), *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song by William Bathe* ((Aldershot, Routledge, 2005).

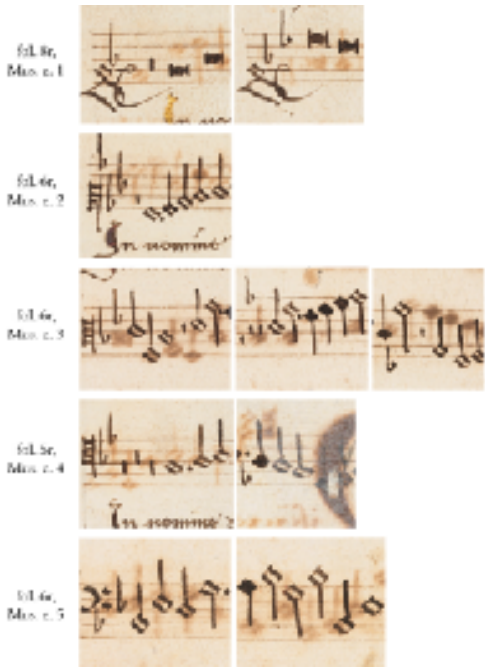
[35] The single Tudor music print to include natural signs is the fragmentary *XX Songes* (London: s.l., 1530), although the type used for this publication was of probably of German origin. See Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, xxiii.

[36] A C-sharp could be cancelled either by a C-symbol or by an F-symbol, but the C-symbol does not occur in Mus. e. 1–5.

is the only work in Mus. e. 1–5 which he presumably notated (and not merely copied) himself.[37] Consequently he would have been responsible for deploying its signature and on-stave accidentals.

Sadler's *In nomine* tells us immediately that signature flats apply only to the pitch on which they are placed, and not to their octaves. This is apparent from the fact that the Contratenor and Tenor parts (in Mus. e. 3. and Mus. e. 4 respectively) have only two-flat signatures (i.e. a single B-flat and a single E-flat): when an octave of these pitches requires inflecting, this is stipulated via an on-stave flat. The only exception is the Bassus part (in Mus. e. 5): here, only a two-flat signature is supplied, but this voice-part nevertheless has B's in bar 48 which sit on top of the fifth stave-line. Since these B's can *only* be flat (see Appendix), it is clear that Sadler's Bassus part is under-prescriptive in supplying its flats signs: these flats were to be supplied by performers.[38]

Figure 9.29 Sample signature flats in Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3).



[37] It is sometimes asserted that Sadler's own policies for flats and sharps can be viewed by comparing his copies of works that appeared in *CS1575* with the published versions; but any hypotheses that result from such comparisons necessarily depend on Sadler having copied his pieces from that print, and not some intermediate exemplar. Although there are a handful of errors in common between Sadler's copies and the published *CS1575* (some of his copies even share a similar mise-en-page, with the same stave-breaks), there is no firm evidence to show that Sadler ever laid eyes on the print, let alone copied from it. Had he done, then we might ask why he did not copy more than just a handful of works from the publication, rather than just four – especially when some of the works in *CS1575* seems to have been immensely popular. See Milsom *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*.

[38] The same policy is found in *CS1575*, as well as in Morley's *Introduction* and other late Tudor sources; see Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, xxvi.

There are also several on-stave flats and sharps in the *In nomine.* These raise the question of what William Bathe called 'appendancy': the degree to which flats and sharps have continued force on-stave.[39] Ascertaining exactly what Sadler's appendancy policy was is not straightforward, since it is difficult to tell whether a sharp has been supplied to cancel a preceding flat (which *does* have appendancy), for instance, or whether a sharp has been provided as a cautionary natural, because of an inflection to the same pitch in another voice-part.

In the Medius part at bar 37, an on-stave E-sharp is used to cancel the E-flat of the signature (this is the only voice-part with a three-flat signature). An E then comes in the next bar, but this has no neutralising sharp: either the preceding E-sharp was intended to have appendancy, meaning that the second E is to be sung as a natural, or the E was to be sung flat because the preceding sharp does *not* have appendancy (flats for this pitch are specified in the signature). Sadler has also provided an on-stave E-flat in the Tenor part on the first beat of bar 38: this flat is essentially redundant, since this pitch has a signature flat. Therefore this on-stave E-flat is cautionary, and has been added presumably because of the E-sharp (i.e. natural) in the Medius part of the previous bar.

Figure 9.30 Bars 37–8 of Sadler's *In nomine,* shown with excerpts of its Medius and Tenor parts from fol. 6r of Mus. e. 2 and fol. 5r of Mus. e. 4.



Whether or not a flat or sharp has appendancy is also unclear elsewhere. In the Tenor part at bar 44, an on-stave E-sharp is supplied. There is no signature E-flat for this pitch, so it cannot be intended to neutralise a signature flat; nor is this sharp preceded by an on-stave flat, and therefore the can be no appendancy. Instead this sharp is merely cautionary: presumably it has been provided to deter singers from singing an E-flat, which would produce a tritone with the Bassus part, which is singing an A. An on-stave E-flat then appears in the same part on the first beat of bar 46; but since this flat is not stipulated in the signature, this is simply a flat in its own right, and is not used to cancel the appendancy of a preceding E-sharp. Thus, although it is clear that Sadler's *In nomine* contains some cautionary sharps and flats that have doubtless been

[39] Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, sig. Biii^{r}.

provided for the benefit of performers, his composition is not otherwise useful for determining the degree to which on-stave flats and sharps have appendancy.

Figure 9.31 Bars 44–6 of Sadler's *In nomine,* shown with excerpts of its Medius and Tenor parts from fol. 6r of Mus. e. 2 and fol. 5r of Mus. e. 4.



The issues surrounding the appendancy of flats and sharps in Mus. e. 1–5 require much fuller analysis than space allows for here, but a summary of the situation is thus: a flat or sharp appears to have appendancy but at other times not – even in the same work; nor is it always clear whether or not an on-stave flat or sharp has been provided to serve in a cautionary capacity or to cancel the appendancy of a preceding accidental. Some flats and sharps have been supplied when they are given in a signature, and when there is no obvious rationale for providing a cautionary. Therefore singers using Mus. e. 1–5, as with other sources, must gauge for themselves whether or not appendancy is to be assumed from the prevailing harmonic context of the work they are performing, and is some cases must supply flats and sharps themselves.

The inconsistent application of flats and sharps in Mus. e. 1–5 implies that Sadler did not apply any particular accidental policy to the contents of his volumes: there is absolutely no evidence to show that he commissioned or eliminated flats and sharps in other works himself, and any inconsistencies may well be those of his exemplars. Copyists in the sixteenth century were apparently careless in reproducing the flats and sharps of their sources (Bathe commented that 'by negligence and ignorance of prickers [copyists], we are oft driven to gather thappendancie [sic] by the course of the song').[40] But whether this was true of Sadler, and whether he intervened in the accidentals of his sources deliberately is impossible to tell without knowing from which exemplars he was copying.

Note-heads and stems

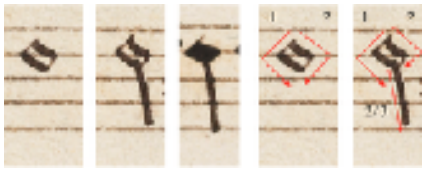
The partbooks predominantly use black void mensural notation (cantus firmus notation is discussed below). For semibreves, minims, semiminims and the occasional fusae, note-heads are

40 Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, sig. Biii^{r}.

diamond shaped. These note-heads appear to have been drawn using the same basic two or three-fold pen-stroke, depending on whether or not the note has a stem, with a nib of around 1mm thickness. The head of a note was almost certainly drawn first, possibly beginning with two diagonal strokes to form the left-hand side of the note, followed by two diagonal strokes at the other side (see example below). The two opposing strokes that form the upper-right and lower-left edges of a note are slightly longer than the others; the note-heads are therefore lozenge-shapes rhomboids rather than perfect quadrangles. The note-heads are largely consistent in size throughout the partbooks, although some of the strokes that form them are sometimes very slightly curved.

Stems, where they are used, were sometimes drawn as an extension to one of the strokes (usually the second) that formed the note-head; others seem to have been drawn as a third stroke in their own right (as shown below), running from, or into, the note-head. Some stems are drawn at a slight slant, and almost all of them are irregular in length: most span two or so stave spaces (*c.* 6mm), but some are shorter and others longer. Sadler's stems do not show the same uniformity in length as those found in some other Elizabethan partbook sets, such as those copied by Baldwin and Dow.

Figure 9.32 Examples of diamond note-heads on fol. 6v of Mus. e. 1, and a possible order of pen-strokes by which they were formed.



The example above typifies the note-heads in Mus e. 1–5, although there are numerous malformed examples: some are rounder, some are more angular. These variations, which are more likely to be the result of a slip of the pen rather than the work of a different pair of hands, do not otherwise sully the general impression of the notation itself, which is one of careful copying.

Figure 9.33 Malformed note-heads on fols. 43v and 63r of Mus. e. 3.



Breves, *longae,* and maximas appear 'straight' on the stave. The two vertical lines that make up the sides of these note-forms appear straight (i.e. at 180º); but, like the note-heads described above, the pen-strokes at the top and bottom sometimes have an s-shaped flex. These

curves are usually more pronounced than in semibreves, minims, semi-minims, and are therefore more clearly visible.

Figure 9.34 Sample maximas, longae, and breves from fols. 38r and 46v of Mus. e. 1.



Ligatures

In contrast with some Elizabethan partbook sets contemporary with Sadler's books, ligatures are often encountered in Mus. e. 1–5: there is no evidence to show that Sadler sought to disaggregate the ligatures of his sources into successions of single notes, as seems to be the case in the partbooks of Robert Dow.[41] Sadler even uses ligatures in his own *In nomine* (no. 3) – even though this work is textless.[42] Possibly these were included by Sadler for the purposes of brevity, as Morley confirms they sometimes were (even in works without words),[43] or possibly they were included for aesthetic purposes – although if that was Sadler's intention, then we might ask why no more than four ligatures were used, and why they should be found only in two of this work's five voice-parts.[44]

Ligatures are constructed by conjoining two or more breve-shapes with a stem in the necessary position when one is required; 'oblique' ligatures are usually joined with slightly curved rather than straight diagonal lines. Some ligatures are bi-coloured, although these are found in only in Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute* (no. 24/xx). Since ligatures in Mus. e. 1–5 generally possess their standard meanings in terms of shape, they would have caused little difficulty for singers who were sufficiently educated in music to be able to read them.[45] Some ligatures do present problems in terms of colour, however (discussed below).

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41 It may be that Dow re-notated the ligatures of his sources into single notes, possibly to produce a performing edition that was easier for inexperienced musicians to sing from (See Milsom (2010), 41–2). But without knowing the precise exemplars from which Dow was copying, it is impossible to confirm he eliminated ligatures himself. Conversely, some sources that were almost certainly produced for amateur singers do include a large number of ligatures where single notes would surely have been more straightforward. See Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 199.

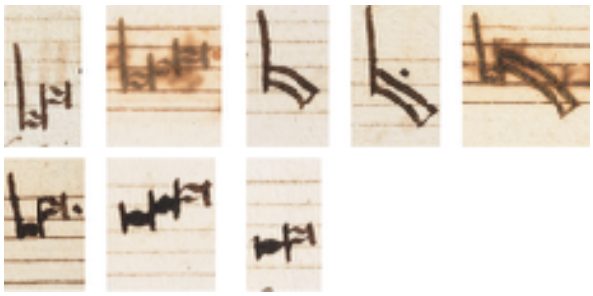
42 According to Morley, 'Ligatures were deuised for the Ditties sake, so that how manye notes serued for one syllable, so many notes were tied togither.' See Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 25.

43 'Afterwards they [ligatures] were vsed in songs hauing no dittie, but only for breuitie of writing'. See Morley, 25.

44 Ligatures were occasionally added to some manuscripts as 'merely a calligraphical flourish with no meaning beyond that of the note values it [they] represented'. See Peter Wright, 'Ligature (i)', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16639> [accessed 12 March 2016].

45 The shapes of most ligatures correspond to those laid out in Morley, 11–13.

Figure 9.35 Specimen void ligatures on fols. 47r and 47v of Mus. e. 1, and fols. 16r and 28v of Mus. e. 4; and bi-coloured ligatures on fols. 48v of Mus. e. 3 and 43v and 44r of Mus. e. 4.



Coloration

Although the partbooks use predominantly black void notation, black full notation is used principally to signal imperfection (excluding semiminims and fusae, which are always black full; coloration is also used to produce triplets, accompanied by the signs '3' or '3 2').[46] Notes which are coloured rather than void ought to lose a third of their standard value, but this can only work when the prevailing mensuration is perfect. In Mus. e. 1–5, however, a number of ligatures and single breves are coloured black even when a work is in duple time. Since void notation in duple time cannot be imperfected, it would seem that the coloration of these notes is redundant (there do not appear to be any instances of ligatures that ought to have been coloured left void, however).[47]

There are precedents for using coloration in imperfect mensurations: sometimes it is used to emphasise *hemiola* and other syncopations against the metre,[48] or occasionally it is encountered (as a residue) in works that were originally conceived and notated in ϕ, but which have been re-notated in ¢ – an intervention that was sometimes made by the scribes employed by Edward Paston, apparently in order to make their copies more accessible to amateur or inexperienced singers.[49] None of the works in Mus. e. 1-5 appear to have been re-notated from triple into duple time, however; nor are there any obvious instances of black coloration being used to emphasise *hemiola*.

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46 A handful of notes heads have been coloured in different hues (green, red etc.), but these are decorative features, and can safely be ignored as far as mensural significance is concerned.

47 This is the case in the Bassus part to Appleby's *Magnificat* in the Peterhouse Henrician partbooks (*GB-Cp* MS 41, fol. 71v), for instance, where a ligature on stave 4 has been left void when it ought to be coloured (the work at the point in question is in *tempus perfectum* with major prolation). See Nick Sandon (ed.), *Thomas Appleby: Magnificat for Five Voices* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 1995), 1. Robert Dow also seems to have omitted coloration which Byrd himself may have specified: see Byrd's *If women could be fair*, which is notated with coloration in Byrd's *Psalmes, sonets and songs* (1588), but without coloration in Dow's copies. See Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 41.

48 As in the version of Tallis' *O nata lux* that was printed in *CS1575*, for instance.

49 See, for example, the copy of Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* in *GB-Ob* Tenbury 341–344,, which has been re-notated in duple from triple time. For re-notation on a much large scale, and the somewhat esoteric ways in which scribes can transmit altered works, see Roger Bray (ed.), *Robert Fayrfax: Masses Tecum Principium* and *O quam Glorifica*, EECM, 65 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2004), x.

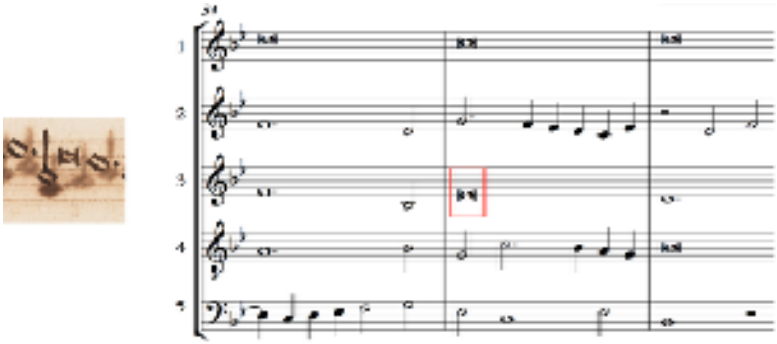
Coloured ligatures in prevailing duple-time mensurations are found at various points in the partbooks,[50] but they are also found in Sadler's own *In nomine* (no. 3). Here, four semibreve–semibreve ligatures are used: one in Mus. e. 2 and three in Mus. e. 5. All of them are coloured black. None of the contrapuntal contexts into which these ligatures fit yield any obvious explanations for their coloration (see Appendix for a full transcription, and the examples below). Since Sadler has used incorrectly coloured ligatures himself in his own composition, it would be easy to assume that he might have been behind the coloration of other note values in Mus. e. 1–5 which ought to be void, and which were perhaps void in his exemplars.

Figure 9.36 A coloured ligature in the Medius part to Sadler's *In nomine* (fol. 6r of Mus. e. 2, stave 2), apparently without mensural significance.



Some single breves in the *In nomine* are also coloured. As with the coloured ligatures, these, when viewed in their contrapuntal contexts, offer no obvious clues as to why they are coloured rather than void. Sadler does differentiate between void and coloured breves, at least, since not *all* of the breves in his *In nomine* are coloured. But his criteria for colouring certain breves and not others are not clear, and his use of coloured *vs* void breves may even be random.

Figure 9.37 A void breve in the Contratenor part to Sadler's *In nomine* (fol. 6r of Mus. e. 3, stave 2), and a coloured breve in the same voice-part, without mensural significance.



[50] See, for instance, Taverner's *Western Wind Mass* (no. 40), which includes numerous examples.



In White's *Justus es domine* (no. 39/xxxv), Sadler's apparent distinction between void and coloured ligatures is made particularly clear. There are two copies of the Tenor part to this work (this is the only voice-part in the partbooks that has been copied twice, except for the music of the test-page), but these copies are not identical. The first uses a few void ligatures, but no coloured ligatures. The second copy, except for a change of clef on stave 3, is identical in nearly every respect. But ligatures which in the first version were void appear here coloured black – despite the ¢ sign which is written clearly on this copy (though it does not appear in the first). Moreover, some notes which appear individually in the first copy appear ligated in the second: these 'new' ligatures are also coloured black.

Figure 9.38 The start of the two Tenor parts to White's *Justus es domine* (no. 39/xxxv) on fols. 64v and 65v of Mus. e. 4, with non-ligated and ligated notes, both black and void, shown in red.



As with the examples from Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) shown above, examining this second Tenor part in the company of its fellow voice-parts yields no obvious justification neither for the introduction of some ligatures, nor for their coloration. There is no *hemiola*; nor are there any other syncopations for which coloration might have been used.

Figure 9.39 Bars 38–52 of White's Justus es domine (no. 39/xxxv), with ligated notes shown in red.





There seems to be no reason for the duplication of the Tenor part, but it is noteworthy that each copy should differ in its use of coloration as well as in the number of ligatures themselves. Curiously, it is the second copy of this work that concludes with a corrigitur mark – a sign that has been entered presumably to show that it has been checked against its exemplar for correctness; this implies that this second Tenor part was copied from another source, rather than invented (corrigitur marks are discussed further below). It is also this second (coloured) copy that is marked with a Roman number (xxxv), and not the first; this may suggest that Sadler (or whoever numbered it) considered this copy to be functional and the first to be redundant – even though it is the first copy that is correct in its use of void (rather than coloured) ligatures.

The fact that Sadler has coloured some breves and all the ligatures in his own *In Nomine* suggests that he himself misuses coloration. Sadler's volumes are not the only partbooks that do this: the same phenomenon, in which void breves and ligatures appear in certain contexts to be used interchangeably with void ones, also occurs in the Gyffard partbooks (*GB-Lbl* 17904–8).[51] But with these volumes we do not have the benefit of having any composition(s) written by their scribe(s): therefore the coloration in these volumes may have been copied from exemplars. With Mus. e. 1–5, we know that Sadler misused coloration himself since he would have been responsible for notating his own *In Nomine* – even if this does not constitute evidence that he mis-coloured notation elsewhere in his partbooks.

Coloration was explained by theorists: Morley stated that 'Imperfection by coullor [sic.] is when notes perfect are prikest black which taketh away the third part of their value',[52] and similar advice was given by William Bathe.[53] But Sadler was too young to have read any of the known

[51] 'The Gyffard scribe puts notation to a third and somewhat eccentric use, namely the coloration of sporadic breves and semibreves in imperfect time. No consistent pattern has so far emerged that would help to account for this seemingly gratuitous practice. But it is possible that a carelessly written exemplar was responsible…'. See Mateer *The Gyffard partbooks I*, xiv.

[52] Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 24.

[53] Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, sig. Bi^{r}: 'To these are reduced the quantities of proportions, as where there goeth three cratchets to a minim length of which the black semibreefe comprehendeth two, & ther the minim rest is but as long as one of these cratchets'.

published treatises (at least English ones); nor do we know that he ever laid eyes on any manuscript ones.[54] It was presumably via personal tuition that Sadler learned the precepts of mensural notation – despite the fact that no specific evidence of this tuition can be found (but this is not unusual: none of the known musicians of the period leave any evidence of the way in which they were taught their craft). Exactly what caused Sadler to misconstrue coloration must remain uncertain, but it may be significant that he lived at a time when both ligation and coloration were becoming increasingly obsolete. Morley commented in 1597 that 'nowadaies our songes consisting of so small notes, few Ligatures be therein vsed', and the fact that some partbooks contain very few ligatures (like Dow's) suggest that they may have been dis-aggregated by some scribes in order to simplify their copies for singers. Some sources, although they nevertheless contain ligatures, are blighted by incorrect shapes (as in *GB-Lbl* 31390);[55] others contain only occasional errors (Thomas East allowed an incorrect ligature to be printed in Byrd's *CS1589;*[56] Dow copied at least one incorrect ligature into his books – despite the fact that his copies are usually very reliable),[57] but these odd errors may also merely be symptoms of ligation falling out of use as the sixteenth century progressed. This is also implied by William Bathe, who referred to 'Some strange markes [i.e. coloration and dots] and knitting [ligatures] of Notes which time I doubt not will cut off'.[58] The various errors in coloration in Mus. e. 1–5 (and indeed Gyffard) might therefore be symptomatic of archaic notional practices being superseded.[59]

Notation of cantus firmi

Five pieces in Mus. e. 1–5 use cantus firmi. Two of them, Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1), which has a cantus firmus in both its *prima pars*, 'Aspice Domine', as well as its *secunda pars,* 'Respice Domine',

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54 John Tucke provided an explanation in his note-book: 'Voyd blake to fild blake, or voyd red to fild rede, ys alway dupla (or, void black to full black, or void red to full red, is always dupla [2:1]'. *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10336, fol. 97v, transcribed in Ronald Woodley, *John Tucke: a Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory*, 69.

55 See, for instance, the copy of Tallis' *Absterge Domine* on fols. 104v–105r of *GB-Lbl* 31390, which contains several incorrect ligatures.

56 See the copy of Byrd's *Tribulationes civitatum* as printed in *CS1589,* which employs a ligature of two descending semibreves *without* a stem (which ought to indicate two longs), rather than including a stem to stand for two breves. Cited in Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 42.

57 In the Bassus part of Taverner's *Dum transisset*, he used a three-note descending ligature without a stem to indicate the value of three breves, rather than long-breve-long. See Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 42.

58 Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, sig. Bv^{v}.

59 This area is ripe for further investigation. It is also apparent that misunderstandings of coloration persisted into the seventeenth century. Christopher Simpson (1602–1669) wrote that copyists 'do not intend thereby any diminution, of their value, which blackening of notes doth properly signify'; John Playford (1623–1686/7) also reckoned that the 'Black semibrief is one in the same Measure with the minum…but is seldom used, because the Minums serve as well'. See Christopher Simpson, *Compendium of Practical Musick in Five Parts* (London: n.p., 1667), 6; and John Playford, *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of musick* (London: John Playford, 1568), 29. For further mis-uses see Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 40–4.

and Tallis's *Dum Transisset* (no. 22/xviii), are expressed in notation similar to plainsong. This notation uses the *punctum, virga, podatus, clivis* and *torculus* symbols: all of them are formed of one of more squares, each of which counts as a semibreve. Sadler also uses a *plica* symbol (a *punctum* with a serif at both the left and the right), which is worth a breve. Because the cantus firmi in these works are contiguous from beginning to end, there are no rests.

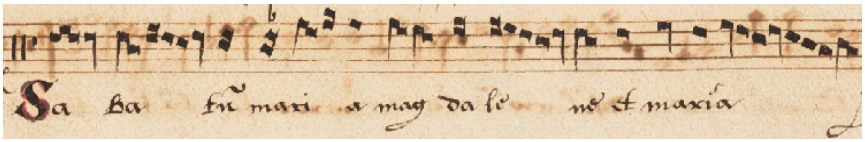
Figure 9.40 Plainsong symbols used in Mus. e. 1–5 for the cantus firmi of Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1) and Tallis's *Dum Transisset* (no. 22/xviii).

Name	***value / function***	***symbol***
punctum	worth one semibreve	
podatus	each worth one semibreve, with the lower note sung first (essentially an s–s ligature)	
clivis	each worth one semibreve, with the higher note sung first (essentially an s–s ligature)	
virga	worth one semibreve; the serif does not double the duration of the *punctum*	
plica	worth one breve; the presence of two serifs (one at either side) does double the duration of the *punctum*	
torculus	a three-note ligature; each *punctum* is worth a semi- breve	

Mus. e. 1–5 is not the only set of partbooks to use plainsong-style notation for cantus firmi: Dow uses small-sized black breves with strenes to indicate notes of double duration, and occasionally groups notes into neumes; the Gyffard partbooks use *puncta, virgae* and liquescent neumes; Baldwin, as well as using these symbols, incorporates more complicated compound neumes (including the *porrectus*); the privately owned McGhie manuscript also uses small black breves with strenes, but does not usually group notes into neumes. Therefore all of these sources seek to emulate plainsong notation for some cantus firmi, but they differ in the symbols they employ. Almost all of them use small breve shapes with clearly visible vertical side-strokes (closely related to ordinary black breves): but Sadler's notation usually eschews these side-strokes, and so his cantus firmi more closely resemble printed plainsong sources.

Figure 9.41 The opening of the cantus firmus to Tallis' *Dum transisset,* as notated by Sadler, Baldwin, in Gyffard, by Dow, and in the McGhie manuscript.[60]

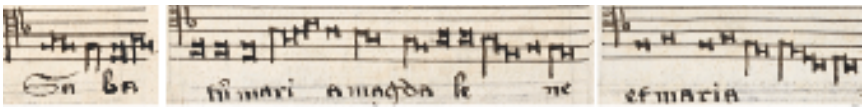
A. fol. 43r, Mus. e. 1 (Sadler)



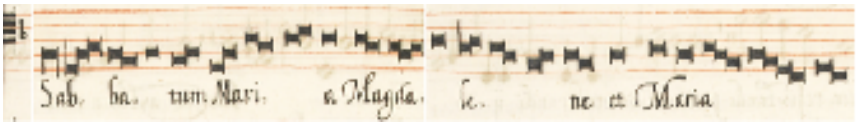
B. fol. 30r, *GB-Och* Mus. 979 (Baldwin)



C. fols. 139–140r, *GB-Lbl* 17804 (Gyffard)



D. fol. 26v, *GB-Och* Mus. 979 (Dow)



E. fol. 82r, the 'McGhie' manuscript, in private ownership



Although Byrd and Tallis may have used similar notations to those shown above in their own manuscript copies,[61] the cantus firmi in the printed versions of *Aspice Domine* and *Dum Transisset*, which were published in *CS1589* and *CS1575* respectively, were expressed in black void notation. This is thought to be because Thomas Vautrollier, the publisher of *CS1575*, used a music type that lacked plainsong symbols;[62] Thomas East, the publisher of *CS1589*, inherited Vautrollier's music type,[63] and must have faced the same limitations. Sadler's use of plainsong-style notations for these works confirms that he did not copy them from these prints.[64]

60 The Dow example is his copy of Taverner's *Dum transisset*, since Tallis's setting is not in his volumes.

61 Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, xxiii.

62 Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, 222.

63 Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39. Void notation was also used in *GB-Lbl* Add. 32377 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 31390.

64 This of course makes absolute sense, since his copy of Tallis' *Dum transisset* differs in a number of small details from the published version, and his copy of Byrd's *Aspice Domine* must already have been copied by the time *CS1589* was published, given that the last date in Mus. e. 1–5 is 1585.

Figure 9.42 The cantus firmus to Tallis' *Dum transisset*, as printed in *CS1575*.



Possibly Sadler copied his cantus firmi notations diligently from whatever his (manuscript) exemplars for these works were, although exactly the same notations are not to be found in any other extant source. His notations are very similar to the Sarum versions of these chants that were printed in *AS1519* and *AS1520,* however. They are not an exact match, since both Byrd and Tallis appear to have slightly modified the chants they utilised in their works;[65] but, these alterations aside, Sadler's versions are closely related to the Sarum versions – both in terms of their groupings of notes into neumes and in the placement of syllables. His cantus firmi seem to bear a stronger resemblance to the Sarum versions of these chants than any other Elizabethan partbook set:[66] this is evident from comparing Sadler's plainsong notations with the plainsong of the prints themselves.

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65 In *Dum transisset*, a few syllables in the cantus firmus come earlier in Tallis' version than they do in *AS1519*; in *Aspice Domine*, some words are different (as mentioned in Chapter 7); Byrd has also transposed the plainsong up by a fifth, returning it to its normal position at the words 'inclina, Deus meus, aurem tuam', and has changed the notes at the beginning from DCFGA to DFGA – apparently to provide a more effective motif for imitation (see Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 33; 74). In the *secunda pars*, 'Respice Domine', Byrd's version of the chant ends on an F. These alterations were clearly sanctioned by the composers themselves, since they appeared in the printed versions: these publications were seen through the press by Byrd and Tallis personally. See John Milsom, 'Byrd and the 'Incorrected Copy': Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type', *Music & Letters,* 77 (1996), 348–67. Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 18; and Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 65.

66 Baldwin grouped his breves into neumes that do not correspond to those of liturgical sources (groups which may have been produced by Baldwin himself). See Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, 225.

Figure 9.43 Cantus firmi notated with plainsong symbols in Mus. e. 1–5:

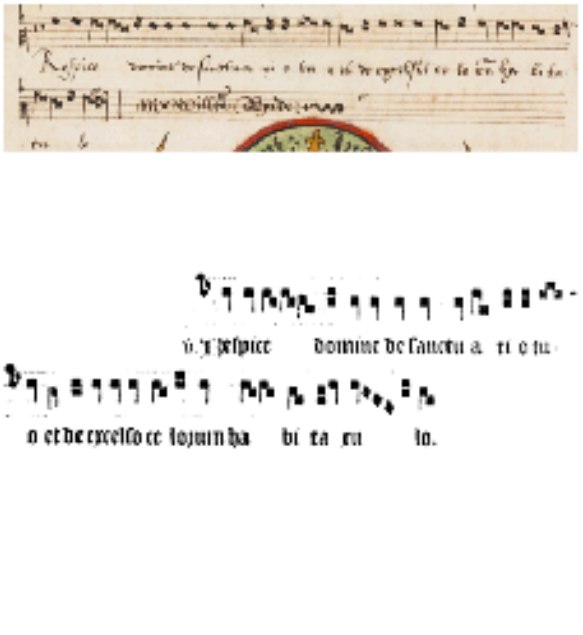
A: Tallis's *Dum Transiret* (no. 22/xviii) on fols. 43v–44r of Mus. e. 1; and in *AS1519*, fol. cxxvii.



B: Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1), *prima pars*, 'Aspice Domine', as notated on fol. 4r of Mus. e. 3, and in *AS1520*, fol. xlviiir.



C: Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1), *secunda pars*, 'Respice Domine', as notated on fol. 4v of Mus. e. 2; and as printed in *AS1520*, fol. xlviiir.



Similar though Sadler's notations are to the printed versions of these chants, they do differ in a number of small details. In *AS1519* and *AS1520*, the *virga* is generally used in a melodic ascent, and the *punctum* is used in a melodic descent;[67] Sadler interchanges these symbols apparently unsystematically. The other clear difference is Sadler's use of the *plica* to double the value of a semibreve to that of a breve. This symbol is occasionally found in printed liturgical sources, but it does not usually have the same function;[68] nor is it used in all of the Elizabethan manuscript sources which use a similar style of modified plainsong notation for cantus firmi (in Dow's partbooks, for instance, a descending stem written on *either* side of a note doubles its length to that of a breve).[69] But the *plica* did have the same function in Merbeck's *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*. In a short preface to his volume, Merbeck calls this symbol a 'strene note', which he explains is worth a breve. Sadler cannot have taken the lead entirely from Merbeck entirely, since what Merbeck calls a 'close' (or a single-strened *punctum*), he stipulates is 'only used at ye end of a verse',[70] and Sadler uses these signs apparently interchangeably with an ordinary *punctum*.[71] But Merbeck's adaptation of the *plica* symbol to signify a note of double duration is enough to show that it must have had some currency in the sixteenth century.[72] It may be that Sadler's cantus firmus notations represent a hybrid of chant as printed in plainsong sources like *AS1519* and *AS1520*, with the use of the *plica* (or 'strene note') as explained by Merbeck. Since Sadler's exact notations are not to be found in any other sources, and because he must have been 'in cantu competenter instructus' ('adequately instructed in singing') in order to be admitted to the fellowship of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1538, it is possible that Sadler came up with these notations himself.

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67 William Renwick (ed.), *Music of the Sarum Office*, vol. A (Hamilton: Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2006), ix, available online at http://hmcwordpress.mcmaster.ca/renwick/ [accessed 12 February 2017].

68 In some treatises, the *plica* is used to denote an ascending or descending inflection to a single note, whereas in others it is described as a two-note neume. See Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 50; also see John Caldwell, 'Plainsong and Polyphony, 1250–1550', in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. by Thomas Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6–31 (12).

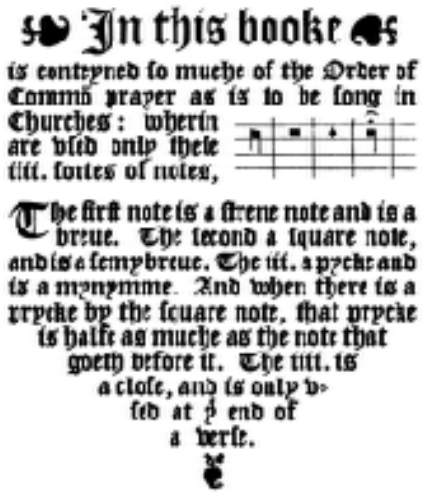
69 Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks*, 44.

70 John Merbecke, *The Booke of Common Praier Noted* (London: Grafton, 1550), sig. A.ii.

71 Hugh Benham, 'Stroke and Strene Notation in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Equal Note Cantus Firmi', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2.2 (1993), 153–168.

72 Whether or not this use of the *plica* outside of *bona fide* plainsong sources started with Merbeck is uncertain – especially given that his *Book of Common Praier* seems not to have been popular (it went through only a single edition). See Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 123.

Figure 9.44 Merbeck's explanation of notation in *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*.[73]


In this booke
is contayned so muche of the Order of
Comm̃ prayer as is to be song in
Churches: wherin
are vsed only these
iiii. sortes of notes,

The first note is a streyne note and is a
breue. The second a square note,
and is a temp breue. The iii. a pycke and
is a mynyme. And when there is a
pricke by the square note, that pricke
is halfe as muche as the note that
goeth before it. The iiii. is
a close, and is only vsed at ꝑ end of
a verse.

Any claim that Sadler modelled his cantus firmi upon printed liturgical sources obviously relies on him having laid eyes on these sources. Although Sarum books were banned after the Reformation, they had been printed in quantity in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary I.[74] Some clearly remained in the possession of individuals: a number of Tudor probate inventories list Sarum volumes,[75] and Morley, in his *Introduction*, refers to plainsong as if it retained a degree of currency.[76] Moreover, it is likely that Sadler owned his own Sarum books: he was born when England was in full communion with Rome; the Sarum Rite was the primary Use of England from 1543 onwards;[77] and personal ownership of a Missal was a requirement for ordination to the priesthood prior to 1547 (almost all members of the clergy owned a Breviary for the daily recitation of the Office, also).[78] Even though Sadler may have been ordained later than this date, there was also a demand for Sarum materials among clerics and scholars – even after the Reformation.[79] Almost certainly Sadler would have had access to plainsong sources in order to

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73 Merbecke, *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, sig. A.ii.

74 Jenifer Raub, 'Sarum Liturgical Printing in Tudor London' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011) 376–80.

75 See Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from the Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 500; 536.

76 Morley's Polymathes (though fictional) mentions that his teacher, Master Bold, 'continuously carried a plainsong book in his pocket' (the context here implies a printed item, but plainsong books could be also be manuscript), and Morley also refers to several plainsong hymns by name; he also states that cantus firmus pieces could be created using 'anie common knowne plainesong or hymne'. See Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 120; 113.

77 It was decreed compulsory by the Convocation of Canterbury. See Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8.

78 Mary Duggan, 'Reading Liturgical Books' in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by K. Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 71-81 (72).

79 Lotte Hellinga, 'Importation of books printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before *ca.* 1520' in *Printing the Written Word: the Social History of Books, c.1450-1520*, ed. by S. Hindman (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1991), 67–70.

notate these cantus firmi himself; and, even if he did not, Sir Edmund Brudenell's library at Deene Park had several Sarum volumes.[80]

Apart from Byrd's *Aspice Domine* and Tallis's *Dum Transisset*, four other works in Mus. e. 1–5 use cantus firmi, but these are not expressed in the same plainsong notations. They therefore cast doubt on whether Sadler supplied the plainsong notations himself, rather than simply copied them. Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) has a *Gloria tibi trintitas* cantus firmus in the Superius part: this is rendered in near-equal notes, but instead of utilising the *punctum*, *virga* and *plica* symbols, it is expressed in ordinary-sized breves and longae, all of which are coloured black (this is another instance of apparently redundant coloration without mensural significance, since this work is in ¢, and therefore coloured notes cannot be imperfected). Nor are any of the breves ligated – even though it would have been perfectly possible to incorporate some, as Sadler has done in some other voice-parts for this work. This cantus firmus to Sadler's *In nomine* therefore bears little resemblance to the version of *Gloria tibi trintitas* chant which was printed in *AS1520*.

Figure 9.45 Sadler's rendering of the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* chant in his *In nomine* on fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1, and the same chant as given in *AS1520,* fol. 2r.



There are precedents for colouring cantus firmi entirely in black: in some keyboard sources it is used to distinguish chant from the other parts (which are written in black void

[80] Sir Edmund Brudenell's large library did not contain a single item of polyphony, but it did contain some Sarum (and even Roman) volumes: Sadler, whom we know was loaned books by Brudenell (as pointed out in Chapter 3), would have had access to these too. See Nicolas Barker (ed.), *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2006), nos. 1125, 949, 1124, 1467, 1122 and 1120.

notation) – usually when the plainsong is in the mean;[81] but this can only work in score. If it was Sadler's intention to discriminate between chant-based and composed parts by using colour, then this would have been only visible to the users of only Mus. e. 1. Possibly the size and colour were aesthetic considerations: a succession of black notes white paper makes for a striking effect, especially when flanked by Sadler's sage and gold helix banderoles (it is this piece that was once the title-page to the collection).[82] But a more promising possibility is that this cantus firmus was rendered in normal-sized breves and coloured black so that it was more clearly visible to a viol player. Sadler's *In nomine* is the only textless piece in the partbooks, and was almost certainly intended for instrumental rather than vocal performance. Since an instrumentalist generally has their instrument between them and their music, the distance between the performer's eyes and Mus. e. 1 would have been larger than that between a singer and his music. The black colouring of the notes may also have assisted players in distinguishing between note-heads that are rather closely spaced.[83]

Figure 9.46 Fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1, showing the cantus firmus to Sadler's *In nomine* (no. 3) in normal-sized black breves and longs, and its contrast with inscriptions and banderoles.



81 In the Mulliner book, for instance, a keyboard transcription of Taverner's Benedictus uses black breves for the *Gloria tibi trinitas* plainsong, apparently to distinguish it from the composed parts (which are black void). The application of this black notation is by no means consistent, however, since elsewhere in the same volume cantus firmi are rendered in void breves (as in Redford's *Felix namque*). See Willli Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 12; John Caldwell, 'British Museum Additional Manuscript 29996, Transcription and Commentary', part 2 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1969), 67.

82 See Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 285.

83 With the exception of the keyboard sources already cited, it seems that only two works – Sheppard's *Filiae Jerusalem* and *Spiritus sanctus procedens II* in *GB-Lbl* 31390 – use coloured notation for their cantus, in duple time firmi. This apparent misuse of coloration requires further investigation.

Sadler has not used special notation (whether of the plainsong style of entirely black, as above) for other cantus firmi works in the partbooks, but this was almost certainly because these parts present special challenges. Both Aston's *Te Deum* (no. 8/v) and Taverner's *Ave dei patris* (no. 12/ix) use the *Te Deum* chant; but in both cases it is rendered in complex rhythms, including in *perfect modus* (as mentioned already), and as very long notes.[84] These cantus firmi would therefore have been entirely unsuitable – perhaps even impossible – for rendering successfully in the same plainsong notation as is found in Byrd's *Aspice Domine* or Tallis's *Dum transisset*.

The third work which quotes chant is Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi), which uses the *tonus lamentationum* in the Superius part. This cantus firmus is far more straight forward: even rendered as it is in void notation, the similarities between it and the Sarum version of this chant as it appeared in *AS1519* is obvious.

Figure 9.47 The opening bars of the Superius part to Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi), on fol. 48r of Mus. e. 1, and as printed in *AS1519,* Temporale, fol. cxcixr.



The difficulty with rendering this part as plainsong, however, is that Parsley makes use of dotted values and rests. Dotted values were used in some plainsong notations, but measured rests

[84] Taverner's *Ave dei patris* (no. 12/ix), apart from the instances of perfect modus, uses the mensuration signs ϕ𝔠 ¢𝔠· See Hugh Benham (ed.), *John Taverner: Votive Antiphons*, EECM, 25 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 169.

were not.[85] It might have been possible for Sadler to re-notate this uppermost part in both plainsong and mensural notation (as Dow did on one occasion in his volumes),[86] but not all Elizabethan copyists opted for this solution. Therefore Sadler's deployment of different notations for the cantus firmi in Mus. e. 1–5 may have been governed by practical considerations: he makes use of plainsong-style notation for cantus firmi that are rendered in equal or near-equal notes; he uses ordinary sized notation, coloured black, perhaps for the easier reading of a viol player; and he retains mensural notation for more challenging chant-based vocal parts that would not have lent themselves readily to notation as plainsong.

Directs

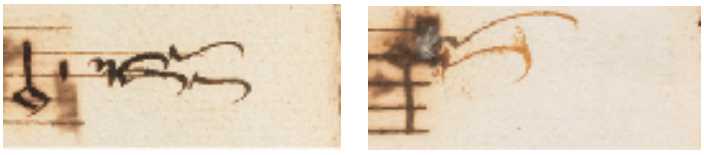
Almost all of the staves in Mus. e. 1–5 end with a direct that indicates the next note to be sung on the new stave; the only staves which do not are those on which a piece finishes. Most of the directs are in their correct positions. Those that appear before a change of clef indicate the next pitch to be sung in terms of the *new* clef; therefore these directs are not misplaced, but were probably intended to assist singers in negotiating a (sometimes) unexpected clef change.

Figure 9.48 The direct used on fol. 4r of Mus. e. 3, Byrd's *Aspice Domine* (no. 1) at the end of stave 4 (C4 clef) shown in conjunction to the start of stave 5 (with its altered C3 clef).



Very occasionally a direct was entered on the wrong stave line or space. Sometimes an incorrect direct has been erased and a replacement issued in its place (these erasures are clearly visible), but others have been reissued without erasing. The fact that some erroneous directs were erased and others not may suggest that they might have been provided by different hands.

Figure 9.49 Corrections to the directs on stave 1 of fol. 34r of Mus. e. 2, without erasing the erroneous direct, and the erasure to the initials direct and its subsequent reissue on stave 3 of fol. 12v of Mus. e. 3.

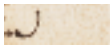


[85] The *punctus additionis* is very occasionally used in sixteenth-century strene notation to make dotted notes. See Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music*, 156 and 160.

[86] In his copy of Tallis's *[Candidi] facti* sunt, for instance, Dow expresses the cantus firmus in black full notation, mixing elements of both chant-like black breves, partly grouped into neumes (and some with strenes), but with mensural values. See *GB-Och* Mus. 987, no. 21; and Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, 321.

Although almost all of the directs in the partbooks are accurate, their shape is subject to change. Each begins with a mordent-like device that indicates the pitch to they which pertain, but the tail that follows varies. There are seven principal types of direct.

Figure 9.50 The seven styles of direct used in Mus. e. 1–5.

Description	*symbol*
a curved stroke	
a curved stroke, punctuated with a dot	
a curved stroke with a mordent-like device at the end	
a curved stroke with a mordent-like device at the end, punctuated with a dot	
a curled bracket with a peak at the centre	
a short tick	
a straight stoke (similar, but less curved, than the first)	

David Mateer has already drawn attention to the variety of different direct styles that are found in Mus. e. 1–5, writing that they may assist in determining the chronology by which the partbooks were copied. The full account of Mateer's observations can be found in his 1979 article, but the short version of his hypothesis is that:

- directs change during Fayrfax's *Ave Dei Patris* (no. 9/vi), and between Johnson's *Ave Dei Patris* (No. 13/x) and Tallis's *Salve intemerata* (No. 14/xi) in all five volumes; these changes suggest that 'the process of compilation was not an uninterrupted one';
- by the end of White's *Manus tuae* (no. 29/xxv) the direct style has changed again;
- directs change again somewhere between the start of Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/29) and Tallis' *Absterge Domine* (no. 35/xxxi);
- the same form of direct found between Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/xxix) and Tallis' *Absterge Domine* (no. 35/xxxi) are also found at the beginning of Tavener's *Western Wind* Mass; (no. 40), suggesting that this work may have been copied at the same time.[87]

The changes of direct in the partbooks are in fact more complicated than this. In the first few works from Tye's *Miserere* (no. 4/i) onwards, directs take the form of a mordent-like oscillation accompanied by a curved stoke on the right-hand side, sometimes – but not always – punctuated with a dot (the same directs are used for nos. 1–3, even though these works were added *after* the initial collection of 35 motets was complete). Then, at the start of Fayrfax's *Ave dei patris* (no. 9/vi) the direct changes to a stroke with a mordent-like device at either end, but only in Mus. e. 1 and Mus. e. 2. The previous form of direct remains in force in Mus. e. 3, and the change in Mus. e. 4 and Mus. e. 5 occurs during – rather than at the start of – *Ave dei paris* (no. 9/vi).

[87] See Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 5–7. The item numbers Mateer cites have been modified to refer to both the sequence and Roman number of each work.

The next change of direct style is unanimous, and occurs in Tallis' *Salve intemerata* (no. 14/xi): here the direct is a curled bracket with a peak at the centre. This remains in force up until Tallis's *Dum transisset* (no. 22/xviii), where the original form of direct returns (a mordent followed by a stroke), except in Mus. e. 1, which has a simple and pronounced tick. This tick in Mus. e. 1 is short lived, since the original form of direct returns in the next piece in that partbook, Johnson's *Domine in virtute* (no. 23/xix).

Thereafter, changes in direct style are clearer. The tick form returns in all five partbooks at Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 33/xxix), and the original mordent-like form of direct, followed by a stroke, resumes at Byrd's *Ne irascaris* (no. 36/xxxii). The short tick direct then returns for Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40) in all four volumes (there is no copy of the work in Mus. e. 4, since this is a four-part work), but this direct alternates with the original style of direct in Mus. e. 2, 3, and 5, but not in Mus. e. 1, where the short tick direct is used until the end of that volume.

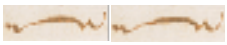
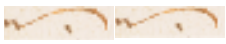
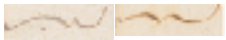
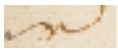
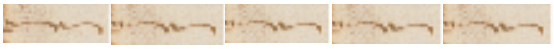
The fact that changes of direct are not consistent between copies of a single work suggests that they are to be distrusted as indicators of chronology: a direct can change within in a single voice-part of a single piece, and only in one partbook – even though this voice-part may be copied in the same ink throughout. This problem is exemplified in the Mus. e. 3 copy of Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* (no. 10/vii), where on fol. 19v the directs take the form of a curled bracket. On the fifth stave, however, the direct changes to a short tick; this lasts for one stave only, since on the next page, fol. 20r, the style resorts to the curled variety. A similar occurrence is found in the Mus. e. 4 copy of Aston's *Te Deum* (no. 8/v): on fol. 14v, the style of direct is a curve punctuated with a dot; but on the stave three, a curled bracket direct is used. Again, the direct returns to its previous form on the next stave.

Figure 9.51 An anomalous extended tick direct used on the 5th stave of fol. 19v, Mus. e. 3; and an anomalous peak direct used on the 3rd stave of fol. 14v, Mus. e. 4.



These various styles of direct, apart from suggesting that Sadler had no 'house style' of direct for his partbooks, may indicate the involvement of more than one pair of hands.

Figure 9.52 General plan of direct styles used in Mus. e. 1–5 (an 'or' is used to show that two direct styles fluctuate within a certain section of works; otherwise directs remain in force until a different style is depicted).

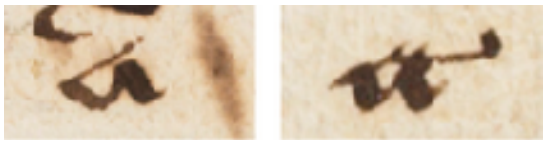
No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
1	Byrd	*Aspice Domine*					
2	Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	or	or	or	or	or
3	Sadler	*In nomine*					
4/i	Tye	*Miserere mei*					
5/ii	Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*					
6/iii	Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*					
7/iv	Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*					
8/v	Aston	*Te Deum*					
9/vi	Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*					
				or			
10/vii	Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*					
11/viii	Clemens	*Job tonso capite*					
12/ix	Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*					
13/x	Johnson	*Ave Dei patris*					
14/xi	Tallis	*Salve intemerata*					
15/xii	Aston	*Gaude virgo mater*					
16/xiii	van Wilder	*Aspice Domine de sede*					
17/xiv	Parsley	*Conserva me*					
18/xv	Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*					
19/xvi	Tallis	*lncipit Lamentatio*					
20	Tallis	*Lamentations*					
21/xvii	White	*Lamentations*					
22/xviii	Tallis	*Dum transisset*					
23/xix	Johnson	*Domine in virtute*					
24/xx	Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*					
25/xxi	Parsley	*Lamentations*					
26/xxii	White	*Miserere mei*					
27/xxiii	White	*Exaudiat te*					
28/xxiv	White	*Domine non est exaltatum*					
29/xxv	White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*					
30/xxvi	Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*					
31/xxvii	Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*					
32/xxviii	Tallis	*Salvator mundi*					
33/xxix	Byrd	*Attollite portas*					

34/xxx	Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*	
35/xxxi	Tallis	*Absterge Domine*	
36/xxxii	Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	
37/xxxiii	Taverner	*Mater Christi*	
38/xxxiv	Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*	
39/xxxv	White	*Justus es Domine*	
40	Taverner	*Western Wind*	End.
41	W. Parsons	*Good fellows must go*	or or or
42	Anonymous	*Cony skines*	
43	Ferrabosco	*Musica laeta*	

Corrigitur marks

Few partbooks contain marks that attest to the fact their copies have been checked for correctness.[88] Sadler's volumes, however, do contain a number of symbols that appear to be *corrigitur* marks: marks that were entered at the end of a piece to indicate that it was checked against its exemplar for accuracy.[89] These marks take the form of a small 'a', but with an otiose ligature protruding towards the right (they are therefore quite different to the lowercase 'a' that is found in the underlay). The precise term that this symbol represents is uncertain, but possibly it is a contraction for the Latin word 'audire' (to hear), or one of its derivatives.[90]

Figure 9.53 Comparison of a lower-case letter 'a' from fol. 41r of Mus. e. 1, and a *corrigitur* mark on fol. 43r of Mus. e. 1.



Corrigitur marks appear in a number of positions. Some have been placed in the right-hand margin, next to the stave on which a piece concludes; others are located on the stave itself (where space permits), or below it. Not all of the marks are immediately obvious, however, since

88 One partbook that contains several is *GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 1464, which on fol. 17v (the end of Fayrfax's *Ateterne laudis lilium*) has the words and 'true & good', and on 77r (the end of White's *Miserere*) the words 'examyned trewe'. Additionally. *GB-Ob* MS Mus. d 212-216 has 'probatum' ('proved') at the end of some pieces.

89 These marks are unlikely to have been added to show that works were *sung* though for correctness, since they appear next to works that contain some errors – in particular Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40).

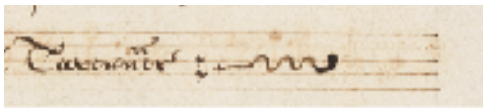
90 The word audit is derived from a Latin word 'audire' (to hear), and harks back to the days when accounts were read out and checked for the sake of accuracy (the 'a' mark is certainly not a 'c', for corrigitur). Alternative possibilities are 'auditum' ('heard'), or 'affirmatum' ('assured').

some give the impression of a superscript 'a' belonging to an ascription. In almost all cases, however, the ascriptions in question are not lacking any letters.

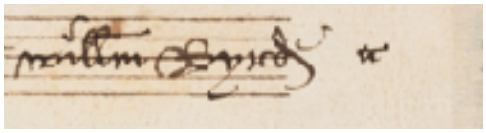
Almost all of the *corrigitur* marks have been entered in exactly the same ink as the musical text they accompany: this suggests that they were added soon after a piece was copied, and from the same batch of ink; the only exception is the mark on the Mus. e. 5 copy of Byrd's *Ne irascaris* (no. 36/xxxii), which is in red. Only in one piece – the Mus. e. 2 copy of Byrd's *Domine praestolamur* (no. 2) – has a mark been entered twice. This may show that the person responsible for entering these marks was a little over-zealous in checking this particular work (if this is indeed what the marks represent). Unlike other features of the partbooks, however, these marks appear to have been added by the same person.

Figure 9.54 Specimen *corrigitur* marks in Mus. e. 1–5.

fol. 74r, Mus. e. 3
(on stave, in proximity to ascription)



fol. 6v, Mus.e . 1
(beside stave, in marin)



fol. 20v, Mus. e. 2
(on stave)



fol. 4v, Mus. e. 2
(duplicated: both on-stave and in margin)



Some *corrigitur* marks are now almost invisible, since they have been partially or entirely obscured by banderoles in which certain ascriptions are accommodated. Although this clearly shows that banderoles were added *after* the *corrigitur* mark had been written (see below), some of the marks are consequently extremely difficult to see. Some works also lack *corrigitur* marks entirely: why these works were not checked and others were is a mystery; also unknown is why some works have *corrigitur* marks for one or more of its constituent voice-parts and not for others (see Appendix).

Figure 9.55 Detail to fol. 17r of Mus. e. 1 showing where the banderole of an ascription has obscured the *corrigitur* mark.



If these marks do indeed show that Sadler's copies were checked for correctness, then it would explain why his copies are, by and large, good and viable: almost every piece is free from major errors. But *corrigitur* marks are also found next to a few pieces that are corrupt. Perhaps the most defective of these is Taverner's *Western Wind* Mass (no. 40): although the version in Mus. e. 1–5 is more accurate in terms of pitch and rhythm than that in the Gyffard partbooks (the only other complete source for the work), it is not 'convincing or reliable enough for an edition to be based exclusively or even predominantly on it'.[91] This work nevertheless concludes with a *corrigitur* mark at the end of all four of its voice-parts (these come at the end of the setting, rather than at the end of each individual movement). These marks may tell us more about Sadler's exemplars than his copying. It would seem that a copy can be made perfectly well from an exemplar, and allocated a *corrigitur* mark, but this does not mean that the exemplar itself is perfect.[92] Therefore a *corrigitur* mark next to a work in Mus.e .1–5, while it may show that it was checked by whoever copied it, does not guarantee that it is error free.

Ascriptions

Almost all of the 43 pieces in Mus. e. 1–5 bear ascriptions: the only work which lacks them entirely is the anonymous *Cony Skines* (no. 41). Some pieces lack ascriptions in up to two volumes, however: it may have been intended that these ascriptions would be entered at a later date.

Figure 9.56 Works in Mus. e. 1–5 which lack ascriptions.

No.	***composer***	***work***	***volume(s) missing ascription***
1	William Byrd	*Aspice Domine*	Mus. e. 4
2	William Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	Mus. e. 4
27/xxiii	Robert White	*Exaudiat te*	Mus. e. 5
28/xxiv	Robert White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Mus. e. 4; Mus. e. 5
29/xxv	Robert White	*Manus tuae*	Mus. e. 2; Mus. e. 4
36/xxxii	Wiliam Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	Mus. e. 1
41	[anonymous]	*Coney skins*	all

[91] It was for this reason that Hugh Benham produced a conflation of the work as it is transmitted in Mus. e. 1–5 with that of the Gyffard partbooks for his *EECM* edition. See Benham, *John Taverner: Four and Five-Part Masses*, 145.

[92] In the Eton choirbook, *corrigitur* marks are found next to works that contain errors, even though they may have been accurately copied from their respective sources. This manuscript may have been intended to serve as an aide-memoire for experienced singers, however. See Magnus Williamson, 'The Eton choirbook: its institutional and historical background' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1997), 80, 373.

All of the ascriptions are terminal: they appear at the end of the work to which they pertain. Where space permits they are accommodated at the right-hand side of the final stave of piece; otherwise they are placed on an unused stave or staves directly beneath the stave on which the piece finishes. Only where a piece ends on the final stave of a folio, and when there is no room at the right-hand edge of this stave, is an ascription accommodated at the lower margin of a folio, or in the right-hand margin.

All of the ascriptions name a single composer,[93] and all are absolute.[94] Some begin with the letters 'q', 'qd' or 'quod' – meaning 'which', probably short for 'quod fecit' (which [the named person] made'), and most composers are addressed as Mr or master. In the Gyffard Partbooks, Mr is used for White's compositions only after he had received his BMus degree from the University of Cambridge in 1561,[95] but this is not the case in Mus. e. 1–5: Philip van Wilder is styled as Mr or Master, yet he is not thought to have held any degrees. Only Fayrfax and Tye are referred to without exception as 'doctor'.[96]

The spelling of names in ascriptions varies considerably, even within a single piece (Robert White is spelt variously as Roberde Whiygte, Robert Whyghte, Robert Whight; Hugh Aston is spelt as 'Aston', 'Ashton' or "Asshton', for instance). Nor are forms of address standardised. Two composers are referred to only by their christian names: Philip van Wilder is referred to as Master or Mr 'Phillups' [sic.] (a mode of address that may have its origin in court documents, in which he is variously referred to as 'Phillip of the Chambre', or as 'Mr. Phelips');[97] Alfonso Ferrabosco [I] is referred to in the partbooks simply as 'Alfonso'.[98]

Compared with the partbooks of Robert Dow, Sadler's volumes contain little in the way of biographical information about composers. The chief exception is the ascription to Morley's *Domine, non est exaltatum* (no. 34/xxx) in Mus. e. 3, which has the words 'Thomas Morley aetatis suae 19 anº domini 1576', thus suggesting the year 1557 for his birth. This is the only source which allows his year of birth to be conjectured.

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93 In Baldwin's partbooks, Taverner's *O splendor gloriae* is ascribed to 'mr iohn tavernar et doc tye', but this dual ascription survives nowhere else. See *GB-Och* 979–83, no. 28.

94 In Baldwin's partbooks, the unusually tentative ascription 'mr [Robert] Parsons as some doe say' is used for *Credo quod redemptor meus vivit*. See *GB-Och* 979–83, no. 132.

95 Mateer *The Gyffard partbooks I*, i. The archives of Trinity College, Cambridge, also show that White was styled 'Mr' only after he had been awarded that degree.

96 Fayrfax supplicated for a MusD from Cambridge in 1504 and a DMus from Oxford in 1511; Tye supplicated for a MusD from Cambridge in 1545; therefore these ascriptions do not assist in dating the partbooks. See *AC*, persons FRFS500R and TY536C.

97 See H. C. de Lafontaine, *The King's Musick* (London: n. p., 1909), 7, and Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 178. 'Phillip' and 'mr Philips' are used in the Dow and Baldwin partbooks respectively. The copy of *Plangete vivos* (a contrafactum of van Wilder's *Aspice Domine)* on fols. 3v–5r of *GB-Ob* Tenbury 1464 refers to him as 'Philipes the Italian'.

98 Dow uses 'Alfonso ferabosco'; Baldwin uses 'mr alfonso' for his *Lamentations*.

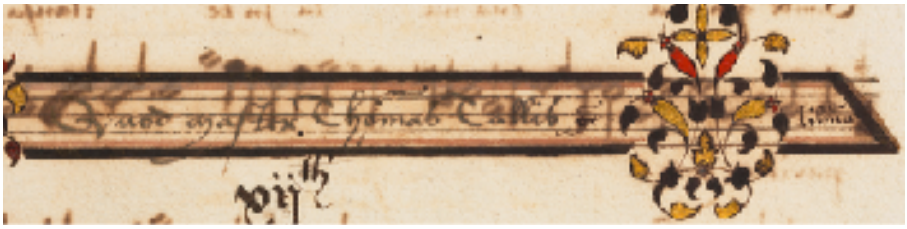
Figure 9.57 The ascription to Morley's *Domine, non est exaltatum* on fol. 60v of Mus. e. 3.



Robert Johnson's name is sometimes suffixed with the word priest (spelt variously as 'prest', 'Prᵃeste', 'Preste' or 'P[re]ste'): this distinguishes him from the Robert Johnson (*c.*1583–1633), composer and lutenist of the late Tudor and early Jacobean eras, and confirms that he is Robert Johnson (*c.*1500–*c.*1560), the Scottish priest who fled to England before the (Scottish) Reformation in 1560.[99] Robert White is styled as a 'Bacheler of Musicke' several times, but only once as a 'master of musicke': this must be a reference to White's career as a church musician (there was no master's degree in music in the sixteenth century). Since this ascription comes after the date of 1568 on fol. 34v of Mus. e. 3, but before the date of 1574 on fol. 57r in Mus. e. 3, this may refer to White's tenure at Westminster Abbey, where he worked from 1570. Since White died in November 1574, this ascription may also have been copied before then.[100]

The copy of Tallis' *Absterge Domine* (no. 35/xxxi) in Mus. e. 2 has the additional information 'Mʳ thomas tallis : gentleman of the queenyes majesties chappel 1576' – an ascription which can only have been entered *after* Tallis was admitted as gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. The earliest document naming him as such is a lay subsidy roll of 1543/4;[101] therefore this ascription also does not help in dating the partbooks. A similar reference also comes in short form: the word 'Ge[n]tilma[n]' is suffixed to Tallis' name in the Mus. e. 1 copy of his *Salve intemerata* (no. 14/xi). It has been added in a different ink, which implies that at least one ascription was supplemented with additional information after the main one had been entered.

Figure 9.58 Ascription to Tallis' *Salve intemerata* (no. 14/xi) on fol. 29r of Mus. e. 1.



99 See Kenneth Elliott, 'Johnson, Robert (i)', *Grove Music Online*. The later Robert Johnson (*c.*1583–1633) was in any case born too late to be represented in Mus. e. 1–5. Sadler, however, may simply have copied this epithet from his exemplars.

100 White was Master of the Choristers at Ely Cathedral from 1562, Chester Cathedral from 1566, and Westminster Abbey from 1570. He died in 1574: though this event is not mentioned in Mus. e. 1–5, news of it clearly reached Sadler, since the words 'Master Robert Whight Bacheler of Musicke cuius anime propicietur deus, 1591' appear on fol. 44v of the Braikenridge manuscript (the year cited is a partbook date, not a date of death).

101 Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates*, 9.

In contrast with some other sources,[102] only one piece in Mus. e. 1–5 is misascribed, though this has gone hitherto unnoticed. *Job Tonso Capite* (no. 11/viii) is ascribed to 'Thomas Criquillion' (*c.*1505–*c.*1557) in all five partbooks, but it was composed by Jacobus Clemens non Papa. Sadler was not alone in misascribing this work: the same error appears in Tenbury 1464 (the only other manuscript source for this piece),[103] and some continental publications, which were printed in Clemens' lifetime, misattributed it to Crequillon or to Cristobal Morales.[104] These erroneous ascriptions in Mus. e. 1–5 were evidently recognised as incorrect, since, in all books but Mus. e. 5 they have been inked over in order to delete them (this is not show-through).

Figure 9.59 Erroneous ascriptions to Thomas Crecquillion for Clemens' *Job Tonso Capite* (no. 11/viii).

fol. 23r, Mus. e. 1



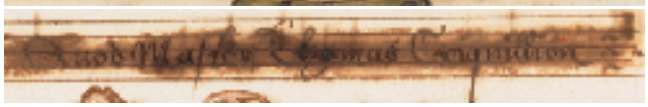
fol. 22r, Mus. e. 2



fol. 22r, Mus. e. 3



fol.19v, Mus. e. 4



fol. 20r, Mus. e. 5



Two other ascriptions in the partbooks also appear to have been deleted, but for different reasons. One, to 'Mr William Byrde' was written originally in secretary script; but this has been over-written (for no obvious reason) with a checked pattern in a red ink; a replacement, 'Master wyllyam byrde', has been issued in a red *textualis*.

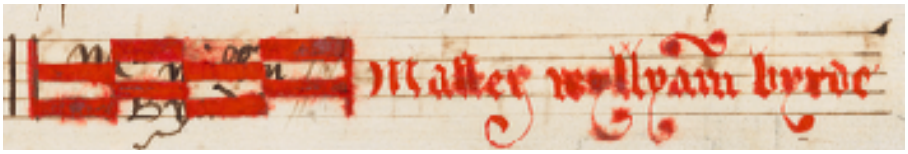
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[102] Baldwin, for instance, ascribes Hollander's *Dum transisset* to Lassus; Lassus' *Ubi est Abel* to Patrick Douglas, and John Mundy's *Lamentations* and *Aedes nostra* to his father, William Mundy. Possibly these errors match with those of his exemplars, but one ascription, that for Byrd's *Dum transisset*, was altered to John Strabridge by Baldwin himself. See *GB-Och* 979–83, nos. 28; 52; 167b; 32; and 11. Joseph Kerman has suggested that Baldwin may have 'cared less about niceties of attribution than about amassing as many compositions by his celebrated colleague as possible'. See Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 58.

[103] See fol. 70r of *GB-Ob* Tenbury 1464.

[104] For further details see Martin Ham, 'Thomas Crecquillon in Context: A Reappraisal of his Life and Selected Works', vol. 1 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Surrey, 1998), 131, 148–79.

Figure 9.60 Fol. 66r of Mus. e. 3, with a similar script but not identical script, also in red,



A similar occurrence is found on fol. 54r of Mus. e. 5, at the end of Byrd's *Attolite portas* (no. 33/xxix). Here, an ascription was incorporated onto a black dais, ornamented with flamboyant floral designs. Around this dais are the words 'master wyllyam byrde'; but a lozenge at the base of the dais, now coloured black, seems to have borne the same words. Although now illegible, the original inscription is discernible if the colours of the folio in question are manipulated in the digital image.

Figure 9.61 Ascription to Byrd on fol. 54r of Mus. e. 5, showing the blacked-out ascription and its replacement.



An ascription to the Mus. e. 3 copy of Sadler's own *In nomine* (no. 3) also appears to have been erased or blotted away. This is visible on stave 5, and gives the letters 'Jhns' – presumably for 'J(o)h(a)n(ne)s' rather than 'Jhus' for 'Jesus'. The name 'John Sadler' now appears above it on stave 4; it is barely any larger than the original version: why this original ascription was erased is uncertain.

Figure 9.62 The now-faded or erased ascription 'J(o)h(a)n(ne)s' on fol. 6r of Mus. e. 3.



The scripts in which ascriptions have been entered are of particular interest. Sometimes, a decorative cursive has been used, but this exists in several permutations. Few of them can be definitively categorised: in the sixteenth century, although different sorts of script were used for different purposes,[105] scripts tended to hybridise.[106] Therefore the cursives in the partbooks show different influences. Some are reminiscent of an *anglicana* or engrossing script, or of a humanistic or even Caroline minuscule.[107] As elsewhere in the partbooks for frontispieces, endpieces, and some incipits and Latin inscriptions, a gothic-style textualis is employed. Very occasionally an ascription appears in the more ordinary secretary script – the same script used for the underlay. All of these various styles of writing suggest either that Sadler was experimenting with various script styles or that they were added by different hands. Almost all of the ascriptions appear in the same ink as the musical text they accompany, however, which tells us that the music scribe(s) and the ascription scribe(s), if they were not the same person, must have been acting in close collaboration.

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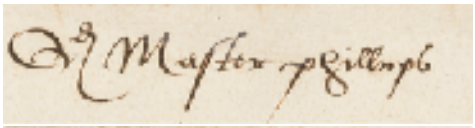
105 Court, or Chancery hand was used in medieval English law courts, and later by professionals such as lawyers and clerks; secretary hand was used originally by secretaries but later became the pre-eminent script of individuals, and was used by scriveners or scribes because of the speed with which it could be executed. See, for instance, Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson, *English Court Hand AD 1066 to 1500 Illustrated Chiefly from the Public Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 123.

106 See the number of varieties in Cyril Bathurst Judge, *Specimens of Sixteenth-century English Handwriting: Taken from Contemporary Public and Private Records* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935).

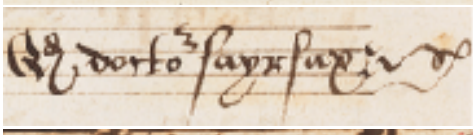
107 I am grateful to palaeographer Dianne Tillotson for engaging in correspondence about the potential traits and influences of these script types.

Figure 9.63 Specimen script types for ascriptions in Mu.s e. 1–5.

fol. 33v, Mus. e. 1



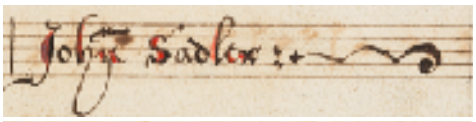
fol. 47v, Mus. e. 1



fol. 48v, Mus. e. 1



fol. 6r, Mus. e. 2



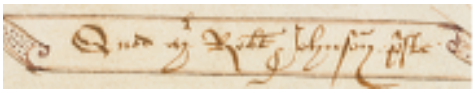
fol. 8r, Mus. e. 2



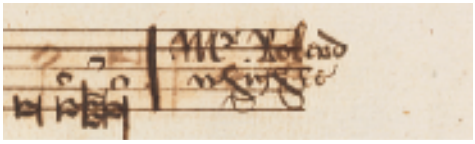
fol. 18r, Mus. e. 2



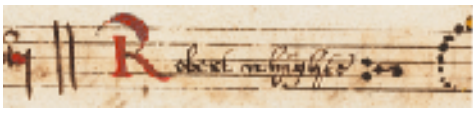
fol. 26r, Mus. e. 3



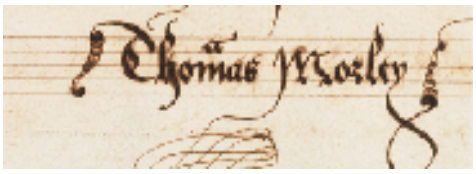
fol. 53v, Mus. e. 3



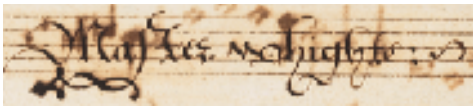
fol. 56v, Mus. e. 3



fol. 55r, Mus. e. 4



fol. 51v, Mus. e. 5



A number of ascriptions also appear in banderoles, of the same type as the extra-musical inscriptions which appear throughout the partbooks. These are variously decorated in sage, gold, red and black; many are also ornamented with pointed or curled volutes at either end. All of them are neatly executed: it seems unlikely that they were dawn by the same hand(s) responsible for the staves, or perhaps even the notation. Moreover, although the ink of the ascriptions generally matches that of the notation and underlay, the ink or paint used to produce banderoles is quite clearly different; this strongly suggests that they were added afterwards. As well as obscuring some *corrigitur* marks (as pointed out above), some banderoles have also encroached upon notation: this would seem to confirm that they were added by a somebody other than the music scribe.

Figure 9.64 Intruding banderoles for the ascriptions to Aston and Fayrfax on fols. 17r of Mus. e. 1 and 17r of Mus. e. 5.



Some second-party involvement may also be suggested by the fact that a few ascriptions are duplicated. This is to be expected with terminal gimels (where there are two endings for a work in a single volume), but duplications also occur elsewhere.[108] Occasionally an ascription has been contorted into too-small a space, and a duplicate has been provided elsewhere. This is the case in the Mus. e. 3 copy of Byrd's *Domine praestolamur* (no. 2), which has two ascriptions: one is in a secretary script, and is squeezed into the far right-hand margin of the first stave to fol. 4v. The ascription (though with different spelling) has then been reissued in a gothic textualis with exaggerated descenders, in its own banderole with pointed volutes, and decorated with dots in a criblé pattern.

Figure 9.65 The two ascriptions to Byrd on fol. 4v of Mus. e. 3: 'Birde', to the far right of the first stave, and 'master wyllyam Byrde' in the stave below.

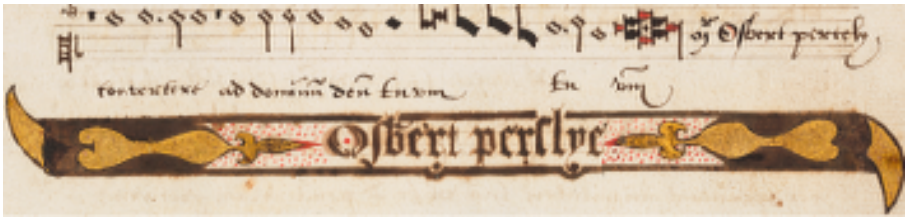


The Mus. e. 1 copy of Osbert Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi) gives his name twice: first at the right-hand side of the fourth stave, and then in stave below it, where it has room to flourish it its own banderole, and in a different script. The fact that Parsley's name appears twice

[108] See White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 39/xxxv) in Mus. e. 4, and White's *Exaudiat te* (no. 30/xxvi) in Mus. e. 4. Byrd's *Attollite portas* (no. 36/xxxii), the only work for six voice-parts has two ascriptions in Mus e. 1.

should not be construed as bestowing some special status on him: the other voice-parts for this same work in the other four partbooks only give his name once.

Figure 9.66 The double ascription to Parsley's *Lamentations* (no. 25/xxi), on fol. 48v of Mus. e. 1 (spelt first as 'Persely', then as Perslye').



Other ascriptions are also duplicated, but as small floral displays. These are usually supplementary to the terminal ascriptions; the only exception is the one on fol. 49r of Mus. e. 4, which reads 'Robert Whighte'. Again, none of these floral arrangements appear to have been provided in order to bestow any special status on composers: although White is mentioned twice, they otherwise refer to different composers (Byrd, Parsley, Johnson). Since these florals usually duplicate an ascription, they too may have also been added by another person.

Figure 9.67 floral displays bearing the names or initials of composers.



fol. 28r, Mus. e. 1



fol. 40r, Mus. e. 4



fol. 49v, Mus. e. 3



fol. 4r, Mus. e. 3



fol. 49r, Mus. e. 4

10. THE ORIGINAL BINDINGS: *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21

In contrast with some other Elizabethan partbook sets that are handsomely bound in calf and even gold-tooled,[1] Mus. e. 1–5 originally had much humbler bindings made from a manuscript choirbook. Almost all of these original bindings were destroyed when the partbooks were re-bound (see Chapter 14), but ten fragments from the external covers were retained and incorporated into the Russia leather bindings that replaced them (it is these bindings that survive with the partbooks, though they are now detached). What was kept was heavily trimmed in order to be accommodated onto the sides of the Russia boards: today the fragments measure approximately 200 x 260mm, but originally they must have been as large as the average dimensions of a partbook folio (208 x 280mm). As well as destroying important musical text, this re-binding entirely disposed of the spines to the original bindings, and with them the mechanisms that held the choirbook covers together and secured them to the text-blocks. Also gone is any evidence of the original sewing structures.

The ten fragments have since been removed from the Russia bindings and bound under a separate shelfmark of *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21;[2] but what remains is enough to indicate the likely format of the original choirbook, and permit some speculation about the original volume's contents, function and likely provenance – even though the sides of the fragments which faced outwards (in both the original and the Russia bindings) are dirty, scuffed and almost illegible. Evidence both on the surviving fragments and on the five partbooks also informs hypotheses about how the choirbook folios were fashioned into bindings for Mus. e. 1–5 – bindings that may have been home-made and produced by Sadler himself.

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1 See, for instance, the partbooks of Dow and Baldwin, as well as the various volumes that were produced for Edward Paston. All of these are handsomely – and presumably expensively – bound in calf and feature gold-tooled, blind-tooled initials or other decorative features. In the case of Dow's volumes it may be that their bindings were provided by their next owner, Giles Thompson (1553–1612), Dean of Windsor, since each cover bears the initials G T in gold. But these bindings must have been expensive nevertheless. See Milsom, The Dow Partbooks, 10.

2 When the fragments were removed from the Russia bindings, they were marked at their top left-hand corner with references of '1^a, 1^b' to '5^a, 5^b', evidently to indicate from which partbook they were taken; they were also foliated sequentially from 1–10 in pencil at the top right-hand corner. At some point later, however, they were re-arranged and re-foliated, and have since been bound according to this new foliation under the separate shelfmark of *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21. It is in terms of this latest foliation that the fragments are referred to here. For further information on these re-foliations and re-bindings see Chapter 14.

The original choirbook

Sadler's original bindings were cannibalised from a large manuscript choirbook, made of parchment.[3] The ten fragments which survive contain the remnants of two settings of a Gloria and a Credo. The first, referred to here as setting A, is for six voice-parts, and seems to have occupied five consecutive openings of the original volume (it is the Credo of setting A that can be partially transcribed, including a short section in a fully fledged six-part texture at the words 'Qui propter nos homines').[4] The second setting, referred to here as setting B, may have been for the same number of voice-parts,[5] but so little of it survives that it is impossible to be sure.[6]

Possibly these four works belonged to two entire four-movement Mass settings (i.e. Gloria, Credo, Sanctus with Benedictus and Agnus dei, though without a Kyrie);[7] or they might have belonged to a volume of paired Gloria–Credo settings (the two setting are certainly linked, since the text of one Gloria proceeds straight on to a Credo).[8] But the actual position of these works in the original choirbook, and whether they survived alongside any works in that same volume, cannot be determined: no further fragments of the same choirbook can be located;[9] nor is any of the music the fragments contain known to survive elsewhere.

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3 When the partbooks were listed for sale in 1860 by Thomas Kerslake, he described their then bindings as of 'russia with vellum sides' (referring to the choirbook fragments, which were at the time glued to the Russia boards); the same words were used by J. E. Cornish in his listing of April 1885. It was only when the partbooks had been sold to the Bodleian Library in 1885, however, that Falconer Madan recorded (correctly) that the bindings were 'brown russia leather with parchment leaves of partly erased late fifteenth century sacred music let into the sides, eighteenth century.' For further details on these sellers and their descriptions see Chapter 12.

4 See bars 77–82 of the Credo transcription in the Appendix.

5 Anselm Hughes reckoned that the fragments contain one or more settings of the Gloria and Credo, but he was unsure as to whether they were for five or six voice-parts. See Anselm Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library 1951), 43.

6 This setting appears only on fragments 4 and 9; see below.

7 In the Sarum rite, the Kyrie was usually troped with additional text proper to specific occasions; therefore it was not usually set polyphonically in festal Masses at this date. See Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 10.

8 Gloria-Credo pairs were sometimes placed in their own volume rather than with other Mass movements in their correct liturgical sequence, since the Gloria was not sung in lent, and the Credo was sung only on Sundays and feast days. See Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 171.

9 Choirbook fragments in a similar, though not identical, style include *GB-Lbl* MS 70516, fol. 80 – a folio in a modern guard book, with a single-voice setting of three sections of the Passion prayer *Adoro te domine ihesu criste*; and *GB-Ob* MS. Lat. liturg. a. 6 – fol. 113 of which also contains early sixteenth-century English Mass music. See Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 154.

Figure 10.1 Table of contents for *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21.[10]

Fragment	*work*	*setting*	*text*	*clef*
1r	Credo	A	(Et incarnat[us]) … [c]rucifix[us] etiam pro nobis sub [Pontio Pila]to, passus et sepult[us] est	C4
			[E]t incarnat[us] est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria [Virgine. Et ho]mo fac[tus]…	F4
1v	Credo	A	[…dext]era[m] Patris. Et iterum venturus est cu[m] gl[oria judicare] vivos et mortuos, cuj[us] regni no[n] erit finis. Et in Spiritu[m Sanctum Domin]u[m], et vivificante[m], qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre, et [Filio simul] adoratur et conglorificatur, qui locutus	[C4?]
			[E]t ascendit in caelu[m], sedet ad dextera[m] Patris. Et iteru[m] venturus est cu[m]	[F3?]
2r	Credo	A	de deo vero Genitu[m] no[n] factu[m] consubstantiale[m] Pa[tri] per que[m] o[mnia] facta su[n]t Qui p[ro]pt[er] nos ho[m]in[es] et p[ro]pter nostram salu[tem descen]dit de celis	G2
			[the same part appears duplicated, but upside down, at the lower half of this fragment; the reason for this are not at all clear]	
2v	Credo	A	Crucifix[us] etia[m] pro nobis sub Po[n]tio Pi[la]to passus, et sepul[tus] est	[C2?]
3r	Credo	A	Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum [verum de Deo vero] Genitu[m] no[n] factu[m] co[n]substa[n]ti[alem] P[a]tr[i per quem omnia facta sunt] Q[u]i p[ro]pt[er] nos ho[m]ines et p[ro]pt[er] nostra[m] salute[m descendit de c[e]lis	[C2?]
3v	Credo	A	[Patrem omnipoten]te[m], facto[rem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium, Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum.] Et ex P[at]re natu[m] a[n]te o[m]ni saecula.	G2
4r	Gloria	**B**	g[loriam] tua(m) Domine Deus Rex [cae]lestis Deus Pat(er) o(m)nipo(tens) Domine Fili Unigen[ite, Iesu Christe],D[o]m[in]e De[us,] Agnu[s] Dei, Fílius Patris	[C4?]
			et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis … gratias agim[us] tibi p[ro]pter magna[m] gloria[m] tu[am Dómine De]us rex caelestis, Deus Pater o[m]nipote[n]s.D[o]m[in]e Fili Unigenite	F4
4v	Gloria	**B**	[Illegible: Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis, Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus]?	C4
5r	Credo	A	[E]t incarnat[us] est de Sp[irit]u Sancto ex maria Virgine. Et [homo] factus est. Crucifix[us] etiam pro nobis [sub Pontio Pilato,] passus, [et sepultus] est.	G2
5v	Credo	A	[E]t iteru[m] venturus est cum gloria,[judicare vi]vos et mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis.	[C2?]

[10] A dotted line delineates between one voice-part and another on the same fragment; a longer dashed line delineates between a recto and a verso. Each setting of the Gloria or Credo pair is labelled A or B, in order to denote to which setting it belongs. Round parentheses denote an incipit under a block of rests; square brackets are used for editorially expanded contractions or missing initial letters, as well as probable clefs which have been lost due to trimming.

Fragment	*work*	*setting*	*text*	*clef*
6r	Credo	A	co[n]substantiale[m] P[at]ri, per que[m] o[mn]ia facta [sunt.] Q[u]i p[ro]pt[er] nos [homine]s, et p[ro]pt[er] nostra[m] salute[m] descendit [de caelis.]	[C4]
			[Deu[m] de Deo, lume[n] de lumine, Deu[m verum] de Deo vero. Genitu[m,] no[n] fac[tum, consubstanti]ale[m] P[at]ri, per que[m] o[mn]ia facta su[n]t. Q[u]i pr[o]pt[er] nos ho[m]ines, et p[ro]pt[er] n[ost]ram	[F3]
6v	Credo	A	[in]visibiliu[m.] Et in [umum] [Do]minum Jesum Christ[um,] Filiu[m] Dei unigeni[tum.] Et ex P[at]re natu[m] a[n]te o[m]ni [saecula.]	C4
			[P]atrem omnipotentem, factore[m] coeli et	F4
7r	Credo	A	vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta su[n]t. Q[u]i p[ro]pt[er] nos ho[m]i[n]es, et p[ro]pt[er] n[ost]r[a]m salute[m descendit de cae]lis	C4
			[saecul]a. Deu[m] de Deo, lume[n] de lumine, Deu[m] veru[m] de Deo ve[ro. Genitum] no[n] factu[m,] consubstanciale[m] P[at]ri, p[er] que[m] omn[ia facta sunt.] Q[u]i p[ro]pt[er] nos ho[m]ines, et p[ro]pter nostra[m] salutem descend[it de caelis.]	F4
7v	Credo	A	[illegible: Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est?]	[C4?]
			[Et incarnatus] est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria V[irgi]ne. Et homo [factus] est. Cruci[fixus]…	F3
8r	Credo	A	[Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et ter]r[a]e, visibilium omnium, et invisibilium. Et in umum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium [Dei unigenitum.] Et ex Patre natu[m] ante om[n]i s[a]e[cula.]	F4?
8v	Gloria	A	tu solus Sanctus tu sol[us Dominus, tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Chris[te cu[m] S[an]c[t]o Spi[ritu]…	G2
9r	Credo	**B**	[P]atre natu[m] a[n]te omni sa[e]cul[a. Deum de De]o, lume[n] de lumine, Deu[m] veru[m] de Deo ve[ro. Genitum,] non factum, [co[n]substantiale[m] P[at]ri, p[er] que[m] om[ni]a fac[ta] su[n]t. Qui p[ro]pt[er] nos ho[m]in[es] et p[ro]pter [nostram salu]te[m] descen]dit de c[a]elis	
			[Patrem omnipoten]te[m], factore[m] c[o]eli et terr[a]e, visibili[um]	
9v	Gloria	**B**	[illegible]: Qui sedes ad dextram Patris, O miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus	C4
			[illegible]: Qui tollis peccata mu[ndi]…	[F4?]
10r	Credo	A	[Pa]trem omnipotentem factore[m] c[o]eli et terra[e, visibilium omnium, et invisibiliu]m. [Et in] un[um] Dominu[m] Jesu[m] Chrystum, Filium Dei unige[nitum. Et ex] Patre natu[m] ante omni sa[e]cul[a.]	F4?
10v	Gloria	A	[Q]ui sedes ad déxtera[m] Patris, miserére [no]bis. Quónia[m] tu sol[us] Sanc[tus, tu solus Dómin]u[s,] tu sol[us Altíssimus, Iesu Christe, cum Sancto Spíritu: in glória Dei Patris.] Amen	C4

The notation of the fragments is black void with full black coloration; most note-heads are diamond-shaped (larger than those of Mus. e. 1–5). The underlay is executed in a *textualis* that incorporates numerous hairlines and ornamental finials. Both the underlay and notation are written in the same ink, and seem to have been copied by a single unidentified scribe. There are no decorative initials, but indentations (of varying lengths) were made to the first stave of each voice-part in preparation for their addition. Some staves appear to have been batch ruled, since unused staves are found on some folios; others appear to been custom ruled, since some folios have no redundant staves at all – even when a voice-part utilises only two staves.[11] Evidence of vertical frame ruling is to be found on fragment 9r; but no horizontal frame ruling is discernible.

Because so little of the choirbook survives, and because what is left has been so heavily trimmed (not a single folio can be pieced together in its entirety), it is difficult to establish the dimensions of the original volume; but some surmise is possible. The staves, which seem to have been drawn without a rastrum,[12] average about 15mm in height. Each stave is separated from the next by distance of about 20mm, and each voice-part is allocated a bank of no more than five staves. Each of these stave-banks is separated by an interstitial distance of up to 40mm.[13] Margins at the foot of a folio appear to have been as large as 60mm;[14] those at the head, though not one survives intact, may have been 20mm. Since a folio seems to have borne three stave-banks, with three voice-parts on each folio (15 staves in total), it would seem that the choirbook may have had a total height of 625mm.

The width of the choirbook is more complicated, since not a single stave survives at its full length. Almost all of an indented stave appears on fragment 6r, however, which measures 240mm, even though this stave lacks its clef (though its signature flat is present). The distance between the start of a stave and its signature flat is usually some 10mm;[15] therefore an indented stave, before trimming, may have had a length of about 250mm. Indentations are also irregular in size, though they appear to average 30mm in length. Therefore an original *unindented* stave may have measured 280mm. Some gutter margins survive on fragment 9 (on both sides), and these measure 40mm; although no fore-edge margins are intact it is possible that they were of the same size. Therefore a double-page spread of the original choirbook may have measured as much as 720mm. With possible dimensions of 625x720mm, this was perhaps one of the largest choirbooks that was produced in England in the first half of the sixteenth century. It would certainly have been large

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11 Compare, for instance, fragments 3v, 6r and 7r.

12 See the irregular stave-ends on fragment 8r, for instance, which prove that they must have been drawn line-by-line (others are neater, however, as on fragment 6r).

13 Compare, for instance, fragments 6r and 6v, which has a space between voice-parts of about 50mm, and fragment 7r, which has a space of only 30mm;

14 See fragment 2v, for instance.

15 See, for instance, those on fragment 1r.

enough to be laid on a lectern, in order for a group of perhaps a dozen or more singers to perform from it simultaneously.

Figure 10.2 Comparison of the dimensions of post-1500 choirbooks (in mm).[16]

Choirbook	*Date*	*opening width*	*opening height*	*stave width*	*Stave height*
GB-Ob Mus. e. 21	1530s?	720	625	240?	18
Caius	1520's	740	520	390	20
Eton	1520's	600	430	330	17
Lambeth	1520's	670	470	370	37
GB-Lbl 70516Z	1520s	500	350	280	15
GB-Lbl 30520	1513	570	420	340	17
GB-Cu Nn.6.46	1509	600	450	350	19.5
Choirbook 2b	1500s	600	400	310–30	17

The disposition of the voice-parts in the choirbook is also difficult to assess. The Bassus part appears beneath the second Contratenor part on several fragments,[17] and these parts can be allocated to the rectos of the original choirbook because of the succession of the text from one side to the other. The same is true of the Tenor and second Contratenor parts on a verso – even though the word 'Verte', which instructs singers to turn the page, must have appeared on both the versos and the rectos of a double-page opening.[18]

The placement of the Triplex and Medius parts is less easy to judge, since not one of these parts appears in conjunction with another on the same fragment. Fragment 2r seems to show some underlay of another part above the Triplex part, however, and fragment 5r also shows the remains of a letter-form at its head. Moreover, it is these highest voice-parts that have the largest margins beneath them – some of which are as much as 60mm. Such a generous amount of space suggests that no other parts were written beneath them.

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16 Information taken from Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook*, 22, but with revisions to the dimensions of Mus. e. 21. Stave widths are in terms of a folio, and not an entire opening.

17 On fragments 1r; 4r; 6v; 7r and 9v.

18 For instance, fragment 6 has on its present verso the words '[in]visibiliu[m.] Et in [unum] [Do]minum Jesum Christ[um,] Filiu[m] Dei unigeni[tum.] Et ex P[at]re natu[m] a[n]te o[m]ni [secula.]', and on its recto the words '[D]eu[m] de Deo, lume[n] de lumine, Deu[m verum] de Deo vero' and 'et p[ro]pt[er] nostra[m] salute[m] descendit [de celis]'. Therefore this fragment recto must originally have been a choirbook verso – even though it is clearly marked 'verte' (this is often written only on rectos, since it is this leaf in an opening that requires turning).

Figure 10.3 Fragment 5v, bearing a Superius part with a G2 clef but with signs of a part above it, and with a large margin at the foot, in this case of 50mm.



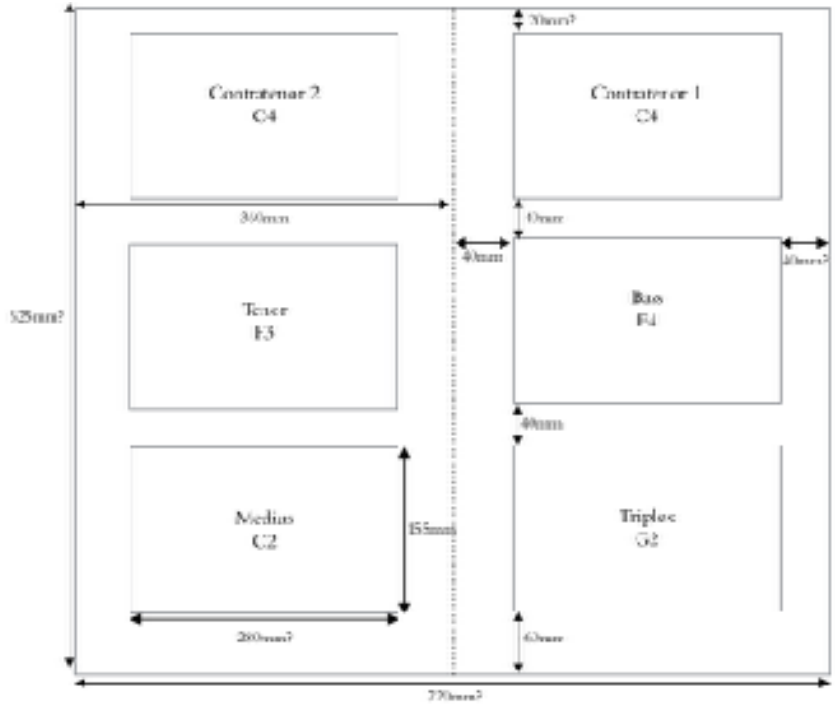
It would therefore seem that the original choirbook had the Triplex and Medius parts not at the head of a page, as they are in some other choirbooks,[19] but at the at the foot. Above these highest parts were probably the Tenor and Bassus parts, and above these the Contratenor parts. This arrangement makes absolute sense, since it would have allowed for the youngest singers to stand at the foot of the choirbook so that they could see their parts more easily (the taller men could have stood behind them). Useful though this layout configuration appears to be, it is only found in one other extant choirbook fragment.[20]

The observations concerning the dimensions and format of each folio, and the apparent distribution of voice-parts outlined above, suggest that a double-page opening of the original choirbook may have looked something similar to the following diagram.

19 In the Lambeth choirbook, for instance, the Triplex part usually appears at the top of the verso; the Medius appears at the lower half of a verso and continues onto the top of the recto. The boys who sang these parts, although they were probably positioned on the front row of the singers, may have needed to stand on a dais so that they could see their music clearly. See David Skinner 'Nicholas Ludford (c.1490–1557): a Biography and Critical Edition of the Antiphons, with a Study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgons, and a History of the Caius and Lambeth choirbooks' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1995), 137.

20 *GB-Oas* MS SR 59.b.13. For a short description of the layout of this volume, see Bray, *Robert Fayrfax: Masses Tecum Principium* and *O quam Glorifica*, x.

Figure 10.4 Possible dimensions of the choirbook and its layout [not to scale].



A *Veni creator spiritus* cantus firmus

One of the Credo settings in the fragments, Credo A, clearly uses the plainsong *Veni creator spiritus* (or the identical *Salvator mundi domine*) as a cantus firmus. This appears in what must be the Tenor part, although it is transposed down by a second. The Gloria that may have been paired with this setting may have had the same cantus firmus, though none of this part (which was probably also the Tenor) survives. A transcription of parts of this Credo is to be found in the Appendix.

Mass movements based on the *Veni creator spiritus* plainsong are important, since only two English works are known to utilise it: a late fifteenth-century anonymous Mass in the Strahov Codex,[21] and Dunstaple's *Veni sancte spiritus*, which paraphrases the *Veni creator spiritus* chant in the Discantus, and later in the Tenor (no settings specifically labelled *Salvator mundi domine* are known to be extant,[22] although there are organ settings of *Salvator*, as well as some vocal settings of the hymn beginning with the second verse, 'Adesto nunc propitius').[23] In the Sarum rite, the *Veni creator Spiritus* was sung at Terce at Whitsunday,[24] and on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday during the Octave of Pentecost.[25] The same tune, as *Salvator mundi Domine*, was used at Compline from Christmas Day to the octave of Epiphany, on double feasts and through their octaves from

21 *CZ-Ps* MS D.G.IV.47. I.

22 Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 199–200.

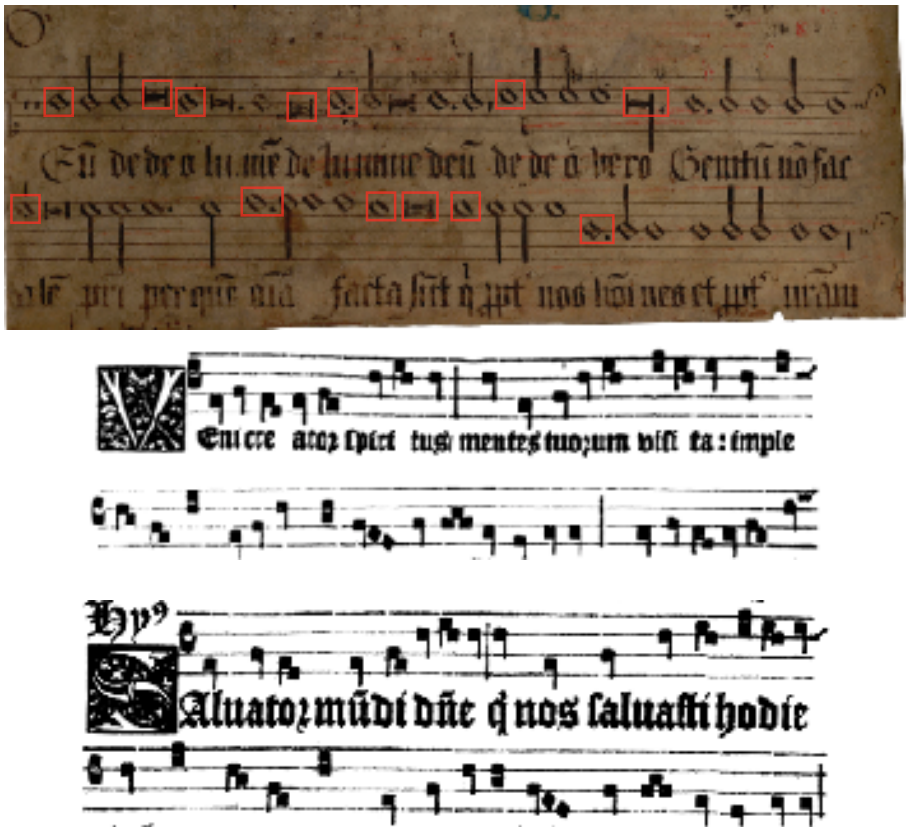
23 For keyboard setting of *Salvator mundi domine* see http://www.rism.info/; for vocal settings of 'Adesto nunc propitius' (one each by Sheppard and Tallis) https://eecm.tcd.ie [accessed 12 February 2017].

24 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 3, civ.

25 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 3, cxi. It was also sung at the ordination of priests and at the consecration of bishops, and could also be said while vesting for Mass.

Epiphany to the First Sunday in Lent, and from Whitsuntide to Christmas eve.[26] The utility of a *Veni creator / Salvator domine* Mass is not likely to have been limited to days on which these plainsongs were proper, however, since such a policy would have severely restricted its use.

Figure 10.5 Part of fragment 6r, showing the *Veni creator spiritus* cantus firmus in the Tenor part, transposed down by a second, and the same chant as printed in *AS1519,* fol. 260v–261r, and *AS1519*, psalterium, fol. :147v,[27] at the usual pitch.



A Fotheringhay choirbook

For the reasons already outlined in chapter 2, Sadler's most likely source for this choirbook was Fotheringhay College: when Sadler arrived there in March 1548, the college had ceased to function. Fotheringhay certainly had books and manuscripts of its own: a college statute specifically legislated against the removal of books from the college precincts,[28] and an inventory that was made of the college's possessions on 31 March 1546 lists a series of 'quire' books including eleven antiphoners, and a mass book for the high altar; a further inventory of the

[26] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 3, ciii; cvii.

[27] *Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, politissimis imaginibus decoratum,* Pars Hyemalis (Paris: impressum…per Wolffgangum hopylium, impensis Francisci Byrckman, 1519).

[28] Statute 30 of the college dictated that '…no book, ornament, jewel, or vestment of the college to be sold, pledged, or removed from the college, under any pretext whatsoever, save books requiring binding, or anything to be repaired…'. See Stevenson and Thompson, 'The statutes of the college of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', 289.

'chauncell' mentions twelve 'grayles covered with lether', 'a boke of Venite' in parchment, 23 processionals, four psalters, and a mass book of pricksong for the Lady Mass, as well as other items.[29] When the college was dissolved, it seems likely that it dispersed some of its chattels; and Sadler, who arrived just as the college was being vacated, would have been well placed to take possession of any unwanted or superfluous material. Therefore the ten fragments of Sadler's original bindings may be all that survives of Fotheringhay's music library: what little music can be transcribed from these fragments may offer a glimpse of the college's pre-reformation repertoire, now lost, that was once sung by its choir of eight clerks and thirteen choristers. Perhaps it was for the convenience of these choristers that the Triplex and Medius parts appeared at the bottom of each opening.[30]

Veni creator spiritus Credo: style, date & composer

Exactly which composer(s) wrote the music of the fragments is uncertain: if there were ever any ascriptions in the choirbook, then they have not survived. What can be transcribed of Credo A (see Appendix) gives the impression that the composer was English, however, and the fact that it came from an English choirbook is confirmed by the presence of double-lobed flats, which signal English provenance.[31] The music, which bears no date of composition or copying, has been dated by others either to the late fifteenth century,[32] or to the start of the sixteenth century – roughly contemporary with the Eton choirbook;[33] but the music seems less florid than the rather idiosyncratic style that is typical of music in that choirbook. The base notation of the fragments is also black void, whereas in Eton it is black full; this may be indicative of a later rather than earlier date within the first half of the sixteenth century. The musical style in fact seems more redolent of the 1530s or 1540s.

The music lacks any instantly recognisable melodic or rhythmic hallmarks of a particular composer,[34] but, if the Fotheringhay connection is correct, then Hugh Aston would be an

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29 See Serjeantson and Adkins, *A History of Northamptonshire*, 170–7; Thompson, 'The statutes of the college of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', 241–309; and A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, vols. 7, 14, 21 (Horncastle: Lincolnshire Record Society, 1914–29). There were also 93 books in the college library; these are unlikely to have included volumes of sacred music since they were chained to the desks.

30 At Fotheringhay boys could be admitted up to the age of nine if they knew elementary plainsong; slightly older boys (*mediocris etatis*) could be admitted up to the age of 12 if they were fully instructed in chant. See Thompson, 'The Statutes of the College of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', 272, and Roger Bowers, 'Choral Institutions within the English Church, 1340–1500', vol. 2 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1975), 4056.

31 Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*, 154.

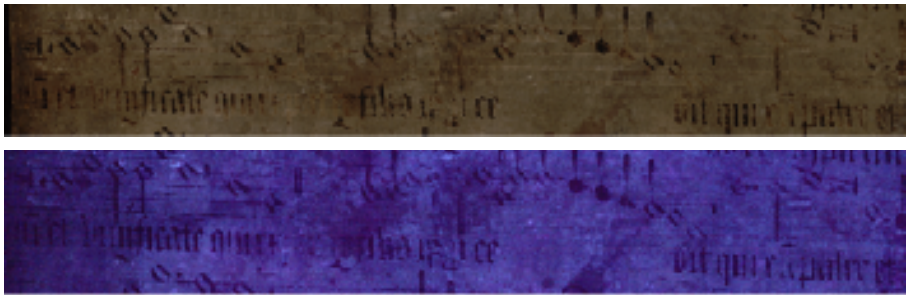
32 Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian* Library, 43; *CCM,* vol. 2, 290.

33 Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 58; Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook*, 75.

34 I am grateful to Drs. Benham, Bowers and Sandon for entering into a lively email debate surrounding authorship and date, without positive outcome.

obvious candidate. However, the *Veni Creator* Credo does bear some text that was not usually set by early sixteenth-century composers – not, at least, by English ones. Fragment 1v, part of Credo A, includes the words 'Et in Spiritu(m) Sanctum Domi(n)u(m), et vivificante(m), qui ex Patre Filioque procedit' ('And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son'). These words were often omitted from English Credo settings.[35] Whatever the reasons for the inclusion of these words here, this Credo deviates from the English convention in including them.[36] Moreover, neither of Aston's extant Masses set these words: this may make Aston less likely as the composer in question.[37]

Figure 10.6 Section of fragment 1v, showing the words 'et vivificante(m), qui ex Patre Filioque procedit', visible under ultraviolet light.



Use as bindings: the covers and their part-designations

Sadler presumably had no use for the parchment choirbook which may have come from Fotheringhay, since it was cut up to serve as covers (assuming he did not inherit it already in pieces).The recycling of unwanted material for this purpose was common in the sixteenth century: a parchment binding would have been lighter than a hard-binding, and easier to transport; using up unwanted material would also have eliminated the cost of commissioning a hard-binding.[38] Music manuscript would also have been appropriate as covers for music manuscript partbooks.[39] The ten fragments that survive each served as front covers in the original

35 Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 13.

36 See, for instance, Fayrfax's *Regali* Mass, which omit the words 'Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos', and 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas. Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum'. His *Albanus* Mass also has this latter omission. See Roger Bray (ed.) *Robert Fayrfax III: Regali, Albanus and Sponsus amat sponsam*, EECM, 53 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2010) 33–40; 117–8. Taverner's Masses also have similar omissions.

37 In both Aston's *Videte manus meas* Mass *Te Deum laudamus* Massses the text in the Credo proceeds from 'cuius regni non erit finis' straight to 'et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen'. See TCM 10, pages 20 and 63.

38 J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 285–319.

39 There was clearly a vogue for binding music books and manuscripts with music towards the end of the sixteenth century: the London publisher Thomas East, for instance, imported and sold continental music specifically for use in cheap bindings (information supplied by John Milsom in private correspondence). Other items were also bound in material suitable to their contents. See Mirjam Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society* (London: British Library, 1998), 53.

bindings. This is why one side of each is dirty and scuffed, and the other much cleaner and easier to read: one side faced inwards towards the partbooks, and the other faced outwards, exposed to soiling.

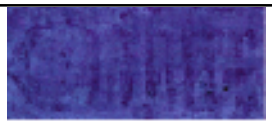
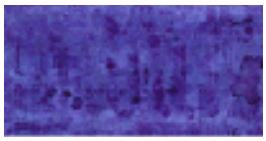
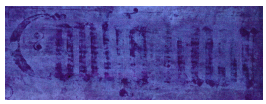
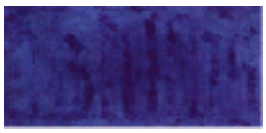
Figure 10.7 Fragment 1, showing a Contratenor and Bassus part of a Credo on its legible recto, and the verso of the same fragment, which is now almost illegible.



As pointed out in Chapter 7, five of the fragments show part designations: these appear to have been copied in a large majuscule script,[40] in red ink. Because each designation is discernible under ultraviolet light, they can be allocated with certainty to their original positions at the front of each of the five partbooks. The five remaining fragments cannot be similarly restored, however, since they offer no clues as to which partbook they once backed.

[40] Their lettering was probably similar to that of the endpiece that is currently at the rear of Mus. e. 1, which has the words 'John Sadler' copied in a large red script.

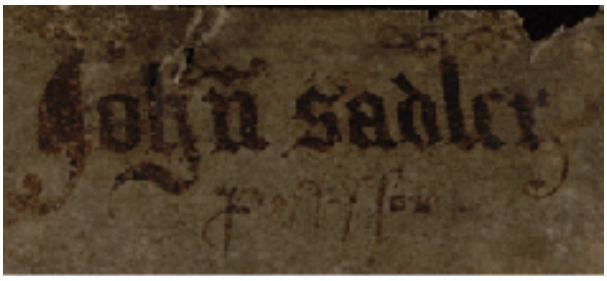
Figure 10.8 Original part-designation to Mus. e. 1–5, visible under ultraviolet light

Partbook	**designation**	*original lettering*	*fragment*
Mus. e. 1	Triplex		3v
Mus. e. 2	Medius		10v
Mus. e. 3	Contratenor		6v
Mus. e. 4	Tenor		8v
Mus. e. 5	Bassus		9v

The choirbook covers were clearly provided in Sadler's lifetime, and not by some later owner of the partbooks, since his name is written on fragment 2v. This is inscribed with the words 'Joh[a]n[nes] Sadler', in a medium-sized gothic script, executed in heavy black ink; beneath it is the word 'Possessor', in a smaller secretary style, rather rubbed (the inscription lies perpendicular to the left-hand edge of the fragment). As pointed out already, this is the only known example of Sadler's handwriting outside his partbooks, and this choirbook, or rather its fragments, are the only other musical item he is known to have owned.

But whether it was Sadler who made these bindings is less clear. Although Sadler probably acquired the choirbook from Fotheringhay (if it did indeed come from there), the task of turning it into bindings may have been performed by somebody acting on his instructions, even though no instructions to a binder survive.

Figure 10.9 John Sadler's ownership mark, reading 'Iohn Sadler | possessor', perpendicular to the lower left-hand edge of fragment 2v.



Turn-ins and their offsets

Some evidence of how the choirbook covers were constructed is to be found on the partbooks themselves. Offsets from choirbook material are located on the leaves which were originally the very first and very last of each text-block: it is these leaves which were eventually turned into decorative frontispieces and endpieces (offsets are found only at the rear in Mus. e. 4, since this volume is missing a decorative leaf at its front). Today, some of these offsets face inwards: this supports the hypothesis that some endleaves in the volumes are today in the wrong position, since only when they faced outwards (as a recto at the front of a partbook, and a verso at the back) could they have come into contact with choirbook material. The following leaves bear offsets:

Figure 10.10 Choirbook offsets in Mus. e. 1–5.

Partbook	*folios*	*text*	*setting*	*clef*
Mus. e. 1:	5r	[illegible]		
	76v	fact[orem]	Credo	C4
		[pas]sus, et sep[ultus]	Credo	F3
Mus. e. 2:	3v	[illegible]		
	76v	[illegible]		
Mus. e. 3	3[bis]r	[illegible]		
	76v	[illegible]		
Mus. e. 4	[leaf lost]			
	67v	[illegible]		C2
Mus. e. 5	3r	[illegible]		
	70v	[illegible]		C2

These offsets were formed by turn-ins: choirbook material that was folded over from the covers at the edges. Music is discernible in some of these offsets, but they are generally so very faint that it cannot be read. Only on two leaves can offset text be positively identified: fol. 76v of Mus. e. 1 has the letters 'fact' of factorum (this must be from a Credo, since these letters are not in the Gloria), as well as 'sus et sep' (also from a Credo). On other leaves clefs are legible, but the notation generally is not. Some of the turn-ins are clearly skewed.

Figure 10.11 Fol. 76v of Mus. e. 2, showing skewed offsets of choirbook material.



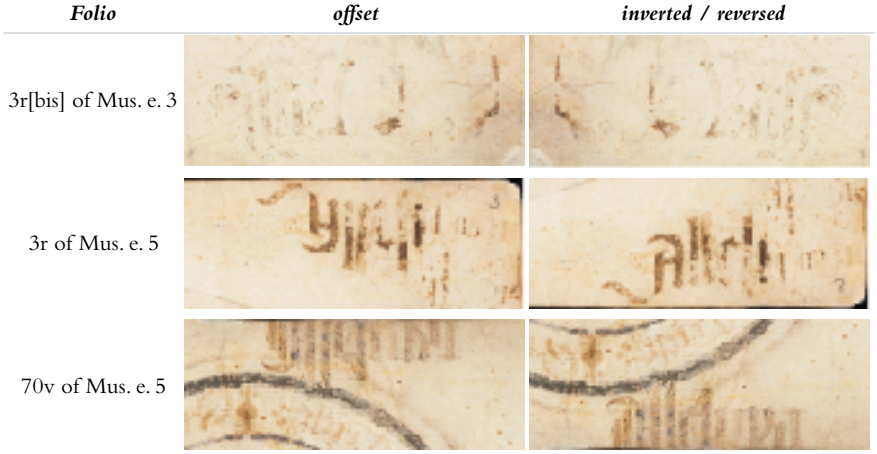
Although much of their music is illegible, some other inscriptions are discernible in these offsets. One of these is the part-designation 'Tenor': this is clearly visible on vol. 76v of Mus. e. 1. Therefore the original choirbook must have had explicit part-designations, even though these do not survive on any of the fragments themselves.

Figure 10.12 Fol. 76v of Mus. e. 1, with a mirror image, showing the part-designation 'Tenor'.



Other inscriptions are also to be discerned on other leaves. One appears to be the part-designation 'Bassus', although it is much more faded than the example show above; possibly this was accompanied by some decorative notation. Two other inscriptions appear to read 'alleluya'.

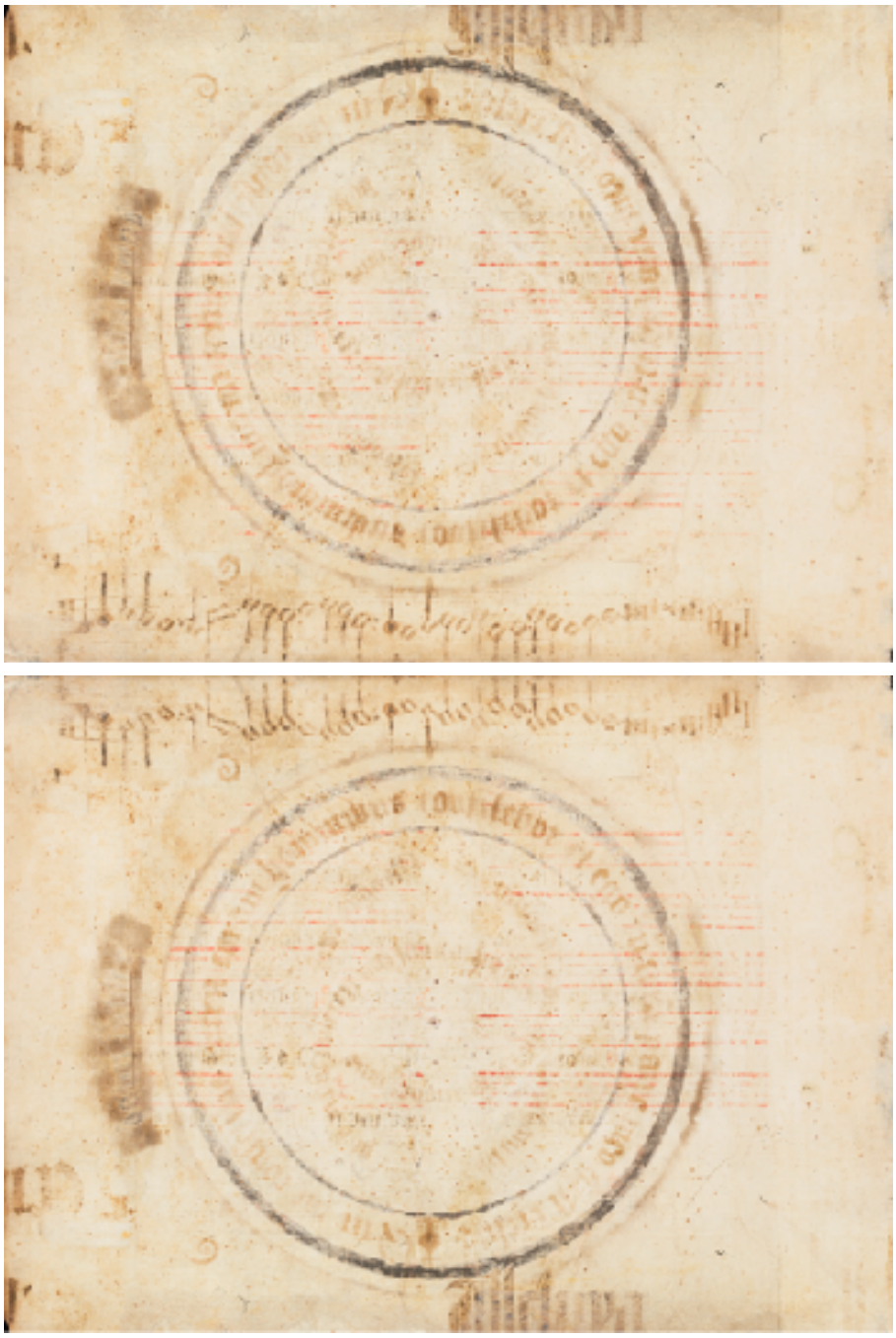
Figure 10.13 Inscriptions on offsets, revealing the words 'Basse', 'Allu[ya] and 'Alleluya'.



Rather than being the remains of extra-musical inscriptions (of similar type to those found in Mus. e. 1–5), the presence of the word 'Alleluya' is telling. As already stated, the inventory of Fotheringhay's goods made on 31 March 1546 lists a series of 'quire' books including eleven antiphoners, and a mass book for the high altar; but a further inventory of the 'chauncell' mentions twelve 'grayles [graduals] covered with lether', 'a boke of Venite' in parchment, 23 processionals, four psalters, and a mass book of pricksong for the Lady Mass. Since the word Alleluia does not belong to the Ordinary of the Mass, it is possible that its offsets in Mus. e. 1–5 might be the remnants of propers – settings of the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia or Tract, Sequence, Offertory, and Communion.[41] Unfortunately the music which would have followed what was either a title for an Alleluia, or the underlay from a setting of an Alleluia to music, does not survive. In each case the words are found at the perimeter of the folio on which it is offset (assuming of course that the word was more than an aide memoire of what was to come next).

[41] See John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 131–5, 163; Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell and Magnus Williamson (eds.), *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 101–2, 120.

Figure 10.14 Fol. 70v of Mus. e. 5, and the same folio beneath it flipped horizontally, and rotated clockwise by 180º, showing the word 'Alleluya' at its lower edge.



Additional offsets

Further offsets are to be found on both the partbook leaves and on the clean (i.e. originally inward facing) sides of the choirbook fragments. These offsets are badly faded, but they nevertheless show the remnants of a medieval *textura*, in two columns, in black and red ink, with blue flourished initials and decorative pen-work. Red four-line staves are also visible, and extremely faint black plainsong notation is just discernible on some fragments. These offsets were

evidently generated by some sort of medieval service book (possibly a noted breviary?) that contained both text and plainsong. Perhaps this material also came from Fotheringhay.

These additional offsets show that the limp-parchment covers to Mus. e. 1–5 were not only made of choirbook material, but from some additional material that was integrated in order to make two-ply covers. The use of this additional material was probably intended to strengthen the choirbook covers, in order to make them more resilient.

Figure 10.15 Fragment 6r, showing offsets of black and red *textura*, in two columns, with blue initials and faint four-line stave in red; and fol. 3r of Mus. e. 3, showing faint offsets of blue flourished initials at the centre, surrounded by clearer offsets from turn-ins at the head, foot, and fore-edge.[42]



Clasps

Little else can be surmised about the structure of the limp-parchment covers because so much of them has been destroyed. But what is clear is that the covers seem to have been held closed with some sort of clasp device. The fittings of these clasps do not survive, but evidence of them is to be found on both the fragments and in the partbooks. Two impressions lefts on the decorative leaves at the front and rear of each volume were almost certainly formed by the feet of clasp devices;

[42] Since little from the choirbook offsets on the front and rear leaves of Mus. e. 1–5 can be strung together, they are not helpful for ascertaining which fragments might have serves which particular partbooks as covers.

these were presumably sewn or glued into the choirbook covers. Corresponding small perforations, through which the pin of a clasp was pushed, are also visible at one edge of each fragment. It is this edge that must originally have been the fore-edge of a cover.

Figure 10.16 Perforations to fragment 5v, through which cords, or more likely clasp pins, would once have been passed, and the impression visible on fol. 5v of Mus. e. 1.



Date and permanence

Determining at which stage the partbooks were first bound is no easy task: none of the ten fragments bear a date, though if the choirbook that was used for them did indeed come from Fotheringhay College, then Sadler would probably have been in possession of it from as early as March 1548.

It is likely, however, that Sadler had his volumes bound while copying was still in progress. Except for the disruptions already outlined in Chapter 9, the gathering structure of the volumes is fairly straightforward: the original paper is all of the same stock (with the 'A F' *raisin* watermark), and it does not seem that any additional fascicles were added to the partbooks. But the addition

of extra fascicles might well have been useful, since Ferrabosco's *Musca Laeta* (no. 43) – a work for five voice-parts – has been placed in the (albeit small) section for work for four voice-parts. The fact that both the Tenor and Bassus parts to this work appear in Mus. e. 5, since there were no leaves left at the back of Mus. e. 4, also support this hypothesis.[43] If the volumes were bound and the time this work was copied, then it would have been much more difficult to incorporate extra paper into the text-blocks.

Although an early binding would have hindered structural extensions to the partbooks, it would have offered some benefits. Loose gatherings are vulnerable to loss and damage; only when protected by a binding could the text-blocks be safely handled by performers. It is hard to imagine that Sadler copied 43 pieces of music over a period of some 20 years or more without actually singing through some or all of it. A limp-parchment binding would therefore have allowed some practical use, while ensuring that the leaves of each volumes stayed together. The clasps that appear to have been incorporated into the covers would have helped protect the partbooks when not in use.

Whether these limp-parchment bindings were intended to be permanent is a different matter. The fact that the decorative leaves at the beginning and end of each volume (except that at the front of Mus. e. 4, which is lost) originally faced inwards towards the text-blocks (as pointed out in Chapter 9) implies that they were intended to be genuine paste-downs: leaves that would have been glued onto the inside covers of the boards once finished, in order to conceal the mechanics of the bindings. But these leaves show no signs of glue whatsoever. It may be that they were never glued because it was intended that the limp binding would be temporary, and that they were to be replaced by a hard one.

The Willmott manuscript – one of the two partbooks that survive of Sadler's later copying project, dated 1591 – retains its original bindings.[44] These are hard bindings of dark brown calf, gold-tooled with rectangular frames of fillets enclosing centre-pieces. They are more luxurious, and were presumably much more expensive than the limp-parchment bindings which once protected Mus. e. 1–5. If this binding was provided by Sadler (it does not bear his name, although it is almost certainly Elizabethan), then it may have been envisaged that Mus. e. 1–5 would have had similar bindings, once finished. In the interim, the limp-parchment choirbook bindings would have ensured that the text-blocks were secure, rather than in unbound gatherings. Therefore they could have been more safely transported by Sadler between Oundle and Sudborough in the 1560s, 70s, and 80s, while copying was in progress.

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43 The Bassus and Tenor parts of Ferrabosco's *Musica laeta* (no. 43), labelled 'Bassus' and 'Tenor' appear on fols. 68v and 69r of Mus. e. 5, on facing pages.

44 The Braikenridge manuscript has modern bindings of cloth over boards; presumably it was originally bound in similar style to the Willmott manuscript, and this binding was lost at a re-binding. See *GB-Ob* Tenbury 1486.

Figure 10.17 The calf bindings to the Willmott manuscript (in private ownership).



PART 3:

MODERN HISTORY OF THE PARTBOOKS

11. LATER OWNERS & THEIR MARKS

Precisely how Mus. e. 1–5 came to leave Sadler's possession is not known. Sadler's will, assuming that he ever made one, has not yet been found; therefore we cannot tell to whom the volumes might have been bequeathed. The handful of people with whom Sadler may have had personal relationships, and who outlived him – Richard Hicks (*d.*1601), rector of Tansor; Richard Linacre (*d.*1617), Sadler's former Usher at Oundle and later rector of Southwick; and Ralph Wilkinson (*d.* 1609), his successor at Oundle – make no mention of the volumes in their wills.[1] If the partbooks did end up in the hands of any illuminator(s), then their identities are a mystery.

The subsequent ownership of the partbooks in fact can only be traced from the early nineteenth century, which, given that Sadler must have died sometime probably in the 1590s, if not before, leaves a gap of more than 200 years in which his volumes cannot be located. The absence of any early library stamps or bookplates in the partbooks implies that they were not in the custody of an institutional library during this period (unless these were lost when the volumes were re-bound), and it is more likely that they remained in the hands of individual collectors or booksellers. This would explain why the volumes escaped the attention of the music historians Burney and Hawkins in the eighteenth century,[2] but it might also account for their survival in the seventeenth century: perhaps it was through private (rather than institutional) ownership that the set withstood the depredations of the Civil War and Restoration.

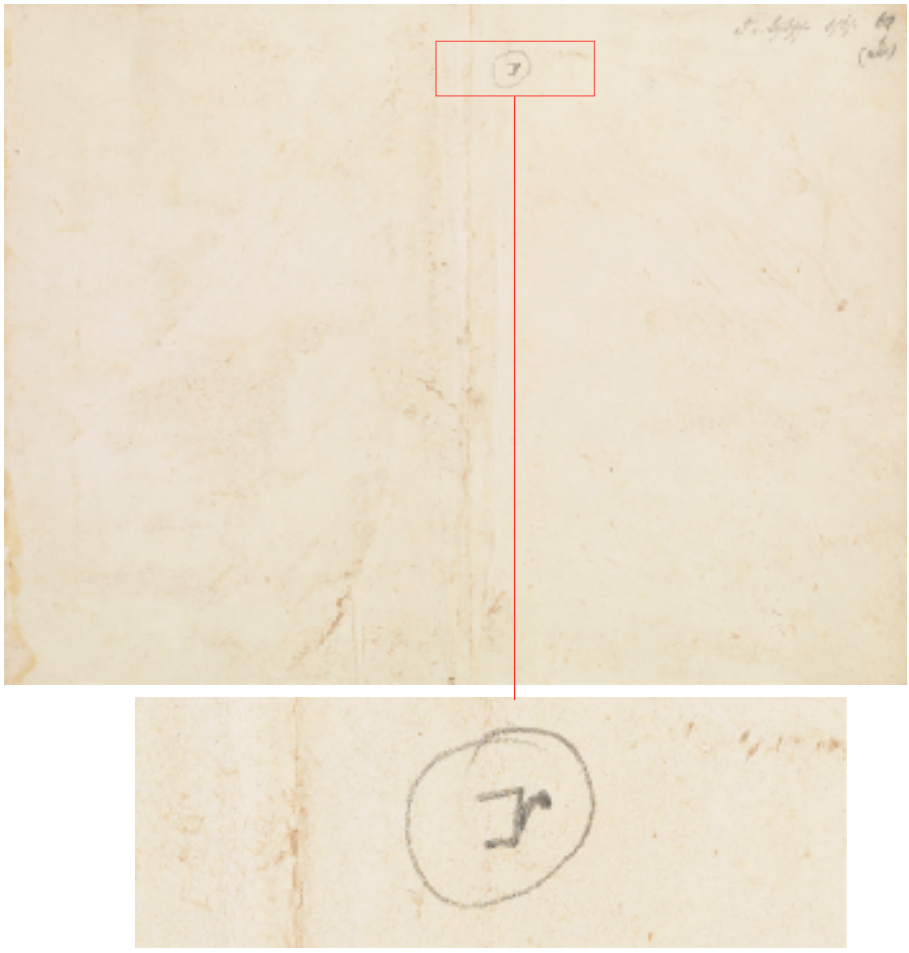
Sadly no clues as to these early custodians can be found. Mus. e. 4 does contain one unidentified mark which might pertain to an earlier owner: it sits at the centre of fol. 67r, is drawn in pencil, and is encircled.

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1 *GB-Lpro* Wills prob/11/99 (Hicks), prob/11/132 (Linacre), prob/11/115 (Wilkinson).

2 Hawkins is known to have borrowed some manuscripts from private collections: he was loaned the Mulliner Book by John Stafford Smith (1750–1836) who wrote in it 'lent to S^{r}.J. Hawkins.1774 (see *GB-Lbl* MS Add. 30513, fol. 110r). Burney had access to both public and private libraries, some of which permitted him to borrow material: he was 'liberally allowed to transcribe and make extracts from some of the most curious books' in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, whose librarian even 'permitted him to take home any part of it to transcribe or consult' at his leisure. That neither Hawkins nor Burney mentions the Sadler volumes in their respective studies implies they were not acquainted with whoever owned them in the 1760s and 1770s. See John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* 5 vols. (London: T, Payne, 1776); Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1776–1789); letter from Burney to his son, Charles Burney, dated 25 February 1781, transcribed in Alvaro Ribeiro, (ed.), *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney I: 1751–1784*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 320.

Figure 11.1 Symbol at the upper-centre of fol. 69r in Mus. e. 4 (shown both *in situ* and magnified).



This mark is probably not a letter 'r' denoting which side of fol. 69 is its recto (even though this leaf is loose and in a disturbed position): its serifs are too exaggerated. A more promising possibility is that it is the esoteric monogram, cipher or symbol of a bookseller or previous owner, perhaps recording their initials, the letters of their name, the price they paid for the partbooks, or their source of acquisition. It cannot be connected to any of the individuals that owned that partbooks from 1808 onwards, however (see below), and nor can it be linked to any collectors or booksellers that were active in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] Fol. 69 of Mus. e. 4 is also made of wove (rather than laid) paper, and is one of several such endleaves which were added to each partbook at a rebinding. The use of wove paper provides a *terminus post quem*

[3] The mark does not correspond to any known ownership marks, as surveyed in David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 1994), 12–54, and David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). The London bookseller Thomas Thorpe (1791-1851), who purchased the partbooks in 1834 (discussed below) did use single-letter price-codes; but the fact that he paid 11s. for the partbooks is difficult to reconcile with a price-code of a single letter here.

for the leaf of 1754 (the year wove paper is thought to have been invented),[4] and so the symbol must have been added to it some time in or after that year.

James Caulfield (1764–1826) and Machell Stace (1764–*c.*1833)

The first traceable owners of the partbooks are revealed in a small note at the head of fol. 3r in Mus. e 4. Hand-written in black ink though now rather faded, it states:

> This collection cost Stace £21. 0. 0. as I was informed by Caulfield who sold it to him. 1808.

'Stace' almost certainly refers to the bookseller and publisher Machell Stace (1764–*c.*1833), and 'Caulfield' to the author, bookseller, and dealer in prints James Caulfield (1764–1826),[5] both of whom operated from premises in London.

How the partbooks came into Caulfield's possession is not documented, although he was a 'constant bidder' in the sale room of Hutchins & Company, Covent Garden,[6] and his father, John Caulfield (*fl.*1675–1690), was a professional music engraver.[7] If Caulfield purchased the volumes from a fellow bookseller, then we have no way of identifying who he was. Five-volume partbook sets are listed in eighteenth-century book catalogues,[8] and some that contained the

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4 Wove paper is thought to have been invented by the printer and type designer John Baskerville (1706–1775) in 1754. See Philip Gaskell, *John Baskerville: A Bibliography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 22.

5 'Caulfield' is most likely a reference to the bookseller James Caulfield (1764–1826), and not some other member of that family. James's brother, Joseph Caulfield (n.d.), was 'a music engraver and most excellent teacher of the pianoforte', but did not enter the book trade as his brother did; Caulfield's son, also called James Caulfield (*fl.* 1820), was operating as a seller of prints and books by 1820, but was probably too young to have acquired and subsequently sold Sadler's volumes to Machell Stace by 1808 (nor does he appear to have known Stace, as discussed below). See John Thomas Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 200; Henry Tedder, 'Caulfield, James', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900,* vol. 9, ed. by Lawrence Golman (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1891), 330–1.

6 Tedder, 'Caulfield, James', 330–1. No sales records have been found for Hutchins & Company, Covent Garden.

7 As a music engraver Caulfield senior must have had access to both music and musicians, but very little is known about his work or his clients. One client was the bassoonist Robert Ashley (*d.*1805), who had some music engraved for a celebration of Handel at Westminster Abbey in 1784, but no connection between Ashley and Mus. e. 1–5 can be established, however. See Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 96, part 1 (London: John Nichols and Son, 1826), 569.

8 Partbook sets are to be found listed fairly often: for instance, a 'Church Musick manuscript, for several Voices, done by Mr. William Bird, and others' was listed in 1691 by John Playford; a 'Collection of Church Music, MSS, 5 books', was listed in 1750 by Thomas Osborne (*d.*1767) at 10s. 6d.; and a 'Collection of Church Music, 5 parts' was also listed by Osborne in 1751, again for 10s. 6d. None of the catalogue descriptions for these sets provide enough information for them to be positively identified as Sadler's volumes, however. See [Henry Playford], *A Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Musick Books…* (London: n. p., [1691], 4; Thomas Osborne, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Richard Graham …* (London: n. p., [1750]), 94 [lot no. 2764]; Thomas Osborne, *A Catalogue of the Library of Books, of the Late Dr. Abraham Hall…* (London: n. p., [1751], 73 [lot no. 2419]. For a general survey of music auctions see A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c.1600–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 130-2.

music of William Byrd appear in sales that took place just prior to 1808.[9] None of the often very brief descriptions for these items provide enough information to connect them definitively to Sadler's set, however, and it may be that any catalogues which clearly listed Sadler's volumes for sale in or prior to 1808 have not survived.

A cryptic price-code entered in pencil on the top right-hand corner of fol. 69r in Mus. e. 4, in handwriting very similar to Caulfield's, suggests that he did indeed purchase the partbooks, though it does not reveal from whom.[10] (This mark appears to be from a different pencil and presumably a different hand to the aforementioned 'r'-like symbol at the upper-centre of that folio.) It gives the number of volumes in the set, '5v', and a price-code in which numbers are expressed as letters.[11] This was originally entered as 'b bf', but has been crossed out (presumably because of an error) and replaced with the letters 'bl'

Figure 11.2 Pencil price-code at the upper-right-hand corner of fol. 69r of Mus. e. 4 (shown both *in situ* and magnified).



[9] For instance, the posthumous auction of the collection of Isaac Reed (1742-1807) lists as lot 8852 a 'Collection of Old Songs set to Music, with the Initial Letters ornamented with Drawings'. This description would fit Sadler's volumes, but cannot be linked to them with any certainty. See King and Lochée, *Bibliotheca Reediana: A catalogue of the … library of the late Isaac Reed* ([London: J. Barker], 1807).

[10] Two receipts in Caulfield's handwriting, dated 16 October 1804 and 13 October 1812, closely resemble the handwriting of the price-code in Mus. e. 4. See *US-PHf*, RBD, Engravers, box 3.

[11] Coded markings in old books and manuscripts were common in the nineteenth century for serving as a reminder to the bookseller of the price they had *paid* for an item. See Pearson, 44–45.

Both price-codes must have represented prices in pounds and shillings (rather than shillings and pence, which would presumably have been too low a cost for a set of five manuscript partbooks, given Stace's purchase price of £21); the 'bf' of the original price-code probably represents a two digit number from 10–19. Since there were 20 shillings in a pound, the 'b' is equal to 1 (a two-digit number has a maximum value of only 19). A 'b' is also a feature of the replacement price-code, which suggests that the letters 'bl' are likely to represent a price above £10 but less than £20.[12]

When Caulfield sold the volumes to Machell Stace is also undocumented. None of Caulfield's book catalogues survive in which we might hope to see Sadler's volumes listed for sale, although the two men were known to each other: Stace published no fewer than ten books with which Caulfield was involved, either as author or as editor, between 1810 and 1814.[13] The sale of Sadler's volumes might therefore have occurred privately, but no evidence survives to shed light on when it took place – suffice to say that it must have taken place in or prior to 1808 (the date of the note referred to above which records the sale of the partbooks from Stace to Heber).

It is not difficult to position Caulfield as a purchaser of the volumes. Apart from his dealings in prints he had an interest in book illustration, and he occasionally engraved music under his father's supervision, apparently becoming 'very expert' in it.[14] He must have had some degree of appreciation for the volumes. Machell Stace, although he was an established bookseller of some repute,[15] appears to have dealt mainly in puritan material;[16] his extant catalogues show that music entered his stock only occasionally. Stace's purchase of the volumes for £21. 0. 0. – a large sum in 1808 – was most likely a hefty investment made to yield a profit at re-sale.[17]

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12 The London bookseller and publisher Henry George Bohn (1796–1884) represented digits 1–9 with the letters 'BETHANKFUL'. If that were the price-code in use here, then the letters 'b bf' would represent a cost of £1. 18. 0., and 'bl' a cost of £19. 0. 0. See Peter Kidd, *Medieval Manuscripts from the Collection of T. R. Buchanan in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2001), xix–xxv.

13 A list of volumes published as a collaboration between Stace and Caulfield may be found at www.worldcat.org/search?qt=worldcat_org_all&q=james+caulfield+machell+stace [accessed 21 January 2015].

14 See the obituary for James Caulfield in See Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 96, part 1, 569.

15 Stace's 1808 catalogue was said to 'merit a snug place upon the bibliographer's shelf'. See Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania, Or, Book Madness* (London: J. McCreery, 1811), 614.

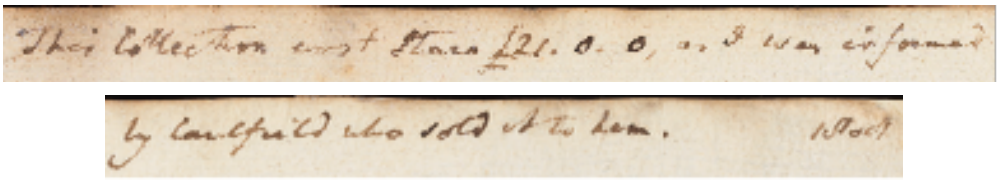
16 The puritan subject matter of Stace's stock is summarised in James Boaden, *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Various Pictures and Prints of Shakespeare* (London: Robert Triphook, 1824), 141–3.

17 According to the *National Archives Currency Converter*, £21 in 1810 would have paid the salary of a craftsman for 139 days (see http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/ [accessed 1 May 2015]). Other manuscripts sold for much less. The 'Collection of Old Songs set to Music, with the Initial Letters ornamented with Drawings', sold from the collection of Isaac Reed in 1807 for only £4 4s.; the 'Old Hall' MS was sold at the auction of the Reverend John Parker in 1813 to John Stafford Smith for a mere £1 2s.; a MS horae measuring only 5cm by 4cm and inlaid with 30 diamonds, sold from the collection of Henry Harrington in 1816 for only £19 19s. See King and Lochée, *Bibliotheca Reediana,* 400 [annotated copy at *US-DAVu* Z997.R42]; Margaret Bent, 'The Old Hall manuscript: a paleographical study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969), 7; Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music*, 26.

Richard Heber (1773–1833)

The note in Mus. e. 4 which records Caulfield and Stace's possession of the partbooks does not indicate its author, but it is in fact in the handwriting of the avid book collector and founder member of the Roxburghe Club, Richard Heber (1773–1833).

Figure 11.3 Richard Heber's acquisition note of 1808 at the head of fol. 2r in Mus. e. 4 (shown both *in situ* and magnified, vertically bisected).



Heber's acquisition presumably dates from 1808 (the date of his note), but how he came to obtain the set from Stace is not specified. The volumes are unlikely to have been acquired as an exchange because Heber typically recorded information about such transactions in his acquisition notes,[18] so it may be that he simply purchased the volumes. The partbooks are not listed for sale in any of Stace's surviving sales catalogues (though only five of these survive),[19] and exactly how much money might have changed hands for the partbooks is also uncertain. Heber presumably paid Stace more than the £21 he had previously paid Caulfield for the set, though perhaps not much more, given that Heber was aware of its previous selling price.

Heber's ownership of the partbooks is also evident from the 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' stamps that appear in each volume (they were probably added at the front of each volume, though, following disruption, the stamp-bearing folio in Mus. e. 3 is now at the rear of that volume).[20] These stamps were not added by Heber, but by Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847), a priest, biographer, and friend of Heber charged with dispersing his vast library by auction after Heber's death in October 1833. Dibdin coined the term 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' in preparation for sales (which began in April 1834), and applied them to items so that their provenance might be tracked.[21]

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18 Heber's copy of Reginmus, *Regula: Dominus quae pars* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, n.d.), now *GB-Ob* Arch. A e.37(3), is inscribed 'Exchanged with Stace, March 1808', for instance. Stace had a similar policy: his copy of the anonymous *Informatio Puerorum* ([London]: Richard Pynson, [*c.*1503]), now *GB-Ob* Mason H 35, contains the inscription 'Exchanged with Heber May 4, 1808'.

19 Machell Stace, *Catalogue of Books Offered for Sale* (London, Machell Stace, 1796; 1808; and 1812); Machell Stace, *A catalogue of curious and scarce books, tracts, manuscripts…*(London: J. Smeeton, 1807); *A Catalogue of the very Select and Interesting Collection of Printed Books and Manuscripts* (London, n. p., 1814).

20 Stamps appear in the centre of the fol. 4v of Mus. e. 1; fol. 2v of Mus. e. 2; fol. 77r of Mus. e. 3; fol. 1v of Mus. e. 4; and fol. 2v of Mus. e. 5. Other items from Heber's collection tend to be stamped either at the back or at the front; but it is logical to assume that Dibdin would have stamped Sadler's volumes at the same position (i.e. at the front), given that they belonged to the same set.

21 For a detailed summary of the posthumous Heber sales (though it does not deal with music in his collection) see Arnold Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', in *Under The Hammer: Book Auctions Since the Seventeenth Century* (London: The British Library, 2001), 143–165.

It was only sometime after 17 November 1833 that Dibdin was given permission to proceed with the dispersal of the collection by Heber's half-sister (and executor) Mary Cholmondeley,[22] so the volumes were probably stamped some time after 17 November 1833, but before the first auction in April 1834.

Figure 11.4 The 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' stamp at the centre of fol. 4v of Mus. e.1.



Heber's collection of books and manuscripts was reckoned to be one of the largest in Europe, and at his death in 1833 it exceeded 100,000 volumes. The main foci of his collection were literature and history,[23] but it also contained 'many rare volumes of English music',[24] including the manuscript notebook of John Tucke,[25] numerous printed partbooks of compositions by Byrd, Lawes, Locke, Morley, Mundy, and Weelkes,[26] and various copies of the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins (1584 and 1594).[27] Although Heber's collection probably contained the largest hoard of Elizabethan and Jacobean music assembled by an individual in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, there is little evidence to show that he had a specific interest in it. One of his obituaries recorded that he 'liked music and wine',[28] but he does not seem to have been educated in music. His father is thought to have prevented him from learning to play stringed instruments in his youth, on the grounds that they were 'ungentlemanly'.[29]

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22 See letter from Mrs Cholmondeley to Martin Routh, dated 17 November 1833, in which she enquires as to the 'skill and punctuality of Dr. D[ibdin]' (now *GB-Omc* MS 475 (iii), fol. 65). A letter from Cholmondeley to Dibdin, dated 23 December 1833, then establishes the terms of his employment (now Harvard University Library, MS Eng. 1177.1, 57). Both letters cited in Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', 149.

23 Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530–1930) and their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 103.

24 Letter from the composer, music editor and collector Joseph Warren (1804–1881) in J. Alfredo Novello (ed.) *The Musical World*, vol. 9 (London: H. Hooper and R. Groombridge, 1838) 9-11 (10).

25 *GB-Lbl* MS 10336.

26 Some of the printed music items in Heber's collection are summarised in Edward F. Rimbault, *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana* (London: John Russell Smith, 1847).

27 Sotheby & Son, *Bibliotheca Heberiana: Catalogue of the Library of Richard Heber, Esq.*, part 2 (London, [W. Nicol], 1834, 270 [lots 4905 and 4906].

28 Arthur Sherbo, 'Heber, Richard (1774–1833)', in *ODNB* [accessed 21 January 2015].

29 See Clare A. Simmons, 'Richard Heber (1774-1833)', in *Nineteenth-century British Book-collectors and Bibliographers*, ed. William Baker and Kenneth Womack (London: Gale, 1997), 219-26.

Heber was in fact an infamous hoarder of books with an 'ungovernable passion' for collecting, and he acquired items with such a lack of discrimination that he often ended up possessing duplicate copies.[30] He was renowned as a 'bibliomaniac' in his own lifetime;[31] this of course eclipses any potential interest in music, despite the fact that much of Heber's music was purchased at auction.[32] Yet Heber was no mere passive collector: he was erudite (he spoke several languages and was an editor of Greek),[33] and it has been alleged that few collectors could 'more eloquently expatiate' on the items they acquired.[34] Whether Heber ever considered Sadler's volumes to be an important part of his collection is therefore uncertain. Dibdin, on the other hand, applied the Bibliotheca Heberiana stamp only to Heber's more valuable items;[35] he evidently considered Sadler's volumes to be of some worth. But Dibdin also inscribed particularly rare volumes with remarks attesting to their scarcity;[36] the lack of such a comment in the partbooks implies that they were not counted by Dibdin to rank among the more valuable items in Heber's library.[37]

The size of Heber's collection necessitated its dispersal through more than twelve separate auctions, handled by several different firms.[38] Manuscripts were listed in Part 11 of the sales, but Sadler's books, apparently not important enough to be counted among the great manuscript treasures of Heber's collection, ended up in a sale that dealt chiefly in art, coins and medals. This sale was managed by the art dealer George Stanley of 21 Old Bond Street, and was held over five days from 15 May 1834. Sadler's partbooks were listed on the 5th day of the sale (i.e. 19 May 1834) as lot number 782, under the category of 'Illustrated Books, &c.'.[39] The listing makes no mention of Sadler, but it does cite the years 1576 and 1585, which confirms that the volumes are almost certainly Sadler's (the other dates that appear in the books – 1568, 1576, 1580 and 1581 – presumably went unnoticed). The listing also states that the volumes contain 'Masses' and

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30 Dibdin, *Bibliomania, Or, Book Madness,*175.

31 John Ferriar, *The Bibliomania, an Epistle to Richard Heber, Esq.*(London: Cadell & Davies, 1809).

32 Heber purchased numerous musical items at the auction James Brindley (1737-1810), erstwhile Commissioner of Stamps. See R. H. Evans (ed.), *A catalogue of the curious and extensive library of the late James Brindley* (London: n. p., 1818) [annotated copy in *US-Nyp* Wilberforce Eames Collection].

33 Anonymous, *Booksellers' Advertiser, and Monthly Register of New Publications*, vol. 1, issue 5 (New York: West and Trow, 1834), 35.

34 John Nichols, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 155 (London: William Pickering, John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1834), 109.

35 This point was made by Marc Vaulbert de Chantilly in a lecture given on 26 November 2000 (no further details are known). Some notes of its contents are to be found at www.manuscripts.org.uk/provenance/collectors/heber.htm [accessed 21 January 2015].

36 Heber's copy of Conradus de Mure's *Fabularius,* (Basel: Berthold Ruppel, 1475), now *GB-Gu* Sp Coll Bd7–d.22, is annotated by Dibdin as 'of great rarity', for instance.

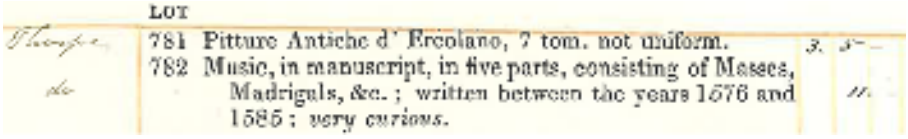
37 Although he was familiar with various genres of literature, Dibdin is not thought to have been musical; consequently, he may not have recognised the value of Mus. e. 1–5.

38 The most valuable books were allocated to the firm of Sotheby and Evans; the less valuable ones to the firm of H. B. Wheatley. See Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', 134.

39 George Stanley, *A Catalogue of the Prints, Books of Prints, Drawings, &c. of the late Richard Heber, Esq.* (London: J. Moyes, 1834), 39.

'Madrigals' – an error that probably crept in because neither Dibdin nor Stanley (as far as is known) were musically literate, or because the Heber auction catalogues were 'badly compiled and arranged in the most inconvenient manner',[40] presumably because they were produced hurriedly in order to pay the debts of the Heber estate.[41]

Figure 11.5 Lot 782 in Stanley's *Catalogue of Drawings and Prints in the Portfolio…*, 1834.[42]


LOT

781 Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano, 7 tom. not uniform.

782 Music, in manuscript, in five parts, consisting of Masses, Madrigals, &c.; written between the years 1576 and 1585; very curious.

A copy of Stanley's catalogue now in the University of California Library, Los Angeles (reproduced above) shows that the partbooks were sold to 'Thorpe' for a bargain price of only 11s.[43] This price is commensurate with the fact that the early Heber auctions (in which category Stanley's sale fell) were largely a financial flop: the average price paid per lot in the first three sales averaged only 15s. 18s. and 6s. respectively,[44] and some manuscripts sold in the manuscript-specific auction (part 11 of the sales) were knocked down for a fraction of the price Heber had paid for them – despite the fact that Heber's purchase price was in many cases known to the auctioneer (Heber habitually recorded the price he had paid for an item on one of its flyleaves).[45] It would seem that the partbooks, in Stanley's sale, performed just as dismally.

Thomas Thorpe (1791-1851)

The 'Thorpe' who won the partbooks at Stanley's sale was doubtless the London bookseller Thomas Thorpe (1791-1851). Thorpe was certainly at the Heber sale in question: he later issued 'A Catalogue of Drawings and Engravings collected by the late John Broadley and Richard Heber' – a catalogue which clearly featured material acquired at that particular sale.[46] Thorpe

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40 De Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts*, 103.

41 Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', 155.

42 Annotated copy at *US-LAur*, shelfmark Z997.H32b.

43 According to the *National Archives Currency* Converter, 11s. in 1834 is reckoned to have had the same spending power as *c.* £24 today.

44 See Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', 155.

45 The previously cited 'Collection of Old Songs set to Music, with the Initial Letters ornamented with Drawings', which had been purchased from the collection of Isaac Reed in 1807 for £4 4s. eventually reached Heber's collection. It sold in Part 11 of his auction for only £1 4s., despite the fact that Heber had apparently paid £6 10s. for it – a price which was apparently known to the auctioneer. See R. H. Evans (ed.), *Bibliotheca Heberiana: Catalogue of the library of … Richard Heber*, part 11 (London, [W. Nicol], 1836), 119 [lot 1147]. An annotated copy of the catalogue survives at *GB-Ob* Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 73: prices in red ink denote Heber's purchase price; prices in black ink denote the price fetched at auction.

46 Thomas Thorpe, *A Catalogue of Drawings and Engravings collected by the late John Broadley and Richard Heber…* (London: Thomas Thorpe, n.d.); copy at *GB-Cu* Munby c.206.

does not appear to have subsequently listed the partbooks for sale himself, however,[47] and nor does he appear to have marked the volumes.[48]

Thorpe's reasons for purchasing the volumes are uncertain. The partbooks are found next in the collection of John Hugh Smyth Pigott (1793–1853); but whether Pigott purchased the volumes from Thorpe by chance, or whether Thorpe was acting as agent for Pigott at Stanley's Heber sale, remains unclear. Thorpe certainly acted as an agent to collectors – most notably to Richard Heber and Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) – but no evidence of any connection between Thorpe and Pigott can be ascertained.[49] Moreover, Thorpe's name appears as a purchaser in all of the Heber catalogues,[50] and he was reckoned by Dibdin to have bought nearly a third of Heber's entire library.[51] Possibly Thorpe snapped up what he could at Heber's sales in order to bolster his own stock (he was 'celebrated for his very extensive dealings in old books and manuscripts', as one obituary put it),[52] and he was also known to have preferred manuscript items over printed material. over printed items.[53] But whether he purchased the partbooks for himself or on behalf of somebody else is uncertain.[54]

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47 It has not been possible to find the partbooks listed in any of Thorpe's sale catalogues – even in one published in 1835 that boasted 'Elizabethan Madrigals' in its title (see Thomas Thorpe, *Catalogue of an Extraordinary Assemblage of Genealogical and Heraldic Manuscripts… Together with …Collections of Elizabethan Madrigals, with Music…* (London: n. p., 1835).

48 Thorpe marked books with a price-code, usually in pencil, in lower-case letters, at the top left corner or centre of the upper pastedown. He is unlikely to have been responsible for the r-like mark at the upper-centre of fol. 69r in Mus. e. 4, or the price-code at the upper-right-hand corner of fol. 69r of Mus. e. 4, however, since theses bear no resemblance to Thorpe's handwriting. Nor is it clear how an 'r' could refer to 11s. (Thorpe used 'g' to represent 1). On Thorpe's price-codes see Peter Kidd's webpage http://www.manuscripts.org.uk/provenance/dealers/thorpe.htm [accessed 2 March 2016].

49 Several manuscript items did belong to Thorpe and then to Pigott, but whether these two owners were directly successive remains uncertain. See http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/search.html?q=pigott [accessed 12 January 2017].

50 See, for instance, the run of the Heber catalogues now at the British Library, which is marked with the names of winning bidders for each lot, and the price they paid.

51 Hunt, 'The sale of Richard Heber's library', 160.

52 Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 189 (London: John Bowyer Nicholas and Son, 1851), 565.

53 A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the year 1840*, Phillipps studies, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 46.

54 Another possibility is that Thorpe sold the volumes promptly on to some other bookseller, and that this unidentified bookseller that then sold them on to Pigott, but no record of such a transaction can be found. Evidence of a quick change-of-hands between dealers is to be found in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15233 – a document thought to have belonged to the Byrd family. This was in the library of the antiquary B. H. Bright (1787–1843), and auctioned on 18 June 1844; it was sold to Thomas Thorpe for £15. But an acquisition note entered on the inside cover of the MS by Sir Frederic Madden (1801–1873) records that the British Museum purchased it from Thomas Rodd (1796-1849) – and *not* Thomas Thorpe. Compare the annotated copy of Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Late Benjamin Heywood Bright* ([London]: Compton and Ritchie, 1845) at *GB-Lbl* P.R.2.A. with Madden's note in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15233.

John Hugh Smyth Pigott (*c.*1793–1853)

Although the precise methods of his acquisition are obscure, it is in the collection of John Hugh Smyth Pigott that the partbooks are next to be found. Pigott does not appear to have marked the volumes, and nor do they bear his armorial bookplates,[55] unless these were removed when the volumes were re-bound. But he certainly had possession of them because he put the books up for auction himself in 1849.

Pigott was a Sheriff of the county of Somerset (1829), and a voracious collector of antiques and artwork. He had two homes: the first, Grove House, in Weston-Super-Mare, was filled with 'fine paintings, sculptures, books and curiosities';[56] and the family seat, Brockley Hall, in Somerset, which was renowned for its collection of artwork.[57] Pigott must have been a seasoned veteran of the art sales circuit, which gravitated around the London. He was also (along with Dibdin) a member of the Society of Antiquaries.[58] Pigott's 1853 auction catalogue also lists five Heber auction catalogues in his possession,[59] and some items in his 1849 catalogue – including Sadler's volumes – are even described as 'Heber's copy', or 'from Heber's library'.[60] Pigott is not named as a purchaser in any of the annotated Heber catalogues, however, and the fact that a number of items from the Heber sales ended up in Pigott's collection, coupled with the fact that he possessed a number of the Heber catalogues, may support the notion that Thorpe may have been acting as his agent.[61]

Although Pigott's main collecting interests were in art and antiques, Brockley Hall did possess a notable library. Pigott's 1849 auction catalogue lists only two music manuscripts other than Sadler's (two volumes of Italian violin music), but it did include twenty items of printed music, some of which were sixteenth-century publications (including William Mundy's *Songs and*

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55 A shield parted quarterly, beneath which are the words 'J. H. Smyth-Pigott of Brockley'. See example in Richard Steele, *The lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq*. (London: Charles Lillie and John Morphew, 1711) at *GB-Ob* Vet. A4 e.1353.

56 Information provided in a brief history of Park House at www.parksandgardens.org/places-and-people/site/1551/history [accessed 21 January 2015].

57 Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 99, part 2 (London: John Nichols, 1829), 433.

58 Dibdin was elected a Fellow on 10 January 1805; Pigott's signature appears in the Register of Admissions for February 1829 (information provided by Adrian James, Society of Antiquaries, London).

59 Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson, *Catalogue of the remaining portion of the valuable library of the late John Hugh Smyth Pigott, Esq., of Brockley Hall, Somerset* ([London]: C. and J. Adlard, 1853), lot 171 (single catalogue with 'MS. prices';) lot 831 (four volumes, unspecified).

60 Edmund English, *Brockley Hall, Somerset: Catalogue of the interesting and valuable effects of John Hugh Smyth Pigott* (Bath: John & James Keene, 1849), lot 224; lot 608; lot 1169; lot 1468; lot 2179.

61 Private collectors would sometimes attend auctions themselves (rather than via an attending bookseller), but there is no evince to show that Pigott attended any of the Heber sales himself. See T. F. Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a literary life* (London: John Major, 1836), 272.

Psalms: Composed into 3, 4, and 5 Parts of 1594).[62] Whether these items were part of an inherited collection or whether they were acquired by Pigott himself is uncertain (he became the custodian of the Pigott estates in 1823, both of which already had established libraries;[63] but he was also said to be an 'indefatigable book collector').[64] Pigott was also renowned as a 'keen collector of curiosities and rarities'[65] and although he does not appear to have been musical, his purchase of Sadler's volumes at the 1834 Heber sale might have been the result of an additional interest in Elizabethan curios.[66]

Pigott's library was auctioned off in three portions in 1847, 1849, and 1853. The sales were not, like Heber's, conceived as a *post mortem* affair (although Pigott died in 1853, aged 59 years, while his final sale was still in progress).[67] An advert for the sales records that 'John Hugh Smyth Pigott Esq., having Removed to his Seat at Weston-Super-Mare, he has desired that the Effects to be Sold, predatory to Letting the Mansion Unfurnished'.[68] Sadler's volumes appeared in the 1849 sale, which was handled by the furniture dealer Edmund English and Son, of Bath. It started on 8 October, and the partbooks were listed on the 19th day (i.e. Thursday 1 November 1849, as specified in the catalogue) as lot no. 34, under a heading of 'MS. Music' (which listed only three items: Sadler's volumes, and the two volumes of Italian violin music). This listing provides slightly more detail than the 1834 Heber catalogue, although the year 1585 (which appears so prominently at the front of the Mus. e. 1) has been misread as 1515. The item description is unlikely to have been provided by Edmund English, however, who was primarily a furniture dealer and not known to be musical.

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62 English, *Brockley Hall, Somerset: Catalogue of the interesting and valuable effects*, lot 937. The same sale lists as lot no. 1734 a collection of 'Old songs, very scarce, 5 vols.', but it has not been possible to identify this item, and nor is it known whether the listing refers to a printed or a manuscript set.

63 Pigott was the illegitimate son of Sir Hugh Smyth of Long Ashton. He married his wife Ann Pigott in 1815, who was the heiress to the substantial Pigott estates, which passed to the couple in 1823. The estates included Grove House and Brockley Hall, both of which appear to have had established libraries. See Woodspring Museum, *Portraits of the Smyth-Pigott family* (Weston-super-Mare: Woodspring 1980).

64 Charles Rogers, *Boswelliana: The Commonplace Book of James Boswell* (London: The Grampian Club, 1874), xiii.

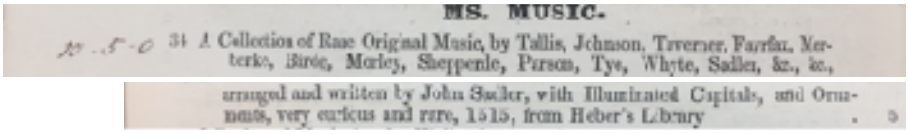
65 Charles Raymond Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot: The Discovery of North America* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1898), 141–2.

66 Other Elizabethan items Pigott owned included the black stone (speculum) and crystal of Dr John Dee (1527–1609), mathematician, astronomer and astrologer to Elizabeth I. See English, *Brockley Hall, Somerset: Catalogue of the interesting and valuable effects*, lots 2033 and 2034.

67 Pigott's death was briefly reported in the 'Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries' section of *The Morning Chronicle* (London: Thursday, June 30, 1853), issue 26994.

68 See the cutting of an advertisement of the sale from an unidentified newspaper, now glued into the front of a Bodleian Library copy of Pigott's 1849 sale catalogue, shelfmark *GB-Ob* 2471269 e. 22.

Figure 11.6 Lot 34 in *Brockley Hall, Somerset. Catalogue of the interesting and valuable effects of John Hugh Smyth Pigott* (1849).[69]


MS. MUSIC.

34 A Collection of Rare Original Music, by Tallis, Johnson, Taverner, Farrfax, Merbeke, Birde, Morley, Sheppenle, Parson, Tye, Whyte, Sadler, &c., &c.,

arranged and written by John Sadler, with Illuminated Capitals, and Ornaments, very curious and rare, 1615, from Heber's Library

An annotated copy of Pigott's 1849 catalogue in the Bodleian Library (reproduced above) shows that the partbooks sold for £10 5s. – less than half the amount Machell Stace had paid Caulfield for them in or before 1808, though much more than the knock-down price of 11s. that Thorpe had paid in 1834.[70] Although they were described in the catalogue as 'very curious and rare', Edmund English was selling items 'without reserve'.[71] Thus he would have had no control over the hammer-price for the partbooks, even if he had seen Heber's note of their previous selling price.

Thomas Kerslake (1812–1891)

The winning bidder at the 1849 Pigott auction was almost certainly the Bristol bookseller and antiquarian Thomas Kerslake (1812–1891). None of the surviving Pigott catalogues are annotated with a purchaser for Sadler's volumes, but an advertisement Kerslake published in *Notes and Queries* in December 1849 records that he was present at Pigott's sale,[72] and numerous other items from the same sale entered Kerslake's stock.[73] Brockley Hall, where the Pigott auctions took place, was also less than three miles from Kerslake's premises in Park Street, Bristol. Kerslake listed the partbooks for sale himself in 1860 (see below).

Apart from being a bookseller by trade, Kerslake was 'an antiquary of distinct individuality'.[74] His holdings were considerable: he frequently purchased entire libraries, and his

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69 This annotated copy is *GB-Ob* 2471269 e. 23.

70 Some perspective as to whether £10. 5s. 0. was a good price for the partbooks in 1849 is lent by the auction of Henry John Gauntlett, held in June 1849, in which a quarto set of 'MADRIGALS and MOTETS, in 5 parts, *curious old MSS.*' was sold for only 4s. A bound volume of 5 printed publications, on the other hand, which included Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1588), *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589) and the second set of *Cantiones Sacrae* (1591) sold for a much higher £4 7s. 6d.. See lot numbers 583 and 585 in *Catalogue of the Very Extensive, Rare, and Valuable Musical Library of a Distinguished Professor* [i.e. Henry J. Gauntlett](London: Puttick and Simpson, 1847); annotated copy at *GB-Lbl* S.C. P. 5 (1).

71 These words appear in the subheading for each day of the sales handled by Edmund English.

72 An advertisement placed in *Notes and Queries* no. 6 (London: n. p., 1849), 81–96 (95). reads 'Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, has just issued a small Catalogue of Books bought at Brockley Hall …'.This catalogue is probably *T. Kerslake, Catalogue of Books, Containing the Library of an Eminent Historical Author and Editor* (Bristol: Evans and Abbott [1849]), which does not list Sadler's volumes. Thomas Thorpe, too, was present at the sale: an advertisement he placed in *The Athenæum* states that he has recently obtained material from 'the sale at Brockely Hall, in the county of Somerset'. See *The Athenæum*, vol. 1 (2 February, 1850), 1.

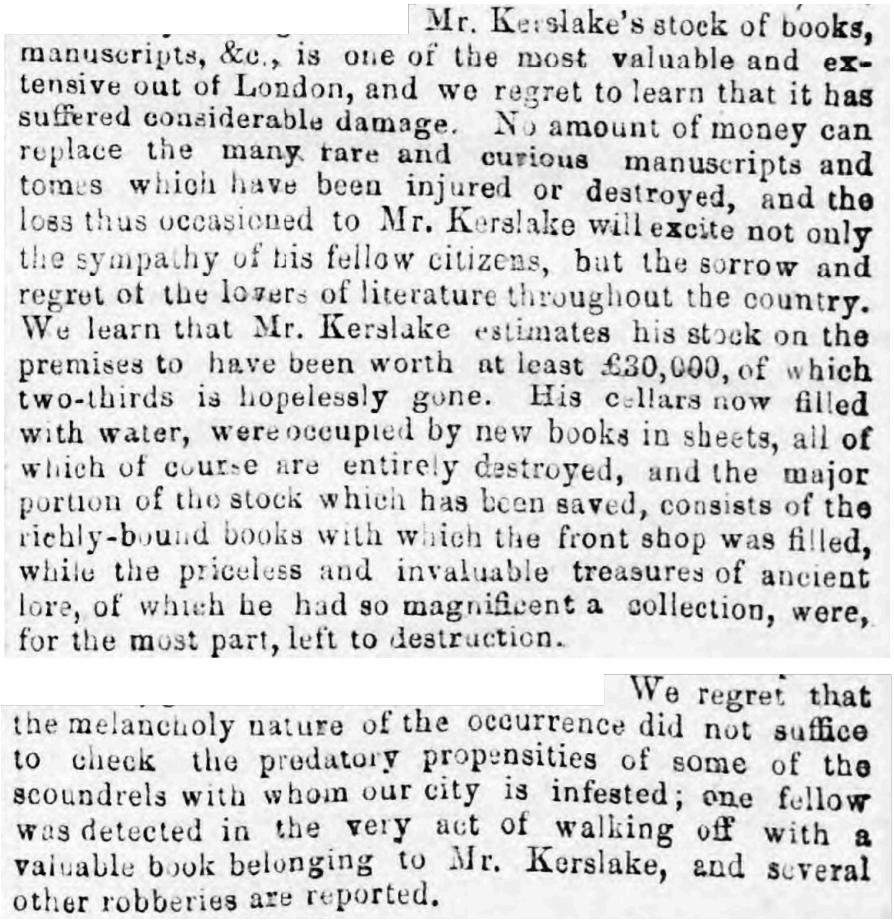
73 A list of items that were owned by Pigott and then by Kerslake are listed in the *Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts.* See http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/search.html?q=pigott.

74 John Taylor, 'Mr Kerslake' [obituary] in *The Athenaeum,* (10 January, 1891: no. 3298), 53–54 (53).

stock contained several hundred thousand volumes.[75] Although he was not a specialist music dealer, music is often to be found listed in the pages of his various extant catalogues; the word 'music' is often prominently underlined as a category on their front covers.[76]

Some ten years passed before Kerslake listed Sadler's volumes for sale (he, like other booksellers, would apparently defer listing certain items until sufficient materials were available in the same subject area). While in his care, however, the partbooks survived a serious fire which gutted Kerslake's shop on 14 February 1860. A report of the fire in *The Monmouthshire Merlin,* published on 18 February 1860, records that Kerslake's stock, 'one of the most valuable and extensive out of London', suffered 'considerable damage'. The article also records efforts of the fire brigade to quell the fire, which flooded his premises, and that opportunistic thieves were lurking outside his shop in the hope of making away with his stock.

Figure 11.7 Part of the article 'Destructive Fire in Park Street, Bristol', *The Monmouthshire Merlin* (18 February 1860), 2.



Mr. Kerslake's stock of books, manuscripts, &c., is one of the most valuable and extensive out of London, and we regret to learn that it has suffered considerable damage. No amount of money can replace the many rare and curious manuscripts and tomes which have been injured or destroyed, and the loss thus occasioned to Mr. Kerslake will excite not only the sympathy of his fellow citizens, but the sorrow and regret of the lovers of literature throughout the country. We learn that Mr. Kerslake estimates his stock on the premises to have been worth at least £30,000, of which two-thirds is hopelessly gone. His cellars now filled with water, were occupied by new books in sheets, all of which of course are entirely destroyed, and the major portion of the stock which has been saved, consists of the richly-bound books with which the front shop was filled, while the priceless and invaluable treasures of ancient lore, of which he had so magnificent a collection, were, for the most part, left to destruction.

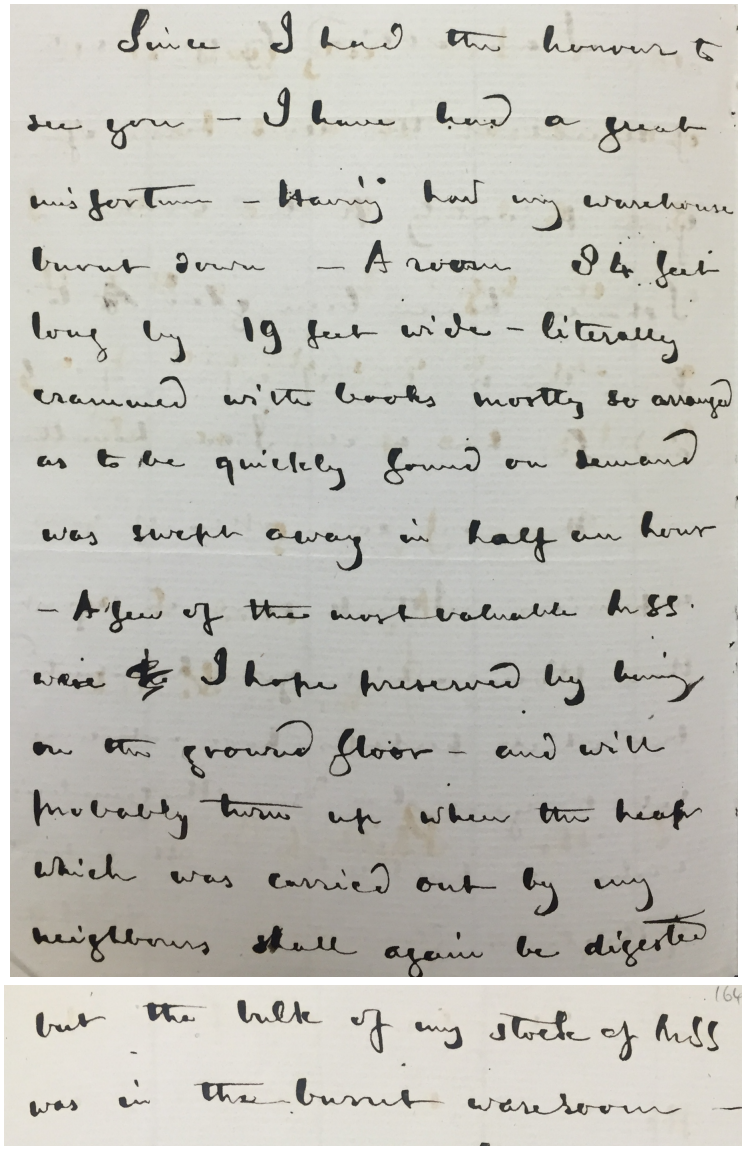
We regret that the melancholy nature of the occurrence did not suffice to check the predatory propensities of some of the scoundrels with whom our city is infested; one fellow was detected in the very act of walking off with a valuable book belonging to Mr. Kerslake, and several other robberies are reported.

[75] See advert in John Chilcott, *Chilcott's Descriptive History of Bristol* (Bristol: J. Chilcott, 1851), 430.

[76] Today, Kerslake is chiefly remembered for having sold some Handel manuscripts. See Richard G. King, 'New Light on Handel's Musical Library, in *The Musical Quarterly*, 81.1 (1997), 109–138.

A letter dated 7 March 1860 from Kerslake to Sir Thomas Philipps (1792–1872), the famous book collector, further portrays the magnitude of the incident. It explains that a number of valuable manuscripts survived because they were in a 'heap' on the ground floor rather than his warehouse, but that the 'bulk' of his manuscripts were destroyed in the fire. Fortunately, the partbooks survived, but it is no exaggeration to say that Sadler's volumes came to the brink of destruction while in Kerslake's custody.

Figure 11.8 *GB-Ob* MS Philipps-Robinson c. 555, fols. 163v–164r: part of Kerslake's letter to Sir Thomas Philipps, dated 7 March 1860.[77]



Since I had the honour to
see you — I have had a great
misfortune — Having had my warehouse
burnt down — A room 84 feet
long by 19 feet wide — literally
crammed with books mostly so arranged
as to be quickly found on demand
was swept away in half an hour
— A few of the most valuable MSS.
were & I hope preserved by being
on the ground floor — and will
probably turn up when the heap
which was carried out by my
neighbours shall again be digested
but the bulk of my stock of MSS
was in the burnt warehouse —

[77] 'Since I had the honour to see you — I have a had a great misfortune — Having had my warehouse burnt down — A room 84 feet long by 19 feet wide — literally crammed with books mostly so arranged as to be quickly found on demand was swept away in half an hour — A few of the most valuable MSS were I hope preserved by being on the ground floor – and will probably turn up when the heap which was carried out by my neighbours shall again be digested but the bulk of my stock of MSS was in the burnt warehouse' [Kerslake's punctuation].

Kerslake eventually listed the partbooks for sale in a catalogue entitled *Literary Curiosities, Valuable Books, Manuscripts,* which, although undated, was almost certainly published in 1860.[78] Kerslake's listing was the most detailed yet: he was famed for providing well-researched descriptions for more notable stock, which is why his catalogues were dubbed 'curiosities of learning'.[79] He allocated the set two substantial paragraphs of description (other items are given only a few lines); he must also have examined all five volumes because he cites date and ascription information that does not appear in any single partbook.[80] In his listing is also a reference to William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* with respect to Parson[s]'s *Good fellows must go learn to dance* (although the listing refers only to 'Mr Chappell'),[81] as well as a mention of the 'late Mr PEARSALL' – doubtless a reference to the composer Robert Lucas Pearsall (1795–1856), who was partly responsible for reinvigorating interest in renaissance polyphony in England at the start of the nineteenth century.[82] Kerslake had evidently read some of Pearsall's writings: he states (correctly) that Taverner's *Western Wynde* Mass is based upon an 'old English song', which it adopts 'as the ground' – i.e. as a *cantus firmus.*[83] But he wrongly states that Sadler's set 'consists chiefly of masses' (only Taverner's mass setting is present), and the names of several composers are also misspelt, due probably to a misreading of Sadler's secretary hand: 'Triquillion' for Criquillion (as it is rendered in the partbooks), 'Asshton' for Aston, and 'Wryghte' for Whyte, for instance. He also asserts that there is only one six-part work where in fact there are two (Byrd's *Attolite Portas* and White's *Justus es domine*), and that the set contains only one four-part work (when there are three).[84]

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78 Although the *Literary Curiosities, Valuable Books, Manuscripts* catalogue bears no date, a subsequent catalogue, also undated, mentions an 'unforeseen accident' which caused much of Kerslake's stock to be withdrawn from sale (this serious incident was a fire at Kerslake's shop on 14 February 1860, discussed above). Kerslake states that this stock was listed in two catalogues, one of which was entitled *Literary Curiosities, Valuable Books, Manuscripts*, printed in yellow wrapper, and listing 565 lots. The catalogues in which Sadler's volumes were listed had the same title, yellow wrappers and lists 565 lots.

79 John Taylor, 'Mr Kerslake' [obituary] in *The Athenaeum,* (10 January, 1891, no. 3298), 53–54 (53).

80 The year 1585 appears only at the start of Mus. e. 1; the attribution to 'Osberte Perseley 1568' appears only in Mus. e. 3; the exact ascription 'Mr Thomas Tallys, Gentleman' is found only in Mus. e. 4. See Inventory.

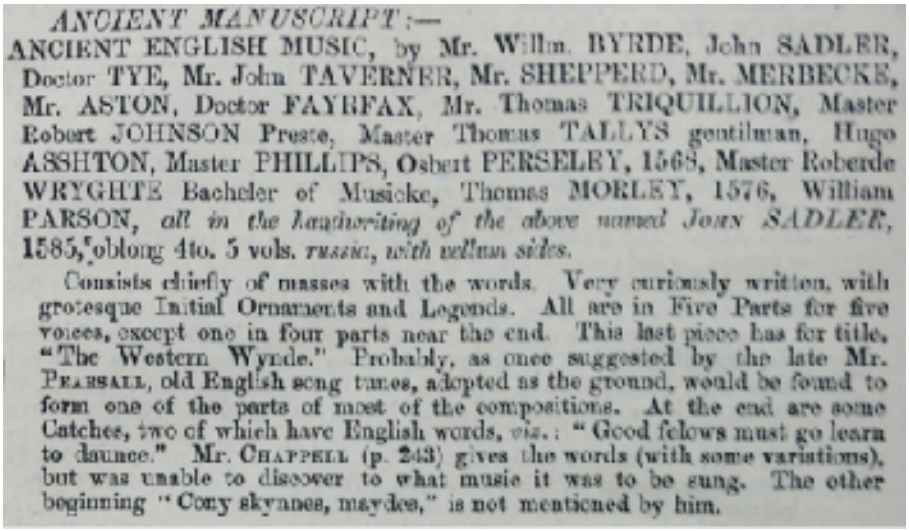
81 William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, vol. 1 (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1855), 243. As Kerslake explains, Chappell identified the origin of the text, but evidently did not know about Sadler's volumes, since he does not mention music.

82 Nicholas Temperley. 'Pearsall, Robert Lucas' in *Grove Music Online,* Oxford University Press, 2014 (www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21148) [accessed May 25 2014].

83 Pearsall's explanation does not quite apply to Taverner's Mass since the 'ground' (i.e. the theme) does not always appear in the 'first part' (by which he probably means the Superius). The Western Wynde theme is in fact quoted 21 times in the Superius; ten times in the Tenor; and five times in the Bassus. Kerslake's source for Pearsall's quotation is not certain; it may have been Pearsall's *Psalmodia* (unpublished), in which he discusses the abandonment of modal composition towards 1600 by composers because of an increased interest in 'popular melody' fostered by madrigalists. See *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 38549, fol. 2.

84 Kerslake cannot have copied his mis-spelt attributions from the nineteenth-century 'Index' which, although it transmits some of the same spelling errors, records correctly that there are 3 four-part works in the volumes. The 'Index' is in any case likely to be a later addition. See below.

Figure 11.9. Item 563 in Kerslake's *Literary Curiosities Valuable Books Manuscripts*, [1860]).



ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT:—
ANCIENT ENGLISH MUSIC, by Mr. Willm. BYRDE, John SADLER, Doctor TYE, Mr. John TAVERNER, Mr. SHEPPERD, Mr. MERBECKE, Mr. ASTON, Doctor FAYRFAX, Mr. Thomas TRIQUILLION, Master Robert JOHNSON Preste, Master Thomas TALLYS gentilman, Hugo ASSHTON, Master PHILLIPS, Osbert PERSELEY, 1568, Master Roberde WRYGHTE Bacheler of Musicke, Thomas MORLEY, 1576, William PARSON, *all in the Authoriting of the above named John SADLER*, 1585, oblong 4to. 5 vols. *russia, with vellum sides.*

Consists chiefly of masses with the words. Very curiously written, with grotesque Initial Ornaments and Legends. All are in Five Parts for five voices, except one in four parts near the end. This last piece has for title, "The Western Wynde." Probably, as once suggested by the late Mr. Pearsall, old English song tunes, adopted as the ground, would be found to form one of the parts of most of the compositions. At the end are some Catches, two of which have English words, *viz.*: "Good felows must go learn to daunce." Mr. Chappell (p. 243) gives the words (with some variations), but was unable to discover to what music it was to be sung. The other beginning "Cony skynnes, maydes," is not mentioned by him.

James E. Cornish (*c.* 1870–1903)

Kerslake seems not to have found a buyer for the partbooks, and he retired sometime between 1879 and 1881.[85] By October 1886, however, he had sold over his stock to his nephew and fellow bookseller James Edward Cornish (*fl.*1854–d.1903),[86] who had his premises in Manchester. Sometime after the volumes arrived in Manchester, stock numbers were entered on to three of the partbooks: 'B. L. 8596' to fol. 3v of Mus. e. 1; 'B. L. 5885 3v' to fol. 1v of Mus. e. 4 (both in the handwriting of J. E. Cornish),[87] and 'B. L. 8586' to the inside upper board to Mus. e. 3 (in a different hand – possibly that of an unidentified assistant to Cornish).[88] Each is written diagonally, ascending from left to right, in pencil (two are also underlined). The letters 'B. L.', apparently denote 'Bristol Library': i.e. the Bristol Library, or stock, of Thomas Kerslake.[89] That only three of the partbooks were numbered suggests that they were temporarily divided by Cornish into three separate lots of 3 + 1 + 1 ('3v' in Mus. e. 1's note probably stands for '3 volumes', presumably

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85 An entry in *The Bookseller* records that Kerslake retired from bookselling 'for the more genial pursuit of archaeology' in 1879; another item states that he retired in 1881. Kerslake's obituary in *The Atheneum* records that he retired some twenty years before his death in 1891. See *The Bookseller: A Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature* (London: [n.p.], 1879), 816; Frank Karslake (ed.), *Book-Auction Records* (London: Karslake & Co, 1907), xviii; John Taylor, 'Mr Kerslake', in *The Athenaeum,* (Jan 10, 1891: no. 3298), 53-54.

86 A letter from Cornish to Falconer Madan, dated 22 October 1886, states that Cornish had 'purchased a very large collection from my uncle Mr Thomas Kerslake of Bristol.' See *GB-Ob* Add MS A. 370, fol. 227r.

87 The handwriting matches that of Cornish's letter to Madan in *GB-Ob* Add MS A. 370, fol. 227r.

88 Cornish occasionally advertised for assistants in *The bookseller,* but nothing is known about them or their handwriting. See, for instance, *The Bookseller: A Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature* (London: [n.p.], 1861), 216.

89 Nesta Jones, 'The Hengwrt library of printed books', *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 1.3 (1911), 76-83 (76). The previously cited letter of 22 October 1886 from Cornish to Madan in *GB-Ob* Add MS Add. A. 370, fol. 227r, states that 'the pencil mark of B.L and number is merely a private mark of my own for convenience of finding them [i.e. stock items] when wanted.'

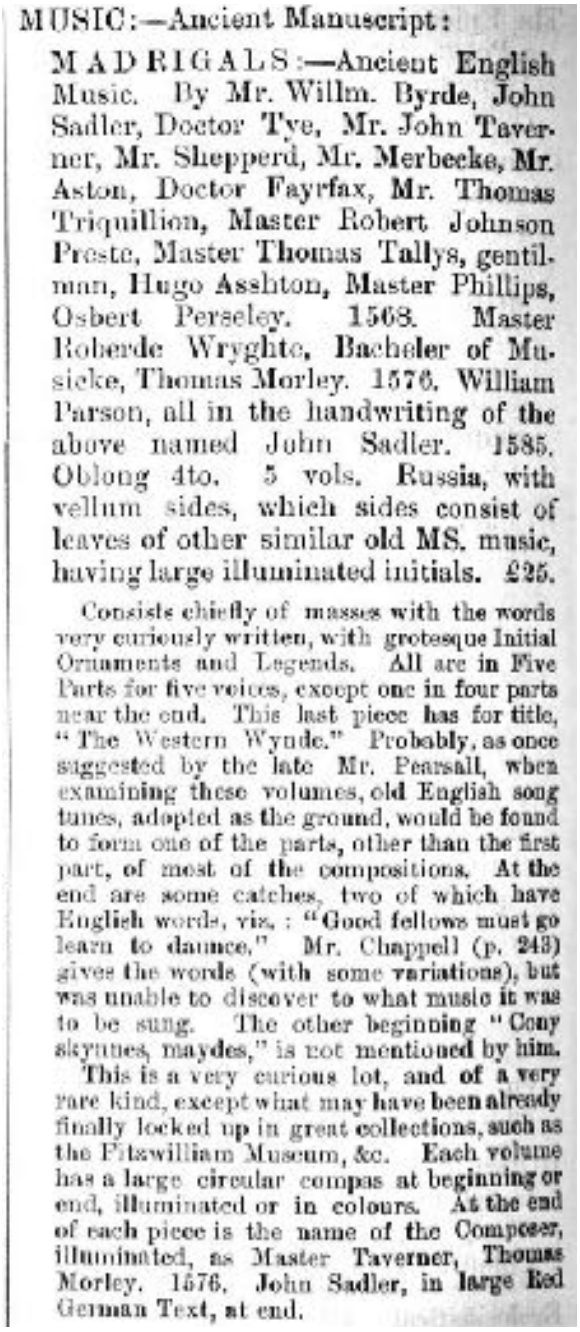
referring to Mus. e. 1, Mus. e. 2 and Mus. e. 5, since Mus. e. 4 and Mus. e. 5 have their own references), and allocated nearby, but not quite adjacent, stock numbers.

Figure 11.10. 'B. L' references on fol. 3v of Mus. e. 1, fol. 1v of Mus. e. 4, and another on the inside upper board to Mus. e. 3.



If the partbooks were divided, then the situation was evidently rectified: Cornish listed the partbooks for sale as a single lot in a sale catalogue published in April 1885, under the heading 'Music:—Ancient Manuscript'. He reproduced Kerslake's 1860 listing almost exactly, duplicating the same errors, but he did add an erroneous sub-heading of 'MADRIGALS', a price of £25, and a paragraph about the decorative content of the partbooks, stating that each volume has a 'large circular compass at beginning and end'. Kerslake's original reference to Pearsall was also edited to read 'when once examining these volumes', even though Kerslake had not claimed that Pearsall had ever personally laid hands on the them.

Figure 11.11 Lot 565 in J. E. Cornish's, *Catalogue of old and second-hand books…* April, 1885.



MUSIC:—Ancient Manuscript:

MADRIGALS:—Ancient English Music. By Mr. Willm. Byrde, John Sadler, Doctor Tye, Mr. John Taverner, Mr. Shepperd, Mr. Merbecke, Mr. Aston, Doctor Fayrfax, Mr. Thomas Triquillion, Master Robert Johnson Preste, Master Thomas Tallys, gentilman, Hugo Asshton, Master Phillips, Osbert Perseley. 1568. Master Roberde Wryghte, Bacheler of Musicke, Thomas Morley. 1576. William Parson, all in the handwriting of the above named John Sadler. 1585. Oblong 4to. 5 vols. Russia, with vellum sides, which sides consist of leaves of other similar old MS. music, having large illuminated initials. £25.

Consists chiefly of masses with the words very curiously written, with grotesque Initial Ornaments and Legends. All are in Five Parts for five voices, except one in four parts near the end. This last piece has for title, "The Western Wynde." Probably, as once suggested by the late Mr. Pearsall, when examining these volumes, old English song tunes, adopted as the ground, would be found to form one of the parts, other than the first part, of most of the compositions. At the end are some catches, two of which have English words, viz.: "Good fellows must go learn to daunce." Mr. Chappell (p. 243) gives the words (with some variations), but was unable to discover to what music it was to be sung. The other beginning "Cony skynnes, maydes," is not mentioned by him.

This is a very curious lot, and of a very rare kind, except what may have been already finally locked up in great collections, such as the Fitzwilliam Museum, &c. Each volume has a large circular compas at beginning or end, illuminated or in colours. At the end of each piece is the name of the Compeser, illuminated, as Master Taverner, Thomas Morley. 1576. John Sadler, in large Red German Text, at end.

13. BODLEIAN ACCESSION: APRIL 1885

Cornish's sale catalogue of April 1885 evidently reached the Bodleian Library, for it purchased Sadler's volumes within a month of the published listing.[1] The accessions of western manuscripts to the Bodleian Library in the second half of the nineteenth century were relatively small,[2] but Cornish's listing of the partbooks in 1885 fortunately coincided with a drive led by Edward W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912), Bodley's Librarian from 1882–1912, to enrich the library's manuscript holdings.[3] The purchase was deemed significant enough to warrant an entry in the 'Notes of special MS. purchases' section of the *Report of Bodley's Librarian* for 1882–87, which cites the acquisition of '5 contemporary vols., finely and curiously ornamented, of the music of Elizabethan composers.'[4]

Invoice and payment

The partbooks were sent to the Bodleian Library with an invoice from Cornish dated 24 April 1885.[5] As in his catalogue description, the invoice erroneously described the set as a collection of 'Madrigals'; the selling price was £25, as advertised.[6] The invoice was initialled by E. W. B. Nicholson in purple pencil (now obscured), presumably to authorise the issue of payment; Cornish subsequently issued a receipt to the Bodleian for £25 on 29 April 1885, which was later glued on to the front of the invoice.

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1 The library was not a new customer to Cornish. *GB-Ob* MS. Add. B. 60 was purchased from him on 11 November 1880 for £3. 3s., and a copy of Werne Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, after 1490) was purchased from him on 24 April 1884 (see *GB-Ob* Auct. 4Q 3.6(1), copy R-125(3)). A note on the front paste-down of *GB-Ob* MS Add. B. 61 states that it had been 'presented by J. E. Cornish, bookseller' in November 1880.

2 R. W. Hunt (ed.), *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), xlvi.

3 K. A. Manley, 'E. W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912) and his importance to librarianship', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1977).

4 Edward Nicholson, *The Bodleian Library in 1882-87: A Report from the Librarian* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1888), 17. The purchases described for 1885 are: '76 drawings of Oxford by J. C. Nattes (c. 1804); 5 contemporary vols., finely and curiously ornamented, of the music of Elizabethan composers; 3 vols. of Thames and Bucks collections by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee; Robert Barrett's 'The Sacred War', a poem of 65,000 lines on the Crusades, written in 1606–10; and one of the very few MSS. of Grossetest's 'Castell of Love'.

5 Also listed on the same invoice was a manuscript set of scientific treatises by Walter Burley, *c.*1425, now *GB-Ob* MSS Add. A. 302–304.

6 £25 in 1885 is reckoned by the *National Archives Currency Converter* to have had the same spending power as £1352.50 today.

Invoice R149 of Ja[me]s. E. Cornish, dated 24 April 1885, listing the purchase of 'Madrigals M. S. S. Music 5v[olumes], now *GB-Ob* Library Records R. 59 (1885), no. 97,[7] appended to which is Cornish's receipt dated 29 April 1885.

Figure 12.1 Invoice R149 of Ja[me]s. E. Cornish, now *GB-Ob* Library Records R. 59 (1885), no. 97.



Acquisition notes and stamps

An acquisition note confirming the purchase of the partbooks was entered at the front of each volume by E. W. B. Nicholson. He initially attempted to enter this on the inside of the upper board to Mus. e. 5 (now detached), which reads 'Bought for the Bodleian' in blue ink. Nicholson's ink proved to be almost illegible against the brown background of the upper board's inside cover, however, and he instead entered notes at the head of the verso to the first endleaf in each partbook, again in blue ink.[8] Each note reads 'Bought for the Bodleian with the 4 similar volumes for £25 from the catalogue of Jas. E. Cornish of Manchester 27 April 1885'.[9]

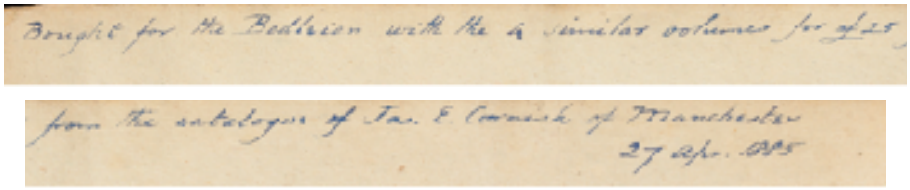
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7 The handwritten note which is now obscured by Cornish's payment receipt does not pertain to the partbooks, but to some other items in which the Bodleian Library had shown interest.

8 The note in Mus. e. 5 appears to have suffered from contact with water and is now almost illegible.

9 Nicholson's use of the words 'from the catalogue' were more than arbitrary. When an item was purchased following sight of a published advertisement (rather than a catalogue), he would use the words 'from the advert. of'. See for instance *GB-Ob* MS Add. A. 371, in which a note from Nicholson reads 'Bought by the Bodleian for £5 5s. from Cornish's advert. in Notes and Queries for Oct. 9, 1886.'

Figure 12.2 E. W. B. Nicholson's acquisition note at the head of fol. 3v of Mus. e. 1.



Circular 'Bibliotheca Bodleiana' stamps, depicting the arms of the University,[10] were also applied to all volumes except – for reasons unknown – to Mus. e. 2. In Mus. e. 1 and Mus. e. 4 a single stamp has been applied to the verso of the last leaf of original sixteenth-century paper; Mus. e. 3 was similarly stamped at the rear, but it also bears a stamp on the recto to fol. 3a. This leaf is loose, and was probably so when the partbooks arrived in Oxford; it was presumably stamped in case of loss. The stamps in these volumes have been applied to the centre of the folio on which they appear.

Figure 12.3 Locations of 'Bibliotheca Bodleiana' stamps in Mus. e. 1-5.

Partbook	*Stamp sequence*
Mus. e. 1	 fol. 77v
Mus. e. 2	None
Mus. e. 3	 fol 3(a) r  fol. 77v
Mus. e. 4	 fol. 2r
Mus. e. 5	 fol. 36v  fol. 41r  fol. 49v  fol. 58v  fol. 62v  fol. 66r  fol. 69v

Mus. e. 5 has been stamped at the end of the volume, again at the centre, but also on several music-bearing folios at various positions in the margins. Why these leaves were stamped is uncertain: they were probably not detached singletons upon arrival at the Bodleian (they do not

[10] An open book bearing the motto 'Dominus illuminatio mea' ('The Lord is my light', the opening words of Psalm 27), surrounded by three crowns.

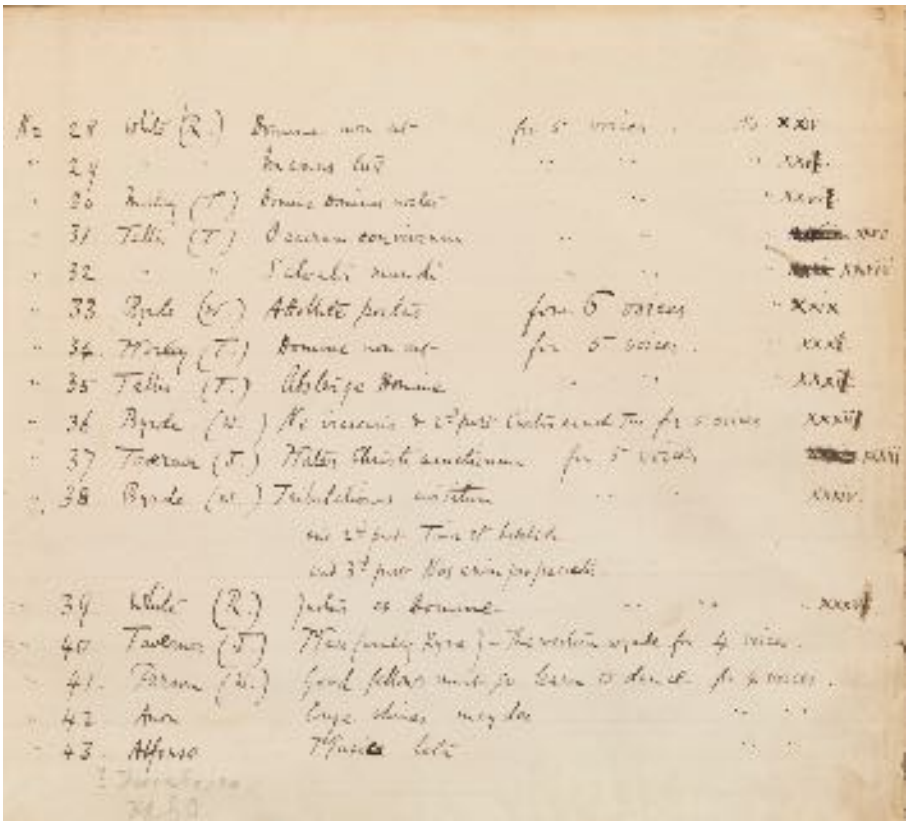
appear to be detached in the *Tudor Church Music* edition photostats of the volumes, discussed below, for which folios were held in place with a bulldog clip, presumably because they were tightly bound), although some leaves have indeed become detached since. The most likely explanation for these additional stamps is that Mus. e. 5 was stamped unsystematically by a different (and perhaps over-zealous) librarian.

The modern 'Index'

A modern two-leaf 'Index' (more properly a table of contents, since it lists the pieces in the partbooks by sequence rather than alphabetically) is to be found at fols. 2r and 3r of Mus. e. 1. It lists the (real) sequence number, composer, title and number of voice-parts for each work, as well as the Roman number provided by Sadler for each of the Latin-texted motets.

The second leaf of the index is the earlier of the two, and is made of cream paper, a little smaller than the size of an ordinary partbook folio, and ruled faintly in pencil. It is written in a single (probably) late nineteenth-century hand, except for the Roman numerals at the right-hand side of the page, which are in the distinctive spidery handwriting of Falconer Madan (1851–1935), sub-librarian at the Bodleian from 1880 and Bodley's Librarian from 1912. The hand responsible for the main text of this leaf remains unidentified, but it almost certainly post-dates the sale of the partbooks to the Bodleian Library in April 1885.

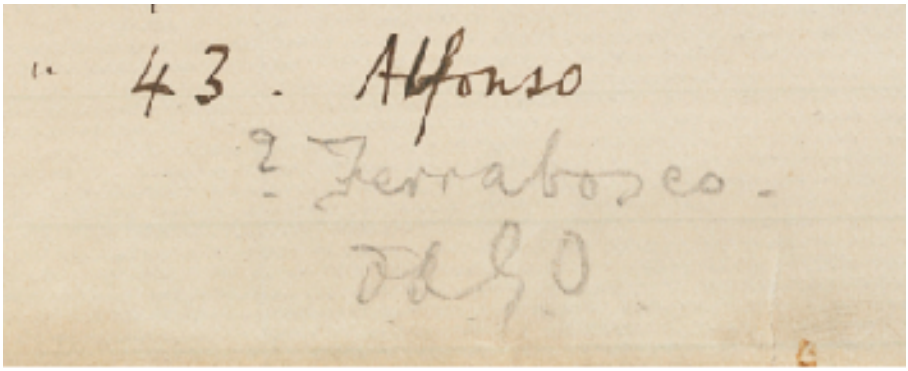
Figure 12.4 Second leaf of the 'Index' (Mus. e. 1, fol. 3r), in an identified hand.



Neither Kerslake nor Cornish mention an index or table of contents in their respective sale listings of 1860 and 1885, and both booksellers record that the partbooks contain only one four-voice piece ('All are for five voices, except one in four parts near the end'). The second leaf of the index shows clearly, though incorrectly, that there are four four-voice pieces in the partbooks (when there are in fact three), and correctly describes Byrd's *Attolite portas* (no. 33/xxix) as a six-part work; it also omits to mark as such White's *Justus es Domine* (no. 38/xxxv) which is cited as being of five voice-parts. Moreover, this leaf of the index also offers some correct spellings for attributions which in the sale listings are incorrect. If the index was in place when Kerslake and Cornish listed the partbooks in 1860 and 1885 respectively, then surely they would have noticed it and reported its contents accordingly, rater than mis-spell attributions and mis-cite the number of voice-parts for some works.

This second leaf of the 'Index' bears a pencil annotation at its left-hand foot: it reads '? Ferrabosco' – a tentative (and correct) expansion of the attribution 'Alfonso' to *Musica laeta* (no. 43), under which are the letters 'FAGO'. These initials belong to Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825–1889), Heather Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855 to 1889, and the note is in his handwriting. Ouseley's annotation provides a *terminus post quem non* of 6 April 1889 for this leaf of the index (the date of Ouseley's death); whoever produced the main text of the leaf must have had access to Sadler's volumes sometime after their arrival at the Bodleian Library on 27 April 1885, but before Ouseley died on 6 April 1889. The main text of the leaf was probably provided by some unidentified staff member of the Bodleian Library, or by a musicologist (presumably one active in Oxford) towards the end of the nineteenth century, though it has not been possible to identify the author of the handwriting, despite exhaustive searches.

Figure 12.5 Detail from the foot of the second leaf of the 'Index' (Mus. e. 1, fol. 3r),bearing the pencil annotation of Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825–1889).



Falconer Madan's numeral additions could have been provided any time up until 1935 (he worked at the Library in various capacities from 1880 until that year); but the fact that the far right-hand column was labeled 'No.' but left blank by the principal and unidentified hand

suggests that it was left empty for his additions. Madan also used a very similar (if not identical) ink, which implies that his numerals were added soon after the index was written.

The first leaf of the index (fol. 2r of Mus. e. 1) is in the same format as the second, but is evidently a later replacement of an original first leaf. It was copied by the folk-song collector Lucy E. Broadwood (1858–1929),[11] who examined Mus. e. 1–5 in preparation for an article on musical settings of the *Cries of London* that was published in 1919.[12] Broadwood's page is undated, but it must have been added when she saw the partbooks in or prior to 1919, since that is when her article was published. Moreover, her draft of this article was dispatched to the publisher by 3 June 1918; and an entry in her diary for that date confirms that she had 'posted street-cries edited for Journal to Mr Keel, Folk Song Society'.[13] Sadly this diary does not mention any visit to the Bodleian library (despite the fact that it is a detailed record of her time spent out of London), but a note entered on 22 October reads 'H[ea]rd fm Herb[er]t Craster with Bodleian Reading ticket etc' (Sir Herbert Henry Edmund Craster (1879–1959) was a Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian from 1912, and later Bodley's Librarian from 1931 to 1945),[14] and the diary then confirms that she was in Oxford from 24 October to 1 November 1917.[15] Presumably it was in this week that she examined the partbooks,[16] and provided her copy of the first leaf of the index.

The original first leaf was evidently in the same format as the second leaf since Broadwood has provided the same information in the same order: presumably the original first leaf has become damaged. The paper used is printed with blue lines, possibly of a type that was available in loose-leaf format from about 1914.

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11 This identification was made possible following examination of several documents in Broadwood's hand in the *Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library*, available online at www.vwml.org. The positive identification of her hand was verified by Broadwood expert Dr Dorothy de Val, author of *In Search of Song: The Life and Times of Lucy Broadwood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

12 Lucy E. Broadwood, 'Some Notes on London Street Cries', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society,* 6.22 (1919), 43–47 (44–45).

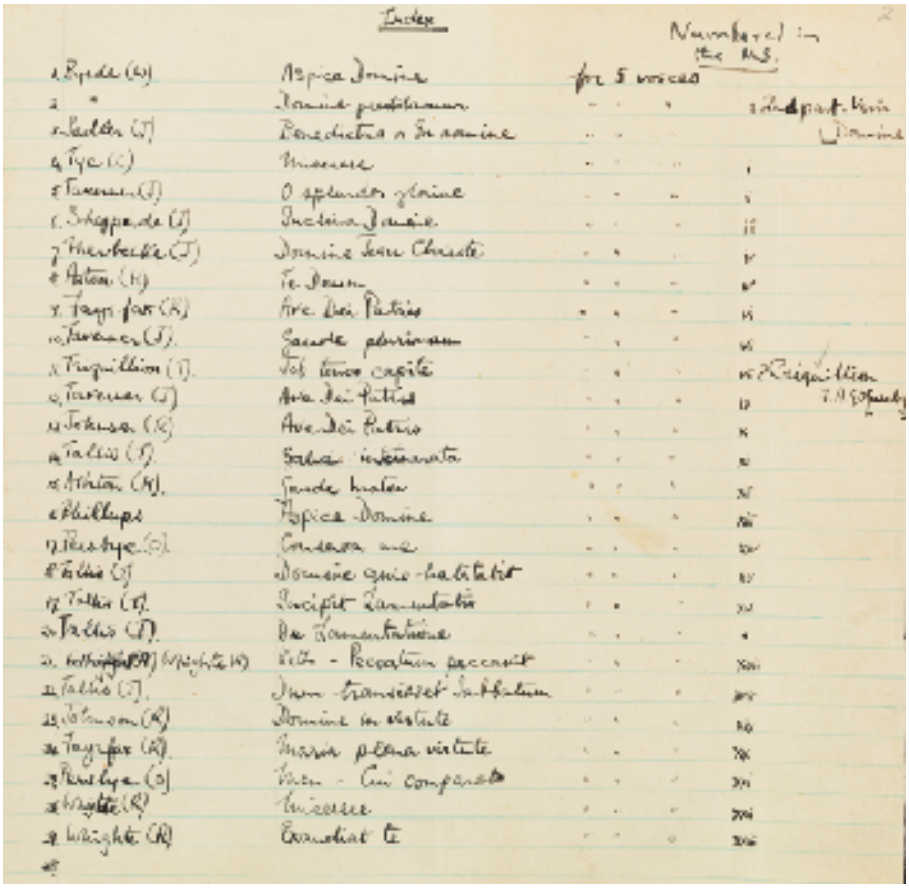
13 I am grateful to Robert Simonson of the Surrey History Centre, for supplying this information.

14 See *GB-WOKhc*, 6782/28-30 (diaries of Lucy Broadwood, unpaginated).

15 See *GB-WOKhc*, 6782/28-30 (diaries of Lucy Broadwood, unpaginated).

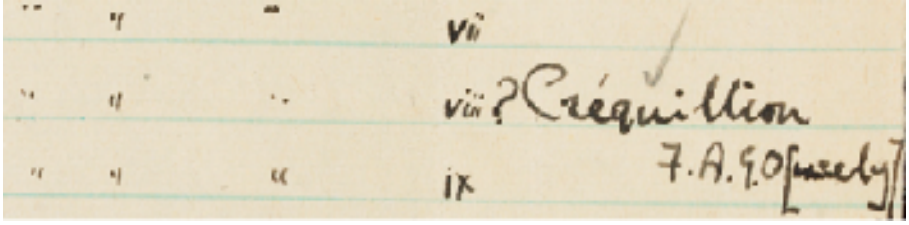
16 Broadwood was collecting *Cries of London* sporadically from the 1890s onwards, so might have seen the partbooks, and provided this second leaf of the index, any time between April 1885 and 1919. She was in Oxford on 16–17 May 1919, when she lectured on Gaelic folk songs at the Lady Margaret Hall Folk Lore Club, but a viewing of the partbooks at the end of October 1979, given her mention of Craster and the Bodleian reading ticket, seems more likely. On Broadwood's collection of songs see C. J. Bearman, 'Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Lucy Broadwood Collection: An Interim Report', *Folk Music Journal,* 7.3 (1997), 357–365 (359). Other dated material in the *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library*, in Broadwood's hand, were produced in May and June 1918 (these are notes of cries taken from *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 29372). See *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library,* LEB/3/58/2; LEB/3/50/64.

Figure 12.6 First leaf of the 'Index' (Mus. e. 1, fol. 2r), in the hand of Lucy E. Broadwood;



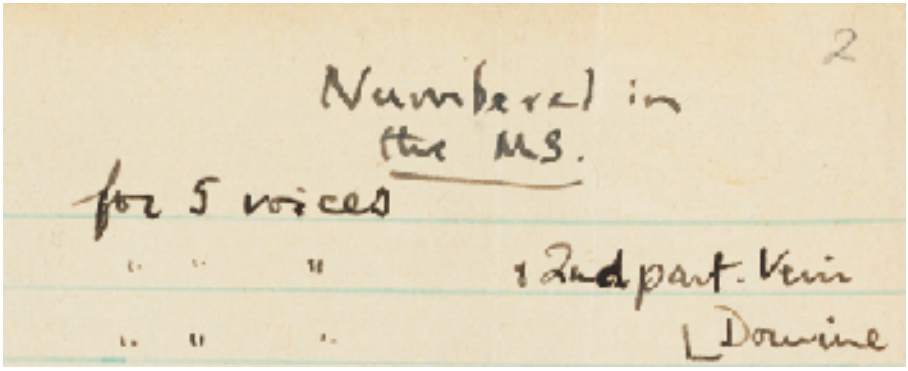
It is clear from Broadwood's leaf that the original first leaf of the index, like the second, must also have been annotated by Ouseley. It would seem that he had made a correction to the erroneous attribution of *Job tonso capite* from 'Triqillion', as it is rendered in the partbooks, to 'Crécquillion' – despite the fact that this work is actually by Jacobus Clemens non Papa (*c.* 1510/5–1555/6). Broadwood evidently recognised Ouseley's handwriting and/or initials, since she expanded the initials in his note to 'F.A.G.O[useley]'. Broadwood's transcription of Ouseley's correction was evidently found to be accurate by some unknown observer since it bears a pencil tick of approval above it (though this tick presumably refers to the fact that Crequillon was a composer and Triqillion was not).

Figure 12.7 Detail from the right-hand side of the first leaf of the 'Index' (Mus. e. 1, fol. 2r),bearing a transcription of Ouseley's annotation from the original first leaf, now lost.



A much later addition to this replacement leaf are the words 'Numbered in the MS.', which head the column of Roman numbers at the right-hand side; these are in the handwriting of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979), Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian from 1945 to 1975.

Figure 12.8 Detail from the right-hand side of the first leaf of the 'Index' (Mus. e. 1, fol. 2r),bearing a transcription of Ouseley's annotation from the original first leaf, now lost.



Foliation

The present Arabic foliation to the partbooks was added at the top right-hand corner of each recto (or as close to it as is possible if a leaf is missing its corner) by the Bodleian library:[17] the terminal foliation in each volume is suffixed with the letters '(ult.)' which is a Bodleian convention denoting 'ult[imus]'– i.e. the final folio in a manuscript. The foliation must have been added sometime after the partbooks arrived in Oxford in April 1885 but before volume 5 of the *Summary Catalogue* (in which Sadler's volumes are listed) was published in 1905, since this includes corresponding folio totals for each partbook.[18] Flyleaves and endleaves are not distinguished by the use of lowercase Roman numbers (the foliation is Arabic throughout), and the later brown end-leaves in each volume are themselves foliated; therefore they were present by the time foliation took place. The index, too, must also have been in place at foliation since it is included in the foliation sequence for Mus. e. 1, though the foliation at the start of this volume is now 2, 3, 1; the two leaves of the index have been glued on to each other at their left-hand edge, and the verso to fol. 3 has been glued in its entirety on to the recto of fol. 1. This was presumably done to prevent any further loss to the leaves of the index – so the original first leaf had

17 The foliation number to fol. 2r in Mus. e. 5 has been written beneath its torn-off upper right-hand corner, which proves that this damage must have occurred prior to foliation.

18 The total numbers of leaves recorded in the *Summary Catalogue* of 1905 are respectively 78, 78, 78, 69 and 72. See Falconer Madan (ed.), *A Summary Catalogue…,* vol. 5, 649–50, entry nos. 29582–86. The first article to mention the partbooks, the anonymous, published in November 1885, does not mention folio numbers at all; this suggests that the volumes were not yet foliated when the article was prepared. See [Falconer Madan?] (1885), 244.

presumably already been damaged and replaced by Lucy E. Broadwood by the time the volumes were foliated and the totals published in the 1905 *Summary Catalogue*.

Two different hands appear to have been responsible for the foliation: one for Mus. e. 1: fols. 1–75 and 77–78 ('foliation hand X') and another for fol. 76 in Mus. e. 1 and the four remaining volumes ('foliation hand Y'). Only fol. 76 of Mus. e. 2 went unfoliated, though it is contiguous to the foliation sequence for that volume. Both fol. 76 in Mus. e. 1 and fol. 67 in Mus. e. 2 happen to be in disrupted positions (as shown in Chapter 5): it seems likely that foliation hand X was in fact responsible for numbering the leaves of Mus. e. 1 in its entirety, and that foliation hand Y was responsible for the remaining volumes, but left fol. 67r of Mus. e. 2 unnumbered because of doubts as to the veracity of its position. These leaves may then have been swapped in order to restore what was thought to be the correct position – possibly because one or more leaves had already become detached from their bifolia and were loose (there is no evidence to show that this was the case, however, since the final leaves in the partbooks were not shot for the *TCM* photostats). If some leaves were re-arranged after they were foliated, then it would seem that at least one disruption was caused to the partbooks following their accession to the Bodleian library.

Figure 12.9 Final foliations in Mus. e. 1-5, showing the Bodleian suffix '(ult.)' on the terminal leaves.



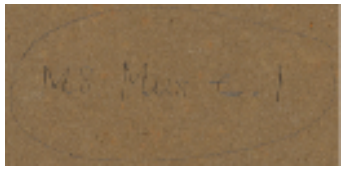
Shelf-mark

Probably two years after they arrived at the Bodleian Library, the partbooks were allocated a shelf-mark of 'MSS Mus. e. 1–5': 'Mus' reflects the fact that the partbooks are music manuscripts; the letter 'e' is a size division which denotes that the length of each spine measures more than 7

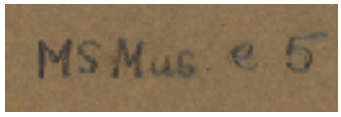
but less than 9 inches; '1-5' is a 'running number' that shows there are five volumes in the set.[19] This was a new system of shelf-mark devised by E. W. B. Nicholson and implemented by him in 1887.[20] The partbooks must have had this shelf-mark by November 1885, however, since it is cited in the description of the set which appeared in *The Monthly Musical Record* (this states that the 'press-mark' of the set is 'MS[S]. Mus. e. 1–5.'; the fact that it was referred to prior to 1887 supports the possibly that it was Madan who penned the first description of the partbooks).[21]

Figure 12.10 Pencil shelf-marks on the inside upper boards to Mus. e. 1,5 and 3.

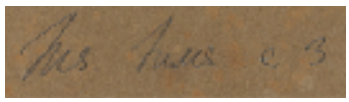
Falconer Madan



Falconer Madan; reiterated by an unknown hand



W. R. Sims



Once allocated, the specific shelf-mark for each volume was entered on to the inside of its upper board, in pencil ('MS Mus. e. 1' for the first partbook; 'MS Mus. e. 2' for the second, etc.). Falconer Madan added the pencil shelf-marks in Mus. e. 1, 2, 4, and 5 (the mark in Mus. e 1 is surrounded by a freely drawn oval; in Mus. e. 5 his mark has been reiterated with a blunt pencil by an unidentified hand). The shelf-mark in Mus. e. 3 was added probably by W. R. Sims,[22] an assistant in the Bodleian library charged with some minor cataloguing duties, who apparently had a 'special knowledge of musical literature'.[23]

The *Summary Catalogue* description

The partbooks were given a short description in the fifth volume of *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, published in 1905.[24] For this the volumes were allocated reference numbers ranging from 29582 to 29589; these were typewritten on to small paper tabs and pasted on to the upper left-hand corner of the inside of each binding's upper

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19 On these 'new' shelf marks see R. W. Hunt (ed.), *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), xlv–xlvi.

20 Hunt, xlvi.

21 [Falconer Madan?], 244.

22 The dense italic script of this script matches very closely that in the various work books of W. R. Sims, now under a shelf-mark of *GB-Ob* Library Records c. 25.

23 Nicholson, 33.

24 Madan, 649–50.

board, probably by Falconer Madan (under whose sole name the fifth volume of the *Summary Catalogue* was published). Exactly when these references were allocated is uncertain: Madan's plan for a 'Summary Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library' had been devised at some time in the 1880s, and he had been compiling a system of short cataloguing, known as a 'descriptive hand-list' (which resembled the *Summary Catalogue* entries) since 1885.[25] The notion of the *Summary Catalogue* was only accepted by the Curators of the Library on 7 June 1890, however, [26] so the shelf-mark and the *Summary Catalogue* references must have been allocated in or after 1885, but before the volume 5 of the *Summary Catalogue* was published in 1905.

Madan's *Summary Catalogue* entry for Sadler's volumes was brief (he was instructed by the Curators that entries were to be formed 'according to the shorter method'),[27] but it was more accurate than any previous description of partbooks. He correctly identified that the set comprises mostly 'motetts', and that there is also a Mass and three songs (two in English, one in Latin), though he presumably did not notice that Sadler's 'In nomine' is textless. He also diverged from J. E. Cornish's listing of 1885 by recording that the majority of the works are for five voice-parts (though he did not identify that there are in fact two six-part works), and that there are three four-voice works (this information is concordant with the 'Index'). Madan in fact recorded that the first partbook contains a 'full list' (i.e. an index); this must therefore have been present by the time he compiled the *Summary Catalogue* entry. But he failed to note that the ascription to 'Alfonso' in fact pertains to Alfonso Ferrabosco – a remark that was added to the index by Ouseley prior to his death in 1889. It may be that Madan's *Summary Catalogue* entry for Sadler's volumes was compiled prior to Ouseley's annotation of the index, but after the partbooks had been allocated the new-style shelf-mark of Mus. e. 1-5, in or after 1885.

Apart from more general notes about approximate dimensions for each volume, coloured devices and capitals, and a count of pieces by 'chief composers', Madan also included a transcription of Heber's acquisition note in Mus. e. 4. He correctly spelled the names of Stace and Caulfield, though was perhaps unaware of who Stace was (he includes a question mark next to his name); he does not appear to have actually identified these men, since no Christian names have been included. Madan also noticed the presence of the 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' stamps, but was unable to ascertain in which of the Heber auction catalogues the volumes appeared listed for sale.

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25 Hunt, lviii.

26 Hunt, lxi.

27 Hunt, lxi.

Figure 12.11 Items 29582 to 29589 in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* vol. 5 (648–649).[28]

29582–86. In Latin and English, on paper: written in A. D. 1585 by J. Sadler (?): 8½ × 11½ and 8⅝ × 11⅝ and 8⅝ × 11⅝ and do. and 8⅝ × 11½ in., 78 and do. and do. and 69 and 72 leaves: with coloured devices, capitals, &c.: binding, brown russia leather with parchment leaves of partly erased late 15th cent. sacred music let into the sides, 18th cent.

Thirty-nine sacred motetts for five voices ('Songes of fyue partes'), with Latin words, followed by a Mass (wanting the Kyrie) by J. Taverner, entitled 'The Western Wynde,' for four voices, and two English and one Latin song: each volume containing the parts for one voice. The chief composers (out of seventeen) are William Byrd (five), T. Tallis (eight), J. Taverner (five) and R. Whyte (six). One English song, 'Good fellows must go learne to daunce,' is by William Parson, the other ('Cony skins, maydes') is anonymous: the Latin song ('Musica læta sum') is by 'Alfonso.' A full list will be found in no. 29582.

The whole collection was made for, and probably by, John Sadler, whose name and devices frequently occur, with the date 1585 in no. 29582.

'This collection cost Stace [?] £21 os. od., as I was informed by Canfield who sold it to him. 1808,' note in no. 29585. Marked 'Bibliotheca Heberiana,' but apparently not sold with the Heber MSS. in the sale of 1836. Bought from J. E. Cornish, bookseller, on April 27, 1885, for £15.

Now MSS. **Mus. e.** 1–5.

Bodleian Library Reference Sheets

Two-leaf Bodleian Library Reference Sheets were eventually added at the front of each partbook. These are glued onto the recto of the front brown endleaf to each volume, except in the case of Mus. e. 1, where it is appended to the two-page index, which itself is pasted to a brown endleaf. These sheets were added probably in the 1930s.[29] They record a volume's specific shelf-mark and *Summary Catalogue* reference number in black ink, probably from a ball-point pen, in an unidentified hand (the 'Arch. F. e.' references in the upper right-hand corner of each sheet which was added by Margaret Crum, as well as the 'MS. Cons. Res.' references, are much later additions, and are discussed further in Chapter 14).

28 Madan, 649–50.

29 This information was provided by Bruce Barker-Benfield.

Figure 12.12 The Bodleian Library reference sheet at the front of Mus. e. 1 (unfoliated).


Mp. Mus e. 1 = Arch. F. e. 14
= Ms. Cant. Rus. c. 15

Printed notices of this MS. occur in

Summary catalogue no: 29582.

See also

Readers are asked to report additional sources of information to one of the Sub-Librarians.

13. RE-BINDINGS & RE-BACKINGS

By the time the partbooks arrived at the Bodleian Library in 1885, Sadler's limp-parchment bindings had been replaced with hard bindings of brown Russia leather over pasteboard (it is these bindings that survive with the partbooks, though they are now detached).[30] Some original binding material was retained in this rebinding: the 10 fragments of the medieval choirbook (now *Ob* MS Mus. e. 21), which had served as Sadler's external covers, were 'let into the sides' of the new boards;[31] but the interior choirbook fragments, which had strengthened Sadler's bindings and left offsets on some of the (original) blank and decorative leaves at the front and back of each partbook, had been discarded.

The Russia bindings bear no contemporary signatures or dates, and so who had the partbooks re-bound, and when, is not known for certain.[32] The matter is not assisted by the catalogues in which the volumes were listed for sale: the first to mention bindings was Kerslake's listing of 1860, which described them as 'russia, with velum sides' ('vellum' is presumably a reference to the choirbook fragments, though they are in fact made of parchment).[33] This does not mean that the volumes were re-bound by Kerslake, however. While mounted on the exterior faces of the boards, the choirbook fragments would have left only a slim perimeter of Russia leather visible, and its presence may well have been missed by previous cataloguers.[34] Some chronological evidence for the re-binding is provided by the later two-ply endleaves (single sheets of brown and white wove paper, glued together) which flank the original leaves in each partbook:[35] the same brown paper has been used to line the interior faces of the Russia boards, and must therefore be contemporaneous with it. The use of wove paper provides a *terminus post quem* for the Russia re-binding of 1754 (the year wove paper is thought to have been invented),[36] and two further chronological clues are to be found on the white leaf to one of these two-ply

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30 'Russia' leather is a form of bark-tanned calf skin; it has a distinctive reddish-brown colour (produced by tanning it with willow bark and dying it with sandalwood) and is sometimes impregnated with an aromatic oil. It was the choice material for bindings in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly from 1730 to 1840. See Harry G. Aldis, *The Printed Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 119.

31 Falconer Madan (ed.), *A Summary Catalogue…,* vol. 5, 649–50, nos. 29582–86.

32 Thomas Kerslake was a binder as well as a bookseller, though in at least one case he signed bindings with his name. See the bindings sold recently in auction http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14066/lot/150/?page_lots=8&upcoming_past=Past.

33 Thomas Kerslake, *Literary Curiosities, Valuable Books, Manuscripts* (Bristol: n.p., [1860]), item 563.

34 This would appear to be the case in the Heber (1834) and Pigott (1849) catalogues, both of which fail to mention the Russia bindings to the partbooks, but do describe Russia bindings to some other items they list.

35 The gluing together of these brown and white leaves is most obvious on fol. 72r of Mus. e. 5, which shows a white protruding edge at its head.

36 Wove paper is thought to have been invented by the printer and type designer John Baskerville (1706–1775) in 1754. See Philip Gaskell, *John Baskerville: A Bibliography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 22.

endleaves, fol. 69r of Mus. e. 4 (though it has since become detached from its brown counterpart).[37] This leaf bears the cipher-like symbol at its centre which was entered by an unidentified owner; at the upper right-hand corner of the same leaf is also the pencil price-code which in the preceding pages has been attributed to James Caulfield (Chapter 12). If the price code was indeed provided by Caulfield, then these two-ply endleaves – and therefore the Russia boards – were in place by the time he sold the set on to Machell Stace in or prior to 1808. But if the cipher-like symbol was added to the same leaf by an earlier owner, then the Russia bindings must have been provided by one of Caulfield's unidentified predecessors.

The partbooks also contain two later endleaves of laid paper: a single white leaf at fol. 77 of Mus. e. 2, and a flimsy leaf at fol. 3r of Mus. e. 3. Both of these leaves presumably pre-date the Russia re-binding,[38] although they appear to have been produced by different moulds (one has 14 chain lines, the other only 10). They must therefore originate from different stocks of paper, and may be the relicts of not one but two earlier series of endleaves (assuming that leaves of different sorts were not added to the volumes at the same time).[39] Clearly the partbooks must have been disbound in order for these leaves to be added – possibly in two separate operations, one pertaining to each type of laid leaf – though this does not prove that the partbooks were re-bound twice before the Russia bindings were introduced.[40] The folds of the bifolia in all five partbooks show signs of probably three separate sewing campaigns, one of which must pertain to Sadler's limp-parchment bindings, one possibly to an intermediate re-binding, and one to the Russia re-binding. The number of sewing campaigns does not necessarily equate to the number of bindings, however: the partbooks might have been disbound, increased by the addition of endleaves, re-sewn, and then re-bound in an existing binding (binders sometimes recycled materials that were already *in situ,* and they sometimes re-used existing sewing stations). In other words, it is impossible to tell exactly how many times Sadler's limp parchment bindings were interfered with before they were eventually replaced by the current Russia bindings. All that can

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37 Fol. 69v of Mus. e. 4 bears glue residue patterns which match exactly those found on its neighbouring and unfoliated endleaf. This shows that they were once glued together as a two-ply leaf, and that they must have become detached at some point after foliation took place.

38 This assertion is based on the fact that laid paper was eventually supplanted by wove paper following its invention in 1754. (Neither of the leaves bear watermarks, and therefore cannot be dated more accurately).

39 In each case these laid leaves flank the text-blocks: they sit intermediate between the original leaves and the later two-ply endleaves. Their fellow laid endleaves were presumably removed at the Russia re-binding; but why these two were left to remain is uncertain.

40 It is logical to assume that whoever had the partbooks re-bound in Russia leather while providing the brown and white endleaves would have used the same type of paper for all of their additions; thus the other endleaves, made of different types of laid paper, are likely to pertain to two different (and presumably earlier) operations.

be surmised with any confidence is that any intermediate binding(s) apparently incorporated in some way the choirbook fragments.

The Russia bindings themselves have been subject to a number of restorations since their acquisition by the Bodleian Library. The choirbook fragments have been removed from the boards and bound separately under a shelf-mark of *Ob* Mus. e. 21; the boards have also been detached from the text blocks, and three of the spines have been re-backed; this has left only one spine remaining from the Russia bindings, which is now in pieces. All of the sewing threads have also been removed from all five partbooks, making it impossible to ascertain exactly which sewing stations pertain to the most recent bindings, and how the volumes were most recently sewn. The following observations and hypotheses about the Russia re-binding are therefore made on the slender evidence available.

The Russia boards and their choirbook panels

Each of the Russia boards measure approximately 220 x 275mm: they are therefore a little larger than the average dimensions of each text block (≈207 x 280mm), and would have been sufficient in size to protect the leaves. However, because Mus. e. 4 is a little less broad than the other partbooks (measuring *c.*175 x 210mm), it would have been a poor fit to its boards. This suggests that the partbooks were probably not trimmed for the Russia re-binding. The disparity in size between Mus. e. 4 and the other volumes must have been noticed by the binder; boards of the same dimensions were presumably employed for aesthetic purposes.

The boards are sufficiently knocked at their corners and edges to show that they are made primarily of pasteboard – sheets of waste paper that are pasted or glued together. Some of this waste paper is visible at the lower board to Mus. e. 2, which is missing a portion of its spine-edge, and shows that the pasteboard was made of unwanted printed material. The use of pasteboard had obvious advantages over a traditional wooden-board binding: it was cheaper (it was after all made of superfluous material), and it was also light weight.

Figure 13.1 The lower board of Mus. e. 2, showing printed material in the pasteboard at its lower right-hand edge.



The exterior faces of the boards are covered in brown 'Russia' leather. Although generally battered and suffering from what looks like a *craquelure* effect, the majority of the leather appears to have originally had a smooth finish. The leather at the spine-edges of the boards is 'diced': lightly scored with crossed diagonal lines to form a lattice of diamond shapes (the same effect is to be found on the single surviving spine to Mus. e. 2). The interior faces of the boards are lined with brown paper, of identical type and hue to that of the two-ply brown and white endleaves which flank the original leaves in each partbook; these were presumably provided to act as double-thickness buffers between the text blocks and the boards. The leather on the exterior faces has been folded over and glued onto the interior faces, creating a turn-in of approximately 5mm; each turn-in is accompanied by a slim border of glue residue. Although badly knocked, the leather at the corners of the boards appears to have been mitred in order to be secured (this is most clearly visible on the interior to the lower board of Mus. e. 1).

Each of the Russia leather sides are blind-tooled with a single indented line about 8mm from each edge; these create a filleted rectangular panel at the centre of each board with dimensions of *c.* 205 x 265mm. These panels are filled with brown stone-patterned marbled paper, but close scrutiny of the vertical blind-tooled lines which enclose them shows that they were originally subdivided with 5 or 6 further blind-tooled lines, running horizontally. Almost certainly these lines were provided for decorative purposes; the fact that they were subsequently obscured with marbled paper (which were then obscured with choirbook fragments) suggests that

the Russia boards were not custom made for the partbooks, but recycled from some unwanted volumes.

Figure 13.2 The diced leather at the spine-edge of the upper board to Mus. e. 1. shown against the right-hand edge of the same board, with 3 blind-tooled lines running horizontally, now obscured.



Until 1918, each of these marbled paper-filled panels was almost certainly overlaid with a fragment of Sadler's original choirbook covers. The position of the fragments on the 'sides' of the boards was recorded in the catalogues of Kerslake ('Russia, with vellum sides'),[41] Cornish ('Russia, with vellum sides, which sides consist of leaves of other similar old MS. music'),[42] and eventually by Madan, thanks to whom we know that that the abraded sides of the fragments faced outwards, and that the cleaner sides of the fragments faced inwards ('brown russia leather with parchment leaves of partly erased late 15th cent. sacred music let into the sides, 18th cent.').[43] The marbled paper was probably mounted onto the panels to smooth out their now-obscured

41 Kerslake, *Literary Curiosities, Valuable Books, Manuscripts,* item 563.. Pigott's 1849 catalogue, though it did not refer to the bindings explicitly, recorded (erroneously) that their contents consist 'Mostly of Masses and Madrigals & c.' (the only Mass setting in the partbooks is Taverner's Western Wind Mass, which is at the rear of the volumes). It may be that 'Masses' was a reference to the music of the choirbook fragments, mounted as they were on the exterior faces of the Russia boards. See English, *Brockley Hall, Somerset: Catalogue of the interesting and valuable effects*, lot 937.

42 The term 'sides' plainly refers to the *exterior* faces of the upper and lower boards: see Jane Greenfield, *ABC of Bookbinding* (Nottingham: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 62.

43 Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, 649–50.

horizontal blind-tooling, which would have caused vertical recesses in the leather and produced a quasi-serrated finish.

Each choirbook fragment has average dimensions of 200 x 260mm (about 5mm of this length is concealed by the modern guard-mountings to *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21). Although most of them have been cut to a somewhat irregular trapezoid shape, the fragments would nevertheless have been a close fit to the dimensions of the blind-tooled panels (*c.*205 x 265mm), if allowances are made for subsequent shrinkage of the parchment. Given that the Russia boards might have been cannibalised for the partbooks rather than custom made, it is likely that the choirbook fragments were trimmed in order to be accommodated onto their blind-tooled panels.

The fragments were secured to the Russia boards with glue. Thin strips of glue residue are visible at the perimeters to the clean sides of most of the fragments, ranging in width from about 2-5mm. At some places this residue is clearly stained brown, and was evidently in contact with the marbled paper and/or the Russia leather; corresponding white blemishes can also be seen on the marbled paper, showing where a thin layer of parchment has stuck to it, or where a thin layer of marbled pattern has come away with the fragments when they were removed. Some of the brown-stained glue residue bears clear vertical furrows: these show that some fragments slightly exceeded the dimensions of the blind-tooled lines of the panels.

Figure 13.3 Fragment 5r (now *Ob* Mus. e. 21), showing glue residue at its perimeter (some of which is stained brown), shown alongside a magnified version of its right-hand edge, showing faint parallel lines as a result of the furrows of the recessed blind-tooling.

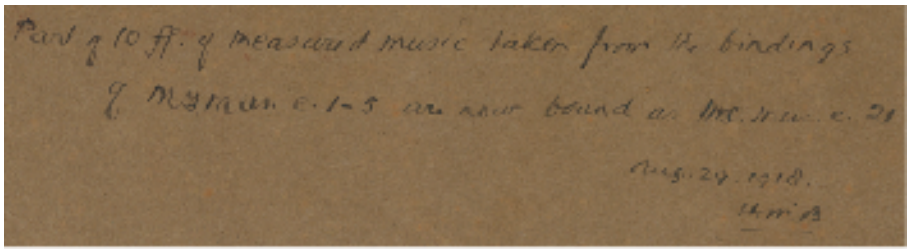


Removal of the fragments and their original positions

The choirbook fragments were removed from the sides of the Russia boards and bound separately as *Ob* Mus. e. 21 on 29 August 1918. A note confirming this was entered onto the inside of the

upper board to Mus. e. 1 in black ink; it is signed with the initials 'H. M. B' and is in the handwriting of the musicologist Henry Marriott Bannister (1854-1919), who from 1917 was "Acting Temporary Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian".[44] Exactly why the fragments were removed is not known: perhaps it was suspected that they had musical text on their inward-facing sides (assuming that they had not simply come loose).[45] The removal of the fragments would have revealed the clean musical text on their reverse (carefully preserved thanks to the sparing use of glue); it would also have exposed the hitherto obscured panels of brown marbled paper, within the blind-tooled panels.

Figure 13.4 H. M . Bannister's note of 29 August 1918 on the inside of the upper board to Mus. e. 1.



Fortunately, Bannister numbered each of the choirbook fragments at their upper left-hand corner in pencil with numbers from '1a, 1b' to '5a, 5b', in order to indicate from which partbook they had been taken ('a' presumably refers to the upper board, 'b' to the lower). Corresponding numbers were also entered onto the lower right-hand corner of the inside faces of the front boards, and the fragments were also numbered sequentially from 1-10, in pencil, in the upper right-hand corner, in order to record their positions in their new bindings. Although the fragments have since been rearranged and re-foliated (for reasons unknown),[46] Bannister's original numbers nevertheless allow their position on the sides of the Russia bindings to be reconstructed. These positions are shown in the following table. The five part-designation bearing

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44 Bannister's temporary position is recorded in his obituary in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1920), 212.

45 Bannister was an expert on the medieval liturgy and its music, but the fragments are not mentioned in any of his published works or unpublished notes. For a summary of his publications see Anselm Hughes and Malcolm Turner, 'Bannister, Henry', in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01962. The contents of his unpublished notes are summarised in M. Clapinson and T. D. Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford: Acquisitions 1916-1975*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), nos. 41851-925.

46 Bannister's folio numbers were crossed out and replaced with the present foliation that is now found in *Ob* Mus. e. 21. The reason for the re-ordering of the fragments, and the identity of the person responsible for it, remain a mystery. One possibility is that they were reordered by Dom Anslem Hughes, who provided a brief physical description of the fragments in 1951, but there is no proof to support this hypothesis. The fragments show no sign of having been restored into the order of their original choirbook. See Dom Anselm Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1951), item 43.

fragments, which in the original bindings were on the front covers of their constituent partbooks, were evidently in rather different positions in the Russia bindings. The Triplex cover (once at the front of Mus. e. 1) was mounted at the front of Mus. e. 2; the Medius cover (once at the front of Mus. e. 2) was mounted at the front of Mus. e. 3; the Countertenor cover (once at the front of Mus. e. 3) was mounted at the front of Mus. e. 1; the Tenor cover had migrated from the front to the back of Mus. e. 4; and the Bassus cover (once at the front of Mus. e. 5) was situated instead at the rear of Mus. e. 2.

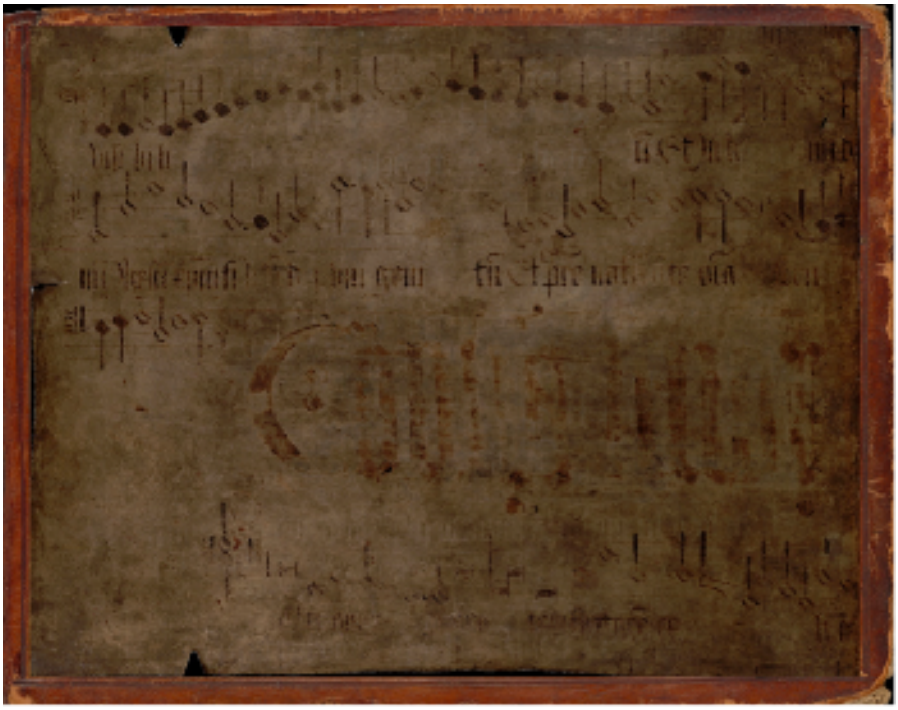
Figure 13.5 Fragment positions in the Russia bindings, as numbered by Bannister. The outside (and very worn) side of a fragment is the verso of the leaf in Ob Mus. e. 21 as currently foliated (shown in grey), with the rectos much more legible despite traces of glue and offsets.

Partbook	*Cover*	*Position mark*	*1918 foliation*	*Current foliation*	*side*	*Original designation*
Mus. e. 1	front	1[a]	~~4~~	6	r	
					v	Contratenor
	back	1[b]	~~2~~	7	r	
					v	
Mus. e. 2	front	2[a]	~~3~~	8	r	
					v	Triplex
	back	2[b]	~~4~~	9	r	
					v	Bassus
Mus. e. 3	front	3[a]	~~5~~	10	r	
					v	Medius
	back	3[b]	~~6~~	1	r	
					v	
Mus. e. 4	front	4[a]	~~7~~	2	r	
					v	
	back	4[b]	~~8~~	3	r	
					v	Tenor
Mus. e. 5	front	5[a]	~~9~~	4	r	
					v	
	back	5[b]	~~10~~	5	r	
					v	

Whether these corruptions were introduced by the Russia re-binder is of course uncertain: the fragments might have been brought into disarray in a lost intermediate binding(s), and Sadler's original part designations, which could have assisted in allocating five of the fragments to their true positions as front covers, might already have become illegible (provided the binder was able to understand their significance). That fact that the fragments were mounted on the sides of the boards does at least suggest that the binder was attempting to preserve in the Russia bindings an

approximate appearance of the original limp-parchment bindings (or a now-lost intermediate binding, in which the fragment had been similarly arranged). That the fragments were secured to the boards with only thin strips of glue also intimates that the binder was seeking to protect what he could of the music on their inward facing and clean sides; an entire coat of glue would doubtless have produced a stronger hold between the fragments and the boards, but would have had disastrous results for what remains of the anonymous *Veni creator* mass. This apparent attempt at conservation is of course at odds with the strong possibility that the fragments were trimmed for the Russia boards, and that the interior fragments of Sadler's limp-parchment bindings were at some point discarded – apparently without compunction. Perhaps these interior fragments were discarded for some previous binding, now lost, and it was for this intermediate binding that the surviving fragments were severely trimmed. These surviving fragments might have then been trimmed again – perhaps only slightly – in order to be mounted on to the sides of the new Russia boards. Perhaps it was for this earlier binding, too, that the fragments had been transposed from their original positions as part-designation bearing covers, and that these new (though incorrect) positions were simply replicated by the Russia binder.

Figure 13.6 A virtual reconstruction of the upper board to Mus. e. 1 as it probably looked until 1918, with fragment 5r of Mus. e. 21 bearing the part-designation 'Contratenor', misplaced from Mus. e. 3.



The surviving spine

The single surviving spine from the Russia re-binding belonged to Mus. e. 2. Although it is now in pieces (these are kept in an envelope with that partbook), what remains of it is enough to tell

that it is made of the same diced Russia leather as the spine-edges of the boards. It appears to have incorporated a title of 'MUSICK', and possibly the date '1576 &c', which was probably at the foot; both have been stamped in gilt directly onto the leather. The spine also appears to have incorporated five raised bands. While this does not prove that the Russia bindings were each sewn through five stations (binders often produced false bands for decorative purposes), it may be that the boards were secured to the text-blocks via four supports, possibly spaced evenly to create five panels on the spine of approximately equal height. The spines's fragmentary state precludes any of its bands being allocated to a single sequence of sewing stations out of the 3 sewing campaigns, however; nor is it possible to ascertain where the sewing supports might have sat in conjunction to the boards.

Figure 13.7 The fragmentary remains of the spine to Mus. e. 2, in diced Russia leather, showing probably 5 raised bands, and possibly the title 'MUSICK' and the date '1576 &c' in gilt.



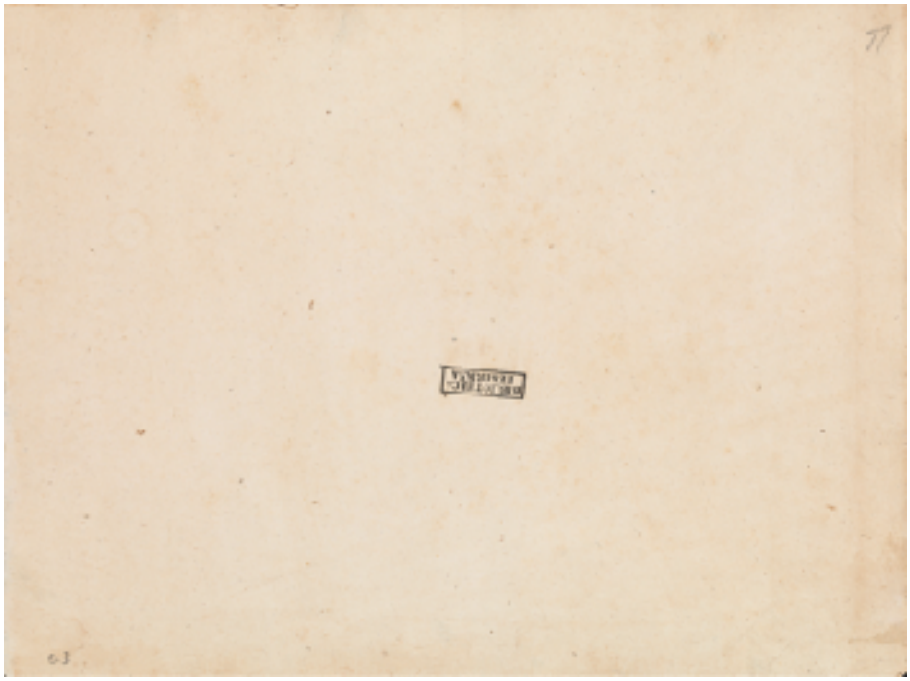
Disruptions

The disruptions to the non-musical leaves in the partbooks – the redistribution of the original blank endleaves from Mus. e. 3 and Mus. e. 5 to new positions in various volumes, the switching of the rear endleaves in Mus. e. 1 and Mus. e. 3, and the swapping and inverting of the decorative

leaves in Mus. e. 2 (as outlined in Chapter 7) – can only have occurred while the partbooks were disbound.[47] The establishing of a chronology for the majority of these disruptions is not assisted by the fact that the two-ply endleaves (of plain brown paper lined with white) retain 'correct' positions between the text blocks and the boards in all five partbooks: any changes might have been made after the Russia bindings had been introduced, keeping these two-ply endleaves *in situ*.

One misplaced leaf does appear to have been moved *after* the Russia bindings were in position, however, and this can only be the result of the partbooks having been re-sewn. The leaf in question is fol. 77r of Mus. e. 3: the white sheet of a two-ply endleaf which bears a Bibliotheca Heberiana stamp at its centre, but which is at the end – rather than the front – of its partbook. The stamp is also upside down.

Figure 13.8 Fol. 77r of Mus. e. 3, with a 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' stamp at its centre, inverted.



We know already that these two-ply leaves were almost certainly coeval with the Russia re-binding, and that the Bibliotheca Heberiana stamps were applied to the partbooks sometime after December 1834, when Heber died, but before the set was listed for sale by Edmund English in 1836. The fact that other Bibliotheca Heberiana stamps are to be found at the front of their constituent partbooks strongly suggests that fol. 77. of Mus. e. 3 was originally located at the front of that volume, at least until 1834 (assuming that Dibdin did not simply stamp this volume upside

47 Whether these leaves were rearranged in a single or in multiple operations is impossible to tell, as is whether the volumes were disbound for a re-binding or simply for a re-sewing. Also unknown is whether these leaves were moved deliberately or accidentally.

down).[48] Sadly this leaf provides no physical clues as to its disruption other than the fact that its stamp is now inverted; the sewing stations occupy positions at the present gutter-edge of the leaf (i.e. at its left-hand side), but these stations would have occupied the same positions when this leaf was at the front of Mus. e. 3.

If we are indeed dealing with a leaf that was disturbed sometime after 1836, then the partbooks were probably dis-bound and re-sewn sometime after the Russia bindings were in place (assuming of course that the inverted leaf in question was not simply ripped from the text block in some accident). This begs the questions of who had the partbooks re-sewn. Heber, who appreciated music but was apparently not musical, certainly handled the partbooks to enter his acquisition note of 1808 onto fol. 69r of Mus. e. 4, but he would probably have sought to have finer bindings than the Russia boards if he was involved with any alterations (Heber favoured fine bindings in 'Roger Payne Style').[49] John Hugh Smyth Pigott, however, has elsewhere been assigned blame for at least one botched intervention: the re-binding in Russia leather of a volume of the correspondence of James Boswell (1740–1795), in which the leaves were assembled, apparently by him, in an 'utterly perverse order'.[50] Kerslake, too, is not beyond suspicion: he was describing himself as a bookbinder in 1867,[51] and he had a wide-ranging and interest in many items he acquired and subsequently sold. Perhaps he noticed that some of the non-musical leaves in the partbooks were displaced and attempted to mend the situation.

Unfortunately there is no evidence to prove exactly who tampered with the partbooks. What is clear, however, is that some former owner (or a binder acting on his instructions) noticed that some leaves were misplaced, and marked them in the process of moving them to what he thought were their correct positions. Evidence of this is to be found on four decorative endleaves at the front of four partbooks which have been allocated an arabic number – entirely

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48 Dibdin did stamp at least one of Heber's volumes upside down, though this was a single item and not part of a set. See Heber's copy of Conradus de Mure, *Fabularius* (Basel: Berthold Ruppel, 1475), now *GB-Gu* Sp Coll Bd7-d.22, which bears an upside down stamp on its front endleaf, but which is also annotated by Dibdin as 'of great rarity' the right way up, on the same page.

49 Heber is excluded as possible provider of the Russia binding by the fact that another of these two-ply endleaves (fol. 1 of Mus. e. 4) bears a Bibliotheca Heberiana ink stamp at its centre, proving that the endleaves were present by the time of the first Heber auction in April 1834. It is also known that Heber commissioned fine bindings from Charles Lewis (1786–1836), who he instructed on a least one occasion to produce bindings in 'Roger Payne Style'. He is therefore unlikely to have commissioned a shoddy and inferior binding, such as those that now accompany Sadler's volumes. On Heber's penchant for luxurious bindings see Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing: With the Progress of Literature* (London: H. Johnson, 1839), 943. For an instance of his specific binding instructions see his copy of Florando de Castilla, *Lavro de cavalleros* (Spain Alcala de Henares, 1588), copy at *US-PHu*, shelf-mark SC55 G5863 588f.

50 On these disruptions and their attribution to Pigott, see Charles Rogers, *Boswelliana: The Commonplace Book of James Boswell With a Memoir and Annotations . . . And Introductory Remarks by the Right Honourable Lord Houghton*. (London: The Grampian Club, 1874), xiii.

51 See Kerslake's advertisement in *The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature*, Volume 30 (London : [Sampson Low], 1867), 361.

independent of, and of course much earlier that the Bodleian foliation – that pertains to their perceived original sequence. It has not been possible to identify the hand responsible for these numbers, though their script suggests that they were added in the nineteenth century.[52]

Figure 13.9 Arabic numbers on decorative endleaves in Mus. e. 1, 3, 4 and 5, provided by an unidentified (but nineteenth century?) hand.

Mus. e. 1, fol. 5v



Mus. e. 3, fol. 3v



Mus. e. 4, fol. 3r



Mus. e. 5, fol. 3v



Re-backing: 1948-51

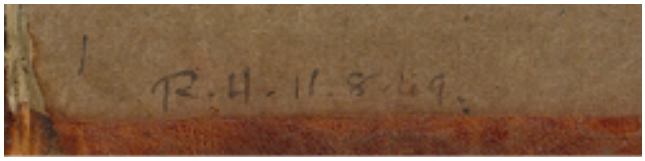
The spines to three of the Russia bindings were re-backed between 1948 and 1951 – presumably because their leather had become dry and friable. (This may have caused some of the backs and

[52] It has proven impossible to positively identify this hand based on such a small sample.

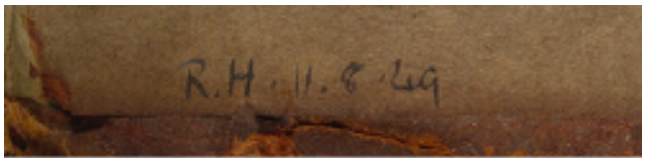
joints to crumble to a fine powder.)[53] Mus. e. 1 was re-backed in plain mahogany leather, slightly darker in hue than the Russia leather of the boards; Mus. e. 3 was re-backed in plain chestnut leather, matching almost exactly the Russia leather of the boards. Both of the new spines were lined with black suede, but were not diced as the original Russia spines had been. The person responsible for this re-backing was Ron Harvey, the Superintendent of the Bodleian General Bindery; both were re-backed on 11 August 1948, as recorded by small notes in black ink reading 'R.H.11.8.49' at the lower left-hand corners of the inside faces to the lower boards. Although both volumes were re-backed on the same day, it is not clear why different colours of leather were used for each volume, though it may be that Harvey was using up redundant materials.

Figure 13.10 Ron Harvey's initials and dates at the lower left-hand corners of the inside lower boards to Mus. e. 1, Mus. e. 3, and Mus. e. 5.

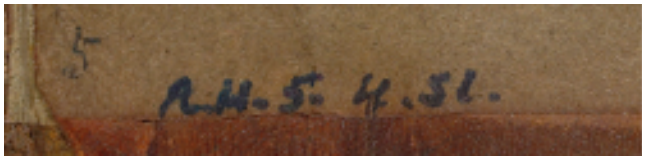
Mus. e. 1



Mus. e. 3



Mus. e. 5



Mus. e. 5 was re-backed by Ron Harvey in 1951: a corresponding note, 'R.H.5.4.51', is to be found on the inside of the lower board to that volume. For this spine, Harvey used a brown grained leather, darker than the leather of the Russia boards, and lined with pink suede. Whereas the spines to Mus. e. 1 and Mus. e. 3 were re-backed only in plain leather, the spine for Mus. e. 5 incorporated six recessed bands and title 'MUSICK', which was tooled in gilt. It is not clear why these features were provided: the recessed bands need not have been a reflection of the constriction of the original Russia spines: binders often produced raised and recessed bands for decorative purposes (and the remains of the Russia spine to Mus. e. 2 in any case appear to show

[53] Though it was very popular for binding in the eighteenth and ninetieth centuries, Russia leather was not durable. According to the bookseller Benjamin Wheatley (1838-1917), it had 'very much gone out of use from its bad wearing qualities. If a Russia-bound book be placed on a shelf and left unused, it will soon powder away.' See Henry Benjamin Wheatley, *Remarkable Bindings in the British Museum: Selected for Their Beauty or Historic Interest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), 19.

evidence of only five *raised* bands). The gilt title of 'MUSICK' was probably intended to paraphrase what was legible on the probably already desquamated Russia spines.

Figure 13.11 The re-backed spines to Mus. e. 1, Mus. e. 3, and Mus. e. 5, showing their different types of leather and the additional decorative features provided on Mus. e. 5.



The Russia boards to Mus. e. 2 and Mus. e. 4 bear no notes from Ron Harvey to confirm that they were re-backed, though they are now spineless. (The boards to these volumes are not only detached from the text blocks but also disjunct.) It is likely that the spines to these volumes were still present between 1949 and 1951: they were probably structurally sound, but their surface leather may have sufficiently deteriorated to preclude a clear reading of their gilt date, but not their title. As will be seen below, these spines were probably removed in a campaign of restorative work in the 1970s.

14. RESTORATIONS & RECLASSIFICATIONS

None of the auctioneers or booksellers who sold Mus. e. 1–5 in the nineteenth century mention in their listings that many of Sadler's pages have suffered from the action of acidic ink. (Perhaps this information was excluded so not to hamper the prospect of a sale). Some damage had clearly befallen the partbooks by November 1885, however, since the summary of the volumes that was published in *The Monthly Musical Record* records that 'here and there the ink has corded the paper.'[1] This damage is directly attributable to Sadler's use of iron gall ink, much of which was overly acidic – even though Sadler seems to have made use of several different batches. This has caused some paper to deteriorate drastically, and ink that must have been originally black is now in many cases a dark brown.

The damage wrought by the acidic ink was clearly of concern to the Bodleian Library because the volumes were subject to a major restoration campaign in the 1970s: this is self-evident from turning through each partbook, since a number of leaves have been covered with thin tissue paper or cellulose acetate, either topically or in their entirety, creating an opaque effect. Additionally, the folds to some bifolia have been strengthened with tissue paper. However, the negative photostats of the partbooks that were produced for the *Tudor Church Music* series of editions show that similar restorations to the partbooks had been performed by *c.*1920 – the date the photostats were probably produced. The fragile state of the partbooks caused them to be re-classified by the Bodleian Library more than once since their acquisition, and their condition eventually resulted in the set being withdrawn from public access. None of the work involved in these restorations has been properly documented, however, nor have any of the various reclassifications been accounted for – despite the fact that the evidence of them is noted in each volume. Details of these restorations and reclassifications must instead be surmised either from the memories of long-serving Bodleian staff members, from the *TCM* photostats, or from the partbooks themselves.

Early corner/edge repairs: by 1905?

A small number of leaves in the partbooks are missing corners: fol. 5v of Mus. e. 1 and fol. 3r of Mus. e. 2 are missing their upper fore-edge corners; fol. 76r of Mus. e. 1 is missing both its upper and lower fore-edge corners; fol. 2r of Mus. e 4 (the later white endleaf which bears Heber's acquisition note at its head) is also missing its upper fore-edge corner. Most of these corners have been repaired with tissue or wove paper, probably at the major restoration programme of the 1970s (discussed below). Two corner repairs, however, were almost certainly done earlier.

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1 [Falconer Madan?], 'An Interesting Relic', *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 (November 1885), 244.

Fol. 3r. of Mus. e. 2 has had its upper fore-edge corner repaired with paper of slightly lighter weight and of paler hue to that of the original leaf, but the repair itself is foliated. This repair must have been in place by the time the partbooks were foliated by the Bodleian library, which, as we have seen, was done by the time volume 5 of the *Summary Catalogue* was published in 1905. The foliation to this leaf cannot have been added later, since the foliation of Mus. e. 2 is contiguous: if the corner was missing at foliation, then the arabic number for the leaf in question would most likely have been entered as near as possible to the missing corner, as is has been elsewhere (for example on fol. 2r of Mus. e 4).

Figure 14.1 The corner repair to fol. 3r of Mus. e. 2, bearing a faint foliation on its repair; and the corner repair to fol. 2r of Mus. e 4, bearing a foliation beneath it, proving that this second repair was done after foliation.



A similar corner repair, rendered in what appears to be exactly the same type of paper as that used on fol. 3r of Mus. e. 2 (shown above), is also to be found on the upper right-hand corner to fol. 5r of Mus. e. 1. This corner repair extends down the entire gutter (right-hand) edge of that leaf. Since the paper of these two repairs appears to be the same, it would appear they both predate the foliation of the partbooks in or before 1905.

Figure 14.2 The corner/gutter repair to fol. 5v of Mus. e. 1, showing the addition of paper of the same hue and thickness of that to the corner repair of fol. 3r of Mus. e. 2.



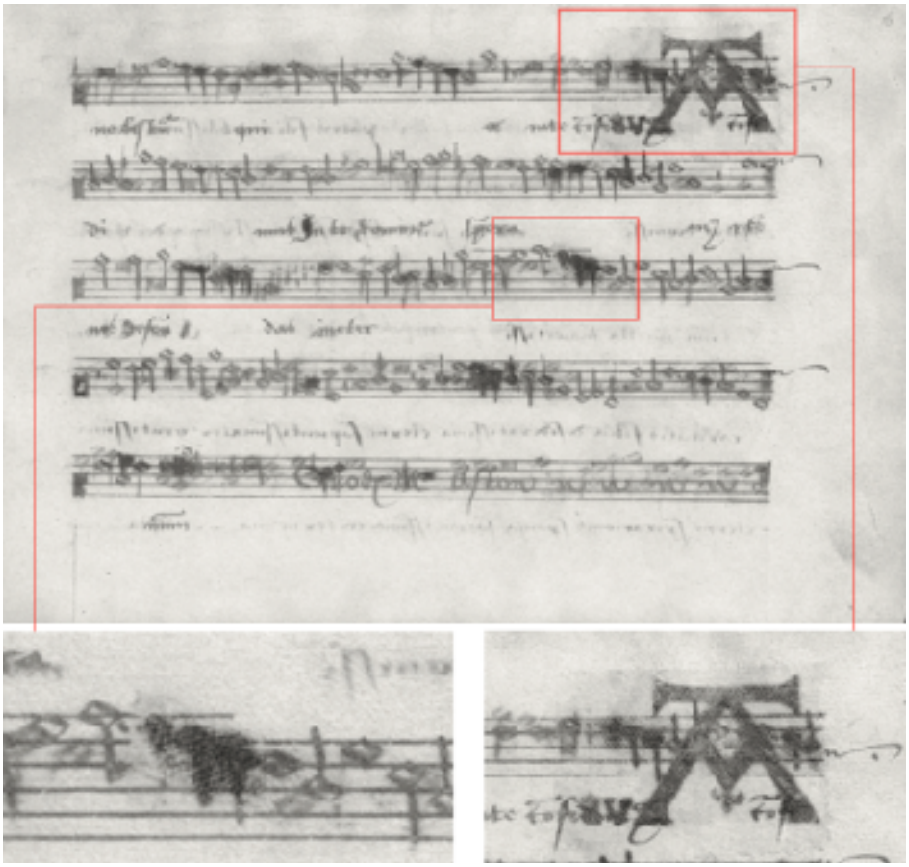
Silking: by *c.*1920

The *Tudor Church Music* photostats of Mus. e. 1–5 (discussed further in Chapter 15) show that some other restoration work had been performed on the volumes by the time the photostats were produced, *c.*1920. This work involved the overlaying a fine silk gauze over folios in order to strengthen paper that was weak or had disintegrated. This process, called 'silking', was popular in the 1910s and 1920s but has since fallen out of use.[2] The silk, which appears to have been applied topically only to areas that carry, or carried, dense black ink (particularly ligatures, or groups of ligatures) is clearly visible on the photostats: it had left an opaque effect, with a clearly discernible harlequin pattern. Silk gauze also appears to have been applied to some ornamental capitals, possibly because some of these bear a base coat of black ink that was also acidic, or because the weight of the pigments – which in some cases has been laid on very thickly – caused damage to the paper.

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2 William K. Wilson and B. W. Forshee, *Preservation of Documents by Lamination* (Washington, D.C: United States. Bureau of Standards, 1959), 28.

Figure 14.3 The *TCM* photostat of fol. 16r of Mus. e. 2, inverted to positive, showing gauzing both to some black notation and to the revers of the initial A.



The silking procedure, hitherto unnoticed, was no quick-fix. It would have begun with immersion of the partbooks in a warm water bath to clean them (iron gall ink is water-resistant and adheres permanently to the surface of the paper; this permits aqueous treatment of those inks without causing them to run);[3] this was presumably done by volume rather than by folio, since the partbooks were apparently not dis-bound and separated into gatherings until the 1970s (it is clear from the *TCM* photostats that the volumes were still bound when shot; see Chapter 15). A cooked flour paste would then have been applied to the relevant folios, before they were pressed in order to flatten them.[4] The silk gauze would then have been applied to damaged areas, and probably adhered with a dextrine or starch paste.[5] The leaves of the partbooks would then have been placed between sheets of paraffin paper and pressed between smooth, white, unglazed pulp board in order to flatten them.[6]

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3 Deborah La Camera 'Crystal Formations Within Iron Gall Ink: Observations and Analysis' *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 46.2 (2007), 153-174 (154).

4 William Berwick, 'The Repairing and Binding of Archives', in *Annual report of the American Historical Association for the year 1916*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 154-61 (155).

5 Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, *Preserving Archives and Manuscripts* (Society of American Archivists, 1993), 149.

6 Berwick (1918), 156.

Whether these early corner repairs and silking were undertaken by the Bodleian Library is uncertain: no written record of *any* repair work survives. What is clear, however, is that Sadler's volumes were subjected to some major, and presumably lengthy, restoration work by about 1920 – either at the hands of the Bodleian Library, or possibly from one of the persons who owned the set in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, it is now established that silk deteriorates at a faster rate than laid paper – even paper that is already suffering the impact of acidic iron gall ink.[7] Thus the silking of Mus. e. 1–5 may have exacerbated the condition of the partbooks, rather than assisting it.

Reclassification as 'Select' manuscripts: 1970s

Sometime in the 1970s, the partbooks were reclassified as a 'select' manuscripts – manuscripts of restricted access primarily by virtue of their importance rather than their condition. Exactly what induced this reclassification is uncertain, though it might have been the result of increased requests to examine the volumes for the various *EECM* editions, which were published from the 1970s onwards.[8] The volumes were consequently moved from the Bodleian stacks to the 'Arch[iva] F.' cupboard in Duke Humfrey's Library,[9] where they were kept alongside other 'select' manuscripts.[10] They were allocated 'select' references of 'Arch. F. 14-18' (though these did not alter their official Bodleian Library shelfmark of Mus. e. 1-5), and these were written in black ink onto paper tabs, which were glued on to the spine of each volume. The 'Arch. F' tab is still intact on the original spine to Mus. e. 2, though the spine itself is now in fragments, and they also remain on the artificial spines of Mus. e. 3 and Mus. e. 5. Labels must also have been appended to the (presumably original) spines of Mus. e. 1 and Mus. e. 4, since they were not re-backed by Ron Harvey between 1949 and 1951, though the spines to these volumes are now missing, and were probably removed in the major conservation campaign of the 1970s. The handwriting of the surviving 'Arch. F' tabs is that of Margaret Crum (*d.*1986), a staff-member of the Department of Western Manuscripts who was effectively the curator in charge of music manuscripts (though this was not her official title) from 1951 until her retirement in 1981.[11]

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7 Guy Petherbridge (ed.) *Conservation of Library and Archive Materials and the Graphic Arts* (London: Institute of Paper Conservation and the Society of Archivists, 1987), 97–100.

8 For a full list of these volumes see http://www.eecm.net/ [accessed 12 January 2016].

9 The 'Archiva' cupboards are the relicts of the provision for valuable items that was made for Duke Humphrey's Library by its founder Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613). The majority of items in the library were originally chained; but the 'most singular and rare' tomes were to be kept in 'closets or grates', so to protect against the 'opportunitie of embezeling'. See G. W. Wheeler (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 25 and 28.

10 In the Arch. F. cupboard, Sadler's volumes were kept alongside the Forrest-heather partbooks (*GB-Ob* Mus. Sch. e. 376–81), which themselves had been re-classified as MSS Arch. e. 19–24.

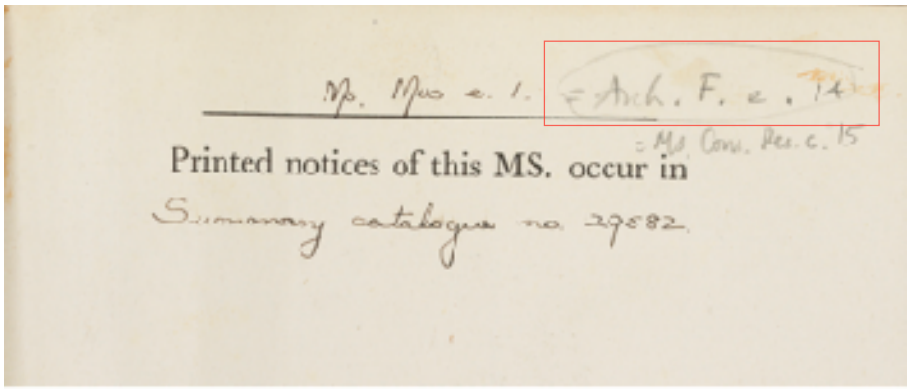
11 Jenny Stratford and Rowan Watson (eds.), *Newsletter of the SCONAL Advisory Committee on Manuscripts*, no. 15 (n.p: s.l., 1987), 2.

Figure 14.4 'Arch. F.' references on the original (now fragmentary) Russia leather spine to Mus. e. 2, and on the artificial spines to Mus. e. 3 and Mus. e. 5 (as re-backed by Ron Harvey), in the handwriting of Margaret Crum.



Corresponding 'Arch. F. 'references were also entered on to the unfoliated Bodleian Library reference sheets that are glued on to the brown endleaves at the front of each partbook; these references were also provided by Margaret Crum, but in a less neat handwriting, in pencil.[12] The notes were subsequently encircled by Bruce Barker-Benfield to signify deletion once the partbooks were given a new status of 'Cons. Res.' manuscripts in 1979 (discussed below).

Figure 14.5 'Arch. F. e. 14' reference on the upper right-hand corner of the Bodleian Library reference sheet, shown in red, at the front of Mus. e. 1 (unfoliated), added by Margaret Crum.



De-acidification, paper conservation and dis-binding: 1970s–1981

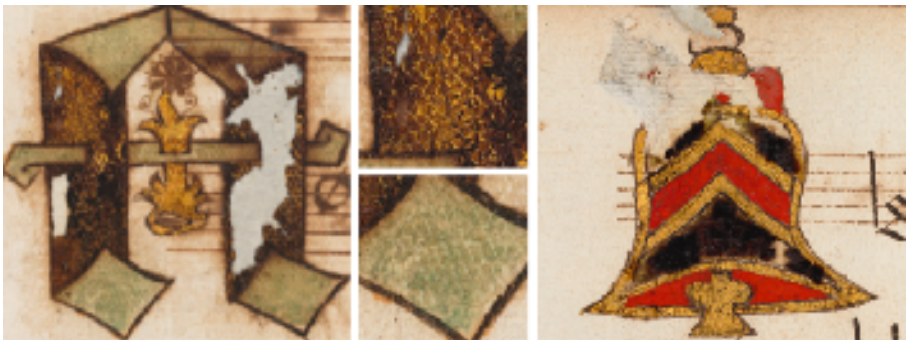
It was also in the 1970s that the partbooks received conservation treatment from Judy Segal (1930–1989), the Senior Paper Conservator in the Department of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. She is known to have dis-bound all five volumes (i.e. removed their Russia boards) and 'pulled' the quires of each partbook (this involved cutting the sewing threads at the centre of each volume, and removing them entirely). She must also have removed the silk gauzing that had been applied topically to various folios by *c.*1920. This would have been achieved by submerging the leaves in a shallow bath of water and alcohol solution; the silk could then be removed by hand. Once de-silked, the folios were presumably submerged in a shallow bath of

[12] I am grateful to Peter Ward Jones, former Music Librarian of the Bodleian Library, for verifying the identification of this handwriting.

calcium carbonate-enriched deionized water and alcohol, and lightly brushed to remove any residual adhesive.[13]

Although now removed, a number of initials now bear an impression from the silk gauze, with its distinctive harlequin pattern. The outline of some initials also bear a 'ghosting' effect (a slightly dark area around their perimeter) which is probably a residue of the adhesive which secured it. Doubtless some pigment and gesso came away with the silk gauze when it was removed, as well as some weak paper. In one case, the gauze seems to have been pulled away from a folio without being sufficiently free from the paper; this has torn away a thin layer of paper. The early restoration work performed on Sadler's volumes has therefore had a lasting effect on the partbooks, and may even have served as a catalyst to their deterioration.

Figure 14.6 The decorative initial A on fol. 23r of Mus. e. 1, showing an indented pattern in its pigment from the silk gauze that was overlaid by 1920 (removed in the 1970s), and the bell initials to fol. 64r of Mus. e. 1, showing damaged paper.



Judy Segal is also known to have de-acidified the leaves of partbooks in a bid to combat the corrosive and autolytic action of Sadler's iron gall inks.[14] If Segal's work followed lines similar to the conservation work performed on other sixteenth-century paper partbooks that were adjudged to have inks of higher than normal PH ratings, then is likely that the leaves of Sadler's volumes were washed in cold water and re-sized in a warm water solution of 2% gelatine and magnesium bicarbonate.[15]

It was presumably after their de-acidification that the leaves of the partbooks were subject to a number of repairs with Japanese tissue paper (it is usual for documents to be de-acidified

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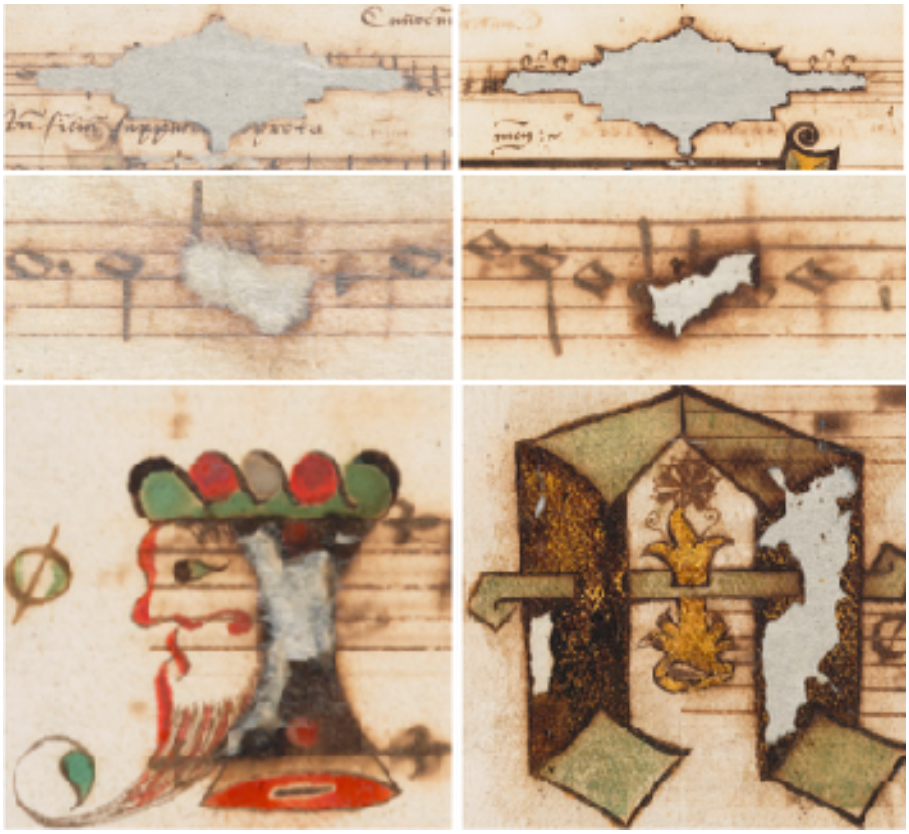
13 This was standard procedure for silked documents. For a blow by blow account see Morgan's Thaw Conservation Center, 'Preserving the manuscript', online at http://www.themorgan.org/blog/preserving-manuscript [accessed 11 February 2016].

14 Information kindly provided by Bruce Barker-Benfield.

15 The same treatment was performed upon *GB-Ckc* MS Rowe 316 in 1977 by Nicholas Pickwoad (see his note on a leaf at the rear of the manuscript). The process of de-acidification is discussed more fully in Linda Stibermoreuns, 'In Search of a Remedy: History of Treating Iron-Gall Ink at the Library of Congress', *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, 22 (Washington, D.C: American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 2003), 119.

prior to any form of infilling or lamination).[16] The most obvious of these are the tissue paper infills that have been applied to sections of folios that were missing paper. The majority of these infills replaced the silk gauze that had been added to the partbooks by *c.*1920: similarly, they were applied to parts of folios that had once borne dense sections of ink, such as coloured ligatures, decorative final notes – made of breves and longs – and on initials. Since the Japanese tissue paper used for such repairs is very thin, the infills for these holes was doubtless made by aggregating several layers of Japanese tissue paper together.[17]

Figure 14.7 Details of infills on fols. 20r, 20v, 21r and 21v of Mus. e. 1, applied to decorative final notes, ligatures, and to the initial A on fol. 23r of Mus. e. 1.



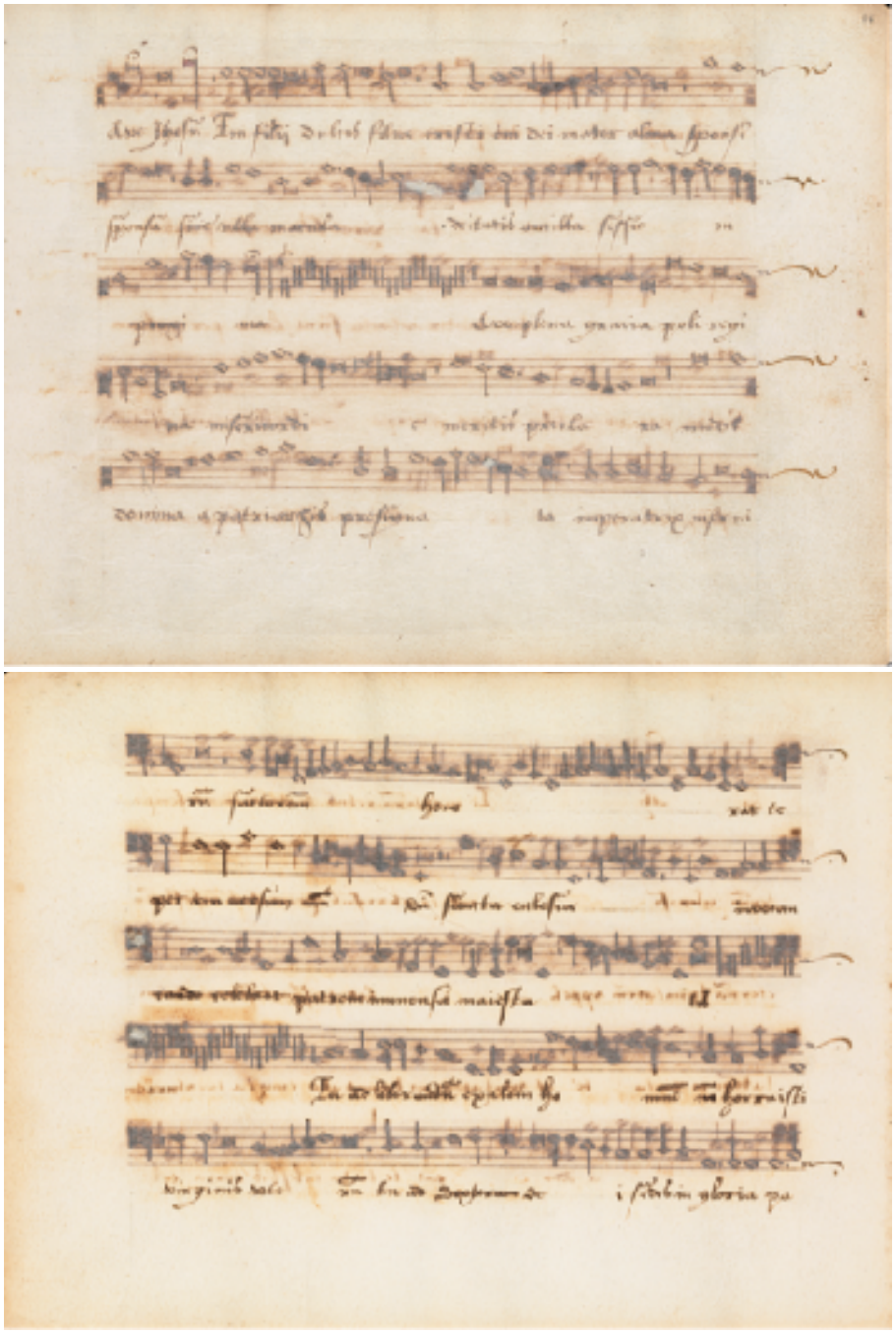
As well as infilling parts of folios where the paper had entirely disintegrated, worst-hit folios – usually those with serval patches of black notation – were laminated with the same Japanese tissue paper in their entirety. This was probably done with a single leaf of paper, so to allow greater legibility. Some folios had tissue overlaid only on their staves, leaving the interstitial space between them, and their underlay, untouched and more clearly visible.

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16 W. J. Barrow, *Manuscripts and Documents: Their Deterioration and Restoration* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1955), 13.

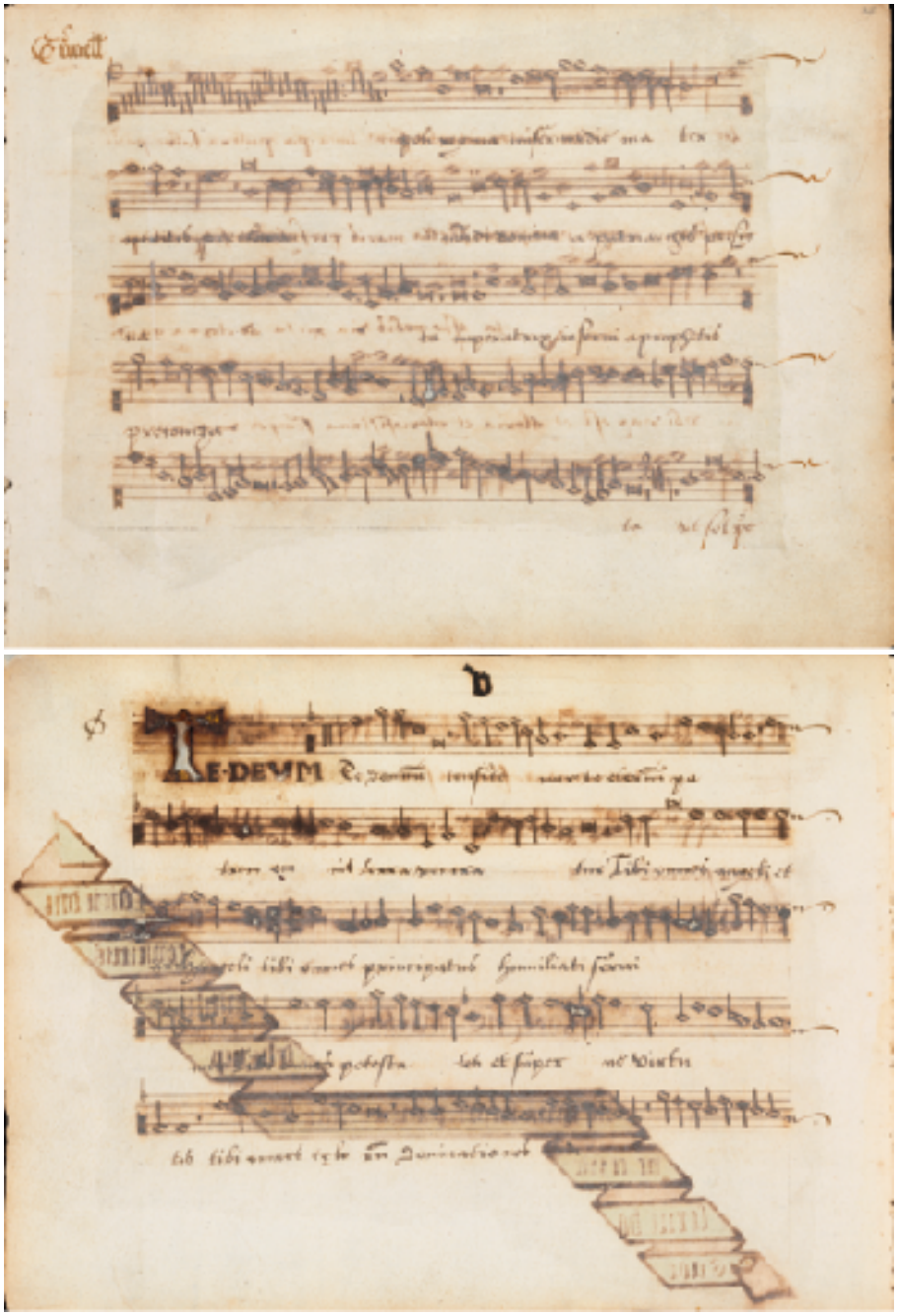
17 This is standard procedure. See Matthew James Driscoll and Ragnheidur Mósesdóttir, *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 11: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Seminar held at the University of Copenhagen, 2008* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008), 217.

Figure 14.8 Entire overlay on fol. 18r of Mus. e. 1, and stave-only overlay on fol.14v of Mus. e. 5.



Some folios were overlaid with tissue only on their 'written space', which is to say the area of the page taken up by staves (in some cases this appears to have been done only where inscriptions, banderoles or other illustrations have not protruded in to the margins, though there are exceptions). A few folios also appear to have been overlaid with tissue only on selective staves.

Figure 14.9 Fol. 25r of Mus. e. 1, showing topical application of paper only to written area; fol. 13v of Mus. e. 2, showing 'half' covering, with tissue paper overlaid only on the lower three staves.



The application of the Japanese tissue paper to the folios of Mus. e. 1–5 clearly succeeded in galvanising fragile and friable paper against further loss, but it created an opaque effect similar to that of the silking that was in place by *c.*1920: this further hampered legibility that was already

compromised by show-through, and on a much larger scale than had the silk gauze, since so much more of Sadler's pages were covered.[18]

The limited legibility that results from the overlaying of tissue paper was further exacerbated by the fact that Sadler's black ink, overly acidic, developed a crystalline surface – a particular phenomenon of iron gall ink.[19] This crystallisation would have been accelerated by the aqueous de-acidification that was carried out by Segal in the 1970s, which would have deposited microscopic white crystals on the surface of the paper.[20] Sometimes the crystallisation of iron-gall ink can be a useful side-effect: it allows visual delineation between surface ink and burn-through ink. Now that the folios have been covered by overlays of tissue paper, however, it is very difficult to distinguish between ink copied on one side of a folio, and ink that has burned through from the reverse side.

As was pointed out in Chapter 7, the folds to some bifolia had become decayed by the 1970s: many had deteriorated significantly, and some had completely broken down. Folds which were still intact were strengthened with overlays of Japanese tissue paper, running vertically down the folds. Bifolia which had become completely detached into singletons were completely remade – again with vertical overlays of Japanese tissue paper. The order of the leaves in each partbook was maintained so as to correspond with the Bodleian Library foliation, added some years previously, with no changes to sequence. But some leaves were evidently joined – in error – into artificial bifolia. The tissue was probably pasted with boiled rice starch paste.[21]

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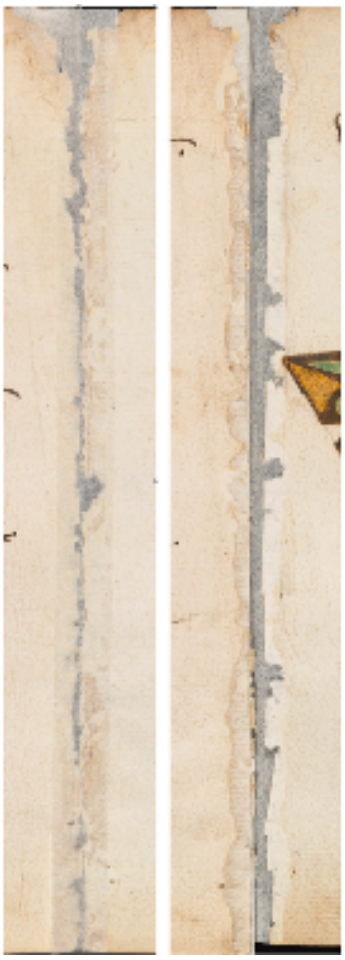
18 I have not attempted to produce an inventory of the various topical or entire overlays of paper, since these are for the most part clearly visible to the naked eye

19 Deborah La Camera 'Crystal Formations Within Iron Gall Ink: Observations and Analysis' *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 46.2 (2007), 153-174 (154).

20 These crystalline deposits are typically prevalent in inked areas due to the high concentration of sulphuric acid present in the ink, though they can also be found on the paper surface itself. Calcium carbonate or hydroxide and magnesium bicarbonate are the most common de-acidifiers used in paper conservation; these bear the greatest potential for salt deposits. B. Reissland,'Ink corrosion: Side-effects caused by aqueous treatments for paper objects', *The Iron Gall Ink Meeting. Newcastle upon Tyne: The University of Northumbria* (2001) 109-14 (110).

21 This process was also performed upon *GB-Ckc* MS Rowe 316 in 1977.

Figure 14.10 Tissue paper at the gutter edges to fols. 6v and 7r of Mus. e. 1 (rotated right by 90º), added to support a fold that is almost entirely broken; and the gutter edges to fols. 7v and 8r of Mus. e 1 (rotated right by 90º), where the fold had entirely disintegrated.



Reclassification as 'Cons.Res' manuscripts: 8 June 1979

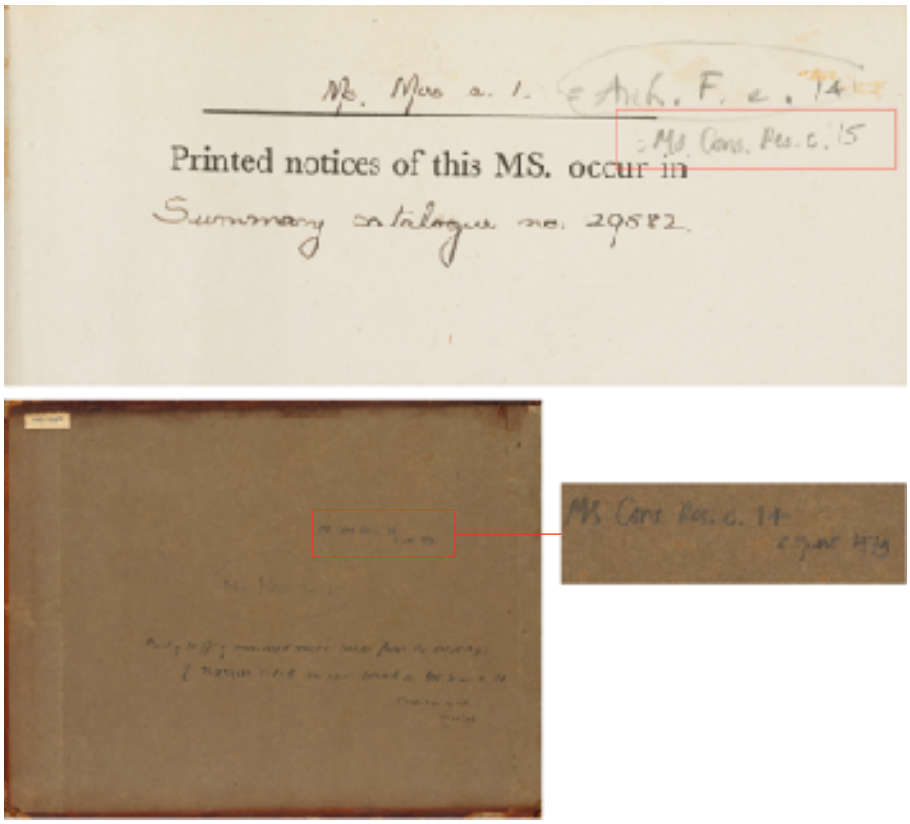
Although Judy Segal's conservation work was not completed until October 1981,[22] it was decided in 1979, while her work was still in progress, that the partbooks were too frail and vulnerable to be re-sewn. The individual volumes were therefore left dis-bound, with their gathering structures intact, folded one inside another, as a multi-quire text block; each text block was placed in individual archival boxes along with the casing of each book's detached binding. The partbooks were also deemed to be in such a poor condition that they should be withdrawn from normal access (though it may be that the partbooks were unavailable for consultation even in the 1960s).[23] Their additional status as 'select' manuscripts, which had been conferred by Falconer Madan probably in the 1930s, and entered on to the reference sheets by Margaret Crum

22 Information kindly supplied by Bruce Barker Benfield.

23 Dr Warwick Edwards has reported that he requested access to Mus. e. 1–5 in the 1960s, but was refused.

in the 1970s, were replaced with a status of 'MSS. Cons.[ervation] Res.[erve]' – a newly devised status for manuscripts withdrawn from public access because of their condition. The partbooks were given new references of 'Cons.[ervation] Res.[erve]' references running from c. 15 to c. 19, and these were entered by Bruce Barker-Benfield, with a date of 8 June 1979 to the Bodleian Library reference sheet as well as to the inside-front of the detached binding to each volume, in pencil. Margaret Crum's previous 'select' manuscript classifications of 'Arch. F', were encircled in pencil to signify deletion.

Figure 14.11 The 'Cons.[ervation] Res.[erve]' references as they appear on the Bodleian reference sheet and inside upper board to Mus e. 1, dated 8 June 1979, in the handwriting of Bruce Barker-Benfield.



Removal of some 'false' folds to bifolia: March–February 2013

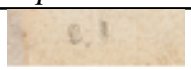
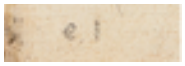
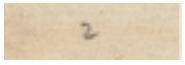
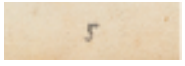
As explained in Chapter 7, an inspection of Mus. e. 1–5's watermarks made in February 2013 revealed that some leaves had been falsely joined together into bifolia in the paper conservation process of the 1970s. This emerged clearly when two leaves that were artificially joined together each carried a watermark, or where each carried none. Some of these falsely joined bifolia were consequently separated into singletons by Marinita Stiglitz, Paper Conservation Supervisor of the Bodleian Library, from February to March 2013. The following bifolia were separated, although other similarly joined leaves have have been left artificially joined with tissue for the time being.

Figure. 14.12 Falsely joined bifoia separated by Marinita Stiglitz, February/March 2013.

Partbook	*joined folios separated*	*watermarks*
Mus. e. 1	fols. 24/30	both with watermarks
Mus. e. 2	fols. 3/8	both with watermarks
Mus. e. 5	fols. 47/52	both without watermarks
	fols. 57/64	both with watermarks
	fols. 65/70	both with watermarks

In the process of verifying the codicological interruptions to the partbooks outlined in Chapter 5, Bruce Barker-Benfield also annotated 10 leaves to show their constituent partbook, so that they could be removed from their text blocks and compared more easily with other leaves (this was necessary when copying those leaves that had been stained with water, which, as was seen in Chapter 5, revealed that a number of leaves were in incorrect positions, not only in a single partbook, but across all five volumes). Small pencil numbers therefore appear in the following volumes, in discreet positions at the edge of several folios.

Figure. 14.13 Position marks made by Bruce Barker-Benfield in February 2013.

Partbook	*folio*	*pencil mark*	*position*
Mus. e. 1	fol. 73r		lower LH corner
	fol. 74r		lower LH corner
	fol. 77r		lower LH corner
Mus. e. 2	fol. 2r		lower LH corner
Mus. e. 3	———	———	———
Mus. e. 4	fol. 2r		lower LH corner
Mus. e. 5	fol. 2r		lower LH corner (on stub)
	fol. 71r		lower LH corner

15. PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Tudor Church Music Negative Photostats: *c.*1920

The earliest photographs of Mus. e. 1–5 are the negative photostats, printed on bromide paper that were produced *c.* 1920 in preparation for the *Tudor Church Music* series of editions, which was published between 1922 and 1929 on behalf of the Carnegie Trust by Oxford University Press.[1] The Photostats were intended to to facilitate transcription from sources which were scattered across various libraries. A photostat machine was installed in the British Museum in 1920 specifically for the *TCM* project; it is likely, for reasons outlined below, that Mus. e. 1–5 was photographed there (and not at the Bodleian Library).

Sadler's partbooks were not photographed in their entirety: only images of works intended to be transcribed and included in the *TCM* edition were apparently shot, although the photostat collection includes images of some works that were never intended to be part of the *TCM* edition, and excludes parts of some pieces that were.[2] Broadly speaking, photostats exist for all of the works which made up the original collection of motets (Nos. 4/1 to 38/35).[3] The photostats were shot with one folio to an exposure. Each folio was held in place either with a bulldog clip or a stainless steel ruler, presumably because the sewing of each partbook (which was still intact at the time) was tight enough to preclude an unassisted shot. The number and side of each folio (recto or verso) is identified by a pre-typed or handwritten card, placed at the lower left-hand edge of each folio. Each individual partbook is identified by a separate handwritten card, which gives its Bodleian shelf-mark – erroneously cited as 'MS Mus. Sch.' – and placed at the upper left-hand edge of each folio. The sequence of the photostats, as opposed to the (interrupted) sequence of shot folios, is provided in pencil at the top left-hand corner of each exposure, within a circle.

Two different hands were responsible for these cards. It has not been possible to positively identify them, but the second hand, shown below, may belong to R. B. Fleming:[4] he was the

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1 The circumstances which gave rise to the genesis of the *TCM* edition are summarised in Richard Turbet, 'An affair of honour: Tudor Church Music, the ousting of Richard Terry, and a trust vindicated', *Music & Letters*, 76 (1995), 593-600 and Richard Turbet, "'A moment of enthusiastic industry": Further light on Tudor Church Music', *Music & Letters*, 81 (2000), 433-436.

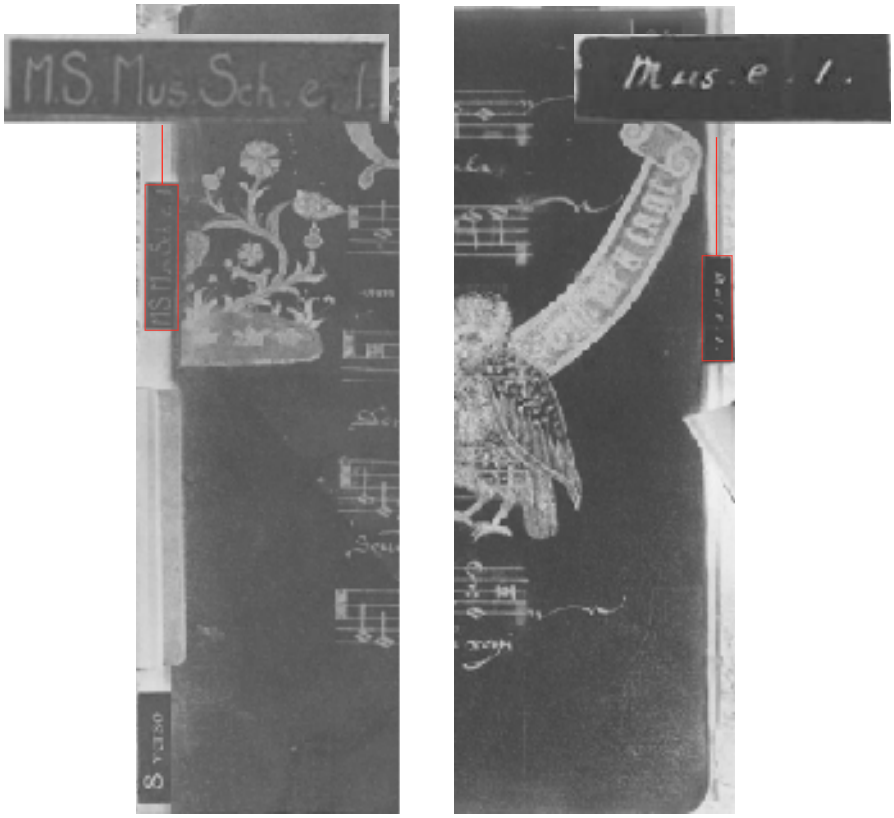
2 Some apparent omissions may have been deliberate, since scholars located near original sources might have worked from them rather than photostats. This appears to be the case with G. E. P. Arkwright (1864–1944), whose transcriptions of various pieces by Tye (which include some pieces from Mus. e 1–5) appear to have been copied from actual manuscripts. See *Ob* MSS Mus. c. 75-8.

3 The total photostats numbers for Sadler's volumes are Mus. e. 1: 97 sheets Mus. e. 2: 99 sheets; Mus. e. 3: 99 sheets; Mus. e. 4: 102 sheets; Mus. e. 5: 89 sheets. See http://www.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/our-collections/special-collections/Printed%20Special%20Collections/TCM_List.pdf [accessed 15 December 2015].

4 Although the sample of this hand is evidently small, it is very similar to Fleming's script as found on papers in *GB-Gu* MS Farmer 241.8.26, 241.8.27, and MS Farmer 695.

official photographer to the British Museum, charged with the maintenance of the Carnegie Trust photostat equipment there.[5] At the installation of the photostat machine in 1920, the various manuscripts that were used as copy-texts for the *TCM* edition were temporarily moved to the British Museum so that they could be photographed.[6] The fact that the shelf-mark for Sadler's volumes is mis-cited in the photostats confirms this. It would also appear that this mis-citation on the *TCM* photostats was the basis for subsequent mis-citations of the Bodleian shelfmark (Mus. e. 1–5; not Mus. Sch. e. 1–5).

Figure 15.1 Reference cards as provided for the photostats of fols. 8v and 24r of Mus. e. 1, showing the script of two clearly different hands.

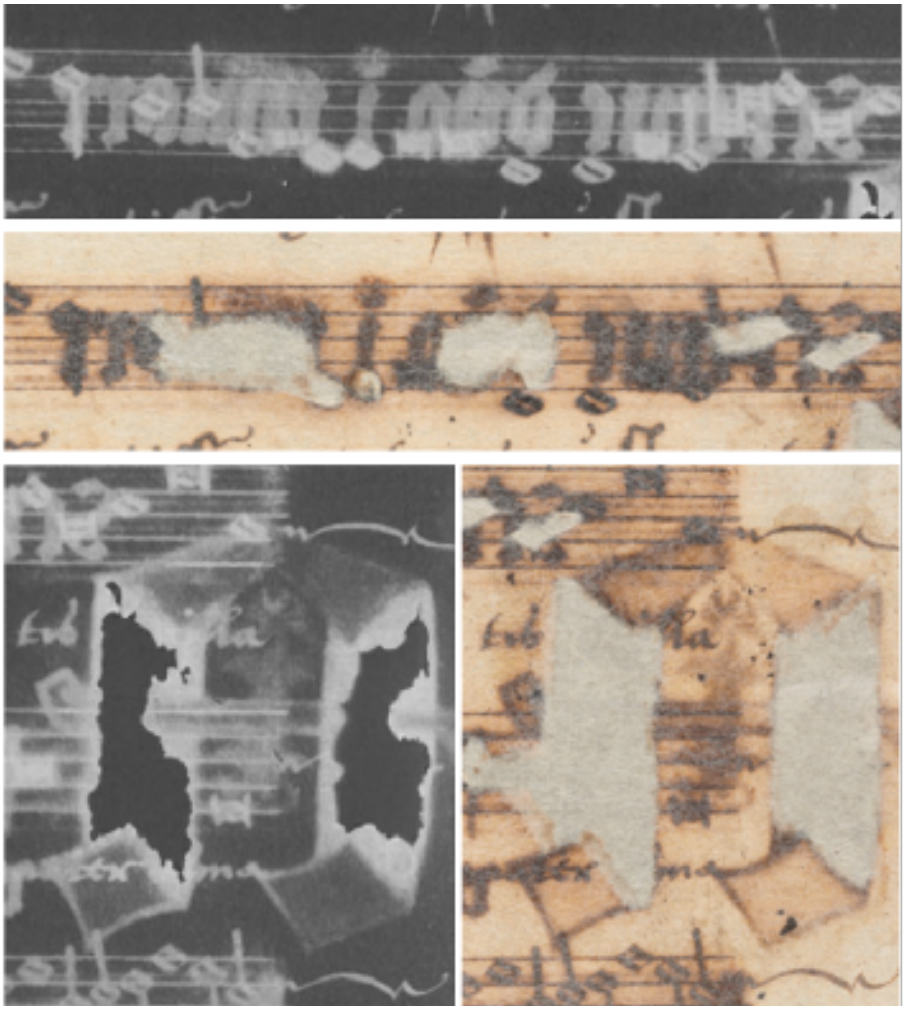


Compared with later photographic attempts (discussed below), the quality of the *TCM* photostats is very good. Although their negative monochrome reproduction state does not easily reveal information about the ink, pigments hues and other scribal embellishments in the manuscripts, they do show – sometimes more clearly than in the partbooks themselves – details of page-preparation and frame-ruling. More importantly, they are the only witness to the state of the partbooks when their corrosion damage was at a less advanced stage, before they were withdrawn from public access. They enable us to read many parts of the books that are either now illegible or even missing.

5 Philip Harris, *History of the British Museum Library 1753-1973* (London: The British Library, 1998), 530.

6 Harris, 530.

Figure 15.2 The reverse of an inscription on the third stave to fol. 22v of Mus. e. 3, which is legible in the photostat, but no longer in the partbooks themselves, and the reverse of a decorative letter A on the same folio, when corrosion to the paper was less advanced.

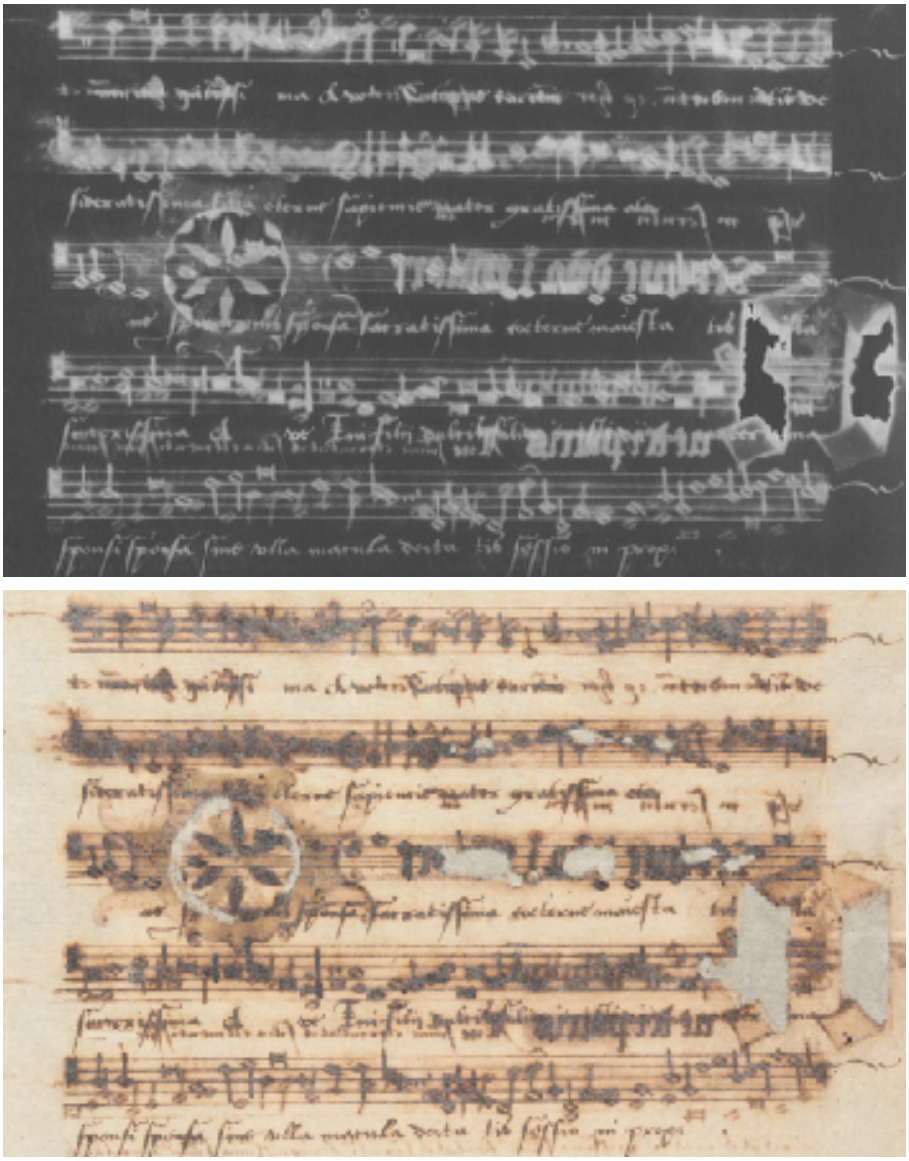


In many cases, the *TCM* photostats are today a better study resource than the high-resolution digital colour images recently taken by the Bodleian Library, under the aegis of the *Tudor Partbooks* project.[7] They also serve as a reminder of the speed at which acid-eroded manuscripts can deteriorate, exacerbated, it would seem, by the restoration campaigns of the 1970s. Unfortunately, because only certain music-bearing folios were shot, it is not possible to determine whether any of the leaves that are now in incorrect positions (as outlined in Chapter 7) were in these incorrect positions by *c.*1920.

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7 Also useful in some instances are a series of transcriptions that were made from Mus. e. 1–5 (as well as other MSS that were used in the *TCM* editions) by Alexander Ramsbotham, one of the *TCM* editors. His transcriptions, which are also now kept at the Senate House Library, London University, were copied when the ink deterioration was at a less advanced stage; his transcriptions can sometimes allow voice-parts that are now entirely illegible to be editorially completed. These transcriptions are not entirely trustworthy, however, since Ramsbotham sometimes introduced corruptions himself – probably because of the poor physical state of the manuscripts from which he was copying.

Figure 15.3. Fol. 22v of Mus.e. 3 in negative and in colour (trimmed).



The entire *TCM* photostat collection, which totals in excess of 20,000 sheets, and which includes reproductions of various manuscripts in various libraries, was deposited in the Senate House Library, University of London, in 1932,[8] where they are known as the 'Tudor Church Music Collection'. The photostats of Mus. e. 1–5 have a shelfmark of *GB-Lu* TCM 48.

Microfilming: *c.*1970s

All five partbooks were microfilmed by the Bodleian Library's photographic studio sometime in the 1970s. These films were published in 1984 as 'The 'Sadler' partbooks of Latin church music' as

8 The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, *Nineteenth Annual Report, For the Year Ending December 31st 1932* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1933). 57.

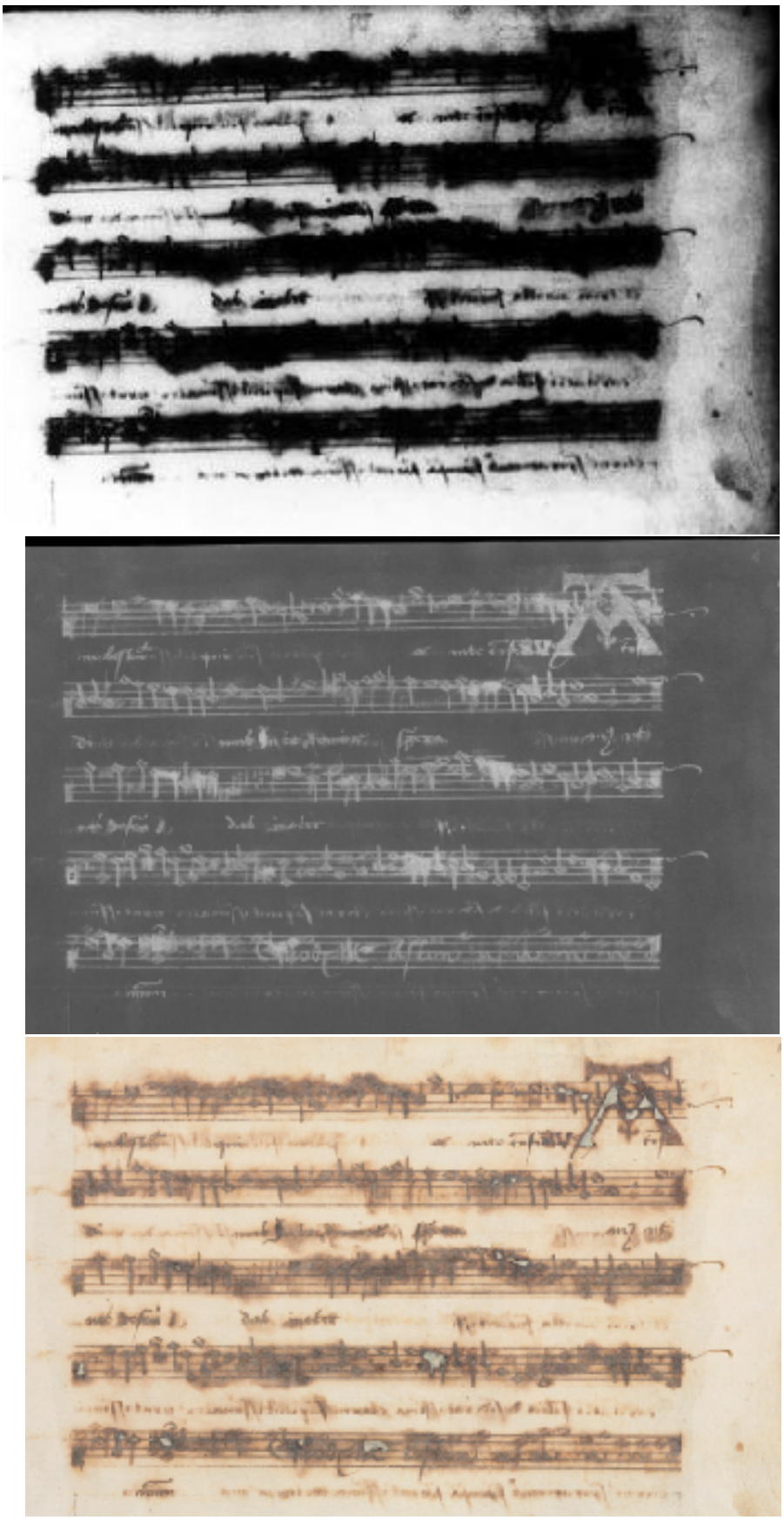
part of *The Bodleian Library Music Collection* series by the firm of Harvester, Brighton.[9] It is not entirely clear whether the partbooks had been pulled by the time they were filmed. No sewing chords are discernible in any of the films; but it seems that they may well have been so, since unlike the *TCM* photostats, the leaves of the partbooks appear to have been shot unassisted with rulers and/or bulldog clips. More certain is that the volumes had been dis-bound at this stage, since the Russia boards are not to be seen protruding out beyond the space of any given folios. The microfilm shows clearly that the Japanese tissue paper, which was applied by Judy Segal to many pages, were already in situ. Her work was therefore undertaken before the partbooks were filmed.

The microfilm copy of the partbooks is not renowned as a useful means of examining Sadler's volumes. Although they were shot onto positive rather than negative film, and in their entirety (the films include decorative leaves, but exclude later endleaves) the microfilm is very poor: many images have very minimal legibility. Since much of the music in Mus. e. 1–5 cannot easily be deciphered from the film, let alone the various illustrations and inscriptions, it is essentially useless.

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9 'The 'Sadler' partbooks of Latin church music', *Part 4: Unpublished English Music Manuscripts before 1850, Section A,* The Bodleian Library Music Collection (Brighton: Harvester Microfilms,1984), part 4, reel 15.

Figure 15.4 Fol. 16r of Mus.e. 2, as rendered in the 1979 microfilm, the *TCM* photostat of *c.*1920, and in colour.



Musica Britannica, 45 (1988)

The only image of the partbooks which appears in print is a greyscale photograph of the superius part to Sadler's *In nomine* (fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1), which carries the cantus firmus. This was reproduced in the preface to the second volume of Paul Doe's *Elizabethan Consort Music*, for the *Musica Britannica* series.[10] Although this published image allowed sight of at least one page of Sadler's partbooks, its greyscale state robs viewers of the striking and vivd beauty of Sadler's sage and gold helix banderoles. The coloration of the cantus firmus is discernible, however.

Figure 15.5 Grey scale photograph of fol. 8r of Mus. e. 1, as reproduced in *Elizabethan Consort Music II,* Musica Britannica, 45 (reproduced here by permission of the *Musica Britannica* Trustees).



[10] Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music II,* Musica Britannica, 45 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988), xxiii.

CONCLUSION

John Sadler emerges from this study as a traceable individual. In contrast to some sixteenth-century copyists about whom nothing is known, details of his education and career are recorded in various contemporary sources (including university and college records, ecclesiastical documentation and accounts of state expenditure), all of which enable us to form far more than a basic sketch of his life. In terms of available documentation, Sadler compares favourably with other identifiable copyists of the sixteenth-century: he lies on a spectrum between Robert Dow (1553-1588), about whom a substantial amount of archival material and some correspondence yields information on his family, education and career, and John Baldwin (*d.*1615), on whom a limited amount of extant evidence tells us comparatively little. The fact that we have one of Sadler's own compositions persevered in Mus. e. 1–5 – his *In nomine* (no. 3) – is also something to be celebrated, since most scribes left us nothing more than their copies of music by other composers. This work tells us that Sadler was a proficient composer, and that he must have been educated in music – despite the fact that no specific evidence of this education in music can be found.

It has been shown beyond doubt that the Sadler of Jesus College, Cambridge; the Sadler who in 1546 was nominated to the original fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Sadler who by Lady day 1548 was master of Fotheringhay grammar school; the Sadler who from 1565 was the headmaster of Oundle's grammar school; and the Sadler who from 1568 to 1584 was rector of Sudborough, was the same person. With the exception of his transfer from Cambridge to Fotheringhay, nearly every promotion in Sadler's career has a paper trail, and each successive position can, by and large, be tessellated. A number of question marks still hang over Sadler's biography: there is still no firm evidence of his birth, marriage, ordination, or death, and still no will – despite exhaustive searches. While these documents, should they be found, are unlikely to usurp any of the biographical events that have been charted in this study, they may shine valuable light on some imponderables: did Sadler actually accept his fellowship to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1546; and, if he did, why is he absent from the college accounts? How did he come to move to Fotheringhay College to take up the position of schoolmaster there by 1548, and where was he for the year or so before hand? Where did he go after he resigned his Sudborough rectory? These aspects of Sadler's biography, for now, are mired in what Joseph Kerman once called 'the murk of under-documentation'.[1]

Also largely undocumented, though equally important, is Sadler's apparent connection with Robert Linacre, his Usher at Oundle, as well as with the men who provided commendatory verses to his 1572 translation of *De re militari*: Christopher Carlile, Thomas Drant, William Jacob,

[1] Joseph Kerman, 'William Byrd and the Catholics', *New York Review of Books* 26.8 (1979), 32- 36 (34).

William Chark, William Bulleyne, and John Higgins – nearly all of them Cambridge men. The fact that Sadler wrote a reference for his successor at Oundle, Ralph Wilkinson, 'doctor of fysick', who was certainly a fellow of Trinity College, strongly suggests that Sadler maintained contact with his old University town – and with Trinity College in particular. Although specific evidence of Sadler's interactions with these men cannot be found, his sustained Cambridge connection is perhaps the most attractive potential conduit (Fotheringhay aside) for Sadler's supply of exemplars, whatever they were. This is especially tempting given Trinity College's status as a satellite of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Mary I.

Even if the question of Sadler's sources and their acquisition remains unsolved, some previous claims that have been made about the man can almost certainly be laid to rest. Sadler was not a recusant:[2] while at Oundle, he was required to take his boys to Oundle Parish Church every Sunday, and in the absence of a permanent incumbent at Oundle, he may even have officiated at services there. Then, as rector of Sudborough, he would have been expected to celebrate services himself. Sadler served Sudborough as rector until 1584: churchgoing was an important part of his life. Nor is it likely that Sadler was a closet Catholic: nearly everything about his biography suggests otherwise. Although he must have been born when England was in full communion with Rome, from the late 1530s onwards he seems to have been a conforming member of the Anglican establishment, and was later a parish priest of the reformed Anglican Church. Rather than merely complying with England's doctrinal oscillations, he was an active member of the established church: Sadler himself would have stood in *persona christi* and consecrated and administered communion himself. For those who think that Sadler might have attended church simply 'for fashion sake, and in respect to avoid the danger of the law', as one Catholic was advised to do,[3] then the *onus probandi* lies with them. Only if some new and game-changing evidence were to be unearthed should this old claim be given new credence.

This study has also sought to contextualise Sadler's partbooks as some of the most important English polyphonic documents that have come down to us. The fact that all five volumes survive together and complete is in itself something to be celebrated, even if the deterioration the set has suffered has made some pages illegible. Mus. e. 1–5 might not change the musical map in terms of its contents – it does not contain as high a degree of *unica* as the Gyffard partbooks, for instance – but Sadler's volumes nevertheless contain some works which survive

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2 Kerry McCarthy has been at pains to communicate that the term 'recusant' has evolved into "little more than a lazy shorthand for 'suspected of Catholic sympathies'", when in fact it is defined as 'a person, especially a Roman Catholic, who refuses to attend the services of the Church of England.' See McCarthy, Kerry, 'Evidence of Things Past', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135.2 (2011), 405-411 (409), and the definition of 'recusant' in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

3 A servant of Sir John Petre was, according to an eyewitness account, advised 'to go to the church for fashion sake, and in respect to avoid the danger of the law', and that he should 'keep [his] own conscience' in the matter. The witness also added that 'I verily think Sir John, although he goeth to the church, doth not receive the communion'. See McCarthy, *Byrd*, 155.

nowhere else, both 'entire' and 'partial'. Other works, though they are found in other sources, survive in versions that are unique to Sadler's volumes. This, coupled with the fact that hardly any other English music manuscripts of the sixteenth century contain music, inscriptions, and illustrations, make Mus. e. 1–5 some of the most important music manuscripts that we have.

Sadler's role in the production of Mus. e. 1–5 is less easy to assess. Clearly, from the various versions of his name, the volumes were owned by Sadler; and the various dates in the partbooks, which imply a production time of almost 30 years, suggest that the volumes cannot have been a commission. Falconer Madan was clearly willing to hedge his bets when he wrote in 1905 that the volumes were 'made for, and probably by, John Sadler'.[4] As has been pointed out, the handwriting of the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts generally matches that of Mus.e. 1–5, but exhaustive searches have failed to locate any documents in Sadler's hand for comparison purposes, to prove whether this handwriting is in fact his.

The question of whether Sadler produced the partbooks is also vexed by the fact that Sadler seems not to have had a 'house style' as a copyist. The partbooks contain a variety of clef styles, some of which change within a single piece; none of these styles appear to have a peculiar function that distinguishes them from other models. Mensuration signs are inconsistent: they appear in some partbooks and not in others; their placement on the page varies; and in some pieces different mensuration signs are used simultaneously. Even though Sadler's own accidental policy is difficult to determine, other works in the partbooks use single and double-bowed flats interchangeably; and the F-sign and Fa-sign, both of which are used to cancel or prevent F-sharps, are encountered only rarely. Also unpredictable is the use (or not) of clef changes and ledger lines. The seven different styles of direct – a number apparently unmatched by any other Elizabethan partbook set – also militate against the possibility of a 'house style': they can change within a single piece. Although the partbooks use a generally consistent diamond-shaped notation (even if some note-heads are malformed), a broadly similar secretary script for the underlay, and have pages that are generally consistent in planning and design, it does not otherwise seem that Sadler strove to maintain uniformity in his copies. Compared to the partbooks of Baldwin and Dow, they are a hodgepodge.

Any variation in the partbooks' features may be related to the fact that they were compiled over a long period of time. The earliest date in the partbooks is 1568, and the latest 1581; in such a long-running enterprise some variety is perhaps to be expected. Sadler would have had access to different exemplars, all of which might have used different styles of flats, directs and clef; the volumes may even reflect Sadler's own vacillations over which styles to adopt. But an alternative possibility is that these features vary because they were provided by more than one person. Close scrutiny of the different clef styles in the volumes seems to support this hypothesis:

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4 Falconer Madan (ed.), *A Summary Catalogue…,* vol. 5, 649–50, entry nos. 29582–86.

the various C-clefs give the outward impression that they are similar, but they in fact show signs which suggest they were drawn by different hands. The same is true of other features: Roman numbers for the original collection of 35 works appear in different scripts, and at different points on the page; some are placed on ruled pencil guidelines; others are not. Some also have ordinal letters, or are flanked with diamond-shaped dots, and others are not. The single Arabic number 29 also stands out as an anomaly in its own right. Several different scripts are employed for incipits; differing scripts are also used for ascriptions. Sadler was either experimenting with different types of script (though these scripts do match for each work, laterally across the partbooks), or they were provided by several persons, acting in collaboration.[5]

If the volumes were produced under Sadler's supervision, then this raises the question of how the various errors in the partbooks were able to slip through the net, given that Sadler would have been expected to teach writing, spelling and grammar to his charges.[6] A simple answer to this question is that Sadler was not infallible. Even his published translation of *De re militari* was said to contain some basic errors – despite the fact that Sadler was 'bone erudicionis in lingua latina et theologia' ('well educated in the Latin language and theology').[7] Possibly the few erroneous inscriptions in the partbooks were entered by boys, and not by Sadler himself, although this is something that is practically impossible to prove.

Similar questions can also be sustained about the general standard of the calligraphy in Mus. e. 1–5. Although the writing is largely legible and reasonably attractive, it is not as well executed as the scripts found in the partbooks of Robert Dow or John Baldwin. A key difference between Dow and Sadler, however, is that Dow was a professionally trained scribe who taught penmanship (he taught Philip Sydney to write); John Baldwin was paid for copying work by St George's, Windsor.[8] No such claims can be made about Sadler: as far as we know, he was a self-taught amateur. Nor should Sadler's position as schoolmaster – a position which would have included teaching students to write – necessarily signal that he was an adept calligrapher. Some perspective is lent by one contemporary commentator who alleged that:

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5 Some of the features listed above are also to be found in other partbook sets: Dow's volumes use different clef styles, as well as the F-sign to cancel an F-sharp on a handful of occasions. See his copy of Robert White's *Manus tuae fecerunt me*, for instance, in *GB-Och* Mus. 984, no. 6 (third folio, second stave, at the word 'Confundantur').

6 Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640*, 29.

7 *GB-Lpl* CM XIII/56, fol. 1r

8 Baldwin is mentioned in the Treasurer's Rolls, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, WR XV.59.13, 15, 16,17: see Appendix 2 in Gaskin, 'Music copyists in late sixteenth-century England, with particular reference to the manuscripts of John Baldwin', vol. 1.

> …you shall finde very fewe good writers in Grammar Schooles vnlesse eyther they haue beene taught by Scriueners, or be themselues maruellous apt hereunto, and very rare, or where the Master doth apply himselfe chiefly to teach to write…[9]

This study has also shown that Sadler's partbooks have had a complex afterlife. Although it has not been possible to ascertain exactly how the volumes left Sadler's possession, or identify their whereabouts in the 200 years or so after his death (assuming a death date of *c.*1600), we now know that the partbooks passed through the hands of several owners: James Caulfield, Machell Stace, Richard Heber, Thomas Thorpe, John Hugh Smyth Pigott, Thomas Kerslake, and finally James E. Cornish. Perhaps unexpectedly, these owners were not musicians, but non-musical collectors or booksellers. These owners have had a major bearing up on the set's present state: today the volumes reflect several generations of interventions by subsequent possessors, as shown by disruptions to the orders of leaves, the odd missing leaf in the volumes, and a number of marks in pen and pencil – some of which have yet to be properly identified and explained. The various alterations to the bindings are perhaps the most melancholy legacy of these owners: even though the re-binding of the partbooks was doubtless done in the name of preservation, only a quarter or so of the original choirbook material that was used to produce Sadler's limp parchment bindings has survived. This makes transcribing the Mass movements they once bore all but impossible.

A number of the claims made in this study may need to be re-calibrated or even overturned should new evidence come to light. Further documentation on Sadler and his activities might surface; new early owners of the partbooks might be identified; very-closely related sources might surface; or matching initials or illustrations might be identified in some other source(s). A close analysis of Sadler's use of flats and sharps, and a comparison of this use with the their usage in other sixteenth century sources may reveal Sadler's own accidental policies. A close comparison of the readings in Sadler's volumes against concordant sources may shine light on the degree to which Sadler assumed the mantle of editor in copying the music that he did, although proving that a scribe was responsible for deliberate divergences himself is notoriously difficult to prove.

Of course, there are several aspects of the partbooks that have not been studied at sufficient length in this course of this project. The various illustrations in Mus. e. 1–5 invite work by students of manuscript illustration: do the same pictures appear in other items? How do they compare with the finely wrought illustrations that appear in medieval codices? Why are certain images placed next to certain works, when there is apparently no discernible connection between them? The inscriptions in the partbooks also demand further study: although a table of these

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[9] John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: Or, The Grammar Schoole* (London: Humphrey Lownes for Thomas Man, 1612), 28.

inscriptions has been included in Appendix D, all of them would benefit from a close palaeographical analysis in order to determine how many hands were responsible for them, and what the precise sources for them were – more fully than indicated at present.

It is Sadler's position as a schoolmaster – an apparently unique position among identifiable Elizabethan copyists – that provides the most tempting stimulus for further work. Although the methods by which music was taught in Tudor choirs-schools and via private tuition are firmly established,[10] whether or not music was taught in Tudor grammar schools is less clear. Judging from their statutes, few grammar schools provided any kind of musical education – whether practical or theoretical – in their formal curricula.[11] Yet there are subtle references to musical activities, both in statutes and elsewhere: Westminster devoted an hour a week to music from the 1560s onwards;[12] Burford students were expected 'to serve God in singing or saying of Psalms';[13] the music tutor Thomas Whythorne (1528–1595) learned 'to sing Muzik' in his local elementary school.[14] A musical education was also advocated by theorists, at least on paper: Nicholas Ling (*fl.*1570–1607) reckoned that 'schoole should containe foure principall rudiments, that is, Grammer, Exercise, Musicke, and Paynting';[15] Sir Thomas Elyot (*c.*1490–1546) declared that 'without musike, grammer may not be perfecte';[16] Roger Ascham (*d.*1568) believed 'that milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringing up of children than musike is'.[17] Only Richard Muclaster (*c.*1531–1611), however, who considered music one of 'the chiefe principles, for training up of youth',[18] is thought to have put any of these views into practice (his pupils at Merchant Taylors' and St Paul's, London, sang and played instruments).[19] Thus, even though music

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10 See, for instance, Jane Flynn, 'Thomas Mulliner: An Apprentice of John Heywood?', in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 173–194; 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180–99; and Osborn, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*.

11 D. G. T. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 65 (1938-9), 109–139.

12 Frank Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College: The Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (London: J. Murray, 1952), 214–36; A. H. Thompson, *Song-Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942), 6–7.

13 See Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on MSS in Various Collections,* vol. 1 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1901), 55.

14 Osborn, 7. See also the statutes of Worcester free school (1561), Sevenoaks grammar school, St Saviour, Southwark, parish school (1562), St Olave, Southwark, parish school (1566), Kirkby Stephen grammar school (1566), and Burford grammar school (1571), and Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English cathedrals and churches, and at the court during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1967), 379.

15 Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphuia Wits Common Wealth* (London: I.R. for N. Ling, 1598), fol. 54r.

16 Thomas Elyot, *Boke named the Governour* ([London]: Thomas Berthelet, 1537), fol. 57r.

17 Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (London: n.p., 1545), f. 11r.

18 Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherin those primitiue circumstances be examined…* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1581), 36–7.

19 Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The Growth of English Education 1348–1648* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 202.

was not listed as subject in the statutes of Oundle School, or for most grammar schools for which early statutes survive,[20] it is possible that Sadler taught music anyway, and that his partbooks were in fact produced as a didactic project, by Sadler and his students.

This possibility may be substantiated by an assessment of Sadler's partbooks for evidence of how the precepts of notation were taught. Did Sadler or his students make on-page adjustments to sources in order to make them more intelligible to younger readers, such as 'counting out' long rests, or providing bar-lines? How did students overcome complex or superseded notational practices like coloration), ligation, and *musica ficta*? Other sources must also be examined for similar markings, in order to ascertain whether they too contain hallmarks of a scholastic provenance, that suggest they were produced (or appropriated) as didactic projects, for students.

[20] Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 205-221. David G. T. Harris refers to some later music provision at Christ's Hospital (charity school) in London, and at Westminster School; see David G. T. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 65 (1938–39), 109-139. Kirkby Stephen Grammar School also required metrical Psalms be sung on a daily basis, but no specific music tuition appears to have been legislated for in the school statutes; see Ian Green, P*rint and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 510.

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	Vice-Chancellor's Court, Probate Inventories.
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	Grace Book D[elta]
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APPENDIX

A. Inventories

Mus. e. 1

Gathering		Foliation	Recto / verso	Roman No.	Sequence No.	Work	Composer	Ascription	Voice-parts	Staves	Watermark / position	Comments	Dates
Modern prelims.		[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
			v										
	flyleaf	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
			v										
		2	r									'Index': replacement 1st leaf by Lucy E. Broadwood (1858–1929)	*c.* 1918
			v										
		3	r									'Index': original 2nd leaf, unknown hand; annotated 'FAGO' by Sir Frederick Ouseley (1825–1889)	note entered 1885–89
			v										
		1	r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
			v									Bodleian accession note by E. W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912)	note entered *c.* 1885
Misplaced leaf, originally at end of Mus. e. 5: recto stained at lower right corner		4	r									blank leaf of original paper	
			v									stamped BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA (centre)	*c.* 1834
		5	r									original front pastedown: glue residue, offsets of earlier music, impressions of sewing-thongs	
			v									rounded: 'Qui vult venire post me …'	1585
		6	r		1	*Aspice Domine & sole*	William Byrd	Mr Will[ia]m Byrd	5	5+		once conjoint with fol. 7; sewing-thong impressions match those of fol. 5	
1[4]		7	v		2	*Domine praestolamur*	William Byrd	Mr Byrde	5	5			
			r							5+++	upper, straight		
		8	v							5+			
			r		3	*In Nomine*	John Sadler	John Sadler	5	5	lower, straight		
			v	i	4	*Miserere mei*	Christopher Tye	Quesd: doctor Tye	5	5			
		9	r	i						5	lower, skewed		
			v	i						5			
		10	r	ii	5	*O splendor gloriæ*	John Taverner	Quesd Mr John Taverner	5	5	upper, skewed		
			v	ii						5			
		11	r	ii						5			
			v							5			
		12	r	iii	6	*Inclina Domine* [I]	John Sheppard	Quesd Mr Shepperd [illegible]	5	5			
II[8]			v							5			
		13	r	iv	7	*Domine Jesu Christe*	John Merbecke	Quesd Mr Merbecke	5	5	upper, straight		
			v							5			
		14	r							5	lower, straight		
			v							5			
		15	r	v	8	*Te Deum*	Hugh Aston	Mr Aston	5	5			
			v							5			
		16	r							5			
			v							5			
		17	r							5			
			v	vi	9	*Ave Dei Patris*	Robert Fayrfax	Quesd Doctor Fayrfax	5	5			
		18	r							5			
			v							5			
		19	r	vii	10	*Gaude plurimum*	John Taverner	Quesd Master John Taverner	5	5			
			v							5			
		20	r							5			
			v							5			
		21	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
III[8]		22	r	viii[b]	11	*Jub tenso capite*	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	~~Quesd m[aster] Thomas Crecquillon~~	5	5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
		23	r	ix[b]	12	*Ave Dei patris*	John Taverner	Quesd Master John Taverner	5	5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
		24	r							5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
	Cancelled leaf!												
	Cancelled leaf!												
		25	r							5			
			v							5			
		26	r	x[b]	13	*Ave Dei patris*	Robert Johnson	Quesd Mr Robert Johnson Pveste	5	5			
IV[8–2]			v							5			
		27	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
		28	r							5	lower, skewed		
			v	xi	14	*Salve intemerata*	Thomas Tallis	Quesd Master Thomas Tallis Ge[n]tilma[n]	5	5			
		29	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
		30	r							5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
		31	r	xii	15	*Gaude mater matris Christi*	Hugh Aston	Q.[uod] Hugo Aushton	5	5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
		32	r							5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
		33	r	xiii	16	*Aspice Domine*	Philip van Wilder	Q[uo]d Master Phillups	5	5			
			v							5			
		34	r	xiiii [xiv]	17	*Conserva me*	Osbert Parsley	Osbert Parsly	5	5			
V[8]			v							5			
		35	r							5	upper, straight		
			v	xv	18	*Domine quis habitabit*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Tallys	5	5+			
		36	r							5	lower, straight		
			v							5			
		37	r						5	5			
			v	xvi	19	*Incipit lamentatio*	Thomas Tallis			5			
		38	r							5			
			v		20	*Lamentationes*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Thom[a]s Tallis		5			
		39	r							5			
			v							5			
		40	r							5			
			v	xvii	21	*Lamentationes*	Robert White	Mr Whigyte	5	5			
		41	r							5+	upper, straight		
			v							5			
		42	r							5+	lower, straight		
			v							5			
		43	r							5			
VI[8]			v	xviii	22	*Dum transisset*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Tallis	5	5			
		44	r	xix	23	*Domine in virtute*	Robert Johnson	Quesd master Johnson Pveste	5	5			
			v							5+			
		45	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v							5+			
		46	r	xx	24	*Maria plena virtute*	Robert Fayrfax	Q[uo]d doctor Fayrfax	5	5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
		47	r							5			
			v							5			
		48	r	xxi	25	*Lamentationes*	Osbert Parsley	Mr Osbert persely	5	5			
			v							5			
		49	r	xxii	26	*Miserere mei*	Robert White	Quesd Master. Roberde Whighte Bacheler of Musicke	5	5	lower, straight		
VII[6]			v							5			
		50	r							5			
			v							5			
		51	r							5	lower, skewed		
			v	xxiii	27	*Exaudiat te*	Robert White	Quesd M[aste]r Robert Whighte Bacheler of Musicke	5	5			
		52	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v							5			
		53	r							5			
			v	xxiiii [xxiv]	28	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Robert White		5	5			
		54	r							5			
			v							5			
		55	r	xxv	29	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Robert White	master whight	5	5			
VIII[6]			v							5			
		56	r							5	upper, straight		
			v	xxvi	30	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley 1576	5	5			1576
		57	r	xxvii	31	*O saevum convivium*	Thomas Tallis	T Tallis	5	5	lower, straight		
			v							5			
		58	r	xxviii	32	*Salvator mundi*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5	upper, straight		
			v	xxix	33	*Attolite portas* [1st voice]	William Byrd	Mr Will[i]m Birde	6	5+			
		59	r	xxix		*Attolite portas* [2nd voice]		Mr Will[ia]m Birde		5			
			v							5			
		60	r							5	upper, skewed		
			v	xxx[b]	34	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley	5	5			
		61	r						5	5			
IX[6]			v	xxxi[b]	35	*Alvinge Domine*	Thomas Tallis	by Thomas Tallis		5			
		62	r	xxxii	36	*Ne irascaris [prima pars]*	William Byrd	[William Byrd]	5	5	upper, straight		
			v			*Civitas sancti [secunda pars]*				5			
		63	r							5			
			v							5			
		64	r	xxxiii	37	*Mater christi*	John Taverner	Mr John Taverner	5	5	lower, skewed		
			v							5			
		65	r	xxxiiii [xxxiv]	38	*Tribulationes civitatum*	William Byrd	Mr Will[i]m Birde	5	5			
			v							5			
		66	r							5			
			v	xxxv	39	*Justus es Domine*	Robert White	Mr Whyghte	5	5			
		67	r							5++			
			v							5		'Here endeth the songes off fyve parts'	
		68	r		40	*The Western Wynde* [Gloria]	John Taverner	Quesd Mr John Taverner The Westerne Wynde.	4	+5+++			
X[8]			v							5+			
		69	r			[Credo]				5	lower, straight		
			v							5+			
		70	r							5	upper, straight		
			v			[Sanctus]				5			
		71	r			[Benedictus]				5+	upper, straight		
			v			[Agnus Dei]				5			
		72	r							5+	lower, straight		
			v		41	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*	William Parsons	Wyll[i]am Parson[s]	4	5+			
		73	r									perhaps once conjoint with fol. 76 of Mus. e. 3: pin-holes at gutter (perhaps later additional sewing-holes) match that leaf	
			v		42	*Cony skines maydes*			4	5			
		74	r							5+			
XI[4]			v		43	*Musica Lafeyte*	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	Alfonso	5	5			
		75	r			[blank staves]				5	upper, straight	blank endleaf, ruled with staves	
			v									minim pen-trial. Sewing-thong impressions NOT matching those on fol. 76 of Mus. e. 1; bears an offset of the large initial 'I' of John Sadler's name now at fol. 76r of Mus. e. 3	
Misplaced original leaf, here restored to Mus. e. 1		76 of Mus. e. 3	r								lower, straight	back pastedown of original paper with roundel: 'Beatus vir qui in lege domini meditabitur …' Now at rear of Mus. e. 3, but originally the decorative endleaf of this partbooks	
Misplaced leaf: originally final flyleaf of Mus. e. 5		77	v										
			r									blank flyleaf of original paper, verso carrying offsets of a roundel	
Modern endleaf		78	v										
			r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?

Mus. e. 2

Gathering	Foliation	Recto / verso	Roman No.	Sequence No.	Work	Composer	Ascription	Voice-parts	Staves	Watermark / position	Comments	Dates
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
Modern prelims.		v										
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
		v										
flyleaf	1	r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
		v									Bodleian accession note by E. W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912)	note entered *c.* 1885
Misplaced original leaf, stamped for Heber after move to here	2	r									blank flyleaf of original paper, stained at present top outer corner, later stamped (verso, centre) BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA; originally (reversed) at the end of Mus. e. 5	stamped *c.* 1834
		v										
	[76] v/r reversed (changing places with fol. 2)	r									probably the original front pastedown: glue residue, offsets of choirbook music and sewing-thong impressions	
		v									rounded 'Unam petii a domino ...'); possibly originally conjoint with fol. 8, but not certainly; presently reversed, turned upside down and reinbound at the end of this volume	
	4	r		1	*Aspice Domine de sede*	William Byrd	Mr Will[i]m Byrde	5	5+++		conjoint with fol. 7; sewing- thong impressions match those of fol. [76] reversed	
		v							5			
	5	r		2	*Domine praestolamur*	William Byrd	Mr Byrde	5	5+++	lower, skewed	conjoint with fol. 6	
1[6]		v							5			
	6	r		3	*In Nomine*	John Sadler	John Sadler	5	5			
		v	i	4	*Miserere mei*	Christopher Tye	Quod : doctor Tye	5	5			
	7	r	i						5	lower, straight		
		v	i						5			
	8	r	i						5	lower, straight		
		v	ii	5	*O splendor gloriae*	John Taverner	Quod Mr John Taverner	5	5			
	9	r	ii						5			
		v							5			
	10	r							5			
		v	iii	6	*Iudica Domine* [I]	John Sheppard	Mr Sheppard	5	5			
	11	r							5			
		v	iiii [iv]	7	*Domine Jesu Christe*	John Merbecke	Quod Mr Merbecke	5	5			
	12	r							5			
II8		v							5			
	13	r							5	lower, straight		
		v	v	8	*Te Deum*	Hugh Aston	Quod Mr Aston	5	5			
	14	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5		note: unusually, all four leaves at fols. 13-16 each contain the lower half of the watermark, though still properly	
	15	r							5	lower, straight	conjoint with their unwatermarked other halves at fols. 12-9	
		v							5			
	16	r							5	lower, straight		
		v	vi	9	*Ave Dei Patris*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod Doctor fayrfax	5	5			
	17	r							5+	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	18	r	vii	10	*Gaude gloriosum*	John Taverner	Quod Master John Taverner	5	5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	19	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	20	r							5	upper, skewed		
III8		v	viii	11	*Job tenuo capite*	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	~~Mr Thomas Crecquillon~~	5	5			
	21	r							5			
		v							5			
	22	r	ix	12	*Ave Dei patris*	John Taverner	Quod Master John Taverner	5	5			
		v							5			
	23	r							5			
		v							5			
	24	r	x[a]	13	*Ave Dei patris*	Robert Johnson	Quod M[r Robert Johnson Preste	5	5		no longer joined to fol. 17, but clearly once conjoint with it	
		v							5			
	25	r							5			
		v							5			
	26	r							5			
		v	x[a]	14	*Salve intemerata*	Thomas Tallis	Quod Master Thomas Tallis	5	5			
	27	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	28	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
IV8	29	r	xi[a]	15	*Gaude mater matris Christi*	Hugh Aston	Q[uod] Hugo Aushton	5	5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	30	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	31	r	xiii[a]	16	*Aspice Domine*	Philip van Wilder	Quod Master Phillips	5	5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	32	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v	xiiii [xiv]	17	*Conversa me*	Osbert Parsley	Q[uo]d Osbert Parslye	5	5			
	33	r							5			
		v							5			
	34	r	xv[a]	18	*Domine quis habitabit*	Thomas Tallis		5	5			
		v							5			
	35	r							5			
		v							5			
	36	r	xvi	19	*Incipit lamentatio*	Thomas Tallis	M[r Thom]a[s Talle	5	5			
		v							5+			
V8	37	r							5	lower, straight	part of deckle edge (i.e. original untrimmed edge of paper) unusually visible lower right, suggesting a slight defect in the original sheet at one corner (latter observation made by Bruce Barker Benfield)	
		v		20	*Lamentations*	Thomas Tallis	Master Thomas Tallys	5	5			
	38	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	39	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	40	r	xvii[a]	21	*Lamentations*	Robert White	M[r Whight	5	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	41	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	42	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xviii[a]	22	*Dum transisset*	Thomas Tallis	su~thomas tallis	5	5			
	43	r							5+			
		v	xix[a]	23	*Domine in virtute*	Robert Johnson	Q[uo]d M[r Johnson	5	5			
	44	r							5			
		v							5			
VI8	45	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v	xx[a]	24	*Maria plena virtute*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod Doctor ffayrfax	5	5			
	46	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	47	r	xxi[a]	25	*Lamentations*	Osbert Parsley	Q[uo]d Osbert parsaly	5	5			
		v							5			
	48	r	xxii[a]	26	*Miserere mei*	Robert White	Quod Master Roberde Whighte Bacheler of Musicke	5	5			
		v							5			
	49	r						5	5+			
		v							5+			
	50	r							5			
		v							5			
	51	r							5			
VII6		v	xxiii[a]	27	*Exsurdiat te*	Robert White	M[aist]r Rob[er]t Whighte	5	5			
	52	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	53	r							5	lower, straight		
		v	xxiiii [xxiv]*	28	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Robert White	Q[uo]d M[aist]r Robert whight Bacheler of Musicke	5	5			
	54	r							5+++	upper, straight		
		v							5+			
	55	r	xxv	29	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Robert White		5	5			
		v							5+			
	56	r							5+	lower, straight		
		v	xxvi*	30	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley 1576	5	5			'1576'
	57	r	xxvii	31	*O sacrum convivium*	Thomas Tallis	M~T Tallis	5	5	upper, straight		
		v	xxviii	32	*Salvator mundi*	Thomas Tallis	M~Thomas Talles	5	5+			
VII6	58	r							5			
		v	xxix*	33	*Attolite portas*	William Byrd	su~w[illia]~Birde	6	5+			
	59	r							5			
		v	xxx*	34	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Thomas Morley	T[homas morley	5	5			
	60	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	61	r	xxxi*	35	*Alleluya Domine*	Thomas Tallis	M~ thomas talle :gentilman f the queenyes [sic] majesties chappell	5	5	upper, skewed		1576
		v							5			
	62	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v	xxxii	36	*Ne timeatis [prima pars]*	William Byrd	M~ Byrde 1580	5	5			1580
	63	r			*Civitas sancti [secunda pars]*				5	upper, skewed		
		v	xxxiii	37	*Mater christi*	John Taverner	M~ John Taverner	5	5+			
	64	r							5+			
IX8–1		v	xxxiii [xxxiv]	38	*Tribulationes civitatum*	William Byrd	M~ w[illia]~Birde	5	5			
	65	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	66	r							5			
		v	xxxv	39	*Justus es Domine*	Robert White	M~ Robert Whight	5	5+			
	67	r							5			
		v							5		'Here endeth the songes off fyue partes'	
	Missing leaf?										note: the fact that fol. 67v contains the end of a major section (i.e. the music primarily for five voice-parts) suggests that the missing leaf once conjoint with fol. 61 may be envisaged here (perhaps an original cancel) rather than at the start of the previous quire, before fol. 55.	
	68	r		40	*The Western Wynde* [Gloria]	John Taverner		4	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	69	r			[Credo]				5	upper, skewed		
		v							5+			
	70	r							5+	upper, straight		
X6		v			[Sanctus]				5			
	71	r			[Benedictus]				5			
		v			[Agnus Dei]				5			
	72	r							5			
		v		41	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*	William Parsons	w[illia]~parsons	4	5			
	73	r							5+			
		v		42	*Cuncy* olmos *magnificat*			4	5			
	74	r							5			
		v		43	*Musica Lefesta*	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	Alfonso	5	5			
XI24–1	75	r							5	upper, straight	five staves ruled but four are blank; lack of strong impressions of sewing-thongs may suggest an intermediate loss before the pastedown	
		v			[blank staves]				5			
	Missing leaf?											
	3 (swapped with fol. [76])	r								lower, straight	original back pastedown with rounded 'Quã sequitur me ...'	
		v									verso bears glue residue and offsets of earlier music: now reinbound (but not reversed) at front at fol. [3]. This leaf might once have been conjugate with fol. 75 (or 74)	
	77	r									laid paper	18th or 19th century?
Later endleaves		v										
	78	r									white/brown endleaf	19th century?
		v										

Mus. e. 3

Gathering	Foliation	Recto / verso	Roman No.	Sequence No.	Work	Composer	Ascription	Voice-parts	Staves	Watermark / pinhole	Comments	Date
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
		v										
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
		v										
flyleaf	1	r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white], no Heber stamp	19th century?
		v										
Modern flyleaf, relocated here from back of volume, to where it had presumably been moved between the dates of the Heber stamping (*c.* 1834) and the Bodleian foliation (*c.* 1885)											blank flyleaf of wove paper, stamped BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA upside down at the centre of the present 77r; this reversal, and the absence of the Heber stamp on 1v or 2r, suggests that when stamped this was most likely a front flyleaf, though otherwise there is no clear physical proof. The other four volumes all carry a Heber stamp the right way up on a front endleaf.	19th century? Stamped *c.* 1834
	77 v/r reversed											
		v										
Misplaced original leaf	2	r									blank flyleaf of original paper with Bodleian accession note by E. W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912) at top; no Heber stamp; stained at present top right corner; originally (reversed) at end of MS. Mus. e. 5	note entered *c.* 1885
		v										
	3[a]	r									flimsy laid paper (used for repair?): formerly pasted over and lining fol. 3[bis]r: it thus absorbed some of 3[bis]v's offsets	possibly 17th or 18th century
		v										
	3[bis]	r								upper, straight	original front pastedown, with glue deposits and offsets of choirbook music from binding fragments	
		v									rounded 'Dum lucem habetis ...'; impressions of sewing-thongs at inner edge exactly match those at fol. 4r	
1[4]	4	r		1	*Aspice Domine de sede*	William Byrd	master wyllam Byrde	5	5	upper, straight		
	5	v		2	*Domine praevallamur*	William Byrd	Mr Willi[a]m Byrd	5	5+			
		r							5			
		v							5+++			
	6	r		3	*In Nomine*	John Sadler	John Sadler [battura/ JHNN/ on stave 5 erased]	5	5		perhaps but not certainly once conjoint with fol. 3[bis]	
	7	v	i	4	*Miserere mei*	Christopher Tye	Quod doctor Tye	5	5			
		r	i						5			
	8	v	i						5			
		r	i						5		perhaps, but not certainly, conjoint with fol. 5	
II[8]	9	v	ii	5	*O splendor gloriae*	John Taverner	Quod Master Taverner	5	5			
		r	ii						5			
	10	v							5			
		r							5			
	11	v	iii	6	*Inclina Domine* [I]	John Sheppard	Quod Mr Shepperde	5	5			
		r							5	upper, straight		
	12	v	iiii [iv]	7	*Domine Jesu Christe*	John Marbecke	Quod Mr Marbecke	5	5			
		r							5	lower, straight		
	13	v							5			
		r							5	upper, skewed		
	14	v	v	8	*Te Deum*	Hugh Aston	Quod Mr Aston	5	5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
	15	v							5			
		r							5	upper, skewed		
III[8]	16	v	vi	9	*Ave Dei Patris*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod Doctor ffayrfax	5	5	lower, skewed		
	17	r							5			
		v							5			
	18	r	vii	10	*Gaude gloriosum*	John Taverner	Quod Mr John Taverner	5	5			
		v							5			
	19	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	20	r							5	lower, skewed		
	21	v	viii	11	*Jth tenus capite*	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	~~Quod Mr Thomas/y/s Crecquillon~~	5	5			
		r							5			
		v							5			
	22	r	ix	12	*Ave Dei patris*	John Taverner	Quod Master John Taverner	5	5			
	23	v							5			
		r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	24	r	x	13	*Ave Dei patris*	Robert Johnson	Quod M[r Rob[ert] Johnson P[er]fe	5	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	25	r							5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	26	r							5+	upper, straight		
IV[8]	27	v	xi	14	*Salve immaculata*	Thomas Tallis	Quod M[r Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		r							5			
	28	v							5			
		r							5			
	29	v	xii	15	*Gaude mater matris Christi*	Hugh Aston	Q[uod] Hugo Ashton	5	5			
	30	r							5			
		v							5			
	31	r							5	upper, skewed		
	32	v	xiii	16	*Aspice Domine*	Philip van Wilder	Q[uod]/ Mr Phillips	5	5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
	33	v	xiiii [xiv]	17	*Conserva me*	Osbert Parsley	Q[uod]/ Osbert Parsly 1568	5	5			1568
		r							5			
	34	v							5			
		r							5			
V[8]	35	v	xv	18	*Domine quis habitabit*	Thomas Tallis		5	5			
		r							5	upper, straight		
	36	v							5			
		r							5+	lower, straight		
	37	v	xvi	19	*Incipit lamentatio*	Thomas Tallis	Q[uod]/ Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		r							5			
	38	v		20	*Lamentationes*	Thomas Tallis	Master Thom[a]s Tallis	5	5			
		r							5			
	39	v							5			
		r							5			
	40	v							5			
		r	xvii	21	*Lamentationes*	Robert White	Mr Whight	5	5			
	41	v							5			
		r							5	upper, skewed		
	42	v							5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
VI[8]	43	v							5			
		r							5			
	44	v	xviii	22	*Dum transiret*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		r	xix	23	*Domine in virtute*	Robert Johnson	Mr Johnson	5	5			
	45	v							5			
		r							5	upper, straight		
	46	v							5			
		r	xx	24	*Maria plena virtute*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod doctor ffayrfax	5	5	lower, straight		
	47	v							5			
		r							5			
	48	v							5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
	49	v	xxi	25	*Lamentationes*	Osbert Parsley	Quor/ Mr parsslye	5	5			
		r							5			
	50	v							5			
		r	xxii	26	*Miserere mei*	Robert White	Mr Roberde Whiygte master of musicke	5	5			
	51	v							5+			
		r							5	upper, straight		
	52	v							5			
		r							5	lower, straight		
	53	v							5			
		r	xxiii	27	*Exaudiat te*	Robert White	Mr. Robord Wlaghte	5	5			
	54	v							5			
		r							5	upper, skewed		
	55	v	xxiiii [xxiv]	28	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Robert White	master wlaght	5	5			
		r							5			
	56	v	xxv	29	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Robert White	Robert wlaghte	5	5			
		r							5+		none a singleton	
	57	v	xxvi	30	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley 1576	5	5			1576
		r	xxvii	31	*O saevum convivium*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5			
VIII[6–1]		v							5+			
5th leaf cancelled or 2nd leaf added, in either case at the initial stage of writing)	58	r	xxviii	32	*Salvator mundi*	Thomas Tallis		5	5	lower, straight		
		v	xxix	33	*Attollite portas*	William Byrd	ne/ wylliu[m Birde	6	5			
	cancelled leaf											
	59	r							5	lower, straight		
		v	xxx	34	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley artatis suae 19 ano dominii 1576	5	5+			1576
	60	r							5			
		v							5			
IX[6]	61	r	xxxi	35	*Absterge Domine*	Thomas Tallis	Mr thomas talls	5	5			
		v							5			
	62	r	xxxii	36	*Ne timeatis [prima pars]*	William Byrd	Mr Byrde	5	5	upper, skewed		
		v			*Civitas sancti [secunda pars]*				5+			
	63	r							5++			
		v	xxxiii	37	*Mater christi*	John Taverner	Mr John Taverner	5	5			
	64	r							5++	upper, skewed		
		v	xxxiiii [xxiv]	38	*Tribulationes civitatum*	William Byrd	~~Mr Wi[l]li[a]m Byrd Master~~ Wyllyam Byrde	5	5+			
	65	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	66	r							5			
		v	xxxv	39	*Iactus te Dominie*	Robert White	Mr Robert Wlight	5	5+			
	67	r							5		'Here endeth the songes off fyve partes'	
		v		40	*The Whytsun Wfynde* [Gloria]	John Taverner	Quod eur John Taverner	4	5			
	68	r							5	upper, straight		
X[6]		v			[Credo]				5			
	69	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	70	r			[Sanctus]				5	upper, straight		
		v			[Benedictus]				5			
	71	r			[Agnus Dei]				5			
		v							5			
	72	r							5+	upper, straight	conjoint with fol. 74; a major stain runs through this and the next five leaves as repositioned below	
		v		41	*Good fellowes must go learn to dance*	William Parsons	w[illia]m parsons,	4	5++			
	73	r		42	*Crow shines maydes*			4	5		a singleton, sharing the stain with both fol. 72 and 74, and evidently in original position between them	
		v							5+			
XI[?4–1]	cancelled leaf										Perhaps lost here before the start of the new piece at fol. 74. A spill of liquid at or near fol. 74 might have caused the stain and offsets (primarily from fol. 74r) in neighbouring leaves in both directions.	
(3rd leaf lost, if not originally cancelled, before the start of a new piece at fol. 74r)	74	r		43	*Musica la[u]s*	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	Alfonso	5	5		conjoint with fol. 72.	
		v							5		ruled with unused staves; these appear upside down in comparison with the preceding pages	
	75r/v reversed	r									(recto, reversed): 'Miserere tuei page: staves which match those of 74v rev.; verso blank, unruled. Perhaps pulled out by Sadler himself and reversed, as a loose leaf. The 'M' of 'Miserere' (rev.) cis clearly discernible in the stains affecting neighbouring leaves.	
		v										
	fol. 2 of Mus. e. 4	r									blank, unruled. The continuing large stain from previous leaves includes offsets of notes and the 'M' from fol. 75 rev of Mus. e. 3	
		v									verso has small random dots of dirt are offset with those of fol. 71r of Mus. e. 5	
X[4]												
(although the watermarks are correctly paired for a four-leaf quire, it is otherwise hard to tell whether these leaves, now distributed between four different partbooks, were originally conjoint as two	fol. 71 of Mus. e. 5	r								upper, straight	a blank unruled flyleaf of original paper, with possibly original pastrials in the same hand as at fol. 77v of Mus. e. 1 (as reconstructed, the final flyleaf of Mus. e. 5); strong impressions of sewing- thongs show that the verso was once adjacent to a pastedown – these and two stains at and near the verso's upper right corner match those of fol. 76 of Mus. e. 1, not fol. 76 of Mus. e. 3, fol. 70 of Mus. e. 5.	
		v										
	fol. 76 of Mus. e. 1	r								lower, straight	the original back pastedown of Mus. e. 5, with rounded 'Beatus vir qui in lege domini meditabitur ...'	
		v									verso has glue residue, offsets of choirbook music, 'Tenor' in large gothic script, impressions of sewing-thongs, and two stains at and near the upper right corner which match those of fol. 71 of Mus. e. 5	
Misplaced original leaf	fol. 76 of Mus. e. 3	r									An original back pastedown, with 'John Sadler' in large red script (no rounded) originally the back pastedown of MS. Mus. e. 3	
		v									verso has glue residue, offsets of earlier music and sewing-thong impressions	
Misplaced modern flyleaf	77	r									A blank flyleaf of wove paper, stamped BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA in centre of recto, reversed, probably misplaced here from start of this volume after fol. 2	19th century?
Modern endleaf	78	v										
		r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
		v										

Mus. e. 4

Note: all watermarks bisected (as upper part, or lower part reversed) and located at lower right of rectos.

Gathering	Foliation	Recto / verso	Roman No.	Sequence No.	Work	Composer	Ascription	Voice-parts	Staves	Watermark / position	Comments	Dates
Modern prelims	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet, 20th century	*c.* 1960
	[unfoliated]	v										
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet, 20th century	*c.* 1960
	[unfoliated]	v										
flyleaf	1	r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
		v									stamped BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA (centre); Bodleian accession note by E.W.B. Nicholson (1849–1912)	stamped *c.* 1834; note entered *c.* 1885
Misplaced original leaf	2	r									blank flyleaf of original paper, with ink acquisition note added by Richard Heber (1773–1833), dated 1808; originally the final flyleaf before the pastedown at Mus. e. 3	note entered 1808
		v										
	Missing Frontispiece										there is no leaf present here which carries the standard paste residue and offsets; the missing pastedown might well have carried on its verso the name John Sadler, since there is a clear offset of an I on the fore-edge of the once-facing recto (perhaps similar to the decorative page that has 'John Sadler' in large red script.	
											Conjoint with fol. 4; strong impressions of sewing-thongs, doubtless once facing the pastedown' offset I at fore-edge	
1[4-1]	3	r		1	*Aspice Domine de sede*	William Byrd		5	5++			
	4	v		2	*Domine praetolamur*	William Byrd	Mr will[ia]m Byrde	5	5+			
		r							5+	upper, skewed		
		v							+5+			
	5	r		3	*In Nomine*	John Sadler	John Sadler	5	5	lower, skewed	now artificially joined to fol. 2 with modern tissue	
	6	v	i	4	*Miserere mei*	Christopher Tye	Quod doctor Tye	5	5			
		r	i						5	upper, skewed		
		v	i						5			
	7	r	ii	5	*O splendor gloriae*	John Taverner	Quod Mr. John. Taverner	5	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	8	r							5			
		v							5			
	9	r	iii	6	*Inclina Domine* [I]	John Sheppard	Quod Mr Sheppard [illegible]	5	5+			
II8		v							5			
	10	r	iii [iv]	7	*Domine Jesu Christe*	John Merbecke	Quod Mr Merbecke	5	5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	11	r							5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	12	r							5			
		v	v	8	*Te Deum*	Hugh Aston	Quod Mr Aston	5	5			
	13	r							5			
		v	vi	9	*Ave Dei Patris*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod Doctor fayrfax	5	5			
	14	r							5			
		v							5			
	15	r							5			
		v							5			
	16	r	vii	10	*Gaude plurimum*	John Taverner	master Taverner	5	5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	17	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	18	r							5			
		v	viii	11	*Jeh tenue capite*	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	~~Quod Master Thomas Gregullion~~	5	5			
III8	19	r							5			
		v							5			
	20	r	ix	12	*Ave Dei patris*	John Taverner	Quod Mr John Taverner	5	5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	21	r							5	lower, straight		
		v	x	13	*Ave Dei patris*	Robert Johnson	Quod Master Robert Johnson Priste [illegible]	5	5			
	22	r							5			
		v							5			
	23	r							5			
		v							5			
	24	r	xi	14	*Salve intemerata*	Thomas Tallis	Quod Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		v							5			
	25	r							5			
		v	xii	15	*Gaude mater matris Christi*	Hugh Aston	Q[uo]d] Hugo Ashton [illegible]	5	5			
	26	r							5	upper, straight		
IV8-2		v							5			
	27	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	28	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xiii	16	*Aspice Domine*	Philip van Wilder	Q[uo]r Mr Phillups	5	5			
	29	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	30	r	xiiii [xiv]	17	*Conserva me*	Osbert Parsley		5	5			
		v							5+			
	31	r							5			
		v	xv	18	*Domine quis habitabit*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Tallys	5	5+			
	32	r							5			
		v							5			
	33	r							6	lower, skewed		
		v	xvi	19	*Incipit lamentatio*	Thomas Tallis	Q[uo]r Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5			
	34	r							5			
V8		v		20	*Lamentationes*	Thomas Tallis	Master thomas tallys	5	5			
	35	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	36	r							5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	37	r	xvii	21	*Lamentationes*	Robert White	Mr Whighte	5	5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	38	r							5			
		v							5			
	39	r							5			
		v							5			
	40	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xviii	22	*Dum transiret*	Thomas Tallis	Quod Mr Thomas Tallys Gentylman	5	5			
VI8	41	r	xix	23	*Domine in virtute*	Robert Johnson	Quod Mr Robert Johnson	5	5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	42	r							5			
		v							5			
	43	r	xx	24	*Maria plena virtute*	Robert Fayrfax	Q[uo]d doctor' fayrfax	5	5			
		v							5			
	44	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	45	r	xxi	25	*Lamentationes*	Osbert Parsley	Osbert persely	5	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	46	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xxii	26	*Miserere mei*	Robert White	Robert Whighte	5	5			
	47	r							5	lower, straight		
VII4		v							5			
	48	r							5			
		v						5	5			
	49	r							5			
		v	xxiii	27	*Exsudiat te*	Robert White	Quod M[aste]r Robert whighte Bacheler of musicke		5+			
	50	r							5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	51	r	xxiiii [xxiv]	28	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Robert White		5	5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	52	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	53	r							5			
VIII[6+1]		v	xxv	29	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Robert White		5	5			
	54	r							5+		a singleton, ? an immediate insertion to complete the piece which ends at fol. 54v	
		v							5			
	55	r	xxvi	30	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley 1576	5	5			1576
		v	xxvii	31	*O sacrum convivium*	Thomas Tallis	Mr Thomas Tallis	5	5+			
	56	r	xxiii	32	*Salvator mundi*	Thomas Tallis	Mr T Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		v	xxix	33	*Attolite portas*	William Byrd	mr w[illia]m Birde	6	5			
	57	r							5+			
		v	xxx	34	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley	5	5			
	58	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xxxi	35	*Absterge Domine*	Thomas Tallis	m thomas tallis Gentylman	5	5++			
IX6	59	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	60	r							5+			
		v	xxxii	36	*Ne irascaris [prima pars]*	William Byrd	Mr Byrde	5	5			
	61	r			*Civitas sancti [secunda pars]*				5			
		v							5+			
	62	r	xxxiii	37	*Mater christi*	John Taverner	Jo[hn] Tav[er]ner	5	5+	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	63	r	xxxiv	38	*Tribulationes civitatum*	William Byrd	Mr Will[ia]m Birde	5	5	lower, skewed	now a singleton; once conjoint with a cancelled leaf following fol. 67?	
		v							5+			
	64	r							5+++	upper, straight	probably once conjoint with fol. 67, to judge by small matching irregularities in the paper's laid lines	
		v		39	*Justus es Domine*	Robert White	Mr Robert Whight	5	5			
	65	r							5	lower, straight		
X[6+1]		v	xxxv	[39]	*Justus es Domine* [second copy]	[Robert White]	Mr Robert Whight	5	5			
	66	r							5			
		v							5		on fol. 66v, sewing-thong outlines and offsets of stains reflect those of 67r, so these leaves were originally adjacent (as they are now)	
	67	r									original back pastedown with roundel: 'In celestibus regnis ...'	
		v									glue residue and offsets of earlier music etc., sewing- thong impressions	
	cancelled leaf?											
	68	r									endleaf of wove paper	19th century?
Modern Endleaves		v										
	69	r									white paper endleaf: glue residue on verso; at top right, in pencil, is the bookseller's price code (crossed out and replaced with a revised version), preceded by '5v' (for '5 volumes').	19th century,
[fols. 69 and [70] were doubtless once glued together to form the thick two-ply endleaf as in other volumes]		v										
flyleaf	[70]	r									endleaf of thin brown paper	19th century
		v										

Mus. e. 5

Gathering	Foliation	Recto / verso	Roman No.	Sequence No.	Work	Composer	Ascription	Voice-parts	Staves	Watermark / position	Comments	Dates
Modern pastdown.	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
	[unfoliated]	v										
	[unfoliated]	r									Bodleian reference sheet	*c.* 1960
	1	v									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
		r										
Misplaced original leaf	2	r									blank leaf of original paper: stamped BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA (centre); Bodleian accession note by E. W. B. Nicholson (1849–1912) at top. Misplaced here as a front flyleaf, before the original pastedown: originally at end of this volume	19th century; note entered *c.* 1885
		v										
	3	r									original pastedown: glue residue and offsets of earlier music with 'Allel…', from (lost) choirbook fragment	
		v									rounded: 'In conspectu angelorum …'; impressions at inner edge of sewing-thongs and at outer edge of two ties	
Misplaced leaf, originally at end of Mus. e. 5: recto stained at lower right corner	4	r		1	*Aspice Domine de sede*	William Byrd	Mr willi[a]m Byrde		5			
		v							5+++			
	5	r		2	*Domine praestolamur*	William Byrd	Mr willi[a]m Byrde		5++			
1[6]		v										
	6	r		3	*In Nimine*	John Sadler	John Sadler	5	5	upper, straight		
		v	i	4	*Miserere mei*	Christopher Tye	Q[uo]d doctor Tye	5	5			
	7	r	i						5	lower, skewed		
		v	ii						5			
	8	r	ii	5	*O splendor gloriae*	John Taverner	Quod M[r] John Taverner	5	5	upper, skewed	possibly conjoint with fol. 3; now joined with modern tissue	
		v	ii					5	5			
	9	r	ii						5			
		v							5			
	10	r	iii	6	*Inclina Domine* [I]	John Sheppard	Quod M[r] Shupparde	5	5			
		v							5			
	11	r	iiii [iv]	7	*Domine Jesu Christe*	John Merbecke	Quod M[r] Merbecke		5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	12	r						5	5	lower, straight		
II[8]		v							5			
	13	r	v	8	*Te Deum*	Hugh Aston	Quod M[r] Aston	5	5			
		v							5			
	14	r							5			
		v							5			
	15	r						5	5	upper, skewed		
	16	v	vi	9	*Ave Dei Patris*	Robert Fayrfax	Quod Doctor fayrfax		5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
	17	v							5			
		r							5	upper, straight		
	18	v	vii	10	*Gaude plurimum*	John Taverner	Quod master John Taverner	5	5			
		r							5	lower, straight		
	19	v							5			
		r						5	5	upper, straight		
	20	v	viii	11	*Jeh tenue sapite*	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	M[r]theam[a]: cricquillon		5			
III[8]		r							5	lower, straight		
	21	v	ix	12	*Ave Dei patris*	John Taverner	Quod Master John Taverner		5			
		r							5			
	22	r	x	13	*Ave Dei patris*	Robert Johnson	Quod M[r] Robert Johnson Prorte	5	5			
		v							5			
	23	r						5	5			
		v							5			
	24	r	xi	14	*Salve intemerata*	Thomas Tallis	Quod master Thomas tallis		5			
		v							5			
	25	r							5			
		v							5			
	26	r						5	5			
		v							5			
	27	r	xii	15	*Gaude mater matris Christi*	Hugh Aston	Q[uo]d Hugo Ashton [illegible]		5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	28	r							5	lower, skewed		
IV[8]		v	xiii	16	*Aspice Domine*	Philip van Wilder	Quod Master phillaps	5	5			
	29	r							5			
		v	xiiii [xiv]	17	*Conserva me*	Osbert Parsley	Quo[d] Osbert parsbye		5			
	30	r							5+			
		v							5			
	31	r	xv	18	*Domine quis habitabit*	Thomas Tallis	Q[uo]d Master Tallys	5	5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	32	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	33	r	xvi	19	*Incipit lamentatio*	Thomas Tallis	M[r] Thomas Tallis	5	5			
		v							5+			
	34	r		20	*Lamentations*	Thomas Tallis	Quod M[r] Thomas Tallys	5	5			
		v							5			
	35	r							5			
		v						5	5			
	36	r	xvii	21	*Lamentations*	Robert White	M[r]Whighte		5			
		v							5			
V[8]	37	r						5	5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	38	r							5	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	39	r	xviii	22	*Dum transiret*	Thomas Tallis	M[r] Thomas Tallys		5	upper, skewed		
	40	v	xix	23	*Domine in virtute*	Robert Johnson	M[r] Rob[er]t Johnson		5			
		r							5	lower, skewed		
		v						5	5			
	41	r							5			
		v	xx	24	*Maria plena virtute*	Robert Fayrfax	Q[uo]d doctor ffayrfax		5			
	42	r							5			
		v							5			
	43	r							5+	upper, skewed		
		v	xxi	25	*Lamentations*	Osbert Parsley	Quod M[r] Obsert Persalye	5	5+			
	44	r						5	5			
VI[6]		v	xxii	26	*Miserere mei*	Robert White	M[r. Roberde. whighte Bachelar. of. musicke		5			
	45	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v							5			
	46	r						5	5	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	47	r	xxiii	27	*Ecsendiat te*	Robert White			5			
		v							5			
	48	r						5	5			
		v							5			
	49	r	xxiiii [xxiv]	28	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Robert White		5	5	upper, straight		
		v							5			
VII[6–1]	50	r							5			
		v	xxv	29	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	Robert White	Master Whight		5			
	51	r							5	upper, straight		
		v						5	5			
	Cancelled leaf?								5			
									5			
	52	r	xxvi	30	*Domine, Dominus noster*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley 1576		5			1576
		v	xxvii	31	*O sacrum convivium*	Thomas Tallis	M[r Thomas Tallis		5			
	53	r	xxviii	32	*Salvator mundi*	Thomas Tallis	T Tallis		5++			
		v	xxix	33	*Attollite portas*	William Byrd	master wyllyam byrde	5	5+			
	54	r							5+	upper, straight		
VIII[6]		v	xxx	34	*Domine non est exaltatum*	Thomas Morley	Thomas Morley		5			
	55	r						5	5			
		v	xxxi	35	*Abstrage Domine*	Thomas Tallis	*sir* thom[a]s tallis		5			
	56	r							5	upper, skewed		
		v						5	5			
	57	r	xxxii	36	*Ne timeatis fil: Cleritas samcti]*	William Byrd	M[r Byrde	5	5+	lower, skewed		
		v							5			
	58	r	xxxiii	37	*Mater christi*	John Taverner	M[r John Taverner	5	5			
		v						6	5			
	59	r	xxxiv	38	*Tribulationes civatatum*	William Byrd	M[r willi[a]m Birde		5			
		v							5			
	60	r							5	upper, straight		
		v	xxxv	39	*Justus es Domine*	Robert White	M[r Robert Whighte	5	5			
IX[6]	61	r						5	5			
		v							5			
	62	r		40	*The Western Wynde* [Gloria]	John Taverner	Quo[d su] John Taverner.The Western wynde	5	5+	upper, straight	'The ende off the songes off fyve partes'	
		v							5++			
	63	r			[Credo]				5+	lower, straight		
		v							5			
	64	r			[Sanctus]			5	5+	upper, straight		
		v							5			
	65	r			[Benedictus]			5	5	lower, straight		
		v			[Agnus Dei]				5			
	66	r							5			
		v		41	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*	William Parsons	w[illia]m parson	5	5			
	67	r							5+			
		v		42	*Cany shines maydes*				5			
X[8]	68	r						4	5	upper, skewed		
		v		43	*Musica Lafelte* [Bassus part]	Alphonso Ferrabosco I			5+			
(a regular quire of 8 leaves, if the proposed restorations of the 7th and 8th leaves are correct)	69	r			*Musica Lafelte* [Tenor part]	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	Alfonso		5+	lower, skewed		
		v									faint stain at lower outside corner, matching the distinctive pattern of the stains of the following blanks as rearranged in the reconstruction below	
	fol. 2 of Mus. e. 3, r/v/ reversed	r									blank flyleaf of original paper, stain at lower right, now misplaced and reversed at start of *c.* 3; the reconstructed recto (= *c.* 3, fol. 2v rev.) contains very faint offsets of five staves, presumably from fol. 69v of Mus. e. 5; possibly once conjoint with fol. 65	
		v										
	fol. 2 of Mus. e. 5, r/v/ reversed										blank flyleaf of original paper, stain at lower right, now misplaced: rotated and reversed at front so that the former outer edge is now the inner edge	
	fol. 4 of Mus. e. 1	r									blank flyleaf of original paper, stain at lower right; now misplaced at start of Mus. e. 1; small later holes match those found above in fol. 2 of Mus. e. 5 (r/v reversed) and below in fol. 2 of Mus. e. 2 and fol. 77 of Mus. e. 1; the Heber stamp at verso centre indicates that the move of this leaf to MS. Mus. e. 1 had taken place by the time the volumes were stamped by Dibdin in preparation for the Heber auctions (*c.* 1834)	
		v										
	fol. 77 of Mus. e. 1	r								lower, straight	blank flyleaf, stain at lower right corner, now misplaced at end of Mus. e. 1; verso has offsets of the rounded at fol. 70 of Mus. e. 5 matching sewing-thong impressions, and pen-trials in a small secretary hand, probably 16th century; practising 'my' and 'my' forms (the same hand practises similar pen-trials at fol. 71v of Mus. e. 5, now reconstructed as the final flyleaf of Mus. e. 5)	
XI[4]		v										
	70	r								upper, straight	original back pastedown with rounded: 'Qui me confessus fuerit …'	
original endleaves; as reconstructed, the quire correctly contains two leaves with watermarks and two without, but joins uncertain		v									glue residue and offsets of earlier music comprising 'Alleluya' (reversed at present top) and a full line of music (reversed at present foot)	
	75	r										
		v										
Misplaced original leaf	71	r								upper, straight	blank flyleaf of original paper, once adjacent to a back pastedown: a stain at lower right as reversed reveals its original position as at the end of Mus. e. 3	
		v										
Modern Endleaf	72	r									endleaf [two-ply brown paper pasted to white]	19th century?
		v										

A. Inventories: see CD

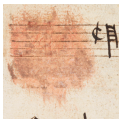
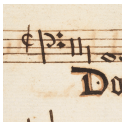
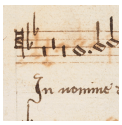
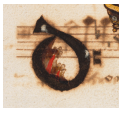
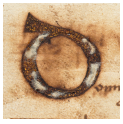
B. *Corrigitur* marks in Mus. e. 1–5[1]

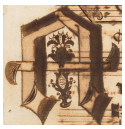
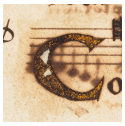
No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
1	Byrd	*Aspice Domine de sede*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	yes	yes, x2	yes	yes	yes
3	Sadler	*In nomine*	no	no	no	no	no
4/i	Tye	*Miserere mei*	no	no	no	no	no
5/ii	Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*	no	no	no	no	no
6/iii	Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*	no	no	no	no	no
7/iv	Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*	*yes*	yes (obs)	yes (obs)	yes (obs)	yes (obs)
8/v	Aston	*Tè Deum*	yes	obs?	no	yes	yes (obs)
9/vi	Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*	yes	no	no	no	no
10/vii	Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*	yes	yes	no	yes	yes (obs)
11/viii	Clemens	*Job tonso capite*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
12/ix	Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
13/x	Johnson	*Ave Dei patris*	yes	yes	yes	yes	no (obs?)
14/xi	Tallis	*Salve intemerata*	yes	yes	no (obs)	no	yes
15/xii	Aston	*Gaude virgo mater matris*	yes	yes	no (obs)	yes	no (obs)
16/xiii	Wilder	*Aspice Domine*	no	no	no	no	no
17/xiv	Parsley	*Conserva me*	no	no	no	no	no
18/xv	Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*	no	no	no	no	no
19/xvi	Tallis	*Incipit Lamentatio*	no	yes	yes	no	no
20	Tallis	*Lamentations*	no	no	no	no	no
21/xvii	White	*Lamentations*	no	no	no	no	no
22/xviii	Tallis	*Dum transisset*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
23/xix	Johnson	*Domine in virtute*	no	no	no	no	no
24/xx	Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*	no	no	no	no	no
25/xxi	Parsley	*Lamentations*	no	no	no	no	no
26/xxii	White	*Miserere mei*	no	no	no	no	no
27/xxiii	White	*Exaudiat te*	no	no	no	no	no
28/xxiv	White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	no	no	no	no	no
		[concluding gimel in mus. e. 4]				no	
29/xxv	White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	no	no	no	no	no
30/xxvi	Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
31/xxvii	Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*	no	no	no	yes	no
32/xxviii	Tallis	*Salvator mundi*	yes	yes	yes	no	no
33/xxix	Byrd	*Attollite portas*	no	no	no	no	no

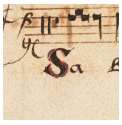
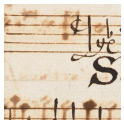
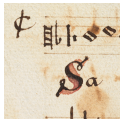
[1] The abbreviation 'obs' is used for 'obscured'.

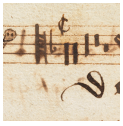
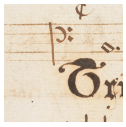
No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
		[sixth part in Mus. e. 1]	*no*				
34/xxx	Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*	no	yes	yes	no	no
35/xxxi	Tallis	*Absterge Domine*	yes	no	yes	yes	no
36/xxxii	Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes (red)
37/xxxiii	Taverner	*Mater Christi*	no	no	yes	no	yes
38/xxxiv	Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
39/xxxv	White	*Justus es Domine*	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
		[extra Tenor part in Mus. e. 4]				yes	
40	Taverner	*Western Wind* Mass					
		Gloria					
		Credo					
		Sanctus					
		Benedictus					
		Angus Dei	yes	yes	yes		yes
41	W. Parsons	*Good fellows must go learn*	no	no	no		no
42	_____	*Cony skines*	no	no	no		no
43	Ferrabosco	*Musica laeta*	yes	yes	yes		no
		[Tenor part in Mus. e. 5]					Yes

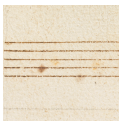
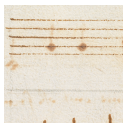
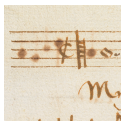
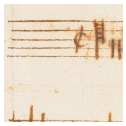
C. Table of initials in Mus. e. 1–5

No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
1	Byrd	*Aspice Domine de sede*					
2	Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*					
3	Sadler	*In nomine*					
4/i	Tye	*Miserere mei*					
5/ii	Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*					
6/iii	Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*					
7/iv	Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*					
8/v	Aston	*Te Deum*					
9/vi	Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*					
10/vii	Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*					

No.	Composer	Work	Mus. e. 1	Mus. e. 2	Mus. e. 3	Mus. e. 4	Mus. e. 5
11/viii	Clemens	*Job tonso capite*					
12/ix	Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*					
13/x	Johnson	*Ave Dei patris*					
14/xi	Tallis	*Salve intemerata*					
15/xii	Aston	*Gaude virgo mater matris*					
16/xiii	Wilder	*Aspice Domine*					
17/xiv	Parsley	*Conserva me*					
18/xv	Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*					
19/xvi	Tallis	*Incipit Lamentatio*					
20	Tallis	*Lamentations*					
21/xvii	White	*Lamentations*					

No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
22/xviii	Tallis	*Dum transisset*					
23/xix	Johnson	*Domine in virtute*					
24/xx	Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*					
25/xxi	Parsley	*Lamentations*					
26/xxii	White	*Miserere mei*					
27/xxiii	White	*Exaudiat te*					
28/xxiv	White	*Domine non est exaltatum*					
		[opening gimel in mus. e. 4]					
29/xxv	White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*					
30/xxvi	Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*					
31/xxvii	Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*					

No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
32/ xxviii	Tallis	*Salvator mundi*					
33/xxix	Byrd	*Attollite portas*					
		[sixth part in Mus. e. 1]					
34/xxx	Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*					
35/xxxi	Tallis	*Absterge Domine*					
36/xxxii	Byrd	*Ne irascaris*					
37/ xxxiii	Taverner	*Mater Christi*					
38/ xxxiv	Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*					
39/xxxv	White	*Justus es Domine*					
		[additional Tenor part in Mus. e. 4]					
40	Taverner	*Western Wind Mass*					

No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
41	W. Parsons	*Good fellows must go learn to dance*					
42	_____	*Cony skines*					
43	Ferrabosco	*Musica laeta*				*[no space left for this part]*	
							

D. Inscriptions and banderoles in Mus. e. 1–5

Note: erroneous inscriptions are shown in red. Where an inscription is written either side of an illustration, the illustration is given in bold, flanked by curled brackets (i.e. {**owl**}). Where an inscription is written either side of an ascription to a composer, the word 'ascription' is shown in bold, in chevrons (i.e. <**ascription**>).

Mus. e. 1

Folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
5r	centre	roundel featuring a black twelve-point star, in a rose circle, surrounded by concentric black circles, surmounted with a fleur-de-lys. A further concentric circle bears black Roman numerals separated by rose diamond shapes, forming a sundial, circumscribed in a textualis	Qui vult venire post me dicit dominus abneget semetip(s)um & tollat cruce(m) sua(m) & sequitur me *If any man will come after me, saith the Lord, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me*	Psalm antiphon at Lauds *In Natali unius Martyris*.[1]
	LH side	perpendicular Arabic numbers in red ink, facing inwards, with a double border at the base and cap	1585	
8r	staves 4 & 5	small black textualis, initial D in gold, without banderole	Domine praestolamur | adventum tuum, ut | cito venias et dissoluas iugum captiuitatis | nostre *O Lord, we await thy coming, that thou come quickly and dissolve the bonds of our captivity*	*CS1589*, no. 3 (also no. 2 in the partbooks).[2]

[1] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 384.

[2] The same words open Byrd's *Domine praestolamur* (no. 2 in the partbooks), even though this inscription follows Sadler's *In nomine* in Mus. e. 1 (no. 3). Sadler's source for this inscription was most likely his own copy of *Domine praestolamur*, or the exemplar from which it was copied. Since Sadler's partbooks were almost certainly complete by 1585, his source for these words cannot have been Byrd's *CS1589*, which was printed in 1589 by Thomas East. Moreover, the hypothesis already suggested – that the inscriptions were added after all the works in the partbooks up until no. 40 were complete, suggests that these words could indeed have been copied from the work before it. Part 2 of the text to this work, which does not appear in the inscription ('Veni, Domine, noli tardare, relaxa facinora plebi tuae, et libera populum tuum' is though to be based (though not exactly) on a respond for the 4th Friday in Advent in the Sarum Rite: ('Veni Domine, et noli tardare: relaxa facinora plebis tuae Israel'; see *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 68), but part 1, reproduced in the inscription, is not found there. These words are used as an antiphon to the Magnificat for the 3rd Sunday of Advent in a number of continental liturgical sources of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but there survives no evidence to suggest that Sadler ever laid eyes on them. See http://cantusdatabase.org/id/001063.

Mus. e. 1

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
8r	LH margin	black textualis; step banderole in sage and gold, descending inwards	In te | domine | speravi | non con | fundar in eter | num *In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me never be confounded*	Psalm 30/1:2; *Matutinae preces*;[3] also occurs at the end of the *Te deum*.
8r	RH margin	black textualis; step banderole in sage and gold, ascending outwards	Hoc est | preceptu(m) | meu(m) ut di | ligatis inuicem | sicut di | lexi uos *This is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you*	antiphon at Lauds, *In Natali unius Apostoli*;[4] John 15:12
10r	stave 2	black textualis; sage and gold banderole, red lower outline, grey upper outline	Hono[ur] | god <**ascription**> obey the | kyng	cf. Peter 2:17?[5]
19r	staves 2 & 3	small black textualis; gold crucifix on black dais, marked I.N.R.I at the top;[7] decorated in gold and red with four beige panels	mortem | autem | crucis *even death on a cross*	cf. Feria.V in Cena Domine;[6] Philippians 2:8
23r	stave 3	black textualis, without banderole: outermost stave lines highlighted in red	Sana domine animam meam *Heal my soul, O Lord*	antiphon at Feria III;[8] antiphon at third nocturn, *officium mortuorum*;[9]

3 *Liber precum publicarum* (1560), 331.

4 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 368.

5 Peter 2:17 gives 'fear God, honour the king'.

6 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 232.

7 Acronym for 'Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum' ('Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews')

8 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 99.

9 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 277.

Mus. e. 1

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
24r	stave 4 / RH margin	black textualis: sage banderole with red and gold volutes	I wyll not singe {**owl**} but in a cage.[10]	
31r	stave 2 / RH margin	black textualis: banderole in sage and gold, ascending outwards	Ascendens Christus in altum *Christ, ascending on high*	antiphon *In Vigilia Ascensionis Domini*.[11]
33r	LH margin	black textualis: perpendicular banderole from grotesque initial, in sage and gold	Vigilate et orate *Watch and pray*	various Sarum uses[12]; Mark 14:38
35v	RH margin (lower)	black textualis; two arced banderoles, uncoloured, above and below owl	quia paup(er) su(m) *for I am poor* {**owl**} Timor et tremor *Fear and trembling*	cf. Psalm 108/9: 22? Psalm 54/5: 6
43v	stave 4	black textualis, without banderole	Timor d(o)m(ini) <**ascription**> fons vite *The fear of God is the fountain of life*	Proverbs 14: 27
54v	stave 5	small black textualis, red 'M'; banderole outlined in red	Momento morieris. *Remember that you will die*	commonplace.

[10] These words have been mis-transcribed as 'I will not sing **shut** in a cage' [emphasis added] in Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5, 287 and 293, and in Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 133.

[11] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 235.

[12] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 87, 127, 542.

Mus. e. 1

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
56v	stave 3	black textualis; banderole outlined in pink; pink criblé and gold ends	Justus ut palma florebit in domo domini *The just shall flourish like the palm tree in the house of the Lord*	response I*n natali unius martyris*;[13] response *In natali unius confessoris*;[14]
	between staves 3 & 4	black secretary script, floating without banderole	In quo corrigit adolescentior viam suam | in custodiendo sermones tuos *How does a young man cleanse [or 'correct'] his way?* *by ruling himself after thy word.*	Psalm 118/9: 9
57r	stave 4	black textualis; banderole outlined in pink, with pink criblé end; gold eight-point star at centre, black background	Omnis spiritus {**eight-point star**} laudet dominum *Let everything that has breath praise the Lord*	antiphon at Lauds in the *Officium Mortuorum*;[15] Psalm 150/1:5
62v	below stave 5	black secretary script, floating without banderole	Cuius anime propicietur deus O*n whose soul may God have mercy*	commonplace
76r	centre	roundel: black textualis with red initials	D(omi)ne Jh(e)su Christe fili dei vivi miserere mei Ame(n) *Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me, Amen*	response in *Cap. Zacharice* VIII (though with Nobis rather than mei);[16] also a general prayer to Jesus [also used on fol. 57v of Mus. e. 5, without Amen].

13 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 385.

14 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 421.

15 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 281.

16 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 50, 52.

Mus. e. 1

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
76r	centre	circumscribed around the roundel centre also in a black textualis	Beat(us) vir qui in lege D(omi)ni, meditabitur[17] volu(n)tas eius p(er)manet die ac nocte et om(n)ia qu(a)ecu(m)q(ue) faciet se(m)p(er) p(ro)sperabu(n)t(ur) *Blessed is the man who shall meditate in the law of the Lord; his will shall endure day and night, and everything that he shall do shall always prosper*	c.f. first antiphon at Matins *In Natali unius Confessoris et Pontifici* (based on Psalm 1/2: 1–4).
	RH side	rose textualis, without banderole, in an arc shape, facing inwards	John Sadler	

17 In Mateer, 289, 'meditabitur' is cited as erroneous, presumably because the Sarum Breviary gives the word as 'meditatur' (*Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 411); it is also claimed that this inscription is at the rear of Mus e. 3. However, the version as rendered in Sadler's copy must have had some currency, since it was set by the composer Agostino Agazzari (1578-1640) in Augustini Agazzarii, *Armonici Intronati, Sacrae Cantiones, Binis, Ternisque uocibus concinendae. Liber Quartus. Cum Basso ad Organum* (Venetiis: Ricciardum Amadinum, 1606).

Mus. e. 2

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
3r	centre	a roundel, with red textualis in two banderoles with pointed criblé volutes	A porta inferi erue *From the gate of hell* d(omi)ne a(n)i(m)as n(ost)ras *deliver our souls O Lord.*	*Officium Mortuorum*[18]
	centre	perpendicular, in a black textualis, with red initials, without banderole	John Sadler	
	centre	circumscribed around banderole in a black textualis.	Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris sed habebit lumen vite dicit dominus deus noster *He that followeth me walketh not in darkness,* *but shall have the light of life, saith the Lord our God*	antiphon at Lauds *In Natali unius Martyris,* though without the 'deus noster'[19]
	RH side	perpendicular, in a rose textualis, in an arc-shaped banderole with pointed volutes, facing inwards	John Sadler	
4v	stave 3-5	black textualis: twelve-point gold star with void centre, surrounded by circular sage banderole, outlined in red and black; gold fleur de lys	Justorum autem anime, in manu dei sunt *But the souls of the just are in the hand of God.*	antiphon at Lauds in *In Natali Plurimorum Martyrum et Pontificum*;[20] and at lauds and second vespers *In natali Plurimorum Confessorum extra tempus Paschce*[21]

18 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 281, gives 'A porta inferi erue Domine animas eorum'; however, the *Officium Pro Defunctis* gives the more closely related 'A porta inferi' and 'Erue Domine animas eorum' as the vesicle and response respectively following Psalm 145 at vespers. On the partbook folio in question, however, 'eorum' has been replaced with 'n(ost)ras' – deliver *our* souls O Lord, rather than deliver *their* souls O Lord.

19 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 383

20 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 406.

21 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 439, 440. To be distinguished from 'Justorum anime, in manu dei sunt', without the word 'autem'.

Mus. e. 2

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
(4v)	stave 5	black textualis: arc-shaped banderole in sage; gold volutes	Dominus reg~~a~~nabit i(n) et(er)nu(m) et i(n) s(e)c(ulu)m s(e)c(ul)i.[22] *The Lord shall reign to eternity, yea, for ever and ever*	Psalm 9/10:37
8r	stave 5	black *textualis*: banderole outlined in thick black, incorporating a pink urn holding flowers, with ornate volutes	Vivat Regina Amen *Long live the Queen Amen*	commonplace
13r	stave 5	black *textualis*: diagonal / vertical / diagonal banderole, in sage and gold	Euge serve bo | ne et fide | lis quia super pauca fuisti fide | lis quia sup(er) | multa te | constitua(m) | dicit d(omi)n(u)s *Well done, thou good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things', saith the Lord*	antiphon in *Natali unius Confessoris* (though without the second 'quia')[23]
18r	stave 5	black textualis;without banderole	Pax Vobis *Peace to you*	commonplace
31r	LH margin (lower)	small black textualis: arc phylactery from grotesque initial, in sage and rose	similis similem sibi quaerit *like seeks like*	commonplace
	RH margin (upper)	black textualis: undulated banderole in sage, running behind illustration of a hound	How the hownd {**hound**} hunteth cownter.[24]	

[22] Letter 'a' erased, hence strike through

[23] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 420.

[24] In hunting parlance, 'Counter' refers to hounds which follow the scent of their prey backwards (rather than forwards):' when a hound hunteth backwards the same way as the chase is come, then we say hunteth *counter*'. See Richard Turberville, Book of Faulconrie and Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting (London: n.p., 1575), 243. The word was actually used in Sadler's time, since it is to be found in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, iv. 2. 39 ('a hound that runs counter, and yet draws dry-foot well').

Mus. e. 2

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
32v	LH margin (central)	small secretary script on banderole at base of floral vignette, in gold and sage	Iohn Sadler Grocer	
40r	LH margin (upper)	small secretary script: phylactery from grotesque initial, in sage with polychrome volutes	VERBU(m) dei *The word of God*	commonplace
48r	stave 5	black textualis: criblé banderole, outlined in red and black; divided by a gold crucifix on a criblé dais	Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos *If God is with us, then who is against us*	Romans 8:31[25]
57v	stave 3	black textualis: sage banderoles, outlined in rose with matching volutes	Eripe me d(omi)ne ab omni malo Deliver me, O Lord, from all evil	cf. Eripe me domine ab homine malo? (*Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man)*, Psalm 39/40: 1[26]
58r	stave 5	small black textualis: undulated, banderole, outlined heavily in black	miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam | et secundum multitudinem miserationu(m) tuaru(m) dele iniq(uita)tem mea(m) *Have mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great goodness, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies do away mine offences*	first Psalm at Laudes in Feria II,[27] III;[28] Psalm 50/1;3 also text of White's *Miserere* (no. 26/xxii)

[25] These words are not to be found in any liturgical source, though they are based on his inscription is based St Paul's Letter to the Romans (Rom. 8:31). 'Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos', also appear in that form exactly within Lassus' motet 'Jubilate Deo omni terra'.

[26] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 52.

[27] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 85

[28] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 107.

Mus. e. 2

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
62r	foot	black textualis: banderole outlined in red, with green volutes	omnis spiritus laudet dominu(m) *Let every spirit praise the Lord*	antiphon at Lauds, *officium mortuorum*;[29] Psalm 150/1: 6
76r	centre	geometric roundel: black circle, circumscribed with black textualis	Deus unus in trinitate *One God in Trinity*	sermon of St Augustine?[30]
		square around circle, black textura, featuring black triangles	Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanct(us) *God the father, God the son, God the holy spirit*	in the *Matuinae preces*;[31] also a prayer in the *Preces privatae,* 1564[32]
		concentric circle around square, circumscribed with black textura and featuring a Maltese cross	Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram ut inhabitate(m)[33] i(n) domū(m)[34] d(omi)ni om(n)ib(us) dieb(us) vit(a)e me(a)e *One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require:* *even that I might dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life*	c.f. Psalm 26/7: 4
		octofoil patterns around a square, featuring segmented black textualis	Initium Timor sapientiae domini timor fons domini vite *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom* *fear of the Lord is the fountain of life.*	cf. Psalm 110/11: 10;[35] Proverbs 14:27

[29] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 281.

[30] These words, in the same order, are to be found in St Augustine's sermon no. 383. See http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php.

[31] *Liber precum publicarum*, 335.

[32] William K. Clay (ed.), *Private Prayers Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2004), 295. This appeared rendered in English as the Athanasian Creed in the *BCP* from 1549 to 1662.

[33] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 70, gives 'Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram: ut inhabitem…'; 'inhabitate(m)' would therefore seem to be an error, but it may be that the intended (mistranscibed?) word was 'inhabitarem': the imperfect subjunctive that can be translated as 'might dwell in' rather than 'may dwell in'.

[34] The word 'domū(m)' is clearly an error (the Vulgate gives 'domo'); 'domu(m)' may have been used to mean 'into the house'.

[35] The order of the words here probably ought to begin 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini', as in Psalm 110/11:10. The words 'timor fons domini vite' probably ought to read 'timor Domini fons vitae', as they appear in Proverbs 14:27, and as they appeared on coins issued in the reign of Edward VI. See John Ward, *Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1763), 38–9.

Mus. e. 3

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
3[bis]v	centre	a roundel: black circle and eight-point star; rose centre. Several concentric	Meme(n)to me(i) D(omi)ne in regno cæloru(m) *Remember me God, in the kingdom of heaven*	cf. Luke 23:42?[36]
		circles create banderoles: these bear inscriptions in a black textualis, sometimes with red initials. Each banderole features pointed volutes, protruding both inwards and outwards.	Qui semina(n)t in lacrimis, i(n) exultacione mete(n)t *They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.*	Psalm 125/6: 5
			Qui no(n) a(m)bula(n)t in luce ambulant in tenebris *Those who do not walk in the light walk in darkness*	source uncertain
			Du(m) lucem habetis, ambulatis in luce. *Whilst you have the light, walk in the light.*	cf. John 12: 36
6r	stave 5	black textualis; sage banderole, outlined in black and red, with gold and turquoise volutes	Post tenebras, spero lucem *After darkness, I hope for light*	Job 17:12
8r	stave 5	black textualis; uncoloured banderole, outlined in black and red, with gold and red volutes	Si Deus | pro | no | bis | quis | con | tra | nos *If God be for us, who can be against us*	Romans 8:31
10r	stave 5	black textualis; sage step banderole, outlined in black and red, flanking ascription	fili | redemptor <**ascription**> mu(n)di deus miserere | nobis. *God, the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy on us.*	Litany, Feria II[37]

[36] The Vulgate has the words 'Domine memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum' (*Lord, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom*).

[37] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 250. Also printed in the *Liber precum publicarum*, 339.

Mus. e. 3

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
11r	stave 5	black textualis; sage banderole, outlined in red and grey, with angular, criblé volutes	gaudete i(n) d(omi)no <**ascription**> et exultate Iusti *Rejoice in the Lord and exalt O ye righteous*	Philippians 4:4; cf. Psalm 32/3: 1?[38]
15v	stave 4 (LH side)	small black textualis; red initial	Mirabilis est deu(s) in operibus | suis. *God is mighty in his works*	source uncertain
	Stave 4 (RH side)	small black textualis; red initials	gaudete i(n) d(omi)no et exultate Iusti *Rejoice in the Lord and exalt O ye righteous*	Philippians 4:4; cf. Psalm 32/3: 1?
	stave 5	black textualis; aubergine banderole, outlined in black and red, with round spiral volutes in gold and red volutes; flanking illustration of an owl on a black shield	Cantate d[omi]no | canti {**owl**} cum | novum *Sing to the Lord a new song*	Psalm 95/6:1; Psalm 97/8: 1; Psalm 149/50:1
22r	stave 3 (centre)	black textualis; without banderole	Servite d(omi)no i(n) timore [damaged] *Serve the Lord with fear*	Psalm 2/3: 11
	stave 3	small black textualis; sage trinket banderole with gold finials, worked clockwise around a twelve-point flower in sage, red and gold	spende | not | thy | tyme | ydely	commonplace: a recurring theme in Elizabethan literature[39]

[38] In the Vulgate this Psalm uses the word 'Exsultate' rather than 'Gaudete'.

[39] See, for instance, Shakespeare's sonnet 100, in which the The 'forgetfull Muse' is instructed to 'redeeme / In gentle numbers time so idely spent.' To 'redeem the time,' so 'not to spend time idly,' was a rendering of the Vulgate's 'tempus redimentes' Colossians 4:5 ('In sapientia ambulate ad eos, qui foris sunt: tempus redimentes'). Similar words, in English, are are sometimes found inscribed on sundials of the period, as pointed in Mrs Alfred Gatty, *The Book of Sun-Dials* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), 266, 330, 403.

Mus. e. 3

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
29r	stave 4	black textualis; small sage banderole with gold finials, outlined in red and black, above ascription	Cogita mori *Remember death*	a commonplace, sometimes used on portraits, jewellery, and sundials[40]
31r	RH margin	black textualis; uncoloured banderole, outlined heavily in black with cross-hatched volutes; draped above an illustration of an owl	I am sycke for a mowse[41]	source uncertain
31v	LH margin	black textualis; uncoloured perpendicular phylactery from grotesque initial, gold volute	Du(m) spiro spero *While I breathe I hope*	commonplace[42]
43r	stave 5	black textualis: uncoloured step banderole, outlined in black and red; ornate volutes in gold, red and black	Requiescamus domine, in pace Ame(n). *Let us rest in peace, Lord. Amen.*	cf. antiphon at Compline?[43]
57r	stave 3	black textualis with cadels, gold initial S; no banderole	Soli deo {**flower**} honor et gloria *Honour and glory to God alone*	*Ad primam, capitulum*;[44] Timothy 1:17

[40] See, for instance, Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 142; Tarnya Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings,* ed. by Tara Hamling, Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 157–178 (175); Gatty (1900), 377, 468.

[41] A plague of mice and owls which invaded Essex in 1581 were deemed by Steven Batman (*d.*1584) to be allegory of anti-Catholic significance. See Steven Batman, *The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgement…* (London: Ralph Mowbery, 1581), 408.

[42] Apparently a paraphrase of ideas from Theocritus and Cicero, now used as a motto of various places, families, and organisations. See, for instance, John Elven, *The Book of Family Crests*, vol. 1 (London: Stewart & Murray, 1854), under 'Dul–Dux' [unpaginated].

[43] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 228: 'Salva nos Domine vigilantes : custodi nos dormientes : ut vigilemus cum Christo et requiescamus in pace'.

[44] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 49.

76r	upper centre	Majuscule textualis, black ink painted red	John Sadler	

Mus. e. 4

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
4v	stave 5	small black textualis with red initials	Misericordias D(omi)ni <**ascription**> in aeternu(m) cantabo *My song shall be alway of the loving kindness of the Lord.*	Psalm 88/9: 1
	below stave 5	small black textualis with pale rose and red initials	soli deo honor et gloria *Honour and glory to God alone*	*Ad primam, capitulum*;[45] Timothy 1: 17
5r	stave 5	black textualis, flanked with red <>	Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum *The peace of the Lord be with you always*	Canon of the Mass; John 14:27
16r	stave 2 (RH side)	black textualis	pax vobis *Peace to you*	Salutation in canon of the Mass; Luke 24:36; John 20:21 & 20:26
19v	stave 5	black textualis, banderole faintly outlined in rose	Salva nos d(omi)ne vigila(n)tes {**flower**} custodi nos dormie(n)tes *Save us, O Lord, waking, and guard us sleeping*	Antiphon at compline, octave of Epiphany[46]
		black textualis, rose tri-arced banderole with pointed volutes in rose	ut vigilemus in C(h)risto et requiescamus i(n) pace *that we may watch in [with?] Christ, and rest in peace.*	*Verbatim* in the *Preces privatae* of 1564;[47] almost identical to antiphon at compline ('cum' rather than 'in')[48]

45 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 49.

46 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 228.

47 Clay (2004), 156.

48 *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 228.

Mus. e. 4

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
26v	stave 2	black textualis in a banderole outlined in black, gold triangular volutes	Laus Deo *Praise to God*	commonplace.
28v	lower LH	black textualis in sage radial banderole from mouth of gargoyle, outlined in black	Omnis homo mendax *Every man is a liar*	Psalm 115/6: 2
31v	upper LH	black textualis in two ochre (?) banderoles at a gradient joining to form a point; outlined in red	Senior su(m) ego | incipiam *I am elder , I begin*	source uncertain
	lower LH	black textualis, in two concentric radial banderoles, outlined in red, with red and gold volutes	Nos fratri[49] sum(us) Ne me contemnes We are brothers, do not despise me	source uncertain
40r	stave 4 (RH side)	small black textualis with red initial	laus sit superis *praise to those above*	source uncertain
50v	staves 3–5	small black textualis on a dais festooned with a flower arrangement; flanked by two decorated banderoles. Coloured in red, black and gold.	feare god love god obey y[e] kynge.	source uncertain
53r	staves 4–5 (RH side)	black textualis on a sage undulating banderole, running behind a hound.	a hote weather for houndes to hu[n]te	source uncertain

[49] This word should doubtless be 'fratres'.

Mus. e. 4

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
57v	stave 4	black textualis in a banderole outlined in rose, with rose volutes	Justor(u)m anime, in manu dei sunt. *The souls of the just are in the hand of God*	versicle at the third nocturn, *In natali Plurimorum Martyrum extra tempus Paschale*;[50] *versicle In commendationibus Benefactorum*;[51] Wisdom 3: 1-3
62r	stave 2 (RH side)	small black textualis in sage banderole with gold volutes	Deus noster in Celo *Our God in heaven.*	cf. Psalm 113/4: 11 (this gives *Deus autem noster in celo*).
65r	stave 5	black textualis, without banderole	Media nocte surgeba(m) ad confitendu(m) tibi *At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee*	*Dominicis diebus ad matutinas, Post Octavas Epyphanice usque ad Passionem Domini Antiphona*; [52] Psalm 118/9: 62
67r	centre	roundel. Rose centre, around which is a banderole with crossed pointed volutes; black textualis with a single red initial.	Ad te domine clamabo et ad deu(m) meu(m) deprecabor *To thee, O Lord, will I cry: and I will make supplication to my God.*	Psalm 29/30: 9
		outer concentric banderole, with black textualis with a fleur-de-lys at its centre.	In celestibus regnis sanctorum habitatio est, et in eternum requies eorum alleluya *In the heavenly realm is the dwelling place of the saints.* *Alleluia.*	antiphon at Lauds, *Commune Apostolorum,* Paschal time[53]

[50] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 403.

[51] *Liber precum publicarum*, 432.

[52] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 42.

[53] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 358 (this gives 'In cælestibus regnis sanctorum est habitatio, alleluya. et in æternum requies eorum, alleluya.').

Mus. e. 5

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
3v	centre	floating, without banderole, in black textualis with rose initials	John Sadler	
	centre	roundel with black Sadler monogram at centre; surrounded by series of concentric circles bearing inscription in black textualis, with a fleur-de-lys at its apex.	In conspectu angelorum Psallam tibi deus meus *I will sing praise to thee in sight of the angels, my God* Gaudete iusti in domino *Rejoice in the Lord oh ye just*	antiphon to Psalm 137 at Vespers, Feria VI[54]
4v	stave 5	black textualis, outlined in black and rose	Credo videre bona domini in terra vivencium *I believe to see the good things of our Lord: in the land of the living*	Psalm antiphon at Lauds, *Ad Mautinas,* Feria II,[55] and in the *Officium Mortourum*, 2nd nocturn[56]
8r	stave 2	black textualis in a sage banderole, outlined in black and red, with red, sage and gold volutes.	Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum *The word of the Lord endures forever*	based on Peter 1:24–25; held to be the 'motto of the Lutheran Reformation'[57]
10r	stave 3 (RH side)	rose textualis, without banderole	Auxiliu(m) meum a D(omi)no. *My help comes from the Lord*	antiphon to Psalm 120 at vespers;[58] Psalm 120/1: 2
13r	stave 3 (LH side)	small black textualis, without banderole	uni via [sic.]| unu(m) cor *one way one heart*	Source uncertain. Sometimes rendered as *cor unum et viam unam*, as in Jeremiah 32:39

54 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 210.

55 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 70.

56 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 275.

57 Paul T. McCain (ed.), *The Lutheran Confessions* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2005), 2.

58 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 198.

Mus. e. 5

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
13r	stave 3 (RH side)	small black textualis, without banderole	Deus creator omnium. *O God, Creator of all things*	Hymn on Sunday at vespers;[59] Hymn at *Vigilia Ascensionis Domini ad Completorium super Psalmum ut in Octava Paschae;*[60] words also used *in Die Parasceves.*[61]
26v	stave 5	[empty banderole, outlined in black with gold volutes]		
28v	stave 4 (LH side)	radial sage banderole from mouth of grotesque initial, with gold volutes	Domine quo vadis *Lord, where are you going?*	words of St Peter, in John 13:36
44v	stave 3	banderole with red and gold volutes	[illegible]	
47r	stave 4	black textualis in a banderole outlined in red and black, with gold and red volutes	Spiritus Ubi Vult Spirat *The Spirit blows where it wills*	John 3:8.
49r	Stave 1	black textual in a banderole outlines in black, with black cross-hatched volutes	Domine non est exaltatum *Lord, I am not high-minded*	Psalm 130/1: 1. This inscription appears above Morley's setting of *Domine non est exaltatum* (no. 34/30)

[59] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 220.

[60] *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, 236.

[61] *Liber precum publicarum* (1560), 357.

Mus. e. 5

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
50v	stave 4	black textualis in a banderole outlined in black and red, with gold and red volutes	Dominus dedit Domin(us) abstulit placuit sicut deo ita factu(m) est *The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so was it done.*	same text as in Clemen's *Job tonso capite* (no. 11/8). Apparently based on Job 1:21[62]
51v	stave 5	black textualis in a banderole outlined in rose, with gold volutes	Ab insidiis diaboli, libera nos, Domine Ame(n) *From the snares of the devil, deliver us, O Lord, Amen*	Feria III in *Quadragesima Ordo martyrum,* though without the Amen[63]
52r	stave 5	black textualis in a banderole outlined in rose, with gold volutes	elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei | magis q(ua)m habitare in tabernaculis peccato(rum) *I have chosen to be cast down in the house of my God, rather than to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners.*	Psalm 83/4:11
54r	staves 3–4	black texture, intertwined with leafs as part of a feature ascription	love thy Lord thy God wyth all thy hart, and with all thy sowle, and thy neyghbou[r] as thy sellfe	cf. Matthew 22:37; Luke 10:27
55v	stave 4	black textualis in a banderole outlined in red, with large red and black volutes	Memor fui nocte nominis tui Domine *In the night I have remembered thy name, O Lord*	versicle *ad sextam Memores erunt nominis tui, Domine*;[64] Psalm 118/9:55
57v	stave 5 (RH side)	small black textualis in a banderole outlined in red and black, with pointed criblé volutes in rose	Jhesu Criste, fili Dei vivi miserere mei *Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me*	Response *ad primam, in Cap. Zacharice VIII* (though with Nobis rather than mei);[65] also a general prayer to Jesus

[62] The Vulgate for Job 1:21 gives 'Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit sit nomen Domini benedictum'; the *Liber precum publicarum* (1560) gives 'Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum.'

[63] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 236.

[64] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 370.

[65] *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 50, 52.

Mus. e. 5

folio	*position*	*script and format*	*text and translation*	*source(s)*
60r	stave 5	black textualis in a sage banderole, with sage and gold volutes	My only trust is in the lorde my god	source uncertain
70r	centre	roundel. Rose centre, with two white intwined circular banderoles with inward pointing volutes, bearing black textualis with rose initials	ego dixi D(omi)ne miserere mei sana ani(m)am meam q(uoni)a(m) peccavi tibi *I said: O Lord, be thou merciful to me: heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee*	Psalm 40/1:5; also in the ferial preces[66]
			Suavis D(omi)n(u)s universis et miserationes eius super omnia opera ei(us) *The Lord is sweet to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works.*	Psalm 144/5:9
	centre	a white banderole formed of concentric circles, outlined in red, bearing black textualis, with crucifix topped heart shape at its apex	Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo qui est in celo *Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I confess before my father who is in heaven.*	Without 'qui est in celo', this is the first antiphon at Lauds *In Natali unius Martyris*[67]
	RH side	red textura, in a black compartment in the centre of a banderole with uncoloured volutes, pointing inwards towards roundel.	John Sadler	

66 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 89.

67 *Brev. Sar.,* vol. 2, 383. Mateer has suggested that the words 'qui est in celo' may have been added simply to fill up space in the banderole, so not to leave a gap (see Mateer, 290). However, a very similar phrase, 'qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in cœlis' is to be found as a gloss on Matthew 32 and 33 by St Ambrose in Patrologiae cursus completus: sive Bibliotheca universals, 471.

E. Editions of *Unica*

Editorial policy

Original note values and slurs have been retained, barring has been added, and beaming to quavers has been regularised. Accidental use has been modernised: repeated accidentals that are redundant by modern conventions have been omitted without comment; flats in the source (which are used to cancel a preceding sharp) have been re-spelt as naturals. Editorial accidentals are printed in small type, above the note in question, and cautionary accidentals appear in parentheses. Spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation in the verbal text have been modernised, and text repetition marks (:||:) have been expanded: such expansions are shown by the use of *italic* type. Contractions have been realised without further comment. Other interventions are listed below.

In nomine (no. 3), John Sadler

None.[1]

Good fellows must go learn to dance (no. 41), William Parsons

This piece is one of the most defective in the partbooks; but it is not clear whether the copy of the work in Mus. e 1–5 – its only known source – is to blame, or whether the work is simply a defective composition. The following interventions have therefore been made. The work is far from satisfactory in its present state, even when edited; I would welcome suggestions of alternative changes that yield a more satisfactory result.

Bars 1–8, voice 2 (Mus. e. 2):	This copy originally begun with an F4 clef, but this was erased and replaced with an F3 clef. However, it is the deleted F3 clef that has been essentially reinstated here, since the voieparts would not otherwise work. The change of the clef, undeletd, to F3 at what is bar 9 in the msu.c .e. 3 part of the edition is respected.
Bar 16, voice 4 (Mus. e. 5)	2nd note: source gives C
Bar 28, voice 2 (Mus. e. 2)	crotchet rest omitted.

Cony skines (no. 42), anonymous

None.

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1 Paul Doe, in his edition of Sadler's *In nomine* as it was printed in *Musica Britannica*, vol. 45, recorded an error ('sic') for the second note of the Bassus voice at bar 49. However, the reasons for this are not clear. See Doe, *Elizabethan Consort Music, II*, 149.

[In Nomine]

John Sadler
*c.*1513–*c.*1591




20


27


32

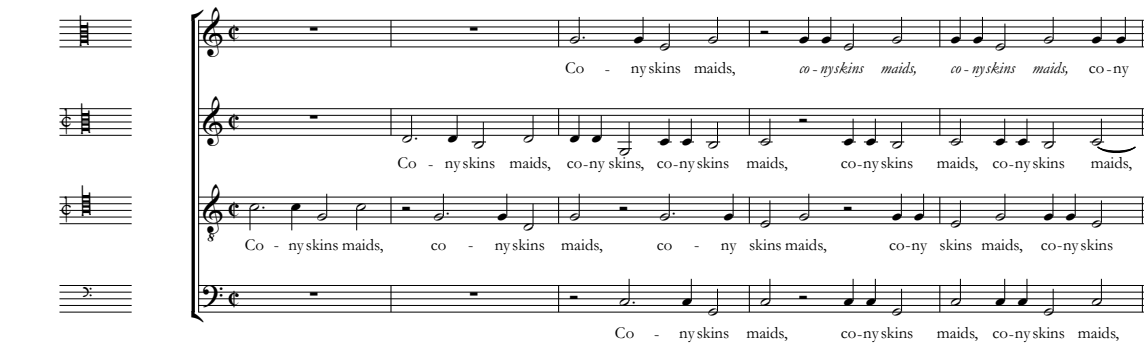

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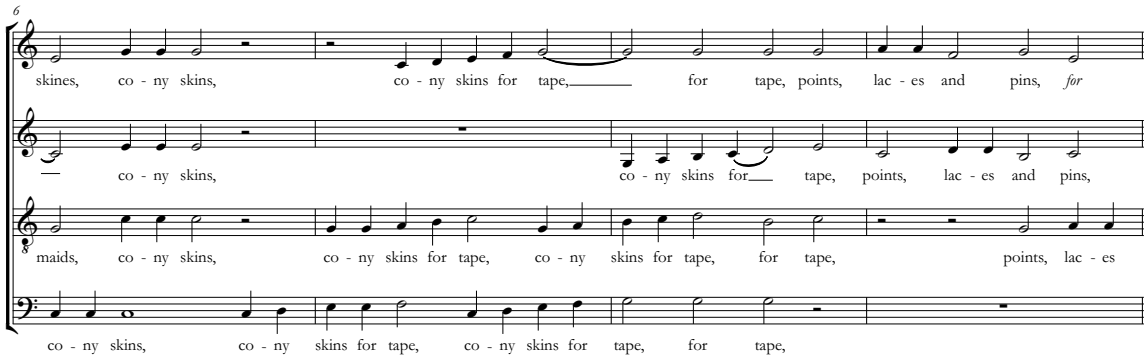

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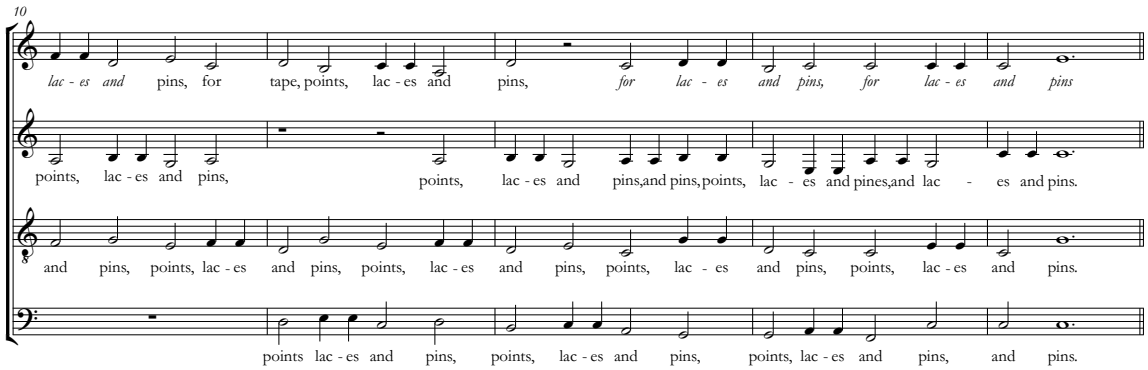

51

Cony skines maydes

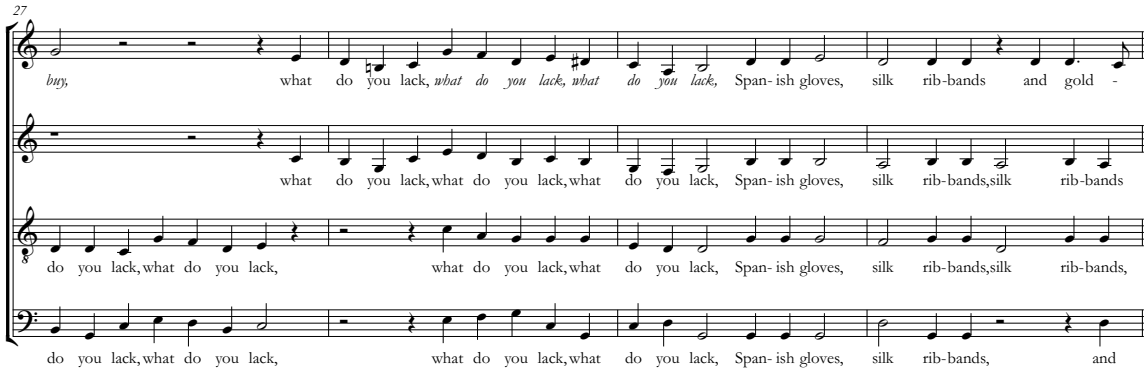
Anonymous

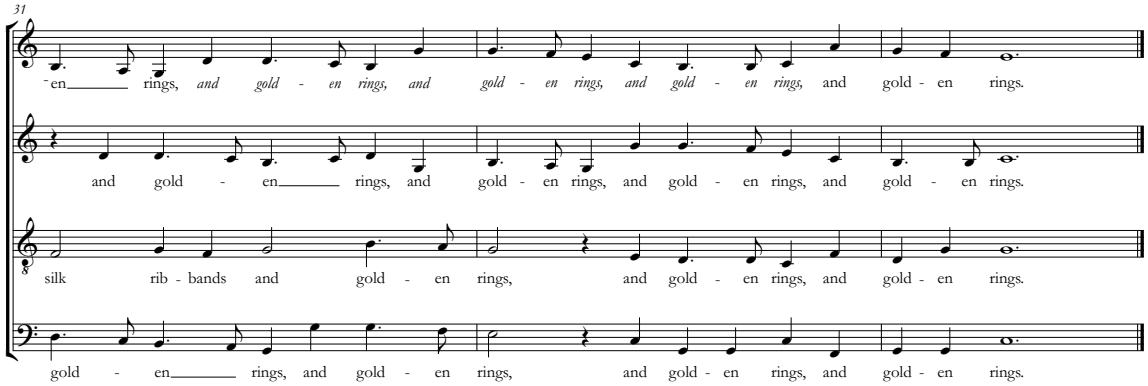






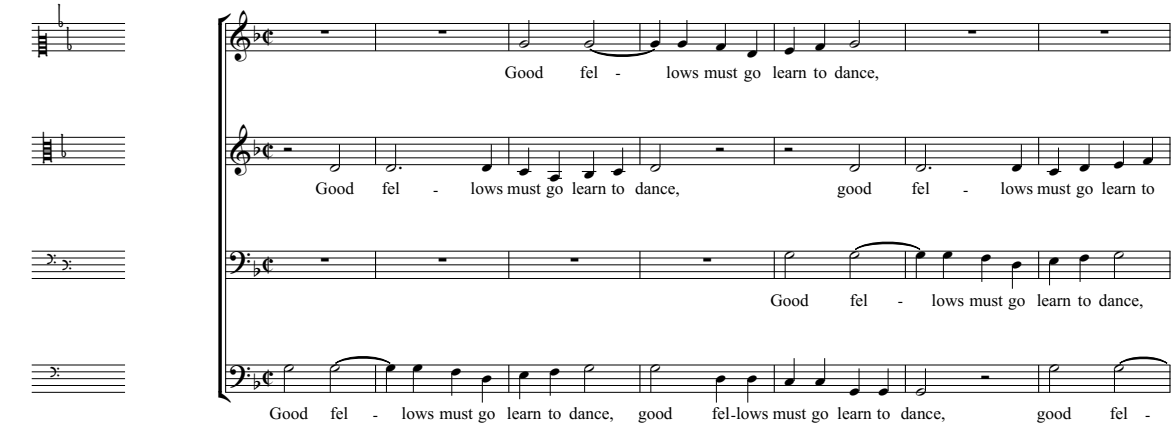

15
This pret - ty ped - ler hath in his pret - ty pack pret - ty things for fair lad - ies, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty
This pret - ty ped - ler hath in his pret - ty pack pret - ty things for fair lad - ies, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty
Pret - ty things, pret - ty
Pret - ty
19
things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things for fa - ir la - dies, pret - ty things for fair la - dies, pret - ty things, pret - ty
things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things for fa - ir la - dies, for fair la - dies, for fair la -
things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things for fair la - dies pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty
things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things for fair la - dies, pret - ty things, pret - ty things.
23
things, pret - ty things for fair la - dies, pret - ty things. Come buy, come buy, come buy, come
dies, pret - ty things for fair la - dies, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things. Come buy, come buy, come buy, come buy,
things, pret - ty things for fair la - dies, pret - ty things, pret - ty things, pret - ty things. Come buy, come buy, come buy, come buy, what
What

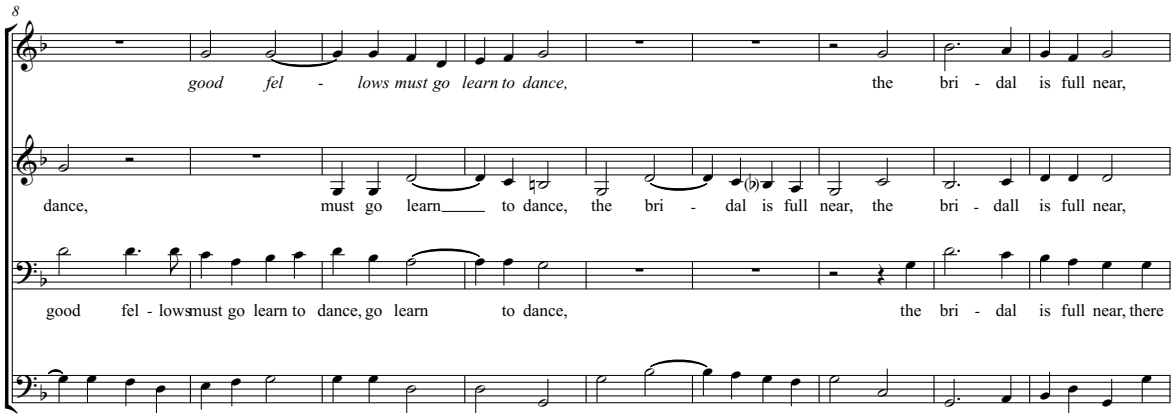

27
buy, what do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, Span- ish gloves, silk rib-bands and gold -
what do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, Span- ish gloves, silk rib-bands, silk rib-bands
do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, Span- ish gloves, silk rib-bands, silk rib-bands,
do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, what do you lack, Span- ish gloves, silk rib-bands, and

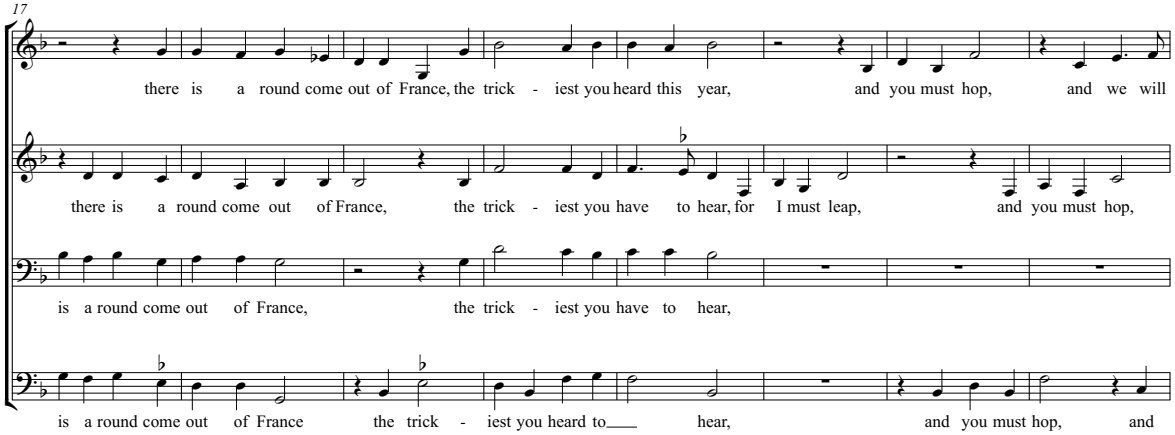

31
-en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings.
and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings.
silk rib - bands and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings.
gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings, and gold - en rings.

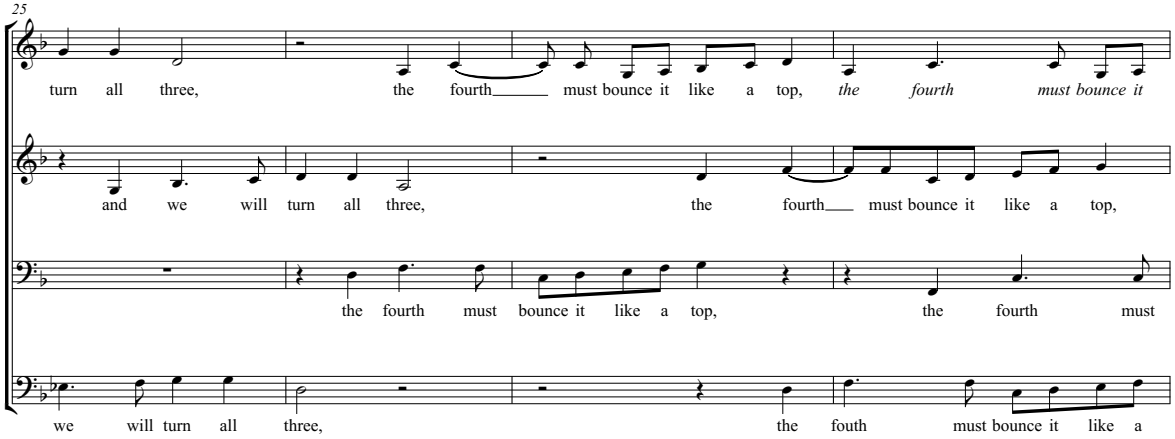
Good fellows must go learn to dance

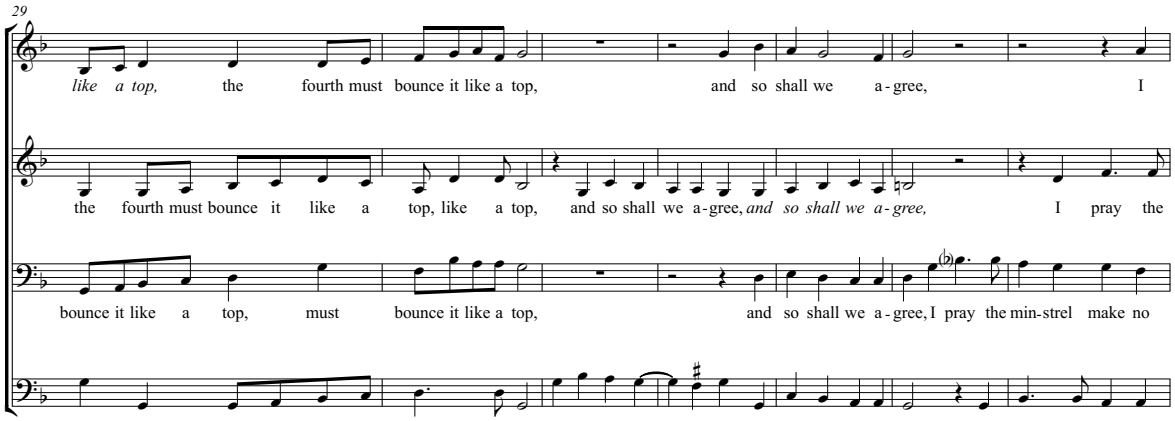
William Parsons



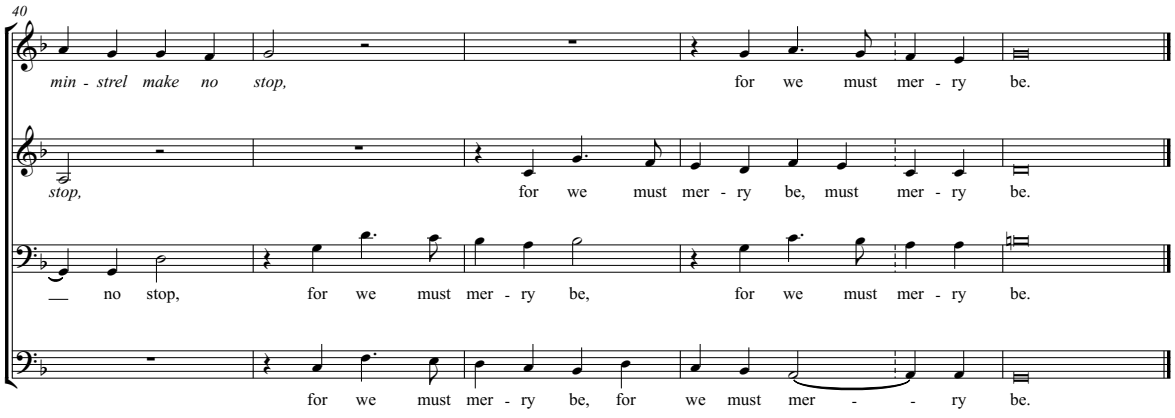





25
turn all three, the fourth must bounce it like a top, *the fourth must bounce it*
and we will turn all three, the fourth must bounce it like a top,
the fourth must bounce it like a top, the fourth must
we will turn all three, the fouth must bounce it like a


29
like a top, the fourth must bounce it like a top, and so shall we a-gree, I
the fourth must bounce it like a top, like a top, and so shall we a-gree, *and so shall we a-gree,* I pray the
bounce it like a top, must bounce it like a top, and so shall we a-gree, I pray the min-strel make no
top, *the fourth must bounce it like a top,* and so shal we a-gree, *and so shall we a-gree,* I pray the min-strel

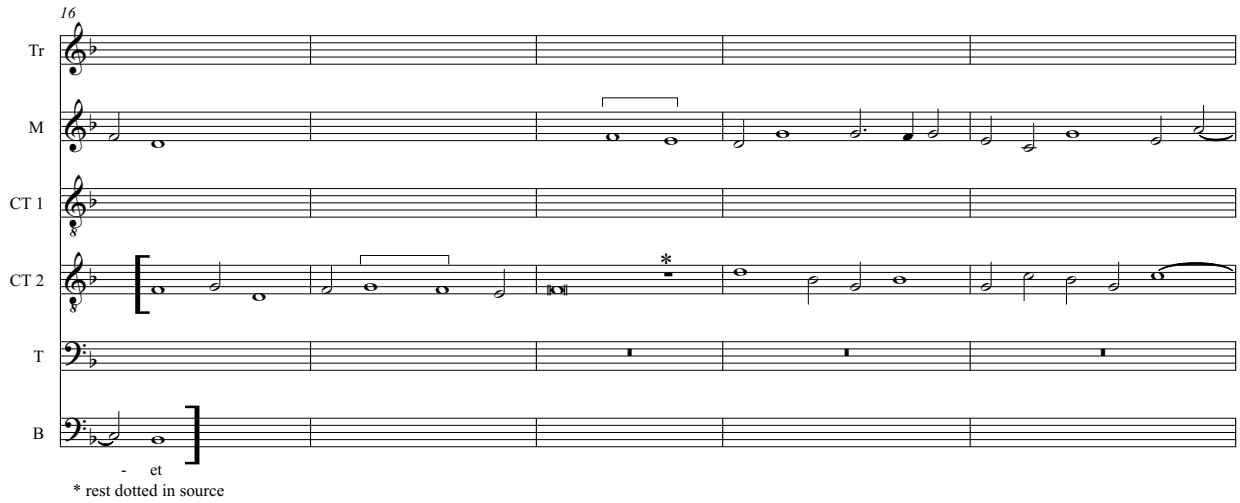

36
pray the min - strel make no stop, *I pray the*
min - strel make no stop, *I pray the min - strel make no*
stop, I pray the min - strel make
make no stop, *I pray the min - strel make no stop,*


40
min - strel make no stop, for we must mer - ry be.
stop, for we must mer - ry be, must mer - ry be.
— no stop, for we must mer - ry be, for we must mer - ry be.
for we must mer - ry be, for we must mer - - ry be.

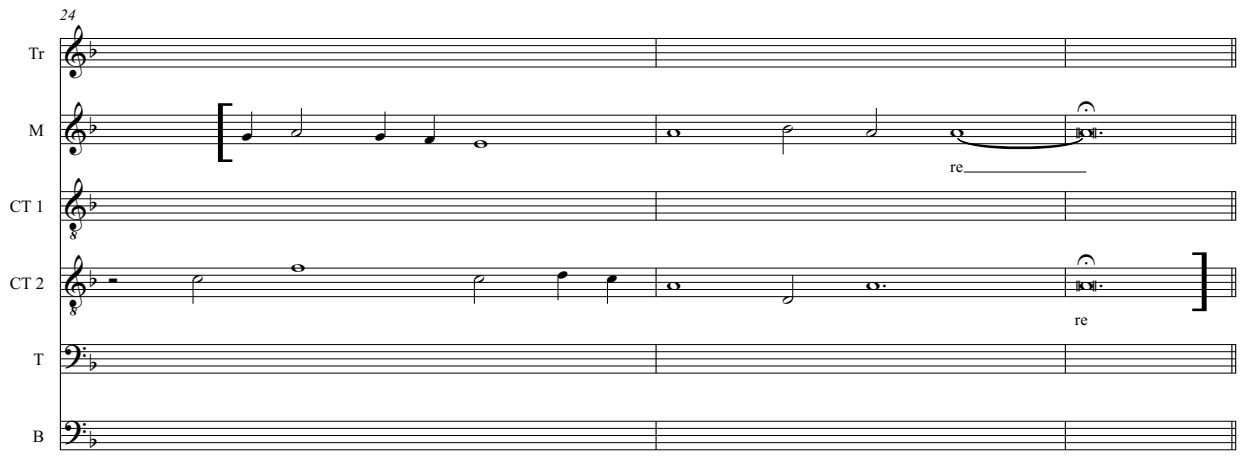
F. Partial transcription of Credo A

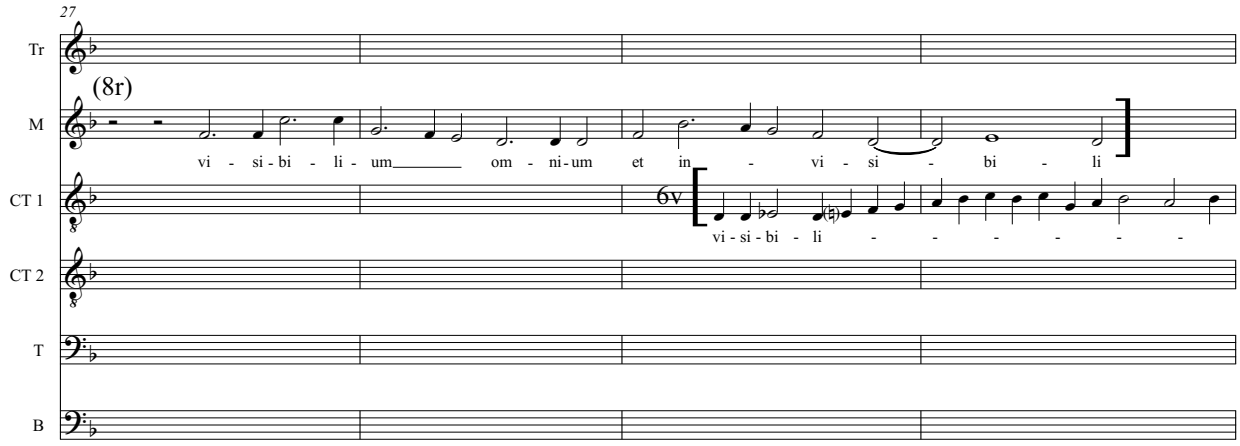


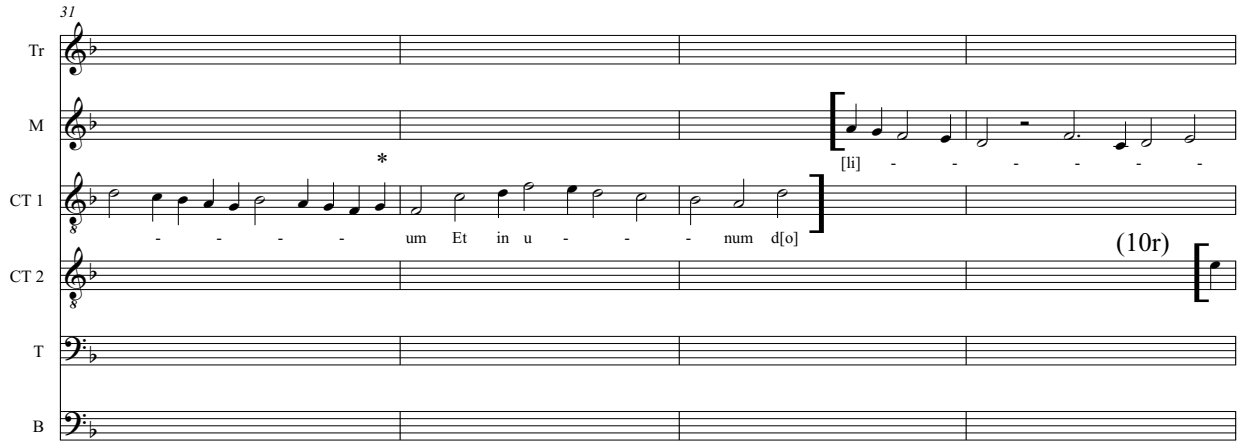
* dotted semi-breve in source


16
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
- et
* rest dotted in source

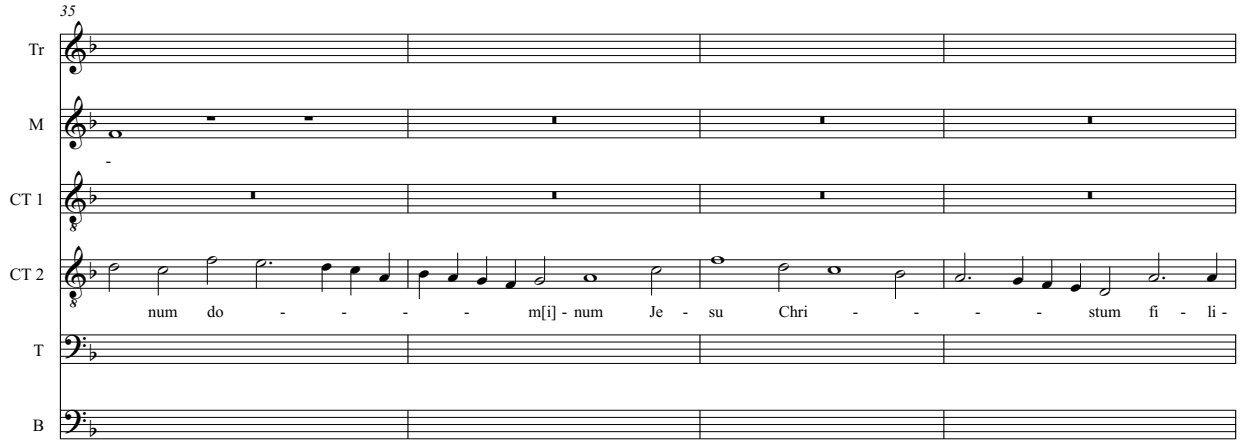

21
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B


24
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
re
re





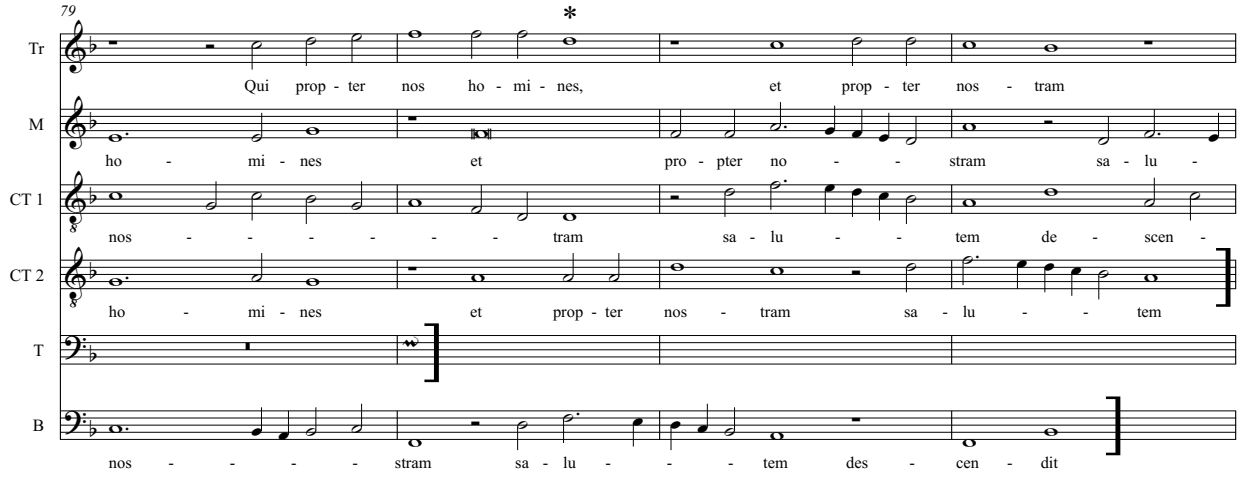
* Minim in source



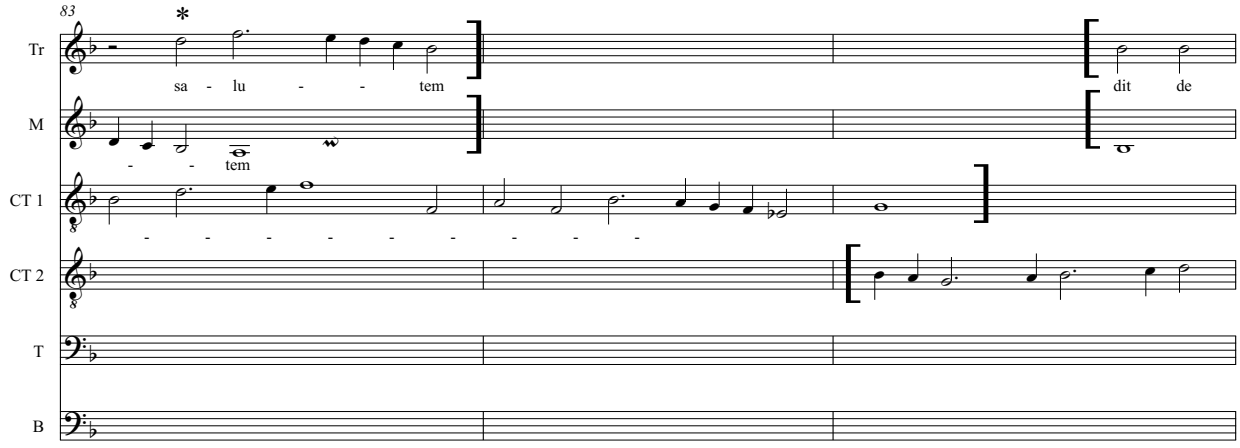

39
3v
Tr
M
(6v)
CT 1
num Je - sum Chri - stum fi - li - um de - i u - ni ge - ni -
CT 2
um de - i u - ni - ge
T
B
43
Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a
- tum Et [ex] pa - tre na - tum [an - te] om - ni - a
47
om - ni - a se - cu - la
se
[se] - cu -
pa - tre na - tum an -


51
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
te om-ni-a se-cu-
56
[...la.] 6r (Veni creator spiritus)
7r
[D]e-um de de-o lu-men de lu-
...a. de-um de de-o lu-men de lu-mi-ne
61
- mi-ne de-um de de-o ve-ro Ge-ni-tum
de-um ve-rum de de-o ve


67
2r
Tr
de - de - o ve - - - - - ro
Ge - ni-tum non fac - tum con - sub -
M
3r
[r]o
Ge - ni - tum non fa - ctum
CT 1
CT 2
T
non fac
B
non fac - tum
con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem pa - tri per quem
71
Tr
stan - - ti - a - lem
pa - tri per quem om
M
con - sub - stan - ti a - lem
pa - tri per
CT 1
CT 2
T
a - lem
pa - tri per quem om - ni - a fa - cta sunt
B
om - - - - - ni - - - - - - a
75
2r
Tr
fac - ta
sunt.
M
Qui prop - - - ter nos
CT 1
et
prop - ter
7r
CT 2
sunt
Qui prop - - - - ter nos
T
qui
prop - ter nos ho - - mi - nes et
prop - ter no - stram
B
Qui
prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes
et prop - ter



* source gives C



* source gives C

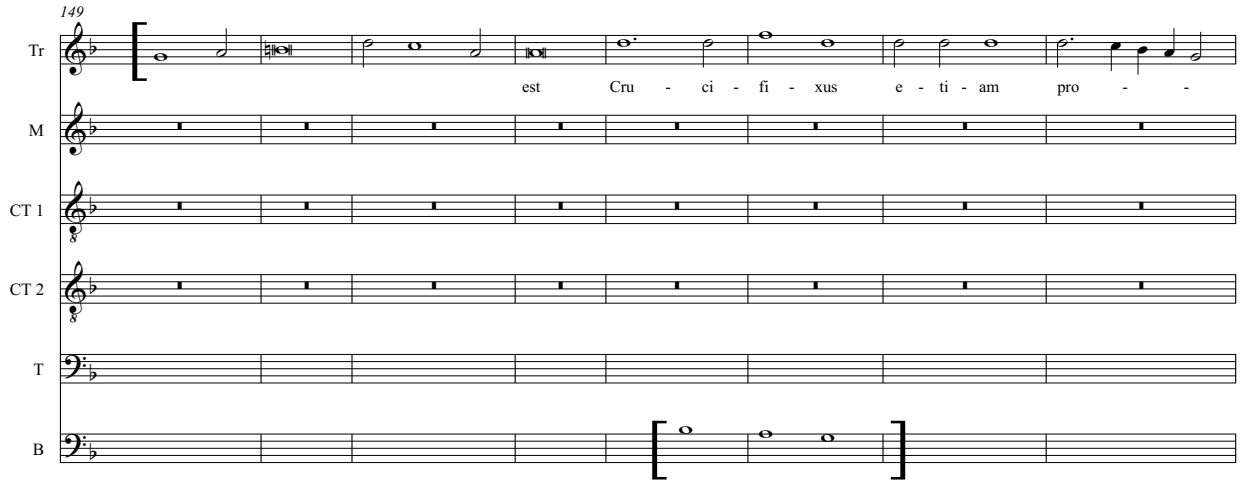


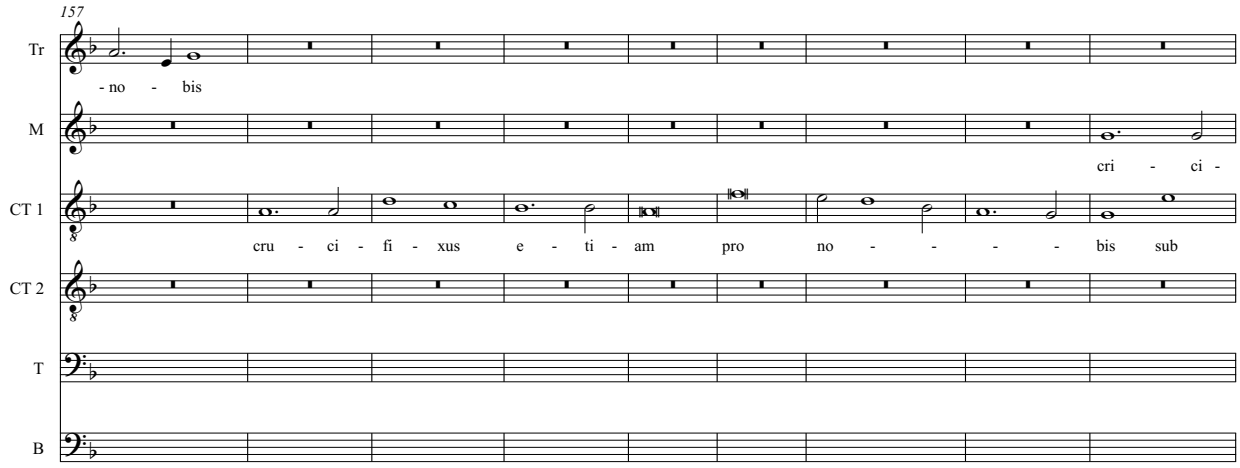

88
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
5r
2v
7v
1r
[E]t in - - car -
[E]t in - car - na - tus est de spi - ri - tu san - - - -
[E]t in - car - na - tus est de spi - ri - tu san -
96
na - tus est de spi - ri - tu san - - - cto ex Ma - ri - a
- cto ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne et ho - mo
- - - cto ex Ma - ri - a
104
vir - gi - ne et fa -
mo - fac

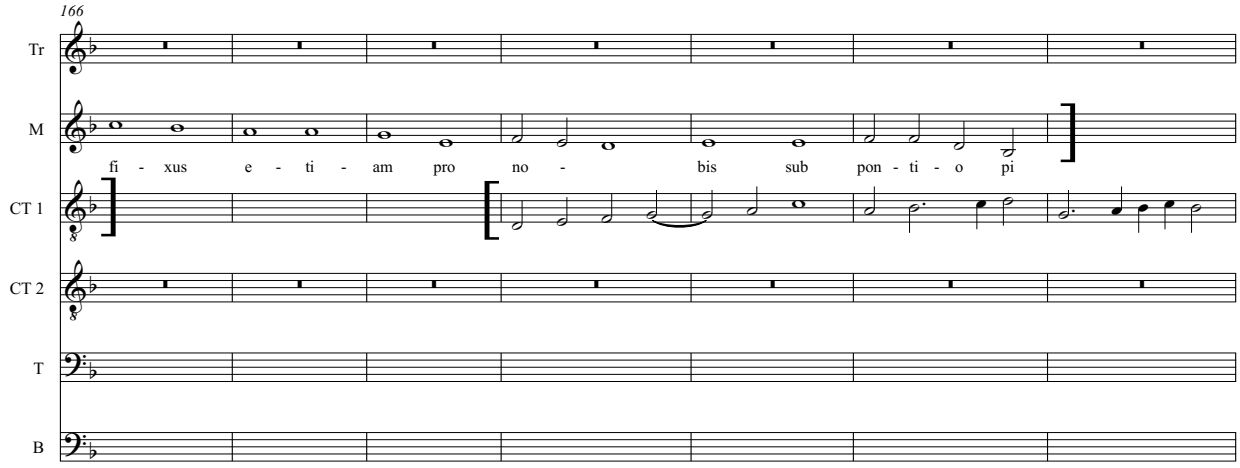

111
Tr
ctus
M
1r
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
118
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
126
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B

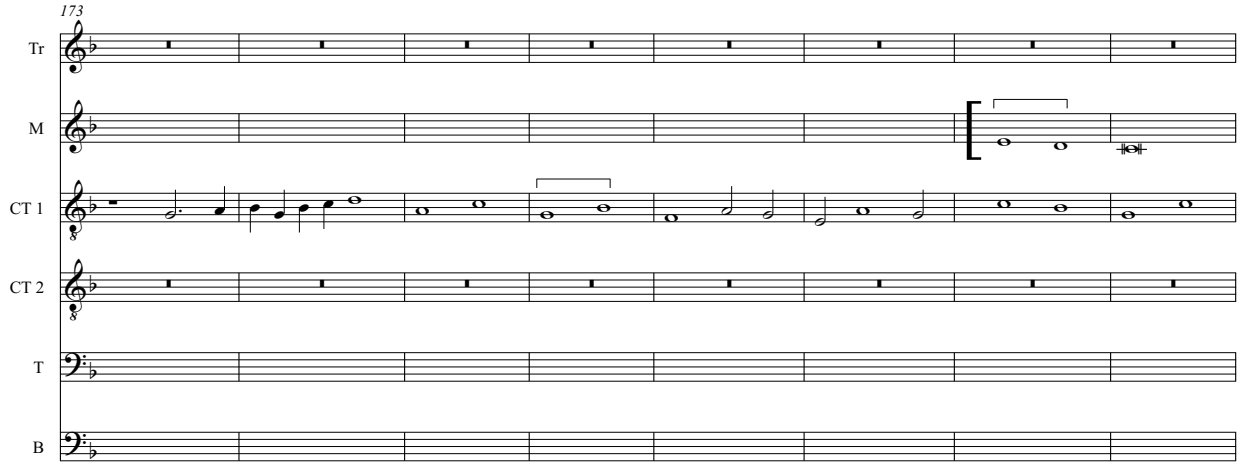

133
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
est
cru - ci -


141
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
fi - xus e - ti - am

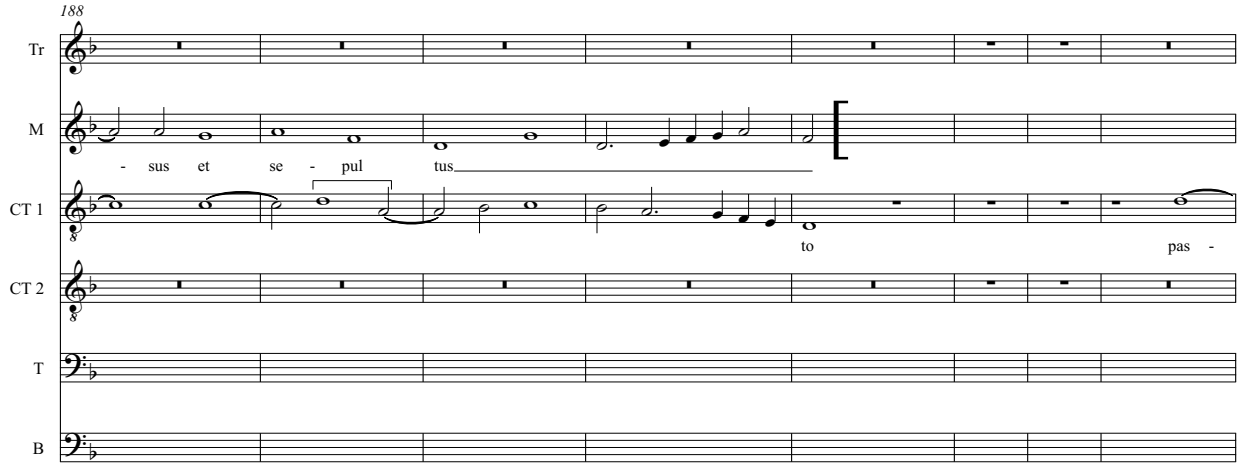

149
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
est Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro - -


157
Tr
- no - bis
M
cri - ci -
CT 1
cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - - - - bis sub
CT 2
T
B


166
Tr
M
fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis sub pon - ti - o pi
CT 1
CT 2
T
B


173
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B







* source gives longa


204
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
207
Tr
M
CT 1
CT 2
T
B
est.
est.
est.

G. Finding Aids

In sequence as they appear in the partbooks

No.	*Composer*	*Work*	*Mus. e. 1*	*Mus. e. 2*	*Mus. e. 3*	*Mus. e. 4*	*Mus. e. 5*
1	William Byrd	*Aspice Domine de sede*	6r	4r	4r	3r	4r
2	William Byrd	*Domine praestolamur*	6v	5r	4v	3v	5r
3	John Sadler	*In nomine*	8r	6r	6r	5r	6r
4/i	Christopher Tye	*Miserere mei*	8v	6v	6v	5v	6v
5/ii	John Taverner	*O splendor gloriae*	10r	8v	8v	7r	8r
6/iii	John Sheppard	*Inclina Domine (I)*	12r	10v	10v	9r	10r
7/iv	John Merbecke	*Domine Jesu Christe*	13r	11v	11v	10r	11r
8/v	Hugh Aston	*Te Deum*	15r	13v	13v	12v	13r
9/vi	Robert Fayrfax	*Ave Dei patris*	17v	16v	16r	14v	15v
10/vii	John Taverner	*Gaude plurimum*	19r	18r	18r	16r	17v
11/viii	Jacobus Clemens non Papa	*Job tonso*	22r	20v	20v	18v	19v
12/ix	John Taverner	*Ave Dei patris*	23r	22r	22r	20r	20v
13/x	Robert Johnson [I]	*Ave Dei patris*	26r	24r	24r	21v	22r
14/xi	Thomas Tallis	*Salve intemerata*	28v	26v	26v	24r	24r
15/xii	Hugh Aston	*Gaude virgo/mater matris*	31r	29r	29r	26v	27r
16/xiii	Philip van Wilder	*Aspice Domine*	33r	31r	31v	28v	28v
17/xiv	Osbert Parsley	*Conserva me*	34r	32v	32v	30r	29v
18/xv	Thomas Tallis	*Domine quis habitabit*	35v	34r	34v	31v	31r
19/xvi	Thomas Tallis	*Incipit Lamentatio*	37v	36r	36v	33v	33r
20	Thomas Tallis	*Lamentations*	38v	37v	36v	34v	33r
21/xvii	Robert White	*Lamentations*	40v	40r	40r	37r	36r
22/xviii	Thomas Tallis	*Dum transisset*	43v	42v	43v	40v	39r
23/xix	Robert Johnson [I]	*Domine in virtute*	44r	43v	44r	41r	39v
24/xx	Robert Fayrfax	*Maria plena virtute*	46r	45v	46r	43r	41v
25/xxi	Osbert Parsley	*Lamentations*	48r	47r	48v	45r	43v
26/xxii	Robert White	*Miserere mei*	49r	48v	50r	46v	44v
27/xxiii	Robert White	*Exaudiat te*	51v	51v	53r	49v	47r
28/xxiv	Robert White	*Domine non est exaltatum*	53v	53v	54v	51r	49r
29/xxv	Robert White	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	55r	55r	55v	53v	50v
30/xxvi	Thomas Morley	*Domine, Dominus noster*	56v	56v	56v	55r	52r
31/xxvii	Thomas Tallis	*O sacrum convivium*	57r	57r	57r	55v	52v
32/xxviii	Thomas Tallis	*Salvator mundi*	58r	57v	58r	56r	53r
33/xxix	William Byrd	*Attollite portas*	58v	58v	58v	56v	53v
34/xxx	Thomas Morley	*Domine non est exaltatum*	60v	59v	59v	57v	54v

35/xxxi	Thomas Tallis	*Absterge Domine*	61v	61r	61r	59v	55v
36/xxxii	William Byrd	*Ne irascaris*	62r	62v	62r	60v	57r
37/xxxiii	John Taverner	*Mater Christi*	64r	63v	63v	62r	58r
38/xxxiv	William Byrd	*Tribulationes civitatum*	65r	64v	64v	63r	59r
39/xxxv	Robert White	*Justus es Domine*	66v	66v	66r	64v/65v	60v
40	John Taverner	*Western Wind Mass*	68r	68r	67v		62r
41	William Parsons	*Good fellows must go*	72v	72v	72v		66v
42	[anonymous]	*Conye skins*	73v	73v	73r		67v
43	Alphonso Ferrabosco I	*Musica laeta*	74v	74v	74r		68v/69r

Alphabetically by composer:

Composer	***Work***	***No.***	***Mus. e. 1***	***Mus. e. 2***	***Mus. e. 3***	***Mus. e. 4***	***Mus. e. 5***
[anonymous]	*Conye skins*	42	73v	73v	73r		67v
Aston, Hugh	*Te Deum*	8/v	15r	13v	13v	12v	13r
Aston, Hugh	*Gaude virgo/mater matris*	15/xii	31r	29r	29r	26v	27r
Byrd, William	*Aspice Domine de sede*	1	6r	4r	4r	3r	4r
Byrd, William	*Domine praestolamur*	2	6v	5r	4v	3v	5r
Byrd, William	*Attollite portas*	33/xxix	58v	58v	58v	56v	53v
Byrd, William	*Ne irascaris*	36/xxxii	62r	62v	62r	60v	57r
Byrd, William	*Tribulationes civitatum*	38/xxxiv	65r	64v	64v	63r	59r
Clemens, Jacobus non Papa	*Job tonso*	11/viii	22r	20v	20v	18v	19v
Fayrfax, Robert	*Ave Dei patris*	9/vi	17v	16v	16r	14v	15v
Fayrfax, Robert	*Maria plena virtute*	24/xx	46r	45v	46r	43r	41v
Ferrabosco I, Alphonso	*Musica laeta*	43	74v	74v	74r		68v/69r
Johnson [I], Robert	*Domine in virtute*	23/xix	44r	43v	44r	41r	39v
Johnson [I], Robert	*Ave Dei patris*	13/x	26r	24r	24r	21v	22r
Merbecke, John	*Domine Jesu Christe*	7/iv	13r	11v	11v	10r	11r
Morley, Thomas	*Domine, Dominus noster*	30/xxvi	56v	56v	56v	55r	52r
Morley, Thomas	*Domine non est exaltatum*	34/xxx	60v	59v	59v	57v	54v
Parsley, Osbert	*Conserva me*	17/xiv	34r	32v	32v	30r	29v
Parsley, Osbert	*Lamentations*	25/xxi	48r	47r	48v	45r	43v
Parsons, William	*Good fellows must go*	41	72v	72v	72v		66v
Sadler, John	*In nomine*	3	8r	6r	6r	5r	6r
Sheppard, John	*Inclina Domine (I)*	6/iii	12r	10v	10v	9r	10r
Tallis, Thomas	*Domine quis habitabit*	18/xv	35v	34r	34v	31v	31r
Tallis, Thomas	*Incipit Lamentatio*	19/xvi	37v	36r	36v	33v	33r
Tallis, Thomas	*Lamentations*	20	38v	37v	36v	34v	33r

Tallis, Thomas	*O sacrum convivium*	31/xxvii	57r	57r	57r	55v	52v
Tallis, Thomas	*Salvator mundi*	32/xxviii	58r	57v	58r	56r	53r
Tallis, Thomas	*Absterge Domine*	35/xxxi	61v	61r	61r	59v	55v
Tallis, Thomas	*Salve intemerata*	14/xi	28v	26v	26v	24r	24r
Tallis, Thomas	*Dum transisset*	22/xviii	43v	42v	43v	40v	39r
Taverner, John	*Gaude plurimum*	10/vii	19r	18r	18r	16r	17v
Taverner, John	*Mater Christi*	37/xxxiii	64r	63v	63v	62r	58r
Taverner, John	*Western Wind Mass*	40	68r	68r	67v		62r
Taverner, John	*O splendor gloriae*	5/ii	10r	8v	8v	7r	8r
Taverner, John	*Ave Dei patris*	12/ix	23r	22r	22r	20r	20v
Tye, Christopher	*Miserere mei*	4/i	8v	6v	6v	5v	6v
van Wilder, Philip	*Aspice Domine*	16/xiii	33r	31r	31v	28v	28v
White, Robert	*Lamentations*	21/xvii	40v	40r	40r	37r	36r
White, Robert	*Miserere mei*	26/xxii	49r	48v	50r	46v	44v
White, Robert	*Exaudiat te*	27/xxiii	51v	51v	53r	49v	47r
White, Robert	*Domine non est exaltatum*	28/xxiv	53v	53v	54v	51r	49r
White, Robert	*Manus tuae fecerunt me*	29/xxv	55r	55r	55v	53v	50v
White, Robert	*Justus es Domine*	39/xxxv	66v	66v	66r	64v/65v	60v

Alphabetically by work:

Work	***Composer***	***No.***	***Mus. e. 1***	***Mus. e. 2***	***Mus. e. 3***	***Mus. e. 4***	***Mus. e. 5***
Absterge Domine	Tallis, Thomas	35/xxxi	61v	61r	61r	59v	55v
Aspice Domine	van Wilder, Philip	16/xiii	33r	31r	31v	28v	28v
Aspice Domine de sede	Byrd, William	1	6r	4r	4r	3r	4r
Attollite portas	Byrd, William	33/xxix	58v	58v	58v	56v	53v
Ave Dei patris	Fayrfax, Robert	9/vi	17v	16v	16r	14v	15v
Ave Dei patris	Johnson [I], Robert	13/x	26r	24r	24r	21v	22r
Ave Dei patris	Taverner, John	12/ix	23r	22r	22r	20r	20v
Conserva me	Parsley, Osbert	17/xiv	34r	32v	32v	30r	29v
Conye skins	[anonymous]	42	73v	73v	73r		67v
Domine in virtute	Johnson [I], Robert	23/xix	44r	43v	44r	41r	39v
Domine Jesu Christe	Merbecke, John	7/iv	13r	11v	11v	10r	11r
Domine non est exaltatum	Morley, Thomas	34/xxx	60v	59v	59v	57v	54v
Domine non est exaltatum	White, Robert	28/xxiv	53v	53v	54v	51r	49r
Domine praestolamur	Byrd, William	2	6v	5r	4v	3v	5r
Domine quis habitabit	Tallis, Thomas	18/xv	35v	34r	34v	31v	31r
Domine, Dominus noster	Morley, Thomas	30/xxvi	56v	56v	56v	55r	52r

Dum transisset	Tallis, Thomas	22/xviii	43v	42v	43v	40v	39r
Exaudiat te	White, Robert	27/xxiii	51v	51v	53r	49v	47r
Gaude plurimum	Taverner, John	10/vii	19r	18r	18r	16r	17v
Gaude virgo/mater matris	Aston, Hugh	15/xii	31r	29r	29r	26v	27r
Good fellows must go	Parsons, William	41	72v	72v	72v		66v
In nomine	Sadler, John	3	8r	6r	6r	5r	6r
Incipit Lamentatio	Tallis, Thomas	19/xvi	37v	36r	36v	33v	33r
Inclina Domine (I)	Sheppard, John	6/iii	12r	10v	10v	9r	10r
Job tonso	Clemens, Jacobus non Papa	11/viii	22r	20v	20v	18v	19v
Justus es Domine	White, Robert	39/xxxv	66v	66v	66r	64v/65v	60v
Lamentations	Parsley, Osbert	25/xxi	48r	47r	48v	45r	43v
Lamentations	Tallis, Thomas	20	38v	37v	36v	34v	33r
Lamentations	White, Robert	21/xvii	40v	40r	40r	37r	36r
Manus tuae fecerunt me	White, Robert	29/xxv	55r	55r	55v	53v	50v
Maria plena virtute	Fayrfax, Robert	24/xx	46r	45v	46r	43r	41v
Mater Christi	Taverner, John	37/xxxiii	64r	63v	63v	62r	58r
Miserere mei	Tye, Christopher	4/i	8v	6v	6v	5v	6v
Miserere mei	White, Robert	26/xxii	49r	48v	50r	46v	44v
Musica laeta	Ferrabosco I, Alphonso	43	74v	74v	74r		68v/69r
Ne irascaris	Byrd, William	36/xxxii	62r	62v	62r	60v	57r
O sacrum convivium	Tallis, Thomas	31/xxvii	57r	57r	57r	55v	52v
O splendor gloriae	Taverner, John	5/ii	10r	8v	8v	7r	8r
Salvator mundi	Tallis, Thomas	32/xxviii	58r	57v	58r	56r	53r
Salve intemerata	Tallis, Thomas	14/xi	28v	26v	26v	24r	24r
Te Deum	Aston, Hugh	8/v	15r	13v	13v	12v	13r
Tribulationes civitatum	Byrd, William	38/xxxiv	65r	64v	64v	63r	59r
Western Wind Mass	Taverner, John	40	68r	68r	67v		62r